TEARS *of* RANGI

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EXPERIMENTS ACROSS WORLDS

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PRESS

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A note about textual conventions:
In this book, italics have been used when quoting longer Māori texts, but not for proper and place names, individual words or short Māori phrases now familiar in New Zealand English. Macrons for Māori words have been used throughout (unless names – place, personal, tribal). The Taura Whiri convention has been followed with regards to the application of hyphens in Māori words.

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Whanganui woman demonstrating plaiting and weaving flax.

Whakarongo! Whakarongo! Whakarongo	Listen, Listen, Listen
ki te tangi a te manu e karanga nei	to the cry of the bird calling
Tui, tui, tuituia!	Bind, join, be one!
Tuia i runga, tuia i raro,	Bind above, bind below
Tuia i roto, tuia i waho,	Bind within, bind without
Tuia i te here tangata	Tie the knot of humankind
Ka rongo te pō, ka rongo te pō	The night hears, the night hears
Tuia i te kāwai tangata i heke mai	Bind the lines of people coming down
I Hawaiki nui, i Hawaiki roa,	From great Hawaiki, from long Hawaiki
I Hawaiki pāmamao	From Hawaiki far away
I hono ki te wairua, ki te whai ao	Bind to the spirit, to the day light
Ki te Ao Mārama!	To the World of Light!

— CHANT BY ERUERA STIRLING

HE MIHI AROHA — ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

E paru i te tinana, e mā i te wai,	If you're touched with mud, you can wash it off,
E paru i te aroha, ka mau tonu ē.	If you're touched with aroha, it lasts always.

— EREURA STIRLING

When I was sixteen, I met Peggy Kaua and Lady Lorna Ngata in Gisborne, my home town. They were leading experts in kapa haka (ancestral dance) and friends with my mother. I was about to head off for a year in the States as an American Field Service scholar, and they taught me some action songs. They were elegant and dignified, very kind and a little amused by my efforts. During that year in the States when I talked about my own country, I began to glimpse the depths of my ignorance about te ao Māori (the Māori world).

The following year at the University of Auckland, I began to learn Māori and joined Māori Club. I met Eruera and Amiria Stirling, leading elders in Auckland, at a party, and Amiria invited me to their house in Herne Bay. Eruera was an orator, trained in ancestral knowledge by the last tohunga (priestly expert) from the Kirieke whare wānanga (schools of learning) in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. For the next 20 years, Eruera and Amiria guided and taught me, not just about tikanga Māori (Māori ways of living) but about life in general. My debt to them is incalculable.

Later that year, I attended a tukutuku (woven wall-panel) school at Tikitiki on the East Coast, run by the master carver Pine Taiapa. A group from Ngati Whatua, tāngata whenua (people of the land) in Auckland, were learning to weave tukutuku panels for their chapel in Okahu Bay, the last remnant of their tribal estates in the heart of Auckland. This was the first time I had stayed on a marae, and during the tukutuku school I met Bill and Connie Davis, elders of Ngati Whatua. Afterwards I used to visit them in Kitemoana Street, or 'Boot Hill' as they called it, where Ngati Whatua had been sent (booted) after their village in Okahu Bay was taken by the government in 1951 and burned to the ground. During that same year, I met Merimeri Penfold, who was teaching te reo (Māori language) at the

university. She was a brilliant teacher, poet and writer who became my close friend, advisor and confidant until her death in 2014.

These were life-changing meetings. I became captivated by the depths and intricacies of te ao Māori, and in awe of the mana (ancestral power) of its experts. I began to learn about the pain of the colonial experience for Māori, from those who were living through it, and about courage and resilience in the face of adversity. I came to see that in exploring Māori ways of being, understanding is elusive – always partial and never final. This has been (and still is) an amazing journey. This book is dedicated to those who have been teachers and friends, guides and guardians along the way, past and present, in gratitude for their generosity, patience and kindness:

Peggy Kaua
Lady Lorna and Sir Henry Ngata
George and Pare Marsden
Darcy Ria
Hine and Paul Weka
Eruera and Amiria Stirling
Merimeri Penfold
Bill and Connie Davis
Bruce and Joy Biggs
Sir Hirini and Lady June Mead
Sir Hugh and Lady Freda Kawharu
Patu Hohepa
Ngapare Hopa
Ranginui and Deidre Walker
Sir Tamati and Lady Tilly Reedy
Wharetoroa and Ngarungatapu (Bea) Kerr
Witi Ihimaera
Maxine and Hone Ngata
Roimata and Rauru Kirikiri
Sir Pita Sharples
Sir Robert Mahuta
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Manuka and Diane Henare
Paul Tapsell
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Kiri Toki
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A heartfelt mihi, too, to my colleagues in the research project, Te Ao Tawhito: The Ancient Māori World, supported by the Marsden Fund from the Royal Society of New Zealand, which made this book possible. During the project, Hone Sadler, Jane McRae, Jeny Curnow, Robert Pouwhare and Joe Te Rito located and translated early Māori manuscripts, while Hazel Petrie and Christine Jackson scoured the archives for relevant materials from the early contact period in English and Māori. A catalogue of many of these sources by Hazel Petrie has been lodged in various research archives.

Te Ao Tawhito team members also produced their own works on the ancestral Māori 'world' – Hone Sadler's *Ko Tautoro: Te Pito o Tōku Ao. A Ngāpuhi Narrative* (2014); Hazel Petrie's *Outcasts of the Gods?: The Struggle Over Slavery in Māori New Zealand* (2015); Jeny Curnow's translations with Robert Pouwhare and Joe Te Rito of Te Rangikaheke manuscripts, lodged in the Auckland Public Library in 2012; and Jane McRae's *Māori Oral Tradition: He Kōrero nō te Ao Tawhito* (2017). Their remarkable inquiries have enriched my thinking about ancestral ways of being.

I am deeply indebted to friends and colleagues in Māori Studies, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga Centre of Research Excellence and the Waitangi Tribunal for their inspiration and support; to Wayne Ngata, Raewyn Dalziel, Deidre Brown, Angela Middleton, Manuka Henare, Billie Lythberg, Ron Crosby and Sir Geoffrey Lloyd for their generosity in offering expert feedback on drafts of the manuscript; and to several anonymous readers for their wise advice.

In bringing the book to press, Christine Jackson researched the images, Mike Wagg did an astute, fastidious job of editing, Sarah Ell and Nicola Makiri van Aardt meticulously checked the text and Sam Elworthy showed great faith in the work and helped to shape it.

My thanks to two brilliant artists, Robert Sullivan for his permission to quote from his poem *Star Waka*, and Brett Graham for permission to reproduce his work *Nebula 11*, based on a sketch of a takarangi double spiral by Pei Te Hurinui Jones.

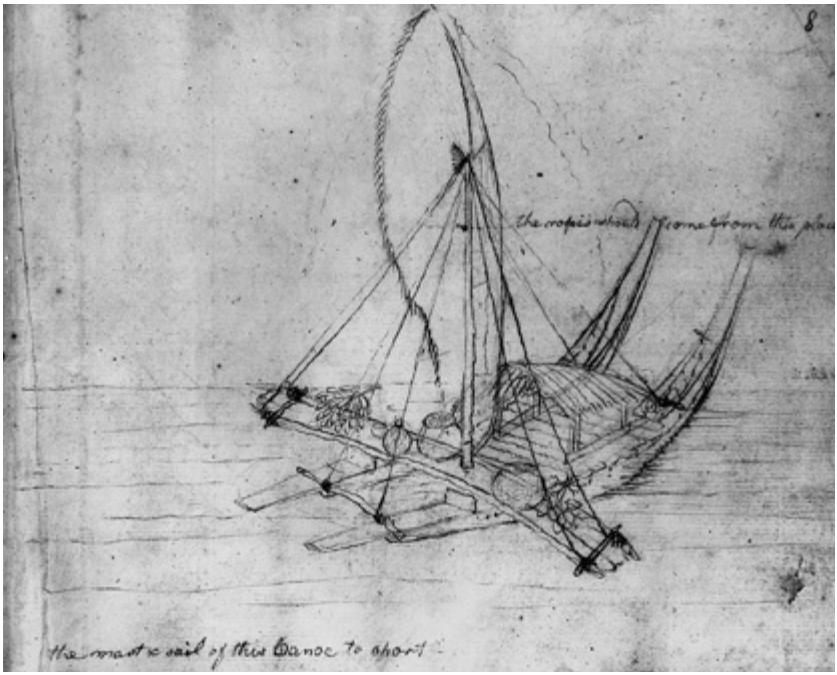
I also owe a great deal to my daughter Amiria Manutahi Salmond, whose work on the 'ontological turn' in anthropology helped to inspire this book. I've loved our debates and shared projects, and *Tears of Rangi* took shape around them.

As Ranginui Walker once said of scholarly work, it should be like a marae (ceremonial centre for kin groups), where 'people stand to be blown about by the wind and shone on by the sun'. In a series of keynote lectures,

academic papers, newspaper articles, broadcasts and talks in New Zealand and Europe, different sections of this work have been drafted and tested. I am grateful to to those listeners and readers who engaged in debate and discussion with me, offering corrections and new insights.

Thank you, too, to those who shared their experience and wisdom in various real-life experiments 'across worlds' – the founding Board of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, the Board of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, the Expert Advisory Panel for the World Heritage nomination of Taputapuatea Marae in Ra'iatea, the Longbush Ecological Trust and the Te Ha Trust in Gisborne, Te Awaroa: Voice of the River project, the Starpath Partnership for Excellence, the Air New Zealand Sustainability Panel and the Council of the Royal Society of New Zealand – *e hoa mā, tēnā koutou katoa!*

As always, my love to the family – Jeremy, our children and their families, and our large, irreplaceable whānau, the Thorpe and Salmond clans.



A tiipaerua (double canoe) sketched by Sydney Parkinson during the Endeavour*'s visit to Ra'iatea in 1769.*

PREFACE

Voyaging Worlds

In the twenty-first century Pacific, the most iconic images of the Earth are those taken from outer space. A blue globe hangs in a pool of darkness, spinning in the sun. When the Pacific Ocean comes into sight, its scatter of islands is barely visible. Edged by the continents of Asia, Australia and the Americas, the scale of this great ocean is impressive. Marbled by drifts of cloud, the Pacific covers almost a third of the earth's surface. In the far southern reaches, one can see the islands of New Zealand, the last significant land mass on Earth to be found and settled by people.

The ancestors of Māori invented blue-water sailing. As they sailed across the Pacific, stars, comets, clouds, the sun, the moon and birds appeared at different heights in the heavens. At night, successions of stars rose up in the sky, guiding them on their voyages. As winds blew and waves and swells slapped against the hulls of their canoes, it seemed that they stood still in the ocean while islands floated towards them.[1]

The Brazilian anthropologist Viveiros de Castro has argued for the 'ontological self-determination' of the world's peoples.[2] Here, he is not talking about 'world views' (as though despite our different visions, there is just one world after all), or even 'humanity' or 'the planet', but suggesting that different peoples may explore different realities, and have the right to do so. For the Polynesian voyagers, a layered, curved universe in which islands sailed across the sea and stars across the sky was not a myth, but based on experience. Their explosive migrations east to Easter Island and the west coast of South America, north to Hawai'i and south to New Zealand were made possible by a navigation system based on deep knowledge of the sea,

winds and stars; fast, resilient canoes;[3] a portable suite of plants and animals; and kin-based forms of order that allowed them to transplant themselves in new and unfamiliar lands.

When the first star navigators arrived in New Zealand in about the early fourteenth century,[4] they had to rapidly adapt to plants and animals, landscapes and climatic conditions very different from those in their tropical homelands. By the time the first Europeans came ashore perhaps four hundred years later, Māori had developed many new technologies, along with new dialects, art forms and philosophical ideas. Far from a static 'traditional' society, early Māori life was dynamic and rapidly changing.

In order to reach these remote islands, the first Western explorers, Abel Tasman in 1642 and Captain James Cook in 1769–70, faced similar challenges. They had to master the art of sailing for long periods across great distances, along with technologies (including projectile weapons) that allowed them to survive the challenges from island warriors.[5] At the time of the *Endeavour*'s arrival, life in Europe was also in a phase of explosive innovation. The settlers who arrived in the wake of the early European explorers brought with them new repertoires of plants and animals,[6] habits of mind and ways of living, casting up realities that, like those of their Polynesian precursors, made it possible for them to inhabit places very different from their homelands.

Since the early nineteenth century in New Zealand, settlers from Polynesia and Europe (and elsewhere) have clashed and forged alliances with one another. In this remote, beautiful archipelago, debates over what is real, and good, and what matters in people's lives have been fiercely contested.[7] In these exchanges across the middle ground, ancestral Māori conceptions have been mobilised, usually but not always by Māori, and Western frameworks deployed, mostly but not invariably by Europeans. In the process, deep-seated assumptions and forms of order (so often invisible, or naturalised as 'common sense') have been brought to light, and challenged. At times – when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between Māori and the British Crown; or New Zealand became the first country in the world to give the vote to women; or the Treaty settlement process was established; or the Whanganui River was recognised as a legal person – these exchanges have helped to provoke new ways of thinking.

Here, I want to explore the likelihood that like bio-diversity, cosmo-diversity (in the sense of multiple 'worlds') may be a force for adaptation

and survival. For the old Cartesian dualisms and their fragmented dreams are no longer working – in science, in material matters, or in human affairs.[8] In order to find more adaptive ways of being, exchanges across different realities may be helpful, allowing new forms of order to emerge.[9] In New Zealand, and elsewhere in the Pacific where ancestral insights remain vital, this can happen. The first part of this book examines such 'experiments across worlds' through a fine-grained inquiry into the early period of encounters between Māori and Europeans in New Zealand (1769–1840), when collisions and exchanges between people holding different assumptions about 'how the world works' were particularly stark and vivid. The second part of the book investigates such engagements in particular areas of life – waterways, land, the sea, and people; and asks whether these might help to open up new pathways to the future.

Whakapapa (genealogy), for instance, a way of being based on complex networks that encompass all forms of life, interlinked and co-emergent, might assist in exploring relational ways of understanding the interactions between people and the land, other life forms, waterways and the ocean.[10] The idea of the hau, the wind of life that activates human and non-human networks alike, animated by reciprocal exchanges; or the spiral of space-time in Māori might help in devising non-linear, recursive ways of investigating the dynamic interactions among different life-forms (including people). This is fitting, because in Māori ways of thinking, knowledge itself is a taonga (ancestral treasure). As knowledge is given or received, hau passes back and forth across the pae – the horizon or threshold between sky and earth, light and dark, local people and visitors, life and death, past and present – reshaping realities and shifting the way that things happen. The pae is a volatile, emergent space, now and then flashing out insights that create new kinds of order.

As my mentor Eruera Stirling once said, 'Knowledge is a blessing on your mind, it makes everything clear and guides you to do things in the right way . . .'[11] This book about experiments across worlds is written in that hope, and spirit.