It may be said that the Maori’s psychology has been one of the main subjects of the whole of the present account in the sense that we have everywhere tried to penetrate into his fundamental experiences; but in the nature of things the whole description has had to aim at bridging the gap between Maori concepts and concepts accessible to a European psyche. For this very reason we have been unable to take our starting-point in the Maori’s own psychological concepts, as, far from contributing to an immediate understanding, they require explanations and explications before we grasp them. It is obvious that these concepts are of great interest, so we may suitably round off our portrait of the Maori’s personality as determined by culture with a study of his psychology in an explicit sense.

It is natural then to explain—as far as we can—the concepts which cover mind and spirit. We shall then see that the experiences which occupy the central position are quite different from those which to us are the central ones. What we understand by psychology plays a minor role in the Maori’s formation of concepts; in return his bodily sensations are obviously of great importance. During the mention of the Maori’s eroticism we have already been introduced to the intimate way in which he lives with his body.

Such a concept as man’s mauri is in the highest degree an exponent of this form of psychological experience of the self. The word mauri means a concentration of life, a centre from where it acts and wells out. This life may either be mana concentrated in an object, a stone, or the like, or be life
experienced as concentrated in a point in man. For practical reasons, we must forego a full discussion of the word so that here we shall only mention the last kind of *mauri*.

We can subscribe to Best’s interpretation of *mauri* as “a vital principle,” but if the word is to be defined more closely it is hardly sufficient to determine it in the abstract. As said above, the way to an understanding is reached through a study of the sensations through which the Maori himself recognizes his *mauri*. These sensations must be referred to chest and diaphragm. In the light of all the places where *mauri* is used, we may say that it is an expression of concentrated and compact life, to which corresponds something indifferently in the perception of *mauri* since this is restricted to a feeling that *mauri* either moves or is at rest.

Consequently, the same expression may correspond to rather different psychological experiences, i.e. different from our point of view, while the Maori probably on the basis of his somatic experience feels them to be essentially alike. This is brought out especially distinctly in the expression “*oho te mauri*,” “the *mauri* gives a start.” Naturally this turn of phrase may express fright, e.g. at an unexpected attack or the like. When the phrase is used about Hinenuitepo in the well-known scene with Maui, the meaning may be the same, but perhaps only that she wakes up. The uncertainty is due to the fact that we find a “heave-ho” cry while some canoes were launched, as the cause of “*he ohorere koa no te mauri o te iwi nei*,” “quite a sudden start in the *mauri* of the tribe.” In this case fright is excluded, the idea is that the tribe is to be roused and to strain every nerve. When a tribe met with Europeans for the first time, they felt much relieved when they saw that the white men ate ordinary human food and thus were not completely outside the human world; this relief was also expressed by *oho mauri*. Here the uplift in the breast expresses a joyful surprise. The same feeling can be expressed by the phrase “*hotu te mauri*,” in which *hotu* probably denotes that the *mauri* rises. “Te Aotaki’s *mauri* rose (*hotu*), he drew a deep breath.” The reason was joyful surprise and relief at hearing that his son had been seen.

The verb *tokomauri* is also very instructive in throwing light on this combination of a feeling of motion and emotion; for Williams’ *Dictionary* gives the following

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1. Best 1922a: 22.
2. White 1887c: 110; 1888a: 126; 135; 1888b: 133; Tu-nui-a-rangi 1905: 200; Best 1927b: 257; cf. 7, Best 1898a: 121.
3. Whatahoro 1913: 64.
5. White 1888b: 106.
two meanings: 1. Excite one’s affections, enamour. 2. Hiccough. As an example of 1, it is quoted that the lover is the girl’s kaitokomauri o tona puku: “the one who makes the mauri of her stomach leap.” In particular this supports one’s immediate feeling that the sensations are localized in the diaphragm. A more indefinite movement is denoted by the phrase ka rere te mauri “the mauri is set in motion” and the expression also covers a vehement state of agitation, namely what seized Mahu when he discovered that flesh from his own nephew had been served to him. His mood probably was a mixture of horror and relief that he discovered it in time.

The contrast to all this is the quiet mauri, when the mind is quiet and no danger is imminent. A Maori who has killed and eaten his enemy and thus has been rehabilitated may say, ka tatu te mauri, “the mauri calmed down.” Mauri tau “a resting mauri” means “presence of mind.”

The expression “courage (tara, properly “the point or spike”) returned to the mauri of human beings” stands isolated. It is place in which a definite psychological property is associated with mauri. It may be asked whether this is justified; but it can hardly be denied that if any property should be associated with mauri as such, it is natural that it should be something which makes it firm, such as courage.

When mauri may be characterized as “a vital principle” it is particularly in the light of the large number of passages in which the word is used about a concentration of mana; but a few expressions about man’s inner mauri confirm it more or less indirectly. An old proverb says: “Mauri mahi, mauri ora; mauri noho, mauri mate,” the diligent mauri is a living mauri (a saved mauri); the lazy mauri is a weakened mauri.” Here mauri stands as an expression of life in man. The phrase “kua ukiuki te mauri” about one who is dead should perhaps be interpreted similarly; the exact meaning of ukiuki seems uncertain to me as the word is translated by “old, lasting” as well as “undisturbed, peaceful.” According to Best, the background of the phrase is that the mauri “ceased to exist at the death of the body.”

7. Grey 1855: 139.
12. White 1888b: 114,
15. Williams 1932: s.v.
The intimate connection between *mauri* and upward movements makes it easy to understand that *mauri* also belongs to the sneeze; when furthermore *mauri* is a “vital principle” it is also easily comprehended that life may be exposed to danger by a sneeze. The sneeze is an ill omen; therefore the consequences of it are averted by a formula: *Tihe mauri tupu, mauri ora ki te whaiao ki te ao marama. Tihe mauri ora:* “Sneeze! *mauri* which belongs, *mauri* saved for the day, for the world of light! Sneezes! saved *mauri*!”

There are other words which express a unity of bodily sensations and mental experiences. They differ from *mauri* by referring to a definite inner organ, while *mauri* in spite of its localization is not identified at all with any anatomical part. Another thing is, however, that these identifications may be rather puzzling.

This is not least the case of *manawa*.

It is a common thing that *manawa* is sacrificed. Probably this means that the heart is sacrificed. This is due to information which cannot be derived from the texts, where we only hear that it “is dug out” and perhaps that it “quivers” while it is roasted in the fire—expressions which do not mean much. Even if *manawa* means “the heart” when taken out, it is rather certain that in living people it denotes a concept which is wider, but also more difficult to define. In a legend we are told about a man who before he dived laced up his *manawa* with his belt. This refers to the technique used in diving, namely that of exhaling completely before doing so. *Manawa* in this case must be the stomach (or chest?), at any rate an organ to do with breathing. What we may say with the greatest certainty about *manawa* is that it breathes, *ta* or *nga,* or that it is allowed to breathe and get its breath, *whakata.* For further confirmation we hear that *manawa* also sighs and sobs (*mapu, horuhoru*). As appears from what follows the picture unfortunately becomes complicated as soon as we try to obtain further information.

Puhihuia’s *Manawa* after a long race is compared with “a fluttering bird,”

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16.  Best 1902a: 36.
17.  Tregear 1926: s.v. *tihe*; cf. Whatahoro 1913: 34 and Shortland 1856: 131 note (where, however, it gives an impression of being somewhat bungled).
18.  White 1887b: 148; 1887c: 10; 1887a: 30; 35; 84; 1887c: 119.
21.  White 1887c: 54, 60; 1888a: 135; 1888b: 40; 88; Grey 1855: 189.
22.  White 1887a: 82; 1888b: 128; Grey 1855: 110; cf. Williams 1926: s.v. *tā* (iv) and *nga*.
me te manu e kakapa ana;\textsuperscript{24} as \textit{kakapa} refers to a rapid quivering or throbbing movement, the reference probably is to the beats of the heart; but it might also be to the chest which heaves by rapid breaths. However, we find in a \textit{karakia} that the adjectives \textit{wiri}, "trembling," \textit{pore}, "giving a start," and \textit{auha}, "leaping" are connected with \textit{manawa},\textsuperscript{25}—expressions which apply best to the heart.

The most detailed explanation of \textit{manawa} as a physiological concept is this: “Man’s blood and lymph (\textit{hinu}) are his living \textit{manawa} (\textit{manawa ora}); they are spread everywhere in man. \textit{Manawa} is the one which distributes them to all the places where they are found; it is the base of the spirit (\textit{wairua}); when the blood and lymph (\textit{hinu}) have gone away, then the \textit{manawa} is closed; only then does the spirit (\textit{wairua}) depart; this is the reason why man dies.”\textsuperscript{26}

If provisionally we disregard the question of “\textit{manawa ora},” we must say that \textit{manawa}, if anything, must be interpreted as referring to the heart; but we are disappointed because we are not informed what the Maori imagines the relation between the organ \textit{manawa} and breathing to be; for it is certain that he realizes that there is such a connection, but we can hardly get any farther than to assuming that he attaches importance to the fact that quick breathing is generally accompanied by palpitation, and therefore connects the heart, \textit{manawa}, with breath.

For the matter, one may be seized by certain misgivings that the text quoted was inspired by European doctrines about the heart.

Whatever the fact of the matter, breathing is and remains the most important part of the nature of the \textit{manawa}, not only in the way that \textit{manawa} is an organ which somehow contains the breath, but in the way that it is breathing itself. This clearly appears from the fact that \textit{manawa} leaves dying people,\textsuperscript{27} but returns if they recover life,\textsuperscript{28} e.g. by the rite called \textit{whakanoho manawa}, “to fasten \textit{manawa}.”\textsuperscript{29} The connection between organ and breathing is closer to the Maori than immediately imagined by us, as breathing to him is not only inhalation and exhalation, but rather must be characterized as a “being,” which normally has its place in the chest, but flees on one’s deathbed. This view can clearly be derived from the following sentence which describes a person who is dying: “\textit{Manawa} breathed in the sick man’s nostrils

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} White 1888a: 128.
\item \textsuperscript{25} White 1887c: 12.
\item \textsuperscript{26} White 1887a: 146.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Best 1901a: 10 f.
\item \textsuperscript{28} White 1887b: 161; Best 1926: 23.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Best 1905b: 4.
\end{itemize}
but not farther down.”\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Manawa} thus is one concept of organ and breathing. In many cases it is actually difficult to decide what the Maori is thinking of. In what precedes, we have in the case of the organ mentioned examples showing that it breathes, \textit{ta}, but we might also—and perhaps better—have said that the “being” \textit{manawa}, or, if you like, “breathing itself,” breathes. It is quite impossible in the phrase \textit{ka he te manawa}, “\textit{manawa} fails,” to decide whether it is “breathing itself” or “the organ” which is in the foreground.\textsuperscript{31} According to the view advanced this vacillation is without any real importance as we are faced with a split-up of the concept which does not exist in the Maori.\textsuperscript{32} The split-up has not, however, made its appearance completely by chance; apparently it is authenticated in the Maori in the peculiar duality we have met with in the concept \textit{manawa} after death has supervened, the \textit{manawa} partly having gone away, partly still being present as an organ, the heart. It will be found, however, that this inconsistency has an explanation, when we compare it to \textit{wairua}, the spirit, which is discussed below (p. 252).

This being, the \textit{manawa}, is not least significant because it is an expression of life, a necessary condition of its existence. This aspect is particularly emphasized in the expression \textit{manawa ora}, “living \textit{manawa}.” It is presented to woman and hence to all human beings at creation\textsuperscript{33} and goes away with death.\textsuperscript{34} On the whole, \textit{manawa ora} means something which maintains one’s life and is dear to one. When Best had given evidence in favour of a Maori, the latter called him “My \textit{manawa ora}.”\textsuperscript{35} “\textit{Manawa ora} which is breathed by \textit{us}”\textsuperscript{36} must be the air. If we compare these examples with the one quoted above: “Man’s blood and lymph (?) is his \textit{manawa ora},” this phrase does not seem to mean more than that blood and lymph are necessary for life.\textsuperscript{37}

Actually the adjective \textit{ora} does not add anything completely new to \textit{manawa}. It only emphasizes an aspect of the word which is found beforehand. Victuals are supplied to a starved-out fortress accompanied by the words: “\textit{Here is manawa for you.”}\textsuperscript{38} “\textit{Beer is the white man’s manawa},”\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{30} Best 1901a: 10.
\textsuperscript{31} E.g. White 1888b: 118; 1887b: 62.
\textsuperscript{32} Cf. Williams 1926: s.v. pukahukahu, where organ and breathing are also merged.
\textsuperscript{33} Whatahoro 1913: 34.
\textsuperscript{34} Best 1905a: 171.
\textsuperscript{35} Best 1922a: 36.
\textsuperscript{36} Best 1922a: 36.
\textsuperscript{37} White 1887a: 146.
\textsuperscript{39} Best 1922: 35.
declared a Maori. In both passages manawa is almost identical in meaning with manawa ora. On the whole, manawa is something which one “lives on” and is fond of. Whanui in the myth sent the vermin down to the kumara field saying that Rongo (i.e. the kumara) was to be their manawa.\(^40\) In no less than two passages in the Lore of the Whare-Wananga the old narrator admonishes his listeners to let these traditions be their manawa and that of their descendants.\(^41\)

From these applications of manawa, in which the idea of breathing is hardly felt, we shall return to some cases in which it is of importance.

Whether a person is running or diving, it is breathing which is decisive of his endurance. He who is to dive deep must have a “long manawa.”\(^42\) We might imagine that it is a simile borrowed from such situations when manawa means “endurance, patience,” as e.g. in Matuku’s exclamation: “You make Matuku’s manawa short.”\(^43\) However, considering how important the bodily sensations are to the Maori’s experience of the self, it is rather more natural to interpret this and similar phrases literally, the more so as manawa not only means endurance, but courage as well. “A long time after Ngatipaoa had fled from Taupo they prepared their manawa (e whakataka ana i tana manawa), and not until the manawa breathed did they send out an army...”\(^44\) The dictionary ad hoc translates whakataka manawa by “take breath.”\(^45\) but the words “a long time” (tau tini noa) clearly show that this is too narrow an interpretation. What happens is not only that Ngatipaoa pause and breathe, but also that they get the steady breathing which is a sign of, i.e., to the Maori, identical with, courage. The contrast is: “ka he te manawa;” he is the opposite of tika, so it means that the manawa is false to its nature, becomes restless or weak. As in the case of mauri we are here faced with a formation of psychological concepts on the basis of bodily sensations, as “ha he te manawa” both means that one loses patience,\(^46\) and that one loses courage.\(^47\) In a set phrase with its terse expression manawa is simply used as a verb (in the passive) with the meaning “to endure, to suffer.”\(^48\)

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\(^{40}\) Best 1925d: 156.

\(^{41}\) Whatahoro 1913: 14; 53.

\(^{42}\) White 1887c: 54.

\(^{43}\) White 1887a: 62.

\(^{44}\) White 1888b: 88.

\(^{45}\) Williams 1932: s.v. whakataka.

\(^{46}\) White 1887a: 79; 1887c: 24.

\(^{47}\) White 1888b: 36; 40; 73.

\(^{48}\) White 1888a: 39.
Manawa has a further application within Maori psychology. It is one of the words which denote “mind;” we may in general add: “as experienced in breathing.” This is the case, for instance, when a person, after being afraid, calms down and this is expressed by: “ka tatu taku manawa, my manawa calmed down” (tatu: to be at ease).49 We also understand such a phrase as “his manawa was greatly weakened by yearning after the girl,”50 and on this background it is said, “the darling of her manawa (te torere a tona manawa),”51 or more graphically, “te kuku o tona manawa,” “the grasp” or “the squeeze” on her manawa.52

“I am hungry, I have no speaking-manawa.”53 This is easily understood by everybody who knows the feeling of faintness in the respiration which seizes the person who is to speak without being in the mood for it. “Manawa’s fear”54 needs no comment, nor does “manawa eager for fight;”55 but it is uncertain whether a “sudden manawa,”56 i.e. a mind which shows brisk resoluteness, has sensations connected with breathing as its background. The same perhaps applies to a “contemptuous manawa,”57 on the other hand, the last phrase is just an instance which shows how difficult a decision can be in the individual case. “Contemptuous,” whakahi, is conceivably, in spite of its place in Williams’ Dictionary, derived from the exclamation “hi,” which denotes contempt.58 If so, we are much nearer to a sensation connected with breathing namely the one which may accompany the greatly aspirated and expelled hissing, which presumably is behind the conventionalized written “hi.” Such an uncertainty cannot occur in the case of the expression e waru nga pu manawa, “the eight sources of the mind.” A glance at the list (p. 178) of the properties comprised by this expression will convince the reader that it is out of the question to see them in any connection with breathing.

Finally, manawa enters in some compounds which on the whole confirm the definition of the word to which we have found our way. Manawau, “to have a great manawa,” means “to be patient, to have staying power, to be

49. White 1888b: 111.
50. White 1888a: 118.
51. White 1888a: 105.
53. Best 1922a: 35.
54. White 1888b: 145.
55. White 1888b: 92; 93.
56. White 1888b: 58.
57. White 1888b: 50.
58. Williams 1932: s.v. hi (i) and (ii).
courageous.” Manawareka, “to have a sweet manawa” means “to be happy.” Manawaru, “to have a quivering, agitated manawa” means “to be happily moved;” according to Williams’ Dictionary it may also mean “fidgety, anxious,” the fact that the basis is bodily sensations, presumably the only thing which makes the apparent conflict in the meanings intelligible. The same applies to manawapa “to have a closed manawa;” the expression evidently refers to a certain rigid feeling in the chest which is connected with rather different states of mind, partly such states in which one feels dislike of something, is perverse and close-fisted or depressed, partly a kind of nervousness which presumably was of a paralyzing or stiffening kind, whereas the above-mentioned form, manawaru, presumably was of a fidgety kind. As the word is only known to me from one or two passages in the texts and otherwise through the statements and quotations of the dictionaries, I must, however, leave this as a conjecture, although a probable one. In Williams’ Dictionary, there are another few compounds, a couple of which are in keeping with those mentioned above (e.g. manawakino “to have a bad manawa,” i.e. “internally uneasy, apprehensive;” manawawera “to have a hot manawa” “excited, angry”), while a few others must provisionally be left undecided as I have no basis for a more certain discussion (manawarere, manawapoporo). In spite of many uncertain points, there is much evidence that manawa is breathing, and that this is a very comprehensive concept to the Maori so that on the one hand it has a palpable bodily character which makes it a “being” and an organ, on the other hand conditions life, and finally is an aspect of the mind, namely all that is experienced as “sensations connected with breathing.” Still we find a few phrases in which the linguistic image is loosened from the bodily sensations.

Ngakau also unites mind and organs. As an organ it is the entrails, the intestines, as clearly appears from the sentence: “Te Ranga’s ngakau was placed like bird’s snares (ka takeketia) in a tree by Whitiaua.” Like manawa, ngakau is also used in various rites. Finally ngakau means “mind.” There is hardly any doubt that the fact, that ngakau in this way connects mind with entrails, originates from a fusion of the stirrings of the mind and the bodily sensations similar to that known from mauri and manawa; but in the use of

59. White 1887b: 70; 1888a: 121; Grey 1855: 16; 70; 130.
60. White 1887a: 36; 55; 57; 65; 135; 1887b: 32; 49; 63; 66; 144; 1887c: 102; 103; 107; (only among the Ngaitahu).
61. White 1887a: 133, (manaru = manawaru); 1887c: 99.
63. Best 1923b: 415 (the text is found in Williams 1992: s.v. takeke).
64. White 1887a: 35; 1890: 61.
*ngakau* actually known to us the connection between mind and body is very loose as will appear on closer inspection. The *ngakau* can *ora*, “live,” “feel well,” or *na*, “be satisfied” when a want has been met, a vengeance achieved. It can *kotū* and *hāri* “be glad;” *manawareka*, “rejoice;” indeed, it can *kata*, “laugh.” The *ngakau* can *mamae*, “feel pain,” or pain can bite it; it can *mate*, “be weak” (e.g. by amorous yearning).

Even though these expressions as a whole are not incompatible with bodily sensations in the entrails, they do not indicate them in particular. It would with difficulty even be possible to unite the statement that the *ngakau* can have a “sweet *manawa*” (*manawareka*) with an independent organic sensation. However, there are not a few pieces of direct evidence that the bodily attachment is something quite secondary in the experience of *ngakau*. Thus it is significant that *ngakau* can be *pouri*, “dark.”

This appears still more clearly when we see *ngakau* in more active states. The *ngakau* desires (*torere*) and chooses the beloved one (e.g. *kite*, “sees,” *mea*, “says, thinks” of the person in question or *tu*, “stands” for him or her or is “willing” (*pa'i*); it turns (*tahuri*) to an action, e.g. in order to seek vengeance. One may ask whether it is strong (*kaha*) to execute a difficult plan. Furthermore, words may lie in the *ngakau*; it can remember and have

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65. Grey 1855: 54; 156; White 1888b: 40; 61; 1890: 20; 31.
68. White 1887a: 134; 1888a: 129.
72. White 1890: 25.
73. White 1888a: 118.
74. White 1887b: 118; 138; 141; 1887c: 33; 1888a: 106; 1888b: 50; Grey 1855: 118.
75. Grey 1855: 143.
76. White 1888a: 133.
77. White 1888a: 133; Grey 1855: 117
78. Grey 1855: 120.
79. White 1888a: 146.
80. White 1887b: 118.
81. White 1887b: 139.
82. White 1888a: 189.
something in mind (*mahara, maharahara*) or know (*mohio*) something. It can *whakaaro*, “intend or decide.”

In nearly all cases the person may himself be the subject instead of the *ngakau*, be glad or gloomy, remember, think, etc.; on the other hand, the saying that some people think in their *ngakau* (*ka mahara* or *whakaaro i roto i tona ngakau*) does not ring quite true; it is hardly an original Maori idiom; on the one hand the examples are rather few as compared with the large number in which the *ngakau* itself thinks, etc., on the other hand the phrase is beside the point when we compare it with a number of analogous phrases. The fact is that in Maori either “one speaks” or “the mouth speaks,” “one takes” or “the hand takes,” but one never speaks “with one’s mouth” nor takes “with one’s hand.” Should conditions not be the same as regards the mind?

The reason why this question has been discussed in so much detail, is that it has a wider scope than the mere question of correct Maori. The expression “to think in one’s *ngakau*” is perhaps a step towards the possibility that *ngakau* might be something composite, that different thoughts and emotions might be conflicting in the *ngakau*; but the characteristic thing is just that *ngakau* is whole and undivided. The *ngakau* is glad or sad, remembers, thinks, decides; it is a yearning-*ngakau* (*ngakau wawata*), an anger- and fight-*ngakau* (*ngakau riri*), or a hard and bellicose *ngakau* (*ngakau kino*), but it is always completely one or the other. Nothing really happens in the *ngakau*; what happens is that a *ngakau* “comes out” (*puta*) or “unfolds itself” (*tupu*), as is said very characteristically. If anybody changes his mind or his will, another *ngakau* comes out (*puta ke te ngakau*). When Ponga tricked Puhihuia to come down to the spring and confessed that he had done so out of yearning for her, he did so in the words: “the thirst came from another *ngakau*."

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84. White 1888b: 37.
86. White 1887a: 53; 1887b: 143 (from Ngai-Tahu); cf. White 1890: 16 (Ngatitoa).
87. Tuwhawhakia 1896:164.
88. White 1888b: 121.
89. E.g. Whatahoro 1913: 24.
90. White 1888a: 41; 1888b: 166.
If psychology is understood as an unravelling of the problem of how various forces are fighting in the mind, the Maori hardly knows any psychology. An interesting phrase is *ngakau rua*, “double ngakau,” which according to Williams’ *Dictionary* means “uncertain, wavering, vacillating.” If this is correct, it means that the Maori prefers to give himself two *ngakau* rather than to break up the *ngakau*’s unity. Williams does not, however, adduce any quotations, and Colenso, who has the expression in his collection of proverbs, explains: “Ngakau rua = Double mind. Spoken of a false promiser; of a person who says one thing, yet means another.” The second statement rings rather more reasonable (cf. Ponga’s “other *ngakau*”), and, if anything, the fact of the matter is that a divided mind hardly interests the Maori so much that he will analyse it as two *ngakau*. If there is anything wrong about the *ngakau*, it is rather so that it is mad (*wairangi*) with yearning for a beloved one, foolishly obstinate (*pohauhau*), or foolishly empty (*ware*) so that one goes direct into the jaws of misfortune. A rite pertinent to this is performed over warriors before the fight. It serves to *whakamarama i te ngakau*, “make the *ngakau* clear and bright,” so that the warriors should not be timid and confused.

The *ngakau* thus is mind as an undifferentiated whole of “cognition, emotion, and volition.” To have a *ngakau* normally means that the mind has a definite tone and a definite direction. *Ngakaukore*, “*ngakau*-less” is the person who has no desire for anything; *ngakau-nui*, “to have a great *ngakau*,” on the other hand, means to be anxious to do something.

The object or song taken to a tribe in order to persuade it to participate in an expedition of vengeance or the like, is called *ngakau* in some tribes. There is nothing strange in this, for it is to give the receivers a new *ngakau*, i.e. an inclination and will to participate in the undertaking.

Another word for mind almost synonymous with *ngakau* is *hinengaro*.

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94. Colenso 1879: 146 no. 224.
95. Cf. Mead 1929: 122 ff.: on the lack of interest in “psychology” among the Samoans.
96. E.g. Grey 1855: 141; Shortland 1856: 178.
98. White 1888a: 102; 1890: 30.
100. Williams 1932: s.v. *ngakau*.
102. Cf. p. 66; White 1888a: 74; 94; 95; 97; 1888b: 143 (all from the tribes Ngatitoa and Ngatipaoa).
103. Whatahoro 1913: 2; White 1887b: 45; 116; 155; 1888a: 12; 118; 124; 133; Best 1922a: 40.
which, however, seems somewhat more emotionally colour. As an organ it seems to denote the spleen. It applies to this and other related concepts that they are of so rare occurrence in the texts that I am unable to define them further.\footnote{104}

The words for “mind” discussed here, collectively testify to the fact that psychology did not interest the Maori very much. The main classification is made according to kind and degree of bodily perceptions, through which things are united which to us are quite different, and the word which covers our word “mind” best, viz. \textit{ngakau}, is just expressing a whole which is not analysed. The highest level he can attain to in the direction of psychological unravelment is such a statement as: “Takaranga’s desire for the girl Raumahora is greater than his desire for fight.”\footnote{105} Conflicts in the mind, unconscious motives, or the like are never mentioned. He experiences himself as that which we term “of sterling integrity.” His literature deals with what humans and gods say and do, perhaps whether they are glad or sad, and the like. Words and action issue from them, maybe after some consideration, but without vacillation; they are born as \textit{ngakau} and become \textit{whakaaro}, i.e. formed thought and decision and hence plan. A typical expression of “psychological” description is the proverb, which without analysis gives a total picture of man in a situation and hence of his state of mind (see p. 163). This wholeness of the mind confirms the sterling integrity which we found as fundamental in the Maori when discussing life and honour.

It is extremely remarkable that he can still imagine a flaw in this wholeness. The Maori language actually has one word, probably the only one, which opens the door to the possibility that the mind can be divided so that feeling and will are opposed to one another. It is the word \textit{aroha}. The meaning is very clear; it can be translated as “to feel that one loves;” as a substantive it is the corresponding feeling. The feeling can range over a spectrum of different colors. When Manaia learnt that a young man who fought with great honour was his own son, he felt \textit{aroha}, thus a love full of pride and joy.\footnote{106} Maui admonished his brothers not to \textit{aroha}, i.e. take pity on the sun’s wailing now that they were going to beat it.\footnote{107} Whakaue’s wife had a very difficult delivery and asked her husband not to get angry at a confession she had to make. He answered, “I shall not get angry with you, for I \textit{aroha}, i.e.
I am worried that you will die.” The *aroha* felt when those nearest and dearest to a person die is colour by grief and yearning.

*Aroha* is an internal emotion, a feeling which overwhelms people, often suddenly; it “awakes.” It happens as in the case of *Turahui*, who was wandering far from his home country and saw the sun rising over “Kiwa’s great ocean;” “then Turahui’s *aroha*, i.e. yearning for his home country, Hawaiki, suddenly started (*hoto ake*).” It tells not a little about the *aroha* experience that it breaks out so unexpectedly and abruptly. The strange thing about *aroha* is the fact that it denotes a state in which the Maori turns inwards towards his own mind. With a certain reservation we may say that *aroha* in itself is pure feeling, i.e. it is allowed to exist in itself; it need not be converted into action. When Ngarue took leave of his wife and went away driven by shame, he said, “Farewell! However great my desire and *aroha* for you are, I can never return.” Several times we find the same kind of scene: Paoa’s younger brothers feel *aroha* for him, and still they allow themselves to be sent home. Paoa and Te Rauparaha each stand still and look back at the homes they are leaving; they feel *aroha*, but still—they leave!

We may call *aroha* pure feeling in the sense that it can be quivering in the mind like this without giving birth to any will. But of course it has often become will and action. When Terangihoungariri heard his sister, who was in danger of her life, calling out for him he felt *aroha* and at once hurried towards her although it had to cost and did cost his life without his being able to save his sister. Many instances of a similar kind might be mentioned, although perhaps less striking; but this cannot, of course, change the fact that *aroha* may exist as pure feeling and therefore in itself is nothing else.

*Aroha* expresses a kind of sensitivity which is probably characteristic of the Polynesians. It is the content of the peculiar form called *tangi*, a ceremonial lamentation, which, though socially conventionalized, yet has its origin in sensitivity. Paoa and Te Rauparaha, who took leave of their homes and felt *aroha* at it, went away, as said above, but not until they had given vent

111. Whatahoro 1915: 84.
112. Best 1925e: 312 (by Best).
113. Grey 1855: 156.
115. White 1890: 27.
to their *aroha* in a *tangi*.\(^{116}\) In Turahui, who was also mentioned above, we find the same thing. His wife asked him, “Why do you *tangi*?” And he answered, “It is because of my *aroha* (yearning) for our child and because I see the sun rising on the horizon of the ocean; *aroha* wells up in me, therefore I *tangi*.”\(^{117}\)

When relatives meet after being separated for some time, it is customary that they give themselves up to a *tangi*. When asked the Maori will explain that it is made over those who have died since the last time the persons in question saw one another.\(^{118}\) The reason which is thus suggested does not seem quite convincing; it is no doubt too narrow.\(^{119}\) Nor do we ever find this reason being suggested in the individual cases in which it might be expected—as in connection with the fact that a *tangi* is dropped or is particularly long or the like. When Paoa meets his sons after a few days’ separation, there is hardly anybody who has died in the meantime. Still it is taken for granted that a *tangi* ought to take place; for it says that this does not happen, and the reason is quite clear; it is a trait which is to show how tense the situation is; there is not even time for a *tangi*.\(^{120}\)

With the limitation inherent in the conventionalized character of the *tangi* we may say that also at the meeting of relatives it is due to *aroha*, viz., the emotion felt at the meeting.\(^{121}\)

Another outcome of this sensitivity is the *aroha* song (*waiata aroha*), as it is simply called. It is want and yearning which force it out. It need not be erotically motivated, but it is mostly unrequited love which is its theme and occasion. The first *waiata aroha* is presumably the one sung by Tane when his beloved one fled to the underworld.\(^{122}\) Since then many have been sung which are full of the most vehement passion. These songs are nearly unique examples of emotional poetry proper in Maori literature, but characteristically enough, it is only the passionate and vehement feelings which force it out in the Maori. Gentle sensitivity is not in itself alien to him; only it is not expressed independently, but is brought out in fine and gentle small traits here and there in myths, legends, and sagas, graceful small glimpses of a love of country and nature which also has room for this sensitivity. We find it in a

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117. Whatahoro 1915: 84; cf. Grey 1855: 72; White 1887a: 44; and others.
119. The same reason has been adduced from other peoples (the Eskimos), but then these peoples are not psychologists. On the other hand, some people (e.g. the Andamans; see Brown 1922: 241) will refer to a motive resembling the one proposed by me.
120. Grey 1855: 173.
small scene between Kahungunu and his father, while they are wandering together and hear the seagulls shrieking. Then Kahungunu says, “Father! You go on, but I shall return, I long (aroha) for the seagulls which shriek at the mouth of the Ngaruroro river.” But the Maori does not cultivate aroha. His poetry bears witness to that; only when he cannot escape from aroha, when it overwhels him—only then it finds an outlet in singing and tangi. Therefore he knows no lyrical poetry that is not passionate. We need only compare his poetry with Hawaii’s fine lyrical poetry about nature, with its cultivation of sentiment, in order to gauge the huge difference on this point, and really feel how distant all cultivation of sentiment is to the Maori. Aroha is so strong that nobody cares to admit it voluntarily; it extends too far beyond that which is imagined and understood by sentiment as the Hawaiian knows it. Aroha “bites wickedly” (ngau kino) and “consumes” (kai) in short, its victim is weakened (mate). The Maori’s attitude towards aroha so far is clear enough. If he has fallen a victim to it, he must try to get rid of it again. The rites over those who mourn the deceased also contian a mental-hygienic element. The mourner takes part in a rite beside the water which, amongst other things, is to “wash away aroha.” We may remind the reader of the woman who tried to drown herself because her husband had died. She did not succeed, but her “aroha for her husband ceased.” The two young men from Ngatimaru who were allowed to sing their last song before Hongi cut them down did not dwell on the bitterness of death, but they sang:

There is no skilled priest  
Who with rites beside the water  
Can put an end to  
My aroha.

These are but a few among numerous examples. They must suffice, for all these variations on the theme “I wish my aroha would cease” will hardly take us any farther.

123. White 1887c: 51.  
124. E.g. White 1888b: 39; Grey 1855: 40; Best 1925e: 312 (by Best).  
125. E.g. Shortland 1856: 183; Whatahoro 1913: 53; 71,  
129. Ngata 1929 no. 80 (several versions with translations have been grouped together in Andersen 1946: 32 ff.).  
130. Te Rauparaha cited in Smith 1909: 73; Best 1925e: 312; Grey 1855: 10; Grey 1853: 272, and others.
We can still say that the Maori is of sterling integrity. It is true that with *aroha* he has made a small concession to the possibility of a conflict in his mind, but only in the way that conflict and vacillation must to him be something transient, something which has no real place in man. Strictly we cannot know how many conflicts actually were in the Old-time Maori’s minds, but it may be said with certainty that the Maori would not allow them any place in his picture of life. Even the possibility admitted in respect of *aroha* by Maori culture was avoided by him to the best of his ability. A person with doubt and vacillation in his mind was to him an inferior and weak person. We owe to Gudgeon a story which illustrates this with luminous brightness:

Some thirteen generations past and gone, the chief Kapihoromanunga was the sole owner of a rock known as Tokamapuhia, the chief value of which was that it stood in fairly deep water, and was a convenient place whereon to stand and catch the fish called kahawai. Now this rock was also coveted by his younger brother Tautini, and he in order to establish a right over the rock, took possession of it early one morning and began to catch fish. While thus engaged he was observed by his brother Kapi, who did not at once recognize the intruder, but none the less resolved to kill him whoever he might prove to be. On his way to carry out this very proper resolution he met one of his followers, and asked who it was that dared to fish from the flat surface of Tokamapuhia. The man replied, ‘It is your brother Tautini.’ Then Kapi hesitated, for like all weak men he began to conjure up possibilities, and it occurred to him that perhaps their father Kahukuranui had instigated Tautini to take this action in order to deprive Kapi of his *mana*. With this doubt in his mind he went to the old man and asked him whether he had urged his brother to seize the rock. The reply he received was hardly satisfactory, but it was at least characteristic of the Maori. ‘As you have not killed your brother, and avenged his trespass and insult, you had better remain here and grow food for him!’ Such indeed was the result of Kapi’s forbearance, for from that time forth Tautini took the position of elder brother, and governed the tribe, the elder brother having shown that he lacked the decision of character, which would alone enable the tribe to hold its own in troublous times.131

*The Spirit: Wairua.*

Besides the aspects of mental life which we have mustered so far there is still one left which we have separated from the rest because it not only rounds off the picture of the Maori which is already familiar to us, but also presents us with new problems of fundamental importance for our understanding of his culture and in particular of his religion. This aspect of his mental life is *wairua,*

131. Gudgeon 1905: 62
“the spirit.”

It seems as if wairua can be used in almost the same way as ngakau, but instances of this are few and in part of a doubtful character. A woman tells how she fell in love with her husband as she saw his gift of victory in fight: “only then my wairua became quite weak (he) towards him.” According to another text in White some ritual formulas are used in the sacral school which are to make the pupils’ wairuas yearn for the sacred traditions and have a desire to learn them. It is, however, a text which is not very reassuring. Finally, there are in Best some lines spoken by one of his informants, who expresses his interest in the collecting of songs in these words: “My wairua is very intent on this work that it may be well done.” But because of the character of the Maori text this can hardly be taken into consideration. “Ka nui taku wairua ki runga i tenei take” seems to have been copied from the pattern of English: (intent) on: ki runga i, which certainly has an unidiomatic ring, and take may be English task.

Out of these sparse examples we hardly dare to reckon with any but the first one which thus becomes so isolated as to be scarcely worth discussing; for the instance quoted stands quite alone because wairua otherwise never receives its impressions by the normal way of the senses.

In continuation of these instances we shall now pursue the nature of wairua as experienced from within. The most conspicuous feature then is that wairua is the part of man which dreams. If somebody dreams that he is threatened it means that his wairua actually experiences this. The same is the case if a person dreams of deceased people; it means that his wairua sees the wairuas of the deceased.

Dreams thus are real. Sometimes the reality is quite simple. When Taraitu’s idol had been stolen he one night dreamt that it had returned, and indeed, so it was when he awoke. Ihenga every night was taught ritual words by his father’s “spirit.” We may venture to believe that “spirit” stands for wairua.

Otherwise it is the exception when dreams in this way can be compared with experiences in the waking state; they are indeed real, but still in a peculiar

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132. White 1888a: 150.
133. White 1887a: 8.
136. Best 1900a: 180.
137. White 1887c: 114.
way, which to a certain degree is inherent in the concept of *wairua* itself. The word has in it a ring of something fleeting. During some negotiations about the sale of a piece of land where gold might be dug, the chief set fern-root—thus an article of food—against the gold-dust and said about the latter: “Who cares for that which you have got there, which looks so *wairua*-like? (*e kitea wairua-tia na*).”

When friends who are separated from one another console themselves with the fact that their *wairuas* can see each other, this indeed involves a clear distinction from ordinary palpable reality.

To this corresponds the fact that dreams should normally be interpreted, since the dreaming experience has its proper reality in being an omen. If the Maori dreams of a deceased person, the decisive thing is whether his *wairua* is caught by the deceased or escapes, for the former outcome is naturally an ill omen, the latter is a good one. This is but one among many instances; but it is characterized by its intelligibility. In many, perhaps most cases the relation between dream and omen is unintelligible and seems rather arbitrary, often topsy-turvy.

This fact does not shake the reality of the dream; it is really the *wairua* which roams and experiences these things; therefore the Maoris always wake one another cautiously in order that the *wairua* can get home in time. The dream is real, but moves on another plane than that of everyday life, as indeed appears from the fact that one may see deceased people’s *wairua* in one’s dreams, a gift which is not otherwise allotted to ordinary people.

Previously great importance has been attached to primitive man’s view of the dream as a reason for his animism. It will be more prudent not to make any statement as to what comes first or last, what is cause or effect, and content oneself with placing this feature in our whole picture of the Maori.

It is quite rational to refer the dreams to elements which are found in the individual beforehand when one belongs to a culture like that of Europe, in which the individual is the fundamental element and every community an association of individuals. The Maori is without this basis; he does not, as the individual does, receive his whole surrounding world through his senses so that he is necessarily thrown back upon himself when these, e.g. through sleep, are set aside. The Maori experiences himself as an individual development of a fellowship in which his own position is determined, as we have

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139. Davis 1855: 148.
140. Best 1922a: 8; 11.
141. Best 1900a: 182.
142. Full lists of omens from dreams are found in Best 1898a: 124 ff.; Tregear 1926: 208 f., and Taylor 1870: 333 ff.
seen, by *mana*, i.e. at the same time his contribution to and his share in the fellowship. But existence is furthermore criss-crossed by more irregular influences, thus, e.g., *aitua* expresses an interference by extraneous life which disturbs his own normal life.

If we see the *wairua* in this world of the Maori we understand that it is the organ of an influence which is quite rational from his basic experiences by representing his relation to the surrounding world in definite situations. During a journey *Te Rauparaha* and *Te Pehi* had arrived at the fortress Kaiapohia, into which *Te Pehi* was invited. *Te Rauparaha* warned him, saying: “Be careful when you enter the fortress in order that you shall not be killed. I have had an *aitua*; I had a bad dream last night.” But—it says—“what did he (viz. *Te Pehi*) care that his *wairua* was taken by death?” He entered the fortress, forgot to be cautious and was killed by treachery.  

We have previously mentioned and need not in this place dwell on the way in which the fellowship is an actual background to the fact that *Te Rauparaha* and not *Te Pehi* had the warning dream—a number of omens in dreams do not directly concern the dreamer. The passage is of interest here because it shows in which way the dream has reality; for its events are, at any rate, reality to the *wairua*; it is the *wairua* which *has already been taken* by death (*kua riro ke te wairua i te mate*). The importance for the ordinary waking existence is in the fact that thus *Te Pehi* has communicated with the realm of death; an extraneous influence has obtained power in his life; in short, there is an *aitua*.

The *wairua* is simply the organ for such influences. Best writes: “In travelling at night should a native commence singing, that is an evil omen and is termed *tupaee*. The *wairua* of the singer has detected some misfortune or disaster approaching the body which shelters it. The singer knows nothing of the coming death or trouble, he cannot perceive it, but his *wairua* knows all about it, and thus prompts him to sing at night. This is one way that the *wairua* has of showing that danger exists for the body.”  

We need only the addition that the *wairua*—as we have seen—knows these dangers because it is itself engaged in them and a victim to them.

We get an impression as to what dangers threaten the *wairua* when we see how one behaves towards other people’s *wairua*, and how the *wairua* is experienced from without. It is interesting that we have a parallel to the situation just mentioned, viz. in a scene in which Puhihuia goes to fetch water by night and sings on the way “in order to encourage herself with her voice lest

144.  White 1890: 30.  
145.  Best 1900a: 180.
she should be haunted by wairus (kei pokea e te wairua).”\(^{146}\) In this tribe (Ngatikahukoka) singing by night is not, as in the case mentioned above (from Tuhoe?), an omen, but a preventive measure. The passage, like the dream of deceased persons’ wairua, shows that one of the threatening dangers is injury from other wairus.

The wairua appears in various ritual situations. In a rite which is to expose a thief and in which a connecting link (hau) between him and the ritual is present, the priest sees the thief’s wairua.\(^{147}\) Something like this happens when a man has left his wife for another woman’s sake. His wife then has a rite performed in which her husband’s wairua appears and is told to return home. Such rites are performed in the morning or the evening for the characteristic reason that the wairua is not so easy to get hold of by day.\(^{148}\)

Where is the wairua then by day? It is difficult to localize this capricious being; but presumably it is near its owner, for during certain “strong” rites it is necessary that all unauthorized persons should keep indoors in order that their wairua should not go to the place where the rite is taking place and be injured by the priest’s ritual formulas.\(^{149}\) On other occasions one gets an impression that the wairua may be almost anywhere by day.

In rituals which are to hurt enemies one of the main points is to catch their wairuas. The procedure may be that of digging a hole in the ground and amid the recital of many ritual formulas scraping the enemy wairuas into this hole, te rua o te ngana, “the cave of wrath,” by means of a shell.\(^{150}\) It was customary a battle was to take place. From Ngaitahu originates a description in which a calabash replaces the hole in the ground. The wairuas of the whole enemy army are whirled into the calabash.\(^{151}\) Best gives information about a different method (from Tuhoe?) by which the enemy wairuas are manipulated into a fire and destroyed there.\(^{152}\)

We have seen above (p. 86) that prior to the open fight there is a hidden one in which the important thing is to possess oneself of the enemy’s mana—to force one’s life into them in order during the fight to be able to defeat them also from within. It is evident that something similar happens in the rites in which one conquers the enemy’s wairua. The same reality is conceived with

\(^{146}\) White 1888a: 123.
\(^{147}\) Best 1922a: 13; cf. Shortland 1882: 34.
\(^{148}\) Best 1900a: 186.
\(^{149}\) Best 1900a: 189.
\(^{150}\) Grey 1855: 74 f.
\(^{151}\) White 1887c: 111.
\(^{152}\) Best 1900a: 181 (Best).
different notions. In the same way aitia and wairua may be used to express the same thing viz. that life is polluted. It is evident that the wairua does not cover any of these concepts, but it may be useful to view them in relation to one another. The wairua is first of all associated with man as long as he is alive, while mana can be captured and be lost, and aitia is in itself an abnormal phenomenon even though everybody is to die. Both mana and aitia describe a state. This state may be changed, mana can be taken, aitia can be vanquished. These changes are ascertained in mana and aitia: the change itself as a factor cannot be described in a plastic and clear picture by these words. The change itself is a dramatic situation, but the characters of the drama are not mana and only exceptionally Aitia, personified; the performers are human beings and things, but if man is not present in person his wairua—as we have seen—is one of the dramatis personae. Without wanting to make any statement as to the origin of the concept of wairua it can no doubt be established that it actually corresponds to a profound need for seeing the events of existence as dramatic situations between more or less clearly formed characters. The wairua moves, sees and hears, flees before or is caught by other wairuas, appears at the rites, is scraped into the calabash, etc., all of them plastically clear situations. Ordinary living humans can come to grips with the wairuas of deceased people, as in the case of Tarewai; he got the better of them and the next day the killed wairuas lay in the shape of reperepe moana nui, elephant fish (7).

This event, for that matter, shows how material wairuas are even if they possess much greater volatility than the body. A really immaterial spirit was probably completely beyond the Old-time Maori’s imagination, but it will hardly pay to attempt a more detailed characterization of the “physical and chemical” properties of the wairua.

The wairua thus expresses the Maori’s intimate relationship to the surrounding world, not the state of the relationship as such but as it stands out in definite situations. It exists all the time, but only manifests itself in situations and thus in a concrete way illustrates an aspect of the Maori’s fellowship with the surrounding world. It shows us one of the ways in which he views his fundamental experience of extending beyond the body, of having an “I” the boundaries of which are so far-flung that they may embrace a whole tribe, with its country and universe. It is not the state of the I ranging wide which is expressed in wairua, but the situations in which the individual relations focus events.

We may to the previous examples add a few which have not been adduced from ritual situations. The wairua is also involved in the tense

situation in which a person in a state of unrequited love finds himself. The fact that thoughts of the beloved one constantly force themselves upon him and cannot be turned away is an “objective” phenomenon and caused by the beloved one’s *wairua*. The betrayed person sings:

> Leave off, *wairua*, visiting me!\(^{154}\)

Another describes his state like this:

> Again and again the beloved one’s *wairua* returns
> In order to embrace my skin, shadow-like.\(^{155}\)

Whether in a dream or not does not appear from these songs; nor does it appear from the following scene in which Ponehu of Ngatitoa takes leave of Kawhia and thinks of the new land they are to take in the south and of the groves there with *huia* birds:

> I come as a *wairua* to the *huia* groves,
> Those of the Tararua mountains down south.\(^{156}\)

We have some disconnected pieces of evidence that it is possible to mention the *wairua* of things. If it is something lost, the meaning may be that *wairua* stands for the memory-picture and this is probably the idea in a lament for a capsized canoe.\(^{157}\) In other cases the interpretation is more difficult. A song (*tau*) begins like this:

> I seek the *wairua* of the dandelion,
> Yes, of the dandelion,
> Which presses against the ground—
> For food.\(^{158}\)

Best has heard a similar use of the word; he writes: “When camped with us in a survey camp...the fare consisted of bacon and biscuit, old Patini one day announced his intention of visiting a native village in the valley...: ‘That I may see the *wairua* of the potato.’”\(^{159}\)

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156. Grey 1853: 148 – Ponehe in Smith 1909: 73. The following lines make it probable that the singer is the subject and that a *ki* should be supplied before *motu-huia*; cf. Percy Smith’s translation in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.
157. Ngata 1929 no. 27.
158. Grey 1853: 141.
159. Best 1900a: 179.
Does it mean that he wants to see potatoes? We may perhaps find a comment on such passages in an answer given to Best by an old, learned Maori when he asked him: “Do the lower animals, trees, and stones possess a wairua?” The old man picked up a stone from the ground, and replied: “All things possess a wairua, otherwise they could not exist. Matter cannot exist without such a principle. This is undeniable. Were this stone not possessed of a wairua, then it could not be seen by you; it could not exist, it would disintegrate and disappear.”

We notice that a wairua is partly necessary for the existence of things, partly a condition that they can be seen. The last aspect is of particular interest in this connection and might be understood in the way that the wairua is simply an expression of the relationship to the surrounding world and not only in particular situations. Unfortunately the little we hear about this matter is of a late date; the philosophical and abstract tone of the explanation does not seem very convincing, either. Apparently the assertion is given some support in a remark by Te Matorohanga: “All things that I have previously mentioned (i.e. earth, water, fire, trees, plants, the wind, sun, moon, star, etc.) have a wairua; the wairua of each thing corresponds to (resembles) its appearance.”

The matter, however, does not become clearer by the fact that one of Te Matorohanga’s listeners soon after breaks in with a doubt whether all this is really true; we do not even learn whether this doubt includes the sentence quoted. It seems rather certain that in (certain) sacral schools there were esoteric priestly doctrines; perhaps a special theory of spirits was an element of these. It is, however, hardly possible to come to any definite conclusion on these questions. These special doctrines therefore should not influence our picture of the wairua and its character determined by the situation as will be further corroborated in what follows.

The relationship between the wairua and the body is not very clearly defined by the Maori. During sleep the wairua roams; when man is awake, the question is left a little indefinite for the simple reason that the wairua is not experienced from within, but only by others, so that the place of the wairua is to some degree determined by the situation. There is, however, a situation in which the relationship to the body is particularly in the foreground, viz. one’s deathbed.

In the Lore of the Whare-Wananga, we are told that when death approaches, the wairua goes away in order to visit the relatives; then it goes to the realm of the dead. The decisive question now is whether it is accepted there, for then death

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160. Best 1913, no. 57.
has supervened; otherwise it is returned, which means that life is continued.  

Thus there is a possibility of a certain drama about the sickbed. Best refers to a remark which suggests this: “The sick person desired a certain food, (when obtained) then the wairua ora a entered him.” The subject is expanded considerably in a couple of legends in which the wairuas of the deceased persons have been fetched from the realm of the dead, brought back, put above or beside the dead body and then enter this so that life returns. The journeys to the realm of the dead are of course fitted out with fantastic traits. But these are exceptions; generally nothing else happens than that the wairua of the dying person definitively leaves the body when death supervenes.

Man dies, but the wairua lives. In this we find and a supplement to previously acquired knowledge, that the individual I dies, but the kinship I survives. Indeed, the wairua together with mana expresses the fellowship with the surrounding world; its content therefore extends far beyond the individual. So it is quite consistent that the wairua survives, just as mana endures.

The relationship between the survivors and the deceased person’s wairua now becomes of special interest; we shall see that it contains a peculiar, even if not unintelligible duality.

Without entering in more detail into the rituals associated with death, we must in this connexion mention that there are ritual formulas which aim at sending the wairua away for good. One of them runs as follows:

Farewell, O my child! Do not grieve; do not weep; do not feel love for us; do not yearn for your parents left by you in the world. Go ye for ever. Farewell for ever.

When somewhere mention is made of “a karakia... also for the wairua in order that it may go direct to the realm of the dead,” this must refer to something similar.

Best mentions a post or slab, tuapa, which is erected after a funeral, and says, “This slab seems to have in some way represented the wairua of the deceased. The object was to lay the ghost of the dead person, to prevent his spirit from returning to afflict the living.”

163. Whatahoro 1913: 46, 71.
164. Best 1900a: 179; cf. Tregear 1926: 22; 420.
166. White 1887a: 146.
167. Best 1922a: 12.
These rituals bear witness to fear of the *wairuas* of the dead, and we actually hear that people who have inadvertently sought shelter for the night in old grave caves have fled away because they heard the dead singing.\(^{170}\) The Maori who has eaten a relative has particularly good reasons for fear, for the dead man’s *wairua* will turn against him.\(^{171}\) In other cases, special rituals are performed in order to make the *wairua* revenge the dead man,\(^{172}\) probably mainly if death is due to sorcery;\(^{173}\) or the survivors content themselves with making the *wairua* disclose the cause of death.\(^{174}\)

In all this there is no remarkable inconsistency; it is imaginable that the *wairuas* which infest the graves are such as have never been really correctly dispatched to the realm of the dead; but it is certainly a different matter whether the question has really been regarded in this way. One thing seems clear enough: the dead man’s *wairua* was feared.

The end of a lament over a dead chief, Pehitukorehu, goes very clearly against this:

\begin{quote}
You disappeared beyond Tongariro.  
May you speak (as) through the bills of the birds,  
And your *wairua* return to this world.\(^{175}\)
\end{quote}

These lines on the contrary wish the *wairua* of the dead man back, which no doubt refers to the not uncommon feature that a dead relative’s *wairua* speaks with a person as medium.\(^{176}\) Every medium among the Maoris is actually a spokesman of a *wairua*, whether that of a relative or not. We shall not enter more closely into this comprehensive subject, which amongst other things is connected with the question of the gods among the Maoris.

In other words, there is a striking duality in the living people’s relationship to the dead person’s *wairua*. We understand why. It is feared because it has death in it, and is searched for because it belongs to the kinship group (if this is so) and because as a *wairua* it has powers e.g. to give information in cases in which the senses fall short.

We have here an interesting piece of evidence of the particular importance of the situation. It is obvious that the dead man’s *wairua* can-

\(^{170}\) Best 1900a: 181.  
\(^{171}\) Best 1900a: 180.  
\(^{172}\) Best 1900a: 183; Best 1905a: 202.  
\(^{173}\) Best 1905a: 167.  
\(^{174}\) Best 1900a: 180.  
\(^{176}\) E.g. Best 1900a: 199; Best 1925b: 1070.
not be experienced from within; the significant thing is that it is not thought or viewed from within either. It represents the dead man in a situation, and the situation decides whether the wairua is feared or searched for. Nice and respectable relatives are sent ritually to the underworld, while at the same time the worst ruffians in the world of spirits, wairuas of still-born children, reveal themselves through mediums and become “gods.”

The importance of the situation stands out very clearly in the following piece of information which we owe to Best: “Priests or people versed in second sight (matakite or matatuhui), i.e. seers, sometimes saw a whole company of wairuas traversing space. Such a company was termed a tira maka or kahui atua and the object of their visiting this world was to acquaint living persons with the fact that some disaster or death itself was imminent. Priests would drive them away to avert the aitua (evil omen). It was a common thing for spirits of the dead to appear to their living relatives, in order to warn them of approaching war parties, or other evils.” It is impossible to find any reason in this as seen from the point of view of the wairuas: here they come considerately and warn against misfortunes, and in return they are chased away! But this is not the Maori’s point of view, either. The actual reality is aitua, interference by extraneous life which in this case originates from the realm of the dead; the wairua represents the dead and hence the interference; the situation gives them their character. From this point of view it is quite consistent to chase them away, for then aitua is actually averted, and a source of future misfortune stopped.

The living person’s wairua is kept close to him by being experienced from within, but the dead man’s wairua lacks such a natural fixed point. The element determined by the situation which is always an essential feature of the wairua, here involves a further vacillation in the question of the whereabouts of the wairua. Soon after death it often appears before relatives or call them—not only when they are asleep, but also in a waking state. The rituals which are to reveal the cause of death or egg on the wairua to take vengeance presuppose that it is attached to the dead body. Furthermore, the wairua moves about the place of death and the graves. In a legend, an ancestor’s Hape’s wairua is fetched by a lock of hair being taken from the dead body. We have also seen that the wairuas of the dead roam about in large crowds and when it is added that all kinds of queer sounds in the forests are referred to the same source the

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177. E.g. Te Rehu-o-Tainui: Best 1897: 41 ff.
178. Best 1900a: 182.
180. Best 1905a: 198; Best 1900a: 181.
181. Tamarau and Tutakangahan 1899: 50.
conclusion must be that the *wairua*s are very little localized. The only general statement that can be made about them only in part refers to the place; it is that everywhere night is their time and trackless regions are their favourite haunt.

All this is associated with the fact that the *wairuas* after death depart to the realm of the dead, concerning which see below; but this does not prevent them from infesting every place, or a Maori from advancing a theory that an ancestor’s *wairua* is introduced into the embryo at sexual intercourse in order to explain the resemblance between children and deceased relatives.\(^{182}\) He does not pass it off as but a private theory, but it does not occur to him to try to harmonize it with the other notions of *wairua*.

It is possible that all this might be systematized, but there are hardly any signs that the Maori himself did so. The reason is the simple one that he was not interested in the *wairua* as an individual being, but only in the “situation.” Whenever there is a situation in which the Maori for some reason is thinking of the dead he has also a possibility of becoming aware of a *wairua*. Best tells us that a small girl, *Marewa*, often visited him before she was carried away by an influenza epidemic. During the following period he was often addressed as Marewa’s *wairua*.\(^{183}\) The expression should of course be interpreted figuratively, but it is completely in keeping with the use of quite literal manifestations of *wairua*. It means that the people in question could not see Best without seeing Marewa before them as well.

As stated, the *wairua* goes also to one of the realms of the dead. According to what precedes there is nothing surprising in the fact that the time when it happened is kept rather indefinite, or that there were different opinions on this matter,\(^ {184}\) opinions which perhaps only arose at the moment when the European raised the question. In the *Lore of the Whare-Wananga*, we find a definite view, viz. that as long a time passed as that which passed between the birth of the individual and the moment when the umbilical cord was severed.\(^ {185}\) It looks somewhat artificial, but a note suggests that this time also determined the length of the time of mourning.\(^ {186}\) If so, it is simply the situation which again is decisive.

Sooner or later the *wairua* then departs. In the parting speech made to the deceased the speaker amongst other things says: “Farewell! Go to your

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182.  Best 1906a: 3.
183.  Best 1922a: 8.
184.  Best 1922a: 15.
185.  Whatahoro 1913: 72.
186.  Whatahoro 1913: 188 note 34.
ancestors!" \footnote{Best 1905a: 161.} A lament for the line:

We two shall meet as \textit{wairuas} down there. \footnote{Hongi 1893: 122.}

A person may say to a person with whom he is angry: "Now we shall part. We shall not see one another until our \textit{wairuas} meet in the realm of the dead." \footnote{Grey 1857: 102.} People who have escaped from the underworld can also tell that they have had a pathetic meeting (\textit{tangi}) with deceased relatives. \footnote{Shortland 1856: 152.} Thus it is true enough that people after death are gathered to their ancestors.

It is doubtful whether it is justifiable to ask how this can be reconciled with the fact that there are two realms of the dead. Probably these notions are not united in thought. In this connection the decisive thing is no doubt that \textit{wairua} expresses the participation of man in the surrounding world and therefore also expresses an aspect of the kinship \textit{I}.

The expression realm of the dead can perhaps be used rightly only about the underworld and it seems that according to the prevalent opinion all dead people go down there. \footnote{See e.g. Tregear 1891: s.v. Reinga.} This popular belief is to the effect that the deceased person’s \textit{wairua} goes up to the northern point of New Zealand, where it leaps down into the realm of the dead; it is called \textit{Te Reinga}, “the leaping-place,” a name which is often transferred to the whole realm of the dead. \footnote{Best 1905a: 231 f.; Shortland 1882: 47; Whatahoro 1913: 73.} Other names are \textit{Rarohenga} and \textit{Paerau}. The realm of the dead is not a dismal place. Many travelers who have returned from there report that it is pleasant there and that it is a bright and peaceful place. \footnote{Whatahoro 1913: 17; 69; 72. Best 1927d: 354.} (Some notions not in with this may be understood as a projection of ritual situations at the \textit{turuma}, the village latrine). There is hardly any reason to dwell on details.

According to another and more exclusive tradition the \textit{wairua} goes to a house, \textit{Hawaiki-nui}, in a distant country, Irihia, and from there either to the underworld or to heaven in accordance with one’s inclinations. \footnote{Whatahoro 1913: 46.} When Nepia Pohuhu is alone in letting the evil \textit{wairuas} go to the underworld but the good ones to heaven, it is due to inspiration from Christianity and only means that he should be used with caution.
The wairua thus can also go to heaven. Even though this version is found only among the Ngatikahungunu (perhaps with the adjoining tribes), the same belief in another garb may be found elsewhere. We have direct and indirect evidence that a few dead persons go to heaven to Tawhaki.\footnote{196}

The background of these two realms of the dead (if this expression can be used about heaven) is of course the previously mentioned dualism. The wairua is in the underworld because it has death in it. But here, too, the situation makes itself felt, viz. the one in which the dead person’s wairua portends evil, thus is an aitia. The connection between this situation and the underworld is brought out clearly in a remark by Nepia Pohuhu. Having related how Tane’s daughter and wife fled to the underworld and there wanted to draw the spirits of the dead down to them, he continues: “this is why the wairuas are kept alive, and therefore the wairuas of (dead) human beings wander about, speak, and show signs of death to this world.”\footnote{197}

The wairuas who are in Heaven are ancestors without regard to death; they have the divine nature of Heaven in them. A closer investigation shows that this realm of the dead, too, is a projection of a situation, viz. the one that a deified ancestor reveals himself through a medium.

The situation thus in every case is decisive of the experience of the wairua. The changing pictures of wairua shown to us perhaps are not always conflicting, or might to some degree be harmonized; but the core of the matter would rather seem to be that such a consistency from the point of view of the wairua does not interest the Maori very much from the moment when the body dies.\footnote{198} The picture is built up on the living person’s changing relationship to the wairua, while the idea of the wairua as a future state of existence for the individual does not assert itself to any essential degree. This is in agreement with the fact that the Maori takes his own death very calmly—rather apathetically.\footnote{199}

On this background we also understand how there can be such an inconsistency in the view of manawa that the Maori partly lets manawa depart by death, partly stay as the heart (p. 228). Even though the manawa is not determined by the situation as the wairua, there is a clear parallel: from the moment when death has supervened, the inner experience of both disappears, and hence a free rein is given to a split-up of their original unity.

\footnote{196. Davis 1855: 76 note; Shortland 1882: 44; Ngata 1929 no. 172; cf. Taylor 1870: 220.}
\footnote{197. Whatahoro 1913: 39; cf. Best 1924a: 248.}
\footnote{198. Cf. Best 1905a: 234 and Wohlers 1847: 111.}
\footnote{199. Best 1905a: 156 f.}