

**A Kaupapa Māori study of the positive impacts of
syncretism on the development of Christian faith
among Māori from my faith-world perspective**

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*He mea whakaritea e Reverend Mahaki Albert mā roto i ngā karakia i mua i taku tuku
ki ngā kaimāka*

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my late maternal grandmother, Rēpora Marion Brown (nee Maki) who inspired and maintained my faith in the Divine.

Born in 1940. Passed away 1 December 2017.

Tangihanga

Nan, you lie in the wharemate

At Patuheuheu marae

Adorned with a taonga

That I gave you

A pounamu Hei Tiki

Kahurangi grade—fine, light

And without blemish

Your passing cuts deep

Into my fragile, broken heart

The tears sting my cheeks

The hūpē dries on my black t-shirt

Like the trails of a dozen snails

Glistening in the summer sun

The grief drains me, vampirically

Like a squirming black leach

Pulsating and feasting

On the arteries of my aroha

Its sharp mouthpiece gnawing

Intensely and purposefully

Images of you unwell and

Dying, haunt my thoughts

I recall your suffering

Each time I close my eyes

Hospital scenes and last moments

Projected on my eyelids

In High Definition realness

When you made your descent

Beneath Papatūānuku's skin

I watched from afar and wept
Hinenuitepō's embrace
And Jesus' promise of heaven
Did little to comfort me
Your chrome nameplate
And myriad plastic flowers
Now mark your resting place

My whānau are my healers
The rongōā for my pain
Their presence and love
Begins the healing
As does the incessant crying
Behind closed doors
When I am alone

*Moe mai rā e te māreikura o te whakapono. Moe mai i roto i ngā ringaringa o te Atua.
Nā to mokopuna.*

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Glossary

<i>Ahu</i>	A mound used as part of a <i>tūāhu</i> or shrine used for housing an <i>Atua</i>
<i>Ariki</i>	High chief, paramount chief, lord
<i>Aroha</i>	Love, compassion, sympathy
<i>Aroha ki te tangata</i>	Love to all people
<i>Aruhe</i>	Fern root
<i>Atua</i>	Ancestor-deity with continuing influence, god, supernatural being. Also used to denote the Christian God
<i>Atuatanga</i>	In this work, this term pertains to Māori spirituality, whether one is referring to ancestor-deities with continuing influence (<i>ngā Atua</i>) or the Christian God (<i>Te Atua</i>). For some—particularly those from the Māori Anglican and Presbyterian traditions—this term can refer to Māori theology
<i>Atua wahine</i>	Female ancestor-deity with continuing influence
<i>Awa</i>	River
<i>Haka</i>	Posture dance
<i>Hākari tapu</i>	Eucharist
<i>Hāngī</i>	Earth oven
<i>Hapū</i>	Sub-tribe/s, pregnant
<i>Hari mate</i>	Mourning ceremony following <i>tangihanga</i> and burial
<i>Hau</i>	Life breath, vital essence
<i>Hau ora</i>	Breath of life
<i>Heke</i>	Rafter
<i>Hīmene</i>	Hymn
<i>Hongi</i>	Pressing noses in greeting
<i>Hūrai</i>	Jews
<i>Hura kōhatu</i>	Graveside ceremony to unveil the headstone
<i>Iwi</i>	Tribe, bones
<i>Kaikōrero</i>	Orator

<i>Kāinga</i>	Home
<i>Kaitiaki</i>	Spiritual guardians
<i>Kaitiaki kikokiko</i>	Guardians of the physical realm
<i>Kaiwhakaako</i>	Teacher, evangelist
<i>Karakia</i>	God chants—see <i>karakia tahito</i> , Christian prayers
<i>Karakia Karaitiana</i>	Christian prayers
<i>Karakia tahito</i>	Incantations and rituals that summon the powers of <i>ngā Atua</i>
<i>Karanga</i>	Formal call, ceremonial call
<i>Kaumātua</i>	Elders
<i>Kāwana</i>	Governor
<i>Kāwanatanga</i>	Governorship
<i>Kawe mate</i>	Mourning ceremony following tangihanga and burial
<i>Kohatu tipua</i>	Supernatural rocks
<i>Kōrero</i>	Discourse
<i>Koroua</i>	Elderly man, grandfather
<i>Kotahitanga</i>	Unity
<i>Kuia</i>	Female elder, grandmother
<i>Kūmara</i>	Sweet potato
<i>Mana</i>	Authority, power, prestige
<i>Manaakitanga</i>	Hospitality
<i>Māngai</i>	Prophetic mouthpiece
<i>Māoritanga</i>	Māori culture, practices, beliefs
<i>Māra</i>	Cultivation
<i>Marae</i>	Building complex based around a <i>wharenuī</i> or ancestral house
<i>Marae ātea</i>	Courtyard in front of a <i>wharenuī</i>
<i>Matakite</i>	Prophet, seer, clairvoyant
<i>Mātauranga</i>	Knowledge, wisdom, understanding
<i>Mate Māori</i>	Psychospiritual illness

<i>Mātua</i>	Elders, parents
<i>Maunga</i>	Mountain
<i>Mauri</i>	Life force/s
<i>Mihi</i>	Greet, pay homage
<i>Moana</i>	Ocean
<i>Mokopuna</i>	Grandchild/ren
<i>Mōteatea</i>	Lament, chant
<i>Ngā Atua</i>	Māori gods/ancestor-deities with continuing influence
<i>Ngahere</i>	Forest, bush
<i>Ngākau</i>	Mind-heart, seat of affections, heart and mind, the entrails where thought and feeling are manifested
<i>Ngā mea tawhito</i>	Ancient practices
<i>Ngā pou o te tau</i>	The pillars of the year (Ringatū)
<i>Ngārara</i>	A creepy-crawly, insect or lizard
<i>Ngau paepae</i>	A ritual used to magnify the <i>tapu</i> of warriors going into battle, to neutralise certain types of <i>tapu</i> or violations of <i>tapu</i> and to cure illness
<i>Niu</i>	News
<i>Noa</i>	Free from the restrictions of <i>tapu</i>
<i>Ōhāki</i>	Dying speech
<i>Oranga tonutanga</i>	Everlasting life
<i>Pā</i>	Fort
<i>Paepae</i>	latrine bar or beam. See also <i>ngau paepae</i> , for the definition of this ritual
<i>Pai mārire</i>	Goodness and peace
<i>Pākehā</i>	European
<i>Pakipaki</i>	To clap
<i>Pāpākiri</i>	Scaly or flaky bark, as found on the <i>rimu</i> , <i>mataī</i> , <i>monoao</i> and <i>kauri</i> trees. However, in my <i>whānau</i> and <i>hapū</i> , Patuheuheu, we use the word to mean a type of round, flattened bread
<i>Pepeha</i>	Tribal aphorism

<i>Pōhiri</i>	Rituals of encounter
<i>Pou herenga waka</i>	Mooring post, used by Māori Anglicans to describe Christ
<i>Pou mua</i>	Front post of a <i>wharenuī</i>
<i>Poupou</i>	Wall pillars of a <i>wharenuī</i>
<i>Pou rāhui</i>	A post that indicated that an area was under <i>rāhui</i>
<i>Pōwhiri</i>	Rituals of encounter
<i>Pūrākau</i>	Story, stories
<i>Pure</i>	Ceremony following the <i>tohi</i> ritual to permanently seal a child's spiritual powers and <i>mana</i>
<i>Rāhui</i>	The ritual of placing restrictions of <i>tapu</i> on certain locations or things, or limiting access to them
<i>Rākau tipuna</i>	Supernatural trees
<i>Rangatira</i>	Chief
<i>Reo</i>	Language
<i>Rohe pōtae</i>	Tribal territories, tribal homelands
<i>Rongoā</i>	Māori medicine
<i>Tā i te kawa</i>	A ritual related to the opening of a new carved house or the launching of a new canoe. May also be conducted at child birth or during a battle
<i>Tangata</i>	People
<i>Tangihanga</i>	Funeral practices encompassing days of mourning and ritual
<i>Tāniko</i>	Finger weave
<i>Taniwha</i>	Monster, guardian
<i>Tapu</i>	Restricted, sacred
<i>Tāruke</i>	Crayfish trap
<i>Tatau pounamu</i>	Enduring peace agreement
<i>Taumata Atua</i>	The dwelling places of <i>Atua</i> . These were images shaped from stone, located near crops as a <i>mauri</i> or life force to encourage growth and a successful harvest and to protect the vitality of the crop
<i>Tautoko</i>	Support

<i>Te ao tahito</i>	The ancient world
<i>Te Atua</i>	God
<i>Te hāhi</i>	The church
<i>Te huamata</i>	Planting rite (Ringatū)
<i>Teina</i>	Younger sibling of the same sex
<i>Tēina</i>	Younger siblings of the same sex
<i>Te Karaiti</i>	Christ
<i>Tekoteko</i>	Carved figure on the gable of a <i>whareniui</i>
<i>Te pure</i>	Harvesting rite (Ringatū)
<i>Te reo kē</i>	In reference to the language used by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki—glossolalia, other/strange language
<i>Te reo Māori</i>	Māori language, sometimes shortened to <i>te reo</i>
<i>Te Taiao</i>	Environment
<i>Tikanga</i>	Māori customs, practices, ethics
<i>Tino rangatiratanga</i>	Self-determination, sovereignty
<i>Tipua</i> beings	Supernatural beings, goblins, demons, objects of fear or strange
<i>Tipuna</i>	Ancestor
<i>Tīpuna</i>	Ancestors
<i>Tohi</i>	Consecratory rites, ritual ceremony in which a child was immersed in or sprinkled with water from a sacred stream, to dedicate the child to an <i>Atua</i> and petition that <i>Atua</i> to bestow the child with preferred mental and physical attributes
<i>Tohunga</i>	Priestly expert, practitioner of <i>karakia tahito</i> , healer
<i>Tokotoko</i>	Carved wooden staff
<i>Tongi</i>	Prophetic saying (Tainui dialect)
<i>Tūā</i>	Ceremony performed in the location where a child was born. Babies were given a name and the <i>tapu</i> of the birth was removed from both mother and child
<i>Tūāhu</i>	Shrine used to house an <i>Atua</i>
<i>Tuakana</i>	Elder sibling of the same sex

<i>Tuākana</i>	Elder siblings of the same sex
<i>Tuakiritanga</i>	Identity
<i>Tūāpora</i>	A ritual used by <i>tohunga</i> to remove <i>tapu</i>
<i>Tukutuku</i>	Lattice-work
<i>Tumuaki</i>	Leader
<i>Tūpāpaku</i>	Corpse
<i>Tupuna</i>	Ancestor
<i>Tūpuna</i>	Ancestors
<i>Turuma</i>	Village latrine. See also <i>paepae</i> and <i>ngau paepae</i>
<i>Tūturu</i>	Authentic
<i>Uha/uwha</i>	Femaleness
<i>Umu</i>	Earth oven
<i>Urupā</i>	Burial grounds
<i>Utu</i>	The process of restoring balance between groups in which social relations have been disturbed
<i>Wāhanga</i>	Division
<i>Waharoa</i>	Gateway
<i>Wāhi tapu</i>	Areas considered <i>tapu</i> such as burial grounds, areas where people had died, trees where placenta had been placed and the pinnacles of important mountains
<i>Waiata</i>	Song/s
<i>Waiata matakite</i>	Prophetic song
<i>Waiata tohutohu</i>	Song of instruction
<i>Wairua</i>	Spirit/s
<i>Wairuatanga</i>	Spirituality
<i>Waka</i>	Canoe
<i>Waka Atua</i>	Vessel of an <i>Atua</i>
<i>Whaikōrero</i>	Formal oratory
<i>Whakaaro</i>	Understanding, thought
<i>Whakahoro</i>	To remove <i>tapu</i> from people using water

<i>Whakairo</i>	Carving/s
<i>Whakanoa</i>	Negate
<i>Whakapakoko Atua</i>	God sticks, typically carved and inserted into the ground, the idea being that the object would be a temporary shrine for <i>Atua</i> , to encourage the fertility of crops and richness of fisheries
<i>Whakapapa</i>	Genealogy
<i>Whakapono</i>	Faith, truth, belief
<i>Whakarau</i>	Political prisoner
<i>Whakawātea</i>	Clearing ritual
<i>Whānau</i>	Family/families, birth
<i>Whānau pani</i>	Grieving family
<i>Whāngai hau</i>	A ceremony in which food was offered to an <i>Atua</i> to symbolically feed the <i>Atua</i> with the <i>hau</i> , or essence of the offering
<i>Whare</i>	House, often used to refer to an ancestral house
<i>Wharekura</i>	House of learning and the traditional place where <i>tohunga</i> taught esoteric knowledge
<i>Wharenui</i>	Ancestral house
<i>Whare wānanga</i>	Traditional place of higher learning
<i>Whenua</i>	Land, afterbirth

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "R. Rangiswar". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "R" and a trailing flourish.

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Ngā mihi tino nui kia koutou katoa. Mā te Atua koutou e manaaki.

Abstract

I am a syncretist: I blend religious ideas that shape my faith. As a syncretist studying syncretism, I am the architect, builder, negotiator and navigator of this research. My original contribution to knowledge is a Kaupapa Māori study of the positive impacts of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori from the perspective of my faith-world based on my *whakapapa* (genealogy) as Patuheuheu, Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Porou, and my *whakapono* (faith), which is a syncretistic amalgam of Māori, Ringatū, Catholic and Anglican theologies, with sprinklings of Taoism and Hinduism.

Two Māori methodological approaches shape this research: Kaupapa Māori—a body of Māori philosophies that stretch back to the beginnings of Māori understanding and which are endorsed by an ever-increasing body of academic work—and the *Atuatanga* Model. Based on the *Atua, Tangata, Whenua* (God, people, land) conceptual model developed by the late Māori Catholic priest Pā Henare Tate, I designed the *Atuatanga* Model as a methodology for researching *whakapono*. In a dynamic triangulation that conveys an interconnected and interdependent Māori spiritual reality, *Atuatanga* is based on *Atua*, the Divine; *Whenua*, the environmental and physical; and *Tangata*, the human. Kaupapa Māori is the methodological base of this research, while *Atuatanga* provides a specific frame of reference through which to focus explicitly on *whakapono*.

My grandmother, Rēpora Marion Brown (1940–2017), was the exemplar in my life concerning matters of Māori spirituality and faith. As a practising member of the Ringatū Church, a syncretistic religion of 19th-century Māori origin, her belief in God was unwavering. Kaupapa Māori—which includes writing in the first person from my perspective—is used in this research as a means of giving expression to faith and to

breathe life into the theories and theologies explored here. The storying weaved throughout this work is as much about my grandmother's faith as it is about mine. In this way, my grandmother and I dance together to a rhythm of faith. This thesis, in its preliminary pages, begins with her *tangihanga*—Māori funereal practices, which encompass days of mourning and ritual, culminating, most commonly, in Christian burial—and moves back and forth through time to investigate and analyse the various themes that are revealed in the text. These themes emerge from the voices of the research participants, including Māori Christian clergy and theologians, and one particular participant who is both an ordained minister and a proponent of *karakia tahito*, the Māori incantations and rituals that summon the powers of *ngā Atua*—the Māori gods.

Chapter 1 outlines the methodology and methods that underpin the perspective from which this thesis proceeds. The second chapter introduces and sets the parameters of my faith-world based on *whakapapa* and *whakapono*. Chapter 3 canvasses Māori interactions with Christianity to provide a historical backdrop for the research. The fourth chapter explores the notion of syncretism and asks: what is syncretism; how is it variously evaluated; and what are the impacts of it? Chapter 5 examines *whakapono* based on a thematic analysis of the interview data. Themes include: *ngā Atua* (ancestor-deities with continuing influence), *Te Atua* (God), *Atuatanga*/Māori theology, *Te Karaiti* (Christ), *mātauranga* (knowledge), *whakapapa* (genealogy), *te taiao* (the environment) and *te hāhi* (church). The sixth chapter discusses the positive impacts of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori, also based on a thematic analysis of the interview data. Themes include: positive syncretism, self-determining faith, gospel acceptance, *tikanga* (Māori customs), enhancement, liberation and *aroha* (love). The concluding chapter reinforces the significance of my original contribution to knowledge and provides recommendations for future research.

Preface

Hikurangi te maunga	Hikurangi is the mountain
Rangitāiki te awa	Rangitāiki is the river
Koura te tangata	Koura is the ancestor
Patuheuheu te hapū	Patuheuheu is the clan
Ngāi Tūhoe te iwi	Ngāi Tūhoe is the tribe

Tāwhiuau te maunga	Tāwhiuau is the mountain
Rangitāiki te awa	Rangitāiki is the river
Tangiharuru te tangata	Tangiharuru is the ancestor
Ngāti Manawa te iwi	Ngāti Manawa is the tribe

Tūwatawata te maunga	Tūwatawata is the mountain
Whirinaki te awa	Whirinaki is the river
Wharepākau te tangata	Wharepākau is the ancestor

Hikurangi te maunga	Hikurangi is the mountain
Waiapū te awa	Waiapū is the river
Porourangi te tangata	Porourangi is the ancestor
Ngāti Porou te iwi	Ngāti Porou is the tribe

A Brief Personal Introduction

In the Māori world, it is customary to introduce oneself using one's tribal motto, or *pepeha*. The four *pepeha* above are formulaic expressions—declaring landscapes, bodies of water and ancestries—that articulate the *whakapapa* (genealogical) parameters within which my identity is located. These mountains and rivers are, to me, living beings, and my *tīpuna* (ancestors) are alive in my veins. Through the intersection of these four distinct tribal identities, I am hereditarily entangled and deeply implicated in this research.

I was born in Gisborne and was raised in Murupara and Waiōhau. My upbringing was 'normal'. My parents worked. My sister and I went to school. We spent most of our formative years with my maternal grandparents, Nan and Papa, who lived around the corner from us in Murupara. Koro Ted and Nanny Pare, my maternal great-grandparents,

lived five or six houses down from us on the same street. My sister and I passed their house each morning to go to school. Koro Ted would sit on his front step in the sun. ‘Hi Koro!’ we would exclaim as we waved at him.

We spent time at the *marae* (building complex based around a *wharenuī* or ancestral house). We did ‘*marae* stuff’. *Tangihanga* (funerary proceedings) were major events. Koro Hieke, Koro Ted’s brother-in-law, was a Presbyterian minister. For funeral services, he wore a royal blue cassock and in place of a cincture, a red, black and white *tāniko* (finger weaved) belt. An image of Koro Hieke, delivering a *whaikōrero* (formal oratory), fronts the cover of Uncle Poia Rewi’s (2010) book, *Whaikōrero: The world of Māori oratory*. Koro Hieke was an expert *kaikōrero* (orator) and he had a voice that could fill not just the *marae ātea* (courtyard in front of a *wharenuī*), but the entire Waiōhau valley.

I am a syncretist. I mix religious ideas together, both consciously and subconsciously. Mixing religious ideas is the way that I attempt to understand more about the Divine. For me, God is indefinable and beyond human understanding. Sometimes, I experience euphoric, but punishingly brief moments, of enlightenment about God which, like the flash of a camera in a dark room, leave fading traces behind. Like vivid dreams too, these experiences are difficult to recall with any clarity and are even harder to articulate. Suffice to say, God is *the* great mystery and one that has been with me since the beginning.

As a self-professed syncretist, my roles in this research are those of architect, builder, negotiator and navigator. As architect, I have designed this research. As builder, I have co-constructed this work along with my *tīpuna* at the intersections of *whakapapa* and *whakapono*—concepts that will be explained later. As negotiator, I craft the discourse of the text. And as (co)navigator, alongside my maternal grandmother, Nan, we guide the

reader through the research experience contained in these pages. From my *tīpuna* and I, welcome to this research.

Orthographic Conventions

Māori words used within this work use the modern orthographic conventions for *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) and, consequently, macrons are used throughout. Where the words of someone else have been directly quoted, these appear as they were found and may include spelling that is not consistent with modern orthographic conventions. For example, Māori may also be spelt, Maori or Maaori.

The intended meaning of Māori words are defined in brackets the first time they appear. If the same word is used again in a different context, with a different intended meaning, a new definition of the word in that context is provided. Where a source has been quoted in *te reo Māori*, no translation is offered; however, an explanation of the quotation will follow, based primarily on the researcher's understanding, informed by native speakers of, and experts in, *te reo Māori*. Consistent with academic practice, any words either in *te reo Māori* or from any other non-English language that are not proper nouns are displayed in italics.

Transcripts of the oral information in the interviews for this research have been edited to provide a sense of flow and to exclude extraneous or repetitive material. The meaning and conceptual integrity of the information has not been changed in any way and the audio recordings of the interviews remain the primary source of oral information.

Thesis Outline

Preface

The Preface provides four *pepeha*, a brief personal introduction and a description of the orthographic conventions used in this thesis.

Chapter 1: Methodology and methods

The first chapter describes the methodology (Kaupapa Māori and the *Atuatanga* Model) and the methods (interviews and thematic analysis) of this research.

Chapter 2: My faith-world perspective

The second chapter introduces and sets the parameters of my faith-world based on *whakapapa* and *whakapono*. Circumscribing my faith-world, the chapter covers my *whakapapa* links to *whakapono*—Patuheuheu and Ngāti Whare to Ringatū, Ngāti Manawa to Catholicism, and Ngāti Porou to Te Hāhi Mihinare—and describes some of my experiences pertaining to Pentecostalism and Mormonism, and my lingering encounters with Taoism and Hinduism.

Chapter 3: Māori and Christianity

The third chapter provides a historical backdrop for the research by canvassing Māori interactions with Christianity, including the work of the missionaries with Māori; the formation of the Anglican, Methodist, Catholic and Presbyterian churches; the establishment of the Treaty of Waitangi; and the impacts of the New Zealand Wars on the church.

Chapter 4: Syncretism

The fourth chapter explores the notion of syncretism. Drawing upon the literature, including indigenous examples, this chapter explains the nature of syncretism, assesses how it is variously evaluated and describes the impacts of syncretism on Christian faith.

Chapter 5: Māori Religion, Prophetic Movements and *Whakapono*

This chapter first discusses Māori religion and then Māori prophetic movements. The fifth chapter also examines *whakapono* based on a thematic analysis of the interview data. Themes include: *ngā Atua*, *Te Atua*, *Atuatanga*/Māori theology, *Te Karaiti*, *mātauranga*, *whakapapa*, *te taiao* and *te hāhi*.

Chapter 6: Impacts of Syncretism on the Development of Christian Faith among Māori

The sixth chapter discusses the positive impacts of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori, based on a thematic analysis of the interview data. Themes include: positive syncretism, self-determining faith, gospel acceptance, *tikanga* (Māori customs), enhancement, liberation and *aroha* (love).

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The concluding chapter provides a detailed summary of the thesis, reinforces the significance of my original contribution to knowledge and suggests recommendations for future research.

Chapter 1: Methodology and Methods

1.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology and methods used within this research (Kaupapa Māori and the *Atuatanga* Model) and the methods (interviews and thematic analysis) of this research.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 Kaupapa Māori

This research will be conducted using a Kaupapa Māori research methodology which accepts the Māori worldview and all its associated philosophies, customs and practices as valid and normal. Kaupapa Māori is a Māori-centred system of *tikanga* (Māori customs, practices and ethics), epistemologies, ideologies, theories and knowledge, which recognises Māori history and culture as driven by *whānau* (family/families), *hapū* (sub-tribe/s) and *iwi* (tribe/s), and provides the tools for critically analysing the world from a Māori perspective (Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori is about radical consciousness and positive action for Māori and is based on principles that are consistent with, but not dependent upon, critical theory (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999).

Kaupapa Māori, therefore, is a decolonising research methodology that reclaims space and locates Māori at the centre of the research (Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori legitimises Māori perspectives within the academy (Smith, 1999) and transcends institutional disciplines (Smith, 2011). Indeed, ‘kaupapa Māori methodologies are sequences of knowledge-creating actions, and practices of knowledge inquiry which give expression to transformative ideals’ (Royal, 2012, p. 31). A key characteristic of Kaupapa Māori is ‘the political notion of challenging the privileging of Western knowledge in the

academy’ (Royal, 2012, p. 31). The purpose of Kaupapa Māori is ‘to allow Māori knowledge, culture and experience to ‘find voice’ in the academy’ (Royal, 2012, p. 31).

The grounding of research in a Kaupapa Māori paradigm requires primary attention to be given to authors operating in a Kaupapa Māori/Te Ao Māori worldview. Therefore, aligned with a Kaupapa Māori approach, this research will reclaim space and privilege Māori voices where possible. In some areas of this thesis, I have used online resources written by Māori to support certain aspects of this research. Indeed, Māori voices appear more often in online contexts because these are forums in which our voices are more readily available to be heard. The publishing world features disciplining characteristics such as, the reviewing of manuscripts, all of which help determine what can be said, and which may make it harder for those voices to appear. While some may argue that these sources may be less reliable or less academic, I argue that from a Kaupapa Māori perspective, it is necessary to privilege Māori voices, regardless of where these are located. Furthermore, for Māori, oral traditions are central to our cultural understanding and knowledge transmission (Mahuika, 2012). Certainly, some areas of Māori knowledge, such as the practices of *tohunga*, remain for good reason, inaccessible to academia. Thus, non-academic sources have had to be used in some instances.

1.2.2 Atuatanga Model

The word *Atua* refers to an ancestor with continuing influence; or a god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, strange being or object of superstitious regard (Moorfield, 2011). While the word *Atua* is commonly translated as ‘god’, Moorfield (2011) argued that this is a misconception of the original meaning. *Atua* were ‘not worshipped and adored’, instead, ‘they were propitiated with offerings but otherwise addressed in *karakia* (god chants) that might be peremptory and demanding’ (Salmond, 1993, p. 52). Though feared, the powers of *Atua* were ‘equally confronted and controlled’ (Salmond, 1993, p. 52). The term *Atuatanga* is then created by adding the suffix ‘*tanga*’,

which designates the quality of the base noun (Moorfield, 2011). Melbourne (2011) stated:

The word has two parts; the first is ‘*atua*’, a word to describe spiritual beings (more commonly called gods) which were credited with supernatural powers that could be exercised in helping or opposing people, in the mundane affairs of this life. The second part, ‘*tanga*’, is the suffix which speaks about the culture or dealing with everything that has to do with spiritual beings, or *ngā atua* Māori and *Te Atua o te Paipera* (God of the Bible), and how Māori modified and adapted their understandings to these in their lives. (p. 20)

I define *Atuatanga* quite simply as all things *Atua*. In the context of this work, and regarding my theological thinking generally, *Atuatanga* pertains to Māori spirituality whether one is referring to ancestor-deities with continuing influence (*ngā Atua*), or the Christian God (*Te Atua*). The term *Atuatanga* will be capitalised throughout, as will the word *Atua*, to denote the importance to Māori of *Atua*, whether plural or singular, Māori or Christian.

In developing the *Atuatanga* Model, my theological thinking has been shaped by the theology expressed by Pā Henare Tate (2012) in his conception of the interrelationship of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* (pp. 38–40; see Figure 1). He argued that our Māori relationships with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* are ‘dynamically related’ (Tate, 2012, p. 38) and define who we are. Tate (2012) opined: ‘If one enhances one’s relationship with *Atua*, also enhanced will be one’s relationship with *tangata* and *whenua*’ (p. 38) and vice versa. He also contended that the same is true if one begins with *whenua* or *tangata* as a starting point.

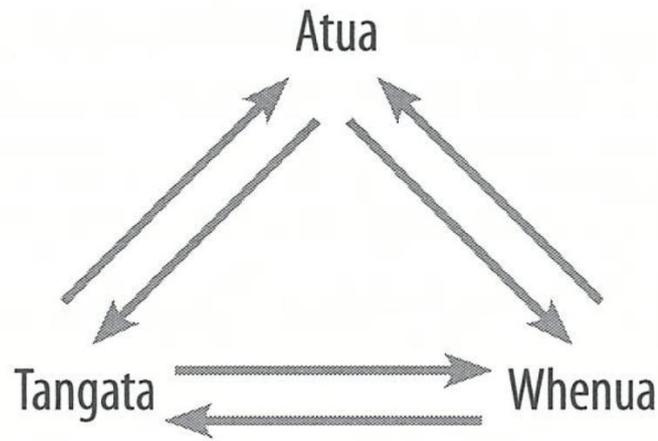


Figure 1. *Atua, tangata, whenua model* (Tate, 2012, p. 38).

Like the early missionaries, Tate (2012) used a/A to distinguish between ‘*atua*’ and ‘*Atua*’. He argued that the missionaries were exposed to Māori creation narratives that described the origins of the universe and the place of departmental *atua* within their various realms over which they possessed dominion. However, he argued that *atua* were not supreme beings. He stated: ‘The relationship of these spheres of creation to one another appears to be grounded only in the unity of the Creator who brought them into being. The *atua* relate back to their creator and therefore to one another’ (Tate, 2012, p. 39). Tate (2012) used the term *Atua* to name God of the Bible in his work. The word *tangata* refers to human beings, or to a person, while the term *whenua* refers to land. For Tate (2012), ‘*whenua* provides sustenance for *tangata* and all other living creatures. It gives *tangata* a sense of identity and belonging’ (p. 39).

The *Atuatanga* Model (see Figure 2) draws architecturally and theologically on the work of Tate (2012). However, there are significant differences. In the *Atuatanga* Model, there is no distinction drawn between ‘*atua*’ and ‘*Atua*’; rather, *Atuatanga* refers to both. The concepts of *tangata* and *whenua* are the same as those expressed by Tate (2012), excepting an additional meaning to the word *whenua*, which engenders an important theological consideration. Tate (2012) commented on the importance of land for the provision of sustenance for all life on the earth. However, *whenua* is a term that

means both land and human placenta; the double meaning of this word points to the significance of Māori connections to land. This extra layer of meaning connects Māori to the land genealogically, physically and spiritually, as *whenua* is a cultural concept and cultural reality that concomitantly names land and placenta, and addresses the links between Papatūānuku and Māori.

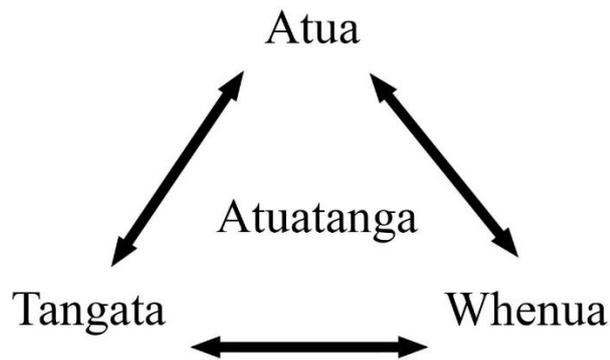


Figure 2. *Atuatanga Model* (Rangiwai, 2018a, p. 184).¹

Atuatanga is the central theological concept in the *Atuatanga Model*. The dynamic triangulation of the aspects of this model expresses a Māori theological reality based on the interdependent relationships between *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. *Atuatanga* has some context-dependant definitions spanning a range of Māori disciplines. However, this work will highlight only theological definitions of the term from Melbourne (2011) and Hollis (2013).

From a theological point of view, Melbourne (2011) described *Atuatanga* as pre-European theology, Māori spirituality, theology from a Māori perspective, and the study of God from a Māori, and particularly, Māori Anglican, perspective. Melbourne (2011) cited the fact that Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, the Māori arm of the Anglican Church, has discussed and used the term *Atuatanga* to describe Māori theology in their ministry

¹ I acknowledge Dr Benita Simati-Kumar for making this model at my request.

training since the mid-1990s.² Melbourne (2011) argued that one school of thought names *Atuatanga* as the system of knowledge surrounding the tradition of Io, the creator and ruler of all things. This tradition is found in certain *iwi* and some parts of the Pacific, including Hawai'i, the Society Islands and the Cook Islands (Moorfield, 2011), but it is a topic of debate, as some have argued that Io is a post-contact response that mirrors the 'supremacy' of the Judeo-Christian God.

Melbourne (2011) opined that many Māori have, since the arrival of Christianity, omitted the beliefs in *ngā Atua*, believing that these are opposed to those of Christianity. He contended that *Atuatanga* might be understood as an attempt by some Māori to understand the God of the Bible through Māori understandings, and as an attempt by others to bring together and reconcile the beliefs of traditional Māori with those of Christianity. Others, he argued, have revived some pre-Christian traditions involving *ngā Atua*. Melbourne (2011) maintained that, regarding ministry training, the position of Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa has been to 'interweave traditional concepts along with Christian thinking' (p. 27).

Hollis (2013) argued that the term *Atuatanga* requires careful consideration; in fact, he wrote an entire doctoral thesis around *Atuatanga* and its potential to hold together the Christian and Māori theological worldviews. He expounded that *Atuatanga* may refer to the domain over which *Te Atua* or *ngā Atua* express authority. The term may represent, he claimed, the characteristics and the study of *ngā Atua* or *Te Atua*. He stated: '*Atuatanga* has been equated to the English word theology and some *te reo Māori* experts considered

² Both Hollis (2013) and Melbourne (2011) note that Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa included *Atuatanga* as a field of study in their ministry training in the mid-1990s, and that this was the result of a failed attempt, with regard to New Zealand Qualifications Framework accreditation, to use the word 'theology' in a ministry qualification.

it to be the closest word in *te reo Māori* to the Greek derivative of [the word] theology’ (Hollis, 2013, p. x).

1.3 Methods

1.3.1 Interviews and interviewees

The research recruited Māori clergy, non-Māori clergy who minister to Māori, Māori theologians, experts in Māori religion and spirituality.

Qualitative research methods were used in this work, with in-depth interviews undertaken as a primary source of data collection. These interviews were treated as ‘extended conversations’ (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) and were semi-structured. The following Kaupapa Māori research ethics, adapted from Smith (1999, p. 120), along with one additional ethic, *te reo Māori*, were used to carry out the interviews:

- ***Aroha ki te tangata***: Respect participants and realise that the opportunity to engage in research with them is a privilege.
- ***Kanohi ki te kanohi***: Researcher presents themselves to participants face to face.
- ***Titiro, whakarongo...kōrero***: Researcher looks and listens more than speaks.
- ***Manaaki ki te tangata***: Researcher is flexible, hospitable and generous to participants.
- ***Kia tupato***: Researcher uses *tikanga* to guide appropriate actions to ensure cultural safety.
- ***Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata***: The researcher ensures that the *mana* of the participants is maintained.
- ***Kaua e mahaki***: The researcher remains humble.
- ***Te reo Māori***: Research participants may respond in *te reo Māori* and/or English.

The interview questions were open-ended to gain responses that, as much as possible, reflected the participants' experiences relating to the research topic. The interview questions were asked in English, but it was made clear by the researcher that the participants could respond in either English or *te reo Māori*.

The participants were provided with an information sheet and a list of indicative interview questions. At certain points in the interview process, the researcher needed to prompt participants. In this case, prompts were framed so as not to influence the participants' words (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The interviews were recorded, after gaining consent from the participants. The interviews were then transcribed and returned to the participants for assessment. Interview transcripts were amended at the request of participants.

The questions asked of the participants were as follows:

- How would you describe theology from a Māori perspective?
- How would you describe Christianity from a Māori perspective?
- In what ways has Māori culture and society been changed by Christian faith?
- In what ways has the form and expression of Christian faith brought to Aotearoa New Zealand by the missionaries been changed by Māori culture and society?
- In what ways have Māori developed ideas about the Christian God?
- In what ways have Māori incorporated Christianity into Māori life?
- In what ways do Māori mix Māori and Christian traditions?

The participants who agreed to be interviewed were:

- The Reverend Mahaki Albert, Presbyterian minister and *tohunga*
- Graham Cameron, theologian and doctoral candidate
- Dr Moeawa Callaghan, theologian

- The Reverend David Gledhill, known as Pā Rāwiri, Marist Father in the Roman Catholic Church
- The Reverend Dr Hirini Kaa, Anglican priest and historian
- The Reverend Cruz Karauti-Fox, Anglican priest
- The Reverend Canon Robert Kereopa, Anglican priest
- Pastor Simon Moetara
- The Venerable Ngira Simmonds, Archdeacon to the Kīngitanga and Personal Chaplain to His Majesty King Tūheitia Pōtatau Te Wherowhero VII
- The Most Reverend Rima Tamaiparea-Puki, Bishop of the Reformed Old Catholic Church in New Zealand
- The Most Reverend Don Tamihere, Bishop of Te Tairāwhiti, Bishop of Aotearoa, Archbishop and Primate
- The Right Reverend Te Waiohau (Ben) Te Haara, former Bishop of Te Taitokerau
- The Reverend Wayne Te Kaawa, University of Otago Māori Chaplain and former Moderator of the Presbyterian Māori Synod
- The Reverend Hone Te Rire, Presbyterian minister
- The Venerable Dr Te Waaka Melbourne, Anglican Archdeacon

As expected, the interviewees expressed a range of different views summarised below.

The Reverend Mahaki Albert is both a Presbyterian minister and *tohunga*. His interview revealed that he approached being Christian by first being Māori. As a *tohunga* of the old religion, he recites incantations that invoke the powers of *ngā Atua*. As a Presbyterian minister, he serves Jesus. An outsider might perceive there to be conflict between these two worldviews, but a positive view of syncretism means that both exist in close proximity to one another without issue. Reverend Albert viewed the two worlds

as being separate: he believes in *ngā Atua* and in the God of the Bible. Reverend Albert's practice of both religions is unique and echoes the ministries of early Anglican Māori priests such as the Reverend Mohi Turei and more recently, the Reverend Maori Marsden—both of whom practised the old and introduced religions.

Māori theologian and doctoral candidate, Graham Cameron, stated that for him *ngā Atua* were our first revelations of God and that God came to us again in Jesus. He encountered God with Māori eyes and saw no conflict between the practices of the old religion and Christianity.

Māori theologian Dr Moeawa Callaghan saw no conflict between Māori religion and Christianity. For Dr Callaghan it is imperative that Māori determine our own theological understandings on our own terms and in our own ways as Māori, and Māori religion is undeniably part of it because it is part of our *whakapapa*.

Pākeha Roman Catholic priest and Marist Father, the Reverend David Gledhill—known affectionately to Māori as Pā Rawiri—has ministered to Māori Catholics for more than 50 years. Reflecting on his experience of ministering to Māori for many decades, Pā Rāwiri discouraged appeal to *ngā Atua* in favour of Māori maintaining and strengthening their relationships with *Te Karaiti*—the Christ.

Māori Anglican priest and historian, the Reverend Dr Hirini Kaa was of the view that *ngā Atua* are part of who we are as Māori and that the Māori religion forms part of the worldview that informs how we engage with and practise our Christianity. He had no issue with the practices of the old religion still in use today and saw no conflict between it and Christianity. Reverend Dr Kaa was adamant that the core principles of Christianity such as love and forgiveness improved our culture and made us a more loving and accepting people. He also said that when he prayed for people who were sick, he took his Māori worldview with him, which included God, *ngā Atua*, and his faith in the medical profession.

Māori Anglican priest the Reverend Cruz Karauti-Fox acknowledged *ngā Atua* in the way he lives as Māori. Though he does not know or practise the ancient *karakia*—incantations—in their original form, he does acknowledge *ngā Atua* in other ways. For example, when fishing, Reverend Karauti-Fox offers back the first fish caught to Tangaroa, *Atua* of the waters. He saw no conflict between *ngā Atua* and Christianity.

Māori Anglican priest, the Reverend Canon Robert Kereopa, saw no conflict between *ngā Atua* and Christianity. However, in relation to syncretism he did state that it was important for Māori to assess our old religion in terms of whether the practices are life-enhancing, life-diminishing, or neutral.

Māori evangelical minister Pastor Simon Moetara welcomed the conversation and appreciated learning about *ngā Atua* from a number of Māori academics and experts. He argued that Māori cultural views needed to be better understood among evangelicals as there existed a deep-seated fear of syncretism. Importantly, Pastor Moetara argued that Māori theology should be developed and determined by Māori to serve Māori interests.

Māori Anglican Archdeacon the Venerable Ngira Simmonds, personal Chaplain to His Majesty King Tūheitia Pōtatau Te Wherowhero VII, saw no conflict between Māori religion and Christianity. Archdeacon Simmonds understood *ngā Atua* to be our first revelation of God. While he does not practise the old religion, he practises his Christian faith as Māori within a framework of *Atuatanga*—which is described by some as Māori theology and others as Māori spirituality. Archdeacon Simmonds argued that the root word of *Atuatanga*, *Atua*, described something that is afar, over there, beyond. He held that the concept and practice of *Atuatanga* ‘is the process of bringing “over there” closer, of encountering what is beyond, what is afar, in a deeply, intimate and personal way’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017).

Māori Reformed Old Catholic Church Bishop, the Most Reverend Rima Tamaiparea-Puki, was Bishop of the Reformed Old Catholic Church in New Zealand and

since being interviewed has been made Archbishop of Oceania in the same church. Bishop Tamaiparea-Puki saw no conflict between Māori religion and Christianity. He was of the view that we come to God as Māori and bring with us all of our cultural and religious views, traditions, practices and experiences.

Māori Anglican Bishop, the Most Reverend Don Tamihere, Bishop of Te Tairāwhiti, Bishop of Aotearoa, Archbishop and Primate, saw no conflict between Māori religion and Christianity. While he does not practise the old religion, he respected it and those who practised it. He also understood *ngā Atua* to be our first revelation of God and recognised them in his own way. As Ngāti Porou, Archbishop Tamihere's theology is very much based on the ancestries and histories of his tribe which include *ngā Atua*.

Māori Anglican Bishop, the Right Reverend Te Waiohau (Ben) Te Haara, former Bishop of Te Taitokerau, said that Māori theology can be summed up in the following statement: *Ko Ranginui e tū nei, ko Papatūānuku e takoto nei*—a common proclamation that our world is framed by Sky Father above and Earth Mother below. For Bishop Te Haara, as for Māori and many other indigenous peoples, Earth Mother and Sky Father are the ancestor-deities from whom we descend. Bishop Te Haara saw no conflict between the Māori religion and Christianity.

Māori Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Wayne Te Kaawa, saw no conflict between the Māori religion and Christianity. While not a practitioner of the old religion, he comes from a cultural background where *ngā Atua* exist around us. Like some of the others I interviewed, Reverend Te Kaawa believed that *ngā Atua* were our first revelation of God. He stated: 'God was here long before Christianity arrived. We had different names for and a different approach to God that reflected life in Aotearoa' (W. Te Kaawa, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

Māori Presbyterian minister the Reverend Hone Te Rire also understood *ngā Atua* to be our first revelation of God. He argued that *ngā Atua*, located in the environment

around us, are an indication to us that God is *wairua* or spirit and is therefore everywhere. While not a practitioner of Māori religion, like the other Māori Christian ministers I interviewed, Reverend Te Rire acknowledged *ngā Atua* in his own way. For example, when harvesting wood for cultural purposes, he acknowledged Tāne—*Atua* of the forest—with prayer. He noted too that Māori Christian ministers have essentially taken on the role of *tohunga* for our communities. An exception to this is Reverend Mahaki Albert who practises both religions and may act as a *tohunga* or as an ordained minister.

Māori Archdeacon the Venerable Dr Te Waaka Melbourne saw no conflict between Māori religion and Christianity. He argued that through the concept of *Atuatanga*, both worldviews existed together. Archdeacon Dr Melbourne stated that ‘*Atuatanga* is the beliefs that our old people had and the beliefs that they have now’ (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017). This suggested a continued connection between *ngā Atua* and *Atua*, the old religion and that introduced by the missionaries and adopted by Māori.

While there were some minor divergences between the Māori participants, there were more similarities. The idea that *ngā Atua* were our first revelation of God recurred as did the idea that there existed no conflict between Māori religion—at least, with regard to the way that it is practised today—and Christianity. The greatest divergence of outlooks between participants would be that of the Reverend Mahaki Albert and Pā Rawiri. Significantly, the dual practice of the Reverend Mahaki Albert as both ordained minister and *tohunga*, stood out as a testament of syncretism in action. By contrast, Pā Rawiri’s view seemed to suggest that contextualisation and syncretism are acceptable to a point, but that an exclusive relationship with Christ was preferred over *ngā Atua*.

1.3.2 Reflexive thematic analysis

The reflexive thematic analysis method developed by Braun, Clarke, Hayfield and Terry (2019) is used to analyse and interpret the data from the interviews. In reflexive

thematic analysis ‘themes are conceptualized as meaning-based patterns, evident in explicit (semantic) or conceptual (latent) ways’ (Braun et al., 2019, p. 848). As ‘the *output* of coding—themes result *from* considerable analytic work on the part of the researcher to explore and develop an understanding of patterned meaning across the dataset’ (Braun et al., 2019, p. 848).

Braun et al. (2019) outlined six phases of reflexive thematic analysis, which have been used here to analyse the dataset:

- Familiarisation
- Generating codes
- Constructing themes
- Revising themes
- Defining themes
- Producing the report.

The *familiarisation* process is, as its name suggests, about becoming familiar with the dataset: ‘The process involves becoming “immersed” in the data and connecting with them in different ways’ (Braun et al., 2019, p. 852). In line with guidelines set out by Braun et al. (2019), familiarisation of the dataset for this research included re-listening to interviews, re-reading transcripts, ““noticing” interesting features’ (p. 852) and making relaxed but ‘thoughtful and curious’ (p. 852) notes about what I (re)heard and (re)read.

The process of *generating codes* from a dataset requires ‘focussed attention, to systematically and rigorously make sense of data’ and ‘succinctly and systematically’ identify meaning in the data (Braun et al., 2019, p. 853). The process involved attaching concise and clear codes to bits of data so that the data could be arranged around emerging patterns of meaning (Braun et al., 2019). Braun et al. (2019) identified two levels of analysis for generating codes: semantic and latent. Codes generated at the semantic level are concerned only with surface meaning; whereas, codes generated at the latent level are

concerned with deeper, conceptual and, sometimes, abstract meaning (Braun et al., 2019). Codes for this research have been revealed at the latent level.

The process for *constructing themes* involves grouping similar codes together as ‘building blocks’ with which to construct themes that draw upon patterns of meaning to ‘tell a coherent, insightful story about the data in relation to the research question’ (Braun et al., 2019, p. 854). These stories are revealed by the researcher ‘at the intersection of data, researcher experience and subjectivity, and research question(s)’ (Braun et al., 2019, p. 854).

Revising and *defining* themes are two phases of the process that go together: ‘The revising and defining phases seek to ensure that themes, *and* theme names, clearly, comprehensively *and* concisely capture what is meaningful about the data’ (Braun et al., 2019, p. 857). Revising themes included reviewing coded data pertaining to a theme to ensure that the information related to the central concept of the research and to the dataset as a whole (Braun et al., 2019). The accurate defining of a theme signifies the ‘scope and “core”’ of, and sets the parameters for, each theme (Braun et al., 2019, p. 856).

Producing the report is not merely the write-up but is ‘a final test of how well the themes work, individually in relation to the dataset, and overall’ (Braun et al., 2019, p. 857).

1.3.3 Summary

This chapter described the methodology and the methods of this research. Kaupapa Māori—as a distinctly Māori research methodology—accepts the Māori worldview as normal and provides the necessary tools for critically analysing research from a Māori point of view. The *Atuatanga* Model provided another layer of methodological support with a particular focus on Māori theological concerns. Three methods were used in this research: interviews, and thematic analysis. The interview process allowed the participants—without whom this research would not be possible—to

share their knowledge and experiences. While thematic analysis allowed me to arrange the data.

Chapter 2: My Faith-World Perspective

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces and sets the parameters of my faith-world based on *whakapapa* and *whakapono* and outlines my *whakapapa* links to *whakapono*: Patuheuheu and Ngāti Whare to Ringatū; Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy gifted to Patuheuheu; Ngāti Manawa and Catholicism; and Ngāti Porou to Te Hāhi Mihinare. I also describe some of my experiences pertaining to Pentecostalism and Mormonism—a highly significant theological experience for me—and my lingering encounters with Taoism and Hinduism. Overall, I show how *whakapapa* is connected to *whakapono* and explore the facets of my faith that have shaped my personal theology.

2.2 At the Crossroads of *Whakapapa* and *Whakapono*: Establishing the Parameters of my Faith-World Perspective

Whakapapa is 'a way of being based on complex networks that encompass all forms of life, interlinked and co-emergent' that help us explore 'relational ways of understanding the interactions between people and the land, other life forms, waterways and the ocean' (Salmond, 2017, p. 3). *Whakapapa* literally means to layer (Moorfield, 2011). It refers specifically to tiers of genealogical descent and the connections between these that take the form of a genealogical table (Moorfield, 2011). However, philosophically and theoretically, I use *whakapapa* in a very broad way to denote and describe the layers of connection stemming from the literature outlined in this thesis. For the purposes of this research, both of these meanings of *whakapapa* have been used. *Whakapono* refers to belief, religiosity and faith (Moorfield, 2011).

In conducting this research, I cannot be separated from my *whakapapa*—my genealogical locatedness. I use the term hereditary entanglement to reflect this inseparability as it applies to the broader context of Māori research. Invariably, Māori researchers whose *whakapapa* connects them intimately to a research project are entangled in that research. Because the intersection of my own *whakapapa* and *whakapono* is central to this research, I am enmeshed unequivocally and inescapably within it.

In the same way that I cannot be separated from my research, my *whakapapa* cannot be separated from my *whakapono*. Through my maternal grandmother, Rēpora Marion Brown, known simply to me as Nan, I descend from the Patuheuheu *hapū*—a sub-tribe of the Ngāi Tūhoe *iwi*—Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare. Through her husband, my maternal grandfather, Edward Tapuirikawa Brown, known to me as Papa, I descend from Ngāti Porou. My father, Wiremu Parekura Rangiwai, is also of Ngāti Porou heritage. These *whakapapa* connections are spliced with *whakapono*. My Ngāi Tūhoe and Ngāti Whare *whakapapa* are linked to Ringatū; my Ngāti Manawa *whakapapa* to Te Hāhi Katorika, or Catholicism; and my Ngāti Porou *whakapapa* to Te Hāhi Mihinare, or Anglicanism. These connections mean that my *whakapapa* and *whakapono*—my identity and my faith-world—are underpinned by pre-Christian Māori spirituality that emanates from a world of *wairua* (spirit): a realm beyond fleshly perceptions and human religious constructs.

My *whakapapa* and *whakapono* also define the research space. They communicate with the *whakapapa* and *whakapono* of those who willingly and graciously participated as interviewees, and with the *whakapapa* and *whakapono* of the Māori authors who influenced this work. My *whakapapa* and *whakapono* also communicate with the *whakapapa*—in the broadest theoretical and philosophical sense—and the *whakapono* of the non-Māori writers of the literature outlined in this thesis. This

communication, and the use of *whakapapa* and *whakapono* as analytical lenses, allows me to demonstrate the positive effects of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori.

In this sense, my *whakapapa* and *whakapono* is a network of interconnected and interdependent matrices that intersect, like the myriad facets of Te Kooti's diamond (see Binney, 1984), to expose new revelations through the research process. My *whakapapa* and *whakapono* perspective has shaped the ways in which I have searched for 'meaning beyond the obvious' (Braun et al., 2019, p. 853).

My *whakapapa* represents the layers of my genealogy as a descendant of *Atua*. Through *whakapapa*, I have connected with the genealogies of my research participants and I have navigated through layers of meaning in the recordings and transcripts on a philosophical level. My *whakapono*, while underpinned by *wairuatanga* (spirituality), draws in international theological threads from Europe, the Middle East, India, Asia and elsewhere. *Whakapono* provides me with the spiritual understanding needed to engage with and extrapolate meaning from texts in unique ways. Together, *whakapapa* and *whakapono* set the parameters of the faith-world within which I operate, with profound significance for my research on the effects of syncretism on the development of Christianity among Māori.

2.3 Syncretistic Beginnings

I was raised within a highly syncretistic theological context, in which the remnants of ancient Māori traditions mixed seamlessly with Christianity. From an early stage, my faith-world was permeated with mysticism, healing, *wairua* (spirits), *kaitiaki* (spiritual guardians) and *mate Māori* (psychospiritual illnesses), along with Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican and Pentecostal prayers and practices. Important practices came from the Catholic family of my great-grandfather, Hāpurona, including abstinence from meat on Friday and praying the Rosary. Although Hāpurona himself was not devout, his mother,

Rangimaewa Fitzgerald, was. As reported by my grandmother, Rēpora, her grandmother, Rangimaewa, frequently fasted, prayed the Rosary and consumed fish instead of meat on Friday. Rangimaewa was of Ngāti Manawa and Irish descent, and Catholicism is a major denomination in Murupara, the home of the Ngāti Manawa.

My great-grandparents, Hāpurona Maki Nātana and Pare Koekoeā Rikiriki, were, respectively, Roman Catholic and Ringatū—a syncretistic and prophetic Māori faith that emerged in the 1830s with the teachings of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki. Their children were baptised alternately Ringatū and Catholic: the first child was Ringatū, the next was Catholic, and so on. Unlike the others, the youngest sibling was baptised Presbyterian, but practised as a devout Ringatū. My maternal grandmother, Rēpora, was the eldest daughter, preceded by two sons. Although baptised Catholic, the second son followed the Pentecostal path, or *pakipaki* (to clap)—a term referring to the tendency of Pentecostals to clap their hands during worship.

The Ringatū faith of my grandmother originally emerged from the intersections of colonisation, land loss and missionary Christianity. Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki was an Anglican and had pursued a clerical life. He knew the scriptures and drew upon them—particularly the Old Testament—as a foundation for his new faith. He recognised similarities between Māori experiences and the story of the ancient Israelites and used these to encourage his followers to look to the future with the hope that, someday, Jehovah would deliver them all. My grandmother insisted on blessing all her *mokopuna* (grandchildren) whenever we travelled away from Murupara. She would sprinkle us with water from the Whirinaki River, making the sign of the cross on our foreheads while invoking the protection of Ihowā—Jehovah.

To my maternal grandmother's *hapū*, Patuheuheu, Te Kooti delivered a prophecy in 1886 at a place named Te Houhi. In the prophecy of Te Umutaoroa—the Slow-Cooking Earth Oven—Te Kooti promised that his child or successor would one day come to reveal

an earth oven from which eight *mauri* (lifeforces) would emerge. They would restore what had been brutally lost to Harry Burt, a Pākehā (European) fraudster who spoke *te reo Māori* and manipulated both people and *whakapapa* to take ownership of the land. Te Kooti's prophecy addressed that desperate situation by creating a new theology of hope within and extending beyond his Ringatū faith.

Christianity is part of Māori life. It is mixed with pre-contact elements of our culture. At a *tangihanga*, one might see *tikanga* embrace and hold together a fusion of processes, symbols and codes in one place—the *marae*—at the same time. The *wharenui*—opened with pre-Christian incantations performed by a *tohunga* (priestly expert; practitioner of *karakia tahito*—pre-Christian Māori incantations), who hides an object, fortified with a *mauri* (lifeforce)—is used as a church for Christian prayer. The priest or minister leads the Lord's Prayer in Māori and familiar *hīmene* (hymns), such as 'Tama ngākau mārie' and 'Whakāria mai', are sung above the strains of weeping and wailing. The *marae ātea*—a space for *whaikōrero* and the domain of the *Atua* Tūmataunga—is similarly used like a church during *tangihanga*. The *tūpāpaku* (corpse) is in a place of importance, surrounded by close relatives, with a priest or minister and *kaumātua* (elders) nearby and other mourners arranged in rows, with an aisle down the middle of the *marae ātea* leading to the *waharoa* (gateway).

Before colonisation, our indigenous spirituality mirrored our cultural and spiritual relationships with the environment. Our belief system is based on *ngā Atua*, located within the world around us, which refers to ancestor deities with continuing influence over particular domains (Moorfield, 2011). Many authors capitalise the word *Atua* when referring to the Christian God and do not capitalise the word when referring to *ngā Atua*. However, following the example of Davidson (2004), I capitalise it in both instances. Since the arrival of Christianity to Aotearoa New Zealand in the early 19th century, Māori have tried to make sense of Christian theology and to adapt it to our needs. From the early

1830s, many syncretistic Māori prophet movements emerged to resist the inevitable loss of land under British colonisation. The prophets saw parallels between themselves and Israel and looked to the liberation theology of the Old Testament for inspiration and hope. Within mainstream Christian movements too, we engaged with Christianity in uniquely Māori ways, filtering and syncretising the new theology through and with our *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* epistemologies.

2.4 Upraised Hands: Patuheuheu, Ngāti Whare, Ngāi Tūhoe and the Ringatū Faith

As I was raised in a Ringatū faith context, it is important here to understand Te Kooti's life and ministry, as this lays the foundation for the religion that he left behind: the one that has informed my faith. The central theme of Te Kooti's ministry is the notion that Māori must hold on to their land. The enigmatic ideas left behind by Te Kooti as prophecy—as *waiata* (songs) and in other forms—can be interpreted in multiple ways. However, to decode meaning within them, it is crucial to analyse his words using spiritual and political lenses.

Te Kooti's birth was prophesied by the *matakite* (prophet, seer, clairvoyant) Toiroa (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997; Elsmore, 2008; Tarei, 2011). According to Tarei (2011), Toiroa said to Turakau, the prophet's mother, 'my child is within you; lightning in hell; lightning in heaven; the Lord of heaven in the man' (p. 140). While Elsmore (2008) claimed that Te Kooti was born in 1830, one account from Delamere asserted that he was born in 1814 (Binney, 1997), which coincides with the arrival of Christianity through the Anglicans. According to Tarei (2011), Te Kooti may have been born in 1812, 1814 or 1830.

Te Kooti claimed Toiroa was his ancestor (Binney, 1997). Toiroa associated the birth of Te Kooti, who was originally named Arikirangi, with darkness. He expressed this in the following *waiata*:

Tiwaha tiwaha te pō.

Ko te Pakerewhā

Ko Arikirangi tenei ra te haere nei.

Dark, dark is the night.

There is the Pakerewhā

There is Arikirangi to come. (Te Kooti, 1866–1890)

Te Kooti was connected to the predicted arrival of Pākehā, an event associated with evil and the coming of a new God: ‘*Te ingoa o to ratou Atua, ko Tama-i-rorokutia, he Atua pai, otira, ka ngaro anō te tangata.* The name of their God will be Tama-i-rorokutia (Son-who-was-killed), a good God; however, the people will still be oppressed’ (Binney, 1997, p. 12).

Te Kooti’s troublesome childhood was no less dramatic than the prophesies of his birth, as his father attempted to kill him many times (Binney, 1997). His ability to escape these attempts became one of his defining traits (Mackay, 1949). Consecrated to Tūmataunga, the *Atua* of war, Te Kooti was educated at *whare wānanga* (traditional place of higher learning) in which *tohunga* (priestly experts) taught history, genealogy and religious practices to the sons of *rangatira* (chiefs).

Te Kooti received a Christian education through the Anglican Church and, by the early 1850s, he had been exposed to three major denominations: the Anglican, Catholic and Wesleyan churches (Binney, 1997). He received an Anglican baptism under the name Te Kooti, a transliteration of ‘Coates’. There are several explanations for why Te Kooti chose this name. It was the name of the lay secretary of the Church Mission Society, C. Dande(r)son Coates (Binney, 1997; Mackay, 1949), which Te Kooti had seen on official

notices during a trading trip to Auckland (Cowan, 1938). However, according to Williams (1999), Te Kooti told James Cowan that ‘Te Kooti was the transliteration of “By Order of the Court”’ (p. 76), the irony of which, Williams comments, must have amused him.

Te Kooti obtained Pākehā education through the Anglican mission and gained an intimate knowledge of the Bible (Binney, 1997; Elsmore, 2008; Greenwood, 1942; Tarei, 2011). According to Mackay (1949), he was an established horseman and engaged in various occupations including farm, bush work and work at sea on several schooners. The skills Te Kooti gained through his work at sea would be beneficial in the future, when he and many others escaped imprisonment on a remote outer island on a schooner (Binney, 1997). According to Tarei (2011):

Some people have said this [the mission school] is where he got his knowledge of scripture. But I do not believe it. His breadth and depth of knowledge—his understanding of scripture—was far greater than any missionary could have given him. It was inspiration. (p. 140)

Although he aspired to be an Anglican clergyman, by 1852, Te Kooti had become infamous in the Tūranga tribal area for his involvement with a group of young Māori protesting over land rights, looting and charging pasturage and anchorage to settlers (Binney, 1997). Te Kooti’s involvement in the land politics of the 1850s and early 1860s at Tūranga hindered the progress of settlers and challenged the chiefs of Rongowhakaata and Ngāti Maru (a *hapū* of Rongowhakaata). In return, these leaders played a significant role in sending Te Kooti to prison on the Chatham Islands in 1866 (Binney, 1997).

From 1860, the *iwi* of the Waikato and Taranaki areas were at war with the Crown. However, the Tūranga chiefs made it their policy to remain neutral to maintain control (Binney, 1997). The determined independence of the Tūranga chiefs ensured they did not join the Kīngitanga movement—a Māori political institution founded in 1858 that sought

to unify Māori under one native sovereign—and continued to regulate European settlement (Binney, 1997).

In 1865, the Pai Mārire religious movement spread to Tūranga (Binney, 1997; Salmond, 1976). The Pai Mārire claimed to come in peace, and it was their intention to unite the Māori under one authority (Binney, 1997). However, civil war broke out and the Crown provided arms to one side to serve their own interests (Binney, 1997). While it remains unclear which side Te Kooti fought on, it is likely he acted out of concern for land at Tūranga (Binney, 1997).

Accused of being a Hauhau—a member of the Pai Mārire movement, Te Kooti was arrested in 1866 (Binney, 1997; Elsmore, 2008; Salmond, 1976; Tarei, 2011; Walker, 2004) and on 5 June 1866, he was sent to Wharekauri (Chatham Islands) (Binney, 1997; Elsmore, 2008; Tarei, 2011; Walker, 2004). Figure 4 shows Māori Hauhau prisoners on the Napier foreshore, awaiting transportation to Wharekauri. Te Kooti is believed to be among this group. When the prisoners arrived at Wharekauri, they were posted at Waitangi (Binney, 1997; ‘Prisoners’ Work List 1’, March 1866–1867; Russell, 1866). The prisoners were considered *whakarau* (political offenders) and were incarcerated without trial (Rolleston, 1868; Wellington Independent, 1869).

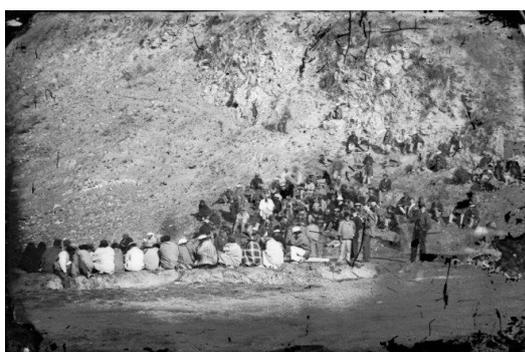


Figure 4. Māori Hauhau prisoners on Napier foreshore (Robson, 1866).

Conditions on the island were harsh, resulting in high rates of illness and death among the captives (Binney, 1997). According to Belich, ‘Te Kooti and his fellow exiles found life on the Chathams hard and cold ... abuse and beatings were common, and the

guards spent most of their time drunk' (McRae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.). Greenwood (1942) stated:

The prisoners were forced to under-go medical inspection of an obscene nature, and much cruelty and immorality was reported ... the stories handed down of the behaviour of the guards are not flattering to the *Pākehā*, especially as the Māori was making some semblance of religious observance. (p. 22)

Under these difficult conditions, Te Kooti became unwell. He was treated for chronic asthma and declared unfit for work by a doctor ('Medical report for the month ending 31 March 1867', 1867). During his sickness, Te Kooti studied the books of Joshua, Judges and the Psalms (Greenwood, 1942) and experienced prophetic visions and revelations (Binney, 1997; Elsmore, 2008; Tarei, 2011; Walker, 2004). He claimed the Spirit told him to 'Rise! Come forth! You are spared to be made well, to be the founder of a new church and religion, to be the salvation of the Maori people and to release them from bondage' (Ross, 1966, p. 30). Like Moses, Te Kooti had been called to liberate his followers from oppression. This spurred the beginnings of a new Māori faith (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997; Elsmore, 2008; Ross, 1966; Salmond, 1976; Walker, 2004). Belich claimed that 'it was Te Kooti who restored their hope. ... He began preaching a new religion, called Ringatū—the upraised hand' (McCrae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.).

Te Kooti claimed he was influenced many times by the spirit of God at Wharekauri and that he was a prophet of God (Binney, 1997). Despite solitary confinement, he preached and conducted religious services in secret (Binney, 1997). He developed a commanding influence over most prisoners and convinced them that, by following his faith, they would be delivered from captivity (Binney, 1997; Tarei, 2011).

Within the framework of his faith, Te Kooti instructed the people to discard their Pai Mārire beliefs and look to the scriptures for inspiration. They identified with the bondage suffered by the ancient Israelites under Egyptian rule (Binney, 1997;

Greenwood, 1942) and embraced the Book of Exodus, which promised ‘the return’ (Walzer, 1985).

Belich stated that the ‘prisoners had been told that their exile was temporary and were promised a fair trial. When nothing happened, they began to lose hope; they feared they would never see their homes again’ (McCrae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.). When the prisoners realised their imprisonment was not temporary and that their lands were under threat of government confiscation, Te Kooti’s teachings were absorbed more readily, accelerating the growth of the Ringatū following (Binney, 1997).

When Te Kooti’s ministry took hold in 1868, the people became increasingly dissatisfied with their predicament. They fixated on leaving the island, drawing strength from Te Kooti’s predictions of escape (Binney, 1997). Te Kooti predicted the sign for escape would be two ships in the harbour, which came to pass on 3 July 1868, when the schooner *Rifleman* and the small ketch *Florence* were both in the harbour (Auckland Star, 1914; Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997).

Te Kooti’s flag was hoisted over the prisoner’s quarters, signalling the prisoners to undertake his plan of escape (Binney, 1997). Te Kooti and his followers seized the *Rifleman*, telling the crew their lives would be spared if they took the prisoners back to Aotearoa New Zealand, which they agreed to do (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997).

On 9 July 1868, the *Rifleman* arrived south of Poverty Bay at the relatively empty Whareongaonga. From the perspective of the escapees, Jehovah had delivered them to the mainland (Binney, 1997; Greenwood, 1942; Walker, 2004). Elsmore (2008) maintained:

Te Kooti’s escape with his band of followers from their place of exile, over the sea to their native land, was to their mind very much a latter-day flight out of Egypt, with the ship (the *Rifleman*) a veritable ark of deliverance. It is said that

the prophet stated when he boarded the boat, ‘the day, the vessel, the salvation, are from God’. (p. 135)

His followers were instructed to fast until the ship was unloaded and a pig and chicken were sacrificed as a burnt offering to the Lord (Binney, 1997), during which Te Kooti’s adherents stood in prayer with their right hands raised in praise to God—a physical gesture that would remain entrenched in Te Kooti’s Ringatū faith (Binney, 1997). Although Te Kooti initially instructed his followers to bind their newborn babies to the firewood in preparation for sacrifice, just like the story of Abraham’s sacrifice, this was a test, and the chicken and pig were sacrificed instead (Binney, 1997).

On 14 July 1868, Te Kooti and his followers left Whareongaonga on a slow and arduous journey to the King Country (Waikato) to peacefully enact a new prophetic order (Binney, 1997). Te Kooti would only fight if attacked (Kempthorne, 1868; Williams, 1868). He intended to challenge King Tāwhiao—the political and spiritual leader of the Kīngitanga movement (Auckland Star, 1914).

Te Kooti’s war began on 20 July 1868, when government troops and Māori were defeated at Pāparatū (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997). Numerous advantages contributed to Te Kooti’s success. His efficacious escape from Wharekauri was proof to his followers that he wielded authority and power from God (Binney, 1997). Te Kooti also had an exhaustive knowledge of the local topography and the ability to deal effectively with Pākehā (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997). Further successes were attained on 24 July 1868 at Te Kōneke and 8 August 1868 at Ruakituri Gorge (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997). In these battles, Te Kooti was shot in the ankle and retired to Puketapu, near Lake Waikaremoana, where he was joined by a few Tūhoe from Te Whāiti (Binney, 1997).

After King Tāwhiao rejected Te Kooti’s request to enter his territories (Binney, 1997), Te Kooti returned home to Poverty Bay, to his lands at Matawhero, only to find

that some of his lands were in the possession of magistrate Reginald Biggs (Binney, 1997; Walker, 2004).

On 9 November 1868, Te Kooti attacked Matawhero and a neighbouring village, killing 50–60 people (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997; Walker, 2004). Te Kooti was exact in selecting those to be killed; Biggs and Captain James Wilson were ‘Pharaoh’s overseers’ (Binney, 1997). Biggs, his wife, his child and their nurse were killed and bayoneted; their house and Wilson’s house were among the first to be burned. Te Kooti sought to destroy anyone who wronged him. According to Binney (1997), all those killed were shot or bludgeoned and then impaled with a sword or bayonet. The use of the sword refers to Book of Psalms passages, which Te Kooti instructed his men to sing:

But those that seek my soul, to destroy it, shall go into the lower parts of the earth.

They shall fall by the sword: they shall be a portion for foxes.

But the king shall rejoice in God; every one that sweareth by him shall glory: but the mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped. (Psalms 63:9–11 KJV)

The events of November 1868 were believed by some to partially fulfil Toiroa’s prophecy about the darkness associated with Te Kooti. They were carefully planned by Te Kooti (Binney, 1997). The Pākehā men were killed because of their involvement in the militia and because they were living on land to which Te Kooti had legitimate claim. The Māori were killed because of their disloyalty and their readiness to collaborate with the government’s land schemes. Māori and Pākehā women and children were killed during warfare (Binney, 1997).

Te Kooti’s desire to seek *utu* against those who wronged him is reflective of the Old Testament, such as the vengeful actions of King Saul (Comay, 2002; Winiata, 1967; 1 Samuel 23 KJV). Sometimes simply translated as revenge, *utu* is the process of restoring balance between groups in which social relations have been disturbed (Moorfield, 2011). The Māori concept of *utu* justified acting to restore balance. Old Testament law offered

further validation for reprisal in the name of Jehovah (Elsmore, 2008) and provided justification for revenge: ‘thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe’ (Exodus 21:23–25 KJV).

Te Kooti and his entourage of 500–800 people, including a fighting force of approximately 200, moved through Poverty Bay, raiding and gathering supplies and approximately 300 Māori captives (Binney, 1997). A contingent comprising Ngāti Porou and government troops pushed Te Kooti to Ngātapa *pā* (fort).

An assault on Te Kooti and his followers at Ngātapa commenced on 5 December 1868 and the fighting continued for the following month (Newland, 1868). When it appeared that Te Kooti’s defences had been breached (Binney, 1997), he and his followers attempted to escape by lowering themselves down the northern cliffs (see Kotuku, 1921), a route thought impossible to take (Whitmore, 1868). Although Te Kooti escaped, many of his group were captured and shot (Binney, 1997).

After the battle at Ngātapa, Te Kooti and his followers took refuge in the Te Urewera area (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997; Walker, 2004) and, at Tāwhana, Ngāi Tūhoe sealed a pact with Te Kooti, on what was thought to be 20 March 1869, that strengthened the latter’s resolve in his prophetic mission (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997). Binney (1997) disputed this date. Her historical calculations indicated the more likely date as 2 March 1869, as Te Kooti was at Tāwhana at this time, but was elsewhere on 20 March. According to Binney (1997), Tūhoe ‘gave him their land and their loyalty’ (p. 154), probably symbolically as a token of their link. In return, Te Kooti established a covenant with Tūhoe, similar to the promises made between Jehovah and Moses in the Old Testament:

You drew me out of darkness. You have sent the people into the flames of the fire, into the tests, since the landing [this] has gone on. Listen, this is what *I have to*

say, ‘I take you as my people, and I will be your God; you will know that I am Jehovah’. You are the people of the covenant. (Binney, 1997, p. 154)

The biblical similarity Binney (1997) refers to is probably found in the Book of Exodus 6:7 (KJV): ‘and I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God: and ye shall know that I am the Lord your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians’.

On 10 April 1869, Te Kooti attacked Mōhaka in the northern Hawke’s Bay area (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997). Painted on a rafter inside Tama-ki-Hikurangi *wharenuī* at Patuheuheu *marae* in Waiōhau is a motif that ‘shows the act of bayoneting, following Psalm 63, understood to refer to the killings at Mōhaka in 1869’ (see Figure 5; Binney, 1997). During this attack by Te Kooti, ‘people were caught sleeping and all were killed, even babies, who were thrown up in the air and bayoneted’ (Neich, 1993, p. 261).



Figure 5. Bayonet scene on heke (rafter) inside Tama-ki-Hikurangi wharenuī, Patuheuheu marae, Waiōhau

Through covenant, Tūhoe were committed to defending their prophet. However, Colonel G. S. Whitmore initiated a scorched earth policy aimed at terminating Tūhoe’s capacity to protect Te Kooti (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997; Walker, 2004; Whitmore, 1869). Major Rōpata Wahawaha’s Ngāti Porou forces moved in as well, capturing refugees, razing Tūhoe villages and destroying crops (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997). Due

to the tragedies suffered by Tūhoe, Te Kooti was asked to leave their territory (Binney, 1997).

Throughout 1869, Te Kooti travelled across the country, simultaneously attempting to fight the Crown, lead his people and garner support for unhindered passage or fighters for his cause (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997; Elsmore, 2008). Between 1870 and 1871, the Tūhoe chiefs were compelled to surrender when their homes and food supplies were plundered by Māori forces from Te Arawa, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou. These Māori were both fulfilling the requirements of *utu* for past grievances and serving the Crown's agenda (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997). Although Te Kooti predicted that Tūhoe would betray him (Binney, 1997), Belich (1986) asserted that this did not occur. It is certain that Te Kooti's understanding of Pākehā, coupled with staunch support from Tūhoe, helped him escape (Alves, 1999; Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997).

Te Kooti continued to evade his pursuers. On 15 May 1872, he arrived in the King Country, where he asked for refuge at Tokangamutu (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997). The King Country, ruled by the Kīngitanga, was off limits to the government and settlers at this time. In September 1873, when Te Kooti accepted Tāwhiao's policy of peace (unless under attack), he was granted protection (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997).

Te Kooti lived in Te Kuiti from 1873 until 1883. Here, he developed the rituals, festivals, texts, prayers, *hīmene* and *waiata* of the Ringatū faith. In 1883, at the insistence of Rewi Maniapoto, Te Kooti was pardoned by the Crown, but was never allowed to return to Poverty Bay. He lived in exile for the remainder of his life (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1997; Greenwood, 1942). Te Kooti then founded a religious community. He attempted to make peace with his enemies and instructed his followers to understand the law, claiming that only the law can be used against the law (Binney, 1997). By 1891, Te Kooti's associations with King Tāwhiao and Rewi Maniapoto had weakened so much that Te Kooti once again rejected the Kīngitanga (Binney, 1997).

Te Kooti negotiated with the Crown for land on which to establish a settlement for himself and his followers. In 1891, he was given 600 acres at Wainui on the Ōhiwa Harbour (Binney, 1997). In February 1893, Te Kooti travelled to his new settlement. On the way, a cart under which he was resting fell on him. As he prophesied, this accident would ultimately cause his death (Binney, 1997; Tarei, 2011). Te Kooti died on 17 April 1893 in Rūātoki, but his body was hidden by faithful followers (Binney, 1997; Greenwood, 1942; Williams, 1999). After a turbulent youth, and having lived through a political and blood-drenched war, Te Kooti spent the final two decades of his life devoted to peace, the law and the gospel (Binney, 1997).

One of the most significant of Te Kooti's *waiata* relating to the ways in which my identities as Patuheuheu, Ngāti Whare and Ngāi Tūhoe interact is *Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa*. According to McLean and Orbell (2004), Te Kooti visited Tūhoe and composed and performed this *waiata tohutohu* (song of instruction) in 1883 in support of the *iwi*'s stand against aggressive land surveying by Pākehā. In the case of this *waiata*, McLean and Orbell (2004), claimed that it can also be described as a *waiata matakite* (prophetic song).

However, Binney (2009a) argued that, after 1872, Te Kooti did not revisit Te Urewera until 1884. She assigns the performance of his prophetic *waiata* to the opening of the Marakoko *wharenui*—built in Te Kooti's honour by Ngāti Whare and Tūhoe at Te Murumurunga near Te Whāiti—in January 1884. However, in his prophetic fashion, Te Kooti changed the name of the *wharenui* to Eripitana (Binney, 2009a; see Figure 6), which is known in Te Kooti's secret glossolalic language—*te reo kē* (other/strange language). In one interpretation from 1883, this name meant: 'The Prediction of One to Follow' (Binney, 1997, p. 612, n. 59), while, in a much earlier 1869 prophecy, it referred to the promise of the salvation of the people (Binney, 1997).



Figure 6. Eripitana whareniui, 1891 (Thomas, 1891).

As Te Kooti approached the *whareniui*, his horse shied, and he noticed an inverted carved figure. Salmond (1976) claimed that the carver of Eripitana had ‘accidentally inverted a carving motif’ (p. 67). Salmond (1976) implied that it was owing to the error of the inverted carving that Te Kooti expressed his prophetic words on the *pou mua*—a front post of the *whareniui* (Moorfield, 2011; see Figure 7): ‘its wide mouth turned upside-down, ready to devour everything around it’ (Binney, 1997, p. 326). Te Kooti then uttered a prophecy of destruction:

Kāinga katoatia a ko te paepae o te whare nei ki roto [ka] kati tonu hei huihuinga mo nga morehu.

It will be completely consumed, and only the threshold of this house inside will remain as the meeting place for the survivors. (Binney, 1997, p. 326)



Figure 7. Inverted pou mua of Eripitana wharenuui, 1970 (Mead, 1970).

Binney (1995) claimed that this prophecy soon became associated with land loss at Te Whāiti. These stories are well known by the elders of Ngāti Whare because of the way in which the history is embedded and immortalised within Te Kooti’s prophecy. The late Robert Taylor, an esteemed elder of Ngāti Whare, opined:

It’s well documented about the prophecy of Te Kooti on how he came up in here and when his horse shied at seeing this *tekoteko* here and then he came out with the prophecy about Ngāti Whare: ‘Your lands will be lost to foreigners’—which was the Crown. (Hakaraia & Stephens, 2013, n. p.)

The *tekoteko* refers to a carved figure on the gable of a *wharenuui* (Moorfield, 2011). According to Binney (1995), the *waiata* was probably composed as a response to Tūhoe’s request for their lands to be under the protection of Te Kooti’s spiritual authority.

Te Kooti’s *waiata tohutohu* begins:

Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa!

Te ohonga ki te ao, rapu kau noa ahau.

Ko te mana tuatahi ko te Tiriti o Waitangi,

Ko te mana tuarua ko te Kooti Whenua,

Ko te mana tuatoru ko te Mana Motuhake,

Ka kīia i reira ko te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe,

He rongo ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa.

He kino anō rā ka āta kitea iho

Ngā mana Māori ka mahue kei muri!

Alas for this troubled night!

Waking to the world I search about in vain.

The first authority is the Treaty of Waitangi,

The second authority is the Land Court,

The third authority is the Separate Mana,

Hence the Rohe Pōtae (Encircling Borders) of Tūhoe.

A peace made with Ngāti Awa.

It would indeed be an evil thing

To abandon the mana of Māori! (Binney, 2009a, p. 269)

Te Kooti critically reflects on the three authorities that affected the Tūhoe people: the *mana* (authority) of the Treaty of Waitangi, which Tūhoe did not sign; the *mana* of the land court; and the ‘separate *mana*’—Tūhoe’s *mana* over *te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe*—the encircling borders of Tūhoe (Binney, 1997, 2009a). Clearly, Te Kooti was aware of the political implications of these three authorities and the devastating effects they would have on Tūhoe. According to Binney (2009a), ‘the Treaty and the land court were “creations” of the new world, shaping and influencing the people’s choices; the Rohe Pōtae of Tūhoe was their “separate mana”, standing apart’ (p. 270). In the lines, ‘*He kino anō rā ka āta kitea iho/Ngā mana Māori ka mahue kei muri!*’ (Binney, 2009a, p. 269), Te Kooti warns that it would be wrong to forsake the *mana* of Māori. This is sometimes interpreted as a forewarning that Tūhoe authority over the *rohe pōtae* (tribal territory) would be manipulated and redefined under Pākehā law.

In the line, ‘*He rongo ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa*’, Te Kooti reminds Tūhoe of the 1830s *tatau pounamu* between Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa, which is an enduring peace

agreement. This peace treaty was negotiated by my fifth-great-grandfather, the Ngāti Rongo and Patuheuheu chief Koura, who represented Tūhoe, and the Ngāti Pahipoto chief, Hātua, who represented Ngāti Awa (Boast, 2002; Mead & Phillis, 1982). Te Kooti's reminder to Tūhoe could be interpreted as a political strategy, suggesting that continued peace between the tribes should be maintained to channel collective strength against the forces of colonisation. Te Kooti's *waiata tohutohu* continues:

Ka uru nei au ki te ture Kaunihera,

E rua aku mahi e noho nei au:

Ko te hanga i ngā rori, ko te hanga i ngā tiriti!

Pūkohu tāiri ki Pōneke rā,

Ki te kāinga rā i noho ai te Minita

When I submit to the law of the Council,

There are two things I would do:

Building roads, and building streets!

Yonder the fog hangs over Wellington,

The home of the Minister. (Binney, 2009a, pp. 269–270)

Te Kooti admonishes Tūhoe that if they accept '*te ture Kaunihera*' (the law of the Council), they would be forced to build the very roads and streets that they opposed so vehemently (Binney, 1997), which would slice through and literally 'open up' the land to Pākehā invasion (Binney, 2009a). His *waiata* resumes:

Ki taku whakaaro ka tae mai te Poari

Hai noho i te whenua o Kootitia nei;

Pā rawa te mamae ki te tau o taku ate.

E te iwi nui, tū ake i runga rā,

Tirohia mai rā te hē o aku mahi!

I fear that the [Land] Board will come

To occupy this land adjudicated by the Court,

And I am sick at heart.

Oh great people, stand forth

Examine whether my works are wrong! (Binney, 2009a, pp. 269–270)

Te Kooti warned Tūhoe about the government boards that sought power over Māori lands (Binney, 2009a). In the 1884 historical context, Binney (2009a) maintained that this is probably a reference to the wasteland boards that were established in 1876, with the power to control Māori lands that were leased, purchased or confiscated by the Crown. However, Binney (2009a) also contended that the meanings extrapolated from Te Kooti's *waiata* 'present to different times different premonitions' (p. 27). Therefore, when the reference to the boards is interpreted from a future perspective, it can be associated with the Māori land boards (Binney, 2009a). The Māori land boards were designed to oversee the extensive land acquisition for the Crown and were established under the *Māori Land Settlement Act 1905* when it was realised that voluntary leasing of Māori land was not meeting Crown targets (Hill, 2004). According to Binney (2009a), these boards were 'powerful and bureaucratic', taking land away from Māori 'through partition, vestments, and piecemeal purchase' (p. 270).

In concluding his *waiata tohutohu*, Te Kooti advises the people not to sell, but to remain on their lands:

Māku e kī atu, 'Nōhia, nōhia!'

Nō mua iho anō, nō ngā kaumātua!

Nā taku ngākau i kimi ai ki te Ture,

Nā konei hoki au i kino ai ki te hoko!

Hii! Hai aha te hoko!

I say to you, 'Stay, Stay!'

It comes from former ages, from your ancestors!

Because my heart has searched out the Law,

For this reason I abhor selling!

Hii! Why sell! (Binney, 2009a, pp. 269–270)

In the line, ‘*Nā taku ngākau i kimi ai ki te Ture*’, Te Kooti claimed to have examined the ‘Law’ with his *ngākau* or mind–heart, finding that it was iniquitous for the land to be sold (Binney, 1997). McLean and Orbell (2004) claimed that Te Kooti’s use of the word *ture*, or law, refers to his religious beliefs and teachings. Meanwhile, according to Moorfield (2011), *ngākau* refers to the seat of affections, heart and mind. However, Salmond’s (1985) definition of *ngākau* as mind–heart, or the entrails where thought and feeling are manifested, is used here.

At the end of Te Kooti’s visit to Eripitana, he and some Te Urewera leaders travelled to Te Teko and Whakatāne. The leaders offered Te Kooti *mana* over the *rohe pōtae* lands (Binney 2009a). However, Te Kooti stated that he did not want their lands, but advised them constantly and consistently to remain on and take care of them (Binney, 2009a), emphasising the crucial importance of the critical and tactical thinking embedded within this *waiata*.

While Te Kooti’s ministry began in resistance and bloodshed, it ended in peace as ‘the prophets had turned to pacifism as an alternative means of expressing the Maori dynamic of self-determination’ (Walker, 1984, p. 271). After four years of violence and successfully using guerrilla tactics to avoid capture, Te Kooti retreated in peace. According to Belgrave (2018), ‘after his escape into the sanctuary of the Rohe Pōtae, he peaceably promoted the building of new marae until he was formally pardoned in 1883’ (p. 215). Te Kooti inspired the building of the *wharenuī* Tama-ki-Hikurangi, once located at Te Houhi and later moved to Waiōhau following Patuheuheu’s loss of their land at Te Houhi. When Patuheuheu lost their land, Te Kooti gifted to them a prophecy called Te Umutaoroa—the Slow-Cooking Earth Oven.

2.5 Te Umutaoroa: Te Kooti's Slow-Cooking Earth Oven

In the 19th century, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare occupied the Te Houhi, Waiōhau and Horomanga areas (Binney, 2009a). Patuheuheu *hapū* were followers of Te Kooti, whom the Crown considered a rebel. This association resulted in the *hapū* being forced by the government to leave its home in the Rangitaiki Valley and the imprisonment of its members at Te Pūtere, near Matatā in the eastern Bay of Plenty (Binney, 2001b, 2003, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995). Binney (2003) described Te Pūtere as like a concentration camp:

I used the term 'concentration' camp because people were 'concentrated' there. Everyone agreed it was bad land, situated amongst sand dunes, and unsuitable for cultivation. It was a 'concentration camp' for people who were forced to live largely on government handouts of potatoes until they went home in 1872–73. (pp. 2–3)

In 1872, the Patuheuheu *hapū* were released and returned to their lands at Te Houhi, which became their main *kāinga* (home) (Arapere, 2002; Binney, 2001b, 2003, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995). By most accounts, the *wharenuī* Tama-ki-Hikurangi, 'a meeting house built for Te Kooti at Te Houhi (near Galatea) by the Patuheuheu people, a *hapū* of Tūhoe' (Binney, 1997; see also Neich, 1993), was commissioned there. On 28 November 1893, Te Houhi School was opened (Stokes, Milroy & Melbourne, 1986) with Mēhaka Tokopounamu—my third great grandfather—as the first school chairman (Binney, 2009a). After Patuheuheu's exodus from Te Houhi in 1907, a school was opened in their new settlement at Waiōhau on 6 May 1918 (Binney, 2009b). Mēhaka Tokopounamu's son, Rikiriki Mēhaka, was the chairman of the school committee (see Simon & Smith, 2001).

With their homes and a school in place, the community of Te Houhi would have seemed stable and secure, particularly in contrast to the dreadful conditions endured at Te

Pūtere. However, the 1880s, 1890s and early 20th century brought great uncertainty for Patuheuheu as the colonial maps that demarcated the land were redrawn yet again. A ruinous act of deceit was on the horizon and Patuheuheu's home and way of life was again at risk. Harry Burt, a licensed Native Land Court interpreter and supposed friend of the prophet Te Kooti, coordinated duplicitous land transactions in the mid-1880s that ultimately led to the displacement of Patuheuheu from their land at Te Houhi in 1907 (Binney, 1997, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Boast, 2008).

Harry Burt, or Hare Paati as he was known to the *hapū*, was not Māori (Auckland Star, 1905, p. 5), but was a speaker of *te reo Māori* and worked as an interpreter for the Native Land Court (Binney, 1997, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Boast, 2008). The Native Land Court system—an effective instrument for alienating Māori from their land—was used by Burt to underhandedly acquire the land from beneath the *hapū* (Binney, 1997, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Boast, 2008). This event is known as the Waiōhau Fraud (Boast, 2002).

Binney (2001b) contended that Harry Burt belonged to a “sub-culture”: a visible group of early settled Pākehā men who lived with Māori women’ (p. 162) and spoke the native language. Burt was a trickster who hid behind a cloak of colonial hybridity (Binney, 1997, 2001b, 2010) and ‘claimed friendship and more—kinship—with Māori He was a manipulator, who created a mood and experience of confidence and trust. He was a swindler who outmanoeuvred a prophet’ (Binney, 2001b, p. 148).

The block of land on which Te Houhi was located was known in the Native Land Court in 1878 as Waiōhau 1 (Arapere, 2002; Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995). In January 1886, a committee of 12 Tūhoe men, joined by Te Kooti, met with Burt to negotiate. They asked Burt to accept 1000 acres of land to satisfy his land needs (Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010). However, Waiōhau 1 was illegally brought before the court for partition by Burt, operating under the pseudonym Hare Rauparaha (Waiariki Māori Land Court, 1886, 16 February). Using the pseudonym, Burt exploited his position as an

interpreter in the Native Land Court and fabricated a new identity by embezzling *whakapapa* and *mana* from the name of the famous Ngāti Toa chief, Te Rauparaha (Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010). Burt's partition was to establish half of the block—7000 acres—as Waiōhau 1B in the name of two Ngāti Manawa owners: Pani Te Hura, also known as Peraniko Ahuriri, and Hira Te Mumuhu (Binney 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010; Stokes et al., 1986). These men, manipulated by Burt, immediately sold the newly established Waiōhau 1B in the court foyer, witnessed by Judge H. T. Clarke and Harry Burt (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010).

Burt's deceitful acts were examined by a judicial inquiry in 1889, established through a parliamentary recommendation in response to a petition from Mēhaka Tokopounamu and 86 others (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995). The petition claimed that Burt had dishonestly obtained ownership of Waiōhau 1B by coercing people to sell their shares to him (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995). According to Mēhaka Tokopounamu's petition, Burt purchased the shares of at least 40 people (Paul, 1995). Te Kooti renamed Te Houhi to Te Umutaoroa, and told Mēhaka and the other petitioners that Burt's money would be like a pit of rotting potatoes and that he would never gain possession of the land (Binney, 2001b, 2010). However, this prediction was not to come true. Burt's actions included using the signatures of minors, acquiring shares from those who did not own them, purchasing without witnesses, purchasing the shares of deceased persons, getting people drunk and then getting them to sign over their shares, and providing guns and gunpowder (Paul, 1995).

The judicial inquiry ascertained that the Native Land Court's partition order was based on proof given by Māori who were manipulated by Burt (Binney, 2001b, 2010; Paul, 1995). The inquiry was then referred to Judge Wilson who, in 1889, after a lengthy investigation, found that 'Burt behaved fairly toward the natives in the matter of this purchase until they turned against him and placed themselves under the guidance of Te

Kooti' (Paul, 1995, p. 29). This investigation included claims and counterclaims between Patuheuheu and their leaders, Wi Patene and Mēhaka Tokopounamu, Ngāti Manawa's leaders and Harry Burt.

Patuheuheu were unequivocally disadvantaged and impoverished by the court disputes surrounding Te Houhi. The courts eventually recognised that the people of Te Houhi had been severely wronged, but were unwilling to help (Binney, 2001b). The judge stated:

I regret the hardship to the defendants. That they have suffered a grievous wrong is, in my opinion, plain. It is doubly hard that this wrong should have resulted from a miscarriage, which certainly ought to have been avoided, in the very Court which was specially charged with the duty of protecting them in such matters. The plaintiff is, of course, blameless in the matter. (Binney, 2001b, p. 151)

The plaintiff was Margaret Beale, who had acquired title from Margaret Burt, wife of Harry Burt, knowing full well about the fraudulent nature of the original purchase (see Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010).

The land on which Te Houhi was located eventually came to be owned by James Grant, in part because of his own manipulations (Binney, 2001b, 2010). The people had been advised in 1890 by their lawyer, Henry Howorth, that maintaining peaceful and continued occupation of their land would be enough to ensure ownership; the people would only leave if forced (Binney, 2009a). However, when Grant took official ownership of the land in February 1907, he made it difficult for the people to stay by destroying their cultivations. He eventually evicted the people, assisted by the police, in the winter of 1907 (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2007c, 2010; Boast, 2002; Wylie, 1908, cited in Wouden, 1980). Some local narratives maintain that Patuheuheu were evicted at gunpoint. Boast (2002) stated:

The mean-spirited and vindictive James Grant, a local landholder who was apparently driving the entire process, ensured that the eviction process was as complete and demeaning as possible, even preventing them from taking their school house and *wharenu* from the land. (p. 156)

Figure 8 shows some of the individuals involved in this land dispute, including John A. Beale (solicitor for Margaret Beale), the sheriff, R. G. Thomas, and bailiffs serving evictions notices at Te Houhi, December 1905. The local constable Andy Grant is fourth from left, at the rear, with a pipe in his mouth. Beale, wearing a cap, is in the centre. Sergeant William Phair is in front of Grant (Binney, 2010, p. 208).



Figure 8. Native land dispute at Galatea (Auckland Weekly News, 1906).

As well as the school house and *wharenu*, Patuheuheu had to leave behind their church and the sacred bones of their dead (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010). Paul (1995) claimed that the ancestral remains were uplifted and relocated around the time of Patuheuheu's eviction, while Binney (2001b, 2009a, 2010) maintained that Patuheuheu did not return to Te Houhi to collect their ancestral bones until 1924. Some accounts claimed that the government purchased the *wharenu* from Grant for £140 in 1908 (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Boast, 2002; Paul, 1995).

Despite the different stories, the *wharenu* was clearly removed and the people relocated gradually. Assistance was refused, except for a £40 grant from the government

to purchase food for those who had none (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010). According to Binney (2001b, 2009a, 2010), the *wharenui* would have been moved by wagon; however, local oral accounts claim that the *wharenui* was transported, perhaps in parts, via the Rangitaiki River. The *wharenui* re-opened at Waiōhau on 28 July 1909 (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995).

Because of the land loss suffered by Patuheuheu, Te Kooti uttered a prophecy. Te Umutaoroa is a prophetic, utopian discourse that promised Patuheuheu the return of their lost lands and resources and, according to some narratives, the discovery or generation of other resources, such as diamonds, gold, oil and minerals (Binney, 2001b).

According to both Hieke Tupe (Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010) and Robert (Boy) Biddle (Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010), Te Kooti had his vision in 1886 and named the land on which this event took place Te Umutaoroa. Robert Biddle stated:

Up where the Aniwhenua dam is, now, it used to be dry land before ... Te Kooti was there, he slept at this particular pā [Te Houhi], and where he did sleep, he said to them in the morning, ‘I had a dream last night: the valley of the Rangitaiki here was just dense fog’. He said, ‘I couldn’t see through this fog, so the place where I slept, it will be known as Te Umutaoroa’. That’s a *hāngī*—it would be perpetually in that form until this person came and uncovered it. (Binney, 2009a, p. 494)

As in other parts of the Pacific, Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand traditionally cooked food using an *umu*, or earth oven. A pit is dug in the earth, in which a fire is burned for several hours to heat stones. Once these stones are hot, food in woven baskets is placed on top and covered in leaves and then soil. After the required cooking time, the soil and leaves are removed, and the food is ready to be served. ‘Te Umutaoroa’ refers to this process of cooking in a metaphorical way and, as the name suggests, this particular *umu* requires a long cooking time (*tao roa*).

Within this *hāngī* (earth oven) pit, it is said that Te Kooti placed eight *mauri* stones to be uncovered by a future leader—his child or son—to restore all that the people of Te Houhi had lost (Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010). Hieke Tupe gave the following meanings of the *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa:

Te mauri atua: the essence of spirituality; the belief in God

Te mauri whenua: the life force of the land

Te mauri tangata: the life force of the people

Te mauri whakapono: the power of belief, or faith

Te mauri whakaora i nga iwi: the power to heal the people

Te mauri hohonu: the mauri [life force] of hidden wealth—minerals, gold, diamonds and oil (perhaps), which lie underground

Te mauri arai atu i nga pakanga: the power to return war from this land to other countries

Te mauri whakahoki i nga iwi: the power to return people to their land. (Binney, 2001b, p. 158)

The uncovering of these eight stones guarantees the people of Te Houhi spiritual and physical renewal, regeneration, reuniting of people and land, and economic security (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010). Te Kooti's prophecy promises Patuheuheu the 'cooked sustenance' of life and salvation (Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010). In 1892, Te Kooti clarified his vision further:

Te kupu ki te Umutaoroa—Te Houhi

Ka taona e ahau tenei hāngi ma taku tamaiti e hura

Tenei mea te hāngi, ko nga kai o roto hei ora mo te tangata

The word concerning *Te Umutaoroa—Te Houhi*

I am preparing this *hāngī* (earth oven) for my child to unearth.

The food inside this *hāngī* will be for the salvation of the people. (Binney, 2009a, p. 494)

To this day, Te Umutaoroa remains unfulfilled. However, it is a discourse in a constant state of flux, shifting from the past to the present, subjected to discursive modification, shaping the prophecy for the contexts in which it is used to inspire and give hope. According to Binney (2007c):

Te Umutaoroa has become an unfulfilled quest-narrative. It is unfulfilled because the land is lost; indeed, it is now drowned beneath the waters of a hydro-electric dam, built in 1980. Little islands dot the lake where Te Umutaoroa once was. Once again new meanings are being wrought from this changed landscape. (p. 154)

The story of Te Umutaoroa applies a prophecy of hope and redemption as a healing balm for the loss of Te Houhi. Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa are intimately connected through this history. In both Patuheuheu and Ngāti Whare, Ringatū is a major denomination. Though Ringatū is not a prominent faith in Murupara—the home of Ngāti Manawa—there are connections. It was explained to me once that the light blue painted edges of the *tukutuku* (lattice-work) panels of the original *wharenui* at Rangitahi *marae*, Apa-Hāpai-Taketake, which was destroyed by fire and rebuilt, represented the Ringatū faith. In the picture below of Tūwhare *wharenui*, taken around 1905 by Thomas Pringle (see Figure 9), the doorway has a painted lintel featuring painted figures. The one to the far right, described as painted in a checkered suit, is claimed to be Te Kooti.



Figure 9. Group outside a meeting house at Rangitahi pā, Murupara (Pringle, ca. 1905).

I am connected to Rangitahi *marae* and Ngāti Hui through my descent from Peraniko Tahawai, the paramount chief of Ngāti Manawa from 1864 until his death in 1877 (Binney, 2009a). According to Crosby (2004), Peraniko was a soldier in Gilbert Mair's pursuit of Te Kooti from 1869 to 1872.

Gilbert Mair is best known as a soldier, but he was also a land surveyor, land purchase agent, *te reo Māori* interpreter and *tikanga* expert, unrivalled among Pākehā, and one of the very few Pākehā to lead a Māori fighting unit (Crosby, 2004). In Mair's (1923) account, *Reminiscences and Maori Stories*, he speaks of his friendship with Peraniko. After Mair (1923) left the Bay of Plenty area, he received word of Peraniko's death, but was unable to travel to Galatea for the *tangihanga*. Two years after Peraniko's death, Mair returned to Galatea and recorded the following account of his experience:

Lifting my eyes to the front of the carved house, imagine my feelings on being confronted with my deceased friend Peraniko, who had been exhumed from the grave wherein he had lain for two years. The body had been carefully washed; his jet-black hair, which had grown very long, was oiled and ornamented with rare plumes of the huia and white crane. He was seated on a high structure plentifully adorned with choice mats, while his cold hand still grasped the family talisman, a greenstone mere. Death had wrought no change, nor was there the slightest odour. He had always been remarkable during life for his high complexion, rivalling that

of a half-caste, and it still appeared perfectly natural, except for slight dark rings under the eyes, which were closed as though asleep. At his feet were the faithful widow bowed in an agony of grief, and with her were the children. Hatless and with bowed head I stood for nearly three hours, deeply moved by the affecting strains of the tangi. (pp. 65–66)

Peraniko's union with his second wife Mamae produced at least two children that I am aware of. Mair (1923) stated that 'two of their children had been baptized Te Mea [a transliteration for Mair] and Riripeti (Elizabeth) after my parents' (p. 64). Riripeti married a Catholic Irishman and from this union came Rangimaewa. Rangimaewa married Maki Nātana and from this union came my great-grandfather, Hāpurona.

2.6 Dramatic Genuflections and Sanctus Bells: Ngāti Manawa, the Fitzgeralds and Catholicism

Following the Norman conquest of England in 1066, Norman expansionism reshaped the political landscape in south Wales through the late 11th and 12th centuries (Johns, 2013). Princess Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, King of Deheubarth, married Gerald of Windsor around 1097 (Johns, 2013). The Fitzgerald family—represented by St Patrick's saltire—are the progeny of Nest and Gerald (Johns, 2013). The Fitzgerald dynasty gained power in Ireland through Gerald's grandsons by conquest of large tracks of Irish territory (Johns, 2013). The phrase 'more Irish than the Irish themselves' is used in Irish historiography to denote the Gaelicisation that occurred in late medieval Norman Ireland (MacLysaght, 2006). The Irish Norman lords who had settled in Ireland formed septs and clans based on the established indigenous Gaelic design (MacLysaght, 2006; Palmer, 2001). Over many generations, they had become Gaelicised (Gibson, 2012).

Ireland was ruled by the English from the 12th century and those Irish settlers who immigrated to Aotearoa New Zealand in the 19th and early 20th centuries were British citizens (Phillips, 2015). There was a deep resentment on the part of Irish Catholic

peasants in Ireland towards the Anglo–Irish Protestants who took their land, maintained power as landlords and supported English rule; by the 1860s, half of Ireland was in the hands of a mere 750 people, most of whom were Protestants (Phillips, 2015). These conditions were worsened because of land division by inheritance, the transfer of land used for crops into sheep and cattle farms, reduced work opportunities, and industrialisation, which eliminated the supplementary incomes gained from domestic spinning and weaving (Phillips, 2015). In the 1840s and early 1850s, a devastating potato famine claimed the lives of over one million people (Ó Gráda, 1989; Phillips, 2015).

During the 1800s, particularly following the famine, the Irish left Ireland in search of better lives; from 1850 to the 1920s, the population of Ireland was halved as over one million Irish went to England or Scotland and over four million travelled to America and, to a far lesser extent, Australasia (Phillips, 2015). The New Zealand Company offered assisted passages for settlement, but Irish Catholic peasants were not desirable and less than two per cent of the company’s settlers were born in Ireland (Phillips, 2015). Anglo–Irish settlers were part of a privileged group of Protestants, an Anglican elite, who believed their positions back in Ireland were severely compromised by Catholic emancipation and Irish nationalism (Phillips, 2015).

Bishop Pomapallier from France and the Society of Mary brought Roman Catholicism to Aotearoa New Zealand. However, as most Catholics in the 1860s were Irish, Catholicism increased their Irishness as ‘a major vehicle for expressing Irish heritage’ (Phillips, 2015, n.p.). The appointments of Bishop Patrick Moran in 1869 and Bishop Thomas Croke in 1870 drew the Catholic Church in Aotearoa New Zealand closer to the ‘Catholic Empire’ of Ireland’s Cardinal Paul Cullen (Phillips, 2015; Simmons, 1978) who, as an Archbishop, significantly influenced the increase of Irish Catholic religiosity (Lineham, 2017). For Bishop Moran, Irish identity and Catholicism were one and the same; Catholicism was indeed central to Irish life and identity in Aotearoa New

Zealand (Phillips, 2015). Bishop Pompallier's approach was to visit as many Māori communities as possible and he was admired by Māori for his resolve (Simmons, 1978). A mission was established in Tauranga in 1840 and by 1844 there were 12 stations, two of which were established at Whakatāne and Rotorua (Simmons, 1978), the closest stations to Murupara.

While a full history of the Māori Catholic missions in the Bay of Plenty is well beyond the scope of this thesis, I am confident that Catholicism made its way to Murupara from another location in the Bay of Plenty. My third great grandfather, Edward (Ted) Fitzgerald, who died in 1947 and who is buried at Waiōhau, was part of the first wave of Pākehā to come to Murupara and was certainly Catholic. Catholicism, through *whakapapa* and *whakapono*, forms part of my religious identity and experience.

Nan described her great-grandfather, Edward Fitzgerald, as bedridden and frightening. She said he spoke with a strong accent and rang a bell when he wanted something, but that when she would go in to see what he wanted, he would try to hit her with his cane! His origins and the precise details of how he came to live in Aotearoa New Zealand, and specifically in Murupara, are at this point unknown to me. My great-great-grandmother and daughter of Edward (Ted) Fitzgerald, Rangimaewa, was a strict Catholic. Her discipline around fasting and praying the Rosary are testament to the highly disciplined faith typical of the austere Irish Catholic religiosity shaped by Cardinal Cullen in the 19th century.

One of my earliest 'Catholic' memories occurred in the mid- to late 1980s, watching Friedkin's (1973) film *The Exorcist* at home on Miro Drive, Murupara, late one Sunday night. Linda Blair describes the film as a 'theological thriller' and William Friedkin calls it a 'story about the mystery of faith' (Bouzereau, 2010, n.p.). I sat front and centre on the floor, in full view of the screen, reminiscent of Carol Anne from Hooper's (1982) *Poltergeist*. My cousins sat back on the couch, huddled together as a

deluge of horrifying 1970s special effects assaulted their minds with the spinning head and projectile vomit. Kline (2018) explained that after watching the film some people experienced psychological trauma.

Watching scenes of Fathers Merrin and Karras in full combat with the demon-possessed girl, I was more fascinated by the priestly garb—cassock, surplice and purple stole—the intense prayers and the fanatical sprinkling of holy water, rather than the terrifying contortions of Regan’s ragged body. Certainly, an obsession with crucifixes and Christian iconography would become part of my ongoing theological explorations in life.



Figure 10. A small section of my collection of religious iconography.

On Pohutukawa Drive, Murupara, came another ‘Catholic’ experience. For some reason, I decided that I should strip the leaves from a council-planted shrub near the alleyway that led back to Miro Drive. A nun discovered me in action and stopped me in my tracks. She told me to pick up all the leaves, bury them and ask God’s forgiveness for attempting to destroy one of his creations. Unlike Sister Mary Stigmata from the *Blues Brothers*, this nun was not scary, and she certainly did not float. However, she did teach me that all living things should be respected, even a seemingly insignificant kerbside bush.

At Sacred Heart Catholic Church in Murupara, I witnessed my first Mass. I had been exposed to Catholic practices through television and film and, while I was not Catholic and had never experienced Catholicism as such, it was simply a case, as St Ambrose of Milan noted centuries ago, of doing as the Romans do (Speake, 2015). As I entered the church, I dipped my fingers into the font and crossed myself. Before taking my seat, I genuflected and crossed myself with great spectacle. Cardinal James R. Knox (1980) said that the ‘venerable act of genuflecting before the Blessed Sacrament, whether enclosed in the tabernacle or publicly exposed’ is a ‘sign of adoration’ and that genuflection must ‘be neither hurried nor careless’ so that the ‘heart may bow before God in profound reverence’ (p. 38). My genuflection, while not ‘hurried nor careless’, was certainly theatrical. In *Karaititanga: Some reflections on my Christology*, I stated:

I always nod in the direction of a cross. I solemnly bow toward an altar. And I genuflect with both sincerity and drama when in the presence of a tabernacle. I attribute this respect toward crosses, crucifixes, altars and tabernacles or aumbries to both my Katorika [Catholic] and Mihinare [Anglican] *whakapapa*. My theology of the Eucharist is that it is the spiritual body and blood of Jesus and that I should venerate it. (Rangiwai, 2018b, p. 601)

The parishioners were mostly Māori. The older women wore black lace mantilla or scarves over their heads, which did not seem unusual to me. It was widespread Catholic practice for women to cover their heads in this way based on 1 Corinthians 11:2–16 (KJV) and canon law that up until 1983 required women to cover their heads ‘especially when they approach the table of the Lord’ (Edwards, 2001, p. 427). Older Māori women in the 1980s in Murupara often wore scarves over their heads. At *tangihanga*, in particular, their heads were covered with long black veils. Significantly, many of these women were of the Ngāti Hui *hapū* of Ngāti Manawa, which is comprised of many Catholic *whānau*.

The priest was Pākehā. The smell of incense was intoxicating and the clinking of the thurible—‘a metal vessel which holds burning charcoal embers and incense and is swung from, typically, three chains’ (Herrera, 2011, p. 4)—was rhythmic. It was swung in sets of three as the priest sanctified the altar with fragrant smoke, communicating a ‘sense of mystery and awe’ (Herrera, 2011, p. 6). When the priest elevated the host, the sound of the Sanctus bells—‘part of the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass’ for more than 800 years (Herrera, 2004, p. 1)—sharpened my focus as I gazed on the miracle of transubstantiation happening before my eyes. Herrera (2004) stated that Sanctus bells ‘help focus the faithful’s attention to the miracle taking place on the altar’ (p. 3).

The theatre of Mass laid the foundations for how I would come to relate to God. When bread and wine become to me the body and blood of Christ, I find a sense of peace and belonging, oneness and unity with humanity and a cosmic connection to the Divine, for here, in this holy meal, one consumes the sacred blood and body of God incarnate. One cannot avoid the vampiristic and cannibalistic imagery that this act conjures: of consuming Christ’s flesh and drinking his blood, of feasting upon the wounded Christ lain upon the altar.

I noticed, even as a young person, that after handling the host, the priest held his thumbs and forefingers together before and after the consecration. This was to ensure, I later discovered, that any remnants of the host—pre- and post-transubstantiation—were not lost and, consequently, defiled—and to ensure that the particles could be rinsed off the fingers with water at the end of the ceremony and consumed by the priest (Cooper, 2010). Reflecting, I wrote:

The priest holds his fingers

Together

After handling the wafer

For fear of dropping

Jesus particles on the floor
Rinse those pinchy
Pincer-like fingertips
with water and swish
it round the blood-stained
chalice
His portly face goes bright red
when he swallows deeply
the remainder of Christ's blood
floaty bits 'n' all. (Rangiwai, 2018b, p. 602)

The Christian Brothers were in Rotorua from 1962 and departed for Murupara in 1989 (Cameron & Forbes, n.d.). One of the brothers thought that I should become an altar boy. Unfortunately, I was not only *not Catholic*, I had not been baptised at all. My parents were not religious, and they certainly had no desire to force their children to follow any particular creed or faith. I remain absolutely fascinated by Catholicism to this day. While I am a practising Anglican—the apparent *via media*—these days, I do prefer the more Catholic end of the liturgical spectrum and I may be found occasionally praying the Rosary or participating in a Catholic Mass.

Although Nan's siblings were baptised Ringatū or Catholic, with one Presbyterian 'in the mix', one of her siblings who had originally been baptised Catholic instead went down a Pentecostal pathway of faith. This weaves Pentecostalism into the *whakapapa*. As already mentioned, we called Pentecostals *pakipaki*. Unlike the Catholics, *pakipaki* songs were catchy and their sermons energetic. A belief in the inerrancy and literality of the Bible, combined with language like 'crusades'—Pentecostal revivals (Gordon & Hancock, 2005)—seemed to give them a militant edge. Without the 'smells and bells' and 'frocks' of Catholicism, they were more contemporary; and with a focus on a bare

cross and a risen Christ—as opposed to one sacrificed over and over on the altar—their theology seemed radically different. As I am almost always interested in that which is different, I investigated Pentecostalism for myself.

2.7 Pentecostal Experiences

Pentecostalism in Aotearoa New Zealand is generally associated with the evangelical work of Smith Wigglesworth in the 1920s (Moetara, 2012). Pentecostalism has grown rapidly among indigenous people worldwide and Moetara (2012) noted three reasons for this. First, ‘Pentecostalism in the majority of the world has been accepting and supportive of indigenous culture expression and practice’ (Moetara, 2012, p. 75). Second, ‘Pentecostal churches have established order, security and hope for those dislocated through rural-urban migration’ (Moetara, 2012, p. 75). Third, ‘Pentecostal belief in the spiritual world resonates with indigenous beliefs’ (Moetara, 2012, p. 76). The success of Pentecostalism among Māori, Moetara (2012) argued, has not been as successful as one might imagine considering the international indigenous reception of Pentecostalism experienced in other parts of the world. Indeed, the rejection of Māori culture and customs has been Pentecostalism’s greatest obstacle to Māori participation (Moetara, 2012).

In the 1990s, I attended a Pentecostal church. We raised our hearts and voices, we clapped our hands and stomped our feet to ‘Make joyful noise unto the Lord’ (Psalm 100: 1 KJV). There was little tolerance for things Māori, which were often openly dismissed as ungodly. There was no *te reo Māori* used in any church service. Kim Workman spoke of an experience witnessing a well-known evangelist ‘pray the Māori spirit out of people’ (cited in Moetara, 2012, p. 78). Workman also communicated an experience in which a Pentecostal church identified so-called satanic areas to be ‘prayed against’, which involved *urupā* (burial grounds), *marae* and *whakairo* (carvings) (Moetara, 2012, p. 78).

The Pentecostal church I attended was so fundamentalist in their views that talking, adolescent, sword-wielding turtles—and most other cartoons on television at that time—were deemed unwatchable and satanic. Turner Broadcasting System’s cartoon *Captain Planet and the Planeteers* is another such example. It featured Gaia, the ‘spirit of the earth’, who, outraged at the ‘desecration of the earth’, creates and gifts of ‘five magic rings to five children from different continents’ (Muir, 1993, p. 5). Each of the magical rings ‘gives the bearer power over an element—Earth, Wind, Water, Fire, and the fifth power of Heart’ (Muir, 1993, p. 3). When these powers are combined, ‘Captain Planet emerges to save the day’ (Muir, 1993, p. 3). Gaia, of course, is the primal Greek goddess who personified the Earth while her son and husband, Uranus, anthropomorphised the sky (Woodard, 2007). If magical rings were not enough to force the Pentecostal gaze away from the television, then this was certainly achieved through Greek mythology.

In our own individually aspirated glossolalia, we spoke in tongues and asked that God stop Saddam Hussein. During my first experience with glossolalia, I was instructed to repeat ‘peanut butter’ until I found my own way of expressing myself. Glossolalia simply means to ‘talk language’ and is characterised by an absence of recognisable words or semantic content—except biblical words and phrases—accelerated speech, altered accents and melody and an excessive number of small phonemes (Chouiter & Annoni, 2018).

For the faithful, glossolalia ‘manifests on the tongues of believers as they encounter, in the fullness, the immanence, power, and presence of their God in a moment of cognitive surrender’ and ‘brings about a suspended moment of encounter with the holy’ (Willis, 2018, p. 219). There are supposedly some physical and psychological benefits from glossolalia. Lynn (2009) claimed that speaking in tongues lowers a person’s

biological stress response to daily stressors, while Torr (2017) argued that lamenting in glossolalia allows a person to express the deeply unsayable and provides catharsis.

The sound of a church full of people shouting, mumbling, moaning, shrieking, hissing and grunting in unintelligible ‘languages’ felt both strange and exciting. Once I had established a post-‘peanut butter’ vernacular of my own, my attempt at speaking tongues sounded like some sort of Polynesian language with the rhythm and tempo of a drum roll. That my ‘language’ sounded vaguely Māori is not surprising because Chouiter and Annoni (2018) observed that glossolalia resembles the language(s) of the speaker. While I am not a fluent speaker of *te reo Māori*, I understand some of the Tūhoe dialect that was spoken by Nan, her siblings and her parents.

Pakipaki is a Māori term meaning ‘to clap’. It is used among my people to describe those from a ‘happy clappy’ or Pentecostal church, which included some of my relatives. The ‘happy clappy’ is really a Christian caricature (Jones & Webster, 2006) or cliché (Ransford & Crawford, 2018), much like the ‘evangelical stereotype’ Ned Flanders ‘whose actions are simultaneously mocked and praised in a way that denigrates evangelicals ... while supporting individual acts of piety and Christian morality’ (Feltmate, 2013, pp. 222–223). The term is also used to describe ‘musical styles in a lighter, populist genre’ (Webber & Freke, 2006, p. 859) and, indeed, my relatives played the guitar and sang beautifully in this style. This music was definitely more modern than Ringatū chants or the *te reo Māori* version of the Roman Catholic Litany of the Dead. At *tangihanga* in Waiōhau, we would sing a *pakipaki* song based on the text from the gospel of John, and which is still sung today at our *marae*:

Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me.

In my Father’s house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you.

I go to prepare a place for you.

And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also. (John 14:1–3 KJV)

While this song was sung, the guitar chords and emotional singing blended with the sobbing and gentle wailing of the women as *whānau* wept around the *tūpāpaku* (corpse), devastated that a loved one had passed on, but with hope that Jesus would prepare a place for them in heaven.

Gundry (1969) presented two meanings for Jesus’s words to his disciples. The first meaning is that Jesus says he will go to the cross to die, prepare spiritual dwellings in his Father’s house, return to his disciples immediately following his resurrection and send his spirit to ‘minister his continuing presence until he comes to receive those who are already in him so that they may be with him eternally’ (Gundry, 1969, p. 72). The second meaning is that Jesus says he will go to his Father’s house in heaven, prepare homes for his believers and return and take his believers ‘to be with him in heaven forever since they have already come to be in him by faith’ (Gundry, 1969, p. 72). However, Gundry (1969) also stated that ‘the two meanings merge’ (p. 72).

Jesus’s promise that he will go and prepare mansions in heaven for his followers is a comforting idea. Having a mansion of my own, considering that I grew up in a small town in a small home, is a highly appealing image. However, Mormon theology takes the afterlife to the next level. The belief is that, through righteousness and sacraments—which Mormons refer to as ‘ordinances’—one may attain godhood in the highest of all heavens, the celestial kingdom. I would describe this theology, rather irreverently, as ‘heaven on steroids!’ Eternity in heaven is great, but becoming a god and the endless potential conjured up by that notion is both mindboggling and exciting. While Mormon theology may seem a bit ‘farfetched’, when compared to human religious beliefs generally, it is no more untenable than the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, or transubstantiation, might be to an ‘outsider’.

2.8 Suits, Cycles and *The Book of Mormon* musical: Experiences and Reflections on Mormon Theology

My association with the Mormon Church—known more formally as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints—was short-lived: in 1996, I was baptised in Murupara; in 1997, I attended Church College in Hamilton; in 2001, I engaged in mission for the Mormon Church; and, in 2003, I was excommunicated for a serious breach of church rules. The following explores my thoughts regarding *The Book of Mormon*, a musical written by Trey Parker, Matt Stone and Robert Lopez, in the light of my own brief Mormon experiences. A more detailed exploration of Māori responses to Mormonism can be found in Robert Joseph’s (2012) work.

The Book of Mormon premiered in 2011 and won nine Tony Awards in its opening year (Hoxworth, 2017). It toured twice in North America, debuted in the West End in 2013 and opened in Australia in 2017. It has also maintained success with a continued Broadway presence. I had the chance to enjoy *The Book of Mormon* in the Lyric Theatre, Sydney, in 2018. I remember sitting in anticipation, admiring the proscenium, unsure of what to expect. The Hill Cumorah prologue was familiar—it reminded me of the Temple Pageant that I saw at the Hamilton New Zealand Temple in the late 1980s, when I was non-Mormon. The prologue neatly set the scene, introducing the Mormon Church as ‘the fastest growing religion today! A church that even now sends missionaries out ... all over the world’ (Parker, Lopez & Stone, 2011, p. 1). As the next scene began—Elder Kevin Price, a young, dashing Mormon missionary in a white shirt and black tie, walks up with a big smile on his face, holding the Book of Mormon. He pantomimes ringing a doorbell and we hear ‘Ding Dong!’ (Parker et al., 2011, p. 1)—I was reminded of my own experiences.

In 2002, entering the Missionary Training Centre (MTC) in Hamilton, Aotearoa New Zealand was a similar time of spiritual discovery. The trainees there—including

me—were filled with zeal and were eager to preach the gospel. The focus of our training at the MTC was how to teach ‘the discussions’. According to White (2010), ‘the questions of what to teach and how to teach it have led to four sets of formal missionary discussions published by the Church beginning in 1952 and continuing on to 1961, 1973 and 1986’ (p. v). We were trained using the six lessons contained in the *Uniform system for teaching the gospel* (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1986).

After training, we were sent our separate ways. We were naïve, but as prepared as possible. One of the areas in which I most enjoyed working was Christchurch (see Figure 11). Knocking on doors was frightening and exciting; when people answered, we stood with smiles on our faces and said something like, ‘Hello. We are from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and we’d love to share a message with you about eternal life.’

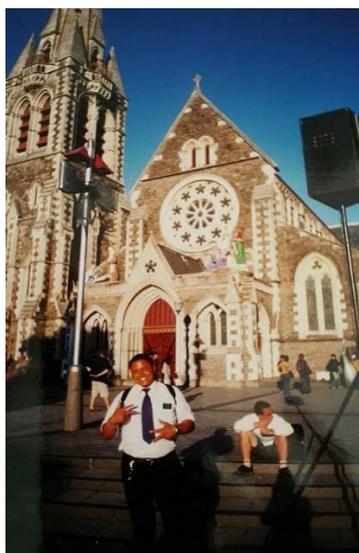


Figure 11. Elder Rangiwai (me!) outside Christchurch Cathedral.

Although intentionally cheesy, the lyrics in ‘Hello!’, the opening number of *The Book of Mormon*, captured the essence of our message and resonated with my missionary experience. We were on strangers’ doorsteps because we believed, perhaps idealistically, that the message of Mormonism would change their lives.

On reflection, I think that my experience was one of religious foolishness—a concept articulated by theologian Reinhold Niebuhr. According to Sirvent and Baker (2016):

The foolishness Niebuhr speaks of manifests itself in two principal forms: (1) an unrealistic view of the world and (2) the conviction that one's group possesses unfettered ... access to the divine and is therefore unsusceptible to the pride and self-love that plague other religious groups. (p. 44)

Mormons maintain that their religion is the one true faith and that, through its ordinances, a person and their entire family may be exalted to godhood. This unshifting belief fulfils Niebuhr's second parameter for religious foolishness. Likewise, I held an unrealistic view of the world and believed that the gospel would solve the problems of those who accepted it.

While Mormon missionaries are not assigned to permanent companionships, to serve the plot in *The Book of Mormon's* song, 'Two by Two', Elders Price and Cunningham were assigned as permanent companions and sent to Uganda to find converts on a similarly unrealistic, even foolish, mission. Mission was a personally challenging time during which my faith was tested, and it was faith and social and religious pressures that motivated me to search with my companion for people to teach.

Elder Price, having newly arrived in Uganda, was confused about his mission. The song 'Turn it Off' indicated that Mormons must 'switch off' sinful thoughts. The elders sang about how easy it is during harrowing times to simply 'turn it off!'. According to Elder McKinley:

Turn 'em off

Like a light switch,

Just go 'click'

It's a cool little Mormon trick. (Parker et al., 2011, p. 25)

Elder McKinley's 'sins' were his homosexual thoughts. Elder Price assured him that having such thoughts was acceptable provided he did not act on them. In my experience, as a former Mormon who is also gay, this notion is consistent with Mormon thinking as, according to the Church, 'sexual relations ... between people of the same sex violate one of our Father in Heaven's most important laws' (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2018b, n.p.). Humming a hymn or saying a silent prayer—in a sense, 'turning it off'—are commonly espoused strategies intended to refocus one's thoughts away from temptation.

In 'I Believe' (Parker et al., 2011, pp. 68–71), Elder Price sang: 'you cannot just believe part-way/you have to believe in it all' (Parker et al., 2011, p. 68). For Newhouse (2016), this represented the real message of *The Book of Mormon*: 'on the one hand, we are meant to celebrate Price finally living out the strict demands of his faith; on the other, those tenets ... sound bizarre enough to merit honest laughter from the (mostly) non-Mormon audience' (p. 79). This notion of simply believing regardless of how strange beliefs may appear 'is the tricky rhetorical line that *The Book of Mormon* straddles ... encouraging us to laugh at beliefs, practices, and attitudes that seem at best naïve and at worst absurd' (Newhouse, 2016, p. 79).

For missionaries like Price, adherence to Mormon beliefs has dramatic significance. Mormonism posits that worthy members of the Church may become godlike—essentially, gods themselves. It is implied in Mormon theology that, if God has created 'worlds without number', then, as gods, worthy Mormons might do the same. 'And worlds without number have I created; and I also created them for mine own purpose' (Moses 1:33 KJV, *The Pearl of Great Price*; see Figure 12). However, the specifics of godhood remain unclear. Mormon temple rituals provide members of the Church with certain assurances regarding the potential of godhood in the life to come (see Buerger, 1994, 1987). In an official statement, the Church asserted:

Latter-Day Saints' doctrine of exaltation is often ... reduced in media to a cartoonish image of people receiving their own planets ... while few Latter-Day Saints would identify with caricatures of having their own planet, most would agree that the awe inspired by creation hints at our creative potential in the eternities. (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2014a, n.p.)

In response to this statement, Wiener-Bronner (2014) stated: 'Mormons don't believe in heaven as planet per se, but they also don't not believe in it' (n.p.).



Figure 12. A facsimile from the 'Book of Abraham, No. 2', *The Pearl of Great Price*.

Mormon theology also insists that God is glorified flesh and bone. Unlike in Orthodox Christianity, Jesus is believed to be separate from God, not God's human incarnation. Paulsen (1995) referred to this as 'divine embodiment', stating that 'the doctrine that God the Father and God the Son are embodied persons, humanlike in form, has rich implications for both philosophical anthropology and theology, and it is one of the most distinctive teachings of the Restoration' (p. 7). I agree that while the doctrine of the Church leaves room for interpretation regarding the afterlife, Mormon conceptualisations of exaltation do tend to include godhood and the creation of worlds.

Another lyric in 'I Believe' claimed that God lives on his own planet called Kolob, that Jesus also has his own planet and that the Garden of Eden was originally located in

Jackson County, Missouri (Parker et al., 2011). Richard Bushman, Professor of Mormon studies, stated: ‘Mormon theology differs radically from conventional Christianity in locating God in time and space. He is not outside creation as traditionally believed. He is part of the physical universe’ (cited in Kernis, 2011, n.p.).

The Mormon theology of Kolob intrigued me, despite it being mentioned only a few times in the ‘Book of Abraham’ (part of the official scriptural canon). Abraham refers to Kolob as follows:

3 And the Lord said unto me: These are the governing ones; and the name of the great one is Kolob, because it is near unto me, for I am the Lord thy God.

4 Kolob was after the manner of the Lord, according to its times and seasons in the revolutions thereof; that one revolution was a day unto the Lord, after his manner of reckoning, it being one thousand years. (Abraham 3:3–4 KJV, *The Pearl of Great Price*)

Kolob seems to have captured the imaginations of Mormons (and non-Mormons, as is the case with *The Book of Mormon* musical) despite being mentioned sparingly in the ‘Book of Abraham’. Kolob is the subject matter of one of my favourite pieces of Mormon music, ‘Hymn 284’, in *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, which draws inspiration from Abraham 3:1–4, 9 and Moses 1:3–4, 33–39 (KJV) and which asks:

If you could hie to Kolob
In the twinkling of an eye,
And then continue onward
With that same speed to fly,
Do you think that you could ever,
Through all eternity,
Find out the generation

Where Gods began to be? (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1985)

I found the origins of the ‘Book of Abraham’ fascinating. Reportedly, a group of Mormons purchased ‘two or more rolls of papyrus’ from entrepreneur Michael Chandler (Smith, 1835, p. 596). When Prophet Joseph Smith examined the Egyptian papyri and translated the hieroglyphics, he ‘found that one of the rolls contained the writings of Abraham’ (Smith, 1835, p. 586). While professional Egyptologists have refuted Smith’s work as ‘utterly absurd’ (Nibley, 1968, p. 172), it is noteworthy that ‘Smith never pretended to understand Egyptian, nor that the “Book of Abraham” was a work of his scholarship’ (Nibley, 1968, p. 176). The official Church position on the matter is that ‘the veracity and value of the ‘Book of Abraham’ cannot be settled by scholarly debate concerning the book’s translation and historicity. The book’s status as scripture lies in the eternal truths it teaches and the powerful spirit it conveys’ (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2014b, n.p.).

Regarding the Garden of Eden’s location, Van Orden (1994) claimed that ‘Prophet Joseph apparently instructed ... that the ancient Garden of Eden was also located in Jackson County’. Further, ‘relative to the locale of the site of the Garden of Eden, the Prophet ... learned through revelation that Jackson County was the location of a Zion to be and the New Jerusalem to come’ (Van Orden, 1994, n.p.).

‘I Believe’ also identifies a further point of contention: the position of black people in the Church. Early in my Mormon experience, I was interested in the policy that denied the full blessings of the Church, including priesthood, to those of African descent from the mid-1800s until 1978 (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2018a). I also familiarised myself with Elder Bruce R. McConkie’s (1966) controversial book, *Mormon Doctrine*. McConkie (1966) claimed:

The negroes are not equal with other races where the receipt of certain spiritual blessings are concerned, particularly the priesthood and the temple blessings that

flow therefrom, but this inequality is not of man's origin. It is the Lord's doing.
(pp. 526–527)

Mormon Doctrine was never considered official Church doctrine; however, its ideas were absorbed uncritically by some of the membership. I found that many Mormons believed the theories regarding race and priesthood. Many professed the fact that, from a Mormon perspective, access to the priesthood extended from Jews to Gentiles and eventually to everyone else, including black people (being the last to receive it), and that this was part of a divine plan. The Church officially renounced all theories concerning race and priesthood in an official Church statement, originally published in 2013:

The Church disavows the theories advanced in the past that black skin is a sign of divine disfavor or curse, or that it reflects unrighteous actions in a premortal life; that mixed-race marriages are a sin; or that blacks or people of any other race or ethnicity are inferior in any way to anyone else. (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2018a, n.p.)

The gospel arrived with the Anglican cleric Marsden in 1814, but the Mormons did not arrive in Aotearoa New Zealand until 1881. By the early 20th century, the Mormon Church had gained an expansive following among Māori (Joseph, 2012). Many Māori were attracted to Mormonism because of the importance it placed on genealogy. The Mormons, through their central scriptural text—The Book of Mormon—considered Māori to be part of the Lost Tribes of Israel (Joseph, 2012). For the Mormons, Māori were a very special people. This was a view in opposition to that of the English, which saw Māori as savages. The Mormons lived with Māori: ‘we spoke the Maori language, we ate the Maori food, we slept in Maori huts, we slept in Maori beds, we studied Maori traditions’ and ‘in short as time passed, we began to think like Maori’ (Dunford, 1889, cited in Joseph, 2012, p. 45).

In what might be described as a ‘clash’ of Mormon and Anglican leaders and theologies among the Rongowhakaata—a related and neighbouring tribe to the Ngāti Porou—at Manutuke in 1886, Mormon leader President Stewart was greeted by Bishop Williams with these words: ‘Where were you when the flesh of man singed on the stones of the oven? You have waited until I have made peace with man and man; then you have come trespassing on my preserves’ (cited in Joseph, 2012, p. 52). Relating the work of the Anglicans to that of John the Baptist, President Stewart replied—greatly impressing the Māori observers—‘You have prepared the way for me The flesh of man no longer singed on the stones of the oven. You have translated the Bible into Maori and everything is in readiness for me’ (cited in Joseph, 2012, p. 52).

Even though Mormonism began as a church in which Māori language was used and Māori customs were tolerated to some extent (see Barber [1995] for an account of Mormon resistance to *tohunga*), Mormon universalism in the 1950s and 1960s ‘was rooted in the dynamics of the international Latter-day Saint church, where a postwar institutional shift toward business efficiency, procedural correlation and conformity provided a less sympathetic context for indigenous expressions in worship and community’ (Barber, 1995, p. 160). Indeed, the use of *te reo Māori* in church services is not generally encouraged and Māori cultural practices, such as the use of *karanga* (formal call) to ceremonially call a *tūpāpaku* into a church building, are forbidden (this was my experience in Murupara and Rotorua at least), with the idea being that Māori culture should be replaced by a culture of Christ (see Oaks [2010] for a description of the Mormon notion of the culture of Christ). Conversely, in the Māori Anglican Church, Te Hāhi Mihinare, Māori culture is central. Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) argued that ‘Mihinaretanga retains the traditions of the Church—its ‘Anglicanness’—but the Church is Māori, led by Māori, services are in *te reo Māori*, and we do things in a Māori way, coming from a Māori heart’. Therefore,

moving to a church where my language and culture were not only valued but central to the theology was a natural choice for me.

2.9 Reconnecting with my ‘Nāti’ Roots: Ngāti Porou and Te Hāhi Mihinare

Following my excommunication from the Mormon Church in 2003, I turned to the Mihinare faith of my Ngāti Porou ancestors and, in so doing, I reconciled my relationship with God. For surely, if a church is embedded in *iwi* culture, *whakapapa* and *whakapono*, they could never reject me. My maternal grandfather, Edward Tapuirikawa Brown, was Ngāti Porou and Anglican. Through him, I am part of Ngāti Porou *whakapapa* and *whakapono*. Regarding Christianity in the Ngāti Porou context, Soutar (2000) recounted that ‘the Christian message was introduced by influential members of the tribe’ who had been captives of Ngāpuhi, and who ‘planted’ Christianity ‘in their own soil’ and adapted it ‘to the framework of their own spirituality’ (p. 97).

In around 1820, a series of malicious raids by Ngāpuhi took many captives back to the North, leading various *hapū* from throughout Ngāti Porou to consolidate into two important fortified *pā* in the Waiapu Valley at Rangitukia and Whakawhitira (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). In 1833, four *rangatira* from the Waiapu—Rangikatia, Rangiwhakatamatama, Te Rukuata and Te Kakamara—arrived, after an extensive and tumultuous journey, in the Bay of Islands (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). Upon their arrival, their previously captured relatives exclaimed: ‘*Hikurangi maunga tū noa, Waiapu wai rere noa*’ [Hikurangi still stands and Waipu still flows] as a way of celebrating their sacred mountain and river back home (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019, n.p.). At Paihia, they were reunited with Piripi Taumata-ā-Kura, a *rangatira* who had been imprisoned and was taught the scriptures by the missionaries (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019).

According to Mohi Turei, in late 1833, the boat returned carrying the four *rangatira*, Taumata-ā-Kura and the missionary William Williams, who was also known as Wiremu Parata. After a short service at Wharekahika, Williams and the other Pākehā returned to the North (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). On 1 January 1834, Taumata-ā-Kura and his fellow *kaiwhakaako* (teachers and evangelists) began a religious service at Rangitukia (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). Mohi Turei described this day as a new beginning, when words about a new God would come to be heard by Ngāti Porou: ‘*Te Atua hou tenei ko Ihu Karaiti te ingoa*’ [This is a new God, named Jesus Christ] (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019, n.p.).

Taumata-ā-Kura preached from biblical stories spanning the Old and New Testaments, with the message that military and political success would be guaranteed if the *iwi* worshipped exclusively the One True God, ‘Ihowā’; that is, Jehovah (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). In the context of a Ngāti Porou people who had gathered together in fear of their enemies returning, it is easy to see why this message resonated (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019).

Taumata-ā-Kura made another impact at the siege of Te Toka-a-Kuku near Te Kaha, where he demanded that bodies be left alone and not looted after battle (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). According to Soutar (2000), ‘Taumata-a-Kura set the new rules for war. There was to be no cannibalism, no fighting on Sundays, prayers morning and night, care for the wounded and no wanton destruction’ (p. 108). These new practices were upheld and Ngāti Porou were successful in their battle (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). Word spread and, according to Mohi Turei, ‘*enei kupu a Taumata-a-Kura te timatanga o te ohonga o te whakapono o Ngatiporou*’ [These words of Taumata-a-Kura were the beginning of the awakening of the faith of Ngāti Porou] (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019, n.p.).

The story of Taumata-ā-Kura was the basis for a new Ngāti Porou *whakapono*, emphasising that Ngāti Porou made deliberate choices regarding spirituality for our own purposes (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017; Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). This new spirituality had a deep effect on the *iwi*, making its way into our *mātauranga*, or knowledge systems (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). According to Soutar (2000), Taumata-ā-Kura ‘laid the foundation for the earnest and pronounced acceptance of Christian teaching among his people’ (p. 97). He was ‘the man Ngāti Porou considered most responsible for the initial spread of the Gospel along the East Coast’ and he was ‘regarded as the champion of the Christian Church on the East Coast’ (Soutar, 2000, pp. 98–102).

The *haka* (posture dance) ‘Tihei Tāruke’ was composed by Mohi Turei in 1910 and was based on an understanding developed over generations regarding the meaning of the arrival of Christianity in the Ngāti Porou context (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). The *haka* displays the sense of empowerment Ngāti Porou had over the process and reconciles the two belief systems with the imagery of the *tāruke* (crayfish trap) in which both the old and the new could co-exist (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017; Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). Of the *haka*, Wiremu Kaa explained: ‘Mohi [Turei] had come to the realisation that his taha Ngāti Porou [Ngāti Porou side] cannot be abandoned or trashed because the wairua [spirit] from his mātua [elders] and his tīpuna [ancestors] are the material essence of his being’ (cited in Mahuika, 2015, p. 54). Referring to the interconnectedness of Ngāti Porou *whakapapa* and *whakapono*, Wiremu Kaa continues: ‘Our individual tāruke [a container for catching fish] will always contain the wairua that is Ngāti Porou tūturu [authentically Ngāti Porou]. Whatever else we place in that tāruke is up to every Ngāti Porou individual’ (cited in Mahuika, 2015, p. 54).

The significance of Taumata-ā-Kura is also recognised in the Church of St Mary’s in Tikitiki (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). This church was designed by master carver Hone Ngatoto and Sir Apirana Ngata as a purposeful statement about our identity as Ngāti Porou (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). The church’s Taumata-ā-Kura baptismal font (see Figure 13), signifies that when Ngāti Porou are baptised, they are not only being baptised as Christians, but also into the unique *whakapapa* and *whakapono* of Ngāti Porou (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017; Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019).



Figure 13. Taumata-ā-Kura baptismal font (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019).

I remain a practising Anglican. However, as a self-professed syncretist, I incorporate into my faith—as Harrison (2014) advised—other wisdoms and traditions that are beneficial to me as I question life’s purpose and search for answers for life’s questions. I am constantly engaged in researching religion, to understand myself and the world around me more deeply. Taoism and Hinduism have been two notable influences on my theology, but there are many others.

2.10 Syncretistic ‘Odds and Ends’: Taoist and Hindu Influences

In 2016, I received the Tao and the Three Treasures in a small temple in a Rotorua backyard from a Master who had travelled from Indonesia. I received the Tao with other members of my extended family from Waiōhau, who are healers and *rongoā* (Māori

medicine) practitioners. Tao is considered one of the most important concepts in the East (Sung Park, 2001). Tao means way, road or path, and ‘metaphorically denotes a way of living and truth’ (Sung Park, 2001, p. 389). According to Sung Park (2001), Tao refers to the ‘eternal Tao’, the ‘Ultimate Way’, the ‘Endless Dynamic Principle of the universe’ (p. 390) and ‘the Cosmic Way, reflecting the unending rhythm of the universe’ (p. 394). It may also be described as ‘the force that transcends all forces ... the principle that governs all natural laws’ and that which ‘moves everything forward, including time, life, all the stars and planets’ (True Tao, 2016, n.p.). While words are unable to fully express the Tao, it is ‘the origin of everything that exists, or the creator of the universe. Many people call this creator God’ (True Tao, 2016, n.p.).

In the ceremony, I received the Three Treasures: the Mystic Portal, the Mantra and the Covenant. The Mystic Portal is described as ‘right door’ or ‘proper doorway’ and is pointed between the eyes and opened by a Master. It is understood as the door to the soul, a portal for connecting with others, keeping thoughts tranquil and clear, and even perceiving danger (True Tao, 2016, n.p.). The Mantra is a sacred and unwritten phrase that, when uttered in the mind in times of distress, provides a ‘wellspring of strength ... as if the Buddhas have come to your aid’ (True Tao, 2016, n.p.). The Covenant is a ‘gesture where the left hand holds the right in a symbolic representation of the tender loving care that you feel when you hold an infant in your arms’ and is ‘a reminder of the child within us, our original nature beyond good and bad, right and wrong, judgement and criticism’ (True Tao, 2016, n.p.). The Three Treasures are described as powerful ways that one can ensure safety, regain calmness and deepen meditation (True Tao, 2016, n.p.).

Through receiving the Tao, I reflected on my Christian faith. ‘As Jews and Christians serve the unutterable YHWH, Asians have revered the nameless Tao’ (Sung Park, 2001, p. 389). Sung Park (2001) related the ‘nameless Tao’ to YHWH and argued that, concerning the ‘Yahwist tradition, God’s identity is mysterious’ (p. 391). According

to Ellison (1982), many scholars have argued that YHWH should be understood, grammatically, in a future form, as ‘I will be that I will be’ rather than ‘I am that I am’ (Exodus 3:14 KJV). Understanding YHWH in this way, Sung Park (2001) argued, ‘indicates that God is indecipherable, inscrutable, and unfathomable’ (p. 391). As a Christian who was initiated into the Tao, I can accept the belief that ‘the eternal Tao became flesh in Jesus Christ, the visible Tao’ (Sung Park, 2001, p. 398). From a Sino–Christological perspective, Wan (2003) described Jesus Christ as ‘*tien-ren-he-yi-di-tao*’ or ‘heaven-man-unite-one-tao’ (p. 5). Of Jesus, Sung Park (2001) wrote: ‘He came to show the way of living according to God’s purpose in creation. Jesus Christ did not seek to establish institutional religion, but to spread the word of God. He is the visible Tao or the mandate of heaven’ (p. 398).

I visited a Hindu temple for the first time early in 2019; however, many years earlier, I had been captivated by the images and stories of Hindu deities. Hinduism is both a religion and *dharma*, or right way of living (Rosen, 2006; Sharma, 2003). Hinduism is recognised as one of the oldest religions in the world (Bakker, 1997; Fowler, 1997; Klostermaier, 2014; Kurien, 2006; Noble, 1998; Swami Bhaskarananda, 2005). The concept of God in Hinduism, although virtually impossible for me to comprehend intellectually, is deeply mystifying and highly attractive to me.

In the eucharistic theology of Orthodox Christianity, the bread and wine become the body and blood of Jesus, but the process by which this takes place is a mystery (Ware, 1993). For me, God is *the* ultimate mystery. God, as Sung Park (2001) noted, cannot be comprehensively understood. Thus, I accept that cultures and peoples imagine, construct and perceive God in ways that I can only attempt to approach as a means of enriching my emerging and evolving sense of God. Sheth (2002) argued: ‘The similarities with other traditions help us to appreciate the larger significance of our beliefs and practices, and the difference give us insights into the unique features of our own tradition’ (p. 98).

Lord Ganesha, the elephant-headed God, is the best-recognised and most worshipped deity in Hinduism and is considered the Lord of Intelligence and Wisdom (Dutta, 2016; Dwyer, 2015; Kumar, Kalra & Mahapatra, 2008). He is ‘invoked before all Hindu ceremonies as the Lord of Beginnings and Remover of Obstacles’ (Dwyer, 2015, p. 263). In addition to his wisdom and intelligence, he is also revered as the God of wealth, health, celibacy, fertility and happiness (Dutta, 2016). Shiva beheaded Ganesha when Ganesha came between Shiva and Parvati, and Shiva replaced his son’s head with that of an elephant (Kumar et al., 2008). Kumar et al.’s (2008) article, *Lord Ganesha: The idol neurosurgeon*, related that the replacing of Ganesha’s human head with an elephant’s head is, in essence, a divine neurosurgical event.

I have owned and displayed various forms of Ganesha—whom I remain very fond of—in my home and office for more than a decade. The symbolism behind his physical attributes—which I apply to my life—is described as follows: wide ears to listen more; small mouth to speak less; large head and large brain to think and remember; small eyes to focus; two to 16 arms to accomplish great tasks, although Ganesha is usually shown with four arms (Dutta, 2016); one remaining, unbroken tusk to keep the good and discard the bad; a long trunk to be efficient and adaptable; and a large belly to digest the positives and negatives of life (Kumar et al., 2008).

2.11 Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced and set the parameters of my faith-world based on *whakapapa* and *whakapono*. I have outlined the *whakapapa* links to *whakapono*—Patuheuheu and Ngāti Whare to Ringatū; Ngāti Manawa to Catholicism; and Ngāti Porou to Te Hāhi Mihinare (Anglicanism). I have also described some of my experiences pertaining to Pentecostalism and Mormonism, and my lingering encounters with Taoism and Hinduism. This chapter set the theological context for the content to follow.

Chapter 3: Māori and Christianity

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a historical backdrop for the research by canvassing Māori interactions with Christianity concerning the work of the missionaries with Māori; the formation of the Anglican, Methodist, Catholic and Presbyterian churches; the establishment of the Treaty of Waitangi; and the impacts of the New Zealand Wars on the church. This chapter is an historical overview in which I lean heavily upon the work of established scholars. It is not intended as a piece of original historical research.

3.2 Beginnings

In 1642, the first contact between Māori and Europeans, headed by Dutch explorer Abel Tasman, was marred with violence and retaliation. James Cook's three voyages to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1769–1770, 1773 and 1777 also resulted in misunderstandings and the killing of some Māori (Orange, 1997). The arrival of French explorers in 1769, which signalled an increase in contact between Māori and Europeans, came with further violence (Orange, 1997). Māori and European relationships progressively became centred on trade and interdependence; muskets and European goods were traded for flax, food and timber (Orange, 1997). Up to 1840, the European population was around 2,000, and while the cultural interaction between Māori and Europeans was limited, the introduction of new technologies, of which the Māori took advantage, provided the conditions for cultural change, determined predominantly by Māori (Belich, 2007; Pool, 1977). Some other factors created significant changes in Māori society, including Pākehā diseases, against which Māori had no defence; alcohol, which caused social problems; and the introduction of European weaponry into Māori warfare practices (Lange, 1999).

The Europeans who first came to Aotearoa New Zealand, traders and sailors, generally intended to exploit Māori for food, labour and women (Belich, 2007). However,

the missionaries who came later were motivated by different values and were consciously and unconsciously agents of change (Davidson, 1996). When Pākehā arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand, they brought with them their religions and worldviews. An invitation from Ngā Puhi chief Ruatara brought Anglican missionary Samuel Marsden and others from the Anglican Missionary Society to the Bay of Islands (Jones & Jenkins, 2011, 2014). On Christmas Day 1814, Marsden and Ruatara together preached the first Christian sermon in Aotearoa New Zealand at Oihi, although Jones and Jenkins (2011, 2014) asserted that it was really Ruatara who “preached” first. They argued that Ruatara would have ‘spoken with passionate eloquence about the benefits and status of the new settlers’ and that ‘he would have enjoined the people to be good to the visitors’ (Jones & Jenkins, 2014, p. 471). Jones and Jenkins (2014) further opined that Ruatara would have told his people to protect the visitors ‘in anticipation of the technological, agricultural, and knowledge advantages they would bring the iwi’ (p. 471). However, for more than a decade, Anglican and Wesleyan missionaries struggled to convert Māori (Sissons, 2015).

In the 1820s and 1830s, the rate of conversion to Christianity among Māori increased considerably (Sissons, 2015). The translation of the New Testament into *te reo Māori*, Māori aspirations for literacy (see Yate, 1835, pp. 239–241), better missionary engagement, and the involvement of unofficial Māori missionaries, resulted in accelerated conversion rates throughout the 1830s and 1840s (Elsmore, 2008; Sissons, 2015). Some aspects of missionary doctrine were appealing to many Māori. Like pre-Christian religion, it provided well-defined guidelines to follow to achieve and maintain well-being. Conversely, the missionaries were unable to control the many new variations of Māori Christianity that developed (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Māori observed that Pākehā had multiple denominations and many varied views and interpretations of scripture, which paved the way for Māori to expound indigenous understandings of scripture and theology (Barker, 1970).

Once converted, Māori perceived Christianity to be an essential part of a new system through which to transition into modernity (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Māori viewed the physical and spiritual worlds as deeply interconnected (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013). Stenhouse and Paterson (2004) argued that Māori life was controlled and structured by the concept of *tapu*—‘spiritually grounded restrictions affecting individuals and human activity’ (p. 172) derived from *Atua*. If correctly observed, *tapu* guaranteed both spiritual and physical well-being; however, if the rules of *tapu* were not followed, negative physical and spiritual effects, such as illness, were certain (Sissons, 2016). Meticulous devotion to *tikanga*—correct behaviour and protocols—protected Māori from the perils of breaking *tapu* (Sissons, 2016). According to Stenhouse and Paterson (2004):

The interconnectedness of the spiritual and material realms, and the strict adherence to form in order to maintain spiritual and physical well-being, shaped the ways that Māori later embraced Christianity. Traditional beliefs and practices never simply disappeared with the coming of the Gospel. (p. 172)

3.3 Missionaries

Missionary work had a colossal impact on Māori whose spiritual ideas and practices were either replaced with, or mixed with, Christian beliefs (Lineham, 2017). Wherever European missionaries have travelled, there has been a clash of Eurocentric and indigenous worldviews. The nature and effects of the cultural effect on relationships between Māori and Pākehā are complex and multifaceted, with neither group being entirely in control all of the time (Ballantyne, 2015; Davidson, Lange, Lineham & Millar, 2014; Newman, 2012). Missionary history was repeatedly explicated from the perspective of the missionaries in ways that buttressed Eurocentric views (Ballara, 1986; Davidson et al., 2014). William Colenso (1868), who arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1834, argued that Māori were void of religion with ‘neither cults nor system of worship’ (p. 385), while James Buller, a Methodist missionary contended, ‘the Maoris were devil-

worshippers’ (cited in Best, 1978, p. 9). These perspectives are a result of the theology that emerged out of the 18th century English evangelical revival movements (Ballantyne, 2002; Binney, 2005).

Missionary perspectives of other cultures and religions were shaped by evangelical theology (Binney, 2005; Lineham, 2017). This theology emphasised, or resulted in, the need for individual conversion for salvation; the belief in God’s will and protective power; and societal reforms aligned with the ‘will of God’, such as the abolishment of slavery (Lineham, 2017). Missionary work also included philanthropic activities and support of voluntary societies, such as missionary societies; a focus on nationalism, despite the tensions between imperial ambitions and Christian values; humanitarianism; and a paternalistic and patronising disposition, coupled with the missionaries’ inability to identify and reflect critically upon their own self-righteousness (Davidson, 2004; Pupavac, 2010). Because of these views, the missionaries denounced the worldviews and religions of other cultures and sought to replace them with Christianity (Lineham, 2017).

The first missionaries of the Church Missionary Society (CMS³)—founded by Anglican Evangelicals in 1799—arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand with Marsden (1765–1838) in 1814 (Binney, 2005; Kaa, 2014; Lineham, 2017; Orange, 1997). The Anglican Evangelical movement in England significantly influenced Marsden, and during his tenure as a chaplain in Australia, he had favourable interactions with Māori visitors, such as Te Pahi, who attended his church in Sydney (Binney, 2005; Jones & Jenkins, 2011).

In the early 1800s, Marsden had the support of the CMS. He believed that the introduction of civilisation was the antecedent of Christianity, which was both an indicator of Marsden’s sense of cultural superiority and reflected a strategy already tested by the London Missionary Society in Tahiti, with whom Marsden was also associated

³ All references to CMS are listed as Church Missionary Society in the reference list.

(Orange, 1997). In 1809, Marsden travelled to Australia, along with John King, a shoe and rope maker, and William Hall, a carpenter, neither of whom were ordained clergy (Jones & Jenkins, 2011). On the ship was the Ngāpuhi chief Ruatara, who had visited England in the hope of meeting the King (Jones & Jenkins, 2011; O'Malley, 2012). Ruatara became very ill and was discovered by Marsden, who nursed him back to health. Marsden befriended the leader and learned about *te reo Māori*, Māori cosmology and Māori political and social structures from him (Jones & Jenkins, 2011; Salmond, 1997). The relationship between Ruatara and Marsden was a close one: Marsden's care of Ruatara during his illness on the ship, Salmond (1997) explained, united the *hau* or life breath of Marsden's people and Ruatara's people, forming a reciprocal relationship. Of Ruatara, who lived with the cleric in Australia, Marsden remarked:

He was very industrious, and well disposed to every thing that was good. I have never known any man whose natural disposition and Abilities [*sic*] I more esteemed. He has also attained to very considerable Knowledge [*sic*] in the Christian Religion [*sic*], and revered it much. (Harvard-Williams, 1961, p. 35)

Marsden knew that to begin a mission in Aotearoa New Zealand he would need the protection and hospitality of a chief, and his relationship with Ruatara provided this (Bawden, 1987; O'Malley, 2012). However, the establishment of a Christian mission was delayed by the *Boyd* incident, which had ship owners reluctant to travel to Aotearoa New Zealand. In this incident, a group of Māori killed most of the crew and passengers of a ship, the *Boyd*, as revenge for the captain's ill-treatment of a local chief, who was travelling on that ship from Sydney. This was the most violent incident between Māori and Pākehā up to that point (O'Malley, 2012).

It was not until 1814 that Marsden purchased a ship, the *Active*, and sent emissaries, including Hall and Kendall, to Aotearoa New Zealand on a trial run (Belich, 2001; Binney, 2005). During this trial mission, services were conducted every Sunday,

which was observed as a sacred day of rest. According to Kendall, this both interested and appealed to some Māori in attendance (Binney, 2005; Elder, 1934). Already, Māori who had travelled overseas, or who had been in contact with Pākehā, were beginning to spread Christian ideas to their people, in a range of forms, even before the arrival of any official missionaries (Lineham, 2017).

Meanwhile, Ruatara had returned to Aotearoa New Zealand, where he had been teaching his people new forms of agriculture (Jones & Jenkins, 2004, 2008). Marsden re-kindled contact with the chief, and he and another chief, Hongi Hika, sailed to Sydney on Marsden's ship (Belich, 2001). At the end of November 1814, Marsden, Ruatara, Hongi and seven other Māori sailed to Aotearoa New Zealand, along with Hall, Kendall, King and their wives and children, and on 19 December 1814, Marsden arrived on Motukawanui Island (Belich, 2001). Marsden intended to engage in peaceful relationships with Māori and consider the cause of the *Boyd* incident (Bolt & Pettett, 2014).

On Christmas Day Marsden had prepared an area outdoors in which to conduct a church service; a pulpit and reading desk were erected, and canoes were up-turned and used as seats (CMS, 1816, p. 471). Marsden preached from the second chapter and tenth verse of St Luke's gospel and exclaimed: '*Behold! I bring you glad tidings of great joy*' (CMS, 1816, p. 471). Ruatara had the task of translating for Māori the essence of Marsden's message—although as mentioned already, Jones and Jenkins (2011, 2014) dispute that Ruatara actually provided a direct translation—and his status and skills were critical to Marsden's success (CMS, 1816, p. 471). Marsden proclaimed: 'the Gospel has been introduced to New Zealand; and I fervently pray that the glory of it may never depart from its inhabitants, *till time shall be no more!*' (CMS, 1816, p. 471). The first missionaries intentionally established themselves at Rangihoua to remain under Ruatara's protection (Belich, 2001).

In March 1815, Marsden went back to Sydney, but when he returned in July 1819, the mission was in a desperate state: Ruatara passed away days after Marsden left in 1815 (Elder, 1934; Middleton, 2008; Salmond, 1997, 2017). With Ruatara's death and Marsden's absence, the mission became reliant on the protection of Hongi Hika, whose military motivations were often opposed to missionary ideals. Further, the land at Rangihoua was not fertile enough for farming, making the missionaries reliant on Māori for provisions (O'Malley, 2012; Orange, 1997). The missionaries had little to trade with Māori and some traded muskets to survive, which complicated and intensified intertribal conflicts and contradicted the notion of a gospel of peace (Crosby, 2001; Walker, 2004). Relationships between the missionaries themselves disintegrated, degrading the effectiveness of the mission (Lineham, 2017). Missionary efforts were also undermined by the immoral activities of unsavoury European whalers, traders and escaped convicts (Orange, 1997).

Of the missionaries at that time, Kendall had made the most progress learning *te reo Māori* (Binney, 2005). He opened a school with a roll of 33 at Rangihoua in August 1816 (Binney, 2005). Kendall taught the essentials of reading, writing and Christianity (Binney, 2005). However, in 1818, the school closed due to a lack of supplies and trade (Binney, 2005). Kendall continued his study of the Māori language and published the very first book in *te reo Māori* in 1815 (Binney, 2005). Kendall's thirst to learn about Māori views and his delving into the Māori world almost caused him to turn away from Christianity, although he maintained a belief that Māori ideas and traditions were relics of original biblical understandings (Binney, 2005). Indeed, Marsden, in line with the evangelical Christian views of the time, proposed in 1819 at Hokianga that Māori were descendants of a lost tribe of Israel (Banner, 2007; Binney, 2005; Elder, 1932; Elsmore, 2011; Henare, 2005; Kalechofsky & Kalechofsky, 1984; Sorrenson, 1979).

The mission needed strong leadership, which did not eventuate with the arrival of the Reverend John Butler in 1819 (Adams, 2013; Binney, 2005; Nagy, 2012; O'Malley, 2014). In 1823, Marsden brought to the mission the Reverend Henry Williams (Lineham, 2017; Orange, 1997), whose fervent leadership would ensure the mission's success. In particular, musket trading by missionaries was forbidden, and evangelisation, education and literacy were prioritised (Lineham, 2017; Orange, 1997). The missionaries, especially Henry Williams, became peacemakers and gained respect from Māori (Brooking, 2004; Lineham, 2017; Orange, 1997). Previously, the missionaries' dependence on Māori for their survival had limited their success (Ballantyne, 2015; Middleton, 2008; Orange, 1997). However, with a schooner built and a station established that allowed them to grow food, the mission gained independence and increased its effectiveness (Davidson, 2004).

In March 1823, Kendall performed the first Christian baptism, of Maria Ringa, although some missionaries questioned whether Maria had truly converted (Binney, 2005). In November that year, Kendall also baptised a child of Māori and Pākehā parents at Rangihoua (Binney, 2005). The 1825 baptism of Christian Rangi was more significant because, when questioned about his faith, he answered with conviction and proclaimed his faith in Jesus Christ and his desire to enter heaven upon his death (Ballantyne, 2015; Missionary Register, cited in Davidson & Lineham, 1995 pp. 40–41).

The work of the mission was progressed further with the arrival of other missionaries with vital skills. Henry Williams' brother William Williams, for example, contributed to scholarship around *te reo Māori* and, along with other missionaries, translated sections of the Bible into the Māori language (Laughton, 1947). These translated sections were first printed in 1827, with the Litany read for the first time in *te reo Māori* in 1828 (Jones & Jenkins, 2011). The missionaries to Aotearoa New Zealand were united in their evangelical theology; however, they had individual views about mission philosophy and Māori society (Lineham, 2017).

3.4 Māori and the Missionaries

From their arrival up until 1830, the missionaries made very little progress regarding conversion of Māori. They struggled with the language and culture, and suffered from spiritual, physical and psychological isolation (Ballantyne, 2015; Lineham, 2017). The missionaries had little to offer Māori, and their teachings about salvation and heaven were not only inconceivable from a Māori perspective but also irrelevant (Davidson, 2004). The missionaries were concerned too that the death of Hongi in 1828 would significantly alter the tribal dynamics of the area and lead to political issues for the mission (Davidson, 2004).

While the results of their limited efforts were lacklustre, in the first 15 years the missionaries learned and mastered *te reo Māori*, gave regard to Māori protocols and customs, and developed key relationships (Lineham, 2017). Comments penned by Marsden on 1 January 1829 suggest that changes were underway in Māori society that would increase acceptance of the Christian message:

The Natives are now at peace one with another. The Chiefs at the Thames and those at the Bay of Islands are now united, and those further to the south. The Gospel begins to influence some of them, and they improve much in civilization. ... New Zealand is now open in every part for the introduction of the Gospel and the Acts of Civilization. (CMS, 1829, p. 284)

The 1830s and 1840s saw expansion for both Anglican and Wesleyan missions beyond the Bay of Islands. The CMS established stations at Kaitaia, Thames, the Bay of Plenty, Tūranga, Rotorua, Ōtāwhao, Taupiri, Maraetai, Waikato Heads, Ōtaki and Wanganui; and the Methodists established themselves at Kaipara, Manukau, Whaingaroa, Kāwhia, Waikato, Taranaki and Te Aro, while also initiating mission work in the South Island (Davidson, 2004). There was a risk of *iwi* conflict associated with expansion, and issues developed between the two missions, especially within those areas in which there

was geographical overlap (Bouma, Ling & Pratt, 2010). These tensions were exacerbated by the arrival of Bishop Selwyn—not well-received by the CMS missionaries who valued their independence—who challenged the validity of Methodist ordination (Lineham, 2017).

3.5 Establishment of the Methodist Church

In 1822, the first Wesleyan mission in Aotearoa New Zealand was started by Samuel Leigh, a friend to Marsden and the first Wesleyan minister of Australia (Lineham, 2017). The following year, Leigh and his wife were joined by Luke Wade, William White, James Stack, Nathaniel and Ann Turner, and John Hobbs, and a mission station named Wesleydale was established at Kaeo, on the Whangaroa Harbour (Davidson, 2004). These missionaries were ordered to teach, catechise, preach, learn *te reo Māori*, assist Māori to gain knowledge around agriculture, and instil Christian values (Instructions of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society to Samuel Leigh, 17 January 1821, cited in Davidson & Lineham, 1995, pp. 31–33). The Whangaroa area was a difficult one for the mission to gain momentum in because of a lack of trust between Māori and missionaries, complex tribal disputes, continuing tensions surrounding the *Boyd* incident, linguistic struggles and misunderstandings stemming from different worldviews (Bolt & Pettett, 2014; Harvard-Williams, 1961; O’Malley, 2012). In November 1823, Leigh departed and White took over. While the CMS gave their support, insignificant progress was made regarding evangelisation (Middleton, 2008). The mission had the protection of the local chief Tara, but little actual support, and his death in April 1825 unsettled the mission (Davidson, 2004). In 1827, Ngāti Uru chased out the mission that led to the temporary extraction of the Wesleyans from Aotearoa New Zealand (Kirk, 2012; Owens, 1974). The missionaries lived according to their standards and had no regard for Māori culture or protocols, which was one of the reasons for the mission’s failure (Davidson, 2004).

In 1828, the Wesleyans resumed the mission at Mangungu in the Hokianga, and from here they spread to the west coast of the North Island (Davidson, 2004). However, problems ensued: William White became superintendent in 1830, but struggled to get on with his associates; James Stack left the mission a year later; John Hobbs went to Tonga in 1833; and White was sacked for engaging in trade and for suspected adultery (Owens, 1974). Nathaniel Turner returned to the mission, as superintendent, as did Hobbs and a host of other missionaries and their wives, who significantly strengthened the mission (Yates, 2013).

3.6 Establishment of the Roman Catholic Church

More than two decades after Marsden and Ruatara preached the first Christian sermon, Jean Baptiste Pompallier—the first Roman Catholic bishop, and indeed the first bishop of any church to live permanently in Aotearoa New Zealand—along with Father Louis Catherin Servant and Brother Michel Colombon of the Society of Mary arrived in 1838 (Lineham, 2017; Mathews, 2012; Simmons, 1984; Thompson, 1969). Born into an aristocratic heritage, Pompallier was idealistic about the mission (Simmons, 1984). Appointed Vicar Apostolic of Western Oceania and tasked with overseeing an immense geographical area, with responsibility for both mission to Māori and ministry to Europeans, Pompallier proved an unexceptional administrator (Simmons, 1984). Pompallier was devoted to his mission: he was preaching in *te reo Māori* within three months of arrival, while also studying English to better minister to the settlers (Simmons, 1984).

The first Mass was celebrated at Tōtara Point in the Hokianga on 13 January 1838 at the home of Thomas Poynton, which was around four to six kilometres away from the Methodist mission station at Mangungu (Simmons, 1984; Turner, 1838). Seven Marist priests and four brothers joined Pompallier in 1839 (Simmons, 1984). The church headquarters were moved to Kororāreka—later renamed Russell—in the Bay of Islands

(Simmons, 1984). A printing press was set up as a means of competing with the Protestant press (Davidson, 2004). From Kororāreka, Catholic missions were planted around Northland and in the Waikato (Davidson, 2004). Pompallier commenced working among Māori in the Bay of Plenty and Waikato areas, and with settlers in Auckland and Wellington (Simmons, 1984). By 1844, Pompallier had set up 15 mission stations (Simmons, 1984).

Pompallier (1841) instructed the missionaries to be understanding of Māori culture and customs, but at the same time to be critical of the Protestants, declaring: 'It is not right in God's eyes that they should listen to the lies of ignorance and jealousy from the new Churches' (p. 84). The Roman Catholic missionary approach was to be sensitive and accommodating to Māori (Girdwood-Morgan, 1985), and Pompallier employed a 'gradualist approach', asking that missionaries build upon what was considered 'good' within the culture (Mathews, 2012). Their late arrival compared to other missions proved problematic. Moreover, divisions between Catholics and Protestants were aggravated by English–French enmity (Beward, 2004). Indeed, the theological and political differences between the Protestants and Catholics found in Europe were transferred to Aotearoa New Zealand (Beward, 2004), as evidenced by a statement from Wesleyan Superintendent Nathaniel Turner (1838) in which he challenged the arrival of the 'Great Whore of Babylon' (n.p.).

While the Protestants stressed education, agriculture, health and material attainment, Roman Catholic missionaries lived lives of poverty, making the Protestant missions more attractive to Māori (Brooking, 2004). However, some Catholic missionaries lived with Māori in a Māori way and were able to develop closer relationships with the people (McKeefry, 1938; Servant, 1973).

Disagreements between Bishop Pompallier and the Superior of the Marists, Jean-Claude Colin, in France, resulted in an order from Rome that split Aotearoa New Zealand

into two dioceses: Pompallier became bishop of the Auckland diocese and Philippe Viard the bishop of the Wellington diocese, which covered the southern North Island and the entire South Island (Mathews, 2012; Simmons, 1984). Unfortunately, for the Catholic mission, this division had dire consequences for their work among Māori in the North, because the Marist missionaries, including all of those who spoke *te reo*, moved to the Wellington diocese (Taylor, 2009).

3.7 Hāhi Mihinare: The Māori Anglican Church

The effects of Christianity on Māori were multifaceted. Some Māori converts evangelised their people (Yates, 2013). Ngā Puhī *iwi*, who held other *iwi* prisoners, released their captives as a result of gospel influence (Yates, 2013). Piripi Taumata-ā-Kura of Ngāti Porou had been a prisoner of Ngā Puhī, but following his release and return to Waipū around 1834, he preached the gospel to his people, taught literacy and initiated a style of battle that was in line with Christian ideas (Mahuika, 2015; Soutar, 2000). The Christian missionaries did not arrive in the area until after 1839, and while they disparaged the teachings espoused by Taumata-ā-Kura, he had laid down the Christian foundations that paved the way for the missionaries (Mahuika & Oliver, 1990).

The story of Tarore is a significant one for the Māori church and ‘one of the most touching incidents in the history of Maori Christianity’ (Purchas, 1914, p. 60). Tarore was taught to read the Bible by Charlotte Brown, who was given a copy of St. Luke’s gospel in 1835. In 1838, Tarore was murdered during a raid, and Brown’s copy of the gospel came into the possession of Tamihana Te Rauparaha, also known as Katu, the son of the renowned Ngāti Toa chief, Te Rauparaha (Morgan, n.d.; Moxon, 2014). Through contact with Marahau, a freed slave who had been taught at the mission school at Paihia, Tamihana became transfixed by Christianity. Marahau, using Tarore’s gospel and a prayer book, taught Tamihana and his cousin Matene Te Whiwhi how to read (Morgan, n.d.; Moxon, 2014). Tamihana and Matene went to Paihia in 1839 to ask for a missionary

of their own and were assigned Octavius Hadfield (Morgan, n.d.; Moxon, 2014). Tamihana and Matene were baptised by Bishop Selwyn in 1843 and became missionaries in the South Island, where they preached the gospel to their relatives and former enemies (Oliver, 1990b).

CMS missionary Richard Taylor (1855) wrote that, in 1847, Te Manihera Poutama and Kereopa—Taupō chief, missionary evangelist and teacher—intentionally went among their enemies ‘to proclaim the Gospel, and urge them to embrace it’ (p. 563). However, both men were killed on 12 March as *utu* for two previous Ngāti Tūwharetoa deaths (Church, 1990). William Tauri declared that their deaths would not hinder the spread of the gospel (Taylor, 1855) and he compared their work, and that of missionary work generally, to the lifecycle of a kahikatea tree:

a lofty Kahikatea tree full of fruit, which it sheds on every side around, causing a thick grove of young trees to spring up; so that although the parent tree may be cut down, its place is more than supplied by those which proceed from it. (Taylor, 1855, p. 566)

While revenge against those who killed Te Manihera and Kereopa could have been taken, the way for the gospel was instead paved with the building of a church, a mission station and the baptisms of those who had been involved in the murders (Cowan, 1935; Davidson, 2004).

3.8 Establishment of the Presbyterian Church

Unlike the Anglican, Methodist and Catholic churches, Presbyterianism began in Aotearoa New Zealand as a settler church (Budd, 1939; Te Kaawa, 2012). According to Matheson (1990), Presbyterianism in Aotearoa New Zealand, was described as ‘‘the Scotch Kirk’, a transplanted of Scottish religion and culture’ (p. 21). The Reverend John MacFarlane of the Church of Scotland was the first minister of the settler church (Budd, 1939; Te Kaawa, 2012). MacFarlane had arrived in Port Nicholson from Glasgow

on 21 February 1840, and conducted the first Presbyterian service in Aotearoa New Zealand on the ship two days later, with the first land-bound service held on 8 March (Ryburn, 1911; Kennedy, 2014). MacFarlane had learned *te reo Māori* on the ship on the way to Aotearoa New Zealand (Davidon, 2004), and was keenly aware of the plight of Māori under British colonisation (Te Kaawa, 2012). The Reverend James Duncan, a missionary from the Reformed Church of Scotland, arrived in 1843. He too had studied *te reo Māori* while travelling (Te Kaawa, 2012) and tried until the early 1860s to work with Māori in the Foxton area, with insignificant impact (Gibson, 1975). Although Duncan eventually left Māori mission work, he maintained an interest in Māori (Te Kaawa, 2012).

The Presbyterian missions lacked finances, resources and developed indigenous Māori agents, and had no real interest in Māori missions (Te Kaawa, 2012). The Anglican and Methodists missionaries all had trades and supported themselves financially; as such, they were able to teach Māori trades and develop Māori ministry (Budd, 1939; Te Kaawa, 2012). The Anglicans, Methodists and Roman Catholics had quickly developed indigenous lay ministers who took the gospel to their people, allowing them to ‘get into the very fabric of the society to which they ministered’ (Te Kaawa, 2012, p. 18). Conversely, the Presbyterian Church sent missionaries whose only training had been ministry—the development of an indigenous ministry was outside their scope and abilities (Te Kaawa, 2012). Not until 1908, 68 years after the arrival of Presbyterianism to the country, were two Māori ordained as lay leaders (Te Kaawa, 2012).

3.9 Māori, Missionaries and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Before the arrival of missionaries in Aotearoa New Zealand, the Evangelicals had been very disturbed by the effects of Europeans on Māori (Brooking, 2004). In fact, in 1810, Marsden wrote from Sydney to the CMS, stating: ‘I believe the Loss of the Boyd,

and the murder of her Crew, was in Retaliation for Acts of Cruelty and Fraud, which had previously been committed by some Europeans' (Harvard-Williams, 1961, p. 30).

In 1813, the Governor of New South Wales dispensed an Order compelling all British shipmasters to uphold 'good behaviour towards the natives of New Zealand' (McNab, 1908, p. 317). The Governor supported Marsden to form the fleeting Society for Affording Protection to the Natives of the South Seas Islands and Promoting their Civilisation (McNab, 1908).

Appointed Justice of the Peace before leaving Sydney in 1814, Thomas Kendall had the responsibility of regulating Māori crews on British ships, while Ruatara, Hongi and Korokoro were 'invested with power and authority' to reinforce this mandate (McNab, 1908, pp. 328–329). However, Davidson (2004) argued that, although Kendall's appointment demonstrated humanitarianism, it lacked real power because Aotearoa New Zealand was outside British territory.

In 1831, the threat of French annexation caused 13 northern chiefs, supported by the missionaries, to request the protection of King William IV (Orange, 1987). James Busby was appointed British Resident in 1833, but he lacked any civil or military authority, disappointing Māori and missionaries alike (Lineham, 2017). Provoked by the risk of Baron Charles de Thierry establishing a colony, Busby convinced 34 chiefs to sign a Declaration of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand in 1835 (Orange, 1987)). This document was a declaration of independence, which made assurances that the sovereign power and authority of the tribes would remain wholly with the chiefs and asked that the King extend his protection to Aotearoa New Zealand (Orange, 1987). A Congress of chiefs was to meet annually at Waitangi with the intention of maintaining peace and order and regulating trade (Orange, 1987). This declaration was also signed by CMS missionaries George Clarke and Henry Williams (Orange, 1987).

Busby continued to gain the compliance of an additional chiefs up until 1839—a further 18 chiefs signed—and the Declaration was recognised by the Colonial Office (Orange, 1987). However, the confederation was ineffective, as intertribal rivalry prevented the Congress from meeting (Orange, 1987). The missionaries were disturbed by the intertribal warring and the impacts of European debauchery, and so they, along with Busby, founded the Temperance Society at Kororāreka in 1836 (Orange, 1987). Due to the insatiable demands for land on the part of European settlers, before 1840, missionaries became land trustees on behalf of Māori to avert land alienation (Orange, 1987).

The CMS and Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS⁴) in England, in defending their missionary efforts and asking for British protection, vehemently opposed the New Zealand Association created in 1837 to colonise Aotearoa New Zealand, with a continuous stream of letters and reports from missionaries in the field (CMS, 1838–1839). The Association was succeeded by the New Zealand Company, which was committed to advancing settler interests (Orange, 1987).

In 1839, John Dunmore Lang, the first Presbyterian minister to visit Aotearoa New Zealand, expressed his concerns about the widespread alienation of Māori land, stating that a Christian government should introduce laws to protect Māori and that the British had no right to occupy land ‘except on such terms as its native inhabitants shall accede to’ (Lang, 1873, p. 59). Colonisation was inescapable, and the British government was compelled to act. In May 1839, the New Zealand Company sent their ship, the *Tory*, to purchase land, while Lord Normanby, the Colonial Secretary, gave authority to Captain Hobson, who left for Aotearoa New Zealand in August, to ‘acquire sovereignty by cession from Maori chiefs’. In September, the first migrants departed for Aotearoa New Zealand (Davidson, 2004, p. 21). Lord Normanby’s instructions to Hobson stated:

⁴ All references to WMS will be listed as Wesleyan Missionary Society in the reference list.

The Queen, in common with Her Majesty's immediate predecessor, disclaims for herself and her subjects every pretension to seize on the Islands of New Zealand, or to govern them as part of the dominions of Great Britain, unless the free and intelligent consent of the natives, expressed according to their established usages, shall be first obtained. (McNab, 1908, p. 731)

On 30 January 1840, Hobson arrived in the Bay of Islands and, at the CMS Church in Kororāreka/Russell, declared his appointment as Lieutenant Governor and issued restrictions on Pākehā land purchases (Orange, 1987). The New Zealand Company's settlement in Wellington, claims to large areas of land by Sydney speculators and the threat of French annexation, compelled Hobson to move swiftly to gain Māori acceptance of British sovereignty (Orange, 1987). The missionaries were supportive of Hobson; Williams in particular, having encountered the New Zealand Company previously, was convinced that British intercession was necessary (Orange, 1987). This intervention would come in the form of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Signed by more than 500 Māori chiefs, the Treaty of Waitangi was an agreement made with representatives of the British Crown that resulted in British sovereignty being declared over Aotearoa New Zealand by Hobson in May 1840 (Orange, 1987). Written in both English and *te reo Māori*, the two versions of the treaty conveyed very different meanings and expectations (Orange, 1987).

In the 1830s, Aotearoa New Zealand was completely controlled by Māori and served as a frontier outpost for the British penal colony of New South Wales (Orange, 1987). While the expansion of Aotearoa New Zealand's shipping and trading was dependent on good working relationships between Māori and Pākehā, violence occasionally broke out (Orange, 1987). British law could not reach disorderly British subjects in Aotearoa New Zealand and some British residents asked the British government to intervene, something it was hesitant to do (Orange, 1987). The British

government had other concerns: European speculators claimed to have acquired large areas of land, and the London-based New Zealand Company, planning for settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand, readied themselves to purchase land on both sides of the Cook Strait in 1839, sending ships and several hundred settlers (Orange, 1987).

In 1839, the British government appointed naval captain William Hobson as Consul to an independent Aotearoa New Zealand, and as Lieutenant Governor to those parts of Aotearoa New Zealand that Māori would permit to become British (Orange, 1987). Hobson was instructed to establish a British colony and to negotiate for sovereignty (Orange, 1987). While on the way to Aotearoa New Zealand, George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, advised Hobson to consider drafting a treaty with Māori (Orange, 1987).

On 29 January 1840, Hobson arrived at the Bay of Islands and with the assistance of his secretary, James Freeman, drafted notes for a treaty (Orange, 1987). The draft was edited and added to by James Busby, the British Resident, and over a single evening the notes were translated into *te reo Māori* by Henry Williams and his son (Orange, 1987; Lineham, 2017). The Māori version of the treaty was presented by Hobson to a day-long meeting of roughly 500 Māori at Waitangi on 5 February 1840. Vigorous debate about the possible effects of the treaty on Māori authority took place, but no agreement was made (Orange, 1987). However, the following day, following more debate, 40 chiefs signed the treaty. Jean Baptiste François Pompallier, the French Catholic bishop, asked that all faiths be allowed in the colony, to which Hobson agreed (Orange, 1987). In the days that followed the signing of the treaty at Waitangi, further meetings at Waimate North and Hokianga added more signatures to the agreement, although some chiefs remained opposed to it (Orange, 1987). Hobson informed the British government that he had secured agreement to British sovereignty from Māori chiefs, including some who had

signed the 1835 Declaration of Independence, wherein 52 predominantly Northland chiefs had asserted sovereignty over the country (Orange, 1987).

At this time, Hobson became extremely ill, and the responsibility of gathering more signatures in other parts of the country fell upon two army officers and several missionaries, who took with them an English version of the treaty and several handwritten copies in *te reo Māori* (Orange, 1987). Over 500 chiefs, including some women, signed the Treaty of Waitangi, with almost all signing the *te reo Māori* copies. The one exception was an English language copy signed by 39 chiefs at Manukau Harbour and Waikato Heads (Orange, 1987). All copies of the treaty were also signed by Pākehā witnesses (Orange, 1987).

The *te reo Māori* and English versions of the treaty differ significantly. In *Article One* of the *te reo Māori* version, the chiefs give to the Queen governance or government over the land (Orange, 1987). The *te reo Māori* version uses the word *kāwanatanga* (governorship) and comes from the word, *kāwana*—a missionary transliteration of the word ‘governor’—used to describe Pontius Pilate and the concept of authority in 1 Corinthians 15:24 (KJV; Cleave. 1986). The English version of *Article One* states that the chiefs give to the Queen all rights and powers of sovereignty over the land (Orange, 1987). *Article Two* of the *te reo Māori* version guaranteed to the chiefs *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination, sovereignty) over the *whenua* and *ngā taonga katoa* (all things prized by Māori) (Orange, 1987). Here too, Māori agreed to allow the Crown the right to deal with them with regard to land transactions (Orange, 1987). The English version of *Article Two* guaranteed to the chiefs undisturbed possession of lands, estates, forests, fisheries and properties, while the Crown requested an exclusive right to deal with Māori with regard to land transactions (Orange, 1987). *Article Three* in both the *te reo Māori* and English versions gave Crown assurance that Māori would be protected by the Queen and receive all the rights of British subjects (Orange, 1987).

It is important to recognise that 'Te Tiriti' was presented to Maori as an 'oral statement' and not as a written document. The chiefs who signed it had no chance to study it in any detail. It was framed by Hobson to express primarily the concerns of the British Crown. In the process, it also became an expression of missionary interests (Orange, 1987).

On the day that the treaty was first presented to Māori chiefs at Waitangi on 5 February, the church was in full force: Henry Williams, Taylor, Colenso, Baker, King and Clarke represented the CMS; Ironside and Warren, the WMS; and Bishop Pompallier and Father Servant, the Roman Catholic Church (Orange, 1987). The CMS missionaries displayed their anti-Catholic inclinations when they refused to meet with Hobson in the same room as the Catholics (Davidson, 2004). Later, they pulled out of the procession led by Hobson, with Taylor exclaiming, 'I'll never follow Rome' (Colenso, 1890, p. 14).

Henry Williams was interpreter for the presentation: Hobson read the treaty in English and Williams followed in *te reo Māori* (Orange, 1987). *Whaikōrero* ensued. Hobson's position as Governor was challenged and the missionaries were accused of taking land, to which Williams responded by stating that the missionaries had 'honest titles' and that land was necessary to progress their work and provide for their families (Colenso, 1890, p. 20). Some speakers called for the missionaries to abandon their posts and leave the country; however, most of the chiefs, including Hone Heke, Tamati Waka Nene and Patuone, wished the missionaries to remain (Orange, 1987).

On 6 February, the chiefs gathered again, but before Hobson could call for signatures, Bishop Pompallier interrupted, asked for religious tolerance concerning 'matters of faith' (Colenso, 1890, p. 31). Hobson agreed to Pompallier's request with what some have deemed to be a fourth article of the treaty, stating: 'The Governor says the several faiths of England, of the Wesleyans, of Rome, and also the Maori custom, shall be like protected' (Colenso, 1890, p. 32).

Concerning support of the treaty, the missionary Richard Davis recorded: ‘The followers of Popery refused to sign, having, they said, been told by the Romish bishop, that if they signed they would in a short time become slaves to the white people’ (Coleman, 1865, p. 247). However, Pompallier claimed to have kept himself separate from the politics surrounding the treaty (Orange, 1987). While he was not against it, unlike most of his English counterparts, he did not promote it (Orange, 1987).

Both the Anglican and Methodist missionaries played important roles in gaining support and signatures from chiefs across Aotearoa New Zealand (Orange, 1997). The missionaries were highly influential because Māori trusted in them:

The role of the English missionary in determining Maori understanding, therefore, was crucial through the way explanations were given. It determined that Ngapuhi, in particular, would understand the treaty as a special kind of covenant with the Queen, a bond with all the spiritual connotations of the biblical covenants. (Orange, 1987, p. 90)

It has been estimated that there were around 2,000 Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1840, and that the Māori population may have been as low as 70,000 (Belich, 1996), or as high as 100,000 to 180,000 (Pool, 1977). The extreme growth of the settler population and their desire for more land, quite naturally, created tensions between themselves and Māori. The missionaries, who strongly supported the government, were caught in the middle (Davidson, 2004). In 1840, under Hobson, the missionary George Clarke was appointed Protector of the Aborigines; however, his role as protector ‘was hamstrung by weak government, a lack of resources and the irreconcilable roles of protecting Maori and securing land from them’ (Davidson, 2004, p. 26).

Critical of Clarke’s influence over the government’s Māori policy, especially concerning land pre-emption, Edward Wakefield (1845) believed that the missionaries were both the treaty’s authors as well as its interpreters. Apprehension arose among

Māori: land was purchased by the government and resold at significant profit; there were restrictions concerning what Māori could do with their own land; and Māori were learning that the Pākehā concept of ownership of land was very different from their own (Davidson, 2004).

Hone Heke, the first signatory of the treaty, played a significant role in the Northern War in 1844 and 1845, where he repeatedly cut down the flag pole at Kororāreka in direct opposition to British sovereignty (Orange, 1987). The ideals contained within the *te reo Māori* version of the Te Tiriti that was signed by the vast majority of chiefs were not realised in reality, despite the missionaries' attempts to convince the chiefs that 'this Treaty was indeed their "Magna Carta" whereby their lands and rights would be secure' (Orange, 1987, p. 121). While the arrival in 1845 of Governor Grey, accompanied by more troops, ended the Northern War, Hone Heke and Kawiti remained undefeated despite Grey's assumed success (Orange, 1987).

In the case of *R v Symonds* (1847), it was ruled by Chief Justice Martin and Justice Chapman that the treaty was binding even against a backdrop of breaches (New Zealander, 1847). In 1846, the Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, required that all Māori land that was used and occupied be registered, and that all unoccupied and unused land be taken by the Crown (Orange, 1987). In a letter to the CMS, William Williams lamented that Māori would come to believe that the missionaries sought to deceive them about the treaty 'for some sinister purpose' (Williams, 1847, n.p.). Other CMS and WMS missionaries communicated similar sentiments, while Bishop Selwyn, Chief Justice Martin and the WMS in London expressed their concerns to Earl Grey, who implied in 1848 that the treaty would be honoured (Davidson, 2004).

The catastrophe for the church and Aotearoa New Zealand was that the widespread influence of respected missionaries was effectively extinguished (Davidson, 2004). While missionary and church support on behalf of Maori endured, it increasingly

had to contest with strain between missionary/Maori Christianity and the settler church (Davidson, 2004). The Governor, while maintaining control over Maori affairs, was wedged between differing Maori and settler interests (Orange, 1987). The formation of responsible government in 1852 practically eliminated Maori from participation and put colonial affairs into the hands of settlers who were eager to ignore Te Tiriti (Orange, 1987). Maori themselves moved to protect their own sovereignty with the establishment of the King movement and the setting up of a Maori King (Orange, 1987).

3.10 The Effects of the New Zealand Wars on the Church

For the churches, the wars were a time of substantial challenging concerning loyalties and attitudes. Anglicans, Methodists and Catholics were trapped between their commitment to Māori and their wish to deliver ministry to the increasing Pākehā community. For Māori, cultural, religious and political strain on their land, their way of life, and their freedom and autonomy, produced a dynamic defence of what belonged to them. These tensions also promoted the emergence of new political religious movements and charismatic leaders, including Wiremu Tamihana (Kīngitanga), Te Ua (Hauhau), Te Kooti (Ringatū) and Te Whiti and Tohu at Parihaka.

In the 1840s and 1850s, Māori prospered agriculturally and commercially, but Pākehā, who opposed the work of the missionaries, were relentless in their drive to acquire land. The effects of colonisation of course led to escalating tensions between Māori and Pākehā (Brooking, 2004). Missionary entanglement in the Māori–Pākehā conflict was inescapable: the missionaries, informed by paternalism and ethnocentricity were both sympathetic to Māori rights and subject to government and settler influence (Brooking, 2004).

The Constitution Act 1852 established a system of provincial governments under a national General Assembly. This gave Pākehā control of their own government—one that would essentially ignore Māori (Brooking, 2004). The political climate of the 1850s

was much less humanitarian than it had been previously. There was significantly less concern for Māori rights, and a greater focus on settler development and self-government. Māori voting rights were constrained by property qualifications, whereby Māori males needed to own land under individual freehold or leasehold title, like their European counterparts (Orange, 1987).

Thomas Gore Brown, Grey's successor, had very limited knowledge about Māori, while Donald McLean, Chief Commissioner of the Native Land Purchase Department, established in 1853, privileged settler needs above those of Māori (Belich, 1986). In 1855, Henry Williams observed that 'much excitement ... is created by the purchase of land by Government agents, causing many disputes and blood shed amongst tribes in some districts, bringing confusion and every evil upon the country' (Rogers, 1973, p. 295).

The settlers wanted land to establish a new life for themselves. Their views of Māori were overwhelmingly ignorant, prejudiced and racist, and they expressed no desire to understand Māori (Belich, 1986). The Superintendent of the Wellington Province, Dr Featherstone, in response to the effects of introduced diseases on Māori, infamously made the statement in 1856 that 'our plain duty, as good, compassionate colonists, is to smooth down their dying pillow' (Sinclair, 1974, p. 11).

In Taranaki, in the 1850s, the government was subjected to increased pressure to buy more land, setting off a chain of events—complicated further by claims to land from rival Māori and Pākehā—that would result in major conflicts between Māori and Pākehā (Belich, 1986). After migrating from their ancestral lands at Taranaki to Ōtaki and the Cook Strait area in the 1820s, the Te Ātiawa returned in the 1840s only to discover that their ancestral lands had been purchased with questionable legality by the New Zealand Company (Wilson, 1861). In 1859, the Governor invited Bishop Selwyn to visit Taranaki, where he delivered a pastoral letter that referred to Exodus 20:17 (KJV) and described the settlers' voracious appetite for land as 'covetousness', while at the same time directing

Māori to sell all unoccupied lands (Wilson, 1861, p. 86). Certainly, Selwyn's endeavours as a mediator caused him to become increasingly entangled in the hostility between Māori and Pākehā (Belich, 1986).

Conversely, Wesleyan missionaries such as John Whiteley—who had formerly supported Māori land rights but later turned to support Pākehā (Whiteley, 1857)—ministered to both Māori and Pākehā communities, unlike the missionaries of the CMS (Belich, 1986). Whiteley had been both witness and translator for the District Land Purchase Commissioner's fallacious purchase of the Waitara block from Te Teira, who had no right to sell (Belich, 1986). Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake of Te Ātiawa opposed the sale and, as part of an Anglican pressure group, Bishops Selwyn and Abraham, Octavius Hadfield—CMS missionary at Ōtaki—and Sir William Martin, former chief justice, decried the forceful seizure of land by Gore Browne and the government, resulting in the first Taranaki War in 1860 (Belich, 1986). In 1861 Browne was recalled and Grey returned again as Governor (Belich, 1986). Though the Waitara purchase was declared invalid, the settlers viewed the criticisms of Selwyn, Abraham, Hadfield, Martin and others as disloyal (Belich, 1986). As a result, these individuals and the church were subject to considerable hostility, while in England, government officials, though sympathetic to the humanitarian aspects of this case, nonetheless viewed it as political interference by the church (Belich, 1986; Brooking, 2004).

In the 1850s, the Māori church was controlled by Pākehā, although the CMS missionaries anticipated that an Aotearoa New Zealand bishop might endorse an indigenous ministry (Davidson, 2004). This did not happen, due to resistance to the ordination of Māori. Joseph Mathews recounted that 'the old Missionaries had been accustomed to see such fearful wickedness and to hear so much of evil, that they, in the matter of bringing forward Aotearoa New Zealand Maories for Ordination, walked more by sight than by faith' (Church of England in New Zealand, 1880, p. 6).

Ordained a deacon by Bishop Selwyn in 1853 and priested in 1860 by Bishop Williams of Waiapū, Rota Waitoa, who had been Selwyn's 'friend and travelling companion' for 12 years prior to ordination, was the first Māori Anglican priest (Dempsey, 1990, n.p.). Williams, for his part, actively encouraged Māori ministry in his diocese, even though wars and the emergence of new religious movements negatively affected Māori involvement in the church. The Anglican constitution, established in 1857, excluded Māori from the consultation process and privileged settler needs (Davidson, 2004). However, Bishop Abraham of the Waipū diocese, the constituency of which was almost completely Māori and where everything was conducted in *te reo Māori*, encouraged Māori participation in the church (Davidson, 2004), including Hirini Te Kani of Ngāti Porou and Rongowhakaata, who attended the first two synods of the Waiapū diocese as a lay representative (Oliver, 1990a).

For the Roman Catholic and Methodist missions, the church was run mostly by Pākehā, although Māori catechists and teachers delivered considerable indigenous leadership to Māori (Harman, 2010). Indeed:

Indigenous leadership was often at work in ways unknown to the missionaries until it surfaced in various movements. One of the major weaknesses of missionary work up to this point was in its failure to either initiate or embrace this indigenous leadership. (Davidson, 2004, p. 41)

Kotahitanga or unity movements emerged as a response to the alienation of Māori land (Kawharu, 1992). While there were several *kotahitanga* movements from 1834, the Kīngitanga or Māori King movement that began in the 1850s was, and remains, highly significant (O'Malley, 2016). In 1856, Wiremu Tāmihana Taripīpipi Te Waharoa, a dedicated Christian and descendant of Ngāti Hauā (Stokes, 1990), expressed:

I consent to the laws. Which were sent to this Island by the old missionary society of England. That is to say Belief in God. There are the laws to be worked out by

my King. It is by Christianity that we know the troubles of this Island are lessening. (Ward, 1978, p. 100)

Te Tiriti had not been signed by all Māori and certainly the Waikato *iwi* did not sign. As Davidson (2004) explained:

Excluded from a say in the affairs of New Zealand, faced with the growth of the Pakeha population and the many pressures this brought, the continued debilitating and destructive impact of sickness, *Kingitanga* was a creative Maori response drawing on old loyalties and creating new ones. (p. 42)

Inspired by his interpretation of the Old Testament, with particular reference to the example of kingship deriving from Samuel and Saul, Wiremu Tāmihana (1861) revealed to the Governor in 1861 that ‘I commenced at those words in the Book of Samuel viii. 5, “Give us a King to judge us.” This is why I set up Potatau in the year 1857’ (p. 19).

Of Ngāti Mahuta, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, the first Māori King, was selected because, in Tāmihana’s (1861) words ‘he was a man of extended influence, and one who was respected by the tribes of this island’ (p. 19). It was Tāmihana’s wish that the King ‘put down my troubles, to hold the land of the slave, and to judge the offences of the Chiefs’ (p. 19). Further, Tāmihana (1861) called for a twofold sovereignty when he said ‘I do not desire to cast the Queen from this island, but, from my piece (of land). I am to be the person to overlook my piece’ (p. 19).

The King movement was met with hostility from Pākehā, including some CMS missionaries such as John Morgan, who, like the church itself, was loyal only to the Crown (Pilditch & Staveley, 2005). Morgan acted as a government infiltrator, orchestrating ‘a spy network among outlying Europeans settlers’, while supporting government action against Māori (Howe, 1990, n.p.). In 1861, Wesleyan leader, Thomas Buddle (1861), recommended restraint concerning the King movement. Bishop Selwyn

first sympathised with the King movement but later came to view it as a source of division between Māori and Pākehā (Tucker, 1879). In a meeting in 1862, speaking in both religious and racial terms, and embellished somewhat by suggestions of cultural mixing, he declared:

I have eaten your food. I have slept in your houses; I have talked with you, journeyed with you, prayed with you, partaken in Holy Communion with you. Therefore, I say I am a half-caste. I cannot rid myself of my half-caste; it is in my body, in my flesh, in my bones, in my sinews. ... Your dress is half-caste—a Maori mat and English clothes; your strength is half-caste—your courage Maori, your weapons English guns. ... Your faith is half-caste—the first preachers, your fathers in God, English, your own hearts the mother, to whom was born faith. ... therefore let us dwell together with one faith, one love, and one law. Yes, let them be one. I have not forgotten the motto of old Potatau [the Maori King], Faith, Love, and Law. He did not say to us Let there be many forms of faith, many forms of love, many forms of law, but Let there be one form of each. My feet stand upon the word of his. (Tucker, 1879, pp. 181–182)

Māori and Pākehā remained divided despite attempts to resolve tensions, while Governor Grey sparked violent responses from Māori when, in 1863, he occupied the Tataraimaka block in Taranaki and built a military road in, and sent troops to, the Waikato. These actions would set in motion a war that would continue until 1867 (Davidson, 2004). The effects of the war on the church were catastrophic: missions were shut down and, in some cases, destroyed; considerable numbers of Māori left the church in favour of syncretistic Māori religious movements (Davidson, 2004); and the missionaries, including Bishop Selwyn, who ministered as chaplains to the British troops, would have been viewed by Māori as deceivers (Tucker, 1879). Selwyn lamented:

instead of a nation of believers welcoming me as their father, I find here and there a few scattered sheep, the remnant of a flock which has forsaken the shepherd. ... At present we are the special objects of their suspicion and ill-will. The part which I took in the Waikato campaign has destroyed my influence with many. (Tucker, 1879, p. 206)

Due to the war, Māori ministers were torn between their loyalty to *whānau*, tradition and participation in the church (Davidson, 2004). In 1867, Bishop Williams bewailed the effects of war as ‘sad convulsions by which the Maori Church has been torn asunder’ (Williams, 1867, p. 375). Certainly, Christians were involved on both sides of the fighting. Despite their French and Irish backgrounds, some Roman Catholics became embroiled in the conflict by association; such was the case of Father Joseph Garavel, a French priest based in Rangiaowhia who claimed neutrality and ministered to those on both sides, but who was accused by the CMS missionary Carl Volkner, based at Ōpōtiki, of disloyalty to the government (Davidson, 2004). Bishop Pompallier wrote pastoral letters to Māori Catholics advising the acceptance of British sovereignty: ‘Leave the rudder of the natural life to the Queen in London and to her Governor at Auckland, as you have left the rudder of your souls to the Pope at Rome and your Bishop at Auckland’ (Pompallier, 1863, p. 5).

Following the war, and owing particularly to the deaths of Māori innocents at Rangiriri and Rangiaowhia, Māori remained much aggrieved. In fact, the Hauhau who killed Carl Volkner at Ōpōtiki on 2 March 1865 justified the murder as a response to ‘the deception practised upon our Island by the Church’, ‘the sin of the Governor—his cruelty—the women are dead’ and because ‘the women were shot’ at Rangiaowhia (Office of the Government, 1865, pp. 9–10). Volkner (1864) had, like other missionaries such as Whiteley (1857), Morgan (1859), Buddle (1861) and Grace (1865), acted as a

government informant. Indisputably, Volkner's death and Whiteley's murder in 1869 signified the denunciation, by some Māori, of missionary religion (Davidson, 2004).

The war of the 1860s arrived during turbulent times for the missionaries. The first lot of CMS leaders had been undermined by disputes with Grey and Selwyn in the 1840s and missionary numbers had been reduced due to deaths, including of Henry Williams in 1867 (Davidson, 2004). CMS secretary Henry Venn proposed to move away from the missionary church model and focus on the development of a self-governing indigenous church; however, the missionaries were unable to enact Venn's vision and the impacts of war impeded any further progress (Matenga, 1877; Minutes of the Special Conference of Missionaries, 1866; Proceedings of the General Synod of the Church of the Province of New Zealand, 1880). With vast numbers of Māori not attending church, Bishop Williams (1867) lamented that 'great numbers have fallen away' (p. 377). However, for Māori on the East Coast at least, what Williams understood as Māori turning away from the church was 'simply a statement of their autonomy, both political and spiritual' and 'an assertion of "Maoriness", not an outright rejection of Christianity nor a declaration of war on Europeans' (Sanderson, 1983, pp. 166–167). For example, 'the Hauhaus always declare that they have not given up their religion, but "that ours and their faith is all one"' (Grace, 1871, n.p.).

It is important to understand that the basic motivation of Maori religious movements was not automatically anti-Christian, even if there was a fervent anti-missionary quality to them. As spiritual movements, they had their own integrity and rationality for their followers. However, their beliefs were too easily disparaged as 'superstition' and their members as 'fanatics' (Davidson, 2004).

Christianity has always been redefined by the cultures of the nations or ethnic groups into which it is introduced (Vilaça & Wright, 2009). This is also true for Māori, as Hirini Kaa affirmed, referring to unique Māori interpretations of the Bible:

Although the Bible had been brought to this land by Europeans and was tied to Empire, it was no imperial document. Instead our *tīpuna* saw it through their own cultural eyes as a living embodiment of the Divine, which [when] tied to our own ancient knowledge, would provide a source of liberation from and resistance to all that would oppress us. (Hakaraia & Stephens, 2013, n.p.)

Before the New Zealand Wars, Māori political leadership was based on inherited chieftainship. However, the struggle against Pākehā invasion and land loss resulted in a significant change in leadership form and function with the emergence of religiopolitical leaders: the Māori prophets (Winiata, 1967). Certainly:

Māori prophets were a logical response to an increasingly irrational situation. For the future, this meant that the prophets were able to confer a degree of stability and continuity on circumstances that threatened to be neither stable nor continuous. For Māori, prophetic voices articulated both problems and solutions. (Sinclair, 2002, p. 21)

The Māori prophets rose up from the margins of missionary Christianity at a connexion where ‘religion, culture and politics interpenetrated and interacted, sometimes explosively’ (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004, p. 171). However:

Māori remained as Christians, but experimented with new forms of religious authentication of their own devising. Thus, as has happened in so many times and places, engagement with Christianity and the Bible set in train transformations which no one could predict or control. (Boast, 2013, p. 81)

Providing followers with hope, identity and community, Māori prophetic movements embodied powerful religiopolitical responses to colonialism and the distressing effects of land loss (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). According to Sinclair (2002):

Land and increasing Pākehā control of it have always been an important concern for Māori religious movements. For Māori, the prophets and their teachings represented continuity with their past and insulation from the intrusion of the interlopers. The emerging New Zealand state, however, had every incentive to deny the power and coherence of a religious message with intense political overtones, for the tradition of prophecy expressed an unwelcome challenge to its claim to legitimacy and authority. (pp. 1–2)

Further:

The loss of land and the efflorescence of Christianity among both Pākehā and Māori forced Māori to confront Pākehā power. The dispossession and despair of the nineteenth century found expression in religious movements, which manipulated the introduced symbols of Christianity both to explain Māori desolation and to offer hope for redemption. It is clear that Māori transformed a means of submission into a weapon of resistance. (Sinclair, 2002, p. 21)

These prophetic movements focussed on the Old Testament and identification with the *Hūrai* (Jews) (Binney, 2012). With the idea of their Hebraic descent already having been introduced directly and indirectly to them, Māori connected themselves with the Israelites (Elsmore, 2008). Evangelical Christian missionaries hypothesised that all people descended from Noah, following the Great Flood, and that Polynesians descended from Noah's son, Shem (Howe, 2005). Samuel Marsden, for example, had imagined that Māori were descendants of the House of Israel, due to supposed cultural and religious similarities (Elder, 1932).

Māori prophets were religious leaders, political strategists and experts in warfare. Māori prophets syncretistically and selectively mixed their old religion and culture with aspects of the invader's religion and culture, thus creating a hybridisation of very different religious and cultural beliefs. Linking traditional knowledge with introduced knowledge

served to promote Māori cultural validity at a time when the colonisers sought to erase everything.

Further, according to Ranginui Walker:

What the prophets were trying to do in that time was to create a new synthesis using this new religion; a mixture of Christian beliefs and Māori traditional customs. The idea was to use this new religion to unify the people, *ki te whakakotahi te iwi*. And then when they had succeeded in unification, then they would be able to challenge the power of the state. (Hakaraia & Stephens, 2013, n.p.)

The Māori prophetic responses of the 19th century were ‘an indication of the vitality of the Maori religious responses to their context and the pressures they were experiencing’ (Davidson, 2004, p. 48). However, the missionary church was unable to benefit from this exuberance as ‘it was too easily identified with the oppressor’ (Davidson, 2004, p. 48).

3.11 Summary

The chapter provided a historical backdrop for the research by canvassing Māori interactions with Christianity concerning the work of the missionaries with Māori; the formation of the Anglican, Methodist, Catholic and Presbyterian churches; the establishment of the Treaty of Waitangi; and the impacts of the New Zealand Wars on the church. The chapter showed that as Māori we accepted and spread Christianity on our own terms and in our own ways.

Chapter 4: Syncretism

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the concept of syncretism. It draws upon the literature to explain the nature of syncretism, assess how the concept is variously evaluated and describe the effects of syncretism on the Christian faith. This chapter also includes indigenous examples of syncretism.

4.2 Definitions of Syncretism

The line between theological contextualisation and syncretism is very thin. Contextualisation is about communicating the gospel into a particular culture in a way that that culture can understand. Syncretism, on the other hand, is the merging of one or more worldviews into a new worldview.

For Bevans (2002) contextual theology can be expressed through six models. The transcultural model uses the codes of the host culture as a means to translate the gospel in a way that members of the host culture can understand. The anthropological model, which assumes that culture is essentially good, seeks to understand the ways in which God works within the host culture. The praxis model values social change through cycles of action and reflection. The synthetic model combines the first three models and pursues a theological middle ground through dialogue. Grounded in existentialism, the transcendental model is concerned with the personal transformation of the individual doing theology rather than changing culture or theology. The countercultural model holds that the host culture should change in a process led by the gospel to allow the gospel to flourish.

In Pā Henare Tate's (2012) extremely important work, *He puna iti i te Ao Mārama: A little spring in the World of Light*, he argued that Bevans' (2002) models, and in fact, the theological discourse more broadly, was 'not yet adequate for a fully

indigenous contextual theology’ (p. 35) because the development of a Māori theology needed to be ‘by Māori for Māori’ (p. 23). However, he also asserted that ‘the discussion opens perspectives for Māori that stimulate them, and other indigenous peoples, to develop criteria for indigenous theology appropriate to their context’ (Tate, 2012, p. 35).

While Pā Henare Tate’s (2012) work was concerned with developing the foundations of an indigenous Māori theology—in contrast to the inadequacy of the traditional Christian message to speak intimately and powerfully to Māori experience in Aotearoa—my work is not concerned with developing a Māori theology but with assessing the positive impacts of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori.

I have used the term syncretism, which I will describe more fully below, because it best describes the experience and views expressed by the range of participants in my study, and coheres with the religious beliefs and practices of many Māori. There may certainly be times when Māori spirituality is contextualised. However, in my experience and in the experience of many of the participants, there is a merging of two worldviews. For example, the interviews revealed that some understand that God was always with Māori in the form of *ngā Atua*, and that God was revealed again in Jesus with the arrival of Christianity to these shores. While others interviewed maintained that *ngā Atua* co-exist with the introduced theology.

Throughout history, societies have moved around and come into contact, often violently, with others. When cultures come into contact with others, their belief systems change (Shils, 1981; Zimmerman, 1997). Within the context of theology, the mixing of religious ideas is known as syncretism. Syncretism investigates the origins of religious views and how history shapes these (Stewart, 1994); it is an essential concept for analysing both how religious traditions mutually influence one another and how hegemony and power operate from a theological perspective (Andersen, 2009). In

general, syncretism may be described as the selective appropriation and amalgamation of ideas, symbols and practices of one religion into another (Berling, 1980). Necessarily, all cultures and religions are syncretistic because they have transformed over time and have absorbed external elements as they have developed (Stewart, 1994).

An anthropological perspective of syncretism assumes that ‘no society is a cultural island’ (Bowie, 2006, p. 252), that all religion is mixed and, further, that a religion cannot be separated from the cultural and social forces that shaped it. Regarding conquest, trade, the spreading of religions, intermarriage and migration, syncretism has been a consistent part of the negotiation of identities as cultures, societies and religions have interacted with and influenced one another (Shaw & Stewart, 1994).

Historically, there has existed deep-seated uncertainty concerning syncretism in Christian theology (Jørgensen, 2013). Some have suggested that syncretism is required to expedite contextualisation, while others have argued that it is undesirable in Christian theology because it attempts to combine discordant ideas (Jørgensen, 2013). Since the 19th century, syncretism as a concept has been used to understand the historical and social development of Christianity over time and place (Jørgensen, 2013). From historical and theological standpoints, Christianity is defined, both theoretically and methodologically, by a given cultural, social and historical context (Jørgensen, 2013).

All religions are syncretistic to some degree (Droogers, 1989; Hughes, 1988; Pye, 2004; van der Veer, 1994). Syncretism occurs throughout all religious traditions ‘as the coexistence of elements of diverse origin interacting ambiguously’ (Pye, 2004, p. 66). Syncretism is ‘universal and inevitable’ (Baird, 2004, p. 51); it is the dynamic means through which religions relate to one another (Berner, 2004) and the historical development of religion is inconceivable without it (Rudolph, 2004, p. 80), rendering the notion of ‘pure religion’ redundant.

The characteristics of religion are ‘not fixed and rigid; rather, they are in perpetual flux: not manufactured but growing, and in a state of incessant expansion’ (van der Leeuw, 2004, p. 98). Syncretism occurs when elements of religions encounter one another and ‘lead to a functioning synthesis’ (Rudolph, 2004, p. 82). Internally, the religious practitioner may not view syncretism as problematic; ‘the problem of syncretism is therefore not that of the faithful but that of the scholar of religion!’ (Rudolph, 2004, p. 82).

Syncretism is both the mixing of religious systems (Schreiter, 1985) and the challenge of unifying discordant beliefs and practices into an integrated system (Nicholls, 1979). It is a dynamic process of translation concerning ideas, concepts, symbols and traditions (Stewart, 2001) that may be characterised as ‘active transformation through renegotiation, reorganization, and redefinition of clashing belief systems’ (Olmos & Paravisini-Gebert, 2003, p. 7). Syncretism ‘is part of the dynamics of religion which works its way along in the ongoing transplantation of ... religious traditions from one cultural context or another whether geographically or in time’ (Pye, 2004, p. 66).

Reconciling differing beliefs into a unified whole is a key element of syncretism (Nicholls, 1979). Syncretism is not about blending every element from two or more religious traditions, nor does it favour destroying one tradition and replacing it with another; rather, syncretism transforms traditions, sometimes in extreme ways (Berling, 1980). It is highly selective, reflecting the religious requirements and the historical and cultural structures of the syncretists (Berling, 1980). How elements are selected and adapted is more significant than the borrowing itself (Berling, 1980). Further, the level to which syncretistic change affects a group is determined by the amount of borrowing and the level of importance assigned by the group to those elements (Berling, 1980).

Regarding the ways in which different cultures come into contact through trade, conquest and migration, syncretism may be described as the dynamic mixing of elements from two or more cultures that results in something that is ‘basically different from the

respective original components' (Sowande, 1996, p. 19). Syncretism is thus 'the union of two or more opposite beliefs, so that the synthesized form is a new thing' (Imbach, 1984, p. 1062) and is that which 'boils away all historical difference between religions in order to institutionalize their common core' (Knitter, 1985, p. 9).

The cultural and religious ideas with which individuals are raised influence how they view other cultures and religions; some religions are predisposed to syncretism and others to anti-syncretism (Leopold, 2009). Religions are continuously modified over time in response to contact and in this sense they 'borrow and learn from each other' (Light, 2004, p. 325). Syncretism attempts to 'reduce the cognitive dissonance caused by religious contact' (Lubanska, 2015, p. 37); it is 'multi-directional, dynamic, reversible and capable of endlessly negotiated and re-negotiated permutations' (Aldhouse-Green, 2004, p. 216).

Boff (1985) proposed six characteristics commonly found in syncretistic adaptations of religious beliefs and practices which tend to overlap with one another:

1. Syncretism as addition: The addition of religious elements without integration; engaging in a range of religious rituals and experiences without combining them.
2. Syncretism as accommodation: The accommodation of religious elements by a subjugated people as a means of either survival or resistance without necessarily erasing the identity of the indigenous religion.
3. Syncretism as mixture: The mixture of religious elements without theological systematisation.
4. Syncretism as agreement: The understanding that there is no unique revelation in history, that there are diverse ways of encountering divinity and that it is necessary to synchronise religious elements as much as possible since religions are, from this perspective, considered inadequate in isolation.

5. Syncretism as translation: The selective use of categories, cultural expressions and traditions by a religion as a means of translating and expressing its theology using only elements that are consistent with the host religion.
6. Syncretism as adaptation: The process through which a religion is exposed to other religious expressions and assimilates, interprets and recasts these in light of its own identity.

These characteristics are also evident in Māori engagements with Christianity, which I will discuss later in more detail.

Some religious scholarship—based on perceived inherent purity—analyses syncretism subjectively and concludes, from the perspective of the religion concerned, that it is immoral (Droogers, 1989; Harrison, 2014). Conversely, an objective approach posits that syncretism is ‘a natural part of the history of religions’ (Harrison, 2014, p. 9). Therefore, the concept may be understood in either negative or positive terms as ‘decline and theological ruin’ or as indicative of religious ‘creativity and vitality’ and tolerance (Jørgensen, 2013, p. 101; van der Veer, 1994).

Emerging from the debates around 17th-century Protestant theology, the term syncretism came to refer to the ‘illegitimate mingling of different religious elements’ (Kraemer, 1956, p. 203). This highly particular definition of syncretism could only have developed within a Christian context in which ‘an absolute standard of reference is assumed’ (Kraemer, 1956, p. 203). Frequently considered a ‘dirty word’ (Harrison, 2014, p. 8) in religious conversations, syncretism has been considered theologically problematic because it subjectively implies impurity, mingling, contamination and inauthenticity (Andersen, 2009; Shaw & Stewart, 1994).

Christianity is inclined to view syncretism as a pollutant (Panikkar, 1975), regarding syncretistic beliefs as undesirable and destructive (Schreiter, 1985). From

theological and missiological perspectives, syncretism is considered ‘heretical or sub-Christian’ (Mullins, 2001, p. 809). Such a negative view emerges when beliefs and practices are deemed incompatible with Christianity and when aspects of the Christian faith are replaced with those of the receiving culture (Goosen, 2000). The view that Christianity is the ‘adequate and definitive revelation of God in history’ (Goosen, 2000, p. 95) considers syncretism a threat to Christianity, arguing that ‘to add something to Christ is really to take something away from him’ and that any attempt to alter the gospel is a ‘a denial of the gift of God’ (Visser’t Hooft, 1963, p. 60). In this sense, syncretism is considered an ‘inappropriate fusion’ (Yong, 2014, p. 26) of religious traditions, resulting in that which debases what existed previously. From a female Asian theological perspective, Kyung (1993) argued that Western theologians have considered syncretism dangerous in that it purportedly destroys Christian identity. Theologians behave ‘as if Christian identity is an unchangeable property which they own ... that they have the copyright on Christianity’ (Kyung, 1993, p. 113).

4.2.1 The indigenous context

Western contact with non-Western societies is intimately connected to the proliferation of colonial power (Mosse, 1994) and syncretism is inseparable from power and hegemony (Clack, 2011). Within most colonial contexts in which a dominant culture forces its religiosity upon indigenous people, the resulting syncretism can be understood as a form of resistance to power in which indigenous gods are protected and garbed in the identity of the new religion (Leopold & Jensen, 2004a).

While, historically, indigenous people were subjugated through hybridised institutions such as native courts created by colonial governments, these same governments were disapproving when indigenous people syncretistically adapted Western cultural elements, because these frameworks were beyond colonial control

(Shaw & Stewart, 1994). Syncretistic movements, therefore, were a direct threat to colonisers' power (Olmos & Paravisini-Gebert, 2003).

Syncretism oscillates between the imposition of power by an invading culture and the purposeful development of critical responses to change (Leopold & Jensen, 2004c). It encompasses the politics of difference and identity; therefore, the concept of power—that is, the power to define 'true' and 'false' religion—is critical to the understanding of syncretism and the formation of religious identity, as it significantly affects cultural encounters (Schreier, 1997; van der Veer, 1994). The power to syncretise rests in the hands of the syncretists. Syncretism can further be conceptualised as the politics of religious synthesis (Shaw & Stewart, 1994). It may be instigated by the powerful or by the powerless, or by the coloniser or the colonised; it is 'inextricably bound up with notions of power, agency, identity and personhood' (Aldhouse-Green, 2004, p. 216). In some forms, syncretism can be used by the oppressed to subvert the power of their oppressors by way of inversion (Aldhouse-Green, 2004).

Leopold and Jensen (2004d) stated that power controls access to meaning-making. Leopold (2009) posited a three-level analysis of syncretistic meaning-making. At the social level, syncretistic meaning-making is connected to power and politics. The church defines and controls 'the truth'. The antonym to syncretism, Catholic Orthodoxy, is used as means of protecting 'the truth'. At the semiotic level of syncretistic meaning-making, cultural and religious symbols and metaphors are purposely selected and synthesised, creating variations in Christian traditions. At the cognitive level, syncretistic meaning-making is ultimately limited by the 'combinatorial system of thought' (Leopold, 2009, p. 704) that governs the cognitive elements of perception.

Cultural encounters affect traditional ways of life, resulting in oppression, war, enslavement and, sometimes, the annihilation of entire peoples and cultures (Leopold & Jensen, 2004d). However, as a mode of resistance, syncretism challenges the dominant

discourses established by these power structures and ‘transform[s] the authority that these discourses upheld’ (Apter, 2004, p. 178).

Aldhouse-Green (2004) stated that ‘religion played an important role not just in synthesis or syncretism between local and intrusive ideologies but in the objectification of resistance to domination’ (p. 216). Resistance to the invading culture was sometimes achieved through the shamanic abilities of seers who would control the spirits and make predictions about the downfall of their oppressors (Aldhouse-Green, 2004).

In a Christian context, Schreiter (1985) discussed three types of syncretism. The first is where Christianity and another religion are amalgamated to create another religious reality, while Christianity provides the basic framework. The second is where Christianity provides the framework but is significantly altered without any consultation with conventional Christianity. The third is where Christian elements are amalgamated into another system. All three of these types of syncretism can be found in Māori religion to some extent or other.

Schreiter (1985) also discussed three types of dual systems. I would argue that in a Māori context, there would be some overlap between these systems. In the first dual system, Christianity and another religion operate in tandem; the faithful participate in the rituals of both traditions without issue.

In the second dual system, Christianity is practised while elements from another religion, such as sacrifices to a local spirit or deity, are also practised; these practices are often viewed by Christian leaders as incompatible with Christianity. During times of unrest, ‘there are not only prayers to the Christian deity, but recourse to local priests and healers for their intercession with local deities’ to ‘exhaust all possible channels of

meditation' (Schreiter, 1985, p. 148). In this context, the faithful see no contradiction in supplementing Christianity with other rituals and practices.

In the third dual system, double belonging, which occurs in Asian contexts, 'religious patterns are so deeply woven into the culture that it is no longer possible to discern easily what is religion and what is culture' (Schreiter, 1985, p. 148). Examples of this include Indian/Hinduism, Thai/Buddhism and Taiwanese/Taoism. Māori/Christian might also be included in this category. Certainly, Māori are known to practice traditional Māori religion alongside and mixed with Christianity.

Regarding how a culture incorporates an invading religion, Schreiter (1985) described four incorporative responses. In the first response similarities between the sign systems of local culture and those of an invading religion—for example, relating the veneration of Christian saints with the worship of ancestors or gods—are emphasised and used to maintain the authority and credibility of the host culture. A Māori example is the way in which Māori prophets related to the stories of the liberation theology of the Old Testament. Another example might be the way in which Māori converts to Mormonism related to the religion's emphasis on genealogy.

In the second response, the invading religion's sign system fills gaps in the host's sign system. An example of this is Hori's (1968) argument that Buddhism was successful in Japan because of its ability to deal more effectively than Shinto with the dead. It could be argued that for many Māori the idea of heaven became quite appealing and filled a gap in or supplemented the afterlife beliefs that existed in traditional Māori religion. The notion that our dead loved ones are 'up there', 'looking down on us', or 'flying high' are part of the contemporary Māori discourse surrounding death.

In the third response, indiscriminate mixing may result when an invading religion is introduced into a culture under duress. An entire sign system may be absorbed into a culture, but that culture may remodel the system. The introduction of Buddhism to

northern China by Indian monks during a period when China was in disarray is an example of this. When Buddhism was absorbed, it indiscriminately mixed with Confucian ethics and Taoist aestheticism.

The fourth response can be seen when a culture's sign system is weakened to a point at which the invading sign system completely takes over and 'there is no matching of signs, no filling gaps, no danger of mixing' (p. 154). Schreier (1985) argued that Micronesia is one example in which Western Christianity established dominance, leaving almost no trace of the previous religion.

Kwok (2005) argued that in many Third World contexts, the white patriarchal Christian tradition has been considered the standard belief system by which indigenous practices have been measured regarding inculturation (the process whereby the church filters the gospel through the indigenous norms of the host culture) and contextualisation. However, from a postcolonial standpoint, the dominant discourse of Western Christian tradition is challenged, and previously colonised and enslaved peoples engage in reforming and developing Christianity 'not as a missionizing force or a conquering ideology' (Kwok, 2005, p. 69).

While Western Christianity generally arrived at new cultures with a definitive civilising mission, in many cases, it also accommodated indigenisation, establishing connections to local religions based on common or comparable concepts and frequently absorbing elements from other cultures, giving rise to copious local or national Christian identities (Kaplan, 1995). The translation of the Bible into indigenous languages enabled local Christians to interpret the biblical message through their eyes—a significant technique used by indigenous believers to transform missionary Christianity (Kaplan, 1995). Local interpretation allowed indigenous followers to relate their beliefs to those introduced through the biblical text, with consideration for the narratives of the ancient Hebrews or the early church (Kaplan, 1995).

The features of syncretism outlined here are commonly observed in Indigenous engagements with Christianity throughout the world. I take, as a first example, the development of theology among the Mayan people of Central American. The reclamation of Indigenous spirituality and the syncretistic adaption of Christianity has allowed the Mayan people to regulate and relegate Spanish influence in their lives. Mayan theologian Salazar (1997) wrote:

Christianity rejects indigenous spirituality out of hand because of a religious dualism that does not allow for the presence of God in the aboriginal cultures. In this view, those who do now know the Bible have the devil in their hearts. The only truth, the only absolutes, and the only logic belongs alone to the Christian religion. These kinds of Christians are convinced that no other religion has any knowledge of God ... God was already here before the Europeans arrived. They did not bring God to us. (p. 40)

Cal (1997) contended that the Maya's participation in Catholicism, or Christianity more broadly, involves the privileging of their indigenous knowledge, practices and rituals in a way that encodes their ancestral religion within a foreign belief system. Because of forced conversion by the Spanish, the Mayas concealed some of their indigenous practices beneath a Catholic facade, while the church purposefully incorporated elements of Maya tradition into its rituals and festivals (Bahr, 2005). In contemporary Mesoamerica, Maya-Catholic syncretism remains central: 'the Mayas are able to manipulate this syncretism to create a sense of ethnic identity and to construct community boundaries' (Bahr, 2005, p. 119). Iq' (1997) stated that some Maya are nurtured more by Christianity and others more by their indigenous religion. Others' Christianity is informed by and infused with their 'mayaness'.

Jesuit missionaries syncretistically adapted indigenous belief systems and iconographies in the Americas to teach Christianity (Zamora, 2006). For example, they

reconstructed the Aztec god, Quetzalcóatl—whom the Jesuits taught to be the first to announce the advent of Christ in America—into a New World personification of Saint Thomas, charged with spreading the gospel to the East.

According to Schwaller (2006), Christianity in Europe was strengthened by incorporating into itself elements of local religions. However, when Spanish missionaries went to the Americas, they attempted to prevent the mixing of religions (Schwaller, 2006). One strategy that missionaries tried to employ in this context was avoiding using indigenous terms to explain Christian concepts (Schwaller, 2006). However, in Nahuatl, the word *tonantzin*, meaning ‘our revered mother’, was used by indigenous people to address the Virgin Mary (Schwaller, 2006).

Regarding Catholic inculturation in Oaxaca, Mexico, Norget (2009) contended that indigenous theology developed through inculturation, ‘a process of engagement between the Christian gospel and a particular culture’ which is intended to both ‘safeguard the integrity of the Gospel and to encourage sensitivity to various cultural contexts’ (Doyle, 2012, p. 1).

Regarding syncretism in the context of Native American theology, Kidwell, Noley and Tinker (2003) claimed that ‘from the perspective of Christianity, syncretism represents a contamination of truth. From a Native perspective, it represents a way of assimilating new cultural elements into existing systems’ (p. 97). Referring to the native traditions among the Inuit and Dene, in particular, Gualtieri (1984) asserted that syncretism is the synthesis of two religions, resulting in the creation of a third tradition ‘integrating elements of both, but to be identified with neither’ (p. 93). In this situation, one tradition may dominate over the other (Gualtieri, 1984).

Schreiter (1985) claimed that Andean cultures, in which Christianity functions as part of a dual belief system, had a history of sustaining themselves despite the presence of invaders: ‘the Spanish hegemony simply replaced the Incan hegemony over the

Quechua system' (p. 156). In these circumstances, Catholicism was practised but remained alien (Schreiter, 1985). The Quechua also syncretised their indigenous beliefs with Catholicism to the point that statues and images of the Virgin Mary are used interchangeably to represent Pachamama, and invocations to Jesus are amalgamated with supplications to the spirits at churches and indigenous sacred sites (Bahr, 2005). There have also been movements away from Quechua-Catholic syncretism, towards the return and restoration of pre-Catholic religion (Bahr, 2005).

Concerning the Catholic evangelisation of the Aymara people, Orta (2004) argued that there exists an 'external, superficial Christianity—baptized but not evangelized; spoken but not meant' (p. 76). 'Christian meanings are rendered hollow', Orta (2004) continued, 'to be filled with other meaning' (p. 76). The Christian message is indigenised and 'aymaracized' and 'rather than the Christian Word becoming Indian flesh ... the Indian flesh has taken on the words and icons of Catholicism as an external dressing for its ancestral religion' (Orta, 2004, p. 76).

Regarding the authenticity of syncretistic indigenous religions, and arguing that all religions are syncretistic, Derry (2011) asserted:

it is true that Indigenous religions today are not the same as they were a hundred, or five hundred, or ten thousand years ago. But the traditions as they exist now are no less authentic than they were in the past. (p. 328)

From an anthropological perspective, syncretism is the way in which Christianity culturally constructs itself with regard to Christianisation—the integration of Christian concepts and practices, or indigenisation—and the deviation away from Christian concepts and practices (Shaw & Stewart, 1994). The syncretistic process is a political one, in which Christianisation and indigenisation may happen at the same time, thereby encouraging the unceasing integration and absorption of new features, resulting in the emergence of new theological knowledge (Jørgensen, 2013).

Jørgensen (2013) stated that syncretism may be viewed as a form of ‘theological creativity’ (p. 103) in Christians across cultures. That is, syncretism is a selective process through which Christians construct and navigate between cultures and contexts (Jørgensen, 2013). Jørgensen (2013) further maintained that syncretism is a phenomenon whereby Christianisation and indigenisation may take place at the same time, resulting in ‘a [continuous re] integration of new elements into one’s religious identity through new epistemic structures’ (p. 103). Since the 1st century, the Christian mission approach demonstrated its ability to adapt and discover points of contact between non-Christian and Christian concepts, which was a critical component of the Christian story (Chung, 2001).

Kraemer (1938) argued that ‘naturalistic’ religions—those religions that do not receive revelation from God—are particularly disposed to syncretism, while ‘religions of revelation’—Christianity, Judaism and, to a degree, Islam—are based upon revelations from the Divine. For Kraemer (1938), naturalistic religions are ‘totalitarian’ (all-embracing), fluid and changeable, whereas religions of revelation, as products of a specific historical revelation, have an unchangeable identity. Kraemar (1938) argues that Christianity—as the ultimate and true religion of revelation—is directed and guided by God’s word as found in the Bible.

Conversely, Harrison (2014) contended that the development of Christianity, far from being ‘a straightforward product of Divine revelation’, was a result of ‘complex syncretistic thought’ over the centuries (p. 21). Sophisticated syncretistic thinking, underpinned and informed by Greek philosophies, was exercised to develop the core affirmations of the faith: ‘the rules of the debate were set by Greek categories; the answers were found and stated with the help of Platonism and Stoicism’ (Harrison, 2014, p. 21). For Harrison (2014), Kraemer’s argument is the result of an idealist Protestant imagination that believes that Christianity is a pure religion. Christian fundamentalism,

which extends radically further than Kraemer's perspective, states that the Bible—believed to have been inspired by God at every stage of its development and to be, therefore, infallible—is the undisputed word of God and that any source that challenges literal biblical understandings is unacceptable (Harrison, 2014). Harrison (2014) stated that in the context of such a Christian fundamentalist understanding, syncretism is both immoral and implausible.

The Christian fundamentalist argument that denies human reason is non-rational and is not based on recognisable evidence, according to Harrison (2014). He further argued that, ironically, the fundamentalist view is itself syncretistic:

[a blend of Protestantism with] romanticism, which leads to the speech about spiritual truths as distinct from rational truths because romanticists base knowledge on feeling and intuitive knowing. ... [and] empiricism (oddly enough), which leads to the expectation that one can find all the important truths in the Bible. (p. 24)

Christian fundamentalism treats the Bible like a 'modern scientific text book instead of as a collection of disparate ancient texts' (Harrison, 2014, p. 24).

Leopold and Jensen (2004b) stated that syncretism is problematic for Christianity because while Christianity intends to be a religion that embraces all people, it also demands complete loyalty, while Kippenberg (2004) argued that the syncretistic elements of Christianity emerged out of a cultural blend of Jewish and Greek religions. In this regard, van der Leeuw (2004) stated: 'the scars of the amalgam, especially that of the Greek and Israelite spirit, have not yet completely healed!' (p. 99).

Further suggesting that Christianity has deep-seated roots in syncretism, Anderson (1975) argued that when the Israelites went to Canaan, they worshipped Baal, the local god of the land, because it was necessary to do so for agricultural success. To ignore this would have been the equivalent of a modern-day farmer disregarding agricultural science

(Anderson, 1975). However, the worship of Baal did not mean that the Israelites disregarded Yahweh: they would turn to Baal for agriculture and to Yahweh for military success; they served both simultaneously (Anderson, 1975). Over time, ritualistic and mythological aspects of Canaanite religion were amalgamated into the worship of Yahweh, and Canaanite holy places were reconsecrated to this end (Anderson, 1975). The mixing of these two identities was so vigorous that Yahweh was, at times, referred to as Baal (Luzbetak, 1988), such as in Hosea 2, in which God consequently rebuked Israel for her adulterous worship (Coogan, Brettler, Newsom & Perkins, 2010). Despite this, Luzbetak (1988) argued, Yahweh did not desert his people but instead waited patiently: '[for] God accepts Israel as Israel is, but challenges her to ever greater perfection' (p. 368). Later prophets would compel the Israelites to choose whom they would serve and to turn wholeheartedly to the worship of Yahweh (Anderson, 1975). Brinkman (2009) contended that the creative synthesis between Yahweh and El, God of the Canaanites, in the Old Testament only enhanced the theology of the Israelites.

Under historical and psychological pressure in its early history, Badrinath (2000) argued, the church integrated into itself seemingly discordant concepts: 'Christianity assimilated parts of Judaic theology, parts of the philosophies of Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and later Plotinus, and parts of the Roman polity' (p. 149). Aspects from paganism, polytheism, pantheism and the myths, arts and protocols of the many peoples that came into Christianity were incorporated 'by insensible degrees' (Badrinath, 2000, p. 151), in some form or another, into the church. Badrinath (2000) also stated that 'syncretism can only exist where there is a distinct orthodoxy'. Syncretism has been a 'peculiarly Christian problem' (Badrinath, 2000, p. 148); for example, in a Dhārmic context—the religious context within which Hinduism and other Indian faiths exist—there is no central doctrine or set orthodoxy and the term is rendered irrelevant.

Vallée (1999) contended that, rather than signifying religious contamination, the term syncretism contains no value judgement, instead referring to the natural process of social, historical and religious development. Further, Christianity, like other religions, could not grow without syncretism (Vallée, 1999). Since belief and meaning are connected to social practice, Christianity undergoes changes that open the door to new syncretisms wherever it is introduced; these phenomena are ‘not evidence of human weakness, but the paradox of “the Word made Flesh”’ (MacGaffey, 1994, p. 255). To embrace syncretism is to overcome fear, for syncretism is a pathway to progress that should be used to uphold understandings that are beneficial (Harrison, 2014).

The gospel is ‘the treasure carried in vessels of clay’ (Schreiter, 1997, p. 71). The message of the gospel, therefore, is shaped by the culture of the speaker (Schreiter, 1997). However, concurrently, culture is changed by the gospel by way of intercultural exchange and, more importantly, because of the gospel’s invitation to metanoia (changing one’s thinking [Schreiter, 1997]).

According to Droogers (1989), Christianity can be enhanced by contact with and challenges from other cultures. This may occur because newly Christianised people understand and conceptualise Christianity through the forms and frameworks of their old religious traditions (Ringgren, 1969). For Goosen (2000), a positive view of syncretism is akin to inculturation, in that beliefs are expressed from the position of a given cultural context in a way that is compatible with Christianity. From this perspective, syncretism may be defined as ‘the justifiable fusion of compatible tenets and practices through a process of interaction and development’ (Goosen, 2000, p. 140). Furthering this positive viewpoint, Brockman (2011) declared that ‘to view syncretism as a problem is to mistake the “knowledge” of the traditional Christian situation for the truth of the divine Other that transcends all knowledge, including the Christian sort’ (p. 141).

Pannenberg (1970) stated that the syncretism that exists within Christianity should be viewed as a positive phenomenon concerning how Christian teaching is absorbed and embodied in different cultures. Syncretism is unavoidable and is 'positively the historical and concrete way in which God comes to people and saves them' (Boff, 1985, p. 99). Hocking (1958) argued that the borrowing and merging that happens with syncretism to 'compose an eclectic whole, devoid of any principle of coherence' is not necessarily a bad thing, but that 'if something is found good, it is already yours; you cannot disown it' (p. 146).

Referring to the syncretistic relationship between Christianity and Maya religions, Salazar (1997) asserted that syncretism is erroneously categorised as negative despite the positive amalgams that exist between the religions. According to Salazar (1997), Judaism and Christianity are more syncretistic than Maya religions, as they have absorbed religious elements from Canaanite, Greek, Roman and other European cultures. Likewise, Harrison (2014) maintained that Christianity has assimilated understandings from Judaism, Greek and Roman philosophies, European folk religions and Manichaeism.

According to Schmidt-Leukel (2009), God's voice is found in non-Christian religions and if Christians hear the voice of God by non-Christian means, they are obliged to listen, recognise and integrate this divine truth into their faith with an open mind and heart. This is because a 'lack of genuine commitment, a lack of serious commitment to God, would be to ignore, deny or resist God's voice—independent of where and how it has been heard' (Schmidt-Leukel, 2009, pp. 79–80). Moreover, 'an integrative, syncretistic effort' (Schmidt-Leukel, 2009, p. 80) signifies a veritable commitment to God. If truth, goodness and holiness exist outside the church, then the incorporation of other religious ideas into Christianity cannot be a case of simply 'mixing ... truth and lie, good and evil, the sacred and the demonic' (Schmidt-Leukel, 2009, p. 78).

Boff (1985) contended that the very notion of catholicity denotes syncretism: ‘catholicity as the synonym of universality is only possible and attainable through the process of syncretism from which catholicity itself results’ (p. 89). Further, concerning Catholicism, Boff (1985) argued that the way in which syncretism is valued depends on one’s position. Those in positions of power see syncretism as a threat to the established order, while those without power see it as a natural and normal part of negotiating the terms of their faith as a lived, rather than dogmatic, experience (Boff, 1985). Moreover, ‘our understanding of syncretism has always come from those who have been afraid of it: the defenders of theological and institutional knowledge’ (Boff, 1985, p. 89). Boff (1985) further contended that ‘pure Christianity does not exist, never has existed, never can exist’ and that ‘the Divine is always made present through human mediations which are always dialectical’ (p. 92). ‘What exists concretely ... is the Church, that is, the historical-cultural expression and religious objectification of Christianity’ (Boff, 1985, p. 92). According to Boff (1985), ‘the catholicity of the Church is the power to be incarnated ... in the most diverse cultures. ... To be catholic ... is not to simply expand the ecclesiastical system but to live and witness to the same faith in Jesus Christ ... within a particular culture’ (Boff, 1985, p. 98).

Christianity has, throughout history, integrated into itself elements, thoughts and truths through syncretism; this is ‘the process by which Christianity more and more becomes itself’ (Jørgensen, 2013, p. 109). Christianity approaches its fullness as it encounters, interacts with and absorbs influences from the world around it (Jørgensen, 2013). Cook and Nayap-Pot (1997) argued that, where Christian incarnation occurs, so too does syncretism, stating that ‘the first syncretism took place when “the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us”’ (Cook & Nayap-Pot, 1997, p. 313). Further, ‘if Jesus Christ the Son of God could bridge the infinite void between heaven and earth, we who

profess to follow him should be capable of stepping across the gap between two very different cultures' (Cook & Nayap-Pot, 1997, p. 313).

As previously stated, the term 'syncretism' is often associated with sentiments of contamination in religious conversations (Harrison, 2014). However, syncretism is a significant process through which human beings learn from one another and through which religions gain further knowledge and wisdom (Harrison, 2014); regarding it as solely negative stifles discussion and restricts intellectual and theological development (Schreiter, 1997). Syncretism is 'normal', 'necessary' and 'part of all religious life' (Harrison, 2014, p. 10); without it, religions cannot survive. To endure, a religion must remain relevant by being open to receiving and incorporating ancient and contemporary wisdom from other sources (Harrison, 2014). Certainly, 'Christianity's greatest theological failures have come from entering new cultural contexts without engaging in syncretism' (Harrison, 2014, p. 9).

Through religion, humans attempt to answer the great cosmic questions surrounding existence, the purpose of life and the potential of life beyond mortality (Harrison, 2014). As humans interact with one another, the breadth and depth of their cosmic questioning expands; through syncretism, so too does their access to answers to these questions (Harrison, 2014). Aside from objective and subjective approaches to syncretism, Harrison (2014) argued for an advocacy approach:

The point of an advocacy approach to syncretism is to seek a new and different kind of mutuality. This approach asks questions like 'What can others teach me? What can I learn that will enhance my understanding of the world and enable a richer life for the whole earth and beyond?' Most of all, syncretism involves disposing of the assumption that truth is my individual possession, and pushes the question 'What can we know and accomplish together?' The advocacy approach to syncretism assumes that life in the world is a project of mutuality. As a means

of progress, syncretism undermines the whole project of establishing ownership and boundaries. Boundaries turn out to be soft and permeable. Religious identity emerges as complex and amorphous. Religious authority, if it is to be faithful to the impulses that bring it into existence, must be both open-minded and willing to engage in critical thought. Syncretism is a good thing and a challenging thing. (p. 33)

The advocacy approach to syncretism involves critical engagement, open-mindedness and the crossing of boundaries of understanding to discover new possibilities and frames of reference (Harrison, 2014). Strength can arise from syncretistic mixing (Harrison, 2014). Syncretism is found in Judaism, Islam and Buddhism; indeed, all religions are syncretistic to some degree or another (Harrison, 2014).

Syncretism is normal, necessary and crucial to a religion's survival: 'we are all syncretists, by necessity and as a product of the way that humanity has always worked' (Harrison, 2014, p. 10). The most successful religions are those that are adept at engaging with other religions, learning from and being strengthened by them; those that remain isolated tend to become irrelevant. A benefit of syncretism is that the wisdom and knowledge acquired through engagement with other religions become resources for helping to answer life's questions (Harrison, 2014). Closed-mindedness 'commonly kills people and always kills systems' (Harrison, 2014, p. 10). Therefore, syncretising beneficial elements in the form of 'ancient or contemporary wisdom' from other religions allows a religion to maintain relevance (Harrison, 2014, p. 10).

Syncretism is everywhere; even those who deplore it in principle are unable to reject it in practice. Historically, it is impossible to discard the many syncretistic layers that have influenced religious traditions because 'syncretism happens and is unavoidable' (Harrison, 2014, p. 17).

4.3 Evaluating Syncretism

This study argues that Māori incorporated Christianity in self-determining ways and on our own terms. This section about evaluating syncretism, and indeed the remainder of this chapter, relies wholly on William H. Harrison's (2014) book, *In praise of mixed religion: The syncretism solution in a multifaith world*. I understand Harrison's (2014) arguments to align explicitly with a positive view of syncretism, which are used in this study to assess the positive impacts of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori. The specific ways in which syncretism positively impacted upon the development of Christianity among Māori will be further explicated later in the thesis.

Harrison (2014) argued that positive syncretism is about progress and progress is about change for the better; therefore, 'syncretism is a good thing when it results in an improvement to one's existing religion' (p. 91). He opined that it is for the individual to determine what constitutes an improvement and what criteria should be used to make a judgement (Harrison, 2014).

Harrison (2014) outlined three criteria for assessing whether syncretism improves a religion. He argued that 'the new answer must appear to be more accurate [and] more consistent with the information that we have about all reality', 'the new answer must be genuinely helpful in the world in which we live' and 'it sustains and even expands upon some important part of the religion' (Harrison, 2014, pp. 92–93). Syncretism is invariably pervasive. As Harrison (2014) maintained: Christianity was unable to remove all traces of paganism and so it instead incorporated them into its festivals; similarly, capitalist secularism has failed to remove important Christian elements from law, government and education (I would also add medicine to this list).

For two or more religions to be successfully woven together in ways that are helpful and positive, the goals of each religion must be complementary (Harrison, 2014).

For example, some Christians use yoga, which has roots in Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, to fulfil a specific need that Christianity is unable to meet (Harrison, 2014).

Harrison (2014) identified three categories of positive syncretism. The first category, symmetrical syncretism, is a balanced form of syncretism in which two or more religions become one, and in which the previous religious identities are transported into the new composition. As an example of symmetrical syncretism, Harrison (2014) cited the Chinese reception of Buddhism: Taoism and Buddhism ‘blend seamlessly’, with each offering its ‘priorities, practices, and texts’, thus becoming ‘one religion incorporating all of the roots’ (p. 97).

Asymmetrical syncretism, the second category, occurs when Religion A incorporates into itself aspects of Religion B. While Religion A maintains dominance over Religion B, Religion A is changed by the encounter. The development of systematic theology in medieval Islam due to contact with the Byzantine Empire—within which Greek Hellenistic thought was embedded—is an example of asymmetrical syncretism (Harrison, 2014). This exposure to the Byzantine Empire led to a philosophical shift, resulting in an asymmetrically syncretistic version of Islam that incorporated aspects of Greek thinking processes but ‘retained its nature’ (p. 107).

The third category, reflexive syncretism, occurs when religious components taken from Religion B are a reminder to Religion A of what has been obscured or removed over time. Religion A formerly contained elements that are similar to, or compatible with, those found in Religion B, resulting in a form of syncretistic revitalisation. Religion A is changed through association with Religion B. As an example of reflexive syncretism, Harrison (2014) cited the example of medieval Celtic Christianity. In this case, elements of the Celtic religion prompted Christianity to be ‘more true to its own roots by reminding that religion of important aspects of life that have been forgotten’ (Harrison, 2014, p. 115). While Christianity imparted to the Celts some theological certainty about the

afterlife, the Celts reminded Christianity of the ‘importance of the natural world and a religion’s response to it’ (Harrison, 2014, p. 115).

Syncretism is not always beneficial. Violence, for example, was not part of Christianity’s origins; however, in incorporating aspects of Latin thinking and culture and becoming central to the life of the Roman Empire, Christianity’s expansion regime came to include the use of violence (Harrison, 2014). Over the centuries, as empires rose and fell, Western Christianity incorporated into itself Roman ideas about power and order, Platonic notions of hierarchy and non-Christian ideas about the use of violence, including theories of just wars and practices of unjust wars, such as the Crusades (Harrison, 2014). Harrison (2014) contended that syncretism in Western Christianity is likely an example of symmetrical syncretism, in that there appear to be approximately equivalent Christian, Latin and Germanic influences.

Capitalism, in the form of prosperity theology in Christianity (also not part of Christianity’s origins), is another undesirable syncretism (Harrison, 2014). Prosperity theology holds that faith in God leads to material wealth (Harrison, 2014). According to television evangelist Kenneth Copeland (2010) and author of *Spiritual Millionaire* Keith Smith (2004), one must fully believe in God’s power to bless, name the blessing and claim it. This theology is problematic because the earth does not hold sufficient resources for all people to be rich through belief, it insults Christians in poor nations, and it undermines the essence of Christianity—to put others before oneself as Jesus did (Harrison, 2014).

4.4 Effects of Syncretism on Christianity

Harrison (2014) stated that religions should relate to each other through the process of syncretism—that is, ‘the effort to incorporate wisdom from one religious context into another’ (pp. ix–x). Syncretism ‘enlarges the pool of resources’ from which individuals may draw in attempting to understand life and their place in it: this is the ‘real

value' of syncretism as a concept and practice (Harrison, 2014, p. 147). Harrison (2014) argued for a critical openness to syncretism that necessitates critically assessing and 'accepting all of the relevant evidence rather than rejecting material which may tend to disprove our preferred positions, but also recognizing that all evidence is simply that: evidence' (p. 180).

Syncretistic critical openness leads to greater wisdom because it allows humans to examine the wisdoms of other traditions about life, the universe and their place within it, as well as to incorporate aspects of those traditions into their own lives (Harrison, 2014). Harrison (2014) contended that syncretistic critical openness liberates the faithful from the simplistic notion that truth comes in one package, freeing them to explore new and exciting faith pathways. An increase in peace may be experienced on both personal and communal levels. Personally, syncretistic critical openness may introduce more peace because it eliminates the need to feel defensive about one's beliefs (Harrison, 2014). On a communal level, peace may be increased because the need to regulate and control beliefs is decreased: 'the responsibility of the community and its leaders shifts to a focus upon rational expression of the wisdom that it has inherited and an ongoing commitment to transformation through the reception of wisdom from other traditions' (Harrison, 2014, p. 183). The most successful religions are those that deal openly with other faiths and learn what they can through these interactions as a means of religious innovation and invigoration (Harrison, 2014), in the process dealing with cosmic questions regarding existence and purpose.

4.5 Summary

This chapter explored the concept of syncretism across time, culture and religion. Drawing upon the literature, it explained the nature of syncretism (including its forms and effects on other cultures and faiths), assessed how it is variously evaluated and described the effects of syncretism on the Christian faith. The indigenous examples of syncretism

in this chapter, signalled that indigenous people adapted introduced religions in beneficial ways.

Chapter 5: Māori Religion, Prophetic Movements and

Whakapono

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of pre-Christian Māori religion and Māori prophetic movements. The chapter then examines *whakapono*, based on a thematic analysis of the relevant interview data. Themes explored include: *ngā Atua*, *Te Atua*, *Atuatanga*/Māori theology, *Te Karaiti*, *mātauranga*, *whakapapa*, *te taiao* and *te hāhi*.

5.2 Pre-Christian Māori religion

Our history did not begin with the arrival of Pākehā to Aotearoa New Zealand, nor did our religious history begin with the coming of the missionaries. Māori theology begins with Māori creation narratives that speak of emergence, growth and separation. These narratives vary somewhat from *iwi* to *iwi*, but the dominant theme, as with other creation stories, is that of moving from darkness to light, from Te Pō to Te Ao Mārama.

The Māori worldview is open and holistic and allows us to understand and value the *whakapapa*, or genealogy, between ourselves, and the world around us. *Whakapapa*, which means to layer, is the basis for our understanding of our spiritual and physical place in the cosmos and provides us with the foundation upon which we stand as Māori. Māori life is understood in spiritual terms. Birth, life and death are viewed as physical facets of spiritual life. Māori cultural concepts such as *mana*, *tapu* (restriction), *noa* (free from restriction), *mauri* and *wairua* are part of normal life for Māori and inform what we do.

Ngā Atua—commonly referred to, somewhat inaccurately, as the gods—reside and are active in the physical world. *Atua* (singular) or *ngā Atua* (plural) are more accurately described as ancestor deities with continuing influence over particular domains; for example, Tangaroa, *Atua* of the sea, and Tāne, *Atua* of the forest. *Iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* also had specific *Atua*, *kaitiaki* and other spiritual beings, such as *taniwha*

(monster, guardian), that provided protection or, conversely, punished people for breaching behavioural protocols (Simmons, 1986). These entities could also be turned against one's enemies (Simmons, 1986). In my *whānau*, we are acutely aware of our *kaitiaki*, who appear in the forms of certain animals. We acknowledge them and recognise that we must engage in appropriate behaviour within their realms in the environment. Our *whānau* theology emerges out of these experiences.

Pre-Christian Māori religion begins with the creation. Of the many different Māori creation narratives, the three main ones are outlined here: those concerning Io, those concerning the separation of Rangnui and Papatūānuku, and those concerning the creation of the first human being by *Atua*.

The notion of Io as a supreme *Atua* is a debatable one. Many scholars have argued that Io was a post-Christian invention and that 'such a tradition is inauthentic as it was intentionally created in response to foreign ideas' (Reilly, 2018, p. 13). Other scholars have claimed that the Io narrative already existed in Māori society but that it was revived and adapted by some *tohunga* to resist Christianity's advances, focussing first on those ideas from Māori culture that most closely resembled those in Christianity (Reilly, 2018).

Christianity was absorbed by Māori into the prevailing belief system, producing a uniquely Māori type of Christianity, which for some also included the incorporation of the previous *Atua* (Reilly, 2018). If Io was taught by *tohunga* and accepted by certain Māori communities in the past or contemporarily, then, according to Reilly (2018), this made the tradition authentic, as traditions naturally evolve over time and because of contact. Reilly (2018) noted too that traditions between *iwi*, *hapū* and *tohunga* are various, but that all are valid for the community within which they serve: 'none is truer or possesses more authority than the other' (p. 13).

Io exists within Ngāpuhi *iwi*. *Tohunga* and Anglican priest Reverend Māori Marsden opined that Io is eternal and located in Te Korekore, which he described as follows:

Te Korekore is the realm between non-being and being: that is, the realm of potential being. This is the realm of primal, elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seed-stuff of the universe and all created things gestate. It is the womb from which all things proceed. Thus the Māori is thinking of continuous creation employed in two allegorical figures: that of plant growth and that of gestation in the womb (Marsden, 2003, p. 20).

Io began creation by a ‘process of genealogical recitation or naming’ (Reilly, 2018, p. 13). The creation process moved through a series of ‘principal epochs’: Te Korekore (The Void), Te Kōwhao (The Abyss) and Te Pō (Night) (Marsden, 2003; Reilly, 2018, p. 13). Io then initiated the ‘state of being to come into existence’ as a ‘seed’ in Te Korekore and Te Kōwhao, which grew and expanded like a plant towards self-realisation (Marsden, 2003; Reilly, 2018, p. 14). Inside the seed, Io had placed a *mauri*, or lifeforce, which animated the seed and powered it to move through various stages of growth, from Te Pū (The Taproot) to Te Aka (The Vine), before moving into another stage of development beginning with Te Rapunga (The Seeking) and concluding with Te Hihiri (Elemental and Pure Energy) (Marsden, 2003; Reilly, 2018).

From this point of pure energy, Io set off more growth from Te Mahara (The Subconscious), moving through various stages of cognisance and knowledge to the stage of Te Whē (Seed Word) (Marsden, 2003; Reilly, 2018). Te Hauora (The Breath of Life) was then exhaled into the universe, setting off the delineation of definite spaces and so creating the corporeal sensory world and paving the way for the materialisation of earth, sky and Te Ao Wairua (The Spirit World) (Marsden, 2003; Reilly, 2018). The primordial parents, Papatūānuku and Ranginui, while continually clasped to one another, produced

several progenies who then lived in the darkness between them. Their first-born was Tāne (Marsden, 2003; Mikaere, 2011; Reilly, 2004, 2018).

The world remained in darkness, so Io instilled a sense of insurgence among the primal parents' children, to ensure that they would become irritated by the state of permanent darkness and search for light (Reed, 2004; Reilly, 2018). Having grown dissatisfied with the darkness that resulted from their parent's unending embrace, one of the children, Tāne, pushed Ranginui and Papatūānuku apart, which moved the universe into a new stage: Te Ao Mārama (The World of Life and Light) (Mikaere, 2011; Reilly, 2004). Further levels of development were assigned by Io to Ranginui and Tāne, although Io continued to manage the creative process through spirit messengers (Reed, 2004; Reilly, 2018). Following the separation of sky and earth, the land was unsuitable to live on. Io's spirits visited Tāne and performed naming and purification rituals upon him, transforming him into Tānenuiarangi (Reed, 2004; Reilly, 2018). The spirits then informed Io about the state of the land, who instructed some of Ranginui and Papatūānuku's children to ascend into heaven. It was Tānenuiarangi who successfully ascended to the highest heaven, assisted by the children of Tāwhirimātea—Tāne's brother and *Atua* of the winds (Reed, 2004; Reilly, 2018). In the highest heaven, Tāne underwent purification rituals and received heavenly appellations much like those of Io. After retrieving three baskets of knowledge and two sacred stones, he returned to the earth bearing these treasures, where they were deposited in *wharekura*—a house of learning and the traditional place where *tohunga* taught esoteric knowledge (Moorfield, 2011; Reed, 2004; Reilly, 2018).

Those *iwi* and *tohunga* that did not subscribe to the Io tradition, which accepted Io as the main and supreme *Atua*, instead chose to focus on Rangi and Papa. There are two traditions of Rangi and Papa, both written down in 1849: one by Te Rangikāheke of Te Arawa and another by Matiaha Tiramōrehu of Ngāi Tahu (Reilly, 2018).

Te Rangikāheke’s tradition begins in Ranginui and Papatūānuku’s endless embrace, where their children were forced to live in darkness. The children, who wanted to experience the light and night and day, discussed among themselves the best course of action: to kill their parents or to separate them (Reilly, 2018). One of the sons, Tūmatauenga, wanted to slay his parents, while Tānemahuta suggested separating them; most of the children agreed that separation was best (Reilly, 2018).

With the decision made, Tānemahuta successfully pushed his parents apart – portrayed in Cliff Whiting’s artwork below; however, his brother Tāwhirimātea—who did not want his parents separated—joined with his father, Rangi, and instigated war against Tānemahuta and the others by summoning winds and storms (Reilly, 2018). Tāwhirimātea attacked Tāne and Tangaroa’s offspring. Tangaroa’s son Punga and grandson’s Ikatere (father of fish) and Tūtewehiwhi (father of reptiles) divided into two groups: Punga and Ika entered the oceans, while Tūtewehiwehi went inland—both groups realising that their fate would be to become a food source for others (Reilly, 2018). Papatūānuku hid two of her sons, Rongmātāne and Haumiatiketike, in the earth (Reilly, 2018).

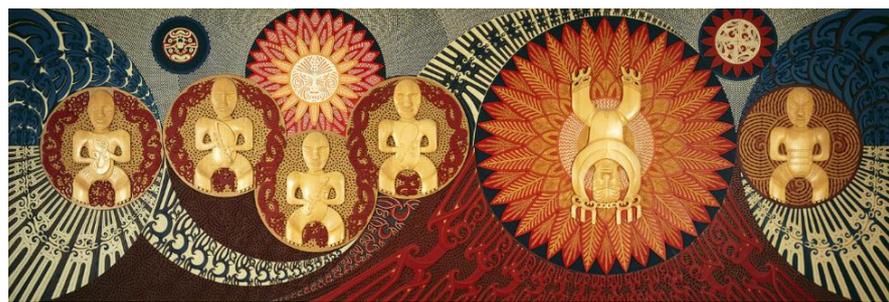


Figure 14. *Te wehenga o Rangi rāua ko Papa* by Cliff Whiting 1974 (Anderson, Binney & Harris, 2015, p. 69)

Tāwhirimātea fought with Tūmatauenga, who was the only brother who battled Ranginui and Tāwhirimātea, until their anger subsided; then Tūmatauenga fought his brothers as revenge for not helping him to fight Tāwhirimātea and Ranginui (Reilly, 2018). Tūmatauenga first attacked Tānemahuta. Fearing retaliation from Tānemahuta’s

many offspring, he created traps with which to capture them (Reilly, 2018). Then Tūmatauenga created traps from flax and used these to capture Tangaroa's descendants. He also noticed the hair of Rongo and Haumiatiketike sticking out from the earth, pulled them out of their earthen hiding places and left them in the sun to desiccate (Reilly, 2018).

Te Rangikāheke explained that Tānemahuta was the trees and birds; Tangaroa, the creatures of the sea; Rongamātāne, the *kūmara* (sweet potato); Haumiatiketike, the *aruhe* (fern root); Tāwhirimātea, the wind; and Tūmatauenga, humankind (Reilly, 2018). According to Te Rangikāheke, Tūmatauenga ate his *tuākana* (elder brothers) as *utu* (recompense) because they let him fight Tāwhirimātea by himself (Reilly, 2018). Through the act of consumption, Tūmatauenga's former *tuākana* became his *tēina* (younger brothers), and so became subject to his authority; however, Tāwhirimātea was too powerful to be subjected to Tūmatauenga's power and they remained fierce opponents (Reilly, 2018). Tūmatauenga's descendants then settled the earth.

Matiaha Tiramōrehu's version 'opens dramatically with the "Atua" singing creation into being in Te Pō'. In this story, the 'world is conceived of as a genealogy, passing through stages of light and void' (Reilly, 2018, p. 20). Tiramōrehu's version then speaks of Te Mākū, who with Mahora-nui-ātea produced Raki (or Rangi in the northern dialects). Raki had several families, but through his union with Papatūānuku produced a son, Rehua, and a daughter, Hākina, and other spirit beings. Through this coupling, other offspring also came into being, including Tāne, Paia, Tū, Roko, Uenuku, Ruatapu and Paikea, from whom human beings descended according to Tiramōrehu's narrative (Reilly, 2018). Before Papatūānuku's union with Raki, she had been with Takaroa (or Tangaroa in northern dialects), who 'went away with the popoki (placenta) of their child' (Reilly, 2018, p. 20). When Takaroa returned and discovered that his wife had produced children with Raki, a battle ensued and Takaroa injured Raki with a spear through the buttocks (Reilly, 2018).

As Raki clasped to Papaatūānuku, he instructed Tāne and his younger brothers to separate him from his wife to allow light to penetrate the world so that people could live. The children commenced the separation and light entered the world, but the world was still incomplete (Reilly, 2018). Tāne, who was responsible for completing the construction of the world, searched everywhere for suitable decorations for it and procreated with a number of female beings to create adornment for the world. Tāne mated with Te Puta-rākau and produced Hinetītama and Hineātauirā; he then mated with Hineātauirā and produced offspring (Reilly, 2018). While Tāne was in the heavens procuring trees to plant on earth to encourage birds to descend from the sky, Hineātauirā was told by others that her husband was also her father. Overwrought with shame, she fled to Te Pō. When Tāne's pursued her, she told him to return to the world and raise their children; this he did, but not before gathering stars from Te Pō with which to decorate Raki (Reilly, 2018).

The origins of humankind are essential to the creation narrative and there are several stories pertaining to this. Tiramōrehu's version begins with Tāne forming a human prototype out of soil from Hawaiki.⁵ After reciting *karakia*, he named this person Tiki-auaha. He then decided to create a woman, which he did by mixing water and earth and then copulating with her. As he mated with her, he recited *karakia* pertaining to her body parts and their proper functions. He named this woman Iowahine (Reilly, 2018).

In the *tohunga* Pōhūhū's narrative, written down by Whatahoro, Tāne (here known as Tānematua) and his elder brothers discuss how they might create descendants in Te Ao Mārama—the world of light. The eldest brother, Urutengangana, directs their

⁵ Hawaiki refers to an ancient homeland, from which Māori migrated to Aotearoa New Zealand (Moorfield, 2011). In some traditions, Io created the *Atua*-inhabited places of Hawaiki-nui, Hawaiki-roa, Hawaiki-pāmaomao and Hawaiki-tapu (Moorfield, 2011). *Wairua* are believed to return to these places following death (Moorfield, 2011).

attention to *te uha* or *te uwaha*, the female element (Reilly, 2018). After investigating the option of procreating with female *Atua*, they eventually decide that the best option was to find women from the earth (Papatūānuku); however, despite their best efforts, they were unable to find what they needed (Reilly, 2018).

Tānemahuta went to the *mons pubis* of Papatūānuku, known as Kurawaka. There, he formed a female from the red-coloured earth and breathed life into her nostrils, mouth and ears, bringing her to life. Her genitals were created and added to her body, and she was named Hine (Reilly, 2018). Tānemahuta then mated with her by inserting his penis into her various orifices, which stimulated the production of bodily fluids: ‘wax from the ears, tears from the eyes, mucus from the nose, spit and phlegm from the mouth, sweat from the armpits, clammy perspiration from between the thighs and excreta from the anus’ (Reilly, 2018, p. 24). Tānemahuta’s older brothers instructed him to insert his penis into her vagina. Tānemahuta married Hine and they had four daughters, their first-born being Hinetītama (Reilly, 2018). Tānemahuta married Hinetītama, who descended to Rarohenga (the Underworld) after discovering that her husband was also her father. There she awaits their descendants, Māori people, to look after them when they die (Reilly, 2018).

The *Atua* were central to Māori religion. While there was no Māori word for religion, this is because the natural and supernatural were perceived as one (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Keane, 2011). In addition to the *Atua*, there existed lower forms of supernatural being known as *tipua*, which can be described as goblins, demons, objects of fear or strange beings (Keane, 2011; Moorfield, 2011). *Taniwha* were *tipua* that lived in the environment and were often described as monsters, water spirits, dangerous water creatures or power creatures. They took many different forms, such as logs, reptiles or whales; some acted as guardians; and others had more sinister intentions (Keane, 2011; Moorfield, 2011). Minor *Atua* were also known as *tipua* and were pacified with offerings

of branches or twigs by passers-by (Best, 1976; Keane, 2011). Rocks and trees too were understood to house *tipua*: *rākau tipua* (supernatural trees) and *kōhatu tipua* (supernatural rocks) would often have offerings placed on them (Best, 1982; Keane, 2011).

In the Māori religion, priests were known as *tohunga*: these were priestly experts who mediated between *Atua* and the tribe (Keane, 2011; Marsden, 2003; Moorfield, 2011). *Tohunga* were considered *tapu*. Some *tohunga* were believed to be so *tapu* that they could not feed themselves, as food would *whakanoa* (negate) their *tapu*; therefore, they were fed with a stick (see Figure 15; Keane, 2011; Smith, 1974). Through the *tohunga*, who acted as mediums, *Atua* and other spiritual entities would communicate messages, causing the *tohunga* to speak with a different voice—that of the *Atua* (Best, 1976, 1982; Buck, 1950; Ngata, 2014). When channelling an *Atua*, the person was referred to as a *waka Atua*—a vessel of an *Atua* (Buck, 1950). Those who could prophesy and foretell the future were called *matakite*—which can mean prophet, seer or clairvoyant (Moorfield, 2011)—and many *tohunga* were also *matakite* (Keane, 2011).

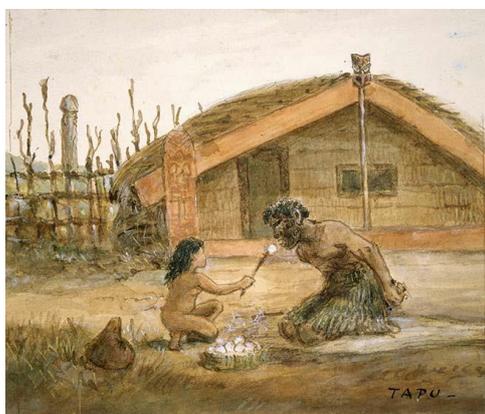


Figure 15. A Maori child feeding a *tohunga* with food on the end of a stick (Robley, ca. 1863).

A *tohunga*'s role was to maintain *tikanga*; guide and lead the tribe concerning spiritual affairs; protect the tribe from malevolent spiritual influences; heal physical and spiritual illnesses; guide appropriate rituals for horticulture, fishing, bird hunting and war; lift the *tapu* from new houses, or *waka* (canoes); and place and lift *tapu* in death rituals (Keane, 2011; Tregear, 1904). About *tohunga*, Te Rangi Hiroa (1952) stated: 'religion

was so interwoven with social and material matters that the priests were absolutely necessary to the proper functioning of Maori society' (p. 476).

Māori religion contains several imperative spiritual concepts, including *mana*, *tapu* and *noa*, *mauri*, *hau* and *wairua*—further explained in the following pages. *Mana* denotes an extraordinary power or presence, a supernatural force in a person, place or object, and can refer to prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power and charisma (Keane, 2011; Moorfield, 2011). *Mana* works in tandem with *tapu*: one influencing the other; the more esteem an event, person or object has, the more it is enveloped by *tapu* and *mana* (Moorfield, 2011). *Mana* is the continuing, imperishable power of the *Atua* and is inherited at birth. The closer one's descent is to *Atua*, the more *mana* a person has (Moorfield, 2011). The power of *mana* and *tapu* is inherited and delegated through the senior genealogical line from the *Atua*, as their human agent, to act according to the revealed will of the *Atua*. As authority is a spiritual endowment assigned by the *Atua* through descent, the inheritor of *mana* remains the agent, not the source of *mana* (Marsden, 2003; Moorfield, 2011). The delegation of power from the *Atua* to the senior line was considered divine and was initiated by the *tohunga* under traditional consecratory rites known as *tohi* and sanctioned by the elders (Marsden, 2003; Moorfield, 2011).

Mana imbues a person with the authority to lead, organise and control communal exploits and behaviours, and to make judgements regarding social and political matters (Marsden, 2003; Moorfield, 2011). The *mana* of a person or tribe can increase based on success or decrease due to failure (Moorfield, 2011). Through *mana*, the tribe empowers their *rangatira* or *ariki*, and this *mana* is dispersed over the land, water and resources upon which the tribe depends and over which it has guardianship (Moorfield, 2011). Virtually all activities were linked with the preservation and enhancement of *mana* and *tapu* (Moorfield, 2011).

Tapu refers to restriction, prohibition or a supernatural condition; to be *tapu*, a person, place or thing was dedicated to an *Atua* and made sacred and untouchable (Marsden, 2003; Moorfield, 2011; Sissons, 2016). The desecration of *tapu* would result in vengeance, sometimes including the death of the defiler and others involved directly or indirectly (Marsden, 2003; Moorfield, 2011; Sissons, 2016). Only proper *karakia* and ceremonies alleviated these effects (Moorfield, 2011; Sissons, 2016). *Tapu* regulated people's behaviour towards each other and the environment, and placed restrictions on society to ensure that it thrived (Marsden, 2003; Moorfield, 2011; Sissons, 2016). Māori would not breach the *tapu* for fear of illness or disaster ensuing from the wrath of the *Atua* (Moorfield, 2011; Sissons, 2016).

A person is instilled with *mana* and *tapu* by his or her birth (Marsden, 2003; Moorfield, 2011). Chiefly families whose genealogy was closely linked to the *Atua* were thought to be under their special protection (Moorfield, 2011). All people are *tapu* and it is each person's responsibility to preserve their own *tapu* and respect the *tapu* of others and of places (Moorfield, 2011). In some situations, people become more *tapu*, such as women giving birth, warriors travelling to battle, men carving and people that have died (Moorfield, 2011). Since resources from the environment come from one of the *Atua*, they needed to be assuaged with *karakia* before and after harvesting (Moorfield, 2011). When *tapu* is lifted, things become *noa*, which means to be free from the extensions of *tapu*, ordinary or unrestricted. This was achieved through the process of *whakanoa*, which means to remove *tapu*, to free things that have the extensions of *tapu*; it does not affect intrinsic *tapu* (Moorfield, 2011).

Mauri is the life principle, life force, vital essence, vital spark, special nature, material symbol of a life principle and the source of emotions; it is the indispensable quality and vitality of a being or entity (Keane, 2011; Moorfield, 2011)—the 'lifeforce which generates, regenerates and upholds creation' (Marsden, 2003, p. 44). Every person

and thing, animate or inanimate, has a *mauri*. If a person's *mauri* becomes too weak, they pass away (Best, 1982). *Hau*—the vital essence, vitality of a person, place or object (Moorfield, 2011), or *hau ora*—the breath of life—is considered by Marsden (2003) to be a synonym for *mauri*. He stated: 'Mauri was a force or energy mediated by hauora—the breath of the spirit of life. Mauri-ora was the life-force (*mauri*) transformed into life-principle by the infusion of life itself' (Marsden, 2003, p. 44).

Wairua may be described as the soul or spirit of a person, which exists beyond death (Mead, 2003; Moorfield, 2011). The *wairua* is instilled in the embryo by the parents, where it remains inactive until the eyes appear: 'the foetus possesses a soul or wairua while it is still developing in the womb. ... when the eyes have formed ... the wairua is activated and becomes a spiritual part of the new life' (Mead, 2003, p. 54). Some believe the *wairua* resides in the heart or mind, while others believe it is part of the whole person (Moorfield, 2011). *Tohunga* could damage *wairua* or protect the *wairua* against harm; they could also activate or impart a *wairua* into something, such as a new *wharenuī*, through *karakia* (Moorfield, 2011). In life, the *wairua* may leave the body briefly during dreams (Moorfield, 2011), and it has the power to warn a person of imminent danger through visions and dreams (Moorfield, 2011). On death the *wairua* becomes *tapu*. It is believed to remain with or near the body and speeches are addressed to the person and the *wairua* of that person, encouraging it on its way to Te Pō (Mead, 2003; Moorfield, 2011). Eventually, the *wairua* departs to join other *wairua* in Te Pō, the world of the departed spirits, or to Hawaiki, the ancestral homeland (Mead, 2003; Moorfield, 2011). At *kawe mate*, or *hari mate* (both, terms for mourning ceremonies following *tangihanga* and burial), *hura kōhatu* (graveside ceremony to unveil the headstone) and other important occasions, the *wairua* is called to return to the *marae* (Mead, 2003; Moorfield, 2011).

Karakia is the means through which people communicate with *Atua* (Best, 1900). *Karakia* can be understood as ‘a formula of words which was chanted to obtain benefit or avert trouble’ (Buck, 1950, p. 489), or as ‘prayers, incantations, spells, charms, offertories, ritual words, rites, pleas, invocations and recitations’ (Rewi, 2010, p. 15). *Karakia* are delivered exactly and rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures; precise performance of the *karakia* is vital, as mispronunciation, delay or omissions could bring catastrophe (Moorfield, 2011). The two most significant images referred to in *karakia* are of sticks and food, while the two fundamental activities referred to are loosening and binding. *Karakia* follow a pattern: the first segment summons and elects the *Atua*, the second articulates a loosening of a binding, and the final part is the action, the organisation of what is required, or a short declaration voicing the accomplishment of the action (Moorfield, 2011). The images uttered in *karakia* are from traditional narratives; there were *karakia* for all aspects of life (Moorfield, 2011). Among other uses, *karakia* were employed in the ‘construction of ocean voyaging vessels; the production and harvesting of natural resources; house construction; [and] the assignment of unwritten, inferred laws and protection’ (Rewi, 2010, p. 15). Moorfield (2011) argued that *karakia* were used for:

witchcraft, to bewitch, to divert affections, for ulcers, to mend broken bones, to counter witchcraft, to kill using *tapu*, for blindness, for choking, for going into battle, to lift *tapu*, for rain, for rain to cease, to cause lightning, to cause earthquakes, to make trees dry up, to dry up water, to make the sea rough, to calm the sea, to attract large fish of the ocean and insects of the land, *karakia* for planting, to lift the *tapu* on a harvest to ensure a plentiful crop, for storing crops in covered pits or pits, *karakia* for entering the forest or for bringing dead birds out of the forest, *karakia* for building and opening buildings, for burying the dead,

or childbirth and for leaving the house for childbirth and of the naming ceremony.

(n.p.)

Māori understand the spiritual forces of *mana*, *tapu* and *mauri* to be prevalent, all-encompassing and unavoidable; therefore, the spiritual world is navigated through *karakia* and ritual, and most of these require the specialist skills of a *tohunga* (Buck, 1950). Buck (1950) defined ritual as ‘the form of conducting the whole rite relating to one subject and it may include various ceremonial acts in addition to the chanting of appropriate *karakia*’ (p. 500).

In the *tūā* ceremony, performed in the location where a child was born, babies were given a name and the *tapu* of the birth was removed from both mother and child (Buck, 1950). *Tūā* refers to the ritual chants for protection, including to facilitate childbirth, in the naming of infants, to ward off sickness, catch birds and encourage favourable weather (Moorfield, 2011). The *tohi* ritual followed the *tūā* (Buck, 1950). *Tohi* was a ritual ceremony in which a child was immersed in or sprinkled with water from a sacred stream, to dedicate the child to an *Atua* and petition that *Atua* to bestow the child with preferred mental and physical attributes (Marsden, 2003; Moorfield, 2011). The *pure* ceremony followed *tohi*, and permanently sealed the child’s spiritual powers and *mana* (Buck, 1950). The *Tā i te kawa*, which means to strike with a *kawakawa* (pepper tree) branch, was a ritual related to the opening of a new carved house, the launching of a new canoe, and may also be conducted at child birth or during a battle (Buck, 1950).

The *rāhui* ritual involved placing the restrictions on *tapu* on certain locations or things, or to limit access to them (Keane, 2011). *Rāhui* means to put in place a temporary ritual prohibition, ban, reserve or closed season on food gathering (Moorfield, 2011). *Rāhui* were placed on an area, resource or body of water as a conservation measure or as a means of social and political control for a variety of reasons. These reasons can be grouped into three main categories: pollution by *tapu*, such as on the death of a person;

conservation; and politics (Moorfield, 2011). Concerning pollution, *rāhui* was a mechanism for temporarily separating people from areas or things that were *tapu* owing to death, which pollutes land, water and people through *tapu* (Moorfield, 2011; Sissons, 2016). Following a determined length of time, the *rāhui* was lifted (Moorfield, 2011). A *rāhui* was delineated by a visible sign, such as the erection of a *pou rāhui*—a post that indicated that an area was under *rāhui* (Moorfield, 2011). *Rāhui* was initiated by a person of rank; it was placed and removed with proper *karakia* by a *tohunga* (Moorfield, 2011).

The offering of the first fruits or *tūāpora* was a ritual used by *tohunga* to remove *tapu* (Moorfield, 2011). The *tūāpora* were reserved for the *Atua* and offered back to them, as food collection was under the domains of the various *Atua* (Keane, 2011). *Karakia* were uttered, and the first fish caught was offered back to Tangaroa to ensure that he was appeased; similarly, the first *kūmara* harvested was offered to Rongo; the first bird caught, to Tāne; and the first person killed in war, to Tūmatauenga (Keane, 2011; Metge, 1976; Tregear, 1904).

Rituals for removing *tapu* from people included *whakanoa*, which means to free things from *tapu*, and *whakahoro*, which means to remove *tapu* from people using water (Keane, 2011; Moorfield, 2011). *Hurihanga takapau* was a ritual performed when warriors returned from battle and needed the *tapu* of war lifted from them. This ritual included the kindling of two fires: next to one fire, the priest ate a *kūmara* and next to the other, a woman also ate a single *kūmara*; it was the woman who removed the *tapu* (Moorfield, 2011). This ceremony was accompanied by *karakia* and the warriors involved did not eat the *kūmara* (Moorfield, 2011).

In the *whāngai hau* ceremony, food was offered to an *Atua* to symbolically feed the *Atua* with the *hau* or essence of the offering (Keane, 2011; Tregear, 1904). The term may also be understood to mean a rite of presenting the *hau* to the *Atua* with an offering or incantation (Moorfield, 2011). *Ngau paepae*—which means ‘to bite the latrine bar’—

was a ritual used to magnify the *tapu* of warriors going into battle, to neutralise certain types of *tapu* or violations of *tapu* and to cure illness (Keane, 2011; Moorfield, 2011). *Ngau paepae* was part of the *pure* rite, with the *paepae* (beam, bar) believed to have protective powers (Moorfield, 2011).

In Māori life and religion, certain places and objects were imbued with *tapu*, including *tūāhu* or shrines, objects used to house *Atua*, bodies of water used for religious purposes, and locations that were intrinsically *tapu* because of past events (Best, 1976; Sissons, 2016). A *tūāhu* can be described as a sacred place for rituals used by a *tohunga*, comprising an enclosure containing a mound or *ahu* and demarcated by the erection of rods or *toko* which were used for divination and other mystic ceremonies (see Figure 16; Moorfield, 2011). In addition, a *tūāhu* may be described as a shrine separate from the village, consisting of heaped up stones and containing a vessel used to house *Atua* (Best, 1976; Sissons, 2016).



Figure 16. A sketch taken on the road to Rotokakahi; *he Tuahu he Pahere ranei* (Taylor, 1845).

Village latrines, known as *paepae*, or *turuma*, sacred places for ritual practices by a *tohunga*, were used by *tohunga* in different rituals, including the *ngau paepae* (Moorfield, 2011). *Wai tapu* were sacred bodies of water used for ritual purposes, including the dedication of children to *Atua* and removing *tapu* from people and from warriors returning from battle (Best, 1976). *Wāhi tapu*, or areas considered *tapu*, included

burials grounds, areas where people had died, trees where placenta had been placed and the pinnacles of important mountains (Moorfield, 2011; Sissons, 2016).

In Māori religion, some objects were believed to contain *Atua* and were used in the rituals of fertility (Best, 1925). *Taumata Atua* were considered dwelling places of *Atua*; these were images shaped from stone, located near crops as a *mauri* or life force to encourage growth and a successful harvest and to protect the vitality of the crop (Best, 1925; Keane, 2011). *Whakapakoko Atua*, or god sticks (see Figure 17), were typically carved sticks inserted into the ground, the idea being that the object would be a temporary shrine for *Atua*, to encourage the fertility of crops and richness of fisheries (Best, 1925; Keane, 2011).



Figure 17. *Whakapakoko Atua* (Hamilton, n.d.).

5.3 Syncretistic Māori Prophetic Movements

Before the arrival of Christianity, we had our own religion based on *Atua*. Our ancestors were always people of faith, who interpreted the signs of the sky, of the land, of the environment, of the waters and of the rivers; they were connected spiritually to the land and had a deep and profound belief in networks of spiritual power. The arrival of Christianity to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1814 would engender irrevocable changes to Māori society. Although contact with Pākehā and the acceptance of Christianity, to varying degrees, altered some of our beliefs and practices, we remain a deeply spiritual

people. Once converted to Christianity, 'Māori saw it as being an essential element in a package of new *tikanga* by which they could advance into modernity' (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004, p. 172). However, as Barker (1970) pointed out, Māori observed that Pākehā had multiple interpretations of the Bible, which opened the way for Māori to extract and expound indigenous understandings of the scriptures. According to Barker (1970):

The multiplicity of Christian missions in New Zealand is an important factor in sanctioning diversity, for the obvious fact that the Pakeha could draw more than one inspiration from the Bible led to the inevitable conclusion that the Maori could also find his inspiration there. (p. 46)

Vilaça and Wright (2009) argued that Christianity has always been shaped and re-characterised by the cultures of the nations or ethnic groups in which it has been cultivated. They stated: 'given its missionary and inclusive nature, Christianity has always been redefined by the social groups in contact with it' (p. 3). The emergence of Māori prophet movements is a significant example of this.

Extending to followers a sense of hope, identity and community, Māori prophetic movements represented a powerful religiopolitical response to colonialism and devastating land loss (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Māori associated themselves with the plight of the Israelites, and the concept of Hebraic descent had been introduced directly and indirectly to Māori (Elsmore, 2008). Samuel Marsden, for example, had theorised that Māori were descendants of the House of Israel, because of perceived cultural and religious similarities. By the 20th century, millennialism had also become part of the Māori prophetic movement (Binney, 2012).

The English word 'prophet' comes from the Greek word *prophetes*, which refers to one who speaks out or makes proclamations (Tishken, 2007). Prophets are those who deal personally with supernatural forces (Tishken, 2007) and promote great change within

communities. From their individual perspectives, and frequently from the perspectives of their communities, prophets are women and men who receive revelation from one or multiple divinities and intelligibly impart these messages to their followers (Humm, 2009). Before taking up their divinatory role, prophets are known to experience immense psychological tension, manifested as intense dreams, visions, incessant voices and important communications (Webster, 1979). This phase is often accompanied by a period of illness (Webster, 1979). This was certainly true of the Māori prophet Te Kooti, who was afflicted with tuberculosis when he received his divine call (Binney, 1997; Ross, 1966; Webster, 1979).

Indigenous prophets existed in different forms and with different capacities within their respective indigenous communities, as prophetic guides, seers and spiritual mediators who foresaw the events that would affect their people. Relating Māori prophets to their Hebrew counterparts, Elsmore (2008) wrote:

As the Hebrews had their prophet-leaders who were intermediaries between Yahweh and the people, and who were also their political leaders, so a parallel can be found within the Maori culture. Prophecy was an accepted part of Maori life, being practised by tohunga and indeed by anyone who might possess the power of foresight. Tohunga acted as intermediaries between atua and people in their reading of the divine will. The more political function of the leader was performed by the rangatira or ariki but very often these figures combined the roles of priest and political leader. Therefore the roles of the Hebraic prophet-figure had their counterpart in the functionaries of Maori society. When religious movements arose in response to the need of the people, the charismatic figures and prophets who arose to lead them had their models in both systems—being relatable to the former tohunga and also to the Judaic prophets. (pp. 88–89)

The influence of both colonisation and introduced religions on indigenous people reshaped the function of indigenous prophets. In the Māori context, for instance, ‘the oral histories of tribes describe seers and those spiritually gifted, but the prophets who emerged in the wake of conversion, loss of land, and warfare merged Christianity with their own beliefs’ (Sinclair, 2002, p. 22) making the post-contact prophets distinct from the traditional *matakite* and *tohunga* of the pre-Christian Māori world.

These new types of prophets innovatively merged new with old as a means of religiopolitical resistance against colonisation. The prophets created movements based on their political and spiritual visions and encouraged their followers to maintain a sense of hope in the face of adversity. Webster (1979) stated:

Associated with these movements is invariably a prophet or messiah who emerges with a message, or call to action, relevant to the particular situation out of which the movement has arisen in the first place. This message proposes a supernatural solution to the problems confronting the followers, although very often quite practical means are also employed. It is the prophet or the messiah who states the form, time and place of the millennium. (p. 49)

There were peaceful Māori movements and there were also those, like the Pai Mārire, which violently resisted colonisation. Prophets like Te Kooti, Tāwhiao, Tohu and Te Whiti, among others, aside from giving their people hope in the face of colonial injury, were some of the greatest change agents in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. According to Barker (1970):

The sayings of the prophets Te Kooti and Tawhiao and Te Whiti had helped in some measure to keep their hopes alive, just as the prophets of the Hebrews had often inspired these people to wait for the Day of the Lord when God Himself would restore them. (p. 8)

These prophets were religious leaders, political strategists and experts in warfare. Māori prophets syncretically and selectively mixed their old religion and culture with aspects of the invader's religion and culture, thus creating a hybridisation of different religious and cultural beliefs. Linking traditional knowledge with introduced knowledge served to promote Māori cultural validity at a time when the colonisers sought to erase everything.

Some Māori prophets established separate communities where they promoted hope and redemption, which are fundamental concepts of prophetic millennial movements (Webster, 1979). Prophetic millenarian movements seek salvation in the face of unfavourable conditions, from which the followers and their leaders wish to escape (Webster, 1979). Millennialism is the belief in a supernatural peace on earth, where believers organise themselves in such a way as to bring about a new spiritual age (Doniger, 1999; Landes, 2004). Doniger (1999) stated that indigenous millennial movements were often anti-colonial in nature. According to Hirini Kaa: 'In this context of the people facing the encroaching loss of their lands and the likelihood of imminent conflict, the prophet evoked a message of peace and goodness, of Book of Revelation inspired redemption and of a better future' (Hakaraia & Stephens, 2013, n.p.).

Rosenfeld (1995, 1996, 1999, 2011) argued that indigenous millennial movements emerged within a setting characterised by a disconnection from tradition, caused by a more powerful culture. Hence, 'the end of the world happens to colonized peoples; it is not imagined' (Rosenfeld, 2011, p. 93). Led by prophets, new religious movements emerged in which followers invested in the hopes, dreams and visions of their leader. These hopes and dreams were millennial in that they looked to the future where more positive outcomes were envisioned.

According to Webster (1979), during his Second Coming, Christ is meant to establish a kingdom of saints on Earth—the New Jerusalem. This notion, coupled with

the Old Testament idea of the Promised Land, laid the foundation for those prophets who wished to separate themselves and their followers from society and live according to their own dictates. Webster (1979) argued that the followers of prophetic movements almost always come into conflict with wider society or with the government as they strive to achieve autonomy. The opposition and conflict between a prophetic movement and the rest of society is frequently expressed in some form of physical confrontation (Elsmore, 2008; Roxburgh, 1985; Webster, 1979), which results in greater isolation of the movement from the surrounding society compared to before the confrontation (Webster, 1979). These movements either lose membership over time or become accepted by mainstream society, as was the case for the Ringatū movement (Misur, 2003; Roxburgh, 1985; Webster, 1979).

In the following section, the ministries of four of the Māori prophets are discussed: Papahurihia, also known as Te Atua Wera; Te Ua Haumēne; Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki; and Rua Kēnana.

5.4 Papahurihia/Te Atua Wera

Lacking immunity, Pākehā diseases devastated Māori in the 1830s (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). In the Bay of Islands, Papahurihia, also known as Te Atua Wera, was a healer, *matakite* and son of a prominent female *tohunga* (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Papahurihia attracted many followers, calling them *Hūrai* (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Considered the first Māori prophet, he established his movement in the early 1830s, when Christianity was being accepted by Māori (Elsmore, 2008; Moon, 2011; Walker, 2004). Papahurihia came from an area with many missions and drew upon his understanding of the Old Testament for inspiration (Sinclair, 2002). He was critical of the missionaries, referring to them as murderers who used the supernatural to kill Māori (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Elsmore (2008) observed that Papahurihia's movement was one in which

‘Maori attempted to relate the new teachings to traditional beliefs’ and ‘include[ed] elements of resentment of the alien culture’ (p. 111).

Papahurihia refined his new faith using fragments of an older Ngā Puhi-based religious philosophy (Moon, 2011). He was inspired by Te Nākahi (from the Hebrew ‘*Nahash*’), a spirit that represented the serpent from the Garden of Eden (Elsmore, 2008; Moon, 2011), who was considered akin to a traditional *Atua* (Elsmore, 2008). In a Māori context, where there are no snakes, the nearest animal was the *ngārara* (a creepy-crawly, insect or lizard) (Elsmore, 2008).

The significance of the serpent and its link to salvation, found in Numbers 21:9 was recalled in the New Testament: ‘and as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life’ (John 3:14–15 KJV). Relating the imagery of the serpent from the Bible to Māori, Hirini Kaa argued:

The snake is a biblical symbol of challenge which Moses used to confront the power of Pharaoh in Egypt. And Moses used the snake as symbol of hope, saving the people as long as they kept faith. To a people [Māori] who had never seen a snake, this was an abstract image that Papahurihia brought to life through the strength of his words. He used the image of the snake as a new and powerful message to his followers, that the new forces facing the people could be overcome. (Hakaraia & Stephens, 2013, n.p.)

Between the 1830s and 1860s, no significant religious movements emerged other than Te Nākahi (Elsmore, 2008). However, this period was punctuated by a series of minor responses to Christianity, which shared the rejection of the missionaries (Elsmore, 2008).

The Old Testament presented a powerful and protective God. Drawing upon this sense of power and protection, Papahurihia guaranteed that his people would be immune

from bullets, while his followers' bullets were assured unfailing accuracy (Elsmore, 2008). Te Atua Wera also claimed to be able to raise the dead (Elsmore, 2008).

In more recent research, Ward's (2016) thesis—*The invention of Papahurihia*—argued that 'Papahurihia responded to the advent of Christianity in a way that was consistent with the behaviour of tohunga at the time, rather than as the founder of a syncretistic religion' (p. iii). Ward (2016) argued that the invention of Papahurihia as a syncretistic religious leader was due to methodological weaknesses by historians, including the late Dame Judith Binney. Ward (2016) stated that Binney's 'stature as an historian and her expertise on the Māori prophets Te Kooti Rikirangi and Rua Kēnana discouraged others from revisiting her work on Papahurihia' and that '[g]enerations of historians repeated her misconception of Papahurihia's persona' (p. 181). Despite these findings, I have still included Papahurihia as he was a Māori religious leader.

5.5 Te Ua Haumēne and the Pai Mārire Movement

The Pai Mārire, or Hauhau sect, was one of the most prevalent Māori religious movements of the 19th century (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). 'Pai Mārire', meaning 'goodness and peace', described the nature of God and was repeated by Te Ua's followers. 'Hauhau' refers to the winds and the breath of life (Elsmore, 2008; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). According to Hirini Kaa:

Pai Mārire was the first Māori religion based on the Bible to have a nationwide impact. It was an attempt to distinguish Māori Christianity from the dogma of missionaries. This religion with its principles of goodness and peace was a sanctuary for a Māori people who were finding out that war with Pākehā did not bring victory. An enduring symbol to this faith was the flagpole; a link between earth and the new God in heaven. This Māori religion was created by a prophet known as 'the wind man'. (Hakaraia & Stephens, 2013, n.p.)

Born of Taranaki *iwi* descent in the early 1820s, Te Ua Haumēne was the prophet and founder of the Pai Mārire faith, the first manifestation of a self-determining Māori Christianity (Head, 1984, 1992; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Te Ua's father died shortly after his birth and, in 1826, Te Ua and his mother were captured in a Waikato raid and taken as slaves to Kāwhia. Te Ua's abductors taught him how to read and write in *te reo Māori* and he became well-acquainted with the New Testament, particularly the Book of Revelation (Head, 1984, 1992). Te Ua was baptised Horopāpera (Zerubbabel) (Head, 1984, 1992).

From the 1850s, Te Ua became involved with several movements, including the King movement, that focused on uplifting Māori and resisting the Crown. Liberation for Māori and hostility towards missionaries were emerging themes in Taranaki during this time and formed the basis for Te Ua's spiritual teaching. The keystone of his politics was the idea that Māori had the right to protect and preserve their connections with their territories (Head, 1984, 1992). In 1864, he took the spiritual name Haumēne (Head, 1984, 1992).

On 5 September 1862, the archangel Gabriel visited Te Ua. Te Ua was commanded to break the bonds of Pākehā oppression. He was promised that Māori, as part of the House of Israel, would have their birthright reinstated in the land of Canaan; that is, Aotearoa New Zealand (Elsmore, 2008; Head, 1984, 1992; Salmond, 1976; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004; Walker, 2004). Te Ua proclaimed that God's special relationship with the Māori people meant that the '*Atua Mārire* (God of Peace) promised to restore his "forgetful, naked-standing people in the half-standing land"' (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004, p. 174). Some thought Te Ua mad; however, in his view, the disbelief of others in his vision was a test of faith that authenticated him. Te Ua performed biblical-type phenomena, which stirred up a following and allowed him to establish his church in

three months (Head, 1984, 1992). Te Ua recorded his teachings and the organisation of the church in his gospel, *Ua Rongo Pai* (Elsmore, 2008; Head, 1984, 1992; Walker, 2004).

Te Ua considered his theology Christian, without the contamination of missionary error. His conceptualisation of God and the Divine was wrapped up in the notion of *pai mārire* or goodness and peace (Head, 1984, 1992). Hirini Kaa asserted:

Te Ua Haumēne's religion would be declared illegal by the settler state; its adherents hunted down and banished. Te Ua himself would be captured, arrested and imprisoned, dying of tuberculosis soon after his release. Te Ua's calling as a prophet was only during his final four years. The story of his early life and times had prepared him for that role. (Hakaraia & Stephens, 2013, n.p.)

According to Te Ua, Te Hau, the spirit of God, represented in the wind, transmitted the *niu* (news) or prophecies to the followers. His adopted name, Haumēne, associated him with the wind (Head, 1984, 1992). The Hauhau worshipped the Holy Trinity, although Christ was not worshipped separately (Head, 1984, 1992). Consistent with the functions of Christ and the archangel Gabriel, the figure of Jesus was combined with the archangel, who was addressed as Rura (Ruler) or Tama-Rura (Ruler–Son). Conversely, the archangel Michael ruled the hosts of heaven and was known to the Hauhau as Riki (Lord) or Te Ariki Mikaera (Lord Michael) (Head, 1984, 1992). During Hauhau services, participants, filled with the Holy Spirit, spoke in tongues and articulated prophecies as they encircled the *niu* flagpole. The ceremonies comprised teachings that Te Ua developed from English words and phrases, written in Māori form and divided into verses (Head, 1984, 1992).

Te Ua sought to produce a society of righteousness and peace; his gospel was based on Christ's parables (Head, 1984, 1992). He created laws that reflected those of the Bible and nurtured a discourse of admiration for women by adapting the notion of queenship (Head, 1984, 1992). Te Ua fortified Māori cultural arts but forbade traditional

practices that were detrimental to community harmony (Head, 1984, 1992). On 6 April 1864, Te Ua's church drew official attention when a government unit, led by Captain Thomas Lloyd, was ambushed and decapitated, their heads preserved and used religiously by Te Ua as reminders of the power of righteousness over evil (Elsmore, 2008; Head, 1984; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). According to Salmond (1976), 'they believed that once the head had been carried throughout the North Island, legions of angels would exterminate the Pākehā, and the gifts of tongues and all knowledge would descend upon the faithful' (p. 25). Hirini Kaa described the way the Hauhau warriors used the heads of their victims to demonstrate the power of their religion. As a result, their religion spread to almost every village in the North Island (Hakaraia & Stephens, 2013).

Te Ua's gospel was accepted by Matutaera, the second Māori king, who visited Te Ua in 1864. On 29 August, the king was baptised by Te Ua and given the name Tāwhiao (Head, 1984, 1992; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). A communiqué was sent to the king's people to cease all war and ready themselves for millennial deliverance (Head, 1984, 1992).

In December 1864, Te Ua sent two emissaries, Pātara Raukatauri and Kereopa Te Rau, to travel peacefully to Tūranga (Gisborne) to visit Hirini Te Kani of Ngāti Porou. The messengers journeyed through the central North Island, provoking armed conflict, mainly towards missionaries (Head, 1984, 1992; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004).

An Anglican missionary, Carl Völkner, who had sided with the government during the war made the error of returning to Ōpōtiki. He was ritualistically slain at a Hauhau initiation. As a result, the Pai Mārire were condemned and government forces sought to crush the religion. Many followers were exiled and, to Pākehā, 'Hauhau' became synonymous with evil (Head, 1984, 1992; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). From this point, Pākehā used the term 'Hauhau' to refer to Māori who rebelled against the government. Völkner's death was believed by the pro-government Ngāti Porou to be the

vehicle that brought war to the East Coast, which lasted until 1872 (Head, 1984, 1992). By 1865, approximately one-fifth of the Māori population was associated with Pai Mārire (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004).

Te Ua believed it was pointless to engage in further military resistance and entered into negotiations with Robert Parris, a government official. The discussions failed, and Te Ua and his followers became anxious about invasions by government militia. The threat of land confiscation galvanised Māori to resist, motivating Te Ua to continue to assert sovereignty (Head, 1984, 1992). Although the millenarian component of the Hauhau faith eventually vanished, the introduction of holy days commemorating Te Ua's vision and investiture of the first Māori king, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, demonstrate a shift towards developing the faith for the future (Head, 1984, 1992).

In 1866, the government launched a military attack on the Taranaki resistance (Head, 1984, 1992). On 2 January, Te Ua surrendered with a declaration of allegiance and was imprisoned (Head, 1984, 1992). To humiliate Te Ua and demonstrate the futility of Hauhauism, Governor George Grey held Te Ua under house arrest at his Kāwau Island home (Head, 1984, 1992). In June, Te Ua was permitted to return to Taranaki, where he encouraged peace (Head, 1984, 1992). Hirini Kaa affirmed:

Suffering the effects of tuberculosis, his health rapidly declined, and in October 1866 he died ... Governor Grey had done his best to crush the Pai Mārire religion; it looked as if prophetic resistance to colonisation was dead. However, after Te Ua's death, King Tāwhiao brought the religion to his people. (Hakaraia & Stephens, 2013, n.p.)

The Hauhau are described by Akenson (2005) as the 'raw ancestor of several Maori indigenous Judaisms and Christianities' (p. 218). Adas (1979) stated that the remnants of the Pai Mārire movement can be observed in the Māori religiopolitical factions that thrived towards the end of the 19th century. One of these is Te Kooti's

Ringatū faith. For the Pai Mārire forces, holding up their right hands in a style reminiscent of Moses raising his hand in the battle against the Amalekites (see Exodus 17:11) would protect them from bullets (de Bres, 1980; Wilson, 1973; Winiata, 1967). For the Ringatū, this action was a sign of paying homage to God (Binney, 1997; de Bres, 1980; Wilson, 1973; Winiata, 1967).

5.6 Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and the Ringatū Faith

For his followers, ‘Te Kooti was accepted as the Maori messiah, no doubt because of his success in the escape from the Chathams, his powers of faith healing, and his gift of prophecy’ (Barker, 1970, p. 17). The Ringatū faith owes its beginnings to the visions that the prophet Te Kooti had while imprisoned with hundreds of Māori political prisoners on the Chatham Islands in the mid-1860s. God spoke to Te Kooti and commanded him to teach the people. Inspired, Te Kooti promised freedom to his adherents, and together they escaped on the ship *Rifleman*. When they landed at Whareongaonga, they raised their right hands in praise, making the gesture from which the faith received its name: Ringatū, or the upraised hand. Following their escape, Te Kooti and his followers were pursued by the military. Despite many losses, the pursuit crystallised their convictions. Walker (2004) stated: ‘Te Kooti’s success emboldened him to announce his prophetic mission of struggle against Pakeha domination’ (p. 133). Initially a religion of resistance and survival, the Ringatū faith became a religion of peace, fashioned by a history of colonisation and land loss, and maintaining an enduring belief in God.

The Ringatū faith was concerned with the issues of the colonised. For its adherents, it provided hope and a scaffold for analysing the Māori position within the colonial context. Simultaneously, it extended a distinctly indigenous relationship with God (Binney, 1997; Binney & Chaplin, 1996). To provide this religiopolitical framework, Te Kooti incorporated elements of the introduced faith with indigenous Māori spirituality.

This allowed people to make sense of their situation and to reclaim autonomy over their lives.

Te Kooti foresaw the devastating effects of colonisation on Māori. Blending the missionary church with Māori spirituality resisted the colonial advances of the Pākehā and hindered the Christian missionaries (Callaghan, 2014). They lost converts to movements such as Pai Mārire and Ringatū, as it was believed that ‘these [movements] addressed more directly and without compromise the aspirations of Māori people and their desire to safeguard ancestral lands’ (Sundt, 2010, pp. 133–134).

Ringatū is based on the Bible. Te Kooti initially embraced Christianity as an Anglican. He became antagonistic towards Europeans when he saw loss of land, language, arts and *rangatiratanga*—the *mana* of the chiefs (Williams, 1999). Te Kooti turned to the liberation theology of the Old Testament, which was more relevant to Māori within the colonial context (Elsmore, 2008). According to Binney (1995):

Te Kooti took the people back directly to the scriptures, which seemed to offer them the assurance that their escape from Pharaoh’s soldiers was inevitable. They adopted the history of Exodus as their own, and the strength of Exodus history lies in its end: its unconditional promise of the return. (p. 70)

Te Kooti and his followers had a deep faith in the literal truth of the Old Testament, embracing it as proof that God saves the faithful. Followers of Ringatū believed Māori were a people in bondage, like the Hebrews (Barker, 1970; Binney, 1997; Binney & Chaplin, 1996; Elsmore, 1999, 2008; Esler, 1994; Greenwood, 1942; Laughton, 1960; Ross, 1966; Walker, 2004; Webster, 1979; Wilson, 1973).

Although the Ringatū faith focused on the deliverance theology of the Old Testament, over time it moved towards the message of Christ and the New Testament (Elsmore, 2008; Binney, 1997; Binney & Chaplin, 1996; Laughton, 1960). As Laughton (1960) discussed:

We are told that at the outset nothing from the New Testament was used. That was the Christian part of the Bible, and Te Kooti said he had suffered too much at the hands of the Christians to include anything Christian in his liturgy. Howsoever that may be, quite considerable portions of the New Testament are now in the ritual. (p. 2)

Williams (1999) declared that ‘Te Kooti achieved more than any other individual to bring together Christianity and Maoritanga in a complementary relationship’ (p. 80). Tarei (2011) concurred, stating that Te Kooti ‘acquired more for the Maori spiritually and taught the Maori more about the word of God and Christianity, than all the other churches had managed to do in twice as many years’ (p. 143).

The liturgy of the Ringatū Church comprises passages from the Māori Bible. Greenwood (1942) stated: ‘there is no other Christian organization which uses the Bible so fully as this church ... all waiatas, panuis, inois, and himines constituting a service are gleaned direct from the Scriptures’ (p. 55). More impressive is the fact that the liturgy is committed to memory. Garrett (1992) noted:

Te Kooti provided his followers with forms of worship embodying earlier pre-literate spontaneity—and relying substantially on memorization, as in ancient tradition. The Ringatu rituals, festivals and recited *karakia* (prayers) made many Maori feel at home in Te Kooti’s church. (p. 126)

Ringatū services are conducted entirely in *te reo Māori*:

The language used by the Ringatu Church, sung and spoken in its services, is classic[al] Maori. This too is an example of the wisdom and foresight of Te Kooti. In the days of our ancestors we learnt our culture from special whare wananga, houses of learning. Today these have been replaced by universities and it’s a great loss for the Maori people; the Maori language spoken today is weakened and corrupted. Te Kooti foresaw that this would happen. Although he was hunted and

persecuted, he realised there would be a need to protect and perpetuate the most precious part of the culture of the Maori, his language. And so he devised the practices of his church accordingly. (Tarei, 2011, p. 142)

Connections to land are crucial to Ringatū. Binney (1995) asserted that the original hymn was the Lamentation of Jeremiah from the Old Testament, which recalls in its final lines, ‘our own lands have been taken by strangers, but you will always be my Father, for ever’ (*‘Kua riro matou wahi tipu i nga tangata ke, ko koe tonu ia hei Matua tipu moku, ake ake’*) (p. 66; see Lamentations 5:2 KJV). With reference to the *ringa tū*—the raising of the hands—the hymn continues, ‘but let my heart and my hands be raised up in the search for my God’ (*‘Aue kia ara atu toku ngakau me oku ringaringa, ki te whai i toku Atua’*) (Binney, 1997, p. 66; see Lamentations 3:41 KJV). Binney (1995) claimed that the practice of raising the right hand comes from this hymn. Barker (1970) argued that this custom bore no resemblance to orthodox Christian prayer practices. Instead, he suggested that it ‘replaced the sign of the cross which one would have expected Te Kooti to have learnt during his time at the mission station’ (Barker, 1970, p. 23).

Barker (1970) stated that in the Ringatū liturgy:

[the expression] ‘Glory be to thy Holy Name’ [*korōria ki tou ingoa tapu*] replaces the Christian ... ‘Through Jesus Christ our Lord’. This is to be understood as a direct reference to Jehovah which omits and ignores the mediating word of Jesus. (p. 20)

The act of raising the hands is a way of resisting and rejecting orthodox Christian practices, which makes Ringatū distinct. Barker (1970) asserted that the Ringatū Jehovah is the result of an indigenous theology unique to Te Kooti’s church which ‘falls somewhere between the traditional Maori pantheon incorporated into one being, and the Jehovah of the Old Testament’ (pp. 26–27).

The Ringatū Sabbath is observed on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, rather than Sunday, which suggests that the Ringatū identified more with Old Testament theology and rejected the Sunday Sabbath of Christianity. Ringatū further reject Christian orthodoxy by not including bread and wine in their Sabbath services. This was based on a fear that Te Kooti's followers were engaging in cannibalism (Barker, 1970; Greenwood, 1942). The Lord's Prayer is included but modified. de Bres (1980) argued that the Ringatū Church omits the line:

'Give us this day our daily bread', because in the Māori bible, bread was translated as *taro* [*Colocasia esculenta*], and for Te Kooti, *taro* was a rare and high prized food source; and so it was thought that there was no point in praying daily for *taro* 'when you would be lucky to get it once a year'. (p. 42)

Despite a history of colonisation and land loss, Te Kooti's faith continues to maintain a following. According to Misur (2003):

Of all the Maori prophet movements of nineteenth century origin, it [Ringatū] has been by far the most conspicuously successful in retaining its following, and its members most resolute in proclaiming the lasting relevance of their faith within a changing social environment. (p. 97)

The Ringatū Church continues to venerate the prophet Te Kooti, upholding his teachings and performing his liturgy. Its survival is testament to the tenacity of Te Kooti and his followers. Te Kooti led his people through the darkness of colonisation and instilled in them a deep faith in God and hope for the future.

5.7 Rua Kēnana and the Iharaira Movement

Born in 1869, Rua Kēnana—of both Ngāi Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu descent—believed he was destined to assume the prophetic mantle left by Te Kooti (Binney & Chaplin, 1996; Binney, Chaplin & Wallace, 1979; Elsmore, 2008; Rae, 2012). According to Dan Hiramana-Rua, 'simply he said to his people: "I am the chosen one; I have been

prophesised by the Almighty” (Ward, 2008, n.p.). Regarding Te Kooti’s Te Umutaoroa prophecy, Kirituia Tumarae of Tamakaimoana stated: ‘the saying was that one day *ma te tamaiti tika hai huke Te Umutaoroa* [a child will come and unearth Te Umutaoroa]’ (Bennett & MacKenzie, 2011, n.p.). Believing that he fulfilled this prophecy, Rua made his claim as successor two years after Te Kooti’s death, splitting the Ringatū faith (Binney et al., 1979).

From 1904, Rua began to have visions (Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 2008). Tūhoe *tohunga*, Hōhepa Kereopa claimed that ‘he was visited by the Angel Mikaere [Michael] ... he heard the voice and the voice said “I want you to come with me. Your job is to heal people”’ (Ward, 2008, n.p.).

Rua’s claim to prophethood came after an experience on Maungapōhatu, Tūhoe’s revered mountain (Binney et al., 1979). For Rua, this represented the Promised Land (Elsmore, 2008). Rua and his first wife, Pinepine Te Rika, were instructed by the archangel Gabriel to climb Maungapōhatu. Other accounts state that he encountered Christ and Whaitiri—a deified Tūhoe female ancestor (Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 2008; Rae, 2012). On Maungapōhatu, Te Kooti’s hidden diamond was revealed to Rua (Binney et al., 1979), confirming for his followers that he was ‘the rightful successor to Te Kooti and that the God of the Bible had anointed him to be the leader of his people’ (Rae, 2012, p. 229).

In 1907, Rua and his followers, the Iharaira (Israelites), established the City of God at Maungapōhatu, as it was believed that building Zion on the mountain would stop the Crown from taking land (Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 2008). They built a circular meeting house called Hiona (Zion), embellished with yellow diamonds and blue clubs; this was Rua’s parliament and council chamber (Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 2008). The gateway to the settlement displayed the word Mihaia—a transliteration for Messiah—which is how Rua was identified (Binney et al., 1979).

Rua declared himself a spiritual healer and prophet. From May 1906, the police closely monitored Rua, as he was believed to be a *tohunga*. In 1907, the *Tohunga Suppression Act*, which targeted Rua, was passed (Binney et al., 1979; Lange, 1999; Webster, 1979). Attempts were made to prosecute Rua under this Act, but these failed due to a meeting between Rua and Prime Minister Sir Joseph Ward in March 1908. This meeting became known among the Iharaira as the ‘Ceremony of Union’. Here, Rua agreed with Ward that there could not be a separate Māori government and that Māori and Pākehā existed beneath a single sun (Binney et al., 1979). Rua interpreted this as meaning there would be one law for both Māori and Pākehā. In response, he created a flag comprising the Union Jack stitched with the words ‘*Kotahi te ture mo nga iwi e rua Maungapohatu* (One law for both peoples Maungapohatu)’. This flag was later described by Pākehā as seditious (Binney et al., 1979, p. 99).

Rua’s leadership style was based on pacificism and the idea of one law for Māori and Pākehā. During the First World War, Rua’s position was considered rebellious (Binney et al., 1979), as he advised his people not to volunteer for the war. In response, the government arrested Rua on charges of illicitly selling alcohol (Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 1998, 2008). According to Hōhepa Kereopa, ‘the real reason was to crack his methods of amalgamating people, because the charge was sly-grogging’ (Ward, 2008, n.p.). In 1915, Rua was sentenced by local magistrate Robert Dyer to three months’ incarceration, the maximum penalty possible for his crime; however, this sentence was for a suspended charge for a comparable offence from 1911 (Binney et al., 1979).

Following a disputatious meeting about the opening of Tūhoe land, Rua was summonsed on 19 January 1916 to appear in court on the 1915 charges. However, he repeatedly refused to attend, arguing that he needed to harvest his cocksfoot grass and stating that he would attend court the following month (Binney et al., 1979). Dyer deemed this response in contempt, and Rua was arrested by force (Binney et al., 1979). The

conflict that followed, on 2 April 1916, was the worst conflict between police and a Māori community of the 20th century. Two Māori were killed, including Toko, Rua's son (Binney et al., 1979). Rua was arrested and sentenced to one year of hard labour and 18 months of imprisonment.

Rua's arrest was not legal, as it took place on Sunday and was for a minor offence. Cullen used excessive force and should have been charged with murder, manslaughter and common assault (Binney et al., 1979). Rua's supreme court trial was one of the longest in Aotearoa New Zealand legal history. The judge, F. R. Chapman, dismissed the charges of resisting arrest at Maungapōhatu but tried Rua for using seditious language, directing others to murder or incapacitate the police and resisting arrest on a previous occasion (Binney et al., 1979). The jury eliminated the charge of sedition and was incapable of ruling on the charge of encouraging harm to the police. Rua was found guilty of resisting arrest on the first occasion (Binney et al., 1979). Thus, Chapman delivered a sentence of one year's hard labour and 18 months imprisonment. Despite public protest and a petition to the government from eight jury members, Chapman's ruling went ahead, as the judge believed that Rua had an extensive history of rebellion and was part of a racial group that had to be reminded who wielded power in Aotearoa New Zealand (Binney et al., 1979).

In April 1918, Rua was discharged from prison and returned to his community. Rua commenced rebuilding his community but it failed economically (Binney et al., 1979). By the 1930s, his followers were compelled to leave Maungapōhatu in search of food and employment (Binney et al., 1979). Rua returned to the community he established at Matahi in 1910, where he died on 20 February 1937 (Binney et al., 1979). Rua prophesied that he would be resurrected on the third day after his death. When he did not rise, he was entombed in a concrete crypt next to his house (Binney & Chaplin, 1996; Binney et al., 1979).

Identifying himself as the Māori Messiah, Rua's mission was centred on assembling his people and building them a sustainable economic future in the shadow of their sacred mountain. Rua provided vision for his people during times of devastation (Binney et al., 1979). According to Hirini Kaa, 'Rua's story has echoed down across the decades as a vibrant symbol that keeps alive the issues Rua fought for: justice and Māori autonomy within a faith framework' (Hakaraia & Stephens, 2013, n.p.).

As has been the case for many indigenous people, Māori prophets combined the religious ideas of missionaries with their indigenous beliefs as a means of preserving their culture and resisting colonisation. Colonisation is a process whereby the world view of one group is attacked by another. The coloniser assumes political and economic power and forces the other to assimilate. For the colonised to survive this invasion, coping mechanisms must be employed.

Oakes (1997) stated that 'opposition to convention and their ability to inspire others with their visions' (p. 2) is something all prophets have in common. Prophetic movements gave voice to the anxieties and tensions of Māori and other indigenous peoples, as they endeavoured to discover remedies to their suffering at the hands of the coloniser. Moura-Koçoğlu (2011) affirmed:

The emergence of religious movements reflected indigenous people's dissatisfaction with the state of Māori affairs. The thorough political and economic marginalization from mainstream Pākehā society exacerbated a widespread sense of personal and spiritual insecurity. The incessant loss of ancestral land as well as the disruption of the traditional life-style contributed to deepening disillusionment and demoralization, resulting in a profound loss of identity frames of reference. (p. 29)

As responses to the tensions and effects of colonisation and land loss, Māori prophets united their followers and gave them a sense of security in an uncertain colonial

context. Walker (2004) argued that, ‘unity across tribal divisions was to be achieved through the mystical power of religion’ (p. 130).

Māori, like other indigenous people, used Christianity as an instrument of political resistance against the coloniser. Moon (1993) maintained that ‘Christianity provided the framework that individuals were able to build upon, fusing traditional Maori religious and spiritual elements with those of the Old and New Testaments to meet the circumstances and expectations of the time’ (p. 83). Referring to Māori prophetic movements, Moura-Koçoğlu (2011) asserted that the ‘religious cults of the late-nineteenth century had a fundamental bearing on cultural constructions of indigeneity by generating novel, transcultural forms of spirituality, symbolism, and syncretic rituals’ (p. 32). Moura-Koçoğlu (2011) averred:

The striking success of these religious movements in rapidly gaining followers is explicable within the context of the hostile environment for Māori, reinforced by colonial structures of discrimination and oppression. Aside from economic dissatisfaction and political disillusionment among the largely rural Māori population, the psychological situation was a determining factor in fomenting the crisis of identity: Socio-economic discontent and cultural alienation left the original inhabitants of Aotearoa New Zealand in pursuit of leadership and spiritual orientation. (p. 31)

In addition to boosting Māori identity, prophetic movements provided Māori with a means of coping with the psychological, physical, spiritual and cultural trauma that resulted from colonisation. Douglas and Boxill (2012) opined:

The new economic order and technological transformation wrought by colonization were accompanied by political subjugation to a settler society that denigrated Maori beliefs as both heathen and fanciful myth. Maori responded defiantly with guerrilla warfare and various forms of more passive resistance,

including withdrawal. Syncretic Messianic movements became very popular; they appeared to be the only hope of redemption for their followers. These religions drew partly on the authenticity of Maori tradition and partly on the Old Testament. Maori leadership has always had a strong element of prophecy. (p. 38)

Referring to the spread of Christianity to indigenous people, Kaplan (1995) affirmed that ‘elements of Old Testament and New Testament narrative have been incorporated into the local mythology not as precursors to the acceptance of Christianity, but as new adhesions to traditional belief systems’ (p. 2). He further claimed that when the Bible was translated, indigenous peoples interpreted the meaning without any regard for imported orthodoxies. As a result, indigenous peoples located themselves within the scriptures, such as by identifying with the ancient Hebrews. Moon (1993) highlighted:

The lasting irony of the missionary presence in New Zealand in the nineteenth century is that without the introduction of the Bible, many of the Maori religious sects, which competed with the missionaries for followers, would not have been possible. (p. 83)

The Bible provided a new narrative that Māori prophets used as a platform from which to launch their visions and interpretations of salvation, in opposition to those of the missionaries. Thus, Māori prophets reshaped the Judeo-Christian mould to suit their needs and world views. Moon (1993) maintained:

This need for the Maori input in and shaping of Christianity, as opposed to simple reverting to traditional Maori religion, shows a sharp awareness by the nineteenth century Maori religious leaders of the strength of organised religion, and of the parallels of Biblical events to the Maori struggle. (p. 81)

In relation to how Māori adjusted to Christianity, Grau (2011) affirmed that ‘Maori adopted some of it, adapted other things, and mixed and blended in elements of their own culture, using forms of logic that aimed to make sense of the changes occurring

in place and time’ (p. 209). Religious syncretism, in which missionary-based Christianity was combined with Māori ideas and beliefs, was a coping mechanism for Māori, and a stumbling block to the missionaries’ work. Callaghan (2014) argued:

Syncretism was a practice considered by transplanners of the gospel to be one of the greatest barriers to the authority of colonial Christianity. The mingling of traditions illustrates creative development of Indigenous theologies taking place in their midst. In Aotearoa, Christian beliefs were being integrated into cultural traditions by local *tohunga* and their followers, and by main religious leaders of the nineteenth century, such as Papahurihia, Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and Te Ua Haumēne. (p. 183)

The introduction of Christianity as part of the colonial toolkit was a political act. In opposition, Māori prophets united groups of Māori within religiopolitical movements that appealed to a people whose land and way of life was being destroyed. The Māori prophetic movements were political and united followers to resist Pākehā invasion.

Māori prophetic leaders such as Papahurihia, Te Ua, Te Kooti and Rua were considered Messiahs of their people. As leaders of Messianic movements, these prophets were political in their resistance to colonial advances. Fuchs (1965) stated that ‘Messianic movements, being in their very essence revolutionary, become provocative and dangerous to the established government if the leaders are strong and militant. The established government often reacts violently to such provocation and suppresses the movement with great severity’ (p. 10). This was true for those Māori prophetic movements that received attention from the colonial government.

5.8 Themes from the Data

5.8.1 Ngā Atua

Nan believed in *ngā Atua*. She understood them to exist in the environment. She was Ringatū and so prayed to and worshipped Ihowā—the God of the Old Testament—

in a very Māori way. Nan understood *ngā Atua* to have their place but she considered the practises of traditional Māori religion far too onerous for her children and grandchildren to take on. However, she raised us to be aware of and respect *ngā Atua*, but to lift up our prayers to Ihowā. For Nan, faith in the ‘man upstairs’—as she would often say—provided for us a much less arduous framework of faith than that of traditional Māori religion, that we could use to navigate and protect ourselves in a tumultuous and ever changing world.

Ngā Atua are all around us, located in the environment. For retired Anglican Bishop B. Te Haara (personal communication, 7 June 2017), ‘*ngā Atua* are part of us through *whakapapa*, they are part, as we are, of the universe’. Similarly, Reformed Old Catholic Bishop R. Tamaiparea-Puki (personal communication, 27 April 2017) believed that *ngā Atua* inform Māori identity through *whakapapa*: ‘*ngā Atua* are part of our world, environment, and identity as Māori’, while Anglican priest Reverend C. Karauti-Fox (personal communication, 6 July 2017), considered *ngā Atua* ‘personifications of nature’.

Explaining his understanding of Māori theology, Bishop B. Te Haara (personal communication, 7 June 2017) exclaimed: ‘*Ko Ranginui e tū nei, ko Papatūānuku e takoto nei!*’. This statement declares Ranginui as the Sky Father above us and Papatūānuku as the Earth Mother below, and acknowledges that they are ‘our world, and we cannot live without them’ (B. Te Haara, personal communication, 7 June 2017). Referring to Papatūānuku as his ancestor, Anglican priest Reverend C. Karauti-Fox (personal communication, 6 July 2017) opined, ‘Papatūānuku is my *tupuna* (ancestor) and so I am part of the earth and the earth is part of me’.

‘At the base of *ngā Atua*’, Anglican Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) asserted, ‘is the recognition of divine energy’; Tangaroa, *Atua* of the sea, represents ‘the divine energy present in the *moana* [ocean]’ and Papatūānuku, the ‘sacredness and divinity’ of the earth. The divine energy of *ngā Atua* are present in sky, earth and ocean, and ‘Māori theology incorporates those realities’. In

his words, ‘I am as much Paul the Apostle as I am Paikea, and there is no dysfunction in that relationship; in fact, they inform each other. And so, too, with the Christ’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). For him, understanding something of *ngā Atua* ‘allows me to engage with the fact that there are many names for God’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

‘I don’t pray to *ngā Atua* in the Christian sense of prayer’, Reverend C. Karauti-Fox (personal communication, 6 July 2017) stated; however ‘I acknowledge *ngā Atua* by recognising their importance in the environment’, including by offering the first fish caught while fishing to Tangaroa. This act, he maintained, is a way to connect with *Atua*.

For theologian Dr M. Callaghan (personal communication, 31 March 2017), *ngā Atua* are the ‘beautiful ways that we express our understanding of God’. In her view, Māori cultural stories about *ngā Atua* were informed by ageless wisdoms that ‘explain to us something of God’, and that ‘God is actively participating and reflected in everything around us and in and through *ngā Atua*’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017). Relatedly, G. Cameron (personal communication, 5 April 2017), another theologian, stated that ‘*ngā Atua* were our first revelation of who we now call God’. Presbyterian minister Reverend H. Te Rire (personal communication, 4 April 2017), further opined that ‘*ngā Atua* are an indication to us that God is *wairua*, and *wairua* is everywhere’.

Anglican priest and academic Reverend Dr H. Kaa (personal communication, 2 June 2017) recognised the existence of *ngā Atua* and their realms ‘in the ocean, the land, the sky, in the world around us’. He did not differentiate between a Māori realm and a Christian one. Rather, he believed that Māori and Christian understandings of divinity have been integrated through our language and practices. He recalled the significant example of his grandmother, a minister’s wife. Though a devout Christian, when gardening she recognised the domain of Rongo, *Atua* of *māra* (cultivation), by taking ‘her

little stone *Atua* to the garden’ (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017; see Figure 18). Extending on the notion of the Māori and Christian realms working together, he asserted that, when providing *karakia* for the sick, ‘I take with me *Te Atua, ngā Atua*, Jesus, and faith in the hospital machines and Western medicine’ (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017).



Figure 18. Taumata Atua: Tapu stone—representing the Atua Rongo—placed in gardens to increase productivity of crops (Keane, 2011)

Anglican Archdeacon N. Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017) described his admiration of the use of symbolism depicting *ngā Atua* in some Māori churches, notably on the pulpit at St Faith’s Church in Rotorua, which features ‘carved figures of *Atua Māori* holding up and supporting the gospel’. At his church, Hemi Tapu, the altar features two carved candleholders that represent ‘*Atua Māori* holding the light of Christ in their hands’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017). He maintained that the symbolism of *Atua Māori*, as an important feature atop the altar, illustrates ‘the ultimate truth of my faith’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017). For him, *ngā Atua* may represent ‘facets of the experience, encounter, and truth of God’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017). While for some, reconciling Christian beliefs with *ngā Atua* may be problematic, Archdeacon N.

Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017) pointed to the Trinitarian understanding that ‘Jesus was of the Father, separate but the same, and so too with the Holy Spirit, separate but the same’ to illustrate the irony concerning understandings of *ngā Atua*.

In explaining the word *Atua*, *tohunga* and Presbyterian minister Reverend M. Albert (personal communication, 8 April 2017) asserted, ‘*ko te Atua kare e kitea hei tua*’, which can be understood to mean that *Atua*—both Māori and Christian—are unseen and beyond our sensory perceptions. For him, *ngā Atua* are known to Māori, yet remain unseen; he says that we may ask: ‘*kei hea a Tānemahuta?*’ [where is Tānemahuta?], to which the response might be: ‘*he Atua, kare e kitea*’ [an *Atua* is unseen] (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). Asking the same question of other *Atua Māori*, such as Tangaroa, Hineteiwaiwa and Ruaumoko, Reverend M. Albert (personal communication, 8 April 2017) declared, ‘*he Atua Māori katoa ēnei Atua, engari kare e kitea*’ [All of these *Atua* are *Atua Māori* and as such are unseen]. According to him, the word *Atua* best describes the Christian God, from a Māori perspective, because the God that we understand to be in heaven is also unseen: ‘*kare anō tātou kia kite* [again we are unable to see it] but it’s there, beyond’ (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017).

Relating Māori and Hebrew perspectives on creation, Anglican Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne (personal communication, 4 April 2017) asserted that the narratives of *ngā Atua*—of Papatūānuku and Ranginui, and Tāne and Hinetitama—are Māori understandings of creation and development that run adjacent to, but which are certainly not dependent upon, Hebrew understandings. He argued that the Hebrews have their stories and we have ours: ‘each has their place to try to explain creation from their respective tribal perspectives—Hebrew and Maori’ (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017). Both sets of understandings, he maintained, point to a

belief in divine origins and ‘this is part of the growth and development of human understand’ (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) appreciated *karakia tahito*: ‘I respect the *whakapapa* of it. I see those things as being produced from times and seasons that predate us. I draw on them in a way too because I had mentors who were experienced in those things’. Ordained minister and *tohunga* Reverend M. Albert is both a Christian cleric and a practitioner of the ancient arts of *karakia tahito*. For him, the two worlds do not exclude each other, despite there being ‘some aspects of *karakia tahito* that conflict with Christianity’ (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). Instead, he accepts the differences between the Māori and Christian spiritual understandings as ‘part of the great mystery of God’, affirming that ‘I leave those things in God’s hands’ (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). Concerning his role as *tohunga* and practice as an exponent of *karakia tahito*, he draws a clear distinction between his roles as *tohunga* and cleric: ‘When I am asked to open a *whare*, I don’t stand there with holy water, dressed in a cassock; I stand there as Māori, connected to Papatūānuku and Ranginui, with my *tīpuna* beside me’ (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). Indeed, he attributed his ability to navigate between both worlds to his strong identities as both Māori and Christian.

5.8.2 Te Atua

In English, Nan referred to God as the ‘man upstairs’. Although she believed in the existence of ngā Atua and understood them to be part of our Māori world, she described the practises of traditional Māori religion as ‘heavy’, ‘difficult’ and ‘hard’. For her, belief in a single God of love—with its associated notions of loving and forgiving others and its promise of a place in heaven—was more appealing. Of course, her father, Hāpurona was Catholic and her mother, Pare was Ringatū, and so the concept of Te Atua, of God, was part of her inherited belief system and identity, which she instilled in us.

Māori Christian understandings of God undoubtedly include Māori cultural concepts and frames of reference. We refer to God as *Te Atua*. As seen by Reverend M. Albert's description of *Atua* as elusive, hidden and beyond, this is a suitable Māori term to give expression to the mystery of God. The Christian God has been incorporated into the Māori world in very Māori ways. Some believe that God was introduced to Māori, while others hold that God was always here, manifested in the environment as *ngā Atua*. For University of Otago Māori Chaplain and former Moderator of the Presbyterian Māori Synod Reverend W. Te Kaawa (personal communication, 4 April 2017), 'God was here long before Christianity arrived. We had different names for and a different approach to God that reflected life in Aotearoa'; further, 'God was active here and prepared us for the coming of Christianity' (W. Te Kaawa, personal communication, 4 April 2017). Certainly, *karakia Karatiana*, or Christian prayers, are commonplace at most Māori gatherings.

For Bishop B. Te Haara (personal communication, 7 June 2017), *Te Atua*, or God, is *wairua*: 'God cannot be everywhere at once unless God is *wairua*'. Archdeacon N. Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017) recalled that during his training at St John's Theological College, the late Archdeacon Hone Kaa explained *wairua* as 'literally, two rivers—one coming from heaven and the other from earth—and the connection of *wairua* being the point where the two rivers meet'. '*Wairua* is an encounter', he affirmed; 'it is the space where heaven and earth meet' (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017).

The meaning of the word *tapu* has been obfuscated by Christian notions of holiness and sanctity. *Tapu* originally referred to something being sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden or under *Atua* protection; however, in a Christian sense, it may also refer to something being holy (Moorfield, 2011). Archdeacon N. Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017) reported often grappling with the 'conundrum

of *tapu*'. As a priest, when he is asked to bless an object, 'people will want me to use water because the action of sprinkling holy water will make it holy' (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017); however, he understood that making something holy in the Christian sense does not make it *tapu* in the traditional Māori sense (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017). To demonstrate the complexity of the word as it is now used, he cited the example of the sprinkling of water used by Māori to remove *tapu* after leaving the *urupā* following a *tangihanga*.

Reverend M. Albert (personal communication, 8 April 2017) stated that '*tangihanga* is the ultimate ceremony of Māori society' and that 'Christianity is almost always at the centre of the *tangihanga* process with regard to *karakia* and burial'. At *tangihanga*, both Hinenuitepō (*Atua wahine* of the underworld) and Jesus are referred to concerning the afterlife. In the ancient practices of *karanga* and *whaikōrero*, which are carried out on the *marae ātea*, a person who has died is farewelled and instructed to travel to the underworld to be cared for by Hinenuitepō. However, each evening, a church service is held in which a priest, minister or *kaumātua* officiates and offers prayers of comfort for the family. This extends to the burial service, where the remains of the deceased are committed to the earth to await the glory of the resurrection in Christ. In a sense, Jesus and Hinenuitepō are, for some, co-collaborators in the afterlife, each offering a metaphor for the eternal rest of the soul.

On the one hand, Hinenuitepō is our *kuia*, our ancient mother. Before she took on the role of the Great Maid of the Night (Mead, 2003), she was Hinetītama, the wife of Tāne, who fled to the underworld upon discovering that her husband was also her father. Becoming Hinenuitepō, she informed Tāne that he was to remain above to raise their children, while she would stay below to receive and care for their offspring when they died (Orbell, 1998). On the other hand, Jesus offers those who believe a place in heaven that he has prepared in one of the many mansions in his Father's kingdom. Like the

arguments surrounding the conception and nature of God, the topic of the afterlife is enigmatic and subject to interpretation and cultural context. For Māori, we are certain of a *wairua*, or spiritual life. It is a natural and normal part of our cultural context; our people see, feel and interact with *wairua* daily. The introduction of Jesus to this spiritual life does not necessarily detract from the narrative of Hinenuitepō as the mother of our souls, it is simply another view—a reflection and refraction of the mystery that is life after death.

For Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne (personal communication, 4 April 2017), *tangihanga* is the most important ritual for our people because ‘*tangihanga* is our theology’. Similarly, Presbyterian minister Reverend H. Te Rire (personal communication, 4 April 2017) asserted that ‘we can see our theology unfolding at *tangihanga*; it is a theology that embraces, comforts and brings healing to the *whānau pani*’. In Archbishop D. Tamihere’s (personal communication, 16 March 2017) view, ‘*tangihanga* is where you find a full expression of our theology’ because ‘*whakapono* is part of who we are and is fully intertwined with everything we do on the *marae ātea*’. Gathering to mourn and support one another, he maintained, is crucial to the *tangihanga* process and the theology expressed in that context (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017). He explained:

Our theology is at the *marae*—the way we work together to support one another for *tangihanga* for three days or more. For this time we feed people, *manaaki* (hospitality). It’s about how we support one another during *tangihanga* and that’s our theology. (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017)

Archdeacon N. Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017) related the *tangihanga* to liturgy: ‘there are rhythms and patterns that play out, some of which reflect the liturgies of the church’. From the moment that the *tūpāpaku* arrives at the *marae*, he affirmed, ‘the *tangihanga* becomes a liturgy’ that informs many of the processes that occur on the *marae*, such as *karakia*, *hīmene* and burial (N. Simmonds, personal

communication, 18 May 2017). The theologies and liturgies that converge in a *marae* context come from many denominations, as pointed out by Reverend H. Te Rire (personal communication, 4 April 2017), who considered it a privilege ‘to be part of an association of Māori priests, ministers, and pastors’: ‘at a *tangihanga* one might see ministers from traditions such as Rātana, Ringatū, Presbyterian, Anglican, Mormon and Catholic, who work together to minister to the people’. Despite theological differences, ministers from different denominations were able to work together on *marae*, because ‘theology does not divide us, we are *wairua* people, we are bound together by *whakapapa*, united in purpose through *tangihanga*, and we work collectively to bring the message of God’s love to our people’ (H. Te Rire, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

With *tangihanga* invariably comes the concept of life after death. During *whaikōrero*, reference is made to Hinenuitepō, or the decedent’s journey to Hawaiki. However, a Maori Christian service will also speak of heaven and the many mansions that Jesus has prepared for us in his Father’s house. For Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne (personal communication, 4 April 2017), the heaven that Jesus speaks of was a Jewish one. He declared: ‘Heaven is a concept. Jesus described the Kingdom of God from his Jewish perspective as a place of gold, jewels and mansions’ but ‘our heaven is a Māori heaven, it is Hawaiki’ (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017). Certainly, from a Māori cultural point of view, Māori have no need or desire for the heaven described by Jesus for his Jewish audience. Rather, a Māori heaven, in the form of Hawaiki, is the home of the gods, said to have been created by Io (Royal, 2015). It is the original home of Māori and where we will return in death (Royal, 2015).

5.8.3 *Atuatanga*/Māori theology

Nan’s *Atuatanga*, her theology, was based in the Ringatū faith and a Māori worldview that accepts the spiritual—the ‘unseen’—as real, valid and significant. When Nan was seven years old, she lay sick in bed. As she looked from her bed, out of the front

door of their shack-like home in Waiōhau, she saw a woman walking through the paddock towards her. The woman wore a light coloured dress, typical of the early 1900s, with a bow around her neck. The woman continued walking toward my grandmother until she reached the fence post, where she stood and stared at my grandmother. Startled, Nan called out to her father. He could not see the woman but asked my grandmother to describe what the woman was wearing. After hearing the description, my great-grandfather told Nan that the woman was his aunt and that she had come to let them know that Nan would get better soon.

Nan's story is not unusual for Tūhoe or Māori more broadly. We accept the spiritual as part of our reality. Spiritual experiences are normal to us and form part of our *Atuatanga*, our Māori theology. We accept that one can simultaneously have faith in God and see and be guided by *wairua*. Indeed, this is part of the way in which we use syncretism to interpret and make sense of our reality.

'From the outset', Salmond (2017) argued, 'the Bible stories began to influence Māori thinking' (p. 189). The Bible was a new system of knowledge with which we engaged critically and intellectually (Cooper, 2017). Indeed, 'Māori embraced literacy and Bible ownership as a means to gaining access to new knowledge' (Paterson, 2010, p. 109). While some, like Mikaere (2005, 2011, 2016), might argue that the Bible and Christianity, as part of a cultural invasion, has played a significant role in changing *tikanga* for the worse, Cooper (2017) asserts that our ancestors always looked for ways to enlarge our knowledge base and that the Bible and Christian understandings were part of that expansion. The 19th-century Māori prophet Te Kooti expertly and critically blended Māori and biblical ideas as a strategy for transformation, not as an endorsement of Pākehā culture. Further, as G. Cameron (personal communication, 5 April 2017) stated, based on a foundation of *tapu*, *mana* and *whakapapa*, 'our ancestors read the Bible through their eyes, and in their *reo* (language), informed by a Māori worldview'.

As an essential part of 19th-century Māori print culture, the Bible was ‘instrumental in the construction of a collective Māori consciousness’ (Paterson, 2010, pp. 114–115). From this consciousness emerged a critical understanding that the Bible could be interpreted in multiple ways. According to Hirini Kaa:

Although the Bible had been brought to this land by Europeans and was tied to Empire, it was no imperial document. Instead our *tīpuna* saw it through their own cultural eyes as a living embodiment of the divine, which when tied to our own ancient knowledge, would provide a source of liberation from and resistance to all that would oppress us. (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.)

For Wiremu Tāmihana, Christianity exposed the reality that the empire was, by its own Christian standards, morally wrong, which provided justification for taking up arms against it (Cooper, 2017; Stokes, 1990). Other 19th-century Māori leaders were also acutely aware of the hypocrisy of the empire. Te Kooti believed that one way to mitigate the negative effects of the empire and Pākehā law was to use that law against itself (Higgins, 2012). He said ‘*Ko te waka hei hoehoenga mo koutou i muri i ahau ko te Ture, ma te Ture ano te Ture e aki*/The canoe for you to paddle after me is the Law, only the Law will correct the Law’ (Binney, 1997, p. 490).

The Māori prophets critically engaged with the Bible and Christianity, and then, through a process of ‘rejection and reformulation’ (Elsmore, 2008, p. 100), challenged the validity of missionary Christianity and selectively developed syncretistic movements that reflected their harrowing circumstances as metaphorical Jews in exile. For Reverend Dr H. Kaa (personal communication, 2 June 2017), there were certainly historical tensions concerning the negative effects of the church. However, he maintained, ‘the Bible was also the foundation of every major resistance movement—Pai Mārire, Kīngitanga, Ringatū, and others, in the 19th-century’ (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017). Without the Bible, 19th-century resistance movements would never have existed. Rather

ironically, the Bible, when interpreted through Māori eyes, provided our people with the tools necessary to resist the empire. As G. Cameron (personal communication, 5 April 2017) argued: ‘ultimately, Christianity was not an impediment to Māori resistance, but instead assisted in our resistance to empire and colonisation’.

The exodus theology of the Old Testament powered anti-colonial movements among indigenous people (Brett, 2019). This was certainly true of the 19th-century Māori prophets. G. Cameron (personal communication, 5 April 2017) noted that for Māori Christians ‘the exodus theology is a theology of an enslaved people seeking freedom with an understanding that our *Atua* partners with us in that journey from slavery to freedom’. The exodus motif, he continued, provided a framework for Māori to work through colonisation: ‘the prophetic movements of the 19th-century, and the knowledge that we come out of that *whakapapa* both genealogically and theologically, points to the reality that we are an exodus people’ (G. Cameron, personal communication, 5 April 2017).

G. Cameron (personal communication, 5 April 2017) did not believe that our ancestors accepted the ‘appalling theology of empire, that the civilising mission went hand in hand with Christianity’. Instead, Māori viewed the narrative through our own eyes and willingly appropriated the exodus theme. By locating ourselves in the exodus story, ‘our *tūpuna* readily accepted that we were *Hūrai*, and like the Jews we had been oppressed’ (G. Cameron, personal communication, 5 April 2017). As he explained:

The Exodus story was an unexpected gift of European Christians to us. God moves in mysterious ways, and so this story of slavery and freedom, brought to our shores by the missionaries, became the material that the prophets used to inspire their faith movements. (G. Cameron, personal communication, 5 April 2017)

For G. Cameron (personal communication, 5 April 2017), the exodus experiences that our ancestors lived through in the 19th-century inform our Māori Christianity today. He described Māori faith as a collective one: ‘It is important for us to realise that what

we have maintained from our Old Testament theology is that our faith is not an individual faith, it is a collective faith’ (G. Cameron, personal communication, 5 April 2017).

Explicit Māori theological writing is scant and only started to emerge after the 1960s (Tate, 2012). Previously, the theological literature paid little attention to Māori theology. This is likely because, as Darragh (2003) contended, there were few writers of Māori theology, and Pākehā theologians were unable to traverse the terrain, or considered the area non-Christian. Darragh (2003) categorised Māori theology into three approaches: recovery, critique and reformist.

A recovery approach to Māori theology refers to ‘a *recovery* of key Maori concepts that have not been considered in the Christian theology of the past’ (Darragh, 2003, p. 55). The recovery aspect of Māori theology, Darragh (2003) argued, can be seen in the Anglican and Presbyterian Māori liturgical texts. Referring to *A New Zealand Prayer Book: He Karaki Mihinare o Aotearoa*, and specifically to the *Te Hakari Tapu* service from page 476, known affectionately to some as simply ‘476’, Bishop B. Te Haara (personal communication, 7 June 2017) declared: ‘Our theology is contained in “476”. It’s all there. There, Christ for us is *te pou herenga waka* [mooring post]’. In the Anglican Prayer Book, we find reference to Papatūānuku and Ranginui:

No reira matou ka tapae ki a koe

I a matou whakamoemiti.

Mo Ranginui i runga nei, mo Papa-Tuanuku e takoto nei (The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2005, p. 477).

While the prayer book offers a poetic ‘translation’ of these lines, a more literal one would be: so, we now offer thanks for Ranginui above, for Papa-Tuanuku below. For Darragh (2003), this is an example of a recovery-type Māori theology, which ‘is not explicitly Christian, but yet not thereby pre-Christian or non-Christian’ (p. 55).

A critique approach to Māori theology ‘provides a critique of some culturally and politically important Maori practices and understandings’ based on scripture, Christian tradition or feminist theology (Darragh, 2003, p. 56). Darragh (2003) questions the motivations of this approach and asks:

Does this imply a critique of Maori religious concepts and practices in general because they are seen to be largely unchristian, that is, is this a general resistance to syncretism, or is this critique confined to particular points of Maori concepts and practices? (p. 56)

The reformist approach to Māori theology seeks to critique and reform the church practices that have been applied in the Aotearoa New Zealand context (Darragh, 2003). For Darragh (2003), the Māori prophetic movements signalled a rejection of the traditions of missionary Christianity. A reformist approach ‘maintains its connections with overseas church traditions, as in the Maori section of the mainline churches’ and ‘it is inevitably reformist to the degree that it seeks to restructure an originally European church into one that respects Maori cultural forms’ (Darragh, 2003, p. 56). Cameron (2015) summarised Darragh’s (2003) approach:

The intention of Māori contextual theology is recovery of our own relationship with God, critique of the theologies offered to us by the church over many years, and reform of theologies and orthopraxis in relation to the God that is encountered here, the land by whom we are formed and tangata whenua, first peoples in this place. (p. 28)

Pā Henare Tate (2012) argued that Māori theology is theology developed by Māori for Māori. For him, ‘theology cannot simply be received “from elsewhere”, as if there simply exists a monocultural theology having universal claims to truth and relevance to Māori’ (pp. 16–17). Instead, Māori theology ‘is rooted in the faith-filled contemporary experience and culture of the Māori people’ and takes into account ‘their

own analysis of their culture, language, symbol systems, stories, myths and values that were a part of their culture in the past and that continue to have significance in the presence’ (Tate, 2012, p. 21).

Conceptually, Bishop R. Tamaiparea-Puki (personal communication, 27 April 2017) considered Māori theology to have been ‘very much practised in our culture’ as representing the ‘relationship of the Divine to the human, and the human to the Divine’. Similarly, Reverend C. Karauti-Fox (personal communication, 6 July 2017) argued that ‘Maori theology is about Maori perceptions of God and any concepts of the Divine from a Maori point of view’. For him, Māori theology is something that Māori live but do not necessarily articulate as ‘theology’ in the Western academic sense. Māori theology, he stated, ‘is simply a way of life for us’ (R. Tamaiparea-Puki, personal communication, 27 April 2017).

Regarding Māori theology, Dr M. Callaghan (personal communication, 31 March 2017) follows Pā Henare’s *Atua, Tangata, Whenua* model: ‘his model exemplifies Māori theology’; it is ‘relational in that it’s about the relationship between God, people and environment’. Further, she contended, Pā Henare’s model ‘addresses the importance of *tapu* and *mana*, concepts that are not in opposition to Christianity’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017). For her, Māori theology is about enhancing the *mana* and *tapu* of others and of God’s creation. Māori theology, she argued, ‘is not exclusively Christian but is God-focussed’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017).

For Pākehā Marist priest, Father David Gledhill, known to Māori as Pā Rāwiri, ‘Māori theology is the Māori people’s relationship with a God—the God of Isaac, Abraham, and Jacob—who speaks to them personally, and they speak back to God’ (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4 April 2017). ‘Māori come to God as Māori’, he affirmed, ‘because Māori come from God’ and ‘it is to God they will return, and God will

greet Māori with a *hongi* (pressing noses in greeting), and say “tēnā koe”, and the *poupou* (wall pillars) of the *whare*, too, will be there to greet us’ (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

Pastor S. Moetara (personal communication, 7 April 2017) held that ‘Māori theology is about looking at Christ, and scripture and God’s work in the world through Māori eyes’. Engaging with theology from a Māori perspective was important for him, and he cited Pā Tate’s notion that Māori theology is for Māori, and by Māori. He argued that Māori theology, therefore, should be ‘done by Māori, to answer Māori questions and to serve Māori theological interests’ (S. Moetara, personal communication, 7 April 2017).

For Reverend Dr H. Kaa (personal communication, 2 June 2017), a historian, ‘theology is history’ and so Māori theology is connected to Māori history—‘not the Western discipline of history but a Māori understanding’—and is about ‘how *iwi* Māori have engaged intellectually with Judeo-Christian ideas’. Māori theology, he argued, allows us to engage with God, theology and Christianity, from where we are as Māori (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017). He asserted that Māori theology does not require a European intermediary, because as Māori we can look directly to the source stories and connect with God through the commonalities that we share in those narratives, such as *maunga* (mountains), *awa* (rivers), *tīpuna* and *whakapapa* (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017). The Old Testament theologies particularly, he affirmed, were communicated directly into the Ngāti Porou context by Taumata-ā-Kura, who brought the gospel to Ngāti Porou in 1834, as well as by Mohi Turei and others (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017). In this way, he contended, Taumata-ā-Kura gave expression to ancient Middle Eastern stories in new contexts and made them relevant to the needs of Māori (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017).

For Archdeacon N. Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017), the landscape of Māori theology was changed by Pā Henare’s model, which showed clearly

‘how inconceivable it is for Māori to have a relationship with God without a relationship with the land, without the environment’. He argued, ‘Māori theology is encountering God in a Māori way’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017). Tribal identity as Tainui, the *whenua* and the *awa* were frames of reference for his theology: ‘I am a river person. The way that I understand and engage with God is based on my identity which is shaped by our river, our land, our history and our *tongi*, which are known to us in Tainui as prophetic sayings’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017). In the view of Archdeacon N. Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017), Tainui theology is ‘a unique perspective that’s not exclusively Christian, but is probably understood by most Māori as having Christian elements’. It is ‘a way of understanding, communicating, feeling, knowing God, that is Māori, that is Tainui’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017).

Māori theology, Reverend M. Albert (personal communication, 8 April 2017) contended, is theology informed by Māori ideology: ‘Maori are a spiritual people and we are connected to the environment and as such we used the elements of *ngā Atua* as the context for our spirituality’. Therefore, as Māori ‘we are able to participate in both worlds: Māori and Christian’ (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). As part of his theology, he relates to *ngā Atua* ‘as being *ngā kaitiaki kikokiko*—the guardians of the physical realm’ and stated that ‘being Presbyterian does not impede my commitment to being Māori and acknowledging *ngā Atua*’ (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). Moreover, he contended that his Presbyterian faith ‘is a means of support that strengthens my resolve as Māori, and being Māori means to believe in and do Māori things’ (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017).

For Reverend M. Albert (personal communication, 8 April 2017), being Māori is a gift, as ‘God did not give to us our *Māoritanga* [Māori culture, practices, beliefs] for us to deny it, it is who we are’; therefore, ‘it is impossible for me, as Māori, to separate

myself from my *tuakiritanga* [identity]’. ‘Our *tuakiritanga*, our identity, our way of life’, he contended, ‘is from God, and whatever we add to that identity is part of our spiritual journey, as God has intended’ (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). As both an ordained Presbyterian minister and a *tohunga*, it was his view that ‘those Māori cultural practices that remain have been allowed by God to remain with us’ (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). He recounted an interaction with a Pākehā associate, who once asked him to consider ‘doing away with your old flesh’, to which he responded by asking ‘if he had done away with his old flesh’ (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). This person was asking him to do away with being Māori; however, for him, ‘it would be impossible for me to be Christian without being Māori’ (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017).

As an Anglican priest, Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne was trained to work with a theology that originated with the Hebrews and has been filtered through centuries of European thinking and philosophy. For him, ‘we already have this knowledge about God within us and as part of our experience as Māori’ (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017). He stated that Māori theology is a way of contextualising and expressing our understandings of the Divine. The Hebrews, he explained, developed a language to speak about God over thousands of years and ‘we too have developed and continue to develop our own language to speak about the Divine’ (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017). Indeed, ‘the theology is in our *reo*, in our practices, in our ways of being, in our cultural fabric’ (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

For Reverend H. Te Rire (personal communication, 4 April 2017), Māori theology ‘is in the actions of our people living their day to day lives because as Māori we action our theology in terms of our *wairuatanga* rather than merely talk about theology’. An example of this theology in action is the way in which he engaged with nature. He stated:

‘when I am in the *ngahere* (forest) and I hear a bird speaking to me, I will speak back to that bird, and I acknowledge that bird’s genealogical seniority to me and say “*ngā mihi e te tuakana*” [greetings to you elder sibling]’ (H. Te Rire, personal communication, 4 April 2017). He also reported using Christian *karakia* when performing cultural functions, such as harvesting wood for carving. While admitting a lack of knowledge of *karakia tahito*, he explained that Māori Christian ministers have effectively acted as surrogate *tohunga*: ‘Māori Christian ministers more or less perform a similar function to that of the *tohunga*—it’s about serving the needs of our people’ (H. Te Rire, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

Reverend W. Te Kaawa (personal communication, 4 April 2017) commented that Māori theology is ‘how we as Māori talk about God’ and ‘how we reflect on the teachings of our *tīpuna* and the theology contained in *ngā pūrākau* [stories, myths, legends], *ngā kōrero* [narratives, stories, discourse] and bringing all of that into the context of today’. Māori theology is more than a perspective, he opined, ‘it is my reality, my Māori reality, the reality of my Māori relationship with God, and understanding that God was here before Christianity’ (W. Te Kaawa, personal communication, 4 April 2017). He also noted having seen the word *Atuatanga* in old Māori Presbyterian texts to describe Māori theology (W. Te Kaawa, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

Atuatanga may be defined as ‘divinity’ (Marsden, 2003, p. 50; Ryan, 2001). In his doctoral thesis on *Atuatanga*, Hollis (2013) described the term as ‘the study of the nature and attributes of a God or Gods’ (p. 24). Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne (personal communication, 4 April 2017) argued that ‘*Atuatanga* is the beliefs that our old people had and the beliefs that they have now’. This suggests continuity of the connection between *ngā Atua* and *Atua*, the old religion, and that introduced by the missionaries. For Archdeacon N. Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017), the root word of *Atuatanga*, *Atua*, described something that is afar, over there, beyond; he held that the

concept and practice of *Atuatanga* ‘is the process of bringing “over there” closer, of encountering what is beyond, what is afar, in a deeply, intimate and personal way’.

Anglican priest Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017) preferred the term *Atuatanga* to ‘Māori theology’ because ‘a term like *Atuatanga* is bound to make theologians uncomfortable’. Politically, he asserted, Māori ‘need to use terms that only we can enter into’ so that we are the experts and authorities of the subject matter (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). Providing a description of *Atuatanga*, he stated that theology can be understood as the study of God and that, while *Atuatanga* could be understood as akin to theology, it is about all things pertaining to *Atua* and may even be used in a plural context concerning *ngā Atua* (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). He also referred to the teachings of the late Canon Eru Potaka-Dewes, who said that the stories of *ngā Atua* describe the different faces of God (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017).

5.8.4 Te Karaiti

If God had a face, what would it look like?

And would you want to see?

If seeing meant that you would have to believe

In things like heaven and in Jesus and the saints and all the prophets?

(Osborne, 1995).

Joan Osborne’s (1995) song calls to mind a profound and poignant question: what does the face of God look like? Further: what does the face of Jesus, as God incarnate, look like? Does he look like me? Is he Māori? I recall images of Jesus in the homes of *whānau* and friends. One such image was of a 1950s-style Jesus, with a European profile and baby blue eyes. He looked quite content in this image; this Jesus had not anticipated what was to come. This Jesus was white. In another illustration of Jesus, he was suffering, crowned with thorns, with a look of anguish and annihilation in his eyes—the weight of

the world's sins, past, present and future, crushing him. This Jesus was also white. Another such image is the iconic Sacred Heart of Jesus. In this image, the heart of Jesus is understood, by some, as a representation of Christ's love for humanity. The heart, pierced and bleeding, surrounded by thorns and crowned with the cross, radiates divine light. Again, this Jesus is white.

In the *wharenuī*, Tama-ki-Hikurangi, at our *marae* in Waiōhau, there was a brass cross inside a wood and glass case that sat upon a small, high shelf, affixed to the central *poupou* at the back of the *wharenuī*. The cross was old and tarnished. Below it was a very old and weathered framed picture of Jesus knocking on a door, illustrating Revelation 3:20 (KJV): 'Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me' (KJV). In this image, Jesus stood dressed in a light-coloured alb-like tunic and elaborate cope, with a gold crown and a garland of greenery (perhaps thorny greenery), illuminated by a halo. Aside from the crown, Jesus appeared to be wearing liturgical garb. He held in one hand an elegant lamp, using the other hand to knock on a door covered with overgrowth, suggesting that this door has been closed for a long time (Holman-Hunt, 1905). Interestingly the door did not have a doorknob. This old image was a battered print of William Holman-Hunt's 1853 painting, *Light of the World*. Concerning the absence of a doorknob, Holman-Hunt (1905) explained that this represents 'the obstinately shut mind' (p. 350). Jesus knocks, but the individual must open the door from the inside. This Jesus was, again, white.

I once asked Nan why Jesus was so important. She simply replied 'because he is the Son of God'. For her, Jesus set the example for us. His life on earth taught us how to love in a different way and to forgive one another. In a very personal way, Nan's belief in Jesus allowed her to forgive and move on from issues that might otherwise have caused

her great emotional or mental distress. Her faith gave her a sense of freedom from the past.

Dr M. Callaghan (personal communication, 31 March 2017) emphasised the importance of Jesus being relevant to Māori. For Jesus to be relevant, she argued, ‘he must be engaged and understood in a Māori way and from a Māori perspective’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017). He is known ‘as the Shepherd to some but we use Māori terms with particular Māori meanings to describe him, such as Te Pouherengawaka [a mooring post]’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017). As the term Te Pouherengawaka is located in a Māori frame of reference, to understand Jesus as Te Pouherengawaka there must be a syncretistic mixing of Christian and Māori worldviews. Syncretism is the way in which we can understand Jesus from a Māori perspective.

If Jesus comes to us in a way that we can recognise, what of a Māori Jesus? James K. Baxter’s well-known poem caused me to reflect on what a Māori Jesus might look like. Baxter was Pākehā; therefore, his poem shows how a Māori Jesus might be perceived by a Pākehā person with a cross-cultural perspective that seeks to subvert the Eurocentric Christ, to critique Pākehā culture and society (Anderson, 2019; Dennison, 2005; O’Sullivan, 1976):

I saw the Maori Jesus
Walking on Wellington Harbour.
He wore blue dungarees,
His beard and hair were long.
His breath smelled of mussels and paraoa.
When he smiled it looked like the dawn.
When he broke wind the little fishes trembled.
When he frowned the ground shook.

When he laughed everybody got drunk. (Baxter, 1988, p. 347)

My response to Baxter's poem was to write about a Patuheuheu Jesus:

I am the Patuheuheu Jesus

I go eeling and hunting

My knife is always sharp

My hīnaki is always bursting

I don't eat wild pork, cos I'm a Jew

But I give it away to the old people

They make boil up and

pāpākiri⁶ thick with butter. (Rangiwai, 2018b, p. 595)

Typically, Tūhoe/Patuheuheu men are providers for their families. They use inherited knowledge and skills to gather food from the environment. Indeed, the 'empirically based biological knowledge' of the environment is 'encoded in the whakapapa' (Roberts, 2013, p. 97). The intersections of *whakapapa* and environment provide a 'cosmoscape' of a location, habitat or ecosystem (Roberts, 2013, p. 97). The Patuheuheu Jesus, as the poem indicates, is a hunter, gatherer and provider, although he does not indulge in eating swine.⁷

For Tūhoe, the environment is part of a genealogical matrix within which Tūhoe are located. Mataamua and Temara (2010) contended that 'Tūhoe trace their origins to

⁶ *Pāpākiri* can mean scaly or flaky bark, as found on the *rimu*, *mataī*, *monoao* and *kauri* trees (Moorfield, 2011). However, in my *whānau* and *hapū*, Patuheuheu, we use the word to mean a type of round, flattened bread. In my opinion, Nan made the best *pāpākiri*, which was eaten warm with lashings of butter.

⁷ Simply too little is known, even in light references to purity codes addressed in Mark 7:15, about whether early Christians kept or denied Jewish food laws forbidding the consumption of pork (Räisänen, 1982).

the ancient union between Te Maunga (the mountain) and Hinepūkohurangi (the mist maiden)' (p. 97). Indeed, 'Tūhoe believe they are the direct descendants of their environment. The mountains and rivers are their ancestors and the forest inhabitants their kin' (Mataamua & Temara, 2010, p. 97). Within this matrix, 'all manners of tree, plant, rock, fish, eel stream, pool, lake, bird, rodent, insect and environmental force, have a genealogy and are related either directly or indirectly to the people' (Mataamua & Temara 2010, p. 98). As Mataamua and Temara (2010) stated: 'No physical task was undertaken without consulting the appropriate deity and reaffirming the relationship with the environment' (p. 99). This implies a significant connection between the act of gathering food and *ngā Atua*.

Referring to *tohunga* Hohepa Kereopa's interpretation of the Christ, Reverend W. Te Kaawa (personal communication, 4 April 2017) explained that for Hohepa, the beginning of creation started with Io. Io, a spirit, created Tāne—who become the *Atua* of the forests and ancestor of Māori in some stories—and became physicalised in him, moving from spirit to the corporeal world. In this way, Hohepa Kerepa appeared to liken Tāne to Christ, as he considered both to become the embodiment of the immense spirit that we call Io, or God.

Fillingham (2016) noted that Christ-figures seem to be common in film. In the film *Whale Rider*, Paikea—named for an important Ngāti Porou male ancestor—is a female Christ-figure, central to the polymythic story. Though Fillingham (2016) is aware that the application of a Christological frame to the *Whale Rider* story may be viewed as Christian cultural imperialism, he also makes the point that Christ narratives have become central to Christian-informed locations—such as Aotearoa New Zealand—and have shaped the ways stories are told and received. The ancestor Paikea is so illustrious in Ngāti Porou that he is commemorated in the *iwi* anthem named for him, which expresses

the act he is most famous for: riding a whale from Hawaiki (Reedy, 2017; Sciascia & Meredith, 2014; The story of Paikea and Ruatapu, 1962).

Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) stated: ‘I am as much Paul the Apostle as I am Paikea, and there is no dysfunction in that relationship. They inform each other. And so too with the Christ’. Talking about the late Archdeacon Hone Kaa’s reference to Christ as Te Kūmara o te Ora, or the Sweet Potato of Life, he observes that *kūmara*’s importance as a staple food for Māori, like bread was in the Middle East, makes it fit that we refer to Christ in this way. He says ‘if you think about the importance of *kūmara* to our people, you get a sense of how Jesus could be the Bread of Life for us’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) argued that as Māori, ‘our *whakapono* is not simply a clone of an English church, it is indigenous, and that’s how the Gospel works’. When speaking about Christ, he stated: ‘we’re talking about an incarnational theology: the word became flesh and Christ in his “fleshness” became a Jew, shaped by the culture and language of his people’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). As an expert in the Torah, the prophets and the writings of his people, he argued, ‘like our Māori people, Jesus loved the Old Testament’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). Our people, he explained, were drawn to the Old Testament: ‘they looked straight past the British missionary, past the white Jesus being presented to them, and saw a very Māori Jesus, doing very Māori things, expressing the *whakapapa* of his people’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

Similarly, Pā Rāwiri stated that ‘Māori come *directly* to the Christ: a Māori relationship to the Christ is personal and direct’ (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4 April 2017, emphasis added). He described Christ as ‘a personal friend of Maori’ and adds that ‘Maori come to the Christ as Māori’ (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4

April 2017). Without a need for denominations, he argued that ‘Maori feel and experience God without Western theology, without structures, they experience the resurrection and the truth of the Christ’ (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4 April 2017). Significantly, he declared that ‘Māori are *beyond* the systems and structures of the church’ because Māori ‘speak directly to God’ and ‘confront a God who presents Himself as the Christ, born of a virgin, and crucified’ (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4 April 2017, emphasis added). He affirmed that Christ is beyond denominations and cultures, and that control by the Church and her structures of the means of salvation is problematic in light of the original faith that began on the cross when, ‘surrounded by women, water and blood—the water of baptism and the blood of the sacrament—flowed from Jesus’ side into Papatūānuku’ (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

In Christian tradition, the transfiguration, described in Mathew 17:1–8, Mark 9:2–8 and Luke 9:28–36 (KJV), is one of the miracles of Jesus in the gospels (Canty, 2011; McGuckin, 1986; Wild, 1986). For Pā Rāwiri, ‘the transfigured Christ appeared to his apostles as light and that image frightened them greatly’ (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4 April 2017). Relating the transfiguration of Christ to the Māori concept of Te Ao Mārama, the world of light—a term which refers to the separation of Papatūānuku and Ranginui and the transition from darkness to light (Royal, 2007b)—Pā Rāwiri opined, ‘as we pass through life and transform ourselves in Christ, we too will become light and this concept is found in the Māori world in Te Ao Mārama’ (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

5.8.5 Mātauranga

Broadly speaking, the term *mātauranga* refers to knowledge (Royal, 2012). Another ‘less well known and historical meaning of the term *mātauranga* arises through its association with biblical knowledge’ (Royal, 2012, p. 34). The connection between the word *mātauranga* and biblical knowledge emerged from ‘translations of the Bible and

was popularly used in the 19th and early 20th centuries’ (Royal, 2012, p. 34). With the Bible came the introduction of literacy and Western education, and ‘at various points in history, *mātauranga* has been associated with biblical knowledge, literacy and education’ since ‘these activities were and are deeply connected with one another’ (Royal, 2012, p. 34). In the context of this research, the term *mātauranga* refers to knowledge, whether it be Māori, Christian or Māori Christian.

Bishop B. Te Haara (personal communication, 7 June 2017) argued that our language is essential to *mātauranga*, as it ‘allows us to express our knowledge and theology with terms like Te Pouherengawaka,⁸ with which we refer to Jesus, giving Māori-meaning to our faith’. ‘*Mātauranga* and Maori theology’, he argued, ‘is embedded in our language’ and especially in the ‘language of our prayers’ (B. Te Haara, personal communication, 7 June 2017).

Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) referred to the role of the *kaikōrero* as one who is essentially weaving *mātauranga* and Māori theology on the *marae*. ‘*Kaikōrero* reference a living library of *Atua*, *whenua*, *tangata*, *pūrākau* [stories] and *mātauranga*’, he argued, ‘which is a way of expressing deep theology’. On the *marae*, he observed, ‘we see the interplay of *whaikōrero*, *mōteatea* [chant], *waiata*, *hīmene*, *haka*, *whakapono*, political commentary, *manaakitanga* [hospitality], *aroha* and even stand-up comedy’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

Relating *iwi*, *hapū*, *whānau* and *marae* leadership roles to those expressed in the Torah, Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) stated that ‘theologically speaking there are three voices of the Torah: prophet, priest and king’. The

⁸ This term refers to a mooring or canoe mooring post and is used by Māori Anglicans to refer to Jesus. In this way, Jesus is viewed as the *pou* or post around which all Māori can secure their *waka* in unity.

role of king relates to the ‘wise *rangatira* that balances matters based on experience’ and ‘kingly leadership is really in the end all about looking after the people, voiced in practicality’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). ‘The voice of the prophet’, he said, ‘is all about challenging power and seeking justice’ and our ministers are often working against injustice in their communities (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). But the voice of the priest, he contended, ‘is all about bringing a sense of order to the chaos’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). *Tangihanga* is ‘where we see our priests bringing to *whānau* a sense of order in the chaos of grief, loss and desperation’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). In grief, ‘our people lose their way’ and ‘our priests, through *tikanga karakia*, move our people through their grief until *kia hoki rātou ki Te Ao Mārama*’ [they have returned to the world of light] (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

The role of the priest too, Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) argued, is ‘ostensibly one of separation’ and ‘separation is a tool of creation, which we see in Genesis: night from day, dark from light, woman from man’. The separation of *tapu* and *noa* is the role of the priest, ‘to create a *wāhanga* or division through which *whānau* can travel as a means of separating from the crushing reality of grief so that they can return back to the world of light and the living’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

Referring to his ordination as bishop on his *marae*, Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) stated that ‘normally a bishop is ordained in a cathedral, where his seat is placed, a cathedra. And then you’re installed in a way that expresses your *mana* and authority over the diocese that you govern’. However, he recounted that, for his ordination, the process was reversed: ‘My first act was to kneel in the mud on my *marae*, with all of the *whakapapa* connections that I’ve referred to, and

I'm installed into' (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). Expressing the importance and centrality of the *marae*, he explained, 'when you understand the theology of *ex cathedra*—speaking from the seat of the bishop—then you understand how in a Māori world that's really expressed on a *marae ātea*' (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). In this way, on the *marae*, he continued, 'I'm installed into the *whaikōrero*, *hīmene*, *waiata*, *mōteatea* and the *tikanga* of our people' (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). Further, he argued, through *tikanga karakia*, a priest can create a metaphorical *marae*-space in which we can bring heaven and earth together for a moment in time to help our people (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne (personal communication, 4 April 2017) esteemed the innovation of Te Kooti in using *whareniui*, and the deep *mātauranga* therein, as places of worship for Ringatū. Archaeological evidence shows that early Māori houses were like those found elsewhere in Polynesia (Brown, 2009; Paama-Pengelly, 2010). When groups of Māori arrived from central Polynesia, they adapted their house-building methods to suit the cooler temperatures and new materials; Māori buildings were small, simple and semi-permanent (Brown, 2009; Paama-Pengelly, 2010). However, this changed in the 19th century.

The New Zealand Wars of 1845–1872 were a time of great chaos for many North Island Māori. For some Māori leaders, it was a fitting time, both during and after the wars, to demonstrate the prestige, spirituality and authority of the people by erecting innovative buildings that combined European technologies, techniques and materials, and which could be built much larger than earlier Māori buildings (Brown, 2009). Some Māori, like Te Kooti, discarded the teachings of the missions and developed their own faiths, which were reflected in the biblical ideas and colonial materials upon which these new *whareniui* were built (Brown, 2009). Brown (2009) argued that these buildings did not 'represent

the integration or assimilation of Māori into the larger Pākehā population, but were a reaction to the conflict, [land] confiscations and loss associated with the New Zealand Wars’ (p. 58).

The prophet Te Kooti steered the religiopolitical architectural development of the *wharenuī* throughout and after the New Zealand Wars, as a means of supporting the fight for social justice and spiritual redemption (Brown, 2009). Indeed, Williams (1999) argued that Te Kooti ‘was directly responsible for influencing the building of great meeting houses’ (p. 80). These *wharenuī* were ‘hybrid structures built during a period of rapid political change’ (Sissons, 1998, p. 37). They were ‘symbols of political unity in opposition’ (Sissons, 1998, p. 38).

Within the Mataatua confederation of tribes—which included Ngāi Tūhoe—and under Te Kooti’s guidance and inspiration, large *wharenuī* were built, with some being as large as and similarly proportioned to Christian churches (Brown, 2009; Paama-Pengelly, 2010). Tama-ki-Hikurangi *wharenuī* at Patuhuheu *marae*, pictured below, is one such example. Davidson (2004) argued that Te Kooti and his followers’ decision to locate their worship within *wharenuī*, rather than churches, was significant: ‘In so doing they made a considerable contribution to maintaining and adapting Maori traditions in a way that helped preserve the meeting house as a living focus of Maori identity, history and culture’ (p. 47).



Figure 19. Tama-ki-Hikurangi *wharenuī* (Mead, ca. 1970–1972).

These *whare* featured polychromatic painted carvings and motifs depicting historical events, sometimes in European artistic style (Brown, 2009; Paama-Pengelly, 2010). Brown (2009) argued that ‘by combining the functions of religious worship and political debate, Te Kooti and his followers created an architecture that was in sympathy with the needs and outlook of its users’ (Brown, 2009, p. 60). Sissons (1998) argued, ‘the carved Maori meeting house is, then, a traditionalised object with a genealogy in both Foucauldian and Maori senses’ (p. 44): Foucauldian because ‘its genealogy traces links between new forms of power/knowledge associated with cultural, commodification and colonial state-formation’ and Maori because ‘in symbolising ancestral connections, it embodies a history of kin-based engagement with these new forms of power’ (Sissons, 1998, p. 44).

Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne (personal communication, 4 April 2017) stated that ‘using our *whareniui* and *marae* as places of worship was a brilliant innovation from Te Kooti who was himself Mihinare’. Further, ‘Te Kooti knew the Bible inside and out and worshipping God inside the *whareniui* was part of the unique and effective theology that he created’ (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017). In Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne’s (personal communication, 4 April 2017) view, as Māori, we ‘skilfully, purposefully, and naturally mix Māori traditions with the many denominations of Christianity that meet on the *marae*’, and this ability to adapt and amalgamate ideas is ‘one of our great strengths as a people’.

5.8.6 Whakapapa

Whakapapa is ‘the key organising principle in Māori society’ (Kawharu & Newman, 2018, p. 52). The word comes from ‘papa’, which means ‘layer or layering’ in the sense that ‘one generation is layered upon another’ (Kawharu & Newman, 2018, p. 52). *Whakapapa* is the ‘scaffolding that structures not only human but also material and non-material worlds’ (Kawharu & Newman, 2018, p. 52). In the context of this work,

whakapapa refers to the layering of connections between *Atua*—*ngā Atua* or *Te Atua*—and people and the environment around us.

It could be claimed too that the way in which the very term *whakapapa* is used in this research is syncretistic as it refers to the layered relationships between traditional Māori religion and Christianity. Nan's *whakapapa* connections to *whakapono* come from the Irish Catholic heritage of her father, through his grandfather Edward Fitzgerald, and from her maternal grandfather, Rikiriki Mēhaka, who was a *tohunga* or minister, in the Ringatū faith.

Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) argued that *whakapapa* is imperative to Māori relationships between each other and to *Te Atua*, and to the world around us. Through the process of *mihi* [greet, pay homage], he argued, we acknowledge 'the line of ancestors, histories and *whakapono* behind a person'. He argued that *whakapapa* can be used to investigate and understand more deeply the origins of our theology (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

As a 'philosophical construct', *whakapapa* denotes the origins of all things in our primal ancestors, Papatūānuku and Ranginui, and because we all descend from the same set of primal ancestors, 'all things are related' (Roberts, 2013, p. 93). *Whakapapa* from Papatūānuku and Ranginui, and down through the generations, is 'visualized as a network of time-space coordinates' (Roberts, 2013, p. 97). Our ancestors continue to influence us today. As Roberts (2013) argued: 'the past (personified as ancestors) is still present and continues to impact on events today' (p. 97). Moreover, as all things descend from the same primal parents, relationships 'extend beyond the biological to material objects such as stars, as well as spiritual and historical things which are all perceived as somehow related in space-time' (Roberts, 2013, p. 97).

The concept of *tuakana-teina* is critical to *whakapapa*. *Tuakana-teina*—*tuakana* being the older sibling or cousin of the same sex and *teina* being the younger—are traced

back to the beginnings of eastern Polynesia (Reilly, 2010) and this concept is thought to be ‘the structural germ that gave rise to hierarchy again and again’ from which each generation of leadership emerged (Kirch, 2000, p. 284). Māori cultural narratives surrounding *whakapapa* provide ‘explanatory theories’ to elucidate notions of origin and descent as well as allegories containing moral principles regarding *tikanga* (Roberts, 2013, p. 97).

In the stories of *ngā Atua*, we see the *tuakana-teina* relationships at play. In Te Rangikāheke’s version of the creation narrative, we understand that Tūmatauenga was left to battle Tāwhirimātea unaided, and that to obtain revenge, he ate his *tuākana* (except for Tāwhirimātea—who remains his equal in opposition) thereby making them his *tēina* (Reilly, 2018) and altering the seniority and power dynamic. Indeed, as Reilly (2010) stated, referring to eastern Polynesian leadership, one ‘who stands as *tuakana* ... has to manifest the appropriate moral qualities or risk being replaced by someone who does’ (p. 215). Tūmatauenga was *teina* but possessed the power to usurp the seniority of his *tuākana* for not fulfilling their obligation to him in battling Tāwhirimātea. His *tuākana* did not demonstrate the qualities of leadership needed at that time and so their power was taken by their *teina*. As Te Rangikāheke’s story tells us, Tūmatauenga became the ancestor of Māori.

Unlike the 19th-century European understanding that human beings sit atop God’s creation, G. Cameron (personal communication, 5 April 2017) argued, ‘the understanding of our *tūpuna* was “*he teina te tangata*”—we are the last of all created things’. A European reading of Genesis understands that all of God’s creation is in service to human kind, ‘whereas the Māori [one] is that everything else was created before us, and so all that was created first is *tuākana* to us which means that we are the *tēina* to creation’ (G. Cameron, personal communication, 5 April 2017). Further, he stated: ‘I think Māori Christianity recognises its place in relation to the *taiao* [the natural world, environment] as a *teina*

first and foremost, and that the obligation is for us is to be *kaitiaki* [environmental steward]’ (G. Cameron, personal communication, 5 April 2017). Therefore, *kaitiakitanga* [stewardship of the environment] ‘is embedded in Māori Christianity’ (G. Cameron, personal communication, 5 April 2017).

Whakapapa is the ‘fabric of Māori social organisation’ that envelops all Māori social groups: *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (Kawharu & Newman, 2018, p. 52). *Iwi* identities are central to modern Māori identities (Leoni, Wharerau & White, 2018). Both Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) and Reverend Dr H. Kaa (personal communication, 2 June 2017)—both of Ngāti Porou descent—argued that *iwi* have their own theologies based on *whakapapa* and *whakapono*. From a Ngāti Porou perspective, Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) argued that ‘Māori theology is something we have always practised’. In the mid-1830s, Ngāti Porou converted *en masse* to Te Hāhi Mihinare, the Anglican Church (Mahuika, 2015). Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) argued that Te Hāhi Mihinare was incorporated into Ngāti Porou spirituality and became fundamental to Ngāti Porou theology. Ngāti Porou historian Nepia Mahuika (2015) argued that, through the *iwi* refrain ‘*ehara toku maunga Hikurangi i te maunga haere, engari he maunga tu tonu*/my mountain Hikurangi never moves, but remains steadfast’, Ngāti Porou filters Christianity (as well as the law, and Pākehā ideas) from an ‘indisputably indigenous position’ (p. 56).

Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) and Reverend Dr H. Kaa (personal communication, 2 June 2017) acknowledged the Reverend Mohi Turei—Ngāti Porou leader, minister, carver and *haka* composer—as a critical part of the Ngāti Porou story. Mohi Turei was born around 1830 on his ancestral lands in the Waiapū district and was a child when the gospel was carried from the North by his CMS-converted kinsfolk (Tamahori, 1990). Mohi Turei was raised in a context in which Christianity was accepted and recast by Māori: he made conscious, intellectual choices

concerning the Māori religion and Christianity, and trained in both traditions (Tamahori, 1990; D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). Mohi Turei attended a traditional *whare wānanga* under the tutelage of the highly regarded *tohunga*, Pita Kapiti (Tamahori, 1990). He also trained in theology for four years at Waerenga-a-hika and was ordained to the diaconate of the Church of England in September 1864 (Tamahori, 1990). He was priested by William Williams, the then bishop of Waiapū, in October 1870, and was believed by some to have included the arts of the *whare wānanga* in his Christian ministry (Tamahori, 1990). According to Reverend Dr H. Kaa (personal communication, 2 June 2017), ‘Mohi Turei, like all of the early Ngāti Porou priests, was trained in the *whare wānanga*—because he needed to be able to read the signs as a *tohunga*—and in Christian theology’.

Composed by Mohi Turei, the Ngāti Porou *haka*, ‘Tihei Taruke’, is ‘based on an understanding developed over generations’ concerning the implications of ‘the arrival of Christianity into a Ngāti Porou worldview’ (Kaa, 2014, p. 51). This first portion of the *haka*, Kaa (2014) explained, praises the four evangelists—Ruka, Hohepa, Kawhia and Apakura—who, following in the footsteps of Piripi Taumata-ā-Kura and others, spread the message of the gospel to Ngāti Porou. It reads:

Rangitukia ra te pariha i tukua atu ai nga Kaiwhakaako tokowha.

Ruka ki Reporua

Hohepa ki te Paripari

Kawhia ki Whangakareao.

Apakura ki Whangapirita e!

The second part of the *haka*, Wiremu Kaa explained, is ‘a theological reflection’ and ‘a vehicle to explain the juxtaposition that Ngāti Porou had reached in their theological journey, theological evolution and theological development’ (cited in Kaa, 2014, p. 51). It reads:

E i aha tera.

E haramai tonu koe ki roto ki Waiapu kia kite koe

I Tawa Mapua e te paripari Tihei Taruke

I kiia nei e Rerekohu

Hoatu karia ana kauae

Purari paka, kaura mokai. Hei. (cited in Kaa, 2014, p. 52)

For Kaa (2014), Tihei Taruke is:

poetic form that expresses the impact of Christianity on Ngāti Porou; displays the sense of agency Ngāti Porou owned over the process; and reconciles the two with imagery of the tāruke, a pot for catching crayfish in which both old and new could co-exist. (p. 51)

Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) maintained that Mohi Turei was an intellectual giant, well-versed in the traditions of Ngāti Porou, who came from ‘a tradition of deep *whakaaro* [understanding] which he applied to his decision to become Mihinare’. Indeed, he argued that his ‘sense of theology comes from that *whakapapa*’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). Ngāti Porou theology is not, he opined, ‘measured by classical, Western forms of theology’; rather, ‘it goes back to Paikea and to Hawaiki, and back further still to the origins of all things’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

Walker (2002) wrote that the Ngāti Porou leader and statesman Sir Āpirana Ngata was ‘one of the most illustrious New Zealanders of the twentieth century’ (p. 11). Ngata spent his life pursuing the emancipation of the Māori people, as a politician and as a prominent leader in the Māori world. Walker (2002) argued that Ngata was ‘a man of such extraordinary gifts of intelligence, energy and foresight that among his own Ngāti Porou people he was esteemed as a god among men’ (p. 11). In his celebrated *ōhāki*, or dying speech (Moorfield, 2011), Ngata urged Māori to understand introduced Pākehā

knowledge while maintaining the knowledge and traditions of their ancestors as an approach for Māori advancement. He wrote:

E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā tōu ao;

Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ara mō te tinana;

Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna Māori hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna,

ā ko tō wairua ki tō Atua nāna nei ngā mea katoa. (Panapa, n.d., p. 33)

Anglican Bishop Wiremu Netana Panapa—the second bishop of Aotearoa New Zealand—translates this as follows:

Grow up oh tender plant

To fulfil the needs of your generation;

Your hand clasping the weapons of the pakeha

As a means for your physical progress,

Your heart centred on the treasures

Of your Maori ancestors

As a plume upon your head,

Your soul given to God

The author of all things. (Panapa, n.d., p. 33)

Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) argued that Ngata's *ōhāki* is a 'deep expression of Māori theology'. He explained that '*Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā* is to engage with the globalised world, education, new technologies' (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). '*Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna Māori*', he stated, 'is to maintain and practise the *reo, haka, waiata, tikanga, marae* and all those things that make us Māori' because these things are 'the glory of our identity which give us confidence and belonging—*hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna*' (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). For him, '*tō wairua ki tō Atua nāna nei ngā mea katoa*' can be related to 'the conversation that Jesus has with the

Pharisees about paying tax’, in which, after referring to the image of Caesar on a coin, Jesus says “render unto Caesar what is Caesars, and render unto God what is God’s” (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). ‘It’s a wonderful response’, he remarked, ‘as Caesar might own some things, but God is everything and owns everything, and that’s really what Āpirana is echoing’ in his *ōhāki* (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). In front of the *wharenuī*, Porourangi, Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) stated:

I was installed on the *marae ātea* at the feet of Āpirana Ngata, his uncle and mentor, Rapata Wahawaha, and in front of a *whare* where all the carvings inside are women, and not far from the site where Taumataakura arrived to preach the gospel. The entire event was a significant theological statement: this is Ngāti Porou theology at the very point where *whakapapa* and *whakapono* meet.

Te Kani-ā-Takirau was the great Ngāti Porou high chief within whom ‘several descent lines of great importance to Ngāti Porou converged’ (Oliver, 2001, n.p.). The CMS missionary William Williams—who would later read the evening prayers at Te Kani-ā-Takirau’s funeral in 1856 even though he had never converted to Christianity—had visited the chief on 16 May 1840 with a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi, which the chief did not sign (Oliver, 2001; Soutar, 2000). Te Kani-ā-Takirau was one of the *ariki*, or paramount chiefs, who were offered the kingship of the King movement, which aimed to cease the alienation of Māori land. He refused this offer, famously proclaiming:

Ko taku maunga ko Hikurangi,

He maunga tū tonu

Ehara i te maunga haere.

Ko tōku Kīngitanga

Nō tua whakarere,

Nō aku tīpuna o te Pō!

My mountain is Hikurangi,
It is an enduring mountain,
It is not a mountain that travels.

My kingship is from time immemorial,
Handed down from my ancestors. (cited in Oliver, 2001, n.p.)

Te Heuheu, the paramount chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa—who had also been offered the kingship—proposed that the renowned Waikato chieftain Pōtatau Te Wherowhero—whom Governor William Hobson claimed to be the most powerful chief in Aotearoa New Zealand—become king (Papa & Meredith, 2012). In 1858, Pōtatau became the Māori king, and at the coronation Te Heuheu declared:

Potatau, this day I create you King of the Maori people. You and Queen Victoria shall be bound together to be one (*paiheretia kia kotahi*). The religion of Christ shall be the mantle of your protection; the law shall be the *whariki* mat for your feet, for ever and ever onward. (Cowan, 1922, p. 446)

Ballantyne (2012) maintained that Pōtatau's investiture ceremony revealed the 'remarkably swift integration of Christianity into the construction and projection of political authority' (p. 156). In his statement, Te Heuheu proclaimed the 'cohesive and protective role of Christianity' in relation to the Kīngitanga, and the Māori Bible was 'the central ritual object' used to crown the king (Ballantyne, 2012, p. 156). Cox (1993) opined that the Māori Bible was key to the coronation and that the same Bible has been used to invest subsequent monarchs. In the end, Ballantyne (2012) argued, 'the power of God sanctified and legitimised the power of the new King' (p. 156).

To this day, the Kīngitanga remains an 'enduring institution' (Papa & Meredith, 2012, n.p.) under the authority of King Tūheitia Pōtatau Te Wherowhero VII, and as of 2018 celebrates 160 years since its inception (Ross, 2018). Te Pahi-o-Matariki—which means the fine weather of Matariki—is the coat of arms of the Kīngitanga designed by

Tīwai Parāone (see Figure 20). The central double helix represents the creation of the world; the figure to the left is Aitua (misfortune) and to the right is Te Atuatanga (spirituality); the Christian cross features, and above it the stars are the Pleiades (Royal, 2017).



Figure 20. *Te Pahi-o-Matariki, the official newspaper of the Kīngitanga* (Keane, 2012c).

Under King Tūkāroto Pōtatau Matutaera Tāwhiao, the son of the first Māori king, the first Poukai—originally called Puna-kai, referring to a source of food—was held at Whatiwhatihoe in March 1885 (N. Mahuta, 1995; R. Mahuta, 2011). In the early 1860s, King Tāwhiao and his people had lost over one million acres of land, confiscated by the government and subsequently distributed to the settlers (R. Mahuta, 2011). The king and his people ‘were rendered virtually landless’ and were ‘forced to retreat as wandering refugees’ into what is known as the King Country (R. Mahuta, 2011, n.p.). The purpose of the Poukai was to be ‘a day for the less fortunate to be fed and entertained’ (R. Mahuta, 2011, n.p.) and as a ‘harvest festival’ (Keane, 2013, n.p.).

Like others in the ‘vanguard of Maori strategists’, and renowned for his *tongi*, King Tāwhiao ‘combined metaphysical intent with poetry to lift the morale’ of his people (Mika & Tiakiwai, 2017, p. 856). King Tāwhiao is believed to have said ‘*Mo te pouaru[, te] pani me te rawakore ko te poukai te kaupapa/* The concept of the poukai is for the widowed, the bereaved and the destitute’ (Van Meijl, 2009, p. 244). The Poukai also allowed followers to express their loyalty to the Kīngitanga (R. Mahuta, 1974; Metge, 1976; Salmond, 1976). Indeed, Poukai evolved as a means of ‘direct consultation of the

people with the King’ (R. Mahuta, 2011, n.p.). The Poukai, Van Meijl (2009) argued, is often connected, by Tainui elders, with the following biblical reference:

At the end of three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase the same year, and shalt lay it up within thy gates:

And the Levite, (because he hath no part nor inheritance with thee,) and the *stranger*, and the *fatherless*, and the *widow*, which are within thy gates, shall come, and *shall eat and be satisfied*; that the LORD thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest. (Deuteronomy 14:28–29 KJV, emphasis added)

Archdeacon N. Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017) described a theology of the Poukai based on the original concept of King Tāwhiao, around providing for those in need. Citing John 21:15–16 (KJV), he argued that Jesus ‘makes it clear that his *iwi* are the poor, the hungry, the dispossessed’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017). Emphasising the importance of the Poukai serving those in need, he referred to Mark 2:17 (New American Standard Version), in which Jesus says ‘It is not those who are healthy who need a physician, but those who are sick; I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners’.

Of the Poukai, Archdeacon N. Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017) said, ‘the Poukai is based on the premise that we are to serve the needs of *te pani*, *te pouaru me te rawakore*—the bereft, the widows and the poor’ and so ‘if you are destitute, bereaved or widowed, come and knock at the door of the king and sit and eat with him’. Therefore, he argued, Poukai is ‘at the centre of our understanding of monarchy’; he continued: ‘I say this is the Kīngitanga offering a Māori expression of the gospel’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017).

For Archdeacon N. Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017), Poukai ‘is a full expression of Māori Christianity because it’s deeply Māori in its approach in

terms of *pōwhiri* [rituals of encounter], in terms of the language spoken, and with regard to the customs and vision of the Poukai’. ‘Our king’, he contended, ‘is crowned with the Bible and calls together the downtrodden, the hungry and the bereaved, so that they can be united, nourished and sustained’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017). At Poukai, ‘they are feeding the true people of God: *te pani, te pouaru me te rawakore*’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017). For him, as followers of the Kīngitanga, ‘we are a spiritual people: the discipline is *karakia* and faith is Māori; the “type” of *karakia* is not of great concern so long as there is *karakia* performed in a faith context that is Māori’ (N. Simmonds, personal communication, 18 May 2017). Archdeacon N. Simmonds (personal communication, 18 May 2017) explained that the theology of the Poukai is about ‘striving to meet God, to commune with God, to understand God and no one denomination or expression has the monopoly on that’. Reverend H. Te Rire (personal communication, 4 April 2017) added that ‘the Kīngitanga is infused with Maori theology—forgiveness, kindness, *aroha*—it’s all there’.

5.8.7 Te Taiao

Māori theology is in the environment around us. Māori are connected by *whakapapa* to the natural world; indeed, all life is connected, and humans are not above nature in the order of the universe, but rather are intimately connected to it (Royal, 2007a, 2007b). The presence of *ngā Atua* ‘in the Māori consciousness, the tribal territory and our daily indigenous lives provides a basis for making sense of the world—in the past, the present and in the future’ (Forster, 2019, p. 9). Papatūānuku and Ranginui are the two main parts that constitute our environment, and *whenua*, the land upon which we exist, is central to Māori identity. *Whenua* is the Māori word for both land and afterbirth. For Māori, *whenua* is more than ‘land’; ‘it is much more than a mere resource; it is a large part of Māori *mana* as well as being the primary ancestor; it embodies the past and, at the

same time, is the foundation for future generations’ (Williams, 2004, p. 50). Marsden asserted:

Whenua was the term both for the natural earth and placenta. This is a constant reminder that we are of the earth and therefore earthly. We are born out of the placenta and therefore human. As a human mother nourished her child in the womb and then upon her breast after the child’s birth, so does Mother Earth [Papa-tū-ā-nuku]. (Marsden, 2003, p. 68)

In most *iwi*, the *whenua*, or placenta in this context, is buried in a place of significance, and at death, the remains are interred in the *whenua*—the land. ‘This symbolises interconnectedness between people and the land’ (Williams, 2004, p. 50) through genealogy and the cycle of life and death. Māori ancestors are thus spiritually and physically anchored to the land. Higgins (2012) stated: ‘land is one of the key elements to Māori identity. It embodies the histories, genealogies, and spiritual connections to the past, present, and future’ (p. 412).

The word *whenua* is intimately linked to Papa-tū-ā-nuku (Earth mother), wife of Rangi-nui (Sky father). These are the primordial ancestors of ongoing influence from which Māori and all living things descend (Marsden, 2003; Moorfield, 2011; Williams, 2004). Marsden (2003) stated: ‘*Papatuanuku*—“Land from beyond the veil; or originating from the realm beyond the world of sense-perception”, was the personified form of *whenua*—the natural earth’ (p. 44).

As the posterity of Papa-tū-ā-nuku, Māori are connected to the *whenua* through *whakapapa*. *Whakapapa* connections to *whenua* are essential to Māori identity (Cheater & Hopa, 1997; Higgins, 2012; Walker, 2004; Williams, 2004). Marsden (2003) contended:

Papatuanuku is our mother and deserves our love and respect. She is a living organism with her own biological systems and functions creating and supplying a

web of support systems for all her children whether man, animal, bird, tree, grass, microbes or insects. (p. 45)

Stressing the importance of Māori identity with *whenua*, Williams (2004) argued: ‘Māori are not just joined to the land, they are an integral part of nature, with a relationship to every other living thing, defined by *whakapapa*’ (p. 50). Mikaere (2011) maintained that, from the perspective of a Māori world view, the entire universe is connected:

the single most important message to emerge from our creation stories is that we are connected, by *whakapapa*, to one another and to all other parts of creation. Everything in the natural world, ourselves included, shares a common ancestry. (p. 313)

On Māori as children of Papatūānuku and the connections of all living things, Marsden (2003) commented:

Papatuanuku’s children live and function in a symbiotic relationship. From unicellular through to more complex multicellular organisms each species depends upon other species as well as its own, to provide the basic biological needs for existence. The different species contribute to the welfare of other species and together they help to sustain the biological functions of their primeval mother, herself a living organism. (p. 45)

For Māori, the land and all living things are connected through *whakapapa*. Indeed, Māori are *teina*, or younger siblings, to all creation. Christian understandings were at odds with indigenous ways of understanding the environment and our place in it. Klein (2000) stated that ‘human beings’ behaviour toward nature depends on what human beings think about nature’ (p. 84). In Genesis 1:26 (NOAV), God said: ‘Let us make humankind ... let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing’. In Genesis 1:28 (NOAV), after God created Adam and Eve, ‘God blessed them,

and God said ... fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth'. A literal translation of the Bible—one that has been used to dominate the people and planet for millennia—offers an anthropocentric view on the environment and is concerned only with how human beings treat other human beings, not with how human beings treat the environment around them (Klein, 2000).

However, Saint Francis of Assisi 'experienced great harmony with nature' and is known to have viewed the environment as a 'mirror of God' (Klein, 2000, p. 86). Composed in 1225, Saint Francis of Assisi's *Canticle of Brother Sun* is a 'rich lyrical poem in which God is praised through the works of creation' (Delio, 1992, p. 1). When Saint Francis wrote his *Canticle*, 'he was a man virtually blind, suffering in health and bearing the wounds of the stigmata' (Delio, 1992, p. 8). His *Canticle* recognised the divine connections between God's creation and humanity—reminiscent to me of *ngā Atua*—in this way:

Praised be you, my Lord, with all your creatures,

especially Sir Brother Sun,

who is the day

and through whom you give us light.

And he is beautiful and radiant

with great splendour;

and bears a likeness of you, Most High.

Praised be you, my Lord,

through Sister Moon and the stars,

in heaven you formed them clear

and precious and beautiful.

Praised be you, my Lord,

through Brother Wind,
and through the air, cloudy and serene,
and every kind of weather
through whom you give sustenance
to your creatures.
Praised be you, my Lord,
through Sister Water,
who is very useful and humble
and precious and chaste.
Praised be you, my Lord,
through Brother Fire,
through whom you light the night,
and he is beautiful and playful
and robust and strong. (cited in Pope Francis, 2015, pp. 64–65)

Doyle (1974) argued that the ‘authentic Christian attitude to nature is exemplified par excellence in St Francis of Assisi who, though not its only representative, is certainly its most famous one’ (p. 395). Pope Francis (2015) too said, ‘I believe that Saint Francis is the example par excellence of care for the vulnerable and of an integral ecology lived out joyfully and authentically’ (p. 9).

In the words of Pope Francis (2015): ‘Saint Francis of Assisi reminds us that our common home is like a sister with whom we share our life and a beautiful mother who opens her arms to embrace us’ (p. 3). The earth ‘cries out to us because of the harm we have inflicted on her by our irresponsible use and abuse of the goods with which God has endowed her’ and ‘we have come to see ourselves as her lords and masters, entitled to plunder her at will’ (Pope Francis, 2015, p. 3). Using stronger terms, Marsden (2003) stated that we are ‘rapists, despoilers, pillagers of mother earth’ (p. 46). ‘We exploit’, he

declaimed, ‘the natural resources, denude the forests, pollute the air and seas ... scar the earth, and abuse and misuse the gifts she gives us’ (Marsden, 2003, p. 46).

My understanding of the environment is based on the *kōrero* from Nan and revolves around her life growing up in Waiōhau. In 2018, I wrote:

God is *ngā Atua Māori* in the environment around us

God is collecting *rongoā* in the bush to heal *whānau*

God is the *taniwha* lurking in the river

God is the potato we touch when exiting the *urupā*

God is the branch the *tohunga* uses to sprinkle us with water

God is the *tokotoko* pointing to Papatūānuku and Ranginui

God is the log floating up-stream. (adapted from Rangiwai, 2018c)

Atua exist in the environment around us. *Ngā Atua* are ancestor deities with continuing influence over particular domains; for example, Tangaroa, *Atua* of the sea, and Tāne, *Atua* of the forest. *Iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* also had specific *Atua*, *kaitiaki* and other spiritual beings, such as *taniwha*, that provided protection or, conversely, punished people for breaching behavioural protocols (Simmons, 1986). These entities could also be turned against one’s enemies (Simmons, 1986). In my *whānau*, we are acutely aware of our *kaitiaki*, who appear in the forms of certain animals. We acknowledge them and recognise that we must engage in appropriate behaviour within their realms in the environment. My *whānau* are healers. Collecting *rongoā* from the forest and using it in the process of healing is part of our practice as a *whānau*. *Karakia*, or incantations to Tāne, the *Atua* of the forest, are uttered to ensure safe passage. We have an intimate knowledge of the *ngahere* and the flora and fauna therein.

Taniwha are experienced by Māori in many ways and in many forms. Moorfield (2011) defines *taniwha* as water spirit, monster, dangerous water creature, powerful creature, chief, powerful leader, or something or someone awesome. *Taniwha* may appear

in many forms, such as logs, reptiles or whales, and are believed to live in the sea, lakes and rivers (Moorfield, 2011). *Taniwha* are regarded by some as guardians, but may also cause harm to humans (Moorfield, 2011). Nan taught me that some *taniwha*, or ‘*manas*’ as she called them, had the potential to protect us, or to ‘slap us’. A balance had to be achieved. *Tikanga* had to be observed. *Karakia* had to be used—Nan used Ringatū *karakia*. Safe passage had to be negotiated.

Nan told me that in more recent times, some of the *tapu* of the *urupā* at Waiōhau had been lifted to make things easier for the next generation. Presently, the *urupā* in Waiōhau is ‘open’, with the various denominations mixed together. However, when Nan was growing up in the 1940s and 1950s, the denominations were segregated: Ringatū in one area, the Catholics in another area, and the Protestants in yet another area. The *tapu* of the Ringatū part of the *urupā* was believed to be so great that if a non-Ringatū entered, they would die. Nan said that when exiting the *urupā*, the people had to touch a potato, held by a Ringatū *tohunga*, to remove the *tapu* of the *urupā*. After touching the potato, the people had to accompany the *tohunga* down to the river to *whakawātea*, or engage in a cleansing ritual.

At the river, the Ringatū *tohunga* used a branch—which he dipped in the river—to sprinkle water over the people, while simultaneously uttering Ringatū *karakia*. The ritual was a means of engaging in *whakawātea* (clearing ritual), to free the people from the *tapu* of the *urupā*. Indeed, the use of water and *karakia* is essential in Māori protocols and rituals.

On the *marae*, when a *koroua* (elderly man) stands to speak with his *tokotoko* (staff), he points to the various geographical locations of the *whenua*. He points to the earth, Papatūānuku, and he points skyward to Ranginui. This acknowledgement of sky and earth recognises our dependence on the environment for life.

Logs have been mysteriously known to float up-stream. Some say this is a sign. Others say that the log is the manifestation of something spiritual, perhaps a *taniwha* or *kaitiaki*. Commenting on *tipua*, Tregear (1904) stated that when they appeared, they were ‘not always visible in a frightful or terrifying shape but assumed the appearance of ordinary creatures or things’ (p. 538). Referring to the Rangitāiki River, a river that I grew up around, Tregear (1904) stated that ‘at Rangitāiki River was a *tipua* log of totara wood above which no eel would pass’ (p. 539). Cowan (1930) also wrote of several ‘taniwha-logs’ or ‘demon-logs’ that moved through lakes and rivers; these were considered omens warning of impending war or death.

Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne (personal communication, 4 April 2017) argued that ‘our theologies are a response to our environments: *Hawaiki nui*, *Hawaiki roa*—these are our beginnings. As we spread across the Pacific our theologies were adapted to the environments within which we found ourselves’. Bishop B. Te Haara (personal communication, 7 June 2017) understood Māori theology to be located in the environment that surrounds us. He stated ‘Māori theology is out in the open, under the stars, every star is named—the certainty was there’ (B. Te Haara, personal communication, 7 June 2017). He argued too that ‘Māori theology is that as the sun rises and sets—there is certainty there’ (B. Te Haara, personal communication, 7 June 2017).

Within ‘Te Moana’, Bishop B. Te Haara (personal communication, 7 June 2017) argued, ‘the certainty was there because the sea was there, the food was there’. He stated: ‘the seasons, the day and night, the pulse of life; living by the cycle of the environment—that is the certainty and that is our theology’ (B. Te Haara, personal communication, 7 June 2017). Indeed, ‘reading and understanding the signs of the environment is Māori theology’ (B. Te Haara, personal communication, 7 June 2017). Similarly, Reverend C. Karauti-Fox (personal communication, 6 July 2017) noted that ‘every aspect of the environment is part of our being, *te kotahitanga o nga mea katoa*—the unity of all things:

this is Māori theology’. According to Bishop B. Te Haara (personal communication, 7 June 2017):

Nga mea katoa na Te Atua—all things come from *Te Atua*: male and female, positive and negative, sky and earth, sun and moon, day and night, summer and winter, high tide and low tide—these are the only real things that point us to God. These are the things that we can see and touch and taste. Like wine and bread—wine and bread physicalise the Christ in our lives; and Christ I refer to is the cosmic Christ.

G. Cameron (personal communication, 5 April 2017) argued that in Māori conceptualisations ‘*Atua* do not exist without *whenua* and likewise *whenua* does not exist without *Atua*’. Indeed, ‘Maori theology is built into us and we are environment people’ (H. Te Rire, personal communication, 4 April 2017). For Māori, G. Cameron (personal communication, 5 April 2017) explained, ‘the creation is not a fallen creation that is profane against which we set a perfect God; for us God is in the *whenua*, in creation, with us in this place’; ‘we understand God as we understand our *Atua*, through the *whenua*’. He further noted that ‘our *whakapapa* is in the *whenua* and like Adam and Eve—and the emphasis around their being made from the earth by God—we too are from the *whenua*’ (G. Cameron, personal communication, 5 April 2017). Indeed, as Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017) argued:

The deep sense of spirituality that our people have is inaccessible to outsiders; the deep spiritual connection that our people have with their environment, the mountains, the rivers, the lakes, is beyond their understanding.

5.8.8 Te Hāhi

Karakia is central to Māori life. The format of *karakia*—whether performed by a *tohunga* of traditional Māori religion, or a church minister—is not important. What is important, however, is that *karakia* is carried out in some form. *Tangihanga* held at *marae*

are events where one might observe the mixing of traditional Māori religion and Christianity—in all its forms. Indeed, being a member of a particular religion or denomination does not seem to matter to Māori in my experience.

Māori are a people of *whakapapa* and *whakapono*, and the adoption—adaptation by Māori of Christianity has been a critical part of our historical and theological experience. For my Nan, the church was important: it was part of *whānau* identity. Association with the mainline churches also meant education. Although Nan was Ringatū—a church without finances or buildings—the Presbyterian Church provided her with a high school education at Turakina Māori Girls School in Marton. Nan was grateful for this rare opportunity and counted herself very lucky indeed.

The theological differences between the churches did not concern Nan. To her, denominations were of little consequence. She simply believed that *whakapono* and *karakia* were important to protect us from harm and to ensure that we ‘go up there’ with ‘that man upstairs’ as she put it, referring to heaven. She placed significance on having faith in the Lord, trying to be a good person, and saying prayers morning and night, and before meals. Nan’s approach to religion was, in my view, the typical approach of Māori to *whakapono*.

Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) suggested that, ‘for our people, the most important thing is that we are people of faith—*ko te mea nui ko te whakapono*’. Indeed, within that *whakapono*, within the Māori Church, we practise our faith in a very Māori way. Regarding liturgy, he noted: ‘we are a people of tradition. We are a people of structure and *tikanga*’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). He argued too that ‘we are a people for whom liturgy—the basic concept of having an order or sequence to one’s practice—is familiar and pushes back past the church and goes back to the people of the Middle East’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

For Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017), in the practices of the Māori Church—where we see the mixing of ancient Māori concepts with ancient Christian ones—‘we use *tikanga* as a means to create space in our lives for the Divine’. With recourse to the liturgy of the Eucharist, he opined ‘*Ki a au nei, ko te hākarameta o te hākari tapu, he mea tino tapu* [To me, the sacrament of the Eucharist is very sacred]’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). To him, the sacrament of the Eucharist is very *tapu*, which is, in his view, better translated as restricted rather than sacred. Because of the *tapu*, he argued, ‘we have a *tikanga* for the *hākari tapu* [Eucharist] where restrictions and separation are enacted around that which is *tapu*, and then, our *tikanga* enables people to approach that and experience the Divine’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

For Reverend Dr H. Kaa (personal communication, 2 June 2017), liturgy is a way in which we can test theology. He argued: ‘*Lex orandi, lex credendi*—that the law of prayer is the law of faith. Liturgy is a way to test theology, because what we say is what we believe. Otherwise we are just talking about abstract ideas’ (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017). Relating liturgy to *whaikōrero*, he stated: ‘the testing of theology for Māori may apply to a *whaikōrero* on the *marae* as much as it does to a prayer book in a church’ and so at a *tangihanga* ‘when the speakers says “*Haere atu koe ki ō tīpuna, ki ō mātua, ki Hawaiki-nui, ki Hawaiki-roa, ki Hawaiki-pāmamao*” they are expressing a theology’ (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017). Indeed, Hawaiki—inhabited by *ngā Atua*—is considered the final resting place of *wairua* (Moorfield, 2011).

Referring to the activities on the *marae* during *tangihanga*, Reverend M. Albert (personal communication, 8 April 2017) argued that ‘on the *marae*, we see Māori traditional activities such as *whaikōrero* which speak about and stimulate *ngā Atua Māori*; and we also see Māori Christianity on the *marae* in the form of Christian *karakia*,

burial practices and *hīmene*'. As both a traditional *tohunga* and a Christian cleric, he had no objection to these sets of practices coalescing, but he drew the line at mixing the actual processes, such as *karakia*: 'some uncritically mix these things together such as mixing Christian-type prayer formulas with traditional Māori ones, but I think that it is better to keep each system separate and allow each the dignity to exist in their own right' (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). For him, '*tikanga* Maori deserves better than that; and God deserves better than that' (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017).

5.9 Summary

This chapter discussed pre-Christian Māori religion and outlined aspects of ancient Māori religious life. As well, this chapter discussed four significant Māori prophetic movements as a means of demonstrating the ways in which Māori and Christian ideas converged. This chapter also examined *whakapono*, based on a thematic analysis of the interview data gleaned from the research participants. Themes explored and discussed included *ngā Atua*, *Te Atua*, *Atuatanga*/Māori theology, *Te Karaiti*, *mātauranga*, *whakapapa*, *te taiao* and *te hāhi*. The discussion that emerged out of the themes showed that as Māori we engage with Christianity from a Māori perspective and in light of Māori ways of knowing and being.

Chapter 6: The Impacts of Syncretism on the Development of Christian Faith among Māori

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the positive impacts of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori. Relevant interview data were analysed thematically. Themes include: positive syncretism, self-determining faith, gospel acceptance, *tikanga*, enhancement, liberation and *aroha*. A discussion of the positive impacts of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori follows the thematic analysis.

6.2 Themes from the Data

6.2.1 Positive syncretism

In my experience, it is typically at *tangihanga* that syncretistic theologies develop organically. In the *pōhiri* (rituals of encounter) process, *ngā Atua* dominate, while during the evening prayers and funeral service, Christianity dominates. Without truth-defining structures that exclude, multiple theologies may co-exist in the one space: this is an innovation that the Māori prophets perfected. At many *marae*, multiple theologies intermingle. This includes different theological and denominational views from the same religion, such as the many views held by numerous Christian groups, as well as seemingly diametrically opposed theologies, such as those of *te ao tahito* (the ancient world) and Christianity, which may be expected to collide, and yet, rarely do.

The term ‘syncretism’ and associated terms such as creolisation, hybridity and boundary crossing, McIntosh (2019) argued, ‘have been vital to dismantling older social-scientific assumptions of cultural boundedness, fixity, and homogeneity and to redefining—even celebrating—the flux and bricolage that make up cultural life’ (p. 114). McIntosh (2019) contended that ‘religious practice—like cultural practices—are always already porous’, meaning that all religions are syncretistic (p. 114). Therefore,

syncretistic practices are ‘normative rather than exceptional’ (Mcintosh, 2019, p. 114). Therefore, syncretism may be considered both a normative and positive phenomenon.

For Harrison (2014), the process of syncretism is a means for religions to engage with and relate to one another, because through this process religions gain more knowledge and understanding with which to attempt to answer the great questions of life. Harrison’s (2014) notion of critical openness holds that by accepting and incorporating relevant and compatible wisdoms from other traditions into our own, we may experience enhanced peace on personal and communal levels. This occurs at a personal level, because we have no further need to be combative about our beliefs; and at a communal level, because the need for regulation and control of beliefs becomes redundant (Harrison, 2014). Indeed, the most fruitful religions, Harrison (2014) contended, are those that engage critically and openly with other traditions, taking and integrating from those traditions what is useful, and in the process becoming better equipped to understand life’s purpose. Indeed, through the process of syncretism, Christianity becomes increasingly Māori.

On the mixing of Māori and Christian thinking, the late historian Dame Judith Binney (2014) observed that:

‘conversion’ was rarely a case of Māori abandoning their long-held beliefs. The old meshed and intertwined with the new. Māori who embraced Christianity often appear to have viewed the new faith not so much as displacing their existing spiritual and religious concepts but rather as becoming incorporated into the scheme of Māori beliefs. Christianity became indigenised. (p. 201)

For Māori, interpreting the Bible and Christianity on our own terms and in our own way was a natural and normal process. Ballantyne (2012) argued that the notion of ‘translation was deeply embedded in Christian tradition’ (p. 146). Of course, many theologians, Ballantyne (2012) argued, ‘understood the Incarnation itself’ to be ‘an act of

translation’, described in John 1:14 (KJV) as the Word made flesh (p. 146). Within the ‘mixed and new world’ of the colonial context, Māori society and culture ‘was increasingly hybridised, as Māori embraced many Judeo-Christian ideas as well as drawing upon those elements of tradition which remained powerful’ (Ballantyne, 2012, p. 158). Indeed, ‘the dynamism of these cross-cultural exchanges ... is a powerful reminder of the ability of “traditional” societies to adapt quickly and effectively to new technologies, ideas and political orders’ (Ballantyne, 2012, p. 158).

Hill (1994) argued that for Māori, syncretism was a process ‘whereby traditional beliefs and practices of Māori were substantially modified in response to Christian missionary activity to provide a new amalgam’ (p. 296). The Lost Tribes of Israel theme—which is highly significant for the Māori prophet movements—was syncretistically incorporated by Māori, providing an ‘ethnic identity which could find legitimation in the Judaeo-Christian, Mormon, and more recently, Rastafarian beliefs systems that were introduced’ (Hill, 1994, p. 296). According to Hill (1994):

The ‘lost tribe’ motif, which emerged both from a combination of syncretism between traditional Maori culture and beliefs and the introduction of biblical beliefs—especially those of the Old Testament with its prophetic, tribal emphasis—and from the disruption of the indigenous social structure, was important in providing two-way plausibility. On the one hand, it explained the depressed situation of the Maori as part of the divine fate of Israel as God’s ‘suffering servant’; on the other, it promised them future hope as a ‘chosen people’. (p. 297)

Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017) was critical of the term syncretism itself as ‘it presents for us a lot of issues; it is a Pākehā term that we must question the roots of and its relevance to us as Māori’. He explained that ‘the very word syncretism creates a barrier for Māori. It is a term and idea and priority that has come to

us from outside of the Māori world’ (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). He believed that ‘to understand a term like syncretism from a Māori perspective we need to be the ones to define it in our own terms from where we are’ (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). Moreover, he contended, ‘we do not need to rely on the Western literature as we could learn a lot about syncretism by learning about the experiences of our indigenous brothers and sisters in Asia and Africa and elsewhere’ (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017).

Dr M. Callaghan (personal communication, 31 March 2017) advocated for a positive view of syncretism. She argued that while there are those who believe that mixing *Atua Māori* and Christianity is impossible, ‘some who study theology may look at the argument the other way around’, recognising that ‘we have always mixed’ and that this becomes problematic when ‘it’s labelled syncretism in a negative way’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017). She suggested that ‘if we approach syncretism in a positive way then mixing pre-Christian beliefs with Christian ones is no longer a problem’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017). For her, ‘Christianity can sometimes be very protective of itself and non-inclusive Māori theology is open and inclusive and so allows for a range of views and beliefs’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017). She added that ‘Māori theology does not claim, as Christian theology does, that there is only one way to salvation’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017).

Dr M. Callaghan (personal communication, 31 March 2017) observed that ‘Western critics have tended to frame syncretism as negative and to describe indigenous syncretism in negative ways despite their own traditions being built upon syncretistic adaptations throughout history’. However, she noted, ‘we see syncretism in the way in which we used pre-Christian celebration days adapted from pagan celebrations such as Easter. The Church has always been syncretistic’ (M. Callaghan, personal

communication, 31 March 2017). She argued that ‘it is impossible not to mix religious ideas. It would mean we wouldn’t be fully human and God didn’t support or give us culture and language of our own. It’s impossible to separate ourselves from who we are as Māori’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017).

In describing Jesus as *Son of God, The Word*, Dr M. Callaghan (personal communication, 31 March 2017) considered that the witnesses of Jesus syncretistically interpreted and explained their experiences using the images and knowledge they already had:

Those who spent time with Jesus and had their worldviews disrupted and transformed had to come to terms with those radical ideas in light of the understandings that they already had; so too with Māori, we come to know Jesus in light of the understandings that we already had.

Dr M. Callaghan (personal communication, 31 March 2017) understood syncretism to be a part of being Christian and being human: ‘it is not only indigenous people who engage in syncretism: everyone does’. She stated that ‘as Māori engage with Christianity and Christianity engages with us, we influence one another. The way in which we acknowledge the relationship between ourselves—as *teina*, creation, and God is something that we have brought to Christianity’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017). She also noted that ‘we need to encourage more discussion about syncretism in positive ways’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017).

Recalling an experience in which Māori traditional religion and Māori Christianity combined, Archbishop D. Tamihere (personal communication, 16 March 2017) stated, of a particular event that he had attended, that it began with *karakia tahito*, followed by an Anglican hymn in *te reo Māori* and finished with the Rawiri, an Anglican collect from the Book of Common Prayer, translated into Māori and named for the Psalms

of David. He stated: ‘Te Hāhi Mihinare is not a colonial institution: it’s a Māori church, and it’s based on our *tīpuna* and *whakapapa*, and *whakapono*’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017). When asked about the syncretism that occurred at the event, he responded ‘*Kei te pai tērā*—it is a good thing. Māori theology allows us all to work together through shared *whakapapa* and *whakapono* as *whānau*, as people of Te Tairāwhiti’ (D. Tamihere, personal communication, 16 March 2017).

6.2.2 Self-determining faith

In response to the absolute devastation of land loss and poverty, King Tāwhiao uttered a *tongi*, or prophetic saying (Papa & Meredith, 2012), which Mahuta (1990) translates as follows:

Maaku anoo e hanga i tooku nei whare. Ko te taahuhu e hiinau ko ngaa pou pou he mahoe, patatee. Me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga, me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki.

I shall build my own house. The ridgepole will be of hinau and the supporting posts of mahoe and patatee. Those who inhabit that house shall be raised on rengarenga and nurtured on kawariki. (p. 16)

King Tāwhiao’s *tongi*, which identified alternative materials that were not normally considered for house building, can be understood as an influential description and interpretation of self-determination (O’Sullivan, 2018), as it emphasised resourcefulness in times of despair. Hīnau (*Elaeocarpus dentatus*) is a tree that was normally used for two purposes: the pounded berry kernels were used to make hīnau bread, and the bark provided black dye to dye *muka* or flax fibres (Landcare Research, 2019; Moorfield, 2011). The Māhoe tree (*Melicytus ramiflorus*) was used ceremonially in the North, as well as medicinally for skin diseases, burns and rheumatism (Landcare Research, 2019). Patatē (*Schefflera digitate*) is a small forest tree that was used in making fire (Moorfield, 2011), while the sap was used to treat sores (Landcare Research, 2019).

King Tāwhiao stated too that his people would be nourished with rengarenga and kawariki. The root of the rengarenga (*Arthropodium cirratum*) could be consumed as food or used therapeutically as a poultice for abscesses or tumours, while the kawariki provided leaves to wrap hīnau bread, as well as edible berries, and had curative properties for a range of ailments including skin conditions and diseases (Landcare Research, 2019).

King Tāwhiao was also a prophet; he had been baptised by the Pai Mārire prophet Te Ua Haumēne. King Tāwhiao took these teachings back to his people, and the Kīngitanga adopted Pai Mārire as their faith. In 1875, he mixed Pai Mārire with newer rituals and named the new religion Tariao, the morning star (Moorfield, 2011). Starting in March 1885, he also introduced the Poukai—a three-yearly circuit of royal tours of the Kīngitanga, derived from Deuteronomy 14:28–29 (KJV) (Binney, 2011). Ministers of the faith were called Tariao, and King Tāwhiao was the head Tariao (Moorfield, 2011). King Tāwhiao’s famous *tongi* and the establishment of his own religion point to the prowess of his self-determination as a leader and king. In some ways, King Tāwhiao’s role reflected the threefold office of prophet (Deuteronomy 18:14–22 KJV), priest (Psalm 110:1–4 KJV) and king (Psalm 2 KJV), believed by Christians to have been fulfilled by Jesus. Similarly, other Māori prophets, such as Te Kooti and Rua Kēnana, set examples of self-determination for Māori to follow. Concerning Māori theology, spirituality and faith, it is entirely up to Māori to determine what our religious context looks like and how it is practised. We determine the structure and content of our faith-world(s), and an important part of this is syncretism, as a means of engaging with and incorporating the wisdoms of other faiths to help us answer life’s greatest questions (Harrison, 2014).

In adapting and incorporating Christianity into a Māori worldview, ‘it is for us, as Māori disciples of Christ to determine what that will look like’ (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). Indeed, ‘we adapted Christianity to suit our needs’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017), ‘we incorporated it into our

worldview and it simultaneously reshaped our worldview’ (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017). In this way, ‘we have changed the face of Christianity in Aotearoa New Zealand’ (C. Karauti-Fox, personal communication, 6 July 2017). Christianity became Māori and, in so doing, Christianity became Māori Christianity. Anderson (2016) described Māori Christianity as an ‘innovation on, or extension of, *mana* as the fundamental “capital” of Māori cultural economy. ... [Further,] Christianity laid the groundwork for Māori to unify in response to colonialism’ (p. 102).

Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017) asserted that ‘as disciples of Jesus Christ, we need to be the ones that decide what fits with the gospel and what does not; this is part of our journey as authentic indigenous disciples of Jesus’ (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). In this way, ‘we are authentically indigenous; and we are authentically disciples’ (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). According to Reverend C. Karauti-Fox (personal communication, 6 July 2017), ‘as Maori we live our theology and our theology is determined by us’. At *tangihanga*, he argued, ‘we see the syncretic mixing—determined by us—of Christianity and *ngā mea tawhito* [ancient practices] happening at the same time on the *marae* and this is part of our practice: this is our theology’ (C. Karauti-Fox, personal communication, 6 July 2017).

The Māori prophets used syncretism to create new meanings to inspire their followers. The prophets developed syncretistic theologies as responses to colonisation and land loss, providing models for us to follow in maintaining aspects of our culture and traditions alongside introduced ideas. Of Māori prophets, Sinclair (1993) stated:

The Christian pantheon, shaped and moulded to accommodate its place in the Maori cosmos, has become a complement to more conventional sources of inspiration. Armed with spiritual reinforcement from two intellectual traditions,

followers of Maori prophets have confronted the political dilemma posed by the European presence. (p. 333)

The strategies employed by the prophets—as ‘people of their particular land, relating to God in their particular way’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017)—are to us exceptional examples of indigenous innovation and self-determination even in the face of devastation.

Like the resistance shown by the Māori prophets, Māori Anglican leaders influenced the constitution of the church. Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017) stated: ‘the church was restructured in 1992 so that Māori were seen to be equal with Pākehā and were self-determining within their own ministry and mission frameworks’. Since 1992, the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia has been split into three *tikanga*—defined in this context as systems of governance (Beatson, 2002; Davidson, 2018), or a designation of ‘a part of the people bound up by a common cultural tradition’ (Engelhardt, 2014, p. 344), who ‘order their own affairs within and according to their respective cultural traditions’ (Engelhardt, 2014, p. 343). *Tikanga Māori* comprises ‘church members of Māori ancestry’ (Engelhardt, 2014, p. 344). *Tikanga Pākehā* consists of ‘church members whose ancestors came from Europe and who kept their European, predominantly English traditions in their new environment’ (Engelhardt, 2014, p. 344). *Tikanga Pasifika* includes ‘various islands of the South Pacific centred on Fiji’ (Cox, 2008, p. 2; Engelhardt, 2014). With regard specifically to the *Tikanga Māori* and *Tikanga Pākehā*, Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017) remarked, ‘for Māori to move Pākehā from the point where they believed that they knew what was best for us, to where they allowed Māori to be self-determining—because they literally “allowed” us to do this—is very significant’.

6.2.3 Gospel acceptance

We are called from where we are, and as we are. As Māori, we are born Māori, it's our frame of reference, our cultural package, and we are called by God as Māori to fulfil the purpose and potential that God has designed for us. (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017)

While it took 15 years for Māori to accept Christianity, the faith spread extensively in the 1830s (Lineham, 2018). Māori accepted the gospel, 'transformed and articulated' Christianity in their own ways (Mahuika, 2015, p. 42) and 'embraced Christianity on their own terms' (Binney, 2014, p. 201). Māori 'adapted and experimented with Christianity alongside traditional beliefs' as a means of self-determination (Mahuika, 2015, p. 42). According to Tapsell (2018):

Rangatira and tohunga quickly adapted by arranging for their acolytes to learn new knowledge from the incoming spiritual specialists (missionaries), successfully integrating medicines, literacy and scripture into wide hapū wellbeing. (p. 112)

Certainly, Christianity 'was negotiated, woven in, and reconfigured to enhance local desires to remain autonomous and Indigenous' (Mahuika, 2015, p. 66).

Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017) argued that 'there is a misconception that our people had the gospel shoved down their throats. This is not the case'. Consistent with Binney (2014) and Mahuika (2015), he stated that 'we embraced it, we taught it amongst ourselves, and we allowed it to transform us' (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). He argued too that 'some see the gospel as a means of placating our people but the intensity of the *haka* demonstrates that despite our faith we will fight for our land and our rights because we are a people of great strength' (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017).

Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017) argued that, from the time the gospel first arrived, our people had ‘deeply spiritual and incredible born-again experiences with the scriptures’; they went through total transformations. He noted that although many Māori followed the strictures of the missionary church, ‘some planted churches that reflected their own understandings and interpretations of the gospel’ in places like the South Island and the East Coast without Pākehā involvement (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). Moreover, he noted, ‘the gospel really came to us through our own people, who evangelised themselves, and we have examples, in certain areas, where the gospel was with our people for 30 or 40 years before Pākehā arrived there’ (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). Referring to the missionary zeal of Māori who wanted to share the gospel, he stated:

Our people experienced God through Jesus and the Holy Spirit and it drove them to spread the gospel. Kereopa and Manihera went to Tuwharetoa knowing that they almost certainly would be killed, but they fervently carried the gospel there. Our people had a faith that they were willing to risk their lives for; that’s how important it was for them. (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017)

For Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017), ‘the reason that our people embraced the gospel so easily was because, in my view, it was an easy transition from Māori spirituality to Christian spirituality’. He explained, ‘our spirituality and engagement is synchronised with Christianity and this is the reason that we embraced Christianity so well’ (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). He argued too that, while ‘an outsider might look at our history and culture and say that the two are in total opposition ... the ebbs and flow of Christian and Māori spirituality have deep similarities that Māori certainly identified and understood’ (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). He related the narrative of the separation of Papatūānuku and Ranginui in the following way:

Rangi and Papa are intertwined together and Tāne pushes them apart and lets the light in. It sounds a lot like Genesis—‘let there be light’—the creation of the world from the biblical perspective. You could also say it sounds a lot like Jesus, letting the light into the world. (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017)

Pā Rāwiri stated that ‘the gospel has provided the tools for Māori to heal themselves from the wounds of the past in terms of land loss and the wars’ (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4 April 2017). He argued that the gospel has provided Māori culture with the means to reinvigorate itself and to re-assess what was needed culturally for Māori to move into the modern world, while ‘becoming familiar with Christianity has helped Māori to prepare to engage with the modern world’ (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

6.2.4 Tikanga

Tikanga may be described as Māori cultural practices, customs and traditions, protocols, etiquette, manners, guidelines for behaviour and customary practices (Duncan & Rewi, 2018). Duncan and Rewi (2018) argued that as an ‘ever-evolving system of practices that stem from fundamental values ... tikanga are the layers of the culture that have developed and been adopted by Māori communities and individuals, having been informed by customary values or concepts’ (p. 31). Derived from the word *tika*—correct, right, appropriate, fair—*tikanga* may be described as ‘the most appropriate or correct way of doing something’ (Duncan & Rewi, p. 33). According to Mead (2003):

tikanga is a set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or individual. These procedures are established by precedents through time, are held to be ritually correct, are validated by usually more than one generation and are always subject to what a group or individual is able to do. (p. 12)

Referring to *tikanga* in the senses described above, Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017) declared that ‘as authentic indigenous disciples of Jesus, we do these things in line with our *tikanga*, and in line with our understanding of the scriptures’. As Māori, he asserted, ‘we are the ones who decide how these things are done, and we make these decisions based on *tikanga*, on scriptural understanding, and with our people at the centre of what we do as we serve them and serve God’ (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017).

Concerning the acceptance of Christianity by Māori, Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017) considered that ‘our people used Christianity to enhance our lives by eliminating certain aspects of our *tikanga*—such as cannibalism, retribution and warfare—that were not useful to us’. Although Māori accepted the gospel, ‘we did not exchange our *tikanga* for the gospel’; instead, ‘we approached Christianity as Māori and adjusted our *tikanga* as determined by us’ (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). He argued that the missionaries came to Aotearoa New Zealand with a civilising agenda, only to realise that many of our people would resist that agenda. Māori were not pushed to accept the gospel; rather, they embraced the gospel and accepted it on their own terms and conceptualised and engaged with the gospel from a *tikanga* perspective (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017). Indeed, Reverend W. Te Kaawa (personal communication, 4 April 2017) argued that Christianity does not mean that *tikanga* is sidelined: ‘as a Christian I do not deny [the] part of me that is Māori’.

6.2.5 Enhancement

Christianity offered to Māori the belief in *oranga tonutanga* (everlasting life) (Paterson, 2008), through the example of Jesus, who ‘showed us what eternal life was’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017). As Paterson (2008) discussed, ‘that Māori believed that Christianity would provide succor to both body and soul, and models for social behaviour in the modern world, is both a logical and likely reason for

Māori conversion’ (p. 222). Canon R. Kereopa (personal communication, 3 April 2017) confirmed this: ‘our *tūpuna* knew what they were doing; they were not ignorant and they saw the benefits that the gospel could bring into their lives and the lives of their descendants’.

Reverend Dr H. Kaa (personal communication, 2 June 2017) argued that ‘we imported from the gospel into our culture the uniquely Christian ideas of forgiveness and love which fulfilled the potential of our culture to express new forms of experiencing and understanding life’. For him, the application of the gospel into the Māori knowledge system enhanced and amplified our culture:

The Christian notions of forgiveness and love were considered to be so beautiful that we applied them to our *mātauranga*. The idea of *manaakitanga* [hospitality] combined with love and forgiveness increased became so powerful. We took a beautiful concept like *manaakitanga* and applied love and forgiveness to it and in so doing we were able to extend our sense of *manaakitanga* even further. (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017)

Reverend H. Te Rire (personal communication, 4 April 2017) argued that the chiefs saw the power of Christianity with regard to the material wealth and knowledge that accompanied it, but also in terms of the positive transformation that could be achieved through it: ‘forgiveness, loving one’s enemies, and letting go of *utu*’. He noted that ‘Christianity has changed our hearts for the better. Christian values have opened up our hearts and nurtured the best parts of our Māori culture and society’ (H. Te Rire, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

Māori life was also enhanced through literacy. While, the missionaries understood literacy as the key to the scriptures and Christianity, Māori were also interested in understanding the new Pākehā world. Māori who had learned in the schools subsequently returned to their home villages and opened their own schools (Calman, 2012). When

George Clarke—a missionary and the Chief Protector of Aborigines—journeyed through Waikato and Hauraki in late 1840, he discovered a Māori-run school in virtually every village he visited. It is thought that by the early 1840s, half of the adult Māori population was literate to some extent (Calman, 2012). On this subject, Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne (personal communication, 4 April 2017) commented, ‘I think that Marsden had the right approach—education first and then Christianity to follow. Our people were very quick to pick up literacy’.

6.2.6 Liberation

‘Thus says the Lord, the God of the Hebrews: Let my people go’ (Exodus 9:1 NOAV).

The Māori prophets transposed the meanings of the liberation theology of Exodus into their religiocultural contexts as a means of resisting colonisation and processing and working through the tragedy and trauma of land loss. For most Māori who remained in or joined the mainline churches, Jesus was the central figure of liberation, whose sacrifice on the cross had the power to take away the sins of the world and, for those who believe, grant eternal life. Indeed, in Paulo Freire’s liberation theology, Jesus embodied ‘the humanity required’ for the oppressed to liberate both themselves and their oppressors (Kee & Carr-Chellman, 2019).

Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne (personal communication, 4 April 2017) affirmed that ‘Christianity appealed very much to those who were disenfranchised, such as slaves who were schooled in Christianity and took upon themselves the gospel’. Owing to the acceptance of Christianity, Reverend H. Te Rire (personal communication, 4 April 2017) stated, ‘slaves and prisoners were released and taught the gospel and returned to their own people to teach the good news’. The liberation of slaves by their converted former masters is an example of the way in which the gospel emancipated both the oppressed and the oppressor. Tarore is a further example.

Creegan (2005) noted that the story of Tarore’s tragic death and the way in which her father—influenced by the teachings of St Luke’s gospel—forgave her murderer is an example of how Māori understood the power of the gospel as a means of liberation from the cycle of *utu*. Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne (personal communication, 4 April 2017) explained that ‘Tarore, is for us, a saint-like martyr’ and her story—‘itself a theology, the theology of Tarore, which is theology of forgiveness’—is an indication to us about ‘how much the gospel had changed Māori ways and thinking regarding *utu*’ (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017). Again, in the story of Tarore, we see the capacity for the gospel to dismantle the oppressor–oppressed binary as a means for liberation through the power of forgiveness given to the world through Jesus.

For Dr M. Callaghan (personal communication, 31 March 2017), the story of Jesus expressed to us in Christianity provided new understandings of God. She argued ‘*ngā Atua* showed us aspects of God’s self and in Jesus our understanding of God has been increased’. She argued too that although Christianity accompanied colonisation, ‘it also provided for us the means through which to challenge colonialism and injustice’ (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017). This is strongly evident in the Māori prophets’ reframing of Christianity in self-determining ways.

6.2.7 Aroha

Aroha may be described as ‘love, compassion, sympathy, empathy and concern for others; it may also be a combination of a number of these, or all of them’ (Duncan & Rewi, 2018, pp. 36–37). *Aroha* is also connected to the related concepts of ‘*awhi* (to embrace), *tautoko* (to support) and *tiaki* (to care for)’ (Duncan & Rewi, p. 37). Reverend Dr H. Kaa (personal communication, 2 June 2017) noted that the teachings of Christianity showed us how to expand and extend our concepts of *aroha* and *manaakitanga* as a means of following the pattern established by Jesus. According to Reverend M. Albert (personal communication, 8 April 2017), ‘the example of Jesus taught us how to love

unconditionally and give differently without the expectation of reciprocity'. Further, he observed that Jesus's life and example 'taught us new things about compassion and tolerance that enhanced some aspects of our culture which increased the level of *aroha* that we showed to one another' (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017).

Reverend H. Te Rire (personal communication, 4 April 2017) argued that as 'Māori we live our theology' and that 'Christianity made us more loving people in many ways, living a theology of *aroha* and forgiveness'. According to Reverend C. Karauti-Fox (personal communication, 6 July 2017), 'Māori society has been transformed by Christianity. The radical concept of Jesus is something that has changed our thinking. Through Christianity we know love differently, we forgive, we try to emulate the love of Jesus, *aroha ki te tangata* [love to all people]'. Indeed, in the words of Archdeacon Dr T. Melbourne and Reverend H. Kaa, 'the *aroha* that we developed through our exposure to the teachings of Jesus brought us closer to God' (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017), and allowed us to 'fulfil our potential as people of *aroha* and *manaaki* [support, hospitality]' (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017).

6.3 The Positive Impacts of Syncretism on the Development of Christian Faith among Māori

All religions are syncretistic (Baird, 2004; Bowie, 2006; Stewart, 1994) to some extent (Droogers, 1989; Harrison, 2014; Hughes, 1988; Pye, 2004; van der Veer, 1994); that is, each religion gains knowledge and wisdom from others (Harrison, 2014). For Māori, syncretism can be problematic if defined in negative terms (R. Kereopa, personal communication, 3 April 2017); however, by understanding and engaging with syncretism positively, the merging of Māori and Christian traditions becomes a non-issue (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017). Like Harrison (2014), I consider syncretism a natural and positive phenomenon, necessary to the survival of religion.

As seen in the discussion of early Māori involvement with Christianity, many of the first Māori ministers trained in both the arts of the ancient *whare wānanga* and in Christian theology, demonstrating a mixing of Māori and Christian traditions; a mixing that also characterised the Māori prophets of the 19th century. Significantly, one of the participants in this study, the Reverend Mahaki Albert, was both a *tohunga* and minister in the context of Māori and Christian traditions. He thus reflects the ministries of those such as the Reverend Mohi Turei, the Reverend Māori Marsden and others, who were trained in the two different religious traditions. In my view, he is a contemporary incarnation of the syncretism of Māori and Christian traditions. Twenty-six years old at the time of interview, he embodies both traditions without contradiction or compromise, and declared that he could not be Christian without first being Māori (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017).

A discourse common among Māori engaged in decolonising activities holds that Christianity was forced upon our people. However, the participants in this study overwhelmingly disagreed with that notion, with some citing examples of tribal ancestors who had willingly embraced Christianity and shared the gospel with their people. Regarding the idea that for Māori to decolonise they need to reject Christianity as a Western form of knowledge, Cooper (2017) argued: ‘our tūpuna did not simplify or narrow things down; they always expanded thinking, kept new ideas constantly in engagement with the existing ones, and did not settle on “truths” that could be understood separately from the conditions in which they found themselves’ (pp. 156–157). Young Ruatara’s syncretistic retelling of the biblical Genesis story in 1809, stating that Māui had fashioned the first women from one of his own ribs, is an indication of how quickly Māori were amalgamating Māori and Christian understandings (Salmond, 2017).

Syncretism is both inevitable and pervasive (Harrison, 2014). Positive syncretism is about improvement, where individuals themselves determine what constitutes

improvement (Harrison, 2014). In a Māori context, I would argue that *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, as well as individuals, determine the parameters of their faith. Discussing criteria to assess whether a religion could be considered improved, Harrison (2014) argued that syncretism should align the religion more closely with new knowledge about reality, contribute positively to progress in the world, and sustain and expand upon important aspects of the religion.

The literature on the damaging effect on Māori society of contact with Christianity, culture and practices is extensive. However, if we accept Harrison's (2014) point that syncretism should align the original religion more closely with new knowledge about reality, it could be argued that for Māori, Christianity did this in a number of ways. While Christianity accompanied colonisation, it also provided Māori with the tools to cope with and resist colonisation, as seen in the ministries of the Māori prophets.

Acceptance of the gospel prepared Māori to move into the modern world by providing them with the means to find healing through Christian love and forgiveness (D. Gledhill, personal communication, 4 April 2017; H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017). Exposure to Christianity also meant that Māori became more literate in *te reo Māori* than Pākehā did in English (Calman, 2012; Jones & Jenkins, 2011). Cooper (2017) argued:

Māori—while making significant ontological adaptations to Christianity (and to other forms of new thought)—had existing resources available to them to meet the effects of the shifting world. These intellectual resources allowed them to bring together traditional knowledges *and* new knowledges without finding these hopelessly incompatible. (p. 156)

Harrison's (2014) second point is that syncretism should contribute positively to progress in the world. In a Māori context, I would argue that syncretism should contribute positively to the progress of the Māori world. We accepted the gospel on our own terms

and in a uniquely Māori way (M. Callaghan, personal communication, 31 March 2017; H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017; C. Karauti-Fox, personal communication, 6 July 2017). The Christian notions of forgiveness and loving everyone including our enemies allowed Māori to break the cycle of *utu* in ways that let us experience life differently (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017; H. Te Rire, personal communication, 4 April 2017). Our sense of *manaakitanga* too extended and increased (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017).

Warring tribes released their captives following exposure to the gospel, which both captors and former captives then incorporated into their spirituality (T. Melbourne, personal communication, 4 April 2017; H. Te Rire, personal communication, 4 April 2017). In the act of releasing prisoners of war, and in the moving story of Tarore, we see the power of the gospel's message of forgiveness. In the faiths established by the Māori prophets, we see the positive effects of syncretism in action. The liberation theology of the Old Testament provided Māori a narrative through which to relate their experiences of land loss and oppression to that of the *Hūrai*. The Māori prophets syncretised the parts of the Bible story that were necessary to inspire their people to resist colonisation. Indeed, 'the Bible and Christian theology represent perhaps the singularly most influential expansion of intellectual *possibilities* in the first fifty to one hundred years of contact between Māori and Pākehā' (Cooper, 2017, p. 153).

Harrison's (2014) third point was that positive syncretism should sustain and expand upon an important aspect or aspects of the religion. Through acceptance of the gospel by Māori, the concepts of *aroha* and *manaakitanga* became more inclusive and mirrored the model set by Christ (H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017). The level of *aroha* and *manaakitanga* that we expressed was enhanced significantly by the example of Jesus (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). The notion of giving without the expectation of return, as inspired by Christianity, was quite different

from the concept of *utu*, which seeks to maintain a balance through reciprocity (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017). By accepting the gospel, we became a more compassionate, loving and forgiving people (M. Albert, personal communication, 8 April 2017; H. Kaa, personal communication, 2 June 2017; C. Karauti-Fox, personal communication, 6 July 2017; H. Te Rire, personal communication, 4 April 2017).

Overall, the benefits of syncretism for Māori are far-reaching. Syncretism provided for Māori the tools to adapt to new ideas, create new meanings, and most importantly, to encounter Christianity as Māori.

The research revealed that syncretism allowed us to maintain aspects of our old religion—that have survived to this day—despite the widespread acceptance of Christianity among Māori. Through syncretism, Māori religion and Christianity were able to co-exist, which is particularly evident on the *marae*.

With regard to the various Christian denominations that Māori belong to, syncretism has allowed Māori to engage with a range of churches and theologies on the *marae* without issue. With syncretism, the need to be combative about one's beliefs diminishes or is non-existent—again, this is particularly evident on the *marae*.

Syncretism allows religions to engage and dialogue with one another. This allows various religious traditions to learn and grow, and gain more knowledge and wisdom with which to attempt to answer life's great questions.

Through syncretism, Christianity becomes increasingly Māori. This is obviously beneficial to Māori as it allows us to be Christian in a Māori way. Significantly, syncretism was used as a coping mechanism as we encountered the calamities of colonisation and land loss. The Māori prophets epitomised this with the syncretistic movements that they developed as a means of leading their people and instilling hope in their followers in the face of absolute despair.

Through syncretism, we were able to relate as Māori to Christianity. In relating to Christianity as Māori, we understand and view our faith with Māori eyes, we engage with Christianity with a Māori heart, and we encounter God with a Māori spirit. Syncretism provides us with the tools to be both authentically Māori and authentically Christian on our own terms.

The research also revealed some diversity in the ideas from the participants about syncretism. There was a range of thoughts about syncretism that were revealed in the interviews. On the one hand was a search for a Māori conceptual framework in place of syncretism—a foreign term, of course. While on the other hand, there was a reframing of syncretism to suit Māori ends—a conversion of the term.

6.4 Summary

The chapter discussed the positive impacts of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori, based on a thematic analysis of the interview data. Themes included: positive syncretism, self-determining faith, gospel acceptance, *tikanga*, enhancement, liberation and *aroha*. The discussion that emerged out of the themes indicated that as Māori we do not view the concept of syncretism as problematic. Indeed, this chapter established that mixing Christianity into our culture has improved some aspects of it. This chapter also described some of the benefits of syncretism for Māori as revealed by the research.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the thesis, reinforces the significance of my original contribution to knowledge and suggests recommendations for future research.

7.2 Overview of the Thesis

The first chapter described the methodology and the methods of this research. Kaupapa Māori—as a uniquely Māori research methodology—recognises the Māori worldview as normal and provides the essential tools for critically analysing research from a Māori perspective. The *Atuatanga* Model imparted another layer of methodological support, with a specific focus on Māori theological affairs. Two methods were used in this research: interviews and thematic analysis. The interview process gave voice to the participants to share their wisdom and experience. Thematic analysis provided the necessary tools with which to position and assemble the data.

The second chapter introduced and set the parameters of my faith-world based on *whakapapa* and *whakapono*. Circumscribing my faith-world, the chapter covered my *whakapapa* links to *whakapono*—Patuheuheu and Ngāti Whare to Ringatū, Ngāti Manawa to Catholicism, and Ngāti Porou to Te Hāhi Mihinare (Anglicanism)—and described some of my experiences pertaining to Pentecostalism and Mormonism, and my lingering encounters with Taoism and Hinduism in particular. This chapter set the personal theological tone for the thesis.

To provide a historical backdrop for the research, the third chapter canvassed Māori interactions with Christianity concerning the work of the missionaries with Māori; the formation of the Anglican, Methodist, Catholic and Presbyterian churches; the establishment of the Treaty of Waitangi; and the impact of the New Zealand Wars on the

church. The chapter revealed that, as Māori, we received and shared Christianity with our people on our own terms and in our own ways.

The fourth chapter explored the notion of syncretism. Drawing upon the literature, this chapter explained the nature of syncretism, considered how it is variously evaluated, and described the impacts of syncretism on Christian faith. The indigenous instances of syncretism contained in this chapter indicated that new religions were adapted by indigenous people in constructive ways.

The fifth chapter discussed pre-Christian Māori religion and delineated some features of ancient Māori religious life. This chapter also discussed four significant Māori prophetic movements, to reveal the ways in which Māori and Christian ideas encountered one another. This chapter also investigated *whakapono*, based on a thematic analysis of the interview data garnered from the research participants. Themes studied and discussed included *ngā Atua*, *Te Atua*, *Atuatanga*/Māori theology, *Te Karaiti*, *mātauranga*, *whakapapa*, *te taiao* and *te hāhi*. The discussion of these themes confirmed that, as Māori, we engage with Christianity from a Māori standpoint.

The sixth chapter discussed the positive impacts of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori, also based on a thematic analysis of the interview data. Themes included: positive syncretism, self-determining faith, gospel acceptance, *tikanga*, enhancement, liberation and *aroha*. The discussion that emerged out of the themes indicated that, as Māori, we do not consider syncretism a negative phenomenon. Moreover, this chapter established that the syncretism that exists between Māori culture and Christianity has positively enhanced some aspects of our culture.

7.3 Significance of my Original Contribution to Knowledge

My overall original contribution to knowledge is a Kaupapa Māori study of the positive impacts of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori from the perspective of my *whakapono* based on *whakapapa*.

In chapter one, I used the *Atuatanga* Model, along with Kaupapa Māori, as a dual methodological approach. The use of the *Atuatanga* Model in this work is unique as it is the first time this model has been used to conduct research. The triangulation of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* in the model reflects a Māori theological reality—that all are connected and symbiotic. The *Atuatanga* Model is an original contribution to knowledge.

In chapter two, I presented a matrix of *whakapapa* and *whakapono* to give expression to the histories, connections, experiences and relationships that have informed my faith-world. From this standpoint, I explored the ways in which my genealogy and faith encountered one another and in so doing shaped my theology. The foundation of my faith-world is established by the historical and genealogical context within which I am positioned. In addition, my experiences with various faiths—Ringatū, Catholicism, Pentecostalism, Mormonism, Anglicanism, as well as Taoism and Hinduism—provided a patchwork of theologies that are unique and personal. The amalgam of *whakapapa* and *whakapono* tell an inimitable narrative—one that is both individual to me and collectively shared with my maternal grandmother, Nan, and my *tīpuna*—that is also an original contribution to knowledge.

In the fifth chapter, I brought together the voices of Māori clerics—Anglican, Presbyterian and Reformed Old Catholic—Māori theologians and scholars, and a Pākehā Roman Catholic priest who has spent most of his life in ministry with Māori. Their exceptional knowledge and experiences were arranged around themes: *ngā Atua*, *Te Atua*, *Atuatanga*/Māori theology, *Te Karaiti*, *mātauranga*, *whakapapa*, *te taiao* and *te hāhi*. Each theme and the *kōrero* expressed by the participants—arranged and weaved together by me—are original contributions to knowledge.

The theme of *ngā Atua* revealed that spirituality is embodied in the many *Atua* that occupy the world around us. It also revealed that *ngā Atua* are part of the Māori world

and are therefore part of being Māori. Further, being Māori is part of being a Māori Christian, for we are first Māori.

Through the theme of *Te Atua*, it was discovered that for some God has always been with Māori, manifested in the environment as *ngā Atua*, and that God was introduced to Māori again in Jesus. At the centre of most Māori funeral practices is Christianity. The pain of losing a loved one forces us to confront the afterlife. For some, Jesus waits beyond the ‘pearly gates’, while for others Hinenuitepō will embrace us with her (grand)motherly *aroha* in the great underworld. For others still, the *wairua* travels to Hawaiki—the dwelling place of *Atua* created by Io. On the *marae*, particularly at *tangihanga*, a multitude of theologies converge, intertwine and dance together, without inhibition. Each theology is accepted for what it is: a reflection and refraction of the immense cosmic mystery of *Te Atua*—God.

The theme of *Atuatanga*/Māori theology revealed that Māori understandings of the Divine are based on *tapu*, *mana* and *whakapapa*, and this was the foundation upon which we encountered the Bible and Christianity. Certainly, in the 19th-century, the Bible became the basis for Māori prophetic movements—Pai Mārire, Ringatū, Iharaira, Kīngitanga and others; the Bible—far from pacifying Māori—became a tool for religiopolitical resistance. Ultimately, the theme of *Atuatanga*/Māori theology showed that we encounter and engage with God from where we are as Māori—this is ‘God in context’—taking into consideration our spiritual, cultural and historical experiences. It is impossible for us to approach Christianity without first being Māori.

In the theme of *Te Karaiti*, we learned that we relate to Jesus from a Māori perspective, as reflected in the terms used to describe Jesus, such as Te Pouherengawaka. We found too that Jesus might be understood to correspond with *Atua* such as Io or Tāne. Indeed, a Māori worldview—encompassing *ngā Atua*—informs our Christianity, which is indigenous and unique to our cultural context. Significantly, the theme of *Te Karaiti*

teaches us that Māori are beyond the systems and structures of Christianity, and that we have a direct relationship with the Divine, with *wairua*, with *Te Karaiti*—the Christ.

The theme of *mātauranga* revealed that we express our theology through our *mātauranga*—in the form of *pūrākau*, *whaikōrero*, *mōteatea*, *waiata*, *hīmene*, *haka*, *whakapono*, *manaakitanga* and *aroha*, among others—as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Our *mātauranga* informs and shapes the ways in which we practise our Christianity and encounter and view God as Māori. The theme of *mātauranga* also revealed that as the Bible and the church were absorbed into our *mātauranga*, this became a source of knowledge that informed how we expressed our *whakapono*, as in the case of Te Kooti’s influence over the design of many 19th-century *whareniui*.

The theme of *whakapapa* showed us that, as the key organising principle of Māori society and as a connective network, *whakapapa* ties all things together—*Atua*, *tangata*, *whenua*, animate and inanimate—and establishes and maintains relationships. Dissimilar to notions of the ‘great chain of being’, *whakapapa* recognises that human beings are the younger siblings of creation. *Whakapapa* is our identity and we express our theology through it, as in the case of Mohi Turei’s ‘Tihei Taruke’, wherein the ancient tribal traditions of Ngāti Porou co-exist with Christianity inside the *tāruke*. *Whakapapa* is also the foundation upon which we stand as we as Māori encounter the modern world, as embodied by the words of Sir Āpirana Ngata. Further, the theme of *whakapapa* revealed that the *whakapapa* of our histories and experience shape our theologies; the establishment of the Poukai to care for the needy and bereft following the brutal confiscation of our land—a very Māori response, based in scripture—exemplifies this.

Within the theme of *te taiao*, we found that *whakapapa* gave expression to a theology of interconnectedness, wherein human beings are the younger relatives of those created before, with a reciprocal responsibility to protect and enhance the environment. Within *te taiao* exist spiritual beings—*Atua*, *taniwha*, *kaitiaki* and *tipua*—that guard their

respective realms, and from whom we may gain safe passage and protection by observing appropriate *tikanga*. The theme of *te taiao* revealed too that the interlocking relationships between *Atua*, *whenua* and *tangata* are an expression of our environmental theology.

From the theme of *te hāhi* we learned that, although *whakapono*—often through *te hāhi*—is important to Māori life, Māori seem less concerned with denominational and theological differences and more focussed on *wairuatanga*. However, *te hāhi* provides us with a format through which to action our *whakapono*. Thus, the theme of *te hāhi* showed us that, for Māori, what matters the most is not what church we belong to or how we practise our religion, but that we are people of *whakapono*—people of faith.

In discussing the impacts of syncretism on the development of Christian faith among Māori in the sixth chapter, I again assembled and arranged the voices of Māori clerics, theologians, scholars and a Pākehā Roman Catholic priest. I organised the information and experiences that they shared—as original contributions to knowledge—into the following themes: positive syncretism, self-determining faith, gospel acceptance, *tikanga*, enhancement, liberation and *aroha*.

The theme of positive syncretism revealed that while syncretism has sometimes been regarded negatively, indigenous people, and Māori in particular, have generally positive views about syncretism. The mixing of Māori and Christian beliefs is not new to us: it has occurred since the gospel arrived in *Aotearoa* New Zealand. Indeed, *Atuatanga*/Māori theology bridges the divide between Māori and Christian worldviews.

The theme of self-determining faith served to acknowledge that our people were not forced to believe in Christianity. Rather, we made an informed choice to accept the new religion in self-determining ways, deciding for ourselves what aspects of the new faith to incorporate into our existing belief systems. Certainly, the Bible—particularly the liberation theology of the Old Testament—informed and shaped the Māori resistance movements of the 19th-century. More recently, in the 1990s, Māori in the Anglican

Church reshaped the constitution, allowing for the formation of a three-*tikanga* church, in which Māori gained autonomy.

The theme of gospel acceptance showed that we encountered and received Christianity as Māori and did not stop being Māori because we accepted Christianity. The easy alignment of elements of our pre-Christian religion with aspects of Christianity facilitated the uptake and sharing of the gospel among Māori. Pākehā missionaries were subsequently astonished to find that entire communities and tribes had incorporated the gospel into their lives in very Māori ways. Indeed, we used Christianity to enhance our lives and engage with the modern world.

The theme of enhancement revealed that when we as Māori accepted the gospel we did so purposefully, based on a recognition of the benefits of Christianity, including the economic advantages and access to new knowledge it afforded. Our culture was enhanced by incorporating the distinctive gospel ideas of forgiveness and love; and literacy and other forms of knowledge were rapidly absorbed by us to support and enhance our lives in the face of the terrors of colonisation and land loss. We also recognised the value of the Exodus theology as a powerful tool of resistance and liberation, as used by the Pai Mārire, Ringatū, Iharaira and others.

The theme of liberation revealed that the theology of Tarore—a theology of love and forgiveness in the face of murder and the potential of bloody retaliation—became for us a story of mercy and compassion that transcended revenge. In the story of Tarore, we find that those who grasped the gospel became liberated from the cycle of *utu*. The theme of liberation also showed us how those who had been enslaved by enemy tribes were freed when their captors converted and practiced the gospel notion of forgiveness. Indeed, although Christianity was associated with colonisation, the gospel provided us with the tools to challenge colonialism and injustice, as already mentioned.

The theme of *aroha* revealed that the example set by Jesus showed us how to enhance and expand the best parts of our culture. Concepts like *aroha* and *manaakitanga* were extended as a means of following the model established by Jesus. The theme of *aroha* showed that through our acceptance of the gospel, we found ways to forgive one another, love more fully, and enhance our lives and the lives of our descendants.

The final way in which this research contributes to knowledge is through the application of Harrison's (2014) three-part evaluation—to determine whether positive syncretism has occurred—to the Māori context. For Harrison (2014), positive syncretism is about improvement, and for improvement to have occurred he argues that syncretism should:

1. align the religion more closely with new knowledge about reality
2. contribute positively to progress in the world
3. sustain and expand upon important aspects of the religion.

In applying Harrison's (2014) first point—to align the religion more closely with new knowledge about reality—this research revealed that the syncretism that occurred between Māori and Christianity had the following effects:

- Māori inverted biblical messages in culturally relevant ways as a means of religiopolitical resistance in the face of colonisation and land loss.
- By accepting the gospel on our own terms, Māori prepared—by becoming literate, for example—to encounter the realities of the modern world.

In applying Harrison's (2014) second point—to contribute positively to progress in the world—this research revealed that the syncretism that occurred between Māori and Christianity yielded the following results:

- The application of the Christian notions of love and forgiveness caused Māori to break the cycle of *utu*, allowing us to experience life in new and enhanced ways.

- Māori extended concepts such as *aroha* and *manaakitanga* to include the love exemplified by Jesus.
- Though charismatic prophet-leaders, Māori were inspired by the liberation theology of the Old Testament and used this to resist colonisation, while at the same time investing in new syncretistic belief systems.

In applying Harrison's (2014) third point—to sustain and expand upon important aspects of the religion—this research revealed that the syncretism that occurred between Māori and Christianity produced the following outcomes:

- By applying the example of Jesus, certain aspects of Māori culture were enhanced.
- The notion of giving without *utu* or the expectation of reciprocity is a uniquely Christian notion exemplified by Jesus and imported into Māori culture.
- Acceptance of the gospel made Māori culture more loving.

Largely, the benefits of syncretism for Māori are extensive. Syncretism offered Māori the means to adapt to novel ideas, generate new meanings, and most pointedly, to engage with Christianity as Māori.

The research revealed that syncretism provided for us the means with which to maintain features of our old religion—that have endured to this day— notwithstanding the prevalent acceptance of Christianity among Māori. Through syncretism, Māori religion and Christianity were able to exist together, which is chiefly evident on the *marae*.

As regards the many Christian denominations that Māori belong to, syncretism has provided the means for Māori to encounter a range of churches and theologies on the *marae* without issue. Indeed, syncretism neutralises the need to be antagonistic about one's beliefs.

Syncretism allows religions to connect and have meaningful conversations with one another. This allows many religious traditions to learn and grow, and gain more knowledge and wisdom with which to try to answer life's great questions.

Through syncretism, Christianity becomes progressively more Māori. This is clearly advantageous for Māori as it allows us to be Christian in a Māori way. Meaningfully, syncretism was used as a coping strategy as we encountered the upheavals of colonisation and significant land loss. Indeed, our Māori prophets exemplified this with the syncretistic movements that they founded as a way of leading their people and inspiring faith in their followers.

Syncretism, gave us the tools to relate as Māori to Christianity. In facing Christianity as Māori, we comprehend and consider our faith with Māori eyes, we connect with Christianity with a Māori heart, and we meet God with a Māori spirit. Syncretism allows us to be both authentically Māori and authentically Christian on our own terms.

7.4 Recommendations for Future Research

I would make the following recommendations for future research:

- Māori theological writing is relatively sparse and so, of course, I recommend much more research about Māori theology and Māori spirituality. We should be writing as much as possible to 'flood' the archives with our stories, written by us.
- Tohunga-led research into *karakia tahito* is needed. Having said that, there will be specific limitations regarding the *tapu* surrounding this knowledge and the skill level in *te reo Māori* required to read and comprehend such research.

The word syncretism will likely never be a familiar one among Māori as it is too ingrained in a specifically theological world. However, the concept behind the word is something with which Māori are very familiar. We do it every day. We walk in Māori and Pākehā worlds. We navigate, negotiate and traverse syncretistic terrain every day.

Barely a day goes by when I do not notice syncretism unfolding before my eyes. Syncretism is not a word that we as Christians should fear. It is a word that we can embrace, because it is ultimately up to us to determine for ourselves what works and does not work for us theologically.

Nan taught me about faith. She taught me that *whakapono* and *karakia* would protect me. I believe her. All my love to you, Nan. *Arohanui*.

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