Te Mana Whenua O Ngati Whatua O Orakei

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I. TIMATANGA

He aha te hau e wawara mai
He tiu he Raki nana i a mai te pupu tarakihi ki uta
   E tikina atu e hau te kotiu
Ko ia te pou, te pou whakairo ka tu ki Waitemata
   Ki oku wairangi e

I hoe mai aku tipuna ma runga i te waka o Mahuhu ki Te Rangi
   Ko Waitemata te moana
   Ko Maungakiekie te Maunga
   Ko Rangitoto te Motu
Kei Orakei toku turangawaewae
   Ko Ngati Whatua te Iwi
   Ko Te Taou te Hapu
   Ko Te K Kawau te Tangata
No reira he whakatipuranga ahau no ratou, e whai nei tenei kaupapa e pa ana ki te
   mana whenua.

The term ‘mana whenua’ has scarcely been used in legislation.¹ However, given the recent focus of the Closing the Gaps policy² and the growing awareness of the importance of the principles underlying the Treaty of Waitangi, it is the writer’s view that it is only a matter of time before the term is incorporated into legislation. The danger of

* Ngati Whatua. LLB/BA. Nga mihi aroha lei a koutou e awhi nei i ahau lei a koutou nei nga tenei mahi rangahau. Ki a koutou nga karere o nga korero o mua, Bernard Makoare, Taiaha Hawke, Pakihana Hawke, me koe te mataamua o te whanau e Hohepa, ka mihi, ka mihi tonu. Ki te kaiwhakawhia o tenei mahi, ma ngi hau o Te Raki e Khylee Qunice, he mihi nunui ki a koe mo to tautoko. No reira, maori ora ki a koutou.

¹ It does not feature in Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993, the Resource Management Act 1991, or the Land Transfer Act 1952, all of which relate, at least in part, to land.

² The Closing the Gaps policy was a government policy aimed at reducing the disparities between those living in poverty and those who are not, with respect to such things as health and education, and with a particular focus on Maori. The Closing the Gaps policy has recently been abandoned by the Labour Government.
implementing Maori concepts into a Pakeha (non-Maori) structure is evident with the use of the term ‘kaitiakitanga’ in the Resource Management Act 1991 where the statutory interpretation does not truly encompass the entire meaning. Incorporation of this term effectively reinterprets what kaitiakitanga is, and it is this meaning that is largely relied upon in courts of law. It is inevitable that a term as complex and spiritually intertwined as ‘mana whenua’ will meet the same legislative fate.

This article does not attempt to provide a complete and exhaustive definition of mana whenua. It does, however, look at the status of the mana whenua of a specific and localised people who contend with the difficulties of maintaining mana whenua in an urban environment and a contemporary climate. This article will focus on the status of the mana whenua of the people of Ngati Whatua o Orakei both traditionally and in more contemporary times.

To achieve this, a brief overview of the history of the people of Ngati Whatua will be provided illustrating how Ngati Whatua traditionally asserted mana whenua over Tamaki. A general definition of ‘mana whenua’ and ‘ahi kaa’ will follow. This article will then look at challenges that have been made to the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua, concluding with an analysis on how the people of Ngati Whatua have, through adaptation of tikanga, maintained mana whenua.

II. NGA KORERO O NGATI WHATUA

The history of Ngati Whatua has been told and retold. It starts with Tumutumuwhenua, the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Whatua, and continues to the arrival of Mahuhu ki te Rangi to the shores of Aotearoa. It continues through generations to tell of the battles, victories and losses, and the migration and expansion to Tamaki by members of Ngati Whatua. It tells of a proud, law-abiding people who, through various legislative acts, lost all but one quarter-acre of their ancestral lands in Tamaki, a people who repeatedly tried to use the law to hold onto their mana whenua, adopting the prophecies and methods of their ancestors, but who

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4 Please refer to the Glossary provided at the end of this article for definitions of Maori terms and concepts referred to throughout this article.
5 Mahuhu ki te Rangi is the waka of Ngati Whatua.
6 Ngati Whatua originally had a lot of confidence in the legal system. This is particularly true of Te Kawau who encouraged Maori to use the legal system to resolve disputes.
have found success with a new dawn and with less traditional practical methods.

For the purpose of this article it is necessary to examine the history of Ngati Whatua with respect to how Ngati Whatua came to be tangata whenua and hold mana whenua in the Auckland isthmus.

Tamaki-makau-rau ("Tamaki desired by hundreds"), a place so named for its accessible resources, prime land and pa sites, was through time inhabited by various different peoples. Before the arrival of Ngati Whatua, it was dominated by the people of Wai-o-hua and their leader, Kiwi Tamaki, who around 1740-45 was responsible for the death of many Ngati Whatua including a number of rangatira while attending the tangi of Tumu-pakihi, a great Ngati Whatua chief. For these deaths, utu was sought. Under the leadership of Tuperiri, Waha-akiaki and Wai-Taheke, Ngati Whatua attacked Kiwi Tamaki and the Wai-o-Hua people, eventually conquering their pa at Maungakiekie, Taura-rua and Orakei. Ngati Whatua occupied the land, continuing to drive out surviving Wai-o-hua from the pa at Orakei, Kohimarama and Taura-rua.7

Ngati Whatua, over a duration of time, asserted mana whenua by practising ahi kaa over the Tamaki area through the implementation of a number of traditional methods. Many existing pa and resources were taken over by Ngati Whatua under the leadership of various chiefs and occupation over the area was practised. In her dissertation, The History of Ngaati Whaatua, Ani Pihema states:8

Tuperiri (of Te Taou hapu of Ngati Whatua and great grandfather of Apihai Te Kawau) built his pa at One Tree Hill and entered into occupation of the desolate and vacant country, and held undisputed possession of all the lands twelve months before inhabited by Wai-o-hua ... From the period of this conquest for half a century there is no evidence of the peace having being broken.

Apihai te Kawau,9 a Ngati Whatua chief, was granted dominion over Tamaki drawing on his links to both paternal and maternal lines for validation. His undisputed dominion was recognised in both the Pakeha legal system and by Maori throughout the region.

Although Ngati Whatua have held mana whenua from this time onwards, occupation during this period was not always achieved. At

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7 Pihema, The History of Ngaati Whaatua, circa 1960 unpublished manuscript held at the University of Auckland, call number NZP 995.1 P63, 11.
8 Ibid.
9 Apihai Te Kawau was the son of Tarahawaiki, who was the youngest son of Tuperiri. He was the rangatira at Tamaki drawing descent from both conquerors (Ngati Whatua) and conquered (Wai-o-hua).
times, pa sites were abandoned and Ngati Whatua reverted back to Kaipara or joined allies in the Waikato for protection. The musket wars led by Hongi Hika extended tribal warfare to a scale previously unimagined and tribes in Tamaki were among many to suffer. During this period Apihai Te Kawau lived for a time with the Ngapuhi border tribes that were friendly to him at Mahurangi. Occasionally he returned to his land at Waitemata to maintain his ahi kaa, thereby ensuring that his title to the land remained intact. It was not until the deaths of Hongi Hika and another enemy chief, Whare-umu, that Ngati Whatua could safely return to Tamaki.

When Ngati Whatua returned to Tamaki they set about re-establishing communities. Orakei had always been important to Ngati Whatua and a papakainga was established at Okahu Bay with a thriving community which became their stronghold, their turangawaewae. The meeting house, Te Puru o Tamaki, was erected providing the hapu with a place they could practice their tikanga, hold their tangihanga and manaaki manuhiri. The marae acted as a tool for the identification and recognition of Ngati Whatua for other hapu and iwi. This effectively helped to assert the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua over the rohe. The practice continues today. Despite the relocation of the Marae from the papakainga at Okahu Bay to what is empathetically referred to as “Boot Hill,” the Marae and whare tipuna, Tumutumuwhenua, stand at the heart of the community that surrounds it. Thus, over a period of time and through a number of generations, an irrevocable relationship with the land has been created.

Through the practice of whenua ki te whenua otherwise known as iho whenua, Ngati Whatua have reaffirmed this connection. Many pito of newborn children have been planted in the Orakei area in particular, sustaining both Papatuanuku and the relationship of the hapu and iwi to the land.

As the burying of the pito in the land reaffirms the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua, so too does the burying of the dead. The urupa at Okahu

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10 For example, Apihai Te Kawau is reported to have gone to the Ngati Tamaoho hapu in the Waikato. In return for this protection, the Ngati Tamaoho hapu were gifted land in the area of what is now known as Remuera.


12 Pihema, supra note 7.

13 The ongoing discussions between Apihai Te Kawau, Paora Tuhaere and kaumatua of Ngati Whatua illustrate the importance of Orakei to Ngati Whatua. It was agreed that Orakei could never be alienated.

14 The practice of whenua ki te whenua is planting the umbilical cord of a new born child into the earth. It reaffirms the connection between the child to Papatuanuku and also to that piece of land in particular. It is still widely practised in Maori society.

15 A practical example of this practice is with the pito of the author’s twin nieces which is buried under a Pohutukawa tree at the Kohanga Reo on Takaparawhau.
Bay holds the bones of many Ngati Whatua,\textsuperscript{16} including Paora Tuhaere.\textsuperscript{17} This in effect serves as a reminder not only to Maori but also non-Maori of the deep-rooted connection of Ngati Whatua to Orakei and Tamaki. The sheer sacredness of the urupa forces one to recognise that Ngati Whatua are tangata whenua of Orakei and Tamaki, and thus hold the mana whenua over the area.

Resources were very important for survival. Therefore, pre-existing pa sites with gardens were duly occupied. Eventually, additional gardens were established particularly in Mangere and Onehunga, which further consolidated the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua over Tamaki. Using the rich volcanic soils, Ngati Whatua eventually grew potato crops large enough to sustain the people, supply the market for trade to Europeans\textsuperscript{18} and for export to Australia. This practice is currently in the process of resurrection in Orakei with the development of reserved land purely for gardening purposes. This highlights the importance of land to Ngati Whatua as "an economic resource as well as a symbol of their existence - their politics, myth and religion".\textsuperscript{19}

The right to enforce rahui over resources predominantly resided with Ngati Whatua. For a rahui to work effectively the mana whenua of the hapu or iwi had to be recognised by other hapu and iwi. A practical example applicable to Orakei was the conservation of the bird Kuaka (Godwit). In traditional times the Kuaka, a migratory bird, would feed at Mission Bay and then proceed onto the Manukau. It was a low-flying bird of such abundance that as it flew up over Takaparawhau, hunters were able to knock it out of the sky using a stick. The rahui in effect at the time permitted people to take them only while in flight. The rahui prohibited the easier alternative of taking them while they were nesting. This rahui was not only recognised by Ngati Whatua but also by neighbouring hapu and iwi who shared the resource. Thus, the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua, who were responsible for enforcing the rahui, was recognised.\textsuperscript{20}

Through time, whakapapa, tribal stories and the practice of tikanga have created irrevocable links between Ngati Whatua and Tamaki, especially Orakei. This connection is based on mana whenua, which is

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\item[16] The urupa also holds the bones of many non Ngati Whatua especially relations from Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa - the Cook Islands. This shows the manaaki that was given by Ngati Whatua to the wider community which in effect is an exercise of the responsibilities of mana whenua and ahi kaa.
\item[17] Paora Tuhaere was a chief of Ngati Whatua, the nephew of Apihai Te Kawau who lived and died at Orakei.
\item[18] Simmons, \textit{Maori Auckland} (1987) 15.
\item[20] Information gained from an interview with Ngati Whatua elder, Grant Hawke, conducted on 21 February 2001.
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validated through the execution of ahi kaa by tipuna and successive
generations. Thus, the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua has expanded
beyond the southern boundaries of the Kaipara and now extends as far
south as the Manukau Harbour.\textsuperscript{21}

However, within these boundaries other iwi co-existed and the
relationship of Ngati Whatua with these iwi changed with time. After
Ngati Whatua’s initial conquest, tribes in Tamaki were either at war with
one another or in alliance.\textsuperscript{22} This is particularly true of Ngati Whatua and
Wai-o-hua who, although originally at war, created strong alliances
through intermarriage\textsuperscript{23} to produce the Nga Oho hapu of Ngati Whatua.
Today in Orakei, three hapu make up Ngati Whatua. Te Taou
predominantly descend from the Ngati Whatua inhabitants who migrated
from the Kaipara. The Nga Oho hapu reflects the connections between
Ngati Whatua and the Wai-o-hua and Waikato people. Te Uringutu
recognises the results of other Te Taou connections particularly with the
people inhabiting the Hauraki gulf. Other iwi in Tamaki include Kawerau
a Maki,\textsuperscript{24} Ngai Tai,\textsuperscript{25} Tainui\textsuperscript{26} and Ngati Paoa\textsuperscript{27} who were constantly at
war or in alliance with Ngati Whatua. But, despite everything, these iwi
had a blood relationship with Ngati Whatua, which continued to
strengthen through numerous intermarriages between the tribes.

The arrival of Pakeha and colonisation changed relationships in the
Auckland isthmus dramatically. The signing of the Declaration of
Independence in 1835 and The Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi)
in 1840 reflect the autonomous nature of the hapu or iwi. Apihai Te

\textsuperscript{21} The traditional boundaries were fluid and changing with the waxing and waning of people and
resources. Some say that the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua extended as far south as Bombay. However,
most conclude that mana whenua and ahi kaa were exercised effectively out to the
Manukau Harbour. The Northern boundaries are also fluid, some saying that they extended to
Whangarei and then out to Mangakahia and Waipoua; others claiming that Mangonui, the resting
place of Mahuhu ki te Rangi, is within the traditional boundaries of Ngati Whatua.

\textsuperscript{22} Information gained from an interview with Ngati Whatua Kaumatua, Lance Hawke, conducted
on 8 February 2001

\textsuperscript{23} Tarahawai who was the youngest son of Tuperiri married Mokoroa who held high status on
both Wai-o-hua and Tainui lines. From them came Apihai Te Kawau to whom the mana of Tamaki
was passed.

\textsuperscript{24} Kawerau reside in the Waitakere ranges. They were at war with Ngati Whatua especially during
the time of Kawharu – a great Ngati Whatua warrior. However, alliances were also made for mutual
benefit.

\textsuperscript{25} Ngai Tai claim to be from the Firth of Thames, the area that now makes up Howick. They
originally came from Torere on the East Coast.

\textsuperscript{26} The blood connection between Tainui and Ngati Whatua is close due to many inter-marriages.
Both Te Wherowhero and Princess Te Puea lived at Mangere during their lifetime.

\textsuperscript{27} An example of the love-hate relationship that existed between iwi and hapu can be found with
Ngati Paoa and Ngati Whatua. About 1780, Pannure was gifted to Ngati Paoa from Ngati Whatua as
a wedding gift. Ten years later they were at war after Tara-Hawai who of Ngati Whatua insulted a Ngati
Paoa chief during a fishing expedition.
Kawau, Te Reweti and Tinana signed the Treaty of Waitangi at Manukau on behalf of Ngati Whatua affirming their tino rangatiratanga over Tamaki. Te Tiriti o Waitangi promised security and protection. However, Te Kawau sought more than words to gain security against the Northern tribes and invited Lieutenant-Governor Hobson to take residence in Tamaki.  

The arrival of Hobson proposed peace and protection for Ngati Whatua, allowing them to return safely to their lands without fear of Hongi Hika and the gun. Ngati Whatua were able to exercise ahi kaa and for this Hobson was gifted prime land in Central Auckland, some of which now makes up the Central Business District and the Auckland Domain. Pakeha peace allowed Ngati Whatua to return to Tamaki and with the backing of law and order, peace replaced warfare and became the new tikanga affecting tribal relationships.

While iwi and hapu benefited from the peace that came with law, the traditional methods of asserting and challenging mana whenua were made redundant. The adversarial court system became the new avenue for challenge which affected the relationships between hapu and iwi, especially where unfounded claims and invalid sales of land were made. Tamaki was not exempt from this practice. Much land that was gifted to hapu or iwi by Apihai Te Kawau was on-sold, which stressed the relationships between Ngati Whatua and those hapu or iwi.  

This resulted in tikanga, with respect to land tenure, being regarded as secondary to money. The Government and its continual quest for land and sovereignty exacerbated this problem.  

The story of Ngati Whatua that follows is one of dispossession, bitterness and landlessness at the hand of legislation and unfair dealings. The Native Lands Act 1865 (the “NLA”) was crippling for Ngati Whatua, vesting the title of Orakei to thirteen individuals whom, it was presumed, held it on trust for the tribe. However, those individuals were later given the same rights as owners and, as a result, much of the land was sold. The implementation of the NLA gave fruition to Parliament’s intentions to:  

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28 Pihema, supra note 7.

29 For example, the land gifted by Apihai Te Kawau to Ngati Tamaoho for their protection was on-sold to Pakeha. Part of the land sold makes up what is now known as Remuera.

30 For example, the Native Lands Act 1865.

31 It is important to note that the boundaries of the original Orakei block surpassed the modern boundaries of the suburb of Orakei. The Orakei block originally included neighbouring districts such as Remuera and Meadowbank.

32 Speech by the Honourable Henry Sewell in the House of Representatives (1870) 9 NZPD 361.
Destroy, if it were possible, the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which their social system was based, and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the Maori race into our social and political system. It is hoped that [through] the individualisation of titles to land, giving them the same individual ownership which we ourselves possessed, they would lose their communal characteristic.

Recognising the dangers of the NLA, Ngati Whatua protested that the existing land be vested in the tribe as a whole. Subsequently in 1869 it was vested in the name of Apihai Te Kawau to be held on trust for thirteen listed beneficiaries. Furthermore, Chief Judge Fenton exercised the powers granted under section 11 of the 1867 Act conceding, at face value, to the pleas of Te Kawau and Tuhaere by rendering the Orakei block inalienable. Tuhaere succeeded Te Kawau after his death and petitioned Parliament for a bill to keep Orakei in tribal ownership, resulting in the Orakei Native Reserves Act 1882. Despite this, applications by owners to partition their shares were filed and granted, thus negating the protection afforded under the Orakei Native Reserves Act 1882.

The historical journey of Orakei continues with further land acquisition through the invocation of legislation such as the Auckland and Suburban Drainage Act 1908 and Crown purchases. This continued until Ngati Whatua had reached the point of landlessness in their turangawaewae, a place over which they once exercised mana whenua.

Despite the fact that all but one quarter-acre of land was administratively taken, lost or sold, the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua was never extinguished. However, the question must be asked: how did such marginalisation impact upon the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua? To answer this question one must first look at what the term ‘mana whenua’ means, an analysis of which will follow in section III below.

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33 The list is ambiguous as one person was listed twice. Thus, there were in fact only twelve beneficiaries. Furthermore, notable families were entirely excluded. For further discussion see Waitangi Tribunal, The Orakei Report – Wai 9 (1987).
34 This Act was passed to allow for the making of the sewerage pipe that ran through Okahu Bay.
35 Eventually, Ngati Whatua were only left with the urupa which, at that time, was one quarter of an acre.
III. MANA WHENUA

The relationship of Maori to land is one based on whakapapa, aroha and reciprocity. Papatuanuku, the earth mother, creates, nurtures and sustains life. It is from her that all knowledge, whakapapa, history, food and resources are derived. She is also the link through whom Maori can whakapapa and relate to the gods. Thus she, as the land, serves as a reminder of kinship links to the atua. This type of relationship, based on whakapapa, also places an obligation on people to accord respect to the land and atua, which provides a foundation for traditional Maori land tenure.

For Maori, land was not a possession that could be owned in the equivalent sense of the current Land Transfer System of ownership. It was and still remains a taonga to all and, accordingly, it was held in communal ownership. Maori did not view themselves as owning the land. Rather, they were entitled to ‘use’ rights and were themselves owned by the land. This is best illustrated by the whakatauki:

No te whenua ahau, ko au te whenua: I am from the land, I am the land

Central to the Maori worldview of the environment was mana whenua. ‘Mana’ is described as spiritual authority and power which is derived from three sources: mana atua – mana from traditional Gods or the contemporary Christian God; mana tangata – mana from people; and mana whenua – mana from the land. Whilst these forms are interconnected and intertwined, each example possesses unique implied authority and responsibilities with clearly applicable definitions for each form.

The term ‘mana i te whenua’ was used in the Declaration of Independence of 1835 and it reaffirmed the sovereignty of the chiefs over their constituted land. Its notable exclusion from the Treaty of Waitangi that followed only five years later leads one to the possible conclusion that this omission was intentional. While Article II of Te Tiriti o Waitangi refers to the land and taonga, it is in a notably lesser form than that used in the Declaration of Independence 1835. The motivation behind this was to avoid the spiritual and highly personal connotations attached to mana and to ensure that succession to land could occur without prohibition from

36 See, “Te Tiriti o Waitangi” 1840, Article II, which refers to the “te tino rangatiratanga o ratou whenua, kainga me o ratou taonga katoa” or “the sovereignty over their lands, homes and all their treasures”.
lack of mana. This is an example of the special nature of mana whenua to Maori society.

‘Mana whenua’ may be described as the political and legal authority over hapu or iwi land, derived from the atua, and evidenced through the practice of ahi kaa.

While this statement is true, it is not the only definition or conception of ‘mana whenua’. It fails to give weight to the reciprocal nature of the relationship between the people and the whenua and fails to recognise the human element of mana whenua. In short, mana whenua involves so much more. Lenihan encapsulates this by asserting that mana whenua includes the embodiment of a series of cultural concepts such as wairua, tapu, mauri, whakapapa, utu, muru, rahui, and kaitiakitanga. 37

The reciprocal nature of the relationship between hapu or iwi, and the land meant that while hapu or iwi exercised mana over the land, the authority to do so was granted from the land. This authority allowed hapu and iwi to regulate activities and prosper from the land while fulfilling kaitiaki obligations and responsibilities to the land. Thus the hapu and iwi had dual status as both benefactor over the land and beneficiary from the land.

Where these obligations were not met, the mana whenua of the people could be contested and their execution of ahi kaa could lose its potency unless restored. Thus, the hapu or iwi holding mana whenua over an area held paramount control over the area while ensuring the welfare of the land. They controlled the use and access to the whenua and the resources on that whenua, which in return provided them with life-sustaining resources. The use of the word ‘whenua’ to describe both the placenta and the earth gives recognition to the essential life-giving nature of Papatuanuku, which was something not to be undermined. The importance of land is reflected in many whakatauki throughout the region, one example being:

He orite te tangata ki te kumara  
E kore he whenua, ka ngaro

Man is like the kumara  
Without land it will perish

Consequently, land and mana whenua (where appropriate) were guarded fiercely. Many more whakatauki express the importance of land to Maori society. One such example is:

He wahine, he whenua, ka ngaro te tangata
For women and land, men will die

The acquisition of land was a priority to Maori as it maintained or increased the mana of the hapu or iwi, and was therefore desired. There are a number of recognised methods for the acquisition of land, beginning with take taunaha or discovery, which was the method originally exercised with the arrival of waka from Hawaiki. Tumutumuwhenua, the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Whatua, arrived in Aotearoa (New Zealand) with Kupe, one of the first to discover Aotearoa. This is the oldest method of land acquisition. However, given the nature of Maori society encompassing warfare, migration and extended whakapapa links, it is unlikely that many hapu and iwi will rely solely on take taunaha to assert mana whenua. This form of acquisition can be validated with the naming of areas within the district. Orakei named after Rakeiiriora, and Okahu Bay named after Kahumatamomoe - both ancestors of the Te Arawa waka - are examples of this. Thus, Te Arawa ancestors may claim discovery of this area. But, insodoing, the necessary element of ahi kaa is missing and, therefore, claims to this area by Te Arawa based on take taunaha are largely unfounded.

Land was also acquired through take tuku or gifting of the land. It was always understood however that the gift was not absolute and that the mana whenua always remained with the hapu or iwi gifting the land. If the land was no longer used for the purpose for which the gift was intended, the land was to revert to the hapu or iwi possessing mana whenua. Take tuku has posed many problems for Ngati Whatua especially in the Tamaki area, where much land was gifted to neighbouring tribes.

Although land acquisition and the gaining of mana whenua and ahi kaa are very important to Maori society, a realistic view should not give way to ideological notions. It is the actual maintenance of mana whenua that takes priority. This was known as ringa kaha, the ability of an iwi or hapu to hold land against enemies or invaders. While further land acquisition was desired, climate affected decisions regarding mana whenua and at times land was readily given up.

A common-sense approach to mana whenua more often than not prevailed and, where resources ran thin, the hapu or iwi would have to reassess their situation. Maintaining mana whenua never is nor was an easy task. At times, hapu and iwi chose to allow others to assert mana

38 A more extensive discussion on the issue of the gifting of land will follow later in this article.
39 Supra note 37 at 576.
40 Resources include people and the ability to effectively maintain and protect mana whenua.
whenua over a previously occupied area as it was more beneficial in the long term for the vacating hapu or iwi. Maintaining mana whenua where manpower was low was not always the wisest choice, as raupatu or conquest from other hapu or iwi, resulting in death, slavery or intermarriage, was a real threat. The area of land over which the hapu or iwi held mana whenua was often minimised for strategic benefits.

This dispels the idyllic concept that mana whenua was largely concerned with conquering people and land to enhance mana. Warfare and dispossession was very serious business resulting in a multitude of deaths. Mana whenua also concerned strategic practices to maintain mana, which at times resulted in retreat.

Raupatu, or conquest, was a common method adopted by hapu and iwi to acquire land. It is through raupatu that Ngati Whatua originally laid claim to the Auckland area. However, the ultimate claim to mana whenua comes from the ability of Ngati Whatua to claim take tupuna, the continuous occupation of the land by Ngati Whatua over many generations. This was the preferred basis upon which to claim mana whenua and was increasingly valid, the longer the continuous occupation of the land. In the case of Ngati Whatua this has been exercised as the land has remained in Ngati Whatua possession from the initial conquest by Tuperiri through to the present generation.

IV. AHI KAA

Raupatu alone does not satisfy the requirements of mana whenua because the principle of ‘ahi kaa’ lies at the heart of mana whenua. Ahi kaa is poetically described as ‘burning fires’ which, at its most basic level, is taken to mean the continued occupation of the area and acts to cement the mana whenua of the people to the land. The opposite of ahi kaa is ‘mataotao’ or cold ashes. Where ahi kaa is not maintained, mana whenua loses its potency which gives rise to outside claims to the area. However, ahi kaa was not easily diminished.

The presumption put forward by Walker that ahi kaa must be exercised within three generations for fear of loss serves more as a
guideline than a rule.\textsuperscript{43} It is contended that this finite timeframe was created for legal purposes to prevent ambiguity rather than reflect the complex nature of Maori land tenure. The question must be asked: under whose regime does the ‘three generation’ guideline belong, Pakeha or Maori? One would expect that being a Maori concept it would fall under a Maori concept of time and, if so, that Maori principles and tikanga determine it. Whakapapa serves as the time indicator in Maori society. If this is applied it must be noted that, with the recitation of whakapapa, generations may be skipped altogether. Therefore, according to the three-generation guide, ahi kaa could extend well beyond three strict generations. Even with a conservative analysis under a Pakeha regime, three generations span 120 years.\textsuperscript{44} However, ahi kaa could turn mataotao in a shorter period, while at other times it may remain burning hot for a longer period. Thus ahi kaa can only be determined on a case by case basis. A generic finite timeframe is inadequate when assessing ahi kaa and mana whenua.

Ahi kaa is not merely occupation over a constituted land area. It also incorporates responsibilities to both the land and the hapu or iwi. The human element of ahi kaa is readily forgotten but is nevertheless important. The traditional Maori view of environmental care was ecocentric, incorporating the human element as a necessary and vital part of conservation ensuring that utu, a balancing act, was provided. Thus, as people needed the land and its resources for survival, the land also needed people for the same purpose.

Ahi kaa cannot be performed without people. Therefore, the health of the hapu or iwi was of paramount concern. In the ongoing quest to maintain or increase mana, which can be achieved from increasing landmass or caring adequately for manuhiri, the welfare of the iwi or hapu was determinative. Good health was achieved through caring for and acknowledging the spiritual and physical dimensions of the land which, in return, provided sustenance to the hapu or iwi both physically and spiritually. The nurturing role of Papatuanuku extends beyond the provision of food, as human morale and personal assurance is also gained from caring for ancestral land.

\textsuperscript{43} For a general discussion, see Walker, \textit{Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou} (1990).

\textsuperscript{44} This calculation is based on the life-span of three people: one from each generation succeeding the other reaching the age of 40 years.
Traditionally, there was no dispute that Ngati Whatua held mana whenua and exercised ahi kaa over Tamaki. When assessing the status of the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua in more recent times it is obvious that things have changed because of legislation, land sales, and urban migration. These have all affected Ngati Whatua and their ability to exercise ahi kaa, which in turn affects the maintenance of mana whenua.

The are two possible approaches to assess the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua over Tamaki. One is to consider that mana whenua has never diminished thus legislation and land sales have had no impact on the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua ki Orakei. It always has been and always will remain with Ngati Whatua provided the responsibilities of ahi kaa are met. Mana whenua and ahi kaa are Maori concepts which can not be influenced by Pakeha legislation and concepts. Thus, the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua remains intact as it was in the time of Apihai te Kawau.

The assertion here is that tikanga are never lost. They are eternal and will infinitely remain in the land, ngakau and hinengaro. Where tikanga is not applied properly, it is the people who are lost and who will be re-found with the application of correct tikanga.

Another approach to the assessment of mana whenua is to consider that the marginalisation of land has impacted negatively upon the application of ahi kaa and the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua ki Orakei. The fact that Ngati Whatua are today unable to exercise ahi kaa to the same extent that they were able to exercise ahi kaa in the 18th century amounts to a loss of mana whenua.

While there is truth in both concepts, it can be asserted that the status of the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua ki Orakei belongs in the middle. It may be perceived that each concept focuses exclusively on the spiritual realm and practical realm respectively. It can, therefore, be conceded that mana whenua is the application of both. To suggest that the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua is the same as it was in the 18th century fails to accept the practical effects history has had on Ngati Whatua. Likewise, to propose that the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua ki Orakei has been lost fails to recognise the existence of Ngati Whatua as a community and the spiritual connection to Tamaki.

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45 Information gained from an interview with Ngati Whatua elder, Taiaha Hawke, conducted on 8 February 2001.
Unlike other iwi, the tribal domain of Ngati Whatua makes up the largest city in New Zealand, with a population of over one million people and expanding. The environment is multicultural, housing many different nationalities from around the world. The vibrant nature of the city and employment opportunities have enticed many and is evidenced by the urban migration of many Maori to Auckland in the early 1950s. Thus, the situation of Ngati Whatua is unique. Accordingly, where rural hapu and iwi are able to exercise ahi kaa and mana whenua applying traditional methods, the same can not be said of Ngati Whatua in most situations. Therefore, a comparison between rural and urban iwi should not be made.

VI. NGA WERO KI TE MANA WHENUA O NGATI WHATUA

Challenges to the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua both directly and indirectly are a recurring problem that can not be ignored. They exist at different levels from various factions, all affecting the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua and creating new problems for Ngati Whatua that do not exist for other iwi. Challenges from other hapu or iwi and bureaucratic divisions have forced Ngati Whatua to find contemporary solutions to counter such challenges.

The current claim to the wider Auckland area by Ngati Whatua has given rise to counter claims by iwi who also traditionally existed (some of whom continue to exist) on the peripheries of Tamaki. However, many of these claims are based on traditional links to Tamaki as opposed to mana whenua which, through the Orakei Act 1991, is legislatively defined as belonging to Ngati Whatua. If a claim based on historical links is recognised by the Waitangi Tribunal, would this mean that Te Arawa would be able to make a claim to Tamaki based on an ancestral link to the naming of Orakei, Okahu Bay and Rangitoto? If so, what place, if any, does mana whenua have in land claims?

Further complications arise where tuku whenua, the gifting of land, has occurred. During the time of Apihai Te Kawau, much land was gifted to Maori and non-Maori alike serving various purposes. Traditional Maori land tenure would expect gifted land to revert back to the donor if

46 The area being claimed includes the Viaduct Basin, areas surrounding the Orakei Basin, Ngapipi Road and the Maori Community Centre on Fanshawe Street.
47 Both Ngai Tai and Wai-o-hua have indicated an intention to lodge counter claims.
48 Supra note 10.
the recipients no longer required the land for the original purpose. A right to occupy and use gifted land was not a right to alienate it. However, in the case of Tamaki, pockets of land were sold by donees and subsequent claims to these pieces of land by their descendants have resulted. These claims are based on what is termed hoko whenua, or land-sellers. But, the danger lies in the recognition afforded by the Waitangi Tribunal of these transactions as evidence of the right to claim land. The Waitangi Tribunal, once accessed by Ngati Whatua as an avenue for justice, is truly a creature of the Government and has failed to give due recognition to mana whenua by accepting land sale records as preferential evidence. Whilst it is recognised that consideration of all parties’ interests is important, the process is insufficient and favours land transactions governed by Pakeha law over tikanga pertaining to traditional Maori land tenure.

Ngati Whatua does not dispute the existence of these land sales and gifts in Tamaki. However, it should not be to the detriment of Ngati Whatua’s mana whenua. Like so many issues affecting Maori, the courts are incapable of resolving these problems. It is proposed that a period of hohourongo (dispute resolution) is required. All parties’ interests may be validly recognised with mamae (pain) and hara (harm, injustices) vented, which could allow for a resolution suitable to all concerned parties being reached. Nonetheless, the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua, whether intentional or not will be challenged in the courts as a result of these counter claims.

Further direct challenges to the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua have arisen as a result of bureaucratic ignorance. The opening of the new marae at the Devonport Naval Base is one example. Ngati Whatua were not consulted and, as a result, the kawa and tikanga of the marae is not Ngati Whatua. This was largely due to ignorance by those responsible for the development of the marae. While the kaupapa (objective) of the marae sits well with Ngati Whatua, the failure to recognise Ngati Whatua resulted in the marae opening amid boycott, confusion and dispute.

This problem will continue if the establishment of marae in Tamaki proceed without adequate recognition of Ngati Whatua as mana whenua. A guiding example would be Te Tira Hou Marae, an urban marae at Panmure built to house descendants of the Mataatua waka. They have recognised that they do not hold mana whenua in Tamaki, that they are

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50 This task is easier than it sounds. Not only is the court process often lengthy, but it can be seen to benefit certain iwi more than others. To compound the situation, Ngati Whatua are unwilling to compromise and relinquish mana whenua.
only manuhiri. In honour of this fact the amo on each side of the marae are not planted into the ground. Thus, the mana whenua undisputedly resides with the tangata whenua, Ngati Whatua.

Unitech\textsuperscript{51} has recognised the need to consult with hapu and iwi from Tamaki in the proposed establishment of its marae. While recognising Ngati Whatua as mana whenua, representatives from Wai-o-hua, and Kawerau have also been included in the proceedings.

The development of urban authorities such as Te Whanau o Waipareira Trust (“Waipareira Trust”) and the Manukau Urban Maori Authority (“MUMA”) have at times indirectly challenged or disrespected the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua. According to the Waipareira Report, the Waipareira Trust saw no conflict with the traditional hapu of west Auckland arising from their claim.\textsuperscript{52} However, many Ngati Whatua do not share the same view because the mere existence of these authorities may potentially give rise to conflict.

Manaaki tangata\textsuperscript{53} is a serious responsibility of mana whenua. Ngati Whatua have a long history of fulfilling these obligations: welcoming international dignitaries at Orakei Marae and allowing the burial of non-Ngati Whatua at the urupa, for example. Ngati Whatua’s ability to carry out its responsibilities as tangata whenua has been restricted by the establishment of urban authorities that continue to receive state funding to provide services to Auckland Maori. While the work of the Waipareira Trust can not be criticised, the fact remains that the opportunity for Ngati Whatua to fully carry out manaaki tangata is limited, thus affecting ahi kaa and mana whenua.

Urban Maori all originate from a hapu or iwi who possess their own ancestral lands. Thus, through research, most are able to determine where their marae, maunga and awa are located. This is their kainga tuturu, their roots, just as Tamaki is the kainga tuturu of Ngati Whatua. If urban Maori were to give due respect to tikanga they would recognise Ngati Whatua as tangata whenua holding mana whenua. However, many Ngati Whatua claim that this has not been the case. Hypothetically, if Ngati Whatua were to go to the tribal region of Tuhoe or Te Arawa and attempt to establish a service-provider organisation, they would be criticised for not respecting the mana whenua of the respective iwi and hapu. Why then are urban Maori able to establish these types of organisations in the area over which Ngati Whatua hold mana whenua? It is achieved through ignoring

\textsuperscript{51} A Polytechnic institution located in Mount Albert, Auckland.
\textsuperscript{53} Caring for people was a tool used to enhance the mana of the hapu or iwi. Therefore, it was important to properly care for manuhiri.
tikanga and ignoring mana whenua, rendering them inconsequential. If respect of these tikanga were a priority, the status of Ngati Whatua would be respected, and some form of agreement and participation between the two parties would exist. This is not the current situation. The appreciation urban authorities have for Ngati Whatua as tangata whenua holding mana whenua is reflected in a lack of unity.

While Ngati Whatua demonstrate a real desire to manaaki tangata, whether or not they have the resources to provide services to the same level of efficiency as the Waipareira Trust is yet to be seen. If Ngati Whatua are to claim mana whenua, the responsibilities and obligations attached to it must be met either by taking over the role of the Waipareira Trust or MUMA, or by actively participating in the administration thereof. Obviously, it is no easy task given important role played by recognition.

Like all tikanga, mana whenua and ahi kaa have the ability to adapt to the changing climate. Tikanga are not static and changes must be made to accommodate society and ensure that tikanga continue to exist. Where the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua has been challenged, through the further adaptation of tikanga, Ngati Whatua have maintained mana whenua over Tamaki.

VII. TE WHAKAHAERE O TE MANA WHENUA O NGATI WHATUA

The occupation of land has always been a means of establishing mana whenua. However, it has taken on a new dimension as it is now predominantly used to counteract governmental oppression of tino rangatiratanga.

The occupation of Bastion Point in 1976 was a response to the many injustices suffered by Ngati Whatua at the hands of various governments. The final straw for Ngati Whatua came when the Muldoon Government attempted to develop Takaparawhau (Bastion Point) without recognition of, let alone payment of compensation to, Ngati Whatua. Parts of that land had been gifted for defence purposes but were never returned as promised. Thus, Ngati Whatua made a stand for the return of their ancestral land, with the dual purpose of voicing their concerns. It was not

54 This land was gifted in the late 18th century for defence purposes, as a result of a perceived threat of invasion by Russia.
only a stand for Ngati Whatua but for Maoridom and can be credited with initiating the expansion of land claims evident today.

Although the purpose of the occupation differs from that which existed prior to European contact, the objective remains unchanged: the assertion and recognition of mana whenua. Eventually, after a long uphill battle, the Orakei Act 1991 allowed for the return of the land to Ngati Whatua, along with three million dollars as compensation.

The area returned is called Te Whenua Rangatira, which comes with unavoidable qualifications. The Orakei Act 1991 has placed restrictions on the use of the land by Ngati Whatua. Only specified areas can be used for specified purposes. Thus, Ngati Whatua are unable to determine the use of the land without first amending the Act. Once again, legislation has managed to restrict the true exercise of mana whenua over ancestral land by not allowing Ngati Whatua to determine the use of the land. However, it is important to note that within those restrictions, Ngati Whatua alone have the ability to make decisions with respect to Whenua Rangatira to the exclusion of other hapu or iwi.

The practice of purchasing back land within the mana whenua of the hapu or iwi is increasing. While this practice may seem wrong, it is merely the adaptation of tikanga to the changing times. Where iwi have the ability to purchase ancestral land at market prices, why not do so? This is one way of giving effect to the many whakatauki that express the importance of land to Maori society by placing the return of land as the priority over money and economic wealth. Both Ngai Tahu and Tainui have adopted similar practices, purchasing back their ancestral land when it becomes available. In total, Ngati Whatua purchased back 76 acres between 1996 and 1999.

In the case of the Railway lands, Ngati Whatua were placed in an undesirable situation in which they were advised to purchase the land at the offered price or attempt to rely on the uncertain court system. Thus, in order to regain ancestral land and give validation to the importance of the land as a taonga tuku iho, the land was purchased. This is one method of ensuring that Ngati Whatua are able to determine the use of this land within tribal boundaries and thus exercise mana whenua over it.

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55 Certain areas are designated for development or housing, however most of the land can only be used for passive recreation. Even if Ngati Whatua wanted to develop this area they would first have to procure an amendment to the Orakei Act 1991.

56 The seventy-six acres consist of: fourteen acres purchased from Housing NZ, consisting of 102 homes on Kupe St and ten acres of Tamaki College land in Glen Innes; fifty-two acres of railway land in downtown Auckland; and a quarter-acre from Housing NZ at Brenton Place and Aotea St (both in Orakei).

57 See note 56.
Furthermore, the fact that the land was first offered to Ngati Whatua suggests recognition by non-Maori of Ngati Whatua as tangata whenua holding mana whenua.

One of the bonuses of purchasing land is that unlike returned land such as Whenua Rangatira no qualifications apply. Iwi are given the same rights as other developers, subject to the same legislation. However, Ngati Whatua will also face the same risks as those other land-owners. Venturing into the business sphere places Ngati Whatua in a foreign environment. Any decisions made regarding land must be taken with extreme caution in order to ensure that the land Ngati Whatua have fought so hard to regain is not lost. While there are real threats, the fact still remains that purchasing back ancestral land is one way of re-establishing links. It forces Maori and non-Maori to recognise the dual status of Ngati Whatua not only as holding title to the land, but also holding mana whenua.

To reconfirm the connection of Ngati Whatua to the railway land and the wider Downtown Auckland area, the new street names in this area tell of traditional stories belonging to Ngati Whatua. The practice of naming landmarks is a traditional method of land acquisition and was adopted throughout Aotearoa with the initial arrival of inhabitants to an area. Traditionally, names incorporated memories of significant historical events: the arrival of eponymous ancestors, the linkage with tribal fights and the burial grounds of ancestors. The contemporary application of that process has produced similar results. The street names are all tuturu to Ngati Whatua. Mahuhu Crescent refers to the waka of Ngati Whatua, while Te Taou Crescent pays credit to that hapu of Ngati Whatua.

The naming of streets has a two-fold effect on the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua. Firstly, the street names prompt one to inquire about the origins of that name. Thus, a snippet of Ngati Whatua history is learnt which may assist in emphasising that Ngati Whatua has mana whenua.

Secondly, the ability to name streets in the Auckland area gives some recognition to Ngati Whatua which, for too long, was ignored. Too many street names in Auckland do not pay homage to Ngati Whatua, especially

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58 Another example is Tapora street which refers to two different places. In the days of the arrival of Mahuhu in Aotearoa, Taporapora was an island situated in the Kaipara. It was here that Ngati Whatua held their wananga and was regarded as the repository of traditional tribal knowledge. Some time later it was overcome by Sea, some say taking the traditional knowledge belonging to Ngati Whatua with it. Tapora is also a different area in the Kaipara close to Port Albert. Tangihua is a renowned Taniwha of Ngati Whatua. It has a close association to Mahuhu ki te Rangi at times fulfilling the role of kaitiaki. It eventually took the form of a maunga that can be seen along the North Western motorway.
in Orakei, the turangawaewae of Ngati Whatua. Although many of the street names in Orakei are Maori, they are not unique to Ngati Whatua.  

Sceptics raise the fact that all streets must be named. Therefore, it is a mere necessity to conform to local and regional plans. However, the Auckland City Council was not under any obligation to allow Ngati Whatua to determine the names. But, in doing so, the Auckland City Council has given due recognition to Ngati Whatua. This practice can be viewed as a subtle application of the traditional methods of asserting mana whenua.

Ngati Whatua have, despite all challenges, continued to exist as a community. The fact that Ngati Whatua still live on their turangawaewae is tangible proof of the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua. As a community, they have not only met the obligations of maintaining mana whenua but have slowly and steadily rebuilt the iwi. The recent developments pay testimony to the wealth of the iwi not in equitable terms but in resources provided for the iwi such as the Kohanga Reo, the new Whare Kai and the Orakei Health Clinic.

Ngati Whatua has continued to exercise tikanga both at Orakei Marae and throughout the wider Auckland area. Where Ngati Whatua have a vested interest in matters such as the environment and development, Ngati Whatua are adequately represented by kaumatua, kuia and rangatahi alike. This obligation is performed for aroha and ensures that Ngati Whatua are meeting the basic requirements of ahi kaa.

### VIII. HE KUPU WHAKAMUTUNGA

This article has only managed to touch on a fraction of what the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua entails. Recognition of the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua by other parties is essential. Where recognition is not given either by hapu, iwi or organisations both governmental and private, the mana whenua of Ngati Whatua is affected negatively. Ignoring their status as tangata whenua effectively inhibits Ngati Whatua from fully exercising tikanga and ahi kaa.

Recognition of Ngati Whatua's mana whenua is steadily increasing. The national kapahaka competition held at Takaparawhau signified a change in attitude. Amazingly, it was the first time Ngati Whatua were

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59 One example of this is Kitemoana Street to which Ngati Whatua were relocated in 1951. This pays no direct reference to Ngati Whatua because it merely translates to 'a view of the sea'.
recognised as tangata whenua by the organising body and, accordingly, Ngati Whatua were responsible for the powhiri.

A lack of recognition can be a result of lack of education. Far too often legislators have implemented Maori terms and concepts into legislation without fully understanding the complexities of those concepts.60 One thing that this author hopes to achieve from this article is the recognition that the mana whenua of different hapu and iwi is exactly that: different. The case of Ngati Whatua ki Orakei is unique. Their understanding and interpretation of mana whenua, and how it should be approached and applied, may differ dramatically from other iwi. Therefore, any future attempts to legislate a generic meaning of mana whenua applicable to all iwi will certainly create confusion.

In conclusion, I believe that the status of Ngati Whatua’s mana whenua is healthy. But, like all things, there is room for improvement. Further steps must be taken to counter the constant challenges made to their mana whenua. Ngati Whatua must overcome the lack of recognition they have experienced by becoming more actively involved in the community, and by caring more for Ngati Whatua as a people. Simple things like non-commercial manaaki to manuhiri, preventing child abuse, avoiding self destructive activities such as excessive consumption of alcohol, smoking and unhealthy diets, promoting education and, above all, unity, will ensure that the iwi is strong enough to perform ahi kaa and maintain mana whenua.

He taonga tuku iho te mana whenua me nga tikanga e pa ana ki tena take. No reira ki a koutou nga uri o Ngati Whatua kia mau ki to ahi kaa, to mana whenua hoki, mo koutou, me nga whakatipuranga kei te puta mai.

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60 See the Resource Management Act 1991.
IX. GLOSSARY

Ahi Kaa: Occupation rights, keeping home fires burning
Amo: Upright supports at the front of a meeting house
Aroha: Compassion, Love or Affection
Atua: Gods. Supernatural being
Awa: River
Hapu: Section of larger tribe, sub-tribe
Hinengaro: Mind, brain
Iwi: Maori Tribe
Kainga: Village or community
Kaitiakitanga: The act of guardianship
Kaumatua: Respected elderly
Kawa: Formal Procedure or Protocol
Kuia: Elderly women
Mana: Having influence or power, standing
Manaaki: Show respect or kindness
Manuhiri: Visitor or guest
Marae: Meeting area of whanau, hapu or iwi, includes meeting house and dining room
Mataotao: Die out or be extinguished
Maunga: Mountain
Mauri: Life-force
Moteatea: Traditional Maori song
Muru: Wipe out, raid, forgive, form of compensation
Ngakau: Heart
Nga Puhi: Northland Tribe
Ngati Whatua: Northland Tribe
Orakei: A place in Auckland
Pa: Fortified village
Pakeha: Non-Maori, generally European, people
Papakainga: Original home, home base, village
Papatuanuku: Earth mother
Pito: Navel, belly button
Powhiri: Welcome ceremony
Rahui: Ban or restriction. Boundary post
Rangatira: Leaders, leadership
Rohe: Area, territory, district, region
| **Tamaki:** | Abbreviation of Tamaki Makaurau, the Maori name for Auckland, also part of the name of the Wai-o-hua chief Kiwi Tamaki |
| **Tangata whenua:** | People belonging to the land |
| **Tangi:** | To cry, to mourn |
| **Tangihanga:** | Mourning, funeral |
| **Taonga:** | Treasure or revered item |
| **Tapu:** | Sacred or forbidden |
| **Tikanga:** | Custom(s) |
| **Tino rangatiratanga:** | Ultimate leadership, sovereignty |
| **Tipuna/tupuna:** | Ancestor(s) |
| **Tumutumuwhenua:** | An eponymous ancestor of Ngati Whatua, also the name of the meeting house in Orakei |
| **Turangawaewae:** | Stronghold, place of belonging, home turf |
| **Tuturu:** | Authentic |
| **Urupa:** | Burial ground, cemetery |
| **Utu:** | Recompense, revenge, restoration of balance |
| **Wairua:** | Spirit |
| **Waka:** | Traditional canoe |
| **Wero:** | Challenge |
| **Whakapapa:** | Ancestry, family tree or oral recitation of origins |
| **Whakatauki:** | Proverb |
| **Whare Kai:** | Kitchen, dining room |
| **Whare Tipuna:** | Meeting house |