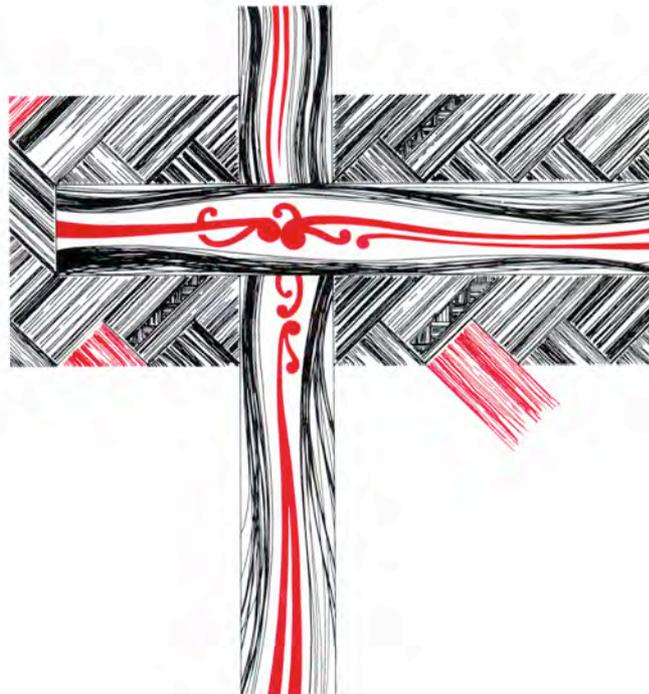


Maori Christian Spirituality, Through Celtic Eyes



Alastair Cutting

St. George's House Windsor
& Heythrop College London
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There is an extensive Glossary. To help distinguish Maori words in the text from Gaelic/Celtic and others, *Maori words are in red* (except in photocopies...). Square brackets within quotations [] indicate my additions.

Christ in a *Kahu Kīwi*, a Kīwi Feather Cloak & A Moko-ed Madonna with Child



A trip to New Zealand in 1991 led to three unexpected, and ultimately profoundly influential discoveries. The *first* was coming across the window in St. Faith's Church in Ohinemutu, Rotorua, New Zealand was as unforeseen as it was a revelation. It is in the side 'Galilee Chapel' of the church, and made of clear plate glass, with a life-size etching of Christ on it. It simply and beautifully uses the view over the lake, giving the semblance of Jesus walking on the water (Matt 14:22-33; Mk 6:45-52; Jn 6:16-21).

The other surprising feature about the image is that Jesus is shown with Maori features, and comes wearing the **Korowai**, the kiwi-feather cloak worn by a chief. The chapel itself is in the form of a chief's house. Their guide-book says "May the contents of this booklet [and the church it describes] inspire us and help us to realise that our heritage comes from God"¹

¹ te Hau, Rev. Canon N. T. - *The Church Of The Faith ...* 1969 p17

My *second* discovery was an early Maori carving on display in the Auckland Domain Museum. It was of a Madonna & Child, carved in a typical Maori style, and shows the distinctive traditional *moko*, or tattoo.²

It was made by an early Maori convert at Maketu, and given as a gift to adorn a new church in 1845. The missionary priest refused the carving, as it seemed to tie in too much to native heathen traditions. Fortunately, the carving survived; though it would be much more appropriately used in a church, rather than displayed in a museum.

The name for a female tattoo is *kauea*, and is usually only a smaller one on the chin. Here though, a full facial *moko* is used, which was sometimes used to signify a virgin, a *Puhi*. In earlier times some high-born women were thus set aside, untouched by men, their status made clear by this full facial tattoo.³

It was prominently displayed during a November 1986 service presided over by Pope John Paul II.



The *third* factor was finding that the (then new) Prayer Book of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand not only contained liturgies in English, but also in Maori, Tongan and Fijian (p5). They were all bound together, but significantly, in the main Eucharistic service the English and Maori texts were parallel on facing pages: some of the versicles and responses were even bi-lingual. On visiting churches, some all-white fairly middle-class congregations (including Auckland cathedral) pray the Lord's Prayer in Maori. As a sign of multicultural worship, and an integrated community that was as invigorating and appealing as it was hopeful and heartening.



These images and experiences sparked a deep & abiding curiosity in me with indigenous perceptions of Christ, and in particular with Maori Christian spirituality. It also seemed to have a number of parallels with my previous experience of Celtic spirituality, and of a childhood growing up in South India. How real, and transferable were these insights? How real is the integration of Maori & 'Western' spirituality? Has the Celtic spiritual experience anything to teach, or the Maori a need or desire to learn? A second visit to Aotearoa New Zealand in 2000 (including some time at St. John's Theological College, Auckland) allowed a more reasoned & academic research of related writing, which sparked the questions behind this dissertation.

² See notes to *Wahine ... wharea* in the appendix.

³ A quote from *Accent*, March 1987, quoted in *Davidson*, Allan K. - *Aotearoa New Zealand: Defining moments in Gospel & Culture* 1996; p58

Te Hakari Tapu

Te Whakawhetai me te Whakamoemiti

The Maori and the English are parallels.

The text of the Great Thanksgiving

Te Minitatanga

O Te Kupu Me Nga Inoi

Te Whakatikatika

Nga Mihi

Te kaupapa o te ra. Nga take pa manawa me nga whakawhetai.

E tu.

Ka mea te pirihī whakahaere, te minita ranei

E te whanau a te Karaiti,
ko tatou nei tona tinana, e mahi nei i te ao,
naumai, haere mai, ki tona ahurewa tapu.
E mihi ana ki a koutou kua karangatia nei
hei tote, hei maramatanga mo te ao,
i roto i to koutou tohinga.
Kia koa, kia hari.
Whakamoemitiitia te Atua, te Kai-homai o te tumanako,
te Kai-hohou i te rongo.

Amine.
Kia hari tahi tatou.
Ko Ihu Karaiti te maramatanga,
te matapuna o te ora.



Eucharistic Liturgy

Thanksgiving and Praise

The text of the Great Thanksgiving

The Ministry of Word and Prayer

The Gathering of the Community

The people may be greeted informally.

The theme may be introduced and subjects of special concern or thanksgiving suggested.

Then all standing, the presiding priest or minister continues

E te whanau a te Karaiti,
welcome to this holy table;
welcome to you,
for we are Christ's body.
Christ's work in the world.
Welcome to you whose baptism makes you
salt of the earth and light to the world.
Rejoice and be glad.
Praise God who gives us forgiveness and hope.

Amen.
Christ is our light,
the joy of our salvation.



Abstract

The Gospel Comes to Britain: A Celtic Context for Christianity

Exploring some of the chronological context of the coming of Christianity to Britain, and the Celtic background to that spirituality, and the roots of the influence it has been over the last 2000 years in British spirituality.

Aotearoa: Land of the Long White Cloud

The Maori were the earliest settlers to the islands of ‘Aotearoa/New Zealand’ as it is now known; the dual name giving weight to the combined Maori and European cultural heritage. Here is some of the historical background, and something of the current socio-political experience of the Maori.

The Gospel Comes to New Zealand: A Maori Context for Christianity

Moving back historically, tracing pre-Christian Maori spirituality, and asking questions about the ways Christian influence has impacted in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The Waning and Waxing of Celtic Spirituality

Celtic Spirituality has historically gone through cycles of popularity. Some of this is purely part of the secular Celtic fad; but some is based on genuine tradition and insight. Some applications of Celtic spirituality to the church today are included.

Christ Through Indigenous Eyes

There are strong parallels between parts of Celtic and Maori art, culture and spirituality. This section looks at a number of them, and explores whether this is to do with Christian spirituality being deeply rooted in any and all cultures.

Warriors Once More

Picking up the title of one of New Zealand’s most influential Maori films (the hard-nosed *Once Were Warriors*) and the Celtic and Christian metaphor of Soldiers of Christ this section explores what aspects of Maori spirituality have to feed to the church today.

The Gospel Comes to Britain: A Celtic Context for Christianity

Bede, in *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* in 731 after extensive research states that the earliest contact with Christianity was around the martyrdom of St. Alban c AD 304: but there now of course many earlier archaeological and other resources available than Bede had access to in his time, indicating much earlier influences.

Christianity may well have arrived in Britain as early as the reign of Tiberius (AD 14-37)⁴ and certainly had been by AD200, as Tertullian noted that ‘parts of the Britains inaccessible to the Romans were indeed conquered by Christ’ - the Roman conquest had begun in AD 43. Early Christian buildings include a Roman villa at Chedworth, Gloucester, built around AD180, with various Christian monograms⁵; the house-church in Lullingstone, and the (probably) Christian basilica at Silchester both dating from around *The Peace of the Church* in 312, which also have a number of objects marked with Christian symbols such as the *chi-rho*, or α & ω .



Ardagh Chalice

It used to be thought that the Roman Army brought Christianity to Britain, and though this can no longer be held, it certainly came in the wake of the soldiers.

⁴ Asserts Gildas in Deanesly, Margaret; *Pre-Conquest Church in England* 1961 p12

⁵ Van de Weyer, Robert; *Celtic Fire* 1990 p3

Margaret Deanesly maintains that there is some small evidence of bishops and groups of Christian civilians in towns guarded by the Roman peace⁶.

There are also thoughts that Christianity followed the trade routes to western Britain - and there is certainly much archaeological evidence of trade. The correlation between Celtic⁷ influence and the trade routes is also important, and certainly the communities in Hallstatt (Austria *flourished c. 750-600 BC*) and La Tène (Lake Neuchâtel, Switzerland *fl.c. 500-100 BC*) and their cultural and artistic influences were widespread across Europe⁸.



High Cross at Durrow, Ireland; 8th Century

Some see evidence of this early Celtic influence as widely spread. ‘Today the Celts are hailed as the first Europeans’ declares Timothy Joyce slightly grandiosely ‘the earliest named people in Europe to whom we can look for our roots [*sic*]. They are recognised as the ‘European Aborigines,’ like Native American tribes already on the land with their own developed culture prior to being conquered, driven out, or assimilated by more powerful invaders.’⁹ We will return to the idea of Celts and other indigenous peoples being driven aside by invaders.

⁶ Deanesly, Margaret; *Pre-Conquest Church in England* 1961 p4

⁷ Pronounced “*keltic*” when referring to the peoples, or culture; “*seltic*” is the Scottish football team...

⁸ Many, including: Wooding, Jonathan; in Atherton: *Celts and Christians* 2002 p43; and Joyce, Timothy; *Celtic Christianity* 1998 p5ff; Deanesly p13

⁹ Joyce, Timothy; *Celtic Christianity* 1998 p1

In the establishment of Christianity in Britain, although it is hard to sustain claims that Glastonbury was the oldest church in the land, Deanesly uses evidence of the early church presence there (before Roman contact that far west) along with artistic and craft based links to La Tène, and trade to the Severn mouth, to justify some basis for the idea that both Celtic and Christian cultures (separately, and maybe together) may have travelled that way.

Christianity certainly continued to spread through Britain. After the *Peace of the Church* in 312, it was possible for the church to be more overt, and by 314 three British bishops attended Arles; and though no British bishops were at Nicaea (AD 325), there were some at Sardica in AD 347.¹⁰ By the 380s the English Christian theologian and author of the earliest surviving written document by a British writer, a commentary on St Paul's letters, was living in Rome - he was Pelagius.¹¹



The Goose - for some, a Celtic symbol of the Holy Spirit

The Romans did not become permanently established though, and Paul Cavill¹² paints a rather bleak picture of the Anglo-Saxon Britain that the Romano-British left behind when Rome withdrew her last legions early in the fifth century (after Rome fell to the Goths). “In many ways primitive ... they did not read or write, build in stone, or have much concept of personal cleanliness. While scholarship and Christianity were flourishing in Ireland, the Anglo-Saxons were ... settling new land,

¹⁰ Deanesly p7

¹¹ Chawick, Henry (Ed.) - *Not Angels but Anglicans* 2000 p5

¹² Cavill, Paul - *From Rome to Augustine: Britain before 597* in *Not Angels but...* p9

and above all fighting.” Some historians even argue a resurgence of the pre-Christian pagan beliefs after the Romans left.¹³

Christianity certainly continued - perhaps even continued to *grow*, particularly in the far-flung western and northern edges of the European map. Patrick’s ministry in Ireland took place in the mid 5 century; Columba’s birth was in approx. 521; in 635 King Oswald invites the missionary bishop Aidan from the community at Iona to found the new church and monastery at Lindisfarne.



Clonmacnoise Crosier Head, 11th century

Parallel to this ‘Celtic’ Christianity, there was also another missionary thrust coming from Rome - this time the church rather than the empire. Gregory the Great, with his famous double pun on seeing English slave boys in the market place identified them as ‘Angels, not Angles’, not so much from Deira (Northumbria), but needing rescuing from *de ira* (the wrath) of God, and even their king Ælle’s name echoes the Alleluia’s of God’s praise. Gregory sends Augustine as his emissary to Britain. In 597 Augustine’s mission arrives; and around 600 Æthelberht, king of Kent, becomes the first English king to be converted.

Although the missionary ministry of the Celtic Christians had a tangible track record, a division had developed between what has become known as the Roman versus the Celtic position. King Oswy of Northumbria, concerned over the

¹³ Hylson-Smith, Kenneth - *Christianity in England from Roman Times to the Reformation* - SCM Press London; 1999 p58

theological split in his Christian kingdom, initiated a debate to try and reconcile the divided parties. The Synod was called at Whitby in AD664, base of the double monasteries (male & female, under the Abbess Hilda). Ostensibly over the dating of Easter, and the shape of the tonsure, and after a heated debate where Colman of Iona was not able to repartee in quite the fluent, analytical and loquacious way of Wilfred (who though originally schooled in Lindisfarne, had also been in Rome for the Easter celebrations) the Celtic party 'lost'.

In 1997 Canterbury was the focus of the 1400 double anniversary of the death of Columba of Iona, and of the arrival of Augustine in England. But there has long been a debate as to whether that death and that arrival were more significantly paralleled by the fall and the rise of Celtic versus Roman spirituality in the church too, and scholars remain fairly divided. De Waal, and O'Loughlin are amongst those reluctant to drive too large a wedge between Celtic and Roman or other Christian theology¹⁴; but Ellis & Seaton, van de Wyre, and Finney are amongst those who see the distinctive emphasis as significant¹⁵, with Lehane calling it the eclipse of 'Celtic Catholicism' by Rome.

¹⁴ **De Waal**, Esther - *The Celtic Way of Prayer* 1996, p2; **O'Loughlin**, Thomas - *Journeys on the Edge*, 2000, eg in the example of the (?) Celtic creedal liturgy of Patrick, p17, then pp 163, 164

¹⁵ **Ellis**, Roger & **Seaton**, Chris - *New Celts* 1998, p35, p204 and esp. p211; **van de Weyer**, Robert W B - *Celtic Fire* 1990 p9, 10; **Finney**, John - *Recovering the Past* 1996, p103ff; **Lehane**, Brendan - *Early Celtic Christianity*; 1968

Aotearoa: Land of the Long White Cloud

Maori began ‘colonizing’ [*sic* ¹⁶] the country some 1500 years ago, as part of the Polynesian migration. Initial discovery is credited to Kupe, and migration by *waka* (canoes) seemed to take place over several succeeding centuries. Although some of the Pacific migration was due to warfare, overpopulation, and food shortages, it seems the expeditions to Aotearoa¹⁷ New Zealand were much more in the exploratory vein of some of the 17th and 18th Century Western explorers. Maori oral tradition is full of the love of the spirit of adventure.



Maori spread all over both North and South Islands, with access to food, especially *kumera*, the Polynesian sweet potato (which tradition says Kupe’s wife imported with them) being key. Maori were experienced traders and sailors before contact with the Europeans (and the use of this expertise continued to expand later). They identified themselves as *tangata whenua* (people of the land), divided into *iwi* (tribes), *hapu* (sub-tribes or clans), and *whanau* (families). *Rangatira* (chiefs) and *kaumatū* (elders) are given particular respect. A strong warrior tradition developed;

¹⁶ Duffié, Mary Kay - *Eye of the Needle* p3ff

¹⁷ Aotearoa is the Maori name for New Zealand, and one translation interprets it as ‘Land of the Long White Cloud’. It has also been ironically re-interpreted ‘Land of the Wrong White Crowd’ by some Maori - quoted in *‘Monsters we Meet’*, BBC 2

some inter-tribal conflict erupted (especially during the Maori Wars) but intermarriage and other tribal alliances also developed.

Each *iwi*, *hapu* and *whanau* can trace their lineage back to a single common ancestor aboard one of the major canoes, and this *whakapapa* (genealogy, family tree) has enormous cultural and social significance even today. Tracing genealogy through males is favoured, but female antecedents are also recognised, so it is possible for Maori to have a multi-lineal *hapu*. Having any Maori blood makes one Maori: even to 1/64th or even 1/128th part in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. With a number of pro-Maori pieces of government legislation (for example, university place set-asides) this is significant, but sometimes divisive where links are tenuous or seen as un-merited favouritism.



The first European to ‘discover’ what was called New Zealand was the Dutchman Abel Tasman, in 1642. European map-makers gave this territory the name *Zeelandia Nova*, New Zealand. The little contact Tasman had with Maori appeared to make no direct impact on the Maori, but as far as the West was concerned, attitudes were summed up in the early record that they were ‘savage and uncivilized’. ‘The imposition of the European world upon the Maori world’ says Davidson ‘ - of New Zealand upon Aotearoa - had begun.’¹⁸

The next European’s to encounter Maori, and perhaps more famously and significantly, were Captain James Cook’s crew of 1769. Even though Cook’s

¹⁸ Davidson, Allan K. - *Aotearoa New Zealand* p viii

intentions were peaceful, from the first, contacts resulted in the death and wounding of Maori. Some of the earliest explorers were men of principle with good intentions; however their crews, and soon the whalers, traders and some escaped convicts from Australia represented the rougher side of European life. Early contact with the Europeans, and with the diseases that Maori had no natural immunity to, made a huge impact here as it also had on Easter Island and other Pacific communities. It is estimated that the Maori population dropped between 50% and 75% in the 19 century: many thought they were ‘a dying people’.¹⁹

A more systematic colonization of New Zealand was planned by the *New Zealand Land Company*, formed in England in 1839, to buy land as cheaply as possible from the Maori. The feel is all too reminiscent of the colonization of parts of the American ‘*Wild West*’, Aboriginal Australia, and elsewhere. (Indeed Maori are now an active part of the global indigenous peoples networks.)

Concerned about indiscriminate or uncontrolled colonization, and after lobbying by the missionaries and other humanitarian groups, the British Government tried to acquire sovereignty of the land with the help of the Maori chiefs, and thus be able to make provision for the Maori as well. The *Treaty of Waitangi* of 1840 was an attempt to define government, sovereignty, and security in a multi-cultural context.

Maori elder Heeni Wharemaru has been bi-cultural all her life, and maintains it *is* possible for Maori to be bi-cultural still - and not just Maori. ‘She [even] believes

¹⁹ “*Our plain duty, as good, compassionate colonists, is to smooth down their dying pillow. Then history will have nothing to reproach us with.*” Dr Featherston, Wellington Province Superintendent, 1856; in **Davidson**, Allan K. - *Christianity in Aotearoa* 1997; p 40

that *Pakeha* (non-Maori) can be bi-cultural too – I am not sure that I share her confidence to the same degree’ says Michael King²⁰.

Being a bi-lingual document, the Treaty of Waitangi has been open to a wide variety of interpretations. For example, passages from the Treaty that in the English version said “shall cede to Her Majesty...all the rights and power of **sovereignty**...”, with Maori guaranteed possession of the land; in Maori were rendered “shall cede to the Queen of England for ever the **government** of all their lands”²¹, whilst guaranteeing the chiefs supremacy over their land and property. Maori of the 1960s and 70s were vehement in their opposition to the long-standing English interpretation. The setting up of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975²², and the amendment of the Treaty in 1985, has been an attempt to redress some of the ‘colonial’ imbalance. Not even the missionaries come out of the land issue well. “The repeated accusation brought against the missionaries was that of teaching Maori to lift their eyes to heaven while keeping their own eyes turned to the land.”²³



Another important political episode was the *Kingitanga* or Kingite movement, began in 1855 when Wiremu Tamihana sought parliamentary permission for the establishment of a *Runanga*, a parallel system with parliament, to deal specifically with Maori problems. His ideas however were not readily welcomed by European officials, though there was a growing sense of a need for such a movement amongst

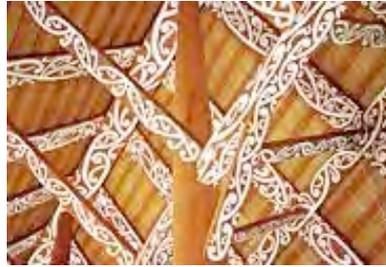
²⁰ quoted in **Duffié**, Mary Kay - *Eye of the Needle* p xx

²¹ Widely quoted, here in **Davidson**, Allan K. - *Christianity in Aotearoa* 1997; p 23

²² The Waitangi Tribunal is the process by which some of the inadequacies of the Waitangi Treaty are being redressed.

²³ **Davidson**, Allan K. - *Aotearoa New Zealand* p 12, quoting his own earlier line in **Davidson & Lineham Transplanted Christianity: Documents Illustrating Aspects Of New Zealand Church History**; Dunmore Press 1989, p 148

Maori. One chief likened it to a house: “New Zealand is the house; the Europeans are the rafters on one side, the Maori are the rafters on the other side. God is the ridge-pole against which all lean, and the house is one.”



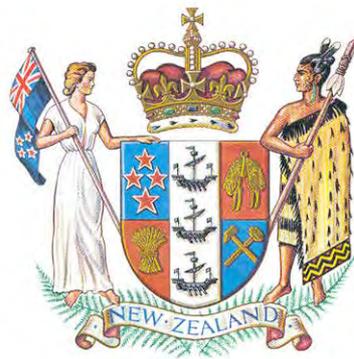
Rafters from the restored Rangiatea church

Yet another chief, in trying to make it clearer said, “The Maori King and the British Queen with love, *aroha*, binding them together, and with God over them both.” For Maori it was the suggestion of making one chief, Tawhiao, a focus for the united tribes, and a parallel sovereign; but the British perceived it as a challenge to the queen. (This hoped for peace and unity was not achieved until 1953, when Queen Victoria’s great, great granddaughter, Queen Elizabeth II walked onto Turangawaewae sacred courtyard to pay respects to Queen Atairangi Kaahu, great, great granddaughter of Kingi Tawhiao.)²⁴ The inclusion of God within both of these quotes underlines the typical Maori perception of spirituality pervading every part of human existence.

Like many indigenous peoples in lands colonized by others, Maori have been under considerable pressure and disadvantage. Maori are more than twice as likely to be unemployed than the national average (from the 1991 census figures). Almost 2/3 of Maori leave school without school certification. Although Maori only make up 14% of the ethnic population, they make up almost half of the adult prison

²⁴ Based on **Melbourne**, Sonny, with material he had included from Turongo House, *Koroki, My King*, Rice Printers, 1999. P.10

population, and with 18% of households below the poverty line.²⁵ The 1994 New Zealand film *Once Were Warriors*²⁶ very graphically depicts the cultural context that still plagues some urban Maori. Maori classically fit what James Ritchie, quoted by Duffié, calls *Fourth World Peoples*: ‘Those who live on, or near their original homeland culturally and economically submerged within a wider dominant society whose government is increasingly transnational in its economic activities... Most often the indigenous are the indigents, considerably worse off than the colonizers.’



New Zealand Coat of Arms (see endnote¹)

And yet Aotearoa New Zealand is a beautiful country. A number of years ago the New Zealand tourist authority had the gall to claim on advertising hoardings *The whole world in one country*. Perhaps, with its spectacular scenery, its snowy mountains and sub-tropical beaches; its rainforests, glaciers, volcanoes and thermo-geological activity; perhaps they were right.

Aotearoa New Zealand is also a moving nation. Even as recently as the early 1990s it had a quaint look and feel in places. Some crossings over deep river gorges in the South Island have the road narrow down to a single lane bridge - and a warning to look each way in case a *train* may also coming down the un-signalled line

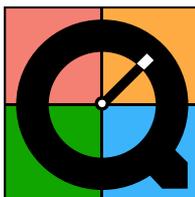
²⁵ quoted in Duffié, Mary Kay - *Eye of the Needle* p150ff, and Melbourne, Te Waaka (Sonny) - *Wairua Maori Rua Mano: Maori Spirituality 2000, The Role of Maori Gods* - M.Phil. thesis 2000

²⁶ Directed by Lee Tamahori, who also directed the 2002 Bond film.

that was combined into the roadway on the bridge. Pastel-painted ancient Morris Minors graced the streets of Auckland. The comment that New Zealand was a little like Britain thirty years previously was both fairly common - and rather hard to refute. And if Britain was perceived in some ways as parent, then it also suffered from being Australia's kid brother. But this is no longer the case.

Aotearoa New Zealand has firmly taken its place with other nations around the 'Pacific Rim', and is now more likely to look to Japan or the US than to Britain. In one far from unique suburban Auckland school, 38 different nationalities and languages were represented amongst the pupils. Smokey old British cars are hardly to be seen, and sleek new Japanese vehicles are everywhere. 'Kiwis' have been suspicious of being too closely allied to the British economy ever since Britain entering the Common Market, nearly crucifying New Zealand financially. There is open discussion of withdrawing from the Commonwealth.

New Zealanders' self esteem on the All Blacks rugby field (see *haka* below²⁷,



and click *QuickTime* icon for sound on computer) or America's Cup

challenge boat are not just a newfound confidence. This small nation

has always been ready to think big, to be first: almost definitely the

first powered flight took place in the South Island by Richard Pearce, months before the Wright brothers; women received the vote in 1893, years before British suffrage, partly through the work of Kate Sheppard; Palmerston North's entrepreneur, Joseph Nathan, founded *Glaxo* (a name based on *lacto*, dried milk being their first

²⁷ The *Haka*, means literally dance, and though can be interpreted quite widely, is usually taken to mean the often aggressive rhythmical dance performed, for example before rugby matches. *Ka Mate* was first used by Te Rauparaha 1820 when he thought he might die, but survived; today it is performed to build *mana* (power, prestige), solidarity and support.

significant product) in 1906, Edmund Hilary on Mt. Everest in 1929, and Peter Blake; Earnest Rutherford in the science labs; Dames Kiri Te Kanawa, Catherine Marshall and Ngaio Marsh in the arts and literature; Peter Jackson, Jane Campion, and Lee Tamahori in film direction, to snatch just a handful.

Along with this rise in self-confidence as a nation, areas of Maoridom have also grown and developed. Having been notably marginalised, over the past century they have filled a much more significant role in society.²⁸ Acknowledging the unfair and unconscionable treatment of Maori over land rights and other issues, over 700 claims were presented to the Waitangi Tribunal; and from 1990 the Government has put in place policies to negotiate outstanding settlements.



*Tino Rangitiratanga - a new flag for the country?
(literally meaning: full chieftainship, self-determination) (see endnoteⁱⁱ)*

Anglicised names for mountains or places, and their signposts are gradually being replaced with their Maori originals, or at least bi-lingual versions. There is an increasing percentage of Maori broadcasting on the media. Maori are involved in many areas and strata of society. One example would be Sir Paul Reeves, of Maori & European descent, with affiliations with Te Ati Awa and Taranaki tribes, who has been both Anglican Archbishop/Primate of New Zealand, and also Governor-General of the country, two of the highest roles in New Zealand society.

²⁸ John **Bluck** is one of many who identify a Maori renaissance, in - **Long White and Cloudy: In Search of a Kiwi Spirituality**; 1998 p9



Timoti Karetu (left) and Sir Paul Reeves (right) study images in the Rangiatea Church exhibition. March 1997

The Gospel Comes to New Zealand: A Maori Context for Christianity

All indigenous peoples have their own frameworks of spirituality or religion. In New Zealand there is an oft held assumption that once the missionaries arrived in 1814, ‘Christianisation was inevitable, almost immediate, and definitely total.’ However, says Bronwyn Elsmore, ‘in fact it proved to be none of these three’²⁹. If not completely subsumed by the incoming faith patterns, are aspects of the original belief structures still discernable? What use may they have for today’s church?



Rangiatea church, Otaki, 1852
colour lithograph by Charles Barraud
Drawings and Prints Collection Alexander Turnbull Library

Most Maori formal functions (for example those frequently put on at museums and cultural centres, see p 31) would start with some traditional greetings, challenges, dances and welcomes. During the *karanga* (shout, invitation) or other singing, the women often wave or flutter their hands, which is described sometimes as the power of the ancestors or spirits touching or possessing them in some way, in

a style that would be reminiscent of some African or Caribbean tribal ceremonies.³⁰

Even here there are contemporary perceptions of the ancient spiritualities of the Maori.

Allan Davidson manages to condense a broad understanding of Maori spirituality in to quite a succinct paragraph:

“Maori developed a sophisticated religious framework with their own rich concepts such as *mauri*, the life principle of the individual; *wairua*, the spiritual dimension of life; *mana*, the power and prestige associated with a person that has both given and gained; *tapu*, the sacred force controlling behaviour; and *noa*, the ordinary and acceptable, in which people were free from *tapu*. *Karakia*, (prayers or incantations) were significant in the regulation of the sacred and the secular, with *tohunga* (priests) playing an important role in these. In their relationships with one another, primacy was given to the *whanau* (family) and *iwi* (the tribe), with *rangatira* (chiefs) and *kaumatua* (elders) given special respect and leadership. *Whakapapa* (tribal lineage) was emphasised.”³¹



With the physical world of the Maori, says Sonny Melbourne³², diffused throughout with the spiritual:

It is not so surprising that for Maori there are *karakia* and intercessions to the Transcendent Powers for every conceivable occasion and most essential in all aspects of life. Whether its for the planting or cutting down of trees, planting *kumara* (sweet potato), blessing of buildings, boats or groups of people or individuals, it covers all activities within the Maori society whether at play, work, meditation, war or death. There are prayers to the elements, the land, sea and sky as well as prayers for cursing and for counter cursing.³³

²⁹ Elsmore, Bronwyn - *Like Them That Dream: The Maori and the Old Testament*, 1985; p12

³⁰ The origin of the Quakers name, and other Charismatic groups would not exclude the shaking aspects from the Christian tradition either, though possession would be perceived differently.

³¹ Davidson, Allan K. - *Aotearoa New Zealand* p vii

³² ‘Sonny’ Te Waaka Melbourne (of the Tuhoe tribe), was also minister of the Maori church Rangiatea in Otaki briefly in 1978-81

³³ Melbourne, Te Waaka (Sonny) - *Wairua Maori Rua Mano: Maori Spirituality 2000, The Role of Maori Gods* - M.Phil. thesis 2000

Manuka Henare uses the ritual of the burial of the dead, the *tangihanga*, as an example of how the old traditions continue to be practised in both country and city settings.³⁴

“Often lasting for two to four days, it entails the gathering of family, friends and colleagues who through speech-making, ritual prayer and watching of the body ensure that the separation of the life force, the *mauri*, from the physical body has taken place safely for the dead person. Upon completion of the ritual the *tupapaku*, the body, is buried. It is through religion that ‘*the domain of the Holy, the constituents of which include the sacred, the numinous, the occult and the divine*’ are regenerated. Ritual is the means whereby all the constituents of Maori religion are practised and witnessed, and its spirituality expressed.”³⁵

There is no written documentation³⁶ of the traditional religion, no text or set of dogmas; ‘Maori myths are dramatic stories orally passed down from generation to generation and taken as if true’ says Sonny Melbourne³⁷. Maori religion is discovered, says Henare, in the close study of the culture itself.

Even before the coming of the European missionaries, well-travelled Maori sailors had brought back to Aotearoa New Zealand experiences of other forms of understandings of worship and religion. Though possibly not the very first Christian service on New Zealand soil, most would agree that Christmas Day 1814 is considered significant. The Anglican chaplain to the colony of New South Wales in Australia, Samuel Marsden, preached his first sermon in Oihi Bay in the Bay of Islands, in the north of New Zealand. His text from St. Luke’s gospel was “*Behold, I bring you glad tidings of great joy...*”³⁸.

³⁴ There is a sensitive example of this in a scene in the film ***Once Were Warriors***

³⁵ Henare, Manuka in ***The Way*** Vol.40 No.2 p127, including in italics a quote from R.A.Rappaport

³⁶ Easter Island was the only Polynesian culture with a written code: quoted in BBC2 TV ***Monsters we Meet***

³⁷ Melbourne, Te Waaka (Sonny) - ***Wairua Maori Rua Mano: Maori Spirituality 2000, The Role of Maori Gods*** - M.Phil. thesis 2000

³⁸ Luke 2:10

Marsden persuaded the Church Missionary Society (founded in England in a very recent 1799) to send out three ‘artisan missionaries’ hoping to introduce their crafts as well as Christianity to the Maori. One was Thomas Kendall. Kendall took an important step when he began to master the Maori language. Together with two Maori chiefs, Hongi and Waikato, he went to England in 1820 where with the help of the Cambridge professor Samuel Lee, they constructed the first Maori Grammar later that year. Kendall also began to make significant attempts to understand Maori cosmology and religious beliefs (though these were distorted by his own view that Maori had originated in Egypt). The first translation of sections of the New Testament into Maori was printed in 1827 by William Williams. The Litany was read in Maori for the first time in 1828, and the New Testament completed in 1837.³⁹



Baptism of the Maori chief Honiana Te Puni by Octavius Hadfield in “Otaki” Church, New Zealand 1853⁴⁰

However, the gospel brought by the missionaries was typically clothed in evangelical assumptions, with English cultural prejudices. Sometimes, observes Davidson “*Singing the Lord’s song in a strange land* meant singing it in the same way sang it at home even if some aspects were no longer appropriate.”⁴¹ Perhaps

³⁹ Davidson, Allan K. - *Christianity in Aotearoa* p 11; *Aotearoa New Zealand* p 3, 4

⁴⁰ The painting is actually a slight misrepresentation - Honiana Te Puni was baptised at the Petone chapel in 1852 by Octavius Hadfield, and placing the event a year later in Ringiatea at Otaki appears to have been ‘artistic license’ - oil painting by Charles Barraud, National Library of Australia

⁴¹ Davidson, Allan K. - *Aotearoa New Zealand* p19

being so early a traveller, Marsden could be forgiven for the thought in his own writings after his first 1814 sermon, of seeing the English flag flying on New Zealand soil: he “considered it as the signal of the dawn of civilization, liberty and religion, in that dark benighted land”⁴²

Yet many early missionaries were thorough and honest in their endeavours to bring *good news* to the Maori, within their own context, learning and speaking the language fluently (- this was not always followed through by succeeding generations of missionaries). It was also difficult for new arrivals from Europe to fully grasp the intricacies and subtleties of such a deeply rooted, but inevitably ‘foreign’ culture.

Still, Maori were open to the gospel, though sometimes this new openness, Bryan Gilling notes, was closely linked with Maori interest in, and desire for, all things European - “the Christian God must be powerful indeed to have assisted the technological advance of the settlers.”⁴³

The missionary endeavours started slowly, but later met with great success, and thousands of Maori were converted - often through Maori to Maori self-evangelism, as ‘Tarore’s story’ (see endnoteⁱⁱⁱ) indicates - and many were baptised into the three main denominations; Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic. Within the missionaries’ message, gospel principles such as *love of enemies* came as a significant challenge to traditional warrior values, and made an impact in changes in behaviour, as again illustrated by Tarore’s story.

⁴² quoted in Davidson, Allan K. - *Aotearoa New Zealand* p1

⁴³ Gilling, Bryan - *Karaiti & Culture* - in *Stimulus* 6/2 May 1998, pp 2, 3

Early Anglican CMS & Wesleyan Methodists encouraged Maori Christians and incorporated them into the missions, catechising and baptising. Their ability to memorise became key in their adoption of new liturgies, and parts of the Bible. They loved the Biblical genealogies, corresponding closely as they do with the Maori's own *whakapapa*.

There are a number of records of the importance of individual Maori within the spread of Christianity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Ellesmore mentions the ministry of Te Toroa very early on in 1822-24⁴⁴, before even the first baptisms were recorded in 1825⁴⁵; but there was some reluctance to too swiftly drawing Maori into ordained ministry in any of the major denominations. Rota Waitoa, celebrated in a stained glass window in Auckland's fabulous wooden proto-cathedral of the Holy Trinity, was Bishop George Selwyn's travelling companion for 12 years before being ordained deacon in 1853, and it was then a further seven years (rather than the more usual one) before he was ordained priest, under a different bishop.

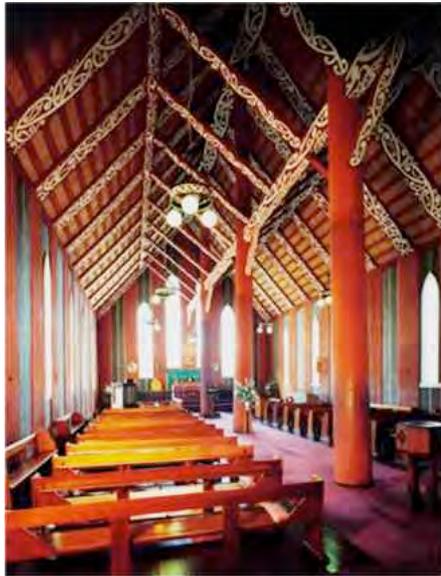
Early Maori culture appears to have been transmitted almost exclusively by the aural tradition, and there is no evidence of systematic documenting or writing.⁴⁶ However, Maori quickly grasped the potential of reading and writing; and literacy became the primary tool to access knowledge, as perhaps computers, the internet and associated digital technologies have become in contemporary society. For the Maori, this new knowledge available to them in their own language was initially exclusively religious (e.g. NT & BCP, as previously stated). The printed text itself was seen as

⁴⁴ **Elsmore**, Bronwyn - *Mana from Heaven: A Century of Maori Prophets in New Zealand* - Reed Books, Auckland, New Zealand; 1999, first published Moana Press 1989, p3ff

⁴⁵ **Elsmore**, Bronwyn - *Like Them That Dream: The Maori and the Old Testament* - The Tauranga Moana Press, Tauranga, New Zealand; 1985; p 12

⁴⁶ There are a few scattered examples of early cave paintings, but nothing resembling lettering or code.

tapu or holy. The medium, observes Davidson partially quoting Marshall McLuhan, had become part of the message.⁴⁷



Rangiatea church, Otaki, soon after the 1994 restoration
The church was tragically completely destroyed by fire in October 1995

Historians intensely debate why many Maori accepted Christianity in the 1830s and 1840s after initially rejecting it (endnote^{iv}). Some point to the new worldview and understanding of salvation in the context of the impact of war-weariness, depopulation, and cultural confusion as old patterns were unable to respond. Others argue that trade and European goods led Maori to associate with missionaries. Within their own culture, prosperity was under-girded by religious ritual; and the acceptance of Christianity represented a logical development - but these ideas are by no means universal, and do not fully explain why Maori *did* become Christians so quickly in such large numbers.

By the 1830s a number of Maori evangelists had started working very fruitfully among their own people. Davidson highlights two key points on the rapid spread of Christianity: the impact of literacy, and the activities of these indigenous

⁴⁷ Davidson, Allan K. - *Aotearoa New Zealand* p 6

evangelists.⁴⁸ By 1845 George Clarke⁴⁹ estimates out of a population of 110,000 Maori, 42,700 were regularly attending Anglican services, 16,000 Methodist services, and 5,100 were associated with Catholic services. In the 1850s, most tribes had declared themselves as Christian⁵⁰, which is a very significant self-declaration (though perhaps this was Christianity as it had been *received* by Maori, more than as it had been *given* by missionaries: *It's life, Jim, but not as we know it*, as 'Bones' McCoy says in *Star Trek*).

For Maori, part of the problem was that the missions that had started out working amongst them soon began to shift their emphasis to the European settlers. This was particularly illustrated by the churches involvement in the mid 1860s Waikato War: a struggle between white settlers making a new life for themselves, and local Maori, escalated from a localized skirmish to a conflict lasting 4 years. Mission stations were closed and missionaries withdrawn. Bishop George Selwyn, first and only Bishop of New Zealand, found himself balancing support for each group, and yet aware of the "greed and covetousness" of some of the settlers, or the advice to Maori to sell land they were not able to occupy or cultivate.

Because the Anglicans appointed chaplains to the British troops, and ministered to them in the 1860 Taranaki War, they were seen as tainted, betraying Maori confidence in them, and by the Waikato War, the Anglican clergy were no longer able to act as mediators or peacemakers. But, supporting Maori against some of the settlers in land purchase agreements was also seen as a betrayal of the *Pakeha*

⁴⁸ Davidson, Allan K. - *Aotearoa New Zealand* p 6

⁴⁹ Lay missionary, 1798-1875 quoted in Davidson, Allan K. - *Christianity in Aotearoa* p 14

⁵⁰ Henare, Manuka in *The Way* Vol.40 No.2 p136

by Bishops Selwyn and Abraham, Archdeacon Octavius Hadfield, and former chief justice Sir William Martin.



St Faith's, Ohinemutu, Rotorua NZ
using Maori-style architecture and imagery

Suspicious, now, of the way the Europeans had brought a gospel that appeared to have strings attached to it, Maori started to study the Bible and interpret it for themselves. What the missionaries had not expected was the way that Maori took the gospel into their own culture on their own terms. Whilst Maori had become British subjects, they retained a strong sense of Maori identity. ‘Their’ gospel reinforced this through the variety of forms of Maori Christianity which they adopted, says Davidson.

Some of these ideas were aligned with the missionary churches while others were, in missionary terms, heterodox. Almost despite the missionaries, Maori in some notable instances creatively adapting their carving, art and architecture, their speeches and songs, to express the impact of Christianity within their own culture. The relation between gospel and culture for Maori in the 19th century was dynamic and complex.⁵¹

Much of Bronwyn Elsmore’s work has been on the Maori prophets, and the early indigenous Christian religions. In *Mana from Heaven*, she notes that the

⁵¹ Davidson, Allan K. - *Aotearoa New Zealand* p 12

progress of these Maori religions coincides with the translation and publication of the Bible and other liturgical materials: to condense part of her stylised outline:

- Up to the 1830s** - before translation of the scriptures became widely available
- 1830s and 1840s** - parts of NT and OT become available, some reactions and adjustments to missions and settlements in distinctly positive or negative ways
- 1850s** - when social factors provoke a series of 'healing' movements
- 1860-1900** - the prophetic period, after the publication of the OT, emergence of a new type of movement featuring prophetic figures, differing in status and purpose from previous leaders
- 1900 onwards** - the prophetic period moves towards Maori Christian churches⁵²

Missionaries had a number of theories of Maori origins, some thinking they were from the Middle East - Samuel Marsden saw links between Maori and Jew; Thomas Kendall thought perhaps Egypt; Octavius Hadfield saw links between the Maori language and both Greek and Sanskrit.⁵³ When the Maori, John Williams (note the rapid adoption of 'English' given names) speaking with Rev. Richard Taylor in 1846 (quoting a translated verse in Gen 49:27 about the tribe of Benjamin and the devouring of prey), he claimed that the Maori, with a tradition of sometimes eating the flesh of vanquished foes, were clearly descendents of the tribe of Benjamin.⁵⁴ Bronwyn Elsmore makes extensive and detailed comparisons between Hebrew and Maori customs, including things like ceremonial uncleanness, aniconism (no graphic portrayal of God), cultural importance of dreams and prophecy, practice of *utu* or revenge, early birth-marriage-polygamy-divorce and death customs, spilt blood sprinkled on doorframes, the significance of land, tribal and family groupings. Though this list is quite comprehensive, Elsmore points out that it is neither exhaustive, nor exclusive, and a number of early societies may have similar parallels, but that these are *so many* is in itself remarkable.

⁵² Elsmore, Bronwyn - *Mana from Heaven*: p xiv

⁵³ cited in various places especially in Davidson and Elsmore's works



Maori warrior in Meeting House presentation

Perhaps it was the nature of the different apocalyptic and prophetic style of OT passages that appealed to Maori; or that although the gospels were sooner available, the missionaries kept referring to the OT scriptures, but because their unavailability in Maori, they had a sort of *hidden secret* power, for Elsmore, an esoteric restricted knowledge paralleled by the Maori *whare wananga* (school of higher Maori learning).

Elsmore lists a number of reasons *why* Maori might have a closer affinity with OT doctrine and theology⁵⁴: Psalms and Proverbs echoing Maori *waiata* and *karakia*; accounts of epic journeys. Yahweh/Jehovah (*Ihowa* in Maori) seemed to be closer to Maori ideas of *Io*; and certainly showed more of the warrior-like tendencies that demonstrated God's power, than the forgiving Jesus of the NT. Jesus was referred to as Lord, translated as *Ariki*, demoting Jesus as it were to the position of a high chief

⁵⁴ Elsmore, Bronwyn - *Like Them That Dream* p 65, quoted in a chapter appropriately headed *Jesus or Jehovah*

⁵⁵ Elsmore, Bronwyn - *Like Them That Dream* p 72ff

rather than part of the godhead. This all began to emphasise the perception amongst Maori that Jesus and Christianity was a white man's religion. The freedom to go back to the OT, the origin, the root, all encouraged an exploration of other ways, perhaps more truly Maori ways.

Passages in books such as Isaiah and Revelation gave rise to thinking that these Maori were the new "*Tiu*" or Jews. They identified themselves with the Chosen people of God, with New Zealand being the New Canaan. Among the proponents of such theologies, known as the Maori prophets, was Te Ua Haumene Horopapera Tuwhakararo, founder of *Pai Marire*. He was baptized Horopapera (Zerubbabel, shoot of Babylon) by the Methodist missionary John Whiteley, and some of his Te Ua's ideas stem from that early personal self-understanding. (The original Zerubbabel, allowed to return from Babylonian exile, undertook the rebuilding of the temple in 6 C BC. See also Ezra 1-6)⁵⁶ Part of the ritual included marching around a Nui pole, often chanting "hau hau", which is the alternative *Hauhau* name for the movement.

Pai Marire was not so much an anti-Christian movement, but it was clearly anti-Pakeha in its intention, and ironically ultimately '*The Good and Peaceful religion*' as it is translated, was in time responsible for the martyrdom of the CMS missionary Carl Sylvius Volkner at Opotiki in 1865. Even after Te Ua's arrest in 1866, the movement remained a potent force. Little early documentary evidence of Pai Marire remains.

⁵⁶ based partly on Hammond, Kiwa - *Pai Marire: the misunderstood religion* - in *Stimulus* 6/2 May 1998 pp18-22

T.S.Grace⁵⁷, writing in 1877⁵⁸, saw evolving links between the Kingite political movement, and some of the religious movements, particularly seeing associations with Hauhaism, and *Ringatu*. (This religious-cum-political agenda has relevance for Maori today too.) Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki was involved with the mission station at Turanga, and had fought on the government side. However, a false accusation of his links with the Hauhaus led to him being deported to the Chatham Islands for a while in 1866. During an illness whilst there, he had a vision, which combined with his significant Bible knowledge, led to him becoming a religious and political leader for the Hauhaus.



After capturing a ship and returning to New Zealand in 1868, he led a rather violent series of reprisals, but by 1872 had decided to settle in King country, and accepted pacifism. *Ringatu*, ‘*The Upraised Hand*’, took over in some ways from *Pai Marire* “as a symbol of homage to God” as Davidson puts it. Perhaps one of Te Kooti’s most significant legacies was that their churches were based on the old carved houses, and preserved much Maori tradition, history, and culture.

In 1918, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana had a vision of the archangel Gabriel, with a message that Ratana should be a mouthpiece for God’s work. This sparked a ministry of healing that grew to involve both religious and political involvement, and

⁵⁷ It was he who wrote “we taught them to lift their eyes to heaven while we kept ours turned down to the land...”

⁵⁸ quoted in **Davidson**, Allan; *Christianity in Aotearoa* p 46

was a focus for uniting Maori. The Divine Healing, expounding of ideas about the lost tribes of Israel, and an expectation of a Messianic deliverance, mixed with the heady presence of Ratana, drew many people to the Ratana Pa. Initially this was under the auspices of the Methodist Rev Arthur Seamer. As the *Ratana* followers begun exercising a wider ministry, with their own weddings and baptisms, with the official backing of the Methodist church in the late 1920s, and its blend of Christian and Maori teachings, it had become the Maori church of preference.⁵⁹

These new religions were regarded by most mainstream denominations as schismatic, and as such relations between them began to break down. Perhaps one notable exception was the Methodist church's relationship with Ratana, which was considered instead as a Maori expression of the Christian faith. Maori elder Heeni Wharemaru was brought up within the Ratana church, but was also thoroughly involved within mainstream Methodism as well, for many years a prominent Methodist deaconess, and never saw much of a conflict between the two.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ partly using material from Mary Kay **Duffié**

⁶⁰ Heeni Wharemaru (b 1912) reveals in **Duffié** p 54 that as a child she was in a way allowed to be brought up in the Methodist Mission with Sister Nicholls and Rev Seamer, partly as reparation for the murder of Rev John Whiteley in 1869 by an elder from her own tribe. She was a *puhi*, a princess, a high social status virgin, a matriarch, who was given as it were to the church instead of to marriage. She seems remarkably at ease with this!

The Waning and Waxing of Celtic Spirituality

Celtic Spirituality has historically gone through cycles of popularity, or the Celtic Christian ‘revivalism’, as Ian Bradley puts it.⁶¹ Some of this is purely part of the secular Celtic fad, the ‘Glastonbury syndrome’ (where every second little shop there is full of a mixture of ‘*Celtic music*’, little Buddhas, & Amer-Indian dream-catchers etc.); but *some* is based on genuine tradition and insight. Indeed Tom O’Loughlin points out the dangers of treating Celtic spirituality in such a pick & mix fashion, with a bit from here and there chronologically, geographically and culturally⁶². However, what within Celtic spirituality makes it keep sprouting fresh again?

The Celts have left their mark on the church historically too: Karl Barth maintains that there is something ‘incurably Pelagian’ in British Christianity⁶³, and indeed a number of writers would seek to now redress the balance in favour of Pelagius, where “history has dealt him a bad press”(!)⁶⁴. In part this is identifying the long-term influence of Columba, Hilda or Patrick, along with Pelagius. Yet there is still a suspicion housed within - that there is something not quite orthodox about Celtic spirituality. There are many who would label those involved in Creation Spirituality, such as Matthew Fox, with criticisms that what they are teaching is either sub-Christian, pagan, pan-theistic or Pelagian; in some other way heretical or at least theologically eccentric.

⁶¹ **Bradley, Ian** - *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths And Chasing Dreams* - Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1999 p viii

⁶² **O’Loughlin, Thomas** - *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in early Irish writings* - Continuum, London; 2000 pp. 12,13

⁶³ quoted by **Van de Weyer, Celtic Fire** 1990, p11

⁶⁴ **Ellis, Roger & Seaton, Chris** - *New Celts: Following Jesus into Millennium 3* - Kingsway Publications, Eastbourne; 1998, p 231

Such arguments have always circulated. When Alexander Carmichael published his first two volumes of collected Scottish Celtic Prayers and Incantations in 1900⁶⁵, they were welcomed as a renaissance of Celtic Christian roots and liturgies, and some are rightly extensively anthologised and used as such today by a wide variety of academics and liturgists⁶⁶. However, the inevitable questions about catholicity were exacerbated after Carmichael's death when some of the remaining material was published by his family - material of a much wider range of source and inspiration. Some might even question if it could be called Christian. However Finney is but one example of those who still find at least some of the material thoroughly compatible:

It is sometimes said that the Celtic inheritance gathered by Carmichael and others is pantheistic, not distinguishing between the Creator and his creation...but in the example [of *Catherine MacLennan's prayers for the start of the day*] the glory is given to God, not to the creatures who join their morning song in praise of the Creator – a theme straight from the Bible.⁶⁷

In terms of the contemporary British understandings of Celtic Christian Spirituality, Ian Bradley has written a number of accessible books⁶⁸ that have become firstly something of a clarion call to the exploration of the Celtic heritage; and then a slight stepping back, with a more considered academic and even de-constructionist response. His first title, *The Celtic Way*, was on the 'romantic and fanciful side' as he himself later identifies, dwelling a little too much on the domain

⁶⁵ **Carmichael**, Alexander - *Carmina Gadelica* - edited **Moore**, C J, (including Preface by: **MacInnes**, John) Floris Books, Edinburgh, 1992, 1994

⁶⁶ Academics as diverse as De Waal, Finney, and Van de Weyer have all used Carmichael as a primary source. There are many examples of anthologies in the bibliography at the end.

⁶⁷ **Finney**, John - *Recovering the Past: Celtic and Roman Mission* - Darton, Longman & Todd, London; 1996, p 139

⁶⁸ **Bradley**, Ian - *The Celtic Way* - Darton, Longman & Todd, London; 1993;
Celtic Christianity: Making Myths And Chasing Dreams - Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1999;
Colonies of Heaven: Celtic Models for Today's Church - Darton, Longman & Todd, London; 2000

of “doodlers and dreamers, poets and pilgrims”. So much so, that after a book on Columba, his third thorough exploration, *Celtic Christianity*, is quite a sombre study, significantly sub-titled *Making Myths and Chasing Dreams*. It does not easily allow for a simplistic or superficial acceptance of all things Celtic, but challenges the reader to grapple with a much more rigorous spirituality than a handful of *Uilleann pipes fluty sounding* compact disks of music would imply.

Bradley however does not abandon Celtic spirituality to ‘academic sceptics’: as he says he “still believe that the distinctive voice of the early indigenous Christian communities of the British Isles speaks to us through all the layers of distortion and fabrication with which it has been overlaid”, so he explores what he feels are the six main themes of ‘Celtic’ spirituality, and how they may currently be applied, in the individual chapters of his fourth major treatise: *Colonies of Heaven*.⁶⁹

Colonies of Heaven - the Monastic Model; Blessing and Cursing; Penance and Pastoral Care; Worship; The Communion of Saints; and Pilgrimage.

In each chapter, the first half explores its title in the ‘golden age of Celtic spirituality’ context, and then in the second half seeks to apply this to contemporary Christian life. This is not always easy, as the chapter on Blessings and Cursings demonstrates. Although historically the cursing by Celtic saints was as predominant and powerful as the blessings, its appropriateness in contemporary culture is questioned. Perhaps, Bradley suggests, this prophetic style needs to be applied in the more socially aware style that the Wild Goose community of Iona challenges notions of comfortable indifference in church and society today.

⁶⁹ Bradley, Ian in *Colonies of Heaven: Celtic Models for Today's Church*; 2000

In his discerning of what Celtic Christianity may have to offer the Church of the third millennium, Robert Van de Weyer suggests identifying differing orders gifts and ministries: the *Order of St. Aidan* for bishops and archdeacons, *St. Cuthbert* for pastors, *St. Patrick* for preachers, *St. Brigid* for healers, *St. Columba* for artists, *St. Illtud* for administrators.⁷⁰



Carew Cross, with Celtic knot maze patterns, Dyfed, Wales

Others too are keen to find ways of applying Celtic spirituality to our contemporary culture. Michael Mitton, from a Charismatic Anglican perspective, sees value in weaving together the strands of Celtic Christianity for the church today⁷¹. In a fairly idiosyncratic and distinctive re-interpretation, Roger Ellis and Chris Seaton see their independent House Church, or Community Church ‘Revelation’ in the Bognor Regis/Chichester region of the South Coast England as being based on ‘Celtic Church principles’, with (among other things) different ‘cells’ being ‘tribes’ within the one ‘nation’ which is Revelation Church.⁷² John Hunt picks

⁷⁰ Van de Weyer, Robert, in *Celtic Gifts*, 1997

⁷¹ Mitton, Michael - *Restoring the Woven Cord: Strands of Celtic Christianity for the Church Today*, 1995

⁷² Ellis, Roger & Seaton, Chris - *New Celts: Following Jesus into Millennium 3*; 1998

up uniquely Presbyterian New Zealand nuances, and primarily and deliberately a *Pakeha*/white viewpoint - “we New Zealanders of European origin have thought of ourselves as not having a spirituality. We understand the Maori people had their spirituality...”. Incidentally, he personally also identifies that “Celtic and Maori spiritualities have much in common”.⁷³

Timothy Joyce⁷⁴, from an American Roman Catholic perspective, takes the theme of applying Celtic themes to modern spirituality in a more structured way. For him, the key strands of the Celtic way of life and spirituality include:

Verbal Nature: “It is the language which enfleshes the spirit of a culture: this is true for any peoples, but especially significant for Celts, who were a people of song, poetry, and story-telling.” (p13)

Imaginative seeing, hearing touching and feeling reality: “a peculiar non-linear way of apprehending time and space so that past and present intertwine; those who have died were still present...” (p16)

The clan, the tribe : the local social unit or group, loosely connected to other tribes or clans; which led to self-development of peoples and the emergence of localised authority (p17)

Respect for heroes and warriors: Their enthusiasm for heroes was easily transferred and applied to Christ. (p17)

Mystical bent of the Celt: especially evident in the great love of creation and of all nature. “This is also central to Celtic Christianity and is the source of a wonderful heritage of nature poetry.” (p17)

Tendency to wander, roam and explore: “Voyage stories are part of the Celtic lore... and voyage as well as pilgrimage and search are characteristics of Celtic Christianity”. (p17)

A fuller exploration of Joyce’s themes is included in the endnotes^v. For me, the parallels between the aims of Celtic communities as he describes them, and Maori communities both historically and now, is striking and compelling: the Maori love of

⁷³ **Hunt**, John Burton - *We Spirited People: A personal, enriching and uniquely New Zealand guide in Celtic Spirituality*; 1998, p11

⁷⁴ **Joyce**, Timothy J., OSB - *Celtic Christianity*; 1998

traditional songs and legends, learned by heart, their ability to learn great tracts of the scriptures by heart, their rapid adoption of the Psalms; their sense of *tapu*, of the holiness of creation and all within it, even the daily tasks of farming and cooking; the strong sense of the spiritual in an otherwise rapidly secularising world; the vital importance of family, tribe, and *whakapapa* (genealogy); formal rhetorical speech being a tradition within both cultures; journeying, and the tales which accompany it, the Celtic immrama, and the Maori *kaitorotoro*; the ministry of Celtic monastery and Maori *Marae* (meeting house).

More than any other single author Joyce, has encapsulated the ideas that initially drew me into this study.

Christ Through Indigenous Eyes

‘Indigenous and Imported’ is one of Bronwyn Elsmore’s chapter titles in *Like Them That Dream*,⁷⁵ comparing extant Maori spirituality with the faith of incoming Christian missionaries. What sort of Christ can we expect to see inculturated? As Donovan has famously explored in *Christianity Rediscovered*, Christ viewed from within cultures other than Mediterranean or ‘Western hemisphere’ can sometimes generate vivid new insights and points of view on the Christian faith. (Neil Darragh from a New Zealand perspective defines this as ‘North Atlantic Christianity’.⁷⁶)

Even in the European / North American context the inculturation of Christianity took a long time notes Ian Breward⁷⁷, and so it should be expected to be so in the Pacific region. The most integrated example he came across in Oceania is the work of the Melanesian Institute in Goroka. Even in these last 200 years an authentic and rich Christianity is developing, offering a ‘fundamentally different discipleship from the individualist models of Western Christianity...with its links with land, clan and the transcendent.’

“From the first time I began my Aboriginal chaplaincy,” says Australian archaeologist and Roman Catholic priest Eugene Stockton from a Pacific context, “I noticed a different religious mindset...I found I would preach differently to Koories [*the local Australian Aboriginal tribe*] than I would to white Australians, and I found difficulty with mixed congregations. I put it down to the fact that Koori congregations responded better to sacramental and mystical presentations, which was

⁷⁵ Elsmore, Bronwyn - *Like Them That Dream*; Chapter 6, p77

⁷⁶ Darragh, Neil, in *Christ in Context*, p224

⁷⁷ Breward, Ian in *The Way*, Vol.40 No.2 p124

also congenial to the deepest Catholic traditions but at variance with modern Western tastes.”⁷⁸

The task of simply bringing ‘the Gospel’ to New Zealand was not straightforward, as Davidson points out:

“Even the terms ‘gospel’ and ‘culture’ are problematic. ‘Gospel’ was defined and used in different ways. The *missionaries* [my italics] identified it with their understanding of the good news that they brought to the Maori. For the *settlers*, the gospel was shaped and determined by their own particular denominational histories and traditions. These different versions of the gospel were themselves defined and shaped by the variety of cultures that contained and expressed them. Throughout history the gospel has always been expressed historically and contextually. It is never without a cultural context.”⁷⁹ (fuller reference in endnote^{vi}).

Or putting it another way, “Is Jesus a *Pakeha* [white European]?” is the simple but potentially devastating question sparked by a child in Lloyd Martin’s *One Faith Two Peoples*.⁸⁰ Based on Bruce Nicholls work in India on explaining culture in ‘layers’ of worldview, values, institutions in society, and observable customs⁸¹, Martin teases out the cultural contrasts of New Zealand *Pakeha* with Maori/Pacific cultures. He notes that although Pakeha society is based more on the individual than teams or groups; on career or personal achievement, rather than Maori strengths of co-operation and relationship. There is danger that perhaps one culture might attempt painting Jesus primarily within their framework, implying only by taking on this new culture can one discover Christ.

⁷⁸ Stockton, Eugene - *the aboriginal gift* - Millennium Books; 1995 p 94

⁷⁹ Davidson, Allan K. - *Aotearoa New Zealand* p xi A fuller copy of the quotation is in the Endnote Appendices

⁸⁰ Martin, Lloyd - *One Faith, Two Peoples*: 1991, Ch 3

⁸¹ Nicholls, Bruce - *Contextualisation: A Theology of Gospel Culture* (1979) quoted by Lloyd Martin

This ‘domestication of the Gospel’, as Newbiggin puts it⁸², making it into a more “reasonable Christianity” within one’s own terms; is in a way doing with the gospel faith something similar to the ‘*chutnification*’ of culture as Salman Rushdie puts it, in a wider social context.⁸³

I am unable to trace the origin of the quip: ‘in the Incarnation, Christ is *The Word made flesh*⁸⁴: it has taken the Church nearly two thousand years, but at last it has successfully translated The Word made flesh *back into word again.*’ Screaming of a particularly book-oriented Western worldview of the faith, this black humour reminds us the Gospel is not just a book, but about Life, about living.

Other cultures see it so differently. Peter Craig-Wild spent a sabbatical with Native American Cherokee. As with the Maori, story-telling is vastly more than idle pass-time, but a powerful educational model, working differently to the Western statement-making, ‘banking’ model. “When the Cherokee tell a story it is not merely a telling but a re-creation of the Cherokee life. In the telling of the story the life of the people is passed on. Therefore story-telling has an essentially religious dimension to it.”⁸⁵ Partly through his North American experience, he re-discovered the Biblical storyteller *par excellence*: Jesus. Parable and symbol in worship, engaging creative and free worship with an enlightened use of the liturgy become his themes.

Quoting an interview with American evangelist and civil rights campaigner Tony Campolo in Shaker, Lloyd Martin records:

⁸² Newbiggin, Lesslie - *The Gospel in a Pluraist Society* - SPCK London, © W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company; 1989; p 3

⁸³ Part of the theme of Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children*, where each chapter heading is a different chutney, demonstrating a merging of Indian and British customs under the Raj. As quoted by William Dalrymple in the Guardian

⁸⁴ John 1:14

“If the Holy Spirit flows through Maori culture, it will probably be purged of all its Anglo-Pakeha qualities. It will probably become more Maori than it has ever been, and you will have the purest and best Maori culture ever to exist in history. The same will be true of Pakeha culture.”⁸⁶

‘Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and for ever’⁸⁷, even though the practice of the faith is rather different now than in the Roman occupied, slave owning, non-motorized days of the Apostles. We still recognise the Jesus of the gospels from our different perspective.⁸⁸ In the same way, we should expect that different cultures within one time frame (ours?) should also have different perspectives, but still clearly be able to recognise the same Christ; and indeed the same Christ, perhaps with new insights, be recognisable from one culture to another.

⁸⁵ **Craig-Wild**, Peter - *Tools for Transformation: Making Worship Work* - Darton, Longman & Todd Ltd, London; 2002 p 70 ff

⁸⁶ the now defunct New Zealand periodical *Shaker* #57, February 1988 p6ff

⁸⁷ Hebrew 13:8

⁸⁸ Darragh in *Christ in Context* points out the discontinuity that even ‘we’ have with our past - taking Aotearoa New Zealand *pakeha* as an example of continuity, and yet discontinuity. p231

Warriors Once More

In observing the interaction between Maori and white religious experience, Colless and Donovan concluded ‘In New Zealand the Pakeha has contributed much to Maori religious life, including fulfilling the role of a midwife in assisting with the birth of new and original religious groups, which in turn have contributed much to religion in the Pakeha world.’⁸⁹ But though there has been much absorption of Christianity and the Bible into Maoridom, Manuka Henare still observes that “A developed Maori theology and appropriate rituals have yet to emerge. The challenge for Maori Christianity in the new millennium is to continue the dialogue between Maoritanga and the church.”⁹⁰

Observations about the links between Maori and other cultures are not new, and amongst the many parallels he found with other cultures, New Zealand anthropologist (James) ‘Herries’ Beattie also identified links of particular interest in this study, with Scottish, Welsh and Irish⁹¹, perhaps establishing the links I had perceived between Maori and Celt. However, is this identification simply a fond sort of genial colonialism by an external culture? Identifying similarities with its own histories, and claiming a similarity or collegiality that does not in reality exist? Whilst in Auckland’s St John’s College, I spent some time trying to speak to the staff of the Maori part of the college (actually a college in its own right), and identified my interest in exploring Maori and Celtic parallels. This thesis itself antagonised one lecturer (perhaps rightly so valuing the uniqueness of their own Maori culture) to the extent that they did not feel able to provide any further discussion or support, any

⁸⁹ Colless, Brian & Donovan, Peter - **Religion in New Zealand Society** 1985; p52

⁹⁰ Henare, Manuka in **The Way** Vol.40 No.2 p136

⁹¹ Elsmore, Bronwyn - **Like Them That Dream** p71

book list or direction of study - not even to undermine my proposed hypothesis. For me to have even implied similarities or parallels perhaps smelt of unrepentant colonialism.

Perhaps it is partly this that Manuka Henare was observing, feeling that “A developed Maori theology and appropriate rituals have yet to emerge”. Bryan Gilling feels something of this divide too: “Christianity in Aotearoa New Zealand is still perceived as heavily Pakeha, not above culture at all, entirely permeated with one particular culture. It has been, and remains, a major instrument of colonisation, and thus, of the oppressed Maori culture. How, then, can Maori adopt it and remain authentically Maori?”⁹²



Carving of the Roman Catholic Bishop Jean-Baptiste Pompallier⁹³

Yet that is not the only Maori position.⁹⁴ Heeni Wharemaru quoted the Maori Princess Te Puea saying to her “Our relationship between the Maori and Pakeha is

⁹² Gilling, Bryan - *Karaiti & Culture* - in *Stimulus* 6/2 May 1998, p2

⁹³ This carving by Paki Harrison is in the Whai Ora Catholic Marae, Otara. This poupou (carving) has been given 'poutokomanawa' status (one of three central carvings holding up the meeting house). The cross above his head (from the Holy Land) represents the bringing of the Gospel and his being the first resident bishop in Aotearoa New Zealand. His remains were returned in a *Hikoi* to Aotearoa New Zealand in early 2002. Picture used with permission.

⁹⁴ Or indeed fully representative of Gilling's view - he was after all editing the issue of *Stimulus* specifically looking at Christ (Karaiti) and Culture.

such that we are basically one people. In the future, remember, we are to walk side-by-side with our Pakeha friends.”⁹⁵ And Bernie Kernot asserts “Maori have been more selective than missionaries realised and have, with varying degrees of success, attempted to make the Bible relevant within a traditional frame of reference. A distinctive Maori Christianity is already with us across the denominational spectrum.”⁹⁶ Though Neil Darragh, as a New Zealand *Pakeha* theologian says “I have neither the experience nor the expertise to deal with Maori theology”⁹⁷, in many respects he has taken enormous trouble to try and understand issues from a Maori perspective, as much as any Pakeha can, which is clearly evidenced in his work.

So are there patterns or ways that we may see Maori spirituality, and especially in its Christian context, growing and developing in Aotearoa New Zealand? Are there pointers from how Celtic spirituality, with its longer phase of development, that may give us some clues? Elizabeth Cains, at the *1990 Australian Creation Spirituality Workshop* said:

Many of the songlines of the more immediate rootedness of the European Australian were sung in the Celtic tradition, a tradition of extraordinary richness which has an undeniable affinity with the Dreaming of the Australian Aboriginal...the Celts lived ‘between worlds’...sacred stories were woven and sung by the bards...they lived in union with the spirits of trees, rocks, and animals...the Celt was the ‘*peregrinatione*’ the wanderer...It has seemed to me that the claiming of my Celtic heritage may be a stepping stone taking me into the Australian Aboriginal Dreaming...⁹⁸

Some of the more obvious aspects of biculturalism, or shared culture, such as dual language liturgies, command a power and relevance beyond mere superficial political correctness. The Anglican *A New Zealand Prayer Book He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* is a deliberately bilingual document (sometimes more,

⁹⁵ Duffié, Mary Kay - *Through the Eye of the Needle* p106

⁹⁶ Kernot, Bernie – *Maori worldview and spirituality* - in *Stimulus* 6/2 May 1998 pp 4, 5

including Tongan, Samoan and Fijian sections) from its title onwards. Stockton's 'the aboriginal gift' (appendix 3) contains an Aboriginal Eucharistic liturgy, complete with references to kangaroos and goannas. This vivid use of local context is precisely the sort of imagery that attracts many to 'Celtic' prayers and liturgy. And of course it is a pattern that Christ himself used in his teaching: "A man went out to sow...", "I am the gate for the sheep...", "...and after supper he took the cup and said "... ."⁹⁹



Patu, or Maori ceremonial club with carved labyrinth design

John Bluck recognizes that though there is a strong sense of a Kiwi *Spirit*, that is New Zealand Spirit, both Maori and *Pakeha*, (frequently identified in yacht races and rugby and cricket test matches, and sponsored by the advertising of banks and breweries) there is little grasp of a Kiwi *Spirituality*¹⁰⁰. He quotes Roman Catholic theologian Neil Darragh as saying "what we need to do from time to time is somehow to turn off the important and powerful theologies emanating from older centres of Christianity. These theologies have their own legitimate agenda. But these agenda may be quite different, even alienating and destructive, from those required

⁹⁷ Darragh, Neil, in *Christ in Context*, p231

⁹⁸ Cain, Elizabeth - *To Sacred Origins* Cain, Elizabeth - *To Sacred Origins* p 77

⁹⁹ e.g. Matthew 13:3; John 10:7; Luke 22:20/1 Corinthians 11:25

¹⁰⁰ Bluck, John - *Long White and Cloudy: In Search of a Kiwi Spirituality*; 1998; p10

in a relatively new community [*i.e. Aotearoa New Zealand*] just beginning to develop its own identity”.¹⁰¹

In an email about the finding ‘Celticity’, or the Celtic ‘style’ and ‘feel’ in other cultures, Tom O’Loughlin warns about the imposition of one culture on another; or ‘discovering’ things that may not so much be linked, as just there of their own: “Celtic spirituality is not a unified notion, but merely an aspect of pre-scholastic western spirituality that have been lost sight of. [It may be that...] the similarity of cultured environments (both *de-facto* apart from modernity) produces [...what might be seen] as similarity.”¹⁰²



Labyrinth on the floor of Chartres Cathedral, France:
Celtic or Maori type swirls - or a unique representation in its own right?

Matthew Fox at an Australian symposium argues for a biculturalism that does not so much seek for exclusion, or supremacy of one culture over another, but includes living both in “Dreamtime and clock time”. It is pure nostalgia that claims that Dreamtime can only be experienced in the wilderness, the bush. It is part of our

¹⁰¹ Although quoted in Bluck, the original is **Darragh**, Neil; response to The “One World”: A Challenge to Western Christianity, pp224-234 in **Christ And Context** 1993

¹⁰² **O’Loughlin**, Tom; in a personal email in reply to an enquiry from me; 18/10/2002

nature our histories.¹⁰³ For example, Australian aboriginal writer Miriam-Rose Ungunmerr, wrote in *1988 Compass Theology Review*, of *dadirri*. *Dadirri* is defined as an inner deep listening and quiet still awareness.¹⁰⁴ To pick up and use this Aboriginal cultural tool is but an antipodean equivalence of the spirituality of the Desert Fathers brought alive in a vivid new context.

Darragh, quoting an unpublished ‘*Maori Pastoral Plan*’ for the Catholic Church in Aotearoa New Zealand by Henare Tate, gives us one way of seeing how a Maori perspective can be applied within a social and moral framework. He says, acting rightly involves the three Maori “virtues” of:

Tika: justice, acting rightly according to one’s responsibilities to kin, expressed in *marae* protocol, and especially in addressing the “*tapu*” of the people

Pono: faithfulness to justice, integrity, being true in spite of difficulties or criticisms or fads

Aroha: love affection, compassion. These ways of acting are lived out within the framework of “*tapu*”, “*mana*”, and “*te wa*”

Darragh goes on to identify that perhaps a Pakeha response of “acting rightly” might include i) respect, ii) integrity, iii) participation, iv) fairness¹⁰⁵

In the September 1998, after a number of years of fairly strong capitalist government, a sense of social concern had been building in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Anglican churches, partly in response, and partly as catalyst, arranged a number of journeys or pilgrimages known as *hikois* from various parts of the country, heading towards the capital, Wellington. These were collectively part of the significant national ‘*Hikoi* of Hope’ (see endnote for a report^{vii}) culminating in

¹⁰³ Fox, Matthew - *Creation Spirituality and the Dreamtime* p 3, in Hammond’s 1991 book of the same title

¹⁰⁴ Ungunmerr, Miriam-Rose - in Stockton, Eugene - *the aboriginal gift* Millennium Books; 1995

¹⁰⁵ Darragh, p231

meetings of local people with members of the Government. There was a great mixture of local clergy and ordinary people along the way, many non-churchgoers, or those of other faiths or none; and a large number of Maori were also involved. Walking and talking together on the way about ‘civil rights’, and ‘kingdom principles’ of the gospel, many found that there were issues where they had more in common than they had previously known.

The Anglican church in New Zealand is in no way ‘established’, and therefore has no say in government processes; yet in the 2000 General Synod of the church (held biennially), Prime Minister Helen Clark was not only an official guest speaker, but also on the receiving end of some fairly cogently argued political speeches herself. Though at one level quite small, and of fairly low significance within the national media, the Anglicans of the Maori, *Pakeha* and Pacifica churches offered their ‘three layer’ *Tikanga* system of church management and administration as a possible way forward for the national secular government too. (See endnote^{viii})

With Celtic spirituality, part of what seems to spur revival and resurgence, is the strong influence of music, poetry & word, and art. It seems that these are key factors in Maori cultural resurgence too. Within the church, music appears to be driving a change among young people, as identified not only by Sonny Melbourne¹⁰⁶, but also among the songs of Bonnie Low (endnote^{ix}) or of Luke Kaa-Morgan (endnote^x) for example. The fact that these are not picking up ordinary Western (North Atlantic?) worship themes, but more specifically Aotearoan styles is significant.

¹⁰⁶ The opening paragraph of his thesis starts with the influence of the words of a song sung by his brothers group.

There is a reprise of the themes presented by the Maori Prophets, with ideas of liberation and restoration; but also picking up on other Maori and Old Testament ideas of warriors, or Maori dignity, not in the old aggressive way, but with a fresh insight. *Fragile Warriors* is the title of Bonnie Low's album and title track, "*hiding in that ancient cave, trembling...exiled, fragile warriors; wounded hearts start beating strong: you'll be led to your own Fatherland, Redeemed, renewed, restored, His warriors.*" "Listen to the sound of people coming back" sings Luke Kaa-Morgan "*the warriors are full of hope...courage and humility...see the women in their dignity, strength and purity, for they chose to walk in the light.*"

It is interesting to note that for Maori, there is no great distinction between 'spirituality' and 'Christian spirituality'. Consequently, even on the very popular 'secular' album of *Maori Songs* by Dame Kiri Te Kanawa, there are words such as "*Why are you weeping, dear little ones? Are you tired? Disillusioned? Disheartened? Let the love of the Almighty support you.*"¹⁰⁷

This perhaps allows a development of the Christian faith afresh with the largely un-churched; as in Britain even among those who are put off by 'religion', there may well be an interest in 'spirituality', particularly if it has anything of the Celtic associated with it; so maybe in Aotearoa New Zealand there may be value in helping those with an interest in Maori culture to see its roots in faith and spirituality too.

On coming across the image of Jesus on the plate-glass window in St Faith's, and the Madonna with child in the Auckland Domain Museum, I set off to discover

¹⁰⁷ From *Hine e Hine* on **Kiri Te Kanawa - Kiri Maori Songs** - EMI Records Ltd. 1999

more of the indigenous Maori cultural expressions of the Christian faith - only to be told frequently 'that is about all that we have'. Indeed, the Pakeha church had so influenced the Maori, that for a hundred years and more, Maori clergy were almost identical to the 'best of British'; as in some parts of Africa it is *still* possible to have immaculate Church of England Book of Common Prayer services, with full cassock and surplice, albeit translated verbatim into the local language.

The image of the Celtic church, subsumed by the Roman church, is oft quoted, but more than a little un-representative of the facts. Yet the ability of the Celtic church to keep re-surfacing, bringing new things to each new generation, perhaps best demonstrates that a truly Maori Christian spirituality will never be able to be subsumed, and may equally have even more chance of adding to the real experience of the Christian faith of the people of Aotearoa New Zealand today and in the future.

Indeed, Maori spirituality is so much more evident in contemporary culture - it is not only 'okay' to be, and be seen to be, a spiritual person; but it is indeed encouraged within the culture. In the mainstream public media in New Zealand life, church issues hardly register, especially if they are representative of the received (imported, white) church - but from a Maori context, prayers and *karakia* are always acceptable (and make excellent TV!). So within Maoridom, there is a deep cultural spirituality that has a real - probably the strongest - potential to be the driving-force for ongoing mission in an otherwise secularised Aotearoa New Zealand. How very Celtic.

Glossary

English words in plain type, other languages in *italics*, Maori words in *dark red* (except of course on photocopies)

Note on Maori Pronunciation: ‘wh’ is usually pronounced a little as a ‘ph’ in English, with a breathy ‘f’ sound.

anamchara - Celtic: Soul Friend; but also embodying aspects of the wounded healer
anchorite, anchoritic - individual, withdrawal model of monasticism

Aotearoa - New Zealand (literally Maori for ‘The Land of the Long White Cloud’, as it was described by the first Maori settlers arriving in long canoes)

Ariki - the most frequent NT translation for Lord, but also meaning High Chief

atua - spiritual beings

avatar - somebody who embodies, personifies, or is the manifestation of an idea or concept

BCP - the Church of England 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*

cenobitic - communal monastic community

dadirri - an Australian Aboriginal word meaning deep listening and quiet stillness, used especially by Miriam-Rose Ungunmerr

eremitic - solitary monasticism

episcopo - oversight, sometimes by a bishop

geis, geasa (pl) - the Celtic equivalent of taboo

gyrovagi - ‘gadabouts’, St. Benedict’s disapproving term for Celtic peregrinati

hagiography - (an often over-romanticized or embellished) biography of a saint

haka - vigorous rhythmical dance, used for much more than just rugby matches!

hapu - clan, or sub-tribe

hau - spirit/breath, the spiritual source of obligatory reciprocity in relationships and activities (see also *hongi*)

Hawaiki - the traditional place of origin in Polynesia where the first Maori sailors came from

hiko - journey, walk or pilgrimage, as in ‘*Hiko* of Hope’ 1998

hongi - Maori greeting by pressing of noses (and in some areas foreheads as well), a sign of exchanging breath

immrama - Celtic: ‘tales of the voyage’ Bradley 2000, p207

Io, Io-matua-kore - a supreme being

iwi - tribe

kaitiakitanga - the guardianship of creation

karanga - call, introduction, leader of worship/choir

kawa - ceremonies to regulate life

Karaiti - Christ

karakia - prayers or incantations

kauea - the female form of the tattoo, the *moko*

kaumatū - elders

Kingitanga - kingship, Maori monarchist movement

kotahitanga - solidarity

makutu - cursing/witchcraft

mana - the power and prestige associated with a person that has both given and gained, spiritual authority, concern the common good

manaakitanga - quality care, kindness, hospitality

Maori - a Polynesian people that came and settled in Aotearoa/New Zealand over 1000 years ago

Maoritanga - The Maori people, Maoridom

marae - Maori meeting house, centre of community life

mauri - the life principle, or life force of the individual, life essences in all things material and non-material, vitalism

metanoia - change, of mind, or conversion, or often also changes in society

moko - tattoo on a male Maori warriors face

NT - New Testament

noa - the ordinary and acceptable, in which people were free from *tapu*

OT - Old Testament

Pa - fortification, protected village

Pakeha - the name given by Maori to Europeans

Papa, or Papatuanuku, Papa-tu-a-Nuku - the earth mother

Pai Marire - 'The Good and Peaceful Religion', founded by Te Ua Haumene Horopapera Tuwhakararo

peregrinati, peregrinatione - Celtic wandering missionary monks

poi - balls on strings, used in pairs in dance by women

powhiri - welcome ceremony

princeps - term often used for an abbot

puhi - virgin, girl of eligible (usually highborn) status, eg Heeni Wharemaru

rangatira - chiefs

Rangiatea - Anglican Maori church co-founded in Otaki c1850 by Octavius Hadfield & Te Rauparaha; *rangiatea* (literally: heaven open)

Rangi - the sky father

Ratana - Maori religion

Ringatu - Maori religion founded by Te Kooti

Runanga - consultation, conference, also parliament

Taha wairua - spirits

taiaha - Maori weapon like a short spear

tangata (te tangata) - the human person

tangata whenua - the people of the land, the Maori

tangi, tangihanga - funeral gathering, morning, wake

tapu - the sacred force controlling behaviour, the state of being and potentiality, sacred, holy (note the similarity to the word taboo, which is from Polynesian extraction)

te ao hurihuri - change and tradition

te ao marama - the cosmos, seeking enlightenment

Tikanga - System, formula, technique, belief, attitude, custom - especially for the Three Tikangas church government system

Tino Rangatiratanga - main sovereignty, realm; often the principality of Maoridom

Torore - a young Christian Maori girl, whose Gospel book, after her murder, brought many to faith

tohunga - priest

tuahu - altar

tupapaku - the body

tuath - tribe looked over by local Celtic king

utu - reciprocity, the seeking of revenge or the humiliation of others, not dissimilar to 'an eye for an eye' Mt 5:38; Ex 21:24; Lev 24:20

wairua/wairuakitanga - the spiritual dimension of life, the recognition that all things in creation have a spiritual dimension

waka - the canoes the Maori travelled in

Western Hemisphere - In terms of culture, representing both North American and European culture

whakapapa - tribal lineage, genealogy, family tree

whanau - family, extended family as the foundation for society

whanaungatanga - belonging to, and maintaining the kinship system

whare tupuna - ancestral meeting house, the significant building of the *marae*

whare wananga - school of higher learning

whenua - the land

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See fuller quote in endnotes^{xi}

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The Celts: What were the Celts in Britain really like? (broadcast 21 Feb 2002) see endnote^{xii} for outline and contributors. Web link:

http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/inourtime/inourtime_20020221.shtml

The Lindisfarne Gospels - unifying Christianity in Britain (broadcast 20 Feb 2003) see endnote^{xiii} for outline and contributors. Web link:

http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/inourtime/inourtime_20030220.shtml

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Once Were Warriors - with Rena Owen, Temuera Morrison, Mamaengaroa Kerr-Bell - COMMUNICADO with New Zealand Film Commission - **Director: Lee Tamahori** - Entertainment in Video © 1994

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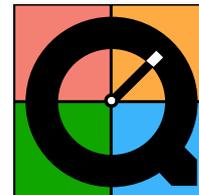
Lyrics from Songs

Poi, Karanga, Haka from **New Sound - *The Preview: Vibrant Sounds of Multicultural Worship*** - New Sound publishing Ltd, Auckland, New Zealand; 1998

After a poignant spoken introduction, and the **Poi** dance (with balls on strings), the **Karanga** (shout, invitation), there is a **Haka** (fierce rhythmical dance) with the following words:

*Ko Kawari te Maunga, Horona te awa,
Te rongopai te waka,
Ko Ihu te tangata tangata tuturu.*

Calvary is his mountain,
Jordan is his river, the good news is his canoe,
Jesus is the person forever.



A New Sound by **Luke Kaa-Morgan** from **New Sound - *The Preview: Vibrant Sounds of Multicultural Worship*** - New Sound Publishing - Auckland, New Zealand; 1998

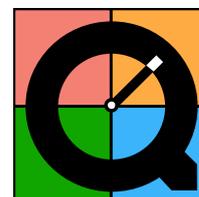
There's a new sound in the nations
A new sound on the earth
A shout of freedom is coming to this generation

*In worship to Jesus (x3)
This sound of praise*

There's a sound from indigenous people
A song that's from the land
Put there by the creator and being released now

In worship to Jesus...

*He mita hou ki nga motu
Waiata ki te whenua*



Ka eke mai te whakawateea ki enei iwi

Whakampimititia (x3)

A Ihu e

© 1993, 1995 New Sound Publishing Ltd.

Kia Kaha by **Luke Kaa-Morgan** from **New Sound - *The Preview: Vibrant Sounds of Multicultural Worship*** - New Sound Publishing - Auckland, New Zealand; 1995

Kia kaha, Kia toa

Kia manawanui

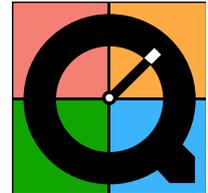
Ko te atua to tatou piringa to tatou kaha

Be strong, be brave

Be steadfast and sure

For God is our shelter and he is our strength

© 1992, 1995 New Sound Publishing Ltd.



Fragile Warriors from **Bonnie Low's** album of the same name - A Free Flight Music Production - Auckland, New Zealand; 1996

[Introduced on the sleeve with:

To all Fragile Warriors who have been driven into hiding by woundings, abuse, shame and despair, check out David's men and hope again! (1 Sam 22, and 2 Sam 23)]

Hiding in that ancient cave, Trembling like a fleeing slave,
Escaped the javelin and the sword - Fragile Warriors

Exiled to that lonely place, Sustained by mercy kept by grace,
Still the prisoners of the Lord - Fragile Warriors

In every heart a desperate cry, Yet still a flame that will not die,
Keeps burning in the night - For His warriors

Then wounded hearts start beating strong, Travailing turns to victory song,
Run into the Lord, run into the Lord - All you Warriors

Then guided by that gentle hand, You'll be led to your own Fatherland,
Redeemed, renewed, restored - His Warriors

Call out the mighty men of war (x3)

Get ready

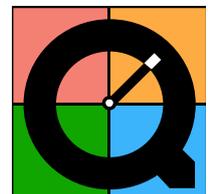
Come out of hiding and make a stand, Prepare to take the land

Get ready - get ready

Gather troops get ready to fight, And two will put ten thousand to flight

Get ready - get ready

'Cause there's war in the gates, War in the streets,



War in the cities and heavenlies
Let the battle cry go forth aloud, Let the trumpet sound let the people shout
Get ready - get ready

Let the walls come down at the trumpet blast
Let them break in pieces the gates of brass
Get ready - get ready
Let the Heavenly hosts begin to fight
Let them break in two the bars of iron
Get ready - get ready

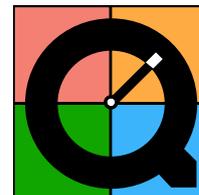
'Cause there's war in the gates, War in the streets,
War in the cities and heavenlies
Let the armies march let the battle begin
Let the gates be open as the Hosts come in
Get ready - get ready

Haka

© Bonnie Low 1995

There's a New Song from **Bonnie Low's *Fragile Warriors*** album - A Free Flight Music Production - Auckland, New Zealand; 1996

There's a new song across the nation,
There's a new song in our land
It's a song of liberation
The time of Jubilee is at hand
It's the song of the righteous
And of the redeemed
The song of the thankful
And the song of the free
It's the song of the prisoner
As deliverance comes
And the Father's heart is singing for His prodigal ones



There's a new song across the nation,
There's a new song in our land
It's a song of restoration
The time of healing is at hand
It's the song of the broken
As they stand to their feet
The song of the outcast
Bitter waters made sweet
It's the song of the wounded
As healing comes
And the Father's heart is singing to His faithful ones

There's a new song across the nation,
There's a new song in our land

It's a song of visitation
The time of wonders is at hand
It's the song of the mighty
As they go into war
The song of the willing
In the day of His power
And the song fills the temple
As His glory comes
And the Father's heart is singing with His chosen sons

There's a new song across the nation,
There's a new song in our land
It's a song of celebration
For the Kingdom is at hand
It's the song of the Bridegroom
And the song of the Bride
The song of all Heaven
With her gates open wide
It's the song of all nations
As we see that day come
And the Father's heart is singing (with His loved ones)

© *Bonnie Low 1995*

Information on Illustrations

Illustrations in Michael Shirres' *Te Tangata*. I have deliberately included them, with their explanations, as they are a sort of shorthand; a simple yet graphic demonstration and effective communication, of Maori culture and spirituality.

Artist Bernard Makoare writes: *Kororero Whakamarama* - Explanation

This is a brief explanation of the artwork I have done for Te Tangata. My background is that of a woodcarver and this is reflected in my drawings. Each drawing is individually titled, and usually corresponds to references in the text of the book.



This drawing, (left) which came as my initial response to Pa Michael's book, is used in sections to illustrate chapters 2 & 3.

It is the only untitled drawing. It represents the elements of duality, which constantly appear throughout the book.

Examples are:

Tane - Wahine \diamond man and woman

Ira atua - Ira Tangata \diamond immortal and mortal

Kauae runga - Kauae raro \diamond upper and lower jaw, sacred and secular

Tapu - Noa \diamond sacred and common

Te po - Te ao marama \diamond the darkness and enlightenment

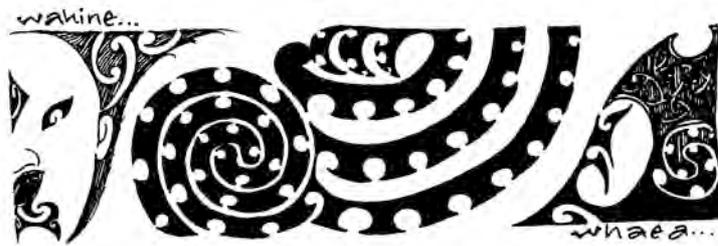
Also the embrace of *Rangi* and *Papa* before their separation is represented by the opposing spirals, the light between is the glimmer of enlightenment.

Tane (on the right)

This is a simple representation of traditional maleness in the stylised form of "*moko*" [that is tattoos on the face]. The duality and complexity of the human person is evident in the differing patterns of each quadrant of the face.



Wahine ... wharea (below)



Wahine and *wharea* are the titles of this drawing. The female form is represented in stylised *kowhaiwhai*. *Kowhaiwhai* within the carved meeting-house was a genealogical linking system. The acknowledgement of the two stages for the woman are represented by the *Kauea* (or female *moko*[tattoo]) and the embryonic foetus - the *whare tangata*.

Nga kete a toru (right)

Tane was the one who acquired the baskets of knowledge - *Nga kete a toru o te wananga*. Once this was achieved he became known as *Tane-nui-a-rangi*. This stylised drawing depicts *Tane*, descending from the uppermost level along the pathway he chose, with the three stylised *kete* and surrounded by swirling winds.



Karakia (left)

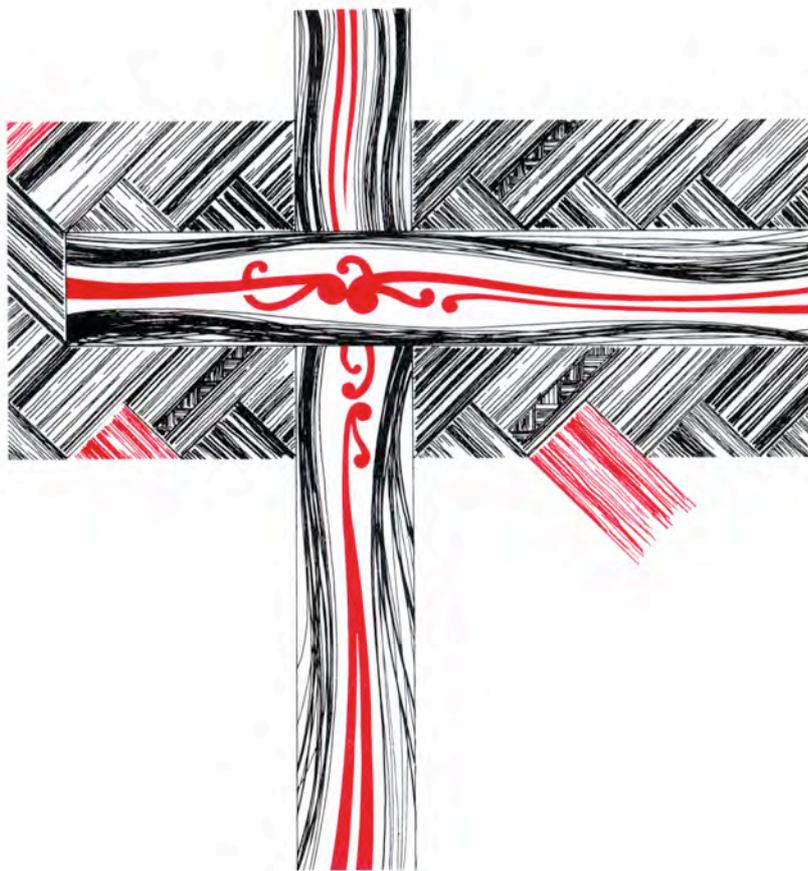
This is a representation of *karakia* from the creation of all things in the darkness of "*te Po*". The intricacies of *karakia* are evident in the *kowhaiwhai koru* images which emanate from the mouth of the *Manaia* or seat of *mana*. The link to the beginning is seen through the eye of the *manaia*.

Matangaro

Io the creator, the omnipotent, had numerous names and titles. *Io-Matangaro*, or the hidden face, provided an understanding for something as incomprehensible as the creation of all things. This drawing leaves the definition of the face, and *Io*, up to the imagination, and provokes personal reflection on the reason for being.



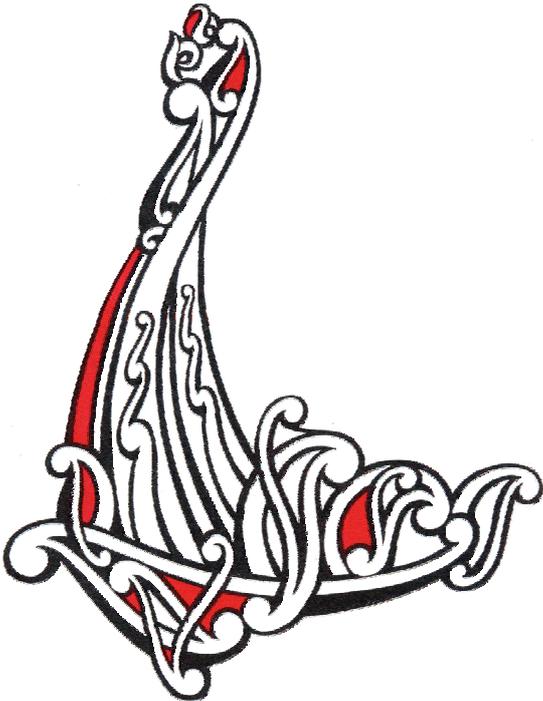
.....
Illustrations from A New Zealand Prayer Book *He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* by Ross Hemera



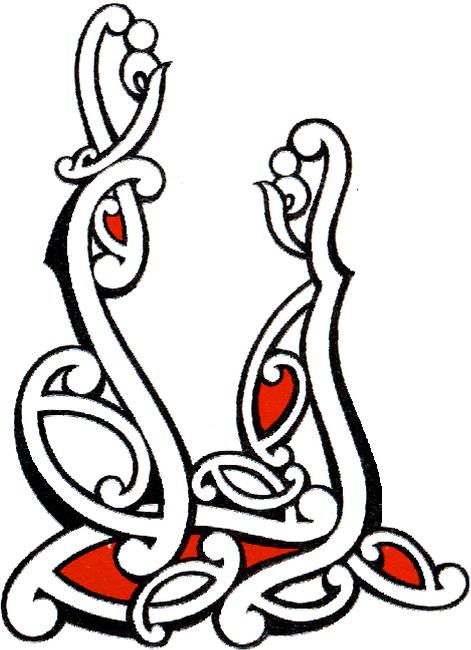
From the
Prayer Book
Title page

Illustrations by Ross Hemera *cont...*

From the
Liturgies
of Baptism



From the
Funeral
Liturgies



Endnote Appendices

ⁱ **The New Zealand Coat of Arms** - “The first quarter of the shield depicts four stars as representative of the Southern Cross, then three ships symbolizing the importance of New Zealand's sea trade; in the second quarter is a fleece representing the farming industry. The wheat sheaf in the third quarter represents the agricultural industry, whilst the crossed hammers in the fourth quarter represent the mining industry.

The supporters on either side of the shield consist of a Maori Chieftain holding a *taiaha* (a Maori war weapon) and a European woman holding the New Zealand Ensign.

Surmounting the Arms is the St Edward's Crown which was used in the Coronation ceremony of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. The crown symbolizes the fact that Her Majesty is Queen of New Zealand under the New Zealand Royal Titles Act 1953.”

ⁱⁱ Tino Rangatiratanga - the Maori flag.

Black represents **Te Korekore** the realm of Potential Being. The long darkness from whence the world emerged. It represents the heavens. The male element is formless, floating, passive.

White represents **Te Ao Marama** the realm of Being and light. It is the physical world, and symbolises purity, harmony, enlightenment and balance.

The **Koru**, curling frond shape, represents the unfolding of new life, that everything is reborn and continues. It represents renewal and hope for the future.

Red represents **Te Whei Ao**, the realm of Coming into Being. It symbolises the female element. It also represents gestation. Red is *Paptuanaku*, the Earth Mother, the sustainer of all living things. Red is the colour from which the first human was made.

Information taken from the Maori Independence Site,
<http://aotearoa.wellington.net.nz/back/flag.htm>

ⁱⁱⁱ The moving story of ‘Tarore’s Gospel’ comes from the early period of inter-racial contact in New Zealand. It was a treasured copy of St. Luke’s Gospel that she had been taught to read at mission school. Tarore was taken and killed by a raiding party, led by the chief Uita. Ripahau was a slave who had come to live with the war party from another tribe, the Ngati Raukawa. Ripahau had been taught to read, and through his reading of the gospel, was converted, and then so was the chief, Uita. Uita’s reaction was to seek forgiveness of Tarore’s father, Ngakuku. Ngakuku had also come under the influence of the gospel, and had already expressed his willingness to forgive the murder of his daughter, saying, “If the Great Spirit who has made heaven and earth has forgiven me, then I must forgive the man who killed my child”. On later returning to his own tribe, Ripahau and the gospel’s influence continued significantly. Condensed from **McKenzie**, Peter - **Karaiti & Culture** - in **Stimulus** 6/2 May 1998, pp 15-17, and more extensively in **Melbourne**, Te Waaka (Sonny) - **Wairua Maori Rua Mano: Maori Spirituality 2000, The Role of Maori Gods** - M.Phil. thesis 2000

^{iv} As an example, according to Augustus Earle, a visitor to New Zealand in 1827-28, missionary teaching about eternal punishment and the torments of hell led Maori to respond that “they were quite sure such a place could only be made for white faces, for they had no men half wicked enough in New Zealand to be sent there”. When were told that “all men would be condemned” they burst in to a loud laugh, declaring “they would have nothing to do with a God who delighted in such cruelties; and then (as a matter of right) hoped the missionary would give them each a blanket for having taken the trouble of listening to him so patiently.” **Davidson**, Allan K. - **Aotearoa New Zealand** p 5

^v Timothy Joyce’s Celtic Themes for today, pages from his book:

1) **Verbal Nature**: “It is the language which enfleshes the spirit of a culture: this is true for any peoples, but especially significant for Celts, who were a people of song, poetry, and story-telling.” (p13) “...They were an intensely verbal people who lived in an acutely oral culture. Poetry, proclamations, music, and story were warp and woof of daily existence. Druids and bards were among the most respected people in society. Similarly monks, priests musicians, poets, teachers and storytellers were central figures in Celtic Christianity. (p16)

2) **Imaginative seeing, hearing touching and feeling reality:** “a peculiar non-linear way of apprehending time and space so that past and present intertwine; those who have died were still present...It was a mystical view of reality that would...influence art architecture, writing and decorating. (p16)

3) **The clan, the tribe:** the local social unit or group, loosely connected to other tribes or clans; which led to self-development of peoples and the emergence of localised authority. The draw-back was the tendency to in-fighting and raiding other clans (p17)

4) **Respect for heroes and warriors:** Their enthusiasm for heroes was easily transferred and applied to Christ. The warrior spirit was balanced by the gentleness of the poet and mystic. “And paradox was also a feature of Celtic Spirituality: never a black and white ‘either-or’ attitude but a more ‘both-and’ embracing of opposites. (p17)

5) **Mystical bent of the Celt:** especially evident in the great love of creation and of all nature. This was not simply a “romantic view of creation, but a healthy respect for it, recognising the dark side the menace of nature’s mighty power as well as its beauty. This is also central to Celtic Christianity and is the source of a wonderful heritage of nature poetry.” (p17)

6) **Tendency to wander, roam and explore:** “Voyage stories are part of the Celtic lore... and voyage as well as pilgrimage and search are characteristics of Celtic Christianity”. (p17)

^{vi} Full quote from **Davidson, Allan K. - Aotearoa New Zealand** p xi “Even the terms ‘gospel’ and ‘culture’ are problematic. ‘Gospel’ was defined and used in different ways. The *missionaries* [my italics] identified it with their understanding of the good news that they brought to the Maori. For the *settlers*, the gospel was shaped and determined by their own particular denominational histories and traditions. These different versions of the gospel were themselves defined and shaped by the variety of cultures that contained and expressed them. Throughout history the gospel has always been expressed historically and contextually. It is never without a cultural context. At the same time the question of the gospel behind the gospel – what the good news of Jesus Christ was or is and how far the different versions of the gospel proclaimed throughout history have reflected or distorted this – is open to continuing debate. This publication [part of WCC *Gospel & Culture* series]...is concerned with the historical processes involved in bringing the gospel(s) already defined by culture(s) to a different historical and geographical context and the consequent interactions.”

^{vii} **Hikoi of Hope - Enough is Enough!** A glimpse of an amazing event in New Zealand - Ian Ritchie, Judy Redfearn, Peter Horsley, Palmerston North, New Zealand **extracts taken from: *Many to Many*** a quarterly publication issued by ***Operation Peace through Unity***, An accredited NGO in association with the UN Dept of Public Information

When we first heard that the national Anglican Synod had decided to organise a ceremonial walk (*Hikoi*) from the far ends of the country to Wellington, our seat of government, in September we were amazed, disbelieving, thrilled. The Anglican Church is considered to be the conservative party at prayer, staid, mainstream, reticent. Yet when the Synod passed the resolution, all those present gave themselves a standing ovation. This was something different, special! The move came after endless stories of poverty from throughout the country, such as how food banks in one city are feeding about 10% of the population, how social service agencies are struggling to deal with almost double their planned work load. ...

Fifteen years later, the Synod decided officially that submissions and petitions to government had become a waste of time, and decided unanimously to “Walk for a Change”, with the Bishops from the three sections of the Church - European, Maori, and Polynesian, leading the *Hikoi*. The Synod learnt that poverty is structured into our society more deeply and despairingly than ever before. The gap between rich and poor is wider, and the Maori and Polynesian communities carry the heaviest load of unemployment, ill health and despair. The decision was made that it would start from Stewart Island in the south and Cape Reinga in the north on 1 September and end at Parliament on 1 October (1300 & 1800 km away respectively). The walkers would gather poverty stories from each community along the way.

As it turned out, every main road in the country had its group of walkers, some walking all the way, others a short distance, some in large groups, some small. Church bells rang in towns and cities throughout the country as the walkers passed through on their way to Wellington. While the national media gave it scant attention that tended to be derogatory, the local media gave the Hikoi good coverage as the walkers passed through and public meetings were held. The distances traveled each day were such that each night, communities all round the country were actively involved in greeting, supporting, feeding and talking. While tens of thousands joined the walk during the month, many times that number were actively involved in debating the issues in their own communities.

It was a massive, quiet, and orderly revealing of hidden wounds and issues of deep social concern. The demands were for: real jobs; a public health system that could be trusted, benefit and wage levels that move people out of poverty, affordable housing, and high quality, publicly funded education. While some couldn't cope with the fact that the Anglicans had initiated the walk, it was supported by almost all churches and religions, trade unions, peace and other community groups, and a vast array of people from the young to the very old. ...

Looking back, it was a truly amazing experience. Something really exciting was happening. All our senses were heightened by the emotion of the occasion. Although we only knew a few others in that crowd, we knew that we were among friends. Between 15 and 20,000 gathered on Parliament grounds where the Bishops, including Sir Paul Reeves, ex-Governor General, took a service, after which leaders of the various political parties in Parliament were invited down to accept a compilation of the poverty stories collected, "Voices of the People", and statistics of deprivation electorate by electorate.

The Prime Minister chose not to be present, partly because she wanted, but had not received, a private audience earlier in the day with the *Hikoi* leaders. The Bishops informed her that her responsibility was to meet the people at their level, not in a high remote office. Her substitute, the Minister of Social Welfare got howled down. ... We were not separate individuals; we were as one person, the poor, the dispossessed, people who cared, calling out to be heard. The responses, unrehearsed, greeted the individual speakers in one voice and the anthem "enough is enough" rang around the city, again and again - it was as if we didn't know when to, didn't want to, stop. Then as the celebration ended and I turned to go home I knew in my heart that something had happened that day, something important and wonderful. It was the beginning, ... to sing, to shout, to cry and to believe that truly, at times when injustice prevails, ENOUGH IS ENOUGH.

For more information on the Hikoi of Hope, check the web sites

<http://www.hikoi.anglican.org.nz> and <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Academy/3142/Hikoi/>

Contact: Ian Ritchie, Private Bag 11042 Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Fax 64 6 350 6319; email: ian.ritchie@psa.org.nz

<http://www.isleofavalon.co.uk/GlastonburyArchive/manymany/issue-66/mm-66d.html>

^{viii} Known as the 'Three *Tikangas*', this is where the Maori, *Pakeha* and Pacifica (Fijian, Tongan and Samoan) churches each have their own diocesan boundaries, their own bishops and clergy, and their own organisations across the whole of the face of Aotearoa New Zealand. But within the General Synod, there are times when either the 'houses' of bishops, clergy and laity meet together; or alternatively each *Tikanga* would meet as a whole. This gives a three *Tikanga* by three Houses matrix, where no one house or *tikanga* may work unilaterally, but needs to work in co-ordination with others.

^{ix} Songs by **Bonnie Low**, from *Fragile Warrior* (Song titles in **bold**)

There's a new song across the nation: it's a song of liberation; restoration; visitation; celebration...

Signs - This is the day of a fresh wind blowing: ...of Holy Ghost power: ...of our hearts renewal: ...of the sweet spring rain ... of restoration: ...of the church on fire

^x Songs by **Luke Kaa-Morgan**, on ***New Sound: The Preview*** (Song titles in **bold**)
There's A New Sound in the nations: ...a shout of freedom is coming to this generation
There's a sound of indigenous people: a song that's from the land: put there by the
creator and being released now in worship to Jesus...

Kia Kaha: Be strong, be brave: be steadfast and sure...

^{xi} **Salman Rushdie** in ***Midnight's Children*** - The "Chutnification" of the British in India.

Review: William Dalrymple **Monday December 9, 2002 Guardian**

Each chapter is referred to as a different flavor of pickle. The British in India - particularly those at some distance from the thoroughly Anglicised presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay - had long adapted themselves to Mughal customs, shedding their Britishness like an unwanted skin, and wearing Indian dress, writing Urdu poetry, taking harems and adopting the ways of the Mughal governing class that they slowly came to replace, a process that Salman Rushdie, talking of modern multiculturalism, has called "chutnification". Although by 1801 this had become a little unfashionable, it was hardly something which could affect a man's career. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/india/story/0,12559,856564,00.html>

^{xii} **BBC Radio 4 In Our Time - Melvyn Bragg**

The Celts: What were the Celts in Britain really like? (broadcast 21 Feb 2002) THE CELTS - Around 400 BC a great swathe of Western Europe from Ireland to Southern Russia was dominated by one civilisation. Perched on the North Western fringe of this vast Iron Age culture were the British who shared many of the religious, artistic and social customs of their European neighbours. These customs were Celtic and this civilisation was the Celts.

The Greek historians who studied and recorded the Celts' way of life deemed them to be one of the four great Barbarian peoples of the world. The Romans wrote vivid accounts of Celtic rituals including the practice of human sacrifice - presided over by Druids - and the tradition of decapitating their enemies and turning their heads into drinking vessels.

But what were the Celts in Britain really like? Was their apparent lust for violence tempered by a love of poetry and beautiful art? How far should we trust the classical historians in their writings on the Celts? And what can we learn from the archaeological remains that have been discovered in this country?

Guests: Barry Cunliffe, Professor of European Archaeology at Oxford University and author of *Facing The Ocean: Alistair Moffat*, Writer and Historian and author of *The Sea Kingdoms - The Story of Celtic Britain and Ireland*; **Miranda Aldhouse Green**, Professor of Archaeology at the University of Wales and author of *Dying for the Gods*.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/inourtime/inourtime_20020221.shtml

^{xiii} **BBC Radio 4 In Our Time - Melvyn Bragg**

The Lindisfarne Gospels - unifying Christianity in Britain (broadcast 20 Feb 2003) In 597 Pope Gregory the Great ordered that a mission of monks be sent from Rome to convert Britain to its own brand of Christianity - lest it be submerged by the pagan beliefs of the Anglo-Saxon overlords. Just over 100 years later, the Lindisfarne Gospels were produced - lavish and ornate manuscripts, central to the story of how Britain came to be unified by the flag of the Roman Church - and they came to embody a set of beliefs and ideas that dominated Britain for a thousand years.

Was the Rome mission in the 6th century the only strand of Christianity to sweep through Britain? Why did Northumbria become a key battleground for ideological dispute? How successful were the Lindisfarne Gospels in unifying the different strands of Christianity? To what extent did they serve as a founding statement of Christian identity in Britain?

Contributors: Dr Michelle Brown, Curator of Illuminated Manuscripts at the British Library and author of *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts: From Antiquity to 1600* (British Library Publishing, 1990); **Dr Richard Gameson**, Reader in Medieval History at Kent University and he is also editor of *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Sutton Publishing, 1999), **Professor Clare Lees**, Professor of Medieval Literature at King's College London and author of *Tradition and Belief: Religious Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (University of Minnesota Press, 1999)

http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/inourtime/inourtime_20030220.shtml