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**TE WHAKAIHONGA: HE TIKANGA TAPAHI MAKawe**

**I TE AO MĀORI**

He tuhinga whakapae  
kua tukuna hei whakatutuki  
i ngā whakaritenga

o

**Te Tohu Paerua Tikanga Māori**

i

**Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato**

Nā

**RANGIHURIHIA ANN MCDONALD**

---

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2011

# TE PURE MĀHUNGA

## *Ariā*

E ai ki te Māori, mai anō i a Māui Pōtiki, kua tapahia e te pouaru, e te kirimate, ngō rātou makawe i te tangihanga. He reureu, he tiotio, he pakipaki taha ngētehi o ngā tohu weriweri nei, i tauawhi, i whakaū i te aroha ki te mate. I ngētehi wā, he whakamaumahara, he take whakariri i te ngākau, he utu i te tangi kino o te manawa. Mutu kau ana te tangihanga, ko te heuenga hoki i te whare tauā, ki te wai whakaika. Ko ngētehi take ngēnei o te tapahi makawe a te kirimate, otirā, ko te tino whāinga o tēnei tuhinga whakapae. He whakapono makawe anō i whakaemingia, nā te rangahau mātātuhi, ko ngā pūrākau, ngā mōteatea, ngā whakataukī anō hoki a ngā tūpuna. He tirohanga kaumātua i kohikohingia nā roto mai o te uiui. Waiho mai ana ko ngā tikanga tawhito mō te tapahi i te uru tapu o te tangata, ki te ao tūroa.

## HE MIHI, HE WHAKAWHETAI

*Ko te Atua tōku piringa ka puta ka ora...*

Tēnei au ka maioha ake, ki a koutou i taupuhipuhi mai, i manaaki mai i tēnei kaupapa.

E te toroa whakaingo o te uru, kua noho koe hei manu tātaki i te hauturuki nei i roto i ngaku tau i te whare wānanga. Ko te heru tuki, ko te piki toroa kua titia ki te māhunga, ko ngō tautāwhitanga ngērā, ko tō taituarā tērā. Kua kotiti kē taku haere, mei kore ko ngō tohutohu, ko ngō akiaki. He hua hoki au nō ngā hekenga werawera ōu, nā tō pukumahi, nā tō māia. E Haki. Tēnā rawa atu koe.

E Te Awekōtuku, nō te wai hauparoa o Ihenga, o Kahumatamomoe. Nāu anō au i poipoi i te ao o te Mātauranga, e te rau tītapu, nei rā ngaku mihi.

E kui mā, e ngaku māreikura, nā koutou tēnei tuhinga i whakarākei, ki te ohaoha o ngā koutou kōrero, Whaea Aroha, e kui Pera, ki a koe anō hoki Nan, tēnā koutou katoa.

E koro mā, kei ngaku toihau, kua tāreia ngā whārangi nei ki te nui o ngō koutou mātauranga. E pā, e te ‘Matua’, e koro Homai, e te ahorangi, Matua Pou, e koro Meto, ki a koe hoki Matua Ēnoka, tēnei anō ahau, ka whakamānawa ake.

Kei ngaku toihuarewa o Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao. Nā koutou au i taurima, i hāpai kia puhipuhi tonu te pane i te māhorahora o ngō koutou mōhiotanga. Kei ngaku whāea, kei ngaku mātua, kei ngaku whakaruruhau, tēnā hoki koutou katoa. He mihi māhaki hoki ki a kōrua, Raukura kōrua ko Telesia. Nā ngō kōrua kuru pounamu i pai ai taku whakatutuki i ngā tuhituhi nei.

Kei ngā mōtoi kahurangi, kei ngā kuru tongarewa, nā ngō koutou takoha, i whai huruhuru ai tēnei manu kia rere. E ngā pou o te rangahau tangihanga, Whaea Waimarie, Whaea Awe, Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, New Zealand Federation of Graduate Women (Inc). Nā ngō koutou maiaorere i whakaahurungia ai ngā tuhinga amaru nei. Tēnā hoki koutou katoa.

He mihi nui atu anō ki Te Whare Pukapuka o Tāmaki Makaurau, i whakaae mai kia whakaputaina ngētehi o ngā tuhinga a Te Rangikāheke, ki tēnei tuhinga whakapae.

E kui, Nan, he hinu rautangi kua panipania ki te uma, ko tō aroha tērā, he maimoa, he kumanu. Kua waiwharangia taku pane, ki te titireia ariki, nāu anō i homai, ko tōku reo, ko ngā taonga whakamirimiri a ngā tūpuna.

Kei taku pāpā, e taku heru tū rae, nāu anō au i tauwhiro, i tāwharau. Nā kōrua ko Nan ahau i kōkuhu ki te taonga o te pukumahi, kei taihara, kei māngere, nā tērā, kua eke au ki te paerua nei. Mei kore ko kōrua, kua paremo au i ngā whakawhiu o te ao. Kei taku rau huia, kei taku pouwhirinaki, e kore rawa e tū tika, kua toimaha te tinana i te aroha, he roimata aroha i te ao, i te pō.

E taku tungāne, e Hatu, ka rekareka katoa te manawa i a koe. Nui noa te aroha.

E ngaku hoa noho, e ngaku hoa pūmau, e Mere, Pāora, taku Beh, e Heni. Kua noho koutou hei hoa kōrero, hei hoa wānanga, hei hoa āwhina, hei hoa hiki wairua mōku i tēnei o ngaku haere. Kei ngaku piki tūrangī, rere tonu rā ngā mihi.

E ngaku kōtaha kura, koutou katoa kua whakarāwai i a māua ko taku tuhinga. Me pēwhea au e whakaatu i ngaku owaha, i ngaku mihi, ki ngā kupu ruarua nei. Ka tūohu au, ka mihi ake...

*Mehemea ko koe e hine*

*Taku reina parairi*

*Kei roto koe i aku ringa*

*Pupuri ai e kare...*

*Ehara te waea*

*He waikura ka whati*

*Engari ko te aroha*

*He mau roa...*

*He rautūtū ki ngā rori*

*Tūturu te aroha*

*He rau ake ake mōu*

*Tākai roa e...*

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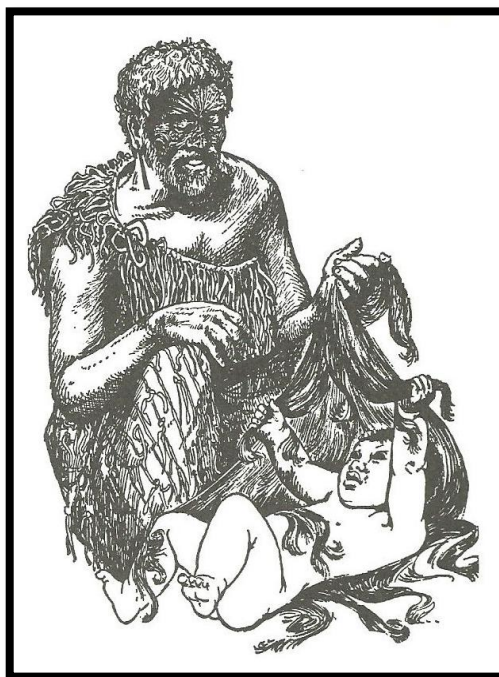
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# TE WAI WHAKAIHO

## *Te Ūpoko Tuatahi: He Tīmatanga Kōrero*



*Whakaahua 1: Ko Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga.*

(Reed, 2002, p. 114)

### **1.1 Kupu tātaki**

I tupu ake ahau i ngā rekereke o tōku rūruhi a Kanohingarō Haupokia. Nāna au i tautāwhi, i whakatupu ki tōku ao Māori. Nohinohi tonu ana ahau, kua mōhio pai ki ngā tikanga e pā ana ki te tinana o te tangata. Ko tētehi o ngā mea nui, kia kua rawa māua ko tōku teina e tuku i ngō māua makawe ki te rāpihi, i te mea hoki, he mea tahu aua rāpihi rā e tōku kuia. Ko te toto, ko ngā maikuku, ko ngērā momo wāhanga katoa o te tinana, kāore i makangia atu ki te ahi i runga i ngā tohutohu a tō māua rūruhi. Kāore hoki māua i whakaaetia kia waiho poka noa nei i ngō māua makawe ki whea, ki whea atu rānei, engari, he pēke motuhake hei pupuru i aua makawe, ā, ka kī haere te pēke raka, kua haria e tōku rūruhi ki waho, tanu ai. Ko

te whakapono hoki tērā i roto i tōku whānau kia kua te wahine hapū e tapahi i ngōna makawe, kei raruraru, kei pākira hoki te pēpē o roto. Tērā tētehi wā, i ahau e raweke ana i roto i te rūma o tōku kuia, ka tūpono au ki ngētehi makawe, he mea whiriwhiri. E toru ngā whiringa makawe nei, he āhua roa tonu. Ko te tuatahi, nōna ake, ko te tuarua, nō tōku whaea, ko te tuatoru, he makawe nōku. Kāore au i tino mōhio ki te take i pupuru ai ia i ngō mātou nei makawe, heoi, kei reira tonu, kei tōna ruma, tae noa mai ki tēnei rā.

Kei reira hoki ngā whakapono o ngētehi, kia kua e tapahia ngā makawe, me ngā maikuku i te pō, i te wā rānei e mate ā-marama ana te wahine. Heoi anō, kei ia whānau, kei ia tangata anō ngōna ake whakapono mō te makawe. Kāore e kore i taketake mai ngēnei whakapono i ukiuki rā anō, i runga hoki i te tino tapu o te māhunga me ngā makawe ki te Māori.

E maumahara ana ahau ki te kōrero a tōku kuia mō te tapahinga o ngōna makawe i te matenga o tōna matua. Ka tapahia e ia he iho makawe, ka waihotia ki roto i te pouaka o tōna matua, ā, he mea tāpuke ki tōna taha. E kīia ana e tōku kuia, he tohu aroha tērā ki tōna pāpā.

## **1.2 Te pūtake rangahau**

Nōku e tamariki ana, i whai atu au i tōku kuia ki ngā momo hui nō roto i a mātou o Ngāti Maniapoto, tangihanga mai, hura kōhatu mai, whakangahau mai. Mai i taua wā, ka mātakitaki haere au i ngā tikanga o ngōku marae. Ia tangihanga, ia tangihanga, kua mau tōku rūruhi i tōna tauā, arā, he pare whiri ki ngā rau o te rākau. He mea whakanoho ki tōna māhunga mō te roanga ake o te tangihanga. Ko ngōku whāea, ko ngōku rūruhi katoa e noho ana i te pae mate, ka tūparea katoatia ki tērā tohu o te mate. Kei te tūpāpaku, kei ngā whakaahua, kei ngā pātū, kei te

mahau, kei ngā pou o te whare ngā rau kākārīki e iri ana, e tautau ana, he mea whakaatu i te pōuri, i te mamae, otirā, i tēnei mea te mate.

Ka tae mai ahau ki Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, ka uru atu au ki roto i te akoranga a Pou Temara, e kīia ana ko Ngā Tikanga o te Marae. Ko te wā tuatahi tērā i noho au me te āta wānanga i ngā take, i ngā tikanga, i ngā āhuatanga whakahaere o te marae. I reira ka tīmata haere ngaku pātai, taku wero i ngā tikanga i tupu ake ai au i roto. I taua wā, torutoru noa iho mātou o te akoranga, kua kite i te kawenga o te tauā, o te parekawakawa, i ngā tangihanga o ngō mātou ake marae. Ko mātou o Maniapoto e pūmau tonu ana ki tērā tikanga, engari, i ngētehi atu iwi, tē aro i a rātou. Ka tīmata haere taku pātai ki ahau anō, he aha mātou i mau ai i te tauā ki te tangihanga? I taketake mai tērā tikanga i whea? He tikanga nō ngētehi iwi torutoru noa iho anahe? Mai i ngērā momo ui makihoi āku, ka hua mai he rangahau, ā, mutu kau ana, ka tuhi pepa au, e kīia ana ko *Parekawakawa: He tohu o te mate* (McDonald, 2010). Nāwai rā, ka uru atu au ki te rangahau tangihanga e whakahaerehia ana e Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku rāua ko Waimarie Nikora o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. Nā ngērā rangahau āku, ka minaka tonu kia tirohia ngētehi atu kaupapa pērā. I ngaku rangahautanga i te parekawakawa, ka tūpono au ki ngētehi kōrero mō te tapahinga o ngā makawe o te kirimate i ngā tangihanga o nehe. Me taku mahara hoki, ki ngā kōrero a tōku kuia, arā, tana tapahinga i ngōna makawe i te matenga o tōna matua. Mai i reira, ka mānu ai tēnei o ngaku rangahau.

### **1.3 Te kaupapa rangahau**

*“Ko te tao rākau, e pareparea. Ko te tao aituā, e kore...”*

Ahakoā te tangata, ahakoā nō whea, ka tae ki te wā, ka kutia atu ia e tōna tupuna a Hine-nui-i-te-pō. Ko te mate tērā i tohea e Māui, ā, kua tau mai ki runga i a tāua te ira tangata mō ake tonu atu rā.

I tuaukiuki, he mea nui whakahirahira te mate ki te Māori. He tapu hoki ngōna āhuatanga katoa. Ko te utu ka mahue mai, he tuku i te hahae o te ate, he whakapau i ngā mahara o tangi kino. Ka tangihia, ka poroporoakingia te tūpāpaku ki ngā momo tikanga tangihanga, arā, te whaikōrero, te apakura, te mōteatea, te hūpē, te roimata, te kiri haehae, tae atu ki te whakamomori i ngētehi wā. He whakaatu i te pōuri, i te aroha ki te taonga o te mate. I whakamaua e te kirimate ngā momo tohu, ko te kākahu taratara tērā, ko te pōtae tauā tērā. Nō reira, ko te arotahi o tēnei rangahau, otirā, o tēnei tuhinga whakapae, he tikanga, he tohu tangihanga anō, e mau ana te kirimate, arā, ko te tapahi i ngā makawe.

### **1.4 Ngā whāinga, ngā pātai, te whānuitanga rangahau**

Ko te whāinga matua o tēnei rangahau, ko te tātari i ngā tikanga me ngā whakapono e pā ana ki te tapahinga o ngā makawe o te kirimate i ngā tangihanga o te ao Māori. Mā reira e kitea ai ngā tino take e whāia ana tēnei mahi hei tikanga tangihanga.

Ko te wherawhera hoki tēnei i ngā tikanga me ngā whakapono o te tapahi makawe ia rā, i ngētehi atu wā whakahirahira hoki, i nehe.

Ko te pātai matua o tēnei rangahau e hora nei:

- He aha ngētehi take i tapahia ai e te kirimate, ngō rātou makawe i ngā tangihanga o nehe, o nāianeī hoki?

E whai mai ana ko ngēnei pātai iti:

He aha ngētehi tikanga o te tapahi i ngā makawe o te kirimate i ngā tangihanga o nehe, arā:

- Ko wai mā ngā tāngata i tapahia ai ngō rātou makawe?
- Nā wai i tapahi?
- I ahatia ngā makawe?
- I tapahia ki te aha?
- He aha ngā whakahaere i te wā o te tapahi makawe?

He aha ngētehi tikanga o te tapahi i ngā makawe ia rā, i ngētehi atu wā whakahirahira hoki i nehe? Arā:

- Nā wai i tapahi?
- I ahatia ngā makawe?
- I tapahia ki te aha?
- Tapahia ai ngā makawe i whea?
- He aha ngā whakahaere i te wā o te tapahi makawe?

Ko te hōkai o tēnei rangahau, e whātoro atu ana ki te ao Māori anahe. Nō reira, kāore e whai wāhi mai ana ngā whakapono makawe o te Paipera, o ngērā atu iwi taketake o te ao. Kāore hoki i whakawhāitihia te kohinga o ngā kōrero ki tētehi iwi kotahi, engari, he rangahau i ngā tikanga Māori o ngā iwi whānui o Aotearoa nei. Kāore hoki tēnei rangahau i ruku atu i ngā kōrero o te tapahinga o ngā makawe o te tūpāpaku ake.

## 1.5 Te huarahi rangahau

E rua ngā momo huarahi i āta whāia e te kairangahau, kia whakaemi i ngā kōrero mō tēnei kaupapa.

Ko te tuatahi he rangahau i ngā mātātuhī e pā ana ki ngā tikanga Māori, ki ngā tikanga tangihanga, ki te māhunga me ngā makawe o te tangata. He mea rangahau ngēnei i Te Whare Pukapuka o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. Ko te nuinga o ngā rauemi rā, he mea tuhituhi. Ko te hiahia, kia rangahaua ngā tuhinga tuauri, arā, ko ngā mātātuhī tuatahi mō te Māori. Heoi anō, i tirohia hoki ngā tuhinga āhua hou nei mō te tapahi makawe. Atu i ngā pukapuka kua perehitia, ka rangahaua hoki ngā mōteatea, ngā whakataukī, ngā rauemi o te ipurangi, me ngētehi o ngā tuhituhinga a Te Rangikāheke, i kohia e Tā Hōri Kerei.

Ko te tuarua o ngā huarahi rangahau, ko te whakaemi mātākōrero mā te uiui i ngā pūkenga Māori o ngēnei rā.

Ko te tino whāinga o te uiui tangata, kia kohikohi haere i ngā tirohanga āhua hou nei mō ngā whakapono me ngā tikanga tapahi makawe. Mai i ngā tāngata kua tapahi i ngō rātou makawe i te tangihanga, mai i ngā kaumātua mātau ki ngā tikanga, mai i a rātou e whakaako ana i ngā tikanga Māori i te whare wānanga.

I tīpakongia e te kairangahau, me tana pouarataki kia waru ngā poukōrero hei uiui. Tokotoru he wāhine, tokorima he tāne. He matatau te katoa ki tō rātou reo me ngōna tikanga. E mōhiohia kētia ana rātou katoa e te kairangahau, e te pouarataki rānei, kia pai ai te whakawhitinga kōrero, i te mea, i mōhio kē, i waia kē rātou ki te kairangahau. Tokowhā o rātou he pouako reo Māori, tikanga Māori rānei i Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, i Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. O tērā tokowhā, kotahi te wahine i tapahi i ngōna makawe i te tangihanga, tokorua o rātou kua kite i tēnei

tikanga, kotahi anō, e rangahau ana i ngā tikanga tangihanga i tēnei wā tonu. Ko tērā atu tokowhā, he kaumātua katoa ōku. Kotahi o rātou, kua tapahi i ngōna makawe i te tangihanga, ā, ko te toenga he kaumātua mātau ki ngā tikanga tangihanga, ā, kua kite hoki i te kotinga makawe i te tangihanga.

Nō mua tonu atu o te whakahaeretanga o ngā uiui, ka whakapā atu te kairangahau ki ia o rātou, me te whai whakaaetanga kia uiuia rātou kanohi ki te kanohi. Ka whakamāramaniga ake te kaupapa me ngā hiahia o te kairangahau. I whakaritea he wā, me tētehi wāhi pai ki a rātou. Nā whai anō, i uiuia rātou i ngō rātou ake kāinga, i ngō rātou ake wāhi mahi rānei. Ka tukuna atu mā te mēra, ngētehi pepa whakamārama, kia taea ai e rātou te whakaaroaro mō tēnei kaupapa i mua i te uiui. I whakaritea kētia ngā pātai, heoi anō, he pātai ārahi noa. He pātai whakakōrero i ngā pou, kia taea ai e rātou ngā kōrero, ngā tikanga e mōhio ana, e hiahia ana rātou. He rourou kai i haria atu hei mihi aroha ki ia o rātou. I whakahaerehia ngā uiui nei i te reo Māori i te nuinga o te wā, engari, i ngētehi wā pakupaku, ka whakawhitiwhiti te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā. I whakaae mai te katoa, kia hopua ngō rātou reo ki tētehi mīhini hopu reo. Hoki kau atu ana ki te kāinga, ka patopatongia ngā rātou kōrero, ā, ka āta kōwhiringia ngā wāhanga o ngā rātou kōrero, hei whakaputa ki te tuhinga whakapae nei.

## **1.6 Te whakatakotoranga o ngā Ūpoko**

Huataki ana ngā mahi katoa a te Māori ki te takutaku, ki te karakia i tūārangi rā anō. Kua noho anō te karakia hei hiki ake i tēnei o ngā kaupapa, ā, ko tā te koti makawe, ko te pure mähunga. Ko te pure mähunga he pure whakawātea i te tangata mō te kotinga o ngōna makawe. Nō reira, i mua i te whakatakotoranga o

ngā tuhituhi nei, i whakapuarengia tēnei whakaputanga ki te pure māhunga. E whakatinanatia ana, i te ariā o tēnei tuhinga whakapae.

Ko te Ūpoko Tuatahi, ka kīia ko Te Wai Whakaiho. Arā, he momo wai tapu hei tapahi i ngā makawe i whakapata. Ko ngā tīmatanga kōrero katoa ka horahia ki reira, arā, ko te pūtake rangahau, te kaupapa, ngā whāinga, ngā pātai me te huarahi rangahau. Kua noho ngēnei kōrero o Te Wai Whakaiho, hei iho matua, hei iho hāpai i ngā tuhituhi e whai mai ana.

Kei Te Wai Kotikoti, ka tahoratia te Arohaehae Mātāpuna. He tātaritanga, he kotikotinga o ngā mātātuhi i rangahaua mō tēnei kaupapa. E rua ngā wāhanga. Ko te tuatahi e titiro ana ki ngā tikanga tapahi makawe i te tangihanga. Arā, ko te āhua o te tapahi, ngā tāngata koti makawe, te ahatanga o ngā makawe, otirā, ko ngētehi o ngā tikanga whakahaere. Ko te wāhanga tuarua, ka mātai atu ki ngā tikanga o te tapahi makawe, i ngā wā, atu i te tangihanga i nehe. Arā, ko ngā tāngata tapahi, ngā wāhi huna, ngā wāhi koti i ngā makawe, ngā taputapu i whakamahia, me ngētehi o ngā tikanga whakahaere.

Ka tautapangia te Ūpoko Tuatoru, ko Te Ahurewa. Ko te wāhi tapu tērā, i nehe, i haere ai ngā tohunga, ki te mahi i ngā rātou mahi tapu, ki te koti hoki i ngā makawe. Nō reira, ka whakapuakina ngā uiuitanga ki ngā pūkenga, ki ngā tohunga ki korā. I takoha mai rātou i ngō rātou whakapono, i ngā rātou tikanga hei wānanga i tēnei Ahurewa. Ka āta matapakitia hoki ngā tikanga tapahi makawe i te tangihanga.

E kīia ana, ko Te Wai Whakaika tētehi o ngā wāhi whakawahi i te tauira ki te mātauranga i ngā wā o mua. I taua wā tonu, ka tapahia hoki ngā makawe. Ko tēnei

Ūpoko, te whakawahinga i te kaipānui ki te māramatanga, arā, ki ngā kitenga nui e whakautu ana, e hāngai ana ki ngā pātai me ngā whāinga o tēnei rangahau.

He wāhi tapu anō te purepurenga hei tapahi i ngā makawe o te rangatira i namata. Ko te purenga hoki te ingoa o te karakia whakawātea i te kirimate, i te tapu o te mate. Nō reira, kei te Ūpoko whakamutunga, arā, kei Te Purepurenga, ka hīkina ake ai tēnei kaupapa. He hokinga whakamuri ki ngā whāinga, ki ngā pātai, ki te huarahi rangahau me te āta wānanga i ngā painga me ngā ngoikoretanga. Ka tirohia anōtia ngā kitenga matua, ngā whāititanga, me ngā hua o tēnei rangahau.

Mutu kau iho, ko Te Rehu Koti Uru, arā, ko ngā whakapuakanga. Ko te rehu he taputapu whakatutuki i te kotinga makawe i nehe. Ko ngā whakapuakanga ka tahoratia, he rauemi, he mātāpuna i whakamahia hei whakatutuki i tēnei tuhinga whakapae.

## 1.7 He whakamārama

I mua noa atu i te ruku hōhonu atu i ngā kōrero, ka tirohia ngētehi o ngā ingoa, ngā kupu e pā ana ki te tapahi makawe, ka whakapuakina i roto i te tuhinga whakapae nei.

I roto i ngā rangahautanga, ka kitea te maha o ngā kupu mō “te tapahi makawe”. Ko ngā kupu i kohia e Best, ko te ‘waru mahunga’, te ‘whakaiho’ (1924, p. 533), me te ‘kotikoti uru’ (2005a, p. 332). Kei a Williams hoki ngētehi kupu mō te tapahi i ngā makawe, engari, kāore anō te kairangahau kia tūtaki ki ngēnei kupu i ngāna rangahautanga ki wāhi kē atu (1971). Arā, “**Parekuhi** – *Cut the hair short*” (Williams, 1971, p. 266), “**Tarotaro** – *Cut one’s hair*” (Williams, 1971, p. 392). I ngēnei rangi hoki, ka rangona te kupu ‘kutikuti’. E ai ki a Williams, he kupu hou

tērā (1971, p. 160). E tautokona ana tēnei whakaaro e Pera McDonald, nāna te kī, ko te kupu ‘kuti’, i ahu mai i te tangi a ngā kutikuti hou nei (P. McDonald, personal communication, August 30, 2010). Ko te kupu tūturu, tuauri ko te ‘koti’, te ‘kotikoti’ rānei. E ai ki a Williams, e mea ana “**Koti, kokoti – 1. Cut in two, divide. 2. Interrupt, cut off. kotikoti – 1. Cut to pieces, 2. Divide... 4. Separated**” (1971, pp. 148-149). Nō reira, i roto i tēnei tuhinga whakapae, ko ngā kupu i tīpakongia e te kaituhi hei whakamahi, ko te ‘tapahi’ me te ‘koti’, ‘kotikoti’ rānei. I te mea, i ngā wā o mua, he ‘tapahi’ te mahi, arā, he tapahi ki te matā, ki te anga rānei. Ko te kupu ‘tapahi’ hoki, e whakamahia nuitia ana e ngōku kaumātua ake, e te nuinga o ngā pou i uiuia e au.

Kua kōwhiringia e te kaituhi te kupu ‘whakaihonga’ hei taitara mō tēnei tuhinga whakapae. I te mea, i ngā tautuhi a Williams, e kīia ana ko te ‘whakaihonga’ “**1. Cutting of hair. 2. Some ceremony connected with the dead**” (1971, p. 75). Nō reira, kei te kupu kotahi rā, taku kaupapa katoa.

## **1.8 Kupu whakatepe**

Nō reira, i runga i tērā paku whakamārama mō ngā momo kupu ka whakaatuhia mai i tēnei tuhinga whakapae, ka kapia ai tēnei Ūpoko, ā, ka tahuri ināianei ki Te Wai Kotikoti me tana Arohaehae Mātāpuna.

# TE WAI KOTIKOTI

## *Te Ūpoko Tuarua: Te Arohaehae Mātāpuna*

### 2.1 Kupu tātaki

Kei konei, kei Te Wai Kotikoti, ka whakaputaina te Arohaehae Mātāpuna. He wherawherahanga o ngā mātātuhī e hāngai ana ki ngā whāinga o tēnei rangahau. Ka horahia tuatahitia ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te tapahinga o ngā makawe o te kirimate i te tangihanga, ā, ko ngā kōrero mō te koti makawe i ngētehi atu wā o namata.

Mehemea e rangahau ana te tangata i ngā tikanga nō te ao kōhatu, me ruku atu ia i ngā tuhinga tuatahi mō te iwi Māori. Nō reira, ko te wāhanga e whai muri iho nei, ka anga noa atu ki ngā tuhinga a ngā kairangahau, a ngā kaituhi kē mō te tapahi i ngā makawe i ngā tangihanga, i tuaukiuki.

Ka toko ake anō ngā pātai hei whakairinga kupu mō tēnei wāhanga. Arā, mai i ngā pitonga tuhituhi a ngā kairangahau, he aha ngā tikanga tapahi makawe i te tangihanga o nehe? Arā:

- Ko wai mā ngā tāngata i tapahia ai ngō rātou makawe?
- Nā wai i tapahi?
- I ahatia ngā makawe?
- I tapahia ki te aha?
- He aha ngā whakahaere i te wā o te tapahi makawe?

## 2.2 Te Reureu: Te tapahi makawe i te tangihanga i whakapata

O ngā tuhinga katoa i rangahaua, nā Best te tuhinga matua ki ngā āhuetanga o te tangihanga i nehe, arā, ko *Maori Eschatology: The Whare Potae (House of Mourning) and its Lore* (1906). He whānui ngā kōrero mō te tangihanga, mai i te whakahemohemo o te tūpāpaku, ngā momo tāpuketanga, tae atu ki te purenga o te tapu i te kirimate. He wāhanga hoki o ngāna tuhinga e pā ana ki te tapahinga o ngā makawe.

Another token of mourning in former times was the cutting of the hair. One way was to cut off all the hair very short with the exception of one patch, of perhaps 2 in. diameter, on the left side of the head. This was left the original length, of perhaps 2 ft. or less, and was allowed to hang down. It was called a “*reureu*.” I have seen a woman with her hair so cut when mourning for her dead child. This latter case, however, would probably not have occurred in former times, as Native women appear to have worn their hair short. Men, however, wore their hair long. A widow or widower would have all the hair cut off short. The hair cut off is buried with the corpse. (Best, 1906, p. 174)

Nō reira, kua whakamārama atu a Best, i te āhua o tēnei tohu e kīia ana ko te reureu. Kua kitea e ia tēnei āhua, i tētehi wahine e tangi ana ki tana tamaiti. Ka tapahia ngā makawe o te pouaru, kia poto tonu, tāne mai wahine mai. Heoi anō, nāna te whakapae, kāore ngā wāhine i pērā i ngā wā o mua atu. I te mea hoki, ko ngā tāne kē ngā mea makawe roa (Best, 1906). E tautokona ana tēnei whakaaro e Buck i a ia e wero ana i te pakiwaitara mō Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga. Ko tāna, i pēwhea te tapahinga a Taranga i ngōna makawe mō tana pōtiki, mehemea he poto kē ngā makawe o te wāhine, he roa ō te tāne (Buck, 1950, p. 4). Ko Tregear tētehi

kua tuhi kōrero mō te āhua o ngā makawe o te wahine. Hei tāna, ko te nuinga o ngā wāhine he makawe poto ō rātou. Heoi anō, mehemea kua moe tāne ia, he makawe roa ngōna, ā, ka whiringia (Tregear, 1904, p. 243). Nō reira, ko te whakapae a te kaituhi, i tapahia hoki e ngā wāhine ngō rātou makawe. Ahakoa ko te nuinga, i mau makawe poto iho i ō te tāne, i reira hoki ngētehi, he makawe roa ō rātou. Ā, ahakoa te poto, i taea tonutia e rātou te tapahi, ka kitea tēnei āhuatanga i ngā kōrero e whai muri iho ana.

I ngā tuhituhinga anō a Best mō ngā whakapono a te Māori, arā, *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1*, he wāhanga anō e pā ana ki te tapahi makawe i te tangihanga.

Another old practice was to cut off all the hair in mourning save one long lock, termed a *reureu*, or *taweu*, left on one side of the head... Widows are said to have cut all their hair short ; in some cases it was singed off close to the head with a fire-brand. When a long lock was left, as a token of mourning for a child, it was so left on the right side of the head if the child was a boy, and on the left side if a girl. Sisters of the dead adopted the *koti poro* style, in which the hair was cut short but not close to the head. The singeing process was known as *uru tahutahu*. (Best, 2005a, p. 332)

Ko White anō tētehi kua tuhi kōrero mō te tikanga o te uru tahutahu (1874).

If the hair of any child was too short to be held so as to cut it with the tuhua, the father or mother would take a firebrand, and while the child was held by five or six persons, would singe the hair close to the skin... (White, 1874, pp. 338-339)

E tautokona ana ngā whakamārama mō te reureu, mō te taweu, e Hamilton (1972). Hei tāna, he tohu mate te reureu mō te huānga, ko tētehi atu ingoa kua whakapuakina e ia, ko te tiotio. Ka tapahia ngā makawe hāunga te tiotio rā, ā, ka whiria i ngētehi wā (Hamilton, 1972). He pērā hoki ngā āhua o te tapahi makawe ki ngā rangahau a Tregear. Ka karangangia e ia ko te reureu me te tiotio hoki (Tregear, 1904, p. 243).

Hei tā Best anō, i tana tuhinga *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2* (2005b), nō muri atu i te tukutanga o te wairua, ka tapahia ngā makawe o te kirimate.

...the near relatives of the dead, would cut their hair short, using sharp flakes of obsidian or shells for this purpose. In some cases a long lock of hair would be left on the crown of the head, to which some attached the skin of a dog's tail with its long hair and this swayed to and fro as the wearer moved. In some parts a long lock was left on the side of the head. (Best, 2005b, p. 83)

Nō reira, e kitea ana, he rite tonu te nuinga o ngā tuhinga a Best mō te āhua ki te tapahi makawe hei tohu i te mate. Ā, e tāruatia ana tēnei kōrero mō te awe kurī, i roto i tana pukapuka *The Maori* (Best, 1924).

He paku noa nei ngā tuhinga a Polack mō te pouaru me ngāna mahi i te tangihanga.

On a female becoming a widow, whether possessing affection or not for her husband, she utters the most frantic cries, throwing herself with marks of unconsolable agony on the inanimate remains, tearing her hair, excoriating her face, arms, breast, with her finger-nails or muscle-shells... (Polack, 1976, p. 161)

E ai ki tēnei whakamārama, ka hutia kētia ngā makawe o te pouaru, ā, ka haehaea hoki te kiri. Nā te rāwakiwaki o te ngākau, i taea e ia tēnei mahi (Polack, 1976).

I ngā tuhinga a Tregear (1904), kāore he kōrero mō te wahine i tapahi i ngōna makawe i te tangihanga, engari, ko te tāne.

As a sign of mourning the men usually cut their hair off on one side and let the other locks hang long.... Sometimes when a favourite child died his father would cut off the hair on one side of his head and never allow the long tresses on the other side to be cut or touched. (Tregear, 1904, pp. 394-395)

Heoi anō rā, ko tā Buck, he kōrero mō te tapahinga o ngā makawe o te wahine anahe (1950, p. 417). Ahakoa tana wero i te pakiwaitara mō Māui rāua ko Taranga, me te whakapae, he tāne kē pea a Taranga, i te mea, kāore he tikitiki o te wahine i ngērā wā (Buck, 1950, p. 4). Nō reira, kei te āhua tohe ngēnei whakaaro e rua o Buck.

He iti noa ngā kōrero a Thomson mō tēnei tikanga. Hei tāna, “Mourning head-dresses made of dark feathers were worn ; some mourners clipped half their head-hair short” (Thomson, 1974, p. 188). Koirā noa iho tana whakamārama, engari, e taunaki ana i ngērā atu kōrero a Best (1906; 2005a) rātou ko Tregear (1904) mā.

E ai ki a Taylor (1974), he mea tapahi ngā makawe o te kirimate e te tohunga, ā, kāore i tāpukengia ki te taha o te tūpāpaku, engari, i whiua kētia ki te ahi. “The tohunga, also, cut off the hair of the relatives, and cast it into the fire ; and they eat fern root in the morning” (Taylor, 1974, p. 102). Ka paku kōrero a Taylor mō te kai aruhe, arā, he momo hiki tapu nō muri i te koti makawe.

I te taunga mai a Tauwiwi ki tēnei motu, i te haere tonu tēnei tikanga, te tapahi makawe hei tohu i te matenga o te tangata. Ko Caroline Perrett tētehi i noho hei “Pākehā Māori” i te tīmatanga o te rau tau 1800. Arā, he tangata Pākehā, i haere mai ki Aotearoa me te noho ki te taha o ngā iwi Māori, hei Māori. Ka moe ia i te tāne Māori, ā, i te matenga o tōna hoa, ka tapahia hoki ngōna makawe (Bentley, 1999).

I was heartbroken, and my hair was cut off close into the scalp as a special sign of deep mourning. This custom is kept up among the older people today... The cutting was done by the women of the camp, who consoled me in my great loss. (Bentley, 1999, p. 230)

Mai i tērā whakamārama, ko ngā wāhine ngā mea i tapahi i ngōna makawe. Ka kīia, he tohu tērā o tōna mamae, o tōna aroha ki tōna hoa tāne.

I ngā tuhinga a White (1874), e kitea ana te tapahi i ngā makawe i te matenga o tētehi tohunga o te kāinga, ko Takaho tōna ingoa. Nō tōna hinganga, kare kau ana he tangata ki te tohutohu i te iwi, ki te taki i ngā pihe me ngā karakia mō te mate. Nā tērā, ka toko ake te whakaaro, me wehe atu rātou i te kāinga. Ka waiho rātou i tō rātou tohunga ki roto i tōna whare e tīraha ana. Ko te kōrero a tētehi o ngā koroua me tapahi i ngā makawe i mua i tō rātou wehenga, “we must not depart until we have shown our love for him, by cutting the hair off our heads, as an offering to place on his grave” (White, 1874, p. 336).

Nō reira, i ngā tuhinga nei, ka tapahia ngā makawe hei whakahere ki te wairua o te tūpāpaku, he tohu aroha hoki ki a ia. He paku kōrero anō ngāna mō te tangata tapahi i ngā makawe. E kīia ana, nā te tāne o te tāne i tapahi, ā, ka pērā hoki te

wahine ki te wahine. Nā ngā mātua ngā rātou tamariki i tapahi. Ka āta whakamāramangia ki raro iho nei.

...“Let the men cut the hair of the men, and let the women cut the hair of the women ; let the father cut the hair of his boys, and the mother of her girls.” At this command the people again collected in front of Takaho's house, and sat down in lines of odd numbers, from five to seven in each, when a man or woman, holding a piece of mata tuhua (obsidian) in the left hand, took a lock of hair with the right hand, and cut it off. The edge of the tuhua being very sharp, cut it clean, and as each lock was cut, the operator threw it towards the door of the house. Yet now and then a few hairs would not be cut, and in the sudden jerk the operator gave to cast it towards the door, the uncut hairs were dragged out by the roots, causing the person operated upon to make the most dreadful wry faces. But not a sound of pain could be heard, for fear of showing disrespect, to Takaho's spirit, who was supposed to be present, and taking note of the value of the offering, which was estimated by the quantity of hair cut off.... If the hair of any child was too short to be held so as to cut it with the tuhua, the father or mother would take a firebrand, and while the child was held by five or six persons, would singe the hair close to the skin... (White, 1874, p. 338)

E kitea anōtia ana i tēnei whakamārama, te tikanga o te uru tahutahu. Hei tautoko hoki ngēnei kōrero i ngērā a Polack (1976), e mea ana i hutia ngā makawe i ngētehi wā. E ai ki a White (1874), ko te tukutanga atu o ngā makawe ki te tūpāpaku he whakahere ki tōna wairua. Ko te nui o ngā makawe i tapahia, e tohu ana i te nui o te whakahere. Heoi anō, kāore rātou i whai i ngā tikanga tapu o tēnei

mea te tapahi makawe. Arā, kāore he wāhanga o ngā makawe rā, i whiua ki te ahi, hei whāngai ki ngā atua, kāore hoki i tukuna ngā karakia tapahi makawe. Na whai anō, ka rīria rātou e ngō rātou atua.

...an old man rose and said : “... As we have not been able to repeat the karakia used when hair is cut, nor have we burnt some of the hair, Maru and Tawhaki (Gods of the elements) may cause us to be rained upon, during our journey. If we are overtaken by thunder and lightning and rain, let your hearts be brave ; it is only that the gods are angry because the hair has not been burnt and offered to them. But how could we help that? We do not know the whole incantations repeated on such occasions, nor the ceremonies used... (White, 1874, pp. 339-340)

Nō reira, mai i tēnei whakapuakitanga, ka kitea, he mea nui tēnei mea te whakaihonga. O ngā tuhinga katoa i rangahaua, nō White anahe te whakaaro, ka tukuna atu ngā makawe hei whakahere ki te wairua o te tūpāpaku (1874). Me te aha, he pērā te nui o te mana o tērā tohunga, i tapahia katoatia ngā makawe o te iwi katoa, pakeke mai, tamariki mai. I te korenga o tētehi hei taki i ngā karakia, hei whai i ngā tikanga, kāore he karakia mō te tapahinga o ngā makawe, kāore hoki he hiki tapu. Koia ka whakarērea tēnei kāinga e te iwi nei. Ko te tikanga, ko tētehi wāhanga o ngā makawe ka whāngaia ki ngā atua, engari, i roto i tēnei tauira, ka rīria rātou, nā tō rātou kore whai i tērā tikanga. Nō reira, mai i ngā whakamārama a White (1874), ko te tohu o tēnei tapahinga makawe he whakahere ki te wairua o te tūpāpaku, he aroha hoki ki a ia.

Mai i te Arohaehae Mātātuhi, he ōrite te nuinga o ngā whakamārama o te āhua o te tapahi makawe i te tangihanga o ia kaituhi, o ia kaituhi. Heoi anō, kei reira ngētehi e kī ana, he mahi tērā nā te wahine, ko ngētehi e kī ana, nā te tāne kē. Nā

Best te whakaaro, i tāpuketia ngā makawe o te kirimate ki te taha o te tūpāpaku (1906), ā, he pērā tonu tā White (1874). Arā, ka tukuna atu ngā makawe ki a ia, engari, e whakahētia ana te whakapae rā e Taylor (1974). Ki tāna, i tahuna kētia ngā makawe. Kāore he tino whakamārama mō ngā take i tapahia ai ngā makawe, atu i te kōrero he tikanga tangihanga, he tohu i te mate, heoi anō, ngā kōrero a White (1874), e mea ana he whakahere ki te wairua o te tūpāpaku, ki ngā atua anō hoki. Nā whai anō, ka wānangahia anōtia ngēnei kōrero i muri iho nei.

### 2.3 Te Purenga: He hiki i ngā tapu

Ko ngā kōrero katoa i whakaputaina, i ngā whārangi o mua, i matapaki i te tapahinga o ngā makawe i te tangihanga ake o te tūpāpaku. Heoi anō, he tapahinga nō muri kē mai i tōna nehunga hoki.

Ka mutu kau ana te tangihanga, ka purea te kirimate, ngā tāngata harihari i te tūpāpaku, otirā, ngā tāngata i pā atu ki te tapu o te mate. I tēnei wā hoki i tapahia ngā makawe o te tūpoupou (Reed, 2002).

At the *pure* ceremony the chief mourner had his hair cut by a priest with a flake of obsidian. This was done at the *wai kotikoti* or *wai whakaika*, a sacred stream, spring, or pond where at religious rites were performed.  
(Best, 1906, p. 201)

I taua wā tonu, ka horohoroa rātou, he wāhanga tērā o te pure. Ko te horonga hoki te ingoa o te kai ka kainga i taua wā (Best, 1906, p. 201).

E tautokona ana tēnei kitenga a Best, e Tregear.

After a man had buried his father or a near relative his hair was cut as part of the purification (*pure*) ceremony, and the hair tied to a stone

representing (i.e. named for) an ancestor, and deposited in the sacred place (*wahitapu*). (Tregear, 1904, p. 394)

I te rā whai muri mai, i whakaritea hoki tētehi umu, ka ārau atu te tangata rā i te kūmara maoa, ā, ka tukuna atu ngā karakia a te tohunga me te hiki i ngā tapu (Tregear, 1904, p. 394).

He pērā hoki ngā whakamārama a Shortland (1882), arā, ka tapahia ngā makawe hei wāhanga o te pure, ka herea ki tētehi kōhatu, ā, he mea tuku atu ki te tūāhu o te kāinga.

Kāore a Best i kōrero mō te ahatanga o ngā makawe, engari, ka kīia i tapahia i te wai whakaika, te wai kotikoti rānei (1906; 2005a). Nō reira, mai i ngēnei whakaputanga e rua, e kitea ana, he tikanga tapahi makawe anō tō te kirimate, nō muri kē mai i te tāpuketanga o te tūpāpaku. He wāhanga tēnei tapahinga o te purenga, arā, he whakanoa, he hiki i ngā tapu o te mate i runga i te whare mate.

## **2.4 Te Pakipaki Taha: He ngaki i te mate**

Kei ngā tuhinga a White (1874), ngā whakamārama mō tētehi āhua makawe i tapahia, i mau hei tohu i te mate. He tīwanawana te āhua, he pērā hoki ki ngā whakamārama mō te reureu, mō te tiotio. Heoi anō, he kaupapa atu anō tō te mau makawe pēnei.

His hair was all cut off close, save a lock which he kept on the left side of his head above his ear. This lock had never been combed with a heru paraoa (a comb made of the white bone of a whale) for years. It looked like a tangled mass of grass... (White, 1874, p. 147)

E karangangia ana tēnei iho makawe ko te pakipaki taha. Ko te tikanga, he whakamaumaharatanga, kia whai utu, kia ngaki ia i ngā mate o ngōna mātua. E kore rawa te iho rā e tapahia kia patua rā anō ngā kaikōhuru i a rāua. Ka noho ngōna makawe hei take whakariri i te ngākau, otirā, hei oati māna (White, 1874). Kei ngā papakupu ngā aronga kupu hei tautoko i ngēnei whakapae a White. Arā, hei tā *He Pātaka Kupu*,

**pakipaki** – He taio makawe ka waiho kia roa i tētehi taha o te upoko ahakoa tapahia atu ētahi kia poto, he tohu i te taurere, i te hiahia rapu utu rānei; kei te taha katau o te upoko mehemea he uri tata te tūpāpaku. (New Zealand Maori Language Commission, 2008, p. 573)

He pērā hoki ngā whakamārama ki te papakupu a Williams, “**pakipaki** - Hair worn long on one side of the head, as a sign of mourning; often also indicating a desire for revenge. **Pakipaki taha**, a term applied to a tuft of hair so worn” (Williams, 1971, p. 253).

Kei a Williams tētehi whakamārama anō mō te āhua o te pakipaki taha, engari, e kīia ana ko te ‘rapa’ (1971). Arā, “**Rapa** (ii). **3.** The custom of wearing the hair unkempt as a sign of **tapu**. **Rapa mamae**, the same custom, as a sign of mourning, generally for one whose death is unavenged” (Williams, 1971, p. 325). Heoi anō, kāore anō te kairangahau kia kite i ngēnei momo karangatanga i wāhi kē atu.

Nō reira, he ōrite te āhua o te pakipaki taha nei, o te rapa mamae, ki ngā whakamārama mō te reureu, te tāweu me te tiotio, heoi anō, ka waihotia te iho makawe nei hei ōati, hei maumaharatanga, hei take ngaki mate mō te tangata.



*Whakaahua 2: PAKIPAKI-TAHA (Revenge).*

(White, 1997, p. iv)

I roto tēnei whakaahua i te pukapuka *The ancient history of the Maori*, nā White (1997). Kāore he tuhinga kōrero mōna, engari, koirā noa te taitara, arā, “PAKIPAKI-TAHA (Revenge)”. He whakaahua tēnei o te āhua makawe ka whakamāramangia atu i roto i tērā atu tuhinga a White (1874), me ngā papakupu (New Zealand Maori Language Commission, 2008; Williams, 1971).

He whakamāramatanga anō nā White (1874) mō te tapahinga o ngā makawe o tētehi rangatira, i te hinganga o ngētehi o tōna iwi i te pakanga. Ka tupu mai ai te riri ki roto i a ia, kia whai utu mō ngā mate.

“...Rou sat down, while Heta with a piece of tuhua (obsidian) cut the hair off his head. He then cut the hair close to the skin from his forehead to the back of his head, making a bald line about two fingers wide. In like manner he cut another line from ear to ear, and left all the rest of his hair as long as the breadth of three fingers. (White, 1874, p. 177)

Nō reira, he tohu anō tēnei, pērā i te pakipaki taha, he maumaharatanga, me whai utu ia, mō ngā mate rā. I tēnei tauira, i tukuna ngā makawe ki te tūāhu. Heoi anō, ko te tūāhu e whakamāramangia ake, he wāhi tuku atu i ngā anga, i ngā toenga kai o te ariki, o te tohunga.

Kāore i tino wānangahia tērā take o te tapahi makawe hei tohu ngaki mate e Best (1906; 1924; 2005a; 2005b), rātou ko Tregear (1904), ko Hamilton (1972), engari, i roto i tēnei tuhinga a White (1874), koirā kē te tikanga o tērā āhua makawe.

## **2.5 Te Uru Māhora: Te tapahi makawe i te tangihanga o nāiane**

Kua mutu te arotake i ngā kōrero tuauri mō te tapahi makawe i te tangihanga, ā, kei tēnei wāhanga e tirohia ana ngā tikanga āhua hou nei. Ka tirohia ngā tikanga a ngētehi kua tuhi kōrero mō tēnei kaupapa, me ngā take e tapahia ana ngā makawe hei tohu mate, i ngēnei rā.

Kua whakaputaina e Hooker (2008), te tapahinga o ngōna ake makawe i te matenga o tōna whaea. Ka whakamāramangia e ia, “The act of cutting my hair was tikanga – a sign of mourning, a sign of my deep respect and love for my Mother, and acceptance and commitment to “wearing her mantle” in due course” (Hooker, 2008, p. 20). Kua tuhi kōrero hoki ia mō te tapahinga o ngā makawe o ngētehi o ngōna hoa. Ko Emily Schuster tētehi kua koti i ngōna makawe i te matenga o tōna mātaamua a Buddy. I te Pāpaka a Māui, a Buddy e noho māuiui ana, ā, ka tae atu te rongō ki a Emily, ka takatū ia ki te haere. Heoi anō, i mate a Buddy i mua i te taenga atu o Emily ki korā, ā, ka manawapā, ka pāmamae ia, kāore a Buddy i whanga mai ki tōna whaea. Koirā, ka kuti ia i ngōna makawe, ka makangia ki te pouaka (Hooker, 2008).

This was a mark of her deep love and respect for Buddy, as well as a sign of mourning. At that point, she would probably have been thinking along the lines of, “This part of me son that is going with you.” (Hooker, 2008, p. 25)

Nō reira, mai i ngēnei taurira e rua, e kīia ana ko te tapahi i ngā makawe he tohu aroha, he wāhanga o tōu tinana ka tukuna atu ki te tūpāpaku, otirā, he tohu taurere, he tohu tauā.

Ko Nehua anō tētehi kua tuhi i ngā kōrero pakupaku noa nei mō te whakapono o te Māori ki ngōna makawe (1995). Ārā, i tohutohungia ia, kia kua e tapahi i ngōna makawe, i te mea, kei reira ngā mahara, e pupurungia ana. Heoi anō, i te matenga o tōna kuia i tapahia ngōna makawe. “We both cut our hair, me and my sister. We did it after she went, as a sign of sorrow – each without each other knowing. But the memories didn’t go” (Nehua, 1995, p. 23). He mīharo tēnei whakamārama mō ngā makawe. Engari, nāku te whakapae, he tirohanga āhua hou tērā, kāore anō kia kitea he kōrero atu anō pērā, i ngā rangahautanga.

Nā Wikitoria August tētehi tuhinga whakapae, i te tau 2004, e kīia ana ko *The Māori female – Her body, spirituality, sacredness and mana. A space within spaces*. Ka paku kōrero ia mō te makawe i roto i ngāna rangahau. I te matenga o tōna matua ka tapahi ia i ngōna makawe. Ko te take, he āhua pērā i a Emily Schuster, arā, he wāhanga ngōna ka kohaina atu ki tōna matua (August, 2004, p. 45). Ka kōrero hoki ia mō te matenga o te koroua o tōna karangarua, ka kotia ngōna makawe, hei tohu o tōna panitanga. He tikanga tērā nō mai i rā anō, ā, e whakatauiratia ana i te pakiwaitara mō Taranga rāua ko tana pōtiki a Māui (August, 2004).

I te tuhinga a Anne Salmond, e kīia ana ko ‘*Hui*’ (1976), ngētehi kōrero tapahi makawe i te tangihanga.

In earlier days on the East Coast, the younger women of the tribe were called forward at this time, and snippings of their long tresses (*uru māhora*) were taken and placed in the coffin as a last sign of love. Amiria Stirling told me “the girls in those days didn’t just cut their hair like they do now. At the *tangi*, their *uru māhora* was cut, and that’s all. I think its beautiful when I see it – there’s one woman with the scissors, and she just takes what she wants, and cuts it – the tears of the *mokopuna*.” (Salmond, 1976, p. 185)

Mai i ngā tuhinga hou nei, ko tētehi o ngā kitenga matua, ko ngā wāhine anahe ngā mea i whai i tēnei tikanga. Kāore he kōrero mō te tāne i tapahi i ngōna makawe. I ngētehi wā, ka tapahia ngā makawe hei tāpuketanga ki te taha o te tūpāpaku. Ka kīia, he tohu aroha, he tohu mate, he roimata, he wāhanga hoki o te kirimate ka rukea atu ki te tūpāpaku.

Kia whakatepe ake i tēnei wāhanga o te Arohaehae Mātāpuna, ka horahia ngētehi o ngā kitenga nui. Arā, i tirohia tuatahitia ngā tikanga o nehe mō te tapahi makawe, kātahi ko ngā tikanga hou. He rerekē ngā āhua o te tapahi i ngā makawe i nehe, i ō nāiane. Arā, i ngā wā o mua, ka tapahia te nuinga atu o ngā makawe, hāunga tētehi iho ki te taha, ka kīia ko te reureu, te tāweu, te tiotio rānei. Ko te pakipaki taha anō tētehi āhua, ā, he tohu ngaki mate tērā mō te tangata. E ai ki ngā rangahau, he āhua makawe tērā nā te tāne. Ko te uru tahutahu tētehi o ngā tikanga makawe hoki i te tangihanga o nehe, kua whakarērea i ngēnei rā. I te nuinga o te wā ka tukuna atu ngā makawe ki te taha o te tūpāpaku i nehe, heoi anō, he wā anō ka whiua ki te ahi, hei whāngai ki ngā atua. Ā, he wahine, he tāne hoki ka tapahi i

ngō rātou makawe i te tangihanga i ngā wā o mua. He mahi tapu te tapahi makawe i nehe, arā, ka purea hoki rātou nō muri i te kotinga. Ka mutu kau ana te tāpuketanga o te tūpāpaku, he purenga anō i ngētehi wā, hei hiki i ngā tapu o te mate, ka tapahia hoki ngā makawe i taua wā. Mai i ngā tuinga i rangahaua mō ngā tikanga makawe o nāianeī, he wahine katoa e whai ana i tērā tikanga. Ka nehua ngā makawe ki te taha o te tūpāpaku, ā, ka kīia ināianeī, he tohu nō te aroha, he wāhanga o tōu tinana e takohatia atu, otirā, he tohu tauā.

Ka mutu i konei te matapaki i ngā tikanga tapahi makawe i te tangihanga, ā, ko te wāhanga e whai ake ana, he tikanga tapahi makawe i ngētehi atu wā i namata.

## **2.6 He tikanga tapahi makawe i namata**

Ahakoā ko te whāinga matua o tēnei rangahau ko te whakaihonga, me titiro whānui ake te kairangahau ki ngā tikanga katoa e pā ana ki te tapahinga o ngā makawe i whakapata. Nō reira, kei tēnei wāhanga o te Arohaehae Mātāpuna ka tirohia ngētehi kohinga kōrero e pā ana ki te tapahi makawe i nehe. Kei te rere anō ngā pātai, kia whai tūāpapa tēnei wāhanga.

Arā, he aha ngā tikanga tapahi makawe i nehe?

- Nā wai i tapahi?
- I ahatia ngā makawe?
- Tapahia ai ngā makawe i whea?
- I tapahia ki te aha?
- He aha ngā whakahaere i te wā o te tapahi makawe?

Mā te mātai i ngā kōrero mō ngērā pātai, ko te manako, e taea ai e te kairangahau ngā hononga, ngā whakapae mō ngā āhuatanga o te tapahi makawe i te tangihanga hoki.

## **2.7 Ngā tikanga whakahaere – “Oe he pikinga he kakenga...”**

Mai i ngā rangahautanga, ka kitea he mea nui te tapahi i ngā makawe i nehe. Ehara i te mea i mahia poka noatia, engari, i mahia mai i runga i ngā tikanga, i runga hoki i te tapu. Kua kitea kētia ngā tikanga tapahi makawe i ngā wā i mate ai te tangata, ā, he kaupapa nui atu anō tō te tapahi makawe noa iho. He pērā te whakahirahira o tērā mahi ki te Māori, ka whakaaro a Best, he ritenga motuhake anō (2005a). “Among the Maori folk the act of hair-cutting might be termed a religious ceremony” (Best, 2005a, p. 329). Kāore e kore, ko te take o tēnei whakapae āna, ko ngā tikanga, ngā karakia, ngā momo hiki tapu i haere tahi me te tapahi i aua makawe rā. Anei anō ngā kōrero a Best mō ngā momo ritenga me te tapahinga o ngā makawe.

Ceremonial hair-cutting entered largely into Maori ritual. When persons were subjected to certain ceremonies for various purposes, the cutting of the hair of such person was often one of the concluding acts. The inner meaning of this ceremonial act has never been satisfactorily explained. (Best, 2005a, p. 329)

Nō reira, kua kitea e Best (2005a), i te mutunga o ngētehi ritenga, ka tapahia ngā makawe, engari, kāore e tino mōhiotia ana te tino tikanga. Ko tētehi tauira o tēnei, ko te purenga, ko te heuenga o te whare mate i ngā tangihanga. Arā, ko te tapahi makawe he wāhanga o taua purenga.

Mehemea he ariki, he tohunga rānei te tangata, i whāia tūturutia ngā tikanga koti makawe. Mehemea he tūtūā, he ware, kāore i te pērā te nui o ngā whakahaere, o ngā tikanga, o ngā tapu i pā atu ki a ia.

We are told that the important operation of cutting the hair of a *tapu* person was performed early in the morning, and that all persons in the village were compelled to fast until the conclusion of the ceremony, nor could any food be cooked until it was over. (Best, 2005a, p. 332)

He āhua pērā tonu ngā kōrero a White, (as cited in Best 2005a).

...in some cases, many persons had their hair cut at one time, that all persons fasted until the performance was over, and that no fires might be kindled, save a special one in which the shorn hair was burned, though it might be buried, or deposited at the *tuahu*... The laying of the severed hair on the *tuahu*, accompanied as the act was by the recital of some formula, would probably mean that it was used as a kind of offering to the gods in such a ceremony as that termed *whangai*. (White as cited in Best, 2005a, p. 330)

I te whiunga ake o ngā makawe, ka tākina hoki ngā karakia, he momo whakahere ki ngā atua, e kīia ana ko te whāngai.

E tautokona ana ngēnei whakaaro katoa, e Taylor (1974).

The cutting of hair (*purei*) was done with much ceremony, and the repeating of many spells ; the operator was made *tapu*, for this service, and until he had finished, he could not feed himself, or engage in any other employment. When the hair was cut, a portion was cast into the fire, and the following karakia was uttered:-

Oe he pikinga he kakenga,  
Ka e kei tua, kei waho kei tuatua,  
Kei te karawa kei te ranginui e tu nei,  
Piki mai te rangi tua tahi,  
Piki mai te rangi tua rua,  
Piki mai te rangi tua toru,  
Piki mai te rangi tua wa,  
Piki mai te rangi tua rima,  
Piki mai te rangi tua ono,  
He rangi he hei te uru. – uru.

This was the *karakia* to avert the bad effects of thunder and lightning, which were supposed to be occasioned by this potent operation. (Taylor, 1974, pp. 91-92)

E kīia ana, i whiua ngētehi o ngā makawe ki te ahi (1974). Kei ngā tuhinga a White hoki (1874), mō te tapahi i ngā makawe i te matenga a Takaho, ka rīria te iwi e ngā atua, i te mea, kāore ngā *karakia* pēnei i āta takutakungia, kāore hoki he makawe i whāngaia atu ki a rātou. I ngēnei rā, he maha ngā tāngata e kī ana me kaua te tangata hei tahu i ngōna makawe. Engari, nā runga i ngā kitenga mai i te Arohaehae Mātāpuna nei, he pai noa iho te tahu i ngā makawe i ngā wā o mua. E karangangia ana e Taylor, ko te tapahi makawe ko te *purei* (1974), heoi anō, e ai ki ngā rangahau, kāore he kupu pēnei mō te tapahi i ngā makawe, ko te ‘*pure*’ kē tāna e mea mai ai. Ā, ko te *pure* te ingoa mō ngā momo hiki tapu.

The term *pure* is generally held to denote the removal of *tapu*... in some cases it had the effect of rendering a person *tapu*... the expression *pure mahunga* denotes a certain old-time ceremony, and in many cases

ceremonial hair cutting formed a part of such performances, but the above expression does not mean to cut the hair. (Best, 2005b, p. 28)

Nō reira, ko te pure tētehi wāhanga o te tapahinga o ngā makawe. E tautokona ana tēnei e ngā tuhinga a Te Rangikāheke. Kei roto tēnei whakamārama i te kōrero mō te tupuna rongonui a Tūtanekai.

...Ka purea a Whakaue rātou ko ana tama, he purenga tapu, he purenga whakairi, mahukihuki, whakiringa toto ; po iho ai ka whiti mai a Hine-moa ki Mokoia kaore a Tutanekai i mahara e noho tapu ana ratou ko to ratou matua i to ratou purenga, ara kotikotinga makawe, haere tonu atu ki te moe raua ko Hinemoa...” (Grey, 1971, p. 113)

Kei ngā whakaputanga a White, ngētehi kōrero mō te tapahinga tuatahi o te tamaiti. He mahi tapu, he rongomaiwhiti.

When a child’s hair is long, and it requires to be cut for the first time, the child’s grandfather or a priest must cut it : the barber then, grandfather or priest, goes from the settlement the day previous to that on which the child’s hair is to be cut, to one of their sacred places, and there sleeps that night. On his leaving the settlement, the people abstain from food until the ceremony is over; in the morning the child goes to him, and when the barber observes him coming, he says

Come my child,

And I will cut

Each of thy hairs

To the honour of Tu.

The child's hair is cut with obsidian ; when done, the father of the child takes a Poporokai-Whiria stick to the barber, who makes a fire with it by friction, and burns the hair, repeating this Karakia:

The honor thou didst seek, my son,

Has come and gone.

Thou wast sacred,

And art common ;

Thou canst return.

Here I am, my son.

I have risen up,

I have received,

I am satisfied.

The barber then roasts a piece of fern root, and with it touches the boy's head and each shoulder, and eats it. (White, 1861, p. 13)

Nō reira, he nui tonu ngā whakahaere i te kotinga o te tamaiti taungaroa. Ka tohua te koroheke, te tohunga rānei hei tapahi i ngā makawe. He takutaku, he hiki tapu. Kāore hoki te iwi e whakaaetia ana kia kai kia mutu rā anō te tapahinga. E ai ki a Tregear, mehemea i kai huna tētehi, ka motua te māhunga o te tamaiti rā (1904). Ka kitea anōtia te tikanga o te uru tahutahu i ngēnei tuinga a White (1861).

Hei tā ngā whakamārama a Taylor (1974), he rā motuhake anō mō te tapahi i ngā makawe.

...the most sacred day of the year was that appointed for hair cutting ; the people assembled from all the neighboring parts, often more than a thousand in number ; the operation being commenced with karakia, the

operator and his obsidian (substitute for scissors) being thus rendered peculiarly sacred. (Taylor, 1974, p. 93)

Ka whakapuaki kōrero a Nicholas hoki mō te tāne e tapahi ana i ngā makawe o tōna hoa wahine (1971).

...I passed close by the hut where Warree the brother of Gunnah resided, and found him very busy in cutting his wife's hair. This operation he performed with a piece of sharp stone, called by mineralogists Obsidian, or volcanic glass ; cutting the fore part quite close, and leaving all the hair on the back of the head untouched. When he had completed his task, which took him some time from the nice precision he observed ; he collected together all the hair he had cut off, and laying it up very carefully, went to the outskirts of the town and threw it away. Upon asking him the reason of his doing this, he told me that the hair was tabooed, and could not be left in the town without provoking the anger of the Etua, who would in such case destroy the person from whose head it had been taken. I was going to take up one of the stones he had used, but he charged me not to touch it, telling me that this was also tabooed, and that the enraged diety of New Zealand would wreak his immediate vengeance upon my guilty head, if I presumed to lay one finger on the sacred implement... (Nicholas, 1971, pp. 176-177)

Kāore i te nui ngā whakaritenga me ngā whakahaere i tēnei tauira. Heoi anō, e mau tonu ana ki te tapu. Arā, ka whakaemingia ngā makawe, ka haria ki tētehi wāhi huna, kei riri mai ngā atua. Kāore hoki te kaituhi i tukuna kia mau i ngā matā tūhua nā te tino tapu.

He mahi rongomaiwhiti te kotikoti makawe, he mahi i āta mātakina e ngā atua. Ko te tapu o te māhunga, o ngā makawe ka pā atu ki ngā taputapu, tae atu ki te iwi whānui tonu i ngētehi wā. He nui tonu ngā whakahaere, ngā tikanga, ngā karakia, ngā hiki tapu.

## 2.8 Te Horohoronga: He ringa rongomaiwhiti

I runga i te tino tapu o tēnei mahi te tapahi makawe, ka whai whakaaro te kairangahau ki te tangata, nāna te mahi nui ki te whakapā atu ki tērā takiwā o te tinana. Mehemea rānei, he tohunga motuhake mō tērā mahi, nā te tangata anō ngōna ake makawe i tapahi, nā wai atu anō rānei.

I roto i te tauira a Nicholas (1971), kātahi anō ka tirohia, nā te tāne, ngā makawe o tōna hoa wahine i tapahi. Hei tā Best (1924), ko te wahine hoki te mea i whakapaipai i ngā makawe o tōna hoa tāne. Nā Best anō te kōrero “...in former times, only the eldest male of a high-class family might cut the hair of a priest of high rank, and *vice versa*. This was on account of the intense tapu of the two persons” (Best, 2005a, p. 332). Ki tā Cowan, nā ngā tohunga ngā makawe o ngā rangatira i tapahi (Cowan, 1930, p. 223). Nō reira, inā te whakapae, he tangata piripono te tangata koti makawe, kei tūkinotia ngā makawe ki ngā mahi mākutu. Me ōrite, me nui ake rānei te mana o te tangata tapahi i tō te tangata e tapahia ana. Kia tirohia tētehi tauira āhua hou, nō ngā tau i nātata noa nei, e whakatauiratia ana tēnei tikanga e te ariki tapairu a Heeni Katipa, arā, te tamāhine a Te Ātairangikāhu. I te tau 2006 i mate te Kīngi o Tonga. I tonoa a Heeni Katipa kia tapahi i ngā makawe o te tamāhine a te Kīngi o Tonga, o ngētehi atu wāhine, kōtiro hoki o te kāhui ariki. He tohu i tō rātou panitanga, he whakamiha anō ki te Kīngi. Kāore he tangata whai mana ake i te kāhui ariki nei kia tapahia ngō rātou

makawe, puta noa i Tonga. Nā tērā, i huri mai rātou ki te ariki tapairu o te ao Māori nei, kia kotikotia ngō rātou makawe (“Tonga’s princesses cut their hair in mourning,” 2006).

Ko te māhunga o te tangata te wāhanga tapu rawa o tōna tinana. Mehemea ka pāngia atu tōna māhunga e tētehi, kua tapu hoki ngā ringaringa.

If anyone touched the sacred head it was a dire offence...and even if another relative equally sacred was to do so (to comb or cut the hair of an aristocratic infant, for instance) he would be *tapu* till the next day when the purifying ceremony (horohoronga) would proceed. (Tregear, 1904, p. 195)

Ko te horohoronga, he hiki tapu, arā, ka tahuna he ahi, ka taona he aruhe, e tētehi tangata noa nei. Ka ūkuia ngā ringaringa o te tangata tapahi, kātahi ka kainga te aruhe rā, e te ūpoko wahine o te whānau. Mā reira ka noa anō.

Heoi, kei runga hoki te nui o te tapu, i te rangatiratanga o te tangata nōna ngā makawe. Arā, hei tā Best, mehemea he tūtūā, he ware te tangata, kāore i te pērā te nui o ngā tikanga i tā te tapahi i te māhunga o te rangatira, o te ariki rānei (Best, 1924, p. 533). E tautokona ana tēnei whakaaro a Best e Te Rangikāheke.

He pera tonu ano hoki te tikanga, a ka heru i te māhunga, ka peratia ano ka horohoroa nga ringa o te tangata heru, he rangatira te tangata i herua, kia porua, kia po toru ranei ka tahi ka kai tirou – Ka kotikoti i te maahunga, he tapu nui tera te kotikoti i te mahunga, he pena tonu ano hoki te horohoro i nga ringa, he tapu nui te kotikoti, he tangata ano e rua wiki ka kainga nga ringa, he tangata nui te tapu, e waru wiki ka noa, he rangatira nui ake, ka neke ake i nga marama e wha, he tutua, tona tapu kihai i neke ake i nga raa

e to-ru e kore hoki e rite ake te tapu o te tutua ki to te rangatira. (Te Rangikāheke, 1854, p.7-8)

Nō reira, e ai ki a Te Rangikāheke (1854), mehemea ka herua ngā makawe o tētehi, me horohoro ngā ringaringa o te tangata heru. Mehemea he rangatira te tangata i herua, ka pahure ana ngā pō e rua, e toru rānei, kātahi ka whakaaetia te kaitapahi kia kai mā te tīrou. Mehemea e tapahia ana ngā makawe, he mahi tino tapu tērā. Ka noho tapu te tangata tapahi mō ngā wiki e rua, kāore i whakaaetia kia kai ia mā ngā ringaringa. Mehemea i tapahi ia i ngā makawe o te tangata, nui ake te tapu, e rua marama pea te roa, kātahi ka noa. Mehemea he rangatira nui ake anō, ka noho tapu te tangata tapahi, nuku atu i te whā marama. Mō te tūtūā, e toru rā pea, ka noa anō te tangata tapahi.

E whakaaetia ana tēnei kaupapa e Taylor hoki (1974).

The cutting of hair (purei) was done with much ceremony, and the repeating of many spells ; the operator was made *tapu*, for this service, and until he had finished, he could not feed himself, or engage in any other employment. (Taylor, 1974, p. 91)

Nō reira, kāore te tangata tapahi makawe i whakaaetia kia kai mā ngōna ringaringa, kia hīkina rā anō ngā tapu. He pēnei tahi ngā tikanga ki tā ngā whakamārama a Shortland hoki (1980).

...the child went to his grandfather ; and the old man turned kindly towards him, and bidding him lay his head down on his knees, began to cut his hair... The old man...went on cutting his grandchild's hair ; and lastly, concluded the operation by scraping his head very carefully with a cockle shell... When all this was done, some food was served up to both of them

apart from the family. This food was cooked over a sacred fire, and the grandfather was fed by another person ; for his hands, having touched a sacred head, were *tapu* ; and, therefore, could not be employed in the office of conveying food to his mouth, till they had been restored to their free state. (Shortland, 1980, pp. 108-109)

E whakaaetia ana tēnei whakaaro e Polack hoki “The hair cut from the head or beard of a chief is peculiarly sacred... even the barber has to undergo a purification before he is freed from the prohibition (*tapu*) under which the operation causes him to labour” (Polack, 1976, p. 39).

Ka kitea tētehi e karo ana i te mahi tapahi makawe, kei tapu ngōna ringaringa.

...the father gladly transferring to the grandfather the disagreeable office of family hair-cutter, lest his hands should be bound by the strong, though invisible, cords of the *tapu* till the following day ; before which time the ceremony whereby they were to be released from bondage could not be performed. The ceremony, in this case, was simply to rub the hands over with potato or fern root, which had been cooked over a sacred fire. This food, called *horohoronga*, was then carried to the head of the family in the female line, who having eat it, the hands became *noa* immediately. (Shortland, 1980, pp. 109-110)

Mehemea he tangata whai mana, nui te tapu, he tohunga, he ariki rānei, kore rawa tētehi i whakaaetia kia whakapā atu ki tōna māhunga.

The hair of a chief or priest was tapu as the head was the most tapu part of the body. It probably required a priest to cut the hair of a high chief, for ordinary persons would be afraid to touch his head. It was for this reason

that many priests did not have their hair cut; it remained a tangled mass which added to the fear of their persons. (Buck, 1950, p. 502)

Nā te korenga o tētehi, ki te heru, ki te horoi, ki te tapahi rānei i tōna māhunga, ka pūhutihuti haere ngā makawe (Best, 2005a, p. 332). E tautokona ana tēnei whakaaro e Shortland, "...a gentleman whose head was so very sacred that no one dared touch it, and whose fearful state may, therefore be imagined." (Shortland, 1980, p. 109)

I te tīmatanga o te rau tau 1800, i tau mai ngā rurenga, ngā herenga Pākehā ki Aotearoa nei. Ka haere ngētehi ki te noho tahi ki ngā iwi Māori, ka noho hei taurekareka Pākehā. I taua wā, he whakapono tonu tō te Māori mō te tapu o tēnei mea te māhunga. Ka tohua he tangata motuhake ki te tapahi i ngā makawe o ngā rangatira. Ko ngā kōrero e whai ake nei, he mea kohikohi nā ngā tāngata i noho hei 'Pākehā Māori' i taua wā (Bentley, 1999), "...a tailor, had retained his scissors and been appointed haircutter to the tribe, a position of some importance, though hazardous, owing to the risks involved to any barber shedding aristocratic blood" (Bentley, 1999, p. 57).

Ko Jacky Marmon tētehi Pākehā Māori whai mana. Ka noho ia hei tohunga pakanga mō Hongi Hika, me ana toa. Ka pērā te mana o tēnei tangata, ka tohua ia hei tangata koti makawe mā Hongi mā.

I was called upon as tohunga to perform a most sacred and solemn duty, one that was invested by Maoris with the greatest importance. This was the general haircutting of the tribe, which could only be done by one made tapu for the purpose, or else by a tohunga. Many spells were repeated during the operation to avert the thunder and lightning supposed to be

occasioned by it, and I was not permitted either to eat or to engage in any other occupation until all was concluded. As my only instrument of shearing was a mussel shell it will be seen that progress could not be very rapid, and that a man would feel precious hungry long before he was done. The first lock of hair clipped off was always cast into the fire as an offering, accompanied by potent karakia... (Marmon as cited in Bentley, 1999, p. 104)

Mai i ngā tuhinga kōrero nei, e rua ngā whakaaro matua. Ko te tuatahi, me nui ake te mana o te tangata tapahi i tō te tangata e kotia ana. Arā, i roto i ngā tauira nei, me rangatira, me ariki, me tohunga ake rānei te tangata tapahi i ngā makawe. Mō ngā tohunga, me ngā ariki whai mana o te iwi, kāore e horoia, e herua, e tapahia rānei ngō rātou makawe nā te nui o tō rātou tapu, ā, ka puhirua, ka pūhutihuti haere.

Ko te tuarua, mehemea e whakapā atu ana te tangata ki te māhunga o tētehi atu, ka tapu ngā ringaringa. Mehemea he tangata noa nei, he tūtūā, he ware te tangata e kotia ana, kāore i te pērā te nui o te tapu i tō te nanao atu ki ngā makawe o te ariki. Nō konā, i horohoroa ngā ringaringa ki te kai maoa. Heoi anō, i runga i te tapu o te tangata, i ngētehi wā, ka tapu tonu ngā ringaringa o te tangata tapahi, mō te wā roa atu. I taua wā, kāore i whakaaetia kia kai mā ngōna ringaringa.

Ahakoā kāore he tauira i konei o te wahine e tapahi ana i ngā makawe o tētehi atu, i kitea tērā āhua i roto i ngā tuhinga a White (1874) rāua ko Bentley (1999) i ngā tangihanga. Heoi anō, i mau tonu ki tērā tikanga o te tangata whai mana e tapahi ana i ngā makawe o te tangata o raro iho.

## **2.9 Te Tūāhu Kotikotinga Uru: Ngā wāhi tapahi, huna i ngā makawe**

Kua mutu te matapaki i te tangata tapahi i ngā makawe, ka huri ināiane ki te wāhi i whakahaerengia ngēnei mahi tapu. Ko te whakapae a te kaituhi nei, he wāhi motuhake mō te tapahi i ngā makawe o te tangata i nehe.

### **2.9.1 Te Wai Hauparoa**

Ki tā Best, nō roto o Tūhoe he wai tapu, he hāpua, he manga wai mō te tapahi makawe, e kīia ana ko te wai kotikoti, te wai whakaika rānei (2005a, p. 329).

Near every village some stream or pond was utilized as a *tapu* place at which ceremonies of what we may term a religious nature were performed. Such a place was termed the *wai tapu*, *wai whakaika*, *wai kotikoti*, and sometimes, apparantly, *wai whakaiho*. The last two terms seem to be connected with hair-cutting, a performance that, in the case of *tapu* persons, was in reality a religious ceremony. (Best, 2005a, p. 343)

O ngā kaituhi katoa i rangahaua, ko Best anahe te kaituhi e kōrero ana mō te wai tapu hei wāhi tapahi makawe (2005a). Heoi anō, e tautokongia ana tēnei kōrero e tētehi o ngā poukōrero i uiuia e te kairangahau. Kei Te Ahurewa, arā, kei te Ūpoko Tuatoru, ka tirohia ngērā kōrero.

### **2.9.2 Te ahi**

I tino tūpato te Māori ki ngā makawe, kāore i waiho noa iho ki runga i te papa, engari, i haria, i hunaia ki tētehi wāhi tapu. E kīia ana i ngā tuhinga kua tirohia kētia, ki te kore, ka riri mai ngā atua. Ā, ko tētehi take anō, kei kitea, kei raweketia ngā makawe e te tangata kē mō ngāna mahi whakanganewha. Nō reira, nā ngēnei take, ka āta hunaia ngā makawe e rātou.

I ngā tuhinga a White (1874), a Bentley (1999) me ngētehi atu, e kīia ana he wāhanga o ngā makawe ka whiua ki te ahi, hei whāngai atu ki ngā atua. Ā, hei tā Taylor, ko te makawe o te kirimate i rukea katoatia atu ki te ahi (1974). Nō reira, ko te ahi anō tētehi wāhi tuku i ngā makawe. Ā, kei te whakaae te kaituhi ki tā Hooker whakapae, e mea ana, he wāhi pai te ahi mō te makawe, mā reira, kua kore rawa e riro i tētehi ngā makawe hei mahinga mākutu (2008).

### **2.9.3 Te Tūāhu**

Ahakoia ngā tuhinga mō ngā wai tapu me ngā ahi, ko te nuinga o ngā kaituhi, e mea ana, i tapahia, i tukuna hoki ngā makawe ki te tūāhu o te kāinga.

Ki tā ngā rangahau a Cowan (1930), ko te tūāhu te wāhi tapahi i ngā makawe o ngā rangatira. “This was the site of the sacred *tuahu*...where the operation of cutting the chiefs’ hair with flakes of *matā-tuhua* or obsidian – a semi-religious ceremony - was performed by the priests” (Cowan, 1930, p. 223). Ko te ingoa ka whakapuakina e Buck, ko te purepurenga (Buck, 1950, p. 503). Ko te whakapae, he momo tūāhu tērā, i te mea, i hunaiā, i tahuna, i tukuna atu rānei ngā makawe ki reira kei kitea, kei whakamahia i roto i ngā mahi mākutu (Buck, 1950). He kupu anō mō te tūāhu ka whakapuakina e Hooker (2008, p. 74), ko te kotikoti hono.

Ko Taylor anō tētehi e mea ana i haria ngā makawe ki te tūāhu, ki te wāhi tapu, ka karakiatia hoki i te wā o te tukutanga ake (Taylor, 1974, p. 94). Kei ngā tuhinga anō a White, e mea ana, i makangia atu ngā makawe o te iwi katoa ki reira (White, 1874, p. 135).

He āhua rerekē anō ngā whakamārama a Polack “The hair cut from the head or beard of a chief is peculiarly sacred, the shorn locks being gathered with much care and placed in an adjoining cemetery (*Waitapu*)...” (Polack, 1976, pp. 38-39).

E kīia ana, ka haria ngā makawe ki tētehi urupā, heoi, ko tana whakamāori i te urupā, ko te waitapu. Rā roto i ngana tuhinga ka kīia ko te waitapu, te “burying ground” (Polack, 1976, p. 66), “sacred place” (Polack, 1976, p. 77). Ko te ‘wāhi tapu’ kē, tāna e mea mai ai.

Kāore a Nicholas i tino mōhio ki te wāhi tuku atu i ngā makawe, heoi anō, he wāhi i waho o te kāinga. Ka haria ki reira kei pukuriri mai ngā atua (Nicholas, 1971, pp. 176-177).

E ai ki a Best, i tukuna atu ngā makawe ki tētehi wāhi tapu o te kāinga (2005b, p. 23; 1924, p. 533). Ka karangangia ko te tūāhu kotikotinga uru (Best, 2005a, p. 333). Anei ngāna whakamahuki mō te tūāhu.

In some cases a *tuahu* was marked by a heap of rough unworked stones, and sometimes by one or more blocks of stone set upright, partially embedded in the earth. The term *tuahu* seems to have been applied, by some clans at least, to any place where men’s hair is cut, where *tapu* food is cast away or offered to supernatural beings, or where any religious ceremony is performed. The *turuma*, or village latrine served the purpose of a *tuahu* in some cases. (Best, 2005a, p. 272)

Ko te take i tukuna atu ngā makawe ki te tūāhu, i te mea, he wāhi tapu, he āhua matara i te kāinga, ā, kāore i torona poka noatia. Kāore hoki i kitea, i raweketia ngā makawe e te tangata kē atu. E whakaaetia mai ana tēnei e Shortland.

As for the hair cut from the head, it was deposited on some sacred spot of ground ; for not only was it necessary to protect it from being touched accidentally or designedly by any one, but even should any one – as might happen if the hair were left on the ground – make such a remark as,

“Whose hair is that? how disgusting!” the expression would be an insult, - the more dangerous, because an offensive word or threat, in this country, is equivalent to an act of violence committed, and requires the same *utu*, or compensative vengeance. (Shortland, 1980, pp. 110-111)

I ngā kōrero a White (1874), mō te tapahinga o ngā makawe o tētehi rangatira, ka haere ia ki te tūāhu ki reira mahia mai ai tōna māhunga. Heoi anō, ko te āhua o tērā tūāhu, he rua parapara, he wāhi tapu tonu. Ko te wāhi tuku atu i ngā maramara kai, anga mātaimai a ngā tāngata tapu. Ki reira hoki ngā makawe i tapahia, i waihotia (White, 1874, p. 177). Ā, hei tautoko tēnei i te kōrero a Best (2005a, p. 272), e mea ana, ko te tūāhu te ingoa mō te wāhi i tapahia ai ngā makawe, i whāngaia hoki ngā kai tapu ki ngā atua.

Ahakoia te wāhi, ka kī anō a Best, ka makangia atu ngā makawe ki tētehi wāhi huna “The cut hair was carefully deposited at the *tapu* place of the village, or placed on a tree, or secreted in some way” (Best, 1924, p. 533). Ko Best anahe te kaituhi kua rangahaua, e kī ana, ka makangia atu ngā makawe ki tētehi rākau. Heoi anō, i te taunga mai o Cook mā ki tēnei whenua, i kitea hoki e rātou ngā makawe tangata i runga i ngā rākau.

Mr Monkhouse... was ashore in a place where were many Indian houses deserted : here he saw several things tied up to the branches of trees, particularly hair of a man which he brought away with him, enough to have made a sizeable wig. This induced him to think the place he had seen was a place consecrated to religious purposes. (Banks, 1962, p. 458)

E ai ki a Beaglehole, nāna ngā tuhinga a Banks i etita, i tūpono a Monkhouse ki tētehi wāhi tapu a te Māori, ko tana whakapae, ko ngā makawe i kitea e ia, he mea tapahi hei tohu i te mate, arā, hei tohu tauā (Banks, 1962).

Nō reira, mai i ngā pitopito kōrero a ngā kaituhi nei, e tika ana he wāhi motuhake mō te tapahi i ngā makawe, me te huna i aua makawe rā. I ngā rangahau a Best (2005a), he wai tapu tērā, ā, ki ngērā atu o ngā kairangahau, ka whakatutukingia te tapahinga ki te tūāhu o te kāinga. I hunaia, i tahuna rānei ngā makawe ki reira, kei kitea, kei raweketia e te tangata kē atu. I ngā tauira a Best (1924) rāua ko Banks (1962), i makangia atu ngā makawe ki ngā rākau i ngētehi wā, heoi anō, ko te whakaaro nui, kua hunaia. Ka karakiatia hoki ngā makawe i tukuna atu, hei whakahere ki ngā atua.

Kotahi noa iho te tuhinga i rangahaua, e mea ana i tanumia ngā makawe. I ngēnei rā, i ngā tangihanga hoki, koirā te mahi. He tanu i ngā makawe, engari, kāore i tino kitea tērā i ngā kōrero o nehe. Tērā pea, ka tanu noa tātou i ngō tātou makawe i ngēnei rā, i te korenga o tētehi tūāhu hei tukutanga atu.

## **2.10 Te Matā: I tapahia ki te aha?**

*Mori mori ta kiki,*

*Mori mori ta kaka,*

*I te waruhanga a te mata,*

*Ko i to ko ata*

*I taku ipu waka iroiro.*

*The hair is gone,*

*The hair is shorn,*

*By the cutting of the stone*

*The head is as bare*

*As the calabash.*

(Taylor, 1974, p. 93)

*He karakia tēnei i tākina i runga i ngā mata tūhua hei tapahi makawe*

(Taylor, 1974).

Mai i ngā tuhinga kua rangahaua, e toru ngā momo huarahi hei tapahi i ngā makawe.

Ko te nuinga o ngā kaituhi, e mea ana ka whakamahia te tūhua, ka karangangia ko te matā tūhua i te nuinga o te wā (Best, 1924; 2005a; 2005b; Cowan, 1930; Nicholas, 1971; Reed, 2002; Shortland, 1980; Taylor, 1974). Hei tā Best, ka whakamahia tētehi matā kōhatu e kīia ana ko te rehu koti uru (2005a), tētehi atu kōhatu rānei (Best, 1924, p. 533). Mehemea ka pūhuki te matā rā, ka kūorohia ki te hōanga (Best, 2005a, p. 333).

Ka whakamāramangia te matā tūhua me te papa rākau hei taputapu tapahi makawe e Buck (1950).

Mr Murdock of Whangarei showed me some hair, an obsidian flake, and a small wooden slab marked with incised lines which he found in a cleft in a cliff on the uninhabited Poor Knights Islands. It was evident that the tip ends of the long hair were cut with the obsidian flake against the wooden slab and so prevented pulling the hair during cutting. (Buck, 1950, p. 503)

Ko te tuarua, ko te anga mātaimai (Shortland, 1980). Ki tā ngā rangahau a Shirres, ko te uwaha anō i whakamahia, he momo anga anō tērā, ā, ka karangangia ko te

uwaha, i te wā o te tapahi makawe anahe (Shirres, 1997). Ko te mea i whakamahia e te Pākehā Māori, a Jacky Marmon, he anga kuku (Bentley, 1999).

Ko te tuatoru o ngā huarahi, ko te tahu i ngā makawe ki te kounga. He rākau kua wera i te ahi (Best, 1924; 2005a; 2005b; White, 1874; 1861). Ka whakamahia hei hunuhunu i ngā makawe, ā, ka karangangia ko te uru tahutahu.

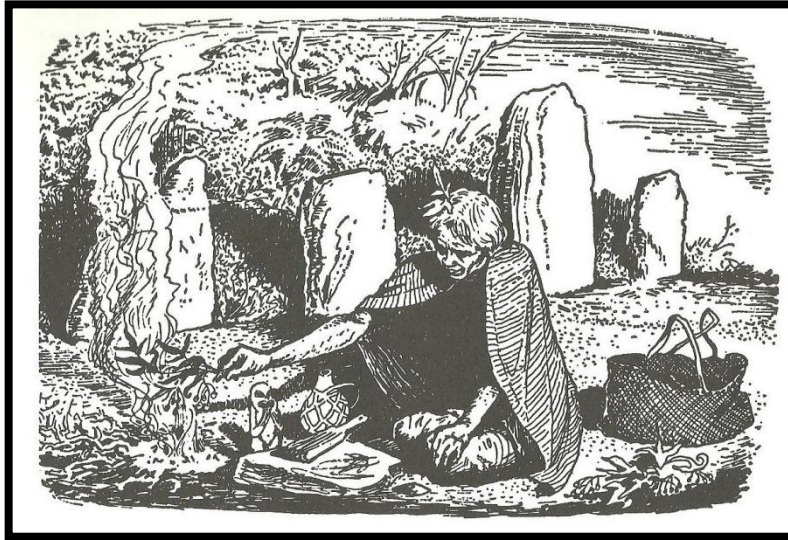
## **2.11 Kupu whakatepe**

E rua ngā wāhanga o te Arohaehae Mātāpuna nei. Ko te tuatahi, i mātāi atu ki ngā tikanga tapahi makawe i te tangihanga. I tirohia ngā āhua o te tapahi, ngā tāngata i tapahia, te ahatanga o ngā makawe, otirā, ngētehi o ngā whakahaere. Ko te wāhanga tuarua, ko te titiro ki ngā tikanga o te tapahi i ngā makawe, i ngā wā, atu i te tangihanga. Arā, ko ngā tangata tapahi makawe, ngā wāhi tapahi, huna hoki i ngā makawe, ngā taputapu tapahi, me ngētehi o ngā whakahaerenga.

Ka mutu i konei ngā wānanga i Te Wai Kotikoti. Ko te Ūpoko e whai muri iho ana, he kōrero ki ngā tohunga o Te Ahurewa. Arā, ka whakapuakina ngā tikanga makawe i whakaemihia i ngā pou i uiuia mō tēnei rangahau.

# TE AHUREWA

## *Te Ūpoko Tuatoru: He uiui*



*Whakaahua 3: Te tūāhu, te ahurewa.*

(Reed, 2002, p. 10)

### **3.1 Kupu tātaki**

E ora tonu mai ana te tikanga tapahi makawe i ngō tātou whānau, hapū, iwi. He waimarie nō te kaituhi nei, ki te uiui i ngētehi o ngā tohunga tikanga Māori o nāianeī, mō tēnei kaupapa. Kei tēnei Ūpoko, kei Te Ahurewa, ka matapakitia ngētehi o ngā rātou kōrero mō ngā tikanga me ngā whakapono makawe. Tokowaru ngā tino pūkenga, i takoha kōrero mai, ā, ko te nuinga o ngā rātou kōrero ka whakatakotonga ki tēnei Ūpoko.

Ko te tino whāinga o te uiui tāngata, ko te kimi i ngā take e tapahia ana ngā makawe o te kirimate i te tangihanga, i ngēnei rā, me te āta whakataurite i ngā tikanga hou nei, ki ngērā o tua whakarere.

He rangahau whānui tēnei ki ngā iwi Māori katoa, nō reira, ko ngā pou i uiuia nei e te kairangahau, nō ngā iwi huhua o te motu, nō Tainui waka, nō Te Arawa, nō Mātaatua, nō whea ake, nō whea ake. E toru ngā rōpu tāngata; ko rātou kua tapahi i ngō rātou makawe i te tangihanga, ka tahi. Ka rua, ko ngētehi he kaumātua mātau ki ngā tikanga Māori. Ka toru, ko ngētehi, he kaiako tikanga Māori i Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato.

I whakaae mai te nuinga o rātou, kia whakaputaina mai ngō rātou ingoa ki te tuhinga nei. Arā, ko Pou Temara tērā, rātou ko Ēnoka Murphy, ko Meto Hopa, ko Homai Uerata, ko Aroha Yates-Smith, ko Pera McDonald, ko Kanohingaro Haupokia. Heoi anō, tērā tētehi o ngōku mātua, kāore i whakaae, ā, ka karangangia kētia, ko “Matua” i roto i ngā tuhituhi nei.

Nā runga i te kore hiahia ōku kia karangahia rātou he ‘kaiwhakauru’ noa, ka huri au ki ngā tikanga tapahi makawe me ngōna wāhi tapu. Kei reira te tūāhu, te ahurewa, ngā toko me ngā pou hei whakamahinga mā ngā tohunga, ā, ko tāku he whakarite i ngōku kaumātua ki ngēnei taonga tapu. Ki te kore ngā pou, ngā toko i roto i ngā mahi tapu o nehe, kua kore ngā karakia, ngā ritenga i tutuki. Ki te kore hoki ngēnei pou i takoha kōrero mai, kua kore e taea tēnei tuhinga. Nō reira, ka nui anō ngaku mihi ki a ratou. Nā rātou hoki tēnei tuhinga.

E ai ki tētehi o ngōku koroua, a Homai Uerata, ko te kupu tika nō roto o Tainui mō te makawe o te māhunga, ko te huruhuru. Nō reira, mehemea he kōrero kua whakaputaina e ia, ko te huruhuru ka kōrerongia e ia, ko ngā makawe kē o te māhunga.

Kia tīmata ake i tēnei wāhanga, ka matapakitia ngētehi o ngā tikanga makawe i kōrerohia e ngā pou nei. Ko ngā pātai i uiuia atu, i hāngai katoa ki ngā pātai matua

o tēnei rangahau, arā, nā wai ngā makawe i tapahi? I tapahia ki te aha? I tapahia i whea? Ka ahatia ngā makawe i tapahia? Kua toro atu ki ngō rātou pātaka mātauranga kia whai whakautu.

### 3.2 He tikanga tapahi makawe

He mea tapu te māhunga me ngā makawe tangata i neherā, ka kōrerongia mai tēnei take e Matua.

**Matua:** Tuatahi he tapu te māhunga. Koirā pea i tapu ai ngā makawe. I te mea, kei reira katoa te hinengaro, me ngā whakaaro, te roro, wērā mea o te tangata, te pātaka o te mātauranga, kei konā katoa. I tapu ai te māhunga. I tapu ai te makawe... Engari, ko te makawe. He āhuatanga tērā o te tangata. He ariā o te tangata. He māwe o te tangata. He āhua o te tangata. Kei konā katoa. Kei konā ngā tohutohu kua e waiho ō makawe, wērā mea katoa, he aha ai? I tērā wā pea, i taea ai e te tangata āna mahi whaiwhaiā me wērā mahi, mākutu, he whakatūpāto i te tangata. Kia noho mā tonu te tangata, tana wāhi noho. Wērā mea katoa. Engari, ko te mea nui pea, ko te, he ariā o te tangata. Ko tō mauri katoa kei roto. Wērā mea katoa.

I runga i ngērā tīmatanga kōrero ngāna, ko te pātai kei te matamata o te wāhanga nei, mehemea ka tohua tētehi tangata motuhake hei tapahi i ngā makawe, i nehe. Ka kōrero a Homai Uerata mō te tapahinga tuatahi o te māhunga o te tamaiti. Ā, ka riro mā te koroua hei whakahaere.

**Homai Uerata:** ...mā ngā koroua, mā ngā koroua, ērā wā, hei tapahi i ngā huruhuru... Te tuatahi, te tuatahi i tapahi i ngā huruhuru, mā te koroua, mā te koroua, i muri iho i tērā, mā te tangata noa iho nei. Engari, mā te koroua hei tapahi te tuatahitanga o ngā huruhuru o te tamaiti raka, o te pēpē raka, o te pēpē raka āe... Mā te koroua kē.

Ka āhua rerekē te tirohanga a Pou Temara.

**Pou Temara:** Taku mōhio nei, ehara i te tohunga rawa. Kāore i pēnei i ngā tohunga koti makawe o nāiane.

Ka kōrero hoki ia mō te āhua o te tapahi.

**Pou Temara:** Heoi anō, ko te tiki tonu. Kāore hoki he koti nē? Heoi anō, he tūhua, ko te matā o te tūhua. Ka tiki i ngā makawe, ka tapahi, pēnei i te naihi, e tapahia nei. Tētahi mea ki te naihi. He pērā te tapahi i ngā makawe.

Ko tā Homai Uerata, ko te taputapu koti makawe e kīia ana ko te māko.

**Kairangahau:** *I mua noa atu, i mua i ngā kutikuti, he aha te mea i whakamahia hei tapahi makawe?*

**Homai Uerata:** Ko ngā māko, he māko tāku i kite ai. Māko.

**Kairangahau:** *He aha tēnā? He momo kōhatu?*

**Homai Uerata:** Kāo, kāo. He mea, pēneki i te kūtai neki. Ka noho rātou ki te whakatikatika. Ka mahingia e rātou. Ki te whakakoi, ētehi wā, kua kite au i a rātou e hanga ana i ētehi taonga kōhatu. Ka kimihia e rātou, kua kitea, pai tēnei mea hei heu

nē, hei heu, hei heu i te kanohi. Ērā mea katoa kua kite au i a rātou. Engari, kāore rātou i haere mā pēneki. Ka kite koe i a rātou e tino tupu ana ētehi huruhuru i konei. Kāore i mā katoa. Heoi anō, ko te tapahi kia potopoto tonu. Tā rātou whakaaro.

Ka uiuia hoki rātou mō ngā wāhi tapahi makawe. Ka kōrero a Pou Temara mō ngā wai tapu nō roto i a rātou o Ngāi Tūhoe.

**Pou Temara:**        Āe, he wāhi motuhake ka tapahia ngā makawe. Ngā makawe o ngā mea tāne, kāore au i te tino mōhio ki ngā mea wāhine. Akoakenei pea au kua kōrero mō ngā mea wāhine, engari, ko taua wāhi he wai whakaika e kōrero ana rātou . He wai whakaika. He wāhi kei te taha o te wai. Ā, ka mutu, ka tapahia ō rātou makawe ki reira. Kāore au i te mōhio i tua atu i te mea i rongō nei au, i tahuna ngā makawe, kāore au i te tino mārama mēnā koirā te tikanga. Engari, e mōhio ana a au. Ka heria ki te wai whakaika, ka karakiatia ka tapahia ngā makawe, o te tamaiti o te tauira rānei. Ka tapahia ngā makawe, anā, koirā tētahi o ngā tikanga o te whakawahi ia ki te mātauranga... Ko te karakia hoki, he tikanga tapu hoki, te wai whakaika, te wai whakahoro rānei, ko te wai whakahoro, koirā te wāhi i whakahorohia ai ngā mātauranga ki runga i te tauira e te tohunga, anā, koirā tētahi o ngā tikanga ko te tapahi i ngā makawe. He tikanga tapu... Ko te tapu o te ūpoko ka pā hoki ki te tapu o ngā makawe.

**Kairangahau:** *Kua rongohoki au i tēnei ingoa “Te Wai Kotikoti”.*

**Pou Temara:** Koirā, āe. Te wai kotikoti. Āe, ko te wai kotikoti, ko te kuti. Ko te tapahi i ngā makawe. Ko Te Wai Kotikoti a Māhu. Kei Waikaremoana tērā wāhi. Anā, koirā te wāhi e heria ana ngā tauria, ngā taura, ngā pūkenga, ki reira karakia ai. Kātahi ka tapahi i ngā makawe. Koirā i kīia ai he wai kotikoti.

Ka kōrero a Aroha Yates-Smith mō ngā wāhi hei tapahi, hei huna hoki i ngā makawe i ngēnei rā. Arā, me whai whakaaro te tangata ki te wāhi e mahia mai ana ngā mahi o te tinana, kua ki ngā wāhi poka noa iho nei.

**Aroha Yates-Smith:** Ka kore au e mahi pērā i te kīhini, ahakoa ko ōku nei makawe ko ngā maikuku rānei, kua kore au e mahi, e noho ki roto i te kīhini te rūma kai rānei, o te whare. Ahakoa kei hea au. Ka mea atu au ki aku tamariki me puta ki waho, mēnā kua kaha te marangai, tērā pea, ka noho ki roto i te wharepaku, aha rānei. Engari, kia kua e mahingia ērā mahi, e pā ana ki te tinana i roto i ngā wāhi kai. Mēnā ka taea, pai ake te puta ki waho, anā, ko tāku, he tuku i aua mea rā ki taku kāri. Kua ki te mōra kai, kua ki te wāhi kei reira ngā hua rākau, hua whenua rānei e tiputipu haere ana. Ka haere au ki te wāhi, kei reira ngā rākau putiputi ērā mea, kua kore e kainga e au nē.

Ko Pou Temara hoki, e whakaae mai ana ki ngēnei whakaaro o Aroha Yates-Smith, arā, ka tūpato tonu te tangata ki te ahatanga o ngōna makawe.

**Pou Temara:** Nō reirā, ka tūpāto tonu te tangata kei taka ana makawe, kei horo ana makawe ki tētahi wāhi, ki te kite ia e takoto ana, anā, pēnei anō ināianei. Kei te mōhio au o mātou koroua e tango ana i ngā makawe i runga i ngā heru, i ngā paraehe, kāore e whiua noa iho e rātou. Ka heria ki te wharepaku, ka whakataka atu ki reira. Ka tanumia rānei.

Ka tahuri ināianei ki te ahatanga o ngā makawe ka tapahia. I te tauira a Pou Temara, e mea ana ka rukea atu ngā makawe ki te heketua, ka tanumia rānei. Nā Aroha Yates-Smith i mea mai, ka tanumia ngā makawe ki te kāri, kaua ki te wāhi whakatupu kai. E whakaaetia mai ana tēnei e te nuinga o ngā pou, arā, ka tanumia ngā makawe ki tētehi wāhi huna. He pērā tahi ngā whakaaro o Ēnoka Murphy.

**Ēnoka Murphy:** Taku mahara mō te kuti makawe, ka tanumia. Ka tanumia ki tētahi wāhi, ka huna nē. Nā reira, ehara i te mea, puta ki waho noa iho i tō whare, ka tanumia ki waho noa iho nei.

Ko Matua tētehi e kōrero ana mō te rerekē o ngā tikanga o ia whānau, o ia tangata. Heoi anō, ka kōrero ia mō te tanumanga, te hunatanga rānei o ngā makawe.

**Matua:** Kei tēnā kei tēnā ōna tikanga. Kāore au e mōhio me haere ki tētahi wāhi motuhake waiho ai i ngā makawe. Kei tērā tangata, kei tērā tangata wāna tikanga. Mehemea ka pupuri, mehemea ka tanu, mehemea ka waiho ki tētehi wāhi huna.

Ko Aroha Yates-Smith tētehi i kōrero mō tana haerenga ki ngā tāngata tapahia makawe i te tāone, ā, ka pātai atu ki a rātou kia whakahokia ngā makawe ki a ia, kia pai ai tana tanu.

**Aroha Yates-Smith:** Well, ahakoa haere ai ētehi o aku tamariki, me taku hoa tāne ki ngā toa o te taone, pai ake ki ahau te haere ki tētahi o aku hoa, ki tana kāinga ake. Kia mutu rawa tana kuti mai i aku makawe, māku e whakahoki aua makawe ki te kāinga. Anā, he whare tō mātou ki tātahi. Me kī, ki te taha tonu o te ngahere. Anā, ko tāku he kawē i aua, ngā makawe o taku whānau ki reira. Āe, ki reira, whakatikatika ai.

**Kairangahau:** *Ka tanumia e koe?*

**Aroha Yates-Smith:** Āe. Ki raro tonu i tētehi toka rahi ki muri o tō mātou nei whare. Kei te ngahere tonu. Ka karakia au. Ka rau atu ērā me ngā maikuku... I aku tamariki e pakupaku ake ana, ka kawengia rātou ki tētahi wahine, he toa tōna, engari, ko tāku, he inoi atu ki a ia, māna e, māna hei whakahoki mai aua makawe i te mutunga. Nā, ka tahitahingia, ngāwari noa iho ki a ia. He wahine Pākehā tērā, āe, anā, ināianei, ngā wā ka tae ake au ki tētahi o ngā toa āhua rahi ake. Me taku inoi atu ki a rātou, āhua whakamā au i ētehi wā, i ētehi wā ka pērā ētahi tangata ka tonu mai kia whakahokingia ngā makawe ki te kāinga. Kua āhua taunga haere o tātou nei tāngata kutikuti makawe.

Ka kōrero hoki a Meto Hopa mō te tapahi makawe i ngēnei rā, arā, mō tātou e haere ana ki ngā tangata tapahi makawe i te taone. Hei tāna, e tika ana, me pupurungia ngā makawe.

**Meto Hopa:** I asked Roi, she just had a haircut the other day. I asked her lastnight. What did you do with your hair, your makawe. “Ohh, I left it on the floor.” Just the way she said it. I cracked up... “I left it on the floor for the sweeper to sweep it up”. Kātahi au ka kata.

**Kairangahau:** *What are you meant to do?*

**Meto Hopa:** Well you should pick it up, and put it in a bag and keep it, just keep it.

O ngā tāngata katoa i uiuia, kotahi te tangata i mea, i tukuna atu ngā makawe ki te awa.

**Homai Uerata:** Tapahingia ngā huruhuru. Paiherengia e rātou, paiherengia... I ērā wā, ka haringia ki te awa. Ka rukea ki roto i te wai... Kāore i rukengia kia tahungia e te ahi. Ka tanumia, ka rukengia rānei i roto i te awa. Kāore, rātou i mua, kāore rātou i waiho noa iho neki ki roto i ngā pēke hari ki te rāpihi. Kāo. Ka haere rātou āta tanu. Haringia rānei, whakahokingia ki te awa. Pēnei te huruhuru i te whenua o te wahine. Whānau mai te pēpē, kua whakahokingia ki te rākau, tētehi rākau i te kāinga. E tanu, koiraka te mahi a te rākau raka. Kei reira katoa ngā pito o ā mātou whānau, kei te rākau raka, haringia e mātou ki reira, ngā pito. He rite ngā huruhuru, ētehi wā ka tapahingia, kua haria ki te take o te rākau raka ka tanu, mehemea kāore e taea te haere atu ki te awa. Engari, kāore e rukengia noa

ihotia nei, ngā huruhuru, me ngā matimati. Ka tanumia. I te tīmatanga i pokepoketia te tinana o te tangata... mai i a Papatūānuku, ā, ka hoki koe ki a Papatūānuku.

Nō reira, ko te nuinga o rātou i kī mai, ko te tikanga, me tanu, me huna, me pupuru rānei i ngō makawe, arā, me whakahoki ki a Papatūānuku. Ko tētehi o ngā koroua i mea mai, me ruke atu ki roto i te awa. Ahakoa te aha, me kua rawa te tangata e tahu i ngōna makawe.

**Kanohingaro Haupokia:** You don't burn it... Well, we were told not to burn it.

They didn't say it was tapu or anything, but they reckon, our hair will get all knotty, pūhutihuti. That's why they didn't want us to burn our hair, they tito to us, that we would get those split ends. Those were the stories, whether it was true or not I don't know... You don't burn them... You don't burn blood or anything... Even your periods and all that sort of thing, you don't burn it... The simple reason is, it will upset your insides... That's all, it's just that, you don't burn your blood.

E whakaaetia mai ana tēnei whakaaro e Aroha Yates-Smith hoki, e mea ana, me kua hei tahu i ngā makawe, me ngērā atu āhuatanga o te tinana, pērā i ngā maikuku, te hupete, te toto, te aha atu rānei.

**Aroha Yates-Smith:** E ai ki ōku nei mātua, kia kua mātou e whiu, whiuwhiu makawe, matimati, he aha rānei, pepa, anā, kua whengua tō ihu, nē, kia kua e tuku ērā mea o te tinana ki roto i te ahi. I te mea, i ētahi wā ko tā mātou nei mahi he noho ki te taha o

taua ahi, whakariterite ai i a mātou nei tōhi, tōhi hei kai, nā reira kua kore mātou e pērā. Koinā hoki tāku nei kōrero ki āku tamariki, i tēnei rā, tae noa ki tēnei rā. Kua mōhio rātou kia kua e pērātia... Kua kore e whiua he makawe ki roto i te ahi, ahakoa te aha. Ki ahau nei. Tērā pea, he karakia, he ritenga rānei, arā he ritual, e pā ana ki taua momo mahi. Engari, kua kore au e pērā. Kei te kōrero au mō te ahi i te kāinga i te mea, ētahi wā, ka whengua te ihu, anā, ko te whakaaro ake, ko te whiu atu, anā, ka whakaaro ake aku tamariki ki te whiu ki roto i te ahi. Ko tāku, kua e pērā. Kua mōhio kē rātou, kia kua e whiu atu i te makawe, ngā āhuatanga o te tinana, engari, kāore pea rātou e whakaaro ake ki te pepa, nē. I te mea he pepa noa iho. Engari, ko tāku ki a rātou, kāo, ko te hūpē, kua puta tonu te hūpē i tō tinana. Me ngā āhuatanga o tēnei mea te tapu me te noa. Te tinana me te kai, nē.

Nō reira, e ai ki ngā whakamārama o te tokorua rā, e kore e tukua kia tahu i ngā wāhanga, ngā āhuatanga o te tinana, ahakoa toto, hūpē, maikuku, makawe rānei.

Ko Meto Hopa anō tētehi e whakaae mai ana ki tēnei whakaaro.

**Meto Hopa:** Kāo. Kua e tahu ki te ahi. Uu kāo, he kino tēnā. Oo no you don't burn it. He tūturu tapu tēnā. Ko te mea i roto i a koe. Ko te hīri i roto i a koe... Kāore e pai tēnā, kāore e tika. He kino tēnā. He kino. E tahu ana i tōu mana anō, ko te mana o te tangata. I puta mai katoa ngō mōhioatanga, mātauranga i tō ūpoko, kātahi ka tīkina atu, ka tapahia ō makawe, ka

tahuna i te ahi. Auē, kāore e tika tēnā. Kāore e tika. Kāore e pai. E tahu ana i te tangata, e tahu ana i te tangata nāna i tuku ngā taonga nei ki a koe. Kua tahuna koe i te ahi. Kāore e pai. Kāore e pai tēnā. Engari, koinā anake hoki tāku e mōhio nei. Engari, ko taku mōhio, kua e tahuna tēnā mea. Ki te tahuna koe i tēnā mea o te makawe, e tahu ana ko koe anake, e tahu ana koe i ētehi anō, ngō koroua, kuia, kua kāore e pai. Ngā mōhio tangata i homai nei ki a koe, kua tahuna i te ahi. Kāore e pai, kāore e pai tēnā.

I tohutohungia hoki a Matua kia kua e tahuna ngōna makawe.

**Matua:** Ko taku mōhio noa iho, ngā tohutohu ki a mātou kia kua e tahu i ō mātou makawe. He aha ai? Kāore au e mōhio. Ko taua āhuetanga tonu pea o te ariā.

Nō reira, ka whakahua mai a Matua i te kupu ‘ariā’, arā, he ariā ngērā o te tangata, te maikuku, te makawe, te hūpē, te toto. Kāore e whakaaetia ana kia tahu i ngērā, arā, i a koe anō.

I kōrero a Pou Temara mō te āhuetanga o te tahu makawe i ngā tau kātahi anō ka pahure.

**Pou Temara:** I roto i ngā tau e ono pea ki muri, iti iho rānei. Akene pea, rima tau noa iho. Ko te whare wānanga a Tamati Kruger... E whakamātautautia ana rātou, ka mutu, e hipa ai rātou, ka tahuna te ahi, koirā ngā kōrero, ka tahuna te ahi, kāore au i kite, engari, koirā ngā kōrero, koirā ngā whakapae. Koirā ngā kōrero ō rātou ngā tohunga. Ka tahuna e rātou he ahi,

ka tapahia ngā makawe o ngā mea tāne me ngā mea wāhine, anā, ka whiua ki roto i te ahi rā, hei tohu i tō rātou putanga i te whare wānanga rā, engari, kāore tētahi o ngā mea wāhine, he tamaiti nāku, kare kau i rata ki tērā tikanga. Ka haere ki te kite i tana kuia. Ka kī atu te kuia rā, kei noho koe ka tapahi i ō makawe. Nā te mea, ahakoa ngā makawe o te wahine, koirā te mana o te wahine. Koirā tōna tohu wahine, ko ōna makawe roroa. Anā, ko te whakahau kia tapahia aua makawe rā, kātahi ka whiu ki roto i te ahi hei tohu mō tōna putanga i te whare wānanga, ehara i te kaupapa i whakaae ai te wahine nei me tapahi i ōna makawe. Kāore ia i whakaae. Engari, koirā tōku, koirā anake tōku mōhiotanga. Mō ngā wāhine e tapahia ana ngā makawe me ngā mea tāne hoki. Kei te whakaae au, koirā pea te kōrero mō ngā mea tāne, ka tapahia ngā makawe kātahi ka whiua ki roto i te... Ehara i te mea e mōhio ana au ki ērā tikanga. I rongono iho au, i roto i ngā raruraru o te ono tau ka mahue ake nei... I Rūātoki. E kōrerohia ana tērā kōrero. Anā, kāore tētahi o ngā wāhine nei i whakaae, ngā kōtiro i whakaae, inā rā, i te aroha ia ki wana makawe. Kei te matakau ia kei tapahia ōna makawe.

Nō reira, kei reira tonu te whakaaro o tērā wahine, me kua ia e ruke atu i ngōna makawe ki te ahi. Ahakoa he tikanga tērā o tā rātou putanga atu i tō rātou whare wānanga. He āhua pērā i ngā kōrero mai i te Arohaehae Mātāpuna, e mea ana, i whāngaia ngā makawe ki ngā atua. Ko Ēnoka Murphy tētehi i paku kōrero mō te tukutanga ake o ngā makawe ki te ahi. Ka whakatauritengia tērā ki ngā tikanga o

te koho kai, o te hī ika rānei, ka whakahokia te mea tuatahi hei whāngai atu ki ngā atua.

**Ēnoka Murphy:** Tēnei mea te tapahi makawe, te kuti makawe, tae mai ki ngā matihao o te ringa, o te waewae. Mea tapu katoa nē? Tērā ētahi kōrero, me ahi ki reira, me ahi ki te taha, ko tētahi wāhi, wāhanga o te makawe ka tuku ai ki te ahi. Ko te au, ko te pāoa o taua makawe rā hei whāngai ki ngā atua. Hei oati, hei whāngai tonu atu ki ngā atua.... ehara i te mea i tuku katoatia, nē? He wāhanga noa iho ka tukua. Pēnei anō, ka haere koe ki te koho kai, he wāhanga iti noa iho nei, ka waihongia ake, ka hoatu rānei ki te tūāhu hei whāngai ki te atua. He pērā anō me te makawe, ehara i te mea, i whiua katoatia atu.

Nō reira, mai i ngā kohinga kōrero a ngā pou kōrero nei, ki tō rātou mōhio, he wāhi motuhake mō tērā mahi te tapahi makawe. Arā, ki a Pou Temara, e karangangia ana tērā ko te wai whakaika, te wai kotikoti rānei. Ā, e kitea tonutia ana ngā tikanga mō te wāhi tapahi i ngā makawe i ngēnei rā hoki. E ai ki a Aroha Yates-Smith, kia kaua ngērā mahi e whakatutukingia ki ngā wāhi kai, he pai ake, mehemea ka puta atu i te whare. Ko te nuinga o rātou e mea ana, me tanu, me pupuru, me huna rānei i ngā makawe. Me ruke rānei ki roto i te awa. Ā, ko te nuinga i kī kia korekore rawa e tuku i ngā makawe ki te ahi. Ko tō mana, ko ngō tūpuna, ko ngō mātauranga katoa ka tahuna mehemea ka pērātia. Ko ngā ariā katoa o te tinana, kia kaua e tahuna. I mua noa atu i te whiwhinga o te ao Māori i ngā kutikuti o nāianei, ko te matā tūhua, me te mākoī ngētehi o ngā momo taputapu tapahi makawe.

### 3.3 Te tapahi makawe i te tangihanga

#### 3.3.1 Ngā wāhine kua tapahia ngā makawe

Ka anga atu ināianei, ki ngā tikanga tapahi makawe a te kirimate i te tangihanga. Ka tīmata i ngā wāhine, ngā kuia, tokorua nei, i tapahi i ngō rāua makawe i te hinganga o ngō rāua mātua.

**Aroha Yates-Smith:** Taku rongō ake, kua mate mai tōku pāpā, tōku ake matua.

Ka haere au i mua i tō mātou nei hokitanga ki Rotorua. I tae au ki tērā o ngā wāhine. Nāna i whakarite mai, anā i taua wā, roroa atu aku makawe. Pēnei rā, tae noa, te roanga o taku tuarā me kī. Anā, i whiriwhiringia e au, koinā taku mahi ia rā, ia rā. Anā, ko tā te wahine kuti makawe, ko tāna, he tapahi pēnei...

Ka whakaaro ake ahau, mehemea he tikanga tēnei e kaha whāia ana i roto i tōna whānau, nā tētehi ia i tohutohu rānei. Nā te aha rānei ia i whakaaro ai kia tapahi i ngōna makawe.

**Aroha Yates-Smith:** I runga hoki i taku mōhio kua pērātia ō tātou nei tūpuna.

Kāore au i te maumahara, inahea au i rongō ai i ērā, he mea, kāore au i te maumahara, nā taku pāpā, nā taku māmā rānei i kōrero pērā mai ki ahau, i a au e tamariki ake ana. Aua, kāore au i te maumahara.

**Kairangahau:** *Nō reira, kua kite koe i ētehi atu e mahi pērā ana?*

**Aroha Yates-Smith:** Kāore pea, kāore pea, kāore au i te tino maumahara. Kaua ki Rotorua. Kāore au i te maumahara ki tērā. I muri mai pea

au i rongō, ā, i pērātia hoki... Koinei ngā tūmomo āhuatanga, kāore te tangata e whāki atu ki tētahi atu nē. Ka kore e āta kōrerongia. Ehara i te kōrero huna. Engari, kei te tangata anō ērā whakaaro. I runga hoki i te kaha pōuri o te ngākau. Me te aroha ki te tangata. Nā reira, nāku i whakatakoto ki runga i a ia. Ki tōna taha. Tōna poho. Hei takoha māna.

**Kairangahau:** *Ki roto i te kāwhena? Ka tāpuketia ki tōna taha?*

**Aroha Yates-Smith:** Yeah. Koinā taku takoha ki a ia. I te wā i mate mai taku māmā, i Amerika ahau, kātahi anō au ka haere ki reira, tekau mā rua hāora pea te roa, ā, ka rongō au, kua mate mai taku kōkā, ā, ka hoki tika tonu mai. Me taku, i te mea kāore aku, kāore he harakeke, he muka rānei ki reira. Ā, ka mahingia mai, he momo cross stich, aha rānei, i hokongia e au. He mea, nāku i whakapaipai, mō taku whaea, taku kōkā. Engari, kāore au i koti i aku makawe. I te mea, i haere tika tonu mai, atu rānei. Mai i te tauranga waka rererangi o Tāmaki, ka peka mai. I konei ētahi o aku hoa piripono, ka whanga mai kia hoki mai au. Nā rātou au i kawē ki Rotorua.

Ka tahuri ināianei ki ngā take i whoatu ai ia i ngōna makawe ki tōna matua.

**Aroha Yates-Smith:** He wāhanga nō taku tinana hei tuku ki a ia. Kia piri tonu aku makawe ki tōna tinana, tōna poho. Mō ake tonu atu.

Ko Kanohingaro Haupokia anō tētehi i tapahi i ngōna makawe i te matenga o tōna matua, me tōna kuia. Ka kōrero hoki ia mō te āhua o te tapahi. Arā, hei tāna, me tapahi ko te iho anahe, kua ko te katoa o ngā makawe.

**Kanohingaro Haupokia:** I just made a little plait, oh well, I just grabbed a little bit over here and I plaited it, and then I cut it off... Why I didn't cut my hair all off, because if it gets to that length again, something like that will happen again.

**Kairangahau:** *Someone will die?*

**Kanohingaro Haupokia:** Well yeah, it will be one of the family perhaps. It will grow back. When it gets to that length again. Off! You'll have to cut it again. You know. That's why I only cut a little bit. I only overheard them say that. I just plaited it myself and I cut it. We laced it around his chest... That was how I did my hair. Just a little one. But don't cut the whole thing. You know, all your hair, and then put it in... And then when our mother died, instead of me giving her a part of me, I gave her jewels that she had given.

I te pātaitanga ake, he aha i whoatu ai ngōna makawe ki tōna matua, ka kīia he wāhanga ōna ka tukuna atu ki a ia, he tohu aroha anō hoki.

**Kanohingaro Haupokia:** That's all it is. To me, in my heart, at least he's still got me with him... I thought, well you can't stop me from loving my father.

Ko te tokorua nei, i kōrero mō te takohatanga o tētehi wāhanga o rāua ki ngō rāua mātua. Heoi anō, mō ngō rāua whāea, i whoatu i tētehi atu taonga. Mō te tokorua

nei, ko te mea nui, ko te whakaatu i te aroha, mā te whoatu i ngā makawe, i tētehi atu taonga rānei ki te tūpāpaku. Kāore anō te tokorua nei kia kite i tētehi atu e tapahi pēnei ana i ngō rātou makawe, engari, i runga i te kaha pōuri, te mamae e haehae ana te ngākau, koirā i whakaaro ai rāua me whoatu i tētehi wāhanga o ngō rāua tinana ki ngō rāua matua, hei tohu aroha.

Ka kōrero a Kanohingaro Haupokia mō te āhua o te tapahi i ngōna makawe, arā, i tapahi i tētehi wāhanga, i te iho makawe noa iho. Ko te take, mehemea ka tapahia te katoa o ngā makawe, ka tupu kau ana aua makawe ki te roanga o mua, ka mate anō tētehi o te whānau. Ā, me tapahi anō koe i ngō makawe. He tohu mate, ā, ki te hē te tapahi, he aituā anō ka whai mai.

### ***3.3.2 He mātakitakitanga***

Ko ngā kōrero e whai ake nei, nā te rōpū tangata kua kite i te whakaihonga makawe i te tangihanga. Tokowhā ngā pou e whai wāhi mai ana ki tēnei rōpu, ko Pera McDonald, ko Matua, ko Meto Hopa rātou ko Pou Temara. He matatau te tokowhā nei ki ngā tikanga Māori, ā, kua kite hoki rātou i ngētehi e tapahi ana i ngō rātou makawe i ngā wā o te mate.

Kua kitea e Matua ngōna whāea, ngōna kuia e tapahi ana i ngō rātou makawe. Ka tukuna atu ngā pātai mō te takenga mai o te whakaihonga, mehemea rānei he tikanga Māori nō tuauriuri.

**Matua:** Kei korā te tauira i a Māui Tikitiki. I whānau kahu mai ia, āe. Nō reira, pēnei te māmā, kua mate kē ia, kua materoto. Engari, nā tana tipuna atua tonu ia i whakaora, i aha rānei. Engari, koirā pea te tauira tuatahi. Ka takaia tana tamaiti ki tana tikitiki.

Ko tētehi o ngā pātai nui o tēnei rangahau e pā ana ki ngā tāngata e tapahi ana i ngō rātou makawe i ngā tangihanga, mehemea he wahine anahe, he tāne rānei.

**Matua:** He nui ngā tāngata kei te mahi i tērā āhuatanga. He pai. He tāne kei te mahi, he wahine kei te mahi, engari, waku kitenga he wahine katoa. Ko aku whāea. I te tapatapahi i ō rātou makawe. Engari, i wēnei rā ko te katoa kei te mahi. Tāne mai, wahine mai, tamariki mai.

**Kairangahau:** *Nō reira, i mua atu, ko ngā wahine anake?*

**Matua:** Kāore au e mōhio. Engari, ko waku kitenga ko aku whāea anake. Te hunga i kite ai ahau i tapatapahi i ō rātou makawe. Kāore au i kite i ngā koroua, ngā tāne e tapatapahi ana i ō rātou makawe. Engari, tāku i kite ai, he wahine katoa.

Ka kōrero mai a Pou Temara mō ngā tapahinga makawe kua kitea e ia i ngā tangihanga o mua. He wāhine katoa rātou.

**Pou Temara:** ... i kite au i taku kuia e tapahi ana ia i ana makawe i te wā i mate ai tō mātou koroua kotahi mano iwa rau, ono tekau mā whitu, ka mate taku koroua. Ka tapahia e taku kuia ana makawe, kātahi ka waiho i roto i te kāwhena o taku koroua...

...ka mate te koroua o Wena Harawira i Rūātoki. Ko te whaea o Wena Harawira, ko Te Waiārangi, nōna ētahi makawe ātaahua. Nōna ētahi makawe mutunga mai o te ātaahua. Te roa o ana makawe, tae rā anō ngā makawe, kua

tata te tae ki ngā whati o te pona, anā, koirā te ātaahua o ana makawe. Koirā tana whakahihitanga ko ana makawe. Engari, ka mate tana pāpā. Late 80's pea i mate ai. Ka haere atu a Te Waiārangi ki te taha o tana pāpā noho ai. Kātahi ka tīkina te kuti, ka kuti i ana makawe. Mai i tērā wā ki nāianeī, kāore anō, kāore i tupu ngā makawe o Te Waiārangi. Pēhea te roa o ana makawe. Āta pōkaikaihia e ia ana makawe, ka waiho i te taha o tana pāpā.

Ka pātai anō te kairangahau mehemea kua kite ia i te tāne e mahi pērā ana.

**Pou Temara:** Kāore, kāore anō au i kite i te tāne e pērā ana. Ko te tāne hoki o nāianeī he poto katoa ngā makawe. Kāo, kāore au i kite i te tāne. Engari anō te wahine i kite au.

Ki a Pera McDonald, ehara i te mea me wahine, me tāne rānei te tangata, kia tapahia ngā makawe, engari, ko tō aroha kē ki te tūpāpaku te mea nui.

**Pera McDonald:** ...ki ahau nei, kei roto anō i te ngākau o te tangata. Ahakoa wahine, tāne, kaumātua, tamariki rānei. Ko te aroha te mea nui.

Mai i ngā kōrero a Pou Temara, e mea ana, i makangia atu ngā makawe o te pouaru, o te kirimate, o wai ake, ki te pouaka o te tūpāpaku. He pēnei hoki ngā whakamārama a Matua.

**Matua:** I te rā tonu o te taupokitanga, i te ata tonu o te taupokitanga i te kāwhena. I te atapō tonu, ka whakahaeretia ngā karakia. Taupoki i te kāwhena. Koirā te wā i kite ai ahau ōku whāea e tapatapahi ana i ō rātou makawe. Kua poto ngā makawe.

Kua kōrero ngā mea, kua meatia ki roto i te kāwhena. Tamariki mātou i tērā wā. He tikanga tērā. He aha te tikanga, kāore e tino mōhio. Mehemea he, kāore au e tino mōhio he aha tērā tikanga. Engari, i roto i ngā whakaarotanga pea, he aroha.

Ko Meto Hopa anō tētehi kua kite i te tapahinga o ngā makawe i ngā tangihanga. Ka kōrero ia mō te tapahinga o ngā makawe o tōna tuakana.

**Meto Hopa:** I kite au i tēnā. I te matenga o taku pāpā, kua koroua hoki taku pāpā. Ka haere taku tuakana ki te tapahi i ōna makawe. Kātahi ka tiakingia. I tākaingia ki roto i tētahi mea, kātahi ka haria, kātahi ka meatia i roto i te kāwhena, kātahi ka meatia i roto i te ringa o taku pāpā. Engari tēnā, i kite au... I got a shock when I saw my brother do that. My oldest brother. That was quite a few years ago. 1970... I haere ki te, ki ngā tāngata tapahi makawe. Kātahi ka meatia. I tākaingia i roto i tētehi mea, taku mōhio he mea Māori. Pēnei i te korowai nei, engari, he mea paku nei. Kāore au i mōhio. Kātahi ka meatia ōna makawe, ka haria, ka meatia ki roto i te ringa o tōku pāpā. I kite au i tērā. I was with him. I never asked, I didn't ask why. Kāore au i pātai ki a ia... back in the 1970's hoki, ka mate hoki taku pāpā. I was quite young then.

Nō reira, kua kitea e tēnei koroua, tōna ake tuakana e mahi ana i ngōna makawe, nā whai anō, he tāne hoki ka tapahi i ngōna makawe. Ka kōrero hoki ia mō tōna whaea.

**Meto Hopa:** E pērā ana hoki taku whaea. Engari, e tino māuiui ana, i roto i tōna mate. Engari, i kite au i a ia, i te wā i tūturu ora ana hoki ia... Ki te tapahia ōna makawe ka tiakina hoki, kei mate ētahi o mātou, i roto i te hapū, o te whānau rānei, kātahi, kātahi ka meatia i roto i tana kāwhena. Āe, engari tēnā i kite au. Engari, kāore au i pātai ki a ia, he aha te tikanga.

Heoi anō, ka kī a Meto Hopa, ka riro mā te whānau pani hei tapahi i ngō rātou makawe. Ko tētehi atu mea, i noho hei pātai mō tēnei rangahau, ko te āhua o ngā makawe, mutu kau ana te tapahi. Mehemea rānei he wāhanga noa iho o ngā makawe ka tapahia, ko te katoa rānei. Ki te nuinga, ko te wāhanga roroa katoa o ngā makawe ka tapahia, arā, ka herea, ka whiria rānei, kātahi ka tapahia. Ko Pera McDonald tētehi i whakamārama i tērā.

**Pera McDonald:** Ka hopua ki muri nei, katahi ka tapahia, ka paiherengia, ka whiria kātahi ka makana ki te taha tonu o ōna makawe.

Kei te pērā tonu ki tā Matua whakamārama.

**Matua:** Ko ngā whāea i kite au, he roroa ō rātou makawe. Mai anō i ō rātou tamarikitanga. Taku kite i a rātou kua pakeke. He roroa ō rātou makawe, ka tapahia. Mate rawa ake, kua pērā anō te poto o ngā makawe o ērā whāea ōku.

E ai ki a Meto Hopa, ka tīkina ngā makawe mai i te kōhamo o te māhunga.

**Meto Hopa:** Kei muri iho, ko te kōhamo, tēnei taha, te kōhamo. Ka meatia, kātahi ka kutia. Ko te kōhamo. Āe.

Ka huri ināiane ki te whāinga matua o tēnei rāngahau, ko ngā take i tapahia ai ngā makawe o te kirimate, o te pouaru rānei i te tangihanga, koinei ngā whakamārama i puta mai.

**Matua:** Ko te aroha, whakamahana pea i te tūpāpaku. He ariā wērā āhuetanga. I te mea ka mate te tangata tino tata ki a koe. Ka taka i roto i a koe. Ka taka i roto i a koe, he wāhanga nui ōu, kua riro i runga i te matenga o tērā. Nō reira, ko tō mauri me wērā mea, tō māwe, i te mea he wahanga nui ōu kua taka i roto i a koe, he tino pōuri koe, nō reira, koirā he āhuetanga ōu ā-wairua nei, ka riro i te tūpāpaku. Nō reira, ko te tuku tonu pea koe i ōu makawe hei whakatinana i tērā āhuetanga. Te whakaatu i te wāhanga nui ōu kua riro. Kua mate tērā, kua mate anō tētahi wāhanga nui ōu. Ko te whakatinana pea tērā o te whakaaturanga tērā i tērā tūāhuetanga. I te mea ko te makawe he āhuetanga whakapaipai, whakaātaahua i te tangata. Ka mate tēnā manawanui ōu. Ki ō whakaaro, ki ō te tangata whakaaro, pea. Kāore he take ōna ki te whakapaipai, whakaātaahua i a ia. I te mea, ā roto nei, kua anuanu, kua weriweri, tērā āhuetanga. Kāore rātou i haere ki te hairdresser, ki te tapahi wērā makawe. Ka tapahi noatia. Mō muri kē whakapaipai ai. You know, we've seen some rough jobs. Kua tapahi, kua hakurara te āhuetanga o te makawe. Engari, whakaatu tonu tērā i te āhuetanga o te pōuri kei roto i te tangata... Ka tuku atu tētehi wāhanga ōu hei hari ki tua o te arai. Ka noho tonu pea tērā hei pouwhenua i te, i tua o te ārai.

E tautokona ana tēnei whakaaro o te āhuetanga hakurara e Pou Temara:

**Pou Temara:** Mēnā koe e mōhio ana ki tēnei kōrero te kākahu taratara. Ko te kākahu taratara katoa ka maua e te mea, e te pouaru, e te tamāhine rānei. E ngā tamariki wāhine rānei ka mau i ō rātou kākahu taratara. Ka mutu, ko te pouaru, ka tiki i ana makawe, kātahi ka tapahi i ōna makawe, kātahi ka waiho i ngā makawe rā, ki roto, ki te taha o tana tāne, o te mea kua mate. Koirā te tikanga o tērā mea. Heoi anō, ehara i te mea e tapahi i ōna makawe, kātahi ka waiho ki te taha o te tūpāpaku o tana tāne. Engari, ko te āhua kē o te tapahinga i ana makawe, ko te tohu i te tikanga o te kākahu taratara. Arā, ko ana kākahu, he karukaru katoa. Anā, kia pērā anō hoki tōnā āhua. Ehara i te mea, ka tīkina he kuti, kātahi, ka titiro ki te karaehe whakaata, kātahi ka kuti, kāo. He mea tiki tonu ngā makawe ka tapahi. Ahakoa hē, konei, piki, heke, koirā te tapahi. Kei te mōhio au ki tērā nā te mea i kite au i taku kuia e tapahi ana ia i ana makawe i te wā i mate ai tō mātou koroua... ko te kākahu taratara koirā te āhua. I a koe, nā te kaha o tō mamae, ehara tērā i te wā e horoi ai koe, ehara tērā i te wā e kaukau ai koe, engari, he wā mō te tohu i tō aroha i tō mamae. E kore koe e kai, e kore koe e horoi, anā, koirā tētahi, ka mutu, ka pōuri haere tō āhua. Ka whakaaro koe, he māmā noa iho ināianei nā te mea, toru rā. Ka pēhea koe ki ngā wā o mua mēnā e hia wiki. E hia wiki koe e kore ana e horoi, e hia wiki koe e kore ana, nā, ka puta tētahi āhuetanga kāore i pai ki te

tangata. Engari, koirā te tohu o te mamae. Nā, ko te tapahi, ko te whakaweriweri i tō āhua, koirā hoki koe i tapahi ai i tō makawe, kia weriweri ai tō āhua kia rite ki ngā kākahu taratara e mau ana koe. Ko tō tohu tērā o te nui o tō mamae. Ehara mā te whakaātaahua i tō āhua. Mēnā ka tirohia tērā kauapapa ināianeī, ka heria mai ki nāianeī. Mai i ngā wā o mua, ko te kākahu taratara ināianeī ko te kākahu pango. Hei tohu i tō mamae.

Ka tukuna atu te pātai ki a Pou Temara, mehemea he aroha hoki tērā e whoatuhia ana ki te tūpāpaku mā roto mai i ngā makawe. Ka whakautua pēneitia mai.

**Pou Temara:** Tērā pea, engari, ko tāku e mahara ake ana, ko tētahi noa tēnā o ngā hua. Ko tētahi o ngā benefits o te makawe. Engari, ko te tino hua ko te whakaweriweri i tō āhua. Koirā kē te tino hua. Ehara ko te hoatu i tō aroha mā roto mai i tō makawe ki tō... Akene pea, akene pea koinā tonu tētahi, nā te mea koirā hoki te whakahihitanga o tēnei mea o te wahine, ko ana makawe. Ki te tapahia wērā. Ā, kātahi ka hoatu ki te... ākene koinā tonu. Nō reira, ka āhua whakaae au ki tērā.

Heoi anō, ka hoki anō ngāna kōrero ki te whakaaro nui, ki te tohu o te kākahu taratara.

**Pou Temara:** Engari, ko te kaupapa i mōhio, i tapahia ai rātou i tō rātou makawe, ko te tohu i tō rātou ngākau mamae, ngākau pōuri, me taku whakaae anō ki tāu e kōrero mai nā. Ki tō

proposition. Akene pea he tohu nō te aroha. He tika hoki tērā. Mehemea ka tīkina atu e koe ko te wāhi o tō tinana e whakahīhī ai koe, ko ō makawe ērā, kātahi ka tapahia e koe, he mea nui tērā...

Anei ngā whakamārama a Meto Hopa, mō te tikanga o te tapahi me te ruke i ngā makawe kia nehua ki te taha o te tūpāpaku.

**Meto Hopa:** Ka whoatu ai i ngā makawe ki ngā tūpāpaku, kia purutia pea te hīri o te tangata. Kua whakahokia wairua, i roto i te wairua. Kia pai ai te tiaki ai i ngā taonga, ngā mōhiotanga ērā mea kei roto i a koe. Heoi anō, e whakahokia ana pea ki ngā atua, pēnei i a Makawe Mio Rangi, a Io Matua Kore. Hei purutia, hei purutia, hei manaakitia. He aroha hoki kei roto tērā āhuatanga. Aroha ki te tūpāpaku, aroha ki te, aroha ki ngā tūpuna. Ahakoa pēwhea, ahakoa pēwhea, ko te aroha tēnā o te tangata.

E tautokona ana ngēnei whakaaro o te aroha, e Pera McDonald.

**Pera McDonald** ...nāku anō i pātai atu ki taku tuakana ki a Ngāuru, he aha ai ia i tapahia i ana makawe ka maka atu ki roto i te pouaka o taku tuakana, o tana teina, o Ngāurupaea, ko Kuini Nelson. Ka kī mai ki ahau, kia mau tonu ai te aroha ki waenga i a rāua. Ko tētehi taha o tana tinana ki tana teina. Koinā te aroha e paihere ana i a rāua.

Ko tētehi atu take ka kōrerongia mai e Pera McDonald, ko te tūturutanga o ngā makawe, e kore rawa e pirau. Koia ka puea ake te whakaaro i ahau, koinei pea te

take, ko te makawe te mea e tukuna atu ana, i te mea, e kore rawa e pirau, he tohu pea o te aroha e kōrerongia ana e Pera McDonald, arā, e paihere ai i a rāua mō ake tonu atu. Ko te tūturutanga o te makawe he tohu anō i te tūturutanga o tō aroha ki tērā huānga ōu.

**Pera McDonald:** Engari, ko taku mōhio nei, ko ngā makawe me ngā maikuku, e kore rawa e pirau. E kite ana hoki e Taiwi mā. I a rātou e hangarau ana i ngā kōiwi, kua tanumia noatia atu. Kāore anō i pirau ngā makawe. Ahakoa, e rua mano, e toru mano rānei ngā tau, kua pahemo. Ana.

Ko ngā kaupapa matua i puta mai i ngā pou nei. I ngēnei rā, ko ngā wāhine me ngā tāne e tapahi ana i ngō rātou makawe. Arā, ko ngā whāea me ngā kuia o Pou Temara rāua ko Matua, me te tuakana, me te whaea ake o Meto Hopa. Ko ngā makawe i tapahia e rātou, he mea tuku atu ki te tūpāpaku. Ka tāpuketia ki tōna taha.

Ko tētehi o ngā kaupapa nui o te tapahi makawe, ko te āhua o te kākahu taratara, arā, te whakaweriweri i tō āhua, he whakapuaki i ngā kare ā-roto, ki waho hoki o te tinana. Ko tētehi atu o ngā take, ko te aroha ki te tūpāpaku.

### ***3.3.2 He pūkenga tikanga Māori***

Ko te rōpū tāngata e whai ake nei, he tangata, he kaumātua mātau ki ngā tikanga tangihanga, otirā, ngā tikanga Māori.

Ko Homai Uerata tētehi i whakamārama i ngētehi tikanga o te tapahi i ngā makawe a te kirimate, ka ruke atu ki te taha o te tūpāpaku.

**Homai Uerata:** ...mahingia ana ēraka mahi mehemea he kuia, he tupuna nē, he kuia kei te takoto mai. I te pēpē rānei, te pēpē kātahi anō ka whānau mai. Ka tapahingia e te whaea, hei tuitui tērā i a rāua mō ake tonu atu nē. Hei tuitui, hei pupuru i te mauri i waenganui i a rātou rānei.

**Kairangahau:** *Nō reira, kāore e mahia ana mō te tāne, mō te koroheke rānei?*

**Homai Uerata:** Koroua, i ētehi wā, e mahingia ana mō te koroua. Engari, i te mea he tapu te wahine, ngā taonga o te wahine, ki te taha o te koroua. Kāore e mahingia ana. Mehemea. Ko tana rūruhi. Āe. Ētehi wā. Engari, kare kau mō te whānau. Kāore e makangia atu. Engari, te kuia, āe. Ko ia hoki te whare tangata. Koia kei te tiaki i ngā taonga katoa raka. Āe, engari, te koroua kāo, kāore i te pai te maka atu i te huruhuru o te wahine ki tana taha... Ko ngā kuia me ngā pēpē, kātahi anō ka whānau mai, ērā. Ka makangia atu e te whaea ana huruhuru ki te taha o tana pēpi. Ka makangia atu rānei tētehi o ngā, mehemea he tamāhine, he mea atawhai nā te kuia raka. Ka whoatu e te tamāhine raka ana huruhuru, ki te taha o tana tupuna. Hei hono tonu i a rāua mō ake tonu atu. Pēneki i te oati e kōrerotia nei e ahau.

**Kairangahau:** *Ka tapahi hoki ngā tāne i ngā makawe, ā, ka makangia ki roto i te kāwhena?*

**Homai Uerata:** Mehemea ka hiahia rātou. Ētehi o ngā tātou tāne, mehemea nā te tupuna i atawhai. I morimori, ka pērākatia. Mehemea he nui te whakaaro o te mokopuna raka ki tana tupuna. Āe, ka pērākatia.

Nō reira, ka kī ake a Homai Uerata, he tāne, he wahine hoki ngā mea i tapahi i ngō rātou makawe mō te tūpāpaku, mehemea he pērā te nui o tō rātou aroha. Engari, ki a ia, kāore e tino tika ana te whakatakoto i ngā makawe o te wahine, ki te taha o te tāne, i te mea he tapu te wahine.

Ko Ēnoka Murphy anō tētehi i uia e te kairangahau, he tangata mātau ki ngā tikanga. Ka āta matapaki ia i ngā āhuatanga o te tapahi makawe i te tangihanga, mehemea he mahi mō te wahine, mō te pouaru, he mahi rānei i whakatutukihia e te tāne hoki.

**Ēnoka Murphy:** Nā reira, kia hoki ake ki ngā kōrero mō te pouaru, tuatahi, kāore au e mōhio mehemea i pēnei rawa anō te tāne. Ko te taha ki te tāne, kāti, kāore au e mōhio mēnā ia i kuti i ana makawe. Kāore hoki au e mōhio mēnā ia i āta kurukuru i a ia. Engari, kāore ia i haere ki te tangi whakapaipai ai, pēnei me nāiane nei. Haere kanukanu atu ai, hei whakaatu atu i te pokea ōna ki te mamae. Engari, te wahine, he take, tētahi o ngā take i kutia ngā makawe. He whakaatu atu, he tō ake i ngā kare ā-roto, kia kitea mai ai ki waho nē? Kia kitea mai ai ōna kare ā-roto i tana tinana tonu, ka mutu, ka kutia te makawe, ka kurua te tinana, ko ngā ringaringa, ko ngā ū, ko te kanohi nē, ngā tino wāhi i haehaengia, i ripiripia nē... Nā reira, ko tētahi noa iho o ngā take o te kuti makawe, he

whakaatu atu i ngā kare ā-roto. He tō mai ki waho. Ko te haehae, ko te ripiripi i te tinana, he tuku i te toto kia māunu ai ko te mamae. Āhua ngātahi katoa ana ērā mea.

Nō reira, hei tā Ēnoka Murphy, he tikanga haere tahi te tapahi makawe ki tērā o te kiri haehae. Ko te take o ngērā tikanga e rua, ko te whakaatu, ko te tō ake i ngā kare ā-roto ki waho, ā, kia kanukanu hoki te āhua. He ōrite tahi tēnei whakamārama ki tērā a Pou Temara rāua ko Matua, mō te āhua o te kākahu taratara.

Ka huri ināiane ki te āhua o te tapahi i ngā makawe. Mehemea, ko te iho makawe noa i tapahia, ko te roanga ake o ngā makawe rānei. E ai ki a Homai, he wāhanga iti noa iho nei ka tapahia.

**Homai Uerata:** Iti noa iho neki ka makangia ki roto i a ia. Kāore e tapahingia ka maka katoa ngā... kāo.

**Kairangahau:** *He aha ai?*

**Homai Uerata:** Pēneki te, pēneki pea i te, ka haere koe ki te tuku raruraru, ki te whakawātea i a koe, tuku raruraru ki runga i tō tupuna, ka haere koe ka kōrero koe i ngō whakaaro me ngō raruraru ki runga i a ia. Pēneki i te tapahi i ngō makawe, e whoatu ana e koe ngō raruraru katoa i runga i tō tupuna. I te mea he mauri tērā. Mai rā anō i kōrero neki au. He mauri... Mehemea ka whoatu katoa e koe. Pēhea tō noho i roto i te ao?

Ko Homai Uerata rāua ko Kanohingaro Haupokia te tokorua i uiuia, i kōrero mō te tapahinga o te iho makawe noa iho. Heoi anō, he āhua rerekē ngā take.

Ka whakaarohia e Ēnoka Murphy te ahatanga o ngā makawe i ngā wā o mua.

**Ēnoka Murphy:** Ka kutia ana ngā makawe o te wahine, kāore au e mōhio ana i ahatia e ia? Mehemea i āta kohia e ia, ka meinga, ka tahuna ki te ahi, ka tanumia rānei, ka ahatia rānei, kāore anō au kia kite i ētahi kōrero, engari, he mea nui pea te kohikohi. I ahatia ērā makawe e ia, e te kirimate rānei, e tētahi ake rānei, ka riro māna, hei tiaki ake, hei aha noa ake rānei, i ērā makawe kua hinga mai i a ia.

Nō reira, nā ngēnei kōrero a Ēnoka Murphy, ka hoki ake au ki te whakaaro anō mō te ahatanga o ngā makawe i tapahia, i nehe. I ngēnei rā, ka tanumia ki te taha o te tūpāpaku, engari, he pērā tonu i ngā wā o mua? He āhua hou rānei tērā whakaaro?

Kua tae atu anō ki ngā whakapae a ngā pou nei mō te pātai matua o tēnei rangahau, arā, ngā take e tapahia ana ngā makawe i te tangihanga. Koinei ngā whakamārama a Homai Uerata.

**Homai Uerata:** Kia ū ai i te mauri i waenganui i a koutou. Te mauri e kōrero, tēnei mea te mauri ehara noa iho, i te taonga kotahi. Te mauri. He taonga pupuri. He taonga āwhina. He taonga... Ērā āhuetanga katoa i tupu mai i tō whaea ki roto i a koe. Koia tērā mea, tēnei mea, tēnei taonga te mauri. He mau kaha ki ngāna whakapono, ki ngāna kōrero. He mau kaha ki ngāna mahi katoa. He mauri tērā... E whoatu ana koe i tō whakaaro. I āna mahi. I te wā e poipoi ana i a koe. Koinā tō whakaaro ki runga i a ia. Kāore koe e whoatu i

ngā mea katoa. Mō āna mahi. He tohu rangatira tērā ki a ia.  
Tohu rangatira. Tō whoatu i tōu aroha. Tō whoatu i ngō  
huruhuru ki a ia. Kia haringia e ia ki te rua kōiwi.

I te mātautanga atu ki ngā kōrero a ngēnei pou, ko te aroha anō tērā ka utaina ki runga i tō huānga e tīraha ana. He tohu rangatira, he tuku i te mauri, i ngō whakaaro ki a ia. Ka hoki anō ngā kōrero a Ēnoka Murphy ki tērā whakaaro o te kākahu taratara, koirā te take o te haehae, o te tapahi makawe hoki. Ko te tohu i tō mamae, i tō pōuri mō te taonga o te mate.

### **3.4 Kupu whakatepe**

E kitea ana te huringa o ngētehi o ngā tikanga e pā ana ki te tapahi makawe, mā te whakataurite i ngā kitenga i Te Wai Kotikoti me ngā kōrero a ngā pūkenga nei. Ko tētehi o ngā mea tino rerekē, ko te korenga o ngā pou e whakaae ana ki te tahu i ngā makawe. Heoi anō, he tikanga i āta whāia i nehe.

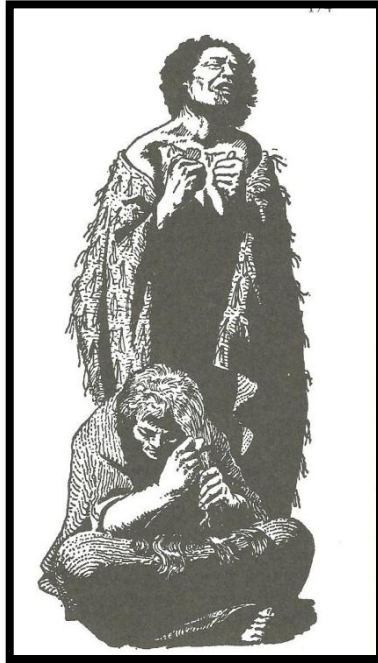
Kei te mau tonu te whakaaro o te tapu o tēnei mahi te tapahi makawe, ahakoa kua tino rerekē te whakatutuki i ngērā o ngā wā o mua. E kitea ana tērā i roto i ngā tauira e mea mai ana, me whai whakaaro koe ki te wāhi e tapahi ai koe i ngō makawe. Me te wāhi anō hoki ka tukuna atu ngā makawe kua tapahia. He pērā hoki ngā āhuatanga katoa o tō tinana, ngā wāhi ariā katoa, pēnei i te maikuku, te hūpē, te whenua o te wahine, te toto, te tuwha, te aha, te aha noa atu. Ka pērā hoki ngā tūpuna i ngā wā o mua, i te tapahinga o ngā makawe, ka haere rātou ki te āta huna, te tanu rānei, i ngētehi wā ka haria kētia ki te tūāhu. Kua tupu ake mai tēnei whakapono o tāua i ngā mahi whakanganewha i whakahaerehia i ngā wā o mua mā te whai i ngā ariā o te tangata.

Mārama ana te kitea, kei te ora tonu mai te tikanga tapahi makawe i te tangihanga, heoi anō, ko te āhua nei, he wāhine te nuinga e mahi ana. Ko te kaupapa matua o te tapahi makawe i nehe, ko te tapahi i ngā makawe kia weriweri, kia kanukanu katoa te āhua, ka mau hoki i ngā kākahu hakurara, ka haehaea te kiri. Kei reira tonu te whakaaro he tohu aroha tērā te tapahi i ngā makawe me te whoatu ki te tūpāpaku.

Ka waihotia ngā kōrero a ngā tohunga ki te Tūāhu nei, ā, ka torona atu Te Wai Whakaika. He whakaaturanga whakapae a te kaituhi ki ngā pātai o tēnei rangahau.

# TE WAI WHAKAIKA

## *Te Ūpoko Tuawhā: Ngā Kitenga*



*Whakaahua 4: He wāhine haehae kiri, tapahi makawe.*

(Reed, 2002, p. 174)

### **4.1 Kupu tātaki**

Kei Te Wai Whakaika nei, ka horahia ngā kitenga, ngā whakapae, me ngā whakautu ki ngā pātai o tēnei rangahau. Tēnā, kia mahuta ake tēnei Ūpoko ki ngētehi whakahoki ki te pātai matua. Arā, he aha ngētehi take i tapahia ai e te kirimate ngō rātou makawe i te tangihanga i nehe?

## 4.2 He aha ngētehi take i tapahia ai ngā makawe i te tangihanga i nehe?

### 4.2.1 *Ko Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga*

Ka hoki atu ki ngā kōrero nehe a tāua te Māori mō te tupua rongonui a Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga. Kei aua pūrākau rā, te tauira tuatahi o tēnei mea te tapahi makawe mō te taonga o te mate.

I whānau mai a Taranga i tana pōtiki ki te taha moana. Nōna te pōhēhē, kua materoto, kua whānau kahu mai tana pēpē. Ka tapahia e Taranga te tikitiki o tōna māhunga, ka kōpaki ai i tana pōtiki, ka rukea atu ia ki ngā ngaru o Tangaora. Heoi anō, e ora tonu ana te pēpē rā, ka tapaina ko Māui Tikitiki a Taranga (Alpers, 1964, pp. 28-29).

Kāti, ko te tauira tuatahi tērā i roto i ngā kōrero nehe a te Māori e pā ana ki ngā tikanga tapahi makawe. I runga i te pōhēhē o Taranga kua mate tana tamaiti, ka tapahia ngōna makawe, hei tākai, hei whakamahana i a ia. Mai i a Taranga, kua tīkina atu e tātou tērā tikanga, te tapahi i ngō tātou makawe mō te tūpāpaku, tamaiti atu, kaumātua atu, tae noa mai ki tēnei rā. E tautokona ana tēnei whakaaro e Matua (Personal communication, September 2, 2010), e August hoki (2004). Nā rāua hoki te kī, nā Māui rāua ko Taranga, te takenga mai, te tauira tuatahi o te whakaiho makawe hei tohu i te matenga o te tangata i tuaukiuki.

### 4.2.2 *Te whare tauā, te kākahu taratara*

Kia whai horopaki tēnei mea te tapahi makawe i te tangihanga, e tika ana kia tirohia ngā tangihanga o mua. Kia tirohia hoki te tūranga o te pouaru, o te kirimate ki ngērā tangihanga, me ngā rātou mahi, tae noa atu ki te tapahinga o ngō rātou makawe. Engari, kotahi anahe te mea hei maumaharatanga mō te tangata e rangahau ana i ngērā tikanga. Ko te nuinga o ngā kaituhi, ngā kairangahau i tuhi i

ngā whakahaere o te tangihanga i neherā, ka kī, mō te tangata whai mana anahe tērā momo tangihanga, ehara mō te tūtūā, mō te ware (Best, 1906; Taylor, 1974). Nō reira, ko te nuinga o ngā kōrero tangihanga ka matapakitia ki muri iho nei, he tikanga tangihanga mō te tangata whai mana.

Ka mate ana te tangata i namata, kua kirimate, kua whare mate ngā pākanga kiritahi. Ka rukurukua te tinana o te tūpāpaku, ka whakapaipaitia mō ngā rā o te tangihanga. Ka whakatakotohia ia ki runga i te marae, ki tana takotoranga e kīia ana ko te atamira, ki tētehi wharau rānei, kia tangihia ia e te iwi whānui (Best, 1906). I taua wā tonu, ka urutomo atu te kirimate ki roto i tō rātou whare mate, ka karangangia hoki ko te whare pōtae, me te whare tauā i ngētehi wā (Best, 1906). E ai ki a Buck, he whare tēnei i tāwharau i te tūpāpaku me tōna whānau pani mō te roanga atu o te tangihanga. Ka kīia tēnei whare, me ngā kirimate o roto, ko te “whare mate” (Buck, 1950, p. 416). Heoi anō, he kupu whakarite anō hoki, arā, te whare mate, te whare pōtae me te whare tauā (Best, 1906; Buck, 1950). Ki tā ngā whakamārama a Best, ehara i te mea he whare tūturu, engari, he karanga mō te wā i noho pani te pouaru me te kirimate.

*Tenei karanga te whare potae, ehara i te tino whare, he kupu whakarite. Ko nga tangata kai roto i te whare potae, kaore e kai ao, engari kia porawa, katahi ratau ka kai. He kai ao, ara he kai awatea, hei heuenga mo te whare potae. Ka haere te tangata ki te wai, horoi atu ai i te aroha ; na kua kai ao. (Best, 1906, p. 180)*

I te pouaru me te kirimate e pani ana, he tapu nui kei runga i a rātou. He tikanga pani anō i whāia e rātou, i hua ake ai i te tino pōuri, i te huamo, i te kōingo o te ngākau ki te taonga kua hinga. Ko te wā tērā, kāore rātou i kai, ka kai kē i te pō, i tētehi wharau rānei, i tētehi wāhi huna rānei (Best, 1906, p. 172). Ko te wā hoki

tērā kāore rātou i horoi, i kaukau (P. Temara, personal communication, September 16, 2010).

The kuia remained in the wharemate from dusk to dawn and would only leave to eat when the dark of night had set upon the marae. The wharemate eating time was late at night, in the darkness of the night and in the darkness of the morning before the sun rose – te atapō.... At times kuia would remain in the wharemate choosing to neither wash, eat nor drink; such was their commitment to uphold the absolute tapu they remained under over the duration of the tangihanga. To smell from not washing didn't seem to be an issue and it seemed that the kuia knew how and what to eat so that their bodies would not give off any undesirable odours... (Rua, 2010, pp. 25-27)

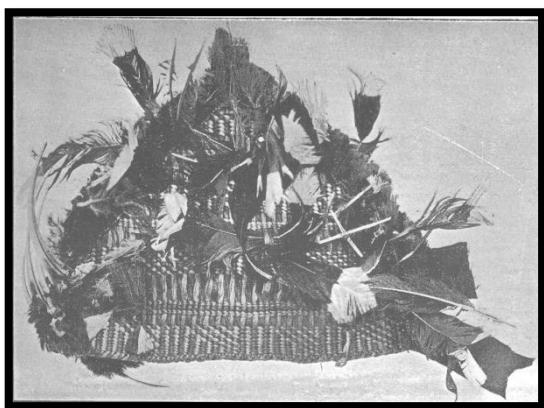
Mehemea hoki, e pērā ana te nui o te aroha o te wahine ki tana tāne, ka whakamomori i a ia anō, kia mate. He tangi apakura, he whakaheke roimata, hūpē, arā, ko ngā kaiutu a aituā. He tikanga aroha atu anō ki te tūpāpaku ko te kiri haehae, ko te tangi haehae anō hoki (Te Awekotuku, Nikora, Rua, & Karapu, 2007). Hei whakaatu hoki i te nui, i te hōhonu o te mamae.

The nearest relatives of the dead show their affection by lacerating their bodies, faces, arms, and legs until they are scored all over. It was a token of affection... The laceration of the body was done with obsidian [flakes] : hence these words in an ancient dirge, '*Homai he mata kia haehae au*' ['Give me obsidian, that I may lacerate myself']. (Best, 1906, p. 169)

E kīia ana he tohu aroha, he tohu mamae, hei whakaatu i te tino rāwakiwaki e ngau ana ki roto, ka noho rātou ki te āta kurukuru, ki te āta ripiripi i te tarauma, i

te kanohi, i te rae, i ngā ringaringa rā anō kia rere mai te toto. I taua wā hoki ka tapahia ngā makawe, he tikanga ngātahi katoa (E. Murphy, personal communication, September 22, 2010). Ko te matā tūhua, te anga mātaimai rānei ka whakamahia hei haehae ake i te kiri, he mea tapahi hoki i ngā makawe. E ai ki a Polack (1976), ka huti kē te pouaru i ngōna makawe i a ia e haehae ana i tōna tinana.

Ahakoia ngā tikanga e whāia ana e te pouaru, e te kirimate, i te tangihanga ake o te tūpāpaku, ka pani tonu rātou mō te wā roa ake, tae atu ki te kotahi tau i ngētehi wā (Best, 1906, p. 179). Ki tā Buck (1950), ko te pōtae tauā i tohu i te roanga ake o te panitanga o te pouaru me te whare mate. I ahu mai te ingoa o te “whare tauā”, (te “whare pōtae” ki a Tūhoe), i tēnei mea te pōtae tauā (Best, 1906). Ki tā ngā whakamārama a Best, ehara i te tino pōtae, engari, he pare kē. I whiria ki tētehi momo otaota pēnei i te harakeke, ā, i tāpiringia he rimurimu, he kutakuta. I ngētehi wā, i whakakarangia ngā hukahuka nei, kia pango, kia parauri te tae. I ngētehi wā, i tāpiringia te hūmaeko o te kereru, o te koko rānei (Best, 1906; 1924). Ki ngā whakamārama a Tregear, he mea hanga te pōtae tauā ki te hue, ā, ka tāpiringia he huruhuru kurī waere, kia iri whakararo ki te kōpare i te kanohi (Tregear, 1891). E ai ki a Thomson (1974) rāua ko Banks (1962), ko te pōtae tauā he mea hanga ki ngā hurumanu pango.



*Whakaahua 5: He pōtae tauā.*

*Kua tāpiringia ngā ngutu me ngā raukura o te huia.*

(Hamilton, 1972, p. 297)

Heoi anō, he tohu katoa ngēnei o tēnei mea te kākahu taratara, te kākahu weriweri. E hoki ana ki ngā kōrero a Pou Temara (Personal communication, September 16, 2010), ehara i te tino kākahu, engari, he kupu whakarite mō te āhua karukaru o te pouaru me te kirimate, arā, ko tētehi wāhanga o tērā ko te tapahi i ngā makawe. Ehara i te mea he tapahi kia pai te āhua, engari, kia kanukanu, kia pūhutihuti, kia karukaru. He tohu i te ngākau pōuri. Ko te wā hoki tērā kāore rātou i horoi, i kaukau, i kai, nā te pōuri, nā te aroha ki te mate. Ko Matua anō tētehi i kōrero mai mō te kākahu weriweri nei. Ka kīia, ko te makawe he mea whakaātaahua, whakapaipai i te tangata (Matua, personal communication, September 2, 2010). I te matenga o tētehi huānga tata, kāore he take o te whakapaipai i a koe, i te mea hoki ko ngō whakaaro katoa, ko tō aroha katoa, kua riro i te tūpāpaku. I roto i te ngākau, he anuanu, he weriweri, ā, ka whakatōngia mai ngērā kare ā-roto ki waho tonu o te tinana, ka tapahia noatia kia hakurara te āhua o ngā makawe. He pēnei tahi ngā whakamārama a Ēnoka Murphy (Personal communication, September 22, 2010) mō te tapahi makawe, arā, he whakaatu i tērā mamae kia kitea mai ai ki waho tonu o te tinana.

Ko te pōtae tauā anō tētehi wāhanga o te kākahu taratara. Ka whakamaua kia whakaweriweri anō i te āhua, hei tohu hoki i te pokea ōna ki te tapu o te mate. I ngēnei rā, ko ngā kahu mōtea, ko ngā kākahu pango e whakamaua ana ki te tangihanga (P. Temara, personal communication, September 16, 2010).

Nō reira, ko te tapahi haere i te kiri, ko te tapahi haere i ngā makawe he tikanga kotahi tonu, he whakapuaki i te āhua o te ngākau, te āhua o te pōuri, te anuanu, ki waho, kia whakaweriweri i te tangata, arā, ko te tohu tērā o te kino o te ngau o te mamae. Ko tētehi wāhanga tērā o tēnei mea te kahu mōtea, te kākahu taratara.

#### ***4.2.3 He tohu aroha ki te tūpāpaku***

Mate kau mai ana te tangata, ko te wāhanga hoki tērā o te pouaru, o te kirimate ka riro atu. E ai ki te nuinga o ngā poukōrero o tēnei rangahau, ko te tikanga, ko te take o te tapahi i ngā makawe me te tuku atu ki te tūpāpaku, he tohu nō te aroha. Ko te whoatu i tētehi wāhanga o tō tinana ki a ia. Heoi anō, toko ake ai te whakaaro ki te kairangahau nei, i tukuna ngā makawe ki te tūpāpaku i ngā wā o mua hoki? Ka tapahia rānei, ka rukea noatia atu ki tētehi atu wāhi, huna ai?

Nō reira, ka paku tirohia te ahatanga o te tūpāpaku, me ngā makawe ka tapahia e te kirimate.

E mōhiotia ana, i ngēnei rā, ka tapahia ngā makawe o te kirimate, ka makangia ki roto i te kāwhena, ā, ka tāpuketia ki te taha o te tūpāpaku. Engari, i ngā wā o mua noa atu i ngā kāwhena, ka ahatia ngā makawe o te kirimate?

Ki ngā whakamārama a Best (1906), mō te āhua o te nehu tūpāpaku, e pēnei ana.

I ngā wā o mua, kāore i nehua tūturutia te tūpāpaku ki te kōpū o te whenua i te nui o te wā. Heoi anō, i nehua mō ngā tau, i waihotia rānei kia pirau, kia pau rā anō te

kiko. Ka hahua ake ngā kōiwi, ka waruhia, kātahi ka hunaina anōtia ki tētehi wāhi huna, pēnei i te ana, i te rākau rānei. Ko te tāpuketanga tūturu anahe, ko te nehu ki ngā onepū, ki ngā repo (Best, 1906), ki ngā hāpuapua hoki (Oppenheim, 1973).

Nō reira, i runga i ngērā āhuatanga, ko te pātai tonu tērā a te kairangahau, mehemea i nehua tahingia ngā makawe o te kirimate, me te tūpāpaku. I paku kōrerongia tēnei take e Homai Uerata hoki.

Ētehi o ngā tātou iwi o nāiane, e tiaki ana i ngā huruhuru. Kāore au e mōhio hei aha, kāore au e mōhio hei aha. I te mea, i ngā wā o mua kare kau ana he pouaka, kare kau ana. He tākai noa iho, nē. Ka tākaingia i te whāriki, i te kākahu. Ka whakanohongia atu i roto i te ana. (H. Uerata, personal communication, September 2, 2010)

Heoi anō, ko te nuinga o ngā kaituhi, kāore e āta whakamārama i te ahatanga o ngā makawe ka tapahia e te kirimate. Heoi anō, a Taylor, e mea ana, he mea tapahi ngā makawe o te kirimate e te tohunga, ā, ka whiua atu ki te ahi (1974). Hei tā Best (1906), e kīia ana i tāpuketia ngā makawe ki te taha o te tūpāpaku. Ko ngā korowai, ngā mere, ngā patu, ngā whakakai, me ngērā momo taonga i tāpuke tahingia ki te taha o te tūpāpaku i ngētehi wā, e kīia ana ngēnei taonga, ko te kōpaki tūpāpaku (Best, 2005a).

We have noted that when a body was lying in state, relatives of the dead would produce their finest garments, and prized greenstone weapons and ornaments, which were exhibited near the corpse. It was a token of respect for the deceased. When the burial took place, most of these articles would be reclaimed by the owners, but some were buried with the body, or placed by the side thereof in the cave or tree... (Best, 1906, p. 197)

I runga i ngērā whakamārama, ko te makawe anō, ka tāpuketia ki te taha o ngā taonga tuku ki te tūpāpaku.

I ngā tuhinga a White (1874), e rua ngā take o te tapahi makawe. Tuatahi, he aroha ki te tūpāpaku. Tuarua, he whakahere ki tōna wairua (White, 1874, p. 336).

E kitea ana te whakamahinga o ngā makawe hei whakahere i roto i ngētehi atu mahi tapu a te Māori i nehe.

I ngā tuhinga a Bentley (1999), e kīia ana i tukuna atu te iho tuatahi o ngā makawe hei whāngai atu ki ngā atua. I te whakamahinga tuatahi o te kupenga hou, ka whakahokia te ika tuatahi. Ka makangia he makawe o te tangata ki roto i te waha o te ika, ka tukuna atu anō ki te moana hei whakahere atu ki a Tangaroa (White, as cited in Best, 2005a). Ka kitea hoki ngā makawe i roto i ngā mahi whakamārire moana, whakaeo taniwha hoki, arā, ka raru te waka i te moana, ka raru rānei ia i te taniwha, ka hutia he makawe o te māhunga, he huruhuru rānei o te tinana, ka rukea atu ki te wai, me ngā karakia (Best, 2005a).

Ka kōrero hoki a Meto Hopa mō te tukutanga ake o ngā makawe, hei whakahoki atu ki ngā atua a Makawe Mio Rangi rāua ko Io Matua kore (Personal communication, August 23, 2010). Ki tā Homai Uerata, ka whakahokia ngā wāhanga katoa o te tinana ki a Papatūānuku (Personal communication, September 2, 2010). Nō reira, ahakoa, ngā whakaaro āhua hou nei e mea ana he tuku tērā i tō aroha ki te tūpāpaku, nō mai i rā anō te whakaaro he whakahere hoki tērā ki ngā atua, ki ngā taniwha, otirā, ki te wairua hoki o te tūpāpaku.

Ka kitea te whakamahinga o ngā makawe ki ngētehi atu mahi tapu a te Māori. Arā, ki ngā mahi whakanganewha. E kīia ana ko te hau, ko te mauri, ko te āhua,

ko te ariā tērā o te tangata, i roto i ngā makawe, i roto anō hoki i ngā wāhanga katoa o te tinana, pēnei i te toto, i ngā maikuku, i te tuwha, i te aha noa atu.

Anei tētehi whakamārama a Tregear mō te āhua o te makawe, me ngētehi atu wāhanga o te tinana e whakamahingia ana i roto i ngā mahi mākutu.

The *hau* or essence of a man or place is that which controls its existence, and this can be obtained by witchcraft. The *hau* is contained in the *mauri*, which is the material substance that represents the *hau*. The *mauri* of a man is life, without which his *hau* would not be able to exist ; and this *hau* can be taken by getting some of the hair, spittle or other portion of him that had once been a living portion... This gathered “scent” could be taken by an enemy to the altar of a strange god, and by certain ceremonies life or health could be destroyed. (Tregear, 1904, p. 505)

Nō reira, mehemea e hiahia ana te tohunga, te tangata rānei ki te mākutu i tētehi atu, me whai ia i tētehi mea nō te tangata rā, arā, ko ngā makawe, ko te toto, ko tētehi atu mea rānei nōna, i pā atu rānei ki a ia. E kīia ana tēnei ko te ‘hau’ ki tā ngā whakamārama a Tregear (1904), ko te ‘ohonga’, te ‘ariā’ (Best, 2005a, p. 220), te ‘āhua’, te ‘hau’ hoki ki a Best (Best, 2005b, p. 151).

E kitea ana hoki te whakamahinga o ngā makawe ki roto i ngā tikanga pakanga. Mehemea ka hoki toa mai te ope tauā, kua tīkina atu e rātou ngā makawe o te hoariri, ka kīia ngā makawe nei ko te hau, te āhua rānei o te pakanga, ā, ko te iho makawe, e karangangia ana ko te māwe.

When a victory had been won over an enemy one of the first acts of the victorious party was to take the *hau* or *ahua* of such a victory. This was some material medium, such as a lock of hair from the head of a slain

enemy, and it is often called a *mawe*. This was taken to the village home, and to the sacred place of that village, where a ceremony called *whāngai hau* was performed over it. This rite seems to have been in honour of the gods, an offering of the hau of the victory to such gods. The lock of hair is the *ahua* of the victory, as the *ohonga* described above is the *ahua* of the human *hau*. (Best, 2005b, p. 52)

Nō reira, ko te tiki tērā i te mana o te hoariri mā roto mai i ngā makawe, ā, ka whāngaia ki ngā atua. Ko te āhua tērā o te mana, o te mauri, o te oranga hoki o te hoariri (Best, 2005a; Buck, 1950; Taylor, 1974).

Nō reira, i roto i ngā tuhinga pakanga, i ngā tuhinga mākutu hoki ka kitea te hiranga o tēnei mea te makawe, tae atu rā, ki te toto, te tuwha, ngā wāhanga katoa hoki o te tinana. Ka tīkina atu tētehi hei ohonga, hei ariā, hei āhua, hei hau, hei māwe. Nō reira, i te tangihanga, ko tō āhua, ko tō ariā, ko tō hau ka tukuna atu ki te tūpāpaku mā roto mai i ngō makawe, arā, ko tētehi wāhanga ōu, ko tētehi wāhanga o tō mauri, o tō wairua, o tō oranga ka kohaina atu.

Nō reira, mai i rā anō ngā whakapono o te Māori ki ngōna makawe. Mai i ngā tauira o te pakanga me ngā mahi mākutu e kitea ana ngā momo ingoa me ngā whakamārama mō ngā makawe, arā, he ariā, he māwe, he aha kē atu. Ko te wāhanga o te tinana, arā, ko te oranga, ko te mauri, ko te hau, ko te mana katoa kei roto i ngā makawe. I te tukutanga atu o ngā makawe ki te tūpāpaku i te tangihanga, ko te tuku tonu i tētehi wāhanga o tō tinana, ko tō aroha ki a ia.

#### **4.2.4 Te Purenga: Te heuenga o te whare tauā**

Kua wānangahia te tapahinga o ngā makawe a te kirimate, i te tūpāpaku e tangihia ana, engari, he wā anō, ka tapahia ngā makawe, nō muri kē mai o te tāpuketanga.

I te nui o te tapu o tērā mea te mate, me te tangihanga, ko te rongomaiwhiti anō kei runga i te pouaru me te whare mate. E ai ki a Best (1906), ko te tapahi i ngā makawe he wāhanga o te purenga, arā, te hiki i ngā tapu o te whare mate.

The ritual act of lifting the *tapu* from the mourners is similar to that performed over any person who is *tapu* from any other cause. The person or persons accompany the priest to a stream, pond, or spring set aside for such sacred rites... they are sprinkled with water by the officiating priest, who then repeats over them a *karakia whakanoa*, or invocation to free from *tapu*. One authority states that the mourners had their hair cut at this function, which is probable, as haircutting was often performed as a sacerdotal rite. (Best, 1906, p. 182)

Nō reira, ki ngā whakamārama a Best (1906), ko te tapahi i ngā makawe he wāhanga o tērā hikinga tapu. Ka kite hoki te tapahinga o ngā makawe i te whakanoatanga o ngā kaikawe i te tūpāpaku, me ngā tāngata harihari i ngā kōiwi. Ka haere rātou ki te wai tapu, e kīia ana ko te wai whakaika. Ka tangohia katoatia ngō rātou kākahu, rūmakitia ana rātou ki te wai, ka karakiatia e te tohunga. Ka whāngaia hoki rātou ki te rīwai maoa. Ka karangangia tēnei hikinga tapu, ko te ‘pure’. Ko te tapahinga o ngā makawe hoki, e mahia ana i te pure nei (Best, 1906, pp. 199-201).

At the *pure* ceremony the chief mourner had his hair cut by a priest with a flake of obsidian. This was done at the *wai kotikoti* or *wai whakaika*, a sacred stream, spring, or pond where-at religious rites were performed. The term “*horohoro*” is also used to denote a removal of *tapu*, or a portion of the rite. “*Horonga*” is applied to food eaten by the priest during the above ceremony. (Best, 1906, p. 201)

I ngētehi atu wā hoki, ka kitea te tapahinga o ngā makawe, i te tangata e whakanoa ana, e whakatapu ana rānei i a ia anō. I ngā wā o mua, ko te tikanga tērā o Ngāi Tūhoe i te tauira e tomo atu ana ki roto i te whare takiura. Ka tapahia ngā makawe e te tohunga i te wai tapu, ka tākina hoki ngā karakia i taua wā (Best, 2005a, p. 336). Ka paku kōrero a Pou Temara mō te tapahinga o ngā makawe i te kuhunga, i te putanga rānei o te tamaiti i te whare wānanga (Personal communication, September 16, 2010). Ka kōrero hoki ia mō te wāhi e kīia ana ko te wai whakaika. Ki reira, whakahaerehia ngā karakia me ngā mahi tapu. Ka haria te tamaiti, te tauira rānei ki reira, ka karakiatia ia, ka tapahia ngōna makawe, arā, ko tētehi o ngā tikanga ngērā hei whakawahi i te tamaiti ki te mātauranga. He kōrero anō ā Pou Temara mō tētehi whare wānanga nō nā tata tonu nei, o Tāmāti Kruger. I te putanga o te tauira mai i reira, ka tapahia ngōna makawe, hei tohu i tōna ekenga, i tōna putanga i te whare wānanga. He tapahi i ngā makawe, me te whiu atu ki te ahi (P. Temara, personal communication, September 16, 2010).

I tūārangi, ko te pakanga anō tētehi mahi, ka uru atu te toa ki ngā taputaputanga o Tūmātauenga, otirā, o ngā atua. I mua i te pakanga, haere ai ngā toa ki te wai taua, ki reira rātou whakaritea ai ki te wai. Ka tapahia hoki ngā makawe i taua wā. “One of the most peculiar customs pertaining to war was the ceremonial cutting of the hair of the warriors at the *wai taua*, the *tapu* waters of a hamlet” (Best, 2005a, p. 382).

Ko White anō tētehi kua āta whakamārama i te tapahinga o ngā makawe o ngā toa i mua i te pakanga.

Supposing the tribe to have now resolved on war, a day is set apart for the cutting of the hair of the warriors; as the cutting is a religious rite, it is of course performed by the priests, who go with the assembled warriors to a

little distance from the pa ; .... the officiating priests each chew a stalk of grass called *Toetoe whatu manu*, and then cut the hair of the warriors, which is accomplished with the *Tuhua* (obsidian)... (White, 1861, p. 29)

Ko te urunga tērā o ngā toa ki raro i ngā tapu o ngā atua, i ngā tikanga hoki o te pakanga, ā, ka tapahia ngā makawe. Mai i ngēnei tauira, ka kitea, he tapahinga makawe i te urunga atu, i te putanga rānei i te tapu. Pērā i te pakanga, i te tomokanga, te putanga rānei i te whare wānanga me te whare takiura, tae atu rā, ki te heuenga o te tapu o te mate. Koia, ka whakapaengia, ko te tapahi makawe he tikanga haere tahi me ngētehi o ngā momo ritenga whakatapu, hiki tapu rānei, i nehe.

#### **4.2.5 *Ko Tū-kā-riri: He ngaki i te mate***

I ngā matapakitanga mō te pakanga o runga, ka kitea te tapahinga o ngā makawe o ngā toa. Ā, he wā anō mō te koti makawe i ngā wā o te pakanga, o te kōhuru, o te mate. Mehemea ka kōhurutia tētehi, ka tapahi ngā tāne o te kirimate i ngō rātou makawe, hei oati, hei whakamaumaharatanga, hei take ngaki i te mate o tō rātou huānga. E ai ki a White, ka tapahia ngā makawe, hāunga tētehi iho ki te taha, ā, ka karangangia ko te pakipaki taha (1874), ko te rapa mamae rānei (Williams, 1971). Kāore rawa te pakipaki taha rā i tapahia kia ea anō te mate.

#### **4.2.6 *Te oranga o te tangata: Ko ngōna makawe***

He maha ngā tāngata Māori e whakaponono ana ki ngā tikanga tapahi makawe i te wahine e hapū ana. Arā, kāore e pai te koti i ngā makawe i taua wā. Ko te katoa o ngā poukōrero i uiuia, i whakaae mai ki tēnei take, ā, e tuhia ana e Best hoki (Best, 1924). Koia kua whakapae te kaituhi nei, ko te oranga tērā i roto i ngā makawe o te wahine. Arā, i a ia e hapū ana, e whāngai ana, e whakatupu ana i te

pēpē ki roto i a ia. Kia ū atu, kia uru atu ngā painga, ngā hua, te oranga katoa o te whaea ki roto i te tupuranga o tana pēpē, kāore e tapahia ngā makawe (A. Yates-Smith, personal communication, September 8, 2010). E whakaaengia mai ana tēnei whakaaro e Homai Uerata hoki.

I te mea e whāngai ana te whaea raka, e rua, i te wā i a ia e hapū ana. Mehemea ka tapahingia e koe ngō huruhuru. E whakangoikore ana koe i te āhuatanga, i te ngākau o te pēpē raka... Ka whoatu ngā kai papai katoa mō te wahine hapū raka... (H. Uerata, personal communication, September 2, 2010)

Ā, koia ka waiho ngōna makawe kia roa, hei tohu i tōna oranga, hei tohu i te tupu o te oranga ki roto i a ia, kei whakangoikore, kei whakararu i te tupuranga o te pēpē. Ko tētehi o ngā kuia i uiuia, i kōrero mō tana haukoti i tērā whakapono.

Ka whānau au i taku tamaiti. E ono, tata ana, e waru wiki tana whānautanga mai i mua atu o tana rā whānau tika. Āna, nō reira, ka haere mai taku matua ki te hōhipera, ka karakia. Ka tukuna ngā karakia ki runga i tana mokopuna e takoto ana i roto i te pouaka i mahia mō ngā pēpi i tere te whānau mai. Te incubator. Katahi ka pātai mai ki ahau. “He aha ngā mahi i mahia e koe i te wā e hapū ana koe?” Mōhio tonu au ko tērā te take. Taku kītanga atu, “i tapahia e au aku makawe...” (P. McDonald, personal communication, August 30, 2010)

Ki tō te Māori whakapono, mehema ka tapahia ngā makawe, ka huri kē te kaha o te tinana ki te whakatupu anō i ngā makawe, kua ki te pēpē rā, ā, kua kokoti tau te tamaiti. I ngā kōrerorero ki a Kanohingarō Haupokia (Personal communication, July 31, 2010), ka kīia, mehemea ka tapahia e te whaea ngōna makawe i a ia e

hapū ana, ka whānau pākira mai te pēpē. E tautokona ana ngēnei whakaaro e rua e ngā rangahautanga a August hoki (2004).

Kua kitea kētia, i ngā mahi mākutu, ko te oranga o te tangata, kei ngā wāhanga o tōna tinana. Kei te toto, kei ngā maikuku, kei ngā makawe rā anō. Kei riro ngā makawe i tētehi, ka taea e ia ngāna mahi whaiwhaiā, tana patu i te tangata rā mā te mākutu. Kei ngā tuhinga a Best (2005a), tēnei whakaaro mō ngā makawe.

In the old legend of Hape the wanderer... we find that his son Tamarau, when he found the body of his parent, took a lock of his hair as the *aria* of his *wairua*, or spirit – that is, as a material token or symbol of the immortal life-principle of man. (Best, 2005a, p. 220)

Nō reira, mehemea ko te oranga o te tangata kei ngōna makawe, i te wā ka mate te huānga tata ki a ia, kua tapahia e ia ngōna makawe. Arā, he momo tapahi a te kirimate, ko ngā makawe ngērā, he tapahi ā-wairua hoki. Arā, ko te hinganga o tōna huānga. He wā pōuri, he wā whakangoikore i te ngākau, i te wairua, i te tinana rā anō o te tangata, koia ka tapahia te wāhi e whakahīhī ai ia, te wāhanga o tōna tinana e tohu ana i tōna oranga, arā, ko ngōna makawe.

#### **4.3 Ko wai mā ngā tāngata i tapahia ai ngā makawe i te tangihanga?**

Ko wai mā ngā tāngata i tapahia ai ngō rātou makawe hei tohu i te matenga o te tangata i nehe? Ko ngā wāhine anahe? Ko ngā tāne hoki, ko te nuinga atu o te whare mate? Ko wai atu rānei?

Ko te whakapae a te kaituhi nei, ko te pouaru te mea nui, wahine mai, tāne mai. Ko rātou hoki o te whare mate, arā, ngā wāhine, ngā tāne, me ngā tamariki i

ngētehi wā. Mehemea he pērā te nui o te mana o te tūpāpaku, ko te whānau, me te hapū whānui hoki ka tapahi i ngō rātou makawe.

Heoi anō, ko rātou kua tuhi kē i ngā kōrero mō te tangata e tapahi ana i ngōna makawe i te tangihanga ka whakatakoto i tētehi wero. Arā, i ngā wā o mua, he poto ngā makawe o te wahine. Mehemea i pērā, i pēwhea tana tapahi i ngōna makawe hei tohu aroha ki te tūpāpaku? Ko Best tētehi e mea ana, kua kite ia i te wahine e tapahi ana i ngōna makawe mō tana tamaiti, heoi, nāna te whakapae, kāore i pērā i ngā wā o mua noa atu, i te mea, he poto ngā makawe o te wahine i ngērā wā (1906). E whakaaetia mai ana tēnei whakaaro e Buck i a ia e wero ana i te kōrero nehe mō Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga (1950), heoi anō, i roto tonu i taua tuhinga āna, ka matapaki ia mō te tapahinga o ngā makawe o te wahine anahe i te tangihanga. Ko Alpers anō tētehi o tērā whakapae, arā, ko te tikitiki nō te tāne anahe (1964). Heoi anō, tokomaha tonu ngā kaituhi, ngā kairangahau e mea ana, he tikanga tērā i whāia e te wahine (Bentley, 1999; Polack, 1976; White, 1861; 1874). E tika ana ngā whakapae mō te nuinga o ngā tāngata, he roa ake ngā makawe o te tāne i ō te wahine, heoi anō, kei ngā tuhinga a Tregear e mea ana, mehemea kua moe tāne te wahine ka mau ia i ngā makawe roa (1904). Kei ngā tuhinga a White (1874), e mea ana, mehemea he poto ngā makawe o tētehi, ka tahuna kētia ki te kounga. Nō reira, ko te whakahoki a te kaituhi nei ki tērā pātai, ko ngā wāhine, ko ngā tāne hoki ka tapahi i ngō rātou makawe i ngā wā o mua. Hāunga te pouaru, ko ngā tuāhine hoki o te tūpāpaku ka tapahi i ngō rātou makawe (Best, 2005a, p. 332). Ki ngētehi atu whakamārama a Best, ka kīia ko ngā pākanga kiritahi o te tūpāpaku. I ngā whakamārama a Tregear, kāore he kōrero mō te wahine, engari, ka kīia ko te tohu mate tērā nā te tāne, nā te matua rānei ki tana tamaiti kua mate (Tregear, 1904). I ngā kōrero a White, ka tapahia ngā makawe o te iwi whānui tonu i te hinganga o te tohunga o te kāinga. Nā te nui

o te mana o tērā tohunga, o tērā ariki o rātou, ka tangihia ia e te iwi whānui tonu. Koia, ka tapahia ngā makawe o te katoa, pakeke mai, tamariki mai, wahine mai, tāne mai (White, 1874).

Mō te taha ki te tapahi makawe hei tohu ngaki mate, e ai ki ngā rangahautanga, ko te tāne tērā i mau i tērā tohu o te pakipaki taha. Ko te iho makawe tērā i whakaatu atu i te hiahia o te tangata kia whai utu mō te kōhurutanga o tētehi o ngōna huānga (White, 1874). Kāore anō te kairangahau nei kia kite i ngētehi kōrero e mea ana nā te wahine hoki te pakipaki taha.

Ko te tokorua i uiuia e au, kua tapahi i ngō rāua makawe i te tangihanga, he wāhine. Ka kōrero a Matua (Personal communication, September 2, 2010), mō ngā tāne me ngā wahine e whai ana i tērā tikanga, heoi, he wahine katoa ngā mea kua kitea e ia, ko ngōna whāea. Ko Pou Temara anō tētehi kua kite i ngā kuia me ngā wahine e tapahi ana i ngō rāua makawe i te tangihanga. Kāore anō ia kia kite i ngā tāne e pērā ana, i te mea he poto katoa ngā makawe o ngā tāne o ngēnei rā (P. Temara, personal communication, September 16, 2010). Ki a Pera McDonald (Personal communication, August 30, 2010), ehara i te mea me wahine, me tāne rānei te tangata, engari, ko te aroha te mea nui. Mehemea he pērā te nui o te aroha o tētehi ki te tūpāpaku, mā tērā te tangata e tapahi ai i ngōna makawe. Ko Meto Hopa anahe te pou i uia e au e kī ana kua kite ia i te tāne e tapahi ana i ngōna makawe. Arā, ko tōna tuakana tērā i te matenga o tōna pāpā (M. Hopa, personal communication, August 23, 2010). Nō reira, ko te nuinga o ngā pou nei e whakaae ana, he mahi te tapahi makawe, nā te wahine me te tāne, kei runga rānei i te nui o tō aroha ki te tūpāpaku. Ahakoa ko te nuinga o rātou, kua kite noa i te wahine e mahi pērā ana, ko te take pea, ko te tokomaha o ngā tāne o nāianei, he makawe poto o rātou, heoi anō, he mahi tērā ka taea e wai, e wai rānei.

Nō reira, mai i te mātai atu ki ngā tuhinga me ngā kōrero a ngā pou, ko te whakapae a te kaituhi nei, ko te tapahinga o ngā makawe i te tangihanga, he tikanga, he tohu aroha i whakatutukihia e te pouaru, e te kirimate, e te whare mate, arā, e ngā wahine, e ngā tāne, e ngā tamariki anō hoki i ngētehi wā. Mehemea he tangata whai mana ka hinga, ka huri atu te hapū, te iwi whānui ki te tapahi i ngō rātou makawe. I ngēnei rā hoki, mā ngā tāngata katoa e aroha ana ki te tūpāpaku, tēnei tikanga te kawē atu ai.

#### **4.4 Nā wai i tapahi?**

I Te Arohaehae Mātāpuna ka āta tirohia te tangata nāna te mahi nui ki te tapahi i ngā makawe, i ngā wā atu i te tangihanga. Engari, kāore he tino kōrero mō te tangata tapahi i te māhunga o te pouaru, o te whare mate i te tangihanga.

Mō ngā wā atu i te tangihanga, ko te tikanga, me rangatira, me tohunga ake te tangata tapahi i te tangata nōna ngā makawe, kia tapahia. Mo ngā rangatira, ngā ariki me ngā tohunga o te iwi, kāore he tangata ki te tapahi i ngō rātou makawe, nā te nui o tō rātou tapu. Nā konā, ka puhirua haere tō rātou āhua. Ko te whakaaro o te kaituhi nei, me pono te tangata tapahi ki a koe, kei whakamahia e ia ngō makawe mō te mākutu me ngērā mahi nanakia, koia ka kitea i roto i ngētehi kōrero a Te Arohaehae Mātāpuna, ko te hoa tāne, te hoa wahine rānei o te tangata ka whakapaipai, ka tapahi i ngōna makawe.

Heoi anō, ka huri ināiane ki te tangihanga, me te tangata e tapahi ana i ngā makawe. Ko te nuinga o ngā kōrero mai i te Arohaehae Mātāpuna, e mea ana, nā te tangata anō ngōna makawe i tapahi (Best, 2005b; Polack, 1976; Tregear, 1904). Heoi anō, e ai ki a Taylor (1974), nā te tohunga i tapahi. I ngā kōrero a Bentley mo ngā ‘Pākehā Māori’ i kīia ko ngā wāhine kē atu i tapahi i ngā makawe o te

pouaru (1999). I ngā whakamārama a White (1874), i kīia, nā ngā tāne, ngā makawe o te tāne i tapahi, nā ngā wāhine ngā makawe o ngā wāhine, nā ngā mātua ngō rātou tama, nā ngā whāea ngō rātou kōtiro.

Nō reira, i ngētehi wā, nā te tangata anō ngōna ake makawe i tapahi, i ngētehi atu wā, nā tētehi huānga, i ngētehi atu wā, nā te tohunga. Kāore he tino take o te tangata nā rātou ngā makawe i tapahi, engari, ko te mea nui, kua tapahia. Heoi anō, ko te huānga tonu, ko tētehi tangata e pono ana ki a ia, kei tūkinotia ngōna makawe.

#### **4.5 I tapahia ki te aha?**

Ko te mea nui i whakamahia hei tapahi i ngā makawe i nehe, ko te matā tūhua, tētehi atu matā kōhatu rānei. I tētehi o ngā tauira, e kīia ana, ka tapahia ngā makawe ki runga i tētehi papa rākau ki te matā tūhua. Ko te anga mātaimai hoki i whakamahia i ngētehi wā, ko te anga kūtai, ko te uwaha, ko te mākoī anō hoki ngētehi o ngā ingoa. I ngētehi wā ka tahuna mai ngā makawe ki te kounga, ka kīia tērā ko te uru tahutahu.

Ko te tapu o te māhunga, ka pā atu hoki ki ngā taputapu tapahi i ngā makawe. I ngā kōrero a Nicholas (1971) ka kitea tērā, ā, kāore i whakaaetia kia whakapā atu tētehi tangata kē atu ki ngā matā tūhua i whakamahia ki te tapahi i ngā makawe. Kei ngā tuhinga a Taylor hoki tētehi karakia i tākina i runga i ngā matā tūhua (1974).

#### **4.6 Ngā tikanga whakahaere**

Ehara i te mea i mahia poka noatia te tapahi i ngā makawe, engari, i mahia mai i runga i ngā tino tikanga, i runga hoki i te tapu. I ngā wā atu i te tangihanga, ko te nui o te mana o te tangata nāna te tapahi, i tohu i te nui o ngā whakahaerenga, i te nui hoki o ngā karakia. Mehemea he tangata nui te mana, kāore i whakaaetia kia kai te iwi whānui, kia mutu rā anō te tapahi. Kāore hoki i taea e te iwi te whakakā i ngā ahi, hāunga tētehi hei whiunga ake mā ngā makawe, hei whakahere ki ngā atua (White, as cited in Best, 2005a). Kei ngā rangahautanga a Taylor (1974) tētehi karakia i tākina i te tapahinga o ngā makawe me te whiunga ki te ahi. Ā, ko te tikanga, he whakahere hei whakamauru i ngā atua, kei pakaru mai te uira me te whatitiri. Ki ngā whakamārama a Taylor (1974), he rā motuhake mō te tapahi makawe, ā, ka huihui mai ngā tāngata mai i ngā iwi tata, kia tapahia ngō rātou makawe. Ko tētehi atu tikanga o te tapahi makawe ko te tukutanga ake o ngā makawe ki tētehi wāhi motuhake. I te tangihanga, ko te whakaaro, i rukea atu ngā makawe hei kōpaki tūpāpaku, engari, i ngā wā atu i te tangihanga, ka tukuna atu ki te tūāhu, ki te ahi, ki te wai, ka tāpuketia, ka hunaiā rānei.

#### **4.7 Kupu whakatepe**

Nō reira, kia whakakapi ake i tēnei Ūpoko, kia whakautu ake i te pātai nui o tēnei rangahau, he maha ngā take e tapahia ana ngā makawe o te kirimate i ngā tangihanga. Heoi anō, ko ngā kaupapa matua ngēnei. Ko te tuatahi he whakamaumaharatanga, he tikanga i ahu mai i a Taranga rāua ko tana pōtiki a Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga. Ko te tuarua o ngā take, he tohu i te ngau kino o te mamae, o te kaniawhea, he whakapuaki i ngā kare ā-roto kia kitea mai ai ki waho, arā, ko te kākahu taratara, ko te kahu mōtea tērā. He tikanga i haere tahi me ngērā

atu o ngā tikanga tangihanga, arā, ko te haehae, ko te mau i ngā kākahu hakurara me ngā pōtae tauā. Ko te tuatoru o ngā whakaaro matua ko te tuku i tētehi wāhanga ōu ki te tūpāpaku. He pērā hoki i ngā wā o mua, ka tukuna ngā makawe ki ngā wairua, ki ngā atua, ki ngā taniwha hei whakahere, koinei hoki te whakaaro o te tuku makawe ki te tūpāpaku, arā, he whakahere ki tōna wairua. Kei reira te whakapae a te kaituhi nei, ko te oranga o te tangata kei ngōna makawe. I te wahine e hapū ana, e whakatupu oranga ana ki roto i a ia, ko tōna oranga e whakatinanatia ana i roto i ngōna makawe, kāore e tapahia, kia uru katoa ngā painga, ngā hua, tōna kaha, tōna mauri, tōna wairua ki roto i tana pēpē. Heoi, i te tangihanga ko te oranga o tōna huānga ka haukotia. Ko tāna mahi, he tapahi i ngōna makawe. Nō muri mai o te tāpuketanga o te tūpāpaku, e kitea ana te tapahinga o ngā makawe hei whakanoa, hei hiki i ngā tapu o te mate, ka karangātia tērā ko te pure. Ka karakiatia rātou e te tohunga, ka rūmakitia ki te wai, hei hiki ake i ngā tapu o te mate kei runga i te whare mate, kei runga hoki i ngā tāngata harihari i te tūpāpaku. Ko te whakamutunga o ngā take e tapahia ana ngā makawe hei tohu ngaki i te mate. Arā, ka mate ana te tangata i te kōhuru, ka tapahi ngā pākanga kiritahi i ngō rātou makawe, ka waiho i tētehi taha kia roa tonu. Ko te whakamaumaharatanga tērā ki te tangata me whai utu mō te matenga o tōna huānga, ā, ka tupu mai ai te iho makawe rā, kia ea ai te mate.

Ka mutu i konei ngā whakatakotoranga mō Te Wai Whakaika. Kua whakarāpopotohia ngā whakautu ki ngā pātai matua o tēnei rangahau. E whai mai ana ko Te Purepurenga. Ki reira hīkina atu ai tēnei rangahau ki ngā kōrero whakakapi.

# TE PUREPURENGA

## *Te Ūpoko Tuarima: Ngā Kōrero Whakakapi*

### 5.1 Kupu tātaki

Kei konei, kei Te Purepurenga, ka whakawāteangia tēnei kaupapa. Ka hoki whakamuri ki ngā whāinga, ki ngā pātai, ki te huarahi rangahau hoki me te āta wānanga i ngā painga me ngā ngoikoretanga. Ka tirohia anōtia ngā kitenga matua, ngā whāititanga, me ngā hua o tēnei tuhinga whakapae.

### 5.2 Ngā kōrero whakakapi

He hokinga whakamuri tēnei ki ngā whāinga matua o tēnei rangahau, kia kitea mehemea i tutuki pai ngā hiahia. Kei raro iho nei ngērā whāinga e hora ana:

- Ko te whāinga matua tuatahi, ko te tātari i ngā tikanga me ngā whakapono e pā ana ki te tapahinga o ngā makawe o te kirimate i ngā tangihanga o te ao Māori. Mā reira e kitea ai ngā tino take e whāia ana tēnei mahi hei tikanga tangihanga.
- Ko te wherawhera hoki i ngā tikanga me ngā whakapono o te tapahi makawe ia rā, i ngētehi atu wā whakahirahira hoki, i nehe.

Ko te pātai matua o tēnei rangahau:

- He aha ngētehi take i tapahia ai e te kirimate ngō rātou makawe i ngā tangihanga o nehe, o nāiane hoki?

E whai mai ana ko ngēnei pātai iti:

He aha ngētehi tikanga o te tapahi i ngā makawe o te kirimate i ngā tangihanga o nehe, arā:

- Ko wai mā ngā tāngata i tapahia ai ngō rātou makawe?
- Nā wai i tapahi?
- I ahatia ngā makawe?
- I tapahia ki te aha?
- He aha ngā whakahaere i te wā o te tapahi makawe?

He aha ngētehi tikanga o te tapahi i ngā makawe ia rā, i ngētehi atu wā whakahirahira hoki i nehe? Arā:

- Nā wai i tapahi?
- I ahatia ngā makawe?
- I tapahia ki te aha?
- Tapahia ai ngā makawe i whea?
- He aha ngā whakahaere i te wā o te tapahi makawe?

Nō reira, i te hokinga whakamuri, ki tā te kairangahau titiro, i tutuki pai ngā whāinga katoa. I whakaemingia ngā mātātuhi, ngā mātākōrero hoki e pā ana ki te tapahinga o ngā makawe i ngā tangihanga o nehe, o ngēnei rā hoki. I tātaringia aua kōrero, ā, kua whai whakapae te kairangahau mō ngā take e whāia ana te tapahi makawe hei tikanga tangihanga i ngā wā o mua, i ngēnei rā hoki.

Nō reira, kua whakarāpopotonga ngā kitenga nui ki te pātai matua. Arā, he aha i tapahia ai ngā makawe o te kirimate i te tangihanga?

I ahu mai te tikanga o te tapahi makawe i te wā i a Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga. I runga i te pōhēhē, kua whānau kahu mai ia, ka tapahia e te whaea, e Taranga,

ngōna makawe. Ka kōpaki ai i a Māui, ā, ka whiua atu ki te moana. Mai i reira, tīkina atu ai e tātou te tauira o te tapahī makawe mō te taonga o te mate. Nō reira, he tikanga whakaheke, he tikanga i tukua iho mai i nehe rā.

Ko te tuarua o ngā take, i pērātia ai e ngā tūpuna i ngā wā o mua, ko te āhua o te kākahu taratara. I taua wā, he tangi, he apakura, he haehae i te kiri. Kāore rātou i horoi, i kai. Ka whakamaua ngā pōtae tauā, ā, ko te mea nui he taurere ki te mate. Ā, ko te āhua weriweri tērā i mau rātou, ā, ka tapahia hoki ngā makawe. He tikanga kotahi tonu ki te kiri haehae. I te wā tonu o te haehaenga o te kiri, ka tapahia hoki ngā makawe ki te matā tūhua, ki te anga mātaitai rānei.

Ko te tuatoru o ngā take, he tohu aroha ki te tūpāpaku. I te nuinga o te wā, ka tukuna atu ngā makawe o te kirimate ki a ia, he wāhanga o te tinana o te pouaru, o wai ake rānei ka kohaina atu, hei whakaatu i te aroha ki te tūpāpaku, hei here i a rāua ki a rāua. Koinei hoki te whakaaro o te whoatu i ngā makawe ki te tūpāpaku i ngēnei rā tonu.

I ngā wā o mua, nō muri kē mai o te nehunga o te tūpāpaku, he tapahinga makawe anō. Arā, he mea hiki i ngā tapu o te mate, i runga i te whānau pani, i te pouaru, i ngā tāngata hoki e harihari ana i te tūpāpaku. E karangangia ana tērā tapahinga ko te ‘pure’. Ka haere rātou ki te wai, ki te taha o te tohunga, whakaritea ai ki reira. Ka tapahia hoki ngā makawe i taua wā. Ka hīkina ake ngā tapu, kua noa. He tohu anō tēnei nō te mate, arā, kua mutu te wāhanga pani.

He tikanga anō i whāia i ngā wā o nehe, i ngā wā o te pakanga, ko te mau pakipaki taha. Mehemea ka kōhurutia tētehi, i ngētehi wā, ka tapahia ngētehi o ngā pākanga kiritahi i ngō rātou makawe. He whakamaumaharatanga, he oati kia ngaki rātou i te mate o tō rātou huānga. E kīia ana tēnei āhua, ko te pakipaki taha,

arā, he iho makawe, ka tautau ki te taha, ā, ka kotia te toenga o ngā makawe kia poto tonu.

Ko te tuaono o ngā take o te tapahia i ngā makawe, i te mea ko te oranga o te tangata kei ngōna makawe. E whakatinanatia ana tēnei, i te wā e hapū ana te whaea, ka waihotia ngōna makawe kia tupu mai. Kāore e tapahia, i te mea me uru katoa ngā painga, ngā hua, te kaha o te whaea ki tana pēpē. He tohu hoki i te oranga o te whaea. Ā, i te matenga o tētehi huānga tata ki a ia, ka tapahia e ia ngōna makawe, hei tohu i te kotinga o te mauri ora.

### ***5.2.1 Ko wai mā ngā tāngata i tapahia ai ngā makawe i te tangihanga?***

Ko te pouaru te tangata nui i tapahia i ngōna makawe i te matenga o tōna hoa. Wāhine mai, tāne mai. Ehara i te mea he tikanga tēnei mō te tāne anahe, mō te wahine anahe. Ko ngā pākanga kiritahi hoki o te tūpāpaku, arā, ko rātou mā o te whare mate, wāhine mai, tāne mai, ko ngā tamariki anō hoki i ngētehi wā. Mehemea he tangata whai mana ka hinga, ka tapahia mai e te whānau, e te hapū, e te iwi whānui hoki ngō rātou makawe. I ngēnei rā, ko te aroha ki te tūpāpaku te mea nui. Ehara i te mea, me wahine, me tāne rānei te tangata, heoi, mehemea he pērā te nui o te aroha, ka tapahia ngā makawe.

### ***5.2.2 Nā wai ngā makawe i tapahia? - I ngā wā, atu i te tangihanga***

I tirohia hoki ngā tikanga me ngā whakapono e pā ana ki te tapahinga o ngā makawe, ia rā, ia rā, i ngā wā, atu i te tangihanga hoki i whakapata. Ā, ko te pātai, nā wai ngā makawe i tapahia?

Kāore i tino tohua tētehi tangata kotahi hei tohunga tapahia makawe. I te nuinga o te wā, nā te wahine ngā makawe o tōna hoa tāne i tapahia, i whakatikatika, ā, ka pērā hoki te tāne mō tōna hoa wahine. Nō reira, mā te tangata e pono ana ki a koe,

kei tūkinotia ngō makawe. Heoi anō, ko te tino tikanga, me rangatira, me tohunga ake te tangata tapahi i te tangata nōna ngā makawe. Koirā te take, kāore i tapahia ngā makawe o ngā rangatira me ngā tohunga whai mana, i te mea, kāore he tangata tohunga ake i a rātou ki te whakapā atu ki te māhunga pērā rawa te tapu. Mutu kau ana te tapahinga, ka horohoroa ngā ringaringa o te tangata tapahi, arā, ka hīkina mai te tapu, ā, kei runga i te nui o te tapu o te tangata, ka tapu tonu ngā ringaringa mō tētehi wā.

### ***5.2.3 Nā wai ngā makawe i tapahi? – I te tangihanga***

I te tangihanga, nā te pouaru, nā te tangata anō ngōna ake makawe i tapahi i te nuinga o te wā. Kāore he tino kōrero mō tētehi atu tangata i tohua hei tapahi i ngā makawe i te tangihanga, heoi anō, ka mau tonu ki ngā tikanga o te tapahi makawe i ngā wā atu i te tangihanga. Arā, me ōrite te mana, me rangatira, me tohunga ake rānei te tangata tapahi.

### ***5.2.4 I ahatia ngā makawe? - I ngā wā atu i te tangihanga***

I ngēnei rā, he maha tonu ngā tāngata e āta huna ana, e āta tanu ana i ngō rātou makawe. He tikanga tērā i ahu mai i nehe. I te tapahinga o ngā makawe i ngā wā o mua, ka tukuna tētehi wāhanga ki te ahi i te nuinga o te wā. Ā, ka haria atu ngā makawe ki tētehi wāhi huna, ki tētehi wāhi tapu rānei. Kei kitea, kei raweketia e te tangata kē. Arā, ko te tūāhu i te nuinga o te wā, ko ngā urupā, ko ngā rākau, ko ngā wai anō hoki.

### ***5.2.5 I ahatia ngā makawe? - I te tangihanga***

I ngēnei rā, ka makangia atu ngā makawe o te kirimate ki te waka o te tūpāpaku, tanumia ai ki tōna taha. He pērā hoki i ngā wā o mua, ā, ka kīia he whakahere tērā ki te wairua o te tūpāpaku. Ā, ko te hau, ko te āhua, ko te mauri o te tangata i

tapahi i ngōna makawe, ka tukuna atu ki te tūpāpaku. Heoi anō, i ngētehi atu wā, i tukuna atu ngā makawe ki te ahi.

### ***5.2.6 I tapahia ki te aha?***

E toru ngā momo huarahi tapahi i ngā makawe. Ko te tuatahi, ko te tapahi mā te matā tūhua, mā tētehi atu kōhatu rānei. Ko te tuarua, mā tētehi momo anga mātaimai. Ko te tuatoru, ko te hunuhunu ki te kounga, ā, e kīia ana tērā ko te uru tahutahu. He pērā hoki ngā huarahi tapahi, hūhunu i ngā makawe i te tangihanga.

### ***5.2.7 Tapahia ai ngā makawe i whea? - I ngā wā atu i te tangihanga***

I runga i te tino tapu o tērā mahi te tapahi makawe, i tohua he wāhi motuhake mō tērā mahi. Ko te tino wāhi, ko te tūāhu, e karangangia ana ko te tūāhu kotikotinga uru, te kotikoti hono rānei. Nō roto o Tūhoe, i tapahia ngā makawe i te wai tapu o te kāinga, ā, ka karangangia ko te wai kotikoti, te wai whakaika, te wai whakaiho anō hoki.

### ***5.2.8 Ngā tikanga whakahaere - I ngā wā atu i te tangihanga***

I runga i te mea he tino tapu te mahi tapahi i ngā makawe, he karakia, he hiki tapu, he maha tonu ngā whakahaere. I ngētehi wāhi, he rā motuhake i tohua mō te tapahi i ngā makawe, ā, ka huihui katoa mai ngā iwi. Mō te tapahinga o ngā makawe o te rangatira, kāore te iwi whānui i whakaaetia kia tunu kai, kāore hoki i tahuna he ahi, kia mutu rā anō te tapahinga. Kotahi anahe te ahi, hei whiunga ake mā ngā makawe. Heoi anō, mō te tangata whai mana tērā. Kāore i pērā rawa ngā tikanga mō te tūtūā. He karakia anō i te wā i tukuna atu ngā makawe ki te ahi, kei rīria rātou e ngā atua, kei pakaru mai te uira me te whatitiri. He karakia anō i tukuna i runga i ngā matā hoki. I te mutunga rā anō o te tapahinga he karakia anō,

he hiki tapu. Ka makangia atu ngā makawe ki tētehi wāhi huna kei kitea e te tangata kē. Ka horohoroa hoki te tangata tapahi makawe.

### ***5.2.9 Ngā whakahaere - I te tangihanga***

Ka mate ana te tangata i nehe, kua kirimate ngā pākanga kiritahi. He maha ngā tikanga i āta whāia e rātou i a rātou e tangi ana ki tō rātou mate, ā, he tapu nui kei runga i a rātou. Kāore rātou i kai, i horoi, ka noho rātou ki roto i tō rātou whare mate, ka haehae i te kiri, ka mau i ngā pōtae tauā, otirā i te kākahu taratara. Ko te kākahu taratara he karanga mō te āhua kanukanu o te pouaru, o te kirimate i a rātou e tangi ana. Ā, ko tētehi wāhanga o te kākahu taratara ko te tapahinga o ngā makawe. Arā, ka tapahia ngā makawe kia karukaru te āhua. He tikanga i haere tahi me te haehaenga o te kiri. I runga hoki i te pōuri, i te mamae o te pouaru, ka huti ia i ngōna makawe i ngētehi wā, kāore he whakaaro mō tōna ake tinana, nā tōna aroha ki tōna hoa. Heoi anō, he karakia anō i tukuna i te tapahinga o ngā makawe i te tangihanga hoki, ka rukea atu ngētehi makawe ki te ahi i ngētehi wā.

Nō reira, i te Ūpoko Tuatahi, arā, Te Wai Whakaiho, i whakapuakina ngā iho matua katoa, hei hautū i te tuhinga nei. I whakamāramangia ake te kaupapa, te pūtake rangahau, ngā whāinga, ngā pātai me te huarahi rangahau.

I Te Wai Kotikoti, i whakapuakina te Arohaehae Mātāpuna, arā, he wherawherahanga, he tātaritanga o ngā mātātuhi i rangahaua mō tēnei kaupapa. Ka kotia te Ūpoko nei ki ngā wāhanga e rua. Ko te tuatahi, i mātai atu ki ngā tikanga tapahi makawe i te tangihanga. Ko te wāhi tuarua, i titiro ki ngā tikanga o te tapahi i ngā makawe, i ngā wā, atu i te tangihanga.

I te Ūpoko Tuatoru, arā, Te Ahurewa, ka horahia ngētehi o ngā uiuitanga ki ngā tohunga tikanga Māori o ngēnei rā.

I Te Wai Whakaika, ka whakawahia ai te kaipānui ki te māramatanga. Arā, ka wānangahia ngā whakapae, ngā kitenga e hāngai ana ki ngā pātai me ngā whāinga o tēnei rangahau.

### **5.3 Ngā whāititanga**

E rua ngā pekanga o te huarahi rangahau. Ko te tuatahi he rangahau i ngā mātātuhi, ko te tuarua he whakaemi mātākōrero. Ka tirohia tuatahitia ngā whāititanga o ngēnei huarahi rangahau mō tēnei kaupapa.

I te rapunga o ngā mātātuhi, i kitea, ko te nuinga he tuhinga nā Tauīwi, nā whai anō, kua tuhia hoki i te reo Ingarihi. Nō reira, ko te āwangawanga o te kairangahau nei, mehemea he Pākehā ngērā, e tuhi kōrero ana mō ngā tikanga, mō ngā whakapono o te Māori, he pēwhea te hōhonu o tō rātou māramatanga? Ko ngētehi o ngā kōrero, ngā karakia tapahi makawe, kua whakapākehātia e rātou. Me te aha, he āhua rangirua ngā rātou whakapākehātanga, ngā rātou kōrero hoki i ngētehi wā. Heoi, ko te nuinga o ngā rātou kōrero i whakapuakina i te tuhinga nei, he kitenga noa iho. Nō reira, ka whai te kairangahau i ngāna ake whakapae, mai i ngā rātou kitenga.

Ko tētehi o ngā whāinga o tēnei rangahau kia tirohia ngā tikanga tūturu a te Māori mō te tapahi makawe. Heoi anō, i ngēnei rā, ehara i te mea nō te ao kōhatu, nō neherā ngā mātātuhi i kitea. Me te aha, he kaituhi Pākehā te nuinga. Nō reira, kāore e kore, i uru mai ngā whakapono o Tauīwi ki ngā tikanga Māori i rangahaua.

I te arohaehaenga o ngā mātātuhi, ka kitea ngētehi rerekētanga i waenganui i tēnā tuhinga, i tēnā tuhinga. Ko tētehi o ngā take i pēnei ai, ko ngā tikanga ā-iwi. Nā

Best i whakahaere te nuinga o ngāna rangahau i te rohe o te Urewera (Craig, 1964), ā, nā White ngā kōrero o te Tai Tokerau (White, 1874). Ko tērā tētehi o ngā take i rerekē ai ngā kōrero o ia kaituhi, o ia kaituhi, ā, i ngētehi wā, ka tautohe ngā kōrero a tēnā kaituhi ki tēnā. Nō reira, ko te whānuitanga o tēnei rangahau i toro atu ki ngā iwi katoa o Aotearoa, me te mahara anō o te kairangahau, kāore e rite ana ngā tikanga ki ngā iwi puta noa i te motu.

Atu i ngērā take ruarua noa iho nei, kei te mihi tonu ahau ki a rātou i tuhi kōrero mō ngā tikanga, ngā whakapono, me te āhua o te noho a ngā tūpuna Māori. Mehemea kāore rātou i tuhi, i rangahau, he maha tonu rawa ngā tikanga makawe kua ngaro, kua wareware.

I te mea, i whakahaerehia tēnei rangahau i te tau kotahi, kāore e kore, he rauemi anō me ngā kōrero makawe, i mahue i te kairangahau. Ko te katoa o ngā mātāpuna, he mea rangahau i Te Whare Pukapuka o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, nō reira, mehemea he roa ake te wā ki tēnei rangahau, kua torona ngētehi atu whare pukapuka o te motu.

Ko te tuarua o ngā huarahi rangahau, ko te whakahaere uiui. Ko ngētehi o ngā pātai iti o tēnei rangahau e pā ana ki ngā tikanga tapahi makawe i tuaukiuki. Ko tā ngā poukōrero, ko te matapaki i ngā tikanga i tupu ake ai rātou ki roto, ngā tikanga kua kitea, kua rangona e rātou. Kāore rātou i tino mōhio ki ngā tikanga o nehe. Nō reira, he pai ake te uiui i ngā tāngata mō ngā mea kua kitea ā-kanohi.

#### **5.4 He rangahau kei te pae tawhiti**

I te mea he tuhinga whakapae toru pepa tēnei, he āhua iti tonu te hōkai o tēnei rangahau. Ka tirohia ngā tikanga tapahi makawe o te iwi Māori anahe. Heoi anō, i

ngaku rangahautanga, he maha tonu ngā kōrero mai i ngā moutere o te Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa, mai i te Paipera, mai i ngētehi atu iwi taketake o te ao, i whai hononga, i whai hāngaitanga ki te tapahinga o ngā makawe o te ao Māori, engari, kāore i whakaurua mai ki tēnei tuhinga. Nō reira, kei reira tonu tētehi kaupapa rangahau. Arā, kia tirohia ngā tikanga tapahi makawe o ngētehi atu iwi taketake o te ao, me te whakataurite ki ngā tikanga Māori. Kei kitea he hāngaitanga, ki ō te Māori whakapono.

Kei reira hoki ngētehi pitopito kōrero e pā ana ki te tapahinga o ngā makawe o te tūpāpaku ake, i te tangihanga. Kua paku tuhia tēnei take e Best (2005a). Kāore i whai wāhi mai ngērā kōrero ki tēnei rangahau, nō reira, he kaupapa rangahau atu anō tērā. Ka kōrero hoki a Homai Uerata mō te hiahia o tētehi kia tapahi i te iho makawe mai i te tūpāpaku, hei whakamaumaharatanga māna, i tētehi tangihanga inā tata tonu nei (H. Uerata, personal communication, September 2, 2010). Nō reira, he peka anō tērā o te kaupapa whānui ake o te tapahinga o ngā makawe i te tangihanga.

Ko ngētehi atu o ngā tikanga tangihanga, kāore anō kia tino tirohia whānuitia, ko te kiri haehae me te whakamomori. E paku kitea ana ngētehi kōrero mō ngēnei tikanga e rua i te tuhinga nei, engari, he wāhanga nui anō hei rangahau.

## **5.5 He tāpae rangahau**

Ko te manako o te kairangahau nei, nā te whakapuaki i tēnei tuhinga whakapae, kua nui ake te mātauranga mō tēnei kaupapa te tapahi makawe, kua nui ake hoki te mātauranga mō ngā tikanga tangihanga i whāia e ngō tātou tūpuna. I te tīmatanga o tēnei rangahau, kotahi noa iho te pukapuka i kitea, e pā katoa ana ki ngā makawe o te tangata, i tuhia mai i te tirohanga Māori. Nō reira, kei te

whakamānutanga o tēnei tuhinga, he kohinga kōrero anō e titiro ana ki tērā kaupapa. Tokomaha tonu tātou e whai ana i tēnei tikanga, te tapahi makawe i te tangihanga, engari, kāore e tino mōhio whānuitia ana ngā take e mahia mai ana. Atu i te whakaaro, he tikanga tangihanga, he tohu i te mate.

Nō reira, ko te wawata, kua whakakī tēnei tuhinga i te wāhanga iti noa nei, mō ngā tikanga makawe, mō ngā whakapono Māori, mō ngā tikanga tangihanga anō hoki.

Ko tētehi atu o ngā hua o tēnei tuhinga whakapae, arā, he tuhinga anō kua tuhia ki te reo Māori. E ruarua noa iho ngā pukapuka i whai wāhi mai ki tēnei rangahau, kua tuhia ki te reo Māori, nō reira, hei tāpirihanga tēnei ki ngā tuhinga e pā ana ki ngā tikanga Māori, ki ngā whakapono Māori, ki ngā tikanga tangihanga anō, kua tuhia ki te reo.

## **5.6 Kupu whakatepe**

He ao matemate te ao e noho nei tātou te ira tangata, mai anō i te tohenga a Māui ki te tāwaha o aituā i tāukiuki rawa, heke mai ki nāiane. I reira, i tūturu te mate ki te ao kikokiko. Nō konā, e pūmau ai ngā kupu a Hinenuitepō ‘kua tūturu tō mate’, ā, kua tūturu hoki ngā tohu aroha a te Māori ki ngōna mate. Waiho ana ngēnei tohu aroha a te kirimate, hei tauawhi, hei whakaū i te mauri o te mate, i te mauri o te ora hoki. Ko aua tohu ko te kiri haehae, ko te kākahu taratara, ko te pōtae tauā, ko te tapahi makawe – hei whakaora i te hunga kua pāngia kinongia e te mate, he tuku hoki i te aroha ngau kino kia rere. Titia ki te ngākau taurere, titia ki te māhunga takuate, titia ki te ao tūroa – e mau ana!

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