

London School of Economics and Political Science

CONTINUITY, COMMUNION
AND THE DREAD
THE MAORI RASTAFARI OF RUATORIA,
AOTEAROA-NEW ZEALAND

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is based upon ethnographic field research conducted in and around the predominantly Māori-populated town of Ruatoria; a small rural settlement situated in the sparsely inhabited heartland of the iwi (tribe), Ngāti Porou, on the east coast of Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island. The thesis investigates the apparent paradox concerning how and why the Jamaican Rastafari movement appeals to, and has invigorated, rather than obliterated the Māoritanga (Māori culture) of a group of Ngāti Porou who self-identify as 'The Dread'. Thus far, anthropological analyses of the Rastafari movement have tended to characterise its manifestation as a religion of protest, a religion of resistance or a religion of the post-colonially oppressed. In this thesis I destabilise such interpretations by demonstrating that we can best understand The Dread's assimilation of Rastafari through their articulation of aspects of Māori cosmology charged with promoting communion with God, gods and ancestors.

Theoretically, this thesis combines traditional ethnographic explorations of hierarchy, identity, myth and comparative Rastafari, with more recent approaches to the anthropological study of ontology, cosmology, human-ancestor and human-environment relations. I also consider key methodological implications that attention to the latter analytical approaches ensue. By situating my analysis of The Dread's articulation of cosmology and mythic narrative at the interface of ontology and agency, I tease out what I term the 'divergent mono-ontological perspectives' that emanate from disagreements between the primordial siblings over whether to instigate the creation of the cosmos and individuation through an act of rupture, or to remain united within the original cosmogonic whole. As the first ethnographic study to locate an occurrence of Rastafari discourse within an ontological context, this thesis contributes to the literature on Māori cosmology by elucidating the mediation of tensions between autonomy and unity that continues to inform intra-tribal relational dynamics in the Māori present.

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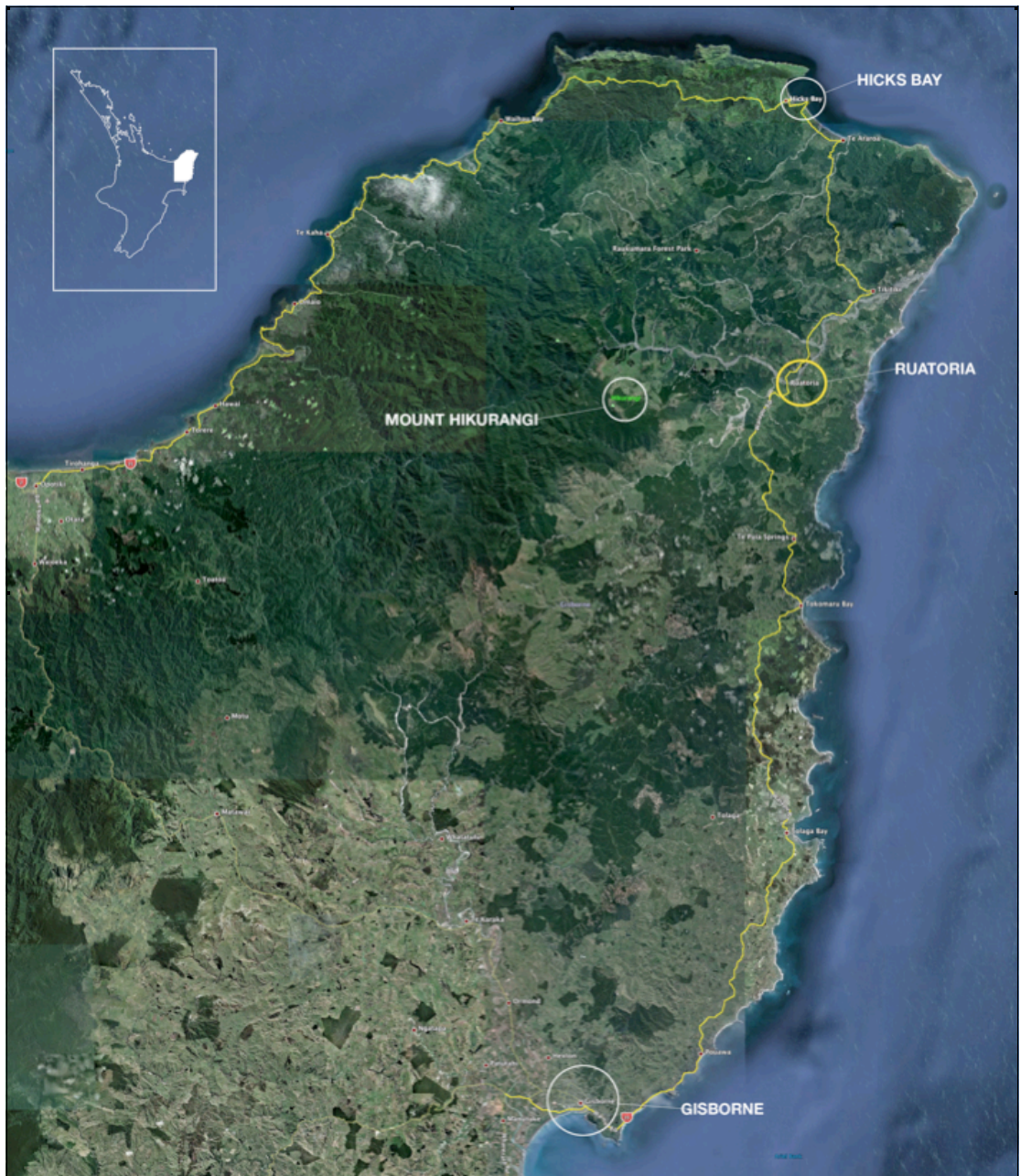


Figure 1 Map of Te Tairāwhiti (East Coast) of Aotearoa-New Zealand, North Island

TERMINOLOGY AND PRONUNCIATION

BRIEF REMARKS ON THE PRONUNCIATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE MĀORI LANGUAGE/TE REO MĀORI

The Māori alphabet contains ten consonants - two of which being digraphs - and five vowels. All syllables are open - that is, all end with a vowel; or in other words, two consonants cannot come together. This means that Māori has only fifty-five possible syllable permutations, from which all words are formed.

Macrons are used to indicate a long vowel.

VOWEL SOUNDS

a	pronounced 'ar' as in bar or 'a' as in account not as in rat or all	e	pronounced 'e' as in egg or 'e' as in [. . .] not as in easy or me
i	pronounced 'e' as in pea or 'ee' as in me not as in icon or ice-cream	o	pronounced 'o' as in ignore or 'aw' as in raw not as in open or spook
u	pronounced 'oo' as in spoon or 'o' as in [. . .] not as in umbrella or uncle		

CONSONANTS AND DIGRAPHS

r	must not be trilled. It is pronounced quite close to the sound of 'l' with the tongue positioned near the front of the mouth.
p	is generally pronounced with a softer sound than in English.
wh	pronounced 'fa'.
ng	pronounced 'neh'. Is pronounced with a softer sound than in English, especially with regard to the 'g'. The sound is similar to the middle 'ng' in singing.

PROLOGUE

"THEY'RE NOT EVEN REAL RASTAS"

In late April 2007, I was in the midst of preparing for my maiden visit to Aotearoa-New Zealand's East Coast township of Ruatoria, when during dinner with several Māori friends, the evening's host, Josie McClutchie, informed me that I had been summoned to a meeting with an elder from the region's iwi (kin group, glossed tribe), Ngāti Porou. In briefing me on the potential hazards of accepting the elder's summons, Josie explained that the elder possessed a well-earned reputation as a particularly fiery, opinionated and outspoken character, as well as being a savage critic of various prominent Māori individuals on an array of issues. The elder, who had been acting as Josie's Ngāti Porou mentor, had issued the summons during a conversation in which Josie replied to the elder's announcement that her lawyer son had just been offered a job in Jamaica, by instantaneously remarking that she knows a Jamaican in Auckland—me.¹ At that point the elder inquired as to the purpose of my visit to Aotearoa-New Zealand, to which Josie nonchalantly responded that I was in the country to study the Rastas of Ruatoria for my PhD in anthropology. Quite ominously, the elder then insisted to Josie that I speak to her before travelling to Ruatoria to commence ethnographic field research so she could put me "straight on what those Rastas are really like".

Wanting to know more about what I would be facing, I asked another of the Ngāti Porou guests present, Mere Takoko, if she was also familiar with the elder. Mere, who up until that point had been listening quietly, forebodingly responded to my question by slowly raising her eyebrows, rolling her eyes and ushering a deliberate "yeah, I know of her." Satisfied Mere's response had told me enough, I decided not to pursue the matter any further. Notwithstanding the potential hazards associated with meeting the elder, in

¹ Several weeks later it transpired that the elder's son had in fact been offered a post on Jamaica's near Caribbean neighbour, the Cayman Islands.

consideration of Josie, out of respect to the Ngāti Porou elder and in the interest of maintaining the momentum of my research, I agreed to Josie's suggestion that she arrange a meeting with the elder as soon as possible. In no time at all, arrangements were made and within a week Josie had scheduled a meeting to take place at her apartment in Auckland's CBD (Central Business District). Perhaps in an effort to reassure me, in the days approaching my meeting with the elder, Josie repeatedly stated that she thinks the elder "will love me." Even so, given the elder's combative reputation, I felt it necessary to mentally prepare myself for the possibility of a rough ride by comforting myself with the thought that in itself, the occasion carried with it the potential of being an ethnographically enlightening encounter.

On the eventual day of the meeting, I arrived at Josie's apartment at the appointed time and was immediately introduced to the elder who greeted me with a handshake and a warm hello. Then, very much in the manner to which I had grown accustomed since arriving in Aotearoa-New Zealand some three months prior, our exchange commenced with the elder making a few discreet inquiries about my cultural background. As was generally the case in such circumstances, I responded with an overview of my ancestral heritage, briefly charting the genealogical ambiguities of the African slave trade through to my Jamaican descent and the migration of my parents to England, the country of my birth. As I had come to expect from previous first encounters with Māori, the elder reciprocated with a brief, but far more assured summary of her own genealogical background before expressing her condolence that cruel historical circumstances had denied myself and "the Jamaican people" the opportunity to do likewise. Meanwhile, Josie stood a reassuring few feet away, glass of red wine in hand, keenly monitoring the situation.

For a considerable time, the evening progressed smoothly and I was relieved our various topics of conversation had firstly, been engaging and secondly, not raised the question of the intended participants in my research: Ruatoria's resident group of Ngāti Porou

Rastafari who self-identify as 'The Dread'.² Privately, I had harboured a hope that the longer the congenial climate continued, the greater the possibility I had of providing the elder with the kinds of positive insights into my character that might allay her probable concerns about my motives and conduct as a researcher. Sadly however, my effort to sustain the atmosphere of pleasant conversation was abruptly shattered by an unprovoked barrage that opened with the elder's staunchly delivered declaration that she ". . . will not allow me to carry out my research". As up until that time there had been no prior mention of my research, I attempted to make the point that she had not yet granted me the opportunity to explain what my research was about. At that moment I was interrupted by the furious wagging of a bent forefinger accompanied by the elder's heated insistence that Josie had told her all about my research. Exclaiming:

You want to study the Rastas! They're not even real Rastas, just evil people who are only interested in drugs. I'll introduce you to Rastas if that's what you're truly interested in. I know the Rastas who were responsible for bringing Rastafarianism to the East Coast, so why don't you study them? Have you met Tigi Ness?³

There are Rastafarians all over New Zealand, so why do you even want to go to Ruatoria?

You don't know my people on the East Coast and yet you insist that you are going to study them.

I know exactly what Rastafarianism is all about; I was among them when the movement came into New Zealand.

Those people in Ruatoria are not Rastas, but were just using it as a cover for their evil activities. They threaten people with guns. Would real Rastafarians behave like that?

Anyway, there are no Rastas in Ruatoria anymore, so who are you going to speak to?

During the few fleeting moments of respite that had surfaced throughout the almost unbroken stream of castigation, I vainly attempted to plead my case by explaining that my research had no interest in investigating the violent history that had occurred

² The term "Rastafari", pronounced 'Rasta-FAR-I' with 'I' enunciated as in the English letter 'I', is used throughout this thesis to refer to the movement itself, as well as to groups or individuals. Many adherents reject derivative terms such as 'Rastafarian' and 'Rastafarianism'. The latter is regarded as particularly objectionable, as the suffix '-ism' is considered to be constitutive of false or destructive ideologies and religions, such as 'capitalism', 'racism', 'Catholicism' or 'communism'.

³ Tigi (Tigilau) Ness is a very popular and highly respected Aotearoa-New Zealand born, Polynesian activist of Niuean descent and leading figure in Aotearoa-New Zealand's Rastafari movement. Tigi's important contribution to the spread of Rastafari in Aotearoa-New Zealand will be outlined in Chapter One of this thesis.

between The Dread and many of their fellow residents in Ruatoria. However, my defence was all to no avail, as time and time again I found myself shouted down. Eventually, having succumbed to the realisation that any clarification I had to offer would not be heard, I abandoned all attempts at resistance and capitulated under the sheer force of the elder's tirade, as she continued:

Don't you know people died because of them [The Dread]?

That part of our [Ngāti Porou] history threatened to tear families apart and it was only because people like me [elders] intervened and calmed the situation down that prevented our entire tribe from being wiped out and now you want to dig it all up again.

Then, almost as suddenly as the outburst had erupted, the elder's vitriol subsided as she mollifyingly revealed that although she was "never a Rasta", she spent a lot of time with Rastafari and "even went to Rasta parties, where they would be doing their drugs". I waited patiently as she dwelt momentarily on this reminiscence, which I was able to deduce were in reference to Bob Marley's visit to Aoteroa-New Zealand in 1979, when she punctured the silence by softly opining: "Bob Marley was always on drugs".

The content and tenor of the Ngāti Porou elder's outburst was particularly instructive in the way in which it draws specific attention to questions and concerns that lay at the centre of this thesis and for these reasons, I considered it worth reproducing at length. Questions surrounding the underlying source of hostility directed towards The Dread, the accusations of 'inauthenticity' faced by the group, their motivation for embracing Rastafari, their destructive potential and last but by no means least, The Dread's alleged demise. Furthermore, this encounter with the Ngāti Porou elder, although by far the most abrasive, was by no means my first introduction to negativity or hostility directed towards The Dread. Indeed, my initial exposure to the pattern of denunciatory interventions had surfaced during the opening class of the Māori language course I had undertaken in 2006 at New Zealand House in London. Upon hearing my brief explanation of why I was learning te reo Māori (the Māori language), one of the few Māori students enrolled on the course retorted: "I know those stupid guys! I've seen them at tangi (Māori death-mourning rituals), frightening the whānau (families) on their horses".

When I arrived in Auckland a year later in February 2007, such expressions of disgust commonly gave way to warnings about The Dread's alleged criminality, Māori gang affiliation, use and distribution of the notorious drug, 'P',⁴ and further scepticism surrounding the extent of The Dread's commitment to Rastafari. Perhaps it was for these reasons that several friends and acquaintances with connections to Auckland's Rastafari group called, 'The House of Shem', subtly yet repeatedly attempted to steer me towards a study of this larger, more renown and comparatively far more accessible group. For example, when a mutual friend introduced me to a lifelong member of The House of Shem, the disclosure that my research was to be centered on The Dread of Ruatoria was met with the following response:

Those guys aren't proper Rastas like the Twelve Tribes. They're just into Rasta because they like listening to Bob Marley and smoking dak (marijuana). I don't think they read a chapter a day of the Bible like true Rastas and they still worship Māori gods.

He then paused for a brief moment of contemplation before concluding: "Twelve Tribes believe only in the one god, but I suppose they're all the same God, ay bro . . . Every man has the right to pursue their own path".

Even upon my eventual arrival in Ruatoria in September 2007, I found that I still had to contend with a range of perceptions spanning the jocular trading of infantile names, such as referring to Rastafari as "Rusty Nails" on one end of the spectrum, to more toxic opinions of those virulently opposed to The Dread. For example, one Ruatoria resident commenting upon The Dread's principal figure named, Te Ahi, dismissed him as insane and in direct reference to the words 'Alpha Omega' tattooed on his forehead, continued: "Have you seen what he [Te Ahi] has tattooed on his head? Those brothers are head-cases!" Somewhere in between lay local expressions of intrigue captured in enquiries such as: "How do they [The Dread] compare with your fellas [Jamaican] Rastas? Are they on to it [Rastafari knowledge]?" More often than not, however, local concerns were as much to do with The Dread's grasp of, and/or adherence to Māoritanga (Māori culture) as they were with The Dread's embracement of Rastafari. Typical of these concerns was the

⁴ P (crystal methamphetamine hydrochloride), short for 'pure', is a powerful and highly addictive synthetic Class A drug also known as 'crystal meth' or 'ice'.

view of a Ruatoria resident who shared this assessment: "I think in time they'll return to being Māori". Similarly, in the opinion of another Ruatoria local, the notion that The Dread needed to find their way back into the Māori fold after apparently having "lost their way", reflected badly on Ruatoria's Māori community as a whole. Stating:

I don't blame the Rastas for the misguided path they set out on. I blame our elders for their failure to pass on their [Māori] knowledge. I think it's really sad that their lack of Māoritanga (Māori culture) has caused them to fuse a hotch potch of ideas into their kaupapa (philosophy).

Such exchanges raise the perplexing question of what the Rastafari movement means to The Dread and how and why their identification differs from local conceptions of a movement that is so familiar to so many in Aotearoa-New Zealand—superficially or otherwise. What, for example, lay behind the litany of derogatory epithets I heard being applied to The Dread, including: "criminals", "murderers", "gangsters", "drug addicts", "drug dealers", "stupid", "insane", "misguided" and of course, "Rusty Nails"? Moreover, if—in the words of the Ngāti Porou elder I met in Auckland—The Dread are "not even real Rastas", or (as similarly expressed by the Rastafari member of Auckland's House of Shem) not "proper Rastas", or (as inferred by several Ruatoria residents) not (behaving as) "proper Māori", then who are The Dread? Why is their kaupapa (philosophy) so often dismissed as confused, corrupt, or inauthentic by so many? Is The Dread's kaupapa really the disjointed mess outsiders to the group often proclaim it to be? Or is there in fact, a more deep-rooted and more coherent logic contributing to their outlook?

In framing my response to these questions and others within the scholarly investigation of the relationship between ontology and agency, this thesis aims to destabilise the widely assumed paradox concerning how and why the Jamaican-in-origin Rastafari movement appeals to The Dread. Throughout the course of this thesis, I will show that The Dread's incorporation of Rastafari has been motivated by far more than an assumed loss of Māoritanga (Māori culture), the love of Bob Marley and smoking of dak (marijuana), or as the all-too-common tendency within academic literature would have it, as a "religion of protest" or a "religion of the oppressed" (see for example, Brathwaite 1974; Lewis 2004). In so doing, I take up Stephen D. Glazier's (1996) appeal for scholars to broaden their analyses of Caribbean religions such as Rastafari, so that they not only

account for tensions that may exist between marginalised groups and mainstream society (and/or imperial culture), but also theorise the “integrative” dimensions of Caribbean religions (see also, Comaroff 1985; James 2008). Following Glazier, this thesis therefore aims to illuminate key ways in which The Dread have incorporated Rastafari kaupapa (philosophy) as a means of invigorating, rather than obliterating, the autochthonous mode of accomplishing the communion of the Māori present and the Māori past. Not merely the historic, cultural or spiritual past, but the cosmogonic and mythical past inhabited by Māori tīpuna (ancestors) and atua (supernatural beings, hereafter glossed as 'gods').

The resulting analysis weaves together the fibres of ethnography, anthropological theory, history and Māori cosmology by critically examining and selectively incorporating the ethnographic and analytical corpus of Elsdon Best, Jørgen Prytz Johansen, Anne Salmond, Allan Hanson and others; the classical theoretical background of Alfred Gell, Marcel Mauss, Raymond Firth, Gregory Schrempf and Jonathan Friedman; and the accounts of a host of nineteenth century observers and scholars. Most significantly, the theoretical argument that underpins this thesis draws upon Michael Scott's theorisation of ontology, 'onto-praxis', which he developed as an extension of 'mytho-praxis', the framework established by Marshall Sahlins in 'Islands of History' (1987). In this way, my analysis of The Dread's unique Māori-Rastafari kaupapa (philosophy) contributes to the emerging subfield of ontology (being), by identifying and demonstrating the ways in which The Dread's reflections on specific generative primordial scenarios play into and shape their contemporary figurations, imaginaries and involvements.

In positioning the study in this way, I endeavour to show how, even as the Rastafari movement clearly opened up new socio-religious channels for a generation of young Māori in this rural corner of Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island, its allure and credibility was contingent upon ontological continuity with transmitted categories of a Māori cosmological view of being in the world. In so doing, this thesis situates The Dread as an analytical lens through which one may explore the analogy between the tense coexistence of unity and diversity in the socio-political organisation of

contemporary Māori society on the one hand, and Māori mythological accounts of the origin of the cosmos on the other hand. Through the adoption of such an approach, the thesis will illuminate some of the many ways in which basic ontological categories of being—future/present/past, unity/rupture/multiplicity/integration and power/knowledge/materiality—are all ‘onto-practically’ resurgent in The Dread’s Māori exegetic and performative expressions of being Rastafari.

Before turning to explore these themes in greater detail, the thesis introduction that follows will begin with an outline of the Rastafari movement's origins, development, variations and relevance as a cultural force among the Jamaican people and many other peoples in countries around the world, who like The Dread of Ruatoria, have adopted that which Rastafari term ‘livity’ (a divine way of life).

INTRODUCTION

WHY RASTAFAR-I?

"LOOK TO AFRICA"

In academic literature, Rastafari has broadly been characterised as a Jamaican religio-cultural phenomenon in which an assemblage of themes were "strategically and creatively woven together" in response to local and global events impacting the island's peoples (Yawney 1995: 62). In his description of the Rastafari movement, for example, Ken Post (1970) cited influences stemming from Biblical fundamentalism rooted in the Old Testament metaphors of: Zion; Moses; Exodus; prophesy; the prescriptions of Leviticus, and notions of redemption from the New Testament's Book of Revelations. Other authors have stressed contributions ranging from Hindu mysticism (Mansingh and Mansingh 1985), to the contribution of African beliefs and practises upon Jamaican peasant culture and folk religious movements such as Myalism, convince cult, revivalism (Zion), Pocomania and Burru (Chevannes 1978, 1990, 1995; Murrell 1998; Savishinsky 1998; Schuler 1979; Warner-Lewis 1993; Wedonoja 1988). The influence of these folk religious movements is first said to have emerged in opposition to European slavery and later, following the British parliament's emancipation of the island's estimated 300,000 black slaves on August 1, 1838, in defiance of what Barry Chevannes termed, "the system of social, cultural, and economic oppression on which modern Jamaica was built" (1995: 1).

Arguably, the first of several key figures to weave together these religio-cultural influences into what was later to become the Rastafari goal of collective redemption and deliverance from exile, was the self-styled messiah, Alexander Bedward (1859-1930), who in 1880 formed the Baptist Free Church in August Town, Jamaica (Hill 1981; Lewis 1988; Post 1978). Around the turn of the twentieth century Bedward announced to his followers that he was Jesus Christ incarnate, who, like the prophet Elijah in the Bible's Second Book of Kings (2: 11), would ascend to heaven in a chariot of fire carrying with

him the chosen few. Bedward's apocalyptic prophecy culminated in the earth being ravaged by a fire that would destroy colonial society and pave the way for a new golden age (Cashmore 1984: 5). Needless to say, Bedward's prediction failed to materialise. His 'Bedwardism' movement is credited, however, as having been instrumental in orienting followers towards Rastafari's principle prophet, Marcus Mosiah Garvey (1887-1940).⁵

Among Garvey's organisational accomplishments was the establishment of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which spawned several commercial ventures, most notably The Black Star Line shipping operation. These initiatives possessed a dual purpose. The first being the stimulation of a global African economy, by facilitating the transportation of trade goods throughout the African diaspora, while the second purpose was to enable repatriation through Garvey's proposed "Back to Africa" movement. Together, Garvey's anti-imperialist, pan-Africanist initiatives sought to restore the lost dignity of the African diaspora by breaking the stranglehold of colonial dependency. To achieve this end, Garvey declared the need for a "second emancipation—an emancipation of the minds and thoughts of four hundred million Negroes of the world" (Daily Gleaner, August 2 1929). The aim of Garvey's second emancipation was to instill in the minds of colonised blacks, the 'consciousness' that although their subjugation was exercised through European-controlled regimes of oppression and exploitation, it was their acceptance of European Christianity and colonial education that was responsible for perpetuating their inferiority and stifling their independent potential (Cashmore 1984: 4).

However, Garvey's most celebrated contribution to Rastafari dates from around 1924, when he was credited with having uttered the prophetic phrase: "Look to Africa when a black king shall be crowned for the day of deliverance is near." Consequently, when on November 2, 1930 Ras Tafari Makonnen was crowned Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia and bequeathed the titles 'King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Conquering Lion of

⁵ Many Rastafari identify Bedward and Garvey as Aaron and the Black Moses respectively. The former being the prophet and the latter identified as the high priest. Indeed, many Rastafari adherents have interpreted Garvey's middle name, 'Mosiah', as being a divine amalgamation of the names Moses and Messiah.

the Tribe of Judah, Elect of God and Power of the Trinity,' the event was heralded as the fulfilment of Garvey's "Look to Africa" prophesy. On news of the coronation reaching Jamaica, many followers of Marcus Garvey (the Garveyites) and Alexander Bedward (the Bedwardites), proclaimed Emperor Haile Selassie I, the second advent of Christ. Following the coronation of Emperor Haile Selassie I, Leonard Percival Howell, assisted by his deputy and spokesperson, Robert Hinds, are widely acknowledged as the first persons to preach the divinity of Haile Selassie in 1930-1, closely followed by Joseph Nathaniel Hibbert (1932), Henry Archibald Dunkley (1933) and Paul Earlington (1938). It is recorded as having been these founding members who first adopted the new title of 'Rastafari' in honour of the black king's pre-coronation title (see, for example, Campbell 1987:71; Cashmore 1979: 22, 1984: 10; Chevannes 1994: 121; Hill 1983: 28; Smith, Augier and Nettleford 1960: 9-10; and Walker 1975: 1-2).

The source of the undocumented "Look to Africa" prediction, however, has since been thrown into doubt by Edmund Cronon's revelation that far from considering Haile Selassie as a redeemer, Garvey lambasted the Ethiopian Emperor as a "great coward" and "ruler of a country where black men are chained and flogged" (1955: 162). Consequently, speculation has arisen that it might in fact have been Garvey's close associate, the Reverend James Morris Webb who both delivered the prophetic words and developed the basis of Rastafari through his 1919 publication, 'A Black Man will be the Coming Universal King' (Cashmore 1984: 5). Similarly, Timothy White (1983) located the prophesy's influence to a 1924 publication, compiled between 1913 and 1917 by Robert Athlyi Rogers called, 'The Holy Piby: The Black Man's Bible' (2000). Notwithstanding the conjecture surrounding the identity of the person responsible for delivering the "Look to Africa" prophecy, it is Garvey who has retained prophet status and is attributed as being the primary philosophical catalyst in the development of Rastafari.

Between the 1930s and 1950s, little attention was paid to the cultural, political and philosophical significance of Rastafari. Among the most significant early attempts to detail the Rastafari movement of Jamaica came in a classic work by Smith, Augier and Nettleford ('The Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica', 1960). In it, the authors

declared:

Rastafarians hold in common only two beliefs: that Ras Tafari is the living God, and that salvation can come to black men only through repatriation to Africa. On all other matters the opinions of the brethren vary as widely as the opinions of the rest of the population. Some wear beards, others do not; and only a small minority wear the locks. Some are men of the highest moral fibre, while at the other extreme are men of crime and violence. Some smoke ganja [marijuana]; others abhor it. Some are excellent workmen, while others avoid work. In all matters except two, the divinity of Ras Tafari and the necessity of repatriation, Ras Tafarians are a random group (1960: 22).

Another notable early attempt to define Rastafari was conveyed in George Eaton Simpson's (1970) famous "six doctrines" of Rastafari belief, which have been reformulated or reiterated in numerous popular works on Rastafari (see, for example, Barrett 1997: 104). In its original form, however, Simpson's six doctrines were listed as follows:

The first is that black men, incarnations of the ancient Israelites, were exiled to the West Indies because of their transgressions. Second, the wicked white man is inferior to the black man. Third, the Jamaican situation is a hopeless Hell; Ethiopia is Heaven. Fourth, Haile Selassie is the Living God. Fifth, the invincible Emperor of Abyssinia [Ethiopia] will soon arrange for expatriated persons of African descent to return to the Homeland. Sixth, in the near future black men will get revenge by compelling white men to serve them (1970: 209-210).

In the years following Simpson's six doctrines, the Rastafari movement has been characterised by a myriad of academic interpretations. At various junctures these have produced analyses emphasising the essence of Rastafari as a messianic-millenarian movement (see, for example, Albuquerque 1977; Hill 1981) and as a counter to inequality, oppression and perceived injustice, founded on what Ernest Cashmore termed, "the vital critique of white imperialism—or, more specifically, the remnants of that imperialism" (1984: 6). Others have cast Rastafari as a subculture (Hebdige 1983), a countercultural response to a history of intense race and class struggle (Forsythe 1980: 62), or a reaction to postcolonial alienation from homeland and culture (Murrell 1998: 4). All, assert Richard Salter, are bound within a framework of social critique that calls for racial justice, denounces capitalism and seeks the recovery of African heritage (2008: 11).

Carole Yawney (1995), however, has highlighted that as fruitful as the enlistment of any of these social scientific understandings may be, Jamaican Rastafari generally do not refer to themselves as either a sub- or counter- culture, a resistance movement or mode of

class struggle etc. Stephen Glazier has also recommended that scholars not only theorise Caribbean religions as "religions of protest" or as "religions of the oppressed" that exist in a tense relationship to the larger society and capitalist culture, but that academics should also recognise their "integrative" goals and functioning (1996: 222). In representing far more than resistance to the dominant culture, James argues, Rastafari seeks to generate and promote "its own vision of the future, a vision that holds as central freedom and solidarity," rendering the movement "both a religion of resistance and a religion of integration" (2008: 142).

As numerous authors have noted, Rastafari are also typically opposed to being categorised as another religion in a multi-religious secular state. At the very least, says Yawney, Jamaican Rastafari traditionally consider themselves theocratic in orientation, enabling a perspective that empowers Rastafari as both a religion and a way of life in the holistic sense (1995: 69-70). Of equal significance, Richard Salter (2008: 14) points to this tendency for academic definitions of Rastafari to not only contravene Rastafari self-understandings, but to also assume cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977). At various points in the movement's history such definitions have been applied to evaluate Rastafari authenticity, while inadvertently delimiting the boundaries of the movement. Often scenarios such as these are played out in the very arenas Rastafari identify as instruments of Babylon.⁶ An example being law courts, where Rastafari have at times been called upon to protest or defend their right to exercise specific beliefs and practises—such as the right to smoke marijuana, wear dreadlocks or have the movement's religious aspects legally recognised (see, for example, Murrell 2008).

RASTAFARI REASONING

In the opinion of Cashmore (1984), Rastafari's doctrinal "simplicity" has been a key component in the movement's global proliferation since the mid-1970s. Echoing the view expressed in the earlier findings of Smith, Augier and Nettleford (1960), Cashmore

⁶ The concept of Babylon is a metaphor constructed by Rastafari, to describe all forms of oppression and exploitation. The term is applied to the world economic (capitalist) system, its agents and its ideological and material apparatuses (Afari 2007: 323; Barnett 2012: 193; Murrell, Spencer and McFarlane 1998: 443)

characterised Rastafari as possessing "two main tenets concerning the return to Africa and the divinity of Haile Selassie." Beyond these, Cashmore saw no clearly defined orthodoxy, stating: ". . . there [were] few meaningful points of unity, [thereby enabling] each individual Rasta to read what he or she likes into the movement" (1984: 8). The corollary of this position assumes the absence of doctrinal orthodoxy renders Rastafari intrinsically malleable, which to borrow the words of Alfred Jarry, can then be taken by an individual to "mean all things equivocally" (quoted in Shattuck 1968).

In contravention of this inferred absence of coherence, authors such as James (2008) and Salter (2008) have instead sought to demonstrate the ways in which Rastafari's fundamentally oral discourse promotes integration through communal existence. These authors contend that it is Rastafari's resistance to hierarchy and concomitant promotion of the democratic virtues of discussion and debate that generates the potential for wide variations in beliefs and practises. In recent literature, this tendency towards variation of beliefs and practices has been recognised as a positive rather than negative element that is common among virtually all Rastafari communities. As Salter affirms, "Rastafari requires converts to make no creedal profession of beliefs, for it is not a religion which holds that salvation comes through holding the correct beliefs" (2008: 16). Underlying this philosophy is the Rastafari assertion of the equality of every human individual, whereby no person is accredited with having any privilege, power or special religious virtuosity.

For this reason, explains Salter, Rastafari communities can equally be regarded 'acephalic,' for there is no leader whose "authority in and of itself legitimates a particular set of beliefs as orthodox," and/or 'omniccephalic,' where "each person legitimates his or her own beliefs as orthodox" (2008: 17). In opposition to approaches that produce definitions of Rastafari, based on a narrow description of the movement's beliefs and practises, Salter proposes an approach that aligns Rastafari to a particular kind of internal knowledge, which he terms "orthognosy" (correct knowledge). In classifying Rastafari as "orthognostic" Salter situates "correct knowledge," rather than "orthodoxy" or "orthopraxy," as the central feature of Rastafari through which individuals are able to

navigate the path to salvation by regular participation of 'reasoning' with others (2008: 18, 24).

The Rastafari practise of reasoning can be understood as a liturgical experience through which the novice and the knowledgeable adherent join together in an ongoing dialogical process, to hone their collective consciousness of Rastafari doctrine. As will be discussed in relation to The Dread (Chapter One), reasoning encourages Rastafari to speak, question and probe by cultivating a forum for the sharing and discussing religious beliefs, texts, and social and ethical issues. In these ways, reasoning also facilitates social contact and provides a key means of imparting inspiration. During reasoning, use of 'the holy herb' (marijuana) is regarded by the majority of adherents to be integral to worship as it is considered to possess the key to an exalted consciousness of self, the universe and Jah (God). Marijuana is also believed to cleanse the mind and body, and facilitate peace and meditation by bringing Rastafari to a point of reason, whereby internal tensions, queries or contestations can be overcome through dialogue, rather than resorting to argument or violent confrontation.

In asserting the fundamental legitimacy of the Rastafari individual, the 'I', and the ability of all Rastafar-I's to attain an elevated perspective through reasoning, all Rastafari are acknowledged as having access to a level of shared insight analogous to the condition of Garvey's consciousness and Freire's conscientização (conscientisation). Furthermore, the Rastafari 'I' (first-person singular) also carries with it special significance as a declaration of the individual's commitment to and personal relationship with God (Jah Rastafar-I). As Steffens writes, "I-an-I" means "you and I" or "I and the Creator who lives within I," indicating that there is no separation, that disunity is an illusion fostered and imposed on the people by Babylon" (1998: 256).

When applied to the context of the first-person plural, "I-an-I" (I-and-I) the concept also functions as an expression of unity, a totalising concept of oneness with the Rastafari collective, but most importantly of all, a oneness with the incarnation of I, Jah Rastafar-I (Hubbard, Hatfield and Santucci 2007: 155; McFarlane 1998: 107-108).

McFarlane writes that the appropriation of the I, "functions both as an ascription of Jah's care of his own and as a statement of faith, namely, that one has decided and is committed to follow Jah's guidance" (1998: 108). For this reason writes James, "Rastafari ideology is also empowering, for it locates God in I" and in so doing, "integrates society by asserting all I's are real and divine" (2008: 142, 147).

Several authors (for example, James 2008; and Murrell and Taylor 1998), have likened the Rastafari practise of reasoning to the process of "conscientização" (conscientisation) that emerges from what Brazilian liberation theologian and educator, Paulo Freire termed, the "pedagogy of the oppressed" (1999). According to Freire's own definition, conscientisation "refers to the learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (1999: 17). As similarly espoused in Garvey's "second emancipation" discussed earlier, the primary objective of Freire's "pedagogy of the oppressed" was to effect social transformation by inspiring "individuals to come to know themselves as the subjects of their own history" (James 2008: 139). In Garvey's terms, consciousness was deemed the decisive first step in the transformation of the African diasporic peoples in nations such as Jamaica into dignified subjects displaying an historical awareness of, and active relationship to, Africa. Insofar as both perspectives seek to "restore marginalised people to the center of history as agents" (James 2008: 138-139), both Garvey's consciousness and Freire's conscientisation are considered to be imbued with the revolutionary and empowering potential to contribute to the process of global democratisation and liberation.

Since Rastafari's inception in 1930s Jamaica, the movement has undergone decades of socio-political change and demographic dispersal. Therefore, rather than seeking to develop a monolithic description of Rastafari, Yawney has urged scholarly approaches to regard Rastafari as "a vast reservoir of interrelated themes and ideas, which vary" (1995: 62). In a transcribed interview with Rich Salter, the prominent Jamaican Rastafari poet, Mutabaruka, adopts a similar standpoint in admonishing:

Rasta is not like a Bible religion where you have to go to where something was written 5000 years ago, and it tells you how it's supposed to go now, 5000 years later. Rastafari is a way of life evolved within time and space, and within an environment that the way of life itself sustains. (. .

.) [Consequently], (W)hen one speaks of Rastafari one speaks of aspects of Rastafari, not Rastafari full stop (in, Salter 2008a: 49).

Mutabaruka's prompt is as applicable to studies of Rastafari in its nascent Jamaica where variations in belief and practise include aspects previously assumed unequivocal, such as the significance accorded to Jesus Christ, Haile Selassie, (i.e., as the first and second advent respectively) and God. For example, Mutabaruka also explained how some Jamaican Rastafari declare Haile Selassie the All Mighty, but stop short of designating him God, while others no longer articulate their relationship to the All Mighty through the term, 'Jah' (in, Salter 2008a: 49-50). There are instances of dynamic shifts in foundational doctrines, such as the return to Ethiopia, often articulated in the Rastafari mantra, "repatriation is a must". Similarly, other foundational doctrines such as the smoking of 'herb' (marijuana) as a sacrament, the adherence to prohibitions such as the eating of 'flesh' (meat, particularly in the case of fish), the use of salt and whether the cutting or shaving of hair is permissible are and have always been the subject of regular discussion and in some contexts, revision (Salter 2008a: 17-18).⁷ This acceptance that in the end, the answer to what constitutes Rastafari varies by context is an appropriate place to move beyond the Jamaican context to global manifestations of Rastafari.

RASTAFARI OUTERNATIONAL⁸

Numerous scholars have documented the presence of Rastafari in neighbouring Caribbean islands (Campbell 1985; Davis 2008) and in countries further afield where the movement has largely occurred as an outcome of the major migration waves of Jamaicans in the 1950s and 60s. Typical examples being Canada (Campbell 1985), the United States (Hepner 1998; Waters 1985) and the United Kingdom, where Cashmore (1979, 1984)

⁷ It is particularly interesting to note that over time, Rastafari attitudes towards the dietary and/or ritualistic use of salt appears to have swung from prohibition (Hutton and Murrell 1998: 46; Schuler 1980: 67, 93, 95-96) to recommendation (Spencer 1998: 375-376) and back to prohibition again (Spencer 1998: 363).

⁸ In Rastafari vernacular, the term 'outernational' is often used in place of 'international' because it is considered to better evoke the perception of—in this instance, the Rastafari movement—going 'outside' the national boundary of Jamaica. As Roger Steffens writes, the "Rasta language is evocative and holds the very power of its creation in its syllables. Hence it is of critical importance that everything spoken be positive and constructive. (. . .) The belief is based on the trinity of word, sound, and power" (1998: 256). The introduction of terms such as 'outernational' is therefore key to the Rastafari goal of achieving greater "precision and efficiency in language communication and perception" (Afari 2007: 126).

attributed the growth of the Rastafari movement among Black British youth to their poor material conditions and total dislocation from the main spheres of society (see also, Barnett 2008; Clarke 1986). On the African continent, Terisa Turner's (1992) research centering on the popularity of Rastafari in Kenya explored the often-overlooked participation of Rastafari women. Set against the backdrop of neoliberal capitalist strategies of structural adjustment policies impacting Kenya, Turner highlighted the role of Rastafari women in affirming a new society, which transcends the Eurocentric contradictions found in racist, sexist and class-based societies. Here, Turner's findings demonstrate the central role of women in some Rastafari groups that is often subordinated by presentations in which Rastafari women are "consigned simply to 'making harmony' by virtue of an ontological inferiority that comes from being 'made' and not 'created'" (Salter 2008: 18). Regardless of which, in both Jamaican diasporic and African contexts, Rastafari are generally portrayed in a very similar guise to their Jamaican counterparts, i.e., those Seretha Rycenssa termed "true Rasta," whom she described as one who:

... believes in the deity of the Ethiopian monarch (...), sticks to [his] path, does not shave, cut or straighten the hair, rejects the customs of 'Babylon' (capitalist) society, [and] looks on his blackness and sees that it is good and struggles to preserve it (1978: 22-23).

In light of Rycenssa's characterisation of "true Rastafari" it is well worth assessing some of the research undertaken beyond the Jamaican diaspora and in other parts of the Caribbean, which have produced a range of findings to support Mutabaruka's assertion that Rastafari is "a way of life evolved within time and space, and within an environment that the way of life itself sustains" (in, Salter 2008a: 49). For example, Richard Salter's (2008) ethnography of Rastafari in the Eastern Caribbean island of Dominica, found many adherents did not acclaim Haile Selassie as the 'living god.' To the contrary, echoing Marcus Garvey (discussed earlier), Dread X considered Haile Selassie to have been "a corrupt sham," while others such as Biye "thought Selassie to be a very "wise" man, but stopped short of making him "a deity"" (2008: 16). Equally, several of Salter's research participants expressed ridicule at the suggestion they would even consider leaving their lush tropical island home of Dominica for repatriation to the dry savannah of Ethiopia (2008: 16).

Variations in Rastafari practice have also been charted in context such as Central and South America, where African diasporic peoples share similar physical, cultural and historical connections to Africa to the people of Jamaica and the Caribbean. For example, in the Brazilian city of Salvador, Jan DeCosmo (2008) recorded Rastafari as manifesting a dual identity that was heavily contingent upon the adherents prior religious background. The first of these identifications was present among groups who distinguished themselves as either "cultural" or "political" Rastafari and are largely constituted by those with an afro-Bahian perspective who grew up within the Candomblé tradition—a Brazilian syncretisation of Catholicism and the West African Yoruba religion of the orixas. The second classification was associated with groups referring to themselves as "religious" or "orthodox" Rastafari, comprised mainly of those from an evangelical Protestant background. DeCosmo found, where "cultural/political" Rastafari tolerate or embrace Candomblé alongside Rastafari, "religious/orthodox" Rastafari demonstrated no tolerance for Yoruba deities (DeCosmo 2008: 64-65).

With regards to "cultural/political" Rastafari, DeCosmo identified that most consider the movement a lifestyle dedicated to cultural resistance, rather than to attaining spiritual salvation by adhering to many of the cornerstones of Jamaican Rastafari practice. For example, some smoke marijuana recreationally but most, says DeCosmo, do not. Neither do "cultural/political" Rastafari commune for reasoning, regularly read the Bible nor recognise Haile Selassie as the returned messiah. Much like their contemporaries in Dominica, the "cultural/political" Rastafari described by DeCosmo, viewed the former Ethiopian emperor as, at best a prophet and at worst, a tyrant. In contrast, those DeCosmo terms "orthodox/religious" Rastafari are avid Bible readers, praise Haile Selassie and practice the ritual smoking of marijuana (2008: 61-62). In terms of commonalities between Salvador's dual Rastafari perspectives, DeCosmo lists the wearing of dreadlocks, displaying of Rastafari "ites" (the liberation colours of red, gold and green), a mutual refrain from a vegetarian diet and the shunning of repatriation to Ethiopia (or Africa). Taken as a whole, DeCosmo understands Rastafari in Salvador as a form of civil religion forged in creative response to a long history of institutional race and class oppression, homelessness, rootlessness and pariah status their plight engendered.

Alongside Jamaican migration, one of the most significant developments in Rastafari's global dispersion has been through the growth of the Jamaican 'Twelve Tribes of Israel' Rastafari organisation. Founded in 1968 by Vernon 'Prophet Gad' Carrington, the Twelve Tribes of Israel is the most widespread of the three prominent Jamaican Rastafari mansions that includes the Niyabinghi and the Bobo Shanti orders.⁹ However, where the history of slavery and colonialism has engendered an approach by Niyabinghi and Bobo Shanti that focuses on the plight of Africa and African diaspora, the Twelve Tribes are unique—at least among the prominent Jamaican mansions—in proselytising the salvation of all races. It is this inclusiveness of all races that has facilitated the expansion of the Twelve Tribes from its origins in Kingston, Jamaica, to at least fifteen countries including Aotearoa-New Zealand. Nevertheless, the absence of research means few details have so far come to the attention of academia in respect to these groups.¹⁰

The greatest influence on the global spread of Rastafari, however, has undoubtedly been the success of reggae music. The spread of Rastafari through reggae music has been identified in mainland Europe, most notably among, but by no means limited to, migrant populations with an historical experience of colonisation.¹¹ In the Netherlands for example, Frank Jan van Dijk (1993) surveyed data compiled by Buiks (1983) in Rotterdam and Sansone (1984, 1992) and Vermeulen (1984) in Amsterdam. Both Buiks and Sansone expressed great surprise at finding virtually all their young Surinamese informants had embraced Rastafari in response to their experiences of racism and discrimination.

⁹ The Rastafari use of the term 'mansion' has been adopted from the Biblical verse: 'In my Father's house are many mansions' (John 14: 2). Each mansion constitutes an independent order of the Rastafari movement.

¹⁰ The global presence of the Twelve Tribes of Israel has been noticed, but at the same time neglected by detailed academic enquiry. However, in the late 1980s, Frank Jan van Dijk (1988: 8-9) listed ten countries as having established authorised branches of the Twelve Tribes of Israel: Aotearoa-New Zealand (Auckland), Ethiopia, and Canada (Toronto), a further five on the Caribbean islands of Trinidad, Grenada, St. Vincent, Barbados, and Grand Cayman, and two branches each in Great Britain (Brixton, London and Old Trafford, Manchester), and the United States (Brooklyn, New York City and California). Since van Dijk's time of writing, branches of the Twelve Tribes of Israel are also known to have been established in a further five countries: Sweden, Germany, Ghana, Australia, and Kenya. In addition, Hans Vermeulen (1984) also noted that for a short period in the 1980s, an unordained branch of The Twelve Tribes operated by a small group of Surinamese and Dutch Rastafari, also existed in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, only to dissolve due to a lack of meeting places and leadership (Vermeulen 1984: 76, in van Dijk 1988: 9, 1998: 185).

¹¹ Rastafari communities are known to flourish in Germany, France, and Portugal in particular. However, an absence of research means few details have so far come to the attention of academia in respect to these groups.

Significantly, however, the majority of Surinamese youth featured in the studies professed an acceptance of the socio-political but not the religious aspects of Rastafari. Consequently, only few spoke of an intention to repatriate to Ethiopia, with most communicating a strong desire to return to Suriname where they hoped to establish self-sufficient agricultural communes.

Elsewhere, Marvin Sterling's (2010) exploration of the Japanese engagement of Jamaican popular culture takes in a small, rural, semi-traditional community in the Nara prefecture—one of Japan's ancient capitals—and home to a group of Japanese Rastafari. The group, writes Sterling, have fused Rastafari with Japanese religious traditions and spiritual elements from Hindu and Native American culture. In this setting, Rastafari also plays an active role in the community, epitomised by members' participation in the traditional 'matsuri' (festival). Sterling attributes the group's immersion into Rastafari as a complex critique of Japanese attitudes towards race, class difference, consumerism and the colonial pasts of the West and Japan. All of which, Sterling argues, operate at the intersection of Japan's new spirit of internationalism and discourses of 'jibun sagash' (search for self), spawned in the wake of the Japanese peoples long-running, recession-induced identity crisis, which prompted a dissatisfaction with contemporary Japanese spirituality. Some Japanese Rastafari, however, legitimised their identity by drawing parallels between the movement and their descent from Japan's outcast, 'burakumin' community.

The trend that emerges from studies of Rastafari conducted beyond the Jamaican diaspora has therefore been one that suggests the socio-political dimension of the movement possesses greater traction than either its spiritual component or objective of African repatriation. Indeed, throughout the literature on global Rastafari, what has not been in dispute is that Rastafari articulates a desire for forms of socio-political, spatial and economic restitution with which protest movements identify. In this context, the downplaying of religiosity in academic accounts of global Rastafari may therefore have as much to do with neglecting the international presence of the Jamaican 'Twelve Tribes of Israel' organisation, as with an overriding adherence to the preconception that Rastafari

is above all else, a movement of protest. Viewed from this perspective, Rastafari is interpreted as an example of the kind of "widespread syncretistic movement" Jean Comaroff termed, "subversive bricolages [which are] motivated by an opposition to the dominant system" (1985: 198).

However, Glazier's (1996: 222) instruction that Caribbean religions such as Rastafari should not be reduced to "religions of protest" or "religions of the oppressed", rather, Rastafari ought—at least in the Jamaican context—to be a reminder that restitution is also heavily premised upon notions of spiritual atonement. In other words, Rastafari seek a relational reconciliation with God that culminates in their return to 'God's place' or—as I will be arguing in the case of The Dread—their return to a place of communion with Jah (God), atua (gods) and tīpuna (ancestors). Nevertheless, following the proposition that the social and political dimensions of Rastafari will invariably trump those of spiritual importance to the movement, a reasonable place to begin is with an assessment of the ways in which the Māori engagement with Rastafari has so far been represented in academic texts.

BOB THE BROTHER, BOB THE UNCLE, BOB THE RASTAFARI PROPHET

As previously mentioned, several authors have identified the medium of reggae music—specifically the roots reggae infusion of Rastafari and liberation politics found in the music of Bob Marley—as the primary catalyst in Rastafari's arrival to Aotearoa-New Zealand. Around the world, so great an influence is Marley recognised to have had on the spread of Rastafari that Cashmore ascribed to him the symbolic status of "Rasta emissary," whose music he described as capturing "the thrust of Rasta themes to perfection" (1984: 6). Murrell has been similarly generous in his praise of Marley's contribution to the international spread and popularity of reggae and Rastafari culture, stating, "in many ways, to feel the reggae beat is to think Rasta, as well as to celebrate the life and work of Bob Marley, who made reggae music and Rastafari so internationally accessible" (1998: 9).

Bob Marley's popularity in Aotearoa-New Zealand certainly catapulted in the wake of his

open-air concert in Western Springs, Auckland, on 16 April 1979—a performance for which Marley has been credited with singlehandedly delivering scores of Polynesians to Rastafari. The esteem in which so many Māori continue to hold Bob Marley can also be witnessed each year, when a celebratory remembrance in honour of his February 6th birthday is integrated alongside the Māori protests, which since the late 1960s have accompanied the Waitangi Day public holiday with which it shares the same date. For The Dread, Bob Marley is also revered as no less than "the prophet Brother Bob," a fictive kinsman who is situated in the same prophetic tradition as Te Kooti, the nineteenth century Māori prophet leader and founder of the Ringatū movement to which The Dread are also affiliated.

In contrast to Douglas and Boxill's claim that "the rest of New Zealand society perceived Rastafari beliefs and practises as foreign, heretical and unacceptable" (2008: 74), my period of ethnographic field research (February 2007 to March 2009) conveyed to me the inverse impression, particularly (although not exclusively), among Polynesians. For example, when meeting Māori for the first time, I found many were eager to discuss their love of reggae music and/or their childhood experiences of listening to their parents playing the songs of "Brother Bob" or "Uncle Bob", as he is also affectionately known. On numerous occasions non-Rastafari Māori, both young and old, would profess and/or demonstrate by singing, their knowledge of the words to many and in a few instances, all of Bob Marley's songs. On countless others, Māori with whom I spoke would share anecdotes regarding members of their family who are or were Rastafari, and would offer to share their collection of reggae music and alongside inviting me to share my knowledge of Jamaica and Rastafari, would invite me to *kōrero* (discuss) my impressions of Aotearoa reggae vis-à-vis Jamaican reggae. In the view of many, Jamaica, in particular the home of Bob Marley in the island's capital, Kingston, was considered a site of pilgrimage—a journey that only a few with whom I spoke had so far managed to undertake.

In Ruatoria, I was keenly informed by The Dread that most Māori, particularly between the ages of 25-50, will probably be sporting a little red gold and green (whether a ring,

wallet, sweatband, or earrings etcetera) and/or will have the words 'Jah' or 'Rastafari' tattooed somewhere on their person. Others professed that every home in the township boasts at least one picture of Bob Marley on the wall. It was certainly the case that images of Bob Marley could be viewed in the windows of a few local homes, both in the form of posters and Jamaican flags superimposed with his portrait. Indeed, the deep affection in which Māori hold reggae was poignantly communicated by a member of The Dread named Te Kupu, who remarked, "reggae has a spot on the heart of the fish." With this statement Te Kupu indelibly stamped reggae music and by extension Rastafari, on the psyche of the North Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand, which Māori conceptualise as Te Ika a Māui (the fish of Māui), named after the exploits of the ancestor credited with bringing the land into existence (see Chapter Five).

In their study of The Dread, Douglas and Boxill (2008) highlighted two features of Aotearoa-New Zealand Rastafari that they considered particularly striking. The first was that the movement had "taken root without direct or sustained contact with other Rastafari", with the second observation being that in Aotearoa-New Zealand Māori had "rejected" that which Murrell termed, the movement's inherent "Afrocentricity" (1998: 5). In outlining the case for the distancing of Māori from the influences and core theme of Jamaican Rastafari, Douglas and Boxill constructed their analysis around the common presupposition that Rastafari in Aotearoa-New Zealand had been adapted to a new context of resistance to the suppression of Māori identity by the assimilationist policies of the Pākehā settler state.¹² Here, the standard argument can be surmised as follows: the ready attraction of some Māori to the "marginal identity" of Rastafari (Douglas and Boxill 2008: 79) is reflective of the homology between Māori nationalism of the 1970s to early 1980s and Rastafari's religio-political message of struggle.

According to proponents of this view, the Māori embracement of Rastafari was therefore motivated by the pragmatic adoption of a new medium with which to articulate challenges to existing Māori-Pākehā tensions pertaining to social and cultural imbalance,

¹² Pākehā, a term glossed as New Zealander of European descent

historical injustice, alienation from land and liberation from colonial subordination (Durie 1998; Sharp 1997). At the forefront of Māori activism being highlighted, were challenges to the legitimacy of the Treaty of Waitangi, initially signed on 6 February 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and a total of forty-three Māori chiefs. The Treaty of Waitangi formalised British settlement of Aotearoa-New Zealand, but it is British contraventions to treaty agreements that Māori hold as responsible for initiating the large-scale dispossession of Māori land and concomitant physical displacement (McCleod 1988: 71). A second Māori grievance surrounds the opposition to Pākehā political domination and the institution of alienating assimilationist policies that produced the net effect of eroding the visibility and practise of te reo Māori (Māori language) and Māoritanga (Māori culture) (Spoonley 1988: 8). Then finally, some Māori articulated forms of opposition to Pākehā that were premised on the emancipation of the prophetic text of the Bible from the "Eurocentric presentation of Christianity" (Douglas and Boxill 2008: 79). Together, these contestations were interpreted as a continuation of the struggle initiated by Māori 'millenarian movements' of the previous centuries, such as Ringatū and Ratana (Levine and Henare 1994: 196).

A key aim of this thesis is to demonstrate how and why The Dread's strategy of land occupation was deployed, as but one of several means with which to pursue the group's cause—communion with Jah (God), atua (gods), and tīpuna (ancestors). In so doing, my approach stands in stark contrast to that adopted by the New Zealand historian, Judith Binney, in her impressively detailed biography, 'Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki' (1995), the author expressed apparent scepticism at The Dread's now deceased former prophet leader, Jah Rastafari's, pronouncement that the group follow the Ringatū teachings of Te Kooti, while simultaneously believing in the divinity of Haile Selassie. In her otherwise excellent biography, Binney, I suggest, misinterprets The Dread's strategy of land occupation as being their goal, when she erroneously concluded that The Dread's identification with Rastafari was integrated into the group's kaupapa (philosophy) as a means of aligning their "particular cause, *land occupations*, with 'black Zionism'" (1995: 518, my italics). Moreover, Binney clearly had The Dread in mind when she followed this misinterpretation with a statement proclaiming the inherent

volatility of the Ringatū teachings created a living religious history, which renders the movement susceptible to being:

. . . constantly rewoven as well as renewed. As a lineage of ideas it may be seized upon as a way out of economic or political powerlessness. Its real dangers lie in the potential exploitation of the followers by the self-appointed religious leader. If he (more rarely, she) claims to be, in person, the answer to all the people's questions and choices, then the movement may become fanatical and obsessive, as well as violent (1995: 518).

Similarly, in his article entitled, 'Rastafari and New Zealand Māori', the ordained presbyterian chaplain, Harold Turner, expressed near-identical concerns about The Dread's commitment to, and exploitation of both Ringatū and Rastafari. Indeed, in Turner's view of illegal activities that accompanied The Dread's adoption of Rastafari, and dual Māori-Rastafari identity, he opined:

It is impossible to estimate how far the authentic spiritual conviction and discipline of Rastafari made much appeal except that these did catch on with some of the members of Māori "gangs" who had been incorrigible in the eyes of New Zealand society (. . .) the chief problems of genuine Rastafari arises when the term is adopted superficially by alienated youth, by political activists prepared to use violence and by those living on the wrong side of the law, or for use in the inter-group disputes . . . This has happened in New Zealand where a combination of ancient tribal feuds and current social dissatisfaction among young Māori on the east coast above Gisborne has made the small town of Ruatoria and the "Rasta" image notorious. (. . .) Another dimension of the same problem appears when young Māori in prison (. . .) declare their religion to be Rastafarianism, or perhaps Ringatū, another independent post-Christian Māori religion, and sometimes that they are both Rastafari and Ringatū (1991: 7-8).

Highlighting The Dread's contribution to the notoriety of Ruatoria, leads me to an appropriate point from which to construct my response to the collective assertions of Binney (1995); Douglas and Boxill (2008); Durie (1998); Levine and Henare (1994); McCleod (1988); Sharp (1997); Spoonley (1988); and indeed, Turner (1991). In so doing, I shall begin by prefacing my introduction to The Dread and discussion of the theoretical approach taken in this thesis, with an outline of the township of Ruatoria around which they are centred.

RUATORIA

The Dread reside in and around the small, rural township of Ruatoria; a predominantly Maori-populated settlement that is situated on the easternmost corner of Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island. The region, which is known to Māori as 'Te Tai Rāwhiti' ('The

East Coast'), is roughly defined in this thesis as the nub of land jutting into the South Pacific between Ōpōtiki and Gisborne. The beautiful, rugged and comparatively remote Tai Rāwhiti has largely remained a Māori domain. Today, over eighty percent of land tenure on the Tai Rāwhiti—an estimated 102,000 hectares—remains in Māori multiple-ownership. Ruatoria is situated amid large areas of Māori multiple-owned land, which is predominantly utilised for the purposes of farming (lamb and beef), forestry, maize, and other fodder crops. The region also comprises large tracts of 'underdeveloped' land covered in shrub, indigenous forests and large tracts of pine forests. However, lacking in major industry, large-scale tourism or centres of commerce, Ruatoria is considered economically depressed by New Zealand standards.



Figure 1. Images of Ruatoria, the Ngāti Porou Visitors Centre

The overwhelming majority of The Dread belong to the iwi (kin grouping) of Ngāti Porou. Each Māori iwi is genealogically connected to the eponymous ancestor from whom the iwi takes its name. For Ngāti Porou—whose name literally translates as ‘The People of Porou’—that eponymous ancestor is ‘Porourangi’. With a registered population of almost 72,000 members (Statistics New Zealand 2006), Ngāti Porou is Aotearoa-New Zealand's second-largest iwi. Ruatoria also boasts amongst the highest concentrations of Māori in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Indeed, where nationally, Māori comprise a mere 14.6 percent of Aotearoa-New Zealand's 4.4 million population, the 2006 New Zealand Census recorded that of Ruatoria's population of 756 residents, 94.8 percent defined themselves as Māori (Statistics New Zealand 2006). Notwithstanding

the modest size of Ruatoria's resident population, the township nevertheless constitutes one of the more significant centres in the sparsely inhabited heartland of Ngāti Porou. An unassuming settlement, Ruatoria nevertheless possesses a bank, two petrol stations, a pub, a grocery store, a cafe, the Ngāti Porou Visitors Centre, Ngata Memorial College, a fire station and St John's Ambulance depot, a police station and community health centre, a supermarket and a general store. Indeed, the townships infrastructure is testament to Ruatoria's administrative, social, economic and cosmological significance.

Each of Aotearoa-New Zealand's Māori iwi identifies with an ancestral mountain, which is regarded as the sacred cornerstone of the kin group's abiding presence on the landscape and is emblematic of the ascendancy of the resident chief. In the case of Ngāti Porou, that ancestral mountain is Hikurangi Maunga. Standing 1,752 metres high, Hikurangi Maunga not only carries the distinction of being the highest peak in the Raukūmara Range, but is also the highest non-volcanic summit on Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island. According to Ngāti Porou tradition, the summit of Hikurangi Maunga was the first point to have surfaced, when in defiance of his four elder brothers, the kin group's ancestor, the demi-god Māui-pōtiki ('Māui the youngest child'), literally fished Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island from the depths of the ocean. It is said that the rising Hikurangi Maunga elevated Māui-pōtiki's canoe onto its peak, where to this day, Ngāti Porou assert its petrified remains lay inverted in a small lake on the summit of the mountain (Ngata 1989 [1944b]: 2). Māui-pōtiki's prodigious feat is universally commemorated by the North Island's Māori name, 'Te-Ika-a-Māui', a term that translates as 'The-Fish-of-Māui'.

On account of their proximity to the inherent mana that radiates from Hikurangi Maunga, nearby people and places such as the township of Ruatoria and its residents, are conceptualised as bathed in the 'ihi' ('essential force') and 'wehi' ('dread' and 'awe') that radiates from the mountain. Given the historical and cosmological associations surrounding Hikurangi Maunga, Ruatoria was selected as the ideal base for the Ngāti Porou's representative authority, 'Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou', upon its formation in 1987 until its relocation 103 kilometres south to the East Coast's only city of Gisborne in 1993.

Nevertheless, beyond roadworks contractors Fulton & Hogan, and the two main forestry companies operating in the region (Hansol and Ngāti Porou Whānau Forests Ltd.), large-scale employers and opportunities for long-term, full-time paid employment are scarce. The dearth of job creation is reflected in the township's median income of NZ\$14,800, which compares unfavorably with a figure of NZ\$24,400 nationally, while Ruatoria's unemployment rate of 18.4 percent measures over three and a half times above the national average of 5.1 percent (Statistics New Zealand 2006).

Non-Māori and non-Ngāti Porou outsiders rarely visit Ruatoria. Indeed, aside from the drivers of logging and cattle trucks, only a slow trickle of Pākehā motorists venture this far east on the region's sole commuter artery, Highway 35. These few visitors, cycle, hitch, catch a ride on one of the 3 shuttle bus services that wind their way around the fin of the fish (as it is vernacularly referred to by Māori), or transport themselves in custom graffiti painted camper vans. Others journey by rental cars encumbered with luggage, bedding and provisions of food and drink. These seemingly adventurous Pākehā appear to visit the East Coast because very few others do, but in my experience generally pause only briefly to steal a glimpse of the breath-taking ocean views and rugged panoramic vistas. The region experiences a climate of hot dry summer months and wet winter months, which are often characterised by what travel writer, John Woods, described as "torrid skies" above and "surging seas" to the east (1998: 13).

For many outsiders, the mere mention of Ruatoria and its environs conjures images of a remote, beautiful and unspoilt region, populated by disaffected Māori with a reputed antipathy towards outsiders. In recent decades this view has been reinforced by the reports of hostility, controversy, violence and destruction that accompanied the activities of The Dread. This assumed inextricability between Ruatoria, Māori-Rastafari and the notoriety underpinning them both, was forged in the decade spanning the mid 1980s and mid 1990s and has since been intermittently reinforced by national media reports, books and to a lesser extent, academic research such as my own. For example, in 2001 The New Zealand Herald journalist, Chris Rattue, directed national attention towards The Dread's reputed criminality by characterising Ruatoria as: "a half-street town once infamous for

unrest involving Rastafarians,” while Angus Gillies 2008 publication entitled ‘Ngāti Dread: Volume One, Footsteps of Fire’, described Ruatoria as a town “terrorised by a religious sect calling itself the Rastafarians” (2008: 6). The infamous period to which Rattue and Gillies allude, encompasses The Dread’s campaign of direct action that was aimed at coercing the closure and/or sale of local pastoral and agricultural farms owned by Pākehā—a term glossed as ‘New Zealander’s of European descent’—by rendering their operations commercially unviable.

Having now signposted a few of the negative associations that many outsiders often hold with regards to Ruatoria and The Dread, it is also expedient to point out that in the popular perception of an equal number of other outsiders, the township of Ruatoria is synonymous with the Māori embracement of Rastafari in ways that are positively intriguing. There have been two notable documentaries about The Dread, Merata Mita’s 1996 film entitled, ‘Dread’ and Hitendra Patel’s 2002 documentary titled, ‘Children of Zion’, to add to the assortment of publications in which The Dread have featured. These include John Woods and Peter Quinn’s 1998 travel book, ‘Highway 35: Travels Around East Cape’; a 1999 photographic essay by Francesco Mastalia and Alfonse Pagano, entitled, ‘Dreads’, which centred on the global phenomena of wearing dreadlocks; and a 1999 photographic essay by Hans Neleman, entitled, ‘Moko—Māori Tattoo’, which focused on the wearers of Māori facial tattoos.

With levels of intrigue fuelled by the work of writers, photographers and filmmakers, many non-Māori visitors to Ruatoria regularly assume—often I might add, to the annoyance of the township's Ngāti Porou residents—that Ruatoria is a township full of Māori-Rastafari. Indeed, during one of my early visits to the Ngāti Porou Visitors Centre in Ruatoria, the manager and guide for the official Ngāti Porou tours of Hikurangi Mugna, Pāora Brooking, informed me that tourists and travellers frequently stop by the visitors centre to enquire where they can find Ruatoria’s Māori-Rastafari. This assumption is perhaps less surprising when one considers that during their ‘alleged’ peak in the early 1990s The Dread’s number is estimated to have stood at anywhere between 100 and 150 adherents (Collins 2000). If one were to accept these estimates, The Dread’s

contingent would have approached one-in-six of Ruatoria's then resident population of 852 people (Statistics New Zealand 1991). Nowadays however, largely owing to threats to their personal safety, many of The Dread have dispersed, either leaving Ruatoria altogether or adopting a low-key existence in or around the township. Consequently, the resident group's number has plummeted to around thirty, mostly male individuals, whose ages range from the late thirties to early fifties.

Ruatoria's economic situation, in conjunction with The Dread's tensive relationship with the township's non-Rastafari residents, are the two principle reasons why many of those members of the group who have chosen to remain, find themselves long-term unemployed or regularly without permanent employment. Instead, members of The Dread tend to combine their lengthy periods outside of paid employment with short-term or occasional work as lorry drivers, labourers, wood carvers and tattoo artists. For example, one member is involved on a voluntary part-time basis, as a sports coach in Ruatoria. Others have recently undertaken part-time degree programmes in disciplines as varied as teaching, the humanities, woodcarving and hapū (sub-tribe) development, while in recent years, the quartet of Melchizedek, Te Ahi, Te Hokowhitu and Branch have become integral members of the beleaguered seventeen-man Ruatoria Voluntary Fire Brigade (RVFB). When not engaged in KTT activities, The Dread generally combine their periods of unemployment, part-time or full-time employment, part-time voluntary employment or part-time study, with subsistence activities such as fishing, farming, diving for seafood and the communal cultivation of marijuana, which is known locally as 'dak'.

Since 1995, members of The Dread have also been intermittently engaged in the running of their own cooperative venture called the 'Kirikiritangi Charitable Trust' or 'KTT'. The name, Kirikiritangi, translates as 'Crying-Gravel' and is taken from the site of the ancient Māori fighting academy at the mouth of Whareponga Stream, which up until the mid-nineteenth century, was one of the sites where Ngāti Porou schooled novice warriors in the arts of Māori weaponry and war strategy (Melbourne 2009: 4; Soutar 2008: 17). In contrast, however, The Dread's Kirikiritangi is notable for its promotion

of a holistic model for independent and environmentally sustainable living. In the first instance, the Kirikiritangi Charitable Trust aims to integrate ecologically-sound exogenous concepts such as adobe house building and permaculture methods for growing corn, beans, potatoes etcetera, with ostensibly endogenous principles rooted in Ngāti Porou culture and 'tikanga'—a term literally translated as “correct ways,” although nowadays glossed as 'custom'. Long-term, however, the KTT is designed to facilitate the practical and economical means by which The Dread can fulfill their aim of abandoning the confines of the Ruatoria township for relocation to the sites of ancestral Ngāti Porou settlements located in the hills around the township.

THE INVENTION OF TRADITION

The Ruatoria residents' claim—detailed in the Prologue to this thesis—that it had been a lack of Māori cultural knowledge that led to The Dread's identity being fused from "a hotch potch of ideas," is one that resonates with anthropological debates about the continuity, discontinuity and invention of culture and tradition. In the first instance, this alleged "hotch potch" refers to The Dread's dual Ngāti Porou-Rastafari identity, characterised by their wearing of dreadlocks and adherence to the Jamaican-in-origin Rastafari movement on the one hand, and their identification with atua (gods) and tīpuna (ancestors), as well as their adornment of Māori facial moko (tattoos). The Dread's adornment of facial moko is especially pertinent to any discussion of invented traditions, given the wearing of facial moko is widely understood to have disappeared for over a hundred years, only to appear once more in the final quarter of twentieth century.

Additionally, the Ruatoria resident's claim identifies a relatively recent rupture in the transmission of cultural knowledge from Ngāti Porou elders to The Dread, which will be discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis. In much of the Māori academic literature, however, the emphasis is generally placed on academic complicity in a far earlier rupture, delineated by the arrival of Lieutenant James Cook and the crew of H.M. Bark Endeavour's arrival in Aotearoa-New Zealand in 1769. Occupying the 'before 1769' side of Cook's arrival are those generations that have been conceptualised by mid-nineteenth century ethnologists and historians as culturally 'authentic' or 'traditional' Māori.

Conversely, with each successive generation, those occupying the 'after 1769' side of the divide have been conceptualised as progressively 'inauthentic', 'non-traditional' and/or 'modern' Māori.

Interestingly, much like the Ruatoria resident's accusation that The Dread fused fragments of knowledge in the creation of their identity, academics working in the Pacific during the last half of the twentieth century, similarly accused mid-nineteenth century ethnologists and historians of doing likewise. For example, Jean Smith is one of many authors (see also, Biggs 1952, 1960; Buck 1950; Gathercole 1978; Hanson 1989; Johansen 1958; Simmons 1966, 1976; and Shawcross 1976) to have accused both ethnographic and contemporary Māori representations of culture and tradition as having been skewed by mid-nineteenth century reconstructions of a past largely:

... derived from the memories of old Māoris [with a vested interest in conserving] tribal history, legends, myths, other beliefs and rites [that] do not on the whole present a picture of a functioning society, either that of the past or that contemporary to the ethnographers (Smith 1974: 3).

In discrediting a huge swathe of historic Māori literature, Smith's comments allude to a schism between the socio-culturally 'authentic' knowledge of traditions that existed in the Māori past and the socio-culturally 'inauthentic' knowledge of traditions assimilated by Māori in the present. Such critiques of the role of historians, anthropologists and the people they study in the reconstruction of tradition, foreshadowed Roy Wagner's pioneering theorisation of the symbolic constructions or invention of 'culture'. For Wagner, 'invention' "is culture" (1981 [1975]: 35) and so to speak of cultural invention is to celebrate innovation as an ongoing process of symbolic construction of social life that is common to all human beings in all societies. Indeed, since the publication of Wagner's 'The Invention of Culture' (1981 [1975]), a vast and often contentious field of analysis, "the invention of tradition," has risen in response to contemporary articulations of culture and tradition.

Largely indebted to Wagner, most scholars have ceased to equate 'culture'—alternatively, 'tradition'—with a passively inherited body of unchanging customs and beliefs, which the historian Eric Hobsbawm (1983: 2), designated "genuine" traditions (see, for example,

Handler 1984; Handler and Linnekin 1984; Hanson 1989; and Linnekin 1983, 1990, 1991). Hobsbawm had maintained that "genuine" traditions are distinguishable from "invented" traditions, which he defined as those that lay claim to continuity with a historic past that is "largely factitious" (1983: 2). Nevertheless, many scholars have maintained a close adherence to the emphasis Hobsbawm placed on traditions that are invented when "old" traditions or their "institutional carriers and promulgators" are weakened, destroyed or fail to adapt to the new social patterns introduced by rapid social transformation (1983: 4-5). For example, Nicholas Thomas insists that the process of self-representation that informs invented traditions are "frequently oppositional or reactive" and can occur in strategic response to asymmetries created by colonialists, traditionalists and nation states. Responses to colonial and postcolonial contact are thereby identified as the catalyst for the reform or reformulation of "what is inadequate in intersocial relations and with what seems unsatisfactory or backward in one's own situation" (1992: 213, 228).

Other writers have placed an even greater emphasis on political expediency by marrying Hobsbawm's advent of social rupture with the concerns of academic reconstructions of the pre- and early colonial era, outlined above. In these analyses, the emphasis is on 'invented' traditions co-authored by colonialists and academics. Attempts to recast this genre of invented traditions as authentic—Hobsbawm's, "genuine" traditions—are thus conceptualised as part of ethnic nationalistic efforts to revive the status of their people through the promotion of ethnic and cultural distinctiveness (see, for example, Hanson 1989; Keesing 1989; Linnekin 1983; Sissons 1993). As Jocelyn Linnekin writes: "the logic of cultural invention implies that anthropological knowledge is necessarily available to various contending parties, native and anti-native, to use in pursuit of their own ends" (1991: 447).

The publication of Allan Hanson's article, 'The Making of the Māori' (1989) was largely responsible for bringing this contentious debate to the fore by not only causing huge Māori outrage and generating national media headlines in Aotearoa-New Zealand (see, for example, Freeth 1990: 1; Grainger 1990: 1; Nissen 1990: 20; Scott 1990: 2), but also dividing academic opinion. Some anthropologists maintained that labelling the traditions

of Māori and other indigenous peoples 'invented' or as being developed out of the colonial experience, undercuts the cultural authority of the people by calling into question the historical authenticity of those concerned. More specifically, Marshall Sahlins dismissed as a "functionalist disclaimer," the notion that all traditions—both in the West and non-West—are invented, as not only one that reduces culture to the status of fabrication, but "has the effect of erasing the logical and ontological continuities" of a people (1993: 4). Moreover, such depictions, claims Sahlins, are tantamount to making "dupes of the ethnographers and victims of the indigenous people, or vice versa" (1993: 11).

Another opponent of the invention of tradition approach, Jonathan Friedman, similarly asserts that in spite of official disclaimers, the view that tradition is invented is one that posits the modern world as non-cultural, where "cultural identities are suspiciously unauthentic unless those who practise them can be classified as real 'traditionals'," and where people are "modern and therefore not 'traditional'" (1998: 42). Likewise, Amiria Henare alleges, conceptions of tradition as invented underscores long-standing folk theories about a kind of "conceptual miscegenation," whereby incorporation into twenty-first century, first-world society is viewed as having "adulterated authentic Māori identity, leaving a hybrid, postcolonial relic in its place" (2007: 48-49, 63).

Many other academics, however, defended their use of the word 'invention', which Hanson termed, a "rhetorical device" to promote a new way of thinking about "culture" and "tradition" (1991: 450). They instead charged their critics, whether academics, journalists, politicians or Māori members of the general public, on two related counts. The first was of having misinterpreted the intricate arguments within invention of tradition texts, the second was of having erroneously equated the term, 'invented', in the articles of Hanson and others, to mean 'made up,' rather than "tailored and embellished in the process of transmission" (Linnekin 1990: 161; see also, Hanson 1991: 449; Linnekin 1991: 447; Thomas 1992: 228 fn. 2; cf. Anderson 1983: 15). Notwithstanding the defence of the concept, Hanson saw fit to end a subsequent commentary on his 'The Making of the Māori' article, with an apology stating: "some Māoris and others were understandably

offended by my use of the term *invention*, and for that I am sorry" (1991: 450, emphasis in original).

Given Māori attitudes I occasionally heard expressed about the discipline of anthropology and anthropologists (briefly outlined in Chapter One of this thesis), it is doubtful that Hanson's well-meaning apology would have done much to assuage Māori anger at the time. Perhaps a hostile Māori response might even contribute to an explanation of Hanson's change of approach in his follow-up article, in which he declared his abandonment of the term, 'invented', stating: "invention when applied to culture and tradition is a systematically misleading expression that should not be perpetuated" (1991: 450). Significantly however, Hanson reaffirmed the overall theoretical approach to his analysis of Māori culture, as a strategy designed to open:

... readers to a point of view that, if they are moved by it, leads them to understand cultural traditions and their authenticity as something quite different, more dynamic and complex, than they had previously thought (1991: 450).

Therefore, implicit in Hanson's statement lays the general assumption that although academics have long recognised tradition as mutable, Pacific peoples hold fast to the notion of tradition as unchanging. But what, I ask, of the many Māori who, similarly, have long recognised their cultural traditions as dynamic and complex, continuous yet changing? Rather than the denial of continuity, implicit in the "invention of tradition" literature's emphasis on colonialism and modernity as the forces that introduce ruptures in social patterns, culture and tradition, this thesis draws on the work of Sahlins (1993) and others, in recognising culture and tradition as possessing an inherently dynamic force of their own. The parameters of this dynamism, as Henare rightly points out, "were laid down long before the arrival of European colonists [and] prevails among Māori in present-day New Zealand" (2007: 61). The position I advance with respect to the invention of tradition therefore echoes Jonathan Friedman—namely, if we are to accept that all traditions are "invented" in and for the purposes of the present, then: "we must consider that, while cultural 'invention' is obviously motivated, the motivations themselves are not invented" (1998: 44). Viewed this way, The Dread's dual Ngāti Porou-Rastafari identity can only be properly understood as exemplifying a type of formulated

response to identity, which Sahlins described as "totally improvised, something never seen or imagined before, not just a knee-jerk repetition of ancient custom" (1993: 18).

COLLAPSING TIME

To explain the fit between The Dread's relationship to cosmogony, myth, ancestors and the Rastafari movement, it will therefore be necessary to apply a theoretical model that is capable of explaining how Māori individuals in the present, facilitate active engagements to their cosmogonic, historic and mythical past. Underpinning the theoretical approach to my argument will be Jørgen Prytz Johansen's classic observation that ". . . there is a fundamental difference between our [the European] experience of time and that of the Māori" (1954: 152-153). Subsequent authors have since enlivened Johansen's observation by contrasting the Euro-American model of linear historical time with the intrinsic double aspect of its Māori counterpart. From the Māori perspective, the dimensions of 'the past' (the ancestral world) and 'the future' (the world of the living) are collapsed into a single field of unified knowledge, which encompasses individuals within a framework that is both historic and ahistoric.

Individually, the Māori past and the Māori future are each identified by Māori as bearing a paradoxical force of their own. The past, designated 'nga rā o mua' (the days in front), is conceived as being to the fore of human consciousness, because only the past is perceptible, while the complimentary term 'kei muri', denotes both the future and that which lies behind, as the future cannot be seen (Binney 1995: 507; Metge 1976: 70; Walker 1993: 6). As a corollary, the Māori, says Johansen, "relives history" (1954: 161; see also, Kernot 1983: 192; Sahlins 1987: 58). Indeed, where French philosopher, Henri Bergson (1859-1941), asserted "The present contains nothing more than the *past*, and what is found in the effect was already in the cause" (1911: 12, my italics), Māori would classically argue: The present contains nothing more than the *future*, and what is found in the effect was already in the cause. As Ranginui Walker writes, Māori individuals are conceptualised as "traveling backwards in time to the future, with the present unfolding in front as a continuum into the past", which extends all the way to mythological time (1993: 6; see also, Amoamo, Tupene and Neich 1984: 26, 35; Lévi-Strauss 1978: 43; Sahlins

1981: 11-13, 67). Similarly, this thesis confronts the issue of the Ngāti Porou present by, at various points, engaging with the Ngāti Porou historical and cosmological past.

For Māori, the means through which the deeds of ancestors are brought into dialogue with events occurring in the present, is in part attributable to an oral tradition of waiata (songs, chants), pepeha (proverbs)¹³ and kōrero tawhito (narrative, literally 'ancient explanations'). This repertoire of oral forms, elaborates the vast layers of Māori whakapapa (genealogy) by situating the actions of gods, cultural heroes and ancestors, within a universal scheme of common ancestry. Collectively, waiata, pepeha and kōrero tawhito provide instruments through which Māori are able to trace their genesis from the "creation of the universe, to the creation of the first woman, and thereafter, the development of culture and human institutions" (Walker 1993: 6).

The all-encompassing kindred network at the centre of Māori cosmology have been described by Marshall Sahlins as "successively changing in context from the abstract and universal to the concrete and individual, from the divine to the human and on to the ancestral group" (1987: 57). Through an approach termed, 'rangahau'—a research process that connotes "weaving together the breath of the ancestors"¹⁴—Māori attain guidance by drawing upon and reinterpreting the deeds of ancestors. In this way, the past re-emerges and is actualised in the present, enabling Māori to "find themselves in history" by establishing communion with ancestors, in what Johansen described as an "active fellowship" (1954: 85). Standing "in contrast to individual life," the fellowship to which Johansen refers is the Māori kinship group, which he understood as indicative of "one big 'I,'" the kinship I that lives through the ages (1954: 35, 149, 164). Thus, much like the unifying concept of I-an-I discussed earlier, in which all Rastafari I's are conjoined in a fellowship with God—Jah Rastafar-I, the Māori kinship I conjoins all Māori living in the present with their atua (gods) and tīpuna (ancestors) from the past.

¹³ The term pepeha also incorporates charms, witticisms, figures of speech and boasts (Williams 2003: 277).

¹⁴ I am extremely grateful to Uncle Ohia for introducing me to this expression.

Taken together, the recognisable significance of historic events that informs the way the present is experienced (Sahlins 1987: 59), and ability to bring the past to bear in the present and the future (Metge 1976: 70), exemplifies Johansen's assertion that for Māori each historic episode possesses "quite another depth than they do for us" (1954: 152). Consequently, proverb, narrative and chants bestow the "living exponents of Māori knowledge" with a constant stream of cosmological and historical narrative references for consumption in public and private discourse (Walker 1993: 6). For these reasons, Māori traditionally believe that the receipt of guidance from ancestors in the past eliminates the notion of chance occurrences in the future.

For Sahlins, the past in traditional Polynesian society was reconstituted with the present through a process of mythical re-enactment called mytho-praxis, a term he defined as the explicit organisation of "historical action as the projection of mythical relations" (1987: 54). By identifying human participation in patterns of mythic re-enactment, mytho-praxis regards the system of signification embedded within each myth as capable of revealing explanations of events occurring in the present. "Hence the relations and deeds of primordial concepts as represented in myth become, for the persons descended of such concepts, the paradigms of their own historical actions" (Sahlins 1987: 14).

Somewhat unconvinced by the supposed lack of precision generated by Sahlins theoretical model of mythic re-enactment, Adam Kuper (2000: 197) alleged that it is difficult to pin down exactly what Sahlins theory of mytho-praxis entailed. In both Kuper's evaluation, and the earlier critique delivered by Gananath Obeyesekere (1992), mytho-praxis is accused of being caught between two stools. On the one hand, says Obeyesekere, mytho-praxis demonstrates "a strongly conservative" character, which conceptualises "natives" as unreflecting slaves to custom and "preexisting beliefs" (1992: 56). Operating from this conservative position, mytho-praxis appeared to advocate that "whatever happened was structurally determined" (Kuper 2000: 187). At other points however, mytho-praxis lends itself to being a "radical disruptive movement fostering change" (Obeyesekere 1992: 56), where rather than following a set script, different factions could impose "interpretations of myth that fitted their material or political

goals" (Kuper 2000: 187).

A further problematic that will also be relevant to my following discussion on cosmogonic separation, is that which Anne Salmond framed, "metropolitan analyses which identify Māori logic with mythological re-enactment, or authenticity with the period before European contact." Here, argues Salmond, Sahlins' notion of recapitulation presents a misleading portrait of the Māori world as locked in the grasp of mytho-praxis. Salmond continues, such analyses are delivered at the expense of recognising Māori cosmology's "intrinsically dynamic" character, which develops through whakapapa (genealogical) time. In contrast, mytho-praxis falsely renders whakapapa "static, frozen at the moment of creation and ceaselessly recapitulated" (1995: 25-26). In locating the relationship between Polynesian myth and human social action firmly in the past, inhabited by the so-called 'traditional' Māori of the pre and early European settlement period, Sahlins's theoretical framework of mytho-praxis therefore exposes itself to a similar critique he himself levelled at the invention of tradition mode of analysis.

Without necessarily endorsing the overtly negative characterisation of Māori ontology as premised on the fundamental struggle between humans and gods (see, for example, Gell 1993, 1995; Hanson 1982; Sahlins 1981, 1985, 1987), it is fair to say that such an analytical focus tells us little about the perseverance of ontologically-informed reflections on specific generative primordial scenarios in contemporary Māori society. Such omissions are rendered most conspicuous by the discourses of those which the anthropologist, Ranginui Walker of the Whakatōhea kin group, referred to as the "living exponents of Māori knowledge" (1993: 6), a category in which this thesis situates *The Dread*. As a consequence of the primacy granted to tensions existent within the intra-category relationships of men and gods in pre-colonial Polynesia, the analyses of Gell, Hanson and Sahlins have also overlooked any interrogation of the ontologically premises upon which separation informed the inter-category socio-political relationships of Māori. If, however, we were to reapply Sahlins observation that "ontogeny recapitulates cosmogony" (1987: 59) and redirect our analytical gaze towards the intra-category contestations occurring at the time of separation, we may in turn discover something of

their ontological consequences upon intra-category relationships of contemporary Māori.

ACCESSING ONTOLOGY THROUGH COSMOLOGY AND PRACTICE

If we are not to abandon the presence of myth in everyday context, how then are we to figure the relationship between cosmology and human social action and how might this relationship be of relevance to kaupapa (philosophy) of *The Dread*? Michael Scott's recent monograph, 'The Severed Snake' (2007), intervenes in this debate with the development of 'onto-praxis', a theoretical model capable of addressing how scholars can best understand the relationship between myth and human social action in Oceanist anthropology. In this work, Scott urged scholars to adopt a more interrogative ontological approach to considerations of myth. Scott's formulation of onto-praxis therefore offers a model that "mediates between structure and practice" (2007: 20) by reconciling the very distinctions Sahlins (1987: 53-54) drew between his own concept of "mythopraxis" and Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) concept of "habitus." Scott advanced that it is the location of onto-praxis at the "nexus between agency and models of being" that invests the concept with a wide-ranging, yet interrogative approach to analysing "a given socio-cultural context." Thus, onto-praxis renders accessible, aspects of ontology obscured within the "seemingly non-cosmological concepts and speculations" occurring in everyday human activities (Scott 2007: 20-21). In accessing ontology through cosmology and praxis, onto-praxis strives to eliminate the ambiguities posited in critiques of mythopraxis, while illuminating anthropological understandings of the premise underpinning selection from what Sahlins termed, the "vast scheme of possibilities" (1987: 57).

The onto-praxis approach requires ontologically significant praxis (i.e., ideas, daily activities, and institutions) to be situated at the deepest level of ontology operative at a given time and place (Scott 2007: 21). In this regard, a major ontological concern of Scott's application of onto-praxis pertains to the particular models social actors employ to mediate the tension between unity and differentiation in Oceanic societies. Briefly stated, Scott's main argument is as follows: in mono-ontologies where cosmologies are based on the notion of original unity or consubstantiality of all things, the world is

explained as coming into being through processes of internal division that fracture its wholeness. In such monogenetic cosmologies, people are obliged to socially construct ways in which to create and maintain differentiation with other groups. Scott terms this obligation, "the first-order burden on praxis." The second-order burden is then to re-establish relations with those differentiated others without reverting back to the original condition of primordial unity. By contrast, in poly-ontologies where cosmologies are premised upon a primordial condition of originally separate and autonomous entities, the first-order burden on praxis people face is having to achieve unifying relations between these pre-existing categories of being. The second-order burden then becomes a matter of preserving their distinctive identities "without rupturing the ties they have formed and reverting to primordial disjunction" (2000: 72; 2007: 18).

Scott writes that in neither mono- nor poly- ontological cosmologies is either unity or differentiation valued to the exclusion of the other (2007: 18). Instead, states Scott, actors in both systems strive to maintain a balance between a state of unity and diversity. For, if in mono-ontological cosmologies *a priori* unity gained an excessive upper hand in social relations, the polity would be conceived as being in danger of annihilation through fusion and absorption. Alternatively, in poly-ontological cosmologies the possibility of *a priori* diversity gaining an excessive upper hand in social relations, threatened the polity with fragmentation and a return to the original state separation.

CLEAVING SPACE

The concept of monogenesis perfectly captured what Alfred Gell (1995) termed, "Polynesian thought about the universe," as characterised by "the initial existence of everything in an all-embracing plenum or tightly bound continuum," prior to its 'differentiation' by a God who made cuts (1995: 23). In the Tahitian variant of their monogenetic origin narrative, the name of the god who performed the act of separation that brought differentiation between the Po (the world of darkness he inhabited) and the Ao (the world of light and human habitation) was Ta'aroa. According to Henry (1901, 1928), pre-colonial Tahitians inhabited a cosmos that originated from the substance of the primordial anthropomorphic being, Ta'aroa. His name, meaning "the severer" (Henry

1928), honoured his role in creating these distinctions through a process of fracture and self-sacrificial dismemberment, whereby he first broke free of his egg and rearranged a large piece of the broken shell to form the sky as a containment for sun, moon and stars. Ta'aroa then utilised another piece of shell to form the containment for rocks and sand, before dissecting various elements of his body and internal organs to form mountains, clouds, earth, animals, and trees, etc (Henry 1901: 51; 1928: 339-340).

To date, the most ontologically rich lines of analysis to have emerged from Polynesian cosmology pertain to a series of mutually affirming interpretations of the cleavage, and differentiation by a god who converted the original condition of oneness. Thereby, creating the binary principles of 'the Po': associated with the original dark world of gods, heaven, night, and death; and 'the Ao': associated with the newly created world of light and human habitation, earth, day, and life. In Alfred Gell's terms, "what gods do is articulate, or differentiate, the world into its distinct components and quantities" (1995: 23). To accept Sahlins' assertion that in Polynesia "ontogeny recapitulates cosmogony" (1987: 59), is therefore to assume that the cosmogonic activities of the Polynesian severer would be reproduced at the level of the individual subject. Or as specifically stated by Gell, the terms of Polynesian recapitulation were not motivated by "a vainglorious desire to emulate the god, but certainly for the same reasons that the creative gods engaged in the same splitting, i.e. in order to open a space, to establish difference" (1995: 25).

Several key authors in this tradition (Gell 1993, 1995; Hanson 1982; Hanson and Hanson 1983; and Sahlins 1981, 1985, 1987) credit this sequence as not only responsible for the creation of the cosmos, but in also fostering a climate of pervading anxiety upon which pre-colonial Polynesian social, political and cultural life was deemed to have been premised. As a consequence of what Gell termed the "bi-cameral" world of the Polynesians (1995: 21), in which the worlds of the Po and the Ao were emergent parts of a continuum, separation had for Polynesians, only a provisional character. Therefore, for Polynesians, this cosmological condition posed the continued threat of annihilation through merger, re-absorption, or de-differentiation, unless held in check through ritual action (Gell 1995: 24-25). We are told, that in the Māori context this predicament was

particularly acute, necessitating individuals, indeed the whole of Māori society, to engage in the performance of almost continuous countervailing ritual action, designed to successively lure the sacred to, before banishing the sacred from, the human domain (Gell 1993: 243; Sahlins 1985: 195; 1987: 113). Evidencing Scott's second-order burden on praxis, the need to secure the fertility and productive resources of the gods necessitated the former, whilst the stress on preserving the integrity of mutually volatile essences and boundaries of tapu (sacred) gods, and noa (profane) humans motivated the latter.

For this reason, Hanson described the tapu (sanctity) of the Polynesian gods as a "mixed blessing" (1982: 345). On the one hand, the tapu of the gods was the source of all creativity, reproduction and fertility. In the Māori context, this meant that the divine intervention of atua (gods) was essential to a number of processes vital to well-being, such as human agricultural and artistic fecundity, and success in battle (Cruise 1823: 32; Dumont d'Urville 1950: 186, 225). On the negative side, however, the tapu state occasioned by the presence of atua was also attributed to any unaccountable occurrence of illness, fear prior to battle, or event for which no physical cause was immediately apparent (Earle 1832: 241; Goldie 1904: 3; Shortland 1856: 82; Thomson 1859: 220). In this regard, Māori had therefore to continually move between the management of their cosmological wellbeing i.e., the maintenance of distinction to prevent fusion, and collapse; and through ritual praxis, where they were obliged to enter into union with the gods to secure their subsistence needs.

DIFFERENTIATING THE ONE, THE MANY, AND THE MANY WITHIN THE TWO

When appraising Lewis' (1996) presentation of the origin narratives of the Ata Tana 'Ai of eastern Flores, Indonesia, Scott identified a presumably unintended ontological contradiction within a system outlined by the author. Whereby Lewis' depiction of Ata Tana 'Ai origin narrative bore, at distinct moments, the characteristics of both a poly- and mono-ontology (Lewis 1996: 156, 170). From Scott's perspective this incongruity may be indicative of one of two possibilities; either the need for greater analytical precision to be applied in ironing out the inconsistency, or perhaps less likely, evidence that Lewis had encountered a context in which divergent ontological schemes coexisted within a

single society. In the event of the former, Scott anticipated that the discrepancy could perhaps be clarified by revisiting anthropological interpretations of the available data with a view to resituating "praxis relative to the deepest level of ontology operative within a given cosmological framework" (2007: 19). If having investigated the former, evidence of the coexistence of poly- and mono-ontological systems remained identifiable, Scott accepts that there then would arise important issues "relevant to the interpretation of Ata Tana 'Ai socio-spatial order" (2007: 23). In such an eventuality, Scott suggested two further lines of anthropological analysis; the first to determine the processes of ontological selection and outcomes that may arise from tensions between distinct and/or competing ontological models. A second, complementary line of enquiry could then unpack the role of ritual and everyday activities in overcoming the "practical burdens" that emerge from the various phases of coming into being (2007: 23-24).

What then, might be the ontological consequences of pursuing a scenario in which competing ontological models exist within Māori society? In dialogue with Gregory Schrempp's (1992) analysis of Māori cosmogonic thought, it is my contention that close attention to the intra-category relationships occurring at the time of cosmogonic rupture has the potential to enrich ontological interpretations of The Dread's tensive relationship to members of Ruatoria's Māori community whom they refer to as "the whānau".¹⁵ I suggest that in the context of these relational dynamics, the "praxis relative to the deepest level of ontology operative within a given cosmological framework" to which Scott urges attention (2007: 19), emanates from the disagreement between siblings prior to cosmogonic separation. From the separation of earth and sky dissension ensued, and in so doing, presented the possibility for dual ontological perspectives to emerge.

¹⁵ Glossed as the "extended family", in this instance 'whānau' can be understood as a term of reference for The Dread's respective families, which loosely extends to Ruatoria's Māori community as a whole. Similarly, Metge (1990) identified a multitude of ways the term, whānau, is applied to express the quality of an individual's commitment and responsibility to a specific group. In her research, Metge lists eight uses of the term. These include four categories pertaining to descent groupings of differing genealogical depth or criteria for inclusion; a "kin-cluster", comprised of "kinsmen who regularly co-operate for common ends"; an elastic term, which on occasion can include all Māori with whom a genealogical connection can be drawn; a classificatory term for an action or support group; and finally, as a metaphorical term to describe the "family atmosphere" in which "groupings of people who are not connected by kinship" operate (1990: 71-73).

The first ontological perspective would be consistent with actors exercising the obligatory primary and second-order burdens on praxis present in Scott's description of mono-ontologies. That is, "to achieve and maintain differentiation," while balancing the need to "establish productive relations between the categories achieved through separation without undoing the process of differentiation and reverting to primordial unity" (Scott 2000: 72; 2007: 18). The second ontological perspective promotes a scheme of unification, which like the primordial condition, allows for the communion of 'the many' within the original whole.¹⁶ I hope to demonstrate that it is the second of these perspectives that has been assumed by The Dread, and in doing so, not only constitutes their support of opposition to the original cosmogonic act of separation by one of the primordial siblings, but is also homologous to the Rastafari concept of unity conveyed through the medium of I-an-I discussed earlier. Whereby, rather than being in support of a solitary primordial being or entity, the condition existing prior to separation on the evidence of Māori cosmology, is that of oneness comprising many individuals encompassed by their parents.

On the face of it, Māori origin narrative also appears to be an exemplar of a monogenetic cosmology in which the creation of the cosmos came about through rupture.¹⁷ When one looks closely at Māori cosmogenesis, however, it is possible to discern a series of significant events, which warrant closer attention than that which has often been applied. Following Schrempp (1992), one is able to recognise, for example, that the original condition from which separation occurred, although technically constituting a whole, was not that which could be described as an 'organically' indivisible totality. Rather, the original condition of primordial being, or beings in this instance, can be more

¹⁶ The two ontological perspectives that I have highlighted here are not akin to what Schrempp characterises as a "dual formulation" i.e. they are not "two different theories . . . accounting for the origin and nature of major entities at *all* the main levels of the cosmogony (1992: 90, emphasis added).

¹⁷ It is difficult to construct a concise, continuous account of Māori cosmogonic origin as the versions recorded by different kin groupings often diverge and/or contradict each other. The abridged version provided here has been drawn from an account furnished by the Ngāti Porou kaumātua (elder), Anaru Kupenga (2004: 13-24). The account outlines the whakapapa (genealogical sequence) that begins with numerous phases of The Nothingness (Te Kore), which begat numerous phases of The Darkness (Te Pō), which begat The Longing (Te Manako), which begat The Mind (Te Hinengaro), which begat The Thought/Memory (Te Mahara), which begat The Desire (Te Hihiri), which begat The Swelling (Te Pupuke), which begat The Pregnancy (Te Kukune), which as is about to be described, begat Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother) (cf. Best 2006 [1924]; Hiroa 1974 [1949]).

accurately described as a composite whole, held together by the actions of Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother).

This, however, is not the aspect that is most pertinent to an onto-practical approach (i.e., locating ontology through cosmology and praxis) to The Dread's relational interaction with Māori cosmology and social action, to which this thesis is interested. For that, it is necessary to appreciate the coupling of Ranginui and Papatūānuku as much for its role in the genealogical reproduction of godly offspring, as for the inter-relational dynamics that occurred among the siblings during the later process of separation. The outcome of separation attaches ontological significance to Māori cosmological conceptions of genealogical relatedness, hierarchy, and differentiation, for reasons that were absent from other Polynesian contexts, where there had existed only one being at the time of creation. A prime example being, the solitary figure of Ta'aroa in Tahitian monogenetic origin.

To elaborate my explanation of this divergent mono-ontological occurrence, it is therefore necessary to revisit a standard version of the narrative detailing the process of Māori cosmogonic separation, which although abridged is perhaps the most typical of those in general circulation.¹⁸ Only this time with the emphasis placed on the presence of the many contained within the two, i.e., the existence of six children confined within the perpetual embrace of their parents, Ranginui and Papatūānuku, and the eventual divergence that emerged amongst the siblings as they debated what next to do about their perceived confinement.

THE MANY WITHIN THE TWO

As elsewhere in Polynesia, Māori cosmology posits the personifications of sky, Ranginui "the Sky Father," and earth, Papatūānuku "the Earth Mother," were at one time contiguous—Papatūānuku, positioned on her back with Ranginui pressed downwards upon her. In the opening chapter of George Grey's classic 'Polynesian Mythology' (1956

¹⁸ The esoteric account provided by Ngāti Porou kaumātua (elder), Anaru Kupenga (2004: 17-18), lists Ranginui and Papatūānuku having not six or seven, but seventy offspring.

[1855]), entitled 'Children of Heaven and Earth: Tradition Relating the Origin of the Human Race,' the author points towards the boundless coupling of Ranginui and Papatūānuku as engendering an act of procreation, which culminated in the birth of six sons. The male offspring were atua (supernatural beings, often glossed, 'god' or 'gods') of human appearance, born into a world devoid of light that existed within the creases and crevices of their parents ceaselessly embracing bodies. Each atua bore a name that would later signify their authority over specific earthly domains and to a large extent, serve as an enunciation of their respective temperaments. They are Tāwhirimātea, the atua of winds, clouds, rain, hail, snow and tempest; Tāne, the atua of forests, birds, insects and timber of all kinds; Rongomaraeroa, the atua of the kūmara (sweet potato), all vegetables which are cultivated as food, and the peaceful arts; Haumiatiketike, the atua of the fern root and all other uncultivated foods that grow wild; Tangaroa, the atua of the sea and progenitor of fish of all kinds; and Tūmatauenga, the atua of war and humankind.

Over time, a contingent among the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku grew increasingly agitated by their delimited existence within the valleys and hollows that constituted Te Ao Pōuri (The Dark World) between the tightly clasped bodies of their mātua (parents). The dissident offspring, led by Tūmatuenga and actively supported by Tāne, protested that their cramped and uncomfortable conditions in Te Ao Pōuri stifled their movement, growth and potential to reproduce. It was this recognition that spurred Tūmatauenga's initial insistence that the only way to alleviate their suffering would be to slay their mātua. Tūmatuenga's demand, however, was met with the rejection of all his brothers. Instead, all but one of the siblings, Tāwhirimātea agreed to pursue Tāne's proposal, which advocated opening a space, a plenum between their mātua, by pushing them apart, using only the force necessary to accomplish the task. Tāwhirimātea remained vehemently opposed to splitting their mātua and threatened vengeance upon any who would disrupt the loving status quo. The remaining siblings, Rongomaraeroa, Humiatiketike and Tangaroa appeared more ambivalent, seemingly content in the embrace of their mātua, but unwilling to challenge the separatist agenda of their more powerful brothers.

Thereupon, the tamariki (children) of Ranginui and Papatūānuku became locked in an exhaustive bout of consultation as they discussed, debated and argued whether to kill, separate or allow their mātua to remain entwined (cf. Schrempff 1992: 95-96). The period of rumination, which Grey transcribed as "ko te nuinga, ko te roanga" ("the multitude, the length") (1928: 01; 1956[1855]: 02), signified the great spectrum of thoughts and opinions that were considered during the siblings' prodigious deliberation (Schrempff 1992: 96, 146). Important also for the purpose of the argument being outlined here, the phrase "the multitude, the length" constitutes the ontological basis for Māori discursive protocol, whereby generous allowance is made for the formal presentation of as many differing views as possible.

Briefly turning our attention to this issue before concluding the Māori separation narrative, Joan Metge commenting upon situations she witnessed amongst Māori in the traditional rural setting of the marae (meeting-house complex) during the 1960s, described how all viewpoints were debated before being reduced to two or three options. Sponsors of lesser-supported positions would typically give up their original preference to support the most popular positions until the goal of consensus materialised (Metge 1976: 71). Here once more, we find similarities between the Rastafari practice of reasoning, more specifically, the promotion of prolonged discussion and debate over argumentation or violent confrontation. Identifying similarities between Rastafari reasoning and Māori discursive protocol, however, is not to suggest that the process of deliberation is more likely to be resolved amicably in Māori society than can be said elsewhere. In fact the very opposite is as likely to be true.

Both Kernot (1972) and Winiata (1967) have construed regularly occurring failures to achieve concordance, not in terms of a breach that undermines unity or social cohesion, but as a dynamic that is likely to be tolerated, or at least understood, as being part of the very fabric of Māori community life. On these occasions, dissension, factionalism and specifically any disengagement from the social milieu that may follow, are conceptualised as recapitulating their Polynesian ancestors fissioning from the ancient Māori homeland

of Hawaiki, circa 1350.¹⁹ Various authors have highlighted how on that occasion it was the desire for peace and safety, the need to escape political repression, violent chiefly rivalries, and excessive demands for tribute that motivated the drive to seek geographical distance from Hawaiki (Hiroa 1974 [1949]: 38; Goldman 1970: 30; Schrempp 1992: 79-80; Wards 1968: 6).

To introduce a theme to be taken up in Chapter Three of this thesis; whakapapa (genealogy) is everything and everywhere, that is whakapapa mediates all aspects and understandings of Māori life. In regards to the Māori migration from Hawaiki, geographical separation in creating differentiation simultaneously generated genealogical hierarchy. The significance and ubiquity of whakapapa is therefore reflected in the mapping of this migration narrative onto the hierarchical ordering of Polynesian islands, analogous to the biological relationship of senior and junior siblings. Therefore, by virtue of its later settlement by migrants from Hawaiki, the people of Aotearoa-New Zealand are considered to be genealogically junior to those from the islands of Tahiti, Tonga, Samoa, Rarotonga and Hawaii etc.

In elaborating the means through which individual differences are adjudicated, the Māori discursive protocol described by Metge (1976) resonates with the Rastafari process of reasoning in which understandings and interpretations of belief are constantly open to discussion and close scrutiny, no particular view ought to be excluded out-of-hand, without a minimum hearing. Consequently, both modes of discussion inhere a destabilising nature by virtue of their openness to dialogue—even in the face of hostile counter-interpretations or vehement disagreement.

The relevance of this discussion to the conclusion of the Māori separation narrative is made clear when we learn that eventually all the siblings, barring Tāwhirimātea,

¹⁹ Hawaiki is said by many to be an ancient name for the Society Islands, although according to Makereti, Hawaiki can literally be translated as "the distant home" (1938: 33) and therefore refers to any place from whence the Māori came. However, as Groube (1964) correctly points out, technically speaking, "the Māori did not come from anywhere: they became Māori after settlement" of Aotearoa-New Zealand (quoted in Davidson 1984: 20).

consented to pushing their parents apart by expelling their father, Ranginui, towards the sky. Upon realisation that the bodies of their mātua were bound together by their arms and legs, however, Tūmataunga severed the limbs of his parents to allow cleavage to occur, but still the separation of their parents remained difficult. After witnessing the failed efforts of his brothers, Tāne was the last to attempt the task of splitting the parents. He assumed a starting position of laying on his back, and with knees folded against his chest and feet planted firmly against his fathers' body, and began reciting karakia (ritual chants)²⁰ as he gradually pushed Ranganui's body upwards and away from that of Papatūānuku's.

The process of forced separation brought into being Te Ao Mārama, literally 'The World of Light'. It was only after Tāne had successfully performed the task of separating the original composite whole, that his name was appended to that of Tāne-toko-Rangi(-nui)—"Tāne who sets Rangi asunder" (Tawhai 1991: 101), thus earning him the equivalent recognition of his Tahitian counterpart, Ta'aroa, 'the severer'. Inter and intra tribal variations of this cosmological narrative are too numerous to include here, however, an important addition to mention is that of a seventh son, Rūaumoko, the atua of earthquakes and volcanic activity. In Ngāti Porou accounts, Rūaumoko was at the time of separation, either an unborn child (Tawhai 1991: 102), or a suckling infant clinging to his mother's breast (Kupenga 2004: 21), who like Tāwhirimātea, is said by Tawhai to have opposed the separation of his parents because it effectively denied him "the opportunity to fulfill man's innate wish to be born" (Tawhai 1991: 102).

²⁰ In the following example of a karakia recited by Tāne, Papatūānuku is urged to shrink from Ranginui as skin shrinks from brambles and nettles: "Stand apart the skin; be divided the skin, as the nettle to the skin, as the tātarāmoa [bramble] to the skin. Do not grieve for your partner; do not cry for your husband. Let the ocean be broken, Let the ocean be far apart; be you united to the sea, yes, to the sea, O earth; Broken asunder are you two. Do not grieve, do not continue your love, do not grieve for your partner" (Reed 2004: 12).

ILLUMINATING TENSIONS BETWEEN THE WHOLE, THE MANY, AND THE ONE

In the final analysis Rastafari is inherently committed not only to protest but to the creation of community and solidarity. It is committed to breaking down the walls of hostility and blindness to one another which have historically separated members of the human family.

James 2008: 147

The existence of inter-category dissension between gods during the original state of unity has been documented in the rivalry within the Hawaiian pantheon between Lono (the god of peace and fertility) and Kū (the god of war) (Sahlins 1981, 1985). Similarly, hostilities between the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku continued after they had separated their parents. Neither Tāwhirimatea nor Rūaumoko abandoned their opposition to the act of separation. Tāwhirimatea opted to ascend to the sky to join his father, from where he continues his dispute with the agents of separation, his brothers (Tāne, Rongomaraeroa, Haumiatiketike, Tangaroa, and Tūmatauenga). It is Tāwhirimatea brooding over the maltreatment of Ranginui and Papatūānuku that is offered as a cosmological explanation for Aotearoa-New Zealand's often inclement weather conditions as he unleashes his rage upon his brothers collective progeny: humankind, animals, birds, fish, trees, and vegetation. Likewise, Rūaumoko remained loyal to his mother and continued his dispute in utero—from beneath the earth's surface—by means of earthquake and volcano. By way of a prelude to a theme that will be introduced in Chapter Four, it is important to note that Rūaumoko is also the god of tā moko, the Māori form of facial tattoo's worn by The Dread.

To this day, Māori occasionally reflect on the continuing 'battle of the gods' manifest in Tāwhirimatea's (god of winds, clouds, rain, hail, snow and tempest) assaults on land, which destroy the progeny of Tāne in his guise as Tānemahuta (god of forests and timber and by extension, wooden houses), endanger those of Tūmatauenga (humans), and cast Tangaroa (ocean) into turmoil. For example, after Hurricane Gustave had slammed into Jamaica in August 2008, I received a text message from my Tuhoë friend Leanne

Tamaki, which read: 'heard hw yr peeps r dng post hurricane? tawhirimatea is always battlin wt tane'—(Have you) heard how your people (family in Jamaica) are doing post hurricane? Tāwhirimatea is always battling with Tānemahuta. In this way Tāwhirimatea enacts utu (revenge)²¹ against the progeny of those siblings who participated in the crime of separating their parents (cf. Schrempp 1992: 83-85).

Following Sahlins, I argue that the above example exemplifies the process of Māori "devising on their own heritage" (1993: 18). Similarly, this thesis will demonstrate how the figurations and imaginaries of *The Dread* are shaped by their reflections or more precisely, their dual Rastafari-Ngāti Porou 'reasoning' of ontological categories rooted in Māori cosmology *kōrero tawhito* (ancient narrative) and biblical text. In pursuing ontological categories rooted in cosmological understandings as something important, my approach follows the work of Sahlins (1993, 1995), Johansen (1954), Schrempp (1992) and others, while at the same time distancing myself somewhat from the much critiqued rigidity of structuralist and symbolic approaches. Through the adoption of Michael Scott's (2000, 2007) theorisation of ontology, this thesis strives to overcome such critiques by emphasising the significance of objects (Chapters Two, Four and Six), practices (Chapters One, Three, Four, Six and Seven) and change (Chapters Five and Seven). An ontological approach to anthropological analysis, writes Scott, "explores the ways in which human imagination and agency reference and reveal different configurations of the essential nature of things" (Scott 2007: 4). Also salient is Gregory Schrempp's definition of cosmology as:

... formulations that involve a quest for *ultimate* principles and/or grounds of the phenomenal world and the human place in it. But cosmology often—and this aspect stems perhaps from the Greek notion of *kosmos*—seems also to carry for us a concern with wholeness and integratedness, as if cosmological principles are not only ultimate principles, but also principles of *order* in the broadest sense, that is, principles engendering and supporting a way of being that is cognitively and emotionally integrated and whole (1992: 4, italics in original).

Schrempp's definition of cosmology lends significance to the approach taken in this

²¹ Paul Tapsell categorised the various forms of transference as: (1) repayment; return in kind, return for anything that can be immediate or long term; (2) reciprocity; (3) removal of debt; (4) reversing a debt; (5) satisfaction; (6) ransom; (7) reward; (8) revenge; (9) retribution; (10) reply; and (11) to make an appropriate response so that mana (authority, prestige) is at least maintained if not increased (1997: 338).

thesis. For, as I propose in the Introduction that follows, the cosmological separation of primordial parents, Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother) by their divine offspring, lays the ontological foundation for the emergence of four potential modes of being (cf. Schrempff 1992: 69-70; cf. Scott 2007: 5). The first, stasis, encapsulates a position adopted by the offspring, Tāwhirimātea, (supernatural guardian of winds, clouds, rain, hail, snow and tempest) and Rūaumoko, (supernatural guardian of earthquakes and volcanic activity). The second position, rupture, is exemplified in Māori cosmology by the offspring, Tūmatauenga (supernatural guardian of war and humankind). The third position, ambivalence, is that held by the offspring, Rongomaraeroa (supernatural guardian of the sweet potato, cultivated vegetables and the peaceful arts), Haumiatiketike (supernatural guardian of the fern root and uncultivated foods) and Tangaroa (supernatural guardian of the sea and progenitor of fish of all kinds).

Finally, the fourth position, communion, represents 'The Threshold'. I propose, that this is the stance assumed by Tāne (supernatural guardian of forests, birds, insects and timber), whose mediation of stasis and rupture allows for the simultaneous existence of both continuity and change by retaining aspects of stasis, whilst incorporating aspects of change. Adopting this position enables Tāne to maintain the continuum between sky and earth; Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother). Indeed, Tāne's stance is one that requires him to literally stand between the forces of conservatism (Tāwhirimātea and Rūaumoko) and the force of change (Tūmatauenga). It is this fourth position, I propose, which has been adopted by The Dread. Through Rastafari, The Dread have embraced cultural change, while through their identification with atua (guardians) and tīpuna (ancestors), continuity is facilitated and validated.

In mediating the separation of earth and sky (Ranginui and Papatūānuku), Tāne characterises that which Lévi-Strauss termed "the threshold, undoubtedly the most profitable to human societies, of a just equilibrium between their unity and diversity" (1983: 255). Similarly, it is my contention that through their identification with autochthonous atua and tīpuna and their embodiment of the Jamaican-in-origin Rastafari movement, The Dread are also pursuing a just equilibrium between continuity and

change. Moreover, this thesis is premised on the argument that the practical consequences of mono-ontological bifurcation are discernable in the ongoing tensions between the onto-practically minority standpoint of The Dread and dominant Ngāti Porou view held by the whānau (Ruatoria Māori community). As Schrempp (1992: 97) puts it: "The recurrent theme of separation seems to furnish a background against which ritual performances and political strategies emerge as attempts to recapture a lost unity."

I argue that The Dread's adoption of Rastafari is a means of articulating their pursuit of a state of communion with Jah (the Rastafari God), atua (gods) and tīpuna (ancestors) that is consonant to Tāne's innovative maintainance of the cosmological whole. What is more, in mirroring Tāne's opposition to the condition of separation imposed by his sibling, Tūmatauenga, the stance adopted by The Dread also stands in opposition to the Tūmatauenga-styled pursuit for Ngāti Porou autonomy, which has long been adopted by their whānau (kin group) in Ruatoria. Recall, when seeking answers to important socio-cultural and personal questions, Māori individuals are encouraged to look 'forward' to the ancestral past for the inspiration necessary to propel themselves into a foreseeable future.

Through an ontological approach I aim, in this thesis, to demonstrate how the Māori narrative of cosmological separation contributes to that which I argue are ontological-informed tensions between The Dread and members of Ruatoria's Māori community whom they simply refer to as "the whānau". As Schrempp states,

[p]atterns that are placed at the beginning of cosmosgonies often set defining characteristics that in some sense are carried through the whole, particularly in those societies, such as Māori, where the *means* of totalizing—that is, of referring any 'thing' or question to its largest possible context and ultimate ground—is to refer it to its originary event within an encompassing cosmogonic tale (1992: 62, emphasis in original).

Understood in these terms, The Dread's dispute with 'the whānau' (Ruatoria community), to paraphrase Sahlins, "was already many generations old before it began" (1985: 65).

In addressing The Dread's integration of the Māori past in the Māori-Rastafari present, I have adopted as my analytical starting point, the question of "why Rastafari?" In this

regard it is well worth considering Richard Salter's assertion that:

. . . the world is receptive to Rastafari because the world is already searching for what it means to be both particular and universal, and Rastafari orthodoxy authorises the decisions about identity that the global context is already asking us to make (2008: 25).

I argue that an analogous engagement between the particular (the individual) and the universal whole (oneness with the primordial parents) lies at the centre of tensions within Māori mono-genesis. Rastafari and its cornerstone practise of reasoning thereby contributes concretely to The Dread's quest for ancestral reunion disrupted by separation of the original composite whole. If we remind ourselves of Leslie James's assertion that reasoning, as a form of conscientisation, seeks to "restore marginalised people to the center of history as agents" (2008: 138-139), it becomes possible to further illuminate parallels between reasoning, conscientisation, and The Dread's onto-practical approach to restoring union with their ancestors. In this regard the objective of The Dread as prime ontological agent, to borrow the words of Rex Nettleford, is "to guide individual life back into collective life, the personal into the universal to restore the lost unity of man" (Nettleford 1979: 188). This thesis is dedicated to analysing key ways these tensions are mediated.

THESIS OUTLINE

Over the past thirty years, conducting ethnographic research within Māori tribal communities is widely acknowledged as having become increasingly difficult for the non-Māori researcher. During this period, Māori have actively articulated their suspicion, and in some cases hostility towards European academia, anthropology in particular. In Chapter One I describe my attempts to surmount the aforementioned obstacles. Firstly, by having formulated a research project that capitalised on the esteem Māori hold for Jamaica, Reggae music, and those of Jamaican descent, like myself. Then secondly, by adhering to a methodological framework that allied culturally and historically informed protocols and processes to reciprocal obligations. Nevertheless, my access to the field was heavily disrupted by one gatekeeper's view that all research pertaining to The Dread was prohibited, owing to the group's history of involvement in a series of local disturbances ranging from theft, vandalism and arsons, to kidnapping and the direct loss of two lives. The expressed concern being that any academic attention would reignite divisive memories, damage 'ongoing' reconciliation, and reinvigorate The Dreads' campaign of direct action. In light of these events, this chapter recalls the challenges of attaining and sustaining Ngāti Porou co-operation, while accomplishing my research objectives.

Chapter Two confronts one of the consequences of cosmogonic rupture, namely the fragmentation of sanctity, by reflecting upon Māori anxieties associated with the inculcation, handling, and reproduction of customary knowledge. The chapter explores the reasons why many Māori consider the reproduction in books of customary knowledge (particularly, narratives and personal names) a matter of deep cosmological concern. This issue is rendered particularly important, given my participation in exchange relations with The Dread, which in the ethnographic example featured in this chapter, relates to the prestation of a book, but will culminate in the production of my thesis. I argue that it is Māori cosmology's identification of all knowledge as having originated with the gods that necessitates the careful management, reproduction, and

transmission of customary knowledge to persons and audiences unknown. In illuminating the expectations associated with the receipt, appropriate handling, and transmission of Māori knowledge, this chapter seeks to identify the presence of cosmological continuities between books and the sacred properties inherent in Māori knowledge.

Chapter Three interrogates the perpetuation of the authoritative model of Māori socio-political organisation. Over the past ninety years the portrait of Māori society as a segmentary system of social hierarchy governed by patriarchal chiefs, installed by the rule of primogeniture, has been presented as irrefutable and as such, has been broadly accepted and widely disseminated within academic text and public discourse. In this chapter, however, I present The Dreads two-pronged response to the Māori system of social hierarchy, which combines their active engagement with Ngāti Porou ancestral precedents with their faith in God's promise to elevate those who have devoted their lives to spiritual, rather than material enrichment. Here, we begin to discern how in occupying the genealogically-prescribed status as juniors, The Dreads Rastafari-informed identification with biblical scripture, specific ancestors, and kōrero tawhito (ancient narrative) motivates their challenge to their genealogical seniors. In conveying how the Māori concept of mana (ancestral authority, prestige) is transmitted from one generation to another, this chapter demonstrates the means through which The Dreads employ culturally appropriate mechanisms to articulate their disenchantment with Ngāti Porou leadership and legitimise their deviation from Ngāti Porou norms.

Chapter Four follows on from The Dreads challenge to their hierarchical seniors as discussed in the previous chapter by drawing attention to the local opposition to The Dreads adornment of facial tā moko (tattoos) by Ngāti Porou in Ruatoria. I argue, the commonly espoused view that the wearing of facial tā moko was traditionally the exclusive preserve of chiefs echoes the ethnographic interpretations of European explorers, settlers, and academics found in literature throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, the argument being forwarded in this chapter also opposes Alfred Gell's claim that the Māori wearing of tā moko provisioned a defensive second skin that cleared the way for relationships to safely occur between differentiated

groups, such as humans and gods (1993: 257-259). Rather, I contend, the wearing of facial tā moko is in fact the means through which the many (i.e. The Dread), are permanently reintegrated into the corporate body of the one, in this instance that of their eponymous ancestor.

In Chapter Five the thesis turns its attention to the long-standing efforts of The Dread to combat the causes of environmental degradation and population decline occurring in and around the rural township of Ruatoria. This scenario is understood by sections of Ngāti Porou residents of Ruatoria as placing the region's inhabitants at risk of cosmological and geomorphic disintegration. Set against the backdrop of late nineteenth century Western social scientific and geological discourses, the chapter opens by juxtaposing two distinct approaches. The first orchestrated by a Ngāti Porou elder and the second, instigated by The Dread. Each of the two approaches appeal to Ngāti Porou's relationship to ancestors in reversing the environmental desecration that is understood to have emanated from the over exploitation of the primordial parent, Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother) by the proponents of commercial forestry, farming, and mineral extraction. Nevertheless, certain aspects of The Dreads' innovative strategy for geomorphologically and cosmologically holding the land together by re-anchoring native forests and Ngāti Porou to the body of Papatūānuku converge with modern Western science, environmentalism, and economic policy with which Māori cosmology is often assumed to be diametrically opposed.

Having described in the previous chapter The Dreads' strategy to avert geomorphic and cosmological disintegration by anchoring people and trees to Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother), Chapter Six develops the exploration of continuities constructed between people, place, and ancestors. One of the aims of this chapter is to show the importance of wooden entities such as poles and in particular trees, which symbolise the preservation of the earthly environment created by the original cosmogonic separation of the primordial parents, Ranginui (sky) and Papatūānuku (earth). In so doing, trees and poles not only maintain the connection between sky and earth, but they also provision a means through which people (the many) may be embedded in the one, in this instance, the

sacred body of Tāne, atua (god) of forests, trees and wood. This chapter examines The Dreads' engagement with a specific tree, whose role as a receptacle for the scabs of newborns navels not only cosmologically embedded Māori to the body of Papatūānuku (land), but also preserved the spiritual and political well-being of the people.

PART I

THE METHODOLOGY OF ENCOUNTER

CHAPTER ONE

FRIEND OR FOE?

A man must judge his labours by the obstacles he has overcome and the hardships he has endured, and by these standards I am not ashamed of the results (Evans-Pritchard 1940: 9).

FRIEND OR FOE: TE WERO (THE CHALLENGE)

When I first arrived at my fieldsite of Ruatoria and for some considerable time thereafter, I had little idea if I would be received as friend or foe. In centuries past, when tribal warfare was endemic and strangers were probably enemies, Māori viewed the approach of outsiders as a matter of concern. The tangata whenua (people of the land) had to discern whether the manuhiri (visitors) were hostile or friendly by issuing a ritual challenge. Throughout what Salmond (1983) terms 'rituals of encounter', neither side could be certain whether the outcome would be peace or war'. Today, rituals of encounter continue to be practised on the formal setting of the marae or pā (ancestral meeting house complex) between tangata whenua (hosts, people of the land) and manuhiri (visitors). This encounter begins with the two parties confronting each other across the open exterior space of the marae grounds, the distance between them gradually narrowing as the visitors move halfway across the divide; speeches of greeting are exchanged and the space between hosts and guests is closed as the latter advances towards the reception line of the hosts. Physical contact is made by a handshake and hongi (ritual greeting by pressing noses), before finally, the two groups break ranks and intermingle, symbolically becoming one (Metge 1976; Walker 1994).

In late September 2007 I paid my maiden visit to the Internet café located in the local community centre at Onepoto Bay on Te Tai Rāwhiti (the East Coast). There I encountered centre managers, Moki Raroa, Ani Pahuru-Huriwai and Pete Kaa. Two days earlier Ani and I had been introduced at a tourism hui (gathering) hosted in neighbouring

Hicks Bay where I had been staying. The event had been organised by my Ngāti Porou mentor, Joe McClutchie and was aimed at fostering local awareness of tourism initiatives being operated on the coast and developing collaborative approaches to advancing local business interests. For Moki, Pete and I however, this was our first encounter. The two appeared keen to understand the motivation behind my decision to come to the coast and listened intently as I explained that I would be visiting the Rastas the following day. In turn the pair communicated their familiarity with the Rastas, but it is Moki who delivered the shrewdest insight when he anticipated the response of one of the members, Te Hokowhitu. Explaining:

He's a big mokoed fella and when you first meet him he'll not say much, but will stand and watch you and if he decides to hongī you, he'll breathe you in long and deep. As if he's searching inside to see who you are and if you have anything to hide.

Sometimes incorrectly described as rubbing noses, the hongī is a personal greeting between two individuals that entails the pressing of noses. Generally, the eyes are shut upon and during contact. According to Māori cosmology the hongī originated when the god Tāne fashioned the first woman from the earth and, using his hau (breath), mediated his mauri (life principle) through her nostrils. Thereupon she sneezed and came to life. This first female from whom all humans descend was given the name Hineahuone (earth-formed woman) and it is through her creation that all humans are considered the descendents of gods, defined by their synthesis of ira atua (divine life principle) and ira tangata (human principle). Authors such as Salmond (1983) and Tauroa and Tauroa (2000) have outlined three regional variations in hongī that may also vary according to context and the age of participants.²² In the first variation, individuals press the sides of their noses together. The second type of hongī entails the simultaneous pressing of noses and foreheads, with Tauroa and Tauroa (2000: 87) adding that the touching of nose and forehead mediates the sharing of thoughts and emotions respectively. In the third and perhaps most common variant of the hongī, the pressing of noses is accompanied by the shaking of hands and a low sound of satisfaction, such as "mm" or "aah (Salmond 1983: 177)."

²² Salmond (1983: 177) writes, old acquaintances often press noses together for a long time, while 'patting each other's backs and weeping in joy and sorrow.'

On my arrival to Aotearoa-New Zealand in February 2007, it soon became clear that as a dreadlocks wearer of Jamaican descent, my physical appearance presented me as a somehow familiar, yet unfamiliar attraction in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Gradually I grew accustomed to being on the receiving end of exclamations of JAH, JAH-MAI-CA, or JAH-RAH-STA-FARI. Often these salutations emanated from joyous Polynesians and were delivered in pseudo Jamaican accents by individuals brandishing an upraised fist, index and little fingers pointing towards the heavens.

At close quarters I was frequently welcomed with the enthusiastic embrace of strangers as a prelude to fielding a barrage of questions. Usually these would comprise a combination of: Where you from bro? How long have you been in NZ? What do you think of New Zealand? Is this your first time to New Zealand and what is the reason for your visit? To which I would typically respond: "I was born in England but my parents are from Jamaica", before going on to say something about my presence in New Zealand and my research project. Inevitably, I would then be asked: "How did you find out about the Rastas (or the bro's) on the coast?" before typically the inquisitor would add: "they'll love you on the coast bro!" Those acquainted with the east coast might also add a description of the region's beauty and a comment or two about east coast Māori being 'hard-out' (uncompromising) or 'hard-case' (tough, but likeable). Often these exchanges generated expectations and assumptions surrounding my knowledge and participation in all things considered Jamaican and Rastafari. Sometimes they would culminate in invitations to share music, a drink and/or smoke marijuana. However, more often than not individuals would merely seek to kōrero (discuss) my research, my impressions of New Zealand and New Zealand reggae vis-à-vis Jamaica and Jamaican reggae, and of course Rastafari.

Whereas soliciting opinion on the Rastafarians of the East Coast required little prompting, the greater challenge lay in establishing direct contact to the Ruatoria-based group. To varying degrees The Dread can be considered spatially, spiritually, physically, and politically dislocated both from mainstream New Zealand and much of the tribe to which they belong, Ngāti Porou. Fortunately, from the initial phases of research

preparation in London I had found myself the grateful recipient of manaakitangi (the hospitality and support of others). In practical terms, manaakitanga provisioned a stream of useful advice, information and assistance regarding my progression to my intended field-site. However, to complicate matters I had also learned through attending Māori language and culture courses that the establishment of relationships with Māori should - where possible - be entered into kanohi ki kanohi (face-to-face). The preferred means of achieving this end is to have an intermediary lay the foundations upon which personal introductions can take place.²³ For this reason it is considered inadvisable for strangers seeking a close engagement with Māori to arrive uninvited or unwelcome into remote tribal areas, as some sections of the local community are liable to interpret such approaches as disrespectful.

Several Auckland-based Māori I encountered in London and Cambridge had suggested I contact them on arrival to New Zealand and although none were Ngāti Porou or claimed to know The Dread personally, most stated they either had whānau (family) on the coast or could 'hook me up' with contacts originally from the East Coast. Gaining the support of Māori contacts, whether garnered in London or Auckland, was therefore an important stage in traversing the distance necessary to obtain access routes to wider groups of Māori individuals and ultimately, The Dread. Moreover, these early encounters with Auckland-based Māori were instrumental in my decision to set up an initial base in Auckland, until such time I was able to make contact with, and hopefully gain the agreement of, The Dread to participate in my research project.

Given the recommended face-to-face approach, being located a considerable distance from the Ngāti Porou rohe (tribal territory) was therefore a major inconvenience. This obstacle to my progression to the field was exposed when I answered 'no' to my friend, Bethany Matai-Edmunds inquiry into whether I had been 'down the line' - a colloquial

²³ On Tuesday 21st August 2007 I attended a paper presented by Dr Paul Tapsell to an audience at the Auckland Maritime Museum, entitled 'How TUPAEA assisted Captain Cook in his Pacific Discoveries.' In it Tapsell argued that without the mediation skills of Tupaea, Cook's Polynesian passenger from Ra'iatea in the Society Islands, HMS Endeavour's first encounters with Māori in 1769 would invariably have gone the same way as Abel Tasman's fateful encounter in December 1642.

expression for traveling south (from Auckland) to rural areas. At that point Bethany duly advised that for my first visit it would be appropriate to have someone from Ngāti Porou escort me from Auckland to 'The (East) Coast' because the journey from Auckland to The Coast required passing through numerous tribal territories. On reflection, Bethany's suggestion appeared to be rooted in an old Māori custom known as *uruuru whenua* (entering the land).

In the past, Māori considered the crossing of territorial boundaries as not only fraught with the physical danger of hostile attack from neighbouring enemies, but as also carrying with it a spiritual danger. This was because residing in specific trees or stones across each tribal territory were malevolent spirit guardians of the land called *tipua*, meaning a 'supernatural being' or 'object under the spell of enchantment'. These *tipua* had to be placated by all persons who passed through the territory for the first time by casting a branchlet, a frond of fern, or a handful of grass at the base of the spirit guardian while repeating the brief incantation. Pomare and Cowan (1987: 249-250) recorded one such propitiatory chant as: "O spirit of the Earth, Receive thou the heart of the stranger". It was said that any stranger neglecting this precaution would either die, be afflicted by illness, or incur torrential weather (Best 1907: 192; Walker 1990: 71).

The observation of *uruuru whenua* (entering the land) to appease malign spirits is no longer customary practise and first time visitors need not be apprehensive about crossing territorial boundaries for fear of spiritual or physical attack. Nevertheless, the issue of Māori territorial sovereignty in rural areas remains salient. I now suspect that it was with this consideration in mind that Bethany advised me to seek accompaniment before traveling through tribal territories. In doing, so I would be demonstrating respect for local peoples' status as *tangata whenua* (people of the land) and *mana whenua* (authority over land).

FRIEND OR FOE? FIRST ENCOUNTERS

The discipline of anthropology has long arrived at the consensus that it is far too

simplistic to characterise anthropology as the 'handmaiden of colonialism' (Asad 1973).²⁴ However, there have been examples of fieldwork revelations where ethnographers have revealed the antipathy directed towards them. An example of this can be found in the introduction to Evans-Pritchard's classic ethnography, *The Nuer*. In it the author frankly recalls his unwelcome arrival by the Nuer, whom he described as having encountered such adverse circumstances following their recent pacification by Government forces that they were filled with "deep resentment." Evans-Pritchard described his initial encounters and ethnographic inquiries as suffering from a lack of co-operation, "sabotage" and persistent obstruction. When he eventually managed to enter a cattle camp to commence the task of data collection, he describes his positionality as not only that of: "a stranger but as an enemy, and they seldom tried to conceal their disgust at my presence, refusing to answer my greetings and even turning away when I addressed them" (1940: 11). James Clifford (2003) contends that early anthropology and anthropologists benefitted indirectly from a prior history of pacification that generally made fieldwork possible in unwelcoming locations. Whether consciously or subconsciously, anthropology's deep embeddedness within systems of colonial operation enabled the discipline to benefit as a consequence of its proximity to systems of colonial power.

FRIEND?

Once in New Zealand I established a base in Auckland where, prior to leaving London, I had set-up an affiliation to the University of Auckland (UoA). This move was to enable me to benefit from institutional guidance and support, enter the UoA's ethical clearance procedure and be granted fieldwork approval from the university's Pro Vice Chancellor Māori with whom I undertook an informal interview following a personal introduction by the deputy HoD of anthropology, Julie Park. In New Zealand such steps are necessary to satisfy the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and are deemed essential in receiving approval for Māori-based fieldwork. The Treaty of Waitangi is a historic document first co-signed by representatives of the British Crown and Māori chiefs in 1840 and as such, is considered by many to be the nation's founding document. In recognising the Māori

²⁴ James (1973) countered that the role of anthropologists in colonial countries was more akin to that of 'reluctant imperialists' - albeit demonstrating a 'willingness to serve' - rather than 'agents of colonialism' in a direct sense.

minority and Pākehā majority as equal partners in the New Zealand nation, the treaty has now become enshrined as the primary means of facilitating the legal recognition and protection of Māori values, rights and conceptual frameworks.

Reciprocity, a willing engagement with Māoritanga (Māori culture), the active involvement of Māori in research development and above all, transparency of research objectives are all tantamount in building productive relationships during field research. Gross insensitivity or mismanagement of Treaty of Waitangi obligations has the potential to render Māori co-operation in non-Māori conducted research near impossible to attain or sustain. As a non-native researcher one is reminded that one is in the field at the behest of one's research participants whose ongoing participation in any project is voluntary. The spirit of the treaty also necessitates a requirement to demonstrate respect for Māori hierarchical structures, alongside a patient regard for Māori consensual politics. The requirement to remain courteous, patient and polite at all times was also impressed upon me.

During the Mphil year of my research program an anthropologist familiar with New Zealand's socio-political landscape had warned me that, for the non-native researcher to conduct fieldwork amongst Māori is to enter a socio-political minefield. Owing to a lingering suspicion of Euro-American academia, anthropology in particular, Māori do not warmly welcome research. On occasion Māori attitudes are described as bordering on outright hostility. For another non-native anthropologist whose experience of research in New Zealand reaches back over the past twenty-five years, it was the choice of Ruatoria as my fieldsite that appeared momentarily confounding. After pausing to consider his response he uttered a disbelieving: "I've heard it's pretty rough over there."

MAKING CONTACT

My breakthrough encounter occurred by way of friends I had met at UoA. Both Leanne Tamaki and Mere Takoko were anthropology Masters students, and two of the very few Māori in the department. It was during a gathering held at Mere's home in late March 2007 that I was first introduced to Josie McClutchie. Josie and I struck up a

conversation during which I was invited to attend a party she was hosting a few days later. There, Josie introduced me to her father, Joe, who lives on the coast near Ruatoria. Following our introduction, an intrigued Joe inquired about the purpose of my visit to New Zealand. I gave my usual response. Joe informed me that he had been a social worker in Ruatoria at the height of the Rastas' protest over Māori land that had involved disputes with the Ruatoria Police force, local farmers and the local neighbourhood patrol group calling themselves the 'Concerned Citizens of Ruatoria', but known locally as 'The Vigilantes'. This, he suggested, had armed him with a unique perspective on events. Without any instigation on my part, Joe volunteered some of what he knew of The Dread and the circumstances surrounding the group at that time. One particularly illuminating perspective shared by Joe was his assertion that it was the vigilante response to the Rastas that was out of order, as they had behaved in a non-Māori way by calling upon outside police to resolve Ngāti Porou affairs. Stating: "The Rastas behaved in a manner that was fitting of our people. That's what we did years ago, if we felt threatened or saw something we didn't like, we destroyed it."

In concluding, Joe stated he would be willing to facilitate an introduction to the Rastas and asked me to jot down a brief outline of my research interests on the back of my business card which he would then pass on to the leader of the group. If he was interested in discussing the matter further, Joe would telephone me with the leader's contact details so that I could speak with him myself. A few days later Joe telephoned to say that I had received the go-ahead.

My introductory telephone call to the leader of The Dread, Te Ahi, was from my perspective, a tentative affair in which I rather nervously introduced myself, outlined my research interests and the intended nature of my project. Te Ahi listened without interruption and then responded to my announcement by assuring me that 'the bro's' have had plenty of experience with journalists, writers and filmmakers, before pausing to consider whether they have ever spoken to an academic. His voice, soft with a gravelly undertone, slowed as he confirmed: "Ah, no. I don't think we've ever spoken to an anthropologist." As we approach the end of our brief conversation, Te Ahi confirmed

that he was convinced enough of my aims to provisionally agree to participate in my research and so, on behalf of the group, issued an open invitation to visit his home in Ruatoria.

I immediately followed my discussions with Joe and Te Ahi with a telephone call to Josie to inform her of the outcome. Responding to the open invitation I had just received to visit Ruatoria and armed with an apparent sense of foreboding, Josie quickly seized on the implications of my advancement, commenting:

You've got the keys to the front door. It's not often I see Dad go out of his way like that for someone. He's gone out of his way for you and he doesn't even know you and now his mana (ancestrally derived power, authority or prestige) is at stake and my mana is at stake because I was the one who introduced him to you. After all I've only known you for five days! None of us [Māori] really know you, but the vibes are good. I suppose they must be good for dad to respond to you in that way. But what would have happened if they [The Dread] all said 'no, no, no'? Because I was thinking about it last night and it made me realise that as an anthro you hadn't even spoken to the Rastas. Why didn't you contact them when you were in England?

FRIEND OR FOE? FIRST ENCOUNTER

My first encounter with The Dread began with Joe and I arriving at the home of their leader, Te Ahi. Joe instructed me to remain in the truck and await his signal to approach the house, while he advanced to the front door. From my seated position in the cabin of the truck I could see that Joe was in discussion with a person hidden in doorway of the house. However, it was not long before Joe beckoned me to approach and so I walked to the back of our flat-decked truck to retrieve the side of frozen wild pig Joe had wrapped in a black dustbin liner and stowed on the vehicle. When I arrived at the front door I was introduced to Te Ahi's wife, Morning Star. I presented her with the large package of meat as koha (a gift), exactly as Joe had instructed. Taking a peek inside the package Morning Star thanked us for the koha although adding: "We rarely eat pork. We used to, but we try not to these days." We thanked Morning Star and without me having seen or heard any mention of her husband, Te Ahi, returned to the truck and departed. I asked no questions. Joe then drove a short distance before coming to a halt outside Ruatoria fire station. Once again I remained seated in the truck as Joe proceeded to the entrance. Soon after arriving at the entrance he beckoned me to follow. I entered the building behind Joe and observed three mokoed Māori putting on and taking off various items of

tawny coloured firemen's uniforms: suspender trousers, jackets, helmets, and boots.

This development came as a complete surprise. I was aware that, in line with their reputation as dangerous gangsters, many of The Dread were convicted arsonists, firefighters. Yet here were three of them looking as if they were in the process of becoming fire fighters. One by one I was introduced to all three: Te Ahi, Melchizedek, and Te Hokowhitu. Each greeted me with a hongi (ritual greeting by pressing noses), but not at all in the classic styles outlined by Salmond (1983), and Tauroa and Tauroa (2000). As if in order to interrogate the content of my character, Te Hokowhitu in particular clasped my right hand in his and took a long, deep inhale. Melchizedek assisted Te Ahi in his ongoing quests to locate a comfortable pair of boots, while Te Ahi quietly and a little excitedly explained that the bro's are having their first uniform fitting in preparation for the following day's equipment training. Eager to be on his way once more, Joe directed me to say something about my research intentions and request an audience with Te Ahi to explain the substance of what I want to do in more detail. Joe and I then assumed our farewells, returned to the truck and left. Just as Moki had foreseen (Not mentioned Moki yet), Te Hokowhitu assumed a position furthest away from the three and stood, huge arms folded across his chest, appearing to watch my every word and gesture.

As we began driving away Joe declared that the way is now paved for me to return to discuss my intentions with Te Ahi later that week and asks if I remember how to find my way back to Te Ahi's home. In the space of my momentary hesitation, Joe wheels the truck around and steadily retraces the drive to Te Ahi's home. To be absolutely sure I retain the information and keep a detailed ethnographic record, I retrieved a pen and piece of notepaper from my pocket and was about to note the unfamiliar street names and timing of the left-right-left-right combination through the network of streets lined with pale yellow, wooden detached houses. I was instantly instructed to put my pen and paper away and "do it the Māori way, by memory." The timing of Joe's intervention may have been sudden, but its pedagogical basis was not unforeseen. During the Māori language and culture courses I attended in London, our instructors often informed students that memory was the method by which Māori students were traditionally

educated. When learning Māori waiata (songs) we would be encouraged to embrace rote learning by having the lights in the room switched off. The class would then stand in near darkness and repeat the words of a waiata a line at a time. Singing them aloud until the group had collectively memorised the waiata and mastered the pronunciation of the entire verse. The lights would then be switched on and together we would sing the memorised verse, before repeating the process for the remaining verses until we had memorised the entire waiata.

TIGI TO THE RESCUE

In August 2007, in the midst of the difficulties I encountered with conducting research on The Dread, I received a notable offer of escort from prominent Auckland-based Rastafarian Tigi Ness. Tigi, a Polynesian activist of Niuean descent and lead singer of New Zealand reggae band, Unity Pacific, was instrumental in the inception of The Dread.²⁵ Like many Polynesians, Tigi had adopted Rastafari immediately after having watched Bob Marley perform at an open-air concert in Western Springs, Auckland on 16 April 1979. Following this seminal event, Tigi became a founder of Auckland's 'House of Shem', the New Zealand branch of the Jamaican Rastafarian order, 'The Twelve Tribes of Israel'. In 1982 Tigi was arrested following a protest march against the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand by a white-only South African rugby team and charged with unlawful assembly, assault on 14 police officers and destroying government property. He was promptly sentenced to a year in jail, serving nine months between 1982 and 1983 and it was during his imprisonment in Auckland's Mount Eden Prison that he first met and converted The Dread's now deceased former leader, Jah Rastafari.

Tigi invited me to accompany he and his band on their North Island tour promoting their new album, auspiciously titled 'Into The Dread.' For me, this invitation presented an opportunity for a guided tour of New Zealand's reggae and Rastafarian hotspots alongside a very popular and highly respected figure in New Zealand's Rastafarian

²⁵ Tigi was famously expelled from high school in 1971 for refusing to cut his afro and in June 1971 became a founding member of the Polynesian Panthers, a political activist group styled on the Black Panthers of California. Tigi was also active in opposing apartheid and took part in various Māori land protests including the 'repossession' of Bastion Point.

movement. Tigi interpreted my presence in New Zealand and proposal to study The Dread as tohu (a sign) that the time had arrived to air Ruatoria's former troubles so that members of the community can heal their outstanding issues and grievances. More importantly however, for both Tigi and I, a visit to The Coast offered the potential of a detour to Ruatoria where we would both encounter The Dread for the first time. Furthermore, it would enable me to kick-start my research and Tigi the opportunity to connect with the movement he played an important part in engendering on The Coast. However, I was advised by a senior member of faculty of the University of Auckland to remain in Auckland and wait for advocate from Ruatoria of equal or higher status of Aunty Vapi to come forward in active support of my position. Another anthropologist in the department commented that my difficulties had earned me my stripes as an ethnographer, stating you haven't done proper fieldwork until you've put someone's nose out of joint. Most significantly however, was the level of Māori support I had received and participation I had enlisted in the development of my research, which meant that my project could no longer be considered the project of an individual working within a faraway university. On the contrary, it had emerged out of the collaborative efforts of numerous Māori participants. Therefore, withdrawal would not only have endangered my credibility as a researcher and jeopardised the possibility of support for any future research direction, but for Māori involved, would also have called into question their mana (ancestrally derived prestige, power or authority).

When, in late September 2007 I arrived on the East Coast for the very first time, the spectre of the Ngāti Porou elder's opposition to my research had far from diminished. With no discreet means of determining whether the elder's objections had elapsed or were about to escalate, the prospect of encountering further opposition to my presence as a researcher remained a distinct possibility, leaving the continuation of my research on The Dread delicately poised. Particularly ominous loomed her threat to call a public meeting in Ruatoria, with the specific intention of dissuading the township's Ngāti Porou residents from participating in my research. Given the support the objecting elder could potentially summon from her network of kin in and around Ruatoria, alongside the history of violence and ongoing state of tension that exists between The Dread and

sections of the Ruatoria community, it was possible to foresee a significant number of Ruatoria residents supporting the objector's position.

A pressing concern throughout this period of uncertainty was the threat of accusations being levelled against my ethical conduct as a researcher. If accepted by the residents of Ruatoria, the allegation that I lacked "respect" for Ngāti Porou would, in all likelihood, have rendered the continuation of my research project virtually impossible. To counter this possible scenario, it was Joe McClutchie's suggestion that I reside at his home in the neighbouring East Coast settlement of Hicks Bay, located some thirty-two miles north of Ruatoria. Being his guest in Hicks Bay, explained Joe, would place me at a respectful distance from Ruatoria, which given time and a culturally appropriate approach on my part, would engender my acceptance by allowing confidence and familiarity to build between Ngāti Porou and myself. Joe confidently predicted that this course of action offered a solution whereby I would gradually be integrated into the communities of the East Coast, while minimising the risk of antagonising Ruatoria residents who might have been swayed by the elders' objections or be outraged at the sudden appearance of a researcher in their midst. Furthermore, this approach was equally important in diminishing the prospect of my presence attracting further negative attention to the already besieged members of The Dread.

Both inside and out of Ngāti Porou, the consensus from Māori with whom I consulted on my predicament was that living with a prominent and well-respected Ngāti Porou resident on the East Coast, such as Joe McClutchie, was an effective means of communicating my acceptance by Ngāti Porou. The decision to accept Joe's offer of accommodation was therefore taken as a measure by which I could circumvent an escalation in Ngāti Porou opposition to my presence in and around Ruatoria, while allowing residents to gradually become accustomed to my presence on the East Coast.

So it was that with the exception of the occasional overnight stay at the home of Te Ahi, who is widely regarded as the principal figure among The Dread, my home for the duration of my residency on the East Coast was an old caravan that sat adjacent to the

home of Joe and his wife, Mel, in Hicks Bay. Perched high on an outcrop of volcanic rock that tapered into the sea, the caravan would otherwise have been in the service of providing backpacker accommodation, which Joe and Mel operated from their scenic home. In customary recognition of Joe and Mel's hospitality, I donated some of my time as *koha*, (gift or donation)—in this case, of labour—by running general errands around the backpackers. For example, whenever available, I would welcome prospective guests, explain the facilities on offer and show guests around the property and its various accommodation, which included: a second caravan, camping grounds, a six-bed self-catering dormitory that adjoined the main house and a separate self-contained accommodation unit. I would also take payments, answer general and accommodation related queries, empty dustbins and dispose of household refuse at the local transfer station (rubbish dump), ensure the corrugated iron structure that housed the long drop toilet was clean and stocked with toilet paper, and very occasionally, change the bedding and sweep the dormitory.

As well as the backpackers, Joe also owned and operated a seven-metre fishing boat, venerationally named *Tangaroa*.²⁶ Often my *koha* also entailed assisting Joe and his clients on deep-sea chartered fishing expeditions. At other times I participated in fishing expeditions motivated by the need to gather *kai moana* (seafood) for ceremonial kin group occasions such as *hui* (kin group gatherings), *tangihanga* (death-mourning rituals) and weddings. However, for the most part and perhaps most importantly of all, my *koha* entailed assisting Joe, three or four times a week, in his road safety maintenance work on State Highway 35. Several times a week, Joe and I would routinely patrol a section at a time of his designated ninety-mile stretch of Highway 35, which extends from Potaka in the north to Tolaga Bay in the south. The work for which Joe is sub-contracted involves checking, adjusting and replacing where necessary, the white reflective plastic edge marker posts (EMPs), which perform a crucial role in helping night motorists in particular, to negotiate the unlit, meandering, undulating, intermittently rutted and

²⁶ Recall, *Tangaroa* is the name of one of the male offspring of the primordial parents, *Ranginui* and *Papatūānuku*, who following the separation of his parents took up residency in the sea to become *atua* (god) of the sea and progenitor of fish of all kinds (see Introduction Chapter).

often-bumpy highway.

Joe's road safety maintenance work also involved the repair and replacement of the large yellow speed safety signs and the wooden posts upon which they are mounted.²⁷ All are regularly bent, broken, dented, dirtied or uprooted by an assortment of cars, articulated cattle and logging trucks and, to Joe's constant irritation, the council mowing tractor. Regular damage to EMPs is also inflicted by cows and sheep who trample over the supposedly 'knock-down, spring-up' flexible posts as they are driven along the grass verges that line Highway 35 when being transferred from paddock to paddock by farmers and/or drovers. In addition to these tasks, Joe and I would also stop to collect any unsightly pieces of litter that bespeckle the grass verges of the highway. Occasionally, I would ride on the makeshift platform Joe attached to the back of his old Mitsubishi flat-deck truck, leaping off and on to pick up litter before depositing it in bin liners stored in the back of the truck.²⁸

Working alongside Joe on Highway 35 proved integral to my gradual acceptance by Ngāti Porou. During my initial months on the East Coast, I was quickly ensconced as the figure who frequently accompanied Joe in his work by the roadside or was seen seated alongside him in his truck as it patrolled the highway. This exposure placed me in view of farmers in neighbouring fields, the work crews carrying out seemingly endless repairs on the highway and albeit in passing and, at a distance, residents commuting along what is the only road connecting the chain of settlements on the East Coast. A few of these passersby would stop for a brief chat. In almost all other occurrences of passing traffic,

²⁷ Physically, far more demanding than the replacement of EMPs, which could usually be banged into the shallow hole from which the damaged EMP had been removed, the replacement of speed safety signs necessitated the digging with a spade of one, two or three, two-and-a-half feet deep holes. Once the hole had been prepared, the wooden post was then inserted, straightened and the space around it filled and compacted, before the aluminium sign could be attached and the post painted.

²⁸ Perhaps instigated by the inconvenience of driving to the transfer station during its limited opening hours, most of the rubbish littering the highway was seemingly discarded from passing vehicles. I found it particularly striking that in the main, litter consisted of plastic bags, large cardboard and polystyrene boxes, clusters of empty emerald green bottles of 'Steinlager' beer, brown bottles of 'Waikato Draught' and the odd empty brown bottle of 'Lion Red' beer. From time to time, one would also encounter a cardboard case or cases of empty—usually Steinlager—beer bottles and the occasional bulging carrier bag full of inappropriately disposed, disposable nappies.

local etiquette prompted the driver of each approaching vehicle to slowly raise the back of their open hand—usually the hand that grasped the steering wheel—and with fingers customarily splayed, offer a salute as they passed: a gesture of acknowledgement that Joe and myself always reciprocated. An atypical variant of this highway etiquette was exhibited by The Dread, who upon recognising me would drive past, fist upraised, thumb point outwards and index finger pointing towards the heavens, while often exclaiming the words "SELAH JAH!"²⁹

Depending on the length of highway that Joe selected to work on a given day, our workday invariably incorporated a visit to a local shop or shops and/or business in one or other of the settlements we visited, whether that be Hicks Bay, Tolaga Bay, Te Araroa, Tikitiki, Te Puia Springs, Tokomaru Bay or of course, Ruatoria. Indeed, much of our time was spent working on the particularly busy stretch of highway from Te Araroa to Kopuaroa, between which Ruatoria is sandwiched. Always we commenced working in the direction away from Hicks Bay before reaching the day's designated endpoint, turning the vehicle around and returning to work along the opposite side of the highway. Throughout these early experiences of riding alongside Joe I was often struck by his seemingly amazing feats of peripheral vision: his ability to memorise the position of previously observed roadside faults on both sides of the single-lane highway and extraordinary perception of subtle changes in onrushing scrub or farmland, which to my mind, often appeared lacking in distinguishing features. I, on the other hand, was generally operating at somewhere near capacity, scouring a single side of the highway for litter, broken or damaged road signs and EMPs, while having my concentration sporadically punctuated by thoughts of ethnographic research.

Often, that which first appeared to be an impromptu stop for a roadside tea break, had in actuality been motivated by the opportunity to engage a person previously observed in

²⁹ Frequently occurring at the end of verse in the Book of Psalms, the Hebrew expression 'Selah' has an ambiguous meaning. For some it is interpreted as a command that issues the reader to "pause for reflection," while others have interpreted it as a liturgical direction, to "raise the voice" in public worship. The context and manner in which The Dread apply the expression, points to it being coterminous with the interpretations: "pause to reflect on Jah" and "Praise Jah."

a nearby house, garden or field. From time to time, Joe and I also made intermittent house calls and very occasionally paid a visit to one of several marae that dotted our route. Importantly, each temporary cessation of our work, whether instigated by a casual encounter on the highway or visit to a home, business, shop or marae, presented Joe with the opportunity to introduce me to Ngāti Porou residents on the East Coast. Among the very first persons to whom I was personally introduced were the local Sergeant and police officers at the Ruatoria Police Station and nursing staff at the Ruatoria Health Centre. During the initial months of working alongside Joe, I was also introduced to numerous kaumātua (elders), rangatira (chiefs), kin group members, leading political figures, farmers and businessmen, while arrangements were made for me to visit the staff at Radio Ngāti Porou in Ruatoria and the 'total (language) immersion school' in Hicks Bay.

Within my first few days of being on the East Coast, Joe had prepared me for these first encounters by providing instruction on what he considered to be the most culturally expedient way of introducing myself and responding to the questions I would inevitably be asked upon initially meeting Ngāti Porou. For example, when asked where I was from, I was advised to embrace Māori principles of whakapapa (genealogy) by asserting my Jamaican ancestry, rather than my British nationality. In so doing, I was therefore able to state that I was not English, but Jamaican. Significantly, when Ngāti Porou elders in particular enquired what had brought me to the East Coast, Joe recommended, before mentioning being a PhD student conducting ethnographic research, that I preface my response, "I am here to be among the people." As Joe had no doubt anticipated, when, during a lunch with members of Ngāti Porou in a wharekai (dining hall on a marae), I first quoted this suggested response verbatim, a delighted chorus of "ka pai" ("good") gently rang out among the people seated around me.

In affording opportunities to communicate my presence on the East Coast, these personal introductions assisted in minimising the potential for misunderstandings to arise in regards to who I was, with whom I lived and why I was on the East Coast. Working on Highway 35 also rendered me a highly visible, yet non-threatening presence, which enabled me to demonstrate my commitment to "be among the people," and paved

the way for my assimilation, both on the East Coast in general and in and around Ruatoria, in particular. Equally, living alongside Joe McClutchie in Hicks Bay and regularly being in his company as he patrolled the highway, was key to developing my knowledge of the region and its residents. When not working with Joe, I continued my travels up and down Highway 35, regularly commuting between Hicks Bay and Ruatoria to meet with The Dread. In Ruatoria, I would often visit the 'Hikurangi Four Square' supermarket to purchase petrol and groceries—mainly for the purpose of koha (donations). Once in a while I would have lunch at the Sunburst Café and pay the occasional visit to the Ngāti Porou Visitors Centre to chat with the manager and guide for the official Ngāti Porou tours of Hikurangi Maunga, Pāora Brooking.

Throughout my time on the East Coast I also travelled up and down the stretch of Highway 35 between Hicks Bay and Ruatoria to attend formal kin group occasions, including, several tangihanga (death mourning rituals) held at various marae. I also attended the annual ANZAC Day commemoration in Te Araroa and one-off events such as an exhibition of local master carver, Jack Brooking's work at 'Te Aotāihi' whareniui (meeting-house) at Awatere Marae, as well as more regularly occurring sporting occasions such as local rugby matches and boxing events. I also made regular short trips to Te Araroa to buy fish and chips at Bargo's or 'Ruatoria (meat) Pies' at the 'Te Araroa Farmers Store' and purchase petrol or shop for groceries at the 'Eastern Four-Square' supermarket. In Hicks Bay, I either posted or collected mail, or shopped for newspapers, groceries or fishing bait at Louina and Kingi's 'KELB General Store', on what was practically a daily basis. In neighbouring Onepoto Bay I would frequently be invited for dinner and a succession of gatherings for drinks and conversation at the homes of friends and at other times I would venture to 'Katchawave e-Café' in Onepoto Bay simply to use the Internet.

Each of these occasions privileged me with opportunities to listen and chat with whoever was around about whatever was happening, which enabled me to gather a wealth of insights associated with topics of importance to many people's lives on the East Coast. Broadly speaking, the most frequently discussed topics reflected the aspirations,

concerns and perspectives held in relation to the regional economy, crime, employment and the sustainability of local livelihoods. Among themes that were particularly often talked about were issues pertaining to the relationship between Ngāti Porou resource management and hunting, fishing, farming, tourism, the weather (heavy rain, flooding and drought) and the environment. Often accompanying discussions on commercial farming and forestry, were local people's thoughts on the detrimental impact articulated logging and cattle vehicles have on the condition of Highway 35 and the associated dangers these vehicles regularly pose to public safety.

Considerable attention was also directed towards cultural matters. One of these concerned events occurring within local education, particularly in regards to *kura kaupapa*—the system of primary schooling that operates in accordance with understandings of Māori custom and the use of 'te reo Māori' (the Māori language) as the principle medium of instruction. I was also able to garner insights into a range of contentious issues and debates that unite and divide the people of the East Coast, such as Ngāti Porou tribal governance and Treaty of Waitangi settlement claims. Often not unrelated to these issues are the campaigns being waged among some hapū (sub-tribe) for recognition as *iwi* (tribe) as they seek devolution from Ngāti Porou tribal authority, 'Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou' (The Assembly of Ngāti Porou).³⁰ These debates are often centred on discussions and contestations surrounding hierarchy, *whakapapa* (genealogy) and the 'correct' observation, neglect or requirement for a more stringent implementation of 'tikanga' (literally "correct ways," glossed as 'custom'). Moreover, in competition with this hapū discourse of autonomy exists the prevailing discourse of Ngāti Poroutanga, an exclusive concept that is understood to encompass the defining cultural characteristics, qualities, practices and beliefs of Ngāti Porou.

³⁰ Formed on 1 September 1987, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou is the elected *iwi* (tribal) authority representing Ngāti Porou in its treaty negotiations and political relationship with the New Zealand state. Its remit also seeks to incubate and support Ngāti Porou business ventures; administer *iwi* assets for the descendants of Ngāti Porou; campaign for the restoration of Ngāti Porou *mana motuhake* (absolute authority); and to support and develop a coherent *reo* (language) and cultural revitalisation programme inclusive of Ngāti Porou *mātauranga* (knowledge frameworks) (<http://www.ngatiporou.com/Whanaungatanga/Organisations/default.asp>).

How did these discussions relate to, or contrast with, those I held with The Dread? It frequently seemed to be the case that the range of interests and concerns I encountered when listening to and talking with non-Rastafari members of Ngāti Porou, although shared by The Dread, were generally viewed from an altogether different perspective by them. Their use of space, daily practices and forms of livelihood likewise converged, yet contrasted, with those of their non-Rastafari counterparts. Take for example my work alongside Joe and the regular visits I made to people and places dotted on or around the stretch of Highway 35 between Hicks Bay and Kopuaroa. As I have previously stated, this combination of work, travel and social activity was both an important means of being accepted by Ngāti Porou and of familiarising myself with the region and its residents. My excursions with the largely peripheral figures of The Dread, on the other hand, proved just as, if not more, penetratingly insightful.

Where the regular movements of most residents were usually concentrated in areas on or in close proximity to Highway 35, travelling in the company of The Dread regularly entailed excursions into isolated areas of bush. With regards to farming, such excursions gave me further insights into some of the difficulties experienced by hill farmers in this rugged and often drought-affected region. During one instance of accompanying The Dread through that which is often termed 'hill country', I witnessed the bodies of dozens of dead sheep strewn about a remote hilltop covered in dead mānuka trees turned ashen and brittle. Whether legally or illegally, the area in which the dead animals lay, had evidently been crop-dusted to eliminate its covering of low lying trees and shrubs and thus make way for pasture. Given their undocked tails, The Dread deduced that the dead sheep were among the small flocks of feral sheep roaming the hills, having long separated from the farmers' flock, and that it was probable that they had either been inadvertently caught up in the spraying, or its aftermath.³¹ On another occasion, The Dread described similar incidents of encountering and—when safe to do so without fear of being

³¹ A week or two after their birth, lambs are systematically drenched with an anthelmintic to kill intestinal worms, their tails are docked with a sharp knife, searing iron or rubber ring, their rumps sprayed with a chemical to prevent 'fly strike' (flies laying their eggs on a living animal) and vaccinated against clostridial diseases (bacterial diseases such as tetanus). Sheep with undocked tails are therefore a sure sign that the animals have at no time been rounded up by farmers and treated with chemicals. I was informed that during spells of hiding in the hills to evade police arrest, feral sheep and lambs provided a valuable source of organic food for The Dread.

subjected to charges of trespassing—alerting farmers to the bodies of many cows found drowned and trampled in streams and trapped and severely dehydrated in commercial pine forests. Rare though they might be, such unfortunate occurrences of dead livestock appears symptomatic of declining investment in farming infrastructure (particularly fencing) and farm labour, which exacerbate the already inherent difficulties associated with managing livestock on hillside pasture.

The majority of my forays into the hill country with The Dread were prompted by visits to their "office" on "The Hill," an ironic reference to the series of hidden marijuana plots, which The Dread refer to as "possies" ("positions"). Each possie consists of a small, concealed clearing high in areas of dense bush-covered hills that surround Ruatoria. Interestingly, these excursions with The Dread also opened my eyes to the more widespread nature of marijuana cultivation. Alongside isolated areas of bush similarly favoured by The Dread, there were also plots of marijuana hidden amid the maize crops being cultivated in Ruatoria's surrounding farmland.

It has been reported that marijuana growers begin their growing season in early December or, when choosing to hide their crop in maize fields, start when the maize is about thirty centimetres high, so as to mirror the host crops' commercial growing cycle (King 2012) while using it as a shield. As I was able to observe, however, The Dread traditionally commence their growing season immediately upon first hearing the call of the migratory 'Pīpīwharau' (Shining Cuckoo, *Chrysococcyx lucidus*), which Māori traditionally identified as 'the harbinger of spring'. According to an ancient Māori recital, writes Nā Hepa Taepa (1973: 11), the call of the shining cuckoo relayed the message, "Bestir yourself, the time to cultivate has arrived." In the instance I experienced during September 2008, The Dread's adherence to the tikanga (correct way) associated with the call to begin planting crops, halted that morning's discussion with Te Ahi, Te Hokowhitu and Tawhito Hou and hastened our departure to The Hills bearing spades, seedlings, water and fertiliser. Free from the constraints of commercial horticulture and food harvesting, The Dread often adhered to the 'tika' (correct) method of food harvesting by consulting their maramataka (Māori almanac) in preparation for fishing

and/or gathering kai moana (seafood).

A readiness to respond to signs, whether the arrival of the Pīpīwharauoa (Shining Cuckoo) or through guidance delivered by the maramataka (Māori almanac), was also a prominent feature of the way in which The Dread related to gods and ancestors in their everyday lives. Where, in my common perception, their non-Rastafari kin spoke of gods as mythical figures, The Dread constantly invoked ancestors such as the demi-god, Māui-pōtiki (literally, 'Māui-the-lastborn') as their guides to precedented conduct, principles and behaviour (see Chapter Three). The act of Māui-pōtiki in rising early to trap the sun (see Chapter Seven) was delivered by Te Ahi as an instruction to plan ahead. In anticipation of working on The Hill with The Dread, it was always necessary to be suitably attired for work by wearing what Te Hokowhitu referred to as "office clothes"—gumboots (wellington boots), 'camo gear' (camouflage clothing) and hunting knife.

The Dread's articulation of human-environment and human-ancestor relations was another aspect of the data I collected that regularly differed from how members of the East Coast's non-Rastafari communities generally spoke about their relationship to the natural-spiritual world. Linguistically, such differences were often expressed in a manner that illuminated the inclusive principles of Māori cosmology. For example, the term 'kaumātua' (elder), usually applied to people was, by The Dread, extended to the description of the most mature specimens of all species, from fish to wild pigs, red deer and trees. This introduction to The Dread's application of the term kaumātua occurred when early in my fieldwork as Te Ahi, Te Hokowhitu, Tawhito Hōu and I were driving back from a visit to "The Hill." Without any pretext, I was asked if I would like to meet the kaumātua of the forest. Having said yes, I had anticipated arriving at the home of a mystic elder, so was surprised when minutes later The Dread pointed to a tree and informed me that it was the oldest surviving tree in the forest, which had been ravaged by decades of clear cutting and crop-dusting.

Much of the data I collected while doing participant observation with The Dread, was gathered while travelling and working alongside The Dread in their "office" on "The

Hill." The growing season commenced with the planting of seedlings, which alongside spades and drums of water and organic fertiliser favoured by The Dread, had to be carried on foot to each possie. Makeshift fences using natural materials found in the bush are also erected to prevent the invasion of possies by cattle and pests such as possums, hares and goats. Throughout the growing cycle I assisted The Dread during their regular visits to the possies, for the purposes of removing male plants immediately upon determining their sex, administering fertilizer, and regularly watering plants, particularly during periods of drought. Alongside conducting these tasks, the routine maintenance of enclosures and checking for damage and possible signs of cattle or pest infiltration was also required.

At other times my data collection occurred while I sat talking with or just listening to The Dread as they smoked or when assisting the small-scale production of hashish. At these times the constantly reflected on local concerns and events. On other occasions, I collected data while accompanying Te Ahi, Te Hokowhitu, Tawhito Hou, Hori Kuri and Melchizedek to the fire station for the purpose of carrying out routine cleaning (washing the vehicles, washing dishes, emptying rubbish, sweeping the fire station and mopping the floors). In addition, maintenance such as checking the water level in the large rainwater tank and refilling the water tender—a specialised firefighting apparatus designed for transporting water from a water source to a fire scene—was also regularly checked, a task which was particularly important during the hot dry summer months. These conversations were littered with reference to tikanga, biblical scripture and/or ancient narrative. It was often the case that a significant piece of religious text or historical narrative would be flagged up during conversation that I would later need to research in order to understand the full extent of what had been said. It was only after doing so that I could return to The Dread to resume the conversation a little more enlightened.

There were doubtless occasions, particularly during the early stages of my ethnographic research, when my collection of data may have been impaired because the sharing of information was considered sensitive or otherwise inappropriate. Indeed, one non-

Rastafari Māori with whom I spoke, brought to my attention that The Dread possess good reason to remain suspicious of outsiders. He alleged that during Ruatoria's turbulent period—from the mid 1980s to mid 1990s—the police had managed to infiltrate the movement with undercover operatives. When, later, I checked this information by asking Te Ahi if the suspicion that I was a spy had ever crossed The Dread's minds, he delivered a graduated response: "well, er, the thought has er, flipped through our minds, but that's why I keep you close to me, eh, so that everyone knows."

So, just as living and working with Joe McClutchie was an effective means of communicating my synecdochical acceptance by Ngāti Porou, I understand being kept close to Te Ahi, who is widely regarded as the principal figure among The Dread, as a similarly effective means of communicating my trustworthiness to other members. This exchange between Te Ahi and myself, although offering an explanation of why Te Ahi features so prominently in this thesis, only provides a partial explanation for what could easily be construed as an apparent withholding of information or the slow or careful dissemination of the seemingly fragmentary data I received during ethnographic field research. The more salient explanation, I argue, is located in my principle source of data collection, which I was able to access through participation in the cornerstone Rastafari practise of 'reasoning'.

DIFFERENTIATION, UNIFICATION AND REASONING

As with Rastafari elsewhere, it is through the practice of discursive reasoning that The Dread hone their collective consciousness of Rastafari 'livity' (praxis) and concern for environmental, economic, social and ethical issues. On the issue of the environment, for example, The Dread frequently exchanged anecdotal updates detailing their most recent observations of events associated with the detrimental impacts of mineral extraction from the Waiapu River and commercial farming and forestry activity around Ruatoria. In regard to economic issues, The Dread's reasoning regularly related their ongoing concerns surrounding the perceived lack of inward investment, youth opportunity and rate of Ngāti Porou emigration from Ruatoria and its surrounds. Issues associated with tribal governance, particularly in relation to treaty negotiations, electoral developments

and ongoing local assessments of levels of support for, and the general performance of, "The Rūnanga" (the Ngāti Porou tribal authority) were among other regularly discussed aspects of the local economy. A common feature among the social and ethical issues that arose during reasoning were events associated with pervasive individualism, crime, rehabilitation and the scourge of Class A drugs that benight Ruatoria.

Each session of reasoning varied in duration, location and number of participants. For example, reasoning sometimes occurred for an hour or two with six or seven members of The Dread in attendance, while at other times reasoning involved smaller groups of two, three or four participants and endured for several hours. Following Metge (1976: 71), I interpret the motive force of The Dread's reasoning, prodigious deliberation, as consonant with the principle characteristic of Māori discursive protocol, this being the generous allowances made for the formal presentation of as many differing views as possible. What is more, I also identify the "primary deep stratum of ontology" (Scott 2007: 72) of The Dread's reasoning as rooted in, and reflective of, the exhaustive consultation that occurred as the primordial children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku discussed, debated and argued whether to kill, separate or allow their parents to remain entwined (Grey 1928: 01; 1956[1855]: 02; Schrempff 1992: 95-96).

Far from mirroring the confines that prompted the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku's lengthy consultation or the formally designated setting for Māori kin group exchanges, the marae ātea or ceremonial courtyard (see Chapter Three), the form adopted by reasoning, and its setting or settings, are generally fluid. More often than not, reasoning would begin in one location before shifting to another and possibly another as participants moved between visits to the homes of various members of The Dread. Participation was equally variable as individuals arrived sporadically, spent at least an hour or two smoking, as they listened and contributed to what was being said or introduced a recent observation or concern of their own, before departing on some other business. On occasions I too visited The Dread with a specific contribution to reasoning in mind and at other times, I merely set out with the objective of observing the substance and direction of what was being said. Regardless of the duration, location,

participant numbers or topic of reflection, The Dread's reasoning was always interwoven with often-opaque references to Māori cosmology, biblical scripture, tikanga (correct ways), and/or kōrero tawhito (ancient narrative).

In analysing the significance of The Dread's reasoning, I draw on Judith Binney's (1984) essay on the Ringatū religious movement's tradition of integrating prophecies and Biblical parables into what she terms 'myth-narratives'. As Binney's thesis, I propose that the often-opaque forms of expression that emerged during The Dread's reasoning are congruous with long-established methods of religious instruction. For as I have begun to indicate, the interspersal of cosmology, biblical scripture, tikanga (correct ways), and kōrero tawhito (ancient narrative) during The Dread's Rastafari reasoning, like Ringatū, demonstrates continuities with that which in traditional Māori thought is envisaged as a "continuing dialogue between the past and the present" (Binney 1984: 346, see also Kernot 1983: 192). Moreover, the Ringatū movement's embrace of myth-narratives and Biblical parables reveals its location at the nexus of two pedagogical traditions: the method of instruction by parables employed by Christ; and the pedagogical principles at the centre of Māori learning traditions, particularly those of the whare wānanga (sacred houses of learning).

The Māori conceptualisation of knowledge as a 'taonga', or 'ancestral item', will be properly examined in Chapter Two of this thesis. For now, however, the point I wish to raise concerns the related characterisation of knowledge as a precious entity "to be sought, but which was never easily attained" (Binney 1984: 348). As Joan Metge (1983) states of the whare wānanga tradition, "religious knowledge, particularly, was protected by barriers, which tested the commitment and perseverance and suitability of the seekers (. . .) the responsibility for understanding [therefore] lay with the pupil, not the teacher" (1983: 9-10, in Binney 1984: 348). On the surface, there may appear to be an important distinction that can be drawn between the two traditions of the whare wānanga and Christian parables. For, where Christ's instructions were conveyed to all those who gathered in his presence, admission into whare wānanga was restricted to those purposely selected at birth or a very early age, according to their genealogical rank, certain innate

abilities identified during infancy, or their powers of memory retention. However, Christ's instructions although openly conveyed to all were, by design, penetrable only to 'insiders'—his disciples. As Judith Binney (1984: 347) reminds us, "when Christ was asked to explain the purpose of his parables he told his disciples":

Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables: That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand (Mark 4: 11-12).

These examples affirm Māori learning traditions and Christ's parables as united in the objective of distinguishing those on 'the inside'—that is, those with the requisite capacity for understanding—from those on 'the outside'—"them that are without" the commitment, perseverance and suitability expected of seekers of knowledge. It is similarly worth pointing out that as in the example with Christ, The Ringatū prophet leader, Te Kooti's use of parables (kupu whakarite) as a method of teaching, were also delivered with the intention that it would only be "the few, the chosen, who will have access to the true sense of the narratives. "Outsiders," so we are informed by Binney (1984: 347, 380), "are not intended to perceive," while those on 'the inside'—that is, "those who understand"—will be invested "with power."

Following the observations of Binney and Metge, it is also my contention that The Dread's engagement in reasoning presents the equivalent mode of differentiation and unification, wherein only those participants possessing the requisite capacities, outlined above, are able to attain the "elevated intelligence" (Afari 2007: 328) which Rastafari term 'overstanding' (understanding). In so doing, The Dread's Rastafari reasoning strives to fulfill two related outcomes. The first is to hone The Dread's collective consciousness of 'inside' information gleaned from the reservoirs of knowledge concealed within cosmology, biblical scripture and kōrero tawhito (ancient narrative). Then having ascertained "the true sense of the narratives" presented in these forms of knowledge, the second objective entails the process of identifying and then applying the appropriate precedented response to problems faced by Ngāti Porou residents of Ruatoria and its surrounds. In short, reasoning initiates the quest to effect social transformation by interrogating cosmological, biblical and historic events for analogy, in answer to

questions of what atua (gods), human and non-human tīpuna (ancestors) would do and what the scriptures have to say about the pertinent issues of the day.

Throughout the 1980s, The Dread displayed their suitability as "insiders"—that is, of those possessing the requisite levels of commitment, perseverance and capacity for understanding—by embarking on their first unauthorised expeditions into isolated areas of the hill country surrounding Ruatoria. Upon wanting to understand their motivation at that time, I posed The Dread the question: What compelled your early forays into the hills? To which, Te Ahi, in an echo of the whare wānanga tradition of seeking difficult to obtain knowledge, delivered the following cryptic, albeit telling response: "Our old people [ancestors] left us clues scattered in the hills." As was the case in both Christ and Te Kooti's teaching through parables and the instructions given to novices in whare wānanga, Te Ahi's enigmatic response similarly situated the responsibility for understanding with myself the ethnographer occupying the position of 'pupil' and not with himself, the research participant occupying the position of 'teacher'.

From Te Ahi's response and my unfolding participant observation, however, I soon deduced that the "clues" of which Te Ahi spoke, were his reference to the catalogue of place names and narratives associated with the natural environment and locations of historic or cosmological significance. Also acting upon information sporadically garnered from a few of their elders, The Dread thus set about aligning biblical texts, the cosmological actions of gods and the activities of ancestors featured in kōrero tawhito (ancient narrative) to the "clues" embedded in surrounding landscape. Many of these "clues" have long been considered wāhi tapu (sacred places) and therefore off limits. They included, the scenes of important events and battles; abandoned Ngāti Porou settlements and cultivations; and ancient burial sites. Important "clues" were also manifest in the form of pā (also called 'marae' or 'meeting-house complex'), both those in use and those long since deserted. What is more, the manner in which The Dread conceptualised the landscape as scattered with "clues" and disseminated knowledge through opaque forms of expression during reasoning had major implications for my anthropological research.

As my period of ethnographic field research progressed, I also became increasingly aware that The Dread regularly embraced my attendance on excursions into the hill country as opportunities to introduce me to the "clues" their "old people" had "scattered in the hills." Moreover, I believe that aside from satisfying my obvious ethnographic enquiries, these introductions to many of the "clues" that The Dread first began to encounter some thirty or so years prior to my arrival, also served two additional purposes. Firstly, accompanying The Dread into the hills endowed me with the potential to better apprehend what was being said during reasoning and, in so doing, contribute to The Dread's "continuing dialogue between the past and the present" (Binney 1984: 346). Secondly, developing my grasp on what was being said during The Dread's reasoning also presented me with the opportunity to transition from my starting position as an "outsider"—a person without 'overstanding' (understanding)—to that of an "insider"—a person who 'overstands' (understands). Importantly however, my introduction to each clue was just that, an introduction. Only minimal elaboration was generally offered in support of what I had been taken to view. Usually, just the name of the place and a brief sentence or two about an associated narrative. The relationships The Dread construct between places, gods, ancestors, biblical scripture, themselves and the present-day concerns of Ruatoria, was left for me to glean from my participation in reasoning.

Consequently, during the early phases of my research in particular, I often found it necessary to request further explanation of the opaque individual anecdotes and references to cosmology, biblical scripture or kōrero tawhito (ancient narrative) that The Dread liberally quoted throughout reasoning. Sometimes the resulting explanation delivered immediate clarification, but equally often, The Dread's response was as cryptic as the aspect about which I had expressed unfamiliarity or had found difficult to grasp. Whether or not a particular passage, concept or episode remained obscure upon further explanation, I invariably conducted my own follow-up research by interrogating nineteenth and twentieth century texts for additional insights. If, following my independent research, there was an aspect or aspects of Māori cosmology or kōrero tawhito (ancient narrative) around which I was still unsure, I would often discuss the limits of my understanding with non-Rastafari Ngāti Porou friends elsewhere. Whatever

the subject of my enquiry, these friends were very understanding of gaps in my knowledge and would willingly share their thoughts and/or direct me to other persons or 'reliable' literary sources that might also be of assistance. After having exhausted this process, I could then return to The Dread to resume reasoning on the subject around which I encountered difficulty, a little more appreciative of the perspectives that they had previously communicated.

Aligning my participant observation with my analysis of text while in the field enabled a greater appreciation of the analogies drawn by The Dread during reasoning and was the catalyst for my investigations into details surrounding many aspects of The Dread's past, present and future concerns. With respect to The Dread's relationships to tīpuna (ancestors), non-Rastafari kin and fellow adherents, for example, I sought elaboration on their identification with specific tīpuna, their views on the importance of living in harmony with tīpuna and the consequences of any failure to do so. I also solicited responses on the nature of The Dread's past and current relationship with "The Rūnanga" (the Ngāti Porou tribal authority), non-Rastafari Ngāti Porou living in and around Ruatoria and Rastafari Māori who are not members of The Dread. Also, with regards to The Dread as a collective, I enquired about their dual Rastafari and Ngāti Porou identity; their Rastafari naming practices; their cultivation of "the herb" (marijuana); and their acquisition of dreadlocks and facial tattoos. In addition to these aspects I also asked about their projects: past, present and future; investigated details surrounding The Dread's scattered, deceased or severed members; and explored many more issues besides.

The content and structure of this thesis thereby reflects a dialogical engagement with The Dread, in which my recourse to nineteenth and early twentieth century sources throughout my period of ethnographic field research played an invaluable role in supporting my participation in reasoning. Throughout the thesis, my referencing of historic Māori literature is therefore designed to juxtapose what was written, with what

was being said by *The Dread*.³² Consequently, the position I adopt with regards to nineteenth century Māori literature is one that follows Keesing's approach to the analysis of invented traditions—namely, the intention:

neither to defend established versions of the past from a standpoint of vested scholarly interest, nor to debunk emerging political myths by comparing them to actual pasts to which I claim privileged access (1989: 20-21).

Therefore, rather than employing secondary sources for the purpose of validating my interpretations of Māori cosmology and classic cultural concepts, the use of literature in this thesis contributes to the textual reconstruction of insights that began to emerge through reasoning with *The Dread* and continued throughout the writing of the thesis.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter has been to introduce the significance of my transition from an 'outsider' to being accepted as—or at the very least being tolerated as—an 'insider' upon which my ability to conduct ethnographic field research was premised. In light of the difficulties I encountered at the beginning of my research, this chapter has sought to demonstrate how potential objections in Ruatoria were circumvented by outlining the process by which I, as an 'outsider' to Ngāti Porou, received assistance in transitioning into an 'insider' of Ngāti Porou. Firstly, by establishing a relationship with a members of Ngāti Porou who were prepared to escort me through the culturally prescribed method of 'entering the land' and act as intermediaries in laying foundations upon which personal introductions could take place *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face-to-face). Secondly, I show that once these foundations had been laid, my transition from outside to inside was cemented through a combination of my ongoing commitment to *koha* (glossed, a gift or donation—in this case, of labour) and by demonstrating an enthusiasm to "be among the people."

In my experience, the commitment to "be among the people" was a prerequisite for

³² Much of this literature has been criticised for its reconstructions of Māori oral tradition and society from a host of authors (contributors to this body of critique include Biggs 1952, 1960; Buck 1950; Gathercole 1978; Hanson 1989; Johansen 1958; Sissons 1991; Shawcross 1976; Simmons 1966, 1976; Smith 1974; and Sorrenson 1979). In raising awareness of the undoubted religious, political and theoretical biases, edits and textual manipulations these critiques inform, rather than exclude use of what is after all, a wealth of rich comparative data.

conducting ethnographic research amongst Ngāti Porou on the East Coast. Working alongside Joe on Highway 35, constituted an active demonstration of this commitment, the performance of which could regularly be evidenced by nearby workers and passersby's as I dug holes, helped to erect road signs and collected litter strewn along the grass verges of the highway. Regularly patrolling and working alongside Joe on Highway 35 was important to my field research in a number of additional ways. Firstly, it was instrumental in building up my knowledge of the region, while secondly, it rendered me a highly visible yet non-threatening presence, both on the East Coast general, and in and around Ruatoria, in particular. Thirdly, patrolling and working on Highway 35 afforded Joe countless opportunities to introduce me to many people in the area, to whom I could articulate my commitment to "be among the people," which in so doing paved the way for my assimilation as an acceptable resident on the East Coast.

Finally, the vital message transmitted throughout these processes was that of my willingness to 'contribute' (manual labour) to the welfare of the region and its inhabitants, rather than unexpectedly appearing as an academic stranger seeking to 'extract' (ethnographic data) from the Ngāti Porou residents of Ruatoria. By following the guidance I primarily received from Joe McClutchie, it left me better positioned to dispel any suspicion that I might be what Joe labeled a "typical [outside] researcher;" the anthropologist who participates for long enough to establish themselves in the region, only to withdraw their collaborative efforts once they have attained the connections or data they required. It certainly transpired that many residents on the East Coast came to know me as the "fulla (fellow) digging holes with Joe McClutchie" or "picking up rubbish on the highway," long before they encountered me as the researcher writing about *The Dread*.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ANATOMY OF A BOOK

AN ASIDE ON THE FACES ON THE WALL

We the living descendents of Hikurangi Mauga [Mountain] who wear the seal of the living God [tā moko], request those who possess mokamokai ancestral heads, to surrender them to their homeland, Aotearoa, and to the indigenous Māori people thereof. We the living generation of carved mokopuna [descendants] require the mokamokai of our forefathers to be given back IMMEDIATELY. The crimes and the sins committed against our forefathers by invading, suppressing, colonising forces will cease to be tolerated. No more are they to be offensive to us, no more insensitivity, no more barbarism, no more are they to be repugnant towards the general principles of mankind by using, selling or exhibiting the remains of our forefathers. The invitation extends to all those who hold mokamokai in foreign lands including the United States, Britain and France. When the sons of mokamokai appear to restore what rightfully belongs to them, and return the remains of their ancestors to the rightful resting place, justice will be served, and our people will rejoice. [. . .] The descendants and the toa [warriors] of those mokamokai will not rest until they are returned to their rightful place, Aotearoa, where their heads can reunite with the bodies of their people and the their souls may rest in everlasting peace

Statement by The Dread, in Neleman 1999: 61

It's early November 2008, and following a short southwesterly drive along the Waioamatatini Road, Te Ahi, a member of The Dread, and I arrive at the old wooden house on the outskirts of Ruatoria that is home to The Dread's, Tawhito Hou and Hōri Kurī. As was typically the case on our frequent visits to their home, Te Ahi announced our arrival as we let ourselves in through the entrance at the side of the house. On this visit, Te Ahi and I found Hōri Kurī puttering between rooms. We pause momentarily in the centre of the room as Hōri Kurī stops to greet us with a hongī (ritual greeting by pressing noses). The walls of the living room are adorned with cuttings from newspaper

and magazine articles published about The Dread. Most prominent among them are pages featuring individual portraits of several members of The Dread, which have been dissected from a copy of Dutch photographer, Hans Neleman's, pictorial essay on Māori facial moko (tattoos) entitled, 'Moko—Māori Tattoo' (1999).

The superb quality of its majestic, dignified, and award winning images aside,³³ the production of the book is also notable for the difficulty Neleman faced in overcoming the range of sensitivities associated with his engagement of Māori culture. By way of subtle introduction to these events there is, firmly adhered to the blank flyleaf at the front of the book, a small innocuous sticker that reads:

Pages 48 and 49 have been
removed as a result of the
subject withdrawing permission.³⁴

The story behind this telltale adhesive label is elaborated upon in the opening section of the book, subheaded 'Perspectives,' which details how Neleman's "initial attempts to photograph facial tā moko were met with resistance" (Turei, in Neleman 1999: 11). Seemingly, agrieved by the long and continuing history of exploitation, invasion and misrepresentation of their Māori culture by tauwi (foreigners), many wearers of facial moko (tattoo) refused outright to be photographed for what they dismissed as a "coffee table" book out to exploit the sacred art of tā moko (Ward 2003). Consequently, it was only after Neleman and his production coordinator, Nicole MacDonald, invited Māori filmmakers, Karen Sidney and Pita Turei, onto the project as consultants that Neleman's photographic proposition was able to make any real progress. Following Sidney and Turei's involvement, a series of hui (tribal congregations) were organised, offering Neleman and MacDonald the opportunity to present their proposals, and discuss areas of Māori concern with those interested in the project.

As I have previously discussed in relation to the cosmological separation of primordial

³³ Neleman received the Image Bank Award For Visual Excellence for Moko—Māori Tattoo.

³⁴ Technically speaking, the pages in question appear not to have been removed, but glued together.

parents, Ranginui and Papatūānuku, by their divine offspring (see Introduction Chapter), hui constitute the basis for Māori discursive protocol by facilitating the formal presentation of as many differing views as possible. In the case of the book, *Moko—Māori Tattoo* and hui in general, the organisation of pan-tribal hui enabled, in the words of Pita Turei, a gathering together of "experts and whoever else [was interested in discussing] a problem or issue and reaching a consensus as to the best way forward" (Turei, in Neleman 1999: 11; see also Metge 1976; Salmond 1983). It was from these hui, that the protocols necessary to alleviate the mosaic of Māori suspicion, reticence and registered disdain, were drafted. Nevertheless, as MacDonald recalls in her entry to the book's 'Perspectives,' Māori wearers of moko (tattoo) remained "firm in their insistence that any photographs would be taken only under Māori terms" (MacDonald, in Neleman 1999: 13). This perspective was accompanied by an insistence, on the part of Māori, of their participation at each stage of the book's production and a demand that efforts should be made to ensure that the viewers of their portraits were best equipped to understand and therefore, respect facial moko.

After discussions spanning a period of one year, Neleman was eventually able to persuade forty-eight Māori wearers of facial moko (tattoo) to sit for portraits, but only upon agreement to a range of conditions. Firstly, Neleman was granted only the right to "publish a book and to exhibit the photographs in a gallery or museum" (MacDonald, in Neleman 1999: 13). Secondly, all royalties from the sale of the book were to be donated to benefit a "Māori fund for the development and promotion of tā moko" (MacDonald, in Neleman 1999: 137). Thirdly, and for many, most significant of all was the demand that Neleman cede ownership of the intellectual property rights and all copyrights associated with the images appearing in the book. Where ordinarily, copyright law protects original artistic, literary, dramatic, or musical works for the lifetime of the author or creator, and for a specified period after their death (in New Zealand, fifty years),³⁵ this third condition turned these rights over, in their exclusivity, to the book's Māori participants and their descendents. As one of the book's photographic subjects, Tama Iti of Ngāi Tūhoe,

³⁵ Copyright Council of New Zealand (<http://www.copyright.org.nz/index.php>)

expressed in his contribution to the 'Perspectives' section:

Consent was given on the condition that the negatives be returned to the people whose images appear in this book, and that ownership of the images remain with the wearer of the moko and their descendents and that the images were presented with our own words" (Iti, in Neleman 1999: 9).

At first wary of the book, Tama Iti, saw a redeeming feature of the book, the opportunity it offered to demonstrate that:

The resurgence of ta moko among Māori is a direct means of asserting our tino rangatiratanga (absolute sovereignty). It is in defiance of past and present political agendas, laws and regulations that continually deny access to our lands, language, customs and beliefs (Iti, in Neleman 1999: 9).

Nevertheless, some Māori who remained opposed to the book refuted Tama Iti's perspective, instead arguing that the 're-selling' of Māori images for public consumption undermined the very attempts at Māori reassertion that the participants sought to promote (Kassem 2003). Tessa Laird, a Pākehā artist and writer, also dismissed Neleman's images for depicting *The Dread* as "aggressive and out-of-it; lost souls" (2004: 11.2). Laird also reports that respected Māori director, writer, and producer, Merata Mita of Ngāti Pīkiao and Ngāi Te Rangi tribal descent, whose credits include the 1996 documentary entitled 'Dread,' had been left feeling "extremely angry" at hearing an interview in which Neleman openly declared, "that he was making the book for personal profit" (2004: 11.2).

Regardless of the allegations surrounding Neleman's 'hidden agenda,' the pages exhibited on the living room walls of Tawhito Hou and Hōri Kurī's home connote *The Dread*'s tacit approval of the images produced. In an interview with Pita Turei for a national newspaper, the *New Zealand Herald* (2000), journalist, Fiona Barber interpreted the book as a showcase of Māori wearers of facial moko who "chose not to be invisible." However, as the lengthy passage quoted at the start of this chapter testifies, *The Dread*'s participation was agreed only on the proviso of a fourth condition being agreed to. Namely, that resulting profits from Moko—Māori Tattoo be dedicated to the return of mokamokai (the preserved tā moko heads of ancestors), kept in museums around the world. Thus, from the perspective of *The Dread*, the objective was not simply a matter of

accomplishing their own visibility as Barber has proposed, but through their participation in the book, effectuating the visibility of their warrior ancestors.

EYES, EARS, AND VOICES

The reason for Te Ahi and I having visited Tawhito Hou and Hōri Kurī on this occasion began when Te Ahi volunteered to escort me on a visit to present Tawhito Hou with a copy of another, far less contentious book about a more recent generation of warrior ancestors. A week or so earlier I had purchased two copies of the recently launched book, 'Ngā Tama Toa: The Price of Citizenship' by Ngāti Porou scholar, Monty Soutar. The 447-page book, replete with anecdotes, personal recollections, eyewitness accounts and hundreds of photographs recalls the story of C Company of the 28th Māori Battalion, which was formed during the Second World War with soldiers drawn from the tribal groups of Te Tai Rāwhiti ('The East Coast,' of the North Island).³⁶ My intention had been to retain one copy of the book for myself and present the other as koha (a donation, contribution).

Prior to my departure to the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast), a group of Auckland-based Māori friends, Leanne Tamaki, Mere Takoko and Semi Ramis, had been the first to introduce me to the Māori concept of koha, which they explained to me in terms of contributions brought by a guest to any home or marae (glossed, meeting house complex) they visit.³⁷ Leanne was first to highlight that she always carries a bag of "regular grocery stuff: bread, eggs, milk etc.," when visiting the whānau (extended family) in her native Tūhoe—the tribal group of the Bay of Plenty, incorporating the Kutarere, Ruātoki, Waimana, and Waikaremoana areas of Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island. With this, Mere of Ngāti Porou concurred, and all laughed in agreement that when I go "down the line" I would have to bring bread and milk to the homes I visit because the remoteness of the region

³⁶ Primarily, Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāi Tai, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, and Ngāi Tamanuhiri.

³⁷ Strictly speaking, the marae is a ceremonial courtyard in front of the whare whakairo (carved meeting house), where formal greetings and discussions take place, although the term is also commonly applied in reference to the whare whakairo and entire complex of buildings situated on the marae reserve.

means that food is significantly more expensive than elsewhere in the country.³⁸

However, it was during my third day of residency on the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) that my mentor, Joe McClutchie, sat me down to elucidate the customary significance of koha in enabling guests to demonstrate their recognition of the mana (ancestrally derived power, authority or prestige) of their host(s) by way of these contributory gifts or donations. As such, Joe explained koha can be demonstrated in a variety of ways, including material goods, money, assistance or labour. Notwithstanding his willingness to offer these insights, Joe was unwilling to elaborate on the particular form of koha that was appropriate to a given situation. He curtly responded, "That's what your eyes and ears are for." Interestingly, I have recently come to equate Joe's riposte to the content of a private letter, which Raymond Firth received from Elsdon Best in response to an academic enquiry into the nature of Māori gift return. For in his response Best instructed Firth,

the Māori seems to have had an objection to making definite bargain. The usual plan was to make a present and by some means convey a hint of what was desired in return. But no article had a recognised and set value, neither would the old-time Māori bargain in such affairs. That is assuredly a fact (Firth 1929: 403).

Thus, Firth was equipped to garner from Best's explanation of exchange relations between the "old-time Māori" precisely that which Joe had evidently sought to enlighten me about modern-day Māori. Namely, that participation in social relations required the adjustment of an individual's "eyes and ears" to the sensibilities of their Māori respondents, or in the not dissimilar instance of koha, their Māori hosts.

Newly attuned to the importance of what Firth termed a "tacit understanding between [. . .] parties as to the goods which would be most acceptable" (1929: 405), I began noticing that on view in many of the homes I visited, were books that were often

³⁸ As will be discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis, the North Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand is conceptualised by Māori as the inverted body of a gigantic fish, in some accounts a stingray, whose kōrero pūrākau (ancient narrative) associated with its origin and physical form grant the island its Māori name, Te Ika a Māui (The fish of Māui). Viewed in this context, I draw that the phrase "going down the line," commonly used to denote driving to other parts of the island, is analogous to journeying along the fishing line that was used to bring Te Ika a Māui to the surface.

academic, but always written on subjects pertaining to the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) or Ngāti Porou.³⁹ Generally speaking, such interest appeared to be limited to the work of authors of Ngāti Porou descent, or in the case of Pākehā, authors who were born and raised on the Tai Rāwhiti. Accepted either way, it was from this observation that I deduced that giving books constitutes an appreciated mode of koha (donation, contribution).

In the case of my intended koha of the book, Ngā Tama Toa (The Young Warriors), my "eyes and ears" observed that The Dread's identification with the concept of Ngā Tama Toa rendered its prestation particularly appropriate, given 'Ngā Tama Toa' was one of several terms applied by members of The Dread to themselves.⁴⁰ Perhaps unsurprisingly, the importance of this book to Māori of the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) was such that the presentation of my koha copy was not an entirely straightforward matter. It had been my initial intention to present this copy of Ngā Tama Toa to Te Ahi, only to discover before having cultivated the opportunity to do so that Te Ahi had already received a copy of the book from his mother. Like many Ngāti Porou on the Tai Rāwhiti and elsewhere, Te Ahi's mother had traveled to Gisborne for Ngā Tama Toa's official launch to support the book and purchase several copies.⁴¹ I then contemplated gifting the book to Joe, but

³⁹ Some of the more common examples I observed peoples' homes or to which friends directed me, included: Apirana Ngata's 'Rauru Nui o Toi' lecture series (1989 [1944]); Rongowhakaata Halbert's 496-page genealogical encyclopedia of the early East Coast descendents of the Horouta migration canoe, 'Horouta: The History of the Horouta Canoe, Gisbourne and East Coast' (1999); Judith Binney's 666-page 'Redemption Songs: A Life Of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki' (1995); Joseph MacKay's 472-page 'Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z.' (1982); and Thomas Lambert's 840-page 'Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast New Zealand' (1998 [1925]). As well as smaller non-academic publications, such as Bob McConnell's 135-page collection of oral narratives, 'He Taonga Tuku Iho: Ngāti Porou Stories from the East Cape' (1999 [2001]) and its 119-page follow-up edition 'He Taonga Anō: More Stories from the East Cape' (2002); and John Woods's 148-page 'Highway 35: Travels Around East Cape' (1998).

⁴⁰ Another related, though less commonly used term of address was Buffalo Soldiers, which derived from the nickname, Ngā Kaupoi (The Cowboys) given to soldiers from C Company, the Māori Battalion because "horses were the main mode of transport for the young men who would join C Company" (Soutar 2008: 26). The use of horses as popular mode of transport is also recognised to have persevered in the townships of the Tai Rāwhiti long after anywhere else in New Zealand. An explanation of additional terms of identification will feature in later chapters of this thesis. For now it is suffice to mention that such terms include, The Brethers or 'The Bro's' (from 'brethren,' although pronounced 'breathers'), the Masked Men (a designation applicable to all wearers of facial tā moko), and The Ringatū Rastaman, a term particularly favoured by Tawhito Hou.

⁴¹ The official launch of Ngā Tama Toa: The Price of Citizenship on Labour Weekend, Saturday 25 October 2008, was held at Te Poho-o-Rāwiri (The Bosom of David) marae in Gisborne. It was attended by an estimated 5,000

soon realised his son, Tama, who had also attended the launch, had already provided him with a copy. The next person on my list of perspective recipients was Tawhito Hou, but before committing to do so I first ascertained whether he had also acquired a copy of the book by running the proposal by Te Ahi, who replied in his characteristically deliberate manner, "ah nope, I don't think so." Having been satisfied by Te Ahi's supposition, the two of us embarked on the short drive to the home of Tawhito Hou and Hōri Kurī, with which this chapter began, to present a copy of *Ngā Tama Toa: The Price of Citizenship* to Tawhito Hou as koha.

On greeting Hōri Kurī on our arrival at their home, he informed Te Ahi and I that Tawhito Hou was in his bedroom, but was probably awake. With that I followed Te Ahi as he gently called out to Tawhito Hou several times before entering his bedroom through the large red, gold and green Rastafari flag that serves as a curtain to his room. From my position, stood a metre or so behind Te Ahi, I could barely make out the figure of Tawhito Hou lying in bed, as Te Ahi took up a kneeling position beside him. The two were briefly engaged in what for me was a murmured exchange, in which Te Ahi appeared to be informing Tawhito Hou of my gift. Te Ahi then placed the book on the bed beside the quiescent Tawhito Hou and Te Ahi and I left the darkened room to rejoin Hōri Kurī in the kitchen.

Shortly afterwards, Tawhito Hou emerged from his bedroom, book in hand, and approached the kitchen table around which Te Ahi, Hōri Kuri and I were seated. We hongi (ritual greeting by pressing noses), and Tawhito Hou warmly thanked me for my koha (donation, contribution). In reply I extended my thanks to all The Dread for having first brought the theme of 'Ngā Tama Toa' ('The Young Warriors') to my attention and asked for the gift to be accepted as a small token of my appreciation. As Te Ahi and I remained seated at the small kitchen table, Tawhito Hou moved to the sofa in the adjacent living room area behind us, where Hōri Kurī immediately joined him. With

members of the general public, Māori leaders and notables from all over Aotearoa-New Zealand, including Māori representatives from many of the tribes, the then Prime Minister, Helen Clark, and leaders of all Aotearoa-New Zealand's mainstream political parties.

Hōri Kurī looking on, Tawhito Hou flicked excitedly through the book repeating the words "too much Brother Dave," before rising to return to his bedroom. Soon after Te Ahi issued his, by then familiar signal that he was ready to leave by asking, "is that us Brother Dave?" I answer, "Yes" and we say our goodbyes to Hōri Kurī and return to the car.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter critiques the way in which anthropology has traditionally engaged with the Māori concept of taonga (ancestral item), arguing that too narrow an interpretation of the concept as a valuable, treasure, heirloom etc., has been applied to analyses of Māori gift exchange and of which too great a dependence has been placed on secondary ethnographic sources. Here, however, I respond to Paul Tapsell's (1997) call for greater attention to be paid to the diverse forms of Māori prestation by examining the exchange of taonga through a fieldwork-based analysis of knowledge management and its transmission through the medium of books. In addition to Māori kōrero pūrākau (mythic narrative), this chapter is in conversation with Marcel Mauss's, *Essai sur le don* (The Gift), Paul Tapsell, Elsdon Best and other writers on related themes, including Michael King and Raymond Firth.

The main argument being put forward hinges on the acknowledgement of knowledge as taonga (ancestral item) in one of its numerous guises, which like all things recognised as taonga, inherits a condition of tapu (sanctity), by virtue of its origination with the gods, who are recognised as the source of all tapu. Being cosmologically imbued with the condition of tapu necessitates the careful management of knowledge, particularly during its transference from person to person. It is therefore, I argue, the inherent condition of sanctity that permeates knowledge and not a Māori desire for cultural, economic or political capital, which renders the production of books as a matter of deep cosmological concern. This chapter's primary concern therefore lay with two inter-related questions; what are the key characteristics of Māori knowledge and how is that knowledge cosmologically imputed into books?

This chapter assumes, as its theoretical starting point, Marcel Mauss's classic text, *The Gift* (*Essai sur le Don*), whose initial publication in 1925 was described by Michel Panoff as a "major event in the history of anthropological theory and indeed of sociological thought" (1970: 60). Mauss's famous exegesis relies heavily upon a letter sent to museum ethnologist Elsdon Best in the 1890s by the elder, Tamati Ranapiri of Ngāti Raukawa. The letter was written in response to an inquiry made by Best, who later published the text in both its original Māori and English translated form (1909: 438-441). It was from his reading of this Ranapiri-Best correspondence that Marcel Mauss developed his seminal thesis on Māori gift exchange and in so doing, propelled the Māori concepts of taonga and hau to the forefront of academic attention. In his analysis, Mauss described taonga (valuables exchanged as gifts) as being embedded with the hau or spiritual essence of the donor, which he argued, "exert a magical or religious hold" over the receiver that compels the recipient to make a return (1990: 16).

I argue that the significance of taonga has largely been overshadowed by clashes of scholarly opinion surrounding the Māori concept of the hau, which according to Sahlins constituted the "master concept" of *Essai sur le Don* (1974: 149). Meanwhile, analysis of the concept of taonga situated at the very heart of the Ranapiri-Best correspondence has either remained comparatively unexplored or when done so, has generally been obscured by ambiguous translations of the term. For example, Raymond Firth, although evidently aware of the term, taonga (see, for example, 1929: 409), was guilty of cloaking his numerous allusions to such items with opaque terms and references such as "certain famed ornaments," or the equally inappropriate, "heirloom," when in fact, he was undoubtedly speaking of taonga. Such items were acknowledged by Firth to bear personal names and were described as descending through chiefly lineages under the trusteeship of "the leading man in each generation," who held them on behalf of the tribe.

Also noted by Firth were the ways in which ownership of these items operated as a means by which Māori kin groupings are identified with occupation rights to land and right of access to other economic resources, and how their exchange served to bind more

closely tribes and families. Finally, Firth registered the way in which these items were regarded with great sanctity, love, and reverence on account of their "association with ancestors of note." Remarking, "such heirlooms were brought out on ceremonial occasions that the people might admire them and perhaps tangi [mourn] over them in greeting" (1929: 346, 348, 389, 410). Nonetheless, in repeatedly glossing taonga as "heirlooms", Firth cast aside the spiritual significance of such items in favour of the secular and ultimately relegated taonga to superficial manifestations of wealth and/or sentiment existing within the overriding importance of the Māori economic system of exchange.

Prior to Firth, Best had similarly replaced the term, taonga, with words ranging from "item," and "article," to "present," and "goods." Likewise Parry, substituted the term with various phrases that included, "the sacra of the family," "treasure items," and "heirloom valuables" (1986: 464). Even in what Sahlins termed, the "undoubtedly authentic translation" of Ranapiri's original Māori text (1974: 157, f.n. 8), which he commissioned from Professor Bruce Biggs in an effort "to make sure we would miss nothing" (1974: 151), the word "valuable" was used to replace each of Ranapiri's many uses of the term taonga. In contrast, however, Mauss had from the outset acknowledged that taonga,

... connotes everything that may properly be termed possessions, everything that makes one rich, powerful, and influential, and everything that can be exchanged, and used as an object for compensating others. These are exclusively the precious articles, talismans, emblems, mats, and sacred idols, sometimes even *traditions, cults, and magic rituals* (1990: 13).⁴²

Ngāti Whātua anthropologist, Sir Hugh Kawharu, is one of several Māori scholars who has sought to rectify reductionist translations of 'taonga', and so doing, alleviate a major ethnographic shortcoming associated with social scientific analysis involving Māori concepts. The far more nuanced explanation with which Kawharu has furnished us identifies taonga as a powerful and all-embracing Māori concept, pertaining to "all dimensions of a tribal group's estate, material and non-material - heirlooms and wāhi tapu [sacred sites], ancestral lore and whakapapa, etc." (1989: 321). Likewise, the

⁴² My italics

Reverend Māori Marsden of Ngā Puhī, identified taonga as being tangible or intangible, material or spiritual (Marsden, in Royal 2003: 38). The material or tangible items of taonga, to which both Kawharu and Marsden refer, typically range from ancient whalebone or pounamu (greenstone) weapons, tools or carved ornaments to feather cloaks, fine woven flax mats, geothermal hot pools, fishing grounds, or highborn women and children. Whereas, non-material or intangible items of taonga include the knowledge to weave, recite genealogy or the briefest of proverbs etc. All items recognised by Māori as taonga are directly associated with a kin group's genealogical identity, their ancestors, and customary tribal lands and resources that are "passed down through generations" (Tapsell 1997: 331-332; 2002: 169).

Two issues have been identified by anthropologists as problematic in relation to interpretations of the term, taonga. Firstly, Amiria Henare's rather uncompromising perspective claims the shortfall between the wide semantic field encompassed by Māori definitions of taonga and the ambiguities revealed by the various translations of taonga proffered by non-Māori scholars, is evidence that the concept is "not in fact translatable into European terms, legal or otherwise" (2007: 48). Secondly, in Annette Weiner's view, however, the immediate ethnographic problem facing interpretations of Ranapiri's commentary stem from an intellectual preoccupation with material wealth and sentiment. It is the adoption of material preoccupations that Weiner identifies as responsible for transmuting "the enigmatic hau," reputed in many Western analyses to denote "the spirit of taonga" (gifts), into various formulations of reciprocity. According to Weiner, such preconceptions in collectively privileging the issue of mutual economic exchange, have led "scholars to overlook the significance of taonga," and thereby distort "the very nature of the exchange they intended to study" (1985: 215, 220).

Located somewhere between these two critical perspectives is situated the view of Te Arawa anthropologist, Paul Tapsell. He attributes the ethnographic problem spawned by the introduction or assumption of ambiguous terminologies to the flawed methodological approach commonly adopted by Western scholars. Where, rather than being based on first-hand ethnographic fieldwork, academic analysis and concomitant

understandings of taonga have been "developed beyond New Zealand's shores from early historical accounts and ethnographies of the Māori people" (1997: 361). Tapsell argues, solitary dependence upon secondary ethnographic sources subordinates any deeper understanding of the culturally meaningful significance of Māori concepts and terminologies, such as taonga. In so doing, Māori terms and concepts invariably find themselves reconfigured to fit comfortably within parameters defined by Western theoretical discourse. This results in the production of textually situated understandings, which neither resonates with the lived experiences of hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) members, nor correlates with Māori oral tradition. Nor do these understandings illuminate the incredible richness and diversity surrounding prestations or the "ancestral actuality" associated with each individual item of taonga (1997: 362).

Ethnographic accounts detailing the many ways in which items are termed taonga or are clearly identifiable as such, are or have been, ceremoniously honoured, greeted, released, exchanged, and transferred, have long been recorded. For example, Tapsell (1997) has illuminated the significance of senior elders publicly exhibiting taonga to the kin group during ceremonial occasions such as hui (tribal gatherings) or tangihanga (death-mourning rituals). These acts are recognised by Māori as assisting in the amelioration of life-crises afflicting the kin group, by re-establishing their "ancestral identity after episodes of adversity" (1997: 328-330). Similarly, Davis (1855: 15), Graham (1923: 29), Gudgeon (1897: 181-182), and Ngahuripoko (1921: 167) have each described how during tangihanga (death-mourning ritual), visiting relatives signaled their condolence by presenting taonga as roimata (literally, tears). In such instances it is important to note that taonga:

. . . may be kept for years, but are ultimately returned to the donors on a comparable occasion. The recipients hold them in trust: they do not "own" them and should not dispose of them to anyone except a member of the donor group (Metge 1976: 260).

Smith (1904: 164) and Best (1903b: 162) have furnished accounts in which a high-ranking individual vanquished in battle released an item of taonga in exchange for their own life. Best (1903a: 51-52) also highlighted the role of taonga as utu (payment of equal return) for an offence committed. Similarly, Ngata (1989 [1944a]: 12) drew attention to contexts in

which taonga were proffered in exchange for knowledge from tohunga and transferred to a 'taua' (an avenging war party) on the successful completion of their mission (1944b: 5-7). Along with Smith (1904: 162), Tarakawa (1900: 82), and White (1888: 132-133), Best (1918: 15-16) was again on hand to illuminate the significance of taonga exchanged between feuding tribes when concluding a peace accord. Finally, Shortland (1856: 303-304) and Fenton (1879: 93-94) described instances in which taonga were exhibited as evidence of custodial rights over land and/or resources.

In many of these examples, the taonga in question would either bear an existing personal name, or be accorded a name in commemoration of its role in the narrative that has unfolded. In this way, taonga are active participants in a unique life history of events, and as such, operate as mnemonic devices, recounting complex genealogically ordered histories of settlement, battles, relationships, and association with specific ancestors (see Best 1912: 215-216; Grey 1853: 3; Gudgeon 1896: 10-11; Taipuhi 1900: 229-233; Tarakawa 1893: 234; Yate 1835: 151). According to Tapsell, taonga "may eventually become physical representations of the kin group's collective identity" (1997: 363), a trait not unnoticed by Johansen, who earlier noted, "one is related to them [taonga] as a kinsman, and that they are greeted and honoured like chiefs" (1954: 104, see also Grey 1853: 3). Consequently, the view commonly articulated in Western writings that taonga are synonymous with items of "property" that are "given," "possessed," or "owned" etc., is considered highly inappropriate from the Māori perspective. In expressing the position of Te Arawa on this matter, Tapsell explains:

At home [in Te Arawa], it is a maxim that you cannot "own" a taonga, because they are your ancestors. You may become their hunga tiaki [Te Arawa dialect for kaitiaki], or guardian, but this does not change the fact that you belong to them, not the other way around. What is owned, perhaps, is the obligation and responsibility passed down by ancestors requiring descendants to protect, interpret, manage and transmit the kin group's taonga to future generations (1997: 362).

As taonga travel from one generation to the next, under the kaitiakitanga (trusteeship) of senior elders and their families, so their mnemonic capacity equips elders with a system of "genealogical reference points" (Tapsell 1997: 328). In this way, taonga demonstrate an undoubted "ability to act as a focus for ancestral power and talk," by providing "a fixed point in the tribal network of names, histories and relationships" (Salmond 1984: 118-119).

In so doing, taonga are key to reinvigorating kin group identity and reinforcing the mana (ancestral authority) of the group over whenua papatipu (ancestral land), by "physically and spiritually, weaving the past with the present—ancestors with descendants—and reanimating the surrounding lands into a living genealogical map" (Tapsell 1997: 365-366).

As the embodiment of ancestors, taonga are acknowledged as entering into the genealogies, land and history of the kinship group to whom they have been transferred, and for this reason "only the most valuable taonga are considered worthy of release" (Henare 2007: 60). Most importantly, in all modes of prestation the exchange of taonga is appreciated as transference between lineages rather than individuals, none better illustrated than in accounts where the taonga exchanged were the highborn daughters of chiefs (see for example, Graham 1918: 86-88; Ngata 1929: 13-14). Consequently, rather than "discharge the obligation between givers and receivers," the obligation associated with prestations of taonga among Māori participants was that of activating an ongoing relationship between exchanging parties through successive generations (Henare 2007: 60; Metge 1992: 66). Each prestation is therefore undertaken to forge or cement alliances, repair or maintain intra- or inter-tribal relationships, establish new ties with strangers, or revitalise relationships that had grown mātaotao (cold) (Henare 2007: 57-58).

The chief operating mechanisms and shared characteristics embodied by taonga, thus rendering them mnemonically efficacious, is attributed to the varying degrees of mana (ancestrally derived power, authority or prestige), tapu (sanctity), and kōrero (oratory). The broadly accepted definition of the first of these three interrelated aspects, mana, denotes the presence of spiritual authority, power, and prestige with which individuals are imbued. In Chapter Three of this thesis I detail key aspects surrounding the inheritance, loss and accumulation of the various forms of mana recognised by Māori. However, for present purposes it is suffice to say that an individual inherits a quantity of mana at birth, relative to their seniority of descent, which is traced through their genealogical sequence of ancestors all the way to the source of all mana, the gods. As Tapsell explains:

As each generation passes, the mana of a kin group's eponymous ancestors increases in

proportion to their seniority, genealogical antiquity, and the strength and number of living descendants. This in turn elevates the perceived mana of any item originally associated with kin group ancestors (1997: 327).

The abundance of mana conveyed in an item of taonga is therefore, contingent upon the mana of the ancestors with which the taonga has been directly associated. Meaning, the greater the mana of ancestors, hapū (sub-tribe), and iwi (tribe) to have utilised and/or served as the kaitiaki (custodian) of the taonga, the greater the perceived mana associated with the taonga. Equally, the greater the mana with which a taonga is imbued the greater its endowment of the second complementary element, tapu (glossed here as 'sanctity'). It is often the case that the state of tapu stems from the presence of gods or ancestors. However, as Metge rightly points out, in others tapu is "rather a matter of pollution, through contact with death, blood or hostile spirits" (1976: 59). In addressing the presence of tapu (sanctity) in relation to taonga, it is the former explanation that applies, denoting that an item of taonga is under the influence of ancestors. Taonga, in embodying an ancestral presence, become the focal points of interactions that necessitate a great deal of careful maintenance according to prescribed rules in order to counteract the potential dangers of transgression that would revert the sacred to the state of noa (the profane).

For reasons outlined in the Introduction Chapter of this thesis,⁴³ any breach of strict tapu protocol through unsanctioned contact with a tapu item or area is deemed liable to result in the destruction of the protective and reproductive influence of gods and ancestors. As is soon to be discussed in the context of knowledge, even today, many Māori continue to identify tapu transgression as the primary cause of ill fortune and untimely death. To quote Metge's observation, "when things go wrong, even when the immediate cause is obvious, Māori commonly review their behaviour to see if they have wittingly or unwittingly breached a tapu" (1976: 59). Also writing in the 1970s, historian Michael King alluded to this matter when commenting, "many Pākehās would be surprised at the number of Māori public figures whose deaths in the 1970s were believed

⁴³ See discussion on Scott's (2007) second-order burden on praxis, which highlights the stress on preserving the integrity of mutually volatile essences and boundaries of tapu (sacred) gods, and noa (profane) humans to prevent fusion, and cosmological collapse.

to have come about through hara [tapu violation] or offences of this kind" (1978: 13). For these reasons, tapu functions as the vital social controlling agent, which, when evoked through the recitation of karakia (ritual incantations)⁴⁴ ensures that taonga (ancestral items) are accorded the appropriate reverence and, therefore, that the mana (sanctity) of taonga remains protected (Tapsell 1997: 328).

The third, and what Tapsell (1997: 328) deemed, "arguably the most important element contained within taonga", is that of kōrero, which he defines as, "the customary medium of transporting all lore and knowledge" (1997: 329). Like karakia (ritual chants), kōrero is itself regarded as taonga. Moreover, the recognition of kōrero (narratives) as taonga is both pivotal to the argument that follows in this chapter and to the immediate aim of explaining that the relationship of kōrero to other forms of taonga pertains to the oral transmission of narratives, rituals, and genealogical recitations. Kōrero is therefore, charged with the responsibility of weaving the narratives of ancestors and events into a particular item of taonga.

Without kōrero, asserts Tapsell, "a taonga ceases to be recognised as representing a specific genealogical position for its descendants." The impact of such an outcome would result in an undermining of the ongoing trusteeship of an item, its associated mana and tapu, and an erosion of the myriad of ancestor-land connections constituting the kin group's complex genealogical identity (Tapsell 1997: 328-329). For this reason, it is to the issues of attainment, trusteeship, and transmission of kōrero, all of which are relevant to the recording of narratives, whether textual or visual, in books such as Hans Neleman's *Moko—Māori Tattoo*, and Monty Soutar's, *Ngā Tama Toa: The Price of Citizenship*, that this chapter now turns to discuss.

⁴⁴ Regarded as a form of taonga in its own right, karakia are defined as highly ritualised forms of untranslated, and many have argued, untranslatable (see, for example, Tapsell 1997: 329) ancient recitation, incantation, or prayer, requiring fluency in speech and intonation. Most importantly, states Tapsell, "karakia serve as a channel of mediation with the atua who control the power to nourish or destroy the mauri [life force binding the physical with the spiritual] contained within all existing things" (1997: 329).

THE UPPER JAW AND THE LOWER JAW

Michael King's opening gambit in 'Tihe Mauri Ora' (1978) attributed the single greatest factor in the divergence of Māori and Pākehā attitudes to their each possessing "quite separate and strong-rooted traditions about the transmission of knowledge" (1978: 9). Drawing further on this observation, King posited Aotearoa-New Zealand's Pākehā-based system of education operated to the detriment of Māori oral culture and ways of knowing, left alienated by an institutional framework that:

. . . over-values the literate and under-values the oral; that suggests that a people without written literature is a people without culture worthy of examination; that puts information transmitted by word of mouth on a par with gossip - interesting, perhaps, but unreliable (1978: 9).

Whereas the first and last statements in the passage quoted above offer grounds to be accepted, at least provisionally, the second statement is clearly unwarranted given the wealth of literature devoted to the study of Māori culture. Nevertheless, King's general assertion is valuable in that it orients us towards the eminence Māori traditionally attached to *kōrero*, and the oral transmission of specific forms of knowledge.

Until the disruptive influence of mission schools in the early nineteenth century, Māori operated a pedagogical system called the *whare wānanga* (sacred houses of learning), in which huge swathes of knowledge were confined to the memories of specialist categories of *tohunga* (ritual and/or skills expert).⁴⁵ Endorsed by tribal elders as *pū* (repositories) of particular *atua* (gods) and *tīpuna* (ancestors), *tohunga* served as the exclusive *kaitiaki* (trustees) of sacred knowledge. As such, *tohunga* were viewed as the *māngai* (mouthpieces) of the gods (Rosenfeld 1999: 146), whose talent stemmed from their innate ability to mediate with the sacred world of *atua* (gods) and *tīpuna* (ancestors) on all matters relating to celestial and terrestrial domains of heaven and earth. According to Elsdon Best (1924b: 69), the two domains were associated with discrete spheres of knowledge, known as the *kauwae runga* (upper jaw) and the *kauwae raro* (lower jaw). The celestial lore of *kauwae runga* pertained to all knowledge and rituals associated with

⁴⁵ Māori scholar Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) pointed out that the root of the word *tohunga* lay in the verb *tohu*, meaning 'to guide' or 'direct.' The etymology offered by Ngāpuhi elder, Māori Marsden, assigned the derivation of *tohunga* to an alternative definition of the word *tohu*, one meaning a "sign or manifestation" (1994: 128-9). In both instances, the term *tohunga* implies a person who conveys a meaning or objective.

cosmology, religion, and astrology, while the terrestrial lore of *kauwae raro* related to the rituals, practises and technical expertise considered essential for human survival, fertility, creativity, and health. Put specifically, this second category of knowledge, *kauwae raro*, encompassed medicine, *tikanga* (custom, literally, "correct ways"), baptism and death, the recital of *karakia* (ritual chants) and genealogies, the arts of *whakairo* (carving) and *tā moko* (tattooing), war, hunting, fishing, and agriculture.

According to Māori cosmology, each facet of the two spheres of knowledge—*kauwae runga* (upper jaw) and *kauwae raro* (lower jaw)—were distributed amongst three *kete wānanga* (baskets of knowledge), which were stored in the archetypal whare *wānanga* (house of learning) called *Matangireia*, in *Tikitiki-o-ngā-rangi* (or *Tikitiki-o-rangi*), the uppermost of the twelve heavens.⁴⁶ Following the gods creation of humans, a decision was reached that the *kete wānanga* (baskets of knowledge) needed to be made available for humanity so that the god's unenlightened human offspring may be equipped with adequate knowledge with which to secure sustenance, raiment, shelter, and cultural enrichment. From the pantheon of Māori gods, it was *Tāne* who was selected to ascend the twelve heavens, retrieve the sacred baskets of knowledge and two *whatukura* (sacred stones of knowledge), and deliver them to Earth. This feat was said by Alexander Reed (2004: 48) to have earned *Tāne* the name, *Tāne-te-wānanga-ā-rangi* (*Tāne* the bringer of knowledge from the sky).⁴⁷ On his return to Earth, *Tāne* resolved that a fitting place should be constructed to preserve the *kete wānanga* (baskets of knowledge) and *whatukura* (sacred stones of learning). This decision culminated in the erection of the first whare *wānanga* (sacred house of learning) named, 'Wharekura' (Best 1924b: 101).

It was the sole charge of *tohunga* (ritual and/or skills expert) to carefully preserve, and

⁴⁶ Anaru Kupenga of Ngāti Māui has listed the three *kete wānanga* as: (1) *kete tūāuri*: The basket containing knowledge of *karakia* (ritual incantations) governing the control of all things; (2) *kete tūātea*: The basket containing knowledge of all evil, including war and evil acts directed against men and gods; and (3) *kete aronui*: The basket containing knowledge of *aroha* (love, sympathy and empathy), peace and arts and crafts benefitting the Earth and all living things (2004: 26-7).

⁴⁷ You may recall from the Introduction Chapter to this thesis that *Tāne* is one of the male offspring of the primordial parents, *Ranginui* and *Papatūānuku*. Following the separation of his parents, *Tāne* went on to accomplish numerous feats, each of which resulted in his name being appended in reflection of his personal achievements and/or in celebration of his newly acquired character traits.

transmit unchanged, these specialist areas of tribal knowledge to succeeding generations. The prescribed method of transmission was conducted in strict accordance to tikanga (customary practise), which was long, repetitious, unequivocal, and replete with the use of "archaic forms, obsolete words and guttural recitation" (Walker 1993: 10). As a cosmological consequence of its divine origin, all knowledge associated with the upper and lower jaw, in conjunction with the tohunga who served as its pū (repositories), was deemed unquestionable. Furthermore, by virtue of having originated from the gods, each pedagogical facet of esoteric knowledge remained under the influence of atua (gods), and was therefore recognised as being enveloped by tapu (sanctity). Thus, the condition of sanctity permeated all knowledge being taught, the tohunga in their dual capacity as repositories and instructors, the ākonga (apprentice tohunga) being inculcated, and the physical location in which these elements were congregated (Barlow 1991: 159; Best 1924a: 65, 77-78; Mitira 1972: 49-51; Ngata 1929: 9).

Elsdon Best ably captured the relationship between the sanctity tohunga assigned to knowledge and the pedagogical approach employed within whare wānanga (house of learning), when he relayed an instance in which a tohunga (ritual and/or skills expert), whom Best described as "a worthy old sage" impressed upon his ākonga:

O son! Carefully retain the tapu lore I have imparted to you. Your ancestors ever conserved it within the Whare wānanga. Should any person condemn these teachings, then may the sun wither him, may the moon consign him to the pit of darkness. He is not condemning me, but Tāne the Parent, from whom this sacred lore was derived (1924b: 71).

This passage clearly demonstrates the tohunga's counsel as directed towards reminding his student of the divine source of all knowledge, its indubitability and the threat of sanction such knowledge inheres. For these reasons, all ākonga (apprentice tohunga) admitted into whare wānanga (houses of learning) were purposely selected at a young age, according to genealogical rank, certain innate abilities identified during infancy, or their powers of memory retention.⁴⁸ The ākonga (apprentice tohunga) would then be set apart

⁴⁸ In the case of the latter, Best writes, youths wishing to enter schools of learning were tested on their ability to memorise kōrero pūrākau (ancient narratives), which "were repeated to them, and they were required to repeat such matter from memory before examiners. Those who possessed retentive memories were selected as scholars, [and] allowed to enter the whare wānanga" (1924b: 71).

in where wānanga (houses of learning), or if a suitable building were not available, removed to a forested area where they would receive instruction on the inculcation and recital of knowledge. Best informs us that before an ākongā could graduate to the rank of tohunga, that is "a person possessed of much knowledge of occult lore and tribal traditions", they were each required to progress through the stages of pia (beginner), tāura (advanced learner), and taurā, which symbolised someone who had acquired the wānanga (knowledge) (1924b: 71).

The separation of knowledge dissemination, its participants, and the where wānanga (houses of learning) from the sphere of the profane, also meant that the uninitiated were prohibited access. This act of separation, writes Ranginui Walker, effectively shrouded knowledge in secrecy and fostered a mystique that maintained the gap between tohunga (ritual and/or skills expert) and the uninitiated (1993: 10). Here, it is also important to point out that as "the origin and patron of knowledge" (Best 1924b: 65) on account of having retrieved the kete wānanga (baskets of knowledge) from Tikitiki-o-ngā-rangi, Tāne in his guise as Tāne-mahuta, is also the atua (god) of forests and birds, and by extension, trees, timber, and wooden buildings. Therefore, it is arguable that these associations are key in determining both forests and the wooden structure of the where wānanga (houses of learning) as suitable locations for the inculcation of knowledge.

SPIRIT AND EMOTION

The embodiment of an ancestral presence and by corollary, tapu (sanctity), in conjunction with its function as a repository of tribal lore handed down from generation to generation, affirm knowledge as an exemplar of taonga (ancestral item) in its intangible form. The context surrounding an individual's possession of sacred knowledge, to which this chapter now directs its focus, brings to the fore dual concerns associated with both the retention and transmission of that taonga. However, where Mauss had argued that the spirit of taonga was imbued with the hau (spiritual essence) of the donor, which through some "magical or religious" sanction compelled the recipient to make a return (1990: 16), contemporary Māori understandings reveal a more nuanced appreciation of the recipient's position. First of all, in his critique of Western academic

approaches to the analysis of Māori terms and concepts, Paul Tapsell asserts:

In Te Arawa hau is understood as the 'breath' or 'wind' of the living and it is considered inappropriate if this concept is linked to anything representing ancestors, like taonga. I would argue that today's use of the word hau as a spiritual dimension of taonga, only exists amongst Western academics and their texts, and seems to no longer have any context, if it ever did, within Māori pre-station epistemology (1997: 362 f.n. 12).

In contrast to the Maussian application of the Māori term, 'hau', Tapsell and others identify the chief operating mechanisms and shared characteristics embodied by taonga as: mana (spiritual authority), tapu (sanctity), and kōrero (oratory). Michael King, on the other hand, has spoken of knowledge in terms of it being constituted by mana, tapu, and mauri (life force) (1978: 11). However, I suggest that the definitions applied by Tapsell and King are not incompatible. For, the transmission of sacred knowledge is of itself a form of kōrero, which by definition is acknowledged by Māori to be an intangible form of taonga (Tapsell 1997: 329). As is the case with the taonga constituents of mana (ancestrally derived power, authority or prestige), tapu (sanctity), and kōrero (narratives) identified by Tapsell, the presence of the inter-related aspects of mana, tapu, and mauri (life force) identified by King, necessitates the careful management of any item recognised as taonga by the individual or individuals in whose custody the article resides. In reference to the presence of mana, tapu, and mauri in esoteric knowledge, King explains,

. . . mana was involved in the sense that a person's prestige (and hence his power) rose in proportion to the range and depth of knowledge he commanded; tapu in the sense that much information, particularly that relating to ritual and genealogy, was given a sacred or religious character because it involved participation in the lives and forces outside a person's own being; and mauri (aura, life-force) in the sense that knowledge was regarded as having a life of its own and as capable of contributing to the life-force of the person who absorbed it (1978: 12).

Perhaps the two out of these three inherent concepts that triggers the most pressing concerns for many Māori are those relating to the preservation of the mauri (life force) and tapu (sanctity) of knowledge. Even today, conservative Māori (particularly elders), commonly express misgivings tinged with a sense of foreboding with regard to the threat written academic presentations pose to the sanctity of kōrero (narratives). For example, academic publications are often derided for obscuring the relational positions of orator and audience, negating the essential force of physical presentation, and the appropriate

context-driven emotion and personal inflection of the narrator's voice.⁴⁹ To quote Paka Tawhai of Ngāti Uepōhātu, "written presentation [. . .] tends to rigidify what has and should remain pliant" in order to be rendered more relevant to the evolving needs of the kin group (1991: 99; see also Tapsell 1997: 329-330).

Allied to the traditional Māori predisposition towards the oral transmission of specialised knowledge is the common understanding that once committed to memory, knowledge in its most intimate forms, should only be orated in appropriate and authorised contexts. For example, modes such as whakapapa (genealogy), family histories, and tauparapara (incantations used to begin a speech),⁵⁰ ought only to be transmitted to descendents, or promulgated on ceremonial occasions such as hui (tribal gatherings), tangihanga (death-mourning rituals), or where wānanga (houses of learning) (King 1978: 13). As Te Uira Manihera of Tainui, explains:

When you are dealing with knowledge of the past, you have to take it seriously. Otherwise you don't get inspiration or spiritual fertility from that knowledge. And if you ignore the tapu of sacred things, it can lead to sickness even death (1994: 9).

A further concern associated with the transmission of knowledge stems from taonga being subsumed into the fabric of the knowledge holder's personal mauri (life force) and tapu (sanctity). This often renders recognised high-ranking elders, who with the decline of the Māori tohunga (ritual and/or skills expert) have assumed the mantle of pū (repositories) in Māori society, reluctant to pass on information.⁵¹ According to John Rangihau of Tūhoe, "they [elders] believe it [knowledge] is part of them, part of their own life-force, and when they start shedding this they are giving away themselves (1994: 12).

Here, Rangihau's statement reiterates the notion that the intrinsic mauri (life force) in all

⁴⁹ For an excellent account of the richness surrounding rituals and language associated with the ceremonial performance of whaikorero (oratory) in traditional Māori settings, see Salmond (1983).

⁵⁰ More specifically, tauparapara are a form of karakia that are unique to each tribe. As such, tauparapara are used as a way of distinguishing tangata whenua (the resident group, often glossed 'people of the land') from members of a visiting tribe.

⁵¹ The New Zealand Government instituted legislative measures to eliminate the influence of Māori tohunga with the introduction of the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 (for more on this topic, see Voyce 1989).

concepts and things considered taonga (ancestral item) imbues each with a life force of its own as stated in the previous quotation by Michael King. Furthermore, it also articulates a principle not too dissimilar to that which Mauss identified in respect to Māori gifting and counter-gifting practises. Mauss argued that in gifting taonga to another person or persons an individual is releasing "what is really part and parcel of his nature and substance, because to accept something from somebody is to accept some part of his spiritual essence, of his soul" (1990: 16). However, contra Mauss, the sanctions of sickness, death and dissipation spoken of by elders in current times are not those associated with the non-return of the thing given, but those associated with the spiritual threat of personal dissipation to any knowledge holder who participates in the unsafeguarded dissemination of sacred knowledge.

For others, the primary anxiety lay not in averting personal dissipation, but in avoiding any risks of hara (tapu violation). Consequently, some elders would rather withhold esoteric knowledge than transmit such information to their descendents. As Ngoi Pewhairangi of Ngāti Porou explains:

Nowadays [. . .] old people hesitate to teach the young ones [. . .] because of the restrictions and tapu connected with it. If anyone learning breaks the rules [. . .] someone will have to suffer the consequences. Old people know that young people are inclined to break laws. So they are reticent to lay them down (1994: 10).

Alternatively, there are those who attempt to ward off the dangers of tapu (sanctity) transgression by deferring the dissemination of knowledge until 'after' their death. Articulating the adoption of this strategy of deferred dissemination, Rangihau attests:

Only when they depart are they able to pass this whole thing through and give it a continuing character [by sending] the mauri of certain things forward and down to their children after death (1994: 12).

The Dread's Te Ahi, alluded to the mnemonic potential of the surrounding landscape in achieving these ends when he commented, "our old people left us pieces of knowledge scattered around the hills." The broader significance of this particular statement will be taken up in Chapter Four of this thesis. For the time being, however, there is a more important point to move onto. That is, to highlight that the threats faced by those imbued with knowledge and the subsequent precautions taken against the dangers

associated with its inappropriate handling and/or transmission are not confined to members of the pū's (repository's) whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribe), and iwi (tribe). On the contrary, such anxieties are exacerbated by the prospect of esoteric knowledge falling into the possession of outsiders who are generally assumed, often with good reason, to be ignorant and/or disregarding of mana, tapu, and mauri. This of course has huge implications for the work of authors, filmmakers, photographers like Hans Neleman, and of course ethnographic researchers, whose *raison d'être* entails the commitment of information to paper, audio, video, photography, and now the Internet.

As Manihera surmises:

The handing down of knowledge by old people is a very difficult thing now. They have a look at their own children, perhaps the eldest son. If he is mature enough or interested enough in his Māori, he might become the repository. But a lot of people say no. They would sooner take knowledge of their own traditions with them than pass them on to the present generation. They believe that if it goes out to another person outside the family, in a short time it will have dissolved, absorbed by all other people who have access to it. There is a fear that by giving things out they could be commercialised. If this happens, they lose their sacredness, their fertility. They just become common. And knowledge that is profane has lost its life, lost its tapu (1994: 9).

BREATH

For much of the chapter so far, my attention has been focused on the identification of knowledge as taonga (ancestral item) and therefore, sacred and necessitating of careful management, particularly when transferred from person to person. In what remains, however, I turn my attention to the concept of hau by briefly returning once more to Tamati Ranapiri's commentary to Elsdon Best in which the Ngāti Raukawa elder began: "I will now speak of the hau [. . .] That hau is not the hau [wind] that blows—not at all. I will carefully explain to you" (Best 1909: 439). I have suggested that it was this opening statement that set the tenor for Mauss's analysis of the exchange of taonga and in doing so, similarly captivated the wider academic audience at the expense of the items of taonga that were party to the exchanges described by Ranapiri. However, my analysis will now attempt to reconcile the concepts of taonga and hau, by demonstrating how the condition of tapu (sanctity) is imputed by knowledge into the medium of the book.

I argue that the medium of books, in their capacity as repositories of knowledge, renders

their production contentious and it is this that largely explains the difficulties encountered by the Dutch photographer Hans Neleman, highlighted at the start of the chapter. Respecting Paul Tapsell's assertion that the concept of hau, at least among the people of Te Arawa, is inappropriate when applied to "anything representing ancestors" (1997: 362 f.n. 12), I aim to stay clear of a Maussian-style analysis that imputes the hau with a magical and religious quality. Instead, the remainder of this chapter utilises the term, 'rangahau' to connote "weaving together the breath of the ancestors." Employing the concept of hau as a suffix is not, I argue, problematised by Tapsell's critique, because its application in signifying 'breath' operates as a metaphor for the vitality of ancestral voices conveyed in *kōrero pūrākau* (mythic narrative) as preserved by *pū* (repositories).

VOICES, NAMES AND NOTES UNDER FOOT

My initial introduction to the term, 'rangahau', came by way of my friend, Sue Pahuru's, Uncle Ohia, who is a lecturer in anthropology at Te Wānanga o Raukawa (The University of Raukawa). During field research I would often be invited to the homes of Māori friends and neighbours in the adjacent settlement of Onepoto Bay. It was on one such occasion in the midst of a discussion over dinner with Ohia, and several other neighbours, that he informed me that the Māori Studies programme administered by Raukawa University had abandoned the use of the term 'research.' Instead, the institution advocated the term 'rangahau,' which he explained as connoting "weaving together the breath of the ancestors." Ohia described how adopting the term rangihau engenders a scholarly environment in which the treasured voices of *tīpuna* (ancestors) amassed within oral testimony, are situated at the forefront of Māori academic writing. As Donald McKenzie has noted,

Within University Departments of Māori Studies, the book is suspect, a "virtual irrelevance." Manuscripts and printed texts in libraries, publications by Europeans on Māoridom, are seldom consulted; oral etiquette, debate and transfer of knowledge on the *marae* or meeting ground are what matter (McKenzie 1984: 345 f.n. 35).

Interestingly also, Ohia explained that Raukawa University discourages the use of *ibids* and the referencing of names in footnotes, as both are considered a diminishment of author's *mana*. Ohia's frustration at an insistence on *ibids* and footnotes by certain academic journals became apparent a little later that evening when discussing an article

he was submitting to an English language journal. This annoyance, Ohia communicated by exclaiming: "It's bad enough that we have to write the bloody thing in English without having to conform to their formatting rules." In the first instance, Ohia's statement clearly expressed his displeasure at the publication's stylistic conventions that compelled violating the mana of any author he may wish to cite. Secondly, it also implied a view commonly held by many native speakers of te reo Māori (the Māori language), that the English language is an inadequate mode with which to express the treasured voices of tīpuna (ancestors).

In the prologue to Angus Gillies polemic entitled, 'Ngāti Dread' (2008), the Pākehā author announced, "Some at the top of the Ngāti Porou hierarchy didn't want this book written, particularly by someone who was not of Ngāti Porou descent" (2008: 8). Gillies went on to confess that in writing the story of *The Dread* he had suffered a succession of "nightmares" and "crazy dreams" (2008: 8). The source of what Gillies described as "the deranged offspring of my fear," lay in his trepidation that Māori contempt for his book would incite an act of violent revenge by *The Dread*, instigate the curse of a "some disgruntled Māori elder," provoke the unleashing of "a hound of hell" upon him, or invoke spirits capable of thrusting him towards madness (2008: 8). Gillies confessed to the extent of his paranoia being so acute that he worried whether he may have unwittingly unearthed or created "an evil spirit" that resided within the pages of the book itself. Undeterred, however, the ebullient author identified his quest as "helping the characters tell the story [of *The Dread*] those that will speak to me" (2008: 8). For others who refused to participate in the project, the defiant author had this to say: "Those that won't speak to me will be quoted anyway if they ever expressed themselves in the newspapers. I have all the clippings" (2008: 8).

Long before I first became aware of the Gillies book, *Ngāti Dread*, Te Ahi had informed me of the journalist from Gisborne saying, "Angus came around here wanting information, but I turned him away, I didn't give him anything." So, after having read the Gillies prologue I was naturally intrigued to hear what Te Ahi would make of the author's comments, which I admittedly dismissed as a provocative cocktail of

melodrama, bravado and bold marketing gimmickry. To my mind, Gillies statements were the combination of an egotistically driven attempt at self-publicity and calculated strategy for drawing attention to his publication. However, when I restated my cynical view to Te Ahi, he calmly replied, "No, no, no, that'll be right. You can't talk that way about someone's whakapapa (genealogy) without something bad happening to you." Before Te Ahi concluded by insisting that the tīpuna (ancestors) will punish Angus Gillies for what he has written of their family tree.

The respect many Māori accord to the documentation of kōrero (narratives) and authorship of their respective pū (repositories of knowledge) is also extended to the physical treatment of books in which those authors' names and those kōrero appear. As a consequence, Māori holders of this perspective subject such books to the kind of tapu restrictions normally reserved for taonga. Therefore, books must at all times be kept away from items and places considered noa (profane) and therefore belonging to the human dimension of life. This includes, for example, the ground upon which people walk, toilets, and cooked food, that according to Māori cosmology transforms matter from a condition of sanctity to one of noa (the profane) (Binney 1995: 525).

This perspective was illustrated by a correspondence I received from Auckland-based Psychotherapist, Mihiteria King of Te Rarawa. In reply to my inquiry on the subject of the tapu associated with books, Mihiteria kindly shared two related anecdotes. Mihiteria's response relating to this matter is reproduced in length, which to echo Sahlins, will "make sure that we would miss nothing" (1974: 151). Both incidents relayed by Mihiteria, occurred while she was teaching a class at Auckland University of Technology (AUT).

Two stories actually. They may not be relevant but if they are please feel free to use them. [. . .] My story relates to being taught that the written work, including peoples names carry mana. One of the goals in [any] relationship is to either address, restore or enhance the tapu of another so that they may have the mana to achieve their potential. To not do this is to trample on the mana and tapu of another which leads to the diminishment of one's own mana. Therefore, I was reminded that books should be kept away from food, from the floor where people walk, from toilets etc, to ensure the mana remains intact. [W]hen in class at uni there was someone who had her books under her chair (it was pretty hard not to) but she actually had the papers sitting on the floor in front of her also and her feet/shoes on top. I could hardly contain myself -

especially as she was moving her feet and scrunching up the paper. I just couldn't believe that anyone could do that, and not notice where their feet were. But the biggest thing I think was my view that she did not hold respect for the knowledge contained in the papers and books, but also the mana of the people (may be even her own work) who had contributed to the works.

I really cringed. I think I may have said, did she realise she had her feet on the papers but I can't actually remember. What I do vividly remember is how distressed I was at her actions. If it had've been my work I would have taken it from her and told her why. This I guess is one of the risks when putting your work out there; you have no idea how it will be treated. Not unlike giving birth (to your work) and will other people care for the baby. When I write I and send it off, I karakia [pray] that whosoever's hands it comes into that they will respect my work, and if not then it is in the hands of their tupuna [ancestor(s)] and kaitiaki [guardian(s)]. I also remember a Māori student bringing in her whakapapa and throwing it on the floor, trying to make a point that she was speaking from the mana of those who had gone before her and that I should listen to what she said, well actually she was trying to say that her opinion was truer than mine and that I shouldn't challenge her. I was horrified that she had done that and left it to the tupuna to take care of. Suffice to say, I think her actions then and subsequently, have led to her demise in time - she is unable to walk or function from the armpits down.

NAMES

On 10 May 2010, a popular New Zealand current affairs television programme, 'Campbell Live,' featured a report in which the Auckland Chamber of Commerce and Auckland Migrant Services both advised prospective employees to anglicize their names in order to improve their prospects of securing job interviews. Given the context of the story it may have been easy for Māori to dismiss this news report as being of no concern to them. After all, Māori are the acknowledged autochthons of Aotearoa-New Zealand, the tangata whenua (people of the land) and therefore, indigenous people, not migrants. The news report may have been irrelevant were it not for a story published by the Māori news website, tangatawhenua.com, which unearthed the illicit practise of schoolteachers anglicising the Māori names of pupils without having gained the child or the family's consent.⁵² The report claims this phenomenon arose in schools across Aotearoa-New Zealand out of a desire for Pākehā teachers to replace difficult to pronounce or hard to remember Māori names with the pupils English middle name, where one exists, or a contrived English name, where one does not.

The article on tangatawhenua.com describes Māori parents and caregivers vigorously

⁵² <http://news.tangatawhenua.com/archives/5449>

challenged this homogenising trend, keen to assert and defend the significance of Māori names. For many Māori, their name or their child's name carries mana (ancestrally derived power, authority or prestige), and is bound within a system of genealogical relationships to hapū (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe), and tīpuna (ancestors). Te reo Māori (the Māori language) is also considered to be the gift of the ancestors and as such is regarded as a taonga (ancestral item). The identification of te reo Māori (the Māori language) as taonga not only contributes to the basis of Māori identity, but for reasons outlined earlier in this chapter, is regarded as integral to the process of forging and maintaining conceptual links between the past, the present and the future. As described in Mihiteria's commentary, Māori participants in any relationship, including those between teacher and pupil, are therefore expected to either address, restore or enhance the tapu (sanctity) of another so that each may have the mana to achieve their potential. Failure to do so is often articulated as 'trampling on the mana and tapu of another'.

As Mihiteria's commentary also explained, such transgressions elicit the diminishment of the culprit's own mana (ancestrally derived power, authority or prestige). Nevertheless, when a Māori mother challenged an offending teacher on the matter of substituting her child's Māori name, it is reported that she was told, "there were more important things to worry about." This episode further reminds us that for Māori, personal names are important things to worry about and as such represent something for ethnographers to worry about also. In connecting this issue to the themes discussed so far, the remainder of this chapter gleans examples from kōrero pūrākau (mythic narrative) and the personal history of The Dread's, Tawhito Hou, to illustrate the way in which personal names assume the status of taonga. It is, I argue, the achievement of these ends that endows a personal name with the capacity to encapsulate, assert and extend an individual's mana.

Prior to the arrival of Christian missionaries and beginning of mass European settlement in the early nineteenth century, however, Māori personal names were commonly assigned to honour an ancestor or commemorate an important event. Such episodes, although momentous in nature such as victory in battle, a disaster or the death of a relative, were often relayed in a fashion that to the non-Māori observer may even appear trivial,

comical or merely incidental. Many a time, the most unlikely details in connection with the event could spawn a name that doubled as a mnemonic device in the story's retelling. In this way, the personal names of Māori individuals are able to operate in precisely the same manner as those assigned to taonga (ancestral item) or appended to reflect the personal achievements of gods as was highlighted earlier in the chapter in reference to the god, Tāne-te-wananga-ā-rangi (Tane the bringer of knowledge from the sky). In this way personal names perform an integral role in situating an individual within historical narrative, genealogical time and physical space.

In Ngāti Porou (tribe of Ruatoria, East Coast) for example, there is the *kōrero pūrākau* (mythic narrative) surrounding the supposed death of an old chief named, Tūmoanakotore. As was the custom of the day, Tūmoanakotore's body was ceremonially wrapped and suspended in a tree to await the period when his bones were ready for the ritual process of scraping, prior to their being laid to rest in the family burial-cave. The men assigned to carry out the detail of suspending Tūmoanakotore's body had just completed their duty and were departing the scene when they heard the muffled voice of the chief calling out. They responded by immediately removing the wrappings to find that the old chief had recovered from the deep coma that all had mistaken for death. Soon after the incident a grandson was born to chief Tūmoanakotore and so to commemorate the chief's narrow escape the boy was called Tū-moana-kotore-i-whakairia-oratia that is 'Tūmoanakotore who was hung up alive'. Today, the boy who grew to become the most celebrated warrior in Ngāti Porou history is better known by the shortened version of his name, Tūwhakairiora (McConnell 2001: 35-36).

Similarly, there is the *kōrero pūrākau* (mythic narrative) of a pregnant woman named Taranga who suffered a miscarriage whilst walking by the seashore. Believing her premature child to be dead, Taranga cut off a length of her hair that had been tied in a style called a tikitiki (topknot), wrapped the placenta and foetus in the off-cut of hair and tossed the bundle into the sea. However, the child was alive and fortunate to be rescued by his tipuna (ancestor), Tamanui-ki-te-Rangi (Grey 1956 [1855]: 14). Tamanui-ki-te-Rangi raised the infant as his own and to mark the event the boy was named 'Māui-tikitiki-a-

Taranga' or 'Māui of the topknot of Taranga.' Propelled by this extraordinary upbringing Māui was elevated to the status of demigod renowned throughout Polynesia, a few of whose exploits will be recounted in a later chapter of this thesis.

As previously stated, in later life a Māori name could also be appended in recognition of personal achievement or to celebrate newly acquired character traits. This feature, as earlier discussed in relation to the various appellations accorded to the god, Tāne, is applicable to both gods and humans and serves to further emphasise the genealogical continuity between ancestors and the living.⁵³ The acquisition of additional names has been a key characteristic adopted by The Dread. The birth name of Tawhito Hou, for example, honours the husband of the mid-wife in whose home he was delivered, which The Dread first overlaid with his Rastafari name of Jah Jobee, derived from the biblical prophet Job. However, Jah Jobee has since been accorded a new name of Tawhito Hou.

Another common feature of traditional Māori childbirthing practise that was instituted at the birth of Jah Jobee (Tawhito Hou) was the presence of grandparents his birth. Traditionally, if a newborn was deemed to possess a special wairua (spirit) the grandparents could exercise their prerogative of removing the child from their parents care and elected to raise the infant as a 'tamaiti whāngai' or adopted child.⁵⁴ The identical principle of removing those identified as possessing an innate talent was also applied in reference to entry to the sacred houses of learning (discussed earlier). The purpose of this practise was to ensure that the infant received the ideal environment and relevant instruction necessary to develop their latent talent or talents. As Ngoi Pewhairangi of Ngāti Porou explains,

If you are born on a marae [meeting-house complex], there are certain qualities about you that are recognised by elders. They don't actually teach you. They select you and place you in a situation where you absorb knowledge. When you're asleep on your own, they're singing waiatas [songs] or reciting genealogies in the next room. As you're lying in the dark, you absorb everything that's going on. And before you realise what you're doing, you've learned how to

⁵³ Tāne's numerous feats have earned him names including: Tāne-mahuta (atua of the forests and birds), Tāne-matua (Tāne the Parent of humankind), Tāne-nui-ā-Rangi (great Tāne of the Heavens), and Tāne-te-wānanga-ā-rangi (Tāne the bringer of knowledge from the sky).

⁵⁴ I am indebted to Paul Tapsell for bringing this dimension of traditional childrearing practise to my attention.

recite too, or you've learned the words of a certain song. And this can go on for three or four years. But you don't realise that they're putting you into the situation to learn (1994: 10).

In parallel with the *kōrero pūrākau* (mythic narrative) of Māui's miraculous birth and divine upbringing, members of The Dread have described Tawhito Hou as being born a blue baby. That is to say, he was born suffering the effects of asphyxia caused by his umbilical cord being entwined around his neck. Like Māui, Tawhito Hou underwent the honour of being a *tamaiti whāngai* or adopted child. To quote Te Ahi, "Tawhito Hou's grandmother was among the last of the stone-age people, who knew the taste of human flesh." Te Ahi's statement, however, is far more than a statement about the Māori practise of cannibalism, outbreaks of which continued sporadically well into the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Te Ahi's comment provides a pointed reference to the Māori transition from the pre-European time of Te Ao Tawhito (The Old World), represented by the ascendancy of ancestral knowledge of wood, stone, and flax weaving technologies, to Te Ao Hou (The New World), represented by the dominance of Pākehā ways of knowing, industrial materials, and technologies. It is in identification of his position within this process of historical transition that the tapu (sacred) name, Tawhito Hou, literally meaning 'Old' and 'New,' has been accorded. Reminiscent of the way in which Māui's mortal birth and divine upbringing bridged the categories of gods and humans, the name Tawhito Hōu thus represents the traversing of two epochs.

The relationship to ancestors is also articulated in The Dread's assertion that the sword, that is the proud warrior tradition of Māori as typified in the book, *Ngā Tama Toa* a copy of which I described presenting to Tawhito Hou in the opening vignette of this chapter, and the spirit (sanctity) are passed down through names. By way of a closing example, a member of The Dread named, Te Hokowhitu-a-Tū possesses a name that is comprised of the term Te Hokowhitu, itself possessing a dual significance of the numeral 140, and the number of soldiers constituting a traditional Māori war party. To this is added the compound, Tū, an abbreviated spelling of the name, Tūmatauenga, the atua (god) of war and humankind. Together, this composite name denotes the 'Army of Tūmatauenga', the translation of which evokes the spirit of those who "gather together

in a body to make a stand and fight" (Te Hokowhita-a-Tū, in Neleman 1999: 81). Interestingly, New Zealand's Māori Pioneer Battalion, established during the First World War, also adopted the name Te Hokowhita-a-Tū (Soutar 2008: 33). To quote Te Ahi on the naming of Te Hokowhita-a-Tū, "he's a soldier from the wars, his ancestors have died in all wars so he carries tā moko [patterning] representing battles, wars, soldiers and campaigns. He carries the kaupapa (philosophy), that's why he runs the Ruatoria boxing club."

CONCLUSION

The vignette with which this chapter began recollected an afternoon of close encounters with two Māori-themed books. The encounter with the first book, *Moko—Māori Tattoo*, was underscored by an account of how the book produced by the tauwiwi (foreigner), Hans Neleman, was met with a mixture of Māori objection, abstention, and eventually the conditional participation of a Māori few. The second encounter with *Ngā Tama Toa: The Price of Citizenship*, detailed how the book produced by Ngāti Porou scholar, Monty Soutar, was met with great fanfare, and thus meritorious of presentation as *koha* (a contribution made in acknowledgement of a person's *mana*). However, this chapter has argued that what divides the reception afforded to the two books is not a straightforward case of the ethnic or national discrimination towards the non-Māori author. Rather, the factors distinguishing the reception Māori-themed books receive from a Māori audience stem, in the first instance, from Māori anxieties relating to the appropriate handling and reproduction of Māori knowledge conveyed in books. The second factor, I have argued, surrounds the Māori trepidation that accompanies the dissemination of published knowledge to an unknown and predominantly, culturally unknowing public.

It is my contention that the book I presented to Tawhito Hou as *koha*, like other books written on or by Ngāti Porou, and featuring the *tapu* (sanctity) of names, faces, themes, breath, and *kōrero* (oratory), assumes many of the characteristics of *taonga* (any tangible or intangible item of value, passed down from ancestors). However, the mass publication of books problematises this status in a number of key ways. Firstly, the publication of

books can and is undertaken by Pākehā or tauwiwi (foreigners), who are widely accused by Māori of lacking an appropriate understanding of Māori epistemology. Secondly, the commercialisation of the documented knowledge means that any tapu element that is transferred to the pages of a book can be 'owned' by consumers with little or no awareness and/or inclination towards the correct kaitiakitanga (trusteeship) of those books. This was exemplified in the publication of the third book featured in this chapter, Ngāti Dread: Footsteps of Fire, whose author, Angus Gillies, pronounced his willingness to disregard the tapu of the names, themes, breath, and kōrero (oratory) he transcribed.

PART II
COMMUNION

CHAPTER THREE

THE INVERSION OF PRIMOGENITURE: RUGBY, RASTAFAR-I, THE MĀORI KINSHIP I AND THE DREAD'S ANTICIPATION OF GOD'S PROMISE

INTRODUCING THE FIRST-LAST, LAST-FIRST

Members of The Dread observe each Saturday as the day of the Sabbath and in so doing, view themselves as adhering to the fourth of the Ten Commandments:

Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work . . . (Exodus 20: 8-10).

In adopting Saturday as a day of rest and reflection, The Dread assume a more relaxed attitude than is the case during weekdays, with supplementary work activities, such as fishing, diving for seafood or the planting or tending of marijuana paddocks suspended. In the main, activities on the Sabbath are confined to morning Bible reading sessions, time spent at home with family and late afternoon and/or early evening visits between fellow adherents, whom The Dread often address as 'brethers' (c.f. Chevannes 1990: 143; Edmunds 1998a: 352-353; Yawney 1978: 110, 301-302). Derived from their amalgamation of the words 'brethren' and 'brother', the designation 'brether' represents one of The Dread's favoured fictive kinship terms. Moreover, in the context of both the Rastafari movement and the theme of religious devotion that is so central this chapter, the fictive kinship term, brether, is consonant with the ecclesiastical definition of 'a man who dedicates himself to the duties of a religious order without having taken or while in preparation of taking holy orders'.

In contrast to the Rastafari teachings of the orthodox 'Twelve Tribes of Israel', whose membership constitutes the most internationally widespread and ethnically diverse of the Jamaican Rastafari movement's three prominent orders that are referred to as, 'mansions', The Dread's Bible reading no longer adheres to the mantra of reading "a chapter a day." In Aotearoa-New Zealand, this instruction was one of several that had

been instituted by the Twelve Tribes of Israel's founder, Prophet Gad, when in 1983 he travelled from Jamaica to ordain Auckland's predominantly Māori and Pacific Island Rastafari community called the 'House of Shem', with the words: "Read your Bible one chapter a day from Genesis 1 to Revelation 22 and find the truth for yourself." Having said that, The Dread's Te Hokowhitu, would regularly instigate a conversation or introduce into dialogue a lesson gleaned from his morning's Bible reading, and when I once asked Te Ahi how often he reads his Bible, he replied: "every day I look for Jah in the Bible." By looking for Jah, I deduced that Te Ahi was alluding to his daily search for spiritual guidance from God.

As this example demonstrates, The Dread, as do all Rastafari, refer constantly to the Bible and reference 'Jah', a term that members' use almost exclusively, rather than Jesus. This use of the term Jah is very much a unique feature of Rastafari, which distinguishes the movement from Christianity. With very few exceptions, members of The Dread became Rastafari from non-Christian backgrounds, although Christian membership is prominent among Ngāti Porou leadership (see for example, Mahuika 1992: 59-60). In Ruatoria itself, it was not uncommon to hear the voicing of discontent over the presence of churches on marae and during field research I encountered several instances where opposition to Christianity resulted in the refusal to attend funeral services held at church marae. Moreover, as I have also outlined in earlier parts of this thesis, Ngāti Porou and Māori in general, view Rastafari, unlike Christianity, sympathetically.

On this Saturday September morning I arrived at the home of Te Ahi to find him seated at his handcrafted timber dining table, slowly leafing through the pages of his large, black leather-bound Bible as if engaged in this stated process of looking for Jah. I had often, observed Te Ahi open his Bible and randomly flick through its pages before pausing to read a particular verse or verses to which he felt drawn. On this particular Sabbath day, I was seated adjacent to Te Ahi when his page turning paused on The Book of St. Matthew. Te Ahi read aloud in his soft gravelly voice, while I listened attentively and before long we encountered chapter 19 verses 27 to 30, which state:

Then answered Peter and said unto him, Behold we have forsaken all, and followed thee; what

shall we have therefore? And Jesus said to them, Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life. But many that are the first shall be the last; and the last shall be first.

Unbeknown to me at the time, the collective themes of material and familial sacrifice, spiritual devotion and the inversion of hierarchical relationships stirred up by this encounter with the 'first-last, last-first' doctrine were, as we are soon to discover, to act as the catalyst for a broader theme that unfolded for the remainder of that day and on many days to follow.

This chapter constitutes my effort to piece together the significance, to The Dread, of this 'first-last, last-first' doctrine as it unfolded during my twenty-five month period of ethnographic fieldwork in and around Ruatoria. Drawing on Jørgen Prytz Johansen's often glossed over concept of the Māori kinship I, I will show that by considering the interplay between The Dread's composite Ngāti Porou and Rastafari identity, in tandem with their close attention to specific biblical text, we can arrive at an explanation of how and why The Dread's commitment to God, necessitates their deviation from Māori hierarchal norms. In order to contextualise this argument, however, I shall begin with a brief outline of anthropological understandings of the structuring of Māori hierarchies, which are contingent upon an individual's inheritance of ancestral traits transmitted by the quality of 'mana tīpuna', a term that roughly translates as 'spiritual power inherited from ancestors.'

INTRODUCTION

According to Māori cosmology, every individual is acknowledged as having been imbued with a quantity of mana tīpuna at birth. The more senior an individual's genealogical descent, the greater their inherited store of mana tīpuna. The scholar and chairman of the Ngāti Porou tribal authority, Āpirana Mahuika, highlights that the quantity of mana inherited by the Māori individual as a consequence of seniority of descent can also be increased by the prestige accumulated by the success of that individual and/or that individual's genealogical line of human ancestors in any given sphere of activity (1994: 45).

Through this combination of ascription and achievement, each Māori individual inherits the mana of their parents and their ancestors. By whatever means of aggregation, the individual's receipt of mana tīpuna is understood as a spiritual gift, which although inherited from ancestors, is delegated by atua or gods. For this reason, the Māori individual is acknowledged as only the agent, never the source of mana, whose efficacy remains contingent upon the individual's maintenance of their relationship to atua.

Similarly, Jørgen Prytz Johansen described the defining characteristics of mana as an "active fellowship which according to its nature is never inextricably bound up with any single thing or any single human being" (1954: 85). "Sometimes personal, sometimes impersonal," mana, according to Johansen, could therefore be embodied by an individual or disembodied by being "taken by somebody else if he is capable of doing so" (1954: 98). Furthermore, the fellowship to which Johansen refers, is the Māori kinship group, which he understood as indicative of "one big 'I,'" the kinship I that lives through the ages. In contrast to individual life, the fellowship, writes Johansen, enables Māori to "find themselves in history" through communion with their ancestors in the kinship I (1954: 35, 149, 164). For Johansen also, the quality that determines an individual's position in this fellowship of the living and their ancestors is mana (1954: 256).

By virtue of the laws of primogeniture, the tuakana or firstborn child is identified as having inherited a greater store of mana tīpuna than their taina or younger sibling(s). The right of leadership, however, was traditionally reserved for those individual's who were recognised as having inherited the greatest quantity of mana tīpuna of all. Or, to put it another way, those individual's in whom the greatest number of tuakana lines of descent converged, were installed as the 'rangatira', meaning 'chief' or 'ariki', meaning 'paramount chief.' Of these two categories of chief, the ariki was identified as having been bestowed with the greatest store of inherited mana tīpuna and is generally able to trace their genealogical descent through a line of human ancestors to the source of all mana, the gods. For this reason the ariki was regarded as being the closest to the gods and as such had conferred upon them, the title of 'taumata' or 'resting place of the gods' (Best 1924: 349; Mahuika 1994: 45).

At least until the mid- to late-nineteenth century, both ariki and rangatira were exalted and their wellbeing was seen as inextricably linked to the secular and spiritual wellbeing of the group to which they were duty-bound to serve and protect (Cox 1993: 19). However, the intense respect for the quantity of mana inherited through primogeniture has never been absolute. For just as an individual's mana tīpuna has the potential to increase with success in any given sphere of activity (Mahuika 1994: 45), an individual's mana tīpuna, though not that of their lineage, is equally liable to diminish through lack of success (Cox 1993: 18-19; Goldman 1970: 36). Respect owed to seniority of descent was permanent—the tuakana or senior line was always exalted over the taina or junior line—but continued leadership and authority was contingent upon the provisioning of a successful and effective administration. Therefore, unlike the feudal hereditary right to rule that was relied upon in medieval Europe, the hereditary quality of mana tīpuna, whilst a pivotal factor, merely conferred the potential to lead, and the transmission of chiefly traits possessed by forebears (Cox 1993: 18). Consequently, the requirement to achieve was tantamount to traditional Māori leadership and could be lost due to incompetency.

Gregory Schrempp has also highlighted that the Māori the principle of ordered genealogical succession is but one of two means by which political legitimation could be attained in Māori society. The other, writes Schrempp, “involves an interruption of this rule, in favor of legitimation by the willful and decisive actions of a given individual.” Each of these processes, continues Schrempp, “abrogates the unity of process espoused in the other” (1992: 155-156). In so doing, the potential to interrupt that which Schrempp termed, “succession [. . .] as a predictable consequence of genealogical rank” (1992: 155), also abrogates an earlier claim made by Irving Goldman, who described Māori social cohesion as being so robust that: “the violence that could disturb Māori status strongly had to come from outside the genealogical network; it could hardly come from within” (1970: 44).

Drawing on various episodes of Ngāti Porou history for precedents, Āpirana Mahuika asserts that it has traditionally been possible for a taina of a chief to interrupt the rule of

their tuakana and be accepted as a “leader of a tribe or sub-tribe” through success in one or more of the five following mechanisms. Firstly, by usurping the leadership from a tuakana chief who lacked an efficacious ability to lead. Secondly, the taina of a chief could migrate from their hapū (sub-tribe) or iwi (tribe) territory and establish a new group. Thirdly, in instances where equal allocations of areas within the hapū or iwi ancestral lands (whenua papatipu) were allocated to more than one heir, an aspiring taina could effectively divide the territory. Fourthly, a male taina of a chief could considerably increase of his mana by marrying a highborn woman as a prelude to earning recognition as a leader. Finally, a taina, by inheriting the mana of a taina ancestor who achieved leadership in any of the above ways would be in a position to follow suit (1994: 44, see also Martin 1861: 4).

Where Mahuika’s five mechanisms for usurpation are concerned with the question of leadership, this chapter takes the short analytical step from mechanisms employed by the taina of a chief to usurp their tuakana, to its obvious corollary that all taina could increase their mana by usurping the mana of their tuakana. This chapter delves into events of the recent and distant pasts to understand how the interplay between The Dread’s bonds of fictive kinship, expressed by the Rastafar-I and genealogical fellowship, expressed by the Māori kinship I, motivates their anticipation of God’s promise to elevate those who have devoted their lives to the spiritual regeneration of humankind, rather than the material enrichment of self.

THE SEAL OF THE LIVING GOD

The Dread, through two forms of outward expression, physically embodies the devotion to Jesus that is called for in The Book of St. Matthew chapter 19 verses 27 to 30. The first is expressed through the distinctively Māori adornment of facial moko or tattoos and the other through the distinctively Rastafari wearing of dreadlocks. Indeed, since the adoption of wearing dreadlocks in 1950s Jamaica, the Rastafari movement has endorsed their adornment as a symbol of their devotion to, and covenant with Jah or God, which is buttressed by their commitment to the ‘Nazarite vow’ found in the Bible’s book of Numbers chapter 6, verse 5, which reads:

All the days of the vow of his separation shall no razor come upon his head: until the days be fulfilled, in which he separateth himself unto the Lord, he shall be holy, and shall let the locks of the hair of his head grow.

The sentiment expressed in Numbers chapter 6, verse 5 is reaffirmed in Leviticus chapter 21, verse 5, albeit with the addendum: “They shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard, nor make any cuttings in the flesh.”

Notwithstanding the religious significance and visual impact of The Dread’s wearing of dreadlocks, there is little doubt that the most conspicuous and powerful aspect of The Dread’s unique Rastafari kaupapa or philosophy is their adornment of facial moko or tattoos. At first glance The Dread’s adornment of facial moko appears to contravene the stipulation that those who are consecrated to the service of God as Nazarites shall not “make cuttings in their flesh.” However, much like their Rastafari wearing of dreadlocks, The Dread’s adornment of facial moko is staunchly defended by the invocation of New Testament scriptures, such as that found in Revelation chapter 22, verse 4, which reads: “And they shall see his face; and his name shall be in their foreheads.” For this reason also, The Dread describe their adornment of facial moko as their means of indelibly inscribing what adherents refer to as: “the seal of The Living God.” Furthermore, as an integral component of their kaupapa, all members of The Dread proclaim as part of their Māori birthright, the right through their adornment of moko, to make cuttings in their flesh.

Consequently, amongst the lines and scrolls that constitute the orthodox Māori elements of their facial moko (tattoo) patterning, each member of The Dread bears an inscription of their Rastafari name on their forehead so they proclaim “Jah will know them on his return.” Alongside The Dread’s Rastafari name lays a common assemblage of unconventional facial moko motifs. Typically located between, or slightly above the centre of their eyebrows is perched the Star of David. For Rastafari, the downward pointing of the two interlocking equilateral triangles that constitutes the Star of David’s form represents the orientation of the spiritual, while the upward pointing triangle symbolises the orientation of the physical (Afari 2007: 102). Arcing across the foreheads of many members is positioned a coloured rainbow, which in the Book of Genesis

chapter 9, verses 12 to 16, signifies God's covenant never again to destroy the Earth and all living things by flood. Indeed, the regular occurrence of rainbows arcing across the Ruatoria's oscillating skies of clear blue and heavily laden purple-grey clouds merely substantiates The Dread's view that they live under the protection of Jah's promise.

It is also significant that the indelible nature of The Dread's facial moko (tattoos) renders these adornments far more abiding than the sporting of dreadlocks by which the group are stereotyped, but do not consider themselves inextricably rooted. Rather, it is through the mechanism of facial moko that The Dread institute their uncompromising commitment to Jah in a manner that as well as being indelible and irreversible, also mirrors an aspect of the introduction of dreadlocks among Jamaican Rastafari in the 1950s. As Maureen Rowe writes, the appearance of dreadlocks among Jamaican Rastafari signalled a growing militancy that was consciously responsible for ostracising hardcore adherents from Jamaican society, by "separating the militant and committed Rastafari from the weak-hearted" (1998: 76-77). This explanation may similarly be applied to The Dread in that their adornment of facial moko distinguishes them from Ruatoria's two other identifiable categories of dreadlock-wearing Māori—whom The Dread refer to as, the "Surfer Rastas" and the "Snake Gully Rastas"—and all other Māori and Polynesian Rastafari in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

In vigorously promoting the adornment of facial moko (tattoos), The Dread have thereby converted the temporality of the spoken Nazarite vow, symbolised by the protrusion of matted hair from the epidermis, into a mode of permanent inscription of the underlying dermis. Indeed, The Dread would often deride the reluctance of aspiring members to adorn facial moko as being "soft cock," i.e., impotent. As Te Ahi once explained to me: "Some of the bro's say they're Rasta, but they haven't put one of these on their face." As Te Ahi spoke he gestured to his moko, before continuing, "They say, "na bro I can't. The missus says I can't or that she'll leave me," te mea te mea te mea," and once again gesturing to his moko, Te Ahi concluded, "but Brother Jah Rastafari always used to say "If they ain't got one of these on, then don't trust them."

During my period of ethnographic field research, I would often hear The Dread apply the expression “te mea te mea te mea” literally, “because because because,” in their dismissal of weak explanations, while the “Brother Jah Rastafari,” to whom Te Ahi referred is the Rastafari name of The Dread’s now deceased prophet leader, to whom I will briefly return later in the chapter. For the time being, however, it is suffice to say that the circumstances surrounding the death of Brother Jah Rastafari in 1990 led to the partial dispersal of The Dread. At their ‘alleged’ peak in the early 1990s, The Dread’s number is estimated to have constituted anywhere between 100 and 150 (Collins 2000) or somewhere approaching one-in-six of Ruatoria’s then resident population of 852 people (Statistics New Zealand 1991). Nowadays, the contingent of The Dread living in and around Ruatoria has fallen to around thirty, mostly male individuals, whose ages range from the late thirties to early fifties.

The Dread’s commitment to the adornment of facial tattoos directs us to the overriding concern of this chapter, namely the means through which the two facets of their seemingly paradoxical kaupapa or philosophy; Jamaican Rastafari and Māoritanga or Māori culture, converge in their challenge to the established rule of primogeniture. However, the connections uniting The Dread’s kaupapa to the concept of the Rastafari-I, the Māori kinship I and the ‘first-last, last-first’ passage I encountered around Te Ahi’s dining table, only began to reveal themselves following a sojourn to the Ruatoria rugby field later that same Saturday afternoon.

THE LAST AND THE FIRST FIFTEEN

That afternoon as Te Ahi and I were driving slowly through Ruatoria following a visit to the shared home of two members of The Dread named, Tawhito Hou and Hōri Kurī, we were similarly struck by how few cars or pedestrians we witnessed in the township. We each remarked that even by Ruatoria’s typically sedate standards, this particular Saturday afternoon appeared exceptionally quiet. With time on our hands and curious as to the cause of the apparent inactivity, I immediately agreed to Te Ahi’s suggestion that we investigate whether one of the local rugby teams was involved in a home fixture at Ruatoria’s, Whakarua Park. Perhaps, we considered, such an event would explain the air

of virtual abandonment that hung over the township by revealing the whereabouts of the local inhabitants.

The popularity of local rugby is such that it is not unusual for spectators from across the community or communities, when featuring clashes between local rivals, to be magnetically drawn to a Saturday afternoon fixture. Men and women both young and old, along with children of all ages create clusters of friends, families and associates lining the perimeter of the pitch, while bikers and companies of men seated in smoke-filled cars watch the game from a distance. For the unknowing passer by, an often-reliable indicator that an important rugby fixture is taking place is the sight of numerous parked cars, trucks, and the odd tethered horse and Harley Davidson motorbike lining the roads adjacent to a sports field.

In this sparsely populated area, such a sight is made all the more conspicuous, for aside from events at a marae or meeting-house complex, roadside parking is generally quite minimal. However, on our arrival at Whakarua Park, the sight of the deserted venue rendered it immediately clear that on this particular Saturday, this tranquil sports field was not destined to be the stage for a clash between local adversaries. Nevertheless, undeterred by our seemingly fruitless visit, Te Ahi discreetly parked his truck under a stand of trees on the eastern side of the sports field whilst we remained inside the vehicle, watching and waiting in the unlikely event that some sign of activity would slowly unfold on or around the playing field.

As Te Ahi and I sat waiting patiently inside his truck, he began to reminisce about local rugby in the 1980s Ruatoria, when as young men, several members of The Dread played rugby. Te Ahi then explained that each of the East Coast's small townships has its own local rugby club. However, given its status as the most substantial of these settlements when viewed in terms of population size, infrastructure, historical and cosmological significance, Ruatoria provides the exception to this rule, in possessing not one, but three local rugby teams. For, as well as playing host to the East Coast's provincial representative, 'Ngāti Porou East Coast', who compete in the second tier of Aotearoa-

New Zealand's domestic rugby union competition, the township is also home to three local clubs: Hikurangi Sports Club, Ruatoria City Sports Club, and Ruatoria United. Significantly, for members of Ngāti Porou living in and around Ruatoria, the key determinant in deciding an individual's participation in and/or support for each of Ruatoria's local rugby clubs is hapū, that is sub-tribe affiliation. Indeed, I was informed that it was by way of this criterion that several members of The Dread elected to play their rugby for Hikurangi Sports Club.

Before long, however, Te Ahi's initially jocular outlining of memorable fixtures and characters associated with Hikurangi Sports Club developed into a critique of the club's management, organisational structure and playing staff. According to Te Ahi's evaluation of events, a senior tier of The Dread's kin (whanaunga), comprising their fathers, uncles, elder brothers, and genealogically senior male cousins, actively conspired against The Dread by jealously guarding their running of Hikurangi Sports Club and playing positions within the first team. The actions of their seniors not only frustrated opportunities for deserving members of The Dread to break into the first fifteen, but it also denied The Dread opportunities to make any meaningful contribution to decision making at Hikurangi Sports Club. What is more, Te Ahi claimed that the ability of The Dread's kin to safeguard their possession of Hikurangi Sports Club's first team jerseys was qualified through genealogy (whakapapa) and the rules governing Māori whanaungatanga or kinship. Before progressing with Te Ahi's summary of developments at Hikurangi Sports Club, however, it is first necessary to situate The Dread's relationships to their rugby-playing fathers, uncles, elder brothers, and genealogically senior male cousins within the framework of Māori whanaungatanga or kinship. Following which I will briefly outline the protocols governing each Māori individual's access to and participation in ritually sanctioned modes of representation with fellow hapū members.

MĀORI KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Authors, Irving Goldman (1970: 36); Michael Jackson (1978: 351); Joan Metge (1976: 18, 122); Mākereti Papakura (1938: 43) and Karen Sinclair (2001: 158) are among those to have observed that in Māori kinship, older siblings and genealogically senior cousins of the

same gender are designated 'tuākana'. The term tuākana is therefore applicable to the older brothers and genealogically senior male cousins to whom Te Ahi was referring, as well as the older sisters and genealogically senior female cousins of a female. Younger siblings and genealogically junior cousins of the same gender are designated 'tāina' and in keeping with the principle expressed in tuakana classification, the term tāina applies to younger brothers and genealogically junior male cousins such as The Dread, as well as the younger sisters and genealogically junior female cousins of a female. The aforementioned authors also relate that the accompanying kinship terms applied between genders for persons of the same generation are 'tuahine', meaning sister and female cousin of a male, and 'tungāne', meaning brother and male cousin of a female, with both classifications applicable irrespective of order of birth (see for example, Jackson 1978: 351; Metge 1976: 18, 123; Papakura 1938: 43).

At this point, you may be forgiven for believing the exclusive assignment of the terms tuakana and taina to the description of single gender relatedness reveals tuakana-taina that is seniority-juniority classification in Māori society as structured along parallel intra-gender and not inter-gendered lines. However, Āpirana Mahuika points out that in Ngāti Porou the terms tuakana, taina, 'mātāmua', meaning 'firstborn child' and 'pōtiki', meaning 'youngest child' are traditionally applied irrespective of gender (1994: 46-47). In this regard, Mahuika's important intervention identifies Ngāti Porou whanaungatanga or kinship as anomalous to the homogenous pattern of Māori social structure that is often presented and applied to Māori tribes elsewhere in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Whether applied to dual gendered relationships as evidenced in Ngāti Porou, or single gender relationships found amongst Māori iwi (tribes) elsewhere, in genealogical (whakapapa) terms, tuākana, that is older siblings and senior cousins, are always senior to their tāina or younger siblings and genealogically junior cousins. As these relationships move through the generations "the tuakana-taina distinction ramifies" (Salmond 1983: 149), establishing all descendants of tuākana as senior to all descendants of tāina (Papakura 1938: 43-46; c.f. Hīroa 1974 [1949]: 343). Consequently, when viewed across the entire network of kin, these genealogical abstractions of tuakana-taina or seniority-

juniority have far reaching implications, in that they accord even the junior descendants or tāina of a tuakana or senior line a higher genealogical ranking than senior or tuākana descendants of taina lineages.

Furthermore, in all but the most rare occurrence of those defined as ‘ure tū’, meaning the first-born descendants from an unbroken line of first-born siblings—who are therefore genealogically senior to all (see Best 1924a: 345-346; Goldman 1970: 37)—and ‘tūtūā’, the last-born descendants from an unbroken line of last-born siblings and therefore junior to all, every individual, although junior to some, can claim seniority over others. Through these classificatory means, tuakana and taina relations reveal themselves as the guiding principle in ordering hierarchical relations along both a horizontal intra-generation axis and a vertical inter-generational axis. Both terms, tuakana and taina, are not exclusively applied as a direct expression of order of birth or generation, but are also instituted in relation to the overarching principles of inheritance that govern ‘seniority of descent’ (Jackson 1978: 351; Metge 1976: 18; Te Rito 2007: 1).

An equally significant characteristic of Māori whanaungatanga or kinship terminology is that the classifications tuakana and taina are not simply terms applied as biological referents to the arrangement of genealogical categories within the family, sub-tribal, and tribal units of the whānau, the hapū and the iwi. Rather, in stemming from ancestors who stand in a seniority-juniority relationship to each other, the terms tuakana and taina are also central to understanding relative superordination and subordination in a variety of contexts (c.f. Jackson 1978: 346). So pervasive are these principles that tuakana-taina distinctions are also responsible for hierarchically ordering a hapū’s genealogical relationship to other hapū, an iwi’s genealogical relationships to other iwi (Metge 1976: 18), and ultimately Aotearoa-New Zealand’s genealogical relationship to other Polynesian islands.

By way of an example, I am reminded of an occasion when my Ngāti Porou mentor, Joe McClutchie, informed me of a visit he and his wife had made to the South Pacific island of Rarotonga so that he could take part in an expedition recreating the ancient sea

voyage of Māori ancestors from Rarotonga to Aotearoa-New Zealand. Recounting his return as a crewmember onboard a traditional Polynesian seafaring canoe, Joe explained that he like many Māori acknowledge the people of Aotearoa-New Zealand as genealogically junior to those from Polynesian islands such as Tahiti, Tonga, Samoa, Rarotonga and Hawaii etcetera, owing to the islands later settlement by migrants from the aforementioned isles. Although Aotearoa-New Zealand is by no means considered junior to its neighbouring Polynesian islands in current economic and political terms, the sentiment expressed by Joe McClutchie illustrates the way in which tuakana-taina classification even endures in instances where a person or peoples of junior status rises, through individual achievement, to a higher social standing than their genealogical senior.

Indeed, tuakana-taina classification even endures in instances where a person or peoples of junior status rises, through individual achievement, to a higher social standing than their genealogical senior. This principle of subordinating personal achievement to tuakana-taina relatedness is articulated by the Māori whakatauākī or proverb that states:

He nui muringa hei kī mai i tōna angaana

**No matter how important the younger may become
he must defer to his elder brother**

(Salmond 1983: 149; cf. Mead and Grove 2007: 102)

Anne Salmond (1983) explains that this whakatauākī exemplifies a key restriction associated with ‘the protocol of the ancestral meeting-house’ (‘te kawa o te marae’), governing which individuals are permitted to make formal speeches on the marae ātea or ceremonial courtyard area in front of the hapū (sub-tribe) meeting-house. As Salmond writes, when in formal use “the marae ātea is very like a stage where none but accredited actors may enter while the play is in progress” (1983: 51). Thus, the proverb in reminding hapū members of their hierarchal obligation associated with this particular kawa (protocol), buttresses the tikanga—a term literally translated as “correct ways,” although glossed as custom—of many hapū that forbids tāina, that is younger brothers from delivering public speeches on the marae ātea while their tuākana, that is their older brothers, are alive. Likewise, sons are forbidden from making public speeches while their

fathers are alive. In either scenario there is an expectation that this kawa is to be observed by taina unless the son's father and any tuākana are absent, or the taina has been delegated to speak by his father and/or tuākana (Salmond 1983: 149; see also Tauroa and Tauroa 2000: 73-76).

In governing the public forum for each hapū, all protocols associated to the marae ātea derive their particular significance from the fact that the space is acknowledged as the domain of 'Tāne-the-bringer-of-knowledge-from-the-sky' ('Tāne-te-wānanga-ā-rangi'), the atua or god of knowledge and oratory and 'Tūmatauenga', who is the atua of war and humankind (Salmond 1983: 51; Tauroa and Tauroa 2000: 59). As the spatial domains of the gods Tāne-the-bringer-of-knowledge-from-the-sky and Tūmatauenga, participants on the marae are able to draw on the influence of these gods as well as their ancestors. Together, these dimensions render the marae ātea a cosmologically potent, intellectually vibrant, emotionally charged and at times volatile arena where hapū guests are welcomed, oratorical excellence is demonstrated, hapū affairs are debated and when necessary any contentious issues concerning the wellbeing of the hapū and its members may be raised and debated in public. It is for these reasons that the marae ātea is designated the most wāhi tapu (sacred place) on the marae and therefore demanding of strict adherence to protocol.

For these reasons also, the conduct of performances and rituals on the marae are subject to a host of sophisticated rules concerning individual and group engagement, procedure and behaviour. Language and oratory are key constituents of 'the protocol of the marae' and in many tribal districts speaking te reo Māori (the Māori language) is the only permissible mode of communication on the marae ātea during formal occasions (Karetu 1978: 75; Salmond 1983: 129-131; Tauroa and Tauroa 2000: 72-73). Consequently, the marae ātea, although a setting for heated debate in intra-hapū exchanges, is nevertheless able to regulate the ability of the assembled cast to actively participate in proceedings. Furthermore, by effectively restricting participation only to those of the appropriate genealogical status with the confidence and ability to demonstrate the requisite language and oratorical skills, the marae ātea strongly supports hierarchical authority and the laws

of primogeniture.

Given the intricacies of Māori kinship (whanaungatanga), genealogy (whakapapa) and restrictions governing which individual's are permitted to formally present their opinions, concerns and contestations to fellow hapū members, knowing and complying with your place within the hierarchical order takes on great importance for the Māori individual. One can therefore begin to see how on account of their status as genealogical juniors or tāina, The Dread's efforts to publicly challenge the authority of their tuākana who held sway at Hikurangi Sports Club were affectively hamstrung by marae protocol. There are a few members of The Dread, such as Te Kupu and their preferred spokesperson, Tawhito Hou, who through the absence of their tuākana are now qualified to speak on the marae. However, during my period of ethnographic field research, tensions amongst competing factions of kaumātua or elders were running so high in relation to debates over Treaty of Waitangi settlements, tribal elections and the issue of breakaway hapū that The Dread elected to take a watching brief, whilst, to paraphrase Te Hokowhitu, their tuākana "fight it out amongst themselves."

In the 1980s, however, The Dread had no such outlet to vent their growing frustration and so with relations inside the rugby club beginning to reflect divided opinions and grievances over land in the community at large, tuākana and tāina became increasingly polarised. As one of the few sites of public interface between The Dread and their tuākana, Hikurangi Sports Club thereby assumed centre stage in the growing disaffection between the two factions, Ruatoria's tuākana and their Rastafari tāina. Tensions between the two groups were at their height from the mid 1980s to early 1990s and emanated from The Dread's off-the-field efforts to eject Pākehā pastoralists and agriculturalists. However, The Dread's initial actions although primarily directed towards Pākehā farmers, quickly escalated, simultaneously engulfing and dividing Ruatoria's entire community in which many residents amongst the Māori majority and Pākehā minority, are closely related kin. From here I turn to my ethnography of The Dread's participation in local rugby in Ruatoria as a precursor to my summary of the disputes over the alienation of Ngāti Porou ancestral land and its resources.

THE COMING OF THE DREAD

The Dread's opposition to local Pākehā pastoralists and agriculturalists was fuelled by decades of simmering Māori discord over the legality of Ngāti Porou ancestral land acquired by Pākehā settlers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These longstanding Ngāti Porou grievances had been communicated by some of their elders (kaumātua) and for The Dread possess a dual Rastafari and Ngāti Porou emphasis. Briefly stated, from The Dread's perspective as Ngāti Porou, the modern farming practices of Pākehā appropriators of Māori ancestral land stand accused of desecrating the material and spiritual environment. Secondly, The Dread hold the Pākehā privatisation of ancestral territory responsible for undermining Ngāti Porou's autochthonous relationship to what had traditionally been communal Māori land, by alienating Ngāti Porou from access to numerous spiritually significant sites, most significantly, the tribe's ancestral mountain.

Each of Aotearoa-New Zealand's Māori iwi identifies with a mountain that is regarded as the sacred cornerstone of that particular tribe and whose abiding presence on the landscape is emblematic of the ascendancy of the resident chief. In the case of Ngāti Porou, that ancestral mountain is the 1,752 metre high, Hikurangi Maunga. According to Ngāti Porou tradition, the summit of Hikurangi Maunga was the first point to have surfaced, when in defiance of his four elder brothers, their ancestor, the demi-god Māui-pōtiki, literally fished Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island from the depths of the ocean. This feat is recognised in the North Island's Māori name, 'Te-Ika-a-Māui', a term that translates as 'The-Fish-of-Māui'. It is said that the rising Hikurangi Maunga elevated Māui-pōtiki's canoe onto its peak, where to this day, Ngāti Porou assert its petrified remains lay inverted in a small lake on the summit of the mountain (Ngata 1989 [1944b]: 2). It is the aggregate of these associations and events that accords Hikurangi Maunga its mana, a term for which the broadly accepted definition denotes the presence of the enduring and indestructible authority, power and prestige of the gods with which a person, place, animate or inanimate object is imbued. The more prestigious a person, place, object or their association with an event, the more that person, place, object or significant event is recognised as being surrounded by mana.

Incidentally, Māui-pōtiki, whose name translates as 'Māui-the-lastborn', achieved the extraordinary feat of hauling Aotearoa-New Zealand from the ocean depths alongside many others, including: slowing down the sun to lengthen the day, procuring fire from the underworld and inventing the first fish hooks, bird snares, and eel traps, despite having to endure the suspicion and scorn of his four older brothers. The seed of this tuākana aversion was not simply sown by their jealousy of their youngest brother's talents and irrepressible behaviour, but more so by Māui-pōtiki's comparatively lowly status as the lastborn of five siblings and the stigma attached to him having been mistakenly abandoned as a miscarriage. For these reasons, the ancient narrative of Māui-pōtiki's retrieval of Aotearoa-New Zealand from the ocean depths encapsulates a particularly powerful Māori archetype. That of a figure, who through the utilisation of favoured Māori personality traits, such as intelligence, cunning, initiative, boldness, ingenuity, determination and ferocity, is able to transform the world for the benefit of humankind (Kupenga 2004: 7; Ngata 1989 [1944c]: 3; Walker 1993: 8).

In fighting to regain access to Hikurangi Maunga and other spiritually significant sites, a key strategy employed in The Dread's campaign of direct action entailed cutting boundary-fences that demarcated disputed lands. In so doing, The Dread repudiated Pākehā land acquisitions by making unimpaired incursions onto privately owned farmland, while defending themselves against the accusations of trespassing and vandalism with the assertion of having an ancestral birthright to roam freely about their tribal lands. Importantly also, from The Dread's perspective as Rastafari, Ngāti Porou's sacred Hikurangi Maunga corresponds to Mount Zion of the Old Testament. On many separate occasions members of The Dread independently conveyed this understanding to me in the following almost identical terms: "The Bible says Zion is a mountain in the east. Not the near east or the middle east, but the far east, and where's further east than Aotearoa?"

The Dread's overtures to rename Hikurangi Maunga, 'Mount Zion', which came as a corollary of this identification, was like the overwhelming majority of their actions, vehemently opposed by Ngāti Porou's non-Rastafari contingent. Nonetheless, a tiny,

albeit significant minority of The Dread's exploits were appreciated by some small sections of Ruatoria's Ngāti Porou community. For example, The Dread's late-1980s campaign to repossess Hikurangi Maunga on behalf of Ngāti Porou is credited in some local quarters as having kick-started the process that in November 1990 saw the return of the mountain from a New Zealand state forest park to Ngāti Porou ownership. In the words of a prominent Ruatoria community member with whom I spoke:

One of the good things about the Rastas was that because of them, loads of Pākehā sold up their land and left. This enabled us [Ngāti Porou] to buy our land back.

In conjunction with acts of boundary-fence cutting and land repossessions, The Dread's campaign against local Pākehā landholders also embraced subsistence acts of livestock theft and included a series of arson attacks that involved the burning of more than thirty buildings in and around Ruatoria. As a consequence, many members of The Dread were repeatedly jailed for their actual or alleged involvement in these confrontations. Alongside convictions for trespassing, arson and property damage, members of The Dread were also imprisoned for a litany of offences that included: assault, possession of cannabis, an incident that involved the kidnapping of a local police officer and the ritual killing of one member of The Dread by a fellow adherent.

However, it is also important to note that as well as being the perpetrators of numerous unlawful actions, The Dread were also the victims of a series of attacks, reprisals and counter-reprisals by a local neighbourhood patrol group, comprising a faction of Ruatoria's Ngāti Porou residents, Pākehā farmers and members of the Ruatoria police force. Self-titled 'The Public Defenders', but branded 'The Vigilantes' by The Dread, the residents group was purposely assembled under the pretext of defending targeted property against the threat posed by The Dread, yet arguably played an all but equal part in the escalation of hostilities in Ruatoria. Following the death of The Dread's prophet leader, 'Brother Jah Rastafari', who was shot and killed by a local farmer in 1990, The Dread's fear for their personal safety grew and members dispersed, either leaving Ruatoria altogether or adopting a low-key existence in or around the township. It was the culmination of these events that contributed to the group's number plummeting from the reported 100 to 150 adherents to around thirty, mostly male individuals, whose

ages range from the late thirties to early fifties.

EATING THE ANCESTORS

This, then, is a summary of events that underscored the broadening dispute between Ruatoria's tuākana and their Rastafari tāina at Hikurangi Sports Club; events whose telling by The Dread, various Ruatoria residents and New Zealand film and media, I had become familiar with during my period of ethnographic field research. All the same, I remained eager to understand exactly when, why and how The Dread's off-the-field disputes over Pākeha land ownership entered the rugby club. So, returning to my conversation with Te Ahi as we sat in his truck beside the deserted rugby field on that Saturday Sabbath afternoon, I asked him if he could pinpoint when the rift between tuākana and tāina first began to appear. I was particularly keen to ascertain whether The Dread's unorthodox conduct, appearance and Rastafari beliefs had adversely influenced their relationships to their tuākana and subsequent first team opportunities at Hikurangi Sports Club.

In the following reply Te Ahi alludes to the predetermined nature of the conflict between The Dread and their tuākana at Hikurangi Sports Club. He relates how tensions were exacerbated by The Dread's impertinent questioning of tuākana authority, which went beyond what is ordinarily prescribed and tolerated from tāina and The Dread's resort to initiative and fearless determination in the face of their dismissal (c.f. Jackson 1978: 349). Te Ahi takes up the story:

We [The Dread] grew up into it [the rift], and when we started getting bigger we became a threat to our tuākana. Our grandfathers, uncles and older brothers, they had the show and then when we started growing up underneath them we got too big for them and they felt threatened. Then they went against us. They could well have thought that we were takahia (disobedient), eh. That we were trampling over them, but it wasn't. It was just that we had questions that needed answers, but they never had the answers, and they responded to our questions by trying to stop us. After that hating each other's guts became the thing in between us and it meant to what extreme did they have to go to try and stop us.

Te Ahi's commentary is worthy of closer examination, firstly because it contextualises The Dread's genealogically junior status as tāina growing up under the mana or ancestral authority of their genealogically senior, tuākana. As tāina, The Dread were expected to

defer to their tuākana, who by virtue of the innate power vested in the principle of primogeniture and concomitant rules governing seniority of descent, are imbued with greater stores of ‘mana tīpuna’ or ‘spiritual power inherited from ancestors’.

Perhaps, if leadership structures are or indeed, were ever as concordant as has been emphasised in so much of the literature on traditional Māori society outlined earlier, then The Dread might have been more inclined to succumb to direction from their tuākana. However, as has already been explained, away from the protocols governing the marae ātea, The Dread were not adverse to defying the wishes of their tuākana. Indeed, a review of Te Ahi’s statement that The Dread “had questions that needed answers” from their tuākana redirects us to the long-standing grievances surrounding the Pākehā acquisition of Ngāti Porou land. To reiterate the point previously made, these questions from the perspective of The Dread, demanded a solution to the problem of how Ngāti Porou was going to reassert its ‘mana whenua’, an expression denoting ‘territorial authority’, over ancestral land from which they had become alienated.

Another illuminating feature of Te Ahi’s commentary is his use of the term “takahia,” in that the term connotes the action of ‘trampling’, particularly when applied in reference to any perceived disregarding, thwarting, or belittling of an individual’s mana tīpuna. As such the term, takahia is often expressed in relation to trampling on the ‘mana’ or ancestral authority of another, which as Elsdon Best writes, “denotes a violation or disregarding of prestige, authority” (1924: 350) that is considered a most serious and punishable transgression. In the interest of the argument presented in this chapter, however, it is Te Ahi’s reference to The Dread “getting bigger” and becoming a threat that I found most intriguing. What, I wondered, could The Dread have been growing into, and why would this be considered threatening? Furthermore, were the answers to these questions in any way related to The Dread’s determination to represent Hikurangi Sports Club? I argue that the answers to these questions and more are concealed within the genealogical relationship between The Dread and their kinship I. More specifically, by examining the ancient narrative (kōrero tawhito) concerning The Dread’s seventeenth century ancestor, Uetuhiao and her four sons: Kukuwai, Korohau, Rongotangatakē and

Te Atau.

According to this Ngāti Porou ancient narrative, three younger brothers: Kukuwai, Korohau and Rongotangatakē were said to have coerced one of their slaves into fatally spearing their elder brother (tuakana) named, Te Atau, when he visited them at their home at a place named Whareponga. Owing to the nefarious overthrow of their tuakana, their general predisposition for unruliness and reputed habit of humiliating others, the three brothers became rudely referred to as ‘the ruddy dogs of Uetuhiao’ (ngā kurī pākā a Uetuhiao). Shortly after being introduced to this ancient narrative by a non-Rastafari Ruatoria resident I shared my insight with Te Ahi; in response he excitedly declared:

Yes! That’s why people from this side [of the Waiapu River], these hapū [the sub-tribe, ‘Te Aitanga-a-Mate’], are known as the Jeru dogs. Even now we of Hiruhārama carry the name Jeru dogs, it’s what gives us that wild streak.

There are two significant points with regards to the locations featured in Te Ahi’s response. Firstly, there is the fact that the name Whareponga (literally, ‘silver tree fern house’) was famously given to the location where a wharau or temporary shelter constructed out of branches of ponga or silver tree fern, was erected for Ngāti Porou chief, Poroumata and his six sons before their slaying by the vassal tribe, Ngāti Ruanuku, in the early 1600s (Ngata 1989 [1944a]: 11-12). In this way, Whareponga is intimately related to the site of an even earlier violent overthrow of tuākana or seniors by their juniors or tāina. The second place name mentioned in Te Ahi’s response, Hiruhārama, marks a location abutting Whareponga on the outskirts of Ruatoria from where several members of The Dread originate. Significantly, the name Hiruhārama is the Māori transliteration of Jerusalem, but is widely referred to in the vernacular as Jeru. Like several sites in the region, Hiruhārama’s original place name, Waitakaro, was given a Biblical redesignation by Church of England missionaries in the late nineteenth century.

The more salient aspect of the ruddy dogs (ngā kurī pākā) narrative is that Ngāti Porou not only attributes the deeds of these tāina as psychologically structuring the seventeenth century ancestors involved, but that the resulting personality traits are also conceptualised by Ngāti Porou as having shaped the character of their descendents. As

noted by Ngāti Porou scholars Rongowhakaata Halbert (1999: 154) and Āpirana Mahuika (1994: 57) the title, the ruddy dogs (ngā kurī pākā), has since passed into the lexicon of Ngāti Porou to identify their descendents. Thus, as descendants of the ruddy dogs, the ancient narrative reminds members of The Dread of their potential for boundary breaking and legitimises their deviation from Ngāti Porou norms that in this historic instance led to the violent usurpation of a tuakana ancestor by his tāina or junior siblings.

Furthermore, Te Ahi's consanguine identification with this narrative, expressed by his excited response: "Yes! That's why people from these hapū are known as the Jeru dogs," can also be viewed from the perspective of Mahuika's (1994: 44) fifth and final mechanism for usurpation. In accordance with which, an individual by inheriting the mana of a taina (younger sibling) ancestor who accumulated further stores of prestige by usurping the mana of their tuakana, would be in a position to follow suit. It is therefore arguable that the descendents of the tāina—Kukuwai, Korohau and Rongotangatakē, with whom The Dread identify—have similarly inherited the mana to overthrow tuākana.

Te Ahi's response also supports Johansen celebrated claim that "the Māori" not only finds "himself in history; but (. . .) that his nature and character are [also] determined by the events of history" (1954: 164). This view had also been expressed by early settlers, such as the Chief Justice of New Zealand, William Martin, who writing in 1861, explained:

So entirely does a Māori identify himself with his tribe that he speaks of their doings in past time as his own individually. (. . .) A Māori, pointing to the spot where his tribe gained some great victory long ago, will say triumphantly, "Nāku i patu" (it was I that smote them) (1861: 5).

Similarly, Ngā Puhi war leader Hone Heke, who between July 1844 and March 1845, famously cut down the British flagstaff at Kororāreka (Russell) in the Bay of Islands on four occasions, explained in a letter to Governor Robert FitzRoy that "his unruliness was "no new thing" but inherited from his ancestors" (Sahlins 1985: 65).

ARISE HIKURANGI NGĀ TAMA TOA

At no stage of The Dread's dispute with their tuākana had there ever been any suggestion of a violent overthrow on their part. However, The Dread's dissent culminated in their implementation of Mahuika's second mechanism for taina ascent to leadership, by fissioning from Hikurangi Sports Club to form a breakaway rugby team called, 'Hikurangi Ngā Tama Toa.' The new appellation combined the name of Ngāti Porou's ancestral mountain, Hikurangi Maunga, with the term 'Ngā Tama Toa,' which can either be translated as 'The Brave Sons' or 'The Young Warriors' (Walker 1990: 209). The Dread's application of the term was preceded by its 1970s adoption by the Māori political activist group, 'Ngā Tamatoa,' who lobbied for the promotion of the Māori language (te reo Māori), cultural identity and protested the loss of Māori land. Significantly, Ngā Tamatoa activists were at the forefront of campaigns opposing racism and injustices perpetrated by the New Zealand Government, particularly in regards to violations surrounding the implementation of the 1840 'Treaty of Waitangi' (Walker 1990: 210-212).

In 2008, the term, Ngā Tama Toa also featured in the title of Ngāti Porou scholar, Monty Soutar's acclaimed book, 'Ngā Tama Toa: The Price of Citizenship' (2008). The book recalls the story of C Company of the 28th Māori Battalion, which was formed during the Second World War with soldiers drawn from the tribal groups of The East Coast.⁵⁵ In the words of Whakatōhea anthropologist, Ranginui Walker, the "valorous deeds of the battalion in the campaigns of North Africa and Italy did much to uplift Māori mana" (1990: 195). During my period of ethnographic field research in Ruatoria, several members of The Dread proclaimed that their identification with this generation of Second World War Ngāti Porou soldiers had been instilled by their kuia and koroua, or elderly female and male relatives, respectively, who nurtured them as "Ngā Tama Toa, children of the war veterans." In demonstrating the Māori identification with the term Ngā Tama Toa, such examples of the term's popular usage highlight its synonymy with that which the New Zealand anthropologist, Joan Metge, described as the exercising of

⁵⁵ Primarily, the iwi (a term meaning 'extended kinship group', often glossed as 'tribe'): Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāi Tai, Te Aitanga-a-Hauti, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, and Ngāi Tamanuhiri.

courage, action and continuity with the ancestors (1976: 177).

In this particular instance, however, The Dread's formation of Hikurangi Ngā Tama Toa in articulating their continuity with the ancestors entailed fissioning from their tuākana, a move that was met with obstruction from both inside and out of the established Hikurangi Sports Club. From within Hikurangi Sports Club there was an unsuccessful attempt to veto Hikurangi Ngā Tama Toa's entry into the regional rugby tournament, the East Coast Club Championships. However, this opposition was soon overcome and The Dread were able to take to the playing field proudly sporting a rugby kit displaying the trademark Rastafari 'ites' or colours of red, gold and green. The Rastafari ites are of great symbolic significance to Rastafari although the meanings attached are often subject to minor variations. Generally speaking however, the red symbolises the blood of (African) martyrs; the gold represents the Sun's energy and the wealth of Africa; and the green symbolises the fertility of (African) land.

Emblazoned on the chest of The Dread's red, gold and green, Hikurangi Ngā Tama Toa rugby shirts was the Lion of Judah insignia, which featured the recognisable Rastafari symbol of a crowned lion carrying a cross. In Rastafari, 'The (Conquering) Lion of Judah' represents Jah or Jehovah incarnated in former Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie I, who upon his coronation on 2 November 1930, was bequeathed the titles 'King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Elect of God and Power of the Trinity'. Thus, rather than the "gentle Jesus, meek and mild" (Mansingh and Mansingh 1985: 112) of orthodox Christianity, Rastafari posit an Ethiopian liberator. In the words of The Dread's, Morning Star: "The first time Christ came as a lamb to the slaughter, but the Bible told us that the next time he'll come as a conquering lion." Here, Morning Star is evoking a verse from Revelations chapter 5, verse 5 that foretells the second coming of Christ the Messiah with the words: "And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof." Given the genesis of Hikurangi Ngā Tama Toa, the recalcitrance exhibited by The Dread and the coming of a new order, the conquering lion was therefore a fitting symbol of Rastafari participation in east coast

competitive rugby.

Further obstruction from within Hikurangi Sports Club came in a campaign that effectively prohibited Hikurangi Ngā Tama Toa from using the rugby clubhouse at Whakarua Park. A move that was achieved by their tuākana enforcing rules that banished the wearing of gumboots and ‘swannies,’ a colloquial term for Swandri, an iconic brand of New Zealand outdoor clothing. This particular mode of dress is generally synonymous with New Zealand pastoralists and rural dwellers, but in Ruatoria became closely identified with the attire of The Dread. However, the more significant and ultimately successful wave of protests facing The Dread’s use of the rugby clubhouse was borne out of a general aversion to their smoking of marijuana. This objection, admits Te Ahi, might also have been surmountable were it not for The Dread’s uncompromising insistence on publicly doing so.

Eventually, The Dread’s need for headquarters steered Hikurangi Ngā Tama Toa to petition the hapū for use of Hiruhārama Marae as their clubrooms which, given The Dread’s affinity to Hiruhārama and the locations association with the ruddy dogs narrative outlined earlier, would have represented a coup of huge symbolic significance. Ultimately, however, it was the continuing escalation of the concurrent off-the-field conflicts between The Dread and the association of non-Rastafari Ngāti Porou residents, Pākehā farmers and members of the Ruatoria police force who constituted ‘The Public Defenders’, which proved to be the catalyst for the premature demise of Hikurangi Ngā Tama Toa. As such The Dread’s rugby team were unable to complete their inaugural season in the East Coast Club Championships after numerous members of the team were jailed for involvement in arson and a litany of other offences that included: assault, possession of cannabis, livestock theft, and property damage.

As Te Ahi and I sat discussing these events, he reflected on the fortitude and entrenchment of a burgeoning siege mentality among The Dread. In relating the following account, Te Ahi begins by likening himself to Te Kooti, the celebrated nineteenth century Māori military leader, prophet and founder of the Ringatū Christian

movement, which alongside Rastafari, The Dread also identify. It is a point worth noting that Te Kooti, who was also from a taina or junior line of descent, established the Ringatū faith in 1866, whilst imprisoned in exile by the British Crown on the Chatham Islands; a small archipelago in the Pacific Ocean located approximately 420 miles off Aotearoa-New Zealand's southeastern shore. In 1868, Te Kooti led the escape of 168 fellow captives back to the mainland and from 1869 to 1872 he and his followers were embroiled in a running war across much of the central and east coast of Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island with pursuing Crown Government troops and their Māori allies, which included representatives from Ngāti Porou. Te Ahi articulated his and The Dread's identification with the plight of the taina, Te Kooti, and the new religious movement he founded, in the following terms:

We [The Dread] were hard those days because there was a lot of pressure. People wouldn't let me into their houses, even at nighttime. I was too hot. I was a fugitive like Te Kooti. I'll be there [seeking refuge in someone's home] and then a car would drive past and "bro bro bro bro bro bro! Bey!" It was like that, eh.

Before continuing further, it is no doubt necessary to explain that the expression: "bro bro bro bro bro" delivered as it was in rapid succession, mimics the panic of Te Ahi's host. This sudden burst of hysteria is followed by Te Ahi's exasperated cry of "Bey!" Meaning, "(oh) Boy!" Te Ahi then concludes:

To me that's where the Lord tested The I. Those years were the testing, eh. We all got tested to see how much faith we had, and it wasn't just one test, it was one test into another test into another test. But Brother Jah Rastafari used to always say to me: Dread, whosoever loveth his father, his mother, his wife, his children, his car more than the Lord is not worthy of the Lord, but whosoever forsaketh those things he'll get them back a hundred times more, plus eternal life.

Te Ahi's commentary is particularly illuminating for a number of reasons. Firstly, it redirects attention to 'Brother Jah Rastafari', the group's now deceased prophet leader, who is revered as a martyr by The Dread. Secondly, Te Ahi's classic use of the first-person singular Rastafari 'I' articulates the Rastafari notion of the individual voice, 'The I', which similarly to the Māori kinship I is representative of the collective consciousness of, in this case, members of the fictive kin group of Rastafari adherents. Moreover, the term also carries with it special significance as a declaration of the Rastafari individual's commitment to and personal relationship with God, Jah Rastafar-I. In this way, the

notion of 'The I' communicates the concept of spiritual union in which the divine principle, like the Māori concept of mana tīpuna described earlier, is identified as a property that conjoins all 'I's, that is all members of the fellowship, to God, Jah Rastafar-I (Afari 2007: 114; Edmonds 1998: 33, 1998a: 352; Hubbard, Hatfield and Santucci 2007: 155; James 2008: 142, 147; McFarlane 1998: 107-108). For this reason also, writes Adrian McFarlane, the appropriation of the I, "functions both as an ascription of Jah's care of his own and as a statement of faith, namely, that one has decided and is committed to follow Jah's guidance" (1998: 108).

Of additional relevance to the analysis of Te Ahi's statement is the appearance of Mahuika's fifth mechanism for the usurpation of mana from a tuakana, which I highlighted by earlier in this chapter. That is, the capacity for mana to be increased through the successful performance of deeds, which can then be drawn upon by descendants. An important deduction to be drawn from the cultivation and transmission of mana is that by reasserting Brother Jah Rastafari's mantra The Dread as fictive kin or brethers, have inculcated the mana of their martyred kin, Brother Jah Rastafari. Such engagements typify that which Johansen referred to as a means through which "ancestors give omens to the living and fortify them" (1954: 149). Thus, The Dread as the fictive kin of Brother Jah Rastafari are able to harness a source of ancestral power, spiritual strength, and means of motivating perseverance. In the face of material and familial sacrifice, The Dread are effectively underscoring their religious devotion with the virtues of their fictive and kinship identification as members of Rastafar-I and Māori kinship I respectively.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of this chapter has been to elucidate how the interplay between the fellowships sought and found, in the often glossed over concept of the Māori kinship I and Rastafar-I, motivates a Biblical discourse that legitimises The Dread's deviation from Ngāti Porou hierarchical norms. As tāina (genealogical juniors), few of The Dread are granted an equal billing on the traditional site of contestation, the marae ātea or ceremonial courtyard area in front of the ancestral meeting-house. Consequently, The Dread are denied the

opportunity to publicly articulate their opinions and concerns or present a formal challenge of any kind to the authority of their tuākana (genealogical seniors). Nevertheless, Ngāti Porou historical narratives reveal that alternative sites for interrupting the authority of tuākana can and have always been found. My ethnography identifies that in the late 1980s, the local rugby club was one such site. There, beyond the formal reach of kawa (protocol) and tikanga (custom) that regulate conduct on the marae ātea, The Dread transmitted their public disapproval of tuākana they considered ineffectual, self-interested and negligent of tribal wellbeing.

The Dread, however, cannot ignore the fact that the greater quantity of mana tīpuna bestowed upon their tuākana, as a consequence of seniority of descent endows tuākana with spiritual authority, which although inherited from ancestors, is delegated by atua or gods. For these reasons, any challenge to the authority of tuākana by tāina, such as The Dread, demands respectful consideration of the rules governing seniority of descent. In their bid to interrupt the authority of their tuākana, The Dread have therefore drawn upon the precedent set by the mana or ancestral authority accumulated by deviant tāina ancestors, their fictive kin, and divine sanction found in the ‘first-last, last-first’ doctrine.

During my period of field research I witnessed many of The Dread deliver their own personal rendition of Brother Jah Rastafari’s paraphrasing of the Biblical verse found in Matthew chapter 19, verse 29 with which I began this chapter. Sometimes elements such as “his car” may be absent and replaced with other material objects, such as “his house” or “his T.V.” However, the overriding spirit of the statement always remained intact. In essence, the biblical passage featured at the beginning of this chapter, in which the origins of Brother Jah Rastafari’s mantra are situated, presents to The Dread, a paradigm of inversion. Whereby many of their tuākana, who currently appear to be “the first” by virtue of having attained relative success in the form of authority, material wealth and social status, will be reduced in status to that of tāina, “the last.” Conversely, The Dread, in reinforcing their genealogically prescribed status as “the last” (tāina) and by having endured poverty, unemployment, alienation, persecution and separation from kin in the course of devoting themselves to the service of Jah (God), will receive an eternal, spiritual

reward.

Moreover, The Dread, as members of the fellowship of Rastafar-I, will be seated alongside Jah and sit in judgment of all, both their non-Rastafari tuākana and Rastafari who are not members of The Dread, such as Ruatoria's "Surfer Rastas" and "Snake Gully Rastas" and Auckland's Twelve Tribes of Israel-affiliated, 'House of Shem'. Thus, under the aegis of their composite Ngāti Porou and Rastafari identity, The Dread, like Peter and the rest of Jesus' disciplines featured in Matthew chapter 19, verse 29, in forsaking all are demonstrating a commitment to Jah that promises to elevate adherents to the position of tuākana, "the first."

CHAPTER FOUR

WEARING THE FACE OF THE ANCESTORS



Fig 2. Photograph of The Dread's deceased prophet leader, Jah Rastafari.
Image reproduced courtesy of group members Te Hokowhitu and The Power of The Trinity.

From my base in Wharekāhika (Hicks Bay)⁵⁶ I had set off on the regular 30-minute drive to my field-site of Ruatoria to meet with The Dread's, Te Ahi. My journey 56km south, snakes inland over an alternating sequence of hill ranges and valley floors layered with a mix of arable and pastoral farmland. Within this russet, gold and green tapestry of trees, grass and scrub sits the township of Ruatoria, indented approximately 7km from the coast. It was a beautiful sunny October morning in 2008 and Spring was definitely in the air. Only a brisk chill clinging stubbornly to the southerly breeze served as a reminder that the day was merely a harbinger of the dry hot summer for which Ruatoria is renowned. For many residents of the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) the joy of being unshackled from winter's high winds and torrential rains is tinged with trepidation at the prospect of months of drought and dust.

I arrived at the 1970s faux weatherboard house that is home to Te Ahi and his wife, Morning Star,⁵⁷ to find the tangerine coloured front door wide open. Te Ahi was sat in the corner of the top doorstep with Morning Star seated on a short wooden stool behind him. Together, the couple were enjoying an early morning spliff with their coffee, while in the background the faint sound of music emanating from the kitchen was punctuated by the familiar tagline of Radio Ngāti Porou: "Mai Potikirua ke Te Toka a Taiiau" (From Potikirua to The Rock of Taiiau). The jingle serves as an affirmation of Ngāti Porou's coastal boundary, which stretches from Potikirua near Potaka in the north-east, to the mouth of the Tūranganui River within Gisborne Harbour to the south, where once stood Te Toka a Taiiau (The Rock of Taiiau). On seeing me before him, Te Ahi smiled widely and rose to greet me with the customary, "how goes it Brother Dave?" Te Ahi and I hongī (ritual greeting by pressing noses) before Morning Star and I follow suit. Each hongī with Te Ahi is long and enthusiastic, whilst to hongī Morning Star, although slightly less awkward than when I first appeared on the coast a year or so earlier, remained a relatively brief and hesitant affair.

⁵⁶ On 31 October 1769, the then Lieutenant, James Cook of H.M. Bark Endeavour, named Wharekāhika, Hicks Bay, following its sighting by crew member, Lieutenant Zachariah Hicks.

⁵⁷ Morning Star's full Rastafari name, Alpha Morning Star Omega, complements Te Ahi's full Rastafari name; 'Te Ahi a te Atua, Alpha Omega'. Alpha Morning Star Omega can thus be understood to be a reflection of a divine bond emanating from the biblical Book of Revelation: "and I will give him the morning star" (2: 28).

Our conversation began in earnest with me relaying an enquiry my Ngāti Porou mentor, Joe McClutchie, had asked that I deliver to Te Ahi. Joe had issued me with this request during a pause for a morning tea break while he and I had been undertaking our regular Highway 35 road sign maintenance work. I disseminated Joe's question to Te Ahi and Morning Star: "Had they seen the replaying of 'Heartland' which had aired on the Documentary channel the previous Tuesday?" Heartland was a New Zealand-made television documentary series recorded some twenty years earlier. This particular episode, focusing on the lives of people living on the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast), was entitled: 'East Coast – Towards the Light'. The title reflects the commonly espoused conception amongst Ngāti Porou that Aotearoa-New Zealand's East Cape region represents the most eastern landmark of significance on the International Date Line. As such, Ngāti Porou sometimes refer to themselves as 'ngā tamariki o te haeata' (the children of the first light), the first to greet each new day and bringers of light to the world.

Between them, Morning Star and Te Ahi explained they had not seen the programme on that particular airing, but had watched it on previous occasions. Lacking easy access to a television, I too had been unable to watch the programme. Nevertheless, in conversations with several locals in the days intervening between the programme's airing and my visit to Te Ahi and Morning Star, I was informed that the episode featured an excerpt in which a local kaumātua (elder) stated, 'traditionally the right to wear facial tā moko (tattoos) was solely reserved for chiefs'. Consequently, the kaumātua (elder's) comment appeared to be the catalyst for debate among several locals familiar with my research and research participants.

On one such occasion I was in the presence of two people as they entered into a discussion of 'Heartland: East Coast – Towards the Light'. As if in an attempt to solicit a response from me, the first person expanded on the speaker's sentiment by declaring: "the wearing of [facial] tā moko (tattoo) should only be for chiefs, but now everybody's a chief." With this, his interlocutor concurred before adding: "the moko was strictly for chiefly lines, but now everyone's got one on, so we [Ngāti Porou] don't know who our

chiefs are." On another occasion it was relayed to me: "It was alright for Te Ahi to adorn tā moko because he's a leader and comes from rangatira (chiefly) lines, but most of the others [members of The Dread] do not." Reluctant to engage, challenge or antagonise this particular individual in this instance, I duly allowed the remark to pass without comment, whilst quietly reflecting upon the regularity with which many in Ngāti Porou readily expressed their critical commentary on The Dread directly to, or within earshot of me.

Living on the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast), I was only too aware that on potentially contentious issues such as these it was expedient to carefully manage any dissemination of information. Nevertheless, I remained curious to hear exactly what Te Ahi and other members of The Dread would make of these local sentiments surrounding the 'traditional qualifications' to wear facial moko (tattoo). Upon delivering a few considered extracts from these local commentaries to Te Ahi, he gave a nonchalant shrug of the shoulders, paused for a while and then discharged a quick-fire succession of retorts: "Well, we are chiefs. Aren't we all from chiefly lines, aren't we all descended from chiefs? We are all chiefs in our own right." This final link in Te Ahi's chain of ripostes resonated with a comment New Zealand anthropologist Joan Metge had shared with me regarding the history of contested leadership within Ngāti Porou. According to Joan, a legacy of competing claims of seniority and various forms of mana (ancestrally derived power, authority or prestige) has historically earned Ngāti Porou a distinction among Māori tribes of rarely reaching consensus on the investiture of a paramount chief (personal communication, July 2007).

Visibly irritated by what I assumed to be these long-standing community reservations and in some cases, objections to The Dread's signatory tattooed appearance, Te Ahi deliberated for an additional moment before issuing his concluding wave of counters:

The doctrine says moko is not for today, but was from yesterday, but I go, ah, bugger this 'cos who are our nobles and who are our rangatira [chiefs]? Where's our wise men and what are they doing? Because if rangitira, nobles and wise men gotta wear this [indicating his moko] then why haven't they got it on?

To underscore the point Te Ahi then narrated an incident in which he had taken a high

ranking representative of 'Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou' (The Assembly of Ngāti Porou)⁵⁸ to task by challenging: "Why aren't you wearing one of these [tā moko]?" Te Ahi then described how he baited the representative further with the proclamation: "Twenty-four hours bro!" To which the official replied quizzically, "twenty four hours to what?" With a slow sweep of his open palm gently arcing across his mokoed face, Te Ahi re-enacted the manner in which he delivered his coup de grâce: "In [the space of] twenty four hours you go to bed an ugly man and wake up the most beautiful man on the planet with one of these."

In all but one instance known to me, The Dread's facial moko (tattoos) were adorned fifteen to twenty-five years prior to my field research. Indeed, Te Ahi recalls tattooing about eighty "heads" during his time in jail between the mid 1980s and early 1990s. Te Hokowhitu explained, when The Dread were in jail they carried out tattooing using tools improvised from whatever they could salvage, such as pen shafts and the motors from Walkmans. Other materials, such as inks were brought in by relatives who would come to visit, as Te Hokowhitu explains: "One of my auntie's would be willing to bring in inks for the bros but she told me, boy, dont to put on the moko." Out of jail, Te Ahi states, "When The Dread put on the moko, some of the whānau (Ngāti Porou Ruatoria residents) thought the bros had lost it on the hill, they thought we were pōrangī (insane), they thought we would die, they waited for us to die. Te Ahi further adds: "They were scared of their culture." Others thought we were kehua (ghosts), warrior ancestors returned from the dead. Te Ahi's comment alludes to The Dread's presence in and around tapu (sacred) burial sites, in proximity to where much of their marijuana growing takes place in the hills around Ruatoria. The theme of the whānau waiting for The Dread to die as a consequence of their proximity to ancestors is one that reoccurs in Chapter Six.

⁵⁸ Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou is the elected iwi (tribal) authority representing Ngāti Porou in its treaty negotiations and political relationship with the New Zealand state. Its remit also seeks to incubate and support Ngāti Porou business ventures; administer iwi assets for the descendants of Ngāti Porou; campaign for the restoration of Ngāti Porou mana motuhake (absolute authority); and to support and develop a coherent reo (language) and cultural revitalisation programme inclusive of Ngāti Porou mātauranga (knowledge frameworks) (<http://www.ngatiporou.com/Whanaungatanga/Organisations/default.asp>).

The only recent incident of facial moko application that was discussed by The Dread, was one centred on the transgression of the tattoo application as prescribed by The Dread's reading of biblical scripture. As discussed in Chapter Three, the invocation of biblical scripture constituted the most common reference to their wearing of facial moko. The incident surrounded a recent member being tattooed by a local female tattoo artist. As Te Ahi explains, "I had to tell the bro, come here bro, you better let me finish that off properly," to which Te Hokowhitu added, "She was mischief. Wanted to moko the bros' heads, but I had to tell her the bible said HE with the inkhorn shall tattoo the name of the living God on their heads, not SHE." The Dread interpret this gender specific instruction to be unequivocal and binding. Te Ahi and Te Hokowhitu's statements concerning HE with the inkhorn are direct references to one of biblical passages, notably:

And the glory of the God of Israel was gone up from the cherub, whereupon he was, to the threshold of the house. And he called to the man clothed with linen, which had the writer's inkhorn by his side; and the LORD said unto him, Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof. And to the others he said in mine hearing, Go ye after him through the city, and smite: let not your eye spare, neither have ye pity: slay utterly old and young, both maids, and little children, and women: but come not near any man upon whom is the mark; and begin at my sanctuary (Ezekiel 9: 3-6; see also, Revelations 7: 2-3; Revelations 9: 4, 14: 1).⁵⁹

FROM COOK TO ROTH

The view that only those of chiefly rank bear a legitimate right to wear facial tā moko (tattoo) is neither new, uncommon, nor exclusively held by Māori. Indeed, ever since Lieutenant James Cook and the crew of H.M. Bark Endeavour made first direct contact with Māori tā moko on 8 October 1769, some European observers assumed facial tā moko to be a sign of status.⁶⁰ For example, on 23 October 1769 the Endeavour's natural history artist, Sydney Parkinson, noted in his posthumously published journal:

⁵⁹ Recall, the name Hiruhārama (the Māori transliteration of Jerusalem), is the place-name that marks the location on the outskirts of Ruatoria from where several members of The Dread originate (see Chapter Three).

⁶⁰ Lieutenant James Cook—promoted to the rank of captain upon return from his second Pacific voyage in 1775—is often credited with being the first European to discover Aotearoa-New Zealand. However, this distinction should rightly be reserved for Dutch explorer Abel Tasman, who in December 1642, over 125 years before Cook, reached the islands he named Staten Landt (later renamed, Nieuw Zeeland), while searching for "undiscovered exploitable lands" for his employer, the Dutch East India Company (Jackson and McRobie 1996: 222).

This tataowing [tattooing] is peculiar to the principal men among them [Māori]: servants and women content themselves with besmearing their faces with red paint or ochre (1773: 134).

Similarly, the Endeavour's surgeon, William Monkhouse, surmised that although the women, young men and some older men possessed a portion of tā moko (tattoo) on their lips and perhaps one cheek and eyebrow, only older men and "those people who appear as Chiefs" possessed full facial tā moko (Monkhouse, in Beaglehole 1968: 573). Coincidentally, Monkhouse's assumed correlation between the degree of facial tā moko and social stratification also informed the assessment offered by Pottier L'Horne, the Compagnie officer onboard the French vessel, St Jean Baptiste. The ship, captained by Jean François-Marie de Surville, visited Aotearoa-New Zealand from 12th to 31st December 1769, allowing time enough for L'Horne to detail the wearing of Māori facial tā moko in the following terms:

The painting [tā moko] of the face is a mark of distinction, so that they do not all have painted faces, and those that do have the face painted do not all have it done in the same way. Some have three-quarters of the face done, which creates a most bizarre and singular effect, because they would need to finish only half of the forehead to have the face totally painted. Of these I have seen only one, the chief of all the neighbouring villages. It may well be that this chief had a superior whose whole face was painted. Others are only painted from the two points of the eyebrows and the bridge of the nose, down to the bottom of the face. These people, at the point of each eyebrow on each side of the nose, have two kinds of painted horns which stick up about three-quarters of an inch to the forehead. They are inferior by only one grade to the one who has three-quarters of his face painted. Others have only one half of the face painted, in which case the painting goes down the neck to shoulder level. Finally there are others who have only two horns between the eyebrows. (. . .) These men would seem to be the lowest rank of the leaders (Ollivier, Hingley and Spencer 1987: 122-124).

The support of early European explorers and settlers for the Monkhouse-L'Horne correlation between the quantity, placement and/or variation of facial tā moko (tattoo) patterning and Māori social stratification continued well into the nineteenth century. For example, during his visit to Aotearoa-New Zealand, Charles Darwin commented upon the relationship between the wearing of facial tā moko and Māori chieftainship by noting in his journal entry dated, 23 December 1835:

There is not nearly so much tattooing as formerly; but as it is a badge of distinction between the chief and the slave, it will probably long be practised (1890: 310).

However, others such as German geologist, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, interpreted the relationship between facial tā moko (tattoo) patterning and the wearer as not one of

status, but of tribal or familial affiliation. Remarking: "Certain lines are peculiar to the tribe, others to the family, and again others to the individual" (1867: 438). Nevertheless, each claim that the wearing of Māori facial tā moko represented an emblem of rank, social status, tribal or familial affiliation, was seemingly met by an equal, if not greater number of counter-claims delivered by similarly placed European explorers and settlers.

Authors such as Best (1924), Polack (1840), Shortland (1851), Taylor (1855) and Yate (1835) although in general agreement as to what the wearing of Māori facial tā moko (tattoo) was not, each stressed a different facet or combination of facets to explain what they considered the wearing of Māori facial tā moko actually was. For example, while Joel Polack acknowledged that chiefs rendered facsimiles of their unique facial tā moko as a "distinctive insignia for a tribe" when signing "title-deeds of land-purchases, or receipts of any description," he nevertheless dismissed the notion of tā moko as a signifier of rank. Instead, Polack insisted that "persons at all ages and of all ranks who possess means or influence to obtain it, get tattooed, chiefs, freedmen, hereditary bondsmen, and slaves" (1840: 47-8). In presenting the case for inclusivity, Polack had earlier stated:

Men and women, in a state of slavery, get marked equally as much as chiefs or priests: many of whom may be seen without even a single line on the countenance; whereas numbers of slaves, either born bondsmen or taken in battle, are fully marked, with scarce a portion of the countenance untouched by the chisel (1838: 386).

The Reverend William Yate shared Polack's opinion that the wearing of facial tā moko (tattoo) was not a mechanism for distinguishing Māori chiefs from slaves as Darwin had supposed, or reliable indicator of social stratification as L'Horne had asserted. Neither, contra Hochstetter and Monkhouse, did Yate agree that the adornment of facial tā moko was a designator of "rank, or the tribe to which they [the wearers] belong," or "a special mark of chieftainship," respectively. Alternatively, Yate attributed the adornment of facial tā moko to Māori notions of beauty and the variation in patterning to "the taste of the artist, or (. . .) the direction of the person operated upon" (1835: 148).

The Reverend Richard Taylor agreed with Yate and Polack's assertion that the wearing of facial tā moko (tattoo) was a matter of choice open to all in Māori society, opining: "All ranks were thus ornamented [with facial tā moko] (. . .) Some were more fully

tattooed than others, but all were more or less so" (1855: 150). For Taylor, however, the adornment of facial tā moko was primarily the means by which young Māori men rendered themselves "attractive to the ladies, and conspicuous in war" (1855: 152), further suggesting that identification as "a pāpātea, or plain face, was a term of reproach" (1855: 150). Elsdon Best also challenged the claim that facial tā moko operated as a signification of tribe, rank, individual identity, or mark reserved for members of high-class families, and like Yate, refuted Hochstetter's statement that certain designs were peculiar to the tribe or family (1924: 545-546). Instead, Best correlated both male and female adornment of facial tā moko with the attainment of maturity (Best 1924: 545).

Like Taylor, Edward Shortland overlooked the female wearing of tā moko (tattoo) in stressing that the adornment of facial tā moko was "in fact, only a mark of manhood, and a fashionable mode of adornment, by which the young men seek to gain the good graces of the young women." For Shortland, the ownership of facial tā moko could only be viewed as a barometer of status insofar as "the poor man may not have the means of paying the artist, whose skill is necessary" (1851: 16-17). Indeed, this perspective was also supported by Polack's comments that exceptionally adroit tohunga tā moko (tattoo practitioner's) were:

. . . held in much repute. Presents and payments flow into their coffers from all quarters, according to the means or ability of the chiefs. Double-barrelled pieces, canoes, clothes, and even slaves, have been presented as a convincing proof of the esteem in which their talents have been held (1840: 50).

Taylor and Polack were also united in the opinion that by adorning their faces with tā moko, warriors avoided ignominy if ever they were to meet their death in battle. In such instances, noted Polack, only those heads "belonging to superior chiefs" (1838: 386), or those:

. . . that are best punctured [tattooed] are decollated at the neck, for future preservation, but the possessor of an unmarked head is battered and crushed with the most savage brutality (1840: 48).

Likewise, Taylor commented:

For even if killed by the enemy, whilst the heads of the untattooed were treated with indignity, and kicked on one side, those which were conspicuous by their beautiful moko, were carefully cut off, stuck on the turuturu, a pole with a cross on it, and then preserved; all which was highly

gratifying to the survivors, and the spirits of their late possessors (1855: 152).

The respect accorded to heads possessing tā moko relayed in the accounts of Taylor and Polack stems, I will be arguing, are from the cosmological origins of the introduction of form into the human world.

In anthropological analyses, tattooing has commonly been represented as a normative process of group formation governing the extent of inclusion and exclusion. For example, in his discussion of bodily adornment, Turner argued that in every human society the surface of the body is treated as a complex boundary that demarcates the individual as a biological and psychological entity (1980: 112). For this reason, argued Turner, the skin represents a "concrete boundary between the self and the other, the individual and society" that simulates the internal, psychic barrier between the private, intuitive and affective self and the public, rational self (1980: 139-140).

According to Turner, the capacity to shape and communicate a personal and social identity is directly attributable to this universal identification of the skin's locus as the frontier of the social self. In transforming the surface of the body, "conventionalised modifications of skin" such as tā moko (tattoo), collapse distinctions between the individual actor and other similarly modified actors by reconstituting the surface of the body as a "social skin" (1980: 140). Accepted as such, the practise of tā moko is considered one of a range of efficacious means of othering sociologically defined categories and formulating hierarchical distinctions that determine appropriate behaviour between social classes or categories of individuals, such as infants, senior males, and women of child-bearing age, etc. (Turner 1980: 140).

Commenting on the contemporary Māori context, Daniel Rosenblatt, like Terence Turner, alludes to the role of tā moko in collapsing distinctions between the "private, intuitive, and affective self" and the "public, rational self." The evidence, argues Rosenblatt, is demonstrated by Māori citing acts of claiming/reclaiming the wearing of tā moko (tattoo) as an expression of kinship or group identification, rather than it simply being an expression of the individual self (1997: 326), as many late eighteenth to

nineteenth century observers had stipulated. For Rosenblatt, the process of claiming/reclaiming tā moko is illustrative of "a more general self-exploration" in which the Māori focus lay in gaining knowledge of whakapapa (genealogy), kupu tuku iho (oral history), and wāhi tapu (sacred sites) (1997: 326).

The notion that tā moko (tattoo) needed to be claimed/reclaimed is synonymous with its identification as a taonga (an ancestral item) and key to The Dread's adornment of facial tā moko, which through adornment can not only be rescued, but also worn as a symbol of "resilience and survival" (Te Awekotuku and Nikora 2007: 151-152). As taonga, tā moko is imbued with the quality of tapu (sanctity) and as such is acknowledged as being under the influence of ancestors. The wearing of tā moko therefore requires careful management according to prescribed rules, in order to avoid the dangers of tapu transgression that would revert its sacred state to that of noa (the profane) and endanger the well-being or inflict harm upon the wearer.⁶¹ Tā moko's relationship to sanctity may also explain the expectation of a few that wearers abstain from the consumption of drugs and alcohol (MacDonald, in Neleman 1999: 13; Te Awekotuku and Nikora 2007: 176, 181).

A more commonly expressed prescription, however, is that the qualification to adorn facial tā moko ought to be premised on kin recognition of the wearer's cultural knowledge or expertise, knowledge of their whakapapa (genealogy), participation within their kingroup(s), and fluency in te reo Māori (the Māori language) (Nikora, Ruha and Te Awekotuku 2005: 199-200; Te Awekotuku and Nikora 2007: 170, 180-181). Ngahua Te Awekotuku and Linda Nikora (2007) have described whakapapa (genealogy) as "the fulcrum of [Māori] identity." The tā mokoed face manifests this network of bloodlines and kinship connections through an array of abstract and curvilinear designs that provide "a permanent record of the wearer's origins" (2007: 170-172).

The significance of these prescriptions and expectations may prompt prospective wearers to request permission or support from parents, siblings, or kaumātua (elders)

⁶¹ For a detailed discussion on the relationship between taonga (ancestral items) and tapu (glossed here as 'sanctity'), see chapter I of this thesis.

before adorning tā moko (Te Awekotuku and Nikora 2007: 176, 179). For this reason, it is not unusual for wearers of facial tā moko to be confronted by concerns over, or challenges to their cultural competency, or on their appreciation of the symbolic knowledge pertaining to their tā moko (Nikora, Ruha and Te Awekotuku 2005: 200; Te Awekotuku and Nikora 2007: 181-182). In symbolising the wearer's genealogical connections to whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe), tā moko demonstrates that the adornment is far more than an embodiment of individual subjectivity. Rather, it suggests that from the Māori perspective the distinction between the individual self and the social self is, to some extent, collapsible.

Elsewhere in academia, the work of Michel Foucault (1979) has been instrumental in formulating sociological conceptions of the surface of the body as the premier site of contestation. For example, Michael Atkinson's (2003) analysis centred on the tattooed body as a medium of political resistance, while Nikki Sullivan argued that the wearing of tattoos signifies a healthy form of self-determination (2001: 4). For Foucault, the irreducible position of the human body rendered it less a vehicle of personal expression and more the subject or target of social repression. He argued that the human body's irreducible status at the axis of personal expression and social repression means that on one side of the bisecting line the body assumes agency to perform acts of claiming or reclaiming the private self, achieved by extricating the intuitive and affective self from the public, rational self.

Juxtaposing this 'anti-repressive' potential, are the forces of social repression that seek to elicit control over the body through the deployment of socialisation, discipline and punishment. Therefore, in order to exist in organised space the body must either submit to surveillance or deviate, by carving out spaces of resistance and freedom that enables the individual to escape incarceration from an otherwise repressive world. By abandoning or contesting the social context in which discontent is experienced, individuals are conceptualised as engaging in acts of resistance by exchanging 'normal' life for a life of deviant behaviour or by severing kinship ties or rootedness in a particular place or local history (Gledhill 1998: 23).

The Māori behavioural precedent for such an escape from existence in a repressive society is identifiable in the ethnohistorical analyses of scholars including, Te Rangi Hīroa, Irving Goldman, and Ian Wards. As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, these authors have all endorsed the view that similar motifs of resistance via the abandonment of the social milieu, motivated the Māori settlement of Aotearoa-New Zealand circa 1350 (Hīroa 1974 [1949]: 38; Goldman 1970: 30; Wards 1968: 6). Largely indebted to Stephenson Percy Smith's recounting of the 'Great Fleet' narrative (1898a, 1898b, 1899, 1910), these authors represent a few of the many who have argued that the successive waves of Polynesian migrants from the ancient Māori homeland of Hawaiki was necessitated by the émigrés desire for peace and safety. Thus, the Māori migrations to Aotearoa-New Zealand are now widely understood to have been motivated by the need to withdraw to a safe geographical distance from their prior homeland where Māori had been subject to political repression, violent chiefly rivalries and excessive demands for tribute.

The Dread are distinguished from Jamaican Rastafari, the two identifiable categories of dreadlocked Māori in Ruatoria—whom The Dread refer to as, the "Surfer Rastas" and the "Snake Gully Rastas"—and all other Māori Rastafari in Aotearoa-New Zealand, by their adornment of facial moko. Moreover, the indelible nature of tā moko (tattoo) renders The Dread's facial adornments far more abiding than the sporting of dreadlocks by which the group are stereotyped, but do not consider themselves inextricably rooted. Nevertheless, since the adoption of wearing dreadlocks, the Rastafari movement has endorsed their adornment as a symbol of their devotion to, and covenant with Jah (God), which is buttressed by the pledging of the 'Nazarite vow' found in Numbers, chapter 6, verse 5:

All the days of the vow of his separation shall no razor come upon his head: until the days be fulfilled, in which he separateth himself unto the Lord, he shall be holy, and shall let the locks of the hair of his head grow.

The sentiment expressed in this verse is reaffirmed in Leviticus 21: 5, albeit with the addendum: "They shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard, nor make any cuttings in the flesh." Paradoxically, members of

The Dread no longer uphold either of these tenets. Over the years some members have taken to cutting their dreadlocks and/or shaving the area above the forehead to create space for further tā moko (tattoo) embellishment. All members of The Dread, proclaim as part of their Māori heritage, the right, through their adornment of tā moko, to make cuttings in their flesh, as the means of indelibly inscribing what adherents refer to as: "the seal of The Living God." Notwithstanding, its identification as a Māori birthright, the adornment of tā moko is vigorously promoted and staunchly defended in unorthodox Rastafari terms, by The Dread's invocation of New Testament scriptures, such as that found in Revelation 22: 4: "And they shall see his face; and his name shall be in their foreheads."

Consequently, amongst their orthodox tā moko patterning, each member of The Dread bears an inscription of their Rastafari name on their forehead "so that Jah will know them on his return." Alongside The Dread's Rastafari name lays a common assemblage of unconventional motifs. Typically located between, or slightly above the centre of their eyebrows is perched the Star of David. For Rastafari, the downward pointing of the two interlocking equilateral triangles that constitutes the Star of David's form represents the orientation of the spiritual, while the upward pointing triangle symbolises the orientation of the physical (Afari 2007: 102). Arcing across the foreheads of many members is positioned a coloured rainbow, which in the Book of Genesis (9: 12-16) signifies God's covenant never again to destroy the Earth and all living things by flood. Indeed, the regular occurrence of rainbows arcing across the Ruatoria's oscillating skies of clear blue and heavily laden purple-grey clouds merely substantiates The Dread's view that they live under the protection of Jah's (God's) promise.

The Dread's disregard for the passages in The Books of Numbers and Leviticus draws into focus an apparent anomaly between The Dread's kaupapa (philosophy) and that of orthodox Jamaican Rastafari. Insofar as The Dread have overwritten their prior allegiance to the Nazarite vow with their embodiment of the 'seal of The Living God'. In a similar manner to which Maureen Rowe describes the 1950s introduction of dreadlocks among Rastafari as having the impact of ostracising adherents from Jamaican society, by

"separating the militant and committed Rastafari from the weak-hearted" (1998: 76-77), The Dread would often deride the reluctance of aspiring members to adorn tā moko as being "soft cock", i.e., impotent. In the words of Te Ahi:

Some of the bro's say they're Rasta, but they haven't put one of these on their face [gesturing to his moko]. They say, "na bro I can't. The missus says I can't or that she'll leave me," te mea te mea te mea,⁶² but Brother Jah Rastafari⁶³ always used to say "If they ain't got one of these [tā moko] on, then don't trust them."

In integrating the adornment of tā moko (tattoo) into their unique Rastafari kaupapa (philosophy), The Dread have converted the temporality of the spoken Nazarite vow, symbolised by the protrusion of matted hair from the epidermis, into a mode of permanent inscription of the underlying dermis. Through the mechanism of tā moko, I argue, The Dread reinforce their commitment to Jah (God) and their ancestors in a manner that indelibly, irreversibly and most significantly, ontologically predicated upon the Māori receipt of tā moko as a taonga (ancestral item) bestowed by the gods.

COSMOLOGY: TĀ MOKO ENTERS 'TE AO MĀRAMA' (THE WORLD OF LIGHT)

In the first instance, Māori cosmology traces the sacred origins of tā moko to Rūaumoko, the unborn last child of the primordial parents Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother). Rūaumoko, the god of earthquakes and subterranean fire, is identified as the cause of earthquakes and volcanic action as he moves within his mother's womb.⁶⁴ In cosmological terms, the turbulent actions of Rūaumoko, like those of his brother, Tāwhirimātea, the atua (god) of winds, clouds, rain, hail, snow and tempest, were summoned in protest at the separation of their parents. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, both Rūaumoko and Tāwhirimātea had after all argued that they and their siblings should remain enveloped in the protective embrace of their parents Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

⁶² Literally, "because because because." During fieldwork I would often hear this expression used in the dismissal of weak explanations.

⁶³ The Rastafari name of the group's now deceased prophet leader

⁶⁴ Some accounts situate Rūaumoko as a suckling infant, clinging to his mother's breasts (Kupenga 2004: 21; Smith 2008 [1913]: 82).

His name, Rūaumoko, is a compound of the words 'Rū', meaning 'earthquake', 'au' signifying a 'current', and 'moko', which is also a general term for lizards. For this reason East Coast tā moko practitioner, Mark Kopua (2001) characterised Rūaumoko as "The Trembling Current That Scars The Earth," an expression that ascribes to Rūaumoko's actions, the supernatural force behind (or literally beneath), the natural form of tā moko (tattoo) that is created by the flow of molten lava channeling deep uneven grooves upon the surface terrain of Papatūānuku (the Earth) (cf. Schrempp 1992: 115).⁶⁵ It is an identification that awards Papatūānuku the accolade of becoming the first tattooed being. However, though the volcanic discharges of Rūaumoko may always have been visible on the surface of Papatūānuku, the correct transference of tā moko onto the face of early Māori required the retrieval of knowledge from the realm of the gods.

As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, the retrieval and dissemination of sacred knowledge for the advancement of humankind constitutes a reoccurring theme within Māori cosmology. In this instance, tā moko entered the domain of humans, Te Ao Mārama (The World of Light), following a domestic quarrel between a husband named, Mataora, and his wife, Niwareka. This first human encounter with tā moko occurred in Rarohenga, the third underworld presided over by the mother of humankind, Hinenuitepō (The Great Lady of Te Pō, literally 'The Darkness').⁶⁶ Mataora had been compelled to journey to Rarohenga on a penitent quest to win back the heart of his beloved wife, Niwareka, following her flight to rejoin her father, Uetonga, in the realm of departed spirits. Niwareka is said to be a tūrehu (supernatural being)⁶⁷ descended from the gods of the underworld, her mother, Manutonga, being the granddaughter of Hinenuitepō and Rūaumoko, the atua (god) of earthquakes and subterranean fire.

⁶⁵ <http://www.tamoko.org.newzealand/articles/origins.html>

⁶⁶ Māori cosmology posits twelve stratified overworlds, balanced by an equal number of layered underworlds. Collectively the overworlds constitute Ranginui (the Sky Father) and the underworlds compose Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother). Each tier is envisioned as being presided over by different departmental atua (gods).

⁶⁷ In Māori tradition tūrehu, also known as patupaiarehe and pakepakehā, are all terms for what are generally glossed as fairy-like creatures, described as fair-skinned supernatural beings (he iwi atua) with hair that was of a dull golden or reddish hue. Tūrehu, although capable of assuming human-like form, differed greatly from folk European notions of fairies as diminutive and lovable little people (Cowan 1921: 96). The particular significance tūrehu to Ngāti Porou will be discussed in chapter 4 of this thesis.

Mataora's road to redemption was precipitated by an incident in which he had struck his wife in a fit of jealous anger. For his brutality towards Niwareka, the repentant Mataora was eventually forgiven and reunited with Niwareka, but not before undergoing a 'bodily transformation' in the hands of his father in law, Uetonga. On arrival in Rarohenga (the third underworld), Mataora encountered Uetonga tattooing a man using a uhi (tattooing chisel). A horrified Mataora, who was adorned with a painted tattoo, as was the human custom at the time, criticised the bloody method employed by Uetonga. To which his father-in-law responded by demonstrating the superiority of carved tā moko by using his hand to smear the tattoo painted on Mataora's face. Ridiculed and embarrassed, Mataora consented to the replacement of his transient face painting with a permanent design 'properly' tattooed by Uetonga. Uetonga then taught Mataora the correct procedure for applying tā moko using the uhi (bone chisel)—sometimes alluded to as 'te uhi a Mataora' (the uhi of Mataora) (Best 1924: 552)—so that on his return he might introduce it to the domain of humans (Best 1924: 456; Hīroa 1974 [1949]: 296; Phillipps 1954: 27; Reed 2004: 98-99).

The facial tā moko technique that Uetonga taught Mataora began with a narrow bladed chisel-like implement subsequently called a 'uhi whakatatarāmoa' or 'uhi tapahi' being positioned on the stretched skin and tapped with a small mallet called a 'mahoe'.⁶⁸ With each strike a flat incision was carved into the patient's skin, delineating a process that Te Tuhi Pihopa of Ngāi Tūhoe described as one "to clear the way" for the pigmentation of the carved channels, which constituted the second stage of the operation (Best 1904: 167). As motifs were cut, pigment was inlaid into the channels by tapping a Polynesian-style, ink-bearing multi-toothed chisel, called a 'uhi puru' or 'uhi matarau', with a light piece of wood or fern stalk called a 'take rarauhe'.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ The uhi's blade was traditionally fashioned from flat pieces of toroa (albatross) or human bone, firmly lashed to an intricately carved wooden handle, with the result resembling an adze in form (Best 1904: 166; Best 1924b: 552-553).

⁶⁹ Traditionally, the pigment or 'wai ngārahu' was produced from a solution of soot called 'kāpia', a burnt gum extracted from the kauri tree (*Agathus australis*), or the vegetable caterpillar (*Cordyceps robertsii*), which was then mixed with bird fat or fish oil and water. The spore of the parasitic fungus the vegetable caterpillar infests the caterpillar of a species of moth called the āwheto (*Sphinx convolvuli*) that have burrowed into the undergrowth to

Upon healing, the cumulative effect of tattooing with both an incising chisel and a Polynesian-style pigmenting chisel created carved incisions in the skin that were not so much black, as dark blue in colour (Orbell 1963: 34). The latter process, in reinforcing the scarification instituted by the incising procedure, enhanced the textured effect of the design (Best 1904: 167; Robley 1998: 49; Te Awekotuku and Nikora 2007: 16-20). In this way, Māori tā moko (tattoo) differed from the smooth punctured results created by tattooing elsewhere in Polynesia in that as well as being pigmented, the face was 'carved', as if it were made of wood. Consequently, writes Best, Māori tā moko was "referred to as whakairo tangata [carving people]" (1924b: 546).

At this point, it is also important to note that Rarohenga (the third Māori underworld) does not automatically imply the negative associations embodied within the Judaeo-Christian Hell, such as the overarching presence of a satanic figure, or associations with debasement (Matthew 11: 13). Neither does it automatically connote the abode of the wicked (Numbers 16: 33; Job 24: 19; Psalms. 9: 17; 31: 17 etc.) or the doom and the misery of the lost (Matthew 16: 23). Rather, because the first woman, Hineahuone (the earth-formed woman), was created by the gods out of the pubic mound of Papatūānuku's earthly body, death is conceptualised as a return to the nurture and protection of Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother. Therefore, for Māori, Rarohenga is not a place to be feared. Instead, Rarohenga is conceptualised as the realm where the dead return—rather than proceed—to the gods and their tīpuna (ancestors) (Walker 1993: 8).

In Rarohenga (the third underworld), the human deceased are reunited with Hineahuone's (the earth-formed woman's) eldest daughter, Hinenuitepō, who in her original guise of Hinetītama (the dawn girl) had given birth to the first generation of human beings before fleeing Te Ao Mārama (The World of Light) to retire to the protection of her grandmother, Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother), in Rarohenga. The

chrysalise, eventually killing its caterpillar host by filling the insect's interior with its roots. The stem of the fungus projects above ground as a 'flower head' and it is this growth that was harvested, dried, then burnt by Māori in the preparation of pigment (Neleman 1999: 134; Robely 1998: 57). In addition to these agents, there are also records of a pigment made from dog faeces called 'awe' (see Best 1904: 168-169; Gell 1993: 246; Kopua 2004; Robely 1998: 56-58; Roth 1900: 117, 1901: 39), and following the arrival of Pākehā, gunpowder was sometimes used.

recognition of Hinenuitepō's pivotal role in the origin of humankind and protector of human spirits in death has led to the womb being symbolised as both the gateway to life in Te Ao Mārama (The World of Light), and te whare o te mate (the house of death) (Tawhai 1991: 102). As also noted by Antony Alpers, "Hinenuitepō is a benevolent and not a malevolent figure. Hers was the door through which all lives, in the beginning, came into the world, and hers is the realm for which they leave it" (1964: 238).

The Māori term for indelibly marking the skin, tā moko, is a composite of the verb 'tā' meaning to 'strike' or 'tap', and the noun, 'moko', which designates the motifs, which using the traditional method were incised on the wearer's face (Hīroa 1974 [1949]: 296). As previously noted, the term, moko, is also a general term for lizards (skinks and geckos) (Williams 2003: 207). This etymology is of significance to the narrative of Mataora's retrieval of tā moko from the underworld because lizards, in particular the tuatara (*Sphenodon punctatus*), were spiritually associated with Whiro, the atua (god) of things pertaining to evil, darkness and death. For this reason, lizards were feared by Māori. However, through the shedding of their skins lizards were also conceptualised as enacting a birth/death metaphor, whereby they "continually cycle from life to death to life, and so on, dropping one "mask," one might say, in order to assume another" (Gathercole 1988: 176; Tregear 1891: 249). Interestingly the narrative of Mataora's retrieval of tā moko from Rarohenga (the third underworld) concludes with an explanation that it was only after the departure of Mataora and Niwareka from the underworld that the porthole to the realm of the spirits was permanently shut. Thus preventing humans from further visits to the underworld (Smith 2008 [1913]: 145-146).

GELL

In recent decades, the most influential anthropological perspective on tattooing practises in pre-colonial Aotearoa-New Zealand was arguably offered in Alfred Gell's classic ethno-historical analysis, 'Wrapping in Images: Tattooing in Polynesia' (1993). In his book, Gell examined a wealth of comparative data garnered from archeological discoveries and cosmology, alongside ethnographic accounts supplied by explorers, missionaries, administrators, sailors and ethnographers dating back to the late eighteenth

century. For many, Gell was persuasive in arguing that the historical processes and ecological shifts that shaped the organisation, functioning and degree of major socio-political institutions on each Polynesian island was mirrored by the degree of elaboration, or attenuation and presence or absence, of tattooing on some persons and not of others. Through his analysis, Gell claimed to have uncovered the tattooed Polynesian skin as an integument that "in certain instances, and in combination with certain other factors," was actually constitutive of the socio-political milieu. Thus, Gell's analysis rendered the Polynesian skin as the repository for ideas governing the rules of hierarchy, politics, warfare, religion, marriage, exchange and so on, which "made possible the realisation of a distinctive type of social and political being" (1993: 3).

Heavily incumbent upon the works of Irving Goldman (1970), and Hanson and Hanson (1983), Gell outlined a strikingly unflattering portrait of Māori politico-economic history as the basis of his analysis of tā moko (tattooing). The outcome was the depiction of a pre-colonial Aotearoa-New Zealand in which the scarcity of food resources was described as precipitating a descent into that which Gell termed:

... a confused struggle between independent 'tribes' alternately engaged in war and 'egalitarian' competitive ceremonial exchange, struggles which were replicated within each tribal group as conflicts between their constituent hapū [sub-tribe] units (1993: 242).

According to Gell, the desperation to assert control over productive land and resources created an environment of perpetual conflict that undermined the possibility of any uninterrupted period of politico-economic organisation in Māori society and induced the fragmentation of overall hierarchy. Together, the harsh 'reality' of Māori existence and extraordinary material and intellectual productivity of Māori society gave rise, Gell contends, to a "political context of hypercompetitiveness, which offered few inducements to mildness in the conduct of public affairs and many more to acts of vindictiveness and deceit" (1993: 240). Furthermore, Gell argued that the "earthly strife," which according to his interpretation, Māori conceptualised as the "mainspring of human existence," was mirrored by what he termed the "still more desperate struggle between men and the gods." Whereby, "men were obliged to coerce the gods in order to make these [insufficient] resources fertile and productive" before repelling the divinities to a

safe distance (1993: 242-243). In summarising what he interpreted as an intelligible correlation between the exaggerated form of Māori tā moko and the agonistic ethos of Māori society, Gell opined:

I do not think that it is coincidental that the idiosyncratic features of Māori male tattooing—imprinting on the human face a permanent grimace of hostility and defiance—should have arisen in an atmosphere of moral pessimism which pervaded Māori society. (. . .) It is certainly no accident that facial tattoos of this kind was restricted, in the Polynesian triangle, to societies with devolved politics, where hierarchy had fragmented, where power and sanctity had been split asunder, and where strife reigned. (. . .) Of all Polynesian politics this was the most confrontational, and tattooing, especially male tattooing, was transparently a reflection of the prevailing political context (1993: 243-244).

Gell's interpretation of Māori tā moko (tattooing) offers an accomplished, albeit debatable, reconstruction of Māori history. In analysing the interaction of cosmology, history and society upon the complex matrix of technical schemes and symbolism existing in pre-colonial Polynesian tattooing regimes, Gell has furnished anthropology with its dominant narrative, and for this reason his work warrants careful evaluation. Nevertheless, it is unfortunate that Gell's analysis of tā moko is constructed upon a foundation that pathologises Māori socio-political relations. In the first instance, Gell's perspective is articulated by diagnosing the character of the Māori political context as one premised on "hypercompetitiveness" (1993: 240). Then secondly, by caricaturing Māori social relations as "perpetually in a state of ferment stemming from (. . .) oscillating cycles of affront/retaliation" (1993: 242) that were cosmologically entrenched within a climate of "hubristic" and "degenerative strife" (1993: 252). Underpinning Gell's analysis also looms in absentia, the spectre of a sovereign power to enforce peace, law and security, akin to Thomas Hobbes's notion of a Leviathan (1985).

Gilbert Herdt (1996) has also levelled the critique that Gell's analysis is notable for its "virtual absence of the native voice or for the local interpreters' emics or hermeneutics of agency" [by eschewing] any distinctive ontological or psychocultural subjectivities of tattooing that could potentially render "myth models" (Obeyesekere 1992) perceptible (1996: 394-395). Instead, Gell's methodology appears accepting of an a priori assumption of a cultural or historical rupture between contemporary Māori and their tīpuna (ancestors). Adopting this assumption invests validity in data and evaluations garnered

from archeological discoveries, explorers, missionaries, administrators, sailors, and ethnographers alone, no matter how sporadic, patchy and contradictory. However, in looking past the present, Gell invalidates the contribution of contemporary Māori, themselves first-hand recipients of kōrero pūrākau (mythic narrative), cultural knowledge and the continuity with the past.

In formulating his analysis, Gell borrowed Wilhelm Reich's (1950) concept of "character armour" to describe the role of tattooing in provisioning an artificial skin. In a similar fashion to the preparatory strengthening of military armour, Gell envisaged the Māori body as the subject of an assault on the skin that through the striking (tā) of tattoos (moko) transformed the surface of the body into a protective 'second skin'. This, we are told, was necessary because of the Māori conceptualisation that contact with the divine and the foreign rendered the human body highly susceptible to contagion, which resulted as a consequence of bilateral tapu (sanctity) transgression. Therefore, according to Gell, it was imperative for Māori to reinforce their bodies with a protective shell that simultaneously regulated the wearer's capacity to suffer by attracting the dangerous tapu of the gods and inflict harm by destroying the tapu of others. The application of ta moko as a defensive second skin provisioned such reinforcement and in so doing, argues Gell, transmuted the dangerous and contagious into the acceptable. Thus, we are informed, "where there is too little difference, or too much, tattooing insulates the person, permitting relationships to be established" (Gell 1993: 256). By such means, the wearing of ta moko clears the way for sexual, affinal and gift exchange relationships to safely occur between differentiated groups such as hierarchically ordered categories of humans, humans and gods, and human beings and animals (1993: 257-259).

For Gell, the narrative associated with the cosmological origin of Māori tā moko (tattoo) is illustrative of the Māori ontological predicate that humans and divinities were entrapped within a twofold struggle. In the first instance, Gell argues that the application of tā moko served as a reminder to human "not to deviate from good conduct" when it was administered as "divine retaliation" (1993: 253) against the human Mataora for beating his wife, Niwareka, who is after all a supernatural descendent of the

gods of the underworld (1993: 255). As Gell writes:

Clearly, even though the tattoo as a finished product might confer honour and prestige, the process which had to be undergone in order to acquire one conferred no honour at all, but was seen as highly degrading (1993: 248).

The second, complimentary aspect of Māori tā moko, contends Gell, is that which enables the "heroic" Mataora to triumph over the god, Uetonga, by successfully marrying his daughter, Niwareka (1993: 252). In order to do so, it was imperative, says Gell, for Mataora to overcome the differentiation and separation of men and gods by wearing a tattooed skin as protection against the dangers of bilateral tapu transgression.

I argue, however there are several problems associated with Gell's interpretation of the origin myth of tattooing as a struggle between the victimisation of human beings by divinities (Uetonga tattooing Mataora), and the triumph by man over a god (the marriage of Mataora and Niwareka). The first of which pertains to the fact that nowhere in the narrative is there reference to the relationship of Mataora and Niwareka experiencing any problems through tapu (sanctity) contagion. Furthermore, Mataora was not in receipt of carved tā moko at the time he and Niwareka were first married and living together in the upper world. On the contrary, their marriage is described as having proceeded happily until the intervention of Mataora's temper. The point I am making here is not one questioning the tapu nature of supernatural beings like Niwareka, rather I wish to highlight that her cohabitation with Mataora, and his subsequent visit to Rarohenga (the third underworld), illustrates that the wearing of tā moko was not a precondition for contact between categories of beings, in this case humans and gods, as Gell had erroneously argued.

Furthermore, the demonstration of compassion and mutual respect that pervaded during Mataora's visit to the underworld runs counter to Gell's assertion that a state of perpetual antagonism existed between humans and gods. Indeed, alongside the gift of tā moko (tattoo), Uetonga presented the departing Mataora and Niwareka with two articles of taonga (ancestral items), the famous cloak named, 'Te Rangihauapapa' and a belt

named, 'Te Rurukuoterangi'.⁷⁰ Together these items provided the templates for Māori textile design, basketry and matting. Finally, with regards to the etymology of the Māori term for tattooing, Gell's interpretation of the prefix 'tā' in 'tā moko' as 'beating' in place of the orthodox translation meaning 'to strike', is questionable. This notion of 'beating' is integral to Gell's analysis of tā moko as a 'punishment' enacted by the gods. However, we may recall that the gods were in the process of tattooing themselves when Mataora arrived in Rarohenga. Moreover, they celebrated their carved faces and dismissed the painted patterns of their human visitor, Mataora. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that rather than being a punishment inflicted by the gods to remind humans not to deviate from good conduct as Gell claimed, Mataora's decision to embrace permanent inscription, ta moko, reinitiated a physical concordance between humankind and gods. In granting, "that the ways and works of the underworld were to become the ways of the human world" (Smith 2008 [1913]: 143), tā moko represents a covenant between man and the gods.

One of the most intriguing aspects of Gell's analysis, I contend, is uncovered in his dismissal of French anthropologist Jean-Thierry Maertens (1978) book, 'Le Dessin sur le peau' (The Design on the Skin). Inspired by Lacanian psychoanalytic theory, Maertens interpreted the origins of tattooing (also body painting) in tribal societies as analytically analogous to the psychological 'severing' experienced between a mother and her infant child. In Lacanian terms, the process of psychological severing between mother and infant is said to occur during 'le stade du miroir' (the mirror stage) of a child's psychic development (Lacan 2006), and was a precursor to the process of objectification that culminated in the formation of the 'Ego'. Maertens contends that the corresponding single-skin relationship between the fusional body-mother and the social self is through indelible and irreversible transformations of the body's exterior, such as tattooing, simultaneously recalled and renounced. According to Gell, tattoo patterning enacts this concept by enveloping the body in symbolic scar that permanently recalls the Ego's "definitive loss of the mother object" (Gell 1993: 26) that occurred with the severance of

⁷⁰ For a discussion on the concept of taonga and their personal naming, see chapter I of this thesis.

the original unmediated single-skin relationship between mother and infant.

However, even if one retains a degree of anthropological scepticism concerning Maertens psychoanalytically inspired theory, his correlation between tattooing and the primordial own body-enveloping maternal body relationship is worthy of consideration. For one, Maertens concept provides an insightful means of orienting ideas about the *kōrero pūrākau* (mythic narrative) concerning the separation of the primordial parents; Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother), recounted in the introduction to this thesis. Of significance here is that the characteristics of the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku narrative differs from that which Michael Scott termed, "myths of cosmogonic dismemberment" (2005: 192 fn. 5). According to Scott, the structure of such narratives details how "the creation of the universe comes into being through the violent death and division of a primordial sacrifice, the body of which provides the materials from which the cosmos is constructed" (2005: 192).

The issue of slaying Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother) was debated by their offspring and the partial dismemberment of Ranginui's limbs was ultimately deemed necessary to achieve the separation of their parents (see discussion in Chapter Five). However, in this instance what ensued was not the death of the primordial parents, but much as Maertens suggests, a reframing of the relationship between parents and offspring. That said, there is no support in Māori cosmology or oral tradition for Maertens assertion that tattooing represents a symbolic scar. Where I do find Maertens analysis useful, however, is in its identification of the presence of tattooing in the primordial own body/enveloping maternal body relationship as a means of orienting an explanation of the significance of Māori facial *tā moko*.

This chapter has so far examined a number of explanations for and attitudes towards the adornment of Māori facial *tā moko*. Ranging from the perspective I encountered during ethnographic field research that "the wearing of [facial] *tā moko* should only be for chiefs," to the late eighteenth and nineteenth century accounts of European settlers and explorers debating the wearing of facial *tā moko* as a signifier of rank, status or maturity

etc. (Best 1924; Darwin 1890; Hochstetter 1867; L'Horne, in Ollivier, Hingley and Spencer 1987; Monkhouse, in Beaglehole 1968; Parkinson 1773; Polack 1840; Shortland 1851; Taylor 1855; Yate 1835). To theoretical and contemporary ethnographic explanations that focussed on the role of bodily adornment as a mechanism for demarcating individual boundaries, determining group inclusion and exclusion, and various perspectives that associate the wearing of facial tā moko with sanctity, agency and resistance (Foucault 1979; Rosenblatt 1997; Te Awekotuku and Nikora 2007; Turner 1980). To the cosmological narratives surrounding the first human encounter with tā moko in the realm of the gods and the forms introduction into the domain of humankind. A sequence of events that, I argue, Alfred Gell (1993) misinterpreted as a symbolic act of divine retribution that paradoxically conferred upon humans the means by which they attained the requisite protective integument that enabled the dangers inherent in the obligatory contact with the sacred could be overcome.

In the final part of this chapter, however, I turn to situating The Dreads wearing of facial tā moko into the framework of the hapū (sub-tribal) whare whakairo (carved meeting-house). I argue that it is in the structure of the whare whakairo that we are able to witness the convergence of certain key elements of tā moko so far discussed. Primarily, the ability of humans to cycle between the conceptual domains of the sacred (the ancestors) and the profane (the earthly realm), and the significance of carving the Māori face in attaining harmonisation into the collective body of the ancestors. I suggest this latter aspect is consonant with The Dread's Rastafari kaupapa (philosophy). I will begin however, by sketching a general outline of the whare whakairo (carved meeting-house).

Uetonga's reference to the permanence of carved tā moko resonating with the Māori whare whakairo (carved meeting-house) may connect to the whare whakairo as being representative of the ancestor(s). The first point to note is that the whare whakairo which stands as the dominant physical feature on each marae is mirrored by its central role in the Māori hapū (sub-tribal) to which it belongs.⁷¹ With few exceptions, today's

⁷¹ Strictly speaking, the marae is a ceremonial courtyard in front of the whare whakairo (carved meeting-house), where formal greetings and discussions take place, although the term is also commonly applied in reference to the

existing where whakairo are characterised by a corrugated-iron roof that sits atop of a single-story rectangular structure with timber walls, and deep gabled porch across the front. Typically, a where whakairo can measure anywhere from thirty to forty feet wide, twenty feet high, and range between forty to over one hundred feet in length.⁷² The where whakairo's carved facade generally exhibits a single window (though in some examples there may be two) to the side of a door that opens into a solitary room (Metge 1976: 230; Salmond 1983: 35-37).

It is widely recognised that each where whakairo (carved meeting-house) is traditionally named either in remembrance of a specific past event, or in honour of the founding tipuna (ancestor) of the whānau (extended family), iwi (tribe), or most commonly, hapū (sub-tribe) of the house-owning group. For example, Best wrote that where whakairo:

. . . often receive the names of ancestors, or of a battlefield, or are named from some incident. When the Taupo chief Te Heuheu wished to bring to a conclusion an old quarrel with another chief, he built a new house, named it Te Riri Ka Wareware (The Forgotten Quarrel), and then invited his opponent to visit him (1924: 578).

Furthermore, it is also relayed that the physical structure of each where whakairo (carved meeting-house) constitutes a symbolic representation of the body of the founding ancestor of that particular hapū (sub-tribe). A highly stylised characterisation of the ancestor after which the house is named is typically depicted by the carved face (koruru) that covers the junction of the two bargeboards (maihi) on the gable of the where whakairo. The maihi themselves, represent the arms of the tipuna (ancestor) outstretched in welcome, while the ornamented carvings at their lower ends (raparapa) symbolise the hands of the tipuna. The ridgepole (tāhuhu) is understood to represent the spine and the main line of descent from the founding tipuna, and the rafters (heke) symbolise the ancestor's ribs. The front window (mataaho) constitutes the ancestor's eye,

entire complex of buildings situated on the marae reserve.

⁷² After carefully examining the accounts of Māori houses provided by early European visitors to Aotearoa-New Zealand in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Groube (1964) suggested that the houses of that period were considerably smaller than those that have predominated since the late nineteenth century. Pre mid-nineteenth century records, says Groube, identify two categories of Māori houses. The first, small houses, generally measured ten to fifteen feet in length, while the larger houses that constituted the second category, ranged from twenty to thirty feet in length and were generally the dwelling houses of chiefs.

the porch is termed the roro (brain), the door is called the kūwaha (mouth), and the interior of the whare whakairo represents the poho (bosom) of the tipuna (Binney 1984: 376-377; Metge 1976: 230; Salmond 1983: 39-40, 90; Simmons 2006: 12).

However, more than a mere figurative representation of the founding ancestor's body as is often emphasised. It is clear from attention to the terms describing the various components of the exterior and interior of the whare whakairo (carved meeting-houses) that these structures can be better understood as an "architectonic representation" (Rosenfeld 1999: 89) of hapū (sub-tribe) lineage. Or, when speaking of houses named after a past event, be viewed as a mnemonic of the hapū relationship to that historic episode. On entering the bosom (the interior room) of the ancestor, for example, one is immediately able to see that the ancestor's spine (the ridgepole) is held aloft by—depending on the length of the house—one, two or even three huge wooden central pillars. The names for the first two of which being: the pou roto (inside post) and pou tokomanawa (heartpost).⁷³ What is more, the base of each pillar is carved into a full-length figure of a key ancestor. As may well be anticipated, the spine (ridgepole), which also represents the main line of descent from the founding ancestor, is transversed by kōwhaiwhai-covered ribs (the rafters)⁷⁴ that are termed heke, meaning 'to descend.' This definition, in conjunction with their position as offshoots of the ridgepole, illustrates the association of heke (ribs) with the most prestigious lines of genealogical descent from the founding tipuna (ancestor) in both a figurative and a literal sense.

Furthermore, the extension of these ribs to the side walls, not only encloses the bosom cavity in structural terms, but they also encapsulate the notion of decent by adjoining carved wooden slabs situated on the inside wall, called poupou (old folk), each of which is interspersed with coloured tukutuku⁷⁵ panels. As the definition of the term suggests,

⁷³ To support the ridgepole of each meeting-house generally requires a minimum of three or four posts. Listed in order from front to rear, the posts are respectively termed: pou mua (the post supporting the ridgepole at the front wall of the building); pou roto (inside post); pou tokomanawa (heartpost); and pou tuarongo (the post supporting the ridgepole at the rear wall of the building).

⁷⁴ The term kōwhaiwhai describes a style of painted scroll ornamentation commonly used on meeting house rafters.

⁷⁵ Ornamental lattice-work

poupou depict highly stylised representations of key hapū ancestors from across many generations of the lineage. When we also recall the framed portraits and photographs of living and deceased members of the kingroup that are hung on the inside walls of whare whakairo (carved meeting-house), it becomes apparent that the whare whakairo serves as a particularly potent expression of hapū (sub-tribe) identity and membership. In this way, the lineage receives protective shelter within the body of the genealogical 'parent,' which as Michael Jackson has explained, renders efficacious:

. . . the continuity of the tribe, [by] maintaining the past as a part of the living present and thereby assuring the continuation of the past, through the present, into the future (1972: 60).

One further contribution to note is Jackson's assertion that in stepping through the mouth (door) and into the bosom of the whare whakairo (carved meeting-house), one is in actuality crossing a threshold that is traditionally marked by a carved wooden lintel called a pare (1972: 50). Until the imposition of puritanical mores by missionaries in the nineteenth century the carved motifs on pare, argued Jackson, invariably featured female figures with prominently displayed genitalia.⁷⁶ According to Jackson, the richly symbolic meaning embodied by such compositions, lay in the cosmological significance of female genitalia as the gateway to life and death and, by corollary, to the ritual role of women as removers and absorbers of tapu (sanctity). Thus, in passing beneath the pare to enter the bosom of the tribe, all entrants, effectively undergo the removal of any harmful tapu. In addition, passing beneath the pare also performs a second function claims Jackson, that is to mediate the transition from the world of independent or competing whānau (family) interests on the outside of the whare whakairo, to the world of genealogical solidarity that lay within the protective bosom of the founding ancestor (1972: 51-52, 59).

As discussed earlier in the chapter facial tā moko is recognised as taonga (an ancestral item), which alongside the sacred art of weaving, was introduced to humankind by the atua (god), Uetonga. The Dread characterise their wearing of facial moko as the bestowal of an ancient taonga whakairo (carved treasure) that enables them to bear the full face of

⁷⁶ Jackson notes that although some pare did feature male figures with large phalli, these occurrences were "very rare." Jackson also speculated that in order to circumvent missionary prudery, later examples of pare frequently featured carved female figures in "a state of parturition" whereby a small head was stylised to suggest the vagina (1972: 51).

their ancestors. I argue that through the structure of the *whare whakairo* (carved meeting-house) the adornment of facial *moko* facilitates the wearer's integration into the spiritual body of the founding ancestor and brings wearers into communion with *tīpuna* (ancestors) and *atua* (gods). In the words of Te Ahi, for example, *tā moko* represents "a telegram from the ancient days to I-an-I (I-and-I) today, having the name of the living God written upon I-an-I forehead, being on his [God's] side" (Te Ahi, in Neleman 1999: 133). Here, Te Ahi's classic use of the term I-an-I (I-and-I) articulates the Rastafari concept of spiritual union, in which the divine principle that resides in all Rastafari 'I's (individuals) enables a permanent state of fellowship with Jah (God) and all other I's (Rastafari adherents) (Afari 2007: 114; Edmonds 1998: 33). Through the medium of speech the fellowship of I-an-I enunciates that the individual voice (The 'I') is representative of the collective consciousness of Jah and other Rastafari members. In this way, the communal I-an-I facilitates a medium for enjoining Rastafari individuals (The I) by overcoming the binary opposition between 'you' and 'me' (Barrett 1997: 144).⁷⁷

In highlighting the structural significance of the *whare whakairo* (carved meeting-house), Chapter Four elucidated an often taken-for-granted juncture at which inhabitants of the Māori present enter into communion with those associated with the Māori past. I explained that in constituting an "architectonic representation" (Rosenfeld 1999: 89) of the founding *hapū* (sub-tribe) ancestor, the interior and exterior structure of the *whare whakairo* integrates the genealogy of the *hapū* into the anatomy of the founding ancestor in three ways. Firstly, by way of the full-length figure of a key ancestor carved into each of the huge wooden central pillars that holds aloft the ancestor's spine (the ridgepole), which is itself representative of the main line of descent from the founding ancestor. Secondly, key *hapū* members are integrated into the body of the founding ancestor in the form of highly stylised representations that are carved into wooden slabs called a *poupou* (old folk), which adorn the lower end of each of the wooden rafters or *heke* (ribs) that descend from the ridgepole to encase the interior or *poho* (bosom) of the *whare whakairo*. Thirdly, the most recently introduced method of integrating *hapū* members

⁷⁷ The *whare whakairo* as a sort of collective consciousness of the *hapū*

involves hanging framed portraits or photographs of deceased, and in some instances living members of the kingroup on the walls of the whare whakairo.

In so doing, the physical structure of the whare whakairo facilitates the entry of hapū members into the collective body of the founding ancestor. Moreover, in entering and exiting the whare whakairo individuals cosmologically cycle between the sacred realm of genealogical solidarity, symbolically represented by highly stylised depictions of ancestors carved in the interior or poho (bosom) of the whare whakairo, and the profane realm of human earthly existence that lay outside the meeting-house.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEVOURING OF THE PLACENTA

Ka Ngapu te whenua

Like a creeping thing the land is moving

Ka haere nga tangata Kihea?

When gone, where shall man find a dwelling?

E Rūaumoko!

Oh, Rūaumoko [god of earthquakes and volcanic activity]!

Purutia tawhia, Ki aita.

Hold it fast, retain it firmly in thy grasp and bid it stay.

(Extract from a Kīngitanga (Māori King movement) haka, cited in Buddle 1860: 39–40)



Figure 3. View from the top of Whākāhu hill showing native Mānuka trees (*Leptospermum scorparium*) in the foreground that have been poisoned by aerial spraying to clear ground for pasture.

In 1951, members of the Māori community in Ruatoria are reported to have employed the ceremonial services of a tohunga whakaora-ā-wairua (spiritual healer) to purge the nearby Waiapu River of a voracious taniwha (water spirit) who had been preying on local people. The Māori term, 'taniwha', is applied in reference to a category of ferocious spirits who represent the mauri (life force) of the bodies of water they inhabit. For the people with whom they coexist, taniwha are generally regarded as guardians of the health and abundance of fish and other natural inhabitants of lakes, rivers and the sea. However, as can also be the case, taniwha such as the one residing in the Waiapu River, are equally renowned for turning against their human neighbours. At the time of this 1951 purging

ceremony, many locals maintained that this particular taniwha had been responsible for a series of drownings that had occurred in the Waiapu River during the thirty years preceding. Throughout this period, the taniwha was said to have claimed a solitary life as *whiunga* (retribution) for human negligence and misconduct within the environment. Upon later reflection of years when no life was taken, local people deduced that the taniwha had claimed two lives in the following year.

Local *kuia* (elderly women) and *koroua* (elderly men) recall the taniwha's (water spirit's) retribution was brought to an end following a three-day ritual in which the *tohunga whakaora-ā-wairua* (spiritual healer)—assisted by twenty local men—successfully expelled the taniwha from the river. Several participants pronounced they had witnessed a huge cloud of dust, accompanied by a loud explosion, as the taniwha escaped from the river mouth into the open sea (Harmsworth, Warmenhoven, Pohatu and Page 2002: 29). Subsequent to the taniwha's expulsion, there are said to have been far fewer incidents of drowning. Nevertheless, shortly before leaving my fieldsite in March 2009, my attention was drawn to a contingent among Ruatoria's Māori residents who continue to demonstrate, in terms that are both cosmological and geomorphical, that which Alfred Gell dubbed, "an expectation of divine victimage" (1993: 242).

My awareness of the behaviour in question occurred during a long and wide-ranging discussion with a Ngāti Porou *kaumātua* (elder) named Papa Anaru, who explained that in June of that year he would be leading a contingent of Ngāti Porou, living in and around the township of Ruatoria, in a purification ceremony. The ceremony's specified intent was the alleviation of an ongoing affliction that had encroached upon '*te tangata me te whenua*' (the people and the land) by enacting the purification of the land through the recital of *karakia* (ritual incantations) and application of water. Papa Anaru explained the men would initiate proceedings at the summit of the tribe's sacred Hikurangi Maigna (Mount Hikurangi) and along the watercourses of the Tapuaeroa and Waiapu rivers to the coastal town of Rangitukia. The proceedings would then be transferred to the women, whose role it would be to conclude the ceremony at the point where the mouth of the Waiapu River issues into the South Pacific Ocean.

Thus, the description of the planned purification ceremony bore the characteristics of a whakanoa (tapu removal) rite designed to lift the tapu (sanctity) that extended from the intrinsically tapu (sacred) taniwha's (water spirit's) contact with the natural environment. Through the act of water-laving and sprinkling water, the harm-inducing attributes of the taniwha would be transferred to the running waters of the Tapuaeroa and Waiapu Rivers, which would carry the baneful tapu into the South Pacific Ocean where it was destined to be dispersed and lost. In so doing, the proposed purification ceremony demonstrates three of the four main methods of tapu removal that may be exercised by: the chanting of karakia (ritual incantations), by washing or sprinkling the affected place or thing with water, by the ritual action of a woman, or by the ritual consumption of cooked food (Metge 1976: 59; see also, Hanson and Hanson 1983: 75-77).

For this collective of concerned Ruatoria residents, the cleansing of the environment was deemed a vital first step in recommencing Ngāti Porou's responsibility of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) over the tangible realm. Many consider this relationship to have been placed under considerable threat by the recent history of farming, commercial forestry and extraction of metal (gravel) from the Waiapu riverbed. Thus, the objectives of the purification ceremony were twofold. The proponents sought to demonstrate to the gods and ancestors, their acknowledgement of the sacred life-giving properties of the earthly environment, while simultaneously placating Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother) for the wrongs being inflicted upon her. Underpinning these suppositions lay concerns that the continuing failure of tangata whenua (people of the land) to respect the spiritual interdependence of this term's composite elements—tangata (people) and whenua (land, also placenta)—represents a dereliction of duty, punishable by the gods and ancestors.

The second, parallel anxiety arose from a fear that the rivers and the sea have turned to devouring the placenta (land). This, in turn, has stimulated the spectre of Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island, conceptualised by Māori as Te Ika a Māui (The Fish of Māui)—named after the exploits of the ancestor credited with bringing the land into existence—is slowly returning from whence it came. It is somewhat unsurprising that grave concerns surrounding the disappearance of land into the sea have been rendered paramount in

local discourse, given the coastal location of the regions settlements. With the exception of the numerous farm stations that populate the region, Ruatoria and all neighbouring settlements, are either located along the shoreline near the mouths of rivers and streams, or in close proximity to flood plains situated within 15 miles of the sea. Ruatoria itself, is approximately 7km from the coast, on the southern plain of the Waiapu River Valley.

The evening following my encounter with elder, Papa Anaru, I shared my newfound awareness of the purification ceremony with two members of The Dread. The first to respond was Te Hokowhitu, who immediately dismissed any chance of the ceremony's success. The second member, Te Ahi, then added: "Our kaumātua (elders), they know tikanga (literally "correct ways," glossed as custom), and they're good for a mōteatea (traditional chant). They can calm the sea when it's a rough day and people are going like this . . ." Te Ahi accompanied the conclusion of this sentence by quivering his downturned palm of his outstretched right hand to gesture the peoples' unease, before briefly pausing to continue. "You know, they're good for that, but at the same time." Te Ahi winced as he then ended the sentence abruptly.

TE TANGATA: ALIENATING THE PEOPLE

My purpose in opening with these local discourses has been to outline examples of the ongoing anxieties that have arisen in response to a perceived deterioration in the symbiotic relationship between te tangata me te whenua (the people and the land). Specifically, this chapter focuses upon The Dread's long-standing efforts to surmount disruptions to the physical and spiritual relationship between tangata (people) and whenua (land, also placenta), by combating the causes and effects of environmental desecration occurring in and around the rural township of Ruatoria. Building on this opening vignette, it is my aim to demonstrate the ways in which The Dread's response to the purging ceremony of 1951 and the purification ceremony of 2009, has been prompted by the recognition that the root problems threatening their home, land and sea continue unabated. Therefore, rather than seeking the expulsion of a taniwha exercising its responsibility as water guardian, or offering an inadequate degree of placation to the gods and ancestors, The Dread initially elected to confront the human agents of ecological

desecration head on.

Between the mid 1980s and early 1990s, The Dread primarily targeted non-indigenous pastoralists and modern agriculturalists⁷⁸ with a spate of direct action designed to enforce the closure and/or sale of Pākehā-owned farms by rendering these operations commercially unviable. In addition, The Dread also sought to curtail the exploitation of natural resources being conducted by commercial forestry companies and outside corporations engaging in the extraction of gravel from local riverbeds. Many members of The Dread were repeatedly jailed for their actual or alleged involvement in a litany of offences that ranged from land repossessions⁷⁹ to boundary-fence cuttings, livestock theft and arson attacks involving the burning of more than thirty buildings. Alongside these convictions, members of The Dread were also imprisoned on charges of assault, possession of cannabis, property damage and an incident of kidnapping.

From The Dread's perspective, the combined practises of modern farming, commercial forestry, and mineral extraction are culpable for the ecological, social, and spiritual decline on Te Tai Rāwhiti (The East Coast). Firstly, for their part in destruction of the region's watercourses and removal of "The Cloak of Papatūānuku" (native forests), the aforementioned practises stand accused by The Dread of desecrating the material environment. Secondly, The Dread assert that tangata whenua (people of the land) have become increasingly alienated from their whenua papatipu (ancestral land) by the privatisation of what had traditionally been communal Māori land. The social consequences of which engenders the migration of many Ngāti Porou from Ruatoria and Te Tai Rāwhiti, while fostering a local climate of high unemployment, homelessness, and melancholia for many of those who remain. Together, environmental desecration and socio-economic alienation are held accountable for the erosion of the spiritual

⁷⁸ For the purposes of this chapter 'modern agriculture' is defined as: an integrated system of agricultural production. Embracing, intensive tillage, monoculture, application of inorganic fertilizer, irrigation, chemical pest control, and genetic manipulation of crop plants in pursuit of achieving the highest possible yields and generating the highest economic profit possible.

⁷⁹ Here, I apply use of the term 'repossession' rather than 'occupation' to communicate The Dread's perspective that disputed lands were illegally transferred into Pākehā private ownership.

relationship between tangata (people) and whenua (land, placenta) that underlies their concern that and the sea is devouring the placenta (land).

The Dread's efforts to eject the perpetrators of material, social, and spiritual destruction were fuelled by decades of simmering Māori protestation over the legality of Ngāti Porou whenua papatipu (ancestral land) acquired by the settler state and Pākehā individuals during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In repudiating Pākehā land acquisitions, The Dread made repeated incursions onto privately owned land, while defending themselves against the accusations of trespassing and vandalism with the assertion of having an ancestral birthright to roam freely about their whenua papatipu. In spite of The Dread's actions being directed towards Pākehā-owned farms and commercial enterprises deemed as having a negative impact on the environment, hostilities between the two factions soon escalated into a series of reprisals and counter-reprisals that not only engulfed, but also divided Ruatoria's entire community. Another major consequence of these events has been The Dread's virtual ostracism by the majority of residents among Ruatoria.

Nevertheless, a few of The Dread's actions were appreciated by sections of Ruatoria's Māori community. For example, The Dread's late-1980s campaign to repossess—on behalf of Ngāti Porou—the tribe's sacred Hikurangi Maunga (Mount Hikurangi) is credited in some local quarters as having kick-started a process that in 1999, saw the return of Hikurangi Maunga from the New Zealand government to Ngāti Porou ownership. In the words of a prominent Ruatoria community member:

One of the good things about the Rastas was that because of them, loads of Pākehā sold up their land and left. This enabled us [Ngāti Porou] to buy our land back. Buying land is not the right way to get the land, but at least we got our land back.

From their perspective as Rastafari, The Dread also identify Hikurangi Maunga (Mount Hikurangi) with Mount Zion of the Old Testament. On many separate occasions this understanding was articulated to me in the following terms by several members of The Dread, "The Bible says Zion is a mountain in the east. Not the near east or the middle east, but the far east, and where's further east than Aotearoa?" Cumulatively therefore,

Hikurangi Maunga possesses a triple significance for The Dread. Firstly, as the proud emblem of Ngāti Porou; secondly, as a symbol of Jah's (God's) covenant with The Dread; and finally, as will soon be discussed, as a pronouncement of Ngāti Porou's autochthonous origins from the depths of the sea.

Today, however, The Dread are actively pursuing a strategy that aims to avert the lingering threat of environmental desecration by utilising the vanishing placenta (land) as a resource for reuniting tangata (people) to the whenua (land). In so doing, The Dread have identified that the salvation of their people lay in a return to the nurturing embrace of the body of the primordial matriarch, Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother). In formulating the argument being presented here, I shall begin with an outline of Māori cosmological understandings, pertaining to the significance, relatedness and origin of land. These conceptions will then be juxtaposed with a series of counter discourses and practises presented by late nineteenth century Western social scientific and geological approaches, post 1870s farming and twentieth century commercial forestry. Through this analysis, I hope to challenge the long-assumed antithesis between Māori cosmology and Pākehā conceptions of science, environmentalism, and economic policy by illustrating the historic crisscrossing of the two paradigms, which I argue, now exhibit the potential for twenty-first century confluence.

TE WHENUA: ALIENATING THE PLACENTA

This thesis has already made brief mention of the signing of title deeds to land (see for example, Chapter Two). However, the substance of what Māori were affirming with their signatures has been the subject of the considerable debate amongst lawyers and academics alike. During the mid-nineteenth century, disputes surrounding the legitimacy of many land transactions erupted following the British settler state's introduction of the Native Land Acts of 1862 and 1865. In essence, both Acts were designed to dismantle the communism of tribal right (Ward 1974: 148; Williams 1999: 70-71) exercised by customary Māori land titles and supplanting it with a system based "as nearly as possible to the ownership of land according to British law" (preamble, 1862 Native Land Act). These legislative Acts empowered rangatira (chiefs) to sell communal land, which they

held in trust on behalf of their respective hapū (sub-tribe) and/or iwi (tribe) (Ballara 1982; Goldman 1970; Mahuika 1994; Rosenfeld 1999; Sinclair 1957; Ward 1997a).

Elsewhere, academics have argued that in many cases the rangatira (chiefs) designated as agents in these early land transactions had not intended the absolute alienation of their land, but had only transferred to Pākehā the right of *tuku whenua* (land use). In this regard, land that Pākehā had mistakenly (Metge 1998) or duplicitously (Mutu 1992) considered to be *hoko* (rendered as 'to buy', 'trade', 'exchange') under the conditions of freehold title, were merely intended as *tuku* (meaning 'to allow', 'lease', 'let go'). As the U.S. naval officer and explorer, Charles Wilkes recorded in 1845; *tuku whenua* denoted a personal grant of land that was not transferable (1845: 376). Therefore, according to Māori cultural understandings, '*tuku whenua*' referred to the temporary release of land from one sphere of influence into another. More importantly, such transactions were contingent upon the continued occupation or use of the land by those receiving it, and the understanding that the land would eventually be returned into the *whakapapa* (genealogy) of the gifting lineage.

What I wish to suggest is that the concept of *whakapapa* (genealogy) that buttresses the sensitivities surrounding the issue of land ownership is both structured and informed by Māori cosmological understandings of relatedness. These understandings of *whakapapa* spawn relationships connecting living *tangata* (people) to *whenua* (land) through a sequence of *tīpuna* (ancestors) and *atua* (gods), to the progenitors of all things, Rangiūni (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother and cosmological embodiment of the *whenua*. In this way, Māori *whakapapa* narratives are not merely assertions of ancestry or property claims, but are in fact statements detailing the autochthonous history of the people, the tangible world they inhabit and the all-pervasive spiritual environment with which they coexist.

The understandings underlying why Māori land was deemed inalienable and its retention, for many Māori, including The Dread and the Ruatoria residents involved in the purification ceremony of 2009, remains of paramount importance are revealed by the

genealogical meanings associated with the Māori term 'whenua'. Insofar as the designation 'whenua' not only represents a Māori variant of the widespread Austronesian term for land, but also possesses the parallel translation of 'placenta'. The accompanying meaning is highly significant in conceptualising land as the life-sustaining agent of the people who reside upon it, analogous to the protective and nurturing relationship between a mother and her unborn child.

As will be discussed in Chapter Five, the correlation between land and maternity continues with the designated terms for the end of the umbilical cord attached to the child, which together with the placenta, is known as 'iho whenua', (the cord that bonds the child to the land). Following the birth of a child, Māori traditionally buried the newborn's placenta in the land.⁸⁰ In this way, children were symbolically attached to the tribe's whenua papatipu (ancestral land), reattached to their primordial matriarch, Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother), and their genealogical ancestors whose whenua (placenta) and bodies were also buried therein. The dual concepts of nurture and iho whenua are therefore central to Māori identification as tangata whenua (people of the land), where rather than land belonging to Māori, Māori are conceptualised as participants in a two-way system of belonging in which "they belong to the territory as much as it belongs to them" (Metge 1989: 40).

As tangata whenua (people of the land) of the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast), it is considered Ngāti Porou's cultural obligation to manage the social, spiritual and material association between tangata (people) and whenua (land). Moreover, the responsibility of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) can neither be taken lightly nor overlooked without incurring the wrath of the pantheon of transcendent spirits and forebears comprised of tīpuna (ancestors), atua (gods)—and as illustrated in the opening vignette—the often punitive taniwha (water spirits).⁸¹ One of the ways in which Ngāti Porou articulate the

⁸⁰ The powerful bonds created by iho whenua were so great that before the imposition of formal land titles by the Native Land Court in 1865, the principle of iho whenua was often used by Māori to substantiate claims in disputes involving an individual's traditional rights of access to resources and settlement of land (Walker 1990: 70; cf. Scott 2007: 144-145, 208).

⁸¹ Here, I employ use of the term transcendence to refer to the divine qualities of tīpuna (ancestors) and atua that

interdependent wellbeing of people and the natural and spiritual environment, is through the pepeha (proverb) proclaiming:

Toitū te marae a Tāne,	Be undisturbed the house of Tāne,
Toitū te marae a Tangaroa,	be undisturbed the house of Tangaroa,
Toitū te iwi	be undisturbed the iwi [tribe]

(quoted in Harmsworth, Warmenhoven, Pohatu and Page 2002: 31).

Here, the two houses in question represent the dominions of the atua (god's), Tāne and Tangaroa, the divine guardians of forests and ocean respectively. In this way, this pepeha (proverb) urges care for the ecological sphere by directing the iwi (tribe's) attention to the inextricable connections that exist between humans and environment. If either component becomes unbalanced, then the complimentary component is equally thought to suffer.

IMPUGNING THE PLACENTA

Many early chroniclers responded to Māori cosmological assertions of the relationship between people and land with either dismissal by analogy, or dismissal by disdain. Consider, for example, the opinion expressed by the Reverend William Yate of The Church Missionary Society, who in the early nineteenth century stated: "Their ideas of Mawe (Māui), the being who, they tell us, fished-up the island from the bottom of the sea, are truly ridiculous" (1835: 142). A similar perspective was forwarded by governor George Grey's rejection of kōrero pūrākau (mythic narrative) as "puerile" and "absurd" (1956 [1855]: Preface). The alternative dismissal of ancient origin narratives as 'inherently symbolic' was encapsulated by Te Rangi Hīroa's admonition that Māori cosmology constituted "a Polynesian figure of speech" (1974 [1949]: 5), which later generations came to adopt as literal explanations (Hīroa 1939: 47). In the words of Pomare and Cowan, this assumed language of metaphor was illustrative of the Polynesian fondness "for clothing facts with a garb of poetic fiction and allegory" (1987 [1930-4]: 14).

exist free from the limitations inherent in matter, rather than in a strictly spatial sense that suggests a domain outside or beyond the tangible world. As has been well documented by numerous authors (e.g. Gell 1993, 1995; and Sahlins 1985), Māori gods and ancestors occupy the overlapping realms of both immanence and transcendence.

Between these periods of mid-nineteenth century dismissal by disdain and mid-twentieth century dismissal by analogy, a substitute scientific explanation for the geological origin of Aotearoa-New Zealand had been offered by Austrian geologist Eduard Suess in 'The Face of the Earth' (1904–24 [1883–88]). In it, Suess proposed that Aotearoa-New Zealand's two principle islands emerged between 130 and 85 million years ago during the break up of an ancient Southern Hemisphere supercontinent called Gondwanaland (also Gondwana). Meanwhile, a perhaps lesser known—although equally intriguing—formulation was that of William M. Davis' theory concerning the evolution of landforms, which he called the "geomorphic cycle" or "erosion cycle." Davis' theory proposed that the geological history of all terrestrial landscapes progressed through a predetermined sequence of modifications, which he termed "construction," "destruction," and "baselevel" (1894: 72). The cycle began with the stage of "youth," which was marked by the uplifting of land to produce mountains, hills and valleys. Next proceeded the stage of "maturity," characterised by a roughening of land that induced "the channeling of streams" that widened valleys until they eventually consumed the intervening hills. In the final, "old-age" stage of the cycle, Davis asserted that landscapes were reduced to an eroded sea level plain called a "peneplain." The geomorphic cycle was then assumed to recommence with the 'uplift of youth' (Davis 1888: 15).

In the late nineteenth century, notable theories to explain the peopling of Aotearoa-New Zealand included the publication of Edward Tregear's 'The Aryan Māori' (1885). In both Europe and New Zealand, Tregear managed to provoke heated debate among academics with his hypothesis that the Māori inhabitants of Aotearoa-New Zealand were in fact the migratory offshoots of the Aryan race descended through the peoples of India. However, the dominant explanation of Māori racial origin and migration of the late nineteenth century was that which Stephenson Percy Smith first advanced in a three part series entitled: 'Hawaiki: The Whence of the Māori' (1898a, 1898b, 1899).⁸² By collecting and analysing tribal whakapapa (genealogies), Smith calculated estimates of 'average' life spans for each generation. From the resultant times and dates, Smith composed the

⁸² In 1910, Smith republished the aggregate of his findings in the volume: 'Hawaiki: The Original Home of the Māori.'

'Great Fleet' narrative, which retold the Māori colonisation of Aotearoa-New Zealand by successive waves of Polynesian immigrants.

Smith's chronology began with the discovery of Aotearoa-New Zealand in AD925 by Kupe, a navigator from Ra'iatea in the Society Islands, who was followed by the first settlers, Toi and his grandson Whatonga in the mid-twelfth century. The sequence then culminated in 1350 when a fleet of seven canoes, which Smith labelled 'The Great Fleet,' set out on a colonising expedition from their ancient Māori homeland of Hawaiki. Smith's chronicle remained the authoritative account of Māori immigration to Aotearoa-New Zealand until the final quarter of the twentieth century. Following this period, numerous authors (for example, Simmons 1976 and Sorrensen 1979) challenged Smith's textual reconstruction as a misreading of various tribal traditions which he stood accused of amalgamating into one tidy—but completely fabricated—account. Today, further discoveries in the scientific fields of geology, archaeology, linguistics and ecology have fuelled new research and informed the development of theories surrounding the migration of Pacific peoples from South America. Nevertheless, few Māori tribes appear prepared to unequivocally relinquish their distinct Hawaiki canoe narratives for alternative scientific explanations. A case in point being Ngāti Porou explanations of their tangata whenua (people of the land) origins, which remain inextricably linked to Aotearoa-New Zealand's geology and—as I will now discuss—are often articulated in far simpler terms than any proposed by Western science.

HANGING FROM THE FISH-HOOK OF MĀUI

My initial encounter with this specific Ngāti Porou origin narrative occurred during the early period of my ethnographic research when my rearticulation of Percy Smith's Hawaiki migration narrative was summarily met with a swift rebuttal, delivered in a gentle and earnest tone:

That may be so, but we of Ngāti Porou have always been here. We have been here since Māui fished up Te-Ika-a-Māui (literally, The Fish of Māui).

The Dread's affinity with Māui penetrates far deeper than the cultural pride or enjoyment garnered from the mythic hero of metaphorical or fanciful stories (Hīroa 1939,

1974[1949]; Pomare and Cowan 1987 [1930-4]). Neither are they treated as "ridiculous" (Yate 1835) "puerile" and "absurd" (Grey 1956 [1855]). On the contrary, when I quizzed The Dread's, Te Ahi, on the influence of Māui upon the group, he responded by saying, "Māui has been an inspiration ever since we [Ngāti Porou] were hanging from his hook."

To fully appreciate this unique Ngāti Porou perspective, it is first necessary to return to the original cosmogonic process of cleavage and separation. This event occurred when the seven all-male offspring of Ranganui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother) decided it was necessary to escape their limited confines within the creases and crevices of their parents clasped bodies by forcing apart their ceaselessly embracing parents. The process of forced separation entailed the severing of Ranginui's limbs before his body could be pushed upwards and away from that of Papatūānuku's. Then, to assuage the grief of their parents, the siblings overturned the body of Papatūānuku, inadvertently shattering her limbs, thereby creating the fragmented earthly appearance of continents and islands. To attain divine placation for their act of violent rupture, the siblings agreed to cloth and beautify the nakedness of their parents; Ranginui with the light and warmth of sun (te rā), moon (te marama), and stars (te whitū), and Papatūānuku in a garment of trees: 'The Cloak of Papatūānuku'.

According to Ngāti Porou tradition, it was a fragment of Papatūānuku's body that the irrepressible demigod and heroic Ngāti Porou ancestor, Māui, recovered from the ocean's depths in the form of a gigantic fish, Te Ika a Māui (The fish of Māui), while on a fishing expedition with his five elder brothers.⁸³ The narrative, as related to Anuru Reedy by Ngāti Porou tohunga (ritual expert), Mohi Ruatapu (1993: 123), describes how Māui utilised the enchanted jawbone of his ancestor, Murirangawhenua, as a fishhook baited with blood from a self-afflicted punch to his nose. Māui cast his line overboard and detecting a fish had seized his baited hook, he recited a magical karakia (ritual incantation) while gradually hauling the hooked fish towards the surface. After a protracted struggle, the oceans surface was broken by the part of the fish, which Ngāti

⁸³ In some accounts Te Ika a Māui is described as a stingray.

Porou identify as the summit of their sacred Hikurangi Maunga (Mount Hikurangi). The rising Hikurangi Maunga elevated Māui's waka (canoe) named, 'Nukutaimemeha' onto its peak, where to this day, Ngāti Porou assert its petrified remains lay inverted in a small lake called Te Roto o Hine Takawhiti (The Lake of Hine Takawhiti), located on the summit of Hikurangi Maunga (Ngata 1989 [1944c]: 2).

Even today, Māori commonly refer to Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island as 'The Fish' and the map of the island is sometimes depicted upside down from the norm (i.e. with the mouth of the fish pointing up rather than downwards) to graphically represent Māui's accomplishment of fishing the North Island from the ocean depths. Indeed, as the nineteenth century German geologist, Ferdinand von Hochstetter stated to his amazement, Māori were only too aware that "the outlines of North Island actually resemble[d] the form of a fish (. . .) long before its outlines were represented on a map". Moreover, this "correct knowledge" was applied when designating names to localities "corresponding with the respective parts of the fish" (1867: 203-204). Thus, the Māori name for the southern portion of the North Island, identified with the Wellington area is Te Upoko-o-Te-Ika-a-Māui (The Head of The Fish of Māui). The island's long narrow northwestern section, that extends 350km from Auckland to divide the Tasman Sea to the west from the South Pacific Ocean to the East, is termed Te Hiku-o-Te-Ika (The Tail of The Fish). Hawke's Bay, the 100km long crescent-shaped bay stretching from the Māhia Peninsula to Cape Kidnappers on the east coast of Aotearoa-New Zealand is termed, Matau-a-Māui (The Fish Hook of Māui). To these terms with which I became familiar during my period of ethnographic field research, Hochstetter also recorded:

Cape Egmont the back-fin, East Cape the lower fin. Wanganui a-te-ra (Port Nicholson [Wellington Harbour] on Cook Strait), they say, is the salt-water eye of the fish, Wairarapa (a fresh-water lake near Wellington), the sweet-water eye. Rongorongo (the North Coast of Port Nicholson) is the upper gill, Te Rimurapa (the South Coast) the lower gill; the active volcano Tongariro in the centre of the island, and Lake Taupo at its foot are, according to their notions, the stomach and the belly of the fish (1867: 203-204).

Upon surfacing, Te Ika a Māui (The fish of Māui) exposed a population of iwi atua (supernatural beings) who are described as busily going about their daily tasks, which included tending the domestic fires that burned on open hearths outside the many houses (Alpers 1964: 55-56; Tylor 1920: 344). It was on the maihi (bargeboards) of one of

these abodes that Māui's hook had attached itself. Consequently, some members of Ngāti Porou claim their autochthonous descent stems from the cohabitation of Māui and his brothers with these inhabitants, the iwi atua ("fairy people") also referred to as tūrehu, patupaiarehe, or pakepakehā (Cowan 1921: 96). As such, the iwi atua are distinguished as 'tangata tūturu' (permanent people), and stand in contrast to the later Māori arrivals (Smith's Hawaiki migrants if you will), termed "tangata hīkoi," a reference that connotes those people having travelled from elsewhere (Harmsworth, Warmenhoven, Pohatu and Page 2002: 73). Similarly, Ngāti Maru historian, Hoani Nahe, described "patupaiarehe" (fairy people) as the people found living on the land when the canoe migrations arrived. According to Nahe, patupaiarehe lived in villages located on the "sharp peaks of the high mountains" and their social organisation was like that of Māori, structured around chiefs and hapū (sub-tribes) (1894: 33).

Before any portion of the fish could be consumed, Māui had first to perform obligatory rites in order to placate the gods. As he departed to conduct this task, Māui instructed his brothers to refrain from consuming any part of the fish until its tapu (sanctity) had been lifted. However, on Māui's exit, his brothers immediately began cutting away at the fish. Had they not ignored Māui's instruction it is said that the surface of the fish would have remained flat and smooth. As it was, the butchered fish solidified into land, creating Aotearoa-New Zealand's rugged and mountainous terrain. Following Te Ika a Māui's (The Fish of Māui) inauspicious origin at the transgressive hands of Māui's brothers, much of Aotearoa-New Zealand is now considered a challenging environment for the needs of humans to be met. What is more, as the descendants of the iwi atua (fairy people), Ngāti Porou once again consider themselves witnesses to the defilement of the whenua (land). Only this time the defilement is being enacted by a more recent wave of Pākehā migrants, seemingly intent on exploiting the nurturing placenta (land).

It is also ironic that in the fishing of the land from the sea, and its butchering by Māui's brothers, the narrative of Te Ika a Māui displays extraordinary parallels to the stages of "youth" (the upward emergence of land), and "maturity" (the roughening of the land) featured in Davis' theory of the geomorphic cycle. Recall, Davis' theory was an example

of the very theories that were put forward to supplant the so-called, "garb of poetic fiction" (Pomare and Cowan 1987 [1930-4]: 14) with Western scientific knowledge of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is in further contemplation of tensions emerging from these eventualities, and similitude with Davis' latter stage of maturity—the consumption of hills and mountains by rivers executing the return of land to the sea—that this chapter will now turn its attention.

REMOVING THE CLOAK OF PAPTŪĀNUKU

From the tail of the fish, to the tip

Money all, 'round this world want a piece of this yeah

Seems like nothing, nothing no, is gonna stop, I know, you can feel it . . .

(Lyrics from 'Home, Land and Sea' by Māori reggae band, Trinity Roots, 2004)

Since the afternoon of 8 October 1769, when Lieutenant James Cook and the crew of H.M. Bark Endeavour first set foot on the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast), until the early 1870s, the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) had undoubtedly remained a Māori domain. Indeed, Cook had been far from enamoured by his first encounter with Aotearoa-New Zealand and its inhabitants, naming the place of his landfall, Poverty Bay, "because it afforded us no one thing we wanted" (Oliver and Thomson 1971: 13). Notwithstanding Cook's assessment, European trading ships were regular visitors to Tai Rāwhiti from the late eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century, although there is little evidence that Europeans made any concerted effort to establish settlements in the region. Post 1830, the European presence on the Tai Rāwhiti was mainly restricted to individual shore traders who traded for flax on behalf of their European or Australian-based employers. Their right of residency amongst coastal Māori, however, was solely contingent upon the patronage of local rangatira (chiefs), and subject to their compliance of local tikanga (glossed, custom). For these reasons, Oliver and Thomson described shore traders as "few and scattered, often mere transients," living "an extremely precarious existence, without mutual support, and quite without any power over their hosts" (1971: 18-20).

Following the demise of the flax trade in the mid-1830s, the focus of European trade on the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) turned to whaling and soon after small coastal communities

of coopers, boat builders and sawyers developed around the whaling stations (MacKay 1927: 51; Oliver and Thomson 1971: 20-21). Meanwhile, Māori on the Tai Rāwhiti entered into the cultivation and export of potatoes, maize, (and later) wheat, alongside the breeding of pigs (MacKay 1927: 52, 1982: 124-126). Throughout this period of vibrant economic activity, local rangatira (chiefs) maintained control over their land, resources, and people. Indeed, up until the 1860s, 100 percent of all land on the Tai Rāwhiti, totaling 8576 km² (2,119,172 acres), was in Māori ownership.

By 1890, however, the figures for the amount of Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) land retained in Māori ownership had fallen to 54 percent (4666 km² or 1,152,997 acres) (Ward 1997b: xiv, 75). This sharp decrease in Māori land ownership was not only indicative of the growing number of European settlers on Tai Rāwhiti land purchased by the Crown (Ward 1997b: 77-8),⁸⁴ but is also a corollary of the relative advances in pastoral agricultural techniques made by European settlers. To the fore of the first successful wave of European pastoralists on the Tai Rāwhiti was Thomas Sydney Williams, who took up management of his uncle, Archdeacon Samuel Williams's⁸⁵ 20,000 acre Kaharau farm in the Ruatoria area in 1894. By allying innovative methods of forest and native bush removal, stocking, fencing and management techniques, with new varieties of cattle, sheep, and grasses for pasture, Thomas Williams instituted methods that enabled farmers to establish pasture in parts of the Tai Rāwhiti previously considered un-farmable. In adopting these methods, farmers were able to overcome the region's combination of 'unsuitable' soil

⁸⁴ Between the 1870s and early twentieth century there was a dramatic increase in European settlement on the Tai Rāwhiti. In March 1874, for example, there were only 32 Pākehā residents registered on the Tai Rāwhiti, north of Uawa (Tolaga Bay), by 1878 that number had risen to 109. The 1906 census showed 858 Pākehā and 2,611 Māori, and in 1926 (exclusive of Matakaoa area) the figures were: Pākehā 1,809 and Māori 3,292; and in 1945: Europeans 1,641 and Māori 4,341, plus three percent representing residents absent on war service (MacKay 1982: 400-1). Meanwhile, the corresponding downward trend in Māori land ownership continued into the early twentieth century: From 38 percent (3262 km² or 806,015 acres) in 1910 to 21 percent in 1939 (1832 km² or 452,726 acres) (Ward 1997b: xiv, 75).

⁸⁵ Thomas Sydney Williams was the son of Judge Edward Marsh Williams, of the Native Land Court, and a grandson of Archdeacon Henry Williams. His wife was a granddaughter of Archdeacon Henry Williams and of James Busby, the former officially appointed British Resident of New Zealand, who was responsible for drafting the Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand (Te Wakaputanga o te Rangatira o Nu Tirene) in October 1835 and co-authoring the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi) in February 1840, alongside the first Governor of New Zealand, William Hobson.

type, unfavorable climate, rugged terrain and the preponderance of scrubland⁸⁶ that in dry summers is prone to bushfire (Harmsworth, Warmenhoven, Pohatu and Page 2002: 86-87; MacKay 1982: 322, 330, 403).

The resulting growth in the number of farms on the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) necessitated a rapid increase in the amount of land being deforested for pastoral and agricultural purposes. Until the 1840s, an estimated 80 percent of the hills and river valley areas of the East Cape were covered in native forests and dense areas of scrubland. During the main era of deforestation and burning (1890-1920), these areas of native forests and bush were being made to give way at a rate of 8,000-9,000 acres per annum in order to accommodate the burgeoning appetite for farmland and native timber. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the estimated area of native forests and scrubland on the Tai Rāwhiti had fallen to approximately 33 percent (Harmsworth, Warmenhoven, Pohatu and Page 2002: 11, 88, 111).⁸⁷

Denuded of much of its natural vegetation, the Tai Rāwhiti's (East Coast's) composition of unstable rock types and fragile soils became increasingly exposed to the regular occurrence of high rainfall, erosion-generating storms and severe flooding (Coulter and Hessel 1980; Glade 1998; Tomlinson 1980).⁸⁸ Since records began in 1876, erosion-generating storms have struck at average intervals of approximately three years (Hicks 1995). Among the most severe weather events have been the storms of: 1893-1894, 1920, 1938, 1988, Cyclone Bernie in 1982 and Cyclone Bola, which in 1998 unleashed the highest rainfall since records began (Harmsworth, Warmenhoven, Pohatu and Page 2002: 89-95). The aggregate of these events instituted a decline in the region's biodiversity and

⁸⁶ Mostly comprising of: ferns, Tī Kōuka/Tī Whanake (Cabbage Tree, *Cordyline australis*), Tauhini (*Cassinia leptophylla*), and the odd grove of Pūriri (*Vitex lucens*).

⁸⁷ It is important to note that while Māori undoubtedly participated in forests clearance during the pre-Pākehā era, the felling of native forests increased dramatically with the introduction of Western technologies and systems of land use.

⁸⁸ For the purposes of this paper erosion is defined as the movement or removal of material, such as soil, earth, rock, gravels, from one site and its transportation to and deposition at another site (Eyles 1985), with the rate of erosion being contingent upon rock type, vegetative cover and land use (O'Byrne 1967; Jessen, Crippen, Page, Rijkse, Harmsworth and McLeod 1999).

acceleration in environmental degradation. The latter, brought on by the cumulative impact of landslides, gully erosion and the silting of rivers and streams, which in turn degrades natural watercourses and causes downstream flooding. In short, these patterns of increased sediment transport—visible in the physical presence of scars (unvegetated patches of hillside) from slips (landslides) that characterise many of the hills in the region—are all indicative of the movement of sluiced farmland being washed out to sea.⁸⁹

TE IKA A MĀUI'S GEOMORPHIC RETURN TO THE SEA

Over the last two decades, scientific research has begun to dovetail with the cosmological concern of tangata whenua (people of the land) that the rivers are devouring the land.⁹⁰ As has been discussed, the afforestation policies of successive New Zealand governments offer clear acknowledgement that the landslides occurring on the Tai Rāwhiti's (East Coast's) already fragile slopes are further aggravated by the destabilising effects of deforestation and agriculture. Of further geological significance has been the recognition that Aotearoa-New Zealand lies at the southern end of the so-called Pacific Ring of Fire—the line of frequent quakes and volcanic eruptions that virtually circles the entire Pacific Rim. Also salient is Aotearoa-New Zealand's location, which straddles the boundary between two tectonic plates—the Pacific and Australian plates. In the area around the Tai Rāwhiti, the more dense Pacific plate is pulled down beneath the lighter Australian plate in a process known as subduction. For these reasons, Aotearoa-New Zealand, and the Tai Rāwhiti in particular is subject to significantly higher than average levels of seismic activity. Consequently, in real terms, the extent of land instability onshore is but a microcosm of submarine instability occurring offshore.

One such consequence of the Pacific region's longstanding seismic activity is the 40-kilometres wide by 80-kilometres long undersea landslide located off the Tai Rāwhiti

⁸⁹ At 20,520 t/km² per annum, the average quantity of sediment moved by the Waiapu River is disproportionately high by world standards (Walling and Webb 1996).

⁹⁰ In Schremp's (1992: 78) interpretation it is Tāwhirimātea who is to blame for "eating away at the land." (Where I disagree with Schremp's assertion that Tāwhirimātea is at war with land, an act that would be tantamount to a war on his mother (Papatūānuku) who after all is the embodiment of land, I do nevertheless accept that in the ongoing attacks upon his brothers by wind and storm, land (Papatūānuku) is also being wounded. Particularly, as this chapter explains, in the absence of her son, Tāne (forests), who contributes to holding the land together.

(East Coast), called the Ruatoria Avalanche (Lewis and Pettinga 1993). Moreover, the recently arrived-at scientific consensus is that the enormous quantity of land-derived sediments from the Waiaapu River has been contributing to this steep underwater slope on the seabed. This underwater movement of debris renders the sea floor susceptible to crumbling and slipping and, when it does so, creates the phenomena of undersea avalanches. The intrinsic danger being that when a section of seabed collapses on an undersea landslide, such as the Ruatoria Avalanche, it constitutes the effect of pulling down the sea above. The force exerted from the sudden motion of plunging water is then liable to rebound, potentially triggering the displacement of a large volume of water in the form of a tsunami.

In the 1960s, the New Zealand government attempted to address the devastating impact of land disappearing into the sea by commissioning an investigation into erosion occurring in the Poverty Bay – East Cape district. Among the committee's findings published in 1967 as the 'Taylor Report,' was a proposal to delineate a 'blue line' identifying an area beyond which farming was impractical, and where forestry for production or protection was strongly recommended to stabilise land.⁹¹ Following the recommendations of the Taylor Report, the East Cape's regional authority, the Poverty Bay Catchment Board (PBCB), together with New Zealand Forest Service (NZFS), initiated a policy of lease purchasing and planting of all the designated 'worst land' with non-native Monterey Pine (*Pinus radiata*). It was proposed that the planting of Monterey Pine would not only alleviate erosion, but would also contribute to Aotearoa-New Zealand's burgeoning need for timber, whilst also providing much needed employment and income for the communities on the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast). To further incentivise the widespread planting of commercial forests, schemes such as the 'East Coast Forestry Programme' (ECFP), offered landowners grants to plant erosion-prone land with pine (Harmsworth, Warmenhoven, Pohatu and Page 2002: 135).

⁹¹ In 1978 modifications to the Taylor Report were introduced. The amendments were based on the findings of the New Zealand Land Resource Inventory's (NZLRI) 'Red Book Report', which produced a regional survey of all farms. In it, land was categorised as either: (1) long-term pastoral farming land requiring no erosion control; (2) long-term pastoral farming land requiring anti-erosion schemes; (3) land suited to afforestation; and (4) protected land that should not be farmed (Harmsworth, Warmenhoven, Pohatu and Page 2002: 92).

At the turn of the twentieth century, approximately twenty six percent of the Waiaapu River catchment area in which Ruatoria is situated, was planted in exotic pine forests (Jessen, Crippen, Page, Rijkse, Harmsworth and McLeod 1999). However, the success of forestry as an erosion-control measure has so far offered inconsistent results. A principle reason for this is that the fast maturing growth characteristics of Monterey Pine enables commercial forestry companies to harvest afforested areas reserved for 'permanent erosion-control' within thirty years of the trees having been planted. This harvesting cycle led to concerns among tangata whenua (people of the land) regarding the detrimental impact harvesting one, two, or three crop rotations in quick succession upon soil degradation. Periods between crop rotations have also provided regular reminders of the susceptibility of harvested land to the heavy annual rains, which are able to wash away soil awaiting replanting.

In conjunction with the advent of commercial forestry came the transformation of the regions road network to facilitate the removal of harvested timber. This operation involved upgrading the metal (loose shale) surfaced road that weaves its way around the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) to the current tar-sealed State Highway 35 (SH35). However, far from being complacent about their upgraded road network, tangata whenua (people of the land) have become increasingly concerned by the ever-growing traffic of articulated heavy goods vehicles (HGVs). Particularly, in regards to the structural damage inflicted upon the surface of the narrow, undulating highway by HGVs and the hazard speeding HGVs pose to other road-users.

During my period of ethnographic field research, several local residents articulated the seemingly widespread view that SH35 is Aotearoa-New Zealand's most expensive stretch of highway. Indeed, the plausibility of such assertions seems borne out by the constant state of repair in which the highway habitually finds itself. Crews of predominantly Māori employees of the New Zealand Transport Agency (NZTA) appear permanently engaged in the simultaneous repair of different sections of the Tai Rāwhiti's (East Coast's) logistical artery. The range of work carried out generally entails the removal of debris from roadsides, stabilisation of hillsides, repairing of damaged road surfaces and

stabilising riverbanks to reduce the likelihood of the banks bursting and flooding the highway. In the latest bid to counteract the regular occurrence of landslides and subsidence instigated by heavy seasonal rainfall and exacerbated by articulated logging and livestock trucks, the NZTA has turned to the technique of Deep Soil Mixing (DSM) to stabilise slopes along the most severely affected sections of the road network.⁹²

Furthermore, over the past few decades, proposals to invest in a local timber processing plant in order to provide jobs and add value to the East Coast's fabled "Wall of Wood," have consistently failed to materialise.⁹³ Consequently, it is unsurprising that many local people commonly view the net effect of afforestation policies as providing little more than an alternative form of exploitative agriculture, the proceeds of which flow like a tributary into Aotearoa-New Zealand's agricultural exporting economy. In sum, the current state of play sees timber harvested from the Ruatoria area transported to destinations overseas as untreated logs by means of a state highway, perpetually cobbled together with extracted metal (gravel) from the Waiapu riverbed. The latter intervention not only contributes to the environmental degradation of the Waiapu's riverbanks and the transmutation of its watercourse, but also sustains the commutation of the aforementioned "Wall of Wood" into a procession of timber flowing outwards along Highway 35.

For these reasons The Dread identify Ruatoria's inability to absorb natural phenomena as having arisen as a historical consequence of the exploitative capitalist practises operated by local farming, forestry, and mineral extraction. These activities are further compounded by the aforementioned industries apathetic attitude towards te tangata me te whenua (the people and the land). Speaking on the topic of the socio-economic exclusion experienced by tangata whenua (people of the land) in association with the economic motivations underpinning the ongoing ecological devastation, The Dread's Te

⁹² DSM is a technique first introduced to Aotearoa-New Zealand in 2002, whereby deep shafts are dug into the affected land and filled with a mixture of soil blended with cementitious and/or other materials. The technique is applied to sites where previous attempts have failed to stabilise slopes using methods such as conventional retaining walls, mass excavation and re-compaction, buttress toe supports and deep cut-off drainage.

⁹³ East Coast's Wall of Wood, The New Zealand Herald (20 February 2008)

Hokowhitu had this to say: "They [Pākehā] had a blueprint for our land that didn't include us [tangata whenua]. Just a dole office, a pub, a police station and a courthouse." To which Te Ahi added:

I call it environmental sabotage, but who's gonna pay for it and how they gonna fix it after all these years of clear cutting (deforestation) and agriculture. They [the government and private industry] won't fix it because there's no money in it. They're just here to make their dollar.

Equally important, however, The Dread have also identified that the problem of over-extraction is not merely confined to the productivity of land and the value of its mineral resources. Since the 1950s, Ngāti Porou have been migrating from their whenua papatipu (ancestral land) to Aotearoa-New Zealand's major cities in ever-increasing numbers. Ruatoria's current recorded population of 756 people represents a decrease of 81 people, or 9.7 percent, since the 2001 census. Notwithstanding, Ruatoria's modest population belies the fact that the township constitutes one of the most significant centres of population in the sparsely inhabited heartland of Ngāti Porou, whose territory incorporates an estimated 102,000 hectares of Māori multiple-owned land. Moreover, with the subsequent decline in the Māori population has come opportunities for Pakehā to obtain large freehold land blocks, ranging in size from anywhere between 2,000 and 30,000 acres.

The quantity of land being neglected, leased, or sold to outsiders accused of lacking a spiritual connection to the whenua (land) remains a source of anxiety for the slowly dwindling number of tangata whenua (people of the land), like The Dread. During my period of ethnographic field research, neighbouring Australia experienced an economic boom that created a wealth of employment prospects for New Zealanders, both Māori and Pākehā. In Ruatoria, opportunities in Australia's buoyant mining sector, which required skilled manual labourers, machinery operators and HGV drivers, appeared particularly attractive to a Ruatoria labour market in which approximately one-third of employed men and women currently work in these sectors. Others from Ngāti Porou ventured across the Tasman Sea dividing Aotearoa-New Zealand from Australia, simply to try their hand at securing a higher salary for performing similar employment.

I encountered one such example of the latter incentive at a Ruatoria petrol station following an interchange initiated by a pump attendant eager to determine my reason for residing on the East Coast. On explaining my research project, the attendant first announced her bemusement that I could find anything of interest to research in Ruatoria, before confessing her desire to leave the township and move to "Aussie." Based, primarily on her Uncle's report that she could earn NZ\$25 an hour in the same job. Without needing to enquire how much she was currently earning, I quietly accepted her declaration as indicative of a common attitude that I had heard expressed by several of the township's young residents towards living in Ruatoria. Speaking in reference to the excellent academic record of Ruatoria's Ngata College, Te Ahi had once decried: "We train them [young people] up, not for here, but to go to the cities." However, the young were not alone in seizing opportunities "across the ditch," as the Tasman Sea is often referred. During field research I also witnessed an auction of livestock, farm equipment and machinery belonging to an elderly Ngāti Porou farmer who had elected to sell up and try his luck in Perth where many of his whanaunga (blood relatives) had already settled.

Ruatoria's outward migratory trend is reflective of the broader situation for Ngāti Porou as a whole, where according to figures from the 2006 Australian Census approximately one-sixth, that is to say 12,500 members of Ngāti Porou's registered population of 71,895 currently live in Australia. Of Aotearoa-New Zealand's cities outside Ngāti Porou's traditional territory, the country's most populous city, Auckland, is registered as having the largest population of Ngāti Porou anywhere (13,215), followed by the capital, Wellington (11,268). The Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast's) largest city, Gisborne, has a registered population of 8,152 Ngāti Porou, while a further 4,212 live in rural areas on the Tai Rāwhiti.⁹⁴ Of course, for every member of Ngāti Porou that sought to take advantage of the perceived bounty on offer in Australia, there were others who maintained they would never leave Aotearoa-New Zealand. Several local people expressed to me, with a mixture of dismay, disdain and/or humour, their concerns over the prospect of Māori children growing up in Australia as 'Mozzies' (Māori Australians) with little or no sense

⁹⁴ <http://www.ngatiporou.com/Whanaungatanga/Kainga/default.asp>

of Māoritanga (Māori culture).

For The Dread, the consequences of leaving the whenua are not merely undesirable, but potentially catastrophic for the well being of the land. With this in mind, The Dread are engaged in a project based around the construction of an adobe papa kāinga (traditional community homestead), consisting of housing and areas of permaculture.⁹⁵ The Dread's adobe scheme is designed to foster self-reliance by equipping local people with the knowledge to construct sustainable homes from materials readily available in their local environment. Moreover, in utilising the vanishing soil as a resource for reconnecting tangata (people) to whenua (land), The Dread's adobe house-building scheme represents a mechanism for averting environmental desecration by relocating the salvation of the people in the body of the Earth Mother, Papatūānuku. The Dread's contribution to the cycle of repair is by no means lost on the group's members, surmised by Te Ahi's bold declaration that "at one time the bro's [The Dread] were seen as a problem in Ruatoria and told we were scaring people away, but the tables are turned, we are a solution."

It was during the 1970s that The Dread first encountered the idea of building adobe houses from local college teacher, Joe Tawhai. However, it was not until 1996 that a small contingent of The Dread that included Te Ahi, Te Hokowhitu, Ihu Kaya and Shiloh, travelled to the town of Nelson, on Aotearoa-New Zealand's South Island, to learn adobe-building techniques from an engineer named Richard Walker. According to Te Ahi, Walker viewed the "mud-brick" as a Third World idea and wanted the technology to benefit poor people. In the two preceding decades The Dread retained the idea of adobe housing while confronting their opposition to the economic activities on the land by engaging in forms of direct action outlined earlier in the chapter. Te Ahi keenly points out that throughout that period The Dread's, now deceased prophet leader, Jah Rastafari, kept the adobe kōrero (discussion) alive. However, it was not until The Dread began emerging from periods spent in and out of jail that the adobe idea came to life. As Te Ahi explained:

⁹⁵ Permaculture is a system of cultivation intended to maintain permanent agriculture or horticulture by relying on renewable resources and a self-sustaining ecosystem.

We [The Dread] were always thinking, who's gonna save us? To me it's like the kotahitanga (unity movement) was left behind with the rawakore (the poor and the needy). All those that didn't make the cut to go out there [the city] to get an education, and stayed at home were the kotahitanga. And those one's that stayed at home, they had to put together the whakaaro (plan). They had the vision. How do we save ourselves, keep the land together.

In the anticipated return of Ngāti Porou newly released from custody and those soon-to-be disillusioned with life in the cities of Aotearoa-New Zealand and Australia, The Dread's idea is to provision sustainable homes and provide specialised skills training to assist in the rehabilitation of ex-offenders and whānau (Ruatoria's Māori community)⁹⁶ wishing to return from the cities. As Te Ahi explained:

The whole plan was to set it up [the adobe papa kāinga, housing project] so that when the whānau come back, there's a house [for them] to come back to. It's like when my sister died, I had to bring my nephew back from Auckland, being he's the oldest boy and none of her [other] kids are back here.

Unfamiliar with such an occurrence and curious as to its motivation, I enquired whether Te Ahi's decision was prompted by customary practise. Perhaps, I considered, as a means for facilitating the retention of a family's occupation rights following the death of the last residing member of the family line. To which Te Ahi responded:

Nah, that was my idea cos I knew that if none of the sister's kids came back at that time, they'll never come back. Then their relationship to the land will be lost. So I put it to his father that I feel we should bring the nephew back to carry on, keep the sister's family side on the ground. Otherwise they'll grow up in the city, their kids will grow up in the city. They won't know their roots. That was the whole idea about the mud brick [adobe housing]. So that won't happen to us. Because it could happen to any of us, we could get moved out. So that's why I keep talking papa kāinga (traditional community homestead).

The Kyoto Protocol presents the potential for economic, cosmological, and ecological confluence to emerge between the aspirations of the New Zealand government and The Dread's project for a sustainable future that maintains the relationship between tangata (people) and whenua (land). Where most OECD Kyoto signatories have focused their efforts in combating global warming upon policies designed to tackle carbon emissions generated as byproducts of energy consumption, industry and transport sectors, Aotearoa-New Zealand's rurally biased economy has necessitated an alternative

⁹⁶ Generally glossed as the "extended family," in this instance 'whānau' can be understood as a term of reference for The Dread's respective families and Māori community members in Ruatoria.

approach. So far, successive New Zealand governments have maintained a commitment to a more comprehensive strategy that addresses the nation's highly unusual emissions profile, in which approximately one half of the country's CO₂ emissions are constituted from methane (CH₄) and nitrous oxide (N₂O). Both these greenhouse gases are byproducts of modern farming, generated through enteric fermentation and manure management (CH₄), and animal effluent and fertiliser (N₂O). In combating global warming in this way, the New Zealand government has been eager to stress the local environmental benefits, such as reductions in erosion-induced outcomes discussed earlier in this chapter, while pursuing the goal of becoming carbon neutral (producing a net output of zero carbon emissions).

It was against this backdrop that in November 2008, Aotearoa-New Zealand pioneered what it hopes will be a gold standard in carbon-offset projects for the international community to follow. The ambitious introduction of the country's Emission Trading Scheme (NZ ETS), aims to address the issue of all greenhouse gases in all sectors of the economy by integrating forestry and farming alongside the aforementioned: energy, industry and transport. Of specific interest to The Dread's ambition to restore 'The Cloak of Papatūānuku' (native forest) under the kaitiakitanga (guardianship) of Ngāti Porou, has been the development of the Permanent Forest Sink Initiative scheme (PFSI) as part of a wider package of measures introduced by NZ ETS legislation. Under NZ ETS legislation, the New Zealand government has committed to paying for what it anticipates will be a developing market in internationally tradeable carbon credits to landowners who establish permanent forests. For this reason, PFSI has been specifically devised to address concerns about permanence, and additionally by once again incentivising the growing of forests, only this time with the express purpose of carbon sequestration and long-term carbon storage. In doing so, PFSI actively encourages the reforestation of marginal, erosion-prone land, which with the benefit of hindsight, should never have been denuded of its natural vegetation.

Landowners whose forests comply with the requirements of the Kyoto Protocol's forestry rules will be able to earn New Zealand Units (NZU). These can either be traded

domestically or converted into internationally tradeable Kyoto compliant emission units such as Emission Reduction Units (ERUs), Certified Emission Reductions (CERs), Removal Units (RMUs) or Assigned Amount Units (AAUs). The Aotearoa-New Zealand government anticipates that emissions-intensive companies or countries with obligations under the Kyoto Protocol will face increasing legislative pressure to buy emissions units to offset their own carbon excesses. PFSI therefore represents a new business opportunity for landowners to participate in carbon farming by creating permanent forest sinks that remove CO₂ from the atmosphere.

At its heart, The Dread's blueprint firmly supports the New Zealand government's PFSI legislation as a means of accomplishing the reunion of tangata (people) and whenua (land), by reestablishing native forests at the expense of the pine forests The Dread refer to dismissively as "Penis radiata." In so doing, The Dread are bidding to reverse the historic mismanagement of land and natural resources by participating in the transformation of the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) into "the lungs of Aotearoa." From The Dread's perspective, success in this venture would restore 'The Cloak of Papatūānuku' to the region and thus provide an environment for the successful reintroduction of native species of birds, plants, fish and animals. To this end, The Dread are currently developing a business model able to attract investment in large-scale greenhouses to propagate flora and fauna. The strategy entails the creation of local training and employment opportunities in planting and environmental management, alongside fencing and pest control. Together, The Dread's proposals are not only designed to capitalise on local expertise in hunting and agricultural labour, but are also devised to encourage Ngāti Porou to remain or return to the whenua (land) as kaitiaki (guardians), ensuring that the land will be held together, both physically and spiritually.

In implementing their ends, The Dread aim to capitalise on Section 5 of the Resource Management Act (RMA), first passed as a New Zealand Act of Parliament in 1991. A stated purpose of RMA is to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources: "in a way, or at a rate which enables people and communities to

provide for their social, economic, and cultural well-being and for their health."⁹⁷ As Te Ahi put it:

I'm always looking for the plan, because our tīpuna (ancestors) had the plan there, which was self government and they were using Article 71 of the constitution, but then they said if that don't work we got to go back to the blueprint, back to the drawing board. That's what our old people taught me, that died before I ever met them. They taught me that they've got all their plans there but if that don't work son, you're back onto the drawing board. You got to redraw the blueprint. The blueprint from what though eh? Well easy, from the Resource Management Act. Cos the Resource Management [Act] says you gotta go back to the Treaty of Waitangi you know, to consider these things, today. Ten years ago that was never heard of, but it's now in law, but no one [the whānau] knows the law because no one reads those books. Even when it comes to many of our kaumātua (elders), I don't know how far they're up against the Resource Management Act.

"Article 71" to which Te Ahi refers, relates to Section 71 of the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852, passed on 30th June, 1852. The Act provisioned for the preservation of Māori Laws and Customs by expressing:

And Whereas it may be expedient that the Laws, Customs, and Usages of the Aboriginal or Native Inhabitants of New Zealand, so far as they are not repugnant to the general principles of Humanity, should for the present be maintained for the Government of themselves, in all their relations to and dealings with each other, and that particular districts should be set apart within which Laws, Customs, or Usages should be so observed (Taiwhanga 1888: 9).

The 1852 Act remained on New Zealand's statute until it was repealed by the Constitution Act 1986, but was never implemented by the Crown. The Act was ignored even throughout the 1870s and 1880s when the Kīngitanga (The Māori King movement) enlisted its support in their appeals for Māori self-governance. It is to this period Te Ahi is inferring when he speaks of tīpuna (ancestors) and "our old people."

In recent years, Credit Suisse and London-based ethical investor Sustainable Forest Management (SFM) announced a US\$200 million investment to fund their target of 100,000 hectares of permanent forests in Aotearoa-New Zealand for the express purpose of earning carbon credits. Economic developments such as this have instilled among The Dread a confidence that they now occupy an increasingly enviable position with respect to negotiating investment with interested third-party financiers, particularly

⁹⁷ (<http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1991/0069/latest/DLM231905.html>) Resource Management Act, Section 5(2) - Parliament of New Zealand, 1991.

given most members of The Dread are shareholders in Māori land on the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast). However, it is unlikely that private equity companies, even those with ethical considerations, will be willing to extend their long-term targets to match the expectations of The Dread. Their support of the New Zealand government's proposal to transform areas of the Tai Rāwhiti into a "green canopy" is contingent upon the trees planted being native species able to encourage the return of native wildlife. As Te Ahi puts it: "To do this [replant native forests] would require investment and training of local people and require a two hundred, three hundred or five hundred year plan, not a fifty year plan."

In spite of having already achieved considerable success in securing grants for their initial papa kāinga (traditional community homestead) venture, The Dread's bid to sustain the development of their adobe scheme has so far failed to achieve its full potential after having encountered local difficulties. The first phase of the project, which entailed the building of an adobe brick-making factory was eventually undone by lingering resentment from sections of the local community staunchly opposed to The Dread. This stalling of the project led one Māori resident to dismiss The Dread as having had their opportunity. Proclaiming, "their venture failed because they were unable to match the expectations of local people who are not ready to embrace concepts like mud brick houses." However, The Dread respond to such comments rather philosophically. Reflecting upon the episode in which they were evicted from a family member's unused land for which they had been granted *tuku whenua* (land use rights), Te Ahi reasoned:

It's a sad story when our own whānau [Ruatoria Māori community] said 'kick them [The Dread] out of there. 'Cos we had everything; the roof was already paid for, [we had] all our windows and doors made out of native timber we scored (salvaged). We were that close, if the whānau never said 'don't dig anymore holes at The Crossroads', that house would have been finished. I don't like it, but what can I say, he's the owner of the place. Sometimes I think was it cos people were jealous of what we were doing? But, then, I put it down to the adobe brick is from the earth and the earth goes through its stages and its seasons. That's why when it's ready it'll come back.

CONCLUDING CYCLE

The aim of this chapter has been to situate the evolving strategies of The Dread within the context of the 1951 expulsion ceremony, the Ruatoria community's recent

purification ritual and approaching a century-and-a-half of Pākehā intervention on the Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast). Where once The Dread's policy of direct action motivated attacks upon forestry and farming operations, the group now adopt a strategic approach that allows for potential confluence to emerge between streams of thought previously assumed incompatible. In this regard, The Dread's embracement of an alternative plan of action to that with which they first set out, reflects the long held Māori recognition that communities must continually adapt in order to survive and thrive in the face of change (Ngata 1929: 7-8). This stands to be the case regardless of whether transformations have been instigated by geomorphological, ecological, economic, or demographic processes.

The underlying argument put forward in this chapter has been that it is neither inevitable nor inconceivable that differing cosmological understandings and/or economic agendas of The Dread (and by extension, Māori), need continue to exist in a tense relationship with the New Zealand settler state. Rather, I have attempted to extricate the history of antithesis and concurrence that preceded the current possibility for collaboration to exist between The Dread, their Māori neighbours in Ruatoria and the local and global Pākehā enterprises with whom they were previously opposed. The Dread's transition from being conceived as a problem that scared people away, to a solution to the ongoing predicament of spiritual and environmental destruction, migration, unemployment and homelessness, will be key to any future success. Particularly, as previous experience indicates that The Dread may find it difficult to sustain the support of Māori neighbours, who are without a doubt, a vital component to the success of a venture that promises delivery of economic, social, ecological, and cosmological benefits.

In this respect, restoring the Cloak of Papatūānuku would not only encourage biodiversification while holding the land together in a literal sense, but it would also facilitate a return to the harmonious state of nurture that previously existed between people (tangata) and placenta (land). If successful, it could also generate sustainable employment and income, while simultaneously enabling Ngāti Porou to once again manage its affairs in accordance with the practises and values of tangata whenua (the people of the land). If on the other hand, the current situation persists, whereby little or

no ecological support is offered to the cosmological activities of tangata whenua battling to placate the desecrated placenta through the enactment of purification ceremonies, then the consequences threaten to be devastating. Irrespective of whether the means of this scenario is articulated in scientific or cosmological terms, i.e., through soil erosion and tsunami, or the enactment of retribution by taniwha (water spirits), the danger is that the placenta (land) will continue to be devoured by the sea. In a purely cosmological respect, the devouring of land by the sea would then complete Aotearoa-New Zealand's cycle from the ocean floor. Inasmuch as Te Ika a Māui (The Fish of Māui) would find itself reclaimed by the ocean from whence it first emerged.

PART III
CONTINUITY

CHAPTER SIX

BURY MY PITO IN A POPLAR TREE

The Ringatū religious movement, alongside which The Dread identify, hosts its designated religious gatherings or 'rā' (meaning, 'day') on the twelfth of each month. Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, the military leader and prophet of the Ringatū movement he founded in the 1870s, formally instituted the twelfth day as holy in 1888 (Binney 2008: 430).⁹⁸ According to William Greenwood, the twelfth was selected on the basis of its recurring significance in Biblical text: the twelve children and tribes of Israel; the twelve apostles of Jesus; and the twelve gates with twelve pearls featured in Revelation 21: 21. In addition, there has also been suggestion that the significance of the number twelve days in its commemoration of the 'twelve heavens' of Māori cosmology. However, Greenwood refutes such suggestions, contending: "Evidence seems to show most clearly that Te Kooti relied solely upon Scriptural grounds for any innovation he brought into the Ringatū church" (1942: 38).

During ethnographic field research my thoughts were steered toward the subject of The Dreads participation in the rā after having been introduced to a book called 'Highway 35', by John Woods and Peter Quinn. The book celebrates in colour photographs and evocative text, the authors journey and encounters among the people and places on and around the East Coast's fabled Highway that snakes its way from Opotiki in the Bay of Plenty to the west, up and around the East Cape and south towards its terminus in the city of Gisborne. In chapter four of the book, the authors write of their encounters with The Dread during the rā held at 'Te Poho o Materoa' meeting-house in Whareponga, a tiny settlement located on the southern outskirts of Ruatoria.

A few days after having read chapter four, I shared with Te Ahi the fact that I had

⁹⁸ The name Ringatū, meaning the 'Upraised Hand', first came into usage during the late 1880s and was taken from the early practise of raising the right hand (in later years both hands) in homage to God at the end of each prayer (Binney 1995: 66, 420-421; 2008: 43; Greenwood 1942: 41).

recently read the chapter about Ruatoria in Highway 35 where the author described his visit to the marae (meeting-house complex) at the time of the rā. Privately curious as to why I had not received a similar invitation, I enquired whether The Dread still attend the rā. Te Ahi's response was fascinating and for this reason is well worth quoting at length. For the purpose of analysis however, Te Ahi's commentary will be dissected into three parts and interspersed with analysis. Te Ahi begins by explaining:

In the end we started going to other tribes to follow the rā. We stopped going to the rā after our tohunga (Ringatū minister), Tuhirangi, died. [He] crashed [his car] into a horse down the road here. Tuhirangi came on the scene 'cause they cut down the pito (navel) tree at Te Aowera [meeting-house]. It was a poplar tree that was bought to Te Aowera from Matawhero in Gisborne. If you've been through the Te Kooti history you'll know that's where Te Kooti did the big utu (revenge), up in Matawhero. He planted that poplar tree there [in Matawhero] and they bought a cutting from there back to here and another cut was taken from there to Tamatea pā (meeting-house complex) in Ōpōtiki. That tree's still standing. The trees were bought back as aukati (a line which one may not cross) to show that there shall be no more utu, that the utu ended there. They planted that tree at Te Aowera to say, 'don't reach for the gun', and it grew into a big huge poplar tree. It was over a hundred years old.

Te Ahi's account is rendered all the more interesting given historian Judith Binney's apparent support for Greenwood's contention that Te Kooti, and by extension Ringatū, eschewed non-scriptural influences. Binney highlighted that Te Kooti even warned his followers never to deal with "the [traditional] Māori gods, any stone or tree, or any other things [or heed] the malevolent whistling gods of the Māori who spoke in strange shimmering voices through a medium." Rather, we are informed; Te Kooti urged Māori tribes to seek the guidance of the Anglican, Roman Catholic or Methodist churches in uniting under the "power of one God" (1995: 465, 631 fn. 35). Nevertheless, as this chapter demonstrates, the actions of Te Kooti were instrumental in the reverence accorded to several poplar trees. This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of one such tree, the poplar tree that until very recently stood beside Te Poho o Te Aowera (The Bosom of Te Aowera) meeting-house in Ruatoria.

The chapter's central concern stems from the spiritual and political investment by The Dread in this poplar tree, which they simply refer to as 'the pito tree', and the spiritual and political repercussions that threatened those seemingly opposed to the Ringatū movement and complicit in the poplar tree's eventual destruction. Through my

engagement with these issues I shall be arguing that the pito tree represented far more than a measure of the physical well-being of human individuals for whom it was planted, a means of bonding a child to the land of their birth, or a signifier of an individual's rights over land. Rather, I aim to demonstrate that the specific function of the poplar tree at Te Poho o Te Aowera was to encapsulate and preserve the spiritual and political covenant to which generations of Māori children were dedicated.

My analysis proceeds by constructing a parallel between Marshall Sahlins's famed analysis of the repeated felling of another item of timber, the flagpole located at Kororāreka, which occurred between July 1844 and March 1845, and the felling of the poplar tree featured in the opening vignette. The aim is to demonstrate that in drawing attention to the centrality of cosmology, Sahlins's analytical approach offers an invaluable starting point for the analysis of the felling of the poplar tree at Te Aowera meeting-house in Ruatoria. I argue that certain trees not only possess the symbolic qualities identified in Sahlins's analysis of the Kororāreka flagpole as "having to do with possession of the Earth" (1985: 60), but when in receipt of human umbilical implants, as was the case with the poplar tree at Te Aowera, they can also be imbued with genealogical and political significance.

Referring to a more recent conflict in which a flagpole was chopped down, Anne Salmond remarks, "flags and flagpoles are still occasionally a touchy subject on the marae [meeting-house complex]" (1983: 52). The particular incident to which Salmond refers occurred in late 1970 and concerned the Governor-General's opening of a marae just outside of Hastings, a city located on the southern fringe of Hawke's Bay. Several days prior to the planned opening, an old Māori lady who had contributed heavily to the financing of the marae, hung a Ringatū flag from the flagpole in honour of the occasion. In light of the Ringatū movement's rootedness in Māori nationalism, however, the local Māori Welfare Officers became so apprehensive about the flag being interpreted as "a display of disloyalty to the Crown" that they took the decision to remove the Ringatū flag and replace it with the British flag. Threats by supporters of the Ringatū flag to cut down the flagpole were apparently averted by the defendants of the British flag mounting

night patrol's to ensure its protection. The standoff was finally ended following discussions between the two factions and the dispute, writes Salmond, petered out without incident (1983: 52).

An amicable outcome was not the case in the example featured in 'Islands of History' (1985), where Marshall Sahlins delivered a brilliant reassessment of Ngā Puhī war leader, Hone Heke's 1844-1846 conflict with the British colonial government. The hostilities were triggered by Hone Heke's repeated felling of a flagpole flying the British flag at a settlement named, Kororāreka (now Russell), in the Bay of Islands, which at that time was the largest European settlement in Aotearoa-New Zealand. On four separate occasions between July 1844 and March 1845, Hone Heke and his Ngā Puhī forces attacked and famously cut down the flagpole only for it to be re-erected by the British, who in the words of Sahlins: "provided the flag with greater protection upon each occasion of its replacement" (1985: 61). On the occasion of its fourth erection, the flagpole was protected by a stockade and blockhouse. According to Sahlins this development was in Hone Heke's reading of events, replete in "mytho-practical force" (1985: 64). Before exploring Sahlins's interpretation of Hone Heke's motives in further detail, it is as well to outline in brief, what can be described as the more orthodox explanations attributed to Hone Heke's actions.

Prior to the analysis of Sahlins, standard explanations for Hone Heke's repeated destruction of the flagpole were couched in terms of his actions being indicative of Māori resistance and nationalism. Firstly, directed in protest at the ongoing alienation of Ngā Puhī whenua papatipu (ancestral land), and secondly as an expression of discontent and anger that ensued when an economic crisis befell the Māori tribes in the far northern districts of Aotearoa-New Zealand. A main thrust of these resistance-nationalism explanations assert that for Ngā Puhī, the flying of the British flag became particularly contentious in the wake of several changes to colonial government policy. Two principle causes of Māori grievance are commonly identified: the British imposition of customs duties, which increased the prices of the trade goods upon which Māori had grown increasingly reliant, and the decision to redirect revenue from shipping levies from the

resident tribe to the government.

It has been argued that the imposition of customs duties and appropriation of revenue from shipping levies was perceived by Ngā Puhī as a subordination of their chiefly authority to that of the British colonial government and in so doing, elevated the British flag to a symbol of Ngā Puhī discontent. Roundly identified as the most damaging act of all, however, was when the colonial government took the decision in late 1841 to relocate its administrative capital from Okiato Point, situated 7 km south of Kororāreka in the far north of Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island, to Auckland located 240km further south. The detrimental effects of this move culminated in the Pākehā depopulation of Kororāreka and its environs and the subsequent loss in shipping and trade that had been promised to the northern tribes when inducing their signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. This view is seemingly supported by the general agreement that Hone Heke had no wish to expel the British nor did he object, in principle, to the British flag. To the contrary, Hone Heke had wished for the British to remain in the region under the patronage of Ngā Puhī rangatira (chiefs). It was only the flying of the British flag from the flagpole at Kororāreka that he and his Ngā Puhī followers sought to remove.

Sahlins, on the other hand, contends that the standard resistance-nationalism hypothesis erroneously confines Hone Heke's actions to "a simple economic explanation." Rather, Sahlins reasoned that for Hone Heke, "the material crisis was the revelatory sign of something more intangible and enigmatic" (1985: 67). To discover the "most exact interpretant of Hone Heke's apparent flagpole fetish" (1985: 64), Sahlins suggested that we commence the search for answers in the fourteenth century kōrero tawhito (ancient narrative) of Manaia, as recounted by Sir George Grey in 'Polynesian Mythology' (1956 [1855]). The kōrero tawhito of a chief named Manaia to which Sahlins directs us, relates how two successive parties of immigrants from the original Māori homeland of Hawaiki entered into a dispute over which of their canoes had been the first to arrive on the island of Aotea (Great Barrier Island), located 90km northeast of Auckland. To the successful claimant would go the right to occupy the land and secure exclusive access to its material resources.

Assuming they had been the first to arrive on what they envisaged as a newly discovered island, the crew of the Tokomaru canoe, captained by Manaia, began building shelters and clearing land for cultivation. However, Manaia was soon confronted by the captain of a second canoe who eventually won the argument concerning which canoe had been the first to arrive by showing that he had erected and sanctified a pouahu (literally, 'post-mound'). A pouahu "represented life and spiritual and intellectual welfare" (Williams 2003: 445) and consisted of an enclosed area in which a wooden post or tree was set in a low mound of earth. For Māori, the erection of a pouahu not only served as a sacred place for ritual practises, but was also the traditional means by which to establish mana whenua (territorial authority) over any unoccupied or newly discovered land, and in the case of the latter, offer "thanks to the gods for their safe arrival" (Grey 1956 [1855]: 115). For these reasons the erection of a pouahu was generally "the first serious task performed by [Māori] immigrants" to Aotearoa-New Zealand (Best 1925: 724). Thus, having seen and accepted the pouahu of the second canoe, Manaia and the crew of the Tokomaru canoe therefore had little alternative but to depart Aotea Island and seek new lands elsewhere (Sahlins 1987: 64).

To this kōrero tawhito (ancient narrative), Sahlins added a final and highly significant explanation. Manaia's mythic squabble over land, he contended, recapitulated the act of propping up the sky following the original cosmogonic rupture when Tāne, the atua (god) of forests, pushed apart the ceaselessly embracing bodies of the primordial mātua (parents), Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother). To prop up Ranginui and thereby hold the sky and earth apart, Tāne utilised four wooden toko (poles).⁹⁹ It is therefore the ingenuity, endeavour, and body of Tāne, atua (god) of forests, trees and wood, which first created and now sustains the space necessary for the human occupation of Earth (cf. Schrempp 1992: 123). As Sahlins explains, the general and productive value of the Tāne myth informs the ritual erecting of poles in some contexts and the analogous practise of planting a branch of a tree in others to serve "in the

⁹⁹ Each of the four toko (poles) represented one of the four winds. Their individual names and respective placements beneath the body of Ranginui have been listed by Best (2006 [1924]: 84) as: Toko-huru-māwake (placed under the head of Ranginui); Toko-huru-nuku (placed under the left arm of Ranginui); Toko-huru-rangi (placed under the right arm of Ranginui); and Toko-huru-ātea (placed under his legs of Ranginui).

interest of the preservation of some group or individual" (Sahlins 1987: 65 fn. 35). So, when on their fourth erection of the flagpole in Kororāreka, the British surrounded it with a stockade and blockhouse that to all intents and purposes resembled a sacred Māori pouahu (sacred post-mound), Hone Heke construed its installation as revelatory of the hitherto concealed British intention to usurp the mana whenua (territorial authority) of the land (Sahlins 1987: 70-71).

One contention I do have with Sahlins's analysis is in his somewhat injudicious weaving of two distinct settler narratives into his reconstruction of the Manaia narrative. The first narrative involving Manaia and the Tokomaru canoe was, as Sahlins suggests, concerned with occupation rights over the newly discovered Aotea Island in the northern part of Aotearoa-New Zealand (see Grey 1956 [1855]: 178-181). However, Sahlins's commentary integrates aspects of a second narrative, which relates to a dispute that occurred on the East Coast between the chiefs of the Arawa and Tainui canoes. Only, in the Arawa-Tainui narrative the dispute was less about occupation rights to newly discovered land as it was concerned with the possession of the fresh carcass of a beached sperm whale at the landing sight accordingly named Whangaparāoa (literally, Sperm whale bay—renamed Cape Runaway by Captain Cook).

Indeed, both Arawa and Tainui canoes soon departed Whangaparāoa, electing to settle elsewhere in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Moreover, it is only in the Arawa-Tainui narrative that George Grey (1956 [1855]: 115) mentions the dispute being settled by ascertaining the respective ages of each arrivals pouahu (sacred post-mound). As Sahlins correctly points out in his footnote, Manaia's claim to Aotea Island was defeated by his failure to erect a pouahu (1985: 64 fn.34) and not an examination of whose pouahu was the oldest, as Sahlins suggests in his commentary. Nor does either narrative allude to the "ruse" to which Sahlins makes mention (1985: 64). Nonetheless, Sahlins's central argument, namely the erection of a pouahu establishes occupation rights to newly discovered land remains pertinent.

Until Sahlins, little analytical attention had been paid to the symbolic significance of

erecting (or destroying) flagpoles or to that which he briefly mentions in his essay, the ritual planting of trees in tohi (child dedication) rite. However, courtesy of Sahlins's insights we learn that the installations of pouahu (sacred post-mounds), flagpoles and the ritual planting of trees, are in fact mimetic of cosmological supports provided by the sacred body of Tāne, atua (god) of forests, trees and wood; facilitator of spiritual and intellectual welfare of humankind and creator and preserver of the earthly environment. Viewed as such, the ritual planting of trees in the Māori context possesses greater significance than the staking of ancestral claims to land.

The tohi (child dedication) rite with which my analysis of the pito tree is concerned, has been described by Elsdon Best as a child dedication ceremony that was performed over an infant at a secluded stream. The ceremony was conducted by a tohunga (ritual expert) who petitioned a particular atua (god) to endow the child with the desired mental and physical qualities, whilst utilising a leafy branchlet to sprinkle the child with the flowing water (2006 [1924]: 359-360). Girls, explained Best, were tohia (dedicated) to Hineteiwaiwa, the guardian of the art of weaving and daughter of Tāne, while boys would either be tohia to Tūmatauenga, the atua of war and humankind, or Rongomaraeroa, the atua of kūmara (sweet potato), cultivated vegetables, and the peaceful arts. Having furnished a detailed account of the tohi rite, Best (2006 [1924]: 361) curiously concluded his description with the following parenthetical aside, "(My informant omitted to say what was done with the branchlet; apparently something has been left out)."

No such details, however, were "left out" of the accounts provisioned by Walter Edward Gudgeon (1905: 124-125) and John White (1856: 24), who both recorded that on conclusion of the tohi (child dedication) rite the branchlet would be planted in the earth. According to White, "the tree growing from a branch thus planted is called a kawa" (1856: 24), a term defined in the authoritative Williams 'Dictionary of the Māori Language' as:

. . . a class of karakia [ritual incantation], or ceremonies in which a spring of any tree, or sometimes a small sapling pulled up by the roots, is used to remove the tapu [sanctity] from a house, canoe, the birth of a child, battle etc., (2003: 109).

For the purposes of this chapter, however, the most pertinent definitions are those associated with the term, *tohi*, meaning to cut, divide, or separate (cf. Schrempf 1992: 119-120). What renders these definitions particularly salient is that the performance of the *tohi* (child dedication) rite also entailed the ritual act of severing the child's umbilical cord (Williams 2003: 430). The two components of the child dedication ceremony, *tohi* and *kawa*, were brought into a state of unification through the act of burying the dissected umbilical cord (*tohi*) beneath the planted branchlet (*kawa*). If the *kawa* struck root and grew, it was perceived as a favourable omen for that particular child's future. For example, in instances where a boy had been *tohia* (dedicated) to the *atua* (god) of war, *Tūmatauenga*, it was read as a sign that the child would grow to become a noted warrior (White 1856: 24; see also, Gudgeon 1905: 124-125). To endorse the dictum of Sahlins, "here again is *Tāne*, parent and body of trees" (1985: 50) whose form in the context of the *tohi* rite, is deployed as the means through which humans are integrated into the body of the primordial parent, and *Papatūānuku*, the cosmological embodiment of land from where they reach upwards to connect with *Ranginui* (the sky).

Comparable practises of marking the precise location where a newborn's umbilical cord and/or placenta is buried with the planting of a tree are well documented across Oceania. In some accounts, similar correlations have been identified between the healthy growth of the tree and the prospects of the child whose umbilical cord or placenta is buried beneath it. For example, Fijians, notes Solrun Williksen-Bakker, regard it as an ill omen if the child's umbilical cord tree fails to take root (1990: 235-236). In other accounts, however, no such sentiment was attached to any tree that may or may not spring forth as a result of a sapling being planted. For example, Alexander Shand in his analysis of the Moriori people on the island of *Wharekauri* (the Chatham Islands) commented, "no remark was made" if the tree planted as part of the child's dedication ceremony "did not strike" (1897: 15). Elsewhere, in his account of the Arosi context on the island of *Makira* in the Solomon Islands, Michael Scott identified that the well-being of the tree was not considered to be of any significance to the prospects of the child whose umbilical cord had been cut into the husk of the sprouting coconut palm from which it grew. As a consequence, writes Scott, neither parents nor owners of the umbilical cord/coconut

palm are in any way "distressed if, once the umbilical cord is planted, the resulting tree blows down in a cyclone or is cut down when the village expands" (2007: 144).

Scott also informs us that although the Arosi child's umbilical cord ('waipo' in Arosi), is often planted, many "cords are never planted and the precise location of many of those that are is often forgotten." Neither is the location selected for the planting of the umbilical cord/coconut palm indexed to the lineage's connection to a specific place. There exists among the Arosi, writes Scott, tacit acknowledgement that an umbilical cord/coconut palm could be presented as evidence in a land claim. However, such evidence is rarely invoked and it remains uncertain whether this potential is inhibited by "the current ambiguity about who, if anyone, is *auhenua* (autochthonous)" to the coastal region the Arosi inhabit. What Scott is able to ascertain, is that the planting of an umbilical cord/coconut palm is in the first instance, an icon of general rootedness to the island of Makira, "understood as the criterion for being *auhenua*," and to a lesser extent, a memory aid to gauge the age of the child (2007: 143-145, 208).

Compare this to the Tahitian context described by Bruno Saura, where the ritual burial (*tanura'a*) of each newborn's placenta at the base of a fruit tree is motivated by the placenta's identification as *pūfenua*, literally the 'core of the land'. As discussed in relation to Aotearoa-New Zealand (see Chapter Four of this thesis), Polynesian islands are often conceptualised by their inhabitants as marine beings fished from the oceans depths. In Tahiti, each island's landmass is similarly referred to as 'the body of the island' (*te tino o te ho'e fenua*), and the possessor of a navel (in Tahitian, *pito*), "generally considered to be its source or point of origin (*tumu*)" (Saura 2002: 131). It is this symbolism, writes Saura, which unites "the placenta of an infant to the navel of a land conceived as its centre" (2002: 132) and in so doing unearths Tahitian placental burial as predicated on the *pūfenua*'s allegorical association with the transmission of life. The planting of a newborn's placenta therefore occurs "so that the substance that nourished the foetus nourishes the tree" (2002: 127). In this way, the ritual burial of the *pūfenua* "manifests and perhaps reinforces" the natural continuity of creation, procreation and assimilation between "earth and placenta (*pūfenua*), and the people and plants that issue forth from

them" (Saura 2002: 129, 135, 140).

As in the Tahitian context, the Māori practise of burying their children's placenta (whenua, also a synonym for 'land') and umbilical cord (iho) has been described as a traditional means by which each generation was bonded to the land of their birth, over which they had rights (Colenso 1868: 362; Walker 1990: 70). Best also writes that the place where the iho (umbilical cord) of a child of note was buried was sometimes marked by a wooden post ornamented with carving, called a 'tūāpā tamariki' (meaning 'ward off'), whose function was to preserve the "health, mana [ancestral prestige and authority], and general welfare of the child." The place where the tūāpā tamariki was installed would thereafter be referred to as 'The Iho of so-and-so' (1906: 23, 1973: 32, 2006 [1924]: 365). For example, the location on the boundary of Maungapōhatu and Tauranga where the iho of Pare-karamu was buried became known as Te Iho o Pare-karamu (The Umbilical Cord of Pare-karamu); Te Iho-o-Te-Ata (The Umbilical Cord of Te-Ata) designated a location at Te Waimana; and Te Iho o Kapuru (The Umbilical Cord of Kapuru) was assigned to a site at Maungapōhatu.

Equally however, a child's iho was deposited on an existing tree, such as the tawa tree (*Beilschmiedia tarwa*) at Te Hue that became known as, Te Iho o Tokotu (The Umbilical Cord of Tokotu) (1906: 23). Elsdon Best termed this category of tree, "phallic trees" and attributed their efficacy as "emblems of the generative power, or principle" to the invocations of tohunga (ritual experts) and the mana (supernatural power) of specific persons iho (1906: 4). One detailed example of a phallic tree provided by Best, relates to a famed hīnau tree (*Elaeocarpus dentatus*) that stood on a forest-clad ridge in the Whakatāne valley in the North Island's eastern Bay of Plenty. According to Best, this tree acquired its mana (supernatural power) as whakato tamariki (a causing children to be conceived) during the fourteenth century period of Māori settlement of Aotearoa-New Zealand when an ancestor chief named Irakewa placed upon it the iho (umbilical cord) of an infant named, Kataka. Best explains that a child's severed iho (umbilical cord) would sometimes be preserved in a tahā koukou (small gourd) in which was kept scented oil for dressing the hair, thus preventing the iho from decay until it could be deposited at a

desirable location at some point in the future (1906: 24).

Best relates how local traditions stated that in later years the father of Kataka, who was a tohunga (ritual expert) named Tāneatua, was exploring the Whakatāne valley when he happened across the hīnau tree upon which the iho (umbilical cord) of his daughter, Kataka, had been placed. Pausing to rest, Tāneatua was about to pluck some of the tree's berries when to his amazement he heard a voice exclaim: "Do not eat of me, for I am the iho of Kataka." Tāneatua not only refrained from eating the fruit of the hīnau tree, but he also thrust into a crevice in the bark of the tree the iho¹⁰⁰ of another of his children, while repeating the following incantation: "I am suspended; I will cause children to be conceived." Consequently, this tree became known as Te Iho-o-Kataka (The Iho of Kataka) and was viewed as a fructifying agent by the generations of local people who placed the iho of children there, "instead of depositing them at some place on the boundaries of tribal lands" (1906: 5-6, 2006 [1924]: 351-352).

With the birth of children now occurring in hospitals, health clinics or the birthing mother's abode and conforming to western medical procedures, the practise of burying the Māori child's iho (umbilical cord) and whenua (placenta) has all but ceased. Therefore, in recent decades few, if any, kawa (birth-trees) have been planted as part of the tohi (child dedication) rite and it is unclear how many pre-existing kawa and phallic trees remain as part of the landscape. One notable exception, however, was the poplar tree that stood beside Te Poho o Te Aowera (The Bosom of Te Aowera) meeting-house in Ruatoria, to which The Dread simply refer to as 'the pito tree'. To comprehend the historical, political, and spiritual significance of the pito tree I commence with a brief outline of the "Te Kooti history" to which Te Ahi alluded in this chapter's opening vignette. The events defining Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and the Ringatū movement he founded, such as: the name by which he was predicted, his birth during a period of turmoil, his exile and the moment he returned from captivity and raised his hand in

¹⁰⁰ Here, it appears Best mistook the iho (umbilical cord) with the pito (navel), for as will soon be discussed it was the child's pito that was thrust into the crevice of a tree not the iho, which Best explains as being deposited on the branch of a tree.

prayer to the Christian God of a new religion, are all recounted in the oral traditions of the East Coast and Bay of Plenty regions (Binney 1984: 354). I shall begin, however, with a brief outline of the events behind the development of what Te Ahi in his commentary, referred to as Te Kooti's "big utu (retribution)," which occurred on November 10, 1868.

THE BIG UTU

Often glossed as revenge, the concept of utu has been more accurately described by Te Arawa anthropologist, Paul Tapsell, as the: "transference of indebtedness, in accord with the occasion" (1997: 337).¹⁰¹ As such utu is directed towards the range of obligations associated with the maintenance of balance, harmony and order in relationships between individuals and groups in, or engaging with, Māori society. When relations of exchange, boundaries or essences, are disturbed, utu provides a means of restoration. However, for Māori it is not necessary to administer utu immediately because utu was not only applicable to the author of the affront, but the entire lineage to which the offending individual or individuals belongs. Thus utu is gained by reasserting control over external influences in the process of restoring self-esteem and social standing of a group or individual. Throughout the late nineteenth and much of the twentieth century Te Kooti has been vilified by Pākehā historians, journalists, alongside many of the descendents of both Māori and Pākehā who opposed him. For example, Hugh Ross described Te Kooti as:

. . . the great arch-rebel of New Zealand [who] plunged the central districts of the North Island into a blood-bath lasting four long years, while for eleven more he lay in wait in the fastnesses of the Māori King Country keeping the Island in constant apprehension that he might sally forth again to leave a trail of blood and butchery, rapine and fire, across the land. (. . .) The founder and prophet of the Ringatū faith, he seemed to have at the same time an insatiable desire for bloody violence either in vengeance or simply as a means of intimidation (1966: 9).

However, Te Kooti's utu (retribution) in the small east coast settlement of Matewhero on the outskirts of Tūranga-nui-a-kiwa (now Gisborne) was specifically targeted at the individuals and their families, responsible for his forced exile and dispossession of Māori

¹⁰¹ Tapsell categorised the various forms of transference as: (1) repayment; return in kind, return for anything that can be immediate or long term; (2) reciprocity; (3) removal of debt; (4) reversing a debt; (5) satisfaction; (6) ransom; (7) reward; (8) revenge; (9) retribution; (10) reply; and (11) to make an appropriate response so that mana (authority, prestige) is at least maintained if not increased (1997: 338; cf. Schrempff 1992: 83-85).

land.¹⁰² The utu in which a total of 54 Pākehā and Māori were killed, took place following Te Kooti's escape from exile and return to the Aotearoa-New Zealand mainland. As Ross attests, the fallout from the utu sparked fear among Pākehā settlers in the east coast and central areas of Aotearoa-New Zealand and propelled Te Kooti and his followers into a running war with government troops and their Māori allies that lasted four years.

Significantly, the first converts to the Ringatū movement were exiled Hauhau dissidents who were incarcerated on the isolated archipelago of Wharekauri (the Chatham Islands),¹⁰³ following their capture in the defeat to government troops at the siege of Waerenga-a-Hika (17 to 22 November 1865). There is now a consensus among historians that Te Kooti was one of the few within his hapū (sub-tribe) of Ngāti Maru who by 1865 had not converted to the Hauhau. His stance was no accident, but due to his awareness of the prophesy surrounding his birth, life, and death in which it had been foretold that it was Te Kooti who would promulgate the a new Christian religion. Nevertheless, in February 1866, Te Kooti was branded a dissident and arrested on suspicion of being a Hauhau spy, and then on 5 June 1866 following a period of 3 months in detention without a trial; Te Kooti was exiled to Wharekauri alongside the third consignment of Hauhau prisoners. It was during his exile on Wharekauri that Te Kooti first emerged as a religious leader, after the archangel Mikaere (Michael) appeared before him in a series of visions to deliver God's promise that the Lord would redeem Māori from bondage and oppression just as he had saved the Jews of the Old Testament (Stack 1874: 3). Equally important was the role of these visions in formulating the covenants of the Ringatū faith (Binney 1995: 13, 48; 2008: 41).

During its mid-1860s height, the Hauhau movement established widespread support

¹⁰² The principle sources for the present discussion of Te Kooti are: Atkinson (1869); Binney (1984, 1988, 1995, 2008); Binney and Chaplin (1986); Burch (1973); Bush (1971); Fowler (1957a, 1957b); Gadd (1965); Greenwood (1942); McDougall (1964); Misur (1975); Ross (1966); Stack (1874); Tarei (1978); Wilson (1961); and two anonymous articles published in 'Te Ao Hou: The New World' magazine (1963 no. 42, and 1968 no. 64).

¹⁰³ Wharekauri is located approximately 500 miles off the southeastern shore of Aotearoa-New Zealand's, North Island.

among Māori across much of Aotearoa-New Zealand's North Island in its paramilitary defence of tribal lands in the face of a fledgling colonial government bent on the appropriation of Māori land. The colonial government countered Hauhau resistance on two punitive fronts. Firstly, by exiling Hauhau "rebels" captured in battle to the isolated archipelago of Wharekauri (the Chatham Islands), located approximately 500 miles off Aotearoa-New Zealand's southeastern shore. Second, and most damagingly, each act of Hauhau military defiance was punished by the confiscation of Māori territory belonging to any tribe or tribes who harboured the presence of "rebellious factions" or were deemed to be in support of the Hauhau. Through these mechanisms of government reprisal, the tribes to which dissident Māori belonged were dispossessed of their lands and Māori paramilitary activists became victims of a further spatial alienation by their removal to Wharekauri.

On 4 July 1868, Te Kooti orchestrated the escape of Wharekauri's entire prison population of 298 prisoners (163 men, 64 women, and 71 children), by first seizing control of a government supply ship called the Rifleman and forcing two of the vessels captured steersmen to pilot the escapees to freedom on the Aotearoa-New Zealand mainland. The Rifleman made its desired landfall at Whareongaonga in Poverty Bay on the evening of 10 July 1868. Escape from exile was seen as a verification of Te Kooti's gift of prophesy, which enabled him to commune with divine beings and he was effectively recast as Moses by his newly converted army of Ringatū followers. The divine sanction of Te Kooti's mission was transmitted to his followers throughout the exiles 'deliverance from captivity' and communicated to the crew of the Rifleman shortly after they had made the desired landfall at the Whareongaonga, located south of Gisborne. There, the former captives unloaded the stores of food and ammunition the ship had been carrying to Wharekauri, before Te Kooti handed the Rifleman back to the freed sailors, with the message: "Tell your Government that Te Kooti sends the ship back with its crew unharmed. God sent it and the arms to free my people" (McDougall 1964: 2).

On February 12, 1883, following an exhaustive four year running war with colonial government troops and their Māori allies, Native Minister John Bryce successfully

brokered negotiations for a cessation of hostilities between Te Kooti and the colonial government in a deal that was given the name 'te maungārongo' (the long abiding peace). The agreement, ratified on February 3, 1885, granted Te Kooti and his followers the pardon they had long sought. Moreover, the Ringatū commitment to an end of hostilities was such that as early as 1883 the followers of the fledgling movement had already assumed the pseudonym 'children of the lasting peace' (Binney 1984: 367). So it was that te maungārongo ushered in a period in which Te Kooti embarked on extensive journeys across the central and east coast districts of Aotearoa-New Zealand. In so doing, Te Kooti's intended aim was clear; to thank allies, reconcile with former opponents, and spread the Ringatū faith and message of tribal unity by transporting the rā (Ringatū religious gatherings) from hapū to hapū (sub-tribe to sub-tribe) and iwi to iwi (tribe to tribe). Te Kooti's ultimate intention, writes Binney, was to situate the rā at one place around which all Māori could congregate in a statement of unity.

This then, is the background against which Te Kooti visited Tamatea pā (marae, meeting-house complex) in 1883 to announce te maungārongo' (the long abiding peace) carrying a poplar sapling as a riding whip. Te Ahi's commentary at the start of this chapter, explains that Te Kooti had carried this poplar sapling since his Matawhero utu (retribution) in November 1868. Recall, Te Ahi's statement that a cutting from the sapling at Matewhero was planted at Tamatea pā in Ōpōtiki and another was planted at Te Aowera in Ruatoria. In doing so, Te Kooti was perhaps following the practise described by Elsdon Best (detailed earlier in the chapter), wherein the iho (umbilical cord) of children was carried by the chief, Irakewa, and tohunga (ritual expert), Tāneatua, until a desirable location could be found for them to be deposited (1906: 24). At Tamatea pā Te Kooti announced, "I have given up the ways of war, and will lead my people in the paths of peace," before thrusting the riding whip into the ground. Ringatū tradition states that the apparently lifeless stick of poplar remained undisturbed in the ground and eventually sprang into leaf as poplar is reputed to do.

As Te Kooti's former riding whip the poplar sapling had stood for the years of fight and flight, or what Binney termed: "the years of riding to the sound of the whip" (1995: 499).

However, the riding whip's cultivation as a tree symbolised its transference from an instrument of force to a covenant of peace (Binney 1984: 383-384). According to Binney a narrative tradition of the Tūhoe tribe also identifies the poplar as the wood from which Christ's cross was made.¹⁰⁴ Thus, as a dual metaphor of resurrection, Te Kooti's poplar tree also symbolised the ultimate in Christian sacrifice and renewal. It is also at this point that Te Kooti's poplar sapling begins to assume the characteristics of kawa (birth-tree) discussed earlier in the chapter. As Te Ahi went on to explain:

Over the years when the scab falls off the baby pito (navel) the whānau (families) put it in the cracks in the tree. A lot of the old people used to see a kuia (female elder) sitting in the tree with a baby and I used to keep saying 'that's that Madonna and child'. That's the family tree, cos the old people go, if you leave the father church (Ringatū) go to the mother church. That tree symbolised the mihingare (missionary) [and] the gospel of Jesus Christ, 'cause it was a sign, a symbol of peace. Not to go back to war.

¹⁰⁴ Maungapōhatu Notebook 1881-1916: 94, 100, AU. Early Anglican missionaries, such as William Colenso, had taught Māori that God had kept hidden the knowledge of the tree from which Christ's cross was made, so that it would not become an object of idolatry (in Binney 1995: 499 fn. 166).

CHAPTER SEVEN

ASCENT TO THE TWELFTH HEAVEN: FROM FIRELIGHTERS TO FIREFIGHTERS

And this shall be a sign unto thee, Ye shall eat this year such things as grow of themselves, and in the second year that which springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruits thereof. And the remnant that is escaped of the house of Judah shall yet again take root downward, and bear fruit upward. For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and they that escape out of mount Zion: the zeal of the Lord of hosts shall do this (II Kings 19: 29-31).

Towards the end of my period of field research, Tui Warmenhoven, the manager and co-researcher of He Oranga Mo Nga Uri Tuku Iho Trust (Wellbeing for Future Generations),¹⁰⁵ presented me with an opportunity to meet a member of The Dread who I had not previously encountered. This oversight would not have been altogether surprising; as there remained several members I still had not met, either because they had adopted a low profile, had moved away from the Ruatoria area, had died or been killed, or they ceased to be a part of the group. In this instance, there were a further two possible explanations why I was completely unfamiliar with the person Tui was referring to. The first stemmed from her use of his Christian name, where I had become acquainted with most, but not all, of The Dread by only their Rastafarian names. The second possibility was that Tui may have been mistaken and that the individual in question actually belonged to another of Ruatoria's Rastafarian groups, such as those loosely labeled the Surfer Dreads, or the group The Dread referred to as the Snake Gully Rastas.

¹⁰⁵ He Oranga mo Nga Uri Tuku Iho Trust is a Ruatoria based charitable trust run by a collective of Ngāti Porou members. The Trust co-ordinates and administers projects in Ruatoria and the wider Gisborne and East Coast region that are designed to facilitate sustainable hapū (sub-tribe) development through: kaitiekitanga (guardianship over natural resources and the environment); tino rangatiratanga (self-determination); mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge); and advancing rangatahi (youth) education and participation.

Tui described the Rasta in question as being an exceptionally talented carver and was adamant that he had turned his back on his Rastafarian past in favour of pursuing a positive and more active role in the community and that he'd give me another perspective on the Rastas. If this conundrum were settled in favour of Tui having made an accurate identification, the meeting promised an opportunity to investigate another of Tui's assertions. Tui had asserted that, with the exception of a few individuals, The Dread were never committed to being Rastafarian but were merely followers of Reggae music and seekers of adventure. Moreover, she claimed that most of all they followed Rastafari because the Māori adherence to the rule of primogeniture effectively consigned the majority to the status of tāina (junior) and in so doing, rendered them subordinate to the instruction of their elder brothers, cousins and uncles who led the movement. Tui claimed that this alleged former member of The Dread had now moved on and like others, looked back at the period of his life spent with The Dread with regret. Stating, "I think if you asked most of the followers now they would say that they were young, naive, easily led by their peers and only in it for the ride." The inference that the Rastafarian movement was, for Māori, akin to a fleeting fancy was one I heard stated elsewhere by a local resident's summation that he: "expects them [The Dread] to return to being Māori."¹⁰⁶

Recognising my period of field research was very nearly at its end, Tui insisted on telephoning the alleged former member to arrange an immediate appointment. However, from what I was able to discern of their telephone conversation, convincing the Rasta to meet with me was not altogether straightforward. Rather, from the direction Tui's telephone conversation had taken I gained the distinct impression that he was initially reluctant to meet with me, before eventually appearing to be swayed by a combination of Tui's force of will and sheer enthusiasm. For this reason, when agreement was finally reached that he would be willing to meet me if I came to see him immediately, I approached the prospect with considerable apprehension. After all, it was perfectly conceivable that Tui may be correct - perhaps he had turned his back on the Dread and

¹⁰⁶ For a detailed discussion of primogeniture, see Chapter Three, and for an elaboration of claims that The Dread are not "real" Rastafarians, see Chapter One of this thesis.

as such, would have little or nothing positive to share with me about the group or his 'former beliefs'. Equally, he may not be receptive to my anthropological enquiries or worst still; he may even be hostile towards me. I ruminated over these contingencies as Tui readied herself to escort me to his home located a short drive out of Ruatoria. Tui would lead the way in her black four-wheel drive truck, while I followed in my own vehicle.

We accelerated southwest out of Ruatoria beneath a thick grey sky that gradually transformed from saturated mist to steady rain. Traveling northwards we crossed the Rotokautuku Bridge, where the old saw mill stands amid a thicket of trees like a derelict sentinel watching over the Waiapu River. Next we proceed left past the rarely used airstrip and the turning for the adjacent rubbish dump before continuing northwest along the poorly sealed Tapuaeroa Road that brought us to our destination. Almost immediately upon our arrival the heavens opened, unleashing a heavy downpour of rain. As Tui and I hesitantly climbed out of our respective vehicles, three or four small dogs, tails wagging downwards and heads dipped in a futile attempt to shield their eyes from the rain, wandered towards us to investigate. They were followed by the expectant figure of a male adult and three small children. As the man approached, I soon recognised him as Branch, whose photographic portrait I had first seen in Hans Neleman's (1999) photo essay of *The Dread*, entitled 'Moko - Māori Tattoo' as mentioned in Chapter Two. I had also heard his name occasionally being mentioned by Te Ahi and Te Hokowhitu, particularly in relation to his role in using Google Earth to source fallen native trees. In some of the more remote or less accessible sections of rivers and streams, these trees can often lay undisturbed for decades. The Dread particularly favoured using recycled native timber in their adobe house building and carving work because being native of the land, it was considered the most appropriate material to construct homes for tangata whenua (people of the land).

Having forewarned Branch and I at the outset that she would have to make an urgent return to her office to complete work on a funding proposal, Tui remained only long enough to introduce the reticent interlocutors. Meanwhile, the children had seized upon

the arrival of their father's visitors as an opportunity to splash around in the rain, chasing the dogs through the puddles that now dotted the front garden. Now, following Tui's departure, Branch reestablished order by politely escorting me into the large Skyline double garage that serves as his workshop, before bringing the children's playful proceedings to a halt by ushering them into the house. As Branch headed towards the main house I enquired if it would be okay to peruse the carvings that surrounded me in his workshop, to which he responded: "Yeah, go for it bro." On his return I began our dialogue with an apology designed to alleviate my obtrusive request for an audience at such short notice, while privately I considered us both to be victims of Tui's exuberance. Next, I explained the reason Tui had been so keen for me to meet him was so that I could garner an alternative view from inside The Dread to that which I had thus far experienced. Tui's expectation being that I would be presented with an opportunity to hear firsthand how his personal ambition, drive and talent had served to differentiate him from the other Rastas and assisted in "getting his life back on track." In reply, the softly spoken Branch appeared somewhat embarrassed to reveal that he had regularly been the grateful recipient of Tui's generous support and although very appreciative, admits that situations had at times been awkward.

When I enquired whether Branch still identified as Rasta, he responded with an unequivocal "yes", before supporting this affirmation with the statement: "the Bible says that you will be persecuted for calling his name.¹⁰⁷ When I think about it, who else or what other religion is made to suffer that way?" Branch then explained that he still sees the bro's (The Dread), although not nearly as often as he used to in the past. The unfortunate consequence of this circumstance, declared Branch, was a marked downturn in opportunities to reason with the bro's. As a result of which Branch revealed that he tends to read his Bible a lot less often than he once did. Nevertheless, Branch insisted that he retains the Rastafarian kaupapa (philosophy) and his unwavering devotion to Jah, but described himself as a "sleeping lion" whose priority is focused upon his whānau (family) and establishing himself as a carver. In Rastafari, the symbol of the lion invoked

¹⁰⁷ Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you: and ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake (Matthew 24: 9).

by Branch attains its special significance from its allegorical attachment with the title, 'Lion of Judah', itself, a designation afforded to Jah (God) on his second coming in which he will overcome all earthly sin.¹⁰⁸ It is this association between the Lion of Judah (Jah) and conquest that Rastafarians have further enhanced with the epithet: 'The Conquering Lion (of Judah)'. By inverting the notion of conquest (conquering) to that of sleeping, which connotes rest and/or recovery, Branch is acknowledging the maintenance of his personal identification with the Rastafarian movement that for the time being, remains dormant. Therefore, contrary to Tui's assertion, Branch remains very much a Rastafarian.

Branch also explained that the abundance of tohunga whakairo (expert carvers) plying their trade makes it extremely difficult for a "chisel hand" (relatively inexperienced carver) like him to earn a living from paid commissions. The reason being, larger paid projects are generally awarded to local (Ngāti Porou) tohunga whakairo with big reputations, such as Derek Lardelli and Mark Kopua. Notwithstanding this challenge, Branch had managed to secure himself a steady supply of commissioned work. So far projects have included, carving a pare (lintel) and whakawae (door jambs) for the renovation of the RSA (Returned Services' Association)¹⁰⁹ clubroom in Ruatoria, which he undertook utilising wood from a centuries old tōtara tree (*Podocarpus totara*) recovered from the local Waiapu River. Nevertheless, with budgets for such projects being relatively small, it becomes necessary to insert these commissions around other paid work. Consequently, Branch came to the realisation that the only way he would possibly be able to compete for larger commissions were if he attained a recognised qualification.

¹⁰⁸ And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof (Revelations 5: 5).

¹⁰⁹ Affectionately known as The Razza, The RSA (Returned Services' Association) is the abbreviated title for the Royal New Zealand Returned and Services' Association (RNZRSA). The membership of approximately 135,000 supports a network of 170 local RSAs throughout New Zealand, which play a central role in community life by offering a venue for recreation, bar and family restaurant facilities, community meetings and events (<http://www.rsa.org.nz/>). Founded in 1916 by wounded soldiers returned from the Gallipoli Campaign, the RSA movement is now one of New Zealand's largest voluntary welfare organisations and is dedicated to ensuring that New Zealand ex-serviceman and woman are in receipt of the pensions and other benefits to which they are entitled. The RSA is generally at the hub of New Zealand's national day of commemoration, ANZAC Day (25 April). In addition to ex-service personnel and war veterans, RSA membership is also open to their families and friends, serving members of the New Zealand Defence Force, sworn NZ Police Officers, and all those without military connections who share the ideals of the RSA movement.

Branch maintained that: "the only way you can prove to the whānau (Ruatoria community) that you are qualified is by having a degree. That's just the way the whānau are." To this end, Branch had enrolled on a Bachelors Degree in Māori Design and Art, specialising in whakairo (carving).

To my surprise Branch also informed me that he and his wife would shortly be joining the beleaguered Ruatoria Voluntary Fire Brigade (RVFB), with Branch enrolling as a firefighter and his wife occupying an administrative role. Alongside the trio of Te Ahi, Te Hokowhitu and head fireman, Melchizedek, this would increase the contingent of Dread fireman in Ruatoria to four out of seventeen enrolled firefighters, although The Dread opine that it is extremely rare that in the event of a call-out any more than three or four members will respond to the fire station's siren or their personal pager's.

FROM FIRELIGHTERS TO FIREFIGHTERS

A week prior to my meeting with Branch I had accompanied Te Ahi to the fire station where we were soon joined by Te Hokowhitu and Melchizedek. The purpose of this particular rendezvous was to carry out routine cleaning and maintenance duties at the fire station. On occasions when no call outs had occurred over the period of a week or so, this task could also entail privileged Rastafarian guests, such as Tawhito Hou, Hori Kuri and myself joining Te Hokowhitu and Te Ahi in donning a fireman's uniform so that we may join them in taking the fire engine on a test drive to one of the territorial boundaries under the aegis of the RVFB. On occasions following call-outs, the water tanker would often be taken on a short drive to the single lane bridge on the Mangareia Stream from where the vehicle could be topped up with water. With the potential for these emergency vehicles to stand idle for long periods and with the station having no designated mechanic, such measures were considered essential in maintaining a state of readiness. The Dread's approach to these duties was best summarised by one of Te Ahi's favourite mantra's, which in reference to the Māori demigod Maui, he would ask members of The Dread, "How did Maui capture the sun?" To which the impetuous, though technically correct riposte would be "he caught it in a net." At which point Te Ahi would interject with an analytical: "No, he was one step ahead." Maui persuaded his

reluctant older brothers to assist him in setting a trap for the Sun, personified by the god Tamanuiterā, so that they could coerce him into slowing his daily passage across the sky and enable people to have more hours of daylight in which to conduct their daily routine. However, the important detail to which Te Ahi alludes, rest with the fact that the mission's success was only made possible because the group rose early enough to set a net across the crevasse from which Tamanuiterā rose each morning.

On this particular day it was only deemed necessary to perform the more mundane tasks of washing the vehicles, washing dishes, emptying rubbish, sweeping the fire station and mopping the floors. The water level in the large outdoor tank was also checked to ascertain whether it contained an adequate supply of rainwater to fill the water truck, which was particularly important during the hot dry summer months. When the cleaning duties had finally been completed, The Dread sorted through several of the fire station's cupboards and shelving units, in the process rediscovering stores of equipment that included a small mechanical pump, hoses and pipes. Some time was then spent determining the use of these items, resulting with the successfully identified components being returned to their correct position on the fire truck. Throughout my participation and observation of the day's cleaning and maintenance routine it had become increasingly apparent that The Dread had voluntarily assumed numerous operational responsibilities for the fire service. Later, when I communicated my perception to The Dread, Te Hokowhitu expanded upon it by drawing an analogy between the fire station and a ghost ship, whereby everything (old records and equipment) remains operational, but the structure is conspicuously devoid of all crew. This correlation between the fire station and mysterious nautical phenomenon was further enhanced by Te Ahi's addition that when he and Te Hokowhitu first arrived at the fire station having joined the RVFB, the keys to the building had been left with a message in a bottle placed at the entrance.

All these events accentuated the urgent need for a competent administrator at the fire station, something that had long been called for by Te Hokowhitu. Throughout the busy summer months of fighting bush fires, Te Hokowhitu, in particular, had voiced his increasing irritation at the failure to provision firefighters with small basic items, such as

batteries for pagers and drinking water when fighting summer blazes. However, of greater potential danger to The Dread was their apparent lack of confidence in their non-Rastafarian firefighting colleagues. This concern was articulated by Te Hokowhitu's declaration that:

History has taught the breathers [The Dread] that others can never be trusted one hundred percent, because even in the fire brigade there are members who are not one hundred percent behind the cause and wouldn't endanger themselves for others.

Nevertheless, when in response I questioned whether such a realisation elicits concern over the safety of himself and the bro's, Te Hokowhitu offered the following rebuttal: "Nah, Jah protects and watches over the brethren."

By no means oblivious to the inherent dangers associated with being firemen, Te Ahi augmented Te Hokowhitu's advocacy of divine protection with his pronouncement that like Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, he avoids being tainted by the residue of fire by washing the smell of smoke from his uniform after every incident. Te Ahi's identification with the Biblical figures of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego recollects the punishment meted out to the trio following their refusal to abide by Babylonian ruler, King Nebuchadnezzar's decree. The edict had commanded that on the playing of designated musical instruments: "all people, nations and languages" in Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom were to "fall down and worship" the golden image he had created, or face being "cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace" (Daniel 3: 1-28). The furious Nebuchadnezzar duly summoned the dissenting Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego so they may answer the charge that they refused to serve the king's gods and "worship the golden image." Nevertheless, the trio continued to defy Nebuchadnezzar's royal decree, proclaiming:

If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up (Daniel 3: 17-18).

Thereupon, the malevolent King Nebuchadnezzar commanded "the most mighty men that were in his army" to bind and cast Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego into a furnace heated seven times more than was customary. However, upon hurling the three men into the furnace the soldiers themselves were burned to death, while Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego walked "in the midst of the fire" unbound and unharmed. Also in the trio's

company was a fourth man who the spectating Nebuchadnezzar described to his assembled princes, governors, captains and counsellors as having the form of "the son of God." Furthermore, on witnessing the fire had no effect upon the bodies of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, "nor was a hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire passed on them" King Nebuchadnezzar declared:

Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him and have changed the king's word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god, except their own God (Daniel 3: 28).

Therefore, in drawing parallels with the biblical account of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, Te Ahi was articulating the firefighting Dread's unswerving faith in the power of Jah to ensure their safety and well being in the face of mortal danger. In this way, The Dread are furnished with moral fortitude when confronted by the temptations associated with the love and awe of material wealth or the prospect of self-aggrandisement. It is to these allures that this chapter will now turn its attention.

THE FIREMAN AND THE FRYERMEN

**For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some
coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced
themselves through with many sorrows**

(1 Timothy 6: 10).

Juxtaposing a trust in Jah (God) with idolatry was a theme regularly applied by Te Hokowhiti, who when commenting on greed and self-interest among individuals in Ruatoria, would often allude to Matthew 6: 24 by asking in a rhetorical fashion: "no man can serve two masters, eh Brother Dave?"¹¹⁰ However, such statements were also directed towards members of The Dread who had succumbed to the lure of sex, drugs and money. Of this list of enticements, perhaps the most ruinous to The Dread, Ruatoria and Te Tai Rāwhiti (the East Coast), has been the impact of the powerful and highly addictive Class A drug called crystal methamphetamine hydrochloride, but known in New Zealand as 'P',

¹¹⁰ No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon [material wealth] (Matthew 6: 24).

short for 'pure'.¹¹¹ The Dread commonly refer to P users as 'fryers' or 'frybreads' in reference to the glass pipes used to smoke the small heated shards of crystals, while members of The Dread who become P users are specifically described as 'palefaces', on account of the effect of paleness P use is said to have upon their moko (facial tattoos).¹¹² Another of The Dread, Te Kupu, whom I rarely saw, posited the former member, his brother H.I.M. Fire's, involvement with P as the reason why: "H.I.M. Fire's fire has gone out. Supplemented by a slow shaking of the head and the dispirited plea: "What use silver and gold, eh."¹¹³ Commenting on former members whose moral conduct is no longer considered to be consistent with The Dread's kaupapa (doctrine), Te Ahi reflected:

I can see where the corruption is going down on the bro's. The men they're hanging around are bad company. They're fucking crooks, all they think about is money money money and they're dirty fellas, shag around on their missus's. It's a shame to see them fall away eh. At one time they were good, they were upright people, but that's what comes when they depart from the faith. They don't read their Bible anymore, they go opposite from what they used to talk. To me they've gone off the tracks, they've lost the kaupapa (philosophy). They've lost the kōrero (narratives) because of their habits and their dishonesty taking them down that road. The A class [P]; they say it's all right, they're in control, but then they need the money [to buy P], so they rob peoples' houses. Robbing houses bro! Is that being in control? Fallen from grace, they've fallen from grace.

The Ahi revealed that he, like many of The Dread, spent approximately seven years in and out of jail between 1985 and 1992. The sequential nature of jail time visited upon The Dread is claimed by members to have been a deliberate strategy on the part of the Federated Farmers association,¹¹⁴ in conjunction with the authorities, to counter The

¹¹¹ Variants of the methamphetamine, P, are known elsewhere in the world by the synonyms: Speed, Whiz, Crystal Meth, Ice, Shabu, Base, Rock, Crank, Crack. These, however, tend to differ in composition, production or appearance.

¹¹² The New Zealand Drug Foundation (<http://www.nzdf.org.nz/methamphetamine>) has compiled a comprehensive list of common effects of P use that in addition to paleness highlighted by The Dread, also includes: energy and alertness, talkativeness, increased confidence, excitement, difficulty sleeping, feelings of power and invincibility, aggression, paranoia, irritability, increased heart rate, breathing and blood pressure, sweating, dry mouth, dilated pupils, reduced appetite. Other short term effects include: irregular or rapid heartbeat, irregular breathing headaches, trembling, blurred vision, dizziness, stomach cramps, sweating, grinding teeth, scratching skin, causing open sores, collapse.

¹¹³ They cast their silver into the streets, and their gold is like an unclean thing. Their silver and gold are not able to deliver them in the day of the wrath of the Lord. They cannot satisfy their hunger or fill their stomachs with it. For it was the stumbling block of their iniquity (Ezekiel 7: 19).

¹¹⁴ The Federated Farmers of New Zealand is an association formed in 1945, which traces its origins to a confederation of agriculturalist and pastoral farming families operating at the turn of the twentieth century.

Dread's disruption of farming and commercial forestry around Ruatoria. Te Ahi states that by the time The Dread began emerging from their respective jail terms it became apparent that there had been an escalation in the establishment of commercial forest plantations and erection of fences all over the land. It was then also that The Dread allege that during their incarceration P was introduced into the community. However, there have been unsubstantiated counter allegations, coming from former members of The Dread who have been ostracised, that it was The Dread themselves who began the Ruatoria trade in P.

Te Ahi explained that a former ally of The Dread, Raz Robin, "pulled a baseball bat on the I and threatened to blow my lights out because H.I.M. Fire said that I bought the P into Rua[toria]." This potentially fatal incident was narrowly averted by the intervention of Te Hokowhitu, who rushed between the feuding parties to prevent them from coming to blows. However, following this incident the regular appearance of Raz Robin among the bro's and on The Hill all but ceased. When I queried what would have motivated Raz Robin's attempted assault, Te Ahi replied: "because he was two bob. He was jealous of the I. That's why I said to The Dread, that fella never really loved the I and the I [I and I]. He just kept me close to him because he's keeping his enemy close." Prodding the area of his chest to indicate the heart, Te Ahi continued: "that thing in there isn't with us [The Dread and by extension, Jah]." In reference to those he labelled 'the fallen', Te Ahi resigned: "Those other bro's were there, but not there, eh. Like what I was saying to Te Hokowhitu, 'yeah dread [they're] like the hireling'.¹¹⁵ They want what we got [the marijuana crop], but they don't want to do any work. They're right there with us, but when the shit hits the fan then watch them, gone!" Te Ahi's exclamatory sign-off was in perfect synchrony with the swooshing sound generated by the rapid swiping of his right hand along the stationary open palm of his left.

It is difficult to determine, with any degree of accuracy, the exact scale of local marijuana production in and around Ruatoria. However, it is commonly assumed that cultivation is

¹¹⁵ A term commonly used in the Bible to describe a paid labourer employed for a limited period of time.

pervasive amongst the local population, irrespective of age and/or gender. One conclusion that can be safely drawn from my own observations is that the local cultivation of marijuana ranges from small-scale production of a few plants for personal use, to large commercially driven operations. On several occasions when travelling with The Dread I would be invited to redirect my gaze towards marijuana growing in an assortment of imaginative locations that ranged from partially sighted cavities, on the underside of the colossal trunks of decaying fallen trees, to large neatly formed horticultural blocks set amidst extensive fields of maize whose rate of growth they appeared to mirror. The latter certainly suggested some degree of involvement from the landowner, whether permissive or proactive.

For approaching three decades The Dread have grown their marijuana communally, with the crop being divided amongst those who participated in its cultivation throughout the growing season. For The Dread, income derived from the limited sale of marijuana was not for monetary gain, but was largely intended to supplement the income of the minority in receipt of paid employment, or the state benefits (dole) for the majority that do not. To minimise the risk of drawing unwanted attention, through sudden displays of material goods or conspicuous consumption, proceeds from the marijuana harvest are distributed steadily throughout the course of the year. The quantities of marijuana constantly being consumed by The Dread is a further indication of their emphasis on marijuana as 'the holy herb' and captured by Te Hokowhiti's declaration that: "The Dread grow the herb for the healing of the nation, not the dealing of the nation." In P, those individuals that Tui asserted (at the beginning of this chapter) were less than committed to the Rastafarian movement have found a powerful alternative to the communally regulated, seasonal production cycles of marijuana. Unfortunately however, P use is incompatible with The Dread's kaupapa (philosophy).

From the intensity of mutual repudiation revealed in Te Ahi's account one can infer that for some, the attraction of marijuana represented an enticement, or at least an attractive benefit, to being part of the Rastafarian movement that now appears to have weakened. The first half of this chapter has been an attempt to address the essentialist notion, held

by a great many local people, that Ruatoria's Rastafarian movement was no more than a passing phase, propelled by tāina (junior) adherence to genealogical seniority. Over time it is supposed that The Dread had somehow lost momentum, presumably as a consequence of juniors having matured. Nevertheless, this explanation is highly unsatisfactory. Quite apart from anything else, Māori genealogical status (in this instance, juniority) is unaffected by the passage of maturation.¹¹⁶ So what other factors can possibly explain The Dread's perceived decline?

Notwithstanding The Dread's slowly developing presence amid the Ruatoria Voluntary Fire Brigade, the focus of the chapter up to this point has arguably lent some support to the case for assumed disintegration of The Dread. I have posited that a factor in this process has been the arrival in the township of the drug, P. As well as producing new social ills: addiction to Class A drugs and burglary to sustain their habit, P has been perceived by The Dread to have stimulated material cravings, immorality and self-aggrandisement. In the second half of this chapter the focus switches from an attention to material affects to the spiritual affects of The Dread's kaupapa (philosophy). The aim will be to explain the process of disintegration that has impact the movement and provide an analysis on how these events are reconciled through adherence to kaupapa. In so doing, I shall begin again, by returning to my meeting with Branch.

During my meeting with Branch, he had likened the trials and tribulations experienced by members of The Dread to the parable of the seeds thrown by the sower:

Behold, a sower went forth to sow; and when he sowed, some seeds fell by the wayside, and the fowls came and devoured them up: some fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth: and forthwith they sprung up, because they had no deepness of earth: and when the sun was up, they were scorched; and because they had no root, they withered away. And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprung up, and choked them: but other fell into good ground, and brought forth fruit, some a hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold (Matthew 13: 3-8).

To appreciate Branch's application of this parable and understand its relevance to the context being discussed, one can turn to the explanation offered by Jesus in Matthew 13: 19-23. In doing so, it becomes possible to interpret the parable of the seeds thrown by

¹¹⁶ See Chapter Three of this thesis.

the sower as an allegory for the receptiveness of the people of the world (represented by the wayside, the stony places, the thorns, and the soil) to the message (the word, represented by the seed) disseminated by God (the sower). Consequently, it enables one to see that Branch drew on this figurative treatment to illustrate the preordination he attributes to those Te Ahi referred to as 'the fallen'. The seed fallen by the wayside is directed towards those who having heard the word of God, reject it in favour of sin. The seeds fallen upon stony places is equivalent to those who appear accepting of the word, only to relinquish their faith in the face of adversity. The third category of seeds, those that landed amongst the thorns, applies to those whose faith is overcome by the desire for material wealth and self-aggrandisement.

The final category of seeds landing on good ground is representative of the retention of the word of God by 'the remnant', which in this instance applies to those members of The Dread that have remained steadfast in their adherence to Jah. As will be further revisited in the latter part of this chapter, The Dread identify strongly with the themes emanating from the quotation featured at the very beginning of this chapter, in which the remnant are those that will be delivered out of mount Zion and Jerusalem. In Chapter Three of this thesis I have already drawn attention to the significance of the place-name Hiruhārama (the Māori translation of Jerusalem), which marks a location on the outskirts of Ruatoria from where several members of The Dread originate. Equally, important however, is The Dread's equating of Ngāti Porou's sacred Hikurangi Maunga (Mount Hikurangi) with Mount Zion of the Old Testament. The Dread often articulate this interpretation in the following terms: 'The Bible says Zion is a mountain in the east, not the near east or the middle east, but the far east and where's further east than Aotearoa (New Zealand)?' The Dread's reasoning therefore dictates that the most easterly mountain on Aotearoa (Hikurangi Maunga) is that which can lie claim to biblical status.

ASCENT TO THE TWELFTH HEAVEN

Branch is far from alone in his pursuit of formal qualifications; other members of The Dread have also embarked on a similar course of action through the Marae Based Studies

(MBS) programmes operated by Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa (The University of Raukawa). Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa describes itself as a reformulation of ancient Māori houses of higher learning, (whare wānanga) and has established an approach to education centred upon the principles of Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge).¹¹⁷ However, it is the MBS's guiding principle: "People will learn at home, about home by people from home", which arguably makes the institution particularly attractive to The Dread as it allows members to pursue tertiary education without having to move away from Ruatoria and Te Tai Rāwhiti (the East Coast). The institution administers a range of distance learning courses from its campus in the small town of Ōtaki, located north of the nation's capital, Wellington. Each academic year, MBS students are required to participate in weekly Māori language classes through distance learning, in addition to attending a specified number of six-day Hui Rumaki Reo (language immersion) modules and four-day residential seminars held either on the university's campus or at a designated marae (meeting-house complex).¹¹⁸ In the periods between these residential seminars and immersion courses, students undertake independent research and study.

During my period of field research, I also became aware that Te Kupu had enrolled on a teaching degree in addition to studying Humanities, Te Ahi was studying Hapū Development (Heke Tupunga Hapū) and his wife, Morning Star graduated with a Bachelors Degree (Poutuārongo) in Whakaakoranga (Teaching). Te Hokowhitu had been earning qualifications as a boxing coach, while other Dread members, such as King Glory and Chiefly were establishing themselves as tā moko (tattoo) and whakairo (carving) practitioners respectively, outside of Ruatoria.

¹¹⁷ Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa (<http://www.wananga.com/?q=node/16>)

¹¹⁸ Depending upon the subject being studied, the frequency of hui (assemblies) and immersion sessions can number between three to six sessions.

FAITH, FALL OR FLEE

Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life

(Revelation 2: 10).

Before concluding my field research, the setting for my final visit at the home of Te Hokowhitu and Power of the Trinity was in their kitchen, which is particularly notable for the ornamentation of its walls. Each surface is awash with an assortment of handwritten biblical scriptures ranging in style (from bold capitals to elegantly rendered gothic script), size, colour and judging by the faded quality of many of the inscriptions, age. Some are short and succinct, such as: 'IN JAH WE TRUST', while others are lengthy transcriptions of biblical verse:

Behold, I have made your face strong against their faces, and your forehead strong against their foreheads, Like adamant harder than flint I have made your forehead; do not be afraid or dismayed at their looks, for they are a rebellious house. Moreover he said to me, Son of man, all my words that I shall speak to you receive in your heart, and hear with your eyes. And go, get thee to them of the captivity, unto the children of your people, and speak to them, and tell them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear.¹¹⁹

Interspersed among these inscriptions are illustrations of roses, Star of David's and various Māori motifs. Hanging on the kitchen wall is also a photograph of The Dread's deceased prophet-leader Jah Rastafari and a New Zealand Firefighters Welfare Society calendar. All these items and textual embellishments overlay the pastel yellow wallpaper with rowan tree influenced design of pinnately arranged leaflets in muted olive and yellow flowers. The cumulative effect of these wall hangings is one in which you are bathed in a glowing sea of scripture. Among the most prominent of the hand drawn illustrations is an image of Tamanuiterā, the personification of the sun god, rising behind a flaming scroll that is headed with the symbol of alpha and omega, beneath which is inscribed the words:

¹¹⁹ Ezekiel 3: 8-11

HOLY HOLY HOLY LORD,
GOD OF POWER + MIGHT
HEAVEN AND EARTH ARE
FILLED WITH YOUR GLORY
HOSANNA IN THE HIGHEST
BLESSED IS HE WHO COMES
IN THE NAME OF THE LORD
HOSANNA IN THE HIGHEST¹²⁰

Most, if not all the inscriptions appeared to fall into the category of testimonies or affirmation of The Dread's steadfast belief in the power and strength of God's promise to those who follow him.

¹²⁰ The opening lines of this text appear to be the authors in origin, while the climax: 'BLESSED IS HE WHO COMES IN THE NAME OF THE LORD HOSANNA IN THE HIGHEST', are taken from Matthew 21: 9.

CONCLUSION

This thesis began by recalling the verbal salvo unleashed by a Ngāti Porou elder vociferously opposed to my intention to conduct ethnographic field research among the group of Māori Rastafari, whom I came to know as The Dread. Although by far the most abrasive, this encounter in which The Dread were among other things, castigated as evil, marijuana-crazed criminals, gangsters and murderers was but one of the many negative commentaries with which I was confronted throughout my period of ethnographic field research in Aotearoa-New Zealand. For example, an alternative perspective, although viewing The Dread in a rather more sympathetic light, proclaimed that their deviation from the norms and expectations of Ngāti Porou habitus is culturally "misguided." Moreover, it was viewed as evidence that The Dread, in having adopted a Rastafari identity, had somehow lost their grasp of Māoritanga (Māori culture).

A further accusation leveled here was that The Dread's "hotchpotch of ideas" that manifest in their modes of communication, conduct and appearance considered not "proper Māori," was symptomatic of the failure of Ngāti Porou elders to pass on cultural knowledge. In Chapter Two, however, I argued that it is the origination of knowledge in the realm of Ranginui that endowed it with the condition of sanctity, which demands that its transmission requires careful handling. In rural townships such as Ruatoria it is this factor that generates extreme levels of anxiety that often culminates in the reluctance of elders to pass on their cultural knowledge to those like The Dread who are eager to connect with the ways of their ancestors. For this reason, a thesis such as this has the potential to acquire the status of taonga (ancestral item) and thereby inheriting an element of tapu (sanctity) due to its transcription of The Dread's personal names and narratives, both mythic and contemporary related to me by The Dread.

Yet another category of opinion, this time voiced by Māori boasting some familiarity or identification with Aotearoa-New Zealand's Rastafari movement, emphasised that The Dread were not "proper Rastas." For this reason, it was suggested on more than one

occasion that I should instead redirect my research interest towards Auckland's 'authentic' Rastafari community, whose members are collectively known as 'The House of Shem'. Underscoring these perspectives lay a common assumption that The Dread were not "a chapter a day" readers of the Bible, as "true Rastas" ought to be, but just enjoyed listening to Bob Marley and smoking dak (marijuana). However, during my period of ethnographic field research I observed, as noted throughout the chapters in this thesis, how The Dread's discourse is regularly couched in biblical as well as mythic terms. This was perhaps most obviously expressed in Chapter Seven where I relate the parallel scriptural references employed by Branch, Te Hokowhitu and Te Ahi when explaining The Dread's receipt of divine protection from Jah (God) in the face of their reduction in number from the many to the few. as have been able to withstand adversity, while others have not.

An aim of this study has been to contribute to the field of Māori cosmology by drawing on ethnography that speaks directly to Michael Scott's notion of onto-praxis. In particular, the way in which an onto-practical approach addresses head-on the models employed by The Dread in mediating tensions between unity and differentiation. Tensions, which exist I argue, as a consequence of the act of cosmogonic cleavage that brought into being the differentiation of earth and sky. In accessing The Dread's ontological concerns through cosmology and praxis I therefore adopted as my analytical starting point, the unpacking of internal contestations that occurred between the seven divine sons of the primordial mātua (parents), Ranginui (sky) and Papatūānuku (earth).

In the introduction to the thesis, I described how prior to cosmogonic cleavage the siblings occupied the creases and crevices between the clasped bodies of their mātua. A recurring theme in several of the chapters demonstrates, that although significantly transformed by the actions of Tāne—the son who opened up a plenum by pushing his parents apart—the composite whole, previously held together by the embrace of Ranginui (sky) and Papatūānuku (earth), was not relinquished unequivocally. For, having created the space necessary for the human occupation of Earth, it is Tāne, the atua (god) of forests, trees and wood, whose sacred body preserves the earthly environment by way

of the four wooden toko (poles) that hold the sky and earth apart. Moreover, in so doing, Tāne simultaneously mediates a continuum between the primordial parents, Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

In Chapter Six of this thesis I explored the significance of trees and wooden poles in maintaining the separation of Ranginui (sky) and Papatūānuku (earth), while simultaneously constructing a continuum between the domains of earth and sky. Moreover, the chapter details how through the implantation of children's pito (navel scabs) into cracks in the trunk of a tree, individuals are embedded within the body of Tāne and thus facilitate their reconnection to their primordial parents, Ranginui and Papatūānuku. At the heart of the analysis in Chapter Six, however, is the Dread's instigation of the appropriate funerary rites for one such tree, the pito tree, after their elders had erroneously cut it down. In cutting down the pito tree the elders jeopardised the reintegration into Ranginui and Papatūānuku of those whose pito had been embedded within its trunk. Moreover, The Dread's dedication to nurturing and preserving trees and forests is also a central theme in Chapter Five whose role in holding the land together alleviates the threat of further cosmogonic fragmentation by preventing the land being washed out to sea.

A further aim of this thesis has been to highlight key ways in which The Dread have embraced Rastafari as far more than that which Stephen Glazier termed a "religion of protest [and a] religion of the oppressed" (1996: 222), or Leslie James described as a "religion of resistance and a religion of [social] integration" (2008: 142). Rather, I have argued that we can best understand The Dreads assimilation of the foreign Rastafari movement as a means by which adherents articulate aspects of Māori cosmology, which in fostering communion with atua (gods) and tīpuna (ancestors) facilitates their attempts to recapture the condition of primordial oneness with Jah (God). The challenge facing this study has therefore been to illuminate ethnographic contexts in which The Dread strive for communion with specific gods and ancestors traditionally associated with the historic, spiritual and cosmogonic past designated, 'nga rā o mua' (the days in front), and receive their guidance into 'kei muri' (the unseen future that lays behind).

Bearing this challenge in mind, in Chapter Four I argued that The Dread's cosmologically-informed pursuit of communion with atua (gods) and tīpuna (ancestors) was discernable in the relationship between the whare whakairo (carved meeting-house), Rarohenga (the third Māori underworld), and their adornment of facial moko (tattoos). In cosmological terms, I described the whare whakairo as the figurative representation of the founding hapū (sub-tribe) ancestor, whose interior or poho (bosom) expresses the genealogical solidarity of the hapū by integrating key ancestors into its anatomical structure as wood carvings and framed portraits. Together, these integrative characteristics configure the whare whakairo as a potent expression of the composite whole by communicating genealogical solidarity, collective hapū identity and group membership. For these reasons, I argued that the whare whakairo is not only mimetic of the original cosmogonic condition in which primordial parents encompass descendents, but that it also constitutes a reprise of Rarohenga, the subterranean abode of atua and the departed spirits of tīpuna.

Therefore, in entering the whare whakairo (carved meeting-house), hapū (sub-tribe) members engage in an act of cosmological communion that entails cycling between the earthly realm situated outside the corporate body of the founding ancestor and the domain of atua (gods) and tīpuna (ancestors) reprised in the interior or poho (bosom) of the meeting-house. For The Dread, however, the cosmological significance of this often taken-for-granted juncture at which inhabitants of the Māori present enter into communion with those depicted in the carvings displayed throughout the whare whakairo, is augmented by their adornment of facial moko (tattoos). However for The Dread their entry into the realm of ancestors is also supplemented by their wearing of facial moko (tattoos) through which they achieve physical concordance with their gods and ancestors by way of a form of adornment originally retrieved from the inhabitants of Rarorenga, the underworld. The reason, I argue, is that like lizards (moko), The Dread wearing of facial moko (tattoos), supplements their ability to move from the earthly realm of life to enter into communion with gods and ancestors in the realm of death.

GLOSSARY

Aotearoa	New Zealand, literally land of the long white cloud
ariki	paramount chief
atua	supernatural beings, often glossed, god/gods
hapū	sub tribe; literally, pregnant
Haumiatikitiki	God of the fern root and all other uncultivated foods that grow wild
Hinenuitepō	The Great Lady of Te Pō (The Darkness)
hoko	to buy, trade, exchange
hongī	ritual greeting by pressing noses
hui	tribal congregations
iho whenua	umbilical cord
ira atua	divine life principle
ira tangata	human principle
iwi	tribe; literally, human bone
iwi atua	fairy people
Jah	God
kaitiaki	custodian
kaitiakitanga	guardianship, trusteeship
karakia	ritual incantation
kaumātua	elder
kaupapa	philosophy
kauwae raro	lower jaw
kauwae runga	upper jaw
kawa	protocol

ke muri	the future and that which lies behind
kete wānganga	baskets of knowledge
koha	contribution, donation, gift of acknowledgement
kōrero	discuss, speak, narrative, explanations
kōrero pūrākau	mythic narrative, explanations
kōrero tawhito	ancient narratives, explanations
koroua	elderly male relatives
kuia	elderly female relatives
kūmara	sweet potato
kupu tuku iho	history, oral history
mahoe	small mallet
mana	Ancestrally derived power, authority or prestige
mana atua	spiritual power from the god
mana motuhake	sovereignty
mana whenua	authority over land
māngai	mouthpieces
manuhiri	visitors, stranger
Māoritanga	Māori culture
marae	Meeting-house complex consisting of land and buildings
marae ātea	forecourt for orators on the marae
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
mauri	life force, life principle (Check for consistency in thesis)
moko	tattoo, lizard
mōteatea	traditional chant
nga rā o mua	past; literally, the days in front
ngā tamariki o te haeata	the children of the first light

Ngāti	the people of
noa	profane
pā	ancestral meeting house complex
Pākehā	Literally meaning foreign or outlandish, the term Pākehā is generally applied to New Zealander's of European descent.
Papatūānuku	the Earth Mother
pepeha	proverb
pōtiki	youngest child
pounamu	greenstone
rangahau	research that connotes, "weaving together the breath of the ancestors"
rangatira	chief
Ranginui	the Sky Father
Rarohenga	the third underworld
Rastafari	pronounced 'Rasta-FAR-I' with 'I' enunciated as in the English letter 'I,' is used throughout to refer to the movement itself, as well as to groups or individuals. Many adherents reject derivative terms such as "Rastafarian" and "Rastafarianism." The latter is particularly objectionable, as the suffix "-ism" is considered to be constitutive of false or destructive ideologies and religions, such as 'capitalism,' 'racism,' 'Catholicism' or 'communism.'
rohe	tribal territory
Rongomaraeroa	God of the kūmera (sweet potato)
Rūaumoko	God of earthquakes and volcanic activity
tā	to strike or tap
tā moko	tattooing, patterning
tāina	younger siblings/junior cousins
Tāne	God of forests, birds, insects and timber of all kinds
Tāne-te-wānanga-ā-rangi	Tāne the bringer of knowledge from the sky

Tangaroa	God of the sea and progenitor of fish of all kinds
tangata whenua	people of the land, hosts
tangi	Māori death-mourning ritual
taniwha	water spirit
taonga	ancestral item of value
tapu	sanctity, sacred
tauīwi	foreigners
Tāwhirimātea	God of winds and tempests
Te Ao Hou	The New World
Te Ao Mārama	The World of Light
Te Ao Pōuri	The Dark World
Te Ao Tawhito	The Old World
Te Ika a Māui	The fish of Māui
te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou	The Assembly of Ngāti Porou
Te Tai Rāwhiti	The East Coast of the North Island
te tangata me te whenua	the people and the land
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
te whare o te mate	the house of death
tikanga	"correct ways", glossed as custom, customary practise
tikitiki	topnot
tipuna (pl. tīpuna)	ancestor
tohu	a sign
tohunga	ritual and/or skills expert
tohunga tā moko	tattoo practitioner
tohunga whakaora-ā-wairua	spiritual leader

tuākana	older siblings/senior cousins
tuku	to allow, lease, let go
Tūmatauenga	God of war and humankind
turehū	supernatural beings
uhi	tattooing chisel
uruuru whenua	entering the land
utu	payment of equal return
wāhi tapu	sacred ground, sacred sites
waiata	songs and chants
wairua	spirit
waka	canoe
whakairo tangata	carving people
whakanoa	tapu (sanctity) removal
whakapapa	geneology
whakatauākī	proverb
whānau	extended family; literally, give birth
whanaunga	kin
whanaungatanga	kinship
whare wānanga	sacred house of learning
whare whakairo	carved meeting-house
whatukura	sacred stones of knowledge
whenua	land, placenta
whenua papatipu	ancestral land
Whiro	God of things pertaining to evil, darkness and death
whiunga	retribution

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