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Te Umutaoroa – The Slow-Cooking Earth Oven: A Case Study of Intergenerational Transference

Introduction

In 1886 the Māori prophet Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki delivered a prophecy of hope to Patuheuheu – a hapū of Ngāi Tūhoe – following the loss of their land at Te Houhi in the eastern Bay of Plenty. Te Kooti named this prophecy, Te Umutaoroa – the slow-cooking earth oven. This article explores the emergence of Te Umutaoroa and will explain the intergenerational transfer of this prophecy and how it is utilised today. Significantly, this article will present a case study of how Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust – a Waiōhau-based health and wellbeing clinic – uses Te Umutaoroa as a model for its healing practice.

The emergence of Te Umutaoroa – the slow cooking earth oven

Te Umutaoroa is a prophetic, utopian discourse which promised Patuheuheu the return of their lost lands and resources and, according to some narratives, the discovery or generation of other resources like diamonds, gold, oil and minerals (Binney, 2001). Healer Rita Tupe recalls some of the things her father, Hieke Tupe (considered to be an expert on Te Umutaoroa), said about Te Umutaoroa:

Our father Hieke talked about how Te Kooti was travelling around different parts of Aotearoa, and

he came to this area [Te Houhi], but he stopped at Te Arawa first. There he warned the Te Arawa people and told them to move to higher ground because the eruption of Tarawera was going to happen. But I suppose because they didn't believe in a prophet, or a matakite, they ignored his vision. Te Kooti left Te Arawa and carried on this way over to Te Houhi.

When Te Kooti arrived at Te Houhi he also asked our people to move to higher ground for protection; and so they did move to higher ground. At that time it was Ngāti Haka, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa -- those were the four hapū which stayed there together.

Te Kooti rested by his horse and cart at Te Houhi. While Te Kooti rested, he had a dream about this umu which we now know to be Te Umutaoroa; and he talked about these mauri that were left there. He said “Tao ake nei, tao ake nei, ka haramai taku whanaunga ki te hiki ki Te Umutaoroa” [that his relative will come to uplift the slow-cooking earth oven] (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

According to both Hieke Tupe (Binney, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2010; Doherty, 1995) and Robert (Boy) Biddle (Binney, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2010) Te Kooti had his vision in 1886 and named the land on which this event took place, Te Umutaoroa. Robert Biddle states:

Up where the Aniwhenua dam is, now, it used to be dry land before... Te Kooti was there, he slept at this particular pā [Te Houhi], and where he did sleep, he said to them in the morning, ‘I had a dream last night: the valley of the Rangitaiki here was just dense fog...’. He said, ‘I couldn't see

through this fog, so the place where I slept, it will be known as Te Umutaoroa'. That's a hangi - it would be perpetually in that form until this person came and uncovered it (Binney, 2009, p. 494).

Tūhoe scholar, Wharehuia Milroy corroborates the existence of Te Umutaoroa in the following way:

Te Umutaoroa was at Te Houhi; it was a place where Te Kooti visited and while he was at this place there was a lot of fog covering the area at that time. There, at that place, Te Kooti placed eight mauri: mauri atua, mauri whenua, mauri tangata, mauri whakapono, mauri whakaora i ngā iwi, mauri hōhonu, mauri arai atu i ngā pakanga, mauri whakahoki i ngā iwi. One of the statements that Te Kooti made was about Harry Burt finding only “rotting potatoes” at Te Umutaoroa; that the money he received in exchange for on-selling Te Houhi would be like “a pit of rotting potatoes”. There was another prediction: “tao noa, tao noa, tērā ka tae mai te tamaiti māna e huki”. This means that there is this umu still “operating” in its cooking state. Now whoever the tamaiti is, I don't know, but that person must appear to make Te Kooti's prediction come true; someone has to come out at some time or other, to prove Te Kooti's prediction right (W. Milroy, personal communication, 6 July, 2012).

In this way, Te Umutaoroa is both a commentary on the reality of land loss at Te Houhi, and a hapu-based prophecy that embodied Patuheuheu's hope for things to come.

As in other parts of the Pacific, Māori in Aotearoa traditionally cooked food using an umu, or earth oven. A pit is dug in the earth, in which a fire is burned for a number of hours

to heat stones. Once these stones are hot, food in woven baskets is placed on top, covered in leaves and then soil. After the required cooking time, the soil and leaves are removed and the food is ready to be served. Te Umutaoroa refers to this process of cooking in a metaphorical way and, as the name suggests, this particular umu requires a long cooking time. Te Umutaoroa is something that is going to take a long time to unravel (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011). According to Rita Tupe:

Te Umutaoroa is an umu, and as we know, an umu is a cooking pit, where food is cooked underground; it is a hāngi. It is made up like a hāngi; you dig a hole and you burn a fire and heat up stones. ‘Tao roa’ means ‘long cooking.’ The hāngi is still cooking; it’s an umu that still hasn’t completely cooked yet (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Within this hāngi pit it is said that Te Kooti placed eight¹ mauri stones to be uncovered by a future leader, his child or son, to restore all that the people of Te Houhi had lost (Binney, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2010; Doherty, 1995). Hieke Tupe gave the following meanings of the mauri of Te Umutaoroa:

te mauri atua: the essence of spirituality; the belief in God
te mauri whenua: the life force of the land
te mauri tangata: the life force of the people
te mauri whakapono: the power of belief, or faith

¹ According to Rita Tupe, there is significance in the number eight. Similarly to Te Umutaoroa, Rose Pere’s (1991) Te Wheke model has a focus on eight mauri, but the concepts have different purposes and meanings (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011). Pere’s (1991) Te Wheke model is based on the eight arms of the octopus (wheke).

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

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

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

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

In 1998, Hohepa Tamehana (2013), Tūhoe composer and academic, interviewed Hieke Tupe as part of his research toward a waiata-ā-ringa he wrote about Te Umutaoroa. According to Tamehana (2013), Hieke believed that Te Kooti not only visited Te Houhi in 1886 – the time of Tarawera eruption – but he also offered Te Umutaoroa as a means of protection for the people of Te Houhi. As part of this prophetic promise, Hieke claims that Te Kooti requested that eight objects be presented to him, into which he invested eight mauri (Tamehana, 2013). Tamehana (2013) maintains that in his interview with Hieke, the eight mauri were explained thusly:

1. Mauri Atua – The life principle acquired from the gods;
2. Mauri Whenua – The life principle acquired from the land;
3. Mauri Tangata – The life principle acquired from humankind;
4. Mauri Whakapono – The life principle acquired from faith;
5. He Mauri o te hōhonu – The life principle acquired from the unknown;
6. Mauri Whakaora i ngā iwi – The life principle that will heal the people;
7. Mauri arai atu i ngā pakanga – The life principle that protects against battle;

8. Mauri whakahoki i ngā iwi kē – The life principle that guides the people home.
(p. 87).

Tamehana (2013) adapted Hieke's version of the Te Umutaoroa narrative into waiata in the following way:

Ki Rangitaiki, te awa tapu, tāpaetia ai
Kei reira tonu he pukepuke
Te wāhi i tanutia ai
I kōrerotia ai “tao ake nei, kei te haere mai
I muri i a au he tangata māna hei huke”.

At Rangitaiki, the sacred river, is where it is placed
There is a mound there
That is the place it was buried
It was then said “remain here buried, for there comes
behind me, a person who will unearth you” (p. 86).

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

Te kupu ki te Umutaoroa – Te Houhi
Ka taona e ahau tenei hangi ma taku tamaiti e hura
Tenei mea te hangi, ko nga kai o roto hei ora mo te tangata

The word concerning Te Umutaoroa – Te Houhi

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

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

Te Umutaoroa speaks of someone who will come and bring salvation to the people. The coming of Te Kooti's son can be likened to coming of Christ in his time (B. F. Maki, personal communication, 18 October, 2011; R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011). Bruce Fitzgerald Maki, a local kaumātua living in Murupara and the last surviving son of Hāpurona Maki Nātana (the researcher's great-grandfather, see figure 1), states that Te Kooti's announcement of a successor can be traced to the Bible. He contends:

People think that Te Umutaoroa will be revealed by a physical person, tana tamaiti [his son]. Te Kooti said: "Kei muri taku tamaiti e haramai ana" [in the future my son will come]. If we go to the Bible, it says this too. So Te Kooti's idea came from the Bible in my opinion. John the Baptist spoke of a Messiah to come; he was talking about Christ. That's where that concept came from in my view. When Christ was on this earth he spoke in parables. Te Kooti spoke in parables too, but a lot of people don't understand that. Te Kooti is talking about a spiritual child, although he is not a child anymore - it is Christ himself. It has to be. (B. F. Maki, personal communication, 18 October, 2011).

Offering an alternative to the view that Te Kooti was speaking of a successor to come in the future, Rita, a cousin to Bruce, states:

I don't believe that Te Umutaoroa is about waiting for the emergence of Te Kooti's successor. I think it's about us getting our act together and getting Te Umutaoroa out there, and giving it life. We cannot wait for it to come to us; we have to make it happen. It's like when people say that they are waiting for Jesus to come back. No! We don't wait for Jesus, we have to get out there and do the work; and we have to do this work to benefit our whānau, hapū and iwi (R. Tupe, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

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

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

The aspirations of Patuheuheu hapū are tied to the promises of Te Umutaoroa and so it is believed that all those who whakapapa to the land at Te Houhi will, in the future, have the enigmatic contents of the umu revealed to them. According to local healer, Tipene Tihema-Biddle:

As descendants of Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka, the prophecy of Te Umutaoroa offers us divine purpose in everything we do. Although the prophecy and its detail may be unknown to many of our uri, their connection through whakapapa means that one day

they will be led or driven to partake in spiritually feasting upon its many taonga.

Te Umutaoroa represents for us unseen or unrealised potential. It is guarded and protected until such time when the mysteries of its contents will be unravelled for the multitudes to experience. The prophecy speaks of someone who will one day reveal the treasures within; therefore bringing peace to the whole world. This is our steadfast belief.

Te Umutaoroa allows us to realise our own self-power and potential; to determine our own pathways forward in a way that honours each other as whānau and those who have gone before us. We can achieve this through karakia, waiata, whanaungatanga and in many other positive ways (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

Te Kooti's prophecies were given in riddles to be solved. Ever since the prophecy emerged, people have desired to find the location of Te Umutaoroa and extract meaning from the source. Rita states:

Koro² [Hieke] talked about the fact that so many people have gone there, so many matakite have gone there, people that are searching for it. He talked about a Fijian matakite who went there, and she said "I'll find it", and when she got out there, she couldn't find it. It will never show itself because the right person hasn't come yet. That's what I know about the kōrero of Te Umutaoroa.

² Hieke Tupe's children who were interviewed refer to their father as 'Koro', which is a term of address for an elderly man. They use this term because the researcher is in the mokopuna tuarua (great-grandchild) generation of the whakapapa; the researcher is the great-grandson of Hāpurona Maki Nātana who was the elder brother of Hieke Tupe's wife, Te Ārai Elizabeth Nātana.

I remember Koro talking about it; he said that they saw Te Umutaoroa, only because the river's course had been changed because of the mahi³ of the Pākehā. It looked like an island. He said that no matter what it would never disappear; it was always showing. The little maunga would stay out and the water would just go around it. But through the change of the awa and through what man has done we don't know where it is now. I actually took one of Te Kooti's descendants there to the area where Te Umutaoroa is; she felt very privileged to be there. She said "I'm not the one, I wish I was, but I'm not the one" (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Intergenerational transfer of Te Umutaoroa

Te Umutaoroa has been passed down through the generations via wānanga, whaikōrero and hapū history, and is interpreted for the needs of the community in a contemporary context. For example, Te Umutaoroa is used to inform the pedagogy of Te Kura Māori-ā-rohe o Waiōhau⁴, and also the philosophy and practices of Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi⁵ Charitable Trust. In addition, Te Umutaoroa became both the name and underpinning philosophy of a political movement that surfaced in October 2008, and included Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka, hapū groups from Maungapōhatu, Te Whaiti, Te Waimana and other areas located in the Bay of Plenty.

In September 2011 Auckland-based Atamira Dance Company, led by Maaka Pepene of Patuheuheu, performed an interpretive contemporary dance piece entitled 'Te Houhi: the

³ Activity or work (Moorfield, 2011) of the Pākehā which refers to the building of the Aniwhenua hydro-electric dam.

⁴ The local school at Waiōhau where the curriculum is taught in the Tūhoe dialect of the Māori language.

⁵ The tabernacle for the tribe/people.

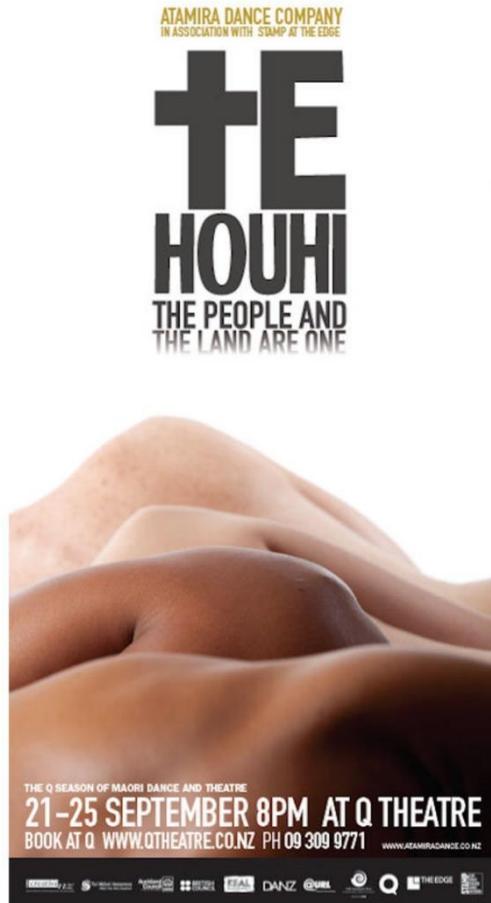
people and the land are one', which told the story of the Waiōhau Fraud, whilst exploring the potential of Te Kooti's promise for the future. The Te Houhi dance work moved, according to Whyte (2011), through three stages:

Te Ao o Neheraa (the ancient world) establishes a relatively untroubled past, the Ngati Haka Patuheuheu people living in harmony and respect for the land and one another.

Te Ao Hurihuri (the world turns upside down) shows the impact of Pakeha colonisation, the rise of Te Kooti, military reactions to passive resistance, the demoralisation of the people through many years of court battles over the fraudulent sale of their land at Te Houhi, and finally the eviction of the people from their land, leaving behind their treasured wharenuī which was inlaid with early Maori figurative art, and central to their Ringatu religion.

Te Ao Marama (the world of light) shows the eventual re-uniting of the people with their meeting house, which they dismantled and carried by hand to its new home at Waiohou [sic], along with ancestral remains and other artefacts necessary to the development of a new harmony of the people with the land – though even today we hear on the News of ongoing tension between the Crown and Ngai Tuhoe (paras. 5-7).

Image 1: Atamira Dance Company presents Te Houhi



(CreativeNZ, 2011, n.p.)

Te Umutaoroa is a living discourse that is used by Patuheuheu in many ways. Commenting on the ways in which the history and narratives surrounding Te Houhi and Te Umutaoroa is used within the hapū to name children, Rita Tupe states:

Te Umutaoroa is being used in the community. I see it being used in the community by our generation, through the names that we are giving to the children. Names like Te Houhi and Te Umutaoroa; our children are being named after these places and events. These names are significant to us because of the whakapapa kōrero (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Te Umutaoroa is both a historical and spiritual narrative, and as such has been used in karakia. In Tamehana's (2011) master's thesis, Determining and defining tikanga in contemporary times, he begins with a karakia which evokes the hidden potential of Te Umutaoroa in the following way:

Roki ai nga hau riri
Roki ai nga hau niwha
Ma taku reo koe hei tohu
Hukea Te Umutaoroa
Kohia nga mauri o roto
Tenei ra te kahau ake nei
Ko... Ko... kokoia
E ara e

Make calm the angry winds
Make calm the fierce winds
Let my voice guide you
Expose Te Umutaoroa
Gather the life-forces contained within
For this is the charm to locate mauri
Let it be so
Let it be arisen (p. vii).

Despite the use of Te Umutaoroa to inform contemporary contexts, some people believe that Te Umutaoroa is too tapu to

write or talk about. These people believe that Te Umutaoroa should remain forever obscured, until Te Kooti's successor comes. Contrary to this restrictive view, local Waiōhau healer Maudy Tupe argues:

Where a lot of people said: "Leave it there - leave it there to be hidden, that's why it has been covered, to remain hidden", Koro Hieke didn't believe that Te Umutaoroa should be covered and hidden. He believed that it was something for his hapū and that they needed to figure out what the purpose of it was. What can it be used for? What can it give us in the future? (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Hieke shared his knowledge about Te Umutaoroa with all who would listen. This knowledge was imparted through wānanga and deep spiritual reflection (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011; R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011). Maudy Tupe asserts:

About 15 years ago, Aunty Naana, Koro Hieke, and I went for a hīkoi. At that time there were some discussions about the location of Te Umutaoroa. Koro said it was on a certain side of the river, and aunty Naana said that it was in a different location. But what was awesome about that was that they were collating their kōrero and trying to determine the location of Te Umutaoroa. Because in the old days the river didn't run the way that it runs now. So it wasn't a conflict between Koro and Aunty Naana – they weren't disagreeing; they were actually having a wānanga together about the location of Te Umutaoroa.

They both had the same kōrero about what Te Umutaoroa looked like; it was a little puke, or a hill, that could never be covered up by the river, or by any flood. Floods would come but it was still sticking up

and could be seen. Both Koro and Aunty Naana said that it looked just like the shape of a hāngi, like when you cook a hāngi.

They sat on the side of the bridge and had a wānanga about Te Umutaoroa and the eight mauri contained within the umu. They tried to relate it back to Christianity and the Ringatu, because it was Te Kooti who prophesied that. So they tried to connect te mauri atua with the Christian God and the Bible, but they both concluded that the mauri was actually much deeper than they were capable of reaching (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

One of the many people to receive teaching about Te Umutaoroa from Hieke was Tipene Tihema-Biddle. Tipene recounts his introduction to Te Umutaoroa in this way:

The first introduction I had to the mauri was through Koro Hieke who talked about how we are caretakers of Te Umutaoroa, as opposed to it being something separate from us, or that it is too tapu to talk about. Because we have whakapapa to that place and those events, we have a responsibility to be kaitiaki of Te Umutaoroa. For some reason it had to be looked after, and at that time I wasn't sure why that was. There were questions around why it had to be looked after, what its functions were. You have to understand something before you can determine how to look after something (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

For Tipene, Te Umutaoroa is more than a historical narrative, because it acts as a set of guidelines for living a good life. He states that “The people are caretakers of this umu, of these mauri” and that “Te Umutaoroa provides philosophies

which we can apply to our lives” (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011). Furthermore, Tipene opines:

The name, Te Umutaoroa, is a description of where the power sits, which is within the eight mauri. Within the eight mauri is contained the essence of Te Kooti’s philosophy.

Te Umutaoroa is a way of life. It can be a vehicle through which we express ourselves as physical and spiritual beings, as descendants of the Creator. I believe that the essence of Te Kooti’s prophecy was to impart guiding philosophies which can show us how to live our lives, providing an ideal to live up to, derived from te ao Māori and Christian perspectives.

Within Te Umutaoroa, Te Kooti had foreseen the ideal lifestyle and the ideal outcome. It wasn’t about a certain someone finding a certain something. It was about how we apply the principles of Te Umutaoroa to our own lives; it was about how to live an ideal life, in harmony, as one people with our whakapono. It’s about achieving the ideal lifestyle in harmony with people, the environment and all other aspects of being human (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Tipene’s claim that Te Umutaoroa provides a template for living a good and decent life provides further clarification around how the prophecy is perceived and used by the hapū. Congruent with Tipene’s beliefs about Te Umutaoroa, Sylvia Tapuke, a great-niece of Hieke, affirms:

Te Umutaoroa provides a structure for how you live your daily life. On a personal level, we are all

dreaming and breathing the energy, the life, the spirit of Te Umutaoroa, so much so that you get the sense that there will be scriptures coming out about Te Umutaoroa.

It's right there for us, everything's there. I watch the children running around and I think to myself: "How would you go about teaching the mauri of Te Umutaoroa to them?" But whenever tamariki of Ngāti Haka Patuheuheu are born into this world, there is this doctrine, this framework, which we call Te Umutaoroa, into which these children are born, which will guide them in this life (S. Tapuke, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

It is well known that Te Kooti mixed Māori beliefs and Christianity. Critically reflecting on Te Kooti's teachings, Tipene Tihema-Biddle explains how Christianity and te ao Māori converge within Te Umutaoroa in the following way:

One thing that is very interesting to me about Te Kooti's teachings is that although they come to us in Christian packaging, the philosophies and theories all derive from te ao Māori. Te Kooti weaved Christianity and te ao Māori together. So his ability to relate to his people at that time was about giving them their own standing at the crossroads where te ao Māori and Christianity meet, even though Christianity has played its part in destroying some of our ways of being Māori. Te Kooti knew that the Christian elements would survive, so he attached aspects of te ao Māori to aspects of Christianity, ensuring the survival of important elements of the Māori world.

Although Te Umutaoroa is in a Christian format, it derives from te ao Māori. Te Kooti was

very aware of how he enticed his followers and so he took a very different spin on the missionary approach. He was able to convince his followers to listen to the word of God through him (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Supporting Tipene's position on the teachings of Te Kooti, Maudy Tupe states that "Te Kooti wanted to share ngā kupu whakaari⁶ with the people. It wasn't all about Christianity, because located within his kupu whakaari was te ao tawhito.⁷ Christianity was the medium through which he passed on knowledge from the old Māori world" (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

In addition to the ways in which Te Umutaoroa is linked to Christianity through Te Kooti, some believe that Te Umutaoroa contains universal values and principles that exist in many other cultures. In Tipene Tihema-Biddle's words:

Principles like those contained within Te Umutaoroa can be seen throughout the world in different forms, in different cultures, where different peoples hold on to their own prophecies and their own histories, similar to the way in which we hold on to ours here. The words of Te Kooti, given to us in the form of Te Umutaoroa, like those prophecies given by other prophets in other times and in other places, are remembered and maintained by believers. For us, Te Umutaoroa is promoted as a way of life; it is normalised into our daily existence. Te Umutaoroa is a framework through which we acknowledge atua, each other, and whenua, and that we live for those things; we live for our atua, for each other and for the whenua

⁶ Prophetic sayings of charismatic leaders (Moorfield, 2011).

⁷ Ancient world.

(T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Sylvia Tapuke also asserts that the principles of Te Umutaoroa can be found in other cultures:

Te Umutaoroa contains the essentials for living an ideal life, which can be found throughout the world's cultures in different forms. Te Umutaoroa is about unity, about oneness (S. Tapuke, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Te Umutaoroa is kept alive by the hapū. It is anchored in the past and is tied to the history surrounding Te Houhi. But at the same time, it is future-orientated and has much to offer. Tipene Tihema-Biddle avers:

In order for us to understand Te Umutaoroa we keep it alive through various mediums like art and waiata, which contribute to retaining the knowledge to share the true story with our uri. We need to listen to what Te Umutaoroa is telling us; we need to listen more deeply within ourselves, using our 'inner ears' (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Te Umutaoroa is also transferred through the various ways in which it is interpreted. This entire thesis is an example of how Te Umutaoroa is being transferred from one generation to the next; from the generations preceding the researcher, through to the researcher, and on to other researchers. Indeed, this thesis is a contribution to a developing archive of information surrounding Te Umutaoroa. Further contributing to research related to Te Umutaoroa, Tamehana (2013) interpreted the principles of the prophecy to create a framework for addressing the issue of poverty in the following table.

Figure 1: Revisiting and revising Te Umutaoroa

Mauri atua	The life principle acquired from the gods	<u>Authority</u> Just as te pō (the darkness) engulfed the children of Sky Father and Earth Mother, poverty created by a neo-liberal government has engulfed our people. And just as the gods exerted their mana to break free, so must we.
Mauri whenua	The life principle acquired from the land	<u>Sustenance</u> We are surrounded by the means to provide organic food for our people and yet a lot of our people are starving. We have become accustomed to the fast food that is cheap and readily available.
Mauri tangata	The life principle acquired from humankind	<u>Social interaction</u> We need to engage with each other effectively and efficiently, as hapū members, iwi members, and even as members of New Zealand society. We need each other if we are to survive neo-liberalism.
Mauri whakapono	The life principle acquired from faith	<u>Assurance</u> If we are expected to believe in our leadership then we need guarantees that our people will receive the benefits and assistance they need to not only survive, but also thrive.
He Mauri o te hōhonu	The life principle acquired from the unknown	<u>Aspiration</u> Many of our people are so pre-occupied with surviving financially that there is no room to dream, to aspire, to have a vision. We are barely surviving and we are certainly not thriving.

Mauri whakaora i ngā iwi	The life principle that will heal the people	<u>Healing</u> Our people are dying of illnesses that were once only found in the elderly. These include diabetes, heart disease, and cancer.
Mauri ārai atu i ngā pakanga	The life principle that protects against battle	<u>Security</u> Poverty is on the rise and this has led to a rise in crime. We are living in a society that is constantly “on edge” when their children are out in public, or when our elderly are home alone.
Mauri whakahoki i ngā iwi kē	The life principle that guides the people home	<u>Stability</u> With a lack of jobs, minimal wages, and high living costs, many of our people are relocating to Australia. The creation of jobs may encourage people to return home.

(Tamehana, 2013, pp. 209-210)

Te Umutaoroa as contemporary political resistance

In October 2008 the prophecy of Te Umutaoroa was the inspiration and name of a political movement that became a platform for resistance and protest. According to Binney (2009), Te Umutaoroa promises “...justice through the spiritual dimension, after failure of the human” (p. 494). Thus, it became the motivation for a faction including Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, and other disaffected Tūhoe hapū, dissatisfied with the activities of the successive iwi organisations set up to manage the Treaty Settlement processes for Tūhoe, namely, Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe and the Tūhoe Establishment Trust.

Binney (2009) states that Te Umutaoroa challenged the mandate of Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe and the Tūhoe Establishment Trust to represent their unique historical claims, such as the

‘Waiōhau Fraud’ and Kaingaroa, in the Treaty settlement process (Binney, 2009). Wharehuia Milroy questions the logic behind Tūhoe’s interests in Kaingaroa and claims that there are other groups whose interests in that area are well known:

One of the things that I don’t understand is how Tūhoe, the wider Tūhoe group, came to have an interest in the Central North Island [Kaingaroa] forests. Now, in my mind, the iwi that would have interests there, or the hapū are Ngāti Tahu, which has a Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa connection; also Ngāti Manawa, Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka, being some of the main groupings. But in my mind, I couldn’t see how the wider Tūhoe group came to have an interest, and I am quite uncomfortable about that. I think that those who are the legitimate claimants are the Waiōhau people by occupation and residence, and partly the Ngāti Manawa people because of rights to the lands on which the Kaingaroa forests were planted. These settlements may actually be as a consequence of political expediency to allow a quicker or earlier claim resolution. (W. Milroy, personal communication, 6 July, 2012).

The Te Umutaoroa political movement detached itself from Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe/Tūhoe Establishment Trust and attempted, unsuccessfully, to negotiate their own claims with the government as “[t]hey feel that their interests are in danger of being subsumed by others’ goals, and by the unrepresentative structure of Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe [and the Tūhoe Establishment Trust]” (Binney, 2009, p. 15). Binney (2009) states:

The narratives that sprang from the land fraud of Te Houhi [which] have kept alive a local historical consciousness... [as] ...“hidden transcripts”...[and]

stories of explanation whose accounts of history – and of the future – subvert the control of those who dominate.... [While] [t]he oral narratives have ensured that the history of the Waiōhau fraud will not be forgotten until an acceptable and just resolution is found (Binney, 2009, p. 495).

Some people regard this political situation as a continuation of the loss of Te Houhi. According to Wharehuia Milroy:

The Waiōhau community is one of those communities that may not receive an equitable share of settlement if it isn't able to express its Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka views in dealing with financial and other assets that are going to come out of the Central North Island forests or the main Tūhoe settlement package. You could say it is a modern twist to the Te Houhi story, where autonomy has been taken away from Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka and replaced by a body or bodies to manage their settlement interests (W. Milroy, personal communication, 6 July, 2012).

Case study: Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust

Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust was established in Waiōhau in 1990 to support whānau who needed the following services: Taha wairua; mirimiri; lomilomi;⁸ rongoā; whakawātea; kōrero; and health and wellbeing training (Tupe, 2012). Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust is a community-based whare oranga or healing clinic located in Waiōhau, in the eastern Bay of Plenty (Tupe, 2012). Te Tāpenakara provides traditional Māori healing services to

⁸ Lomilomi is a Hawaiian word which means to squeeze or knead and in this context refers to massage (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). The Māori equivalent, romiromi means to squeeze, rub gently or massage (Moorfield, 2011).

people who live within the area, from Tauranga to Cape Runaway, but welcomes people from all walks of life and from all over the world (Tupe, 2012). Te Tāpenakara operates from 9am to 5pm Monday to Thursday, but also provides a 24 hour, seven days a week service for those who need it; the trust operates under a koha system where patients give what they can in money, food, taonga, or other resources (Tupe, 2012).

Te Tāpenakara’s vision is to work towards “[a] people filled with strength, vitality and happiness, enjoying a green landscape abundant with the gifts of healing”; and their mission is to “...provide healing to all people” (Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi, 2011, p. 5). The values of the organisation are the mauri of Te Umutaoroa, which have been defined by Te Tāpenakara as follows:

Mauri atua: Remaining focused on the highest intention of all our work as laid down by our tipuna

Mauri whenua: The foundation upon which all can stand resolute

Mauri tangata: The individual demonstrates the eight cultural imperatives of tapu, tikanga, mana, Mauri, whakapapa, wairua, te reo, and whenua

Mauri whakapono: Unshakeable belief in the ability of the whānau to achieve well-being

Mauri whakaora: Healing all people is held paramount

Mauri whakahoki i ngā iwi kē: Returning people to their beginnings

Mauri hōhonu: To understand the sacredness of the tangata, and that we tread softly upon sacred ground

Mauri pakanga: Awareness that conflict is an opportunity for change, learning and new pathways (Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi, 2011, p. 6).⁹

The principles of Te Umutaoroa have been shaped to best suit the purpose and goals of the organisation in terms of providing a health and wellbeing service. Te Tāpenakara service delivery is based on the Kawakawa model, which is built around the mauri of Te Umutaoroa. Tipene Tihema-Biddle explains:

Te Kooti spoke about mauri atua, mauri tangata, mauri whenua, mauri whakapono, mauri whakahoki, mauri hōhonu, and mauri pakanga. Within those eight dimensions of Te Umutaoroa, through the combination of the powers of those eight mauri, when all of those forces align and reach a certain balance, then it will be time for the land, for the world to regenerate in a different and new manner. The mysteries of the eight mauri will be unravelled and given to the world, to establish peace on earth. This was an important prophecy for the people of Te Houhi i tērā wā [during that time] and it is still important for us today. Throughout the generations we have interpreted

⁹ The word pakanga refers to war and conflict (Moorfield, 2011). In spite of the nineteenth century context of colonisation, war and land loss out of which te mauri pakanga emerged, it is not about war in contemporary times. Maudy Tupe emphasises the significance of te mauri pakanga in the following way: Te mauri pakanga is not about violence or war in the sense that we might assume, given the war and land loss that happened to our people in the colonial past. Today, it is actually about conflict resolution, about resetting the balance when someone has trampled on one's mana and mauri (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

the prophecy and adapted it and used it in ways that makes sense to us in this generation, reflecting always on the teachings of our ancestors (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

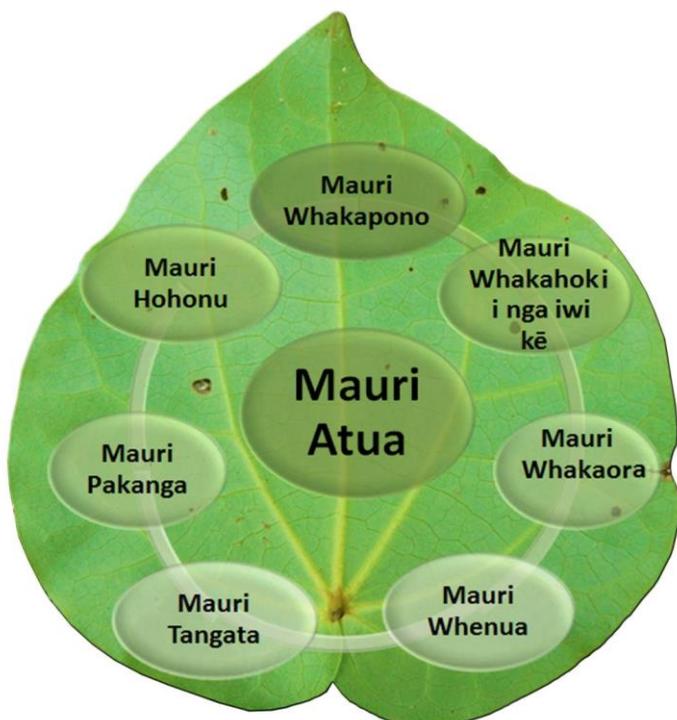
Giving her explanation of the Kawakawa model, Rita Tupe states:

We have designed a model for assessing our tūroro which contains the eight mauri of Te Umutaoroa. Te Umutaoroa is used as the basis for our assessment model and it is also embedded in our strategic plan. This came about because we wanted to be able to use our very own model in our practice. Although there are models out there that are useful, such as Mason Durie’s whare tapawhā model, we wanted to ensure that our model was relevant to us here. We thought, “Why should we go outside of this community to look for models when we have our own kōrero here?” So we all sat here and thought about putting together a model; we thought about the use of the Kawakawa leaf and the umu. With the Kawakawa there is a healing part and there is a part which draws out the mate – to allow the healing part of the Kawakawa leaf to do its work. So when we work on a person’s tinana we use the four sides of the leaf; and different colours come up.

There is a spiritual part and a physical part to the Kawakawa leaf, which relates to the tinana and the wairua. If you look at the Kawakawa leaf there are eight parts to it, which can correspond with the eight mauri of Te Umutaoroa. We visualised the relationships between the eight mauri of Te Umutaoroa, the eight parts of the Kawakawa leaf

and how these correspond with the eight chakras of the tinana; even some of our atua Māori correspond with the functions of the eight mauri. Aligning these relationships and connections will advance the healing process; so if all of our eight chakras are clear and aligned, then the tinana is good. These are the origins of the model and strategic plan based on Te Umutaoroa (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Figure 2: Kawakawa service delivery model



(Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi, 2011, p. 7)

The values of Te Umutaoroa within the Kawakawa Model are explained further by Tipene Tihema-Biddle, who states:

Within Te Tāpenakara, we have to ensure that our mahi is tika and pono. Te mauri atua is focussed on the highest intention of all our work because it is handed down from our ancestors. As part of our practice, te mauri atua ensures that the mahi that te Atua puts on us is carried out within the bonds of tika, pono and aroha, constantly acknowledging a greater source. Ko te mauri atua tērā [that is te mauri atua].

Te mauri whakapono, is the unshakeable belief in the ability of whānau to achieve wellbeing. So those who we come in contact with, those who come for rongoā, those who come for a mamae shoulder. The fact is that clients don't come to us to be healed – it's a misconception that one goes to a healer to be healed. In fact, it is healers who teach people the necessary tools to heal themselves, to be the healers of their own bodies. We as healers, therefore, believe in you and your ability to heal your own body; your own wellbeing is completely about you and we are only there to help you to gain the tools and knowledge necessary to heal yourself.

Te mauri tangata is about the individual demonstrating the eight cultural imperatives inherent within the mauri of Te Umutaoroa. These may include such things as: tikanga, mana, mauri, whakapapa, whenua, te reo Māori, wairua. There are many different interpretations that link up to the eight mauri. For us mauri ora is found when one looks within oneself and becomes the ultimate healer of one's own body.

Te mauri pakanga is about the realisation that conflict is an opportunity for change; it is about conflict resolution, and is quite different from the meaning of pakanga, especially in the nineteenth century context. So for us, conflict is always an opportunity for us to grow and learn.

Te mauri whakaora is about realising that the healing of all living things is paramount - the intent of what we do as healers is bound up in tika, pono and aroha.

Te mauri whenua is the foundation upon which we all stand resolute. The concept of wānanga is relevant here too because of the whakaaro around how I come, and you come, and we all have something to share, together, as one, learning together in the process. We come together to wānanga on neutral ground, here, all on the same level; and we all have knowledge to share with one another. So mauri whenua is about that foundation – a place to stand.

Te mauri whakahoki is about returning people to their beginnings. For many of the clients we have worked with, particularly from urban settings, returning them to their beginnings may not always seem to be an ideal place to return – especially if trauma has been involved. And so working through the process of returning someone to their beginnings is a something which must be treated with respect and kindness.

Te mauri hōhonu is about understanding the sacredness of people and acknowledging that we must tread cautiously on whatever ground we find ourselves upon in whatever context we are engaged in; be it in a wānanga setting; or in a one on one situation with a client; or in someone's personal environment. It's about treating people with

respect (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

The kaimahi at Te Tāpenakara perceive their work as healers and helpers as an honour. Mate Tihema sees her opportunity to use Te Umutaoroa as part of the practice at Te Tāpenakara as a privilege:

Te Umutaoroa is used in the assessment model as a way to assess mate [unwellness]. It is how we assess a person's wellbeing and it is how we come to a diagnosis around what is troubling that person and how it can be remedied. I think that as kaimahi of Te Tāpenakara, we are very fortunate to be able to maintain the use of the eight mauri in our practice, as part of our assessment tool (M. Tihema, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Operating within a framework informed by Te Umutaoroa is viewed by kaimahi as being essential to their work. The Kawakawa Model ensures that Te Tāpenakara maintains cultural laws and customs in line with Te Umutaoroa. According to Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi (2011):

Te Tapenakara Mo Te Iwi services are guided by laws that were set by the tipuna ensuring the preservation, protection and promotion of wellbeing amongst the people and are delivered with the utmost regard and respect as follows:

- Sentinels of the Rongoa
- Guardians of the Mauri
- Carriers of the Wairua
- Heartbeat of the Whakaora (p. 7).

Embedded within the service delivery model is the desire that those who receive services from Te Tāpenakara will achieve certain outcomes. Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi (2011) states:

Our moemoea [sic] is to have whānau who are thriving in strength, prosperity, happiness and wellbeing through the following roles:

- As exemplars of mauriora
- As keepers of the culture
- As tenders of the homefires
- As leaders of the future
- As custodians of taonga tukuiho (p. 7).

Te Tāpenakara has a focus on positive, culturally appropriate outcomes that promote wellbeing within the whānau. In order to achieve these outcomes, Te Tāpenakara delivers services to whānau in ten key areas:

- Rongoa services
- Mirimiri services
- Alternative healing modalities
- Kaiwhakaruruhau counselling
- Mental Health services
- Respite and palliative care
- Training and education
- Referrals to specialists
- Advocacy services
- 24 Hour standby (Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi, 2011, p. 7)

When individuals and whānau approach or are referred to Te Tāpenakara, they need to be assessed in terms of their specific needs. Maudy Tupe explains how the mauri of Te Umutaoroa are used to assess a client coming into Te Tāpenakara's services in the following way:

When a client is looking to come into our service, we use a checklist. The checklist incorporates mauri atua, mauri whenua and mauri tangata, and it is through these mauri that a person comes into our service. Having this sort of assessment allows us to both keep a paper trail for the Pākehā, so that we can maintain our funding, but also to uphold our own cultural values and beliefs in the delivery of our service. In the assessment of our clients, we ask for some personal details and for this we use mauri whenua to make whakapapa links to one's whenua. Mauri tangata relates to the respect we must show to people, so if we can't help a particular person with their mate, we refer them on. For example, we don't specialise in mental health, so we would refer clients to another rōpū for help in that area. However, we do specialise in te taha wairua, that's what we do, we take care of the spiritual side.

Within our assessment tool we use the other mauri too. Mauri hōhonu is used to assess the issues as one has to know what's going on deep inside before they can start the healing process. Mauri atua covers all the wairua processes that are going to be used in the healing of that person and may include: karakia, whakawātea, healing, mirimiri, and other processes. It's about pulling things back into themselves, to give them ownership over their own healing and wellbeing, now and in the future. Te mauri whenua is used as the basis for a plan of care while a client is in our service. We create, with the client, a plan for their treatment. We might say: "You're going to stay on the bed for a few days until we say come off", or, "You're going to rest and do some 'self-

healing’, because you’re the healer of your tinana”. And so those are the kinds of things we go over with the client; and we go deeper and deeper as we sit together and work through the issues (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

This article has demonstrated that Te Umutaoroa has been adapted by members of Patuheuheu hapū in a number of ways. In particular, Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust developed its framework for service delivery and healing by adapting the prophetic principles of Te Umutaoroa to suit the needs of whānau, hapū, iwi and community. Te Tāpenakara’s experience with Te Umutaoroa is an exceptional example of how prophecy can be the basis for development at the whānau, hapū, iwi and community levels. This article shows that nineteenth-century prophecy can be used and for development within community in a range of ways.

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