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**DEFROSTING CHRISTMAS: LOCATING THE LITURGICAL YEAR IN
AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND**

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A thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration of Authorship and Sources

This thesis contains no material that has been extracted in whole or in part from a thesis that I have submitted towards the award of any other degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

Signed

Date

Statement of Appreciation

He hōnore, he korōria ki te Atua, he maungārongo ki te whenua. He whakaaro pai ki ngā tāngata katoa. Honour and glory to God, peace on earth, goodwill to all people.

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I thank especially Fr John Weir SM and the late Dr Mike Riddell, foremost experts on James K. Baxter for their encouragement. I thank Rosemary McBryde for her skilful proofreading.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my family; through the generations from my ancestors who came to Aotearoa New Zealand from Scotland, England, Canada and Ireland, to my children, who have taught and continue teaching me how to celebrate the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi engari he toa takitini.

I come not with my own strengths but bring with me the gifts, talents and strengths of my family, community, and ancestors.

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Abstract

The northern hemisphere-focussed liturgical calendar is uncomfortably dislocated in Aotearoa New Zealand on account of inverted seasonal conditions and unique geography which diverge from the calendar's contextual origins. Inculturation of the liturgical year into Aotearoa New Zealand is essential in order to weave the northern hemisphere-formed Christian cycle of feasts and seasons into harmony with the natural world as experienced by New Zealanders, and thus to enable them better to make sense of the incarnation and its salvific message in their time and in their place.

Utilising appropriately applied insights from *mātauranga Māori* (knowledge of indigenous New Zealanders) and *mātauranga Pākehā* (knowledge of non-indigenous New Zealanders)¹, this thesis proposes to assist the Aotearoa New Zealand church to ground celebration of the liturgical year in the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

In addressing the problem of a dissonant liturgical year, this thesis considers Māori and European calendars, examines theologies of place pertinent to Aotearoa New Zealand and offers some steps toward an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place in order to undergird inculturation of the liturgical year.

Taking a methodological lead from the work of poet-theologian James K. Baxter, this thesis proposes that adequate inculturation of the liturgical calendar for the Aotearoa New Zealand church can only take place by deepening *mātauranga Pākehā* which entails being guided by *te whenua*/the land (Creation as experienced in Aotearoa New Zealand), *te tangata whenua* /the people of the land (wisdom from Māori people) and constant connection with *te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu* /the one Holy Church.²

¹ See page 19 for discussion on the word Pākehā.

² *Te Whakapono o Naihia*/Nicene Creed, Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, *A New Zealand PrayerBook/He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* (Auckland: Collins, 1989), 495.

After analysing various methodologies of inculturation (from Aotearoa New Zealand and elsewhere) and concluding that the methods of Filipino liturgical theologian Anscar Chupungco OSB are most effective for addressing the question of how to inculturate the liturgical year into Aotearoa New Zealand's seasons, this thesis seeks to find a balance between localised expressions of faith and universal ecclesial understandings. Application of Chupungco's method demonstrates that there is a way to detach observance of Christmas from northern hemisphere accoutrements and mindsets.

Engaging in a case study of *Matariki* (a traditional Māori midwinter festival) enables exploration of how its themes can be interwoven with existing themes from the Christian liturgical year as explicated in four possible Matariki liturgies.

Defrosting Christmas, and inculturating the liturgical year so that the seasons of Aotearoa New Zealand harmonise with those of the universal church is possible, and this thesis asserts that there is an urgency for the work of liturgical inculturation to be undertaken in order for the people of Aotearoa New Zealand to receive the Gospel more deeply in their time and their place.

Glossary of Māori words used

A note on Māori orthography

In this thesis, the 2012 guidelines for Māori language orthography promulgated by *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori*/Māori Language Commission³ have been followed. The indigenous people of southern Aotearoa New Zealand are named either *Kāi Tahu* or *Ngāi Tahu*. This thesis will use the ‘K’ version preferred in the far south of *Te Wai Pounamu*/the South Island.

Aotearoa	New Zealand, often translated as “The land of the long white cloud”
Ariki	Lord
Aroha	Love
Atua	God, gods
Hāhi	Church
Hākui	Mother/form of address to a female elder
Harakeke	Flax
Hēhu	Jesus (Roman Catholic)
Hīkoi	Journey/pilgrimage
Hiruhārama	Jerusalem
Hui	Gathering, meeting
Īhu	Jesus (non-Roman Catholic)
Ika a Māui	North Island, lit. fish of (demigod) Māui
Iwi	Tribe, kinship group
Kahuru	Autumn

³ Te Taura whiri o te Reo Māori/The Māori Language Commission, *Guidelines for Māori Language Orthography*, 2012, accessed 20/6/23, https://assets.nationbuilder.com/tetaurawhiri/pages/27659/attachments/original/1644789635/Guidelines_for_Maori_Language_Orthography.pdf?1644789635. The first instance of a Māori word will be italicised, subsequent uses will not be italicised. Dates will appear in day/month/year format.

Kāi Tahu/Ngāi Tahu	Indigenous people of southern New Zealand
Kaika/kainga	Settlement
Kaitiaki	Guardian
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship
Kākā	Large forest dwelling parrots
Kanakana	Lamprey
Karaiti	Christ
Karakia	Prayer
Katorika	Roman Catholic
Kaupapa	Principles/agenda
Kawakawa	Herbaceous shrub
Kererū	Wood pigeon
Kete	Basket
Kia ora	Greeting/thank you
Kōrero	Speak, discuss
Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu	One Holy Church
Kōtukutuku	Tree fuchsia
Kūmara	Sweet potato
Kupu	Word
Mahinga kai/mahika kai	Food gathering
Makariri	Cold/Winter
Mana	Prestige
Māori	Indigenous New Zealander
Marae	Traditional meeting places (including buildings and surrounding area)
Maramataka	Calendar(s)

Matakite	Seer
Matariki	Pleiades constellation, and the Midwinter festival related to their heliacal setting and rising
Mātauranga	Knowledge
Mātauranga Māori	Indigenous New Zealander knowledge
Mātauranga Pākehā	Non-indigenous New Zealander knowledge
Mihi	Introductory greetings/thanks
Mihinare	Anglican, lit. missionary
Mōkai	slave, Baxter uses this for marginalised people
Moko kauae	Māori women's chin tatoos
Murihiku	Southland region of Aotearoa New Zealand
Ngā	The plural
Ngāti/Ngāi/Kāi	Prefix to tribal name e.g., Ngāti Kahungunu
Noa	Ordinary, unrestricted
Nui	Great, big
Otago ⁴	A southern region of Aotearoa New Zealand
Pā	Fortified settlement
Pā	Father, title used for a male priest
Paipera	Bible
Pākehā	Non-indigenous New Zealander
Pare kawakawa	Wreath worn on the head by mourners
Pōhutukawa	Northern Aotearoa New Zealand tree, flowers in Advent and Christmas seasons
Pono	Truth

⁴ In standard Māori the letter 'g' only appears with n as in ngā, 'l' is not used. Some place names in Otago region have non-standard spelling such as Wangaloa and Otago instead of Whangaroa and Ōtākou, see Ray Harlow, *Otago's first book: The Distinctive Dialect of Southern Māori* (Dunedin: Otago Heritage, 1994).

Pora	Ship
Pūkana	Stare wildly
Rata	Southern Aotearoa New Zealand tree, flowers in Christmas season
Reo	Language
Reo Māori	Māori language
Rongoā	Traditional Māori medicine
Tā moko	Tattoo
Tangata/takata	People
Tangata whenua	People of the land/indigenous people
Tangihanga	Funeral rites
Taonga	Treasure
Tapu	Sacred/forbidden
Te	The
Tēnei	This
Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa)	Museum of New Zealand
Tika	Right order, right response
Tikanga	Methodology/Way of doing things
Tino rangatiratanga	Autonomy/sovereignty
Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi (1840 agreement between British Crown and some Māori chiefs)
Tititea	Mount Aspiring
Tohi ceremony	Dedication of a child to a god
Tohu	Signs
Tohunga	Spiritual specialists
Tūā	Child's naming rite
Tukutuku	Ornamental lattice-work, used particularly in meeting houses

Tūrangawaewae	Place to stand
Rawiri	Book of Common Prayer, lit. The David, since the Psalms of David were printed with the Book of Common Prayer
Wāhi/waahi	Place
Wahine	Woman
Waiata	Song
Wairua	Spirit
Wai Pounamu	South Island, lit. place of Jade
Whaea	Mother
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakarongo	Listen
Whakataukī	Saying/proverb
Whānau	Family
Whaowhia	Put into, fill
Whare	house
Whenua	Land, placenta
Wiriwiri	Shake



Illustration 1: Hākui Meri Tapu o Ōwheo, (Holy Mother Mary of Ōwheo) sculpture by Rongomai-Tawhiti Parata-Taiapa in All Saints' Church Dunedin.

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Introduction: How to defrost Christmas?

i. Setting the scene

Jesus was born in the middle of summer.⁵ Jarring though this statement may be for northern hemisphere readers, this is the reality for those living in the earth's equatorial regions and the southern hemisphere. On one hand, celebrating the birth of Jesus in the middle of summer makes perfect sense, but little has been done to recognise formally and make sense of this summer nativity even though so many sensible theological interpretations are possible. On the other hand, problems continue to arise when the culture and expectations of winter inherited from the northern hemisphere are projected onto Christmas in Aotearoa (and other southern hemisphere cultures) and collide with Aotearoa local seasonal realities.

Leo Koziol (Ngāti Rakaipaaka and Ngāti Kahungunu tribes), a writer and film producer, wrote in 2003:

Aotearoa New Zealand today is stuck with the trappings of European northern hemisphere culture in a place down under and back-to-front. Our holidays all celebrate the wrong things at the wrong time. Christmas in the sand (not snow), New Year's at the peak of summer (not winter), Easter as the leaves start to turn (and the bunnies start contemplating hibernation).⁶

In 2020, Pākehā journalist Chris Trotter reflecting on the fact that it is no accident that Easter is celebrated in the northern hemisphere's Spring wrote:

Except that down here, at the bottom of the world, it's all wrong. Our festivals are hemispherically out of sync with the ever-turning earth. Christmas is marked after the summer solstice, as the days grow shorter-not longer. The Easter resurrection falls in autumn, the season of culmination and decline. Winter's harbinger. The dying year's herald.

Unsurprisingly, as the decades have rolled over this lonely colonial outpost, the experiential core of our festivals has faded. Inevitably, their meaning has been forgotten. We

⁵ It was summer in Aotearoa on the date in December when it is asserted that Jesus was born. Pope Benedict XVI, in the general audience of December 23, 2009, said: "the first to clearly state that Jesus was born on December 25th was Hippolytus of Rome, in his commentary on the Book of the Prophet Daniel, written about 204". Benedict XVI, General Audience, 23/12/09, accessed 20/6/23, https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/audiences/2009/documents/hf_ben-xvi_aud_20091223.html.

⁶ Leo Koziol, "The Matariki Long Weekend," *Scoop*, 20/6/03, accessed 4/9/22, <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/HL0306/S00148.htm>.

Pākehā like to think of ourselves as modern and secular and progressive. In other eyes, however, we have become the sad, spiritually-barren, cultural amnesiacs of the South Pacific.⁷

Although Trotter may be thinking about New Zealanders not actively engaged with the church, he rightly observes that traditional Christian festivals are in need of grounding in Aotearoa New Zealand's context, but he wrongly observes that Aotearoa New Zealand festivals are hemispherically out of sync with the ever-turning earth. There is nothing wrong with the festivals themselves, or with the turning of the earth; the problem is New Zealanders continuing to connect Christmas with winter.

When one of Aotearoa New Zealand's most famous singers Kiri Te Kanawa (Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Porou tribes) moved back to Aotearoa New Zealand during Covid-19 to be close to family, she admitted there was one thing she couldn't give up – a winter Christmas. Dame Kiri said: "There will be turkey, duck and Christmas pudding. I want a cold Christmas – I just couldn't do a hot Christmas."⁸ Te Kanawa illustrates the problem many New Zealanders have with the liturgical year: a liturgical schema formulated in the northern hemisphere and brought to Aotearoa New Zealand centuries ago has not taken root in the seasons of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Anscar J. Chupungco wrote:

The principal forms for celebrating the liturgical feasts are the mass and the liturgy of the hours. Through the liturgical texts, symbols, and rites performed at the appointed time, the mystery of Christ is unfolded, breaks into time, and enters into our culture and traditions. The basic consideration is how those elements of the liturgical year that originated in the milieu of the northern hemisphere could be reexpressed in the other regions of the earth in harmony with the cultural and seasonal experiences of the local churches.⁹

⁷ Chris Trotter, "Time to Begin Again," *Bowalley Road*, 11/9/20, accessed 21/6/23, <http://bowalleyroad.blogspot.com/2020/09/a-time-to-begin-again.html>.

⁸ Kiri Te Kanawa quoted in Rebecca Fox, "Focusing on the Next Generation of Singers," *Otago Daily Times*, 4/9/22, accessed 20/6/23, <https://www.odt.co.nz/entertainment/music/focusing-next-generation-singers>. (Otago Daily Times hereafter *ODT*.)

⁹ Anscar Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future: The Process and Methods of Inculturation* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 1982), 170.

It might have been expected that the liturgical year would have adapted and settled into the southern seasons since Christianity first came to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1814, but liturgical inculturation is still unresolved in Aotearoa New Zealand. James K. Baxter (1926-1972) noted:

Our pioneer fathers while laying waste to the bushland wiped out also the spiritual flora and fauna of Polynesian animism, and replaced it with, not as we might think, the highest humanist value and the seasonal ritual of the Church, but with Douglas Social Credit [a political party] and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.¹⁰

Whilst delivering the inaugural Hoani Parata lecture¹¹ in 2022, Wayne Te Kaawa (Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe tribes), lecturer in Māori Theology at the University of Otago, said: "The first thing Kupe¹² did when he arrived in Aotearoa was to gather the theologians to say the right prayers."¹³ The great Polynesian explorer and navigator understood immediately that being in the land he named Aotearoa¹⁴ necessitated adaptation and renewal of the worship traditions he brought with him. Kupe called for liturgical theologians to help discern the most appropriate prayers for the new context. This research seeks to continue the work of the religious thinkers Kupe commissioned to discern the appropriate liturgies for Aotearoa New Zealand and to inculturate celebration of the Christian liturgical year for Aotearoa New Zealand. The thesis will explore the problem of lack of inculturation of the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand, suggest ways to engage with the problem, and propose solutions. It commences with an outline of the research

¹⁰ James K. Baxter, *James K. Baxter Complete Prose Vol 1*, ed. John Weir (Wellington: Victoria University, 2015), 159.

¹¹ Hoani Parata (1881-1928), Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki, first Kāi Tahu deacon (1907) and priest (1908). Curate at: St. Paul's Dunedin, Naples, Cartagena, and Kennington, vicar of Riverton, chaplain to Māori Contingent 1917-19, vicar of Gore, canon of St Paul's Dunedin, vicar of Wakatipu, first Māori member of General Synod 1922-25.

¹² Legendary Polynesian navigator and explorer, Kupe is the first person identified as having discovered Aotearoa New Zealand. Numerous places around the country were named in his voyage. Kupe's discovery ensured that the country was on the Polynesian map and enabled Polynesian settlement from about 1000CE.

¹³ Wayne Te Kaawa, "Theo Aotearoa: Towards a theology that is Treaty-based and Treaty-driven" (Inaugural Hoani Parata Lecture, Dunedin, 10/6/22).

¹⁴ Aotearoa is the Māori name for New Zealand commonly understood to mean 'The land of the long white cloud'. The name was originally used only for Te Ika a Māui/North Island, the South Island being known as Te Wai Pounamu. In 2023, Aotearoa is widely used officially and in daily life by Māori and Pākehā to mean the whole country.

question, an explanation of its significance, and a summary of how the particular methodologies utilised will advance the claim of the thesis.

ii. A note on terminology employed in this thesis

There are many indigenous tribes and tribal traditions in Aotearoa New Zealand; often the term Māori is used for indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Whilst widely used by indigenous and non-indigenous people, the word Māori can be seen to imply that all indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand had/have the same traditions and culture. The term *mātauranga* Māori/Māori knowledge is currently much used in Aotearoa New Zealand. Whilst there is much that is shared between tribes, there is also much that is distinct, nuanced, and unique. The terms Māori and *mātauranga* Māori can imply a homogeneity amongst tribes that is untrue or absent; no disrespect for diversity is intended by using these terms.

Whilst indigenous people in southern Te Wai Pounamu named European newcomers Takata Pora “Boat People”¹⁵, the term Pākehā is used throughout Aotearoa New Zealand to refer to non-indigenous New Zealanders. Some non-indigenous New Zealanders have objected to the term, perceiving it to be disparaging and even asserting that it refers to pigs or fleas.¹⁶ However it is a widely used and accepted term of comparison and distinction which this thesis embraces as a unique name given by tangata whenua to non-indigenous New Zealanders, and as a name and description to be cherished.¹⁷ Just as Māori identities are rich in variety, so Pākehā identities are nuanced, and vary regionally. Anglican bishop and writer John Bluck notes: “Being Pākehā in Dunedin was a light year away from being Pākehā in Nūhaka, or even in Canterbury just up the road.”¹⁸ Using the term Pākehā

¹⁵ Takata Pora or 'ship people' is the first name we know of that Kāi Tahu gave non-Māori arrivals to Te Waipounamu. It is the binary to takata whenua (people of the land) and implies worldly or maritime associations. see Edward Shortland, *Southern Districts of New Zealand: A journal with passing notices of the customs of the aborigines* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851), 312.

¹⁶ Rawiri Taonui, “What's in a name? How 'Pākehā' became corrupted”, *Stuff*, 9/5/19, accessed 27/1/23, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/life-style/life/112533002/whats-in-a-name-how-pkeh-became-corrupted>.

¹⁷ On the word Pākehā see chapter 15 “Call me by my name” in John Bluck, *Becoming Pākehā* (Auckland: Harper Collins, 2022).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 79.

does not imply that all non-indigenous New Zealanders have the same identity; no disrespect for diversity is intended by using this term.

iii. Context and genesis of the research question

Elder of the Ngāti Wai tribe Hori Parata said: “When we came to Aotearoa we were Polynesian. The land made us Māori”.¹⁹ Supreme Court Justice Joe Williams (Ngāti Pūkenga) asserts that mātauranga Māori/Māori knowledge began in Polynesia, was brought to Aotearoa by Kupe and then was changed by the land, sea, birds, trees, and seasons of Aotearoa.²⁰ Over hundreds of years mātauranga Māori became uniquely shaped by Aotearoa.

It can be asserted that Pākehā were European when they came to Aotearoa, but the land, and Māori made them Pākehā. Pākehā are endemic to Aotearoa and, if they are open to it, can lean in to being shaped and formed by the land, sea, birds, trees, and seasons of Aotearoa, and by their relationship with Māori.²¹ The wisdom gained by Pākehā since Europeans started arriving in Aotearoa can be termed mātauranga Pākehā. Mātauranga Pākehā is a work in progress, still in need of formation, still needing to find the processes for Pākehā to belong and thrive authentically in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This research asserts that adequate inculturation of the liturgical calendar for the Aotearoa New Zealand church can only take place by deepening mātauranga Pākehā, which entails being

¹⁹ Kennedy Warne, “Awakenings: Encountering the Indigenous, Encountering the Earth,” in *Listening to the People of the Land: Christianity, Colonisation and the Path to Redemption* ed. Susan Healy (Auckland: Pax Christi Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019), 200.

²⁰ Joe Williams (the first Māori person appointed to the Supreme Court of New Zealand), interview by Kathryn Ryan, RNZ, Nine to Noon, 16/12/19, accessed 25/5/23, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/ninetoonoon/audio/2018727112/sir-joe-williams-once-i-realised-the-power-of-law-there-was-no-looking-back>.

²¹ Although Aotearoa New Zealand’s population is highly unchurched, and some New Zealanders seem allergic to anything religious or spiritual, and a diminishing minority of Pākehā perceive any reference to mātauranga Māori as an unpleasant imposition upon them; in general the vast majority of New Zealanders of all backgrounds are open to Māori tradition and spirituality. As can be seen in chapter seven, the enthusiastic reception of the Matariki festival by a wide spectrum of New Zealanders indicates that religion or lack of it, is no barrier to embracing mātauranga Māori.

guided by te whenua/the land (Creation as experienced in Aotearoa New Zealand), te tangata whenua /the people of the land (wisdom from Māori people) and constant connection with te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church.

This research project is a quest to find the mātauranga needed to inculturate the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand. Mātauranga Māori and mātauranga from the universal church are easily identifiable and are available to those seeking to inculturate the liturgical year. The mātauranga that is more elusive and undefined is mātauranga Pākehā.

This particular quest for the mātauranga to inculturate the liturgical year is written from the specific perspective of an Anglican priest from southern Aotearoa New Zealand, a descendant of European settlers²² who have interacted with Te Wai Pounamu/the South Island,²³ and the indigenous people, the Kāi Tahu tribe, since the 1850s.²⁴ The context of the question will be explained through the lens of the south of Te Wai Pounamu/the South Island.

The Gospel came to Te Wai Pounamu/the South Island at the invitation of Kāi Tahu elders:

In 1839, the Ōtākou chiefs, Karetai and Taiaroa were in Sydney [NSW] and they urged their claims for a Missionary and reasoned thus: - "Why should the people of the North Island have Missionaries and Churches and Schools, while we have none? What is good for the North Island is good for the South. Give us Missionaries and Churches and Schools. We desire our children to learn the Truths of Christianity. We want them to be able to read and write like the children in the North Island. We want our wives and daughters to cook and sew and care for the aged. Give us Missionaries and we will welcome them to our Kaikas [settlements]."²⁵

²² The author's ancestors emigrated from Scotland to Murihiku/Southland in the 1860s, from Scotland to Otago in the 1860s and from England to Waitaha/Canterbury from the 1850s.

²³ Murihiku/Southland is the southernmost part of Aotearoa New Zealand. It consists of the southwestern portion of Te Wai Pounamu/the South Island and the islands in Te Ara a Kiwa/Foveaux Strait, including the nation's third-largest island, Rakiura/Stewart Island.

²⁴ Māori have lived in the lower South Island for about 800 years. The earliest inhabitants were the Waitaha people, followed later by Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu tribes; over hundreds of years the groups intermarried and many Murihiku Māori today identify as one, two or a mixture of the three groups, as Kāi Tahu whānui. Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers: An ethnohistory of southern Māori AD 1650-1850* (Dunedin: University of Otago, 1998), 13. For detailed explanation of Māori history see: Atholl Anderson, *Te Ao Tawhito, The Old World 3000 BC-AD 1830: Tangata Whenua, an illustrated history, Part One* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 2018); and Judith Binney, Vincent O'Malley, Alan Ward *Te Ao Hou The New World 1820-1920 Tangata Whenua, an illustrated history, Part Two* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 2018).

²⁵ Thomas Pybus, *Ōtākau: A Story of Far-off Days by T.A.Pybus* (Auckland: Wesley Historical Society, 1941), 5.

Methodist minister Rev. James Watkin (1805-1886) came from England via Tonga, and was appointed to Waikouaiti, Otago, in May 1840, becoming the first resident missionary in Te Wai Pounamu; Catholic Bishop Jean Baptiste Pompallier (1801-1871) visited in November 1840; the next missionaries were the Anglicans Mātene Te Whiwhi (d.1881) and Tāmihana Te Rauparaha (1820-1876) who came to Te Wai Pounamu in 1843 from Ōtaki in Te Ika a Māui/the North Island. Pākehā missionaries brought the denominational and theological divisions of Europe with them.

Aotearoa New Zealand's founding document Te Tiriti o Waitangi /the Treaty of Waitangi was first signed by representatives of the British crown and over 500 Māori chiefs in the north of the North Island on 6 February 1840. Copies of the treaty were distributed to be signed by chiefs around the country. On 10 June 1840, Tūhawaiki, a paramount chief of Kāi Tahu, signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi aboard HMS *Herald* at Ruapuke Island off the south coast of Te Wai Pounamu. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed on 13 June 1840 at Otago Heads by Kāi Tahu chiefs Hone Karetai and Kōrako. As a result of the signing of the Treaty, organised European settlement of Te Wai Pounamu/the South Island began in 1848.

Following 'The Disruption'²⁶ of 1843 in the Church of Scotland, the Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland sought to establish a Scottish settlement; they chose southern Te Wai Pounamu, and the first settlers arrived in 1848. Its chief promoters planned for a purely Free Church colony, but this was not achieved, with only two-thirds of the initial group of immigrants being Presbyterian.²⁷ The Free Church of Scotland settlement was headquartered in Dunedin and included Otago and Murihiku/Southland. Bluck notes that on Te Pahure o te Raki Pohika/Signal Hill in Dunedin stands:

a monument dedicated to the gritty Scottish pioneers who founded the city, armed with grim-faced Calvinism to keep the settlement pure and undefiled. Two bronze figures, male

²⁶ This was when Evangelicals including hundreds of ministers left the established Church of Scotland over perceived interference in church matters by the state.

²⁷ *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 1966., s.v. "The Free Church Project", accessed 16/ 5/23, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/1966/otago-province-or-provincial-district/page-2>, (hereafter this web resource is referred to as *Te Ara* and weblinks to specific articles within it are not included in footnotes).

and female, hunker down, their faces turned into the southerlies that sweep up the harbour from the Antarctic. They make a stern and joyless couple. I wouldn't have known how to relate to them. And I wonder how well Māori did at the time.²⁸

European settlement in Te Wai Pounamu resulted in enormous changes to te whenua/the land, and for te tangata whenua/ the indigenous people.²⁹ Europeans destroyed ecosystems, introduced exotic plants and animals, and sought to make profit from natural resources. Following land purchases, many Kāi Tahu found themselves alienated from their traditional food sources and virtually landless. In 1849 Kāi Tahu leader Matiaha Tiramōrehu (d.1881) made the first formal statement of grievance about land purchases, asking the Crown to honour the terms of the land purchases. In 1985 the Crown agreed that by acquiring so much land for so little, and by allocating the tribe such a small area, that “the Crown had acted unconscionably and in repeated breach of the Treaty of Waitangi, and that consequently Ngāi Tahu suffered grave injustice over more than 140 years.”³⁰

Elements of the complex context out of which this research emerges include indigenous embrace of the Gospel, Pākehā importing various religious and cultural traditions and perceptions from Europe into Aotearoa New Zealand, competing Māori and Pākehā worldviews, and contrasting Pākehā and Māori understandings and relationships with Creation.

iv. Relationship with te whenua/the land

²⁸ Bluck, *Becoming Pākehā*, 81.

²⁹ In 1853 Walter Mantell (1820–1895), a government land purchase agent in Te Wai Pounamu/the South Island, completed the purchase of the Murihiku block (an area of 7 million acres) comprising the whole of the south-west portion of the South Island). Mantell promised to build schools and hospitals, but his promises were not fulfilled and Kāi Tahu were confined to living in reservations. See Anderson, 216. The land ‘reserved’ for Kāi Tahu was not enough for subsistence, the promised amenities were not built, and access to traditional food sources was blocked. Pākehā and Kāi Tahu understandings of sale of land were different; Kāi Tahu didn't realise that sale might mean exclusive use of the land. Anderson explains that: “Ngāi Tahu in the southern districts commonly assumed that they could still hunt in the forests and grasslands, and fish in the rivers and swamps on the land they had ‘sold’ – and for some years did so. But as Pākehā farmers fenced their land and drained the swamps and wetlands, these activities were curtailed. Many Ngāi Tahu found themselves in a desperate plight.” Anderson, *Te Ao Tawhito*, 248.

³⁰ Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu, *Te Kerēme- The Ngāi Tahu Claim*, no date, accessed 4/8/22, <https://www.kahurumanu.co.nz/cultural-mapping-story/te-kereme-the-ngai-tahu-claim>.

Murihiku/Southland in the 1860s was described as being “covered in beautiful heavy bush, with wood pigeons, *kākā* and all kinds of native birds”.³¹ Pākehā settlers in Murihiku/Southland and elsewhere, set about cutting down the bush, draining wetlands, destroying habitats, and dramatically altering the landscape to make it suitable for 19th century European farming methods.³² Settlers viewed the land in terms of its economic possibility – and actively destroyed ecosystems for economic benefit. This approach to the land by so many Pākehā settlers lasted for generations and inculcated a consumerist vision of Creation that enabled a conceptual divorce between the liturgical year and actual lived experience in Aotearoa New Zealand. To address the problem of a dissonance in the liturgical year, this research project examines theologies of place pertinent to Aotearoa New Zealand and suggests steps toward developing an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place as a key step toward grounding inculturation of the liturgical year. This project also considers how Polynesian and European calendars are shaped by seasons and perceptions of place, and how calendars impede or contribute to inculturation of the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand.

v. Relationship with tangata whenua/Indigenous people

In the area sold in the Murihiku block of land, farmers established Scottish agricultural systems. As they did this, traditional food sources and migration routes of Kāi Tahu were destroyed or made inaccessible. Whilst there was no recorded direct conflict with Kāi Tahu about land and food sources, settlers undoubtedly changed the landscape and made traditional Kāi Tahu food systems

³¹ Quoted in Robert Maslin, *Through the Years: History of the Hedgehope Presbyterian Church*, (Hedgehope: Hedgehope Parish, 1975).

³² “After a few weeks Thomas Fleming the elder and Peter Campbell, a shipmate, went off on-a prospecting tour in search of land on which to build homes for both families. They tramped east and west, through swamps, tussock and flax, and then decided to attend the Government auction sale of the Mabel Hundred sections, about 15 miles north-cast of Invercargill. At that sale each of them bought two sections of 100 acres each at 25s per acre. Shortly afterwards both parties trekked by bullock wagons to what were to be their new homes. The journey occupied two days, and when the new settlement was reached, a calico house was erected. Clearing and burning in readiness for the plough occupied all hands at once.” Obituary for Thomas Fleming, *ODT*, 16/10/30.

impossible to maintain. Settlers re-named the landscape with Scottish names, demonstrating little curiosity about existing Kāi Tahu place names.

Scottish Presbyterian settlers in Murihiku/Southland brought great strengths to Aotearoa New Zealand along with considerable baggage, as McEldowney comments: “One can imagine few varieties of Christianity less fitted to discern, far less relate to, the values of tangata whenua, the Māori people of New Zealand, to the rivers and the mountains, the lands and islands of the Pacific.”³³

Writing from Invercargill in the mid-1860s, Gordon McClure notes: “We have no connection with the War [land wars] in the Island whatever as the Māoris (sic) here are too poor and never were warlike. There are several villages close at hand but they don’t come much among the white men.”³⁴ The decline in Kāi Tahu population numbers in Murihiku/Southland from the 19th century meant that opportunities for interacting with local indigenous people were limited for Pākehā away from the south coast. Ignorance of, and distance from indigenous realities, is a common experience of many Pākehā in Te Wai Pounamu/the South Island. Physical and worldview distance between communities, and lack of interest in Kāi Tahu mātauranga from Pākehā continue to have an impact on relationships between Māori and Pākehā in Te Wai Pounamu, and how the liturgical year is observed and experienced. Using the work and experience of James K. Baxter, this research will discern ways toward an appropriate methodology for Pākehā to engage with Māori to enable inculturation of the liturgical year.

vi. Relationship with te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu/the one holy church

Soon after settling in Murihiku/Southland, Pākehā started worshipping together in the ways they knew, with the traditions of their homelands and home churches. Approaches to the liturgical

³³ Dennis McEldowney, ed., *Presbyterians in Aotearoa 1840-1990* (Wellington: Presbyterian Church of New Zealand), 21.

³⁴ Angela McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840* (Manchester: Manchester University, 2011), 187.

year varied according to denomination. As the majority of settlers in Murihiku/Southland were Presbyterian, the most common worship in Murihiku/Southland can be described thus:

There was little sense of liturgy – ‘Our own simple form is best loved’ – and prayers were extempore...As in Scotland the communion season was the high point, the visible gathering of the elect around the solemn, white tables, a memorial meal not only to their Lord but to the far-off days of the Reformers and the Covenanters. Determined attempts were made to secure frequent communion, by which once every quarter was meant.³⁵

Presbyterian liturgy in many parts of the world at this time followed the *Westminster Directory/Directory for Public Worship*³⁶ or the *Book of Order of the Church of Scotland* which required liturgy to be austere and forbade the use of musical instruments in church. Celebration of Holy Communion was infrequent and serious. As a result, each celebration of communion took a whole weekend and was called a Communion Season.³⁷

For the majority of Christians in Murihiku/Southland and for Presbyterians generally of this period, observing the seasons of the liturgical year was not an option, as a church calendar was seen to be without Biblical warrant.³⁸ The worship schedule would have consisted of daily family worship in each home, a weekly community service of the Word each Sabbath, Holy Communion celebrated

³⁵ McEldowney, 34.

³⁶The full name of the book in Ireland, Wales and England was: *A Directory for Public Worship of God throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and the Establishing and Observing of this Present Directory throughout the Kingdom of England and the Dominion of Wales*. Enacted at Edinburgh, February 6, 1645.

³⁷ Thomas Adam, a farmworker at Waihola, rural Otago wrote in his diary that twice a year, without fail, in autumn and spring, he took a holiday for the communion season when normal work schedules stopped. Quoted in Alison Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth Century New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University, 2007), 13. Communion seasons lingered in rural districts, though the Synod of Otago and Southland ended mandatory fast days in 1878. McEldowney, 48. Residents of most districts in Otago and Southland had a holiday twice a year for the communion season fast day until the 1880s. Clarke, 17.

³⁸ McNally explains: “It is characteristic of the Directory, as it is of seventeenth century Puritan and Scottish thought, that this service book contains no Calendar. Rather, it states tersely: ‘There is no day commanded in Scripture to be kept holy under the gospel but the Lord’s Day, which is the Christian Sabbath. Festival days, vulgarly called Holy-days, having no warrant in the Word of God, are not to be continued.’ (‘An Appendix’, paragraphs one and two). This exclusion of a Calendar is in direct contrast to both the BCP [Book of Common Prayer] and the BCO [Book of Common Order] and a repudiation of Anglican, if not Scottish, practice. The festivals and saints’ days of the traditional Church Year had long been eschewed by both Scots and English Puritans as wanting biblical warrant, as being part and parcel of popery, and, in the case of the saints’ days, detracting from the sole glory of God.” Frederick McNally, “Westminster Directory, its origin and significance” (PhD diss., Edinburgh University, 1958), 374.

perhaps up to four times a year, with a couple of Communion Season days each time, (including a fast day). All worship was without reference to the liturgical year, with communion dates carefully chosen to avoid coincidence with 'so called Holy Days'. Strict observance of the Sabbath or The Lord's Day was expected."³⁹ The official Scottish position on the liturgical year was stated in the *First Book of Discipline*.

That book enjoined the suppression of the superstitious observation of fasting days..., and keeping holy dayes of certaine Saints commanded by man, such as be all those that the Papists have invented, as feasts (as they term them) of the Apostles, Martyrs, Virgines, of Christmasse, Circumcision, Epiphanie, Purification, and other fond feasetes of our Lady. And lest it should be concluded that it was merely feasts related to "our Lady" that were abrogated, it must be noted that in ordaining quarterly Communion, the same book warns that in selecting the dates of celebration such "superstitious times" as "Pasche" (Easter) were to be avoided.⁴⁰

As well as wanting to avoid the liturgical year for religious reasons, nationalist reasons were also a factor among Scottish Presbyterians at this time. Recalling his childhood during the 1850s and 1860s on a South Otago farm, William Smaill noted: "We did not keep Christmas Day as that was considered English at the time and we were Scotch."⁴¹ It took until 1931 for the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand to recommend religious observance of Good Friday⁴² and it only gave approval for Christmas services to be held in 1932⁴³. It took until the 1950s for Christmas Day and Good Friday to become holidays in Scotland.⁴⁴

Dennis McEldowney offers the following summary: "So they came to the edge of the wilderness, as proud exiles, baptising the new land with the old Scottish names, burning the bush to

³⁹ The Presbyterian Church advised farmers that it was better to risk losing a day's milk rather than moving it from the farm to the factory on Sundays. In the Presbyterian publication *The Outlook*, a correspondent referred to Sunday milk delivery as a sin "on a par with prostitution and the opium trade." McEldowney, 76.

⁴⁰ McNally, 375.

⁴¹ Clarke, 13.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 129.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

plant oats and shepherd sheep, men and women in dark garments, far from Home, for very survival and sanity clinging to their ancestral faith, 'staunch, rather than fervent' in their beliefs."⁴⁵

It is tempting to surmise that the liturgies celebrated by Presbyterian majority in southern Te Wai Pounamu would have had no explicit connection with Aotearoa; however, what was happening in Creation and the agricultural year would have been unmistakable. Official liturgical texts from this time in no way addressed Aotearoa or the southern hemisphere as they were, for all intents and purposes, placeless. However, there may have been a small reflection of the local seasonal reality, as McEldowney notes:

George Sutherland of First Church, Dunedin, attempted to clarify the vague and limited idea many Christians held about the sacrament (of Communion). He encouraged prior self-examination, using the great themes of the sacrament, its obligations and benefits. He believed that three celebrations a year were enough – at New Year, harvest and spring, an interesting reflection of the rhythms of the rural year.⁴⁶

It can be established that, from their arrival in southern Te Wai Pounamu, the majority of settler Christians did not observe the liturgical year as the universal church understands it, or as Presbyterians would understand it today. The seasons of the natural world would have shaped the life of the communities and likely would have been mentioned in the extempore prayers offered in homes, and when the community gathered for worship. Evidence indicates that the popular Quarterly Communion services were carefully timed in the Presbyterian calendar of this era so as not to coincide with the so-called Holy Days or superstitious Pasche, and the principal church of the Free Church settlement, First Church in Dunedin, suggested that Communion should be celebrated at New Year, harvest, and spring. It appears clear that the natural seasons of Aotearoa New Zealand had a role in shaping the worshipping life of a community which rejected the notion of a liturgical year.

vii. The challenge of heritage

⁴⁵ McEldowney, 27.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 48.

It appears that many Pākehā in Murihiku worshipped by ignoring the indigenous people, and rejecting the notion of a universal church calendar, which means they were not weighed down by the northern hemisphere associations of the church year. It is likely that extempore prayers addressed agricultural life as it took place amid the local natural seasons. By focusing only on celebrating the Lord's Day, congregations were likely more in touch with Aotearoa's seasons than those bound by a liturgical calendar which was attached to northern hemisphere seasons.

Perceiving the land primarily through the lens of agricultural opportunity remains strong amongst Pākehā. This has an enormous impact on the theology of place, and how place informs the liturgical year.

Church historian Peter Matheson notes that among Presbyterian settlers in Aotearoa "[t]here was neither curiosity about nor respect for Māori culture, still less religion"⁴⁷ Whilst open conflict did not define interaction between Māori and Pākehā in Murihiku, keeping distance from Māori whilst renaming places, destroying traditional food sources and migration routes does describe the experience of many Pākehā in Murihiku. A lack of engagement with Māori history and present reality, erasure of traditional names, and ignorance about the impact on indigenous people of farming methods and fences, have had an enormous impact on how Pākehā and Māori can live and worship together, and how the liturgical year is observed in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The research seeks the mātauranga to inculturate the liturgical year in ways which will respect Creation and will pay attention to what God is communicating through the natural world in Aotearoa New Zealand. It seeks the mātauranga which will ensure the liturgical year is not a foreign import but is shaped by the experience of New Zealanders and is open to mātauranga Māori. It seeks inculturation that will enable those who celebrate the liturgical year in the particularity of Aotearoa New Zealand to be in tune with the mātauranga of the universal church.

viii. Appropriate methodology

⁴⁷ Ibid., 39.

Chapter one of the thesis reviews the literature and sources employed in the research. Chapter two explores the arrival of Polynesian and European liturgical calendars in Aotearoa New Zealand, and the complex interaction between calendars and the particularity of Aotearoa New Zealand. Chapter three explores a variety of methodologies to tackle the challenge of inculturation of the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the search for an appropriate methodology, the work of Māori theologians Henare Tate and Māori Marsden, of Pākehā theologians Gerald Arbuckle SM, Michael Shirres OP, and the work of non-New Zealanders Alyward Shorter M.Afr, the World Council of Churches⁴⁸ and Anscar J Chupungco are considered. The research views methodologies of inculturation through the lenses of te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church. Chupungco's methodology is applicable in respect to all three lenses and therefore is the most helpful in informing an appropriate methodology for inculturating the liturgical year into the Aotearoa New Zealand context and hence is the one which this project employs. Application of Chupungco's method demonstrates that there is a way to detach observance of Christmas from northern hemisphere accoutrements and mindsets whilst remaining an integral part of the universal church.

ix. Unthinking Eurocentrism

The festschrift honouring Māori academic (and an Anglican actively engaged in the liturgical year) Jonathan Mane-Wheoki (1943-2014) (Ngāpuhi, Te Aupōuri, Ngāti Kurī tribes) states: "The underlying theme in Jonathan's work as a Māori scholar was a process of decolonisation, or, as he once inscribed on a script 'unthinking Eurocentrism.'"⁴⁹ An aim of this research is to assist the Aotearoa New Zealand church in unthinking the Eurocentrism of the liturgical year. Chapter four delves into some theologies of place which underpin Māori and Pākehā approaches to the liturgical year.

⁴⁸ (Hereafter WCC).

⁴⁹ Mark Stocker and Conal McCarthy eds., *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance: Essays in memory of Jonathan Mane-Wheoki* (Wellington: Te Herenga Waka, 2017), 209.

In searching for the processes Pākehā need to employ to unthink Eurocentrism, and to inculturate the liturgical year into Aotearoa New Zealand, this research takes a methodological lead from the work of James K. Baxter. Chapter five discusses Baxter and identifies him as a resource Pākehā can utilise to learn more about the mātauranga they need in order to partner with Māori in the process of inculturating the liturgical year.

The technique of ‘unthinking’ Eurocentrism is applied specifically in chapters six and seven which consider inculturation possibilities for Christmas and the midwinter festival of Matariki. A case study of Matariki (a traditional Māori midwinter festival) explores how its themes can be interwoven with existing themes from the Christian liturgical year as explicated in four possible Matariki liturgies.

Chapter eight brings the thesis to a conclusion by restating the model of liturgical inculturation developed in the project – a model designed to enable authentic location of the liturgical calendar in Aotearoa New Zealand. Further possibilities flowing from the thesis research are suggested in chapter eight to assist the church in grounding the gospel in the context of Aotearoa, and to encourage and enable liturgies that reflect and communicate effectively the sacred journey of the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Conclusion

Defrosting Christmas and inculturating the liturgical year so that the seasons of Aotearoa New Zealand harmonise with those of the universal church is possible. A liturgical year that resonates with Aotearoa New Zealand experience is achievable. This thesis asserts that there is an urgency for the work of liturgical inculturation to be undertaken in order for the people of Aotearoa New Zealand to receive the Gospel more deeply in their time and their place. Utilising appropriately applied insights from mātauranga Māori, the wisdom of the one holy catholic and apostolic church and mātauranga Pākehā, this research seeks to assist the Aotearoa New Zealand church to ground celebration of the liturgical year in the Aotearoa New Zealand context in a profound way.

4					5				
Wake	Weki	Haku	Hiko	Hoki	Apea	Eio	Ikoa	Omua	Uaha
Wako	Weku	Hapa	Himu	Huna	apopo	ehaha	ihinu	opea	uaho
Waku	Wika	Hape	Hina	Hupe	atara	ekoe	itika	orea	uaka
Waha	Wiku	Hapi	Hipa	Huru	atama	erua	itua	otia	uaku
Kawa	Kami	Mahi	Manu	Pahi	Ko hewani ko te wahi		I a koe manaaki haere		
Kaha	Kamu	Mako	Mare	Pako	pai.		ki hewani? Kia meitia		
Kaho	Karu	Maku	Mari	Pari	E haere ki reira ka		koe ka tono katoa o		
Kahu	Kata	Mara	Maro	Pani	takata tika.		Ihowa tou Atua.		
Kake	Kati	Mana	Naki	Para	Ko heri ko te wahi		Kati tou mea kino ka-		
Kaki	Katu	Mano	Nana	Patu	kino.		toa.		
					E pakaina ki reira ka		Meitia koe ka mea		
					takata kino.		pai.		
Raua	Riha	Taha	Tari	Toto	Wariki	Warauka	Mahana	Pawera	
Raki	Rika	Tahi	Taro	Titi	Haehae	Waraua	Maeke	Pakaina	
Rako	Rima	Taka	Timu	Tipu	Kakari	Hakoro	Marama	Piharo	
Ruku	Rimu	Tako	Tini	Tika	Kohimu	Hakui	Makona	Pokaru	
Rama	Rite	Tama	Tira	Tiku	Kahuru	Haere	Mariki	Pohatu	
Rere	Roro	Tapu	Tiro	Tane	Kanui	Herere	Monite	Puaka	
					Kakaha	Kakano	Marie	Roroa	
					Karaka	Kitea	Mauka	Riria	
					Karara	Katiri	Maoka	Roroko	
					Kaika	Kaihore	Maunu	Rokona	
					Kiraro	Kakahu	Makau	Hetani	
					Kiruka	Kapai	Moana	Hiutia	
E whitu ka raki o te				He nui tona pai o te					
wike.				Atua.					
E kahuru ka tono o				Kai te pai tona Tama					
te Atua.				ko Ihu.					
Ko tahi te Atua.				Kai te pai tona Wai-					
Ko Ihowa tona ikoa.				rua.					
I aia te Atua kaha				Kai te pai tona puka.					
rawa.				Te raki pai te raki					
I aia e kite tatau i te				tapu.					
ao i te po.				Ko te mea kino te					
				tutu ki te tono.					
					He mea nuinui kino he tarika, ekore pai kia				
					kai ka takata tiamoe mahi kore.				
					He mea kino he parau, he takata kohimu he				
					takata kino.				
					He takata manaaki ki te kakari he takata kino				

Illustration 2: Pages from He Puka Ako I te Korero Māori by the missionary James Watkin, 1841, includes the phrases: “There are seven days in a week” and “The holy day is a good day.”

Chapter 1: Literature Review

This chapter reviews the relevant principal literature relating to this research project. In order to engage critically with the topic of inculturation of the liturgical year into Aotearoa New Zealand's seasons, a wide variety of literature across history, geography, anthropology, mātauranga Māori, government documents, church statements, liturgical scholarship, hymnody, poetry, theology, church history, and journalism needs to be considered.

The literature relevant to this research is classified into seven distinct groups:

1. Literature which identifies the marking of sacred time in Aotearoa New Zealand
2. Literature that discusses the interaction between liturgy and culture
3. Literature dealing with the significance of place as it relates to liturgy
4. Literature by and about James K. Baxter
5. Literature about Christmas and its location in Aotearoa New Zealand
6. Literature about the midwinter Matariki festival
7. Literature about liturgical inculturation opportunities in Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.1. Ordering sacred time in Aotearoa New Zealand

Systems of marking time in Aotearoa New Zealand, and sacred time in particular, are a central element of this study. In order to understand systems of measuring time, it is necessary to undertake an investigation of calendars, including the world's oldest calendar, the indigenous Australian Wurdi Youang.⁵⁰ Māori calendrical experts also provide crucial information on the Māori perception and measurement of time. This is critical to the task of locating sacred time in the Aotearoa New Zealand context. Contemporary Kāi Tahu literature,⁵¹ Māori *maramataka*/calendar

⁵⁰ Ray Norris, "Case Study 4.3: Wurdi Youang, Australia," in *ICOMOS–IAU Thematic Study on Astronomical Heritage*, eds. Clive Riggles and Michel Cotte (Paris: ICOMOS/IAU, 2010), 76-79. See also: Stephanie Hegarty, *Aboriginal Stonehenge: Stargazing in ancient Australia*, 6/10/11, accessed 26/1/23, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-15098959>.

⁵¹ Apanui Skipper, "Ka taki mai te māuru: When the nor'wester howls" in *Te Karaka* (Christchurch: Ngāi Tahu, Makariri/Winter 2018), 24.

researchers⁵² and Wiremu Tāwhai, a maramataka scholar of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui tribe,⁵³ have advanced scholarship in this area by delineating particulars of the Māori lunar calendar.

Understanding how traditional Māori maramataka evolved from the Polynesian lunar calendars Māori brought with them to become calendars specific to Aotearoa helps to locate the liturgical calendar in the context of the pre-Christian ways of marking the passage of time present in Aotearoa New Zealand when the liturgical calendar arrived.

Insights from early twentieth century New Zealand ethnographer Elsdon Best⁵⁴, twentieth century anthropologist Raymond Frith⁵⁵ and contemporary anthropologists Wayne Orchiston and Darunee Lingling Orchiston⁵⁶ provide key elements to understanding the development of maramataka and insights into Māori marking of sacred time from the perspectives of non-Māori ethnography and anthropology. The literature on maramataka confirms that Māori brought sophisticated Polynesian lunar calendars to Aotearoa and provides clear examples of how existing calendars were adapted in response to the conditions, animals, and seasons in the various regions of the new country. Understanding the origin and dynamic development of maramataka is vital to an informed consideration of inculturation of the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Nineteenth century Marist missionary Antoine Garin⁵⁷ was at the forefront of interaction between Māori and the liturgical year, his insights on calendrical traditions of Northland Māori and Māori interaction with the liturgical calendar makes his diary a key source for this investigation.

⁵² Liliiana Clarke, Mere Roberts and Frank Weko, *Maramataka: The Māori Moon Calendar* (Lincoln: Lincoln University, 2006).

⁵³ Wiremu Tāwhai, *Living by the Moon: Te Maramataka a te Whānau-ā-Apanuia* (Wellington: Huia, 2013).

⁵⁴ Elsdon Best, *The Māori Division of Time*, Dominion Museum Monograph No. 4, (Wellington: W. A. G. Skinner, Government Printer, 1922).

⁵⁵ Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Māori*, 2nd ed. (Wellington: Government Printer, 1972.)

⁵⁶ Wayne Orchiston and Darunee Lingling Orchiston, "The Māori calendar of New Zealand: a chronological perspective" in I.-S. Nha, W. Orchiston, and F.R. Stephenson, eds., *The History of World Calendars and Calendar-making: Proceedings of the International Conference in Commemoration of the 600th Anniversary of the Birth of Kim Dam* (Seoul: Yonsei University, 2017).

⁵⁷ Peter Tremewan and Giselle Larcombe eds., *Living Among the Northland Māori: Diary of Father Antoine Garin, 1844-1846* (Christchurch: Canterbury University, 2019).

Diaries and accounts written by early European explorers provide evidence of first use of European calendars in Aotearoa New Zealand. Abel Tasman (Dutch Reformed), James Cook (Anglican) Jean-Francois-Marie de Surville and Marion du Fresne (Catholic) referred to the liturgical year in accounts of their voyages and journeys around Aotearoa New Zealand.⁵⁸ Their writing on the liturgical year, read with information on the context of their home churches, provides a valuable perspective on how their prior experience had an impact on their observation of the liturgical year in Aotearoa.

In their writing, historians Shirley Maddock and Michael Easter⁵⁹ document initial celebrations of Christmas in Aotearoa and provide valuable ‘first contact’ examples of dislocation and relocation of the festival for Europeans in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Although Maddock and Easter (and the explorers just mentioned) are not primarily concerned with liturgical inculturation or with Māori perspectives, their writing provides important insights as to how the Gregorian calendar was first experienced in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Historical evidence of how Anglican and Catholic calendars in Aotearoa New Zealand were established is found in the writing of nineteenth century missionaries Richard Taylor (Anglican)⁶⁰ and Jean Baptiste Pompallier (Catholic).⁶¹ Calendrical traditions brought to Aotearoa New Zealand by

⁵⁸ See: “Instructions for Skipper Commander Abel Jansz Tasman, Pilot-Major Franchois Jacobsz. Visscher, and the council of the ship “Heemskerck” and the flute “De Zeehaen,” destined for the discovery and exploration of the unknown and known south land, of the south-east coast of Nova Guinea, and of the islands circumjacent” in Robert McNab, ed., *Historical Records of New Zealand Vol 2* (Wellington: McKay, 1914) 6-13; Thomas Hocken, *Abel Tasman and his Journal* (Presentation to the Otago Institute, 10/9/1895); John Dunmore, ‘Surville, Jean François Marie de’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 1990, *Te Ara*, accessed 2/1/20. See also: John Dunmore, *The Expedition of the St. Jean-Baptiste to the Pacific, 1769-1770: from journals of Jean de Surville and Guillaume Labé* (London: Hakluyt, 1981); John Robson, *Captain Cook’s War and Peace: The Royal Navy Years 1755-1768* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2009); James Cook, *Journal of H.M.S. Endeavour, 1768-1771* [digitised manuscript] National Library of Australia, accessed 20/1/20; Joseph Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks, 1798-1771*, ed. John Beaglehole (Sydney: Public Library with Angus & Robertson, 1962); Edward Duyker, *An Officer of the Blue — Marc-Joseph Marion Dufresne, South Sea Explorer 1724-1772* (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1994).

⁵⁹ Shirley Maddock and Michael Easter, *A Christmas Garland: A New Zealand Christmas Album 1642-1900* (Auckland: Collins, 1980).

⁶⁰ Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Māui: New Zealand and Its Inhabitants* (London: Warheim and MacIntosh, 1855).

⁶¹ Jean Baptiste Pompallier, *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, Facsimile of 1888 edition (Bathurst: Crawford, 2008). Pompallier is mentioned in many other sources.

French Catholic missionaries such as Pompallier, as well as Marist sources (in particular Garin),⁶² explicate some of the context of the calendrical turmoil of Revolutionary France from which the Catholic missionaries came. Insights into the establishment of liturgical calendars by Catholic missionaries in Aotearoa New Zealand is provided by twenty-first century Marist archivist Elizabeth Charleton and Marist academic Mervyn Duffy.⁶³ These texts demonstrate how the relocation of calendars to Aotearoa New Zealand was influenced by particular environments of political and religious contestation and an existing system of naming and measuring time in Europe.

Discussion of the calendrical traditions which Anglicans brought to Aotearoa is informed by Aotearoa New Zealand Anglican liturgical scholar George Connor,⁶⁴ and British liturgical scholar Philip Tovey.⁶⁵ Bishop Connor aids a site-specific analysis via his Aotearoa New Zealand expertise and grasp of the Māori language sources, and Tovey anchors the discussion of liturgical calendars within a wider Anglican perspective.

How European liturgical calendars were introduced to Aotearoa New Zealand requires careful study, as the literature⁶⁶ indicates that European missionaries introduced inflexible Catholic and Anglican calendars without adapting them to the new conditions and seasons of the new country.⁶⁷ Catholic and Anglican canon law prevented missionaries of those traditions from being flexible with local calendars despite the missionaries experiencing the dissonance of a liturgical calendar formed in the northern hemisphere. These sources need to be placed within their time, and they indicate at once an awareness of the need for some sort of adaptation of the calendar and the knowledge that revision of the calendar was canonically unachievable.

⁶² Tremewan and Larcombe, and Pompallier's *Early History*.

⁶³ Correspondence with Elizabeth Charleton, archivist for Marists in Aotearoa New Zealand; Merv Duffy, *The 1847 Māori Liturgical Calendar and Māori Christian Names*, (unpublished manuscript, December 2022).

⁶⁴ George Connor, *Saintly, Sinful or Secular 1814-1895 Viewed through the lens of Te Māramataka 1895 and its historical notes*, (PGDip Arts Research Essay, Massey University, 2011).

⁶⁵ Phillip Tovey, *Anglican Confirmation 1662-1820* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014).

⁶⁶ Such as writing by Taylor, Pompallier, Garin and other missionaries.

⁶⁷ Adapting or modifying liturgical calendars was not a canonical possibility for Catholics and Anglicans in the nineteenth century.

The work of maramataka scholars Liliana Clarke, Mere Roberts, and Frank Weko⁶⁸ provides key information on what the establishment of the Gregorian calendar meant for Māori, and for existing maramataka. The perspective of these scholars is vital for understanding the negative impact the introduction of the Gregorian calendar had on maramataka and mātauranga Māori. Their work points to a gap in existing research concerning bringing maramataka and the Gregorian calendar into respectful dialogue, which this research project addresses.

Observations on the shock of celebrating a dislocated liturgical calendar in the southern seasons are found in the writing of Sarah Selwyn⁶⁹ an early Pākehā settler (and wife of Aotearoa New Zealand's first Anglican bishop), and an unknown writer from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.⁷⁰ Anglican priest Henry Purchas⁷¹ and writers Ngaio Marsh and RAK Mason provide examples of Pākehā writing on the uncomfortable experience of the dislocated temporale in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁷² These writers flesh out the emotional and cultural dissonance experienced by Christians wanting to be faithful in a new land. These important perspectives are absent from the professional missionary accounts which focus on evangelical efficacy rather than the struggle to integrate Christian observance as believers in a new place. Literature on the shock or disappointment of experiencing the liturgical year in the southern seasons can be seen as critique of the imposition of a northern hemisphere calendar.

Discussion of establishment of the Lord's Day in Aotearoa and its embrace by Māori can be found in the works of nineteenth century missionaries Thomas Kendall,⁷³ Richard Taylor⁷⁴ and James

⁶⁸ Clarke, Roberts, and Weko, *Maramataka*.

⁶⁹ Sarah Selwyn, *Reminiscences by Mrs. S.H. Selwyn, 1809 – 1867: With Introduction and Notes*, ed. Enid Evans (Auckland: War Memorial Museum, 1961).

⁷⁰ SPCK, an Anglican organisation founded in 1698 "to disperse at home and abroad, Bibles and tracts of religion and in general to advance the honour of God and the good of mankind," *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v "SPCK" (London: Oxford University, 1957).

⁷¹ Henry Purchas, *A History of the English Church in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Simpson & Williams, 1914).

⁷² Ngaio Marsh, *Black Beech and Honeydew* (London: Collins, 1966), RAK Mason quoted in Trudie McNaughton, *Countless Signs: The New Zealand Landscape in Literature* (Auckland: Reed Methven, 1986), 212.

⁷³ Quoted in: John Elder, *Marsden's Lieutenants* (Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville Wilkie, 1934).

⁷⁴ Taylor, *Te Ika a Māui*.

Watkin,⁷⁵ missionary historian Thomas Pybus⁷⁶ and contemporary religious historian Peter Lineham.⁷⁷

Important insights into Māori perspectives on Sunday are offered by anthropologist Te Rangi Hīroa/Peter Buck⁷⁸ and through the diary of Rēnata Kawepō, a Māori leader and missionary who travelled with Bishop Selwyn in the 1840s.⁷⁹

Literature from early missionaries⁸⁰ and from Māori sources is important to consider in support of the notion that the embrace of Sunday as a special day for Christian worship and rest was relatively unproblematic for Māori. Literature from missionaries and Lineham⁸¹ is important for highlighting that differences in opinion amongst Pākehā about the Lord's Day complicated Sabbath observance. Historical documents need to be considered in relation to attitudes which Anglican missionaries brought with them to Aotearoa New Zealand indicating a pre-existing tension between Puritans and others in England over observance of the Sabbath.⁸²

Reception of the sanctorale by Māori is evident in literature on the Māori prophetic movements⁸³ as well as through Anglican and Catholic lenses. Literature on Māori prophetic movements is relevant to this research project because these movements provide significant examples of Māori weaving elements of Christianity and Old Testament prophets with mātauranga Māori. These sources raise the question of how any changes or developments to the liturgical

⁷⁵ Thomas Pybus, *Māori and Missionary: Early Christian Missions in the South Island of New Zealand* (Wellington: AH & AW Reed, 1954).

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Peter Lineham, *Sunday Best: How the church shaped New Zealand and New Zealand shaped the church* (Palmerston North: Massey University, 2017).

⁷⁸ Te Rangi Hīroa/Peter Buck, *Anthropology and Religion* (New Haven: Yale University, 1939).

⁷⁹ Helen Hogan, ed., *Renata's journey: Ko te Haerenga o Renata* (Christchurch: Canterbury University, 1994).

⁸⁰ Taylor, Garin and others.

⁸¹ Lineham, *Sunday Best*.

⁸² James I/VI, "The Book of Sports" (1618) in *Documents of the Christian Church*, ed. Henry Bettenson (Oxford: Oxford University, 1954), 387-388.

⁸³ See: Judith Binney, "Māori prophetic movements-ngā poropiti- te Kooti-Ringatū," *Te Ara*, accessed 16/9/20; Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia: The prophet Rua Kenana and His community at Maungapohatu* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 1990); Karen Sinclair, *The People of the Marangatanga: Prophetic Histories* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 2002).

calendar might respect mātauranga Māori and the need to heed Māori aspirations in order to achieve appropriate inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Literature addressing the dislocation of the Christian calendar as experienced in Aotearoa New Zealand is vital to this research. Frederick Inwood's 1906 book *The Christian Year Beneath the Southern Cross*, and Michael Joseph's poem *Easter in the South*⁸⁴ are excellent examples of relating liturgy to culture from the twentieth century. Their writing recognises the problem of dislocation, offers solid inculturated texts, and demonstrates that liturgical inculturation has been an available choice for New Zealanders for some time. Although some of Inwood's work seems dated now, he and Joseph provide early exemplars for inculturation of the church year that are necessary to consider in gathering an accurate picture of significant local attempts to relate liturgy and culture thus far.

Although some New Zealanders refuse to unshackle Christmas from winter for cultural, historical, commercial, or other reasons, some ways forward for inculturation of the liturgical calendar in Aotearoa New Zealand are noted in the literature. Theologian Graham Cameron⁸⁵ (Ngāti Ranginui) provides important insights on weaving together an Aotearoa New Zealand specific commemoration with the liturgical calendar. Cameron successfully links a commemoration of the assault on the village of Parihaka⁸⁶ with the All Souls-All Saints commemorations. Cameron's work indicates that critiquing and inculturating the sanctorale is possible. The literature shows various examples of inculturated sanctorale moments, and points to the need for more work to be done to inculturate the temporale. Cameron amplifies earlier writers' assertions that both flexibility and

⁸⁴ Michael Kennedy Joseph "Easter in the South," in *Spirit in a Strange Land: A Selection of New Zealand Spiritual Verse*, ed. Paul Morris, Harry Ricketts and Mike Grimshaw (Auckland: Godwit, 2002), 46.

⁸⁵ Graham Cameron, *All Saints, All Souls or All Parihaka? Connecting Allhallowtide to Aotearoa*, 5/11/17, accessed 7/9/20, <https://firstwetakemanhattan.org/2017/11/05/all-saints-all-souls-or-all-parihaka-connecting-allhallowtide-to-aotearoa/>.

⁸⁶ For Taranaki Māori, 5 November 1881 is known as 'Te Rā o te Pāhua' or the 'Day of Plunder'. The invasion of Parihaka — te pāhuatanga — involved 1500 armed constabulary and volunteers led by the Native Affairs Minister, John Bryce.

attentiveness to Māori calendars⁸⁷ are important strategies to use in inculturating the whole calendar for Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.2. Relationship between culture and liturgy

Literature concerning the relationship between liturgy and culture affirms that discussion of the culture-liturgy relationship has been ongoing since the Council of Jerusalem⁸⁸ (around the year 50 CE). St. Justin Martyr's Seeds of the Word concept⁸⁹ is important for understanding and appreciating the development and adaptation of liturgy in diverse cultures and places. The Seeds of the Word concept is helpful in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand and for this research because it affirms that God's truth is present in all people and cultures before the arrival of missionaries. The *Catechism of the Catholic Church*,⁹⁰ Vatican II's document on the liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium*⁹¹ *Down to Earth Worship: Liturgical Inculturation and the Anglican Communion*,⁹² and *A New Zealand Prayerbook: He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*⁹³ outline church teaching on liturgy and explicate the principles informing the possibility of dialogue between liturgy and culture.

The writing of anthropologists of different eras—Edward Tylor and Kenneth Guest, and theologians Peter Schineller and Alyward Shorter—provide useful definitions of culture.⁹⁴ These four writers offer western perspectives on culture ranging from the nineteenth to the twenty-first

⁸⁷ See Tāwhai.

⁸⁸ St. James's apostolic decree from the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15:19-21).

⁸⁹ "And hence there seem to be seeds of truth among all men." Justin Martyr, *1st Apology* Chapter 44., also *2nd Apology* Chapter 32 <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0126.htm> accessed 13/10/19, and Maryanne Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1998).

⁹⁰ Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Chapter 2, Article 2, "Liturgical Diversity and the Unity of the Mystery", 1992, accessed 28/10/19, [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_P3C.HTM#\\$1GZ](http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_P3C.HTM#$1GZ), (hereafter CCC).

⁹¹ Catholic Church, "Sacrosanctum Concilium," *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Postconciliar Documents*, edited by Austin Flannery (Dublin: Dominican, 1975), 1-281.

⁹² Findings of the Third International Anglican Liturgical Consultation, in David Holeyton, *Liturgical Inculturation in the Anglican Communion* (Bramcote: Grove, 1990).

⁹³ *A New Zealand Prayer Book*.

⁹⁴ Edward Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Research into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom, Vol. 1* (London: John Murray, 1871); Kenneth J Guest, *Cultural Anthropology: A Toolkit for a Global Age* (New York: Norton, 2014); Peter Schineller, *A Handbook on Inculturation* (Mahwah: Paulist, 1990), 23; Alyward Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1988).

centuries. Texts which are significant to deepening the exploration of liturgy and culture in this investigation include: the Vatican II document *Ad Gentes*,⁹⁵ the writing of noted Marist scholar in theology and anthropology from Aotearoa New Zealand Gerald Arbuckle,⁹⁶ the work of internationally renowned Anglican liturgical scholar Paul Bradshaw,⁹⁷ other post-conciliar Catholic liturgical documents (such as *Varietates Legitimae*),⁹⁸ documents by Pope Francis,⁹⁹ and documents relating to the Amazon Synod.¹⁰⁰ AG, Pope Francis' writing, and material from the Amazon Synod indicate the highest level Catholic understanding of the interaction between liturgy and culture from the 1960s to the present day, lending both depth and a time span that tracks developing ecclesiastical opinion on the key issues of liturgical inculturation. Chupungco's extensive literature on the culture–liturgy discourse is a crucial source throughout this study.¹⁰¹ Chupungco's writings on liturgical inculturation are widely recognised as the most thoroughly advanced to date and are vital to the global conversation on liturgical inculturation.

⁹⁵ Catholic Church, *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Postconciliar Documents*, 813-856. (hereafter AG).

⁹⁶ Gerald Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel: An Inculturation Handbook for Pastoral Workers* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1990).

⁹⁷ His books include: *The Search for the Origins of Christian Liturgy* (New York: Oxford University, 2002), *Eucharistic Origins* (New York: Oxford University, 2004), *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship* (London: SPCK, 2009).

⁹⁸ Catholic Church, "Varietates Legitimae: Inculturation and the Roman Liturgy, Fourth Instruction for the Right Application of the Conciliar Constitution on the Liturgy Nos. 37-40," 1994, accessed 1/10/23, <https://adoremus.org/1994/03/instruction-inculturation-and-the-roman-liturgy/>. (hereafter VL).

⁹⁹ Pope Francis, Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation: *Querida Amazonia*: para. 68., 2/2/20, accessed 4/3/20, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20200202_querida-amazonia.html. (hereafter QA).

¹⁰⁰ Catholic Church, *Final Document of the Amazon Synod*, 2020, accessed 23/2/20, <http://www.sinodoamazonico.va/content/sinodoamazonico/en/documents/final-document-of-the-amazon-synod.html>.

¹⁰¹ Chupungco's publications include: *Cultural Adaptation of the Liturgy* (New York: Paulist, 1982); *Liturgies of the Future: The Process and Methods of Inculturation* (New York: Paulist, 1989); *Liturgical Inculturation: Sacramentals, Religiosity, and Catechesis* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1992); "Liturgical Inculturation and the Search for Unity," in *So We Believe, So We Pray: Towards Koinonia in Worship* (Geneva: WCC, 1995); "The Translation of Liturgical Texts," in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies: Introduction to the Liturgy* Vol. I, ed. Anscar Chupungco (Collegeville: Pueblo/Liturgical, 1997); "Liturgy and Inculturation", in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies: Vol II: Fundamental Liturgy*, ed. Anscar Chupungco (Collegeville: Pueblo/Liturgical, 1998); "Inculturation," in *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. Paul Bradshaw (London: SCM, 2002); "Inculturation of Worship: Forty Years of Progress and Tradition," in *Worship and Culture: Foreign Country or Homeland*, ed. Glaucia Vasconcelos Wilkey (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2014).

The context of previous efforts to knit liturgy and culture together is found in literature by various scholars such as the early Jesuit missionaries in Asia: Alessandro Valignano, Matteo Ricci, and Roberto De Nobili.¹⁰² The relationship between liturgy and culture is interrogated further by analysis of literature concerning the terms accommodation, acculturation, adaptation, contextualisation, functional substitution, indigenisation, translation and inculturation. Shorter and Arbuckle's important literature on Accommodation, Acculturation and Adaptation¹⁰³ contribute to the questions asked of frameworks for analysis employed in this scholarly approach. American Divine Word theologian Stephen Bevans' work on contextualisation informs this study,¹⁰⁴ as do World Council of Churches sources, and those critiquing the concept and practice of contextualisation.¹⁰⁵ Indigenisation of liturgy is considered in the work of Duraiswami Amalorpavadass of the National Biblical Catechetical and Liturgical Centre in Bangalore, India.¹⁰⁶ Critique of the term 'indigenisation' as undertaken by Chupungco and others¹⁰⁷ is consulted. Considerations of translation as a method of inculturation includes writing by Māori Anglican priest and historian Hirini Kaa (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu and Rongowhakaata),¹⁰⁸ Australian liturgical theologian Clare Johnson,¹⁰⁹ Chupungco,¹¹⁰

¹⁰² For more on the Chinese Rites controversy, see: Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724* (Cambridge: Belknap, 2007), 104–7; David Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1989); George Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy from Its Beginning to Modern Times* (Chicago: Loyola University, 1985), 25–76; James Cummins, *A Question of Rites: Friar Domingo de Navarrete and the Jesuits in China* (Aldershot: Scholar, 1993).

¹⁰³ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*; Shorter, *African Christian Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1977); Gerald Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians: A Postmodern Critique* (Collegeville: Michael Glazier, 2010); *Laughing with God: humour, culture, and transformation* (Collegeville: Michael Glazier, 2008); *Earthing the Gospel*.

¹⁰⁴ Stephen Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1998).

¹⁰⁵ Among other critics: Chupungco, *Liturgical Inculturation*, 21. Leslie Newbiggin quoted in Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel*, 18.

¹⁰⁶ Duraiswami Amalorpavadass, *Towards Indigenisation in the Liturgy* (Bangalore: NBCLC, 1971). (hereafter NBCLC).

¹⁰⁷ Chupungco, *Liturgy and Inculturation*, 341.

¹⁰⁸ Hirini Kaa, "When Christianity Came to Aotearoa: 150 Years of The Bible in te reo Māori", *The Spinoff*, 26/9/18, accessed 30/4/20, <https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/26-09-2018/when-christianity-came-to-aotearoa-150-years-of-the-bible-in-te-reo-maori/>.

¹⁰⁹ Clare V. Johnson, "Paradigms of Translation," *Worship* 76/2 (March 2003): 151-170; "At the crossroads of change: theological ramifications of liturgical translation," *Lutheran Theological Journal* 45/1 (May 2011): 51-59; "Transcending text: Liturgy as medium of evangelisation 50 years after Vatican II," *Australian Journal of Liturgy* 13/3 (2012): 100-117.

¹¹⁰ Chupungco, *Translation of Liturgical Texts*, 338.

and Arbuckle.¹¹¹ Exploration of the literature concerning the terms listed above is significant in developing the terms selected for use in this study.

The term ‘inculturation’ is key to this work and is widely supported in the literature including in scholarship from Chupungco, Amalorpavadass, Arbuckle, Schineller,¹¹² Shorter,¹¹³ the World Council of Churches,¹¹⁴ the Vatican document *VL*, and the ongoing work of the Amazonian Synod.¹¹⁵

Methodologies of inculturation developed by preeminent Māori theologians Māori Marsden (Te Aupouri, Ngāi Takoto, Ngāti Whārara, Ngāti Korokoro, Ngāpuhi)¹¹⁶ and Henare Tate (Te Rarawa, Ngāti Manawa)¹¹⁷ and by Pākehā theologians Michael Shirres¹¹⁸ and Arbuckle provide significant valuable content for consideration. However, for the purposes of this work it is important to note a deficit in the work of these writers, namely, that none primarily focuses on liturgical inculturation.

Further consideration of methodologies of inculturation indicates that Chupungco’s method is the most appropriate approach to inculturation of the liturgical year and thus Chupungco’s literature undergirds the method of this research project.

1.3. Land, place, and liturgy

Because of the problems arising from a dislocated liturgical calendar, engagement with the

¹¹¹ Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians*, 171.

¹¹² Schineller, *Handbook on Inculturation*.

¹¹³ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*.

¹¹⁴ WCC, “Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation,” *International Review of Mission* 71/284 (1982), 438; Dietrich Werner, “Ecumenical Learning in Global Theological Education – Legacy and unfinished tasks of Edinburgh 1910,” lecture to the Graduate School of Ecumenical Studies at the Ecumenical Institute of Bossey, WCC, 9/11/07. See also: *Ministry in Context: The Third Mandate Programme of the Theological Education Fund 1970-1977* (Bromley: Theological Education Fund, 1972). WCC, Ditchingham Report, 1994, accessed 18/10/23, <https://www.oikoumene.org/resources/documents/ditchingham-report-faith-and-order>. (hereafter *Ditchingham*).

¹¹⁵ See: *Final Document of the Amazon Synod*.

¹¹⁶ Māori Marsden, *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev Māori Marsden*, ed. Te Ahukaramū Royal (Otaki: Estate of Rev Māori Marsden, 2003).

¹¹⁷ Henare Tate, *He Puna Iti I te Ao Mārama: A Little Spring in the World of Light* (Auckland: Libro, 2012).

¹¹⁸ Michael Shirres, *Te Tangata the human person* (Auckland: Accent, 1997), Michael Shirres, *Māori Theology*, 1996, accessed 19/10/18, <http://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/ArcAggregator/arcView/frameView/IE582347/http://homepages.ihug.co.nz/~dominic/>. See also: Shirres quoted in John Charlot “The Māori Christian Theology of Michael Shirres,” *The Journal of InterCultural Studies* 33 (2006): 25.

theology of place is pivotal for this research. Literature on the nature of place, theology of place in general and (in particular) place in Aotearoa New Zealand is consulted. Literature by geographers Yi-Fu Tuan,¹¹⁹ David Canter, Jay Johnson, Soren Larsen, and Doug Amedeo¹²⁰ is consulted on the concept of place. European ideas of placelessness and detachment are vital to understanding inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. These attitudes and priorities are investigated through the writings of sociologist Norbert Elias¹²¹ and theologian Alister McGrath.¹²² How people of faith interact with place is observed in scripture and in work by Yi-Fu Tuan and British geographer Julian Holloway.¹²³ The literature demonstrates that opportunities exist to explore place and placelessness in liturgical inculturation, which this project attempts.

Māori understandings and experience of place, including the concept of *tūrangawaewae* (a place to stand),¹²⁴ are explored through engagement with writing by theologian Tui Cadigan RSM (Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoē, Poutini Ngāi Tahu),¹²⁵ writer Keri Hulme (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoē),¹²⁶ planning academic Hirini Matunga (Kāti Māmoē, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāi Tahu, Rongowhakaata),¹²⁷ and legal academic Jacinta Ruru (Raukawa, Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāti Maniapoto).¹²⁸ Entering into conversation

¹¹⁹ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space & Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1977/2001); *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes and values* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974).

¹²⁰ David Canter, *The Psychology of Place* (London: Architectural, 1977); Jay Johnson and Soren Larsen, *A Deeper Sense of Place: Stories and Journeys of Collaboration in Indigenous Research* (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 2013); Doug Amedeo, quoted in *Spatial behaviour: a geographic perspective*, edited by Reginald Golledge and Robert Stimson (New York: Guilford, 1997).

¹²¹ Chris Rojek, "Problems of Involvement and Detachment in the Writings of Norbert Elias," *The British Journal of Sociology* 37/4 (1986): 584–596.

¹²² Alister McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Chichester: Wiley, 2017).

¹²³ Julian Holloway, "Spiritual Life", in *A Companion to Social Geography*, ed. Vincent Del Casino et al. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

¹²⁴ *Tūranga* (standing place), *waewae* (feet). *Tūrangawaewae* are significant places of connection and empowerment. See: Katene Eruera, *A Theology of Tūrangawaewae*, August 2017, accessed 1/9/23, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5988cda31e5b6c215dc6507b/t/599ba616e45a7c919d7e27cb/1503372833468/Theology+of+Turangawaewae.pdf>.

¹²⁵ Tui Cadigan, "A Three-way Relationship: God, Land, People. A Māori Woman Reflects," in *Land and Place: He Whenua, He Wahi, Spiritualities from Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. Helen Bergin and Susan Smith (Auckland: Accent, 2004), 27-44.

¹²⁶ Keri Hulme, *The Bone People* (Wellington: Spiral, 1984).

¹²⁷ Hirini Matunga, "Waahi Tapu: Māori sacred sites", in *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*, ed. David Carmichael et al. (Oxford: Routledge, 1997).

¹²⁸ Jacinta Ruru, interview by Kim Hill, *Radio New Zealand Saturday Morning*, 20/08/16. (Radio New Zealand hereafter RNZ)

with Māori understanding of place is essential if the liturgical calendar is to be well-grounded in Aotearoa New Zealand. Parallels between Māori relationship with place and other indigenous people's relationship with place is noted by reference to North American indigenous scholars Shawn Wilson and Margaret Kovach.¹²⁹ Examination of Pākehā relationship with place is informed by John Bluck,¹³⁰ writer Alfred Dommett,¹³¹ theologian Alister Reece¹³² and poet-theologian James K. Baxter.¹³³ Pākehā literature academics Trudie McNaughton, Erin Mercer, Jane Stafford, and Mark Williams¹³⁴ inform the research with their analysis of writers' descriptions of connection to place. The literature indicates that there is a need for further analysis and development of Pākehā understandings of place, and that this work is essential if the liturgical calendar is to be well-grounded in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Literature on theology of place by northern hemisphere theologians John Inge, Leonard Hjalmarson, Jennifer Craft, and Walter Brueggemann adds useful perspectives on the wider conversation on Christian interactions with place.¹³⁵ Māori theology of place is approached through the work of Māori theologians Māori Marsden and Henare Tate.¹³⁶ The writing of Bronwyn Elsmore and Judith Binney (scholars of the Māori prophetic movements) observes the interaction between

¹²⁹ Kovach and Wilson quoted in Johnson and Larsen.

¹³⁰ John Bluck, *Long, White and Cloudy: In Search of a Kiwi Spirituality* (Christchurch: Hazard, 1998).

¹³¹ In Stephen, Turner, "Settlement as Forgetting," in *Quicksands: Foundational Histories in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. Klaus Neumann et.al. (Sydney: UNSW, 1999), 20-39., quoted in Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Māoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914* (Wellington: Victoria University, 2006), 35.

¹³² Alistair Reece, "Reconciliation and the Quest for Pākehā Identity in Aotearoa New Zealand" (PhD diss., University of Auckland, 2013).

¹³³ Lawrence Jones, "The Mythology of Place: James K. Baxter's Otago Worlds," in *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 13 (1995), 65-96.

¹³⁴ McNaughton, *Countless Signs*; Erin Mercer, *In Johnsonville or Geraldine: An Introduction to New Zealand Literature* (Auckland: Pearson, 2013); see also Stafford and Williams, *Māoriland*.

¹³⁵ John Inge, *A Christian Theology of Place* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Leonard Hjalmarson, *No Home Like Place: A Christian Theology of Place* (Portland: Urban Loft, 2014); Jennifer Craft, *Some thoughts on theology and place*, 31/7/10, accessed 23/10/23, <http://www.transpositions.co.uk/some-thoughts-on-theology-and-place/>; Walter Brueggemann, *The Land: Place as Gift, Promise and Challenge in Biblical Faith* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 2002).

¹³⁶ Marsden, *Woven Universe*.

Māori and Old Testament concepts of place.¹³⁷ Erin Mercer and others observe the ongoing influence of Romantic ideas of sublime landscapes on Pākehā theology of place.¹³⁸ Pākehā theology of place is explored through the writing of theologians Mike Riddell¹³⁹ and Elizabeth Julian RSM;¹⁴⁰ hymnwriters Bill Bennett¹⁴¹ and Shirley Murray;¹⁴² literary academics Lawrence Jones, Jane Stafford and Mark Williams;¹⁴³ and mountaineer Pat Barrett.¹⁴⁴ The reflections and analyses of theology and place which are consulted indicate that multiple approaches to understanding people's relationship with land have been attempted in Aotearoa New Zealand. Missing from the literature, however, is any sign of a coherent model for establishing and testing theologies of place, or successfully locating Christian festivals in Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.4. James K. Baxter

The poetry and prose of poet-theologian James K. Baxter, and biographies about him, hold a range of concepts and questions that are valuable for this study. Baxter's relationships with, and reflection on, te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church are critical in discovering how he contributes to the development of mātauranga Pākehā (Pākehā knowledge) and, in turn, can be of assistance to the church in Aotearoa New Zealand in its attempts at liturgical inculturation.

¹³⁷ See Binney, "Māori prophetic movements-ngā poropiti- te Kooti-Ringatū," Binney, Chaplin and Wallace, *Mihaia*; Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven: A Century of Māori Prophets in New Zealand* (Auckland: Reed, 1999).

¹³⁸ Mercer, *In Johnsonville or Geraldine*, 66; James Brown, ed., *The Nature of Things: Poems from the NZ Landscape* (Nelson: Craig Potton, 2005).

¹³⁹ Mike Riddell, "Funding Contextual Theology in Aotearoa New Zealand: The theological contribution of James K. Baxter," (PhD diss., University of Otago, 2002).

¹⁴⁰ Elizabeth Julian, "Landscape as Spiritual Classic: A Reading from Paekakariki", in *Land and Place: He Whenua, He Wahi*, ed. Helen Bergin and Susan Smith (Auckland: Accent, 2004).

¹⁴¹ Bill Bennett, *God of the Whenua: Rural Ministry in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Wellington: Philip Garside, 2005).

¹⁴² Shirley Murray, "Where Mountains Rise to Open Skies" *The Hymn: Journal of Congregational Song* 58/1 (2007): 51.

¹⁴³ Stafford and Williams, *Māoriland*; Jones, *Mythology of Place: Baxter's Otago Worlds*.

¹⁴⁴ Pat Barrett selected works: *Canterbury Foothills & Forests* (Wellington: Shoal Bay, 2002), *True South: Tramping Experiences of the South Island Hinterland* (Auckland: Reed, 2003);

Baxter's biographies by Frank McKay SM,¹⁴⁵ and William Oliver¹⁴⁶ are helpful in identifying liturgical references in his work, and to forming an understanding of Baxter's influences and identity. Baxter's spiritual journey from non-denominational Protestant, through Anglicanism, and Alcoholics Anonymous, to Catholicism contains insights significant for this research and the quest for authentic liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Baxter's relationship with Māori, from ignorance, through romance, to choosing to learn from Māori, to his vision calling him to go to Hiruhārama/Jerusalem is tracked through his writing and through the biographies. Baxter's poetry, prose, and letters, as well as a commentary on Baxter, edited by John Weir SM, provide reflections on liturgical practice and inculturation pertinent to the research. Weir-edited volumes form the majority of works cited on Baxter.¹⁴⁷ Mike Riddell's thesis¹⁴⁸ on Baxter's theology is an important source for any consideration of inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Analysis of Pākehā literature provided by Pākehā literati Basil Dowling,¹⁴⁹ Charles Brasch,¹⁵⁰ Eric McCormick¹⁵¹ and Annabel Wilson,¹⁵² assists in understanding Pākehā thought, and how Baxter might sit within it. Baxter's relationship with Jacquie Sturm/Te Kare Papuni (Taranaki, Te Whakatōhea), as reflected on by literary scholars Paul Millar¹⁵³ and William Oliver, is important because it provides insights into the whole context of Baxter's interaction with Māori. These works help to underpin the assertion that

¹⁴⁵ Frank McKay, *The Life of James K. Baxter* (Auckland: Oxford University, 1992).

¹⁴⁶ William Oliver, *James K. Baxter: A Portrait* (Auckland: Godwit/Bridget Williams, 1994).

¹⁴⁷ James K. Baxter, *James K. Baxter, Complete Prose, Volumes 1-4*, ed. John Weir (Wellington: Victoria University, 2015); *James K. Baxter: Letters of a Poet, Volumes 1-2*, ed. John Weir (Wellington: Victoria University, 2019), *James K. Baxter: Complete Poems*, ed. John Weir (Wellington: Te Herenga Waka, 2022).

¹⁴⁸ Riddell, *Funding Contextual Theology*.

¹⁴⁹ Basil Dowling (1910-2000) Christchurch poet trained as a Presbyterian Minister and taught in Aotearoa New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Imprisoned during World War II for his pacifist beliefs.

¹⁵⁰ Charles Brasch (1909-1973) poet, literary editor. As founding editor of the literary journal *Landfall* Brasch wielded enormous influence in the New Zealand literary scene.

¹⁵¹ In *New Zealand Literature: A Survey* E. H. McCormick defines the Man Alone as "the solitary, rootless nonconformist, who in a variety of forms crops up persistently in New Zealand writing" quoted in Dale Benson, "Men Alone," *Deepsouth* Vol.4 No.2 (Spring 1998), (unpaginated), accessed 5/5/23. <https://www.otago.ac.nz/deepsouth/1198/MenAlone.html>.

¹⁵² Annabel Wilson, *From Aspiring to Paradise: the South Island myth and its enemies* (MA diss., Massey University, 2014), 1.

¹⁵³ Paul Millar, "Jacquie Baxter / J. C. Sturm (1927-2009)," *Ka mate ka ora: A New Zealand Journal of Poetry and Poetics* 9 (March 2010): (unpaginated).

Baxter's relationship with Māori in general is pivotal for Pākehā literature, for the emergence of Pākehā identity, and ultimately for liturgical inculturation by Pākehā. Baxter's words (edited by Weir) speak eloquently and show how Baxter can inform Pākehā in a particular way, in the task of liturgical inculturation.

1.5. Christmas's problem

The connection between Christmas and winter, and the possibilities of defrosting Christmas liturgies and traditions, are informed by analysis of official church Christmas texts, Christmas carol texts and current Christmas liturgical practices in Aotearoa New Zealand (including commentary on plants used in liturgical spaces for Christmas).

Literature by liturgists and theologians Paul Bradshaw, Raymond Brown, Maxwell Johnson, Joseph Kelly, Adrien Nocent, and Thomas Talley¹⁵⁴ contributes important historical background and context for consideration of the date of Christmas, and how Christmas became established in the liturgical calendar. While the history of arguments over the position of Christmas in the year provides essential context to this research project, those discussions do not raise any serious historico-theological challenges to the project of inculturating the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand. Importantly, the literature affirms that Christ's birth is not immutably related to the season of winter.

The Roman Missal approved for use in the Dioceses of New Zealand and *A New Zealand Prayer Book: He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* demonstrate the state of inculturation in official Christmas liturgical texts.¹⁵⁵ The official liturgical texts indicate that celebrations of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand are not situated in any place or season, and do not refer to the natural world context of the seasons which worshippers inhabit. Because of the lack of place specificity in official

¹⁵⁴ Raymond Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (New York: Doubleday, 1979); Paul Bradshaw and Maxwell Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 2011); Joseph Kelly, *The Origins of Christmas* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 2014); Adrien Nocent, *The Liturgical Year: Advent, Christmas, Epiphany* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 2013); Thomas Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1991).

¹⁵⁵ *The Roman Missal* approved for use in the Dioceses of New Zealand (Wellington: Printlink, 2010); *A New Zealand Prayer Book*.

texts, it means “place neutral” liturgies are susceptible to being overwhelmed by inherited European traditions and surrounding culture promoting winter-themed Christmas celebrations.

The problem of inappropriate official texts is addressed by Australian liturgist Clare Johnson, and New Zealanders Bosco Peters and Joy Cowley.¹⁵⁶ They identify the ritual texts which keep Christmas in the dark and cold. Numerous historic carols from hymnals and carol collections commonly used in Aotearoa New Zealand reinforce the Christmas-winter alliance and are identified in this work as sources of dissonance for inculturated Christmas celebration.

Writers on Christmas and its connection with Creation range from Prudentius to Aquinas and new material on Christmas and Creation comes from contemporary Australian liturgists Clare Johnson, David Ranson, and Tom Elich.¹⁵⁷ The literature from theologians and liturgists is unproblematic in regard to Christmas being in December and not in winter.

When scrutinising literature on Christmas and indigenous people, Baxter’s evolving relationship with Māori,¹⁵⁸ a statement from the Anglican Indigenous Network¹⁵⁹ and documents from the Amazonian Synod are significant texts to consider. This literature indicates that Māori embrace of Christmas is uncomplicated in some regards; however, how mātauranga Māori might be engaged for liturgical inculturation for the whole church in Aotearoa New Zealand is an opportunity for further work.

Studying Aotearoa New Zealand’s founding document Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi is crucial to understanding relationships between Māori and Pākehā. The New Zealand government’s

¹⁵⁶ Bosco Peters, *Celebrating Eucharist* (Lower Hutt: DEFT, 1995); Clare Johnson, “Advent-Purple Trees,” <https://www.praytellblog.com/index.php/2010/11/29/advent-purple-trees/>, accessed 27/1/22; Joy Cowley in *Carols our Christmas: A Book of New Zealand Carols* (Raumati Beach: New Zealand Hymnbook Trust, 1996), v.

¹⁵⁷ Australian liturgists who have already looked at this (with representative texts) are Clare Johnson “Embracing Local Ecology in Liturgical Expression,” *Liturgy* 27/2 (2012): 31-39; David Ranson, “Fire in Water: The Liturgical Cycle in the Experience of South-East Australian Seasonal Patterns,” *Compass* 26 (1992): 9-12, and Tom Elich “A View from the Antipodes: The Invincible Summer Sun,” in *Studia Liturgica* 40/1-2 (2010): 85-93.

¹⁵⁸ Particularly evident in his *Complete Prose, Complete Letters*, and in McKay’s bibliography.

¹⁵⁹ Anglican Indigenous Network – Mission Statement, <https://ain.anglicancommunion.org/>, accessed 26/7/21.

2011 *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: A Report into Claims Concerning New Zealand Law and Policy Affecting Māori Culture and Identity* document¹⁶⁰ addresses (among other topics) intellectual property, the natural world of Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori culture, Māori language and mātauranga Māori. As the document covers areas significant to this study such as te whenua/the land, te tangata whenua/indigenous people and how mātauranga Māori should be respected and can contribute to self-understanding and cultural development for all Aotearoa New Zealanders, *KAT* is an important tool for liturgical inculturation and an important reference for this project. For these reasons, *KAT* provides highly relevant wayfinding tools for the task of liturgical inculturation.

This research project considers local liturgical responses to place, in dialogue with the one holy church, through reference to the official documents *SC*, the report of the 1998 Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops, and the work of Anglican liturgist Leonel Mitchell.¹⁶¹ This literature points to the problem of Christmas remaining unhelpfully shackled to winter in much written material, and consequently this thesis opts for inculturation strategies assisted by texts and methodology from outside the northern hemispheric, Eurocentric framework – as proposed by Chupungco.

As well as the problem of liturgical texts and song texts which maintain a winter–Christmas linkage, popular piety provides myriad additional examples of ice and snow associations with Christmas. Texts and reporting from Emeritus Archbishop of Polynesia Winston Halapua and Rev. Sue Halapua counter hibernal emphases in Christmas language and liturgy, with wider Pacific perspectives on inculturation using plants in liturgy and poetic imagery from contexts in Fiji and Tonga.¹⁶² The *Environment and Art in Catholic Worship* document and the *Catholic Directory on*

¹⁶⁰ *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: A Report into Claims Concerning New Zealand Law and Policy Affecting Māori Culture and Identity* 98. <https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/news/ko-aotearoa-tenei-report-on-the-wai-262-claim-released/>, accessed 20/6/23. (hereafter *KAT*).

¹⁶¹ 1998 Lambeth Conference quoted in Leonel Mitchell “Essential Worship” in *The Chant of Life: Inculturation and the People of the Land*, ed. Mark MacDonald (New York: Church Publishing, 2003).

¹⁶² Telephone interview and electronic correspondence with the author. Sue Halapua *Pacific Christmas* (poem), *Christmas in Fiji*, (children’s story), unpublished, shared electronically.

Popular Piety and the Liturgy offer direction on paying attention to what is actually happening in Creation at Christmas.¹⁶³ American academic David Bertaina's writing is an important source regarding the role of Christmas trees.¹⁶⁴ The literature indicates some dissonance between popular piety and the inculturation of Christmas, but by clarifying what is central to the celebration of Christmas and what is peripheral, the literature offers guidance toward the liturgical inculturation project explored in this research.

Historian Alison Clarke's book on holidays in nineteenth century Aotearoa New Zealand¹⁶⁵ provides a useful historical overview of how popular celebration of Christmas has evolved in Aotearoa New Zealand. The text adds popular context but lacks any significant discussion of liturgy. Yvan Sergy, Adrienne Thompson, and Michele Coxhead provide exemplars for inculturated Advent wreaths.¹⁶⁶ These three examples have limitations but offer further evidence of the desire to advance the embrace of a summer Advent and Christmas.

Texts by Māori Marsden¹⁶⁷ and Hirini Kaa¹⁶⁸ on the Māori Anglican Church offer important Māori insights on inculturation of Christmas. The diary of Garin; articles by academic and community leader Manuka Henare;¹⁶⁹ Art historian Roger Neich¹⁷⁰ on Māori Madonna and child sculptures; and a

¹⁶³ United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, "Environment and Art In Catholic Worship," in *The Liturgy Documents: A Parish Resource* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1991); Catholic Church, *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy: Principles and Guidelines*, (Vatican: 2001), accessed 10/10/22, https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20020513_verse-direttorio_en.html#INTRODUCTION, para. 100, (hereafter DPPL).

¹⁶⁴ David Bertaina, *An Explanation (and defense) of the Christmas Tree*, 16/12/20, accessed 6/3/22, <https://www.circeinstitute.org/blog/explanation-and-defense-christmas-tree>,

¹⁶⁵ Clarke, *Holiday Seasons*.

¹⁶⁶ Yvan Sergy, *Southern Cross Advent Liturgy*, no date, accessed 2/2/22, <https://www.anglican.org.nz/Resources/Worship-Resources-Karakia-ANZPB-HKMOA/Special-Days>; Adrienne Thompson, *An Aotearoa Advent Circle*, 16/12/20, accessed 2/2/22, <https://www.sunzbreakthrough.org.nz/resources/aotearoaadvent>; Michele Coxhead, *An Aotearoa Christmas-giving and decorating*, 22/10/18, accessed 26/1/22, <https://www.thetereomaoriclassroom.co.nz/2018/10/an-aotearoa-christmas-giving-and-decorating/>.

¹⁶⁷ Marsden, *Woven Universe*.

¹⁶⁸ Hirini Kaa, *Te Hāhi Mihinare: The Māori Anglican Church* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 2021).

¹⁶⁹ Manuka Henare, "Māori Catholic Beginnings", in *The Visit of His Holiness Pope John Paul II, New Zealand, November 22-24, 1986: the official publication containing liturgies for Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch* (Wellington: Papal Visit Aotearoa Ltd, 1986).

¹⁷⁰ Roger Neich, *Carved Histories, Rotorua Ngāti Tarawhai Woodcarving* (Auckland: Auckland University, 2001).

text by John Paul II¹⁷¹ on Māori culture, offer insights on the inculturation of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand. Inculturating Christmas music is investigated with knowledge from Māori musician Theia/Haley Walker,¹⁷² and with texts from Chupungco. On establishing regional liturgical commissions to guide and implement liturgical inculturation, literature by Johnson, the *KAT* report from the Waitangi Tribunal, and the Amazonian Synod point to a viable liturgical inculturation pathway for Aotearoa New Zealand. Literature from Chupungco, Baxter and the Amazonian Synod provide additional important data informing the methodology for implementing liturgical inculturation of Christmas. The obvious deficit in the Amazonian Synod and Chupungco literature is that they do not refer to Aotearoa New Zealand; however, their insights indicate useful approaches to undertaking the task of inculturating the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.6. Midwinter opportunity

Literature and reports from a variety of sources are important in understanding the midwinter Matariki festival which has undergone a revival in Aotearoa New Zealand in recent years. The literature provides background for potential liturgical inculturation of Matariki. Writing on the importance of the Matariki/Pleiades constellation in general and the many cultures around the world which observe the changes in the Matariki/Pleiades constellation contributes to the wider context of Matariki as a resource for liturgical observance. Scriptural references to stars¹⁷³ indicate that references to celestial bodies are appropriately included in worship; however, the literature is clear that the scriptural references connect stars to God, whereas Matariki celebrations on the whole look to traditional Māori gods.

¹⁷¹ John Paul II's opening homily for his Aotearoa New Zealand visit: https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/homilies/1986/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_19861122_auckland-nuova-zelanda.html, accessed 1/2/22.

¹⁷² Haley Walker known professionally as Theia, see Jessica Tyson, "Theia's new Christmas waiata in te reo to play out on Air NZ," *Te Ao Māori News*, 26/11/19, <https://www.teaomaori.news/theias-new-christmas-waiata-te-reo-play-out-on-air-nz>.

¹⁷³ Such as Job 9:9, Job 38:31, Amos 5:8, Psalm 147:4, The Song of the Three Jews/Young Men.

Ethnographer Elsdon Best's historic text on Matariki celebrations offers a nineteenth century Pākehā view of the festival. The New Zealand government's Matariki Advisory Group and Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand¹⁷⁴ websites are important sources for contemporary views of the history of Matariki and strategic thinking on resurrecting the festival.¹⁷⁵ Evidence of regional variations to Matariki observance (especially in Western and Southern regions of Aotearoa) is found on regional tribal or civic websites.¹⁷⁶ Astronomical sources from those regions show the responsiveness of Māori maramataka to local conditions. The literature shows that, in the enthusiasm to promote Matariki in recent years, some regional nuances have been overlooked and that there is room for more regional variation of Matariki celebrations (or Puanga/Puaka celebrations where the Matariki constellation is not clearly visible).

The chief literary source on Matariki celebrations in Aotearoa New Zealand is Rangi Matamua's 2017 book *Matariki: Star of the Year*.¹⁷⁷ Matamua's book, promotion of Matariki, and Māori astronomy in general are currently hugely popular in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Relevant literature on Christian Matariki celebrations from Catholic, Salvation Army and Presbyterian sources¹⁷⁸ comes primarily from individual enthusiasts rather than official resources for church use. Liturgists Bronwyn White and Bosco Peters provide pioneering examples of Matariki

¹⁷⁴ (Hereafter Te Papa).

¹⁷⁵ Te Papa, *Matariki*, no date, 23/10/23, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/search/Matariki>; Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, *Matariki Public Holiday*, 1/7/22, accessed 3/2/22, <https://www.mbie.govt.nz/business-and-employment/employment-and-skills/employment-legislation-reviews/matariki/matariki-public-holiday/>; Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, *Matariki Advisory Group: Establishment, appointments and terms of reference*, 30/6/21, accessed 3/2/22. <https://www.mbie.govt.nz/dmsdocument/15329-matariki-advisory-group-establishment-appointments-and-terms-of-reference-proactiverelase-pdf>.

¹⁷⁶ Puanga Whanganui, no date, accessed 14/6/2019, <https://www.puanga.org.nz/>; Matariki Dunedin: 2023, accessed 23/10/23, <https://matarikidunedin.co.nz/about/>.

¹⁷⁷ Rangi Matamua, *Matariki: The Star of the Year* (Wellington: Huia, 2017).

¹⁷⁸ Mercy schools, *Matariki and Mercy*, 2023, accessed 23/10/23, <http://www.mercyschools.org.nz/mercy-story/matariki/>; Catholic response to Matariki liturgies- Aidan O'Connor, *Matariki Liturgy*, 24/6/22, accessed 18/8/22, <https://www.churchmilitant.com/news/article/matariki-liturgy>; Presbyterian Church, *Matariki services*, 2023, accessed 24/10/23, <https://www.presbyterian.org.nz/for-ministers/worship-resources/special-services/matariki-services>; Salvation Army Matariki reflection by Hana Seddon (Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa), 30/6/18, accessed 12/5/19, <https://www.salvationarmy.org.nz/article/matariki-and-m%C4%81ori-new-year>.

liturgies.¹⁷⁹ Existing Matariki literature indicates that there is opportunity for national and ecumenical development of Matariki liturgies.

Evidence from church publications of midwinter 'Christmas' celebrations at Matariki time by parishes, church institutions and the wider community demonstrates a continued mis-association of winter with Christmas.¹⁸⁰ Reports of midwinter 'Christmas' celebrations in Aotearoa New Zealand indicate an incompatibility with efforts to inculturate the liturgical year.

This project investigates liturgical texts and literature on existing liturgical traditions which can be linked with Matariki, including the Nativity of John the Baptist,¹⁸¹ Harvest festivals, Rogation Days,¹⁸² and Corpus Christi. It develops liturgical possibilities using Matariki themes with reference to the document *Laudato Si*,¹⁸³ and literature by Chupungco, Bronwyn White, Joseph Kelly,¹⁸⁴ Baxter,¹⁸⁵ and Matamua.

¹⁷⁹ Bronwyn White, *Liturgy of celebration at Matariki*, no date, accessed 12/5/19, <https://spiritandfaith.wordpress.com/liturgy-of-celebration-matariki/>; Bosco Peters, *Winter Solstice Matariki*, 15/6/18, accessed 7/5/19, <http://liturgy.co.nz/winter-solstice-matariki>; Bosco Peters, *Matariki*, no date, accessed 12/5/19, <http://www.liturgy.co.nz/newsviews/matariki.html>.

¹⁸⁰ Some parishes may celebrate John the Baptist as a way of marking the midpoint of winter, while others may celebrate a mid-winter 'Christmas' dinner in June or July, if they mark this turning point of the year at all. Many rest-homes and businesses have midwinter celebrations, for example: Greytown, *Greytown festival of Christmas*, no date, accessed 20/10/23, <https://www.greytownvillage.com/blog/greytown-festival-of-christmas>. See also: Ryman Healthcare, *Mid-winter Christmas*, 21/7/20, accessed 6/9/22, <https://www.rymanhealthcare.co.nz/lifestyle/health-and-wellbeing/mid-winter-christmas>. Some churches promote 'Mid-Winter Christmas': Nativity Church Blenheim, *Midwinter Christmas Fundraiser*, 11/5/21, accessed 20/10/23, <https://www.nativity.org.nz/news-and-events/mid-winter-christmas-fundraiser>; Anglican Diocese of Wellington, *Midwinter Christmas*, no date, accessed 6/9/22, <https://anglicanmovement.nz/blog/mid-winter-christmas-in-the-time-of-covid-19>.

¹⁸¹ The Venerable Bede (673-735), *Hail Harbinger of Morn*, translated by Charles Calverley (1831-1884) *New English Hymnal* (Norwich: Canterbury, 1986), 383. "Blessing of a Bonfire on the Vigil of the Birthday of St. John the Baptist," Catholic Church, *Roman Ritual Complete Edition*, ed. Philip Weller (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1964), 423-426.

¹⁸² "Rogation Days," *The Lectionary/Te Maramataka 2019* (Auckland: Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, 2018), 141.

¹⁸³ Pope Francis, Encyclical Letter *Laudato Si: On care for our common home*, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_enciclica-laudato-si.html accessed 27/9/23, (hereafter *LS*).

¹⁸⁴ Kelly, *Origins of Christmas*, 77.

¹⁸⁵ James K. Baxter, "On the shortest day of the year," *Collected Poems of James K. Baxter*, ed. John Weir (Auckland: Oxford University, 1995), 585

Liturgies created by the Matariki working group of the Liturgical Commission of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia constitute a significant aspect of this study.¹⁸⁶

Matariki liturgies for Memorial of the Departed, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Thanksgiving for Creation and Thanksgiving for *whakapapa* as used at All Saints' Church Dunedin in 2021 are analysed.¹⁸⁷ Feedback from those who participated in pilot Matariki liturgies in Dunedin provides a wellspring of insights.¹⁸⁸ Peter Phan and Paul Pham's literature on the Vietnamese experience of veneration of ancestors helps put Matariki liturgies honouring the departed into the context of a wider liturgical and theological discussion.¹⁸⁹

The New Zealand government's *KAT* report,¹⁹⁰ documents from the Amazonian synod,¹⁹¹ *LS* and publications by Chupungco¹⁹² constitute important literary contributions for consideration in relation to this section of the study and their insights assist the research project in weaving its proposed Christian Matariki celebration into an inculturated liturgical year.

1.7. Further possibilities

The writing of European settler Mary Anne, Lady Barker demonstrates that the instinct to embrace inculturated liturgy in Aotearoa New Zealand has existed since the nineteenth century.¹⁹³ Writing by geographical journalist Kennedy Warne, geographers Johnson and Larsen, and John Bluck

¹⁸⁶ In 2022 the Tikanga Pākehā Liturgical Group distributed four liturgies developed by the author of this thesis for trial throughout the country. <https://anglicanlife.org.nz/news-and-announcements/matariki-resources/> accessed 18/8/22.

¹⁸⁷ See Appendices 1-4 of this thesis.

¹⁸⁸ Named and anonymous feedback from a variety of worshippers was received.

¹⁸⁹ An essay by Paul Pham, (University of Portland, 2008) on the liturgical inculturation of the cult of ancestors in Vietnam can be found here:

https://files.ecatholic.com/12077/documents/2016/3/Deacon%20Paul_Liturgical%20Inculturation%20of%20funeral%20rite.pdf?t=1458970732000, accessed 26/6/23. Peter Phan has written extensively about on Vietnamese ancestor veneration. See for example: "Culture and liturgy: Ancestor veneration as a test case." *Worship* 76/5 (2002): 403-430.

¹⁹⁰ *KAT*, 98.

¹⁹¹ See *Final Document of the Amazon Synod*, and *QA*.

¹⁹² Anscar Chupungco, "Methods of Liturgical Inculturation," in *Worship and Culture: Foreign Country or Homeland*, ed. Glauca Vasconcelos Wilkey (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 266.

¹⁹³ Lady Barker, *A Christmas Cake in Four Quarters* (London: Frederick Warne, 1887).

contribute to understanding the need to build a sense of place for Pākehā¹⁹⁴ which is crucial to developing mātauranga Pākehā and liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Lent and Easter texts by several Aotearoa New Zealand writers and poets contribute toward understanding the desire to engage in liturgical inculturation across the church's year as it is lived in the southern seasons.¹⁹⁵

The study considers literature concerning the international ecumenical 'Season of Creation'¹⁹⁶ in regard to the inculturation opportunities provided by the Spring Equinox, and studies material from New Zealand businesswoman Tina Aitcheson, who seeks to connect people with the seasons and cycles of the natural world, including the Spring Equinox.¹⁹⁷ The research project notes reports on an annual ritual performed by some Anglican cathedrals in Aotearoa New Zealand which ring bells to welcome back migratory birds in Spring,¹⁹⁸ and it explores briefly the literature surrounding New Zealanders' fascination with Kuaka/Godwits.¹⁹⁹ Celebrating migratory animals as an

¹⁹⁴ Clare V. Johnson, "Grounding the Timeless in Place: Exploring the influence of the physical environment on liturgical conceptions of time," *Australian Journal of Liturgy* 12/1 (May 2009): 84-107; Johnson and Larsen, *A Deeper Sense of Place*; Bluck, *Long, White and Cloudy*; Warne, *Awakenings*.

¹⁹⁵ Writers include: CR Allen, JK Baxter, Bill Bennett, Ursula Bethell, Fay Clayton, Allen Curnow, Eileen Duggan, Paul Henderson, Sam Hunt, Timothy C. Hurd, Robin Hyde, FR Inwood, MK Joseph, RAK Mason, David Mitchell, Colin Newbury, Chris Orsman, Vincent O'Sullivan, Anne Powell, Shirley Smith, WL Wallace.

¹⁹⁶ Instituted in 1989, the Season of Creation commences on 1 September with the Eastern Orthodox Day of Prayer for Creation and concludes with the feast of Francis of Assisi on 4 October. See September 2021 joint statement from Pope Francis, the Ecumenical Patriarch and Archbishop of Canterbury on the climate crisis <https://www.oikoumene.org/sites/default/files/2021-09/Joint%20Statement.pdf>, accessed 3/3/23.

¹⁹⁷ Tina Aitcheson, *Spring Equinox Celebration Ideas*, Sept 22, accessed 25/1/23, <https://www.paitu.co.nz/spring-equinox-celebration-ideas/>.

¹⁹⁸ Unknown author, "Bells far and wide celebrate return of albatross," *ODT*, 18/9/19, accessed 25/1/23, <https://www.odt.co.nz/news/dunedin/bells-far-and-wide-celebrate-return-albatross>; Gee, Samantha. *Eastern bar-tailed godwits arrive in region after marathon flight from Alaska*, 22/9/21, accessed 26/1/23, <https://nelsonapp.co.nz/news/eastern-bar-tailed-godwits-arrive-in-region-after-marathon-flight-from-alaska>. See also: Waiapu Cathedral, *Bells to Welcome Godwit-Kuaka*, 28/9/22, accessed 26/1/23. <https://napiercathedral.org.nz/2022/09/28/bells-to-chime-to-welcome-godwits-kuaka/>.

¹⁹⁹ Bridget Armstrong, *Flight of the Godwit; a portrait of Robin Hyde*, (Wellington: Circa, 1983). Marlene Bennetts, *Yolaska the Godwit* (Christchurch: Emjay, 2018); Charles Brasch, "The Islands 2" in *Charles Brasch Collected Poems*, ed. Alan Roddick (Auckland: Oxford University, 1984), 17; Margaret Clark, *Godwits Return* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 1992); Robin Hyde, *The Godwits Fly* (Auckland: Auckland University, 1970), James McNeish, *As for the Godwits* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977); Sandra Morris, *Godwit's Journey* (Auckland: Reed, 2004); Nicola Muir, *Baba Didi and the Godwits Fly* (Oxford: New Internationalist, 2013); Jenny Patrick, *The Very Important Godwit* (Auckland: Random House, 2009).

opportunity for liturgical inculturation of the Spring Equinox is noted as an area that is ripe for further study.

The revision and inculturation of the Sanctorale in Aotearoa New Zealand is informed by Peters' book *Celebrating Eucharist*²⁰⁰ and a motion made to the Anglican Diocese of Dunedin synod in 2022.²⁰¹ Literature from the Amazonian inculturation process²⁰² and Chupungco²⁰³ are also significant resources for this part of the thesis.

As noted previously, the literature shows that official inculturation of the sanctorale is relatively easy to achieve through Anglican processes; in the Catholic Church it is more difficult. However, the literature indicates that there is an inculturation deficit in the Anglican sanctorale. Explorations of how popular piety could be harnessed to further liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand, and how liturgical inculturation of Easter and the entire temporale might take place, remain opportunities for further research.

The next chapter will explore Māori and Pākehā systems of marking sacred time in Aotearoa New Zealand and engage with the problem of a dislocated liturgical year.

²⁰⁰ Peters, *Celebrating Eucharist*.

²⁰¹ Anglican Taonga, *Dunedin marks southern luminaries*, 17/9/23, accessed 20/9/23, <https://www.anglicantaonga.org.nz/features/extra/dnc23>.

²⁰² Rita Ferrone, *Work Toward an Amazonian Rite Moves Forward*, 2/9/22, accessed 03/03/23, <https://www.praytellig.com/index.php/2022/09/02/work-toward-amazonian-rite-moves-forward/>; Luis Modino, *CEAMA presenta el Rito Amazónico al Dicasterio para el Culto Divino*, 1/9/22, accessed 23/9/22, https://www.religiondigital.org/luis_miguel_modino- misionero_en_brasil/CEAMA-Amazonico-Dicasterio-Culto-Divino_7_2483521643.html.

²⁰³ Chupungco, *Methods of Liturgical Inculturation*.

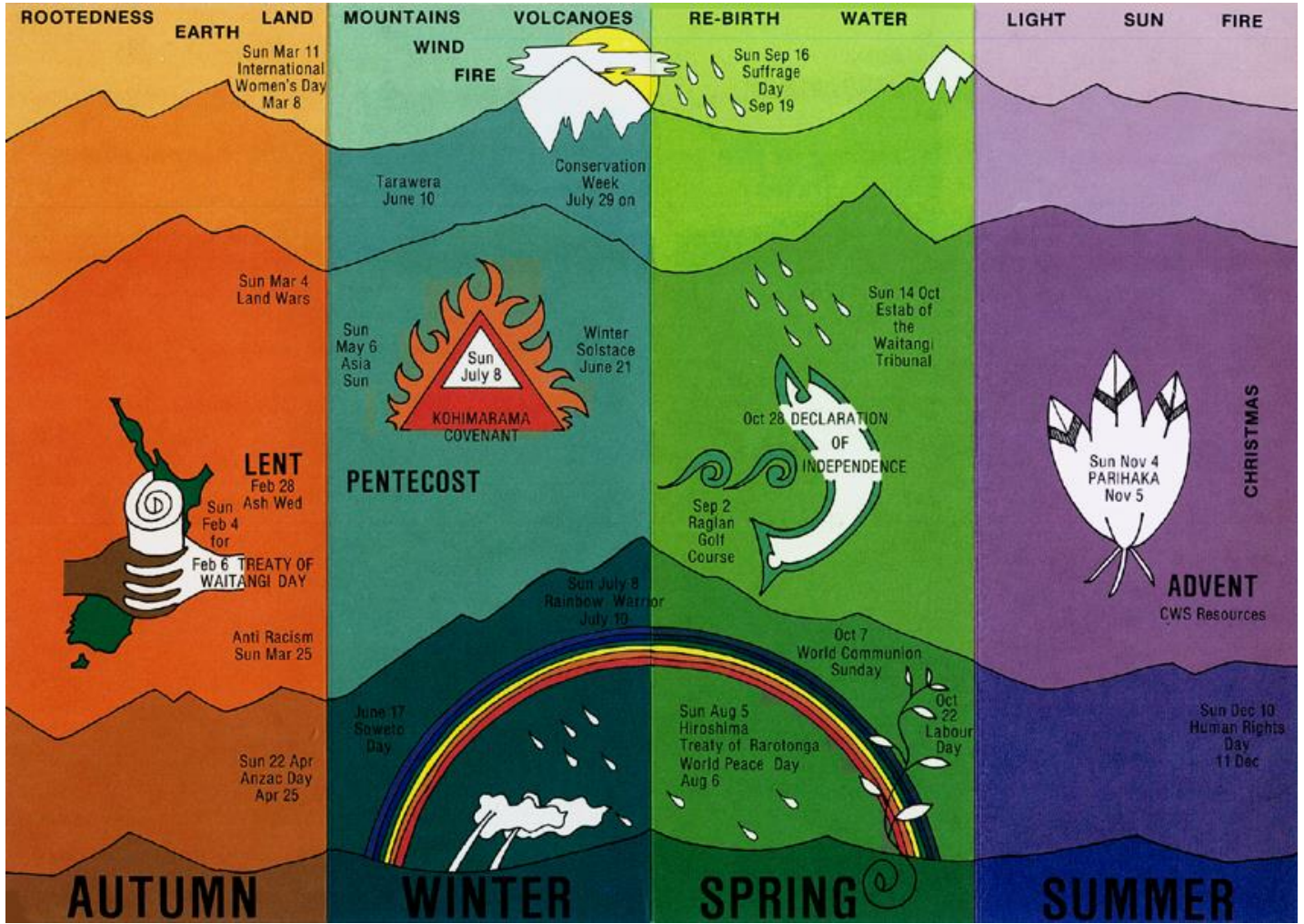


Illustration 3: Calendar for 1990, Conference of Churches in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter 2: Marking sacred time in Aotearoa

2.1 Calendars

Throughout history, human cultures have devised various calendrical systems to understand and frame the passage of time. This chapter explores Māori calendars and the arrival and reception of the northern hemisphere-focussed liturgical calendar²⁰⁴ into the context of Aotearoa. Consideration will be given to how the liturgical calendar was received and the response to problems of dissonance and dislocation of the calendar in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Perhaps the oldest calendar in the world²⁰⁵ is found between Geelong and Melbourne, Victoria, Australia. Wurdi Youang is thought to have been built by the Wadda Wurrung people who have resided in the area since c.25,000BCE. Its construction date is unknown, and could be anywhere in the range c. 25,000BCE to about 1835CE. Even though all records of its use have disappeared, it is clear that Wurdi Youang was constructed to understand time through observation of the sun's solstices and equinox.²⁰⁶ It is evident from Wurdi Youang and various other known ancient calendars that for millennia human cultures have used the course of the sun and the moon to mark the passage of time, and to anticipate times and seasons. Around the world numerous cultures have developed various systems including lunar, solar and lunisolar calendars to define days, weeks, months and years.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ The Gregorian calendar was the calendar for civil and ecclesiastical use by the first Europeans to approach Aotearoa. Encyclopedia Britannica, no date, accessed 20/9/20, <https://www.britannica.com/story/ten-days-that-vanished-the-switch-to-the-gregorian-calendar>.

²⁰⁵ Currently Wurdi Youang is thought to be the oldest calendar, the next oldest calendar is at Warren Field, Scotland. University of Birmingham, *The beginning of time? World's oldest 'calendar' discovered*, 16/7/13, accessed 26/1/20, <https://www.universetoday.com/103967/ancient-astronomical-calendar-discovered-in-scotland-predates-stonehenge-by-6000-years/>.

²⁰⁶ Norris, *Wurdi Youang*; Hegarty, *Aboriginal Stonehenge*.

²⁰⁷ Several Ancient Near East cultures including Bronze Age Egyptian and Sumerian cultures had well known calendars. Richard Parker, "The Calendars of Ancient Egypt," *Studies on Ancient Oriental Civilization 26* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1950).

2.2 Ngā maramataka/Māori calendars

When Polynesian explorers arrived in Aotearoa in approximately 1270CE,²⁰⁸ they brought with them traditional Polynesian ways of marking time,²⁰⁹ especially through observation of celestial bodies, agricultural cycles and migration of birds and sea creatures. As Māori settled in Aotearoa, they adapted their calendar to align with Aotearoa's position in relation to celestial bodies, Aotearoa's weather and seasons, and the different crops and animals available. In the tropical regions from where the Polynesian explorers came, there were two main seasons: wet or dry, rather than four seasons, and the calendar was shaped by the cycles associated with the principal crops of taro, yam, and *kūmara*.²¹⁰ In the new context of Aotearoa, it was a struggle to grow yam and taro, and *kūmara* became the most important crop. However, *kūmara* would not grow in the winter in Aotearoa; instead, it needed to be stored and planted out again when the weather warmed, and some areas were too cold to grow it at all. The new settlers found that the calendrical systems developed for tropical Polynesia to guide the rhythm of yam and taro production were not applicable in the new context.²¹¹ In a 2017 article on the Māori calendar. Wayne Orchiston and Darunee Lingling Orchiston assert that it was in the 14th century CE that Māori developed a new calendar based around *kūmara*:

Since it [kumara] could not be grown year-round, these horticultural experimenters desperately needed guidance as to the appropriate times to plant the tubers and harvest the crops, and trial and error showed that astronomy could provide this. Soon all vestiges of their original astronomical knowledge base, with its focus on taro and yam, were gone, and in its

²⁰⁸ Lisa Matisoo-Smith is a University of Otago biological anthropologist specialising in the genetic origins of New Zealanders. See: "The Longest Journey – from Africa to Aotearoa," *Journal of The Royal Society of New Zealand* (2012): 87-92, where she estimates that the first inhabitants of Aotearoa arrived from Eastern Polynesia around 750 years ago.

²⁰⁹ For in depth discussion of Māori notion of time, stages, goal and fulfilment see chapter 8 "Te Wā," in Tate, *He Puna Iti*, 211-226. Maramataka is the name used for the lectionary of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia.

²¹⁰ Sweet potato. The Polynesian names for sweet potato, (variants of *kūmara*) are very similar to the name of sweet potato in the Quechuan language of Peru, which is *kumar*.

²¹¹ Orchiston and Lingling Orchiston note that the calendar changed according to crops and continued to change "So by the time European settlement occurred the regional variations that typified terminal prehistoric Māori material culture... and the Māori language itself... also were a conspicuous feature of Māori astronomy—and, as we have seen, evidence of this is scattered throughout Elsdon Best's publications." Orchiston and Lingling Orchiston, *Māori calendar of New Zealand*, 57-78.

place was a robust new astronomical system. This was a distinctly Māori rather than ancestral Polynesian astronomical system, and one that had been created locally in direct response to drastic environmental change and the need to rapidly adapt. With the passage of time this embryonic astronomical system also evolved.²¹²

The calendars which Māori developed in response to the geographical and agricultural conditions of Aotearoa are called te (plural ngā) maramataka²¹³ which means “the moon turning.” Maramataka are lunar calendars which begin with the first new moon following the appearance of Matariki²¹⁴ (Pleiades) in the East; in places where Matariki is not visible, sighting of Puanga/Puaka (Rigel) begins the lunar year.²¹⁵ Maramataka include 10, 12 and 13-month traditions,²¹⁶ with intercalary months.²¹⁷ In common with other traditional Polynesian calendars, maramataka focus on nights of the moon rather than on days of the month.²¹⁸ The number of moon nights varies from 29 to 32.²¹⁹ Various lists of names of nights and the characteristics of those nights exist, varying by tribe and region.²²⁰

As well as recognising lunar cycles, maramataka name four seasons.²²¹ Maramataka were consulted to determine optimal times for food gathering, migration, meetings and rituals.²²² Wiremu

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ A contemporary rendition of Te Maramataka from Te Papa, no date, accessed 1/4/20, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/sites/default/files/maramataka-poster.pdf>.

²¹⁴ For further discussion on Matariki see chapter 7 of this thesis.

²¹⁵ Best, *Māori Division of Time*.

²¹⁶ For details see Best, *ibid*.

²¹⁷ Intercalation is the insertion of a leap day, week, or month into some calendar years to make the calendar follow the seasons or moon phases.

²¹⁸ “Where we speak of the days of the month the Māori referred to the nights of the moon. When we so employ the term day we include the whole twenty-four hours, and the Māori used the term *po* (night) in a similar manner. A native of old would not ask as to how many days a person had been in performing a journey, but would ask how many nights he had been – “*Po hia koe ki te ara?*” Best, *Division of Time* (unpaginated).

²¹⁹ “Eleven maramataka list 29 nights including all 7 from Whanganui, 3 from Kahungunu and 1 from Taranaki. A majority (27) contain 30 nights including 12 of the 15 from Kahungunu; four contain 31 nights (1 each belonging to Moriori, Ngati Awa; Waikato and the “Far North”) and 2 contain 32 nights (from Ngati Porou and Hauraki).” Clarke, Roberts and Weko, 7.

²²⁰ See Best for several lists of nights of the moon from Māori and other Polynesian sources. Best, *Division of Time* (unpaginated).

²²¹ In Te Wai Pounamu the seasons are: Makariri/winter, Kana/Spring, Raumati/Summer and Kahuru/Autumn. For other Māori names of and legends concerning the four seasons see Basil Keane, “Tāwhirimātea-the weather”, *Te Ara*, 1/3/22, accessed 1/4/20.

²²² “Throughout this kaupapa we discovered that *takata mahika kai* (wild food harvesters) were able to provide the greatest detail. They had an intimate knowledge of seasonal harvesting practices such as muttonbirding, eeling, whitebaiting, and fishing. More importantly, they spent a lot of time outside, paying

Tāwhai's book on maramataka of the Whānau-ā-Apanui tribe, *Living by the Moon Te Maramataka a te Whānau-ā-Apanui* notes that each maramataka is a rich and complex repository of knowledge and action plans, built up over a long time span in an ongoing relationship between the people of the land and their tribal territory, and while each maramataka shares general features and world-view with other maramataka, each maramataka is highly specific in content and application.²²³ Tāwhai notes that maramataka were "embedded in the social and cultural life of the people"²²⁴ and that they reflect "an all-encompassing world-view pervaded by a sense of awe. Maramataka knowledge both sustains and gives expression to deeply held metaphysical belief and a rich tradition of oratory and storytelling."²²⁵

Pioneering New Zealand ethnographer Elsdon Best (1856–1931)²²⁶ notes that Māori measured time by cycles:

Of the word *tau*, now employed by natives to denote the solar year, Williams says in his *Māori Dictionary*: "Tau = season, year; the recurring cycle being the predominating idea rather than the definite time measurement." An old native of much knowledge, on being asked in what year a certain event in Māori history took place, replied: "The Māori had no tale of years as Europeans have; their reckoning of time was by months and days, by summer and winter." The Rev. W. Gill tells us that at Mangaia the year was divided into two seasons, or *tau*. The same system obtained at Tahiti and other parts of Polynesia. Fornander states that the primary meaning of *tau* in Polynesia is "season", – in some cases a season of six months. Occasionally it denoted, derivatively, a year. The Māori probably used the term in a similar manner. If engaged in planting crops he would refer to the planting of the previous year as that of "last *tau*", which would be equivalent to "last year".²²⁷

For centuries Māori marked time by participating in the cycles of nature and observing a lunar calendar with regional variations. Māori understand some days and nights to be better for

attention to what was happening in the coastal, estuarine, freshwater, forest, and alpine environments; and, of course, the atmosphere. If they failed to take heed of what the environment was saying, "He aituā kai te haere" (an accident will happen). The influence of lunar phases on daily weather conditions and on the behaviour of taoka kai (traditional Ngāi Tahu food) habitat was regarded as particularly strong." Skipper, 24.

²²³ Tāwhai, vii.

²²⁴ Ibid., viii.

²²⁵ Ibid., viii.

²²⁶ Best's patronising attitude toward Māori is unpalatable today, nonetheless he remains a useful source.

²²⁷ Best, *Division of Time*, 11.

fishing, planting or harvesting; appropriate prayers accompanied each activity and each part of the calendar.²²⁸ It is evident that the calendar Māori developed in Aotearoa was a Polynesian lunar calendar based on cycles of celestial bodies, in particular the moon and stars, adjusted to reflect the cycle of natural seasons and the life cycles of plants and animals in Aotearoa. Important events in the maramataka were marked with prayers and feasting, for example the conclusion of planting, the kūmara harvest, and the appearance of Matariki or Puanga/Puaka.

Matariki is the Māori name for the Pleiades constellation; the disappearance and reappearance of Matariki (or Puanga/Puka/Rigel, depending on location) marked the beginning of the Māori year. The Matariki festival will be discussed in depth in chapter 7.

As well as the lunar calendar and natural cycles, Māori life was marked with prayers and feasting for harvest, major life events²²⁹ and other events of community interest. Marist missionary Garin (1810- 1889) noted: “About once a year there were special feasts. Usually, it’s a leading chief who has spent a year planning for the dinner. He plants lots of kūmara and, when he’s harvested a huge quantity of them, he invites several tribes from the neighbourhood to this feast.”²³⁰ Eminent New Zealand anthropologist Raymond Frith (1901-2002)²³¹ observed that feasting took place at the birth of a high-ranking child, at a *tūā* (child’s naming rite), at a *tohi* ceremony (dedication of a child to a god), when a high-ranked person received a *tā moko* (tattoo), marriage, funerals, to mark exhumation of bones and at the annual opening of a *whare wananga*/house of learning.

In addition to these feasts, occasions related to war and peace, i.e., parties going to battle, parties returning from battle, and peace being made, were celebrated.

It has been demonstrated that Māori had a highly developed calendar which changed and adapted when necessary to align with the Aotearoa environment and seasons, and the view of celestial bodies from Aotearoa. Such calendars were attentive to the life of the people and observed

²²⁸ Best lists several tribal traditions about the nature of various nights in *Division of Time*.

²²⁹ Garin notes customs related to naming ceremonies and marriages. Tremewan and Larcombe, 547.

²³⁰ Garin does not note the reason for the feast other than that a chief has planned it. *Ibid.*, 408.

²³¹ Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Māori*, 2nd ed.

with accompanying prayer and sacred rites. Ngā maramataka were built on the foundation of Polynesian lunar calendars and relied on calendrical experts paying close attention to what was happening in the heavens and in the natural world to guide the observances of the people. In spite of maramataka being substantially different from the Gregorian calendar, it can be asserted that Māori systems of communal marking of the passage of time, celebration of annual feast days and fast days, and periods of remembering the dead all prepared the ground for planting of the Western liturgical calendar in Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.3 Arrival of liturgical calendars in Aotearoa New Zealand

2.3.1 European explorers

This section of the chapter will consider initial contact between Aotearoa and European calendrical systems.

The first European explorers to come to Aotearoa New Zealand were from three different cultures and ecclesiastical traditions – each of which valued and observed the liturgical year.²³²

Dutch explorer Abel Tasman (1603–1659) was the first European to sight Aotearoa, along with his crew – Tasman was a member of the Netherlands Reformed Church.²³³ Tasman's ships *Heemskerck* and *Zeehaen* sailed from Batavia, Dutch East Indies (now Jakarta, Indonesia), on 14 August 1642. On 13 December Tasman sighted Te Wai Pounamu/the South Island which he described as 'a large land, uplifted high'.²³⁴ Tragically, a violent interaction with Māori resulted in the death of three of Tasman's crew on 19 December and consequentially neither Tasman nor any of his crew set foot on Aotearoa. On 25 December the ship was anchored east of Takapourewa/Stephens

²³² First European explorations of Aotearoa were: Tasman (1642-1643), Cook (1769-1770), de Surville (1769), du Fresne (1772), Cook (1773-1774 and 1777), Vancouver (1791).

²³³ Whilst his voyage did not have a specific theological or missionary intent, Tasman's employers used religious language to wish him well on embarkation. McNab, 6-13. See also: Hocken, and Jan Jongeneel, *Jesus Christ in World History: His Presence and Representation in Cyclical and Linear settings* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 146.

²³⁴ NZ History, *First recorded European sighting of New Zealand: 13 December 1642*, 23/9/20, accessed 15/10/20, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/abel-tasman-sights-the-southern-alps-becoming-the-first-european-to-see-nz>.

Island and Rangitoto ki te Tonga/D'Urville Island, sheltering from the weather. In 1642, Dutch Reformed Christians used the liturgy approved by the Synod of Dordrecht/Dort of 1619.²³⁵ The Synod of Dordrecht/Dort required “that the major Feast-Days be observed, and that, where possible, the Lord’s Supper be administered on Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas.”²³⁶ There is no record of any liturgical celebration²³⁷ on Tasman’s ships, but the sailors marked the occasion by feasting on extra rations of wine, and Tasman noted that 1642’s Christmas Day was cold and wet, meaning they had to shelter from a storm.²³⁸ By 6 January 1643 (feast of the Epiphany) Tasman had sailed north to a group of islands (Manawatāwhi) which he named the Three Kings Islands, so even if there is no record of public worship taking place on his vessels, the liturgical year was obviously on his mind.²³⁹

The next observance of the liturgical year in Aotearoa took place one hundred and twenty-seven years later; in December 1769, two ships were off the north-eastern coast of Te Ika a Māui/the North Island – Cook’s *Endeavour* and de Surville’s *St. Jean Baptiste*. Jean-François-Marie de Surville (1717-1770) was a merchant captain with the French East India Company. He captained the *St. Jean Baptiste* from the French colony of Chandernagore (now Chandannagar, West Bengal) on a voyage of exploration to the Pacific in 1769-70 which included Aotearoa.²⁴⁰ On board as chaplain was a Dominican priest Paul-Antoine Léonard de Villefeix (1728 - date of death unknown). In December 1769, the ship arrived in Ōruru/Doubtless Bay and a landing was made at Rangiaohia on

²³⁵ See: Daniel Meeter, “The Puritan and Presbyterian versions of the Netherlands liturgy.” *Dutch Review of Church History* 70, No. 1 (1990), 53.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

²³⁷ Celebration of the liturgical year among Dutch Protestants was contested at this time. See: Harry Boonstra, “Liturgy and Worship in Dutch Reformed Churches,” *Reformed Review* 48/2 (1994): 92.

²³⁸ “Bad weather dogged them as they attempted to sail north, forcing them to ride at anchor in the lee of what is now D’Urville Island until December 26. Having celebrated Christmas Day with wine and meat from freshly slaughtered pigs they continued north, discovering a passage (Cook Strait) that unfavourable wind prevented them from entering.” Vaughan Yarwood, *Abel Tasman the search for Terra Australia Incognita and the discovery of Zeelandia Nova*, NZ Geographic, 72, Mar-Apr 2005, accessed 3/1/20, <https://www.nzgeo.com/stories/abel-tasman>.

²³⁹ “Here then, at last, was a spot of New Zealand soil to which a name was attached which told of something Christian. The name stood alone as yet, but it contained a promise of the time when the Gentile tribes should come to Christ’s light, and their kings to the brightness of His rising.” Purchas, 3.

²⁴⁰ “The French spent 14 days, from 18 to 31 December 1769, at anchor in the north of Doubtless Bay ... It is likely that the ship’s chaplain, Father Paul-Antoine Léonard de Villefeix, celebrated Mass on Christmas Day, making this the first Christian service to be held in New Zealand.” Dunmore, *Surville*.

the Karikari Peninsula where de Villefeix went ashore. The *St. Jean Baptiste* remained two weeks in Ōruru/Doubtless Bay, near Whatuwhiwi, where de Villefeix almost certainly celebrated the first Mass in Aotearoa New Zealand waters on Christmas Day 1769.²⁴¹ There is no recorded evidence of this,²⁴² however, first officer Guillaume Labé (active 1769-1773) headed up his entry for 25 December 'Christmas Day',²⁴³ and de Villefeix would have been required to celebrate mass on the feast of the Incarnation. De Villefeix was the first clergyman to set foot on New Zealand and the first recorded as leading prayers for the sick, on Christmas Eve in Doubtless Bay.²⁴⁴

British explorer James Cook (1728-1779) captain of the *Endeavour* was a member of the Church of England. He was baptised in the parish church of St Cuthbert, Marton,²⁴⁵ married at St Margaret's Church, Barking,²⁴⁶ and when not at sea, Cook attended St Paul's Church, Shadwell, in the East end of London.²⁴⁷ As an Anglican, Cook followed the liturgical year set out in the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1662. In 1770 Cook named two places in Australia after the feast day on which he saw them,²⁴⁸ however, none of the places Cook named in Aotearoa New Zealand relate to the liturgical year. In the 1768-1771 journal of the HMS *Endeavour* there is scant mention of Christian faith, the liturgical year or religious observance by Cook and his crew.²⁴⁹ Cook does comment on the

²⁴¹ Even though firm evidence is lacking, the Dominican friars of the Province of the Assumption (Aotearoa, Solomons, Papua New Guinea and Australia) in January 2020 commemorated the 250th anniversary of the first Mass in New Zealand by Father Paul-Antoine Léonard de Villefeix OP on board the sloop *Ste. Jean-Baptiste* on Christmas Day, 25th December, 1769. Dominican Family Aotearoa NZ, *Invitation to 250th anniversary of the first Mass to be celebrated in NZ*, 2019, accessed 20/10/23, <https://www.dominicans.org.nz/250th-anniversary-of-the-first-mass-to-be-celebrated-in-new-zealand/>.

²⁴² Maddock and Easter, 15.

²⁴³ See Dunmore, *Expedition of the St. Jean-Baptiste*.

²⁴⁴ Michael King, *God's Farthest Outpost: A History of Catholics in New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 1997), 73.

²⁴⁵ John Robson, *Captain Cook's War and Peace: The Royal Navy Years 1755-1768* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2009), 2.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 120-121.

²⁴⁷ The now demolished parish church built in 1656, which Cook attended, was known as 'the Church of Sea Captains'; it is believed that 75 sea captains are buried there. Christopher Winn, *I never knew that about London* (London: Ebury, 2007), 149.

²⁴⁸ Whitsunday Passage and Islands, Queensland, Australia seen by Cook on what he thought was Whitsunday/Pentecost 4 June 1770 and Trinity Bay, Queensland, Australia seen on Trinity Sunday 10 June 1770.

²⁴⁹ James Cook, *Journal of H.M.S. Endeavour, 1768-1771 [digitised manuscript]*, National Library of Australia, accessed 20/1/20.

strong winds at Christmas time: “blowing excessive hard with squalls...at the same time thick hazy (sic) weather... and the seas prodigious high.”²⁵⁰ Joseph Banks (1742-1820), the botanist aboard the *Endeavour*, wrote in his diary that the crew observed Christmas “in the old fashioned way...all hands were as Drunk as our forefathers used (sic) to be upon the occasion.”²⁵¹ Cook visited Aotearoa again in 1773, 1774, and 1777. French explorer Marion du Fresne visited in 1772²⁵² and British explorer George Vancouver in 1791. Although du Fresne did not have a chaplain on board as de Surville did, it is recorded that prayers took place regularly.²⁵³

The first observances of the liturgical year in Aotearoa were by European explorers for European explorers, the calendars used were Dutch Protestant, French Catholic-Dominican²⁵⁴ and Church of England. There is no record or description of the liturgies or comment on the context of celebrating the liturgical year in the Aotearoa context, except for Tasman and Cook noting inclement weather.

2.3.2 Establishment of the liturgical year in Aotearoa

Renowned Māori anthropologist Te Rangi Hīroa/Peter Buck (1877-1951) identified a fundamental challenge for the liturgical year in Aotearoa when he observed:

The Christian missionaries introduced a religion that had been evolved in a different cultural setting. This religion carried with it its own cultural values and the Polynesian values that centuries of practice had established in a different geographical setting were condemned as “heathen practices.”²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ Maddock and Easter, 15.

²⁵¹ See Banks, *Endeavour Journal*, 449.

²⁵² “Aside from the influence of the sea, what is perhaps most obvious when one looks at the Marion household, is the strong influence of religion.” See Edward Duyker, *Officer of the Blue*. Presumably du Fresne practised his faith during the six months he was in Aotearoa New Zealand.

²⁵³ “If there were any savages on board our vessels when we went to prayers, they did not appear astonished; they took up the attitude of the sailors, and appeared to join in their prayers.” Crozet, *Crozet’s Voyage to Tasmania, New Zealand The Ladrone Islands, and The Philippines in the years 1771-1772*, trans. H. Ling Roth (London: Truslove & Shirley, 1891), 45.

²⁵⁴ Elizabeth Charleton, archivist for Marists in Aotearoa New Zealand notes: “All of France did not follow the Rome rite at the time Bishop Pompallier left France. In the 19th century, there would have been a lot more individualisation of calendars in each Diocese, taking into consideration local traditions.” Correspondence 28/7/20. It seems unlikely that in 1769 there would have been more uniformity in French liturgical usage, therefore it remains uncertain as to which calendar de Villefeix used.

²⁵⁵ Te Rangi Hīroa/Peter Buck, *Anthropology and Religion*, 93.

As Europeans became established in Aotearoa, the various lunar maramataka used by different tribes were supplanted by the twelve-month, northern-hemisphere Gregorian solar calendar.

Anglican missionary Richard Taylor (1805-1873) noted that Māori: “had no names for different days, but only for the nights; for it was by moons they counted Time ... it seems remarkable that they should not have a single name for any day in the year.”²⁵⁶ The Gregorian calendar was radically different from the maramataka used for centuries by Māori. Accompanying the side-lining of the maramataka was “the loss of knowledge and practices associated with the movements of the planets and stars, of the tides and of each moon night. Loss of land and resources including traditional horticultural crops accompanied by the drift to cities further resulted in loss of the maramataka knowledge associated with these food resources.”²⁵⁷ For Māori, change from a highly contextualised lunar calendar to a solar calendar formulated with no reference to Aotearoa would result in a different engagement with the natural cycles of the Aotearoa context. A calendar formulated in the northern hemisphere and then presented as universally applicable and perhaps ‘placeless’ supplanted indigenous and unique maramataka.

When Europeans settled and engaged with indigenous people²⁵⁸ the reception of the Western liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand became problematic, partly because of Pākehā perceptions of Māori religious practice and partly because of European expectations of the way the liturgical year fitted into the seasons. With the liturgical year, missionaries and others brought northern hemisphere history, culture, world views, prayer forms, symbolic interpretations and a northern-hemisphere religious imagination. Garin writes:

The Māori don’t have anything that can really be called worship. Their worship consists of practising certain ceremonies in certain circumstances, and it’s only a small number of people who take part in these. For example, when they are planting kūmara, a Māori takes

²⁵⁶ Taylor, 175.

²⁵⁷ Clarke, Roberts and Weko, v.

²⁵⁸ “Permanent settlement began with the arrival of missionaries in late 1814.” Ian Smith, *Pākehā Settlements in a Māori World: New Zealand Archaeology 1769-1860* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 2019), 18.

one of the baskets that are to be planted; he unties this basket and sows the kūmara by throwing them right and left while shouting meaningless words at the top of his voice. They don't really pray to the Māori gods. Their prayers are calling on the Māori gods, that is, the souls of their ancestors, to avoid harming them and to leave the bodies that they've inflicted with illness.²⁵⁹

By imposing the Gregorian calendar, missionaries attempted to change Māori relationship with their context. They did this by demonstrating that in order to observe the Gregorian calendar it was not necessary to pay attention to the cycles of the moon or the stars, or the knowledge attached to natural cycles. Introduction of the Gregorian calendar had the effect of distancing Māori from traditional knowledge which had been carefully honed over centuries and from its attachment to particular 'place' which was not considered important relative to the implied universal notions of time.

Among the many challenges European missionaries faced in Aotearoa, the misalignment of the southern seasons with the liturgical calendar was keenly felt. Marist Brother Claude-Marie Bertrand wrote: "The lovely month of May supplies you with flowers for decorating Mary's altars. Here it is the opposite. We commence our winter. Pray to that tender Mother, dear friend, for my needs are very great."²⁶⁰ Bishop Selwyn's wife Sarah, arriving in Aotearoa New Zealand at Paihia on 24 June 1842, notes it was St. John the Baptist's Day and wonders at "the sun shining brightly and hotly upon us, in the middle of the New Zealand winter, equal to Christmas Day in England...we found it confusing to have it cold in July and the stars on the wrong side of us."²⁶¹ The Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge published this comment probably in 1868, from an unknown writer:

I have not yet recovered from the shock of my first Christmas there [Aotearoa New Zealand], hay-making on Christmas day, think of that. Picnics on Christmas day. Strawberries and cream on Christmas day. No Snow. No curtains drawn. No logs on the fire. Mince-pies unbearable. Plum pudding painfully oppressive. Roast beef positively distasteful. The tinkling

²⁵⁹ Tremewan and Larcombe, 409.

²⁶⁰ Br Claude-Marie to Francis Redwood, Nelson, 1 May 1856 *Introduction and translation by Br Edward Clisby FMS* <https://mariststudies.org/docs/Contents>, accessed 16/8/20.

²⁶¹ Sarah Selwyn, *Reminiscences*, 19.

of cow-bells the only chimes...can you, dear English reader, half-frozen at Christmas tide, wonder how I failed to recognise the pleasures of olden-times?²⁶²

Many early European settlers noted that in Aotearoa feasts took place in the opposite season to the northern hemisphere,²⁶³ but there seems to be no evidence of a strategy to engage with the changed geographical situation.

2.3.3 Establishment of the Anglican calendar in Aotearoa

The calendar brought by the first Christian missionary to Aotearoa, Samuel Marsden, in 1814²⁶⁴ was the calendar of the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1662.²⁶⁵ Marsden (1765-1838) was an English-born Anglican priest based at Parramatta, New South Wales, from 1794.

Marsden and other early Anglican missionaries to Aotearoa were from the Church Missionary Society (CMS). CMS was founded in 1799 by the Clapham sect which was comprised of prominent evangelicals including the politician and abolitionist William Wilberforce (1759-1833). CMS missionaries would have had an Evangelical view of liturgy firmly based on the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*.²⁶⁶ The liturgical revival brought about by the Oxford Movement in the Church of England did not begin until the 1830s²⁶⁷ and in general was viewed with suspicion by Evangelicals.

²⁶² Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, *Travel and Adventure in many lands: an illustrated reading-book by many writers, suitable for the upper classes of national schools and also for use in night schools* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, c.1868), 126.

²⁶³ In the diaries of Marist missionaries, there are multiple references to feasts being celebrated in the southern seasons but no attempt to inculturate the liturgical year. Marist Studies Wiki: "Letters of French Catholic Missionaries in the Pacific 1836-1854" https://mariststudies.org/docs/Main_Page, accessed 16/8/20.

²⁶⁴ Ngā Puhī chief Ruatara met Samuel Marsden in Paramatta, NSW and invited him to Aotearoa.

²⁶⁵ The first Anglican Prayer Book was that of Edward VI of 1549, it contained: "A table and Kalendar for Psalmes and lessons, with necessary rules pertainyng to the same." *The First and Second Prayerbooks of King Edward the Sixth* (London: Dent, 1913), 2. The second Prayer Book of Edward VI of 1552 contained: "The table for the order of the Psalmes to be sayed at Mornyng and Euenyng Prayer; The order how the rest of holy Scripture is appointed to be read; An Almanack; and the Table and Kalendar for Psalmes and lessons, with necessarie Rules apperteynyng to the same." *Ibid.*, 320.

²⁶⁶ English liturgical historian Phillip Tovey remarks that the long eighteenth century which he dates from 1662 to 1820 "liturgically is a period of great stability for the Church of England". Tovey, 2.

²⁶⁷ John Keble's sermon on 'National Apostasy' preached on 14 July 1833 at St. Mary's Church, Oxford has traditionally been considered as the beginning of the Oxford Movement. Keble (1792-1866) was author of *The Christian Year*.

CMS missionaries would have faithfully followed the calendar in the BCP and would have been wary of anything that deviated from it. However, there is evidence from the start of their work in Aotearoa that some Anglican missionaries perceived that the Calendar of the *Book of Common Prayer* was not well suited to the new context.

George Connor in his 2011 Research Essay *Saintly, Sinful or Secular 1814-1895 Viewed through the Lens of Te Māramataka 1895 and Its Historical Notes* comments that even though Anglican Prayer Books were printed in Māori language from 1838 onwards, it was not until the 1848 edition that they contained any of the tables²⁶⁸ pertaining to the liturgical year found in the English version.²⁶⁹ Anglican maramataka were published by the Diocese of Waiapu (on the East coast of the North Island) each year from 1841 until 1923. It seems that the target audience for these maramataka was primarily Māori Anglican clergy.²⁷⁰ As well as Holy Days and Saints' days, the maramataka also include a number of non-liturgical historical events relating to: "the crown, governors and provinces, natural disasters, events of significance to Māori, and those of missionary or settler interest."²⁷¹ Connor notes that the maramataka of 1895 did not include "the black-letter saints of the *Book of Common Prayer*, only New Testament saints presumably because commemorating the saints of Europe was not seen as useful in the context of Aotearoa."²⁷²

Connor reflects that some choices made in the calendars to commemorate events in colonial history would have been offensive to Māori and their inclusion is puzzling.²⁷³ Connor's work provides several opportunities for reflection when considering initial forays into adjusting the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand. It was obvious to the early missionaries that the sanctorale, full of European

²⁶⁸ The 1662 Book of Common Prayer contains: 'Tables and Rules for the moveable and immovable feasts together with the days of fasting and abstinence through the whole year.' For example, in *The Book of Common Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1940), xxix.

²⁶⁹ Connor, 15.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 56.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 7.

²⁷² Ibid., 17.

²⁷³ Connor remarks: "It struck me almost immediately that it was a list of events that was remarkable not only for who and what was included but also for who and what were left out ... We don't know and it is unlikely that we will discover their (the compilers') exact intentions." Ibid., 61.

saints, required education or adaptation to be useful in Aotearoa. The fact that events which would have been offensive or irrelevant to Māori were chosen to be commemorated in the Anglican calendar raises the question of according to whose authority decisions about the content of the liturgical calendar could be made. Connor does not raise the question of how or whether the liturgical celebrations associated with the natural year were received in Aotearoa in the 19th century. The 1662 calendar remained in place untouched, until 1966 when “Canon (Peter) Witty was invited to begin work on a New Zealand Calendar that would include commemorations of saints of God of these islands, both Pākehā and Māori.”²⁷⁴

2.3.4 Establishment of the Roman Catholic calendar in Aotearoa

The calendar which Catholic bishop Jean Baptiste Pompallier brought to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1838 was the Tridentine calendar then used in France, possibly with a Marist flavour.²⁷⁵

In 1842 Pompallier oversaw printing of the first Catholic liturgical resources in Māori:

Soon the Paternoster, the Ave Maria, and the Credo were translated into their language; I also composed a canticle on the existence, perfections, and blessings bestowed by God. The singing of this canticle and the saying of short prayers I have mentioned were the sole religious exercises, morning and evening, of the people who came to church. It was not long before we saw a great eagerness amongst these people to be instructed and to become Christians. We were soon able to count approximately from fifteen to eighteen hundred natives who used Catholic prayers in their tribes. Already, on the great Feast of the Assumption, which I celebrated at my place of residence, we had the consolation of seeing the greatest chiefs of Hokianga assisting at the holy offices.²⁷⁶

Marist missionary Garin noted in his diary on 24 December 1844:

The Te Hāhi Katorika (Catholic Church) Māori came to Midnight Mass. I heard their confessions during the evening. Mr. Ross, his wife and their three children came at midnight. I got everything ready. I lit forty-two potato lanterns and I put a see-through star outside. When everything was ready, I rang the last peal: there are three bells. The Māori arrived and

²⁷⁴ Brian Carroll, *Creating A New Zealand Prayer Book: A Personal Reminiscence of a 25 Year Odyssey 1964-89* (Christchurch: Theology House, 2013), 22.

²⁷⁵ For books of hours for the Diocese of Lyons from 1824 and 1841, (note that the 1824 book lists Titus on 4/1) see: *Heures a l'usage du Diocèse de Lyon: Contenant en Latin et en Français L'Office des dimanches et des fêtes*, (Lyon: Rusand, 1824).

²⁷⁶ Pompallier, *Early History*, 43.

stood in amazement. "It's full daylight," they said "He awatea." I sang the Te Deum. Several people took communion. I spread out two sheets with ribbons and kahikātoa flowers attached to them as decoration, with a pretty front to the altar and calico above the altar to make a sort of canopy. Kaperiere and Matiu served at mass in the white clothes that they had for their baptism.²⁷⁷

On May 1st, 1845 Garin noted:

I announced to my Māori that today was a feast day and that we would hold services as if it were a Sunday...we got together a second time for prayers. Two gunshots rang out...everyone else looked around anxiously but continued to sing the waiata we'd begun... Today is Ascension Day, when Jesus Christ rose into Heaven. It is the first day of May, a day principally devoted to Mary. These thoughts comforted me and gave me the strength to sing the waiata.²⁷⁸

Garin writes on Sunday 6 July 1845:

At catechism I told the story of Mordechai and Haman. The Māori are crazy about such things. They're all eyes and ears and especially full of faith when it comes to these items taken from the Holy Scriptures. When I said that Queen Esther told Mordecai to gather a lot of Jews together and that they should fast for three days without taking any food, Tiperia grimaced as if to say that it is extremely difficult to fast for three days.²⁷⁹

In 1847 at Kororāreka, Marists Father Claude-André Baty (1811-1851) and Jean-François Yvert (1796-1867) published a 570-page prayer book in *te reo: Ko te Ako me te Karakia o te hāhi Katorika Romana*. The calendar it contains was reprinted with slight amendments in 1861 and 1888.²⁸⁰ This appears to be the earliest Catholic calendar for use in Aotearoa New Zealand.²⁸¹

In 1861, Pompallier printed '*Ko etahi tino ako me etahi tino inoinga o te Hāhi Matua Tapu Katorika, etc. A Catechism, prayers and hymns, together with a calendar for the use of Māoris of the*

²⁷⁷ Tremewan and Larcombe 272.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 312.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 336.

²⁸⁰ Duffy, *The 1847 Māori Liturgical Calendar*.

²⁸¹ "The first item in the prayer book after the table of contents is a Karetari (Calendar). Much of the Calendar is a translation of the Calendarium in the Missale Romanum, however there are far more saints named in the Karetari than are in the Calendarium. These extra saints have been identified as coming from the corresponding days in the 1835 Martyrologe Universel a French translation and enlargement of the Roman Martyrology." Duffy, *The 1847 Māori Liturgical Calendar* (unpaginated).

Roman Catholic Church.²⁸² Pompallier's calendar (a revision of Baty's) contains nothing specific to Aotearoa. In 1838 as Pompallier celebrated the first Mass on New Zealand soil, he dedicated the Aotearoa New Zealand mission to the Assumption of Mary, so the Solemnity of the Assumption is the Patronal Feast of the Catholic Church in New Zealand and a Holy Day of Obligation. In 1844, Our Lady Help of Christians was declared patroness of Australasia,²⁸³ and by 1862 a double festival of the first class with an octave.²⁸⁴

Even though the geography of Aotearoa resulted in celebrating the liturgical year in a radically different context, in the nineteenth century it seems the only officially possible way for the Catholic Church to plant the liturgical year in Aotearoa was to make the Blessed Virgin Mary patroness of the country under an existing European title.²⁸⁵

2.4 Establishing the Lord's Day in Aotearoa

Historian of Religion Peter Lineham asserts that "Māori Christianity began with Sabbatarianism."²⁸⁶ Christmas Day 1814 was a Sunday; the first observance of the Sabbath in Aotearoa was also the day the Gospel was first preached to Māori on Aotearoa's soil.²⁸⁷ When notions of liturgical time were applied to Aotearoa New Zealand, observance of the Lord's Day was an important aspect of Christian framing of chronology. Introducing and enforcing the Sabbath seems to have been a major focus of early missionaries.²⁸⁸

²⁸²Jean Baptiste Pompallier, *Ko etahi tino ako me etahi tino inoinga o te Hāhi Matua Tapu Katorika, etc.* [A Catechism, prayers and hymns, together with a calendar for the use of Māoris of the Roman Catholic Church.], (Akarana [Auckland], 1861), p.102, xxi.

²⁸³ See: NZ Catholic Bishops' Conference, *And the Mother of Jesus Was there*, 24/5/88, accessed 9/1/20, <https://www.catholic.org.nz/about-us/bishops-statements/and-the-mother-of-jesus-was-there-i/>.

²⁸⁴ See: Marist Fathers, *Mary Help of Christians*, no date, accessed 18/8/20, <https://maristfathers.org.au/Documents%202014/0514%20OL%20Help%20of%20Christians.pdf>.

²⁸⁵ This title for Mary dates from when Pius VI and Pius VII were imprisoned by Napoleon near Paris. Pius VII vowed that, if he were able to return to Rome, he would institute a Marian feast. Napoleon released him, and on 24 May, 1814, Pius VII returned to Rome. Twelve months later, he decreed that the feast of Mary Help of Christians, be kept on the 24th of May.

²⁸⁶ Lineham, 28.

²⁸⁷ Taylor, 287.

²⁸⁸ Lineham, 28.

Marsden was invited to Aotearoa from Australia by a chief of the Ngāpuhi tribe Ruatara (c1787-1815). In August 1814, Ruatara and some other chiefs sailed to Australia to visit Marsden's farm at Parramatta, New South Wales, where twelve Māori were already residing.²⁸⁹ At the farm, the Māori visitors were so impressed by the rituals surrounding Sabbath observance that "Ruatara asked for a flag, drum or bell, with which to signal a rest day back at the Bay of Islands."²⁹⁰

Each group of Christian missionaries brought with them their ecclesiastical and national cultures, lore and laws about Sunday. The Acts of Uniformity of Edward VI in 1552 and of Elizabeth I in 1559 required everyone in England to attend (Anglican) worship on Sunday, with the threat of a fine for neglecting to do so. Many Anglican puritans were strongly opposed to any activities other than worship taking place on Sunday and eagerly shared their opinions. The tension between understandings about how to observe the Lord's Day can be summed up in King James I's *the Book of Sports* (1618) which he ordered clergy to read from the pulpit.

And as for our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is, that after the end of divine service our good people be not disturbed, letted or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances; and the setting up of May-poles and other sports therewith used: so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service: and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom; but withal we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sunday only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling.²⁹¹

When Pompallier was born in 1802, Sunday had been abolished by implementation of the French Republican Calendar/French Revolutionary Calendar. The French Republican Calendar was devised in part to remove all religious influences from time keeping. It was used by the French

²⁸⁹ Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins, *Words Between Us: He Korero: First Māori-Pākehā Conversations on Paper* (Wellington: Huia, 2011), 72.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

²⁹¹ James I/VI, "The Book of Sports" (1618), in Bettenson, 387-388.

government for about 12 years from late 1793 to 1805.²⁹² The Concordat of 1801 which took effect from Easter Day (8 April 1802), re-established the Catholic Church as an official institution in France and restored the names of the days of the week to the ones from the Gregorian Calendar and fixed Sunday as the official day of rest and religious celebration.²⁹³ However the other attributes of the republican calendar, the months, and years, remained as they were. Napoleon finally abolished the republican calendar with effect from the first of January 1806.

Anglican missionary Thomas Kendall (1778-1832) noted: "It was a new thing with them (Māori) to see our way of worship and to hear of a day of rest from labour, and they seemed to enjoy the idea very much."²⁹⁴ The first missionary to Te Wai Pounamu/the South Island, Methodist James Watkin, wrote in 1840: "I am sorry to have to report that the conduct of the whites is worse in reference to the Lord's Day than that of the natives themselves; the latter do no work on that day, and will, I confidently hope, be brought ere long to a religious observance of the day...the natives in this respect of abstaining from labour, setting an example to the whites living among them, who pursue their worldly avocations on the Lord's Day despite their better knowledge."²⁹⁵ In one of the earliest surviving Māori diaries, Renata Kawepo (c1808-1888) (of Ngai Te Upokoiri and Ngāti Kahungunu tribes) records travelling with Bishop Selwyn's party visiting Anglican mission posts between October 1843 and February 1844. Kawepo records the saying of prayers and the celebration of liturgies but does not mention observation of the liturgical year. However, he does mention the significance of Sunday, including the choice between observing the Sabbath and going without food when travelling. When stranded with little food, Selwyn gave the travellers a dispensation: "the Bishop called their mission a *mahi aroha* (a work of charity) and said that this

²⁹² And for a further 18 days by the Paris Commune in 1871. José Mas, *The French Revolution Calendar*, no date, accessed 7/9/20, <https://web.archive.org/web/20070618041235/http://personal.telefonica.terra.es/web/jlmartinmas/repcalendar/calendar.html>.

²⁹³ Napoleon Bonapart, *French Concordat of 1801*, trans. Muriel Fraser, no date, accessed 20/10/23, <https://www.concordatwatch.eu/napoleons-concordat-1801-text-k1496>.

²⁹⁴ Elder, 63.

²⁹⁵ Pybus, *Māori and Missionary*, 12.

allowed them to travel on a Sunday.”²⁹⁶ For Kawepo, the Lord’s Day was the most notable feature of Christian time, even though his journey took him through Advent, Christmas and Epiphany and into Lent.²⁹⁷

Sunday became known as Rā Tapu, (holy day), which remains the standard name for Sunday in te reo/Māori language.²⁹⁸ Māori Christians often followed very strict rules for Sunday/Rā Tapu.²⁹⁹ Some of the Māori prophetic protest movements of the nineteenth century, such as the Papahurihia, Pai Mārire and Ringatū movements chose to adopt the Jewish sabbath rather than Christian Lord’s Day.³⁰⁰ William Leonard Williams (Bishop of Waiapu 1895-1909) wrote the following about Ringatū worship: “By Te Kooti’s direction they ignored the Lord’s Day and observed Saturday as a day of rest from ordinary works, but apparently without any special religious observances besides their usual morning and evening devotions.”³⁰¹

The battle of Ruapekapeka, a decisive confrontation in the Northern War (1845-1846) may have been won by the British forces because of Māori observance of the Sabbath. The British managed to take the Ruapekapeka fortress by attacking it on Sunday 11 January 1846. Garin noted at the time: “I was sorry to hear that it (the attack) had been done on a Sunday. The natives, never

²⁹⁶ Hogan, *Renata’s Journey*, 125.

²⁹⁷ Ash Wednesday 1844 was 21st February, Kawepo’s diary finishes on 25th February 1844.

²⁹⁸ In both the 19th century missionary-inspired names of days and in the 21st century revised names of days, the name Rātapu is used for Sunday. Māori Language.net. *Days of the week*, no date, accessed 19/9/23, <http://www.maorilanguage.net/maori-words-phrases/days-of-the-week-nga-ra-o-te-wiki/>.

²⁹⁹ In 1827 a visiting English artist observed: “Not a bit of work would (Māori) do upon a Sunday...at length we discovered that their cunning was as conspicuous as their politeness. They had observed we generally lay longer in bed on a Sunday morning than any other; they accordingly were up by break of day, and had completed many hours’ work before we made our appearance; but the moment one of us did appear, the work was instantly left off.” Augustus Earle, *Narrative of a residence in New Zealand in 1827; together with a journal of a residence in Tristan d’Acunha* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1832), 146-147.

³⁰⁰ “Driven from the Urewera in 1872, Te Kooti took sanctuary with Tāwhiao, the Māori king, and Rewi Maniapoto in the King Country. There he developed the rituals and sacred days of the faith. Like Te Papahurihia, he elected Saturday as the sabbath, following Jewish teachings.” Binney, “Māori prophetic movements-ngā poropiti- te Kooti-Ringatū,” 3. Accessed 16/9/20.

³⁰¹ Quoted in: William Greenwood, *The Upraised Hand: The spiritual significance of the rise of the Ringatūatu faith. 3rd Edition*. (Wellington: Polynesian Society, 1980), 35.

dreaming that the white men would fight on a Sunday, had left their guns aside, and gone to their prayers, as they had been taught by the missionaries to do on Sundays."³⁰²

In 1841, however, Marist missionary Jean Baptiste Petitjean felt Sunday might have been over-applied in Aotearoa:

The Anglicans first inspired the people of New Zealand with an exaggerated idea of the holiness of Sunday. It seems that they claimed to prove in this way that theirs was the true church. Just recently I heard a Protestant woman show a more than Jewish respect for Sunday, 'Oh sir', she said to me, 'if I could I would not cook on Sunday, but I would prepare all my food on Saturday for my family and me'. I have needed to broaden the conscience of a great number of our neophytes. One Sunday I was passing near a woman who was breaking a piece of wood to put on the fire. Suddenly recalling that it was Sunday she scolded herself for this action by saying *Wareware*, I forgot.

Many of the tribes who have turned to various separate communions eat potatoes without peeling them on Sunday. The food served on Sunday, being holy must not be served again on another day of the week (i.e. not served as leftovers).³⁰³

In his 1939 book *Anthropology and Religion*, Te Rangi Hīroa/Peter Buck writes about the effect of Sunday observance on the people of Mangaia in the Cook Islands:

The institution of the Sabbath led to the abandonment of the annual lunar cycle with months determined by the rising of the new moon with each night named after the phases of the moon. Its place was taken by the Christian solar year divided into twelve calendar months and their subdivision into weeks, each culminating in a sacred Sabbath. The taboo of the Sabbath was such that all the food for the Sabbath was cooked on the preceding Saturday. All work on the Sabbath was tabooed, and even walking to other villages on Sunday was punished by a fine of five dollars.³⁰⁴

In common with many other people evangelised in the nineteenth century, Māori calendrical systems were supplanted by the Gregorian calendar, and missionaries and recent converts placed a strong emphasis on observation of the Sabbath. It can be asserted that the Lord's Day was the first component of the Christian liturgical calendar to be observed on Aotearoa's soil, and that the special importance of Sunday was vigorously promoted by missionaries and enthusiastically embraced by

³⁰² Garin's 1876 lecture on the Northern War, *Living Among the Northland Māori*, 525.

³⁰³ Father Petit-Jean to Father Colin, 9 August 1841 [extracts] Trans. Mary Williamson, no date, accessed 12/10/23, <https://mariststudies.org/docs/Girard0107>, 8.

³⁰⁴ Te Rangi Hīroa/Peter Buck, 83-84.

many Māori, even by some Māori who did not adhere to the faith brought by missionaries, and even while the question of how to properly observe the Lord's Day was contested amongst Christians of different traditions.

2.5. Establishing the sanctorale in Aotearoa

Most non-Anglican Protestants regarded the Christian year as an archaism, happily left behind in England. Christmas was a time for festivities, but not primarily for religious observances. And antipodean Anglicans, too, seemed to make less of these customs, partly because the patterns of the calendar had been upended, and therefore made less sense. Bishop Selwyn commented, 'the general laxity of morals, and defect of church principles, in the new settlements...render it almost impossible to keep up that high tone or religious character and structure of discipline which is required.' Christmas, with all its secular associations, flourished in New Zealand, while Easter languished.³⁰⁵

Whilst it is difficult to support his assertion about the attitude of "Most non-Anglican Protestants toward the Christian year" and about Easter languishing, Peter Lineham makes a helpful observation about the liturgical year in general making less sense in Aotearoa because "the patterns of the calendar had been upended." Lineham's comment applies to Pākehā expectations of how the liturgical year should feel and be situated in natural cycles and Pākehā responses to the dissonance in which they found themselves.

It can be asserted that in general in Aotearoa the notion of a sanctorale – a system of days of remembrance – is unproblematic. Celebrating the lives of particular holy people or historical events works just as well in the southern hemisphere as anywhere else, for example the Conversion of Saint Paul on January 25th or the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on September 14th are not weighed down with any inappropriate seasonal connections. Problems arise in the southern hemisphere when the content of the festival has nothing to do with a natural season but has accumulated northern hemispheric baggage e.g., celebrating the Nativity of St. John the Baptist as a midsummer festival or the Nativity of Christ as a midwinter festival.

³⁰⁵ Lineham, 31.

2.5.1 Māori and sanctorale

One method of examining how some Māori responded to the concept of a calendar of sacred days, is by looking at the observance of sanctorale among Māori prophetic movements. Prophecy was an established part of traditional Māori society, practised by *tohunga* (spiritual specialists) and *matakite* (seers). As Christianity spread in Aotearoa, the developing tradition of prophets in Māoridom combined Māori and Christian traditions. The first prophetic movement was begun by Papahurihia in Northland, after he disagreed with Anglican missionaries at Rangihoua in 1833. In 1885 Te Kooti Arikirangi te Turuki (c. 1832–1893) known as Te Kooti, founder of the Ringatū religion,³⁰⁶ established the Ringatū calendar. In common with other Māori prophets Te Kooti was inspired by the Old Testament and saw strong connections between Māori and the Israelites. Te Kooti set aside the twelfth day of each month as a sacred day, to remember 12 May 1868 (when the covenants of the faith were fully revealed to him on Rēkohu /Chatham Islands); 12 July 1868 which marks the safe landing of the former prisoners from Rēkohu/Chatham Islands on at Whareongaonga on the North Island; and 12 February 1883, when Te Kooti met Native Minister John Bryce. The twelfths also recall the scriptural significance of the number, including the twelve tribes of Israel.

Earlier, in 1875-76, Te Kooti set aside the firsts of January and July as the twin pillars of the religious year. The first of January celebrates the Kapenga (Passover) of the Children of Israel; the first of July celebrates the cycle of renewal or coming from death at the beginning of spring. In 1879, Te Kooti added the first of June and December as key dates in the Ringatū calendar, which are known respectively as the *huamata* and the *pure*: the planting, and first fruits, of the harvest. These four days are the sustaining pillars of the Ringatū cyclical year.

Rua Kēnana (1869-1937) was the most famous prophet to claim to be Te Kooti's successor, the Mihaia (Messiah). In his reform of the Ringatū calendar established by Te Kooti, Kenana "brought an end to the observance of the Twelfth, the sacred day of the Ringatū ... this change in ceremony

³⁰⁶ Binney, *Māori Prophetic Movements*, 3.

was one of the earliest introduced by Rua, who also abolished the four other sacred days in the Ringatū year – 1 January, June, July and November – keeping only Saturdays as the Holy Day, in accordance with the teaching of the scriptures.³⁰⁷

A further example of a Māori calendar of sacred days is Mere Rikiriki (c1855-1926) and the people of the Maramatanga. In the 1900s, Rikiriki founded Te Hāhi o te Wairua Tapu (the Church of the Holy Spirit). At a service at Christmas 1911, she received the spirit of prophecy and was recognised as a prophet. She gave the Maramatanga a flag, the time for prayers, and commemorative days:

One of the most important of Mere Rikiriki's legacies was the passing of her raa (day), 27 July, to the Mareikura family. Since 1910 the family has met to celebrate this day. Even today, with many significant raa added over the years, this is seen as the senior day for commemoration. The 27 July raa has been held at Kuratahi since 1926...Mere Rikiriki also gave her flag, E Te Iwi Kia Ora, to the movement. That flag, a white banner with a red stripe in which the inscription and stars appear in white flies on the 27th July each year and on many other occasions as well.³⁰⁸

Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana (c.1873-1939) began his spiritual mission during the 1918 Influenza Epidemic. His visions, faith healing and interpretation of Christianity from a Māori perspective won him a large following. Rātana remains one of the largest Māori religious movements.³⁰⁹ The calendar of the Rātana church begins on November 8th – the birthday of the Rātana faith, which is the most important festival of the year. Thirteen other dates are observed by the faithful, including: Christmas Day, the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi and days related to Rātana, his family and significant moments in the history of the movement.³¹⁰ The birthday of Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana on 25th January has become an important national event, and

³⁰⁷ Binney, Chaplin and Wallace, 54-56.

³⁰⁸ Sinclair, *The People of the Marangatanga*, 46.

³⁰⁹ The 2013 New Zealand Government Census showed that the most common religious affiliation for Māori were: Catholic (11.2 percent or 63,996 people), Anglican (10.8 percent or 61,269 people), and Rātana (6.7 percent or 38,268 people). http://archive.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/ethnic-rofiles.aspx?request_value=24705&tabname=Religion#gsc.tab=0.

³¹⁰ Te Aorangi, *Important Dates of the Rātana Church*, 24/3/12, accessed 16/9/20, <https://maorichristianprophets.wordpress.com/2012/03/24/important-days-observed-by-the-ratana-church/>,

is seen as the beginning of the political year in Aotearoa New Zealand. On that day, the Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers, and leaders of political parties go to Rātana village to pay homage, and to set out their plans for the year and their vision for engagement with Māori.³¹¹

It can be asserted that the sanctorale (an organised system of days of remembrance) has continued to be celebrated by Pākehā in Aotearoa without problem and has been embraced by Māori as evidenced in various Māori spiritual movements and churches. However, as Connor notes, a sanctorale peopled by saints of unheard-of distant contexts which does not speak to the church in this particular place is problematic. Until relatively recently,³¹² the inclusion of Aotearoa/ New Zealand people or events were rare in Christian calendars.

The Roman Missal approved for use in the Dioceses of New Zealand notes that in the cycle of the year the church celebrates the mystery of Christ, venerates the Blessed Virgin Mary, and proposes to the faithful the memorials of martyrs and other saints.³¹³ The Missal states unenthusiastically that locally significant saints are “left to be honoured by a particular Church, or nation.”³¹⁴ *A New Zealand Prayerbook/He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* seems to invite celebration of local icons of Christ:

In the commemoration of saints, the Church celebrates the victory of Christ in the lives of particular individuals...we remember many people who have provided inspiration and an example of Christian living in the history of this country, or who have contributed to the development of Christianity in this country...we include in the Calendar the names of people whose lives and work give special encouragement.³¹⁵

The sanctorale continues to be ripe for inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand and ideally would include more Aotearoa-specific people and events. To be truly grounded in the Aotearoa context, the sanctorale needs to be occupied, informed and shaped by Māori and Pakehā, and

³¹¹ RNZ, *PM Jacinda Adern speaks at Rātana Pā*, 24/1/20, accessed 16/9/20, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/408059/pm-jacinda-ardern-speaks-at-ratana-pa>.

³¹² The Aotearoa New Zealand Anglican calendar was revised in 1966.

³¹³ *The Roman Missal approved for use in the Dioceses of New Zealand*, 72.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

³¹⁵ *A New Zealand Prayer Book*, 8-11.

inclusive of commemorations with direct connection and real significance to the church in Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.6. Establishing the temporale in Aotearoa New Zealand

In 1914 it was noted by Anglican priest Henry Purchas that:

The conduct of public worship in New Zealand presents no special features in contrast with that of the mother Church. The changed seasons of the Southern Hemisphere still wait for an inspired poet.

The summer Christmas and the autumn Easter have yet to be naturalised among us. Some attempts have been made, not altogether without success.³¹⁶

The temporale presently consists of the feasts connected to the celebration of Easter, including Lent, Ascension, and Pentecost. Making sense of a temporale shaped by northern hemisphere seasons and a European sanctorale in islands a world away in the South Pacific was always going to be a challenge, and celebrating liturgical cycles attached to northern seasons has bequeathed to Aotearoa New Zealand Christians a calendar with silences, gaps, irrelevancies, distractions and feelings of unsuitability and disappointment.

2.6.1 Dislocating temporale

The northern hemisphere-based temporale is perhaps the aspect of the liturgical calendar which is the most jarring for New Zealanders. An Easter based on Spring and a Christmas grounded in the winter solstice are obviously not going to work in the Aotearoa New Zealand context if celebrated on the same dates as the northern hemisphere. Over the centuries, the Western liturgical year has been successfully connected to northern hemisphere seasons. The northern seasonal connections, however, are not essential to observing the church's calendar, and these hemisphere specific connections contribute to dislocation and dis-ease when the liturgical year is observed in the southern hemisphere and in equatorial regions. The Gregorian calendar is deaf and blind to the

³¹⁶ Purchas, 231.

context of Aotearoa. Writer and dramatist Ngaio Marsh (1895-1982), looking back on her early twentieth century childhood, wrote:

In the mind of a small New Zealander, Christmas was a strange mixture of snow and intense heat. All our books in those days were English. Christmas Annuals were full of middle-class sleighs and children. Reindeer, coach horns, frozen roads, muffled boys coming home from boarding-school, snapdragons and blazing fires were strongly featured. These were Christmas. But so, too were home-made toboggans that shot like greased lightning down glossy, midsummer tussock: hot, still evenings, the lovely smell of cabbage-tree blossom, open doors and windows and the sound, far away, down on the flat, of boys letting off crackers. I settled this contradiction in my own way. For as long as I thought I believed in Father Christmas, I climbed a solitary pine tree that stood on the hillside and put a letter in a box that I had tied near the top. Being a snow-minded person, Father Christmas, I thought, probably lived in the back-country, out on the main range where there were red deer, and he could know about my letter and pause on his night-gallop through the sky to collect it.³¹⁷

Characters in a novel by RAK Mason address a dislocated Easter thus: “And Roy went on to say what nonsense it was for Easter to come at the wrong time of the year. It’s to do with re-birth, he said. Springtime. It’s a pagan ceremony really. Yes? Henry said. And Roy said he didn’t go to church anymore; he’d joined the Rationalists instead.”³¹⁸

The quotes above illustrate the problem of dislocation Aotearoa New Zealanders experience with the liturgical year. Christmas seems to be about midwinter and yet experienced in midsummer, Easter seems to be about Spring, yet it is experienced in Autumn – the cognitive dissonance confuses and discourages in Aotearoa New Zealand. The feeling of dislocation of the year due to the strong identification of Christmas with winter has lasted from the nineteenth century into the twenty-first. It can be asserted that dislocation has hampered reception of the liturgical calendar in Aotearoa New Zealand. The cognitive dissonance of observing the Gregorian calendar in Aotearoa New Zealand is a distraction and a stumbling block for the Gospel taking root deeply in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Christmas is perhaps the most problematic example because of the inbuilt cultural expectations about winter and the reality of summer. Epiphany gets lost in the summer holidays,

³¹⁷ Marsh, *Black Beech and Honeydew*, 63.

³¹⁸ McNaughton, *Countless Signs*, 212.

Easter is problematic because of the connection with Spring, Ascension gets lost in school holidays, Ordinary Time seems like an unending stream of green Sundays through a dreary part of the year; there is nothing to mark midwinter or Spring and then when Advent comes with longer days, Advent services have to be moved later in the evening to get some darkness so that texts about the coming of the light into the darkness of the world make any sense at all.

2.6.2. Responding to dislocation

At first we tried to delude ourselves. We closed our curtains, lighted our candles and over an unseasonable turkey...conjured up the Christmases of former days. But it would not do. The bright sun struggled through the door along with the pudding...and we New Zealanders found it impossible to bring back Father Christmas with his frosted head and his warm welcome... [we felt] a little guilty at having pretended to act Christmas in the very middle of summer ... when three hundred and sixty four days were passed again...we took our Christmas sunshine and made the best of it ... after expressing our thankfulness for the greatest gift of all rejoiced that our lot had been cast in this favoured land...Being on this side of the globe we accept now that which the New Zealand climate gives us. We...feel as un-like Christmas-keeping Englishmen as any folks could feel...we end by agreeing to love our flowers, our fruit, and our sun, in the home which is growing around us here.³¹⁹

There appear to be four major modes of responding to the cognitive dissonance³²⁰ of celebrating the Gregorian calendar in Aotearoa New Zealand. The first mode is to observe the calendar with no reference to the seasons of Aotearoa – this makes the choice to take no notice of the context in which the calendar is celebrated, with the effect of making the liturgical year placeless. The second mode is to suggest changing observance of festivals, so they occur in Aotearoa New Zealand in the season in which they occur in the northern hemisphere, e.g., moving Christmas to winter. This mode prioritises grounding the calendar in the northern seasonal parameters above any other consideration. The third mode is to celebrate the liturgical year at the same time as the universal church and to use liturgical resources with northern hemisphere themes, e.g., singing the

³¹⁹ Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, *Travel and Adventure in many lands: an illustrated reading-book by many writers, suitable for the upper classes of national schools and also for use in night schools* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, c.1868), 126-129.

³²⁰ See Clare V. Johnson, "Inculturating the Easter Feast in Southeast Australia," *Worship* 78/2 (March 2004): 98-117 where she first raises these issues.

carol 'In the Bleak Midwinter' in the middle of summer, and 'Now the Green Blade Riseth' in autumn. The fourth mode is to attempt to ground the calendar in the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

The first mode is perhaps the easiest and least controversial. Removing references to spring at Easter and winter at Christmas is achievable; however, vigilance is needed especially in hymnody and in using any liturgical resources from the northern hemisphere.

The second mode is highly controversial for many New Zealanders; however, in practice, because of the lack of a mid-winter festival in the liturgical calendar in Aotearoa New Zealand, many parishes and community organisations already celebrate a 'mid-winter Christmas' in June or July.³²¹ Such celebrations are non-liturgical and are based around a northern-hemisphere Christmas meal, during which Christmas carols may be sung. Suggestions to re-orient the calendar to the northern seasons are aired regularly³²² but no official moves in this direction have been made. A reality of this mode is that Christians in Aotearoa would lose the commonality of celebrating festivals at the same time as the universal church.

The third mode (the status quo) entails living with a liturgy full of seasonal contradictions and dislocations; this mode was perhaps the most common approach in Anglican and Catholic churches during the twentieth century.

The fourth is the mode being explored by this research project. Minor and unofficial attempts to locate the liturgical year into Aotearoa's seasons have been made over many decades. In his 1906 book *The Christian Year Beneath the Southern Cross*, Anglican priest Frederick Inwood (1849-1939) addressed Christmas in summer:

No touch of Winter's frosty breath,
No snow-clad fields 'neath skies that lower;
All nature thrills with joyous life,

³²¹ For example: RNZ, *Wanaka brings Christmas community dinner forward to spread cheer*, 14/6/20, accessed 15/8/22, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/418965/wanaka-brings-christmas-community-dinner-forward-to-spread-cheer>.

³²² At the national Anglo-Catholic Hui (gathering) in Wellington in August 2019 in one plenary discussion a participant suggested moving Christmas to June; there was an uproar from the other hundred participants against the idea.

As faintly from the distant tower,
Ring out the cheerful Christmas bells;
Hark, how their cadence softly swells
O'er open fields and bosky dells,
"In excelsis Gloria."

The feathered choir, in copse and glade,
Their own enchanting carols sing;
Flowers add their incense to the gifts
Which Nature offers to its King.
Soft summer breezes cool the air,
Earth, sea and sky His praise declare,
Who made these lower works thus fair,
"In excelsis Gloria."³²³

Auckland poet Michael Kennedy Joseph's (1908-1981) poem addresses the Easter problem:

Inverted on the other side of the earth
Easter and Lent, its harbinger, take new meaning.
Are not the wheeling festival of birth and death
In spring, but ripe and round in autumn's waning?

Northern spring miraculous lifts with feeble fists
Of shoot and budding leaf the stone from the frozen
Sepulchred heart of the earth, the embalmed air pours in gusts,
Bird-call and shock of wind cry, Christ is risen.

Our Easter comes pontifically in purple and gold
With grape on vine and corn in field, the wine and bread
Feeding the hollow mouth, warming the body filled
At last, the sacrament of flesh and blood.³²⁴

These attempts show that dislocation of the liturgical year has been acknowledged and expressed in poetry for many years, even if liturgical expression or correction of the dislocation has been an impossibility in Catholic and Anglican traditions. At times there seems to have been progress toward grounding the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand. The 1980 book *A Christmas Garland: A New Zealand Christmas Album 1642-1900* states:

³²³ Frederick Inwood, *The Christian Year Beneath the Southern Cross* (Christchurch: Lyttleton Times, 1906), 11.

³²⁴ M.K. Joseph, "Easter in the South," in *Spirit in a Strange Land: A Selection of New Zealand Spiritual Verse*, ed. Paul Morris, Harry Ricketts, and Mike Grimshaw (Auckland: Godwit, 2002), 46.

More recent Christmas recollections ... show further stages in the laborious process which finally gave birth to a generation who could look back towards a distant Old World and feel no more than an agreeable nostalgia. Foresworn now was the holly wreath, the roaring fire and ancient chimes ringing in a dark and chilly dawn and, in their place, was a trudge to church along a dusty road, the sun hot upon the neck and the raw-tongued clang of a single bell jangling on the ear. Here was the scent of lupin and trampled grass and ripe fruit, the lulling murmur of waves breaking on the warm sand. The long bright days had lost their strangeness for December and the choice had been made-that Christmas time was summer time and home at last was here.³²⁵

And yet in 2019, the Puanga/Matariki website of the Whanganui tribe stated: "A celebration in the cold months is no different to the pagan celebrations of the northern hemisphere and the origins of what is now known as Christmas."³²⁶ In 2020, Māori astronomer Rangī Matamua remarked:

I hope that Matariki can become a beacon for us, and I hope it becomes our new year. Why should we follow the northern hemisphere and the rest of the western world and celebrate the new year because that's when they're celebrating it? Like Christmas, it has no connection to where we are. You know, we're singing about Santa's reindeer and sleigh and snow in the middle of December. There's no lunar reason why we celebrate it, no astronomical reason. It's not connected to our environment in any way.³²⁷

Matamua and the Whanganui tribe seem to discount the possibility that Christmas can legitimately occur at another time than winter. Like many other New Zealanders, they are captured by the concept of Christmas being in winter.

2.7 What if?

The inculturation deficit in the liturgical calendar means that the liturgical year as presently celebrated remains yet to be received fully by New Zealanders, and it remains confused and inopportune.³²⁸ Somehow the calendar has not taken root in Aotearoa. Certainly, many factors will

³²⁵ Maddock and Easter, 94.

³²⁶ *Puanga Whanganui*, (unpaginated).

³²⁷ Dale Husband, *Rangī Matamua: Matariki and Māori astronomy*, 1/8/20, accessed 25/8/20, <https://e-tangata.co.nz/korero/rangi-matamua-matariki-and-maori-astronomy/>.

³²⁸ Lana Hart, "Let's rearrange the holidays we've got to modernise our calendar," *Stuff*, 14/9/20, accessed 16/9/20, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/opinion/122742166/lets-rearrange-the-holidays-weve-got-to-modernise-our-calendar>.

have been at play; however, it can be asserted that lack of grounding of the calendar could be due to the fact that the Western liturgical calendar has been imposed on the church in this place by ignoring Māori calendrical traditions and by failing to address geographic and seasonal realities. There seems to have been recognition of the dislocation for many years, but there also seems to have been an unwillingness and inability by Aotearoa New Zealand churches to address the theological and pastoral problem in their calendars. In 1966, theologian Frank Nichol wrote that theology: “Must be one of New Zealand’s least indigenous activities.”³²⁹

As previously noted, Ngāti Wai elder Hori Parata said: “When we came to Aotearoa we were Polynesian. The land made us Māori.” Māori became tangata whenua, people of the land, through engagement with the land.³³⁰ The relationship between Māori and place described by Hori Parata is radically different from the relationship between churches and place in Aotearoa New Zealand. Instead of engaging with place and allowing place to form their calendars, the churches have overlooked the particularities of place.

Maramataka specialist Wiremu Tāwhai wrote that “the experts continually tested, adjusted and added to it [te maramataka]. As well as identifying certain lunar phases as risky and uncertain, they recognised and coped with changes, both natural and man-made, in the environment.”³³¹ The role of experts in the Māori calendar is radically different from the understanding of the ‘experts’ of the Gregorian calendar in Aotearoa New Zealand. What if, instead of imposing the Western liturgical calendar on Aotearoa, missionaries had had a conversation with Māori about how the calendar should function in Aotearoa? What if, instead of importing northern hemisphere calendrical seasonal parameters, the missionaries had listened to the land and the people of the land? What if the missionaries had let Māori explain about the seasons and cycles of the moon and stars in

³²⁹ Frank Nichol, “Theology in New Zealand,” *Landfall* 20/1 (1966): 49.

³³⁰ Warne, *Awakenings*, 200.

³³¹ Tāwhai, viii.

Aotearoa? What if missionaries had learnt from Māori that the calendar should be ready to change when needed?

Perhaps if missionaries had been attentive to creation, listened to Māori and learnt about maramataka, a different, attuned liturgical calendar could have developed earlier in Aotearoa which would have fed and nurtured the people of God rather than setting them up for confusion and disappointment.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated how Polynesian settlers brought to Aotearoa traditional Polynesian ways of marking time – mostly associated with the moon, stars and natural cycles, and how Māori changed and adapted their calendars to fit the realities of life in their particular places in Aotearoa.

It has been demonstrated that the first Christians in Aotearoa brought several versions of the Christian calendar with them, reflecting different liturgical traditions, and that while early explorers celebrated the liturgical year in Aotearoa, they had no interest in bringing it into dialogue with Māori experiences or with Aotearoa's context.

In contrast, missionaries were interested in ongoing relationship with Māori, and keen that Māori join in observing the universal church's Gregorian calendar. Missionaries, however, did not esteem Māori knowledge or calendrical traditions and, by introducing the Gregorian calendar, missionaries unintentionally facilitated the loss of much mātauranga Māori and the connections with creation which were reinforced by the maramataka.

Even as the liturgical calendar was being introduced into Aotearoa, liturgical leaders³³² expressed qualms about its appropriateness. Traditions closely associated with northern hemisphere seasons and with place-specific northern hemisphere saints were identified as problematic early on;

³³² Such as those in the Diocese of Waiapu who compiled calendars who left European saints out of the sanctorale, see Connor, *Saintly, Sinful or Secular*.

however, because of liturgical regulations in Catholic and Anglican traditions, local Aotearoa New Zealand liturgical leaders lacked the institutional capacity to change the calendar.

Calendrical models in the Aotearoa New Zealand church consist of: a highly contextualised indigenous calendar which is attentive to and attuned to the local environment and seasons; and a universal liturgical calendar which aims to bring the global church into one 'universal' system of marking time. The challenge for the church in Aotearoa New Zealand is that the 'global' liturgical calendar does not fully work in the local context and that the contextualised indigenous calendar has no scope beyond the local.

In 2017 Māori theologian Graham Cameron wrote: "We need to ensure our church calendar speaks to who we are here if that calendar is to be a genuine rhythm for the people of faith who live here."³³³

The next chapter will consider the importance of place in grounding the liturgical year in a particular location.

³³³ Cameron, *All Saints, All Souls or All Parihaka?*



Illustration 4: Ngā Kete, sculpture by Michel Tuffery, Otago Polytechnic, Dunedin.

Chapter 3: Whaowhia te kete mātauranga: Fill the basket of knowledge³³⁴ – ways of inculturation

3.1 Inculturation

In some Māori traditions, Tane the god of the forest ascended to Io, the creator, to obtain sacred knowledge which was held in three baskets.³³⁵ The Māori proverb quoted above asserts the continuing importance of filling our baskets of knowledge. The previous chapter identified the problem of a dislocated liturgical year, this chapter will investigate and gather knowledge about the interaction between liturgy and culture in order to engage with the problem. After exploration of some of the commonly used terms for the relationship between liturgy and culture, the chapter will analyse some methodologies of liturgical inculturation. Following scrutiny of various methodologies, it will seek to discern an appropriate methodology for inculturation of the liturgical year into the seasons of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The Gospel itself cannot be known except through the medium of culture. The paradox is that, while religion needs a cultural formulation, it cannot be reduced to the mere forms of culture. It must by definition, transcend the purely cultural. The second corollary is, of course, that a universally true religion cannot be identified exclusively with any one culture or group of cultures.³³⁶

As the communal communication with Atua, karakia has to be inclusive of the context in which it is being prayed i.e. Aotearoa, and articulate a people's joys, sorrows and intercessions in a culturally appropriate manner.³³⁷

From the first community of Jerusalem until the parousia, it is the same Paschal mystery that the Churches of God, faithful to the apostolic faith, celebrate in every place. The mystery celebrated in the liturgy is one, but the forms of its celebration are diverse.³³⁸

³³⁴ "Whaowhia te kete mātauranga" (fill the basket of knowledge) is a well-known *whakatauki*/saying used widely in educational settings in Aotearoa New Zealand. Sometimes the baskets are known as ngā kete o te Wānanga (baskets of learning), this thesis will use the term kete mātauranga.

³³⁵ Marsden, *Woven Universe*, 56.

³³⁶ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 27.

³³⁷ Tui Cadigan, "The Indigenisation of Religious Life for Wāhine Māori in the Context of Aotearoa," (M. Theol diss., University of Auckland, 1998), 156.

³³⁸ CCC, Chapter 2, Article 2.

In order to understand how the liturgical year might interact in concert with (rather than in contradiction to) the natural seasons and the lived reality of the people of Aotearoa New Zealand, this chapter will explore inculturation in general and then liturgical inculturation in particular.

Inculturation is the process via which the church's liturgy can be adapted to the needs of different environments, cultures and peoples.³³⁹ For this study to explore how the liturgical year might interact more fruitfully with the places, seasons and people of Aotearoa New Zealand, a thorough examination of inculturation is essential.

Liturgical celebrations always happen in a particular location and in a particular cultural context. All liturgy has at some stage been shaped by the context in which it is celebrated. The worship practices of the first Christians were informed by the ritual and cultural context of Judaism, located within the political, cultural, and religious milieu of first century Palestine. Because Christianity emerged out of Judaism, even as they claimed a new identity, early Christians continued using the scriptures, prayers, ritual, fasting, calendar and understanding of sacred space from Jewish

³³⁹ "Inculturation is a process that we pastors are called to inspire, encouraging people to live their faith where and with whom they are. Inculturation is learning to discover how a determinate portion of the people today, in the historical here and now, live, celebrate and proclaim their faith. With a particular identity and on the basis of the problems that must be faced, as well as with all the reasons they have to rejoice. Inculturation is the work of artisans and not of a factory with a production line dedicated to "manufacturing Christian worlds or spaces." Pope Francis, *Letter to Cardinal Marc Ouellet, President of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America*, 19/3/16, accessed 20/10/23, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/letters/2016/documents/papa-francesco_20160319_pont-comm-america-latina.html.

tradition.³⁴⁰ Early Christian writings testify that for many years Christians continued worshipping in synagogues.³⁴¹

Around the year 50, the apostles convened the Council of Jerusalem³⁴² to address the emerging complexities of the growth of Christianity, and to consider inclusion of Gentiles in the church in which Jewish Christians eventually would become only one strand. In a turning point for the church's relationship with culture, the Jerusalem Council confirmed that Gentiles could be accepted as Christians without first being circumcised and thus without needing to conform to all of Jewish tradition.³⁴³ With this decision, the Council acknowledged that the Christian community can encompass all cultural identities. As a result, Christian liturgy would thereafter not be exclusively for those with the cultural and historical assumptions of Judaism. As the gospel was preached in new places and to people of different cultures and languages, liturgy developed in different ways in

³⁴⁰ It is important to note that Jewish liturgy was not fixed when Christianity emerged. Scholars including Ruth Langer and Clemens Leonhard demonstrate that in the first century Rabbinic Jewish liturgy was still taking shape and that there was a dynamic relationship between Jewish and Christian worship. "The question [of Jewish liturgical development] has obvious relevance for Christian liturgical historians as well, because the Jewish liturgical reality of the 1st century CE outside the Temple would be that of the synagogues that Jesus and Paul frequented." Ruth Langer, "Continuity and Change: The Past Half-Century of Jewish Liturgical Life," *Liturgy* 37/4 (2022): 50. "Festivals like Pesach and Easter, perhaps also Shavuot and Pentecost resemble each other...they include festival instructions that mimic in a positive or negative way-the other group's behaviour." Clemens Leonhard, *Jewish and Christian Festivals and their liturgies in the Context of Late Antique Civilisations*, Project description, Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, <https://www.wiko-berlin.de/en/fellows/academic-year/2011/leonhard-clemens> accessed 6/8/24.

³⁴¹ For example, the Acts of the Apostles includes numerous descriptions of Christians worshipping in the synagogue and leading worship in the synagogue, e.g., Acts 2:46, Acts 3:1, Acts 9:20-22, Acts 13:13-15, Acts 13: 42-44, Acts 18: 4, Acts 18:8. John 9.29 describes how "the Jews had agreed that if anyone confessed Jesus as the Christ or messiah they were to be excluded from the synagogue".

³⁴² Acts of the Apostles chapter 15 and possibly Galatians chapter 2. Whether Galatians 2 refers to the Council of Jerusalem is disputed by scholars. "An overwhelming majority (of scholars) identifies the reference to the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 with Paul's account in Gal. 2.1-10, and this accord is not just limited to the historicity of the gathering alone but extends also to the authenticity of the arguments deriving from the Jerusalem church itself." Finny Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology: The Eschatological Bestowal of the Spirit upon Gentiles in Judaism and in the early development of Paul's Theology* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 205.

³⁴³ St. James's apostolic decree states: "It is my judgment, therefore, that we should not make it difficult for the Gentiles who are turning to God. Instead we should write to them, telling them to abstain from food polluted by idols, from sexual immorality, from the meat of strangled animals and from blood. For the law of Moses has been preached in every city from the earliest times and is read in the synagogues on every Sabbath." (Acts 15:19-21).

particular places without the need to align in every way to Jewish tradition.³⁴⁴ In time, liturgies informed by particularities of local languages, customs and traditions became distinct branches of the Christian liturgical tradition.³⁴⁵

3.1.1 Seeds of the Word

How to balance the relationship between fidelity to the Gospel and life in particular cultures has been a cause of anxiety for some Christians since the beginning of the church. In the second century, in an attempt to articulate the Christian faith and to explain the truth being present in non-Christian Greek culture, St. Justin Martyr (c.100-c.165) expressed the idea that the seeds of the word/*Spermatikos Logos* are implanted in human nature and are present in every culture before any contact with the Gospel.³⁴⁶ After studying with Platonists and Stoics, Justin became a Christian; he borrowed the *Spermatikos Logos* concept from Stoic thought and adapted it for Christianity.³⁴⁷ Justin does not refer to the Gospel of John as he discusses the logos and it is uncertain whether he was aware of the Fourth Gospel.³⁴⁸ Alyward Shorter, a member of the Society of the Missionaries of Africa³⁴⁹ and anthropologist argues: “St. Justin’s concept of the world-seeding Logos, which has proved so fruitful for theologians of inculturation...would have been impossible without the insight of

³⁴⁴ Paul Bradshaw traces the liturgical diversity of the early church in his books on early Christian worship and outlines what inculturation took place. See footnote 95 for references to some of Bradshaw’s publications.

³⁴⁵ For example, Latin, Byzantine, Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, Maronite and Chaldean traditions.

³⁴⁶ “And hence there seem to be seeds of truth among all men.” Justin Martyr, *1st Apology* Chapter 44. Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria also either explicitly or equivalently speak about the seeds sown by the Word of God in cultures of the world.

³⁴⁷ Stoicism was a school of Hellenistic philosophy founded by Zeno of Citium (c. 334 – c. 262 BCE) in Athens in the early 3rd century BCE. As well as Justin, other theologians influenced by Stoicism include St. Paul, Augustine of Hippo, and Thomas Aquinas, see Horowitz.

³⁴⁸ In a 1958 article, John Romanides maps some of the arguments for and against Justin knowing John’s gospel. John S. Romanides, “Justin Martyr and the Fourth Gospel,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 4 (1958): 115-134. Scholar of the New Testament and Christian origins Larry Hurtado suggests that Justin did know John’s gospel. Larry Hurtado, *Justin Martyr and the gospels*, 1/9/17, accessed 28/10/19, <https://larryhurtado.wordpress.com/2017/09/01/justin-martyr-and-the-gospels/>.

³⁴⁹ The Missionaries of Africa, commonly known as the White Fathers, a Catholic society of apostolic life founded in 1868 focuses on evangelism and education in Africa.

John's prologue."³⁵⁰ Justin would most probably have been aware of the seed imagery used several times in the Old and New Testaments with different emphases.³⁵¹

In Stoicism, the *Spermatikos Logos* was understood to be the creative force, divine rationality or spark which saturated the universe. *Spermatikos Logos* can be translated as "Seminal reason", "seminal principles" or "creative reason".³⁵² Maryanne Horowitz, an American historian of the Renaissance and of the history of ideas, writes on Stoic philosophy:

The combination of the terms *spermatikos* and *logos* implies both the matter and the form of things. God is seminal in that he is the original seed or germ from which all originates. God is reason in that he contains within himself the determination of the shape and qualities of all things that come to be. The *logos spermatikos* is the source of all matter and the pattern of all that happens.³⁵³

Justin equates the *Spermatikos Logos* with reason and with Jesus.³⁵⁴ For Justin, all people with reason participate in the life of the logos which is Jesus.³⁵⁵ Even if they do not become Christian, if people behave with reason, Jesus the logos is active within them. Justin writes: "We have been taught that Christ is the first-born of God, and we have declared above that He is the Word of whom every race of men were partakers; and those who lived reasonably are Christians, even though they have been thought atheists."³⁵⁶

Justin perceives that every person has a share of the truth within them, which is Christ; however, only Christ holds the whole of truth.³⁵⁷ Justin's *Spermatikos Logos* concept has been used by many seeking to inculturate liturgy (as will be shown later in this chapter), and by others seeking

³⁵⁰ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 122.

³⁵¹ The parables of Jesus include several concerning seeds: parables of the Mustard Seed, the Sower and the Tares are in all the synoptic gospels. The parable of the Growing Seed is found only on Mark (4:26-29). The first letter of Peter uses the seed as an image of the word of God: "You have been born anew, not of perishable but of imperishable seed, through the living and enduring word of God." 1 Peter 1: 23.

³⁵² Horowitz, 27.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁵⁴ Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, Chapter 5.

³⁵⁵ "Christ the divine logos is the universal reason, the 'seminal logos' in which all rational beings participated; therefore seeds of truth are found in almost everyone endowed with reason". Horowitz, 49.

³⁵⁶ Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, Chapter 46.

³⁵⁷ Horowitz, 49.

to find God in culture.³⁵⁸ The *Spermatikos Logos* approach to culture re-emerged in the writing of mid-twentieth century theologians and was embraced by the Second Vatican Council.³⁵⁹ The Vatican II decree *AG* encourages missionaries to “uncover with gladness and respect those seeds of the Word which lie hidden among [the people]”³⁶⁰ Since Vatican II, the *Spermatikos Logos* approach has continued to be used in relation to inculturation. The final report of the 2019 Synod of the Amazon states:

The evangelisation of the Church is not a process of destruction, but of consolidation and strengthening of these values; a contribution to the growth of the ‘seeds of the Word’ (*DP* 401, cf. *GS* 57) present in various cultures... Proclaiming the Good News of Jesus implies recognising the seeds of the Word already present in cultures.³⁶¹

Recognising that the seeds of the Word are present in cultures means that, instead of being dismissed by Christians as superstitious, alien, primitive or backward, every culture must be approached respectfully as a seedbed of the Word, because cultures are made up of humans who have the innate capacity to be hearers of the Word and once the Word is heard, humans can see the sense in it and can begin to enact it and live by it.³⁶² In light of this understanding, the challenge in any dialogue between culture and liturgy is to discern what are the seeds of the Word present in any culture and then to discern whether and how those seeds might find expression in a liturgical context. Acknowledging the capacity for discerning divine presence at work within a culture should influence the desire of missionaries and liturgists to impose or reject various elements of cultures.

The 2019 Synod of the Amazon preparatory document echoes *AG* and suggests that a spirituality grounded in local context: “offers the possibility of finding joy and zest in living together with the Amazonian peoples, and thus of being able to value their cultural riches, in which God sowed

³⁵⁸ Robert Barron’s *Seeds of the Word: Finding God in the Culture* (Skokie: Word on Fire, 2005) uses Justin’s term but does not mention Justin. Instead of looking for the seeds of the word in culture as Justin did, Barron seeks to sow the Gospel in (contemporary US) culture.

³⁵⁹ *AG* No. 11 and No. 22 mention ‘Seeds of the Word’. See: Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 79.

³⁶⁰ *AG* No.11.

³⁶¹ *Final Document of the Amazon Synod*, Chapt 3, Sections 54-55.

³⁶² See Karl Rahner’s “Hörer des Wortes” *Hearers of the Word* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1969).

the seed of the Good News. We must also be able to perceive the elements present in their cultures which, because they pertain to human history, require purification.”³⁶³

In his Apostolic Exhortation *QA*, in response to the Amazon Synod Pope Francis wrote:

On the one hand, a fruitful process takes place when the Gospel takes root in a given place, for “whenever a community receives the message of salvation, the Holy Spirit enriches its culture with the transforming power of the Gospel.” On the other hand, the Church herself undergoes a process of reception that enriches her with the fruits of what the Spirit has already mysteriously sown in that culture.³⁶⁴

The synod preparatory document contains a suggestion as to how the church should interact with Amazonian cultures and peoples:

This requires a spirituality of communion between native missionaries and those who come from outside...This is spirituality after the fashion of Jesus: simple, human, in dialogue, and Samaritan, allowing us to celebrate life, Liturgy, the Eucharist, and festivals, always in respect for the rhythms proper to each people...Enlivening a Church with an Amazonian face requires missionaries to possess the ability to discover the seeds and fruits of the Word already present in a people’s worldview. This requires a stable presence and knowledge of the native language, culture, and spiritual background. Only in this way will the Church make Christ’s life present in these peoples.³⁶⁵

In *QA*, Pope Francis re-affirms the task and language of discovery of seeds planted by God. He writes:

In Christian experience, “all the creatures of the material universe find their true meaning in the incarnate Word, for the Son of God has incorporated in his person part of the material world, planting in it a seed of definitive transformation.” He is present in a glorious and mysterious way in the river, the trees, the fish and the wind, as the Lord who reigns in creation without ever losing his transfigured wounds, while in the Eucharist he takes up the elements of this world and confers on all things the meaning of the paschal gift.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ Catholic Church, *Preparatory Document Amazonia: New Paths for the Church and for an Integral Ecology*, no date, accessed 13/10/19, <http://secretariat.synod.va/content/sinodoamazonico/en/documents/preparatory-document-for-the-synod-for-the-amazon.html>, No. 15.

³⁶⁴ *QA*, 68.

³⁶⁵ *Preparatory Document Amazonia*, No.15.

³⁶⁶ *QA*, 73 & 74.

The seeds of the Word concept has been fruitful for theologians of inculturation; indeed, it could be argued that seeing good in cultures and the action of God in cultures is fundamental to the theology of inculturation.³⁶⁷ Without seeing cultures as worthy of divine attention, missionaries and liturgists could easily dismiss cultures and traditions as unworthy of Christian engagement or in need of replacement with versions of Christianity originating in other cultural contexts.

Since Christians began worshipping distinctively as Christians, liturgy has changed and adapted to new circumstances; choices have been made to include aspects from various cultures and contexts. This process of adaptation and embracing new elements has been ascribed with various names.

3.2 Definitions

This section of the chapter considers definitions of the principal terms used to describe the culture-liturgy interaction in order to elucidate the concepts and propositions used and to uncover how the concept and the process of inculturation has emerged and evolved over time.

3.2.1 Liturgy

SC states: “It is the liturgy through which, especially in the divine sacrifice of the Eucharist, ‘the work of our redemption is accomplished,’ and it is through the liturgy, especially, that the faithful are enabled to express in their lives and manifest to others the mystery of Christ and the real nature of the true Church.”³⁶⁸ Complementarily, liturgy is described by the Anglican Communion as follows:

The signs, symbols and sacred actions which form public prayer and worship spring from the language and events of God's own self-revelation. Anglicans' liturgical celebrations arise directly out of the mystery of salvation in Jesus Christ and are part of the very means by which they enter into that mystery.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷ This idea appears in AG, 11, but its idea also pervades other documents, particularly *Nostra Aetate*, on non-Christian religions.

³⁶⁸ SC, No.2.

³⁶⁹ Anglican Communion, *Liturgy*, no date, accessed 29/10/19, <https://www.anglicancommunion.org/theology/liturgy.aspx>.

The introduction to *A New Zealand Prayer Book/ He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* states: “If worship is the response of the people of God to the presence of God, then the first function of liturgy is to provide conditions in which that presence may be experienced.”³⁷⁰

A concise and useful definition of liturgy is expressed by English-born Irish Dominican theologian and philosopher Herbert McCabe: “The liturgy is the official public prayer of the Church: it consists in the celebration of the Eucharist and other sacraments, together with the Divine Office and certain other ceremonies.”³⁷¹ American Mercy sister and liturgical theologian Julia Upton writes: “Any religious community’s official public worship is its “liturgy”...by emphasizing that liturgy is *official* we mean that its texts and ritual elements have been approved by competent authority.”³⁷²

This study will define liturgy as the officially approved public worship of God by a church.

3.2.2 Culture

Defining what culture is, is fraught with difficulty. A 1952 study concluded that at that time there were at least two hundred definitions of culture.³⁷³ Gerald Arbuckle, an Aotearoa New Zealand Marist priest and social anthropologist, writes:

As a cultural anthropologist, I believe the thorniest methodological problem in inculturation is the confusion surrounding the meaning of culture. The concept of culture is contentious and complex. Anyone who writes today on culture is confronted with a disheartening task, because the word is applied indiscriminately to vastly different situations.³⁷⁴

One of the most commonly used definitions of culture is that of Edward Tylor (1832 – 1917), English anthropologist and founder of cultural anthropology, who writes that: “[Culture] is that

³⁷⁰ *A New Zealand Prayer Book*, xiv.

³⁷¹ Herbert McCabe, *The Teaching of the Catholic Church: A New Catechism of Christian Doctrine* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1985).

³⁷² Julia Upton, “Liturgy”, in *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Michael Glazier and Monika Hellwig (Collegeville: Michael Glazier, 2004), 494-498.

³⁷³ Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, “Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions,” quoted in Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians* (Collegeville: Michael Glazier, 2010), 1.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, xx.

complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, moral, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man (sic) as a member of society.”³⁷⁵ In the decades since Tylor’s trailblazing definition of culture, conceptions of culture have changed and developed. Contemporary US anthropologist Kenneth Guest writes:

Culture is a system of knowledge, beliefs, patterns of behaviour, artefacts, and institutions that are created, learned, and shared by a group of people. Culture includes norms, values, symbols, mental maps of reality, and material objects as well as structures of power- including the media, education, religion, and politics- in which our understanding of the world is shaped, reinforced, and challenged. Ultimately, the culture that we learn shapes our ideas of what is normal and natural, what we can say and do, and even what we can think.³⁷⁶

In his *Handbook on Inculturation*, American Jesuit Peter Schineller defines culture as: “a set of symbols, stories (myths) and norms for conduct that orient a society or group cognitively, affectively, and behaviourally to the world in which it lives.”³⁷⁷ Shorter’s definition is helpful in consideration of the relationship between liturgy and culture: “Culture is a tradition of accumulated choices in which the selection and acceptance of external idea and behaviour play a part.”³⁷⁸ In considering culture, it is important to remember that culture (like liturgy) is ever-changing³⁷⁹ and therefore the relationship between liturgy and culture is always dynamic. This research project will utilise Guest’s definition of culture as it is a contemporary and comprehensive definition adequate for its purposes.

3.2.3 Liturgy–culture relationship

Terms move in and out of currency and use as new insights are achieved. The most frequently used terms for the culture–liturgy interaction are accommodation, acculturation,

³⁷⁵ Tylor, *Primitive Culture* 1.

³⁷⁶ Guest, 35.

³⁷⁷ Schineller, 23.

³⁷⁸ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 45.

³⁷⁹ Guest writes: “Although culture is shared by members of groups, it is also constantly contested, negotiated, and changing. Culture is never static. Just as cultural institutions serve as structures for promoting enculturation, they also serve as arenas for challenging, debating, and changing core cultural beliefs and behaviours.” Guest, 37.

adaptation, contextualisation, functional substitution, indigenisation, translation and inculturation. Since the 1980s, among Catholic and ecumenical scholars there has been a clear convergence on using the term 'inculturation' to refer to the interaction between liturgy and culture. Some terms (such as indigenisation and contextualisation) have been used interchangeably either deliberately or carelessly by some scholars. It is important to map and clarify these different definitions in order to elucidate the insights in each term and to understand the reasons for a scholarly and ecclesial convergence on 'inculturation'. Ideally these terms would be able to be placed on a timeline from functional substitution to inculturation; however, the different terms have not been used tidily in sequence within academic literature on this area over the past four decades or so. An alphabetical arrangement of the definitions has been employed here for expediency (with the exception of 'inculturation' which is considered last).

a. Accommodation

'Accommodation' is how Catholic missionaries described the relationship between faith and culture in missionary thought and practice before Vatican II. Accommodation was a pastoral tactic in which a missionary would decide to incorporate aspects of local culture as embellishments within Christian liturgy. There may have been a superficial dialogue with local people to decide what aspects of local culture would be included in liturgy, but in the accommodation approach generally, there was no genuine dialogue or exchange of cultures.³⁸⁰ An example of accommodation is when a missionary used a visual design from a local culture to adorn vestments without consulting local people. Jesuits Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) who worked to establish the church in East Asia were among the first to use accommodation, encouraging Jesuits to eat, dress and live as much as possible like local people.³⁸¹ Ricci's decisions to accommodate to

³⁸⁰ Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel*, 10-24.

³⁸¹ See: Andrés Prieto, "The Perils of Accommodation: Jesuit Missionary Strategies in the Early Modern World," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4/3 (June 2017): 395-414.

Chinese culture, first to Buddhism then to Confucianism, and in particular his approach toward veneration of ancestors, caused great concern amongst other missionaries and ultimately in Rome.³⁸²

Roberto De Nobili (1577 – 1656) also used an accommodation approach. De Nobili was an Italian Jesuit missionary to Southern India who adopted local customs, such as wearing a sacred thread over his chest, shaving his head, wearing local clothes and taking on some behavioural aspects of a Hindu holy man in order to penetrate the caste system and convert the Hindu elite.³⁸³ De Nobili's accommodation to outward expressions of Brahmanism life baffled many inside and outside the church; his accommodation to the inequalities inherent in the Indian caste system distressed those missionaries working to break down caste divisions.³⁸⁴

Though the intention of actions such as those of De Nobili was to embrace local culture in service of preaching the Gospel, in fact such acts also had the ability to cause offence to local people (such as those deemed to be of low caste wishing to overturn the prevailing culture) and risked being perceived as cultural appropriation by those of high caste wishing to maintain the prevailing culture. Cultural appropriation describes the utilisation of elements of a minority culture by members of a dominant culture without full understanding of their meaning or importance to local cultures or peoples. It is a cultural exchange in the context of an unequal power relationship between two cultures. Cultural appropriation is an extremely sensitive area for indigenous people because of the perceived danger of the theft of intellectual and cultural property by people who will not treat that intellectual or cultural property with appropriate respect. In Aotearoa New Zealand, tempers can flare at the perceived misuse of aspects of Māori culture by non-Māori people.³⁸⁵

³⁸² Dominican and Franciscan missionaries were alarmed by the Jesuit accommodation practices and complained to Rome. After years of investigation, in 1704 Pope Clement XI condemned the 'Chinese Rites'. On the Chinese Rites controversy, see: Brockey, *Journey to the East*; Mungello, *Curious Land*; Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy from Its Beginning to Modern Times*; Cummins, *A Question of Rites*.

³⁸³ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 160.

³⁸⁴ Howard Culbertson, *Roberto de Nobili: A Case Study in Cross-Cultural Accommodation*, no date, accessed 25/10/23, <https://home.snu.edu/~hculbert/nobili.htm>.

³⁸⁵ For example, in May 2018 a Pākehā woman choosing to have her chin tattooed with a traditional Māori design resulted in a national outcry and accusations of appropriation and misuse of white privilege. See:

b. Acculturation

Acculturation is a sociological term which describes the interaction of two cultures in which components of one culture are acquired by the other. Acculturation often results in changes to external aspects of culture. According to Shorter, acculturation may lead “merely to a juxtaposition of unassimilated cultural expressions, coming from various directions or origins.”³⁸⁶ Acculturation is the accumulation by one culture of aspects of other cultures without regard for the meaning of the borrowed item for the source culture, and without regard for the implications for the borrower.

Liturgically, acculturation is the process whereby a particular culture changes the method and language of liturgy, without considering what the changes mean or imply (intentionally or accidentally). For example, it can be argued that in the Constantinian era the church uncritically acculturated Roman imperial norms, accepting the symbols of hierarchy of the imperial system, but failing to measure and judge these symbols according to the standards of the Gospel. In this era clergy adopted imperial symbols and status in liturgy and elsewhere,³⁸⁷ rather than being shaped by the gospel as servant leaders.³⁸⁸ The effect of this acculturation was that the expressions of leadership in the church changed, largely uncritically, to imperial and monarchical forms rather than those based on the servant leadership modelled by Jesus. Viewed from the perspective of 21st century insights, acculturation may result in unreflective embrace of elements of a culture which may obscure or undermine the Gospel.

c. Adaptation

Adaptation is an attempt to shape liturgy to fit the customs of local people. ‘Adaptation’ acknowledges that the existing form of liturgy likely does not function in a new context and that

George Martin, “Pākehā woman with tā moko accused of cultural appropriation”, *NZ Herald*, 24/5/18, accessed 31/7/18, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12057551.

³⁸⁶ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 12.

³⁸⁷ For example, the Romans used garments to indicate rank and status. This was emulated by the church. See: Gilbert Cope “Vestments”, in *A Dictionary of Liturgy & Worship*, ed. John Davies (London: SCM, 1972), 366.

³⁸⁸ Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel*, 11.

some change is necessary. 'Adaptation' implies some awareness of and sensitivity to a new cultural context whilst being aware also of the need to maintain the core meaning of the liturgy unchanged.

'Adaptation' is the term used by SC, especially in articles 37-40. Four articles of the Constitution are devoted to adaptation of the liturgy. SC permits liturgical diversity in this way:

Provided that the substantial unity of the Roman rite is preserved, provision shall be made, when revising the liturgical books, for legitimate variations and adaptations to different groups, regions and peoples ... In some places and circumstances, however, an even more radical adaptation of the liturgy is needed, and this entails greater difficulties... Adaptations which are judged to be useful or necessary should then be submitted to the Holy See, by whose consent they may be introduced.³⁸⁹

'Adaptation' has been criticised as being a form of imposition, that does not take local cultures seriously enough and that is only willing to make superficial changes to liturgy. Shorter writes that adaptation has come to convey "an activity that is peripheral, non-essential, and even superficial. It was realised that the concept of 'adaptation' contained within itself the seeds of perpetual Western superiority and domination."³⁹⁰ 'Adaptation' is perceived by many scholars as not being an adequate model for dialogue between culture and liturgy. Arbuckle considers that 'adaptation' and 'accommodation' connote a ready-made European-centred way of living and worshipping. For Arbuckle, these terms "meant that evangelisers could use, as a good practical or pastoral tactic to make the Eurocentric expression of the faith more acceptable, this or that custom of the culture being evangelised. It did not alter substantially the barriers to genuine evangelisation, simply because adaptation, as defined and understood, did not allow evangelisers to enter into a genuine dialogue or exchange with cultures."³⁹¹ Arbuckle sees that, with no proper dialogue between liturgy and culture possible in the twentieth century before Vatican II, it became clear that the

³⁸⁹ Excerpts from SC 38 and 40.

³⁹⁰ Alyward Shorter, *African Christian Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1977), 150.

³⁹¹ Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel*, 14.

'adaptation' approach was not going to be successful among the newly empowered Christians of the global south keen to have their liturgies more fully embrace their cultures.³⁹²

In 1974, at the Synod of Catholic Bishops on Evangelisation in the Modern World, the African bishops rejected the term 'adaptation' and declared "completely out of date the so-called theology of adaptation"³⁹³ and therefore indicated their desire for a fuller dialogue between culture and liturgy; they expressed their preference for the term 'incarnation'.³⁹⁴

d. Contextualisation

The term 'contextualisation' achieved prominence at the conference of the ecumenical International Missionary Council³⁹⁵ in Accra, Ghana (December 1957 – January 1958). The IMC meeting took place in a milieu of movements toward independence and sovereignty by colonised countries.³⁹⁶ The rhetoric of the '57-58 IMC conference centred around de-colonisation, freedom, pride in national identities, and refusal to be forced into the image and likeness of colonial nations. The IMC conference resolved to nurture self-esteem and empowerment of the churches of the global south. The IMC decided to set up the Theological Education Fund, to enable Churches of the South to "develop Churches, institutions and persons with authenticity to teach in their context. And so, contextuality and contextualisation became mantra of the Theological Education Fund."³⁹⁷ The TEF received a major grant from J.D. Rockefeller for contextualisation on the condition that within two years mission societies would raise a similar amount, which they did. From 1958-1977, the TEF

³⁹² "Whenever expressions like *adaptation* were used, it was always in reference to the so-called mission countries. It was wrongly assumed that, in some way or other the Church was fully adjusted to the cultures of Europe." Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel*, 14.

³⁹³ Quoted in: Shorter, *African Christian Theology*, 155.

³⁹⁴ "The new strategy to be adopted was incarnation of the gospel into African culture – a process more difficult, more creative, and more dangerous." Schineller, 17.

³⁹⁵ The International Missionary Council was formed in 1921, in 1961 it became part of the WCC.

³⁹⁶ Between 1945 and 1960 around three dozen African and Asia countries won their independence. United States State Department, *Decolonization of Asia and Africa, 1945-1960*, no date, accessed 28/10/19, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/asia-and-africa>.

³⁹⁷ John Pobee, "Travel through Memory Lane: theological education in the WCC," *International Review of Mission* 98/388 (2009): 148.

promoted different goals, all related to the major aim of indigenous or contextualised theological education in the churches of the South.³⁹⁸ TEF defined contextualisation thus:

It means all that is implied in the familiar term “indigenisation” and yet seeks to press beyond. Contextualisation has to do with how we assess the peculiarity of Third World contexts. Indigenisation tends to be used in the sense of responding to the Gospel in terms of a traditional culture. Contextualisation, while not ignoring this, takes into account the process of secularity, technology, and the struggle for human justice, which characterise the historical moment of nations in the Third World. Yet a careful distinction must be made between authentic and false forms of contextualisation. False contextualisation yields to uncritical accommodation, a form of culture faith. Authentic contextualisation is always prophetic, arising always out of a genuine encounter between God’s Word and His world, and moves toward the purpose of challenging and changing the situation through rootedness in and commitment to a given historical moment.³⁹⁹

The TEF encouraged contextualisation in the following areas: (1) missiology, (2) theological approach, (3) educational method, (4) educational structure.⁴⁰⁰

Encouraged by the IMC, the term ‘contextualisation’ flourished in ecumenical circles and with theologians of the global south in a context of excitement over the possibilities of theological ideas emerging from non-Western churches following World War II and the formation of the World Council of Churches in 1948.⁴⁰¹ ‘Contextualisation’ seemed to be the right term for a particular moment of liberation and new possibility in the global south and in the world church.

Contextual methods designed to engage theologically with particular cultures and situations have been used and continue to be used by theologians in the global south and beyond.⁴⁰² Paul

³⁹⁸ TEF focus 1958-1965: emphasis on indigenous and interdenominational places and institutions for theological education in the South. Focus 1965-1970: emphasis on new curricula developments for the churches of the South and new teaching materials written by leading theologians from the South. Focus 1970-1977: critique over against western concepts of theological education and major calls for contextualization of both forms of ministry and forms of theological education in the South. Quoted in: Dietrich Werner, “Ecumenical Learning in Global Theological Education – Legacy and unfinished tasks of Edinburgh 1910,” (lecture, Ecumenical Institute, Bossey, 9/11/07).

³⁹⁹ WCC, *Ministry in Context: The Third Mandate Programme of the Theological Education Fund 1970-1977* (Bromley: Theological Education Fund, 1972), 20-21.

⁴⁰⁰ Bruce Fleming, *Contextualization of Theology: An Evangelical Assessment* (Pasadena: William Carey, 1980), introduction.

⁴⁰¹ Paul Matheny, *Contextual Theology: The Drama of Our Times* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2011), xiii.

⁴⁰² For example, Lesslie Newbigin, James Cone, Douglas John Hall and Jürgen Moltmann.

Matheny, an American Presbyterian who teaches theology and ethics at Philippine Christian University states:

The theory of contextual methods is now part of theological study throughout the globe. It is becoming clear that contextual theology is necessary for helpful awareness of our era's reality ... The thin and abstract theology of the past needs to be replaced with depth and concreteness in order to face the challenges of our global Christianity and the needs of local church communities rooted in their culture and their struggles.⁴⁰³

'Contextualisation' intentionally addresses specific socio-political issues rather than focussing on an entire 'culture'. Stephen Bevans prefers the term to others because it includes "the realities of contemporary secularity, technology, and the struggle for human justice."⁴⁰⁴ 'Contextualisation' has been used as a means via which to bring protest against and reflection on situations of oppression and injustice into liturgy e.g., prayers of the people which are explicitly a call and challenge to worshippers to embrace environmental activism rather than being prayers for the church and the world addressed to God. This can be problematic as it can leave liturgy vulnerable to being hijacked for manipulative purposes. Chupungco notes: "Contextualised liturgies (can) adopt also the language of protest meant to excite anger or induce decisive action... Through contextualisation, the ideals of liberation theology gained access to the sacred confines of worship."⁴⁰⁵ A criticism of this term is that by engaging with a particular situation or context (e.g., a pollution event in a river) rather than with an ongoing culture, the theology or liturgy produced may be too particular, too political and perhaps one dimensional.⁴⁰⁶ A further criticism is that contextual methods lead ultimately to contextual

⁴⁰³ Matheny, xv.

⁴⁰⁴ Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology*, 21.

⁴⁰⁵ Chupungco, *Liturgical Inculturation*, 21.

⁴⁰⁶ An example of contextualisation which alienated many are the seventeen paintings of regimental colours or hatchments installed in St. Mary's Church New Plymouth, Aotearoa New Zealand. "The hatchments, which were painted between 1878 and 1909, honour the colonial soldiers, and the 'friendly Māori' – but they were lopsided in their acknowledgment. They pay no heed to Māori who resisted the colonial onslaught, and who suffered and died on that account. As a result, many Māori have, till this day, given St Mary's a wide berth... [during a liturgy in March 2013] the congregation passed the hatchments from hand to hand to their new location, ending 40 years of discussion about whether symbols of discord and war between Māori and Pākehā should hang on the walls of a church." Anglican Taonga, *Healing comes to Taranaki*, 4/3/13, accessed 20/8/18, https://anglicantaonga.org.nz/news/tikanga_pakeha/healing.

churches with deliberately different liturgies, theologies and biblical interpretations. It could be argued that contextualised liturgies can be so locally focussed that they lack breadth and ignore or subvert shared liturgical understandings for a very specific purpose.

While some theologians see ‘contextualisation’ as “just another form of Eurocentric domination”⁴⁰⁷ ‘contextualisation’ remains the preferred term for Māori Anglican liturgist Peter Wensor.⁴⁰⁸ English Anglican liturgical scholar Philip Tovey seems to use ‘inculturation’ and ‘contextualisation’ interchangeably and considers that a common understanding of these terms has yet to be reached.⁴⁰⁹ Tovey seems to disregard the ecumenical consensus around the term inculturation.

e. Functional substitution

‘Functional substitution’ is a term used to refer to the practice of using an existing religious reality and repurposing it within a different religious tradition. Functional substitution can be seen in the earliest type of liturgy–culture interaction. Jesus giving the Passover new meaning as the Last Supper is what scholars today could categorise as an example of functional substitution. We can also observe that baptism could be seen as a type of functional substitution of Jewish cleansing rites involving water, and that celebration of the Jewish feast of Pentecost⁴¹⁰ (which for Jews is about the people of Israel receiving the Torah) with a new Christian meaning (of the apostles receiving the Holy Spirit) could be understood as a type of functional substitution.

⁴⁰⁷ Lesslie Newbigin quoted in Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel*, 18.

⁴⁰⁸ In the introduction to his PhD thesis Wensor states: “The provision of Māori liturgical texts began in a substantial way with the translation of existing English liturgical texts into the Māori language in the 19th century as from the 1830’s. Contextualisation ‘has reached a new level in the Māori liturgical texts of the late 20th and early 21st centuries written by Māori liturgists who are experts in both Māori language and Anglican liturgy.” Peter Wensor, “The Theological Impact of ‘Word Changes’ in te reo Māori liturgical texts of Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa” (PhD diss., University of Auckland, 2010), intro.

⁴⁰⁹ See: Philip Tovey, *Inculturation: The Bread and Wine at the Eucharist*, no date, accessed 5/9/18. <https://ism.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Inculturation%20the%20Bread.pdf>.

⁴¹⁰ Pentecost is the Greek name, in Hebrew it is Shavuot, in English it is Feast of the Weeks. Described in Leviticus 23, the Feast of Weeks, a thanksgiving for the first fruits of the wheat harvest is the second of the three solemn feasts that all Jewish males were required to travel to Jerusalem to attend. Since it takes place fifty days after the previous feast, this feast is known in Greek as Pentecost which means fifty.

Pope Gregory the Great (540-604) in his advice to Mellitus, a fellow missionary of Augustine of Canterbury, notes the importance and purpose of what today could be termed functional substitution:

The idols are to be destroyed, but the temples themselves are to be aspersed with holy water, altars set up in them, and relics deposited there...In this way we hope that the people, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may abandon their error and, flocking more readily to their accustomed resorts, may come to know and adore the true God...For it is impossible to eradicate all errors at one stroke, and whoever wishes to climb up a mountain top climbs gradually step by step and not in one leap.⁴¹¹

Gregory's words seem extreme and unlikely to have had a positive impact. His advice points to a danger inherent with functional substitution – a negative or potentially violent reaction from the people whose feasts or rituals have been repurposed, and the potential for conflict or misunderstanding between the source community and the receptor community.⁴¹² Sri Lankan Jesuit Aloysius Pieris condemns efforts to baptise local religious customs as “theological vandalism . . . Christian triumphalism which seeks to turn everything it touches to its own advantage, with no reverence for the wholeness of another's religious experience.”⁴¹³ Peiris uses the phrase “spiritual colonialism” to describe what others might term functional substitution.⁴¹⁴

In several of his books⁴¹⁵ Arbuckle reaffirms functional substitution as pastorally appropriate and “a particularly important method of inculturation”.⁴¹⁶

f. Indigenisation

According to Nigerian Methodist theologian and Yoruba scholar Bolaji Idowu (1913–1993):

⁴¹¹ Gregory the Great, quoted in Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians*, 184.

⁴¹² See the comment on cultural appropriation in the Accommodation section above.

⁴¹³ Dinesh D'Souza, *Report From India: The Inculturation Crisis*, 1/3/86, accessed 27/10/19, <https://www.crisismagazine.com/1986/report-from-india-the-inculturation-crisis>.

⁴¹⁴ “Pieris has been scathing in his criticism of the West's ‘spiritual colonisation’ which picks up the East's methods of meditation but ignores the poverty and injustice by which they are surrounded.” Michael Barnes, “Spirituality and the Dialogue of Religions”, in *The New SCM Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, ed. Philip Sheldrake (London: SCM, 2005).

⁴¹⁵ Arbuckle, *Laughing with God* (2008), and *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians: A Postmodern Critique* (2010).

⁴¹⁶ Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians*, 164.

Indigenisation means that the church in every land should belong in its locality in such a way that it will not be seen as a foreign body, an intrusion, or an engine of a certain ulterior purpose which will be no longer necessary in a free, independent country, or in a society which is claiming to have come of age. It means further, and more significantly, that the church has to be of an intimate, meaningful, and creatively operative relevance by meeting the spiritual and moral needs of the people...indigenisation is a requirement of all churches everywhere, anywhere, in the world, if they are to be adequate for their witness in contemporary situations.⁴¹⁷

Indigenisation places responsibility for facilitating liturgical change on local people rather than on the outsider. Indigenisation tends to have a higher view of local culture and local people than some other approaches to defining the liturgy–culture dynamic interaction.

Arbuckle asserts that in the 1940s and 1950s, indigenisation meant little more than the recruitment of local people as priests rather than any meaningful engagement with culture.⁴¹⁸ In 1966, in an attempt to spearhead renewal in India, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India appointed Duraiswami Amalorpavadass (1932 – 1990) as the founding director of the NBCLC in Bangalore.⁴¹⁹ Amalorpavadass used the term 'indigenisation' as the basis for his ground-breaking work⁴²⁰ in the belief that liturgy springing up from the local context is the most appropriate liturgy for local people. Amalorpavadass and the NBCLC used forms of architecture, music, posture and ritual from Hindu culture in their attempts to develop an indigenised liturgy. These have proven inspiring for many but scandalous and controversial for some.⁴²¹ In 1986 US-based commentator Dinesh D'Souza wrote:

Recently I paid a visit to ... the National Biblical Catechetical and Liturgical Centre (NBCLC), where I was told I could observe "the future of Christianity in Asia." ... First I watched an

⁴¹⁷ Bolaji Idowu, "Indigenisation", in *A Dictionary of Liturgy & Worship*, ed. John Davies (London: SCM, 1972), 198-203.

⁴¹⁸ Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel*, 18.

⁴¹⁹ For further information see: NBCLC, *History*, no date, accessed 20/10/23, <https://www.nbclcindia.org/history.php>.

⁴²⁰ Amalorpavadass, *Towards Indigenisation in the Liturgy*.

⁴²¹ Michael Davies, *The NBCLC of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India*, 10/4/15, accessed 12/2/18, <https://ephesians511blog.com/2015/04/10/the-national-biblical-catechetical-and-liturgical-centre-nbclc-of-the-catholic-bishops-conference-of-india-cbci/>.

“Indian Mass” conducted by Fr. Amalorpavadass (sic), former director of the NBCLC. It began with sitar music, bhajans, cries of “Om” (The Hindu incantation for Lord Krishna) and “Shantih.” The priest was attired in colorful robes and towels — a sartorial collage apparently representing various tribal forms of dress. There were continual abstract invocations to “The Being” and “The Mighty One,” whose identity was never specified. At least Christ’s name was mentioned a few times, otherwise it would be difficult to guess that this was a Catholic service. Coming out of the “temple,” as the sisters at the NBCLC insist on calling it, I saw that even Christ’s identity has been transformed. I was shown statues of Christ in various “asanas” (yogic postures); the inscriptions were all references to Hindu theological concepts such as “karma” (one’s duty to God in this incarnation), and there was a painting of Lord Buddha meditating under the bodhi tree where he is said to have had his epiphanies...Many Indian Catholics view the work of the NBCLC and similar groups as not Indianization but Hinduization.⁴²²

Amalorpavadass was one of the two special secretaries on the 1974 Synod of Bishops (“Evangelisation in the Modern World”) convened by Pope Paul VI. Bevans writes that in the synod, Amalorpavadass “attempted to propose an interpretation that took into account many of the important movements in Asia and other parts of the Third World. His ideas revolved around a greater role for the local church and the emergence of the theology of liberation.”⁴²³ Amalorpavadass’ embrace of ‘indigenisation’ can be seen to belong to a particular era in the liturgy–culture dialogue.⁴²⁴

Chupungco rejects the term ‘indigenisation’ and asserts:

the problem with this word (indigenisation) is that both etymologically and literally it presents an impossibility. Nothing can be made native or indigenous in a foreign land. To be indigenous it is necessary to be born or to be produced in one’s native land. An indigenised Christian liturgy is thus an impossibility.⁴²⁵

⁴²² See D’Souza *Report From India*.

⁴²³ Stephen Bevans, *Witness to the Gospel in Modern Australia: Celebrating Thirty Years of ‘Evangelii Nuntiandi’*, 2005, accessed 10/10/23, <https://dokumen.tips/documents/witness-to-the-gospel-in-modern-australia-web-view-however-christians-must-be.html>, 8.

⁴²⁴ In the mid-1970s, Amalorpavadass changed from using the term indigenisation to using the term inculturation, as can be seen in his publication titles: *Towards Indigenisation in the Liturgy*, “Indigenisation and the Liturgy of the Church,” *International Review of Mission* 65/258 (1976), 164-167; *Gospel and Culture: Evangelisation, Inculturation and Hinduisation* (Bangalore: NBCLC, 1978).

⁴²⁵ Chupungco, *Liturgy and Inculturation*, 341.

A practical challenge with attempting the process of liturgical indigenisation is that non-indigenous people in a particular territory may not recognise it as inclusive of them. For example, in the Aotearoa New Zealand context, an indigenised liturgy sounds as if it is a liturgy for indigenous people rather than for all who live in that place. Whilst 'indigenisation' may appear to be an appropriate term for indigenous people to use, there is little evidence of indigenous theologians promoting or preferring this term.⁴²⁶

g. Translation

Translation is often a starting point in interaction between the gospel and a particular culture. It consists of re-expressing in the receptor language the message of the source language.⁴²⁷

Hirini Kaa expresses a Māori view on translation of sacred texts:

Our ancestors saw in Te Paipera Tapu (The Holy Bible) stories of a people and their Atua (God) intimately connected to their whakapapa, their tīpuna, their whenua, their awa and their sacred maunga (genealogy, ancestors, land, rivers and mountains). Māori saw stories of oppression and liberation, of an intensely spiritual world full of tikanga and tapu and noa, (tradition, holiness and ordinariness) being both transgressed and affirmed. And to get this story across the missionaries were forced to cross into our world, choosing language that would resonate with us and speak to our hearts as much as to our heads.⁴²⁸

The danger with translation is that it can be a tool for imposing Christianity on a cultural and political context. Scripture and liturgical texts can be translated into a new language with just a dictionary and in such a way that no regard is given to the culture or thought patterns of the context.⁴²⁹ Clare Johnson observes: "The process of translation which produces the ritual text is

⁴²⁶ Mark McDonald, former bishop for indigenous people in the Anglican Church of Canada uses the term inculturation. Wensor (Aotearoa New Zealand) prefers the term contextualisation.

⁴²⁷ "The art of translation involves a dialectical exchange between translator and translatee, between cultural and linguistic systems and ultimately between cognitive worlds of meaning. Any person or institution attempting to communicate with another people or culture must grapple with the challenge of translation if communication is to be achieved." Johnson, "Paradigms of Translation," 151.

⁴²⁸ Hirini Kaa, *When Christianity came to Aotearoa: 150 years of The Bible in te reo Māori*, 26/9/18, accessed 30/4/20, <https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/26-09-2018/when-christianity-came-to-aotearoa-150-years-of-the-bible-in-te-reo-maori/>.

⁴²⁹ Chupungco on the words of Jerome: "If I translate word by word, it sounds absurd; if I am forced to change something in the word order or style, I seem to have stopped being a translator... /With these words, St

vitality important in determining the meaning conveyed in the liturgy and expressing its liturgical theology.”⁴³⁰

The process of translation requires the translator to engage in many choices and a process of discernment in order to come to what they consider to be an appropriate and accurate rendering in the receptor language of the meaning of what was expressed in the original language.⁴³¹ Translation can be approached with the assumption that Christ is being brought anew to a culture instead of searching for the hidden ways in which he is already present.⁴³²

‘Formal correspondence’ is a translation method whereby a word or phrase in the source language is translated into the receptor language focussing on literal translation of words alone without reference to the culture or context of the audience. A translator working alone with a dictionary and no contact with the people into whose language they are translating could use the formal correspondence method. The formal correspondence approach is very careful about adhering as closely as possible to the literal meaning of the source language and thus remaining faithful to the letter of the original text. Chupungco cautions against using this translation method:

Sometimes formal correspondence tries to recast the system of the receptor language in order to conform to the source language. This can do untold violence to the receptor language in a useless attempt to produce a word-for-word translation.⁴³³

An alternative to formal correspondence is the ‘dynamic equivalence’ translation method which attempts to take into account the cultural history and contemporary context of the audience when making translation choices. Dynamic equivalence seeks to convey the original message from the source language in the most authentic and richest way possible in alignment with the culture and

Jerome articulated the experience of every conscientious translator. Word-by-word translation often does not make sense, but a change in the meaning of the word betrays the message.” Chupungco, *Translation of Liturgical Texts*, 338.

⁴³⁰ Johnson, “Crossroads of change”, 59.

⁴³¹ See Johnson, “Paradigms of Translation”, 151.

⁴³² See the discussion on the “seeds of the Word” elsewhere in this chapter.

⁴³³ Chupungco, “Inculturation,” *New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, 246.

context of the receptor language. In the Catholic Church, there is ongoing conflict between the use of Formal Correspondence and Dynamic Equivalence in liturgical texts.⁴³⁴ The World Council of Churches consultation at Ditchingham in 1994 stated its preference for dynamic equivalence as a translation approach:

Dynamic equivalence merits particular attention, because it is partial to the preservation of unity. It consists of re-expressing components of worship with something in the local culture that has an equal meaning or value. In this way inculturation leads to the diversity of cultural expressions within the unity of tradition.⁴³⁵

Arbuckle considers that translation alone is inadequate for facilitating the interaction between the Gospel and culture. He notes that the translation model: “stresses the paramount position of the Christian message; it assumes a supracultural Christian core that is in some way or other independent of cultural or linguistic expressions. The task of the theologian is merely to translate or adapt this unchanging Gospel message into idioms of different cultures.”⁴³⁶ The translation method limits the possibilities of the interaction between culture and liturgy and tends to over-focus liturgy on the text, side-lining non-verbal modes of communication concurrently at work in the liturgy.⁴³⁷

Translation is an unavoidable part of the Gospel–culture interaction. If translation is embarked upon with the understanding that the ‘seeds of the Word’ are already present in each culture and if dynamic equivalence is embraced in the translation process, translation of varied liturgies into existing languages and cultures (ideally) should be less problematic.

⁴³⁴ The Catholic Church’s 1969 instruction *Comme le prévoit: on the translation of liturgical texts for celebrations with a congregation*, reprinted in *Documents on the Liturgy 1963-1979 Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1982) 284-91., discouraged the use of formal correspondence. In an attempt to remedy a perceived problem, the 2001 instruction “*Liturgiam authenticam: On the Use of Vernacular Languages in the Publication of the Books of the Roman Liturgy*,” 28/3/01, accessed 20/10/23, https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20010507_liturgia_m-authenticam_en.html, called for a major retranslation of all the vernacular liturgical books prioritising Formal Correspondence over Dynamic Equivalence.

⁴³⁵ *Ditchingham*, 37.

⁴³⁶ Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians*, 171.

⁴³⁷ See Johnson, “Transcending text.”

h. Inculturation

‘Inculturation’ has become the preferred term used by Catholics, the World Council of Churches and a range of missiologists and liturgists to refer to the interaction between the Gospel/liturgy and cultures. Chupungco asserts that the word ‘inculturation’ was coined in 1962 by the Belgian Jesuit theologian Joseph Masson.⁴³⁸ The concept of the Church incarnating itself in a particular place and culture just as Christ was incarnated in a particular place and culture is the theological basis of inculturation. The process of inculturation is seen as the continuing realisation of Christ’s incarnation. Chupungco explains that: “Inculturation is with good reason regarded as something that belongs to the mystery of the Incarnation.”⁴³⁹ For Chupungco, inculturation is seen as the incarnation of the Gospel in cultures and inculturation of liturgy is the church’s ongoing participating in the Incarnation. Amalorpavadass sees that inculturation is an incarnational procedure, with the mandate for inculturation flowing directly from the Incarnation: “it is not for us to choose a Church of our own making. The choice is rather between the Church modelled upon the Incarnation of the Word and the Church that one would like to make according to one’s own liking.”⁴⁴⁰ Arbuckle writes: “Inculturation is a fundamental imperative of the Gospel itself. In fact, Jesus Christ was extremely sensitive in his preaching to the cultures of his day. As the master of inculturation, he knew that his message had to penetrate to the very roots of cultures.”⁴⁴¹ Chupungco, Amalorpavadass and Arbuckle underline the fundamental theological process of inculturation – it is the church’s participation in the continuing work of the incarnation of God into the lived reality of humanity.

The term ‘inculturation’ was used in the message of the Fifth World Synod of Catholic Bishops in 1977.⁴⁴² This marked a new phase in official Catholic dialogue with cultures. In 1979, in a

⁴³⁸ Joseph Masson, “L’Eglise ouverte sur le monde,” *Nouvelle revue théologique* 84 (1962): 1038.

⁴³⁹ Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 28.

⁴⁴⁰ Amalorpavadass, *Gospel and Culture*, 18.

⁴⁴¹ Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians*, xx.

⁴⁴² Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel*, 17.

text which would set the tone for his later comments about 'inculturation', Pope John Paul II said that 'inculturation': "expresses very well one of the elements of the great mystery of the incarnation. As we know, "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us" (Jn 1:14)... Well, the same divine Word had previously become human language, assuming the ways of expression of the different cultures."⁴⁴³ John Paul II also referred to the privileged place of biblical cultures in the dialogue between Gospel and culture and affirmed the historical character of the whole process of inculturation.⁴⁴⁴ The 1982 WCC document *Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation* stated:

The planting of the Church in different cultures demands a positive attitude towards inculturation of the Gospel...Inculturation has as its source and inspiration the mystery of the incarnation...Inculturation should not be understood merely as intellectual research; it occurs when Christians express their faith in the symbols and images of their respective culture.⁴⁴⁵

Inculturation describes a creative and dynamic dialogue between gospel and culture that is different from the other terms described above. Inculturation is more than merely a pastoral tactic employed by missionaries as a method to enable the Gospel to be better understood in a local culture, because is not a colonising or domineering process but rather one which respects local people and cultures and invites them into honest dialogue with the Gospel in a process of reciprocal and critical interaction. The reciprocal dialogue is one in which the culture is renewed by the Gospel and the way in which the Gospel message is formulated and interpreted is renewed.⁴⁴⁶

Inculturation is not an uncritical embrace of all elements of a culture by the church. Critical interaction with the Gospel means that some aspects of culture may not be embraced; similarly,

⁴⁴³ John Paul II, "Address to the Pontifical Biblical Commission" (Rome, 16/4/79), accessed 15/10/23, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1979/april/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19790426_pont-com-biblica.html.

⁴⁴⁴ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 224-225.

⁴⁴⁵ WCC, "Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation," *International Review of Mission* 64/284 (1982): 438.

⁴⁴⁶ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 14.

interaction with a particular culture may mean that aspects of proclamation of the Gospel may need to be refreshed and restated in terms which generate true/correct Christian meaning for this people in this place at this time. Schineller asserts that “Inculturation moves beyond imposition, translation, and adaptation toward the reorientation, renewal, and transformation of culture from within in light of the gospel message.”⁴⁴⁷

An ongoing concern about inculturation is that it risks being either a vehicle for syncretism or is syncretism itself.⁴⁴⁸ It is seen as dangerous and upsetting by some keen to preserve the church’s traditions, because ideally inculturation is a dynamic and open-ended process.

We cannot foretell in advance what God may reveal about us and the cultures we must dialogue with, or how God will act. What we do know is that in order to begin, and remain in, the pilgrimage of inculturation we need to know who we are as church. Then we will begin to understand the essential and the accidental in our identity and discern what, as faithful pilgrims, we must courageously abandon.⁴⁴⁹

How the core aspects of the faith remain at the centre of the critical interaction with culture and how various cultural forms are appropriately included in liturgy are important questions for those engaged in inculturation to clarify and articulate.⁴⁵⁰ The Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches are clear that, however liturgy may vary in different contexts, the fundamental teachings of the church do not change in the encounter with any culture. In 1994 the Vatican’s Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments issued the instruction *VL* concerning

⁴⁴⁷ Schineller, 23.

⁴⁴⁸ Syncretism is the blending of more than one religious system which creates a new religious system without respecting the integrity of the original systems. In response to consistent criticism and anxiety about syncretism Amalorpavadass had to write the pamphlet: *Inculturation is not Hinduisation but Christianisation* (Bangalore: NBCLC, 1977).

⁴⁴⁹ Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians*, 188.

⁴⁵⁰ Chupungco distinguishes between the theological content and liturgical forms: “The theological content is constant and often dates back to the patristic if not the apostolic age. In the case of the sacraments the theological content or essential meaning is of divine institution. The liturgical form, on the other hand, has undergone and continues to undergo changes and modifications in the course of time because of prevailing theological and cultural factors.” Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 37.

inculturation of the liturgy. The instruction affirmed the importance of liturgical inculturation and said: “the process of inculturation should maintain the substantial unity of the Roman Rite.”⁴⁵¹

The instruction is a significant affirmation of inculturation, the assertion of the centrality of the Roman rite and the need for Vatican approval for local liturgical inculturation.

Requiring Vatican approval rather than the approval of the local episcopal conferences for new inculturation developments was not received enthusiastically around the world. Arbuckle comments: “The fact that vernacular translations of liturgical texts for example must be submitted to Rome for approval is farcical, for there is no official person in Rome who knows complex languages such as the multiple tongues of Africa, Polynesia, and Melanesia”.⁴⁵²

The 2019 Amazonian Synod reaffirmed inculturation and committed to an inculturated rite for indigenous people of the Amazon:

It is necessary that the Church, in her tireless labour of evangelization, work so that the process of inculturation of the faith may be expressed with the utmost coherence... It is urgent to form committees for the translation of biblical and the preparation of liturgical texts in the different local languages, with the necessary resources, preserving the substance of the sacraments and adapting their form, without losing sight of what is essential....⁴⁵³

It seems that in many inculturation situations, however clearly the immutability of core church teaching is stated, for some, anxiety remains about syncretism. Reaction to the Amazonian synod’s proposed Amazonian Rite was swift, negative and fearful from some quarters.⁴⁵⁴ Shorter is clear about syncretism, writing:

⁴⁵¹ VL 36. See Keith Pecklers, *The Genius of the Roman Rite: The Reception and Implementation of the New Missal* (London: Burns & Oates, 2009) esp. chapter 2, there is some question as to what exactly constitutes the ‘substantial unity’ of the Roman Rite.

⁴⁵² Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians*, 145. Pope Francis’ *Magnum Principium*, 9/9/17, accessed 20/10/23, <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2017/09/09/170909a.html>, gave back some power to local episcopal conferences in this regard.

⁴⁵³ *Final Document of the Amazon Synod*, Chapter 5, sections 116-119.

⁴⁵⁴ For example: Luisella Scrosati, *The Amazonian Rite: An excuse to fragment Catholicism*, 25/10/19, accessed 23/10/23, <https://lanuovabq.it/it/the-amazonian-rite-an-excuse-to-fragment-catholicism>.

Christ is the truth, as well as the Way and the Life. This Truth is absolute and universal and these qualities demand inculturation. If this Christ-Truth who possesses us is everywhere and at all times the image of the unseen and unchanging God, he must be susceptible of cultural representation. He cannot impose a cultural uniformity, for this is to invite superficiality and syncretism which is the failure to communicate meaning. Evangelisation is not a mere lip-service or verbal code learned by rote. It invites a real response of faith and conviction to the Truth in Christ and this demands inculturation.⁴⁵⁵

Conclusion

As this section has shown, a variety of terms has been used to describe the interaction between church and culture and more specifically between liturgy and culture, with an increase in the number of terms generated in the second half of the twentieth century. Some terms have been discredited and supplanted by others. Terms have been used concurrently or in competition with each other. It is clear that more recently there has been an ecumenical convergence toward recognising 'inculturation' as the most adequate term for the complex relationship between faith and culture. Several methods and processes of inculturation have been proposed, the most pertinent of which will be discussed in the next section.

3.3 Methodologies of inculturation and methodologies of liturgical inculturation

Theologians of inculturation vary in their views of the importance of liturgy within the overall process of inculturation of the faith tradition within new cultural contexts. For some liturgy is of central importance, while for others it barely rates a mention. Catholic Māori theologian Pā Henare Tate (of the tribes Ngāti Manawa and Te Rarawa)⁴⁵⁶ perceives that liturgical inculturation will flow from general inculturation; Shorter considers liturgy merely as one aspect of the process of general inculturation, while Chupungco's primary focus is on liturgical inculturation.

⁴⁵⁵ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 63.

⁴⁵⁶ In 1992, Tate began teaching Māori theological perspectives at Auckland University. In 1995, he started teaching Māori spirituality and theology programmes at the Auckland Catholic Institute of Theology.

A selection of some methodologies of inculturation appears below.⁴⁵⁷ These have been placed in order according to their date of publication.

3.3.1 Aylward Shorter

Aylward Shorter M. Afr (1932-2023), was a pioneer in defining principles and methodologies of inculturation of the faith in general.⁴⁵⁸ Shorter's 1988 book *Toward a Theology of Inculturation* is a foundational inculturation text which influenced John Paul II and Chupungco among others. In his book Shorter reminds the reader that inculturation is nothing new; there has always been diversity of liturgical practices and spirituality within the church. Shorter notes that the ancient diversity in the Church (e.g., Armenian, Coptic, Greek, Slavic) is testament to previous interactions between the church and different cultures and may offer "precedents to follow and models of how to proceed."⁴⁵⁹

Shorter's approach to general inculturation can be summarised thus:

1. Inculturation is a community project – the community provides the criteria for determining both its authenticity and success. The community also provides the means of its implementation.
2. Inculturation is a way of life – it is a transforming dialogue of culture with the Gospel. It is a dialogue lived and experienced primarily by people in community (e.g., Bible reading in the community).⁴⁶⁰

Shorter's methodology is brief, and strongly emphasises that general inculturation emerges from below. It is a process undertaken by the local community rather than being the responsibility of external experts. Inculturation as 'a community project' implies the presence of self-awareness and

⁴⁵⁷ The sample is not representationally diverse; apart from the WCC section (which was written by a group of women and men from diverse confessional backgrounds), all the writers are male, ordained Catholics born in a similar period. Aotearoa New Zealand voices are overrepresented due to the cultural location and focus of this thesis.

⁴⁵⁸ This thesis will use the term 'general inculturation' to address inculturation broadly as it pertains to the whole faith and 'liturgical inculturation' when addressing liturgy specifically.

⁴⁵⁹ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 256.

⁴⁶⁰ "Bible reading in the community is the most privileged moment of inculturation. It is the moment when Christians strive to understand God's Word, to transpose it into their own cultural language and to proclaim it to their own human society." Ibid., 269.

certain conceptual and comparative capacities within a community that must be consolidated before general inculturation can commence. Shorter acknowledges that sometimes local experts and religious experts are needed to facilitate this process and that the expertise of foreign missionaries might be needed on occasion: to give the community encouragement, to help the community to critique its own culture, to promote discovery of the seeds of the Word and to safeguard the tradition.⁴⁶¹ The question of who properly initiates inculturation is left unaddressed by Shorter.

‘Inculturation as a way of life’ relates to Shorter’s understanding of general inculturation as a dialogue between Gospel and culture, with culture understood as being the way of life of a people. He writes: “Inculturation refers to the Christian renewal of culture, the transforming dialogue of culture with the Gospel, and indeed the person of Jesus Christ. Inculturation can therefore be correctly called a way of life in itself, since this dialogue and this transformation have to be experienced and lived by people.”⁴⁶²

In Shorter’s method of general inculturation, local communities are the central agents of inculturation; (with appropriate assistance from missionaries or outside advisors) these same communities are to bring the Gospel into dialogue with all aspects of their way of life – their culture. For Shorter, inculturation is at the centre of community life and it is the lens through which the community engages with its culture and lives its faith. Shorter does not consider liturgical inculturation, and his approach raises the question of how equipped with liturgical knowledge and theological sophistication the local community would have to be when they eventually do engage in liturgical inculturation.

When considering the challenge of inculturating the liturgical year into Aotearoa New Zealand’s seasons, Shorter’s approach provides an important reminder that the interaction between the Gospel and communities rather than with individuals must be both the prime generator and location of inculturation.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 254.

⁴⁶² Ibid., 268.

3.3.2 World Council of Churches

The Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches considered the role of worship as a means for achieving Christian unity in a consultation in Ditchingham, England in 1994.⁴⁶³ The consultation explored problems and possibilities of liturgical inculturation and developed some broad guidelines for undertaking this task. *Ditchingham* affirmed certain basic liturgical principles⁴⁶⁴ and articulated theological criteria for liturgical inculturation. These theological criteria were seen as being “rooted in the mystery of Christ's incarnation, which is the model of liturgical inculturation, and in the mystery of his death and resurrection whose living presence in the world is the ultimate goal of liturgical inculturation.”⁴⁶⁵

Ditchingham asserted that there are essential elements of the Christian Tradition which are non-negotiable when contemplating liturgical inculturation, e.g., the Trinitarian nature of God, scripture, baptism and the eucharist. Further, it asserted that inculturation is accountable to both the liturgical tradition and the actual praxis of the church as well as to the integrity of various cultures. Rather than being a vehicle for divergence, the consultation perceived inculturation as leading toward the unity of churches in essentials of faith.⁴⁶⁶

As well as theological criteria, *Ditchingham* also identified various cultural criteria which are to be considered in inculturation. These included: hospitality, leadership, patterns of language, the arts, rites of passage and festivals. While *Ditchingham* agreed that “churches should respect what is

⁴⁶³ “This is the report of the first meeting in Faith and Order's study programme on the role of worship in the search for Christian unity,” *Ditchingham*, introduction.

⁴⁶⁴ The Consultation affirmed that worship is: i. Trinitarian in nature and orientation; ii. Biblically grounded; hence the Bible is one indispensable source of worship's language, signs, and prayers; iii. At once the action of Christ the priest and of the Church his people; hence it is a doxological action in the power of the Holy Spirit; iv. Always the anamnesis of the mystery of Jesus Christ, a mystery which centres on his death, resurrection, the sending of the Holy Spirit, and his coming again; v. The gathering of the priestly people who respond in faith to God's gratuitous call; through the assembly the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church is made present and signified; vi. A privileged occasion at which God is present in the proclaimed Word, in the sacraments, and in the other forms of Christian prayer, as well as in the assembly gathered in worship; and vii. At once remembrance, communion, and expectation; hence its celebration expresses hope of the future glory and dedication to the work of building the earthly city in the image of the heavenly.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ditchingham*, 41.i.a.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 36.

honest, noble, and beautiful in every culture, not everything good in culture is necessarily suited for the liturgy. Furthermore cultural elements should not remain as tokens or as alien bodies that do not relate to Christian worship.”⁴⁶⁷ The consultation also reminded churches that Christian worship (as well as embracing culture) should also be able to critique culture and be actively counter-cultural when the gospel calls for liturgy to be so. In order to achieve a balanced relationship between cultures and liturgy, and harmony between catholicity and cultural specificity, the Consultation suggested that examination of each denominational tradition in relation to other churches is needed. *Ditchingham* concludes: “Lastly we need to study our own local cultures with their values, patterns, and institutions, and how they can suitably be integrated into Christian worship after due consideration and critique.”⁴⁶⁸ *Ditchingham* articulates well some broad theological and cultural criteria for inculturation but does not propose a specific methodology of liturgical inculturation.

The World Council of Churches statement stands as a reminder to those who seek to inculturate the liturgical year into Aotearoa New Zealand’s seasons of the importance of considering diverse ecclesial traditions and of being accountable to the church universal when engaging in inculturation. Absent from *Ditchingham* is any consideration of place or of creation, both of which would be vital to any inculturation of the church’s year to Aotearoa New Zealand.

3.3.3 Michael Shirres

Michael Shirres (1929-1997) was a Pākehā Dominican friar born in Timaru, Aotearoa New Zealand.⁴⁶⁹ Shirres worked amongst Māori for many years, published several works on Māori

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 41, iii.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 42.

⁴⁶⁹ In 2018 Shirres was accused of being a sexual abuser of children. He was placed on a sex offenders’ programme by the church and is suspected of having abused dozens of children for decades. Mick Hall, “The fallen father: Paedophile Catholic priest Michael Shirres ‘abused children for decades’”, *NZ Herald*, 25/7/18, accessed 2/10/18. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12094473. In spite of his abusive behaviour, Shirres has made a significant contribution to theology in Aotearoa New Zealand.

theology⁴⁷⁰ and with Henare Tate established a course in Māori theology at the University of Auckland. Shirres' theology was shaped through working with Māori communities in the far north of Aotearoa New Zealand. He recognised seeds of the Word present in Māori beliefs: "The official teaching of the Catholic church declares that all non-Christian religions have 'innumerable seeds of the word' ...it follows from that, that Aotearoa is a chosen nation and the Māori people are a chosen people with their special gifts and special calling, and that they too have 'innumerable seeds of the word'."⁴⁷¹ Shirres saw that Māori religion was based on a revelation given to Māori by God and therefore Māori religion is "as legitimate a basis as the Bible for a Christian Theologian."⁴⁷² For Shirres the seeds of the word present in Māori religion are found in the *kete o te wānanga* – the baskets of knowledge.

3.3.4 Ngā kete o te mātauranga/The baskets of knowledge

In Māori tradition the supernatural being Tāne climbed to the twelfth heaven to request the baskets from the Supreme God Io, which he was given.⁴⁷³ The three baskets of knowledge are often called *te kete aro nui*, *te kete tua tea* and *te kete atea*. The nature of the baskets varies somewhat by tribe and region, but the concept is applicable across Māoridom.⁴⁷⁴ Shirres presents the baskets as explained by Māori Marsden.⁴⁷⁵ The first basket is *te kete aro nui* (literally: that before us, before our

⁴⁷⁰ Shirres, *Te Tangata the human person*; a description of the humanity of the Māori covering various aspects such as mana, karakia and Māori theology and knowledge. It includes material from authorities in the field, both past and present.

⁴⁷¹ Shirres, *Māori Theology*.

⁴⁷² Shirres quoted in John Charlot "The Māori Christian Theology of Michael Shirres," *The Journal of InterCultural Studies* 33 (2006): 25.

⁴⁷³ Moorfield, John: *Te Aka Māori Dictionary, Kete o te wānanga*, no date, accessed 30/6/19, <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&keywords=kete+aronui>.

⁴⁷⁴ In the Tainui people's tradition Tāwhaki rather than Tane brought the baskets of knowledge to humankind. In the tradition of the Kāi Tahu and Ngāti Kahungunu peoples the baskets are called: *Te Kete Uruuru Tau*, *Te Kete Uruuru Rangi* and *Te Kete Uruuru Matua*. Moorfield, *Kete uruuru tau*, no date, accessed 19/2/19, <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/word/38702>.

⁴⁷⁵ Māori Marsden (1924-1993) from Te Tai Tokerau/Northland was both an Anglican priest and a graduate of the *whare wānanga*, the traditional tribal centre of higher and esoteric learning. He was uniquely placed to explore and explain the frontier between pre-Christian theology, understandings of divinity and the Māori worldview, and Christian faith. The three baskets of knowledge are discussed in his book: *Woven Universe*.

senses); it contains the knowledge of the natural world we see and sense around us. The second basket is te kete tua uri (literally beyond in the world of darkness); this contains knowledge of that which is beyond us, the knowledge that stands behind our sense perception of the natural world. The third basket is te kete tua ātea; it contains knowledge of spiritual realities – the world beyond time and space. This is the realm of Io (the supreme god). One analysis of the baskets names them this way: “The baskets, or kete were – the kete-aronui which held all the knowledge that could help mankind (sic), the kete-tua uri which held the knowledge of ritual, memory and prayer and the kete-tuatea which contained knowledge of evil or makutu, which was harmful to mankind. (sic)”.⁴⁷⁶ This analysis would make the kete tua uri the basket of liturgy. In traditional Māori education institutions where wananga (which survived into the 20th century), curricula were organised according to the knowledge in the three baskets.⁴⁷⁷

3.3.5 Tapu and mana

Shirres also identifies that the seeds of the Word are present in the Māori concept of *tapu* which can be translated as sacred/forbidden and is applied to people, places, times and objects and in the concept of *mana* which can be translated as prestige/power and can be applied to people, places, situations. Shirres also sees the seeds of the Word in the use of *karakia* prayers/ritual chants which cover every aspect of Māori life.⁴⁷⁸

Shirres’ book: *A Gospel Approach to Inculturation/Evangelisation*,⁴⁷⁹ looks for “God’s specific vision for New Zealand... when I am looking for God’s vision for New Zealand, I look for that in the history of New Zealand, of Aotearoa, and its traditions.”⁴⁸⁰

3.3.6 Shirres’ approach to inculturation

⁴⁷⁶ The Knowledge Basket, *Knowledge Basket Legend*, no date, accessed 30/6/19. <https://www.knowledge-basket.co.nz/about/knowledge-basket-legend>.

⁴⁷⁷ Ross Calman, “Maori education-mātauranga”, *Te Ara*, accessed 30/6/19.

⁴⁷⁸ Shirres, *Māori Theology*.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Shirres, *Toward an Authentic New Zealand Theology*, 4.

Shirres perceived that certain episodes from the life of Jesus provide guidelines for a general inculturation process. According to Shirres' methodology, there are four stages to general inculturation:

1. *Living there.* Agents of inculturation must live with the people and share their culture, realities and struggles, just as Jesus did with the people of the Holy Land.

2. *In the temple asking questions.* Just as the child Jesus spent time in the temple asking questions (Luke 2:45-46) – so the agents of inculturation must go to the heart of the culture, to the leaders of the people, sit with them and ask questions.⁴⁸¹

3. *Speaking with the leaders and prophets.* Just as Jesus spoke with Moses and Elijah (the leader and prophet of the Jewish people) on the Mount of Transfiguration (Mathew 17:2) so the agents of inculturation must speak with the leaders and prophets of indigenous people.

4. *Walking with and breaking bread with people.* Just as Jesus walked and talked with two disciples on the road to Emmaus and then sat down and ate supper with them (Luke 24:13-35), so the agents of inculturation must walk and talk and sit and eat with indigenous people.⁴⁸²

Shirres' methodology is useful, but it lacks certain elements; there is no reference to the land or theology of place – which is interesting for someone who worked so closely with Māori, who have a deeply significant relationship with place. As well as the absence of any mention of land there is an absence of reference to other creatures; Shirres' is a very anthropocentric approach, which is also interesting from someone influenced by Māori thinking with its strong connection to flora and fauna. Also lacking in Shirres' methodology is any reference to the wider context of the church universal. Apart from the focus on the life of Jesus, there is no acknowledgement in Shirres' approach of the church in other times and other places – it is an approach which is very focussed on the local and the

⁴⁸¹ Shirres notes: "In the Māori scene, therefore, I had to go to the different marae, their meeting places, and sit down with the old people, listening to them and asking them questions. I soon found out that to do this I had to learn the language and to learn what I could about the culture just to begin the process of listening and asking questions. At first I did not even know what to ask. This led to the third stage, a study of the early Māori writings, to read their story, as told by themselves." Shirres, *Māori Theology*, (unpaginated).

⁴⁸² "For me, over the last twenty-five years, it has been a great joy to walk with the Māori, to hear their story as it unfolds today, with all its joys and pains, and to sit down to table with them as they break bread and share it with me and in all of this, slowly, together, to talk about the old Māori stories and Māori values and to recognize the presence of Jesus who comes not to destroy, but to fulfil, the vision given to these people by the Father. And it is a vision, not just for the Māori, but for all people." Ibid.

present. Shirres' methodology is problematic because the resulting general inculturation will be informed only by a small number of people from a very specific and limited area, uninformed by the theological memory and experience of the global church and therefore likely would result in an inculturation marked by neither catholicity nor unity. Shirres' methodology is problematic for liturgical inculturation in particular because the liturgies which flow from it could be isolationist, uninformed by the liturgical memory and experience of the global church.

3.3.7 Gerald Arbuckle

Gerald Arbuckle (b.1934) has written two books on inculturation in general: *Earthing the Gospel: An Inculturation Handbook for the Pastoral Worker* (2002) and *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians: A Postmodern Critique* (2010). In *Earthing the Gospel*, Arbuckle describes how in his view, Jesus fostered the process of general inculturation.⁴⁸³

According to Arbuckle, community must be the setting for general inculturation; just as Jesus lived with the community of the disciples, the agent of inculturation today must live in and serve the local community. For Arbuckle, inculturation demands listening; just as Jesus was not aloof from his community so too today's agent of inculturation must be available to the community. Arbuckle perceives inculturation as a slow process; just as Peter had bursts of enthusiasm for following Jesus while Jesus had to keep instructing him, and Jesus remained engaged even when Peter's commitment stalled, so too today's agent of inculturation must persist even when people's enthusiasm flags. For Arbuckle, inculturation is nurtured in prayer, which is at the heart of discipleship. He explains: "If zeal for the apostolate, detachment from one's own cultural values, and an openness to hear what the Lord is saying are to be sustained, then the evangeliser must have the ability to pray and not to lose heart."⁴⁸⁴

Arbuckle identifies stages in the general inculturation process:

⁴⁸³ Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel*, Chapter 10.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 191.

1. Identifying aspects of a culture that are in *conformity* with Gospel values;
2. Identifying aspects of a culture that are *not* in conformity with Gospel values;
3. Choosing *how* to elevate, purify a culture, according to Gospel faith values;
4. Actually *implementing*, in response to God's grace, the plan that is chosen according to Gospel values.⁴⁸⁵

Arbuckle suggests that while it is possible for the agent of inculturation to impose this process on a community, inculturation only really happens when a community decides to participate in the process.

In *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians: A Postmodern Critique*, Arbuckle further refines his general inculturation methodology by affirming that inculturation is: person-centred; a collaborative process; requires spiritual and human gifts; that liberation is integral to it; and that it reaffirms goodness in mythology.⁴⁸⁶ Arbuckle writes: "Myths are value-impregnated beliefs or stories that bind people together at the deepest level of their group life, and that they live by and for."⁴⁸⁷ Arbuckle's affirmation of myths and mythology are part of the methodology he uses to consider cultures, and are an important point of potential convergence between culture and church.

Arbuckle articulates the general process of inculturation he perceives Jesus using thus: being open to learning, being in dialogue, recognising diversity, telling stories and using functional substitution. As described earlier, functional substitution is when a Christian meaning is substituted for a non-Christian symbol, myth or ritual; for example, re-purposing the Passover meal into the Eucharist.⁴⁸⁸ In *Earthing the Gospel*, Arbuckle considers liturgy within the context of inculturation and ritual⁴⁸⁹ and mentions liturgy in passing on occasion.⁴⁹⁰

Arbuckle's methodology shows the wisdom gained from his practical missionary experience. In spite of Arbuckle writing that the agent of inculturation must be in the community and that the

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 194.

⁴⁸⁶ Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians*, 155-157.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 30.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 158-165.

⁴⁸⁹ Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel*, Chapter 6, 96-112.

⁴⁹⁰ Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation and Theologians*, 164, 178.

agent of inculturation cannot impose inculturation, his tool for identifying stages in the inculturation process seems designed for a single agent rather than a community to discern. Arbuckle's articulation of what he sees as Jesus' inculturation process is helpful as a broad theologically-informed approach to understanding inculturation in general. Arbuckle's inculturation methodology is useful for the liturgical endeavour to some extent, but missing from Arbuckle's method is any mention of creation or the universal church, thus his approach risks leading to liturgies with both no place specificity and with no connection to the global church's liturgical understandings beyond the time of the Gospels.

3.3.8 Henare Tate

Pā Henare Tate (1938-2017) was one of the most senior Māori figures in the Aotearoa New Zealand Catholic Church and a trailblazer in Māori theology. Tate's 2012 *He Puna Iti I te Ao Mārama: A Little Spring in the World of Light* is a landmark text on Māori theology. Although Tate practised liturgical inculturation,⁴⁹¹ liturgy is mentioned only in passing in his 2012 work.

Tate asserts that for Māori, inculturation of the Gospel (and flowing from that, all aspects of Christian life and belief including liturgical inculturation) must follow its own *kaupapa* or principles and its own *tikanga* or methodology. For Tate, the chief *kaupapa*/principle to be followed is that inculturation must be by Māori for Māori. He sees that concepts and thought forms appropriate for Māori inculturation must meet the following criteria:

- a. They are authentically Māori
- b. They can be expressed in their totality in *te reo Māori* (Māori language) and thus appeal immediately to Māori experience, thought forms, liturgy and general culture.
- c. They are drawn from and refer back to an essentially communitarian Māori context.
- d. They are coherent in their own right, such that they provide a theological foundation that has genuine systematic power.

⁴⁹¹ For example, the *Hīkoi Tapu* (sacred pilgrimage) organised by Tate for the return of Pompallier's remains to Aotearoa New Zealand from France in 2001 and burial in St Mary's Church at Motuti in 2002. See: Diane J. Taylor, "Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier-Loved and Lamented through the Generations in New Zealand: An overview and appraisal of Bishop Pompallier's Mission to Māori, its continuations and the Return of his Body to New Zealand" (MPhil diss., Massey University, 2009).

- e. They give rise to action. Action is essential and needs to be informed and guided by Māori perceptions of what is founded on *pono* (truth), *tika* (right order, right response) and *aroha* (love).
- f. They engage, in a second stage, with the biblical and theological tradition.
- g. They express the Christian mystery in a way that is fruitful for Māori, Pākehā and people of other places and cultures beyond Aotearoa New Zealand.
- h. They offer perspectives of critique and of reform that are sourced in Māori experience, and which contain within these perspectives some elements that open up the future.
- i. They enable participation in the theological process by Māori people themselves, such that through their experience of empowerment or otherwise the theologians are held accountable to them.⁴⁹²

Tate suggests the following *tikanga* or methodology for general inculturation:

1. The agent of inculturation must share the life, context of and be in continuous dialogue with the community
2. The agent of inculturation chooses and researches concepts which pre-date missionaries and which are in current cultural usage
3. The agent of inculturation engages in dialogue with a wide variety of groups of the community
4. Christian prayers and rituals must be part of every encounter
5. The aim of the process must be foundational, laying foundations on which further explicitly Christian and explicitly theological work may be carried out.⁴⁹³

Tate's model is clear that Māori inculturation must be by Māori for Māori, that it cannot be imposed on indigenous people by non-indigenous people. This is an important point in any context of colonial and post-colonial relationships. However, Tate recognises that inculturation does not just concern the indigenous group engaged in the inculturation (see Tate's point 'g' above) and that the wider Christian community must be involved. However, Tate is wary of putting indigenous people in a position to be judged inadequate according to non-indigenous criteria. "Who among non-Māori holds an adequate basis for judging the orthodoxy of a Māori understanding of *tapu*?⁴⁹⁴... the wider church must be involved as a dialogue partner and a wider discernment must be carried out. Without this dialogue there is a danger of a premature judgement of orthodoxy, which would cripple any

⁴⁹² Tate, *He Puna Iti*, 23.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁹⁴ As noted earlier, *tapu* means sacred, set apart, prohibited.

further development of indigenous theology.”⁴⁹⁵ A way to address the situation of non-Māori inculturation advisors is to ensure that whenever expert guidance is needed by Māori, an expert from another indigenous community is invited to be a part of the dialogic process.

It could be argued that the existence of the Māori prophetic movements⁴⁹⁶ with their theological and liturgical particularities shows a Māori desire for inculturation. Some Māori are deeply involved in general inculturation as we can see from the work of Tate, Marsden and others; there are also other Māori who are content with uninculturated theology and liturgy.⁴⁹⁷

Whilst being very specific to Māori, Tate’s *tikanga* or methodology for general inculturation could be used beyond the Māori context especially with indigenous people who have suffered colonialism and existential threats to their culture and ways of life. Tate’s methodology of inculturation whilst not specifically about liturgy includes ‘Christian prayers and rituals’ as an integral feature of the process. Missing from Tate’s methodology is specific mention of the land, although the land is foundational to Māori identity. Also missing is any mention of the church beyond specific communities in Aotearoa New Zealand, or any acknowledgement of liturgical tradition or scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand or beyond.

3.3.9 Anscar Chupungco

Filipino Benedictine Anscar Chupungco (1939-2013) was a pre-eminent scholar of liturgical inculturation. Chupungco’s *The Cosmic Elements of the Christian Passover* was first published in 1977.⁴⁹⁸ In it, he argues for the need to inculturate the Easter feast in an Asian context by looking at how its history was framed in Judaism and influenced by its cosmic relationship to the vernal equinox. Through his years of liturgical scholarship and leadership, Chupungco developed a

⁴⁹⁵ Tate, *He Puna Iti*, 25.

⁴⁹⁶ Discussed elsewhere in this thesis e.g., chapter 2.5.1 Māori and sanctorale.

⁴⁹⁷ Some Māori Anglicans, particularly older people in rural areas, in spite of a newer Prayer Book with many inculturated elements, prefer to use only *Te Rawiri* – the Māori translation of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.

⁴⁹⁸ Republished later as *Shaping the Easter Feast* (Portland: Pastoral, 1992).

hermeneutic for interpreting articles 37– 40 of Vatican II’s Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. He devoted his energies to interpreting the Constitution and enabling liturgical inculturation.

Chupungco defined inculturation as “the process whereby pertinent elements of a local culture are integrated into the texts, rites, symbols, and institutions employed by a local church for its worship.”⁴⁹⁹ He served as an advisor to the Roman Congregation of Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments in the period in which it issued the 1994 landmark document *VL* or ‘Inculturation and the Roman Rite’. Liturgical scholar Mark Francis CSV notes that *VL* “echoes the theological, cultural, and liturgical criteria that Anscar developed for inculturation found in his books. It also represents a step forward, supported by Anscar’s writings that inculturation was necessarily a two-way street. It is not merely a question of adapting the rites to individual cultures, but of enriching the entire church with a new form, a new way of expressing the Christian message in the liturgy”.⁵⁰⁰

At the Ditchingham Consultation (discussed above) Chupungco articulated his premises for liturgical inculturation:

First, we need to know what are the received traditions and actual praxis of our particular churches and how they relate to the general convictions of other churches...A second premise is the need to study the nature of inculturation together with its dynamics and its methods. We should not tire of repeating that inculturation is not absolute creativity but dynamic translation of our inherited traditions and actual praxis...Lastly, we need to examine closely our own local cultures composed of values, patterns and institutions, and how these can suitably be integrated into Christian worship after due critique and purification. While we must respect culture and traditions, we realize that not everything they offer suit the nature and purpose of Christian worship. Inculturation, in other words, is selective as to the elements it incorporates into the liturgy.⁵⁰¹

Chupungco approached liturgical inculturation fully cognisant of the need for local churches to have appropriate expressions of the church’s liturgy. He also approached the process of

⁴⁹⁹ Chupungco, *Liturgical Inculturation*, 339.

⁵⁰⁰ Mark Francis, “The future of liturgical inculturation and the contribution of Anscar J. Chupungco, OSB,” *Liturgy* 29/3 (2014): 10.

⁵⁰¹ Chupungco, “Liturgical Inculturation and the Search for Unity,” 63.

inculturation aware of the need to guard the integrity of Christian worship and doctrine and warned that liturgists should engage with cultures not romantically or naïvely but carefully and critically.

In his 1992 book Chupungco names ‘Dynamic Equivalence’, ‘Creative Assimilation’ and ‘Organic Progression’ as successful methods of liturgical inculturation.⁵⁰² He notes that the success of these three approaches depends on several factors. Then he writes “The prevailing theological reflection at any given period on doctrinal and pastoral issues can affect the choice and application of the method.”⁵⁰³ Chupungco identifies that dynamic equivalence is the best method for ritual elements,⁵⁰⁴ that creative assimilation (sometimes the only realistic method available) is suitable for inculturation of “funerals and blessings and the introduction of new liturgical feasts inspired by historical events and local festivals of national significance.”⁵⁰⁵ He states that organic progression assists in giving new forms and shape to the liturgy - such as creating new liturgical feasts.⁵⁰⁶ In a chapter of *Worship and Culture: Foreign Country or Homeland* (published posthumously in 2014), Chupungco affirms “in order to achieve inculturation, one needs to work within a given method,”⁵⁰⁷ and he then prioritises dynamic equivalence as an inculturation method. Chupungco’s prioritisation of dynamic equivalence presents as an effective methodology for liturgical inculturation.

For Chupungco, the process of dynamic equivalence starts with the liturgical *ordo* and re-expresses the *ordo* in various aspects of a community’s culture. He elucidates that dynamic equivalence requires that the Roman rite (or whatever liturgies are to be inculturated) “will have to be studied in its historical, cultural, and theological context in order to determine which of its linguistic and ritual components can be replaced with equivalent native elements.”⁵⁰⁸ He makes the important point that official liturgies need to be analysed and understood properly before they can

⁵⁰² Chupungco, *Liturgical Inculturation: Sacramentals, Religiosity, and Catechesis*, 37-51.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵⁰⁷ Chupungco, “Inculturation of Worship: Forty Years of Progress and Tradition,” 278.

⁵⁰⁸ Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 36.

helpfully interact with cultures. According to Chupungco two steps are needed to apply the method of dynamic equivalence properly: the first step is defining the theological content of a rite and distinguishing that from its liturgical form; the second step is isolating the unchangeable elements of sacramental celebrations from the elements that are subject to change.⁵⁰⁹ The theological content is unchangeable; the liturgical form is able to be changed.

Chupungco shows his methodology of inculturation by giving examples from *Misa ng Bayang Pilipino* or Mass of the Filipino People. For Chupungco, the *Misa* “pays special attention to words and phrases that express genuine Filipino values”⁵¹⁰ and it achieves the aim of inculturation: “that the same universal belief is celebrated in different cultural patterns proper to the local community.”⁵¹¹

Chupungco’s inculturation methodology as used in the *Misa ng Bayang Pilipino* can be articulated thus:

1. The prayers should be written to express clearly the universal church’s doctrine.
2. The prayers should be formulated to incorporate values (expressions, sayings, images) genuine to the community’s culture.
3. The texts while not forgetting the universal should be made to include contemporary concerns of the local community.
4. The texts should be clear and prayerful.
5. Occasions should be given in the liturgy for spoken, physical and sung participation.
6. An atmosphere of reverence should be balanced with the community’s festive traditions.⁵¹²

Chupungco’s methodology of inculturation shows his background as a liturgical scholar; his approach requires thorough knowledge of the theological, historical and pastoral underpinnings of liturgy and of the cultural rites engaged in inculturation. He reminds would-be inculturators that deep knowledge of liturgy is essential to inculturation: “There are no alternative ways of bringing

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 40.

⁵¹⁰ Chupungco, “Inculturation of worship: Forty Years,” 285.

⁵¹¹ Ibid., 286.

⁵¹² Ibid., 284.

about authentic and meaningful inculturation.”⁵¹³ Chupungco reminds liturgists about what inculturation is not:

First, it is not that particular type of creative activity which stems purely from one’s rich imagination, fantasy or personal preferences. Inculturation is rooted in the living and received liturgical tradition of one’s church; it begins with the actual praxis or else is based on tradition. That is why it does not produce alternative liturgies that are not backed by tradition or praxis. The practical implication of this is that the work of inculturation should be preceded by a careful study of the received tradition and actual praxis of the liturgy. In this sense creativity is an easier and often more entertaining endeavour than inculturation. One who is not familiar with the tradition of one’s church or ignores its practices is bound to render an immense disservice to the liturgy and to inculturation.⁵¹⁴

Unlike theologians who approach liturgical inculturation from primarily an anthropological or pastoral starting point, Chupungco approaches liturgical inculturation from a liturgical starting point with a deep knowledge of and high view of liturgy. He places the universal liturgy of the church first in the interaction with culture, and values being rooted in the Tradition higher than individual preferences. Chupungco provides an important balance to the methodologies of inculturation which place cultures first in the interaction with liturgy.

Chupungco is also clear that liturgical inculturation must be Christological, because by definition:

Christian liturgy is Christocentric: That is why the celebrations of a mythical story or legend, an important event in political history, or a nature festival can become part of Christian worship only after they have been purified and integrated with the mystery of Christ.⁵¹⁵

In his clear Christology, Chupungco again offers a balance to some other methodologies of liturgical inculturation. Chupungco’s priorities and focus ensure that his approach to liturgical inculturation remains deeply helpful when contemplating inculturating the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand.

⁵¹³ Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 40.

⁵¹⁴ Chupungco, “Liturgical Inculturation and the Search for Unity,” 58.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

3.4 A proposal for an inculturation methodology

It is the contention of this research project that an inculturation methodology appropriate for Aotearoa New Zealand could include helpful aspects from the existing methodologies considered in the previous pages of this chapter while adding other appropriate aspects from the Aotearoa New Zealand context. An appropriate approach toward an inculturation methodology to be employed later in the study, is explored in this section and proposed in the conclusion of this chapter. Such an approach toward an inculturation methodology necessarily needs to include the following elements:

3.4.1 Te whenua/ the land

In order to be truly rooted and well-grounded, the location in which the people of God have been placed is an essential element to a methodology of liturgical inculturation. Being in relationship with the natural world, the seasons, and with particular places is central to the experience of being God's people in a particular location and should be reflected in inculturated liturgy. Aotearoa New Zealand theologian Maurice Andrew points to the need to be grounded in the particular land of Aotearoa New Zealand, suggesting that "God can't address us, let alone meet us, unless we're able to make a commitment to this Aotearoa place we dare to call home."⁵¹⁶

The Judeo-Christian beliefs that God has created and holds all things, that Creation worships God,⁵¹⁷ that God calls humans to be in relationship with creation⁵¹⁸ and that God is encountered in specific places⁵¹⁹ all indicate that *Te Whenua* the land should be a consideration in developing a methodology of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Māori concept of *tūrangawaewae* (*tūranga*: standing place, *waewae*: feet), often translated as 'a place to stand', describes physical locations where a person feels especially empowered and connected.

⁵¹⁶ Maurice Andrew quoted in John Bluck, "Surely the Lord is in this place", in *Tui Motu: Interislands* (November 2004), 29.

⁵¹⁷ Psalm 19:1, Psalm 95:3-5.

⁵¹⁸ Genesis 2:15, Leviticus 25:23. An ecological reading of scripture finds an emphasis on human stewardship of Creation rather than human ownership or dominion over it. Similarly, indigenous people understand that the land is not theirs to dominate, to own or to sell. Psalm 24:1.

⁵¹⁹ See chapter 4 on theology of place.

Tūrangawaewae are foundations, homes, places which define and identify a person, and which inform their spirituality; this concept of particular connection to *Te Whenua* the land, can inform and enable an Aotearoa New Zealand methodology of inculturation by its place – specificity and fixity.⁵²⁰ This approach is unlike other methods of inculturation which are connected to peoples and cultures which may move and understand themselves in relation to a range of different locations. Being in intentional and right relationship and dialogue with the land is fundamental to a theology of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand and in fact in every particular context.⁵²¹

3.4.2 Te tangata whenua /the people of the land

Indigenous people are crucial to an adequate methodology of liturgical inculturation. Listening to indigenous people and learning from their experience of God in a particular place is important for all who live in that place. When considering inculturation, there seems little sense in ignoring or sidelining those who have a long history of experiencing God in a specific location. In the section ‘Preliminary Conditions for the Inculturation of the Liturgy’, *VL* states: “The advice of ‘wise people’ of the country, whose human wisdom is enriched by the light of the Gospel, would also be valuable.”⁵²² Learning about the Māori concepts of *Tapu* (sacredness), *Mana* (prestige) and the Māori tradition of *karakia* prayers for every occasion, are ways in which non-Māori New Zealanders can be informed and resourced by the people of the land to inculturate liturgy. Being in intentional and in right relationship and dialogue with indigenous people is fundamental to a theology of liturgical inculturation.

3.4.3 Te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church

⁵²⁰ An important caveat to this is to remember the universality of God. God cannot be contained or limited by place.

⁵²¹ Embracing place specificity means acknowledging that the Judeo-Christian God is not fixed to any one place and cannot be contained by geography.

⁵²² *VL*, no. 30.

Being in relationship with Christians of every time and place is an important aspect of being part of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church. Familiarity with the shared scriptural, doctrinal, and liturgical traditions common to all Christians is a crucial aspect of liturgical inculturation. As *VL* puts it:

Whatever their ethnic or cultural origin, Christians have to recognise the promise, the prophecy and the history of their salvation in the history of Israel. They must accept as the Word of God the books of the Old Testament as well as those of the New. They welcome the sacramental signs, which can only be understood fully in the context of Holy Scripture, and the life of the Church.⁵²³

VL continues by noting that the Church:

has no power over the things which are directly related to the will of Christ and which constitute the unchangeable part of the liturgy. To break the link that the sacraments have with Christ who instituted them, and with the very beginnings of the Church, would no longer be to inculturate them, but to empty them of their substance.⁵²⁴

Discerning what is essential to Christianity and essential to liturgy ensures that any methodology of inculturation does not become narrowly nationalistic or divorced from universal Christian theological and liturgical norms.⁵²⁵ Liturgical inculturation subverts the gathering and unifying role of liturgy if it divides and alienates; inculturation must celebrate the genius of a particular culture and retain the integrity of the faith of the universal church. Discernment of the essentials of liturgy must be made in dialogue with liturgists, theologians and authorities of other cultures and contexts outside one's own. Being in intentional and right relationship and dialogue with the universal Church is fundamental to a theology of liturgical inculturation.

Conclusion

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, no.19.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, no.25.

⁵²⁵ See *VL* no.26.

This chapter has scrutinised the interaction between liturgy and culture by considering Justin Martyr's Seeds of the Word concept and by examining some commonly used terms for the relationship between liturgy and culture. After inspection of the terms, 'inculturation' has been chosen as the most germane term for this research. Various methodologies of liturgical inculturation were investigated as a means to identify an appropriate methodology for liturgical inculturation for Aotearoa New Zealand.

In attempting to formulate principles guiding a methodology for inculturating the liturgical year to the Aotearoa New Zealand seasons, this study has considered the six methodologies of inculturation above, through the lenses of te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church. All six methodologies can be interpreted to be concerned with te tangata whenua/the people of the land; all methodologies (except for Shirres) consider to some degree te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church. Only two methodologies, Tate and Chupungco, refer to te whenua/ the land or to the natural world. Tate with his emphasis on the importance of Māori tikanga/custom implies the importance of land; Chupungco on the other hand engages explicitly with the seasons of the natural world in *The Cosmic Elements of the Christian Passover*. Chupungco's methodology is seen clearly through all three lenses and therefore seems to be the most helpful in informing an appropriate methodology for inculturating the liturgical year into the Aotearoa New Zealand context and is the one which this research project will employ. The next chapter will consider place which, along with peoples and cultures, is an essential element in inculturating the liturgical year.

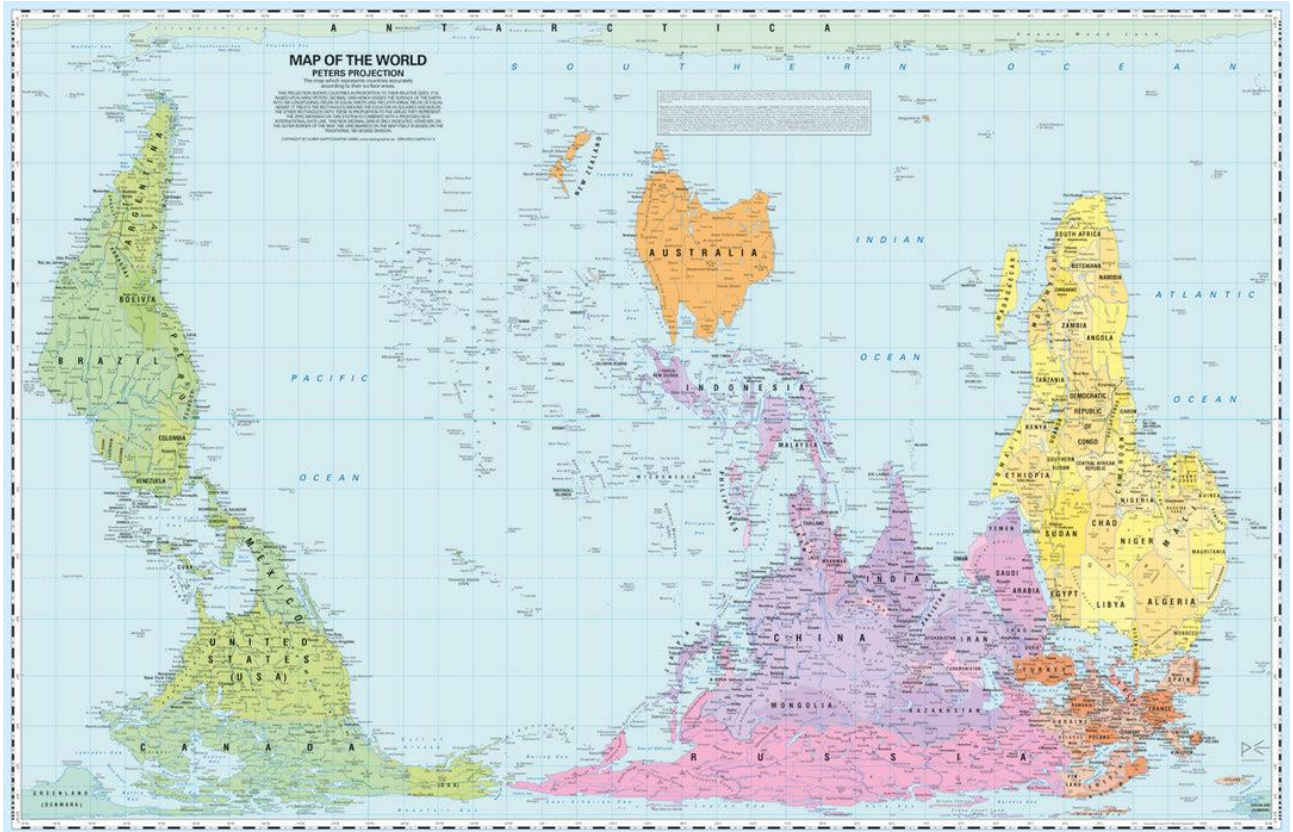


Illustration 5: World Map, Gall-Peters projection

Chapter 4: Finding Godzone⁵²⁶ – toward an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place

This chapter explores relationship between people and place in general and analyses the relationship between Māori and place and Pākehā and place. The chapter asks what steps might need to be taken to articulate an Aotearoa-New Zealand theology of place which can enable further inculturation of the liturgical year into the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

Introduction

When Christians brought the western liturgical calendar to Aotearoa New Zealand, they brought with them the theologies of place that underpin Scripture and Tradition and the theologies of place inherited from their European ancestors. These underlying theologies of place met the theology of place of Māori and were confronted by the realities of southern hemisphere seasons and the physical environment of Aotearoa New Zealand. The results of this meeting of worldviews are still in need of harmonisation more than two hundred years later.

In order to understand more fully the Aotearoa New Zealand experience of the liturgical year, an exploration of place and specifically an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place is required.

The notion of a ‘theology of place’ explores how Christians think theologically about, in light of, and from a specific location. Understanding the process whereby place shapes human experience is important in any examination of how the liturgical year might be experienced and celebrated in a particular geography, climate, or place.

⁵²⁶ Thomas Bracken (1841- 1898) author of the national anthem “God defend New Zealand”, was the first to publish the phrase “God’s Own Country” as applied to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1890. Popularised by New Zealand’s longest serving prime minister, Richard John Seddon (1845-1906), the phrase has been contracted to ‘Godzone’ (God’s own) and is used widely in popular culture to indicate Aotearoa’s exceptional beauty, the divine or spiritual aspect of that beauty, and also the good fortune of anyone who experiences the natural beauty of this place. It is possible to see ‘Godzone’ as an attempt to articulate an Aotearoa theology of place.

Developing or identifying clearly an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place necessarily considers how Aotearoa New Zealand Christians reconcile imported northern hemisphere theologies of place found in Scripture and Tradition, with understandings of the lived experience and emerging theologies of place that confront and inspire them. How to make sense of and acknowledge human interaction with sacred sites and various theologies of place in the celebration of the liturgical year is a challenge for contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand Christians.

4.1. Place

Chinese-American Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1930-2020) proposed that a 'place' comes into existence when humans give meaning to a part of a larger, undifferentiated space. Any time a location is identified or given a name, it is separated from the undefined space that surrounds it. Some places, however, have been invested with stronger meanings, names or definitions by cultures and societies than others. These are the places that are said to have a strong 'Sense of Place'.⁵²⁷ Although the significance of place has long been recognised⁵²⁸, and from the 1940s has been of interest to social/human geographers⁵²⁹, consideration of place as a key factor influencing human conception and experience of our place in the cosmos has become increasingly prominent in

⁵²⁷ Tuan explains: "'Space' and 'place' are familiar words denoting common experiences. We live in space. There is no space for another building on the lot. The Great Plains look spacious. Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other... Geographers study places. Planners would like to evoke 'a sense of place'. These are unexceptional ways of speaking. Space and place are basic components of the lived world; we take them for granted. When we think about them, however, they may assume unexpected meanings and raise questions we have not thought to ask." Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place*, 3.

⁵²⁸ "The importance of place as an active participant in collaboration cannot be underestimated. As a locale or situation where human and more-than-human others come together, the object of knowledge can be constructed, appreciated, and understood relative to its proper context and relationships. To effectively engage our research efforts with the struggles of Indigenous communities requires an approach that understands these struggles as place-based. To understand the community we must understand their place and how they have shaped and described it for themselves and to others." Johnson and Larsen, *A Deeper Sense of Place*, 14-15.

⁵²⁹ Human and social geographers' interest in place "evolved out of work by John Kirkland Wright in the late 1940s, David Lowenthal and Paul Ward English in the late 1960s, and Yi-Fu Tuan, Edward Relph, and Anne Buttner in the mid-late 1970s." Richard Wilkie, "Sense of Place and selected conceptual approaches to place," *CRIT: Journal of the American Institute of Architecture Students* 53 (Spring 2003): 31.

academic discourse in recent years.⁵³⁰ English psychologist David Canter writes: “central to the interest in ‘places’ was the desire to understand the ways in which we represent them ‘in our heads’.”⁵³¹ Gaining greater insight into *place* and *sense of place* are important aspects of understanding how celebration of the liturgical year might take place more effectively in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Understanding how people react to specific geographies informs discussion of place. It seems that different types of place influence humans in different ways – some places may seem frightening, or exhilarating or holy to some people. The effect of place on human behaviour and psychology is explored by psychological geographers including Tuan, who writes:

Certain aspects of nature defy easy human control: these are the mountains, deserts, and seas. They constitute as it were, permanent fixtures in man’s world whether he likes them or not. To these recalcitrant aspects of nature man has tended to respond emotionally, treating them at one time as sublime, the abode of the gods, and at another as ugly, distasteful, the abode of demons. In modern times the emotional charge of the response has greatly weakened but there remains a strong aesthetic element in our attitudes to nature that cannot be readily brought under the plow.⁵³²

Doug Amedeo, a US specialist in environmental perception and behavioural geography, suggests that personal emotional dispositions inform perception of place: “Places and spaces... evoke emotional responses. Places that evoke such responses are not just the beautiful, mysterious, ugly, or degraded natural landscapes, but the rooms, houses, neighbourhoods, and cities in which we live our lives and experience the environment...”⁵³³ However, specific geographical features such as mountains or seas do not always have the same effect on all humans. People do not perceive landscape or place from a neutral position; human perceptions of environmental hostility or beauty change. Human perception of place is determined by several factors. Tuan asserts that cultural

⁵³⁰ Some of the academic disciplines addressing human perception of and interaction with place are: indigenous studies, human ecology, environmental psychology, environmental science, bioregionalism, cultural geography, anthropology, history, poetry, philosophy, and theology.

⁵³¹ Canter, *The Psychology of Place*, ix.

⁵³² Tuan, *Topophilia*, 70.

⁵³³ Doug Amedeo, quoted in *Spatial behaviour: a geographic perspective*, 389.

groupings shape and enforce the environmental perception and attitudes of its members. He posits that culture mediates perceptions to such a degree that people will see things in the environment that do not exist, noting that people who live in a 'carpentered' world are susceptible to different kinds of illusion from those who live in an environment lacking in orthogonality.⁵³⁴ Tuan sees that environmental perception provides the major building blocks of indigenous cosmologies and world views and explains that when migrants interact with indigenous people, "[t]he perception of and environmental judgements of natives and visitors show little overlap because their experience and purpose have little in common".⁵³⁵ Tuan identifies a factor which is very significant when considering Aotearoa New Zealand and 'place', namely that environmental perceptions of indigenous people and the people who came to a land later are different due to divergent experience and purpose in relation to place.

Throughout human history, particular spaces have evoked distinct emotional and spiritual perceptions, attitudes and responses from people.⁵³⁶ Defined geographic locations have attracted people, shaped human experience⁵³⁷ and motivated humans to develop sacred systems and world views to understand themselves, their relationship with the divine, and the world. Recognition of sacred sites and places of particular spiritual significance is a universal human phenomenon. Tuan explains sacred places in this way:

Generally speaking, sacred places are the locations of hierophany. A grove, a spring, a rock, or a mountain acquires sacred character wherever it is identified with some form of divine

⁵³⁴ In mathematics, orthogonality is the relation of two lines at right angles to one another (perpendicularity), and the generalization of this relation into n dimensions; and to a variety of mathematical relations thought of as describing non-overlapping, uncorrelated, or independent objects of some kind.

⁵³⁵ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 246.

⁵³⁶ Psychologist Robert Beck wrote: "That space is personal and has unique meaning for the individual is clear from the existential-psychiatric literature on the psychopathology of experienced space, and from the brilliant spatial-phenomenological speculations of such men as Binswanger, Strauss, and Minkowski." Robert Beck, "Spatial Meaning, and the Properties of the Environment", in *Environmental Perception and Behavior*, ed. David Lowenthal (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1967), 18. Beck also notes: "the psychological meaning of space is yet to be determined, and spatial approaches to perception of the environment require greater elaboration and further classification" Lowenthal, 29.

⁵³⁷ "Certain natural landscapes appeal to us. Paul Shepherd sees the appeal as related to the human anatomy. The scenic attractions often correspond to a narrow defile, a gorge, water gap, or valley that opens out to a bright sunlit plain." Tuan, *Topophilia*, 28.

manifestation or with an event of overpowering significance. If Mircea Eliade is right, an early and fundamental idea in the sacredness of place is that it represents the centre, the axis, or the navel of the world. Every effort to define space is an attempt to create order out of disorder: it shares some of the primordial act of creation and hence the sacred character of that act.⁵³⁸

Religious belief can provide people with a framework within which to perceive and understand place. British Geographer Julian Holloway asserts that people with religious belief interact with place in specific ways, often approaching and understanding place as something that is spiritually resonant. Conceiving the world through the lens of faith he says, enables “a realisation of and disposition towards a world saturated with divinity and the sacred”.⁵³⁹ Holloway describes how through particular rituals and liturgies the faithful reinforce their relationship with God in and via the medium of specific places. He describes how “[t]hrough multiple actions in and towards space and time, the faithful become as such through their actualisation of the immanent divine: the spiritual life therefore is a realisation and a mode of realising space-time as infused with the divine that the faithful enact and continually re-presence.”⁵⁴⁰

A religious world-view may assist people in perception and interpretation of place but Tuan notes that perceptions of place are not static. He cites instances of mountains being perceived sometimes as remote and dangerous and at other times as the holy place where sky and earth meet, “the place impregnated with sacred power where the human spirit could pass from one cosmic level to another.”⁵⁴¹ Tuan notes that while the Hebrews lifted their eyes to the mountains for help, from the Middle Ages until the nineteenth century in Europe, there was a general distaste for the mountains. He explains that “by the middle of the nineteenth century a complete reversal in the image of the mountain had occurred: far from being a place that induced shivers of horror agreeable

⁵³⁸ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 146.

⁵³⁹ Julian Holloway, “Spiritual Life”, in *A Companion to Social Geography*, ed. Vincent Del Casino, Mary Thomas, Paul Cloke and Ruth Panelli (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 399.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 399.

⁵⁴¹ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 70.

only to hardy souls it was benign and well suited to the needs of those in poor health.”⁵⁴² Through his examples, Tuan illustrates that the human relationship with place is subjective and variable. As well as other factors that lead to subjective and variable relation with place, in the Aotearoa New Zealand experience, it can be asserted that there is clear contrast between indigenous and settler experience of place.

Although *place* is being well studied currently in several disciplines,⁵⁴³ the importance of place has not always been understood or appreciated in European thought since ‘The Enlightenment’.⁵⁴⁴ It can be asserted that in attempts to be objective, detached, neutral or scientific, for several hundred years Western thinkers⁵⁴⁵ have downplayed place specificity and have tried to work within the framework of ‘a view from nowhere’.⁵⁴⁶ Prioritising nowhere over any specific place as a starting point is an attempt at objectivity and/or academic detachment. Irish Anglican theologian Alister McGrath describes attempts at academic detachment thus: “A total detachment on the part of a scholar is necessary in the quest for truth. If a scholar is already committed to a theory...this will prejudice his or her evaluation of the material to be studied. The Enlightenment advocated the idea of disinterested, sceptical inquirer.”⁵⁴⁷ Attempting to perceive the world from nowhere necessarily sidelines, if not obliterates, the importance of place; whether it is even possible to achieve a view from nowhere that is detached from the influence of any place remains contested. German sociologist Norbert Elias (1897-1990), author of *The Civilising Process* (1939) advocated that in order

⁵⁴² Ibid., 71.

⁵⁴³ See footnote 519.

⁵⁴⁴ The Enlightenment was a European intellectual movement in the 17th and 18th centuries which emphasised reason and individualism above tradition.

⁵⁴⁵ Especially in the fields of philosophy and many sciences.

⁵⁴⁶ An example is: *The View from Nowhere* by philosopher Thomas Nagel, New York: Oxford University, 1986., the book contrasts passive and active points of view in how humanity interacts with the world, relying either on a subjective perspective that reflects a point of view or an objective perspective that takes a more detached perspective. Nagel describes the objective perspective as the “view from nowhere,” one where the only valuable ideas are ones derived independently.

⁵⁴⁷ McGrath, *Christian Theology*, 96.

for social scientists to properly perceive reality, disciplined self-distancing was required, he claimed that:

Generations of scientists have contributed to the growth of detachment. They have led the move from the dogmatic and semi-mystical characteristics of traditional systems of thought. This is reflected in the high levels of control which human beings now exercise over natural phenomena.⁵⁴⁸

Since the mid to late twentieth century, post-modern thought has challenged the assumptions of neutrality and detachment of Western thinking as championed by Elias and others.⁵⁴⁹

European 'Enlightenment' thinking that privileges detachment and promotes disinterest in *place* lies in stark contrast to ideas of place seen in scripture and amongst indigenous peoples. European ideas of *place* and the possibilities inherent in other yet-to be-discovered places enabled European exploration and colonisation of the world. Colonisation has had profound impacts on humanity's experience of and understanding of place. Movement of people from one location to another necessarily results in encounter with a new place and the need to develop a new sense of place. When a group of people arrives in a place inhabited by another group, sense of place becomes contested and there will inevitably be a negotiation or conflict about understandings of *place*. Theology has often been a tool employed to justify acts of aggressive genocidal occupation e.g., the Hebrews entering Canaan.⁵⁵⁰ Perceived divine permission and competing senses of place led to violence and occupation in Canaan and in many other situations throughout history.

As well as causing many conflicts about understanding of and utilisation of place, colonialism has often resulted in indigenous understandings of place being erased and attempts made at turning indigenous places into European places.⁵⁵¹ For example, the place in southern Aotearoa New Zealand

⁵⁴⁸ Chris Rojek, "Problems of Involvement and Detachment in the Writings of Norbert Elias," *The British Journal of Sociology* 37/4 (1986): 584–596.

⁵⁴⁹ Postmodernist thought challenges assumptions of Enlightenment and Modernism. Postmodernism has tended to distrust accepted grand narratives and previously accepted ideas of Detachment or Neutrality.

⁵⁵⁰ The Hebrew conquest of Canaan is chronicled in the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

⁵⁵¹ For example, the renaming of Aotearoa New Zealand's highest mountain Aoraki as Mt. Cook after the British explorer. The name of the Māori ancestor who formed the mountain was erased and the new name

named Ōtepoti (meaning: the place of the corners) by Māori was renamed Dunedin by Scottish settlers, which is the Gaelic name for Edinburgh. Dunedin is sometimes known as the 'Edinburgh of the South'; Edinburgh in turn has been known as the 'Athens of the North'.⁵⁵²

Renaming is a method of appropriation of ownership, culture, or history; renaming supplants the identity of a unique place with names and their associated concepts developed for and from elsewhere. As well as renaming, architecture, town planning, style of dress, flora and fauna, educational, political, and religious systems are used to assert a new identity on a place.

Colonial economics transforms places with their own languages, histories, and economics, into outposts of empire producing the same crops, with the same language and systems of the empire. Colonial and imperial thinking and practice often promotes placelessness.⁵⁵³ Empires tend to promote homogenisation of the sense of place by privileging one place as the centre or 'home' and peripherising all other places as 'the colonies' whose *raison d'être* is to support and refer to 'home'.

In contrast to those involved in colonial and imperial projects, US geographers Johnson and Larsen note that for many indigenous people the world and people can only be truly understood in context, in situatedness, in relation to specific locations. In juxtaposition to European ideas of the relative importance of place, place is of primary importance to many indigenous people. Johnson and Larsen explain that:

This insistence on context runs counter to the modernist obsession with an objective and abstract space in which it is distinctly impossible to actually *dwell*... For Indigenous communities, knowledge without context, that is *universal* or *abstract* knowledge, is typically

was placeless. There are many other geographical features in Aotearoa and elsewhere named in honour of Cook. Since the 1998 settlement between Kāi Tahu tribe and the New Zealand Government the mountain is officially Aoraki/Mt Cook.

⁵⁵² Edinburgh World Heritage, *Athens of the North*, no date, accessed 17/3/20, <https://ewh.org.uk/trails/athens-of-the-north/>.

⁵⁵³ "Placeless landscapes are better called the common and uncommon landscapes of the post-World War II era. Prior to the industrialization of the U.S. and Canadian economies, agrarian communities were largely ethnically and religiously identified.... Starting in the 1920s and particularly after World War II, auto landscapes had become the new common landscape types. Not coincidentally, at the height of the suburbanization in the two northern countries of North America, the concept of placelessness and critiques of suburbia appeared." Ingolf Vogler, lecture notes about placelessness, no date, accessed 17/3/20, <http://www.uwec.edu/geography/lvogeler/w188/articles/noplace.htm>.

seen as lifeless, limited, probably impossible, and possibly dangerous - all precisely because it has been divorced from its proper locale of origin.⁵⁵⁴

Indigenous understandings and perceptions of place are radically different from European ideas of place which were brought to Aotearoa New Zealand in the 18th and 19th centuries. The dialogue between worldviews on place continues to be an extremely important conversation for contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand, psychologically, economically, and spiritually.

Place and sense of place are universal to human experience. This section has noted that religious people perceive place as infused with the divine, that perceptions of place are not static, that colonisation creates interaction between different understandings of place and that indigenous people perceive place relationally, whilst some Europeans have tended to perceive the world from a placeless point of view. All of these important aspects of place need to be borne in mind as a more specific consideration of an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place is undertaken. In this section theology of place in general has been considered; in the next section Māori and Pākehā relationship with place will be explored.

4.2 New Zealanders and place

Aotearoa lies in the South Pacific Ocean, approximately 3,500 kilometres north of Antarctica, 3,000 kilometres south of Fiji, 2,000 kilometres east of Australia, and 9,000 kilometres west of Chile. Aotearoa sits on the boundary of the Indo-Australian and Pacific tectonic plates.

Much of the history of mountain building, earthquakes and volcanic activity in Aotearoa New Zealand is due to its location on the Pacific 'Ring of Fire'. The Ring extends around the margins of the Pacific Ocean, from Aotearoa New Zealand north through East Asia to Japan, across to the West Coast of North America and then down to Chile. The Ring corresponds with the edge of the Pacific tectonic plate; countries along the Ring of Fire are prone to earthquakes and volcanic activity.

⁵⁵⁴ Johnson and Larsen, *A Deeper Sense of Place*, 10.

Aotearoa New Zealand sits on the edges of the Pacific and Australian plates; the occurrence of volcanic activity and earthquakes throughout Aotearoa and various geological forms are attributable to the collision of the tectonic plates along the length of the country.⁵⁵⁵

Aotearoa is an archipelago with over 700 offshore islands. The three main islands stretch 1,500 km across latitudes 34° to 47° south and the islands are only the visible part of a much larger submerged subcontinent that separated from Australia, on the eastern margin of Gondwana, around 85 million years ago. It is a country of mountains, beaches, glaciers, volcanoes, forests, swamps, lakes and birds.⁵⁵⁶ Aotearoa is remote from the rest of the world's continents and was the last major habitable land area in the world to be settled.⁵⁵⁷

Since the first Polynesians arrived in Aotearoa around 750 years ago, New Zealand's inhabitants have been trying to make sense (including theological sense) of the remote, inspiring, and sometimes inhospitable place in which they live.

4.3 Māori and place

As is the case for many indigenous peoples around the world, Aotearoa New Zealand's indigenous people, the Māori, have a highly developed relational understanding of place and fundamental spiritual and emotional connections with land and waterscapes.⁵⁵⁸

Canadian academic Margaret Kovach, (Plains Cree, Saulteaux, Pasqua First Nation of Southern Saskatchewan) describes indigenous people's understanding of place:

Place links present with past and our personal self with kinship groups. What we know flows through us from the 'echo of generations', and our knowledges cannot be universalised because they arise from our experience with our places. This is why name-place stories matter: they are repositories of science, they tell of relationships, they reveal history, and they hold our identity.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁵ Richard Smith, David J. Lowe and Ian Wright, "Volcanoes – Pacific Ring of Fire," *Te Ara*, accessed 17/3/20.

⁵⁵⁶ Geological and geographical information from *Te Ara* under "Natural Environment".

⁵⁵⁷ Geoff Irwin and Carl Walrond, "When was New Zealand first settled? – The date debate", *Te Ara*, accessed 5/4/20.

⁵⁵⁸ See Johnson and Larsen, *A Deeper Sense of Place*, 10.

⁵⁵⁹ Margaret Kovach quoted in *ibid.*, 171.

Indigenous understandings of place stand in clear contrast to western ‘Enlightenment’, academic or colonial explanations of place. Indigenous understandings of place emphasise relationships of natural features with the divine, with ancestors, and in terms of their relationships to creation stories while non-indigenous people tend to describe place in scientific, geographical, agricultural, or purely aesthetic terms. Indigenous descriptions of place are often relational and specific in contrast to non-indigenous descriptions which tend to consist of scientific and generalised geographic analyses.

Indigenous scholar Shawn Wilson (Opaskwayak Cree from northern Manitoba) explains:

Indigenous people’s sense of self is planted and rooted in the land. The sacred bond with the land is more substantial than a propertied relationship and entails responsibility to all living forms that are sustained from the soil: grasses, medicinal plants, fruit bushes...As an Aboriginal person I am constituted by my individual self and by my ancestors and future generations, who will originate in and have returned to the land. My relationship to the grass, to the trees, to the insects, to the birds, and even to the hunter animals derives from the fact that my ancestors now are part of the ground. Because the life surrounding me is part of me through my ancestors, I must consider and care for all its constituents.⁵⁶⁰

Māori sense of place and connection with Aotearoa as a whole and with specific locations holding tribal or family significance is well defined and well documented.⁵⁶¹

Henare Tate expresses the centrality of place to Māori identity in this way:

Whenua is the land in all its physical and geographical features. It is land as country. *Ko te whenua tēnei o Aotearoa* (This is the country of Aotearoa). It is land as territory *Ko te rohe whenua tēnā o Ngāi Tahu* (That is the territory of Ngāi Tahu). It is the ground on which we tread. *Whenua* provides sustenance for *tangata and all other living creatures. It gives tangata* a sense of identity and belonging.⁵⁶²

⁵⁶⁰ Shawn Wilson quoted in *ibid.*, 172.

⁵⁶¹ In the work of many authors from the 19th century onwards, notably in the 20th century Pākehā anthropologists Margaret Orbell and Anne Salmond and in many works by Māori, also in Garth Harmsworth and Shaun Awatere, “Indigenous Māori knowledge and perspectives of ecosystems” in *Ecosystem Services in New Zealand – conditions and trends*, ed. John Dymond (Lincoln: Manaaki Whenua, 2013).

⁵⁶² Tate, *He Puna Iti*, 39.

Māori know themselves and define themselves as tangata whenua – literally, people of the land. Māori sense of identity is intrinsically linked with land and place. In a radio interview following earthquakes in Kaikōura in the South Island in November 2016, Koro Martin, a Kaikōura Māori leader expressed the Māori understanding of land: ‘He tangata, he whenua (the people, the land), we are one and the same.’⁵⁶³ In a 2017 remark about a new piece of legislation giving Māori preferential rights in land and resource management, co-leader of the Māori Party Marama Fox said: “I’m just really not sure what [MP] Winston Peters is scared about [in] having Māori voice at the seat of power. It’s not that they [Māori] want to be detrimental to this country. One of the only groups of people that tried to support the environment and have a direct whakapapa (ancestral) link to our Mother Earth is the *iwi* [people] Māori.”⁵⁶⁴

4.3.1 Tūrangawaewae

When introducing themselves in a formal setting, a Māori person cites their Tūrangawaewae ‘place to stand’; this is both a physical location and a spiritually significant place bestowed by birth and ancestry. Māori understand and position themselves by knowledge of their whakapapa, a word which is often translated in English as genealogy, but more than just a list of ancestors, whakapapa inherently includes relationship with an actual place.⁵⁶⁵ For Māori, every person’s whakapapa goes back to the earth as an ancestor; every person is in a spiritual and familial relationship with a specific place or places in Aotearoa New Zealand. In her chapter *A three-way relationship: God, Land, People A Māori Woman Reflects*, Mercy sister Tui Cadigan elucidates a Māori perspective on the land as mother Papatūānuku, on ancestral ties and the covenant Māori have with the land.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶³ RNZ, “Morning Report,” programme 23/11/16.

⁵⁶⁴ RNZ news bulletins 5/4/17.

⁵⁶⁵ “Whakapapa is a taxonomic framework that links all animate and inanimate, known and unknown phenomena in the terrestrial and spiritual worlds. Whakapapa therefore binds all things. It maps relationships so that mythology, legend, history, knowledge, tikanga (custom), philosophies and spiritualities are organised, preserved and transmitted from one generation to the next. Whakapapa is the core of traditional mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge).” Rāwiri Taonui, “Whakapapa – genealogy – What is whakapapa?” *Te Ara*, accessed 1/6/17.

⁵⁶⁶ Cadigan, *Three-way Relationship*.

In te reo Māori/ the Māori language, placenta shares the same word as land whenua, indicating the remarkably close physical and spiritual connection with land and place, just as a placenta feeds, nurtures and connects, so does the land for Māori. Māori identity is inextricably bound to the land, which is seen by Māori, literally, as a parent. In Māori creation stories, humans are descended from the Earth Mother Papatūānuku and the Sky Father Ranginui.

Hirini Matunga an academic at Lincoln University puts it this way:

Māori attitudes to land, natural resources and wāhi tapu (sacred sites) are based on this close 'kinship' link. Humans are not separate from the environment but are an integral part of it. Because of this kinship link, humans have a responsibility to safeguard Papatūānuku, Ranginui and natural and physical resources from violation and destruction.⁵⁶⁷

Māori connection with land is based on deep relationships with creation stories, with ancestors, with relatives, with animals, plants, natural resources and with future descendants. The complex web of relationship to land is sometimes difficult for non-Māori to comprehend.

4.3.2 Indigenous people and land

Jacinta Ruru is a law professor at Otago University specialising in indigenous peoples' legal rights to own, manage and govern land and water. In an interview on Radio New Zealand Ruru spoke about the fact that New Zealand law now recognises that some parts of the landscape have legal personality: "Te Uruwera (national park) is now an entity as an ancestor of Tūhoe (the local tribe); similarly with the Whanganui River, it means we have neutralised the whole ownership issue, the crown doesn't own it, Māori don't own it, it owns itself, it has its own agency, it's its own person, it has its mana (prestige), what this law does is recognise what this landscape means to Māori."⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁷ Matunga, "Waahi tapu," 220.

⁵⁶⁸ Jacinta Ruru, interview by Kim Hill, *RNZ Saturday Morning*, 20/8/16.

Because of the strong connection between Māori and land, Māori experience dispossession of land especially painfully. Māori writer Keri Hulme⁵⁶⁹ describes alienation from land in this way: “Separation from tribal land is a spiritual as well as a physical dislocation”.⁵⁷⁰

4.3.3 Spiritual connection to land

For Māori, all the places within Aotearoa have creation stories, are the locations for activities of the gods and bear the histories of ancestors. Every place is understood within a framework of relationship between those living there, their ancestors and the divine.

It can be observed that for Māori, place is spiritual and relational and that Māori experience of, understanding of, and connection to land and place have many similarities with other Indigenous peoples.⁵⁷¹

As well as relationship with Aotearoa, Māori have a relationship with Hawaiki, the mystical homeland from where the first Māori came to Aotearoa. The actual physical location of Hawaiki is contested⁵⁷² but the significance to Māori is very real. Tate explains that: “In Māori oratory, the souls of the deceased are always sent on their return journey to Hawaiki.”⁵⁷³ One of the most important Māori churches (at Otaki, near Wellington) is named Rangiātea, after the possible location of Hawaiki. Historian Te Ahukaramū Royal explains that: “Sacred soil from the altar of Rai’atea (Rangiātea) in Hawaiki, brought to New Zealand on the *Tainui* canoe centuries before, was buried under the altar of the church” when it was opened in 1851.⁵⁷⁴ The presence of soil from Hawaiki under the altar at Rangiātea can be compared with the ancient practice of placing relics of martyrs or

⁵⁶⁹ Keri Hulme (1947-2021), Kāi Tahu author, her novel *The Bone People* won the 1985 Booker Prize

⁵⁷⁰ McNaughton, *Countless Signs*, 3.

⁵⁷¹ The Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians states that a defining characteristic of indigenous theology is land. “The land is the beginning and the ending point for indigenous theologies and is central to the resistance of every indigenous people.” Quoted in Tate, *He Puna Iti*, 18

⁵⁷² “Māori and Pākehā alike have wondered about the true location of Hawaiki. The actual location has never been confirmed, and it is uncertain if it is a real, physical island, or a mythical place. Some have associated Hawaiki with the Tahitian island Ra’iātea (Rangiātea, in standard Māori). Like Hawaiki, Rangiātea is seen as both a physical and spiritual place.” Te Ahukaramū Royal, “Hawaiki,” *Te Ara*, accessed 17/3/20.

⁵⁷³ Tate, *He Puna Iti*, 60.

⁵⁷⁴ Te Ahukaramū Royal, “Hawaiki— Location and associations,” *Te Ara*, accessed 17/3/20.

other saints in an altar stone. In the case of soil from Hawaiki, it is as if a piece of the mystical homeland – a relic of heaven – is present under the altar.

Faced with alienation from land due to colonisation, and with Pākehā scorn, Māori have maintained their understanding of place and have fought for many years to have their relationship with places of significance respected and restored.⁵⁷⁵

4.4 Pākehā and place

In 1642, the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman and his crew became the first Europeans to arrive in Aotearoa; Tasman renamed it *Staten Landt*, (mistakenly thinking it might be connected to the *Staten Landt* in South America), and put the islands on the European map.⁵⁷⁶ English explorer James Cook's cartography from 1769 onward led to sealing and whaling expeditions by Europeans and Americans to Aotearoa. The first Christian missionaries arrived in 1814, which laid the foundation for British annexation and colonisation of Aotearoa. The 1840 Te Tiriti o Waitangi/ Treaty of Waitangi between Māori and the British crown ushered in large-scale European settlement. Organisers of New Zealand colonisation schemes enticed prospective immigrants with the idea of an underutilised land rich in agricultural and horticultural potential.

Edward Wakefield (1796-1862) was a 19th century colonial theorist and founder of the New Zealand Company. Wakefield and the New Zealand Company were pivotal in the colonisation of Aotearoa. Bluck explains that "Edward Gibbon Wakefield and others promoted the image of New Zealand as Arcadia and Utopia – the perfect garden that used to be, and the perfect place that could be. Listen to these book titles (promoting New Zealand) published between 1850 and 1880: *The Wonderland of the Antipodes, An Earthly Paradise, The Eden of the World, The Land of Milk and*

⁵⁷⁵ For example, the Kāi Tahu tribe's claim/Te Kerēme (for unfair practices regarding the sale of most of the South Island) which the tribe initiated against the Crown in 1849 and which was largely resolved in 1998.

⁵⁷⁶ On a 1646 map Joan Blaeu, Dutch East India Company cartographer, conferred the name 'Nova Zeelandia' – the Latin equivalent of the Dutch 'Nieuw Zeeland' – on the land "discovered" by Tasman. It was by that name – 'New Zealand' in English – that the country came to be known. "Intermittent dissatisfaction in the colonial era that the name was 'foreign' – in other words, not English – never led to a name change." Malcolm McKinnon, "Place names – Naming the country and the main islands," *Te Ara*, accessed 27/1/22.

Honey and, perhaps less ambitious, *Brighter Britain: The Land of Promise*.⁵⁷⁷ Wakefield and the New Zealand Company sought to transform underutilised land into the basis of an agricultural economy, for the benefit of the settlers, the colonisers, and the empire.

With the hope of a fecund paradise, as they sought to establish a sense of place in Aotearoa, many Pākehā were impressed and confused by the landscape and by the Māori they encountered. Pākehā relationship with the land is multi-faceted: it includes memories of ancestral lands left behind in Europe; awe and sometimes fear at sublime beauty they encountered; hopes for economic progress; and contradictory or negative attitudes toward indigenous people.

New Zealand Studies academic Stephen Turner has written that for some Pākehā settlers, settlement in Aotearoa entailed a process whereby they inhabited a new place amidst a set of contradictory impulses. He writes:

The new country is a site of contradictory demands: the need, ultimately to forget the old country, and the need to ignore people who already inhabit the new country, to resist the indigenous presence the settler must retain some sense of the old-country self to be able to draw on a strong and authoritative identity.

But in order to settle in the new country, to find oneself at home, the settler must forget the old country and become acclimatised, that is, discover a new-country identity.⁵⁷⁸

How to describe their relationship with Aotearoa has occupied many Pākehā thinkers and writers. Academic Trudi McNaughton, in her book on the landscape in Aotearoa New Zealand literature, notes that “A great deal of very diverse nineteenth and twentieth century New Zealand writing uses New Zealand landscape either as subject, setting, symbol or spiritual force.”⁵⁷⁹ How Pākehā relate to the land, and what being a non-indigenous New Zealander might mean, have been subjects of reflection from the time Europeans first settled in Aotearoa.

⁵⁷⁷ Bluck, *Long, White and Cloudy*, 69-70.

⁵⁷⁸ From “Settlement as forgetting” quoted in Stafford and Williams, *Māoriland*, 57.

⁵⁷⁹ McNaughton, *Countless Signs*, 1.

4.4.1 Grappling with place

Many Pākehā artists and writers grappling with place and identity in the 19th and 20th centuries were influenced by the Romanticism movement;⁵⁸⁰ in reaction to the ideas and mores of ‘The Enlightenment’, Romanticism assigned high value to raw emotion and to the landscape as a site of awe and grandeur. Academic Erin Mercer explains that Romanticism and the romantic idea of ‘the sublime’ became a tool many Pākehā used to express their relationship with the new land. In 1949, painter John Drawbridge, photographer Brian Brake, composer Douglas Lilburn and poet James K. Baxter went into the Matukituki Valley (in the South Island) to make a film about Tititea/Mt. Aspiring. The film was intended to be a tribute to the place of mountains in Aotearoa New Zealand culture. In the end, the weather was poor, the footage disappeared, and the film was never made. But the expedition did lead the 23-year-old Baxter to write ‘Poem in the Matukituki Valley’.⁵⁸¹ Erin Mercer notes that Baxter’s poem is “shaped and informed by his cultural background. The poet reads his experience of tramping through the New Zealand mountains through the lens of the sublime... The poet sees the land of Aotearoa New Zealand through a lens developed to view European landscape and Baxter represents Matukituki Valley so that it fits into the poetic sublime.”⁵⁸² Baxter uses the language and the cultural tools he has inherited from Europe to describe the Aotearoa landscape. The poem also “admits that the speaker is only ‘half aware’ of the land, and that for those like him, ‘the land is matrix and destroyer, / Resentful, darkly known’. Baxter’s poem seems to express a certain amount of anxiety about entering the Wilderness, an anxiety that is linked both to the difficulty of adapting European literary tradition to fit the features of this country and to his sense of being a settler relatively new to the land.”⁵⁸³ Baxter expresses the struggle many Pākehā have:

⁵⁸⁰ Romanticism was a movement in literature, music and visual arts which originated in the late 18th century. It emphasised individual inspiration and emotion and celebrated nature and history.

⁵⁸¹ Baxter, “Poem in the Matukituki Valley,” *Complete Poems Vol 2*, ed. John Weir (Wellington: Te Herenga Waka, 2022), 26-28. Andy Dennis, “Mountains— Mountains and New Zealand culture”, *Te Ara*, accessed 17/3/20.

⁵⁸² Mercer, *In Johnsonville or Geraldine*, 66.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, 66.

culture and modes of perception developed in Europe are used by Europeans in Aotearoa because those are the tools at hand, the tools that Pākehā know how to use; however, those cultural, literary (and liturgical) tools were not designed for this context. In order to address the requirements of this context, the tools must somehow adapt and change.

4.4.2 Making it up

Many Pākehā writers have striven to create a sense of place, to make Aotearoa ‘theirs’. Early Pākehā writers “had to begin the immensely difficult task of forging new symbols in a country whose landscape was alien and whose intelligible past was shorter than their own lifespan”.⁵⁸⁴ In their attempt to locate themselves in Aotearoa, some Pākehā writers struggled to reflect reality. Invention of a new place perhaps would have seemed necessary because there was no agreed way for Pākehā to perceive the new context and landscape in which they found themselves.

Aotearoa New Zealand’s fourth Prime Minister Alfred Domett’s⁵⁸⁵ attempt to understand Aotearoa resulted in his epic *Ranulf and Amohia*. Literature academics Stafford and Williams point to Domett’s problem of place-creation in this work:

Essentially *Ranulf and Amohia* is not about New Zealand...it is a ‘South-Sea Day-Dream’, part of that fictional construction of exotic place; it is Māoriland, a fantasy alternative version of New Zealand, the modern progressive colony. Domett’s Māoriland is a literary place, archaic space, peopled by the ghosts of a now dying race, warriors, maidens, and tohunga, in settings sublime and exotic, all configured by the conventions of European Romanticism and its nineteenth century modification, from Rousseau to Ossian to Ruskin to the Celtic Revival. Its relationship to modern New Zealand was that of self-justifying myth.⁵⁸⁶

It could be argued that part of being Pākehā is relying on self-justifying myths to make Pākehā feel better about the reality of life in Aotearoa New Zealand e.g., the myth that race relations are good in

⁵⁸⁴ Baxter, *Complete Prose, Vol 1*, 66.

⁵⁸⁵ Domett (1811-1887) was New Zealand’s fourth Premier/Prime Minister 1862-1863., Jeanine Graham, “Alfred Domett”, *Te Ara*, accessed 13/4/20.

⁵⁸⁶ From ‘Settlement as forgetting’, quoted in Stafford and Williams, *Māoriland*, 35.

New Zealand,⁵⁸⁷ that Aotearoa is clean and green⁵⁸⁸ or that New Zealand society is fair and egalitarian.⁵⁸⁹ It can be asserted that for many Pākehā coming to terms with place is difficult because of the theological and intellectual ideas about the land that many European settlers had about Aotearoa before they arrived, because of European farming and extraction practices which have altered Aotearoa's landscape in dramatic ways, and because of capitalist consumerist expectations which continue to degrade and disrespect the land.

4.4.3 Subjugation of place

At the same time as some 19th century Pākehā were experiencing Aotearoa as sublime, others were hungry for land and perceiving Aotearoa as land that had to be broken-in; a place with unhealthy swamps that had to be drained, useless tussock land that needed to be burnt off to allow agriculture to be established and trees that must be felled to build structures to enable commerce and dwelling. Wakefield of the New Zealand Company in his colonial theories promoted the idea that New Zealand land was fecund and underutilised and therein lay the great opportunity for settlers.⁵⁹⁰ The clear difference between Pākehā and Māori perceptions of the meaning and utility of land has

⁵⁸⁷ A myth that some Pākehā assert is that race relations are excellent in Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori, Chinese or Indian New Zealanders have a different view on race relations to New Zealanders of European descent. An article in the NZ Herald explores race-related complaints to the Human Rights Commission over ten years; Corazon Miller, "How racist are we NZ?" *NZ Herald*, 5/1/17, accessed 30/10/23, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11776745.

⁵⁸⁸ Dr. Mike Joy of the Ecology-Institute of Natural Resources, Massey University, Palmerston North contests as myth the assertions that New Zealand is clean, green 100% pure, that the Government looks after biodiversity and protects the environment, that New Zealand is 100% pure in comparison with the rest of the world, and that dairy farming in New Zealand is sustainable. Mike Joy, *New Zealand's 100% Pure, Clean-Green myth*, 2011, accessed 29/10/23, <http://nztiwf.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/New-Zealand-clean-green-100-percent-pure-myth-Mike-Joy-NZTIWF-2011-part-one.pdf>.

⁵⁸⁹ According to the New Zealand Council for Christian Social Services in New Zealand the wealthiest tenth own nearly a fifth of the country's net worth, while the poorest half of the country has less than 5 per cent. That leaves many people in poverty, lacking the resources they need to participate in society. Max Rashbrooke, *Inequality: A New Zealand Conversation*, no date, accessed 17/3/20, <http://www.inequality.org.nz/understand/>.

⁵⁹⁰ Wakefield in his writing, including: *A statement of the objects of the New Zealand Association: with some particulars concerning the position, extent, soil and climate, natural productions, and natives of New Zealand* (London: Black & Armstrong, 1837) and *A View of the Art of Colonisation: With Present Reference to the British Empire: in Letters between a Statesman and a Colonist*, first published in 1849 (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2010) talks about 'colonial wastelands' ripe for exploitation.

had a profound impact on Pākehā relationships with Māori and the land itself. The land wars that took place from 1843 to 1872 between the New Zealand government and Māori, and 19th century actions to subjugate ecosystems to accommodate foreign flora and fauna, continue to have far-reaching consequences for New Zealanders today.⁵⁹¹

Nineteenth century European newcomers to Aotearoa had a huge task of making emotional and spiritual sense of the new land they encountered. This is a process that continues today. Bluck asserts: “Place has always been a spiritual category for Pākehā people. It’s just that we haven’t found the vocabulary or given ourselves the permission to express it, for fear of sounding primitive or pagan.”⁵⁹² Pākehā are still working on finding an authentic voice, which is not taken from Māori or from people of any other place, to articulate what it means to be Pākehā and live in Aotearoa New Zealand.

As is the case for many other migrants adapting to a new place, it can be argued that feeling displaced and struggling to make Aotearoa home is inherent to being Pākehā. James K. Baxter identified Pākehā inability to relate to the land as an immense spiritual problem, as a sickness of soul.⁵⁹³ Theologian Alister Reece in his 2013 PhD thesis recognises that feeling unsettled is the ‘Pākehā ontological dilemma’⁵⁹⁴ and that the Pākehā quest for identity and belonging is an ongoing task, even for Pākehā whose families have been in Aotearoa for several generations.

⁵⁹¹ Whilst Europeans (primarily English, Scottish, Irish) have been the majority of settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand, Chinese and Lebanese settlers came for 19th century gold-rushes and later settlers from other Asian, European, and Pacific countries have settled in Aotearoa New Zealand. Each cultural group brings specific understandings of place.

⁵⁹² Bluck, *Long, White and Cloudy*, 95.

⁵⁹³ “Baxter has isolated the weakness of the Colonial past in its failure to relate to the land itself...the evil which Baxter recognises in New Zealand, the sense of death, relates back to the New Zealander’s failure to develop a living tradition related to his situation. This lack of history— this Promethean sin— is the cause of his painful sense of estrangement from ‘home’. Trevor James, “Toward a Primal Vision: A Study of the writings of James Keir Baxter (PhD diss., University of London, 1977) 46. Mike Riddell discusses ‘Sickness of Soul in Aotearoa New Zealand’ in the second chapter of his PhD thesis.

⁵⁹⁴ Alistair Reece, “Reconciliation and the Quest for Pākehā Identity in Aotearoa New Zealand” (PhD diss., University of Auckland, 2013), 160.

4.5 Theology of place

Trying to make sense of place in our heads and also in our souls is one possible description of what it is to try and discover a theology of place. The quest to develop a theology of place acknowledges that the place in which and by which our theology is shaped cannot be underestimated. A theology of place attempts to describe the relationship between people of a particular location with God and with the land in which they find themselves. The desire to articulate a theology of place is an attempt to describe the sense of being rooted and grounded in a particular place and of experiencing God in ways particular to that place.⁵⁹⁵

In his book *The Land*, Old Testament scholar Walter Brueggemann states: “Land is a central, if not the central theme of biblical faith. Biblical faith is a pursuit of historical belonging that includes a sense of destiny derived from such belonging.”⁵⁹⁶ Brueggemann tells us that the Israelites wanted to enter the Land – the promised place so that they “could be fully themselves - so they could be who they were created to be and worship God properly on the place God intended for them.”⁵⁹⁷ Finding an appropriate theology of place to enable them to be fully themselves is a task for God’s people everywhere.

US theologian Jennifer Craft asserts that place is theologically significant for three reasons: the first is the ‘Particularity of Place’. Every person lives in a specific place and time and these things affect who we are, what we do and how we relate to God. God’s interest in particular places reaches a climax in the birth of Jesus in a particular place and time, the specificity and particularity of the incarnation has changed the way people of faith understand God’s being and God’s relationship with humanity and the created universe. Craft’s second reason for place being theologically significant is that throughout the Bible people are called to treat the land as a gift; place is important because in valuing place we fulfil part of our calling as human beings living in the world made by God. Craft’s

⁵⁹⁵ Inge’s *A Christian Theology of Place* and Hjalmarson’s *No Home Like Place: A Christian Theology of Place* are important sources for Theology of Place.

⁵⁹⁶ See Bruggeman, *The Land*, 3.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

third reason is that place is a centre of meaning and identity which is experienced in scripture and in our everyday experience.⁵⁹⁸ In scripture, particular places have accumulated specific meanings for people of faith. Everyday experience living near the sea, in the mountains, or on an island helps shape identity and perceptions of the world and the place of humanity within it.

God's people are embodied creatures who dwell in time and place. In the incarnation of Jesus, God became human in a particular place and participated in place in a particular way. The God of the incarnation demonstrates that place is of primary theological importance and that Christians are rightly engaged with specific locations. The life and ministry of Jesus take place in specific locations with which the faithful connect with Jesus' life in particular and tangible ways e.g., visiting the temple in Jerusalem, baptism in the river Jordan, forty days in the wilderness, sermon on the mount, agony in the garden. Sustained interest in the Holy Land by Christians shows that places connected with Jesus continue to resonate with the faithful. Jesus models engagement with place for the faithful.

Church of England bishop John Inge asserts that, from a theological perspective, place is relational. Inge describes place as "the seat of relations and of meeting and activity between God and the world."⁵⁹⁹ Throughout Hebrew and Christian scripture, important scenes occur in particular places – on particular mountains, plains and coasts.⁶⁰⁰ Garden, desert, wilderness, mountains, sea, rivers, are all places which all have particular theological significance in the Bible.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁸ Craft, *Thoughts on theology and place*.

⁵⁹⁹ Inge, 68.

⁶⁰⁰ A few examples are: Mt. Sinai, Ninevah, Ur, Bethlehem, Galilee, Jerusalem, the road to Emmaus.

⁶⁰¹ Yi-Fu Tuan notes: "religions that originated in the dry world frequently resorted to nature for their images...aspects of the landscape that received persistent attention, and the symbolic uses to which they were put, reflect the attitudes of desert people. The Bible abounds in references to the desert and the wilderness. Encounters with God, both directly and through prophetic voices, took place in scenes of desolation. God spoke on an empty stage, knowing how easily sound of rivers diverted human attention. Yet when the Lord pleaded with backsliding Israel He recalled how He had led them out of a land of deserts into a plentiful country... 'I will even make a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert,' says the Lord (Isaiah 43:19). The deserts as such were not appreciated by the Children of Israel. They were abodes of bleak despair. The desired landscape was the garden, a land of milk and honey." Tuan, *Space and Place*, 11.

The people of Israel's relationship with land described in scripture re-echoes in human experience around the world, including in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the lands of the Bible and in Aotearoa New Zealand, place plays a significant role in human understanding of God and people's place in God's world. In the twenty-first century, place remains a vital aspect in the identity and self-understanding of people of faith. Attending to theology of place is an essential task for anyone doing theology, especially for those doing theology in a place such as Aotearoa New Zealand where Christianity has been introduced relatively recently and where understandings of place are contested by Māori and Pākehā.

4.6 Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place

Having considered theology of place in general in the previous section, the chapter now enquires into Aotearoa New Zealand theologies of place.

4.6.1 Māori theology of place

Two leading Māori theologians focussing on place are the priests Māori Marsden and Henare Tate (Anglican and Catholic respectively). They weave together Christian theology and Māori worldviews. Māori Marsden's writing was published posthumously in 2003 in the book *The Woven Universe*. Marsden reaffirms traditional Māori understandings of relationship and responsibilities to Papatūānuku (Earth mother).⁶⁰² He proposes that there are three worldviews concerning the natural world and natural resources:

1. That man is answerable to a creator for the manner in which he treats the natural world and exercises his power over the use and management of resources.
2. That the universe has a spirit and life of its own, a spirit and life (wairua and mauri) immanent within creation which must be respected and supported. Man's well-being corresponds with the well-being of the earth. One and two may be viewed apart or combined as one entity.

⁶⁰² According to Marsden, indigenous people "think of themselves as holding a special relationship to Mother Earth and her resources; as an integral part of the natural order; recipients of her bounty rather than controllers and exploiters of their environment. Therefore Mother Earth is to be treated with reverence, love and responsibility rather than abuse and misuse." Marsden, *Woven Universe*, 35.

3. That the universe is physical and material and that man is autonomous and answerable only to himself. There is no real restriction on his actions except that which is self-imposed or that imposed by his society which may hold differing value judgements.

Man's relationship to the universe will thus be determined by which of the foregoing points he adopts. He will regard his role and function according to that choice. Hence he may regard himself as steward, guardian or lord respectively over the universe. Māoridom subscribes to the first two views whilst Westerners subscribe to the third.⁶⁰³

In common with other Māori theologians,⁶⁰⁴ Marsden's work explains from a Māori view how Christian theology and Māori spiritual knowledge weave together. For Marsden, traditional Māori spiritual understandings are enriched by the arrival of Christianity rather than erased by it.⁶⁰⁵

In his 2012 book *He Puna Iti i te Ao Marama*, Henare Tate attempts to "develop the foundations of an indigenous Māori theology".⁶⁰⁶ Tate notes that "some things, for example land, may be judged by Māori as essential to any comprehensive Māori account of Christian faith."⁶⁰⁷

Tate, Marsden, and others have had to develop Māori theology because of the alienation some Māori feel toward the uninculturated Christianity prevalent in Aotearoa New Zealand. It can be asserted that one of the root causes of the alienation is the inadequately articulated Aotearoa New Zealand theology of land and place and the sidelining of Māori understandings of place in 'mainstream' theology in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Tate outlines that the concepts of Atua (God), Tangata (People) and Whenua (Land) and the relationship between them:

In Māori consciousness these three sets of relationships constitute who we are. They are not reducible to one or two sets, and they are dynamically interrelated in the following sense: if one enhances one's relationship with *Atua*, also enhanced will be one's relationship with *tangata* and with *whenua*. If one's relationship with *Atua* is diminished, one's relationship

⁶⁰³ Ibid., 51.

⁶⁰⁴ For example, Tui Cadigan, Moeawa Callaghan, Turi Hollis, Hone Kaa, Jenny Te Paa, Muru Walters and Peter Wensor and others.

⁶⁰⁵ For many Māori Christians there is no theological problem in holding Christian and traditional Māori beliefs.

⁶⁰⁶ Tate, *He Puna Iti*, 13.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., 26.

with *tangata* and *whenua* is likewise negatively affected. The same applies if we make *tangata* or *whenua* the starting point.⁶⁰⁸

Tate articulates that in Māori thought there is no possibility of people not being connected intimately with place. Historians Judith Binney and Bronwyn Elsmore have noted that, in the 19th century struggles over land, many Māori identified strongly with Old Testament stories of the people of Israel wandering outside their land. Māori prophets “took names and teachings from the Bible in their search for *tino rangatiratanga* (autonomy).”⁶⁰⁹ Māori understand scriptural depictions of land and God’s interaction with people in particular places. It can be asserted that Biblical and Māori understandings of land and place fit together complementarily.

4.6.2 Pākehā theology of place

Since Tasman first sighted Aotearoa in 1642, Pākehā have been interpreting Aotearoa with understandings of place informed by Scripture and different cultural, geographic, climatic, and psychological traditions. Cook’s map of 1769 put Aotearoa in the sights of European empires. For the remainder of the 18th century, Aotearoa was seldom visited by Europeans; however, in the early 19th century missionaries arrived.⁶¹⁰ In the 1830s, the British Government moved toward annexing Aotearoa and in 1840 Aotearoa New Zealand’s founding document the Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi⁶¹¹ was signed by many Māori chiefs and representatives of the British Crown.

Systematic Pākehā settlement of Aotearoa took place in the 19th century.⁶¹² Pākehā who settled in Aotearoa came predominantly from Scotland, Ireland and England, bringing with them the

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., 38.

⁶⁰⁹ Binney, *Māori prophetic movements*, introduction.

⁶¹⁰ Anglican missionaries arrived in 1814, Methodists 1822, Catholics 1838, and Presbyterians 1840.

⁶¹¹ The Treaty recognised Māori ownership of their lands, forests, and other properties, and gave Māori the rights of British subjects. The implications and meaning of the Treaty are still being negotiated in 2023.

⁶¹² “The European population of New Zealand grew explosively from fewer than 1000 in 1831 to 500,000 by 1881. Some 400,000 settlers came from Britain, of whom 300,000 stayed permanently. Most were young people and 250,000 babies were born. The passage of 120,000 was paid by the colonial government. After 1880 immigration reduced, and growth was due chiefly to the excess of births over deaths.” James Bellich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders to 1900* (London: Penguin, 2002), 280.

diversity of perceptions of place from their homelands, including some Celtic understandings of place which have some similarities to Māori understandings.⁶¹³ Pākehā motivations to leave their ancestral lands and emigrate to Aotearoa were diverse, including some who yearned for escape to a new Eden, a promised land for God's people.⁶¹⁴ Ideas of settling in a 'promised land' in Aotearoa New Zealand resulted in Pākehā displacing Māori from land and resources that Māori understood to have been entrusted to their care by ancestors and gods.⁶¹⁵

The journey from Europe to Aotearoa in the 19th century took many weeks and was often accompanied by misery, sickness, and death. Having survived a long and arduous voyage from the other side of the world, it is not surprising that many Pākehā settlers described their encounter with Aotearoa in grateful religious terms.⁶¹⁶

Pākehā brought their religious understandings and traditions to the new land including: English Anglicanism in the early years of the revival of the Oxford Movement; recently emancipated Irish and British Catholicism; vigorous evangelical Methodism and Presbyterianism which had recently experienced the Disruption in the Church of Scotland. Pākehā brought with them experience of land including the clearance of crofters in the Scottish Highlands, the colonial economy and famine in Ireland and rapid industrialisation in Britain.

Since the first Pākehā encounters with Aotearoa, Pākehā have continued describing their experience of the landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand as akin to an encounter with God. Baxter expresses what many Pākehā feel: the wilderness is "the mirror and symbol of the power of God which cannot be contained in human thought or human society"⁶¹⁷

⁶¹³ Whilst awareness of divine presence in nature and in particular places are universal phenomena, it can be observed that some cultures are more open to perceiving (or describing) divine activity in nature than others.

⁶¹⁴ For example, the Presbyterian settlements in Otago Province (1848) and at Waipū, Northland (1853) and the Anglican settlement in Canterbury Province (1850).

⁶¹⁵ It must be noted that the biblical 'promised land' was also occupied and that the Israelites also displaced the indigenous people in order to occupy their promised land.

⁶¹⁶ For example, when the Presbyterian settlers first arrived in Otago in 1848 or when the Anglicans first arrived in Canterbury in 1850.

⁶¹⁷ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 1*, 75.

A. Nature

A consistent theme in Pākehā spirituality for many decades has been that God is best understood when people are out in nature – in the mountains or by the sea; that Godzone speaks clearly of the divine.⁶¹⁸ Shirley Murray, one of Aotearoa New Zealand’s best known hymn writers, underlines the importance of Creation to Pākehā spirituality: “(nature) is where our spirituality is most at home: not in churches, but in the cathedrals of tree ferns and high mountains, places where Incarnation seems natural and Resurrection experienced in the springing up of life from the rotted leaves of green bush and the clear waters. We have been given a stunningly beautiful place. It is impossible not to be captured by the awesomeness of it.”⁶¹⁹ Stating the importance of experiencing God outside the confines of the church – both literally and metaphorically – is an aspect of Pākehā individualism and mistrust of institutions evident from the settler period to today.

Theologian and film maker Mike Riddell characterises the Pākehā spiritual encounter with Aotearoa’s natural setting in this way:

The all-embracing sea whispers to us of longing, separation and death. The long flat beaches which mark the borders are our confessionals, labyrinths and playgrounds. We live close to the radical openness of the coastal horizon, with all the possibility and tang of adventure which it offers. Let us not imagine that this does not give us a different perspective on life and faith from those in land-locked countries.⁶²⁰

Riddell describes how Pākehā identity has been shaped by the landscape and seascape; the beach which is so important to Pākehā identity is also the frontier of the ocean which provides food and livelihoods and simultaneously is a terrifying energy which enforces separation from the rest of the world. The reality of the benign, destructive, and isolating power of the sea informs Pākehā identity and Pākehā theology of place.

⁶¹⁸ See: James Brown, ed., *The Nature of Things: Poems from the NZ Landscape* (Nelson: Craig Potton, 2005), 11-12.

⁶¹⁹ Shirley Murray, "Where Mountains Rise to Open Skies," *The Hymn* 58/1 (2007): 54.

⁶²⁰ Mike Riddell, "Pine or Pohutukawa? Christianity in New Zealand," *Tui Motu: Interislands* (February 1999): 13.

Some early Pākehā writers saw the landscape as inherently beautiful because it was God's handiwork. It was therefore at its best when "undestroyed by the arts introduced by mankind".⁶²¹ Contemplating nature for some Pākehā was a spiritual activity because the spectator was contemplating God or at least God's work.

Mercy sister Elizabeth Julian asserts:

Landscape is the grand story of Aotearoa New Zealand. The story of the birth, death and resurrection of Jesus is the meta-narrative of Christianity. Those of us who subscribe to both stories and hold them, passionately but openly, are doubly enriched. As New Zealanders then, the dramatic landscape we inhabit inspires and shapes our identity and our spirituality. As our artists demonstrate so clearly the landscape is the geography of our imagination. We are culturally conditioned by it and it exerts an enduring power over us. As such, landscape gives us a particular context for our spirituality.⁶²²

Julian correctly asserts the importance of landscape in the story of Aotearoa New Zealand; that the landscape is 'the geography of our imagination'. Baxter wrote that there is: "a sacred pattern in natural events, a pattern which lies unknown, like the bones of St. Peter under the surface rubble of events."⁶²³ The Aotearoa New Zealand landscape has undoubtedly somehow shaped all the peoples who have come to inhabit it and the people who live in Aotearoa look to the land for meaning. However, such an approach to the landscape is in danger of *terra nullius*⁶²⁴ attitude. By putting the land first, the Māori, the people of the land, are sidelined while Pākehā develop their relationship with the land as though it is unpeopled territory.

B. Encounter with Māori

For some Pākehā, the presence of Māori has complicated place-making in Aotearoa New Zealand. Many Pākehā settlers have perceived Māori as being 'in the way' of relationship between

⁶²¹ Joel Polack, *New Zealand: Being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in that country between the years 1831 and 1837* (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), 67.

⁶²² Elizabeth Julian, "Landscape as Spiritual Classic: A Reading from Paekakariki," in *Land and Place: He Whenua, He Wahi*, ed. Helen Bergin and Susan Smith (Auckland: Accent, 2004), 103.

⁶²³ Jones, *Mythology of Place*, 66.

⁶²⁴ *Terra Nullius* (nobody's land) was a term used by the British in Australia (and in other contexts) to legitimise occupation of land by negating the presence of indigenous people.

Pākehā and the land. In the 'Māoriland' period of Pākehā literature, Aotearoa's landscape is often described as:

both peopled and empty — peopled by the ghosts of Māori, emptied of their actual presence as they are figured in terms of the 'dying race' topos.' There isn't a Māori left in the Bay now, as you know,' says the old woman in (Blanche) Baughan's short story, 'Grandmother Speaks', ' — not a full blooded one. Some they went to the North Island; most is dead ... well, well!' The land is thus simultaneously mythicised and made available for settlement. Two different landscapes — present and past, settler and (historic, archaic) Māori — sit side by side.⁶²⁵

Since colonisation, strenuous efforts have been made by some elements of Aotearoa New Zealand society locally and nationally to remove Māori perceptions of land from New Zealand life.⁶²⁶ An example of this can be seen in the continuing conflict between Māori and Pākehā understandings of who owns the foreshore and seabed. From 1840, the Crown gradually intruded on and disturbed the varying degrees of customary (including spiritual) association that Māori communities had with the foreshore and seabed.⁶²⁷ The conflict came to a head in 2004 with the passing of the Foreshore and Seabed Act which “vested the full legal and beneficial ownership of the public foreshore and seabed in the Crown as its absolute property”.⁶²⁸ The political ructions and realignments which occurred as a result of the passing of the Act are still being felt years later, and disagreements over who may use the foreshore and seabed commercially continue. Fundamental differences remain between Māori and Pākehā understandings of place.

Part of the challenge in developing a Pākehā theology of place is for Pākehā to reflect on their relationship with Māori and the land together, to recognise the destructive attitudes that

⁶²⁵ Stafford and Williams, *Māoriland*, 209.

⁶²⁶ For example, when Māori asserted rights to land or resources Pākehā felt Pākehā owned, or when Māori presence in the landscape ruined Pākehā romantic ideas of unspoilt nature. Pākehā settlements throughout Aotearoa have been 'disturbed' when Māori have asserted traditional ownership or usage of land or water. The Māori Land Court illustrates the official Pākehā approach to Māori and place. The court was established in 1865 to convert customary Māori land into titles which could be acquired, initially by the colonial government and later by individual settlers. Māori Land Court, *Our History*, no date, accessed 17/10/23, <https://www.xn--maorilandcourt-wqb.govt.nz/en/who-we-are/our-history/>.

⁶²⁷ Mark Hickford, "Law of the foreshore and-seabed - Māori rights," *Te Ara*, accessed 17/3/20.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*

characterised such relationships in the past, and to find a theology of place with post-colonial perceptions of the indigenous people and the land.

Māori have a developed theology of place which is firm, still evolving, and sits with Māori understandings of place. In contrast Pākehā are in need of a more fully articulated theology of place; an inculturated liturgical year can inform and enable this process.

4.7 Finding Godzone - moving toward an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place

Aotearoa's first Catholic Bishop Pompallier (1802-1871) wrote in his *Instructions for Mission Work* (1841): "[God] is not a God foreign to this land; He made New Zealand, just as He made all other great lands... He has always been in New Zealand — it is His, as all New Zealanders should be His."⁶²⁹ Pompallier's comment is one of the first Pākehā articulations of God's indigeneity in Aotearoa, it is an important affirmation that Aotearoa's experience of God need not derive from another place. Pompallier observed that Aotearoa is God's own, that the people of Aotearoa are God's — these are perhaps the first Pākehā steps toward the development of an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place which is a key task in inculturating the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand.

It is clear from Aotearoa New Zealand literature that many New Zealanders (both Māori and Pākehā) consider that God speaks in Godzone; many New Zealanders express their deep connection to the Divine in the natural setting of Aotearoa. A problem for those seeking an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place is that often it seems the landscape is so sublime that the landscape itself ends up being worshipped and not God. Pat Barrett has been a photojournalist and adventurer with an outdoor career spanning more than 35 years.⁶³⁰ Reflecting on his experiences in the Aotearoa wilderness, Barrett expresses well the relationship many New Zealanders have with creation:

⁶²⁹ Jean Baptiste Pompallier, *Instructions for Mission Work*, trans. Kerry Girdwood Morgan (Palmerston North: Massey University, 1985).

⁶³⁰ See footnote 144 for details of selected works.

It would be easy for some to begin the worship of creation itself in such a setting, a fact of life for many pagan religions and indeed for the neo-paganism of today which seeks to worship nature as god. Many are the times I have heard others say, 'This is my spiritual home. The mountains are such a presence, to be held in awe – sacred.'⁶³¹

At Stirling Point at the bottom of mainland Aotearoa New Zealand, near the town of Bluff, there is a very grand view across Te Ara a Kiwa/Foveaux Strait toward Rakiura/Stewart Island and various islands in the strait. There is a memorial to an early Pākehā settler William Stirling; below the plaque to Stirling, there is another plaque which quoting Psalm 93 verse 4 reads: "Mightier than the thunders of many waters. Mightier than the waves of the sea. The Lord on High is Mighty!" The plaque seems to challenge New Zealanders not to forget God as they are being overwhelmed by the grandeur of the view.

Barrett struggles with the approach of many Pākehā who are awed by Aotearoa landscape and do not acknowledge God in the equation. On Pākehā adoration of the mountains, Barrett writes:

Yet how much mightier is He who created them (the mountains), God Almighty to whom all worship is due, not His creation – He alone. As Catholics we must order our hierarchy of values correctly with regard to worship and created things, according to the teachings of the Church, not those of pantheism, be it of an indigenous culture, or a foreign one, and we must remember that our real spiritual home is not on this earth, but in heaven with God and the saints. Here we would do well to consider the words of Scripture, 'If, charmed by their beauty, they have taken these things for gods, let them know how much the Lord of these excels them. Since the very Author of beauty has created them.' (Wisdom 13:3).⁶³²

Barrett identifies a challenge for Pākehā wishing to immerse themselves in Aotearoa New Zealand's landscape – for those spiritually open to it; the beauty of the landscape can crowd God out. If spiritual experiences happen in a sublime environment, unless there is a firm grounding in faith, the experience of the divine is easily attributed to the creation rather than the creator. Without a theology of land which clearly articulates relationship between God, land, and people, Pākehā will

⁶³¹ Pat Barrett, "Worshipping in the wilderness", *Marist Messenger*, 1/7/12, accessed 30/10/23, <https://www.maristmessenger.co.nz/2012/07/01/worshipping-in-the-wilderness/>.

⁶³² Ibid, (unpaginated).

continue to have spiritual experiences in the wilderness that they will not connect in any way with God.

Baxter wrote: "A very few Pākehās...have established a true relation to the wilderness and been able to inhabit the country they were born in".⁶³³ That Pākehā are still struggling to find the right balance between appreciation of nature and acknowledgement of God is a challenge to establishing an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place.

Some Māori are concerned about the Pākehā approach to and understanding of place. Māori geographer Brian Murton notes:

In Aotearoa/New Zealand two cosmologies, two 'landscapes' coexist, one sensing that nature and people are separate, the other that they are inseparable...Perhaps the only sensible way to present these very different representations of 'landscape' ...is as parallel texts, one using Māori sources and following Māori modes of representation, the other using European sources and associated modes of representation.⁶³⁴

The reality of two major cosmologies in Aotearoa New Zealand is a reality in discourse about land. As Aotearoa New Zealand becomes more multi-cultural, further cosmologies are being added to the conversation; however, the first two continue to be privileged in the conversation on place.

Reflecting on Pākehā approaches to sacred places, Professor of Māori and Indigenous Development at Lincoln University Hirini Matunga writes:

Although the Pākehā conceptualisation of their past in Aotearoa may include recognition of the importance of heritage, it lacks the spiritual dimension that makes many sites and objects of the past a fundamental component of Māori spirituality...the Māori past in this country goes back at least 1,000 years, whereas the Pākehā past goes back no more than 200 years. The Māori past exists only in this country, it only has relevance to this land and therefore the Māori people lose everything if their past is not protected.⁶³⁵

⁶³³ Riddell, *Funding Contextual Theology*, 59.

⁶³⁴ Murton, "From Landscape to Whenua: Thoughts on Interweaving Indigenous and Western Ideas about landscape," in *A Deeper Sense of Place*, 151.

⁶³⁵ Mike Burns, Hirini Matunga and Alex Nathan, "Māori sacred sites," in *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*, 219.

Matunga makes an important point about Māori and Pākehā connection to land – Māori have no other land with which to connect. Even those Pākehā whose ancestors came to Aotearoa 200 years ago have some other tangible with which to connect. Māori connection to Hawaiki is real and spiritual but not tangible.

Māori and Pākehā perceptions of and respect for the land continue to be vigorously contested. In April 2017, a political conflict took place between New Zealand politicians about a move to give Māori more say in managing land and resources. The right-wing New Zealand Centre for Political Research took issue with the bill before parliament. In an open letter the Centre asked Prime Minister Bill English to put the bill on hold, saying it will force local councils to "kowtow" to iwi (tribes), noting:

These agreements with iwi leaders were imposed on the country behind closed doors. The secret deals were shaped with no consultation, no publicity, no warning, and no published minutes or agendas, by giving iwi seats at the council table you will embed the Māori world view and spiritualism into the heart of local government.⁶³⁶

There seems to be a Pākehā fear that 'rational' and 'sensible' economically-driven Pākehā use of the land will be interfered with by the 'irrational' and 'spiritual' Māori worldview.

Geographers Murton and Matunga identify a lack of Pākehā groundedness in Aotearoa New Zealand and a lack of Pākehā appreciation for the groundedness that Māori have. Until Pākehā develop an articulated spirituality of land which is translated into care for the land which Māori can recognise and respect, an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place which involves Pākehā looks like a remote possibility. However, an articulated Pākehā groundedness in Aotearoa will be different from Māori articulations of groundedness.

⁶³⁶ Jane Patterson, "Spat over rights for Māori in resource management bill", *RNZ*, 5/4/17, accessed 23/10/23, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/political/328200/spat-over-rights-for-maori-in-resource-management-bill>.

The reality of Pākehā moving between many places and thus not establishing a deep connection with any particular place means that lack of groundedness is a factor in any Pākehā spirituality of land. Bluck observes:

Most (Pākehā) have moved around the country. Our families are scattered and, after a generation or two, our heritages must reach back over oceans. Few of us enjoy taproots that go down deep in one place. Our root systems have had to spread wide and then shallow. But lots of strong trees thrive and hold their own on such systems.⁶³⁷

Bluck identifies that Pākehā rootedness in Aotearoa New Zealand is possible but it will never be connected to the land in the same way as Māori.

It must be acknowledged that not all Pākehā have nor seek the same experience of connection with the land. Rural Pākehā who have farmed in one place for several generations will have a different sense of place from that of urban Pākehā who have moved many times. In a 2002 survey on rural ministry, theologian Bill Bennett asked the question “What is rural spirituality?” he published the following answers as representing Pākehā perceptions of rural spirituality:

- A sense of God’s physical presence in the land and a special responsibility for stewardship of that land, combined with a daily sense of wonder and awe at the majesty of creation.
- Constantly learning about place and experiencing sunrises, landforms and seasonal change.
- The spaces between activity, the pauses of rural existence.
- The small wooden church and crutching sheep in the yards at the back of the farm.⁶³⁸

The answers to Bennett’s question show that rural Pākehā connection with the land is direct and respectful and would be alien to many urban Pākehā. It is evident that rural Pākehā have a strong attachment to the land. However, for rural Pākehā whose ancestors came from far away, forming a sense of place where Māori have been forced off the land and where natural habitats have been destroyed for agriculture can be complicated. In his book on rural ministry, Bennett quotes

⁶³⁷ Bluck, *Long, White and Cloudy*, 96.

⁶³⁸ Bill Bennett, *God of the Whenua*, 85.

Pākehā farmer Pat Watson: “I firmly believe we (farmers) have an awesome responsibility to care for the land...however, I would be less than honest if I would pretend to have that deep-seated spiritual feeling toward the land.” Bennett notes that Watson’s values are typical of hundreds of pastoral farmers throughout New Zealand.⁶³⁹ Another Pākehā farmer quoted by Bennett says: “I’m afraid again land is just one of the ingredients in this production factory...land is only a means of support...I’m not sure land is all that important now. It’s handy to use as square metres of ground, it may not be the end of everything.”⁶⁴⁰ The second farmer articulates the kind of Pākehā connection to the land that many Māori fear – a short-term economic connection. Bennett identifies that for many Pākehā there tends to be a separation in heart and mind between occupation or ownership of land and that of identity: “Unlike that of the Māori, this is a Pākehā cultural reality – identity is generally not dependent on place. Yet, increasingly, there are people whose self-awareness is inextricably bound up with the land they have inherited or purchased.”⁶⁴¹

Baxter suggests that for Pākehā to be healed of their sense of dislocation,⁶⁴² they need to learn from Māori: “We Pākehā have to bow the head and learn from our elder brother. Then the water may begin to flow in our dry watercourses”.⁶⁴³ Bluck suggests:

The concept of *tūrangawaewae* – a place to stand with dignity – is needed as much by Pākehā as it is by the *tangata whenua*, the people of the land. Sadly, the Treaty of Waitangi, our best hope for that double dignity, is still resisted by many.... legally, it is hard to interpret for today. Spiritually, its relevance is immediate and urgent.⁶⁴⁴

Bennett agrees that Pākehā need a place to stand but recognises that it will not be the same as the Māori experience, writing:

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., 74.

⁶⁴² All Pākehā do not feel alienated from the land at all times, however it is not the majority of Pākehā who have a well-articulated spirituality of land and relationship with the land which translates into active respect and care for Creation.

⁶⁴³ Riddell, *Funding Contextual Theology*, 76.

⁶⁴⁴ Bluck, *Long, White and Cloudy*, 96.

Whereas the Māori sense of tūrangawaewae carries with it the idea of corporate identity, the Pākehā notion is at most familial, i.e. ownership by several generations of one family...there is also the other Pākehā value system in which land is merely a component of industry, with no intrinsic spiritual significance at all...its value lies in its economic potential. This becomes the measure of its worth."⁶⁴⁵

Bennett has compared Māori and Pākehā approaches to land and asserts: "The level of theological interaction between Māori and Pākehā is not large, but will undoubtedly increase and bring a new vitality to our self-awareness in coming years."⁶⁴⁶

Bennett recognises that an Aotearoa theology of place cannot be formed by either Pākehā or Māori without the other. However, how Māori and Pākehā might work together on theology of place is unclear. Māori Marsden endorsed Baxter's approach: "Only a few foreigners alien to a culture, men like James K. Baxter with the soul of a poet, can enter into the existential dimension of Māori life."⁶⁴⁷ While Baxter's approach may be attractive for Māori, for many Pākehā, Baxter was a dangerous, or perhaps mentally unstable radical who went too far and became too Māori in his thinking and disrespected the Pākehā establishment.⁶⁴⁸ How and whether Pākehā can and should enter appropriately into the existential dimension of Māori life is contested by both some Māori and some Pākehā.⁶⁴⁹

Baxter, Bennett, Riddell, Shirres, and Julian (among others) have made major contributions toward developing a Pākehā theology of place. However, Riddell points out that much more work needs to be done before there is an adequate theology of place in Aotearoa New Zealand. He writes:

Contextualisation of the gospel has never taken place. The pressing need for the Christian community in our land is to embed the faith in native soil. To survive in our cultural environment it is necessary that the roots of faith follow the example of the pohutukawa (an

⁶⁴⁵ Bennett, *God of the Whenua*, 74.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 86.

⁶⁴⁷ Marsden, *Woven Universe*, 23.

⁶⁴⁸ Baxter's challenging public profile was once described for its "legendary drunkenness, spectacularly inventive coarseness, a reputation as an unscrupulous womaniser, religious zealot, and inept social boor." Laura Dooney, "Flashback death of poet and friend James K Baxter" *Stuff*, 20/10/16, accessed 20/10/20, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/arts/85492930/flashback-death-of-poet-and-friend-james-k-baxter>.

⁶⁴⁹ Some Māori such as Matunga quoted above ask if Pākehā have sufficient basic respect of Māori views. Some Pākehā ask why Pākehā would want to accept Māori ways.

indigenous tree) and take a life-giving grip. Thus far the penetration has been shallow and ineffectual.... The faith of the Christian Church in New Zealand remains distinct from and largely unshaped by such contextual influences. It is, like the pine tree, an exotic which has been imported and widely established without accommodation to the local environment.⁶⁵⁰

Conclusion

This chapter has considered relationships between people and place, and in particular relationships between place and Māori and Pākehā respectively, and how relationship with place forms theologies of place. The chapter has demonstrated that whilst Māori have a well-developed and coherent theology of place, currently a Pākehā theology of place is elusive. Much promising work on a Pākehā theology has been undertaken and further engagement with this task needs to happen. This research project asserts that progress toward a mutually agreeable theology of place is fundamental to the process of inculturation. Therefore, a worthwhile starting point from which to embark on the process of inculturation of the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand is to uncover a theology of place satisfactory to Māori and Pākehā. The chapter asked what steps might need to be taken to articulate an Aotearoa-New Zealand theology of place to enable further inculturation of the liturgical year into the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

Application of inculturation processes to liturgy in the Aotearoa New Zealand context will be considered in the next chapter.

⁶⁵⁰ Riddell, *Pine or Pohutukawa*, 13.



Illustration 6: James. K. Baxter triptych, Nigel Brown

Chapter 5: James K. Baxter and liturgical inculturation

Introduction

I can say that my own poetry has been warped and coloured by the unique quality of New Zealand landscape and New Zealand customs. I regard myself as being willy-nilly a New Zealander.⁶⁵¹

Poet-theologian James K. Baxter (1926-1972) is an important resource to consider in the process of inculturating the liturgical year into the southern seasons in Aotearoa New Zealand. In his brief life, Baxter was nationally famous as a writer, playwright, critic, lecturer, activist, Catholic, and friend of the outcast. He has become perhaps Aotearoa New Zealand's best-known poet. Baxter's biographer, Marist priest Frank McKay, wrote:

More than any other New Zealand writer, he became a national figure. A social prophet; a conspicuous irritant to established society (an academic critic called him 'a hairy nuisance'); a cult leader and founder of a commune at Jerusalem;⁶⁵² he was known by name to most New Zealanders through the press, the radio, and television.⁶⁵³

Australian poet Ian Wearne (b.1948) wrote: "I am united with Max Harris (1921-1995) in his insistence that Baxter was 'clear and away the greatest poet produced in the Australasian region over the past half century'".⁶⁵⁴

Because of his place in Aotearoa New Zealand consciousness, Baxter is an important resource for this study to consider. His insights on Pākehā and how they should live in Aotearoa, and his deep understanding of Pākehā relationships with Aotearoa are unique and make a most valuable

⁶⁵¹ Baxter, *Complete Prose, Vol 1*, 223.

⁶⁵² Jerusalem/ Hiruhārama is a small settlement on the Whanganui river in the North Island. Anglican missionary Richard Taylor gave Biblical and European names to several settlements along the river in the 1850s. At the invitation of Whanganui Māori, a Marist mission was built at Jerusalem in 1854; in 1883 the Venerable Suzanne Aubert (1835-1926) moved to Jerusalem to work with Māori. In 1892 at Jerusalem, Aubert established the congregation of the Daughters of Our Lady of Compassion. Baxter formed a community at Jerusalem in 1970, which disbanded in 1972 after his death. Baxter is buried there.

⁶⁵³ McKay, vii.

⁶⁵⁴ Alan Wearne, quoted in McKay, back cover.

contribution to the methodology of liturgical inculturation which this study proposes. Baxter's importance for Māori is beyond the scope of this research project.

Baxter's writing explores three aspects of Pākehā experience which align well with the three criteria outlined in chapter three of this thesis which contribute to the development of a methodology for liturgical inculturation namely: te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land, and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church. Furthermore, in many ways, Baxter is respected by Pākehā and Māori alike. Māori Marsden endorsed Baxter's approach, noting that: "Only a few foreigners alien to a culture, men like James K. Baxter with the soul of a poet, can enter into the existential dimension of Māori life."⁶⁵⁵

The *Jerusalem Sonnets*, which are often regarded as Baxter's finest work, mix vivid imagery and mystical insight with such artistry that they are identified by some New Zealanders as "the first great statement of what we could call a truly indigenous expression of Christianity."⁶⁵⁶ For all the reasons above, Baxter provides crucial insights into how an authentic approach to liturgical inculturation might be developed by Pākehā and Māori together.

5.1 The problem with Baxter

Baxter revelled in being a challenging figure. As someone who deliberately stood at the edge of social acceptance for many reasons, he actively and effectively pushed at society's boundaries in challenging and productive ways.⁶⁵⁷ Baxter's brother Terrence knew "his brother used to get into scrapes because of his inability to react to normal social situations in the expected way."⁶⁵⁸ McKay notes that Baxter "has always generated a certain amount of hostility, compounded at times by

⁶⁵⁵ Māori Marsden, "God, Man and Universe," *Te Ao Hurihuri: The world moves on: Aspects of Māoritanga*, ed. Michael King (Wellington: Hicks Smith, 1975), 218-219.

⁶⁵⁶ Eugene O'Sullivan, "James K. Baxter: Prophet and Theologian," *Accent: New Zealand's Magazine of Spirituality, Issues and Social Comment* 1/5 (October 1986): 34.

⁶⁵⁷ As the child of well-educated, high-profile Pacifists in a small rural town, he was a target for bullying at primary school and then later at high school. As a university student in a Presbyterian city and province he delighted in rebelling against Calvinist values. His lifelong rebellion against what he saw as oppressive suburban mores continued through his writing and life choices.

⁶⁵⁸ McKay, 39.

frustration at the inability to dislodge him from the central position he occupies in our literature. His colourful story must be told in its entirety if he is to be understood."⁶⁵⁹

In discussing Baxter, the controversy surrounding his attitudes to women must be addressed. Baxter's documented behaviour and his written attitudes toward women cannot be condoned. Although "Baxter's aspirations outran his performance, and both in verse and conversation he was capable of telling stories of girls he had never known"⁶⁶⁰ the publication of his complete letters *James K. Baxter: Letters of a Poet*,⁶⁶¹ revealed disturbing comments about women in general, and in particular abhorrent comments about rape. Baxter was an infamous womaniser and adulterer; the tempestuousness of his marriage to the writer Jacqueline Sturm (born Te Kare Papuni, also known as Jacquie Baxter) (1927-2009) was public knowledge.⁶⁶²

Publication of Baxter's letters put churches which use Baxter's work in an invidious situation. In 2019, the General Synod Standing Committee of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia considered whether, because of the revelations of rape, Baxter's work (*Song to the Holy Spirit* and *Song to the Lord God*) should be removed from *A New Zealand Prayer Book He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*; the motion was rejected.⁶⁶³ A Dunedin Catholic parish removed quotes

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., vii.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., 144.

⁶⁶¹ Baxter, *Letters of a Poet, Volumes 1 and 2*.

⁶⁶² Recent publication of a 1960 letter in which he tells a friend of raping his wife is repulsive and continues the abuse to which he subjected Jacquie. Response to the 2019 rape revelation was swift and loud. See: Emma Espiner, "Dear Jim: Emma Espiner writes to James K. Baxter" *Newsroom*, 21/5/19, accessed 20/5/21, <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/dear-jim-emma-espiner-writes-to-james-k-baxter>; Ros Lewis, "Ros Lewis was sexually assaulted by James K Baxter, she wasn't the only one," *Stuff*, 20/4/19, accessed 20/5/21, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/111980198/ros-lewis-was-sexually-assaulted-by-james-k-baxter-at-jerusalem-she-wasnt-the-only-one>; Philip Matthews, "Baxter and Rape, Now what?" *Stuff*, 20/4/19, accessed 31/5/21, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/112048662/baxter-and-rape-now-what>.

⁶⁶³ The author was present at the meeting. In the discussion, the point was made that if this action were taken about Baxter, all writers and artists represented in the Prayer Book would have to be treated the same way; there was no appetite to do this.

from Baxter from their church because of the controversy.⁶⁶⁴ The problem of how to continue or cease utilisation of liturgical material from an abusive artist is not unique to Baxter.⁶⁶⁵

In spite of his obvious personal shortcomings, Baxter's intellectual and cross-cultural pioneering work is too important to Aotearoa New Zealand and to the task of liturgical inculturation to be overlooked. Fergus Barrowman, publisher of Victoria University Press, which produced the Baxter letters writes: "Katherine Mansfield, Janet Frame and Baxter are so deeply woven into New Zealand's cultural self-understanding that they're present even to people who've never read them. It's really important we have as full a knowledge as possible of them."⁶⁶⁶ Professor Janet Wilson, of the University of Nottingham, thinks it possible to continue reading and teaching Baxter, who she sees as "a very powerful though uneven poet" who "had much to say of intrinsic value about New Zealand". But she asserts that readers need to be open to the facets of his personality – "his candour, his perfervid unchannelled sexual/psychological energies and insights – that fed his confessional writing."⁶⁶⁷

This project asserts that in spite of his abusive words and deeds, Baxter cannot be overlooked because he makes a unique and major contribution to Aotearoa New Zealand literature, and also to the process of grounding theology and liturgy in Aotearoa New Zealand for Pākehā.

5.2 Baxter's faith journey

⁶⁶⁴ Daisy Hudson, "Baxter poem excerpts removed from church" *ODT*, 25/7/20, accessed 24/1/21, <https://www.odt.co.nz/news/dunedin/baxter-poem-excerpts-removed-church>.

⁶⁶⁵ One recent example is the American composer of sacred music David Haas. In 2020, Haas was accused of sexual harassment and abuse by 44 women. Haas eventually acknowledged the abuse and issued a public apology, but the use of his music in liturgies is painful for the women he abused, and they have asked for a moratorium on using his music. See: Sophie Vodvarkar, "New report details 44 accounts of alleged abuse by David Haas" *NCR Online*, 6/10/20, accessed 20/5/21, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/accountability/new-report-details-44-accounts-alleged-abuse-david-haas>; Marie Fazio, "Catholic Churches Drop Hymns After Accusations Against Composer," *NYTimes*, 10/8/20, accessed 20/5/21, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/10/us/david-haas-catholic-composer-boycott.html>. Several organisations and companies which publish Haas's music (including GIA Publications, Oregon Catholic Press, Twenty-Third Publications, Mennonite Church USA, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America) have terminated relationship with Haas.

⁶⁶⁶ Matthews, "Baxter and Rape, Now what?"

⁶⁶⁷ Janet Wilson quoted in *Ibid*. See also: Riddell, *Finding Contextual Theology in Aotearoa-New Zealand*, 13.

5.2.1 Baxter as non-denominational Protestant

Baxter was born in Otago, a region which was settled by Māori in probably the 12th century⁶⁶⁸ and settled in 1848 by Presbyterians who left the Church of Scotland in 'The Disruption' of 1843.⁶⁶⁹ At the time of Baxter's birth, the Calvinism of the Free Church of Scotland pervaded the city of Dunedin and the province of Otago. Baxter called Dunedin "Calvin's town".⁶⁷⁰

Baxter was no fan of the "sour and struggling piety that lies behind the blank mask of Presbyterianism"⁶⁷¹ but according to McKay, Calvinism had a profound effect on him. McKay writes:

He saw clearly the consequences of what Calvin made of the Fall. It is not good to be yourself if the self is depraved. Personal freedom is suspect, for a corrupt self cannot be trusted with self-determination... institutions were external signs of the Puritan denial of freedom and individuality. And they fostered Puritanism's besetting sin of acedia, which subsumed torpidity, lack of joy, and purpose in life.⁶⁷²

Baxter does not write about Presbyterian liturgy specifically, but he knew that substantial sermons were central to Reformed worship. He spent most of his adult life reacting against Calvinism.⁶⁷³

As Baxter was growing up, his parents did not belong to any denomination or congregation and the family did not regularly participate in liturgy. However, they saw themselves as Christian with a close affinity to the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). Baxter's father regularly read the Bible to the family. Baxter and his brother Terrence were educated for a time at Quaker schools in

⁶⁶⁸ Jill Hamel, *Archaeology of Otago* (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2001), 1.

⁶⁶⁹ See: Nigel Cameron, et al, eds., *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993).

⁶⁷⁰ McKay, 201. See also: Gavin McLean, *History of First Church of Otago*, 2013, accessed 1/2/21, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/first-church-otago>.

⁶⁷¹ McKay, 109.

⁶⁷² Ibid., 196-197.

⁶⁷³ "I have read most of Calvin's INSTITUTES lately (they run to almost twelve hundred pages) and it strikes me that that old, tired bastard is responsible for half the trouble in our own country... Calvin was screwed by predestination, he felt that everything human was bound to be ungodly, and his God was a chief screw who knew the book of regulations by heart and would be betraying his screw-nature to give a blanket to a drunk in the cells." Baxter, *Complete Letters Vol 1*, 364.

Whanganui and in Sibford, England, but did not become members of the Society of Friends. As a teenager, Baxter briefly rejected religion.⁶⁷⁴

5.2.2 Baxter as Anglican

In the 1940s in Christchurch, Baxter was part of a group of artists which met regularly for long drinking sessions and theological discussions. The group included painter Colin McCahon (1919-1987), writer Bill Pearson (1922-2002) and painter Lawrence Baigent (1912-1985). Bill Pearson noted: “We were drawn to the security and conviction that religious orthodoxy offered, envying the Middle Ages their simplicity of belief.”⁶⁷⁵ Baxter was drawn to Catholic art, images, and symbols, most of which were absent from or frowned upon in Calvinism. He was so moved by a McCahon painting of the Crucifixion set in an Aotearoa landscape, that he wrote to McCahon: “I think you put on to canvas something I know about N.Z., but have not learned to say. The raw vitality and brutal simplification.”⁶⁷⁶ McCahon’s image of Christ in the Aotearoa landscape spoke deeply to Baxter.

Baxter recognised the spiritual yearning of Pākehā and asserted that New Zealand writers suffered from pessimism as a result of this spiritual yearning: “I regard this not as a morbid, but as an accurate reading of the spiritual temperature of the times. Their writing has dwindled or ceased...mainly from their inability to find meaning in a world either dead or disastrous...I would indicate an unpopular choice – orthodox Christianity.”⁶⁷⁷

To address his spiritual yearning and loss of direction, Baxter decided to join the Anglican Church; around the time of his baptism, he wrote:

Save us O Galilean: from hell we cry to thee.
Come thou with light feet and
The bread of blessing in thy healing hand.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁴ “Religion can never be my way, for in so doing I retire to my mind and find no true life there.” McKay, 64.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., 108.

⁶⁷⁶ Baxter, *Letters of a Poet*, vol. 1, 201.

⁶⁷⁷ Baxter, *Complete Prose*, vol. 1, 52.

⁶⁷⁸ Oliver, 49.

Baxter identified that he needed the sacramental and liturgical life of the church. His wife Jacquie encouraged Baxter's journey toward the church. He was baptised at St. Michael and All Angels Anglican Church in Christchurch on 4 November 1948 with Jacquie as a witness.⁶⁷⁹ St. Michael's is a church which has long prided itself in its liturgical observance, and it stands in the catholic tradition of Anglicanism, having been greatly influenced by the nineteenth century catholic revival in the Anglican church known as the Oxford Movement.⁶⁸⁰ Baxter was baptised in a church which had daily mass, reserved the Blessed Sacrament, encouraged confession, used vestments, incense and Gregorian chant, displayed crucifixes, statues of Mary, Stations of the Cross, a full celebration of Holy Week and the Easter Triduum, and as well as observing the Anglican calendar fully, observed many additional holy days of the Roman calendar, including Corpus Christi, Christ the King, the Sacred Heart, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁶⁸¹ Baxter "reckoned his life as a Catholic to have begun with this baptism ... he retained to the end of life the sacramental vision he now embraced."⁶⁸²

Jacquie and James Baxter married at St. John's Anglican Cathedral Napier in 1948 and in 1949 their daughter Hilary was baptised in an Anglican church.⁶⁸³ In November 1949, Baxter was confirmed by the Anglican bishop of Wellington. Bishop Owen, an ex-naval chaplain, offended Baxter's pacifist views by comparing the reception of confirmation to entering the navy. Yet according to McKay, Baxter realised that the church is more than the views of the clergy, and that faith rested on creed, liturgy and sacrament, "which began before and will outlast nationalist feeling. Some day the Church

⁶⁷⁹ McKay, 116.

⁶⁸⁰ The priest who baptised Baxter was Cecil Muschamp. In his time as Vicar of St. Michael's (1937-1950) Muschamp "introduced St. Michael's to the western (i.e., Roman) use as set out in the English Church Union publication *Ritual Notes*...the word 'mass'...was now freely used. The lavish ceremonial was brought into line with accepted usage." Marie Peters, *Christchurch-St. Michael's: A Study in Anglicanism in New Zealand* (Christchurch: University of Canterbury, 1986), 130.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁶⁸² Oliver, 51.

⁶⁸³ Hilary's Godfather Colin McCahon presented the family with his painting of Mary and the child Jesus called 'There is only one direction'. McKay, 121.

will break her uneasy marriage to the State.”⁶⁸⁴ In Wellington, the family was active in their parish and Baxter started regularly making his confession to an Anglican priest.⁶⁸⁵

Alcoholics Anonymous played an important part in Baxter’s religious development⁶⁸⁶, and although it did not obviously contribute to Baxter’s liturgical development, AA helped Baxter’s prayer life, his understanding of confessional honesty⁶⁸⁷, and his engagement with those in need. In step eleven of the twelve steps the alcoholic seeks to improve his conscious contact with God through prayer and meditation.⁶⁸⁸ On joining AA, meditation became a regular part of Baxter’s life which aided in his self-reflective capacity.

5.2.3 Baxter as Roman Catholic

Baxter perceived Anglicanism to be ‘Catholicism-without-authority’ which left him wanting more and in 1957 he took steps to become Roman Catholic.

I am drinking the milk of instruction from what Denis G (Glover) is accustomed to call the old grey wolf of Rome. Much of what I learn there runs counter to lifelong habits of thought and feeling...the thing that suddenly shifted me was the recognition of a fact I had previously regarded as only as an attractive idea – the Communion of Saints and the intercession of the Mother of God. I can say that any number of difficulties are going to crop up, but I guess they will sort themselves out. Anyway, it feels like coming home at last.⁶⁸⁹

In September he wrote to Roderick Finlayson:

It seems to me that it is time I became a true Catholic. There will be various difficulties along that road, most private feelings and many intellectual habits pulling against it... the gulf between the battlements of the Church Militant and the stony ground below where men

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 123.

⁶⁸⁵ The priest was George Hughes, Chair of Philosophy at Victoria University of Wellington. McKay, 125.

⁶⁸⁶ Baxter writes: “The two strongest formative influences in my own life have been Alcoholics Anonymous (since I was 28) and the Catholic Church (from 21 to 31 the Catholicism-without-authority which exists in some Church of England circles, and since then the Catholic Church herself.) Both A.A. and the Church required me to modify, at depth, my attitude to the life of the instincts... I will never ‘be my own man’ again in the way that many artists wish to be.” “Letter to Charles Brasch, 2 October 1959,” *Letters of a Poet*, Vol. 1, 522.

⁶⁸⁷ Which can be understood as the merit of acknowledging wrong doings and seeking forgiveness. See McKay, 147.

⁶⁸⁸ Alcoholics Anonymous’ 12 Steps <https://aa.org.nz/newcomers/the-12-steps/> accessed 5/5/2021.

⁶⁸⁹ Baxter, *Letters Vol 1*, 415.

struggle often with the same basic problems under different names, yet fear to accept orthodoxy lest their present armour should be called intellectual arrogance and stripped from them.⁶⁹⁰

Baxter's conversion was a shock to his wife, who threw him out of the family home. She had encouraged him toward baptism and confirmation in the Anglican Church, and the family was active in their local Anglican parish. The couple separated in October 1957. In December of that year, Baxter went on retreat to the Our Lady of the Southern Star Cistercian Monastery at Kopua, on the North Island of New Zealand. He was impressed by the communal way of life devoted to prayer, manual work, and silence. It gave him a fresh appreciation of contemplation and the importance of penance. In January 1958, he was conditionally baptised at St. Mary of the Angels Church⁶⁹¹ in Wellington and reported that he had found a confessor, writing:

I went to a Marist priest whom I knew by report to be a holy and gentle old man – and after he had lifted the edge of the dish-cover and peered at the dog's breakfast underneath, he said – "Well, you've had your ups and downs, more downs than ups I suppose; but from now on it'll be more upward" – and absolved me. The incredible gentleness of the Church is more powerful than gelignite.⁶⁹²

Baxter became an intensely devout Catholic, who found it impossible "to be happy at all without God."⁶⁹³ He was strongly attracted to confession and to the Mass, he was a frequent penitent and communicant, noting that: "daily Communion is a power-pole, though the powerlines may droop between."⁶⁹⁴ McKay explains: "Catholic religious experience matched perfectly his own

⁶⁹⁰ McKay, 156.

⁶⁹¹ McKay notes: "Following what was then normal practice to insure against any deficiency in an earlier baptism, Baxter was conditionally re-baptised at St. Mary of the Angels on 11 January 1958" Ibid., 159. Canon 732 of the 1917 Pio-Benedictine Code of Canon Law (in force in 1958) states: "1. The Sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and orders, which imprint a character, cannot be repeated. 2. But if a prudent doubt exists about whether really and validly these [Sacraments] were conferred, they are to be conferred again under condition." Catholic Church, *Pio-Benedictine Code of Canon Law*, [The Pio-Benedictine%20Co%20-%20Benedict%20XIV,%20Pope%20&%20Peters,%20E 7786%20\(1\).pdf](#), 1917, accessed 2/6/21. The priest at St. Mary of the Angels must have had sufficient doubt about the validity of Baxter's baptism at St. Michael's to conditionally re-baptise him. It is possible that Baxter may have asked for a conditional baptism.

⁶⁹² Baxter, *Letters Vol 1*, 435.

⁶⁹³ McKay, 161.

⁶⁹⁴ Baxter, *Letters Vol 1*, 504.

modes of thinking and feeling, because it is a sacramental encounter with God in the events, objects, and persons of every day.”⁶⁹⁵ In becoming Catholic, Baxter’s sacramental approach to Creation, to people and the material world found a natural and logical home.

The doctrine of the Communion of Saints both living and dead, (where ‘saints’ meant all those who had chosen Christ as Lord of their lives), also greatly appealed to him. It was the model of what community might be, and it could accommodate his ancestors.⁶⁹⁶ This was significant for Baxter as he felt deep connection to his ancestors, to whom he refers throughout his writing; including in the last piece of writing before his death, *Confession to the Lord Christ*.⁶⁹⁷

Baxter’s conversion to Catholicism was the culmination of a religious journey which began with his non-denominational Protestant parents in the midst of Calvinism, through Quaker schools, Pacifism and a brief flirtation with atheism to Anglicanism, through Alcoholics Anonymous to Rome. Near the end of his life, whilst remaining a Catholic, Baxter was influenced by Pentecostals. He encouraged a priest friend to start a Catholic Pentecostal movement,⁶⁹⁸ writing: “Whatever their accidental deficiencies, I find that the Pentecostals are the only ones who can make my cross break out in flower.”⁶⁹⁹

Baxter is important to the liturgical inculturation project in Aotearoa New Zealand because he embraced the liturgical year. By aligning himself with the rhythms of the church’s cycles, Baxter models grounding liturgical observance in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. He did not regret his journey.⁷⁰⁰

5.3 How Baxter might help with liturgical inculturation

Baxter’s usefulness to the liturgical inculturation project is due to his capacity to delve deeply

⁶⁹⁵ McKay, 163.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., 159.

⁶⁹⁷ See: Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 3*, 564.

⁶⁹⁸ Baxter, *Letters Vol 2*, 512.

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid., 575.

⁷⁰⁰ See McKay 160.

into what it means and how it feels to be a Pākehā living in relationship with the landscapes and seascapes of Aotearoa New Zealand. His insights into what it means and how it feels to be a Pākehā in relation to Māori, and in relation to the rest of the world, are unique. Baxter's concentration on the relationship with Aotearoa's landscape and Aotearoa's indigenous people helps to inform a Pākehā theology of inculturation and therefore a method of liturgical inculturation appropriate to the Aotearoa context.

As well as celebrating and cherishing a relationship with the land, Baxter identifies a Pākehā problem with the land.⁷⁰¹ Baxter notes that Pākehā have a specific alienation from the land which defines them and haunts and permeates Pākehā poetry and prose.⁷⁰² For Baxter, the origins of the essential Pākehā disconnection with land are "both historical and contemporary, stemming from a utilitarian approach to the land which diminishes love for it."⁷⁰³ Baxter identifies a malaise which he terms *accidie*⁷⁰⁴ in Aotearoa New Zealand, which he traces back to Pākehā failure to connect with the context and failure to develop an emotionally and spiritually adequate engagement to their situation in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁷⁰⁵ This research project asserts that the crisis caused by inadequacy of engagement identified by Baxter, can be addressed somewhat by emotionally and spiritually appropriate inculturation of the liturgical year into the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

Baxter rightly recognises Pākehā affection for the land as a strength, and correctly identifies Pākehā spiritual disconnection from the land as an enormous problem. Alongside naming these two aspects of being Pākehā, Baxter also provides resources to address the problem of spiritual disconnection which can serve as a basis for developing a living tradition for inculturating the liturgical year.

⁷⁰¹ Māori and Pākehā relationship with the land is explored in chapter 4.

⁷⁰² Riddell, *Funding Contextual Theology*, 25.

⁷⁰³ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁷⁰⁴ *Accidie*, also known as *Acedia*; meaning apathy or a state of spiritual or mental sloth.

⁷⁰⁵ Riddell, *Funding Contextual Theology*, 28-29

In 1946, Baxter offered an assessment of New Zealand poets which could be applied equally to contemporary liturgists, writing:

For pioneers their past was an English one and their poems were written in an idiom unsatisfactory for the English contemporary scene, and quite unsuited to determine their approach to New Zealand landscape or antipodean society. They had two choices: to continue writing in an English tradition dissociated from their actual geographical and historical situation; or to begin the immensely difficult task of forging new symbols in a country whose landscape was alien and whose intelligible past was shorter than their own lifespan.⁷⁰⁶

Baxter addresses the sense of isolation some Pākehā writers⁷⁰⁷ felt, an isolation that could be geographic, artistic, spiritual or social,⁷⁰⁸ however he did not share this experience of isolation and did not agree that it was common to all Pākehā wordsmiths, noting: "Writers vary. Some feel isolated and some don't."⁷⁰⁹ He acknowledges the complex relationship with place and identity that some Pākehā have, and that when some New Zealanders go abroad and are faced with another context, they can perceive themselves as somehow inadequate. Baxter writes:

I have known New Zealand writers to go overseas, full of themselves and their own work, to return muffled and paranoid, afraid to set pen to paper without an English or American anthology at their elbow ... some like Basil Dowling⁷¹⁰, in his poem "The Unreturning Native", look back to New Zealand as a hard barren old bitch, but their only real mother.⁷¹¹

For the liturgically-minded in Aotearoa, a liturgical year designed around northern hemisphere seasons can be rather more disorienting than isolating. Celebrating the liturgical year in the southern seasons can invoke feelings of pity from those unused to Christmas in summer, and feelings of inadequacy by New Zealanders. People from other parts of the world can feel that

⁷⁰⁶ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 1*, 66.

⁷⁰⁷ For example, Charles Brasch (1909-1973) and Allen Curnow (1911-2001).

⁷⁰⁸ See Baxter on Curnow's sense of isolation in Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 2*, 73.

⁷⁰⁹ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 2*, 66.

⁷¹⁰ Basil Dowling's "Letter from an Expatriate," *Landfall 131* (1979): 287-88. criticises NZ poetry.

⁷¹¹ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 2*, 66.

southern hemisphere observance of the liturgical year is deficient. A methodology that utilizes aspects of Baxter's approach, understanding, and insights can assist with these dilemmas.

5.4 Baxter and the land

Of the land that belongs to Him and not to us
The land whom the Māoris love as a mother

Whom we have turned into an old hacked whore
For the sake of profit- now I can rejoice

And go with them to the marae at Te Rapunga
Fasting, for the sake of my own people,

The pākehā, whose belly is fat
With the land he has swallowed. It is good to fast.⁷¹²

Baxter's childhood spent around Brighton in the coastal Otago province (on the East coast of the South Island) saw him spend many hours watching the sun, the stars and the clouds of his environment and walking on the beach, rocks, hills and caves, swimming, exploring, observing, gathering mussels from the rocks and rock pools, and fishing in the river.⁷¹³ McKay notes that no region "provided more grist to Baxter's mythopoetic imagination than Brighton"⁷¹⁴ In holidays the family went to the mountains in central Otago.

In 1963 Baxter wrote:

A New Zealand child will generally come to school with its inner mind loaded with images purloined from the natural paradise in which it has begun to grow up...the mud-eels hooked or gaffed from the creek below the house, the limestone cave where somebody reckons the Māoris used to bury their dead...these experiences, relatively unimportant from the point of view of an educator, are the seeds of 'the natural paradise'. I am not talking theologically. A sense of absolute value in what is happening; a sense of being in relation to other people...and above all, the habit of natural contemplation, of letting the mind rest upon, draw nourishment from, the images of nature perceived as an organics whole – these things constitute, to my mind, a paradise, as far as such a condition is possible after the Fall of Man.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹² Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 3*, 266-267.

⁷¹³ McKay, 29.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid., 46-50.

⁷¹⁵ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 1*, 633.

Much of Baxter's poetry is about creation and his spiritual connection with the land and sea.⁷¹⁶ The land informed his thinking and shaped his writing. He is clear that his relationship with the land is not as an indigenous person, but as one who is descended from Scottish Highlanders, living in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁷¹⁷ He is also clear that, as a Pākehā one generation deeper into Aotearoa New Zealand landscape than his parents, he has a different relationship with the land than his father's generation:

My father, though himself a New Zealander born and bred, did not write in terms of his own physical environment – the river, the flax bushes, the hills and the seacoast – even though the awareness of a country still mainly existing in the pre-animal phase of creation, only very recently inhabited by men, must have been close to him. He felt obliged to express his intuitions in general Romantic terms. He writes of 'forests', not of 'bush', of 'birds' in general, not of the fantail or the parakeet, which he would see every second day of his life...there is little else to indicate that the poem was written by a New Zealander.⁷¹⁸

In 1953 Baxter wrote: "There has been lately I feel a breakdown of the older 'schizophrenia' of the New Zealander who cannot distinguish himself from his grandfather."⁷¹⁹ In his play *Jack Winter's Dream*, Baxter illustrates how acutely he experienced that sense of the landscape and weather of Central Otago which he had known from childhood. Focusing on the knobbly schist rocks helped Baxter to perceive a sense of timelessness, of elemental forces.⁷²⁰ As he expressed his relationship with the land, Baxter started from a different point than older writers and critiqued the strong mystique of Pākehā identity and the Pākehā relationship with the land:

[Charles] Brasch conveys the sense of man as a spiritual wanderer who emerges from the womb of the land only to perish in that inhospitable maternal wilderness. I do not question the poetic force of the mystique; and Brasch himself, as a critic and in his long editorship of

⁷¹⁶ Baxter's first poem at the age of seven: "O ocean, in thy rocky bed/the starry fishes swim about-/there coral rocks are strewn around like some temple on the ground." McKay, 26.

⁷¹⁷ "It is important for me that my forefathers were clansmen in the Scottish highlands." Baxter, *Complete works, Vol 1*, 608. His poem "The First-Forgotten" acknowledges his Scottish ancestry and "tries to come to terms with what he has inherited." *Ibid.*, 177.

⁷¹⁸ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 2*, 48.

⁷¹⁹ Baxter, *Letters Vol 1*, 303.

⁷²⁰ McKay, 165.

Landfall, did something to mitigate its narrowness and allow new attitudes and methods to emerge. What I question is its universal validity as a New Zealand experience.⁷²¹

Though Baxter's early wrestling with a sense of place in awe-inspiring landscape is not always expressed in explicitly religious language, the theological content of his writing is clear:

The impressions I received from the place were no doubt wholly sensory; but the joy was not sensory, it was too profound for that; I could call it perhaps a remnant of the intellectual joy that Adam felt in paradise, a joy that comes from an inward contemplation of the forms of nature, yet obscurely reflects a light that comes to us from beyond nature. There was something grave and deep and massive about that joy, which has accompanied me from time to time throughout my life, like a music that fades away to nothing and then returns again just when you think it may have gone away for ever; it did not set life against death, but included both life and death in its strong current...there is a sense of awe and a shrinking in it, almost a sense of trouble; and yet there is a stronger sense of homecoming.⁷²²

Baxter started writing in a Pākehā literary context that was already grounding itself in Aotearoa. He observed that Pākehā writers of the 1930s and 1940s had "the sense that the New Zealand landscape and seascape were a house waiting to be lived in."⁷²³ This sense apparently did not include Māori, who had been living in the house for several hundred years.⁷²⁴ Baxter noted that influential writer Charles Brasch had a "lack of protagonists in his landscapes, [which] makes for slightness where there is no symbolism."⁷²⁵ It seems some Pākehā writers were not looking for connections in the landscape; they suffered from the "man alone" problem.⁷²⁶

In 1946 Baxter wrote that Pākehā:

[I]ook to an England we have never known as centre of our mainly synthetic 'culture'; while our real lives are rooted in these islands, and flower day by day. We are waiting to be born yet will not leave the womb... a poet or an artist must choose here and now whether he is a transplanted Englishman or a New Zealander...when that first hereditary wound is healed,

⁷²¹ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 2*, 337.

⁷²² *Ibid.*, 499.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁷²⁴ The 'Man Alone' pitted against the rugged New Zealand landscape was a theme in some Pākehā male literature in the twentieth century. This theme overlooked the fact that Māori men, women and children and Pākehā women and children were present in the landscape at the same time as Pākehā male pioneers.

⁷²⁵ Baxter, *Letters Vol 1*, 168.

⁷²⁶ See E. H. McCormick, quoted in Benson, *Men Alone*.

one can find here in New Zealand all the drama needed for a thousand novels, plays, or poems. For the world is here, not somewhere over the horizon.⁷²⁷

The same year, Baxter wrote of New Zealanders: “We are time-conscious because every year must bear us out of the fantasy-world of English seasons or Scots traditions, further into our here and now.”⁷²⁸ For Baxter, there was urgency for New Zealanders to give up the pretence of being in Europe and to embrace the seasons of Aotearoa New Zealand. Baxter’s urgency is shared by those seeking to inculturate liturgy into Aotearoa’s seasons; the need to give up locational pretence and ground the liturgical year in the Aotearoa context is real and urgent.

The points Baxter identified in 1946 are pertinent for liturgists in the twenty-first century. He identified that “the world is here, not somewhere over the horizon”⁷²⁹, that Aotearoa New Zealand is a rich resource for all manner of endeavours, (including liturgy). Perhaps, like New Zealanders who study liturgy based in northern hemisphere experience and thinking, Baxter felt that his primary education was so rooted in English culture that it created a barrier between him and his New Zealand situation. His time at an English boarding school only increased the sense of dislocation.⁷³⁰ Baxter’s thoughts on dislocated and dislocating education provide a rich resource for those seeking to inculturate liturgy in contemporary Aotearoa.

Baxter’s journey of deepening relationship with the land resonates with Pākehā seeking spiritual engagement with Aotearoa and is very helpful for the inculturation of the liturgy in Aotearoa New Zealand. Baxter noted the importance of works of other artists attempting to bring to life a similar vision of how Aotearoa New Zealand is really appreciated. In 1948, Baxter praised painter Colin McCahon’s⁷³¹ ability to place biblical scenes within the Aotearoa landscape: “Instead of revolting from his environment, he learns to accept it. His Christs and angels are reconciled with the

⁷²⁷ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 1*, 17.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁷²⁹ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 4*, 30.

⁷³⁰ McKay, 45.

⁷³¹ Colin McCahon (1919-1987) was arguably Aotearoa’s foremost painter; his works are overwhelmingly on theological themes.

fertile hills behind them. The curve of the wing of the Angel of the Annunciation is repeated in the shape of the peak above the square house."⁷³² Like McCahon, Baxter's work does not 'revolt' from his environment, but rather is reconciled with it, and Baxter locates his religious experience in the land of Aotearoa. Not 'revolting' from the environment, but rather accepting it and reconciling with the land are crucial steps in inculturating the liturgical year in the lived reality of Aotearoa New Zealand. In the poem *A Christmas Wish*, Baxter rejects European winter-associated Christmas traditions and locates celebration of the liturgical year in Aotearoa's seasons:

Not mistletoe or holly
to ward off melancholy
carols in the chapel
plum pudding and crab apple
but to camp for a week
by a mountain creek
with new-taken trout
and tinned pears to eat.⁷³³

Baxter's 1949 *Poem in the Matukituki Valley*⁷³⁴ was pivotal in establishing his place in the national psyche as an important voice to be heard.

5.4.1 Tititea/Mt Aspiring

Brian Brake (1927-1988) was a photographer working in the New Zealand National Film Unit. In 1949, Brake invited composer Douglas Lilburn (1915-2001), painter John Drawbridge (1930-2005) and Baxter to Tititea/Mt. Aspiring in the Southern Alps to create works of art with the intention of making a film celebrating the majesty of the mountains, and grounding Pākehā more firmly in Aotearoa New Zealand. Brake's never-produced film was intended as a "cinematic poem". According to Annabel Wilson, Baxter was well suited to the Mt. Aspiring project. She notes that: "...he was trying to come up with something that creatively represented this country and what it

⁷³² Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 1*, 42.

⁷³³ Baxter, *Letters Vol 1*, 344.

⁷³⁴ Baxter, *Collected Poems*, 86.

meant to identify with it, to be part of it and to draw your inspiration from...he was consciously injecting a new sense of Antipodean identity into his writing.⁷³⁵

On Tititea/Mt. Aspiring, Baxter reached a new insight about identity, belonging, and encountering the Divine in Creation. He expressed this in the *Poem in the Matukituki Valley*. In this period, some New Zealanders were intent on conquering the mountains in Aotearoa and around the world, the most well-known New Zealand conqueror of mountains being Edmund Hillary (1919-2008). After ascending Mt. Everest, Hillary did not offer a prayer, acknowledge the mountain as the Sherpa people's Mother of the World, or utter a sublime oration, rather he famously said: "We knocked the bastard off."⁷³⁶ Hillary articulates clearly one well-known soul-less Pākehā approach to Creation. Many Pākehā from the 19th century onwards perceived the power of nature as frightening or awe inspiring and refrained from identifying, or hesitated to identify, God therein. In contrast to these approaches, Baxter perceives the wonder of Creation through a sacramental, theological and liturgical lens:

Sky's purity; the altar cloth of snow
On deathly summits laid; or avalanche
That shakes the rough moraine with giant laughter;
Snowplume and whirlwind - what are these
But His flawed mirror who gave the mountain strength
And dwells in holy calm, undying freshness?⁷³⁷

In viewing Creation sacramentally, Baxter claims his place in the long Jewish and Christian traditions of seeing a Created order in which humanity is not against nature but intended to live in harmony with it.

5.5 Pākehā identity and understandings of the land

In reflecting about Pākehā identity and understanding of the land, Baxter suggested that the

⁷³⁵ Wilson, *From Aspiring to Paradise*, 7.

⁷³⁶ David Fickling, "We knocked the bastard off," *The Guardian*, 13/3/03, accessed 21/5/21, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/mar/13/everest.nepal>.

⁷³⁷ Baxter, *Collected Poems*, 87.

following symbols can be discerned in the work of Pākehā poets:

The Sea:	as a destructive force, bringing oblivion; as a healing force reconciling man to spiritual Truth.
The Mountains:	as symbols of everlasting purity; as protecting maternal presences; as menacing and destructive powers.
The Bush:	as a symbol of natural energy, and the dual processes of growth and decay; as a haunted and entangling wilderness.
The Island:	as a symbol of isolation from European tradition, both in place and time.
The Beach:	as a place of arrival and departure; as a place where revelations occur; as a place where conscious and unconscious meet, frequently associated with sexual escapades. ⁷³⁸

In this analysis of symbolic usage, Baxter uncovers how Pākehā writers have striven to interpret the environment in which they stand. What Baxter has enunciated here may be obvious to some New Zealanders; to others, aspects of the Aotearoa landscape may have no meaning at all. Variations of Baxter's symbolic schema are employed by some writers and ignored by others.⁷³⁹ Baxter's reflection on the semiotics of the Aotearoa landscape can assist those engaged in liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand by articulating some broadly accepted views on how New Zealanders perceive the meaning of their environment.

In 1954, Baxter noted that it had become centrally important to him that New Zealand should be a community of people with a common spiritual identity, one that is shared (at least to some extent) by those creating art and the public.⁷⁴⁰ Inculturating the liturgical year within Aotearoa

⁷³⁸ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 1*, 106.

⁷³⁹ One example of a writer using a similar symbolic schema is Mike Riddell, who writes: "The all-embracing sea whispers to us of longing, separation and death. The long flat beaches which mark the borders are our confessionals, labyrinths and playgrounds. We live close to the radical openness of the coastal horizon, with all the possibility and tang of adventure which it offers." Riddell, *Pine or Pohutukawa?* 13.

⁷⁴⁰ McKay, 141.

New Zealand's natural seasons continues to some extent Baxter's work of seeking to build a community of people with a common spiritual identity, that is deeply grounded in the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

5.6 Baxter and Tangata Whenua/People of the Land

We (I speak of New Zealanders of European descent) should remember the words of Pope John, to avoid any nuance of unconscious arrogance, and to develop the kind of humility that may enable us to see ourselves as learners rather than teachers. The Māori is the elder brother; the European is the younger one - at least in the matter of a grasp of communal values. Let us not ignorantly reverse the role.⁷⁴¹

Part of Baxter's importance for the liturgical inculturation project in Aotearoa New Zealand is his writing about Pākehā identity, and about Pākehā relations with Māori. His unfolding understanding of Māori can assist Pākehā Christians in deepening their relationship with Māori and therefore become further grounded in Aotearoa New Zealand and all of its people. Baxter's relationship with Māori can assist in the task of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. He writes:

For a pākehā New Zealander, growing up is a very painful and a very solitary business. I think it may be different for some Māoris. I was talking recently to a Māori man in his fifties or sixties. At a certain point in the conversation, he rested his hands on his knees and said- 'I have one leg in Taranaki and another on the East Coast.' I may have the places wrong, but I don't think so. It doesn't matter anyway. The point was that this old man identified himself with the soil of the country. As my wife explained to me later, the word 'iwi' means both tribe and bone. The old man was saying that he came from two tribes - but he was also saying that his bones and the bones of his ancestors were like a single sacred tree, and he, as their descendant, straddled the country. This old man was respected among his own people - nobody would ever be able to bundle him out of the way. It would take more than a few bulldozers. He had the appearance of somebody sunk knee-deep in the ground.⁷⁴²

Baxter had a number and variety of phases in his relationship with tangata whenua, it is possible to map Baxter's interactions with Māori through several phases: 1. Rare interaction, 2. Romantic relationship with Māori, 3. Perceiving Māori reality, 4. Hiruhārama/Jerusalem. Each of

⁷⁴¹ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 2*, 375.

⁷⁴² Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 1*, 605-606.

these phases offers important lessons for the journey of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

5.6.1 Rare interaction with Māori

The total Māori population of Otago and Southland provinces (where Baxter was born in 1926) was 807⁷⁴³ out of a total population of perhaps 210,287⁷⁴⁴. At that time, Māori made up less than 1% of the population in most areas in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁷⁴⁵ Baxter learned about Māori at school and from his parents, but his early interactions with Māori were infrequent.⁷⁴⁶ Although Baxter's parents were quite possibly better informed than many, Baxter grew up in a milieu in which views of Māori as a dying race were publicly expressed.⁷⁴⁷ In his poem *The Bay* Baxter wrote:

And by the bay itself were cliffs with carved names
And a hut on the shore beside the Māori ovens.
We raced boats from the banks of the pumice creek
Or swam in those autumnal shallows
Growing cold in amber water, riding the logs
Upstream, and waiting for the taniwha.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴³ Elizabeth Durward, "The Māori Population of Otago," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 42/2 (166) (1933): 49-82.

⁷⁴⁴ NZ Government, *Population of Otago and Southland 1 April 1925*, accessed 21/5/21, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1926/NZOYB_1926.html.

⁷⁴⁵ John Polkinghorne, *A New Zealand Local Population Database*, July 2017, <https://www.nzae.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/John-Polkinghorne.pdf>.

⁷⁴⁶ "I know that until I was in my late teens, living in the Deep South, I had never met a Māori." Baxter, *Complete Prose*, 115., "The Māori people had played little part in the thinking and writing of earlier Baxter for the simple reason that until his late teens he had never met a Māori." McKay, 152.

⁷⁴⁷ 'Fatal Impact Theory' emerged in the 19th century from Social Darwinism, following publication of Charles Darwin's 1859 book *On the origin of species*. The theory states that 'weaker peoples' such as Polynesians were doomed to extinction because of the influence and survival of the stronger, fitter European culture, and because of the diseases Europeans brought. The declining Māori population seemed to confirm the theory. In his 1872 book *The Descent of Man*, Darwin used Māori depopulation to suggest 'inferior' races would be extinguished by 'superior' ones. Jock Phillips, "Ideas in-New Zealand-Darwinism" and "anthropology", *Te Ara*, accessed 21/5/21. In 1856 physician and politician Dr Isaac Featherston said it was the duty of Europeans to 'smooth down ... [the] dying pillow' of the Māori race. Quoted in Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hīroa), "The passing of the Māori," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 55 (1924): 362.

⁷⁴⁸ McKay, 112.

As a child Baxter was obviously aware of evidence of Māori habitation in the Brighton landscape (Māori ovens), and aware of Māori legends (taniwha).⁷⁴⁹ At this stage, Baxter does not write about Māori directly; they are more of a past presence whose mythology is joked about by children. In 1952, Baxter expressed a distant, uneasy relationship with Māori culture:

At the end of process which began when the first whaler met the first Māori; to praise the results of a tribal unity which our own deadpan civilization has torn to shreds...We are not likely to take more from the Māori than we have already taken – a number of museum artifacts, their land and their dignity.”⁷⁵⁰

Other New Zealand poets have failed to make use of Māori mythology, probably because it is impossible for English-speaking Christians or rationalists of the Steel Age to enter into the world-view of tribal Stone Age Māoris.⁷⁵¹

Along with Baxter, many Pākehā would have experienced only rare interaction with Māori. Māori seemed absent or irrelevant in Pākehā settings, or a compulsory topic to be attended to grudgingly. This phase of relations with Māori is reflected in many Pākehā liturgies. Māori are treated as being absent or of such a small percentage of the population that inclusion of Māori language or images would be seen by some as an imposition on Pākehā. In the absence of real interaction with Māori, unfounded ideas about Māori can flourish. With the increase of the proportion of Māori in the population⁷⁵², this phase of relationship with Māori is increasingly rare in 21st century Aotearoa New Zealand, but, for some, liturgy is a haven of non-interaction with Māori.

5.6.2 Romanticised relationship

Baxter fell in love with fellow university student Jacquie Sturm in Dunedin in the late 1940s. Jacquie Sturm was born Te Kare Papuni in 1927. Her father John Papuni was from the Whakatōhea

⁷⁴⁹ In Māori mythology, *taniwha* are powerful water creatures which dwell in rivers and caves, and have charge over certain parts of waterways. Aotearoa New Zealand children delight in scaring each other with talk of taniwha when swimming.

⁷⁵⁰ McKay, 153.

⁷⁵¹ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 1*, 95.

⁷⁵² The percentage of Māori in the Otago population in 2018 was 8.7%, in Southland the percentage rose to 14.9%, nationally the percentage of Māori in the population was 16.5%. Statistics NZ, *NZ's population reflects growing diversity*, 22/9/19, accessed 22/5/21, <https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/new-zealands-population-reflects-growing-diversity>.

iwi from the Bay of Plenty; her mother Mary Harrison was from the Taranaki iwi. Mary died shortly after Te Kare's birth. In infancy, Te Kare experienced a skin condition requiring regular specialist care which was provided by Ethel Sturm, a Pākehā nurse. Ethel and husband Bert Sturm (of the Ngāti Porou tribe), fostered then adopted Te Kare, giving her the name Jacqueline Sturm.⁷⁵³ Bert and Ethel raised Te Kare/Jacque in a largely Pākehā context, in which she was often the only Māori in any group. In her poem *In Loco Parentis*, Jacque recalls living between two worlds:

For twenty years the Sturms, planted, nurtured
Trained, pruned, grafted me
Only to find a native plant
Will always a native be.
How being out of step, place, time, joint
In time became a preference
Not a pain, hardly matters now.⁷⁵⁴

Much of Sturm's writing is shaped by her experience of navigating a path between the two worlds, cultures, and identities. In 1955, her story 'For All the Saints' became the first story in English by a Māori writer to appear in the journal *Te Ao Hou*.⁷⁵⁵ With the inclusion of 'For All the Saints' in *New Zealand Short Stories* in 1966, Sturm became the first Māori chosen for an Aotearoa/ New Zealand anthology.⁷⁵⁶

Although she felt 'a bit of a freak', she disciplined herself to contain her Māori identity; however, her academic prowess meant she was identified as a hope for the future of Māoridom,⁷⁵⁷ thus she was encouraged to go the University of Otago to study medicine. At Otago she met Baxter. In 1947 they moved to Christchurch, Baxter became an Anglican with her encouragement, and they

⁷⁵³ Millar, *Jacque Baxter*, (unpaginated).

⁷⁵⁴ Jacque Sturm, "In Loco Parentis," *The Spinoff*, 22/2/19, accessed 1/6/21, <https://thespinoff.co.nz/books/22-02-2019/the-friday-poem-in-loco-parentis-by-jacqui-sturm/>.

⁷⁵⁵ *Te Ao Hou*, a bilingual journal published by the New Zealand government's Māori Affairs Department, was responsible for encouraging Māori writing in the 1950s and 1960s.

⁷⁵⁶ Millar, *Jacque Baxter*, (unpaginated).

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid.

married on 9 December 1948. Baxter's entrée into and subsequent immersion in Māori tikanga (custom) and te reo (Māori language) in his later years owe much to Jacquie.

There have been uncountable romantic relationships between Māori and Pākehā since the nineteenth century, and there have also been many romanticised relationships between Pākehā and Māori. Part of what attracted Baxter to Sturm was her Māoriness. In addition to her other attributes, for a young man from semi-rural Otago, a young Māori woman from the North Island undoubtedly had some exotic attraction. He wrote to his parents: "It is strange, the fact that she is Māori draws me to her rather than repelling me."⁷⁵⁸ The parents of both Jacquie and Jim were opposed to the marriage. "At that time, even a Pākehā family as liberal as the Baxters had difficulty accepting their son's marriage to a Māori."

Baxter had an idea of Māoriness which may or may not have aligned with Sturm's own ideas or experience. This study asserts that liturgically some Pākehā approach Māori with a romanticised idea about what Māoriness is and in a way that may be foreign to the experience of Māori. Some examples of this could be Pākehā perceiving that all Māori are the same in their relationship to whenua/land and te reo/Māori language, that all Māori desire the same things liturgically and that all Māori are willing and available to teach about and resource Māori elements incorporated into Pākehā-led liturgies.

Baxter's second phase of interaction with Māori is important for liturgical inculturation because it warns Pākehā against building a romanticised idea of Māori which may be foreign and offensive to Māori. For liturgical inculturation to happen authentically in Aotearoa New Zealand, Pākehā must learn from Māori what Māoriness is.

5.6.3 Perceiving Māori reality

Baxter witnessed the reality of racism firsthand with his Māori wife and children.⁷⁵⁹ In 1953

⁷⁵⁸ Baxter, *Letters Vol 1*, 212.

⁷⁵⁹ "After Hilary was born...Baxter felt vulnerable because...they were at the mercy of landlords. Some of them disliked tenants with children, and he suspected some, at times, of racism." McKay, *The Life of James*

he wrote an article on racism titled “Is there a colour bar in New Zealand?”⁷⁶⁰ He encountered Māori in workplaces, borstals and prisons, at the edges of society, and learned about the pain and suffering experienced by many Māori and the deleterious impacts of colonisation, land loss, culture loss and alienation on Māori life. In 1955, his care and advocacy for Eddie Te Whiu, a twenty-year-old condemned to hang, brought Baxter to a new understanding of the negative experience of the justice system encountered by many Māori, and the challenges facing many young Māori.⁷⁶¹ Through his membership of Alcoholics Anonymous, Baxter became committed to helping those on the margins of society, whether because of addiction, poverty, or racism. The final step of AA’s ‘Twelve Steps’ insists that helping others is the foundation of rehabilitation. Baxter took AA very seriously, and the hours he put in with fellow alcoholics developed his care for those living on the margins of New Zealand society, the down-and-outs, prisoners, and the disenfranchised young, many of whom were Māori.⁷⁶²

As an editor for New Zealand’s national School Publications office, Baxter was especially interested in publishing stories for Māori children. He explained that for personal as well as more general reasons he wanted to help Māori children to adjust to the ‘double role they are eventually required to play – I mean that the Māori child (often without a pā⁷⁶³ background) is in its growing up subject to a double pressure: a pressure to “become pākehā”, and a pressure to “be Māori”.⁷⁶⁴ James and Jacquie took part in the 1960 ‘No Māoris, No Tour’ campaign against the exclusion of Māori from any rugby teams touring Apartheid-era South Africa. He was also angered by the frequent instances of racism experienced by Māori. The Royal Tour of Aotearoa New Zealand in 1963 prompted these lines:

While Big Ben bangs out stroke on stroke

K. Baxter, 124. When they were in India” Baxter “found it hard to be, for the first time, marked off by his skin-colour. Jacquie, of course, was not: ‘Is this what you have always known?’ he asked her.” Oliver, 81.

⁷⁶⁰ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 1*, 124-126.

⁷⁶¹ McKay, 149.

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*, 147.

⁷⁶³ Baxter uses the Māori word ‘Pā’ to describe a traditional Māori village environment. Pā can mean village or fortified village.

⁷⁶⁴ See Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 1*, 620.

And the circus wheel spins round,
The Māori looks at Holyoake (NZ Prime Minister)
and Holyoake looks at the ground,
And there will be more things to say
When the Royal yacht has sailed away.⁷⁶⁵

Through observing his family's experience of racism, and perceiving the pressures that Māori faced in twentieth century Aotearoa New Zealand, Baxter became increasingly attuned to the reality of Māori life and Māori perspectives. In 1971, Baxter went with Māori activist group Ngā Tamatoa⁷⁶⁶ to protest at Waitangi, at the national commemoration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Along with the young Māori activists, Baxter was jostled by the police.⁷⁶⁷ Over many years, Baxter's relationship with Māori had moved from distant, to romantic, to realising that Māori are over-represented in situations of suffering in Aotearoa New Zealand and he found himself unafraid to embrace those on the edges of society and take action against injustice. His 1966 poem *The Māori Jesus*⁷⁶⁸ shows how much Baxter sought to identify with Māori, and the extent to which he became a champion against social injustice.⁷⁶⁹

For liturgical inculturation to proceed authentically in Aotearoa New Zealand, Baxter shows Pākehā that going to the places of suffering, and standing with Māori and others in places of suffering, is perhaps a necessary part of ensuring that liturgies are pastorally appropriate for the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

5.6.4 The choice

The final phase of Baxter's relationship with Māori saw him make a conscious choice to learn from Māori. Throughout the 1960s, Baxter increasingly looked toward Māori; he perceived Māori as

⁷⁶⁵ Oliver, 87.

⁷⁶⁶ Ngā Tamatoa (*The Warriors*) operated throughout the 1970s to promote Māori rights, fight racial discrimination, and confront injustices perpetrated by the Crown, particularly violations of the Treaty of Waitangi.

⁷⁶⁷ Baxter, *Complete Prose* Vol. 3, 262-266.

⁷⁶⁸ Baxter, *Collected Poems*, 347.

⁷⁶⁹ McKay, 225. See also: Baxter, *Complete Prose* Vol 3, 554.

needing support and advocacy, and he looked to Māori to teach Pākehā how to live in respectful relationship with the land; with the community, Baxter contrasts the cold individualism of Pākehā society with a perhaps romanticised idea of the warm communitarianism of Māori life. He saw that Māori had retained what Pākehā had lost; to Baxter, Māori retained a sense of community, solidarity, and spirituality which he feared Pākehā were losing. Baxter often used the image of Māori being the mindful older brother teaching the careless younger Pākehā brother. Baxter asserts that, just as he did, the whole church in Aotearoa New Zealand needs to learn from the Māori church – including from the Māori prophets who placed themselves outside mainstream Christianity. He wrote:

The Māori church in this country is like a river that flows underground. Te Kouti, (sic) Te Whiti, Rua, Rātana and certain others are her prophets and fathers. The face of Te Ariki, the Māori Christ, has a special sweetness and a special strength. It is for us to wash that face in the places where it is being smashed by the blows of the hostile and the ignorant. We pākehās have to bow the head and learn from our elder brothers and sisters. Then the water may begin to flow in our dry watercourses.⁷⁷⁰

5.6.5 The vision

A crucial moment in Baxter's final phase of relationship with Māori was his vision to go to Hiruhārama/Jerusalem.⁷⁷¹ In Dunedin in March 1968, while asleep, Baxter had a vision of God holding the globe of the world in his hands. Above the globe, a crucifix was covered in a shroud. When the shroud parted, Baxter saw that the figure of Christ was Māori. Then he heard the words, loud enough to wake him up: "Go to Jerusalem!"⁷⁷²

Baxter interpreted this to mean that God was instructing him to go to Jerusalem/Hiruhārama on the Whanganui River, without money or books, and wait there for God to send him a man to teach him te reo Māori/ the Māori language. Baxter also felt that he was called to found a new type of community at the Māori settlement of Jerusalem/Hiruhārama. He explained:

⁷⁷⁰ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 3*, 490

⁷⁷¹ Baxter, *Letters Vol 2*, 349.

⁷⁷² Philip Matthews, "The poet and the priest-confessor," *Stuff*, 18/8/15, accessed 22/2/21, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/books/71180109/the-poet-and-the-priest-confessor>.

I am to be the naked seed from which Our Lord, if He wishes, will bring a tree. The tree is aroha. Aroha is Christ in His Humanity. Christ has a pākehā face and a Māori face. The Māori face is distinguished by us. I must become a Māori in my heart – as I am already a little by love of my Māori wife – to help both Māori and pākehā ...we will need a priest who can use the Māori Mass there (the Mass celebrated in the Māori language)... this is to heal the broken ones – both Māori and pākehā – man and woman – those are called Catholic and those who are not. I will obey the Church in all things, since He is the Church – her Head, and also His Body loved beyond measure.⁷⁷³

Baxter understood that in obeying God and going to Jerusalem/Hiruhārama, the persona of James K. Baxter the Pākehā poet must die. In his place will be the man who becomes Hemi – the Māori translation of James.

I will be Hemi te Tutua, (James, the nobody) Hemi the dead man, Hemi the Seed. God made the world out of nothing. Hemi the Seed is nothing. He will make a tree grow from the seed. If the seed dies, if this man's soul dies in the dark, Blessed be Īhu (Jesus). If a tree grows from the seed. Blessed be Īhu. The tree will be Īhu ... Karaiti (Christ) has a pākehā face and a Māori face. The Māori face is being torn and smashed. Aroha is the Humanity of Karaiti ...to the pākehā - 'Come – the Māori is the Elder Brother – Learn spoken Māori, do without money and books, work with the hands with the land.' This fool is in the hands of God. Pray for him. If the tree grows, come to it. My terror is great.⁷⁷⁴

In 1968 Baxter wrote *A Letter to the Catholic Bishops of New Zealand*:

From Hemi the charismatic, the nobody, the dead man, who is also the Seed. To the Fathers of the Church in New Zealand. Greetings, I love and obey you...if you put a seed in the ground, you do not wrap it in cellophane or plastic. This man must be destitute of money and books and remain so. Why speaking Māori? Because the Māori is the Elder Brother in God's love, being poor, and the pākehā the Younger Brother. This has been reversed wrongly. What a pākehā speaking Māori? Because the pākehā must become Māori. Why must the pākehā become Māori? Because it is the nature of Aroha to become what it loves. He became us in Mary's womb. ...if the Seed is put in the ground, and the Tree grows which is Aroha, do not quickly think what happens is not intended to happen, even if there is strangeness in it. There is a killing strangeness in it for this man who is the Seed...Fathers, I love you. Pray for me. If He allows me, I will also pray for you. We are one Body. Your child Hemi.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷³ Baxter, *Letters Vol 2*, 335-336.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 336-337.

⁷⁷⁵ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol. 2*, 571.

Baxter expresses the view that, for the good of the church, the nation and each other, Pākehā must learn from Māori about spirituality and relationships and that he was called to a particular role in doing this through the community at Jerusalem/Hiruhārama. Because liturgy was such a large part of his life, specifically daily Mass, he understood that making liturgy appropriate to the context was part of the task of Hemi, who was also the Seed. Baxter understood that he had a unique calling, but not an exalted one:

What he says to me is – ‘I cannot use you as an altar vessel. You are not made of gold. You are not pure or wise or prudent or just. Go and be a seed kumara.’(sweet potato) I interpret what he tells me in this way. When the seed kumara has been planted, the young kumaras grow out of him. The one thing he has to be is poor. If he is wrapped in cellophane, the water and the soil cannot reach him. He has to be bare and poor. Then the young kumaras grow from him. They become hard and red and strong. When the time comes for the feast, for the hangi, (traditional Māori underground oven) they dig up the kumaras with a spade. And the young kumaras are firm and good for eating. But the old kumara is rotten and pulpy. He has a fringe of mildew round his neck – like this grey beard. His life has gone from him. He is useless for eating. They throw him away across the fence into the brambles.⁷⁷⁶

Baxter chose five aspects of Māori communal life to shape and guide the community at Jerusalem/Hiruhārama:

arohanui: the Love of the Many;
manuhiritanga: hospitality to the guest and the stranger;
korero: speech that begets peace and understanding;
manawa: the night life of the soul
mahi: work undertaken from communal love.⁷⁷⁷

Some of the aspects such as the love of the many, hospitality and korero were recognisable in the life of the community; the night life of the soul is harder to measure, and for some the community struggled with work undertaken from communal love.

⁷⁷⁶ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol. 3*, 566.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 337.

Baxter perceived that at Jerusalem/ Hiruhārama he was starting something which it was not his task to complete. According to eminent New Zealand historian and poet Bill Oliver, for Baxter Jerusalem/Hiruhārama was:

Māori, Catholic and rural, where he was to put into practice what he believed to be the true principles of social relationship, summed up in the one word – aroha, the love of the many. It was to be more than a refuge for troubled young people; it was to be a demonstration of a good society, a community governed by five principles, here in an isolation broken only by the company of Māori villagers and nuns, and by occasional visitors, he took part in the liturgy of the church, and wrote the Jerusalem Sonnets.⁷⁷⁸

Baxter wrote: “God has planted me here. He wants me to act as seed, door, anchor perhaps, of a life of communal property... He told me ‘Jerusalem’ – there is no other Jerusalem, this is the Māori Jerusalem, the seed-bed of Catholic faith among the Māoris”.⁷⁷⁹ Baxter’s vision was of a new start for the church in Aotearoa New Zealand, freshly and deeply grounded in its context, with a strong relationship with the land and the people of the land.

Baxter went to Jerusalem to learn. Āwhitu⁷⁸⁰ became his teacher and guide, he also learnt from the tribe at Jerusalem (Ngāti Hau), who owned the land. Baxter acknowledged that he was a guest on Māori land, received with grace into a Māori community and being led by a Māori spiritual leader – Āwhitu. Part of Baxter’s vision was to learn te reo Māori/ the Māori language.

Baxter’s time at Jerusalem/ Hiruhārama can inform the liturgical inculturation project in several ways.

- a) That Pākehā must be open to acknowledging Māori space and Māori leadership,
- b) That Pākehā must be open to being taught by Māori.
- c) That Pākehā must be open to learn te reo Māori, and be comfortable using it liturgically.
- d) That Pākehā must acknowledge Māori ownership and *kaitiakitanga*/stewardship of te whenua/the land.

⁷⁷⁸ Oliver, 132.

⁷⁷⁹ Baxter, *Letters Vol 2*, 480.

⁷⁸⁰ Wiremu Āwhitu, (1914- 1994) was the first Māori to be ordained a Catholic priest. His main tribal affiliations were Ngāti Hāuaroa and Ngāti Maniapoto.

These points on interaction between Pākehā and Māori can inform a Baxter-inspired methodology for liturgical inculturation going forward.

In his *Jerusalem Journal*, Baxter explained his engagement with Māori and his role in relation to Māori in a Christological way:

I saw the image of the Lord on his Cross. He had two faces ... The Māori face was hideously smashed and bleeding. But the eyes were wide open, and the soul looked out of the eyes. I understood it was not my personal business to try to waken the pākehā face, but to wash the Māori face, if not with water, then with tears of reparation...I had to make an alternative, a mat for them to stand on, if they so wished. ... The chief theological point is perhaps that Te Morehu (the people) have a right to an image, in liturgy, in art, in language, of that Māori Christ whom they are, just as we have a right to our pākehā image of Him. Christ is multi-cultural in his mystical body. They have never been given such an image, so te hāhi Māori (the Māori church) has been torn apart in the womb, as if by forceps....to accommodate the Māori Christ, our theology would have to change its emphasis, in matter of property morality, in matters involving the relation between the sexes, and in matters of work morality and physical style. I doubt if this will happen.⁷⁸¹

Baxter affirms the need for grounding liturgy and the church itself in the Aotearoa context. He echoes Chupungco's clear Christological focus quoted in chapter 3.⁷⁸² In wrestling with his role in relation to Māori, Baxter shares aspects of the experience of agents of inculturation mentioned in chapter 3. Though not a trained anthropologist, in his approach to Māori, Baxter exhibited naturally/instinctively some of what an anthropologist does by training. The dilemmas Baxter faced in Jerusalem/Hiruhārama are similar to what is expressed by inculturation theologian Peter Schineller's aphorism "Be, Beget, Be Gone".⁷⁸³

It can be asserted that Baxter enacted Schineller's first step by moving to Jerusalem/Hiruhārama to listen and learn from Āwhitu and local Māori. He fulfilled the second step by forming a small group around him, a community that shared his vision and with whom Baxter shared the richness of the gospel. Baxter pondered how to enact Schineller's third step and

⁷⁸¹ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 3*, 291.

⁷⁸² Chupungco, "Liturgical Inculturation and the Search for Unity," 59.

⁷⁸³ Schineller, 27.

delegated some responsibilities before his death. Baxter had a vision for how the Hiruhārama community might be a sign and model for the nation, and for the church. He also contemplated the end of his time at Hiruhārama.

I saw the double rainbow shining over Wanganui. The outer arc, which encloses the inner one, is arohanui, (great love) the Māori love. The inner one is our pākehā love. In this country the pākehā love is battered like a light-bulb that has been thrown on the ground. It is broken into a thousand tiny fragments. The Māori love is like a plate that has been broken. You can still see the pattern on the broken surfaces. But it is steadily being pounded into smaller bits. I want to see the double rainbow shine among us. It is possible that Te Ariki will let me see it before I die.⁷⁸⁴

Baxter's vision of the double rainbow was an illustration of his desire for the future of the church and nation.

5.7 Baxter and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church.

In 1958, Baxter wrote:

God, through the Church, melts the coldness from my heart and mind like fog that disappears when the sun rises- a totally undeserved gift of peace and joy.⁷⁸⁵

The Church is what I had hoped, thank God, a strong house for the human spirit, a nurse with the true medicines.⁷⁸⁶

When my brothers here in the cottage ask me about the Visible Church, I do not discuss her much. That is because here we belong to the Church Invisible – the Church of Christ-in-the heart. Ko te aroha i te Ariki- where love is, there the Lord is.⁷⁸⁷

An important aspect of Baxter's work, and one which can assist in liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand is his choice to embrace the church and the liturgical life of the church. It is evident that, throughout his life, Baxter became increasingly immersed in liturgy.

5.7.1 Baxter and liturgy

⁷⁸⁴ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 3*, 294.

⁷⁸⁵ Baxter, *Letters Vol 1*, 459.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 461.

⁷⁸⁷ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 3*, 137.

As noted above, Baxter's expression of his faith became increasingly liturgical throughout his life. He was attracted to and nourished by the sacraments, and sacramentals such as Stations of the Cross and the Rosary. Baxter had a particular devotion to the Eucharist and encouraged others to share in the feast which gave him such joy. "You already know my simple theology. Jesus is God. It is necessary for us to join in the ritual meal and sacrifice".⁷⁸⁸ In *A Handbook for the Christian Militant*, Baxter sees the Eucharist as central to the life of the Christian militant; his view of where the Eucharist should be celebrated and who should be able to receive differs from those who would limit the Eucharist to ecclesiastical buildings and to the baptised and confirmed. Baxter writes: "Celebrate the Ritual Meal in your houses with joy and love. Let anybody receive the body and blood of Christ who knows that is what it is. The time of unity is already here if you are living at the tip of the green shoot."⁷⁸⁹ Baxter perceives that Christian militants will live eucharistically, following Christ's example of giving one's life for others.⁷⁹⁰

As enthusiastic as Baxter is about liturgy and the sacraments, he is critical of some of the Church's priorities, and sees that the liturgy is in need of renewal and what is now termed liturgical inculturation, writing: "With great concern she (The Church) cares for the children of Dives because Dives will pay for the schools and the stone buildings in which she teaches doctrine and celebrates the Ritual Meal. Let her go back to Lazarus and receive the warmth of his embrace. The doctrines will then be tested in experience and the Ritual Meal will be communal and joyful."⁷⁹¹

5.8 Baxter and liturgical inculturation

In 1972 Baxter wrote the following poem to his wife from Hiruhārama/Jerusalem:

No rafter paintings
No grass-stalk panels,
No Māori mass,

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., 512.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., 493.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., 502.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., 490.

Christ and his Mother
Are lively Italians
Leaning forward to bless,

No tāniko band on her head,
No feather cloak on his shoulder

No stairway to heaven,
No tears of the albatross.

Here at Jerusalem
After ninety years
Of bungled opportunities,
I prefer not to invite you
Into the pākehā church.⁷⁹²

Baxter wrote extensively about Aotearoa, about Māori, and about liturgy but seldom explicitly weaves these three themes together.

Baxter sometimes despaired about the church's relationship with Māori: "The Church is Catholic – universal – for all people, yet it has given the Māori a European God. They will lose the Māori as they lost the working classes in France." He said repeatedly that there are two faces of Christ in New Zealand – the pākehā face covered with a mask of money and the Māori face "rather torn and broken and covered with mud."⁷⁹³ He wrote: "The Church's approach to Māori people, up to now, has been paternalistic and basically condescending, though not without sympathy and some glimmer of understanding."⁷⁹⁴ Baxter proposes renewal of church buildings as a way of renewing the church's engagement with Māori, writing of the need to conduct services in Māori and decorate churches "in the inimitable Māori style of art" linking these services "to traditional Māori communal activities, thus providing a kind of substitute tribe. But the Catholic Church has on the whole so far been backward in coming forward in this most sensitive and important area of development."⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹² Baxter, *Letters Vol 2*, 568.

⁷⁹³ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 3*, 203.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁷⁹⁵ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 2*, 377.

He also identifies that the liturgy celebrated in te reo Māori is essential for liturgical inculturation for Māori: “By the Māori Mass God may save Māoris from becoming like them, their diseased younger brothers.”⁷⁹⁶ Baxter asserts that liturgies appropriately grounded in Māori culture will nurture Māori and prevent degradation. Throughout his later works, Baxter stresses the need for Pākehā to learn from Māori. “The Pākehā is always the younger brother, because of his poverty in matters involving suffering, group love and the theology of immanence.”⁷⁹⁷ Baxter perceives that traditional Māori sensibilities and liturgy of the church are already close especially in terms of a shared view of the dead, an awareness of the ongoing link between the “dead and living in the Mystical Body”, in “a sacrificial element is present both in the sharing of food which is part of every tangi, and in the wearing of green branches by those who participate according to the old customs since these green branches have to be cut or broken from the tree. And it is possible that the greenness of the leaves may indicate, among other things, not just the greenness of memory, but a faint fore-shadowing of the Resurrection, an intuition that death is not wholly death – both grief and possibility mingling together.”⁷⁹⁸

Awareness of Māori traditions and how these might coincide and strengthen the liturgy of the church are important aspects of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Baxter hoped that the Jerusalem/ Hiruhārama community would prepare a foundation for a truly native church in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁷⁹⁹

Baxter sees that for the church to be truly grounded in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is essential that Māori culture, spirituality and experience be central to considerations. To take Baxter’s trajectory further, it can be asserted that for liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand to be authentic, the traditions of Māori prophets⁸⁰⁰ such as Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki (c.1832-1893), Te

⁷⁹⁶ Baxter, *Letters Vol 2*, 352.

⁷⁹⁷ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 3*, 290.

⁷⁹⁸ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 2*, 381.

⁷⁹⁹ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 3*, 326.

⁸⁰⁰ See chapter two, 2.5.1 about Māori prophets and sanctorale.

Whiti o Rongomai (c.1830-1907) and Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana (c.1873-1939) must be embraced along with Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), Francis of Assisi (c.1181-1226) and other luminaries of the universal church. He envisages a truly Māori-style church, writing:

I hope that tukutuku panels and painted rafters are part of Te Atua's plan for us. I hope that Te Ariki and Te Whaea will stand in the middle of the house, and look at us with Māori faces. God builds the house. I do not build it. I am its unimportant caretaker. Only God can build with living timber. We build with planks. God builds with souls, and our own doubtful souls have a place somewhere in that unknowable design.⁸⁰¹

Baxter acknowledges that the project to build a truly Aotearoa New Zealand church has already begun; building on the existing foundations may not be straightforward but preliminary work has already started. For Baxter, a church in which the Lord and the Blessed Virgin Mary can stand, at home, grounded, is desirable and achievable. Baxter emphasises that his vision for a truly Aotearoa New Zealand church requires the church to invite Māori and Pākehā sculptors, weavers and painters to imagine and work together to build something beautiful, profound and unique for God, which will heal and enliven the church and people of Aotearoa New Zealand.⁸⁰²

Through the vision he articulates, Baxter gives some direction for those engaged with the liturgical inculturation project in Aotearoa New Zealand. He asserts that the foundations provided by the Church and Māori culture can work well together, that the floorboards are uneven but strong, that the decoration will be mainly in Māori style, and the resulting uniquely Aotearoa New Zealand inculturated space will be built and enjoyed by Māori and Pākehā together, renewing and enlivening the church.

Conclusion

Chapter three of this thesis established a methodology of inculturation which looked through the lenses of te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi

⁸⁰¹ Ibid., 327.

⁸⁰² Ibid., 105-106.

tapu /the one Holy Church. This chapter has considered Baxter's engagement with the three aspects of the proposed methodology and demonstrated how, through the various stages of his journey of identity as a New Zealander, and through the various stages of his relationship with te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church, Baxter can assist in the task of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. As well as being well situated in the three parts of the proposed methodology, through his lived experience and vision, Baxter suggests extension of the methodology of inculturation in these ways:

- a) That Pākehā must be open to acknowledging Māori space and Māori leadership,
- b) That Pākehā must be open to being taught by Māori.
- c) That Pākehā must be open to learn te reo Māori, and be comfortable using it liturgically.
- d) That Pākehā must acknowledge Māori ownership and kaitiakitanga/stewardship of Te Whenua/the land.

Baxter further extends the methodology of inculturation by suggesting that attention be paid to the Māori face of Christ, use of traditional Māori ritual and symbols in liturgy⁸⁰³, and by proposing processes for design of liturgical spaces and commissioning of liturgical art.

The next chapters will consider two case studies: Christmas and Matariki (the period and observances associated with the mid-winter disappearance and re-appearance of the star cluster known as Matariki or Pleiades). Chapter three identified that Chupungco's methodology of inculturation is seen clearly through the lenses of te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church, and therefore seems apt in informing an appropriate methodology for inculturating the liturgical year into the Aotearoa New Zealand context. The next chapters will investigate how liturgies pertaining to two particular festivals using the three criteria established by this research project, along with the help of Chupungco, and

⁸⁰³ For example, the use of the leaves of the Kawakawa (a medicinal plant) which are worn around the head as a wreath during *tangihanga*/ funerals. Kawakawa is "used in a wide number of rituals including the launch of canoes, the opening of houses and the dedication of children in the tohi (dedication) ceremony." Rawinia Higgins, "Tangihanga-death customs – The tangihanga process," *Te Ara*, accessed 1/6/21.

also with Baxter's extended methodology, can become authentically inculturated into Aotearoa New Zealand's seasons.



Illustration 7: Beach with Pohutukawa trees

Chapter 6: Defrosting Christmas

In a 2022 debate about naming of holidays in the New Zealand House of Representatives,⁸⁰⁴ Member of Parliament Golriz Ghahraman asked: “Northern Hemisphere Winter Pine Fest on Dec 25th anyone?” This question indicates an ongoing need for New Zealanders to uncouple celebration of Jesus’ nativity from winter and its accoutrements and to take account of the emplaced reality of New Zealanders’ lived experiences.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the celebration of Christmas often causes irritation and a sense of dislocation for New Zealand Christians. The theological interpretation of Christ's birth through the lens of winter simply does not work in Aotearoa New Zealand when, through Creation (as explored in Chapter Four), God is communicating the opposite season to that being communicated in Christmas liturgical texts, symbols and rituals. Chupungco reminds us that: a local church “will react negatively to a liturgy that employs a foreign cultural pattern. ... A liturgy whose cultural pattern differs radically from that of the local church has to adapt or be pushed to irrelevance.”⁸⁰⁵ If Christmas liturgy is not inculturated to Aotearoa New Zealand’s natural, social or cultural context, it is likely that incoherent, dissonant Christmas texts, symbols and rituals will continue their trajectory toward irrelevance.

To address the current difficulties involved in liturgical celebrations of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand, this chapter will analyse present practices, suggest action to remove texts, symbols and rituals which are not consonant with the local context, and provide examples of how liturgical inculturation of Christmas might occur.

Chapter Three of this thesis established a methodology of inculturation which looked through the lenses of te whenua/the land, te tangata whenua/the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi/the one Holy Church and identified Chupungco as the liturgical inculturation scholar whose

⁸⁰⁴ Quoted in: Zane, Small, “National MP Simon O’Connor questions name of new Matariki holiday over ‘diversity’ concerns”, *Newshub*, 31/3/22, accessed 4/4/22, <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2022/03/national-mp-simon-o-connor-questions-name-of-new-matariki-holiday-over-diversity-concerns.html>.

⁸⁰⁵ Chupungco, *Liturgical Inculturation*, 36.

approach mostly closely aligns with the three aspects that need to be considered in the process of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Chupungco notes that the immediate aim of liturgical inculturation is to create a form of worship that is culturally suited to the local people, so that they can claim the liturgy as their own, and be led into a “fuller experience of Christ, who reveals himself in the people’s language, rites, arts, and symbols.”⁸⁰⁶ The purpose of defrosting Christmas is to discover a deeper mode of celebrating the Nativity of Jesus which is culturally suited to Aotearoa New Zealand, can facilitate a fuller experience of Christ in our midst today, and which New Zealanders can readily claim as their own.

Chapter Five considered Baxter’s engagement with the three aspects of the inculturation methodology being employed in this study and demonstrated how Baxter’s insights can assist Pākehā in the task of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Baxter diagnosed Pākehā failure to connect with the land and with the indigenous people of Aotearoa as problems of spiritual disconnection; he asserted that Pākehā have failed to develop an emotionally and spiritually adequate engagement with their situation in Aotearoa New Zealand. The disconnection Baxter identifies is illustrated by the confused observance of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand. In his time, Baxter understood the urgency of the task of what is now termed liturgical inculturation: “We are time-conscious because every year must bear us out of the fantasy-world of English seasons or Scots traditions, further into our here and now.”⁸⁰⁷ Chapter Five posited that a methodology of inculturation drawing on aspects of Baxter’s approach could be extended usefully by absorbing these notions:

- a) That Pākehā need to be open to acknowledging Māori space and Māori leadership
- b) That Pākehā must be open to being taught by Māori
- c) That Pākehā must be open to learn te reo Māori, and be comfortable using it liturgically
- d) That Pākehā must acknowledge Māori ownership and kaitiakitanga/stewardship of Te Whenua/the land.

⁸⁰⁶ Chupungco, *Methods of Liturgical Inculturation*, 263.

⁸⁰⁷ Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 1*, 18.

Baxter's approach offers a means to extend Chupungco's methodology of inculturation by pointing to the need to pay attention to the Māori face of Christ, use traditional Māori ritual and symbols in liturgy⁸⁰⁸, and propose processes for design of liturgical spaces and commissioning of liturgical art that incorporate significant Māori elements.

Pākehā writer and community worker Lana Hart notes that although it might have been impossible twenty years ago to celebrate festivals with strong Māori content, such celebrations are becoming increasingly possible and desirable because of the changing Aotearoa New Zealand context both for Māori and Pākehā:

Maybe I, as a Kiwi, am growing up too. Maybe the years I've spent breathing the Aotearoan air of te ao Māori (the Māori world) have deepened my understanding of what it means to be tauwi (non-Māori) in this unique, extraordinary part of the world. Whatever the reason, this trajectory we are now on – an uptake of interest, a deepening identity, or even another Māori Renaissance – is something to celebrate. And, of course, to keep working on.⁸⁰⁹

6.1 The date of Christmas

The theological content of Christmas (i.e., the annual celebration of the incarnation of Jesus Christ) is not a problem for Aotearoa New Zealand Christians; the main problem contributing to a feeling of dislocation for Aotearoa New Zealand Christians is the northern-hemisphere-informed texts, symbols and rituals incorporated into the liturgy which are out of place in the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

Authors such as Paul Bradshaw, Raymond Brown, Maxwell Johnson, Joseph Kelly, Adrien Nocent and Thomas Talley have analysed how the celebration of Christmas became established in the liturgical calendar.⁸¹⁰ This project will not argue against Christmas being celebrated on December

⁸⁰⁸ For example, the use of greenery or pare kawakawa worn around the head as a wreath during tangihanga/funerals.

⁸⁰⁹ Lana Hart, "We're growing up as a nation," *Stuff*, 10/5/21, accessed 26/7/21, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/opinion/125066998/were-growing-up-as-a-nation>.

⁸¹⁰ See footnote 152.

25th, because that is the date the Western church has chosen,⁸¹¹ and because it has been celebrated on that date since the festival first arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁸¹²

Because the season in which December 25th falls in Aotearoa New Zealand is opposite to the northern-hemisphere inspired calendar, centuries of popular piety, and powerful commercial forces, celebrating Christmas in summer has proven perplexing for many years. Proposals to change the date of celebration of Christmas from summer to winter in Aotearoa New Zealand have been made by various individuals.⁸¹³ Changing the date of celebration would require Aotearoa New Zealand churches and civil authorities to agree to change their calendars considerably, and if they were to do this some interesting problems would arise. If mid-summer Christmas were switched with mid-winter Nativity of John the Baptist and celebrated on June 24th, Advent would begin on or about June 1st. Those seeking to move Christmas generally have not addressed the implications for the rest of the liturgical year. If Christmas were moved but Easter retained at the same time as the Western church, this could cause difficulties with the timing of Pentecost (fifty days after Easter). Pentecost can fall as early as May 10 and as late as June 13. If Christmas were moved to June 24th and Advent began four weeks before, some years Pentecost would fall in Advent. For example, in 2025 Pentecost June 8th would be the Second Sunday of Advent. Advocates for moving Christmas have not explained how the date of Easter would be calculated if it were moved in relation to a June Christmas. If Christmas were moved, and Easter were not, all major liturgical festivals in Aotearoa would fall between March and

⁸¹¹ Kelly, *Origins of Christmas*, 84. Celebration of Christmas on December 25 spread from Rome, and by c.600 Christmas had become a major feast throughout the church. Some Eastern Orthodox Christians celebrate Christmas on December 25, some Armenian Christians celebrate Christmas on January 6, some Eastern Orthodox churches and some Oriental Orthodox churches celebrate on January 7.

⁸¹² Chupungco writes: "Because the dates of Easter and Christmas are universally accepted, the inculturation of these feasts will have to be confined to the area of language and symbols." Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 165.

⁸¹³ The author knows of three New Zealand Anglican priests who have suggested it including Christchurch priest Simon Acland who proposed it in the 1980s. In personal correspondence on the topic in February 2022 Acland said: "These days I seem to favour communal identity and unity. Though of course I realise we are not at one with Orthodoxy over Easter!"

June; if this were the case, it is likely that a new mid-summer festival would have to be found or created.

Changing the date of Christmas would mean some Aotearoa New Zealand Christians would be the only people in the world celebrating Christmas in June. What would Christian New Zealanders do when the rest of the country has public holidays on Christmas Day and Boxing Day (December 26th) or when New Zealanders go overseas to visit family and friends for Christmas? Changing the date of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand would not work practically. Celebrating Christmas at the same time as the rest of the Western church reinforces the catholicity of the church and powerfully connects Christians in Aotearoa with sisters and brothers throughout the world.

There is no organised movement to change the date of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand; the vast majority of New Zealanders agree with Western Christianity that 25 December is the appropriate date to celebrate Christmas. Churches in Aotearoa New Zealand agree with the core theological content of the festival – celebration of the incarnation. Chupungco notes: “Because the dates of Easter and Christmas are universally accepted, the inculturation of these feasts will have to be confined to the area of language and symbols”⁸¹⁴

The causes of irritation or dislocation for New Zealanders in regard to Christmas generally do not stem from its date, theological content, scripture references, or many of the official liturgical texts of the church.⁸¹⁵ Rather, such problems stem from the fact that the official texts which could do so much more to ground Christmas in this context, and some objects, songs, and external elements which influence liturgical celebration (while also negating Aotearoa New Zealand experience of Christmas), have been permitted to exert an unhealthy and foreign influence on the liturgy for far too long.

⁸¹⁴ Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 165.

⁸¹⁵ Official Christmas liturgies will be considered later in this chapter.

6.2 Christmas and te whenua/the land

If the date of Christmas is not to be moved, the next step in freeing the festival from winter is to pay attention to how God is communicating through Creation in Aotearoa New Zealand on and around December 25th. The cycles of celestial bodies, winds, tides, plants, and creatures can teach the church how to ground and deepen celebration of God's incarnation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Paying attention to place (as Chapter Four of this thesis demonstrated) is not a new concept for Christians; however, incorporating those insights about the effect of place on people's lives, experiences, religious imagination and capacity to comprehend God present in the here and now into the prayers and rites of the liturgy in a localised way, is new for many. Listening to what God is teaching through Creation in a particular place is not the startling innovation of contemporary theologians, but taking its varied impact seriously in the southern hemisphere is relatively new.⁸¹⁶

Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274) wrote "Creation is the primary and most perfect revelation of the Divine."⁸¹⁷ Since the earliest times, humans have observed the natural world and sought to discern divine purpose and meaning in the movement of celestial bodies, natural cycles and weather events. From the Garden of Eden onward, scripture contains many examples of people understanding God's purposes through the natural world.⁸¹⁸ In some instances in scripture, God clearly intends people to take meaning from a natural phenomenon (e.g., the star above the stable in Bethlehem), while on other occasions God instructs people to observe some aspect of Creation to explain or illustrate God's purposes (e.g., Noah and the flood and the Rainbow,⁸¹⁹ Abraham and

⁸¹⁶ See footnote 155.

⁸¹⁷ Quoted in: L. Vaughan-Lee, ed., *Spiritual Ecology: The Cry of the Earth* (Point Reyes: Golden Sufi Center, 2016), 235.

⁸¹⁸ For example: earthquakes and storms throughout scriptures. See: Psalm 104:4 "You make the winds your messengers, fire and flame your ministers." Isaiah 29:6 "you will be visited by the LORD of hosts with thunder and earthquake and great noise, with whirlwind and tempest.", Jonah 1:4 "But the LORD hurled a great wind upon the sea" Nahum 1:3 "His way is in whirlwind and storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet." Mark 4:41 "Who then is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?"

⁸¹⁹ Genesis 9:8-17.

Sarah and the stars⁸²⁰, the cloud of Transfiguration⁸²¹). In other instances, scripture indicates that God is not in the natural event, such as with the prophet Elijah.⁸²²

Remembering that God created humanity, the world and all that is in it, and that God affirms creation as good, are important points for those involved in liturgical inculturation to keep in mind. Christmas liturgies in Aotearoa New Zealand which forget God's love and care for Creation and humanity in the Aotearoa context can seem wilfully to exclude what God is doing through Creation, and deliberately overlook cultures and human experience in this place and context.

Throughout church history, theologians and liturgists have looked to Creation for signs of God's activity and desires, and have used images of Creation in liturgy to worship God and inspire and inform the faithful.⁸²³ Inculturation of Christmas into the seasons of Aotearoa New Zealand must necessarily be informed by Creation as experienced in Aotearoa New Zealand at that time of year.

6.3 Christmas and te tangata whenua/ the people of the land

To defrost Christmas and pay attention to what God is teaching through Creation, the church needs to receive wisdom from the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. Their long and intimate experience and careful observation of this place can lead the church to deepen and ground celebration of the festival in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁸²⁴

It is estimated that there are more than 370 million indigenous people spread across seventy countries worldwide.⁸²⁵ The United Nations defines indigenous people in this way:

⁸²⁰ Genesis 15.5.

⁸²¹ Matthew 17:1-8, Mark 9:2-8, Luke 9:28-36.

⁸²² 1 Kings 19:11-13.

⁸²³ Including: Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348-c.413), Hildegard of Bingen (1098 -1179), Mechtild of Magdeburg (1210–1280), Meister Eckhart (c. 1260–1327) and Julian of Norwich (1342–c. 1415).

⁸²⁴ Baxter's points can be applied here: a) That Pākehā must be open to acknowledging Māori space and Māori leadership, b) That Pākehā must be open to being taught by Māori, c) That Pākehā must be open to learn te reo Māori, and be comfortable using it liturgically, d) That Pākehā acknowledge must Māori ownership and kaitiakitanga/stewardship of Te Whenua/the land. It must remembered that in inculturation, a balance is necessary between local knowledge and official texts.

⁸²⁵ United Nations, *Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Voices factsheet*, no date, accessed 26/7/21, https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/5session_factsheet1.pdf.

Indigenous peoples are inheritors and practitioners of unique cultures and ways of relating to people and the environment. They have retained social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live. Despite their cultural differences, indigenous peoples from around the world share common problems related to the protection of their rights as distinct peoples.

Indigenous peoples have sought recognition of their identities, way of life and their right to traditional lands, territories and natural resources for years, yet throughout history, their rights have always been violated...The international community now recognizes that special measures are required to protect their rights and maintain their distinct cultures and way of life.⁸²⁶

The global Anglican Indigenous Network affirms:

We believe that God is leading the Church to a turning point in its history and that the full partnership of indigenous peoples is essential. Therefore we pledge to work together to exercise our leadership in contributing our vision and gifts to transform the life of the Christian community.⁸²⁷

The final document from the Catholic Church's Amazon Synod of 2019 called the church to maintain a "preferential option for indigenous peoples"⁸²⁸ and to listen to, and learn from indigenous people:

The pattern of thinking of indigenous peoples offers an integrated vision of reality, capable of understanding the multiple connections existing throughout creation. This contrasts with the dominant current of Western thought that tends to fragment reality in order to understand it but then fails to articulate the relationships between the various fields of knowledge. The traditional management of what nature offers is expressed in what we now call sustainable management. We also find other values in native peoples such as reciprocity, solidarity, the sense of community, equality, the family, their social organisation and their sense of service.⁸²⁹

As indigenous people are active in the church, it seems self-evident that indigenous people should be part of liturgical inculturation processes if the liturgy is going to connect with all God's people (indigenous and non-indigenous). Insights from indigenous people identified by the Amazon Synod can

⁸²⁶ *Indigenous Peoples at the UN*, no date, accessed 26/7/21, <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html>.

⁸²⁷ The Anglican Indigenous Network - Mission Statement, states its aims in this area clearly. See <https://ain.anglicancommunion.org/>, accessed 26/7/21.

⁸²⁸ *Final Document of the Amazon Synod*, section 27.

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*, Section 44.

usefully inform the process of liturgical inculturation. On indigenous people and inculturation in general, the Amazon Synod agreed:

In the incarnation Christ did not grasp his prerogative as God and became man in a particular culture in order to identify himself with all humanity. Inculturation is both the incarnation of the Gospel in indigenous cultures ("what is not assumed is not redeemed", Saint Irenaeus, cf. Puebla 400) and the introduction of these cultures into the life of the Church. In this process, the indigenous peoples are protagonists, accompanied by their pastors and pastoral agents.⁸³⁰

The Synod affirmed that:

The liturgy should respond to culture so that it may be the source and summit of Christian life (cf. SC 10) and be really linked to the people's sufferings and joys. We should give an authentically catholic response to the request of the Amazonian communities to adapt the liturgy by valuing the original worldview, traditions, symbols and rites that include transcendent, community and ecological dimensions.⁸³¹

Engagement with indigenous people regarding liturgical inculturation is essential to ensure that liturgical inculturation proceeds with appropriate respect for indigenous people and indigenous knowledge. The Anglican and Catholic Churches globally have committed themselves to engagement with indigenous people and see liturgical inculturation as part of the process of listening to and learning from and with indigenous people, and which benefits the whole church.

The Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other churches in Aotearoa New Zealand have made various commitments to partner with Māori. Te Pouhere/The Constitution of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia states that Māori and Pākehā Anglicans have: "covenanted with each other and agreed to ... implement and entrench the principles of partnership between Māori and Pākehā and bicultural development."⁸³² Liturgical developments and decisions in the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia therefore include indigenous people through

⁸³⁰ Ibid., Section 51.

⁸³¹ Ibid., Section 116.

⁸³² Anglican Church of Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, *Constitution*, <https://www.anglican.org.nz/About/Constitution-te-Pouhere>, accessed 26/7/21.

the Liturgical Commission and through Te Hīnota Whānui/The General Synod. The Anglican Liturgical Commission is made up of two Māori representatives, two representatives from the Diocese of Polynesia and two Pākehā representatives.⁸³³ This is appropriate because involvement of indigenous as well as non-indigenous people in liturgical development in Aotearoa is necessary to ensure respect for indigenous people and indigenous knowledge and is also required by canon law.⁸³⁴

In a letter explaining his revelation of 1968, Baxter wrote: “The Māori is the elder brother and must teach the younger, we have reversed this to our sorrow”.⁸³⁵ Listening to and learning from Māori is central to liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

6.3.1 Te Tiriti o Waitangi

In the Aotearoa New Zealand context, conversations regarding liturgical inculturation must consider Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi. Partnership between Pākehā and Māori is the basis of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the foundation of public life in Aotearoa New Zealand. Te Tiriti was signed in 1840 by the British Crown and Māori chiefs at Waitangi and other places around the country.⁸³⁶ How to live in respectful partnership and how to honour the principles of Te Tiriti continue to be topics of vigorous conversation in New Zealand church and society and are important for liturgical inculturation.

The Waitangi Tribunal was established by the New Zealand Government in 1975 to be a permanent commission of inquiry to monitor how the Treaty partnership is being enacted. The Tribunal’s 2011 KAT report was written in response to a claim to the Tribunal about the place of Māori culture, identity and traditional knowledge in the nation's laws, and in government policies and

⁸³³ Anglican Church of Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, *Canon XXX ‘Of the Common Life Liturgical Commission’*, <https://www.anglican.org.nz/Resources/Canons>, accessed 26/7/21.

⁸³⁴ Ibid.

⁸³⁵ James K. Baxter, *James K. Baxter: Letters of a Poet, vol. 2*, ed. John Weir (Wellington: Victoria University, 2019), 335.

⁸³⁶ The treaty was signed by more than 500 Māori on nine separate sheets in multiple places around the country.

practices. *KAT* offers a model for engagement with traditional Māori knowledge which can assist and enable liturgical inculturation.

The claim asks who controls mātauranga Māori; *KAT* states:

We have intentionally not set out a definition of mātauranga Māori. In truth, it is as difficult to define as Western knowledge. But a definition is unnecessary anyway. We do not recommend that all mātauranga Māori should be protected, but only those aspects of it so personally held by traditional Māori communities that a kaitiakitanga relationship arises in respect of it.⁸³⁷

The question of how indigenous knowledge should be approached and engaged with is crucial in the process of liturgical inculturation. *KAT* identified that Aotearoa New Zealand sits poised at a crossroads both in race relations and on “our long quest for a mature sense of national identity.”⁸³⁸ The report reflected that there is “increasing acknowledgement that Māori identity and culture is now a vital aspect of New Zealand identity and culture.” Aotearoa New Zealand, the Tribunal says, is beginning a transition to a new and unique national identity. These observations ring true for liturgy in Aotearoa as well; and yet, even today, in some contexts, the inclusion of any elements of Māori culture in liturgy may seem an unwelcome intrusion, while the cultural identities communicated in some Pākehā liturgies reflect those of 1662 England or contemporary white American Pentecostalism.⁸³⁹

Part of the challenge for liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand is the existence of tension regarding how indigenous knowledge mātauranga Māori is used liturgically, and who has

⁸³⁷ Kaitiakitanga means guardian and protection relationship. *KAT*, 96.

⁸³⁸ *KAT*, intro.

⁸³⁹ In some Aotearoa New Zealand churches which perceive themselves as having a refined liturgical or musical tradition, Aotearoa New Zealand identity is not valued as highly as some European or Pre-Vatican II tradition. In 2022 the Anglican Cathedral in Christchurch advertised for an Assistant Organist & Director of Girl Choristers, the add states: “The Cathedral Choir, founded in 1881, sings a full schedule of services ... A full English Cathedral tradition in the most beautiful country in the world.” <https://jobs.churchtimes.co.uk/jobs/Assistant-Organist-and-Director-of-Girl-Choristers-in-New-Zealand-jn9919>, accessed 6/3/22. In many Aotearoa New Zealand Pentecostal churches, the identity is placeless and looks and sounds like Pentecostal in North America or Australia, for example the Wellington-based Arise Church <https://arisechurch.com/>, accessed 6/3/22.

authority to enable, prohibit or guide liturgical use of mātauranga Māori. Some modes of interaction between indigenous culture and liturgy are life-giving encounters, others are not (as was noted earlier in chapters 3 and 5). For some Pākehā, using mātauranga Māori liturgically is too difficult because they feel unqualified to do so or are afraid of criticism if they try to incorporate it; some Māori are rightly concerned that mātauranga Māori will not always be used liturgically with the appropriate understanding or respect.⁸⁴⁰ However for liturgical inculturation to continue and deepen in Aotearoa New Zealand, the church must find ways to engage with Māori as respected partners with much knowledge and expertise to offer.⁸⁴¹

The principle of valuing Māori culture and the principle of partnership between cultures (Māori, Pākehā and more) are most appropriate for guiding the process of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. The *KAT* report addresses the question of who owns cultural knowledge, and therefore who can legitimately use it. In terms of liturgical inculturation, questions to be asked include: who owns Māori liturgical texts, music and images, and who can judge the propriety of liturgical usage of mātauranga Māori. *KAT* offers some guidance:

The language of exclusive rights is not apt for cultural knowledge or ideas – their boundaries are too elusive and they are in a constant state of change, exclusive possession of mātauranga Māori in a modern context is impossible. Nor can any culture – Māori culture included – be exclusively possessed. These things are not like land or other physical resources. Nor are they like the fixed words and images of copyright and trademarks. They exist in the hearts and minds of the communities that created them. In fact, even if it were possible to grant exclusivity to a people’s cultural and intellectual tradition so that only they could have access to it, we think the act of doing so would be the death knell of that tradition. These things grow and evolve at the margins, in response to external stimuli. We saw that kind of cultural growth after Māori arrived in Aotearoa. And although British colonisation inflicted deep injuries on Māori society, the introduction of literacy, iron tools, and Christianity generated a wave of intellectual and artistic innovation that is still being

⁸⁴⁰ An example of questionable use of mātauranga Māori liturgically is the work John Menzies (1839–1919). His art was a 19th and 20th century European interpretation of Māori art made for Pākehā without dialogue with Māori people. His use of Māori designs out of their proper context is an example of “Accommodation” as defined in Chapter Three of this thesis. Canterbury Museum, *JH Menzies: Peninsula Carver*, no date, accessed 16/10/21, <https://www.canterburymuseum.com/discover/blog-posts/j-h-menzies-peninsula-carver/>.

⁸⁴¹ See *KAT*, XVIII.

felt today. Building a legal wall around mātauranga Māori would choke it.⁸⁴²

Identifying appropriate strategies for churches in Aotearoa to use mātauranga Māori in liturgy has the capacity to generate a wave of theologically and culturally appropriate liturgical inculturation throughout the nation.

This chapter has established that Christmas should not be moved away from summer, that attention must be paid to what God is teaching through Creation, and that indigenous people can inform the church regarding how to deepen celebration of the feast in the Aotearoa New Zealand context. To ensure that a defrosted celebration is consonant with the one, holy, catholic, apostolic church, Aotearoa New Zealand Christians must understand that they in a dialogical relationship with the global church and be open to receiving wisdom from around the world to deepen and ground the festival in Aotearoa New Zealand.

6.4 Christmas and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /The one Holy Church

According to Chupungco, “An inculturated liturgy is the liturgy of a local church, but it will always maintain a universal dimension because of its essential content or meaning. Every local liturgy belongs to the entire church.”⁸⁴³ As seen in Chapter Three, inculturation is encouraged by Catholic, Anglican and other churches within certain parameters in order that each local liturgy can be claimed by the whole church. Inculturation parameters stress the need to maintain continuity with the Gospel, and coherence with the worldwide church. Chupungco warns: “The liturgy should not be so localised that it does not even evoke the universal and unifying elements of Christian worship.”⁸⁴⁴ Vatican II’s Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy states:

The liturgy is made up of unchangeable elements divinely instated, and of elements subject to change. These latter not only may be changed but ought to be changed

⁸⁴² Ibid., 112.

⁸⁴³ Chupungco, *Liturgy and Inculturation*, 346.

⁸⁴⁴ Ibid., 349.

with the passage of time, if they have suffered from the intrusion of anything out of harmony with the inner nature of the liturgy or have become less suitable.⁸⁴⁵

The 1988 Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops decided that:

This Conference... urges the Church everywhere to work at expressing the unchanging Gospel of Christ in words, actions, names, customs, liturgies, which communicate relevantly in each contemporary culture.

This Conference resolves that each Province should be free, subject to essential universal norms of worship and to valuing of traditional liturgical materials to seek that expression of worship which is appropriate to its Christian people in their cultural context.⁸⁴⁶

American Episcopalian liturgical scholar Leonel Mitchell (1930-2012) suggests that the divinely instituted elements in the liturgy (which are unchangeable and therefore constitute the essential core of Christian liturgy) include:

- Proclamation of the gospel
- Assembling for worship
- Celebration of baptism with water
- Celebration of the Eucharist with bread and wine
- Ministry of reconciliation (in some form) and
- Praying the Lord's Prayer.⁸⁴⁷

To this lean core, Mitchell adds those elements which have been part of Christian worship since patristic times:

- Offering of daily prayer
- Weekly celebration of the Lord's Day
- Observance of at least the major festivals of the church year, and
- An ordered ministry of Word and Sacrament.⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴⁵ SC 21.

⁸⁴⁶ Quoted in Leonel Mitchell, "Essential Worship", 34.

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid., 35.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid., 35

Mitchell's list is a helpful guide when considering what the holy catholic and apostolic church considers central in relation to inculturated liturgies.⁸⁴⁹ Clarity on the unchangeable, divinely instituted elements in the liturgy is one gift the global church and liturgical experts can give to Christians seeking to inculturate the liturgical year into Aotearoa New Zealand's seasons.

6.5 Decolonising Christmas

Since the celebration of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand waters by Abel Tasman and his shipmates in 1649,⁸⁵⁰ many celebrations of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand have been shaped by northern-hemisphere mindsets despite taking place in the middle of summer.⁸⁵¹ Colonisation of Christmas by northern-hemisphere experience and expectations has been remarkably effective in Aotearoa New Zealand in spite of Creation proclaiming summer and in spite of the lived experience of the people of the land that Christmas is a summer celebration. Holding on to northern-hemisphere Christmas traditions indicates a colonised mentality and a dogged denial of the lived reality of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand. Choosing to continue using inappropriate Christmas texts, symbols and rituals negates the experience of New Zealanders and denies them the fuller experience of Christ that liturgical inculturation can offer.⁸⁵²

To decolonise Christmas, the festival needs to be completely unshackled from winter and dark/cold imagery imposed by those from the northern hemisphere. Instead, the festival needs to be firmly grounded in summer through appropriate texts, symbols, and rituals. Chupungco writes about a "due process of purification"⁸⁵³ of rites. He states "there can be instances when Christians have to turn their backs on some components of their tradition because they are irremediably incompatible

⁸⁴⁹ Chupungco quotes VL in suggesting that faith, sacraments, and practices received from the apostolic tradition such as observance of Sunday, daily prayer, and the practice of penance are essential to the nature and purpose of the liturgy. Chupungco, *Liturgy and Inculturation*, 351.

⁸⁵⁰ See chapter 2.

⁸⁵¹ For example, the numerous liturgies and events which have used carols mentioning snow, winter, holly, ivy or conifers. In the author's experience, unless winter-inspired carols are specifically excluded they find their way into liturgies and events on the basis of being 'well-known'.

⁸⁵² Chupungco, *Methods of Liturgical Inculturation*, 263.

⁸⁵³ *Ibid.*, 265.

with the gospel.”⁸⁵⁴ If the reality of lived local expression is to be respected and the universality of God’s presence and incarnational outreach is to be taken seriously, then it appears clear that winter themes are incompatible with Christmas as it is lived and celebrated in Aotearoa New Zealand. In this context Christmas must undergo a process of purification of everything related to winter, and be reborn using the methodology already suggested, namely, considering how liturgy interacts with: te whenua/the land, te tangata whenua/the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu/the one holy church. The study will now demonstrate how Christmas might be purified of winter.

6.5.1 Listening to te whenua/the land to inform liturgical inculturation

December 1st is the meteorological start of summer in Aotearoa New Zealand; the summer solstice occurs around Dec 21 (the astronomical start to the season).⁸⁵⁵ If Christmas is celebrated on 25 December, although tempest, storm and wind are all possible, through Creation God is teaching Aotearoa New Zealand Christians that Christmas is undoubtedly a summer festival, bursting with light and life. The sun is at its highest point, summer weather patterns are at play, Pōhutukawa and other plants are blooming or in fruit, fish are plentiful, birds and insects are active. God through *Te Whenua* is clearly teaching that the birth of the “Sun of Righteousness” takes place in summer when light and life are abundant.

To localise Christmas to Aotearoa New Zealand, liturgical texts, symbols and rituals must reflect what is happening in Creation in Aotearoa New Zealand at Christmas. To use texts, symbols and rituals which are in conflict with the seasons, the cycles of celestial bodies, the winds, tides, plants and creatures, ignores the work of the Creator here and now and asks New Zealanders to

⁸⁵⁴ Chupungco, *Liturgy and Inculturation*, 340.

⁸⁵⁵ The National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research states: "While astronomical seasons are based on the position of Earth in relation to the sun, meteorological seasons are split into groups of three calendar months, where the start of summer is defined as 1st December. Meteorologists have been using the meteorological convention to define seasons since the late 1700s. Calendar months align closely with temperature patterns, so this has made it much easier for us to calculate statistics and analyse trends." *The Great Debate: when does summer begin*, 21/12/21, accessed 25/1/22, <https://niwa.co.nz/news/the-great-debate-when-does-summer-begin%E2%80%AF>.

become detached from reality in order to pray. Paying attention to and openly acknowledging what is happening in Creation in Aotearoa New Zealand will free Christmas liturgies from the bonds of northern-hemisphere captivity.

6.5.2 Liturgical text problems

We in New Zealand and the Southern Hemisphere have an experience of December which is quite different to Europe and the Northern Hemisphere. Here we too are waiting, but it is for the summer holidays, for examinations and their results, and for the end of the year. Images of reassessment, first-fruits, new birth and springtime link surprisingly well even with the readings of the Three Year Series and its derivative, the Revised Common Lectionary, both designed in the Northern hemisphere.⁸⁵⁶

In the quote above, Anglican liturgist Bosco Peters points out that the theme of waiting during Advent is the same in all countries; however, the placement of Advent and Christmas in the academic and work year means that Advent and Christmas are experienced in a particular way in Aotearoa New Zealand. In Aotearoa, school and work stops at Christmas, and the country closes for most of January. Many New Zealanders experience Christmas as the crown of the year; Christmas is the goal for those struggling through the year, the gateway to the freedom of summer holidays. However, Advent can be a gruelling time; as well as organising everything to do with Christmas, the year's work must be completed before 25 December. Advent can be frantically busy, but arriving at Christmas with the busyness of the year behind us is especially sweet and leads to a particular appreciation of Christmas. All of these factors flavour reception of Advent liturgical texts. Peters is correct in asserting that the lens of our context colours the way we perceive the lectionary readings and Advent liturgies; the same reading will be received differently in Aotearoa from how it is received in Ireland. However, scripture does not mention snow and ice and biblical texts generally do not contribute to the need to defrost Christmas. Eminent Aotearoa New Zealand writer Joy Cowley writes:

⁸⁵⁶ Peters, *Celebrating Eucharist*, 133.

For this country and its people, the prevailing symbol of the Christmas season is not snow but light. The star that heralds the Christ child in our midst, is the sun ... We worship with sandals and short sleeves and sunglasses pushed up on our foreheads, in churches filled with the scent of sweet peas. We eat cold ham and strawberries on beaches. We play tennis and cricket, and in the long, late sunset, we hold sleepy children and thank God for the gift of life. And we sing carols about snow!⁸⁵⁷

It is helpful for inculturation if texts employed in the liturgy echo rather than contradict what God is teaching though Creation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

As Clare Johnson has articulated, Advent carols yearning for the coming of the light in a time when many are avoiding the harsh light of summer make little sense.⁸⁵⁸ In Murihiku/Southland in December, there is an average of 188 hours of sunshine and the sun sets around 9.30pm.⁸⁵⁹ This amount of light means that texts about darkness, candle-lit processions and services by candle-light are always going to be a challenge. Creation teaches us that Advent in Aotearoa is bright, light, and hot. There are many carols rejoicing in the light rather than bewailing darkness;⁸⁶⁰ these are appropriate to celebrate the coming of the light of the world when the sun is at its highest point. Some non-New Zealand carols which mention summer and winter can be used in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁸⁶¹

It is clear that liturgical texts, carols and poetry which mention snow or environmental conditions at that time of year in Europe or North America⁸⁶² are not appropriate for use in public

⁸⁵⁷ New Zealand Hymnbook Trust, *Carol our Christmas: A Book of New Zealand Carols* (Raumati Beach: New Zealand Hymnbook Trust, 1996), v.

⁸⁵⁸ Clare Johnson, "Advent-Purple Trees."

⁸⁵⁹ Timeanddate.com, <https://www.timeanddate.com/sun/new-zealand/invercargill?month=12&year=2023>.

⁸⁶⁰ There are numerous Aotearoa New Zealand hymns mentioning light and summer, see *Carol our Christmas*.

⁸⁶¹ For example a verse in Prudentius's (348-c.413) hymn *Of the Father's heart/love begotten*: "Let the storm and summer sunshine...day and night their Lord adore."

⁸⁶² Including: *El desembre congelat/ Cold December's winds were stilled* (Catalan trad.), *Es ist ein Roess entsprungen* (15th century Praetorius, 1609), *The Huron Carol/T'was in the moon of wintertime* (Jean de Brebeuf 1593-1649), *Good King Wenceslas* (J. M. Neale 1818-1866), *I sing of a Maiden* (15th century from Sloane MS as in Early English Lyrics), *People Look East* (Eleanor Farjeon 1881-1965), *The darkest midnight in December* (W. Devereux fl.1728), *The Snow lies Thick* (Selwyn Image 1849-1930).

worship in Aotearoa. Carols mentioning snow in the Holy Land⁸⁶³ are more of a challenge; we do not know if there was snow at Jesus' birth; however in the 2020s there is little likelihood of snow in December in Bethlehem.⁸⁶⁴ If a carol depicts the historical physical context of the incarnation rather than promoting the ideal of a current Christmas experience, it could be appropriately used in Aotearoa;⁸⁶⁵ however, as there are so many snow-free carols available, using snowy texts at Christmas seems unjustifiable. Chupungco notes:

The liturgy can help to eliminate the sensation of celebrating a winter feast in summer. Songs that exalt the white winter of Christmas remove the feast from the reality of a scorching sun and alienate it from the actual experience of the community... the work of adaptation can begin with songs and hymns that evoke the seasonal experience of those who celebrate the feast in the heat of summer... in short, when Christmas is held in summer, it is summer and not winter, and its liturgy must not be unmindful of this reality.⁸⁶⁶

Official Christmas liturgies of the Catholic and Anglican churches in Aotearoa New Zealand say very little about seasons – a winter Christmas is not explicit in these texts; however, a predominance of 'light out of darkness' imagery in the prayers, and the spectre of extra-liturgical allusions to the concurrent northern-hemisphere environmental experience of seasonal darkness and longing for light at Christmas time, are hard to ignore.

⁸⁶³ *Christmas Day* (Andrew Young (1885-1971), *See Amid the winter's snow* (E. Caswell 1814-1878), *Behold a silly/simple tender babe* (Robert Southwell c.1561-1595), *In the Bleak midwinter* (Christina Rossetti), *The First Nowell* (English trad.), *Three Kings* (trad. Flemish), *Snow in the Street* (William Morris 1834-1896).

⁸⁶⁴ "The first month of the winter, December, is still a mild month in Bethlehem, with temperature in the range of an average low of 7°C and an average high of 14°C. In December, the average high-temperature drops, from a pleasant 20°C in November, to a mild 14°C. The average low-temperature, is 7°C. In December, in Bethlehem, the rain falls for 11 days. Throughout December" 111mm (4.37") of precipitation is accumulated. In Bethlehem, West Bank, during the entire year, the rain falls for 59 days and collects up to"557mm (21.93") of precipitation. January, February and December are months with snowfall in Bethlehem. Months with the most snowfall days in Bethlehem, West Bank, are January, February and December, with an average of 1 snowfall days." Weather Atlas, *December weather forecast, Bethlehem, West Bank*, no date, accessed 25/1/22, https://www.weather-atlas.com/en/west-bank/bethlehem-weather-december#climate_text_1.

⁸⁶⁵ *The First Nowell's* line "on a cold winter's night" could be seen as documenting the context of the incarnation, whereas *See amid the winter's snow* moves to promoting an ideal Christmas weather.

⁸⁶⁶ Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 199.

The texts in *The Roman Missal approved for use in the Dioceses of New Zealand*⁸⁶⁷ consist of the official *Amended Latin Third Typical Edition* of 2008 which is intended to be used by the global church without special mention of place or season. The collects, prayers over the offerings, prayers after Communion and some prefaces for the Sundays of Advent and the Christmas masses have been translated into te reo Māori.⁸⁶⁸

The Anglican *A New Zealand Prayer Book: He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* includes various texts which could be interpreted as being about Advent and Christmas taking place in summer's light. However, these texts mostly refer to light dawning after darkness (as it does every day of the year) rather than about the intense light experienced in summer.⁸⁶⁹ If there are no place-specific texts which reflect the southern seasons, referencing 'scattering the darkness' in December liturgies in New Zealand feels less like a celebration in summer and a more like liturgy from a winter mind-set.

Both the Catholic and Anglican liturgical books are illustrated with Aotearoa specific art and design and they both include texts in te reo Māori. They are clearly Aotearoa New Zealand books; however, the official Christmas liturgical texts contained within lack references to local environmental season, place or experience. Without specificity to place and season, the Christmas texts are generic, colourless and flavourless. The official Christmas texts do not reflect a "fuller experience of Christ, who reveals himself in the people's language, rites, arts, and symbols,"⁸⁷⁰ as Chupungco defines liturgical inculturation.

If celebrated in te reo Māori, these texts would feel more earthed in Aotearoa. In his 1968 revelation, Baxter heard God instructing him to go to Jerusalem/Hiruhārama and learn te reo. Baxter understood that in order for the church and its liturgy to be truly grounded in Aotearoa, te reo Māori must play a role:

To the Pākehā - 'Come - the Māori is the Elder Brother- Learn spoken Māori, do

⁸⁶⁷ *The Roman Missal approved for use in the Dioceses of New Zealand* (Wellington: Printlink, 2010).

⁸⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 94-135, 527-531.

⁸⁶⁹ *A New Zealand Prayer Book*, 431, 474, 526, 527-8, 550-564

⁸⁷⁰ Chupungco, *Methods of Liturgical Inculturation*, 263.

without money and books, work with the hands and the land' ...This fool is in the hands of God. Pray for him. If the tree grows, come to it. My terror is great.⁸⁷¹

Using te reo in liturgy may well terrify some Pākehā, but as it is an official language of the nation, it is used increasingly in public settings, and is a strong aspect of national identity. Use of even limited amounts of te reo Māori plays a vital role for all New Zealanders in the process of inculturating liturgy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

If the official Christmas texts referencing obviously Aotearoa New Zealand songs, art and plants, were used in liturgy, the placelessness of the current liturgical texts would not matter quite so much because place and cultural specificity would be affirmed by other means. However, for most New Zealanders, Aotearoa songs, art and plants are missing in worship. The intentional localisation of liturgical texts at Christmas is of vital importance to the liturgical inculturation of this season.

On inculturated texts, Chupungco advises that "One should take account of the current season of the year and the images and cosmic manifestations it displays. In this way, the Christian feasts will make their way to the people's perception and experience of times and seasons."⁸⁷² This is what the above examples of mild contextualisation of our liturgical prayers attempt.

6.5.3 Popular piety problems

Specific plants have particular connections to liturgical feasts: hyssop (Ash Wednesday), palms (Palm Sunday/entrance into Jerusalem), roses and lilies (Blessed Virgin Mary), Pussy Willow (Palm Sunday and Easter in some Slavic traditions), Poinsettias (Christmas), Easter Orchids. Flowers adorn churches except when their absence underlines the austerity of Lent; plants used in liturgy are an important part of popular piety and enhance celebration of the liturgical year. The 1978 *Environment and Art in Catholic Worship* document states: "Flowers, plants and trees – genuine, of course – are particularly apt for the decoration of liturgical space, since they are of nature, always

⁸⁷¹ Baxter, *Letters of a Poet Vol 2*, 337.

⁸⁷² Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 171.

discreet in their message, never cheap or tawdry or ill-made.”⁸⁷³ On the importance of plants in liturgy Archbishop Emeritus Winston Halapua states:

Plants are us. When our two boys were born I went back home and planted trees. You take a Pacific person outside their home and ask them about each tree, each tree represents vision, dreams and history. Missionaries separated humans from trees, plants and the natural world and perceived things through dualistic way of looking at things... we have a context, we are proud of our plants and we know why. Each plant is unique, some have beautiful flowers, some have perfume, some have healing qualities, some chase away ghosts. Sometimes the plants we try and destroy the scientists tell us they are useful. When we talk about ecological interconnectedness we are talking about relationship. Foreign trees were brought here by different people at different times and they have their significance, but if they are here to displace indigenous plants then we have problems. If it is not indigenous, if we do not know the stories, if we don't know the identity of these things what use are they? Artificial plants are like vestments in worship – if you don't understand the meaning and importance of what you are using don't use them. It is better to have no flowers than artificial ones.⁸⁷⁴

The Vatican's 2001 *DPPL* acknowledges people's sensitivity to nature's cycles, noting that:

“Advent is celebrated during the Winter interstice in the northern hemisphere. This indicates a change of seasons and a moment of rest in many spheres of human endeavour. Popular piety is extremely sensitive to the vital cycle of nature.”⁸⁷⁵

From his local context, Baxter offers a piquant and poetic comment in his poem ‘A Christmas Wish’ (quoted in Chapter Five) which illustrates some non-textual problems for Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand. Baxter asserts that foreign plants are expected to ward off winter blues, the assumed location for Christmas celebration is inside, and winter food is the authentic cuisine for this occasion. While Baxter's Christmas wishes are more populist than liturgical, the non-textual Christmas expectations he addresses (including plants), are clearly problematic for Aotearoa and leave Baxter and others yearning for recognition and acceptance of the Aotearoa experience. Liturgy and popular piety are different forms of religious expression, but popular experience is powerful in

⁸⁷³ USCCB, “Environment and Art in Catholic Worship,” section 102.

⁸⁷⁴ Telephone conversation with Most Rev. Dr. Winston Halapua and Rev. Sue Halapua, March 14 2023

⁸⁷⁵ *DPPL*, 100.

shaping how liturgy and the liturgical year are approached and interpreted. The *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy* explains that:

Popular piety is an expression of faith which avails of certain cultural elements proper to a specific environment which is capable of interpreting and questioning in a lively and effective manner the sensibilities of those who live in that same environment. Genuine forms of popular piety, expressed in a multitude of different ways, derives from the faith and, therefore, must be valued and promoted. Such authentic expressions of popular piety are not at odds with the centrality of the Sacred Liturgy. Rather, in promoting the faith of the people, who regard popular piety as a natural religious expression, they predispose the people for the celebration of the Sacred Mysteries.⁸⁷⁶

Baxter's 'Christmas Wish' poem illustrates how popular expectations and popular piety, inherited from the northern hemisphere, shape experience and understanding of what constitutes a 'real' Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand. *DPPL* accurately identifies that people's sensibilities are finely tuned to the seasons of Creation which reinforces the importance of inculturation of the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Two items from northern hemisphere popular piety (Advent wreaths and Christmas trees) have entered churches and liturgies in Aotearoa New Zealand and have unhelpfully reinforced popular conception of the inevitable relationship between Christmas and winter.

While the origins of Advent wreaths are contested,⁸⁷⁷ they are used in a variety of churches to mark the Sundays of Advent.⁸⁷⁸ Some wreaths have a candle for each of the four Sundays of the season, some have an additional Christ candle; the colours of the candles vary with different traditions. Some wreaths are candle stands, some are suspended from the ceiling, many feature a ring of foliage. The ring can be said to symbolise eternal life, and evergreen foliage such as that from

⁸⁷⁶ *DPPL*, 4.

⁸⁷⁷ Some assert that the Advent wreath is of pre-Christian origin, others that it is of Medieval Catholic origin, others point to nineteenth Protestant Pastor Johann Hinrich Wichern. Most agree Advent wreaths come from Germanic peoples.

⁸⁷⁸ See *DPPL*, 98.

fir trees has long been used in northern European culture as a symbol of the continuity of life even in the depths of winter. Christmas carol specialists Keyte and Parrott assert:

The symbol of the evergreen was too strongly rooted in the old European religions to be entirely eradicated with the coming of Christianity. The church tolerated these ancient symbols of the continuing life-force at the winter solstice and assimilated them as Christian symbols of the renewal of life at Christ's birth.⁸⁷⁹

Over time, the church has inculturated Northern European cultural traditions regarding particular foliage into sacred spaces and to enhance seasonal liturgies. The inculturation of specific seasonal plants related to Advent and Christmas works well in Northern Europe and North America. However, the seasonal specificity of these plants means the inculturation achieved in Northern Europe and North America does not work outside those regions. There is an urgent need for a new level of inculturation or translation of Advent and Christmas plants into the Aotearoa New Zealand liturgical context.

Pinecones used in a wreath may suggest hope and the seed of life. Adding red coloured holly and berries is thought to point ahead to Jesus' sacrifice, death and resurrection.⁸⁸⁰

There is much debate too about the origin of Christmas trees, and *DPPL* notes that the Christmas tree:

Evokes both the tree planted in the centre of Eden (Gen 2, 9), and the tree of the Cross, which lends it a Christological significance: Christ is the true tree of life, born of human stock, of the Virgin Mary, the tree which is always green and productive. In the Nordic countries, the tree is decorated with apples and hosts. "Gifts" can be added; but among the gifts placed under the tree, something should be included for the poor since they belong to every Christian family.⁸⁸¹

⁸⁷⁹ Hugh Keyte and Andrew Parrott, ed., *The Shorter New Oxford Book of Carols* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1993), 285.

⁸⁸⁰ "The wreath's circle reminds Christians of God's endless love and mercy. The evergreen leaves represent the hope of eternal life brought by Jesus Christ. The candles symbolize the light of God coming into the world through the birth of Jesus Christ." Gordon Geddes and Jane Griffiths, *Christian Belief and Practice: The Roman Catholic Tradition* (Oxford: Heinemann, 2002), 97.

⁸⁸¹ *DPPL*, 109.

University of Illinois Springfield history professor David Bertaina dismisses claims that the Christmas tree derives from Germanic pagan customs and argues instead that the Christmas tree likely developed out of “Paradise Trees” which featured in Medieval dramas performed on December 24th, the traditional feast day of Adam and Eve.⁸⁸² Whatever the provenance of the Advent wreath and the Christmas tree, they have become ubiquitous features of summer liturgical celebrations in Aotearoa New Zealand. In *LS* Pope Francis notes:

Inner peace is closely related to care for ecology and for the common good because, lived out authentically, it is reflected in a balanced lifestyle together with a capacity for wonder which takes us to a deeper understanding of life. ... An integral ecology includes taking time to recover a serene harmony with creation, reflecting on our lifestyle and our ideals, and contemplating the Creator who lives among us and surrounds us, whose presence “must not be contrived but found, uncovered.”⁸⁸³

LS could be read as calling for a right relationship with Creation reflected in the plants used liturgically. Plants used in liturgy should enhance wonder, should help in contemplation of the Creator, should not be noxious weeds, should not be fake, contrived, or irritating, but the plants should be found in the location where liturgy takes place and enhance serene harmony with Creation.

Plants so clearly associated with Christmas in the national consciousness – New Zealand’s Christmas Tree Pōhutukawa/Southern Rata and Christmas Lilies – could be planted by every church in the country to reinforce what every New Zealander knows from their lived experience about the Christmas season.

⁸⁸² Bertaina explains that in Medieval times a Paradise Tree was set up to represent the Tree of Knowledge. The tree symbolised humanity’s downfall and the cross. Trees were decorated with apples, representing the Fall and pastry disks symbolising the Eucharistic host. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Paradise Trees were set up in public places where they were decorated with fruits and sweets. Joshua Gibbs, *An Explanation (and defence) of the Christmas Tree*, 16/12/20, accessed 6/3/22, <https://www.circeinstitute.org/blog/explanation-and-defense-christmas-tree>.

⁸⁸³ *LS*, 225.

If the church cares for creation (as it must), artificial greenery should not be used except in exceptional circumstances.⁸⁸⁴ Foliage and plants which are proper to Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand should be used as liturgical décor and the poetry and imagery proper to summer in Aotearoa New Zealand should be incorporated into liturgical texts and hymns. At Christmas, creation tells us of God's great love and abundance, of bodies, of enjoyment, rest and recreation, of the crowning of the year; all of which appropriate themes for Christmas. Sue Halapua demonstrates how to weave Christmas and summer plant imagery: "In the morning, Christmas morning, the frangipani tree with star shaped flowers blooms so brightly. It seems as if heaven's stars are caught in its branches."⁸⁸⁵

Christians in Aotearoa New Zealand can choose to stop using inappropriate plants and symbols and (keeping in mind that their local liturgies are also liturgies of the universal church), find or develop new symbols instead, using the approaches considered in this research project.

6.5.4 Unhelpful Christmas plants

Whilst in the nineteenth century, readily available tree-ferns and other native plants were used to adorn churches in Aotearoa New Zealand,⁸⁸⁶ in the twenty-first century, Christmas trees decorating New Zealand churches are invariably conifers, often newly cut down trees or artificial versions.

Conifers (cedars, pines, firs, cypress, larches, and spruces) are woody plants that have cones instead of flowers. When cones mature, they open to release masses of wind-blown seeds, which travel kilometres downwind and need no special conditions to take root and grow. Since conifers were introduced to Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1880s, they have self-sown across the landscape as

⁸⁸⁴ For example, in the case of allergy to real greenery, or where real greenery is unobtainable.

⁸⁸⁵ Sue Halapua, *Christmas in Fiji*, 2012, <https://vaughanpark.nz/moments/writing/christmasinfiji>.

⁸⁸⁶ "As the number of colonists grew, clearing ever more bush land, Christmas greenery became less accessible in expanding urban areas. In Auckland there was, the *Herald* reported in 1881, a 'growing scarcity' of the once-popular tree-fern, nikau and pōhutukawa 'in the vicinity of the town'." Clarke, 57.

seeds have spread from forests, gardens, and farms.⁸⁸⁷ ‘Wilding conifer’ or ‘wilding pines’ are the Aotearoa New Zealand terms for the introduced conifers that are spreading across the landscape. Wildings often grow in inaccessible places, making their timber valueless as the extraction costs outweigh any timber value. As wilding conifers spread, they reduce the numbers of indigenous plants and animals, they reduce available grazing land, create a fire risk as their forests are dense and impenetrable in places with no road access, and they can cause acidification of soils.⁸⁸⁸ Wilding conifers cover more than 1.8 million hectares of New Zealand. Despite control efforts they are spreading at an estimated rate of 5% a year.⁸⁸⁹

Baxter contrasted introduced pine trees with native broad-leaves:

Below the pines nothing can grow. One finds only pine needles and dog manure... broad-leaves...do not rise so high. Their branches spread out horizontally and much dead material falls to the forest floor. The scene is not a tidy one. But saplings grow up among the rotted wood and fallen leaves, and the broad-leaves shelter them with their branches. The pines are an image of deism. The broad-leaves are an image of humanism. Was the Lord Jesus a pine or a broad-leaf?...the evidence of the Gospels leads me to the conclusion that he was a broad-leaf and the pines felt obliged to kill him.⁸⁹⁰

Using conifers as Christmas decorations in liturgies in Aotearoa New Zealand conveys an unreflective usage of plants which are out of context, and which actually destroy Aotearoa New Zealand’s ecosystems. Such plants have no place in liturgies in Aotearoa New Zealand when there are other far more appropriate options available locally. If trees or foliage are needed to adorn

⁸⁸⁷ Aotearoa New Zealand has 20 native conifers. These are not used as Christmas trees or for Advent wreaths and are not in danger of spreading out of control. Maggy Wassilieff, “Conifers – Mataī and miro: the plum pines.” *Te Ara*, accessed 3/5/22.

⁸⁸⁸ Department of Conservation, *Wilding Conifers*, no date, accessed 26/1/22, <https://www.doc.govt.nz/nature/pests-and-threats/weeds/common-weeds/wilding-conifers/>,

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁰ Baxter, *Complete Prose* Vol 3, 513. Baxter continues: “The crisis of the Church, in her deep return to the Gospel realities, asks of us something resembling a personality change, from deist to humanist, from pine to broad-leaf.” Ibid., 514. “As things stand, children who come into one of our Churches are likely to find themselves under the shade of the pines, not in the fruitful shelter of the broad-leaves. They are impressed by the solemnity, but their souls are constrained.” Ibid., 521.

churches for Christmas, Aotearoa has many appropriate options from which to choose.⁸⁹¹ Summer flowering plants such as Pōhutukawa and Southern Rata trees have very strong Christmas connections for many New Zealanders.⁸⁹² Christmas Lilies⁸⁹³ and a multitude of annual and perennial flowers are in bloom at Christmas.

Holly is an important and symbolic European Christmas plant; it is often used in Advent wreaths, and Christmas decorations, and appears in many traditional European Christmas carol texts.⁸⁹⁴ Holly is classified as a weed in Aotearoa New Zealand, because it competes with native plants for light, nutrients and water. Suckering and layering allow it to form dense thickets that can dominate the tall shrub layer, creating a deep shade in which native species find it difficult to grow.⁸⁹⁵ Holly flowers in October-November and has beautiful but poisonous red berries in June.⁸⁹⁶ Displays of holly berries in churches at Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand can only be artificial. An Advent wreath made from evergreens, holly, pinecones (artificial or real) makes little sense in Aotearoa.

Lack of theological reflection, lack of ecological awareness and lack of liturgical inculturation has enabled the use of plastic replicas of what are considered poisonous weeds in Aotearoa New Zealand to celebrate Advent and Christmas. Choosing to use trees classified as noxious weeds (or plastic unrecyclable versions of them destined for landfill) in liturgy to celebrate the incarnation on God into this world which God loves so much and uses to communicate with us, indicates that the local church is not listening to what God is teaching through Creation. Holly is an example of how

⁸⁹¹ Clarke, 32-36.

⁸⁹² Pōhutukawas flower in Advent and Christmas and are mentioned in Christmas carols. A *Pōhutukawa Carol* is the most famous of these. Written by Fr. Ted Forsman (1909-1976) in 1941 when as a military chaplain he was a prisoner of war in North Africa in World War II.

⁸⁹³ Uniquely to Aotearoa New Zealand *Lilium Regale* is known as the Christmas lily.

⁸⁹⁴ *Deck the halls with boughs of holly* (Welsh trad.), *Sans Day Carol* (Now the Holly bears a berry) (Trad. Cornish), *The Holly and the Ivy* (trad.), *Green grow'th the Holly*, (16th cent.)

⁸⁹⁵ Weedbusters, *Weed Information Sheet: Holly*, no date, accessed 25/2/22, <https://www.weedbusters.org.nz/what-are-weeds/weed-list/holly/>.

⁸⁹⁶ Southland Times, "Holly berries and beautiful but poisonous," *Stuff*, 20/9/18, accessed 25/1/22. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/southland-times/news/107206571/holly-berries-are-beautiful-but-poisonous>,

something can work well as a symbol in one context and can fail impressively when transplanted into another. If the carol *O Tannenbaum/O Christmas Tree* with its line “Not only green in summer’s heat, but in winter’s snow and sleet: O Christmas tree, O Christmas tree, with faithful leaves unchanging!”⁸⁹⁷ is sung to a non-conifer then possibly it could be used in Aotearoa, if indeed a carol praising a tree belongs in any liturgy.⁸⁹⁸

6.5.5 Inculturating the wreath

A new kind of Advent wreath was developed by a priest of the Hamilton Catholic diocese, Yvan Sergy (1959-2018). Sergy localised a traditional wreath concept to make a metal candelabra of the Southern Cross constellation. He brought his idea to the Anglican-Roman Catholic Commission of Aotearoa New Zealand (ARCCANZ) who promoted it and suggested Catholic and Anglican parishes could collaborate in using the candelabra. The 2020 text offered by the Commission states:⁸⁹⁹

ARCCANZ is offering a particular and new expression of this truth using the stars of the Southern Cross in the night sky. These stars are symbolised as four white candles with stars in front of them or on them. This symbolism is offered instead of the green wreath with its coloured candles... The new approach, referring to the stars of the Southern Cross, is prompted by a number of biblical images... In the night sky in the Southern Hemisphere, the four central stars of the Southern Cross shine permanently above us. From ancient times, these stars offered travellers and ocean navigators who looked up to them, a sure sense of direction, the way to true south. So also as Christians, we look to the cross of Jesus and the light of His resurrection to offer us a true bearing for our lives: the Way, the Truth, the Life. In the season of Advent, in particular, we remember and anticipate the coming into the world of the light that enlightens everyone, as a baby and as the Redeemer Judge at the end of time.⁹⁰⁰

⁸⁹⁷ Keyte and Parrott, *Shorter New Oxford Book of Carols*, 285.

⁸⁹⁸ Perhaps the exception is *Crux Fedelis/Faithful Cross*, with the line “one and only Noble Tree” by Latin poet and hymnographer Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530 – c. 609).

⁸⁹⁹ Anglican Roman Catholic Commission of Aotearoa New Zealand, *Southern Cross Advent Liturgy*, 2010, accessed 2/2/22, <https://www.anglican.org.nz/Resources/Worship-Resources-Karaka-ANZPB-HKMOA/Special-Days>.

⁹⁰⁰ Bosco Peters, *Southern Cross Advent Wreath Blessing*, 19/11/10, accessed 2/2/22, <https://liturgy.co.nz/southern-cross-advent-wreath-blessing>.



Illustration 8: Southern Cross Advent Candelabra, Yvan Sergy

Wellington spiritual director Adrienne Thompson has developed the “Aotearoa Advent Circle”, which is an arrangement with candles, and symbols drawn from the Ocean. The meaning of the elements of the Advent Circle is:

The **circle** reminds us of God. A circle has no beginning or end, neither has God. God is for ever.

The **shells** remind us of the oceans. The water goes right around our globe touching every continent. God’s love is as wide as the ocean, high as the sky, deep as the deepest sea and nobody is ever left out.

Candles remind us that Jesus is the light. As with the traditional wreath, lighting one more candle each week heightens the sense of expectation. The candle in the middle is like a birthday candle for Baby Jesus.

Paua shells gleam and shine like the stars of the Anchor – the Southern Cross – ngā whetu o te Punga. The constellations guided the Māori navigators across te Moana nui a Kiwa, as the promises of God guide us through the darkness of our lives.

Tūmanako. We light **one** candle on the first Sunday of Advent, and this is called the **candle of Hope** or sometimes the candle of prophecy.

Rangimarie. We light **two** candles on the second Sunday of Advent, and this is called the **candle of Peace**. The angels sang about peace on earth.

Harikoa. We light **three** candles on the third Sunday of Advent, and this is called the **candle of Joy**. The angels told the shepherds that Jesus birth was joyful news for everybody.

Aroha. We light **four** candles on the fourth Sunday of Advent, and this is called the **candle of Love**. Christmas shows us how much God loves us all.

We light the **candle in the middle** on Christmas Eve when the baby was born.⁹⁰¹

⁹⁰¹ Adrienne Thompson, *An Aotearoa Advent Circle*, 16/10/20, accessed 2/2/22, <https://www.sunzbreakthrough.org.nz/resources/aotearoaadvent>.



Illustration 9: Aotearoa Advent Circle, Adrienne Thompson

Michele Coxhead is a te reo Māori teacher whose mission is “to have te reo Māori spoken in every classroom in Aotearoa”; she prepares resources and trains teachers to this end. Coxhead has developed Māori Advent and Christmas resources including a paper Advent wreath. She offers a variety of choices for wreaths – birds, pōhutukawa, leaves, kōwhai and candles with *aroha* (love), *tūmanako* (hope), *harikoa* (joy) and *rangimārie* (peace).⁹⁰² Sergy, Thompson and Coxhead have created excellent inculturated Advent wreaths for Aotearoa.

6.6 Listening to tangata whenua/ the people of the land to inform liturgical inculturation

Māori have been celebrating Christmas since the first documented Christmas liturgy at Oihi, Northland in 1814. Māori have been seen to celebrate Christmas more assiduously than Pākehā. For example, in the 1840s, it was noted that when Māori attended Christmas Day services at Pūtiki,

⁹⁰² Michele Coxhead, *An Aotearoa Christmas - giving and decorating*, 22/10/18, accessed 26/1/22, <https://www.thetereomaoriclassroom.co.nz/2018/10/an-aotearoa-christmas-giving-and-decorating/>.

Whanganui in their thousands, on the other side of the river, Pākehā went to the horse races.⁹⁰³ In 1847, Thomas Brunner noted: “Christmas Day is very observedly kept by the natives here, both as to the feasting of the body as well as the soul; large quantities of provisions being consumed between each service, which is held four times during the day.”⁹⁰⁴

To celebrate Christmas, Māori have used various versions of *The Book of Common Prayer* and other printed liturgical resources in te reo since the 1830s.⁹⁰⁵ Māori Catholics have been celebrating Christmas since 1838 when Pompallier arrived and have been using printed resources in te reo since 1842.

Celebrating Christmas has been embraced by Māori as an integral part of being Christian, and te reo liturgies have been used for decades. As discussed in chapter two, the calendar brought by *The Book of Common Prayer* was radically different from maramataka and challenged traditional connections with time, season, and place; but neither the theological content of Christmas nor the date of its celebration seem to have presented notable problems for Māori.

Māori received official liturgies of the various churches and when they could, celebrated them in their own language and in their own way, with Māori ways of singing, talking, moving, and being in community. Hirini Kaa writes about witnessing the results of this reception process during a visit of nineteenth century missionary William Williams to the Ngāti Porou people in 1837:

His attempt to lead the first hymn was met with a puzzling lack of response, so he stopped. One of the local kaiwhaako (Māori evangelist) restarted the hymn in a style the iwi (tribe) themselves had developed, utilising the same words but with a more indigenous approach that paralleled the chanting of mōteatea (traditional chants). Williams was taken aback by the power of the singing in the new style, but

⁹⁰³ Whanganui Regional Museum, *Reverend Richard Taylor*, no date, accessed 27/1/22, <https://whanganuiregionalmuseum.wordpress.com/2019/09/10/reverend-richard-taylor/>.

⁹⁰⁴ Quoted in Geoffrey Troughton and Stuart Lange ed., *Sacred Histories in Secular New Zealand* (Wellington: Victoria University, 2016), 161.

⁹⁰⁵ Excerpts of the *Book of Common Prayer* were printed by 1833, the “Small Prayer Book of 1839, which soon became known as Te Rāwiri [the David] (after King David, the presumed author of many of the psalms), quickly became a huge hit. By 1842, up to 47,000 copies in various bibliographical guises had been printed and distributed across Aotearoa – astonishing considering the total Māori population was estimated to be around 80,000 at the time.” Kaa, *Te Hāhi Mihinare*, 145.

also by how fast the adaptation had taken place in the absence of missionary control.⁹⁰⁶

It seems Māori easily and enthusiastically embraced celebration of the incarnation on December 25th. It seems too that when unhindered by liturgical authorities, from the beginning of Māori observance of Christmas, Māori used te reo and elements of Māori visual and performing traditions to adapt their observance of Christmas.

Although some general comments about Māori and Christmas exist such as those of Garin who noted his amazement at how well Māori participated in Midnight Mass in 1844,⁹⁰⁷ not much has been written in detail about historic Māori liturgical celebrations of Christmas. Nor do leading Māori theologians Tate or Marsden offer prescriptions or forecasts regarding future Māori Christmas liturgies in their writings.⁹⁰⁸

Two examples of Māori adaptations of popular devotional aspects of Christmas which offer possibilities for future directions for inculturation of Christmas more broadly in Aotearoa New Zealand are worth further consideration. One stems from early Māori celebrations of Christmas in the 1800s, and one from a contemporary celebration. The contrasting reception of these two Māori offerings is notable and encouraging.

6.6.1 Inculturating the Madonna and child

In 1989, Chupungco suggested that liturgical texts, symbols, gestures, and feasts might evoke something from the peoples' history, traditions, cultural patterns, and art.⁹⁰⁹ The chapter will now consider two pieces of Christmas-related art created for liturgical use which come from deep in Māori history, traditions, and cultural patterns, and which can assist in inculturating Christmas.

⁹⁰⁶ Kaa, *Te Hāhi Mihinare*, 154.

⁹⁰⁷ Tremewan and Larcombe, 272.

⁹⁰⁸ Marsden, *Woven Universe*; Tate, *He Puna Iti*.

⁹⁰⁹ Chupungco, *Methods of Liturgical Inculturation*, 263.

Tekoteko are carved wooden figures which stand on the gable of traditional Māori meeting houses, at the front centre post, at the base of the *poutokomanawa* (central ridge support post) of the house, or at the entrance of a *marae*.⁹¹⁰ The figures often represent the ancestor after whom the meeting house is named and who guards and protects the community. The figures are often intricately designed by master carvers.

Two known tekoteko depict Mary and Jesus; they are now held in museums in Wellington and Auckland.⁹¹¹ They are carved in wood, with *paua*/abalone shell inlaid for the eyes. The Auckland Museum tekoteko has been dated to 1845 and attributed by some to master carver Patoromu Tamatea of the Te Arawa tribe.⁹¹² The carver of the 1890 tekoteko is unknown.



Illustration 10: Madonna and child tekoteko, 1890

⁹¹⁰ Whakarewarewa Living Māori Village, *The story behind the Tekoteko of Whakarewarewa village*, no date, accessed 29/1/22, <https://whakarewarewa.com/the-story-behind-the-tekoteko-of-whakarewarewa-village/>.

⁹¹¹ Te Papa, *Madonna and Child tekoteko*, 17/10/01, accessed 29/1/22, <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/1079>.

⁹¹² Roger Neich disputes that authorship on stylistic grounds. It is unlike anything else Patoromu Tamatea (who has quite an extensive oeuvre) has carved. So her authorship is ambiguous. Neich, *Carved Histories*, 197

The 1845 sculpture is free-standing, possibly intended to stand inside a church in the Bay of Plenty; the 1890 sculpture is possibly meant to hang on a wall. Both carvings can be seen as Māori interpretations of aspects of Christmas, and as articulations of the incarnation from a Māori world view.

The carver of the 1845 tekoteko has depicted Mary and Jesus in traditional Māori style and has shown Mary with a full facial tā moko (tattoo) giving her the peak status of an Ariki Tapairu, a high-ranking woman who is not allowed to marry.⁹¹³



Illustration 11: Madonna and child tekoteko, 1845

⁹¹³ “First-born females in the main descent line were esteemed as ariki tapairu or māreikura, and given the respect owing to a princess or a queen. In some instances a chief’s daughter was accorded the status of a puhi (ceremonial virgin). The marriages of such women were particularly important in forming political alliances between powerful groups.” Rāwiri Taonui, “Tribal organisation – Social rank’, *Te Ara*, accessed 30/1/22.

Anthropologist Roger Neich (1944–2010) suggests that the fact that the tattoos are male designs on a female face may be “connected with their symbolic conceptual purpose rather than a mistake in iconic representation.”⁹¹⁴ Art Historian Peter Brunt writes: “The *Madonna* has been carved with a full facial moko, usually reserved for men, a reflection of her mana [prestige, authority]. However, according to Auckland Museum, no iwi claims her.”⁹¹⁵ That the Madonna’s tattoos are not specific to any particular tribe (iwi) perhaps was intended to invite all tribes to embrace her freely.

Eminent Māori Catholic academic, historian and community leader Manuka Henare (1942-2021) (Ngāti Hauā, Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu tribes), wrote:

The two tekoteko are excellent examples of symbols with a multitude of meanings which exist simultaneously; such carvings are not just signs to be read piecemeal, – they are part of a total symbolic system of the Māori people in the 18th and 19th centuries. Together with the Māori world view and other cultural institutions of the period, the two tekoteko were obvious attempts by the carver to shape his people’s experiences of the introduction of a new religious insight (a virgin mother giving birth to the Son of God) conveying a message about reality as the Māori was perceiving it in the 1840-1890s.⁹¹⁶

The tekoteko were carved at a time when Catholic and Protestant missionaries discouraged adaptation of carvings for religious purposes because of nervousness about Māori imagery and fear of idolatry. Manuka Henare wrote:

Art can be a force for change or it can maintain the status quo. According to Māori thinking, the artist is a vehicle used by God to express the artistry of their genius. If the work of art is successful, the supernatural intervention is said to occur and qualities of ihi, wehi (awe, respect) are felt to be present ...

The Madonna and Child tekoteko are part of a wider cultural expression. They mediate between people and their new notion and insight about God, and represent an attempt to mediate, not just Māori-to-Māori, but also Māori-to-Pākehā...Māori carving is a religious activity, and Patoromu (the carver) is articulating the central metaphysical concerns of his society. The carvers had clearly

⁹¹⁴ Neich, *Carved Histories*, 197.

⁹¹⁵ Peter Brunt, *New Zealand art under erasure*, 30/6/18, accessed 1/2/22, <https://citygallery.org.nz/blog/peter-brunt-on-auckland-museums-madonna-and-child/>.

⁹¹⁶ Henare, *Māori Catholic Beginnings*, 15.

attempted to integrate the new religious insight of Jesus Christ and His Virgin Mother as part of Māori religious thought and practice.⁹¹⁷

The figures were carved presumably with the intention of honouring Mary and Jesus, and in the hope that the Virgin and her son would guide and protect the community where the statues resided, which is an understanding of and approach to indigenous sacred art that is similar to those of many Christians around the world.⁹¹⁸

According to stories attached to the sculptures,⁹¹⁹ the carver of each artwork presented the tekoteko to the parish priest, who reluctantly told him it could not be accepted by the church as it was “unsuitable because of the Māori carving idiom, which European church goers might find objectionable.”⁹²⁰ Whoever carved the tekoteko was not warmly embraced by the church, and their work ended up in museums. Whoever rejected the gift of the tekoteko, also rejected a significant Māori interpretation of Christmas. Neich notes: “The European Roman Catholic priests probably could distinguish between the iconic and symbolic aspects of these Madonnas but feared that their European parishioners might not.”⁹²¹

Attitudes toward Māori liturgical art have thankfully changed since the nineteenth century. In 1986, the 1845 sculpture was finally and very publicly embraced by the church when it held pride of place at the Auckland Museum when Māori welcomed John Paul II to Aotearoa New Zealand.⁹²² Peter Brunt writes about the 1845 Madonna:

She is not only a figure of the historical past, a history that is *over*... she has also been catapulted into the present. Her strange power has encouraged bold acts of what Robert Jahnke has called ‘allegorical seizure’, whereby she has been used to bridge Māori and European, religious and secular, past and present, contexts.⁹²³

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., 15.

⁹¹⁸ See *DPPL*, 18.

⁹¹⁹ Henare, *Māori Catholic Beginnings*, 15.

⁹²⁰ Neich, *Carved Histories*, 197.

⁹²¹ Ibid., 197.

⁹²² John Paul II, *Homily*, 22/11/86, accessed 1/2/22, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/homilies/1986/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_19861122_auckland-nuova-zelanda.html.

⁹²³ Brunt, (unpaginated).

Henare commented that despite rejection of the carvings in the nineteenth century:

[t]he legacy remains, and the carvings are a testament to the fact that Māori Catholicism had its own contribution to make to the universal Church...The early evangelisation works of the Māori laity and religious, and committed missionaries are signs that Catholicism could have been incarnated, and become indigenous and had potential for inculturation.⁹²⁴

Unfortunately, it took the church 141 years to receive the gift of a specifically Māori interpretation and embracing of Christmas. The carving communicates the incarnation in a uniquely Aotearoa specific way thus advancing the agenda of inculturation of Christmas in the Aotearoa New Zealand context. Visual art plays an important role in liturgical space and in inculturation; there is an urgent need for more Aotearoa New Zealand-specific Advent and Christmas art to assist in the task of earthing Christmas in this context.

6.6.2 Inculturating Christmas music

Music plays an important part in liturgical observance of, and in lived experience of Christmas. Compositions which ground the Incarnation in the Aotearoa New Zealand context, and which evoke the seasonal reality of the people, are key to liturgical inculturation of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁹²⁵ Chupungco notes:

The text, the music, and the rites are all integral parts of the liturgy. And while music and symbols illustrate better the meaning of the text, they are also bearers of the liturgical message with or without the accompanying words.⁹²⁶

When composing liturgical hymns...one should take account of the current season of the year and the images and cosmic manifestations it displays. In this way the Christian feasts will make their way to the people's perception and experience of times and seasons.⁹²⁷

⁹²⁴ Henare, *Māori Catholic Beginnings*, 15.

⁹²⁵ SC 118 and 119.

⁹²⁶ Anscar Chupungco, "Liturgical Inculturation: The Future that Awaits Us," *Institute of Liturgical Studies Occasional Papers* 96, (2003): 248.

⁹²⁷ Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 171.

Although Aotearoa New Zealand's arguably most famous carol has a Māori title *Te Harinui* (The Great Joy) it was written by Pākehā composer Willow Macky (1921-2006) and uses only the Māori words Te and Harinui. Several religious carols have been translated from English into te reo.⁹²⁸

A recent Christmas song by a Māori artist is *Te Kaiwhakaora o Te Ao* by the musician Em-Haley Walker known professionally as Theia (Waikato-Tainui tribe).⁹²⁹ The text of *Te Kaiwhakaora o Te Ao* (*Saviour of the world*) with translation reads:

I tukuna e Te Ariki (*Sent by The Lord*)
Hariru korōria (*Glorious news*)
Kia tau te marie (*Let peace abound*)
Tīramarama ngā whetū kei runga (*Stars are shining above*)
Auē te mauri o Te Atua (*Oh the life essence of God*)
Korōria korōria (*Glory, glory*)
Kua whānau mai a Īhu e (*Jesus is born*)
Tama tapu, tohu aroha (*Holy son, sign of love*)
Mō tātou katoa (*For all of us*)
Mō tātou katoa (*For all of us*)

The video for *Te Kaiwhakaora o Te Ao*⁹³⁰ reflects Theia's unique style and uses familiar Māori elements. She uses an acoustic guitar, often regarded as a Māori instrument, and plays the guitar in a style known as "Māori strumming."⁹³¹ Theia uses movements from kapa haka/traditional Māori performance practice, in the way she stands, how she holds her head, her arm movements, *wiri wiri* (quivering of the hands), and *pūkana*⁹³² (making a frightening face – in which males usually stick the tongue out and females close their mouth and make their chin protrude). In the video Theia

⁹²⁸ Notably Silent Night and O Holy Night.

⁹²⁹ Theia is an alt-pop artist, in 2016 she released her debut major label single, "Roam". She has released two EPs to critical acclaim; her first earning her three nominations at the 2017 New Zealand Music Awards and her second *Not Your Princess* receiving two nominations at the 2019 Waiata Māori Music Awards. Theia is fluent in te reo and has a bachelor's degree with double majors in Te Reo Māori, and Māori and Indigenous Studies. See Tyson, "Theia's new Christmas waiata," (unpaginated).

⁹³⁰ Theia (Em-Haley Walker), *Te Kaiwhakaora O Te Ao*, 28/11/19, accessed 1/2/22, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HRJgfY4iPIc>.

⁹³¹ Unknown author, "The history of the Māori Strum," RNZ, 7/2/17, accessed 1/2/22, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/afternoons/audio/201832296/the-history-of-the-maori-strum>.

⁹³² Anyone who has seen the haka Aotearoa New Zealand's national men's rugby team the All Blacks perform *Ka Mate, Ka Mate* would be familiar with the wild stares and tongues sticking out. Pūkana is used when performing haka and waiata to emphasise particular words and to add excitement to the performance.

is wearing the work of Māori fashion designer Bobby Luke (Ngāti Ruanui tribe). The song and video were produced by Māori colleagues.⁹³³ All of these elements communicate clearly that this is a song performed confidently in traditional and contemporary Māori idiom.

The song has been well received and demonstrates a potential model on which to build for other local composers of seasonally appropriate liturgical music. Air New Zealand chose Theia's Christmas *waiata* as the landing song on the airline's domestic and international flights for December 2019; the airline's choice meant Theia's carol was heard by the tens of thousands of people from around the world who travelled with Air New Zealand in that month.

About why she wrote the song, Theia said:

I wrote 'Te Kaiwhakaora o Te Ao' as a gift to our people – a traditional Christmas hymn to call our own. A *waiata* to transcend generations and weave together the past and present... I would love this to be a song that is sung and performed in *marae*, churches and schools for many years to come.⁹³⁴

Theia encourages other Māori artists to write their own Christmas songs, she said: "This is a form of sovereignty isn't it? To write your own music, for Māori, in Māori, for Aotearoa as well."⁹³⁵

Theia's carol embraces the theology of the incarnation as expressed in traditional Christmas carols. Her text is in harmony with the theology of the one holy church. Even though there is nothing place- or season-specific in the text, by using her voice, her culture, and her language to offer a theologically sound song for all New Zealanders, Theia offers a potential model for local liturgical inculturation of Christmas. In spite of the lack of mention of specific Aotearoa experience of Christmas in the text, 'Te Kaiwhakaora o Te Ao' could be incorporated into Aotearoa New Zealand Christmas liturgies.

⁹³³ Tyson, (unpaginated).

⁹³⁴ Unknown author, "Theia releases te reo Māori Christmas song 'Te Kaiwhakaora O Te Ao'," *RNZ*, 28/11/19, accessed 27/1/22, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/nat-music/audio/2018724351/theia-releases-te-reo-maori-christmas-song-te-kaiwhakaora-o-te-ao>.

⁹³⁵ Tyson, (unpaginated).

The church can learn much from Māori about inculturation of Christmas. Through deep connection to the land, to the elements and rhythms of Creation, Māori are truly grounded in Aotearoa – in te whenua; this sense of connection can be shared liturgically with Pākehā and others. By having a sense of truly being in and of this place, and not yearning to be or to imitate elsewhere, Christmas becomes locally grounded. Being truly at home in this place means there is no yearning for a white Christmas or for the “right” plants. By using te reo in worship, something grounded and unique to Aotearoa is being used by the people of this specific place to pray the liturgy of the universal church. By using songs, greetings, visual and performance traditions for Christmas, Māori offer insights into potential means for inculturating the liturgy in Aotearoa using what is unique to this place, what has grown from this place in celebration of God becoming human and sharing human life.

Baxter’s suggestions for Pākehā are useful for those involved in the process of inculturating Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand. Extending Baxter’s questions (referenced earlier in this chapter) should lead to asking how, in inculturating Christmas, liturgists in Aotearoa New Zealand can be open to mātauranga Māori and te reo Māori. Perhaps the most far-reaching of Baxter’s questions is to ask how inculturated Christmas liturgies acknowledge Māori ownership and kaitiakitanga/stewardship of te whenua/the land. If God takes place seriously, as suggested in Chapter Four, and God’s people are invited to take place seriously, and part of inculturation is about grounding liturgy in a particular place, then interaction with place, care of and ownership of place must be acknowledged in inculturated liturgies. Christmas liturgies cannot rejoice in Pōhutukawa trees while ignoring the politics of the land on which Pōhutukawa trees stand.⁹³⁶

⁹³⁶ “Let the people who need the land take it and use it. In so doing they should accept Māori leadership, because the land was taken by the capitalist Pharaoh from the Māori people during and after the Land Wars. Crown lands should be the first land occupied, to avoid undue conflict with the farmers, who do use the land they occupy. God made the land for the use of the people. They do not have to wait for Pharaoh’s permission.” Baxter, *Complete Prose Vol 3*, 495.

Baxter further informs the methodology of inculturation by suggesting that attention should be paid to embracing the Māori face of Christ, using traditional Māori ritual and symbols in liturgy,⁹³⁷ and developing processes for design of localised liturgical spaces and commissioning of localised liturgical art. As demonstrated above, the church was unable to receive the Māori faces of Christ and Mary when offered them in the tekoteko of 1847. In rejecting the Māori face of Christ for 141 years, a particular sculpture was lost from the church, and further opportunities for inculturation flowing from acceptance of the sculpture were squandered.

As has been suggested previously, Aotearoa New Zealand churches, media and businesses will use Christmas images and music that are easily available. If appropriately inculturated Aotearoa New Zealand images of the nativity, Aotearoa New Zealand carols, nativity sets and decorations are not produced, then icy northern hemisphere imports will continue to fill the void.

6.7 Some solutions

Chupungco writes:

Through the liturgical texts, symbols, and rites performed at the appointed time, the mystery of Christ is unfolded, breaks into time, and enters into our culture and traditions. The basic consideration is how those elements of the liturgical year that originated in the milieu of the northern hemisphere could be reexpressed in the other regions of the earth in harmony with the cultural and seasonal experiences of the local churches.⁹³⁸

In an essay on liturgy and the components of culture,⁹³⁹ Chupungco asked what cultural, thought, language, and ritual patterns are present in liturgy. Currently celebration of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand is mostly devoid of the patterns of thought, language and ritual of the people of Aotearoa New Zealand Māori and Pākehā, and is bereft of their experience of Creation.

⁹³⁷ For example, the use of greenery or pare kawakawa worn around the head as a wreath during tangihanga/ funerals.

⁹³⁸ Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 170.

⁹³⁹ Anscar Chupungco, "Reinvisioning Liturgy and the Components of Liturgy", in *Worship and Culture: Foreign Country or Homeland*, ed. Glaucia Vasconcelos Wilkey (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 68-83.

In order to defrost Christmas and ground the festival in Aotearoa New Zealand for cultural, pastoral and evangelistic⁹⁴⁰ reasons, embracing the methodology of inculturation established in Chapter Three using the lenses of te whenua/the land, te tangata whenua/the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi/the one Holy Church, is recommended.

Whilst engaging in liturgical inculturation consultations from local to national levels, there is a need to keep the local and the universal in balance. Henare wrote: “the carvings are a testament to the fact that Māori Catholicism had its own contribution to make to the universal Church.”⁹⁴¹ Chupungco explained that: “An inculturated liturgy is the liturgy of a local church, but it will always maintain a universal dimension because of its essential content or meaning. Every local liturgy belongs to the entire church.”⁹⁴² There are various practical steps involved in inculturating Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand.

6.7.1 Establishing tribal/regional liturgical commissions

Appropriate engagement with Māori will ensure that Christmas liturgies will use mātauranga Māori with integrity and be useable by all New Zealanders without fear of offending or being offended. Baxter’s vision reminds all non-Māori New Zealanders that for the process of liturgical inculturation to be effective, non-Māori New Zealanders need to listen and learn from Māori.

Because mātauranga Māori is not “monolithic or homogenous,”⁹⁴³ perhaps the best method of engaging with Māori in the task of liturgical inculturation may be formation of liturgical commissions encompassing a tribal area or geographic region. The principles recommended by the Waitangi Tribunal in the *KAT* report around mātauranga Māori and Māori *taonga* are helpful to bear

⁹⁴⁰ Chupungco notes: “History affirms that inculturation is an effective means of evangelization,” *Liturgy and Inculturation*, 340.

⁹⁴¹ Henare, *Māori Catholic Beginnings*, 15.

⁹⁴² Chupungco, *Liturgy and Inculturation*, 346.

⁹⁴³ Hirini Kaa, “Mātauranga Māori” (presentation to General Synod, Nelson, 28/10/22).

in mind when addressing the challenge of the liturgical inculturation of Christmas.⁹⁴⁴ Appropriately constituted liturgical commissions nationally and regionally could consider how mātauranga Māori can appropriately be incorporated into Christian worship, and can potentially enable the process of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand to proceed without anxiety for Māori or Pākehā. Appropriate localised texts, symbols, rites, songs, and works of art related to the celebration of the liturgical year, and sacred architecture suitably reflecting both local and imported design elements could be considered and proposed by the commissions. The establishment of such commissions would be an important step toward realising a truly inculturated liturgy in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁹⁴⁵

The need to establish appropriately constituted commissions to consider liturgical inculturation can be identified in the Amazonian Synod document.⁹⁴⁶ In September 2022 the Ecclesial Conference of the Amazon reported to the Vatican's Dicastery for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments on their progress in developing an Amazonian rite. Bishop Coter, Bishop of the Apostolic Vicariate of Pando, in the Bolivian Amazon, reported that work on the rite started in June 2020. He explained that a core of 16 members had been selected who were then assigned to four sub-commissions: Anthropological-Sociological and Spiritual, Historical-Cultural, Theological-Ecclesiological and Ritual-Juridical. A study process had been launched to better understand the rites of the church and the cultures of the peoples. As well as consulting with indigenous people, the core group invited experts in various fields to assist their work.⁹⁴⁷

Both the *KAT* report and the Amazonian synod document (and the subsequent work of the Ecclesial Conference of the Amazon) point to the need for the whole church in Aotearoa New

⁹⁴⁴ *KAT* emphasises the principle of valuing Māori culture and the principle of partnership between cultures (Māori, Pākehā and more). Discerning who owns cultural knowledge, and therefore who can use it legitimately, would significantly aid the process of liturgical inculturation.

⁹⁴⁵ *KAT*, 98.

⁹⁴⁶ [The Church in the Amazon should] “establish a competent commission to study and discuss, according to the habits and customs of the ancestral peoples, the elaboration of an Amazonian rite... the commission could also study and propose how to enrich Church rites with the way in which these peoples care for their territory and relate to its waters.” *Final Document of the Amazon Synod*, section 119.

⁹⁴⁷ Modino, (unpaginated).

Zealand to work appropriately with indigenous people to safeguard indigenous knowledge and to ensure authentic liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Establishing regional/tribal commissions for liturgical inculturation and mātauranga Māori is a way to facilitate this process, as the Amazonian synod document indicates:

It is necessary that the Church, in her tireless labour of evangelization, work so that the process of inculturation of the faith may be expressed with the utmost coherence, in order that it may also be celebrated and lived in the languages proper to the Amazon's peoples. It is urgent to form committees for the translation of biblical and the preparation of liturgical texts in the different local languages, with the necessary resources, preserving the substance of the sacraments and adapting their form, without losing sight of what is essential. So too, it is necessary to encourage music and songs, all of which is included in and encouraged by the liturgy.⁹⁴⁸

In suggesting establishment of liturgical commissions by region, informed by te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church and guided by the scholarship of Chupungco (and elements of Baxter's vision), this chapter has identified a strategy for approaching the task of liturgical inculturation. Regional liturgical commissions would be the gathering place for those engaged in liturgical inculturation to navigate a way forward for the church in a particular area. A subsidiarity approach whereby regional commissions (needed because of regional/tribal variations in mātauranga) create locally-focused liturgies is a change from nationally formulated liturgies being sent to the regions (as has been the case in the past⁹⁴⁹) and is a challenge to some traditional understandings of what constitutes proper ecclesiastical processes. However, if the church believes that God speaks through Creation, it seems logical that those close to Creation in a particular setting are best placed to observe God's working at a local level rather than inheriting a more generic interpretation imposed from a national or international level.

⁹⁴⁸ *Final Document of the Amazon Synod*, section 118.

⁹⁴⁹ For example, in the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, generally the Liturgical Commission is the centre which generates material sent out to the dioceses rather than the dioceses generating material and sending material to the central point.

Chupungco's advice is apt here:

The institution in a local church of new liturgical feasts inspired by contemporary creative sociocultural or civil festivities is another area where the method of creative assimilation can be useful. Through this form of inculturation, the liturgical year is grafted on the seasons of the year, the traditional feasts of peoples, the cycle of human work, and political systems of nations. The church should not isolate itself from what goes on in the world. Its liturgy should interplay with the academic year, the business year, the political year...in order to imbue them with the mystery of Christ.⁹⁵⁰

6.7.2 Purging winter and placeless texts, embracing summer

Texts with winter themes cannot be used liturgically or they must be rewritten to be more locationally appropriate. Official liturgical texts need to be transformed from placeless and seasonless words to reflect what God is clearly teaching through Creation in this time and in this place; the joy and richness of celebrating Christmas in summer must be expressed in official texts.

Clare Johnson suggests inculturation of Christmas liturgical texts can happen through relatively easy but significant changes:

Naming Christ's presence in the local time-place can be done... in the prayers of intercession, the choice of song or hymn texts, and a contextually specific homily. However in addition to these moments in the liturgy, minor adaptation of the official collects or the preface to the Eucharistic prayer could be done in order to name the fullness of the light of Christ apparent in our midst; or basking in the warmth of Christ's presence, or feeling the movement of the Spirit like a refreshing/cooling breeze amid the heat.⁹⁵¹

At a local level, parishes can choose to stop using winter texts and (keeping in mind that their local liturgies are also liturgies of the universal church) find or commission summer texts⁹⁵² instead, using the approaches examined in this study.

⁹⁵⁰ Chupungco, *Methods of Liturgical Inculturation*, 266.

⁹⁵¹ Johnson, "Embracing Local Ecology in Liturgical Expression," 37.

⁹⁵² While keeping well-known musical settings (i.e., new texts, same tunes).

6.7.3 I'm dreaming of a red Christmas⁹⁵³

Visual art plays a crucial role in liturgy and in perception of, and experience of the liturgical year. Advent and Christmas symbols used in liturgical art such as stained-glass windows, sculptures, vestments or paraments in Aotearoa New Zealand often contain no reference to Aotearoa New Zealand or to the southern seasons. Nativity scenes in stained-glass or Christmas cribs mostly portray neither Aotearoa nor the Holy Land.

Since violet is not a prominent colour in Creation in November and December in Aotearoa New Zealand, and since violet plays a minor role in traditional Māori art, perhaps the liturgical colour for Advent should change to sky blue to echo the bright, sunny weather. Since Pōhutukawa and Rātā blooms are inextricably linked with Christmas in Aotearoa, and red, black and white are the predominant colours in Māori visual arts perhaps the colour of Christmas vestments in Aotearoa New Zealand should change to Pōhutukawa red. By changing the visual experience of Advent and Christmas to reflect and express the Aotearoa New Zealand experience, the mystery of Christ could unfold in an engaging way, breaking into time in Aotearoa New Zealand's summer, and entering into Aotearoa New Zealand's culture and traditions, in harmony with the cultural and seasonal experiences of the local church.⁹⁵⁴

6.7.4 Revising the rites

Advent is a time of increasing temperatures and continuing illumination, and in December

⁹⁵³ An example of an inculturated Christmas text from Fiji: Sue Halapua, *Pacific Christmas*, 12/12/78. I am dreaming of a gold Christmas:/the gold of the tropical sun,/of the skins of the people, now my people,/(of the baby deep within me yet to come):/the gold of riches beyond this world's dreams,/of the glory of God in the human child./

I am dreaming of a red Christmas:/the red of the hibiscus blooms/like bells ringing out the joy and vigour of the Islands/and the pain;/ the red of the blood of Him who came to span the seas/ and make us kainga (whanau); / the blood which comes to us now as wine in a chalice of gold.

I am dreaming of a white Christmas:/the white of the foam on the coral reef, of the frangipani falling-a shower of stars/on the thick grass, singing of the Star which shone/on the thick, black night when Christ was born; the white of the altar frontal embroidered with gold,/ in celebration of the Feast of all Island Feasts which brings us together in Him. /I am dreaming of Christmas – a Christmas white and red and gold.

⁹⁵⁴ Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 170.

Aotearoa New Zealand, Christians should not need to pretend that the world is in darkness in our liturgical celebrations. Darkness belongs to the midwinter-time for celebrating John the Baptist or Matariki. Aotearoa New Zealand churches should stop moving Advent carol services later in the evening in order to celebrate in darkness. Ritual actions involving candles or artificial illumination, references to darkness in prayers and use of northern-hemisphere plants should be revised or discontinued. Regional and national liturgical commissions could survey parishes about their Advent and Christmas rituals, and (keeping in mind that local liturgies are also liturgies of the universal church) suggest locally and seasonally appropriate changes. Using the approaches explored in this project, commissions could encourage composition of Advent and Christmas liturgies and rituals appropriate for the beach, bush, river, lake or mountain settings that feature so strongly in Aotearoa New Zealand life at Christmas time, in order to make the most of local surroundings and the seasonal conditions.

Conclusion: Christmas warmed

Current Christmas liturgical texts, symbols and rites do not invoke or make reference to anything from Aotearoa's natural world or New Zealanders' history, traditions, cultural patterns or art. It is clear that Christians in Aotearoa need to continue to deepen and ground the Christmas festival in summer. While maintaining the immutable theological core of the festival as mandated by the universal church, Aotearoa New Zealand liturgists can and should inculturate other liturgical elements which reflect and elicit meaning from and in the local circumstances in which they celebrate. Conversely, the universal church needs to raise its awareness of and respect for the multitude of ways in which Christians in every region and of every tradition celebrate the incarnation. Unless specific Aotearoa appropriate Advent and Christmas content is generated, media, businesses and churches will continue to rely on Advent and Christmas material that is easily available, which reflects northern hemisphere norms, experience, and expectations, and which generally fails to connect meaningfully with local hearts, minds, and experiences.

If Christians in Aotearoa New Zealand are clear about the core theological content of Advent and Christmas i.e., the incarnation, there is no need for any references to snow or darkness or winter in liturgical prayers, hymns or visual art. The incarnation is as complete and profound in Aotearoa's summer as it is anywhere in the world. The challenge for liturgists now is to purge from our liturgies that which makes no sense in Aotearoa New Zealand, and to find or generate appropriate liturgical material that is truly consonant with both the theology of the universal church and its particular expression in Aotearoa New Zealand's time and place.

The next chapter considers liturgical inculturation possibilities of a midwinter festival that is unique to Aotearoa New Zealand.



Illustration 12: Matariki promotional material, origin unknown.

Chapter 7: Binding the Sweet Influences of Pleiades

In *QA*, Pope Francis wrote:

It is possible to take up an indigenous symbol in some way, without necessarily considering it as idolatry. A myth charged with spiritual meaning can be used to advantage and not always considered a pagan error. Some religious festivals have a sacred meaning and are occasions for gathering and fraternity, albeit in need of a gradual process of purification or maturation. A missionary of souls will try to discover the legitimate needs and concerns that seek an outlet in at times imperfect, partial or mistaken religious expressions, and will attempt to respond to them with an inculturated spirituality.⁹⁵⁵

In Aotearoa in recent years, a midwinter festival with roots deep in indigenous spirituality has emerged and has engaged the public imagination at the highest levels. Given its growing national prominence, it is important to analyse carefully this festival which is new to many, old to some, and bursting with liturgical inculturation possibilities.

While Chapter Six considered the dislocation problems and inculturation possibilities of a well-established festival, using the methodology described in earlier⁹⁵⁶, this chapter considers the emergence of the Matariki festival.

7.1 Matariki

Matariki provides a unique example of a calendrical event that is local to Aotearoa New Zealand and ripe for liturgical inculturation. Matariki is the Māori name for the cluster of stars known in English as the Pleiades, the Seven Sisters, or Messier 45. Matariki is also the name of the festival period connected with the re-sighting of the stars each year in June or July after approximately four weeks during which they fall below the horizon. The constellation is mentioned three times in the

⁹⁵⁵ *QA*, 79.

⁹⁵⁶ That is, informed by *te whenua*/ the land, *te tangata whenua* /the people of the land and *te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu* /the one Holy Church when engaging in liturgical inculturation, informed by the approaches of Chupungco and Baxter.

Bible,⁹⁵⁷ it is observable and well-noted around the world.⁹⁵⁸ The appearance, disappearance, and reappearance of this star cluster is associated with a number of ideas including: changing seasons, death and life, planting and harvesting, midwinter or midsummer.⁹⁵⁹ In Aotearoa New Zealand, Matariki comes back into view low on the north-eastern horizon, in June or July just before dawn.

For millennia, the disappearance and reappearance of star constellations have been significant to humans and important in terms of geographic psychology. The cycle of disappearance and reappearance of celestial bodies has fascinated, reassured and frightened people, informed agricultural activity, and fuelled religious imagination. In cultures close to Creation, seasonal variations in constellations continue to have psychological and emotional impact; they also contribute to sense of time and a sense of place to those who are attentive.⁹⁶⁰

Matariki is sometime translated as ‘the eyes of the chief/god’ (*mata ariki*) or ‘little eyes’ (*mata riki*).⁹⁶¹ However, Māori astronomer Rangi Matamua⁹⁶² asserts that ‘little eyes’ is based on a mistranslation, he asserts that “Matariki is, in fact, a shortened version of Ngā mata o te ariki o Tāwhirimātea, the eyes of the god Tāwhirimātea,⁹⁶³ there’s no supporting narrative for the phrase ‘little eyes’.”⁹⁶⁴ The name Matariki and variations of it are used throughout Polynesia.⁹⁶⁵

⁹⁵⁷ Job 9:9, Job 38:31, Amos 5:8.

⁹⁵⁸ As well as Polynesians, the stars of Pleiades are known by Australian Aboriginal people of several traditions, the Japanese, Europeans such as the Celts, Middle Eastern people such as Persians and Arabs, peoples of the Americas such as the Sioux, Aztec, and Maya. Pleiades is depicted on the Nebra Sky Disk, a Northern German bronze age artefact dating from about 1600 BCE, the oldest concrete depiction of the cosmos yet known from anywhere in the world.

Lobell, Jarett. “The Nebra Sky Disc”, *Archaeology*, May/June 2019, accessed 25/10/23, <https://www.archaeology.org/issues/337-1905/features/7543-maps-germany-nebra-sky-disc>.

⁹⁵⁹ For further details on the historical significance of the Pleiades in Europe see *ibid*.

⁹⁶⁰ ‘Sense of place’ is discussed in Chapter Four.

⁹⁶¹ Hirini Kaa, *Matariki is a time to celebrate and reflect*, 23/7/18, accessed 25/10/23, <https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/news/2018/07/23/mataariki-is-a-time-to-celebrate-and-reflect.html>.

⁹⁶² Matamua is Professor in Māori and Indigenous Studies at the University of Waikato, Hamilton, Aotearoa New Zealand.

⁹⁶³ According to myth, when Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatūānuku, the earth mother, were separated by their children, the god of the winds, Tāwhirimātea, became so angry that he tore out his eyes and threw them into the heavens – his eyes became the Matariki constellation.

⁹⁶⁴ Naomi Arnold, “The Inheritance,” *New Zealand Geographic* 152 (July/August 2018): 26-27, accessed 7/5/19.

⁹⁶⁵ It is also known as Matariki in the Cook Islands, Mataliki in Tokelau, Niue, Tuvalu, Tonga, Uvea and Futuna, Matali’i in Samoa, Matari’i in Tahiti and Makali’i in Hawai’i. Matamua, *Matariki*, 17-18.

For millennia, Polynesians have been watching the night sky for multiple purposes, including navigation wherein they used the stars to guide them as they settled in far flung islands in the enormous triangle in the Pacific which delineates Polynesia.⁹⁶⁶ The first Europeans to arrive in Aotearoa were apparently surprised by the astronomical knowledge of Māori. “It was widely recognised that Māori knew much more about the night sky than their European counterparts.”⁹⁶⁷ Matamua writes: “Māori used the stars to understand and interact with the environment, looking for the rising and setting of different points of light to tell them when to plant, when to travel, when to celebrate and when to pray.”⁹⁶⁸

7.2 Historic celebrations of Matariki

Māori in different parts of Aotearoa have different traditions regarding Matariki.⁹⁶⁹ Historically some tribes held festivities when Matariki was first seen in the dawn sky; others celebrated after the full moon rose or at the beginning of the next new moon. Some tribes celebrated the appearance of Puanga⁹⁷⁰ rather than Matariki. Puanga (Rigel in the Orion constellation) can be seen earlier and more clearly than Matariki in some parts of Aotearoa New Zealand, therefore for some Māori,⁹⁷¹ Puanga has the significance as the harbinger of the new lunar year rather than Matariki.⁹⁷²

⁹⁶⁶ Polynesia has Hawai’i at its apex, and Aotearoa New Zealand and Rapa Nui/Easter Island at the bottom. On Polynesia use of stars for navigation see: David Lewis, *We the Navigators: The Ancient Art of Landfinding in the Pacific*, 2nd Edition (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i, 1994).

⁹⁶⁷ Matamua, *Matariki*, 3. Early Anglican Missionary William Colenso (1811-1899) noted Māori astronomical knowledge, quoted in Matamua, 23.

⁹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹⁶⁹ Graham Cameron, *Finding a Tākitimu star path: navigating the generic Matariki festival*, 8/6/16, accessed 25/10/23, <https://firstwetakemanhattan.org/2016/06/08/finding-a-takitimu-star-path-navigating-the-generic-matariki-festival/>.

⁹⁷⁰ In standard Māori the star is Puanga (in southern dialect Puaka).

⁹⁷¹ For example, Puanga Whanganui, <https://www.puanga.org.nz>, no date, accessed 14/6/2019.

⁹⁷² Che Wilson, *The difference between Puanga and Matariki*, no date, accessed 29/10/23, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/discover-collections/read-watch-play/matariki-maori-new-year/matariki-regional-variations/difference>. In some places such as Dunedin the festival is known as Puaka Matariki. “When Puaka is suspended above here in the South, we know it is time to prepare for the cyclical adjustment. When Matariki rises, an insight can be acquired into the season ahead.” Matariki Dunedin, <https://matarikidunedin.co.nz/about/>, accessed 14/6/19. See also: Best, *The Māori Division of Time*, 6.

The Autumnal disappearance of Matariki below the horizon was an important marker in the harvest calendar for Māori; it indicated the time to gather and preserve crops. Then after the harvesting of crops, when the storehouses were full, Matariki would reappear and Māori would celebrate the start of a new year. The particular manner in which Matariki was sighted (bright, hazy etc.) was seen to predict the timing, success or failure of future growing seasons. It is important to note that each tribe has its own traditions around Matariki, based on their understanding of the stars and phases of the moon, and how these affect natural cycles. Whilst there are strong shared understandings amongst Māori about Matariki, it is important to acknowledge diversity of tribal traditions rather than claim that all Māori perceive, believe and behave identically around Matariki.

In many Māori traditions the dead became stars and the reappearance of the stars of Matariki provided an opportunity to remember and mourn the departed. Historically, as soon as the constellation was sighted, the names of the dead would be called out, prayers offered and sacrifices to the gods made.⁹⁷³ New sacred gardens called *huamata* would be planted and the food from them would be used as sacrifice to Rongo, the god of cultivation and to the Matariki constellation itself. After Matariki was sighted, the season for *kereru* (wood pigeons) and *kanakana* (lampreys) harvesting began.

Matariki was celebrated widely by Māori before Europeans arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand. Due to disruption of Māori customs and culture caused by loss of land and urbanisation, celebration of Matariki dwindled in the early twentieth century, with one of the last traditional festivals recorded in the 1940s.⁹⁷⁴

7.3 Matariki reborn

In the 1990s, Matariki celebrations began to re-emerge; initially among Māori groups such as the Ngāti Kahungunu tribe in Hawkes Bay.⁹⁷⁵ When Te Rangi Huata organised the first modern public

⁹⁷³ Best, *Division of Time*, 16.

⁹⁷⁴ Paul Meredith, "Matariki – Te Tau Hou Māori," *Te Ara*, introduction, accessed 30/8/22.

⁹⁷⁵ Matamua, *Matariki*, 87.

Ngāti Kahungunu Matariki celebrations in Hastings in 2000, about 500 people joined him. Since then, his work has grown, with major events each year in Wairoa, Napier, Hastings, Waipukerau and Masterton. These give thanks for the harvest and pray for a bountiful planting season. In 2021, between 2,500 and 9,000 people attended Ngāti Kahungunu's major events.⁹⁷⁶

Te Rangi Huata believes that Matariki is becoming more popular because it celebrates Māori culture in a way that brings together all New Zealanders. He explains: "It's becoming a little like the American holiday of Thanksgiving or Halloween, except it's a celebration of the Māori culture here in (Aotearoa) New Zealand. It's New Zealand's Thanksgiving."⁹⁷⁷

In 2001, *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori*/The Māori Language Commission began to reclaim Matariki as an important focus for Māori language regeneration in partnership with Te Papa and the Ministry of Education. Since 2001, Te Papa has organised an extensive programme of Matariki events and promoted national observance of the festival. In 2016, Te Papa began developing a plan to make Matariki a Māori-inspired event of national identity. Below is an excerpt from Te Papa's 2016 Matariki plan:

We believe that Matariki can be strengthened to become a true and distinctive Aotearoa-New Zealand cultural event that can help meet the need for New Zealanders to have our own events of cultural and national significance ... We want to create and sustain a beautiful and inspiring distinctive New Zealand legacy cultural event that honours and celebrates who we are and our island home; that celebrates and honours the year just passed and expresses our hopes, dreams and aspirations for the future.⁹⁷⁸

In 2021, Matariki was observed by hundreds of thousands around the country with schools, civic and community groups celebrating together with a wide range of activities. In February 2021, the Prime Minister announced that from 2022 Matariki would be a public holiday. The Government has established a Matariki Advisory Group:

⁹⁷⁶ Meredith, 3.

⁹⁷⁷ Te Rangi Huata, quoted in, *Experiencing Matariki through poetry*, no date, accessed 20/10/23, <https://www.nzepc.auckland.ac.nz/poetry-project/experiencing-poetry-through-matariki-resource.pdf>, 17.

⁹⁷⁸ Te Papa, *Matariki Festival 2017*, accessed 12/5/19, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/discover-collections/read-watch-play/Māori/matariki-Māori-new-year/matariki-festival-2017/evolution>.

The Group brought together recognised experts from across Aotearoa, who have deep knowledge and understanding in both Te Ao Māori and mātauranga Māori associated with Matariki and the Maramataka (lunar calendar). The Group provided advice to Ministers on: a date for a Matariki public holiday over the next 30 years, how best to celebrate Matariki, and what education and community resources are needed to improve understanding and knowledge of Matariki across Aotearoa. The Group led engagement with Māori, Pacific peoples and other interested parties about how the Matariki public holiday should be celebrated.⁹⁷⁹

The Government sees that the Matariki holiday will be a time for: “Remembrance – Honouring those we have lost since the last rising of Matariki, Celebrating the present – Gathering together to give thanks for what we have, Looking to the future – Looking forward to the promise of a new year.”⁹⁸⁰

The terms of reference for the Matariki Working Group state that the government’s “primary purpose in establishing a public holiday for Matariki is to celebrate Māori culture, a secondary purpose is to acknowledge connections to Pacific peoples.”⁹⁸¹ It is notable that the government’s strongest focus was establishing a Māori holiday, seemingly regardless of the content of the festival.

Matariki has evidently struck a chord with the Aotearoa New Zealand public since the 1990s, but its re-emergence also raises many questions. The focus of the festival is difficult to discern; is it midwinter, harvest, Thanksgiving, Halloween or a festival of national identity? The Puanga/Matariki website of the Whanganui tribe states: “A celebration in the cold months is no different to the pagan celebrations of the northern hemisphere and the origins of what is now known as Christmas.”⁹⁸²

It could be argued that the reborn Matariki is either a festival in search of a specific meaning, an attempt at adaptation of various northern hemisphere festivals, or a festival being re-purposed in order to promote a nationalistic agenda.

⁹⁷⁹ NZ Government, *Matariki Public Holiday*, 1/7/22, accessed 3/9/22, <https://www.mbie.govt.nz/business-and-employment/employment-and-skills/employment-legislation-reviews/matariki/matariki-public-holiday/>.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid, (unpaginated).

⁹⁸¹ NZ Government, *Matariki Advisory Group Terms of Reference*, 30/6/21, accessed 3/2/22, <https://www.mbie.govt.nz/dmsdocument/15329-matariki-advisory-group-establishment-appointments-and-terms-of-reference-proactiverelase-pdf>, 2.

⁹⁸² Puanga Whanganui, accessed 14/6/19, <http://www.puanga.org.nz/pages/puanga.php>.

Vigorous promotion of Matariki by Te Papa for museum-event purposes with a national identity agenda (whilst simultaneously removing the spiritual element of Matariki) raises questions about re-appropriation of indigenous traditions and about the construction of festivals. The lack of a midwinter festival and associated rituals connected with the Christian calendar has left a gaping void which the church has not filled, and which Te Papa and others are now filling without reference to Christianity.

Sensing that a spiritual element was lacking, in 2017 Te Papa changed its Matariki programme and added a 'ritual'; the ritual was centred around a fire where storytelling took place, participants were invited to reflect on the old and new years and to light a candle for the departed.⁹⁸³ The addition of a ritual in some ways attempts to reconnect with the spiritual roots of the festival, but its identity remains confused.

7.4 Christian Matariki

Since the early 2000s Christian Matariki celebrations have been developed and promoted by liturgists of various denominations. The variety of emphases in the Christian Matariki celebrations mirror the variety of meanings projected onto non-Christian celebrations of Matariki.

Wellington Presbyterian Church (St Andrew's on The Terrace), has been celebrating Matariki since the early 2000s and the resources for their Matariki celebrations are publicly available.⁹⁸⁴ Presbyterian elder and liturgist Bronwyn White of St. Andrew's has developed Matariki resources which she publishes on her website.⁹⁸⁵ White's resources for Matariki offer more than a dozen foci for celebration, including: remembering the dead, acknowledging family, sharing resources, dreaming, goal setting, celebrating who we are, harvest thanksgiving, honouring the stars in the sky,

⁹⁸³ Te Papa, *Matariki rising celebrations attract thousands*, 30/6/17, accessed 12/5/19, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/press-and-media/press-releases/2017-news-and-media-releases/matariki-rising-celebrations>.

⁹⁸⁴ St. Andrew's on the Terrace, *Matariki*, 23/6/17, accessed 6/5/19, <https://www.standrews.org.nz/matariki>.

⁹⁸⁵ Bronwyn White, *Liturgy of celebration at Matariki*, 3/7/05, accessed 6/5/19, <https://spiritandfaith.wordpress.com/liturgy-of-celebration-matariki/>.

honouring the stars in our lives and more. The St. Andrew's celebration, resourced by White, seems to have emerged from the church's midwinter festival which has joined with the wave of Matariki enthusiasm.

Since 2010 Christchurch Anglican liturgist Bosco Peters has been promoting celebration of Matariki liturgically.⁹⁸⁶ Peters suggests:

During Matariki, we celebrate our unique place in the world. We give respect to the whenua on which we live, and admiration to our mother earth, Papatūānuku. Throughout Matariki, we learn about those who came before us. Our history, our family, our bones. Matariki signals growth. It's a time of change. It's a time to prepare, and a time of action. During Matariki, we acknowledge what we have and what we have to give. Matariki celebrates the diversity of life. It's a celebration of culture, language, spirit and people. Matariki is our Aotearoa Pacific New Year.⁹⁸⁷

I do not think we have really been deeply inculturating Christian spirituality into the Southern Hemisphere...Liturgical celebrations of Matariki clearly will use te reo Māori. Solstice threads can be incorporated, as well as traditions drawn from the biblical new year, Rosh Hashanah (Leviticus 23:24) including the blowing of the horn (or possibly appropriately the conch shell).⁹⁸⁸

Peters suggests a wide range of themes and emphases for Matariki celebrations: honouring the earth, remembering the dead, learning about family, and history. He suggests that Matariki is also a time for change, thanksgiving, celebrating culture, language and the New Year. Uniquely amongst promoters of Matariki, Peters links it with Rosh Hashanah and the blowing of a horn at New Year. Peters makes an important contribution to promoting liturgical observance of Matariki but, like others, he overloads Matariki with too many foci which can be problematic in discerning the core of the celebration.

In 2022, the Catholic Diocese of Auckland produced a Matariki liturgy for use in the diocese. Unfavourable reaction to that liturgy included concern that the church was facilitating celebration of a pagan star ritual: "Critics are getting flashbacks to the idol Pachamama, fearing Catholic prelates

⁹⁸⁶ Bosco Peters, *Winter Solstice Matariki*, 15/6/18, accessed 7/5/19, <http://liturgy.co.nz/winter-solstice-matariki>.

⁹⁸⁷ Ibid, (unpaginated)

⁹⁸⁸ Bosco Peters, *Matariki*, no date, accessed 12/5/19, <http://www.liturgy.co.nz/newsviews/matariki.html>.

are once again attempting to inculturate pagan rituals.”⁹⁸⁹ The same year, Wayne Te Kaawa, Presbyterian minister and lecturer in Māori Theology at the University of Otago offered online encouragement and liturgical resources for celebration of Matariki in the Presbyterian Church in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁹⁹⁰ It is unclear what effect this encouragement had.

7.4.1 Matariki and Confirmation

The Catholic Diocese of Dunedin made a connection between the sacrament of confirmation and Matariki in a news report from winter 2014:

Stars have marked significant events in our Christian life, none more so that the star that marked the birth of Jesus...Matariki can be translated in two ways – Mata Riki (Tiny eyes) and Mata Ariki (Eyes of God). Either way the eyes are thought to watch over the land and its people. Traditionally, Matariki was the time to plant trees, prepare the land for planting crops, and renew associations with whanau and friends... Many forget the date or season of their confirmation. Abby, Katie, Jacob, Grace and Molly have a marker that will help them to remember down the years the time in the little church at Mossburn when the eyes of God were upon them, and they were sealed with the gift of the Holy Spirit by Bishop Colin.⁹⁹¹

By including an article about Matariki in their publication, the Diocese acknowledged the presence of the Matariki festival in the life of the people and sought to link the benevolent eyes of God at Matariki with the benevolent regard of God on confirmandi. Perceiving the gaze of the stars of Matariki as a form divine protection for children has many precedents, including this poem for his daughter Hilary by Baxter:

May the Pleiads seven
And the powers of Heaven
Keep thee night and day
From harm and disarray.
In thy body neither
Cough, nor colic either;
Fume of woodsmoke leave thee.

⁹⁸⁹ Aidan O’Connor, *Matariki Liturgy*. 24/6/22, accessed 18/8/22, <https://www.churchmilitant.com/news/article/matariki-liturgy>.

⁹⁹⁰ Presbyterian Church, *Matariki services*, no date, accessed 18/8/22, <https://www.presbyterian.org.nz/for-ministers/worship-resources/special-services/matariki-services>.

⁹⁹¹ Unknown author, “Mata-Ariki – the eyes of God – were on the children of Mossburn” in *The Tablet*, Diocese of Dunedin (July 2014) (unpaginated).

Spider black and hairy
Nowhere lurk to scare thee,
Whining midge to bother,
Prowling cat to smother.
Lie on pillows white
Through the rainy night;
No opossum leaping
Stir thee from thy sleeping,
Nor the mouse's laughter
Chittering on the rafter.
And ever, while thou
Like young wood dost grow-
By thy bed and board,
Hand on burning sword
Holy Michael guard thee,
From ill demons ward thee.⁹⁹²

The diocese underlined the enduring importance of Matariki by asserting that celebrating confirmation at Matariki would make the anniversary of confirmation easy to remember. In its explanation (though not in its ritual practice), the Diocese utilised the inculturation technique of functional substitution with Matariki; it used the existing religious reality of Matariki, especially the eyes of God interpretation, and suggested a potentially appropriate temporal link between the festival and the celebration of confirmation. Giving children a convenient reminder of the date of their confirmation is helpful; however, if this entails expanding the meaning of Matariki, and moving or distracting the meaning of confirmation from affirmation of baptism to affirmation of God looking from heaven on children, the Matariki–confirmation connection could be problematic.

7.4.2 Matariki and All Saints/All Souls

In 2016, an anonymous article about Matariki was published by the Progressive Christian Network.⁹⁹³ The article outlined an event in Waipū, Northland which connected Matariki with All Souls and All Saints and was an attempt at inculturating Halloween into the Aotearoa New Zealand winter:

⁹⁹² James K. Baxter, "Charm for Hilary", *Collected Poems*, 83.

⁹⁹³ Progressive Christianity Aotearoa, *Celebrating Matariki-All Saints*, no date, accessed 12/5/19, <https://progressivechristianityaotearoa.com/2016/06/12/celebrating-matariki-saints/>.

Here was the simple programme: We gathered at the gateway to the cemetery, bringing flowers and greenery to put on graves. Heketini called us with a *karanga* (traditional Māori call of welcome), Fraser our local piper from this Scots community responded with the pipes as we walked over to the recent graves. The minister welcomed people and read a very short reading. He then read out the names of the people who have been buried here in the last year. We were invited to call out the names of others. We joined the piper in singing “Amazing Grace” We were then free to wander through the graveyard, placing our flowers and remembering who was buried there. The piper called us back to an older part of the graveyard, where someone from one of the older families told the story of their relatives buried there. (As) A farewell prayer I sang the Celtic Blessing to finish the gathering.⁹⁹⁴

The event at Waipū described above is a well-defined adaptation of All Souls. It used the date of the Matariki festival and the Matariki focus on the dead to remember the departed in a Christian context. This celebration matched the commemorative content of Matariki with Christian commemorative traditions. A criticism of this event could be that the Māori element is minimal – only the date of Matariki and a traditional call of welcome are of clear Māori origin; however, it could be argued that focussing on the departed at Matariki is truer to the well-documented original intent of the festival than less-well focussed celebrations, or celebrations which exclude any mention of the dead.

7.4.3 Other approaches

The Matariki resource offered by the network of schools founded by the Sisters of Mercy suggests schools should focus their commemoration of this event on: care for the earth, the family and ancestry, a new season of light, stars from our past.⁹⁹⁵ Like some other Matariki resources, this has many points of focus, which leads to the possibility of poorly celebrating all of these laudable topics rather than honouring one or two aspects well.

In a 2018 *War Cry* article, Māori Salvationist Hana Seddon writes of Matariki:

It is a time to gather together and remember the past—those who have gone before us and the legacy they have left us with. It is a time to reflect on where we are as a community and

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid, (unpaginated).

⁹⁹⁵ Mercy schools network, *Matariki and Mercy*, no date, accessed 10/5/19, <http://www.mercyschools.org.nz/mercy-story/matariki/>.

where we want to be in the future. For many, it is a time for setting new goals or assessing how we are tracking with previous goals.... Matariki and the Māori New Year offer us the opportunity to take some time and look at how we are tracking with these goals—celebrating our progress and renewing our strength to go further! In this *makariri* chilly season, let's come together under the beauty of Matariki to celebrate our past. Let us plan for our future together and listen to the collective wisdom of all peoples; each one of us precious in the eyes of God. Mā te Atua koutou e ārahi i te wā makariri o te Matariki. (May God guide you during the cold season of Matariki).⁹⁹⁶

Seddon's Matariki proposal seems less about liturgical possibilities and more about strategic planning; she emphasises the midwinter aspect of Matariki and echoes the Catholic Diocese of Dunedin in picking up the theme of the eyes of God. Both midwinter and the eyes of God are strong themes which deserve more attention – midwinter is considered below. Matariki as the eyes of God is a successful image of the concept of stars as witnesses and heralds of God's loving gaze, which could be used further in liturgical contexts in images of God in prayers in general e.g.:

God whose love shines upon us as the stars, ...
God, who like the stars gazes on us with loving care, ...
God you have set the stars in the heavens to proclaim your glory and witness to your purposes, ...
God as we raise our eyes to look for the stars, now we raise our eyes and look for your guidance, ... etc.

These examples of Christian Matariki celebrations show us that Matariki can be about: midwinter, the departed, family, creation, reflecting, planning, gardening and the eyes of God being upon us. Such a wide range of themes attributed to a single festival indicates a necessity for discernment about the future direction and clearer focus of Christian celebrations of Matariki.

7.5 Matariki possibilities

Psalm 147:4 states that God “determines the number of the stars and he gives to all of them their names.”⁹⁹⁷ *The Song of the Three Children* (one of the additions to the Book of Daniel) includes

⁹⁹⁶ Hanna Seddon, “Matariki and the Māori New Year,” *War Cry*, (30/6/18): 3.

⁹⁹⁷ Psalm 147:4, New Revised Standard Version.

the line: “Bless the Lord, stars of heaven; ^{sing} praise to him and highly exalt him for ever”⁹⁹⁸ indicating that the stars are created and known by God and have a part to play in the worship of God.⁹⁹⁹

Liturgical acknowledgement of Matariki is a way Christians can be attentive to what is happening in the natural world, to acknowledge together the mystery of our existence in the cosmos, and rejoice in the Creator’s love for humanity and Creation. Liturgically acknowledging changes of sightings of Matariki matters to Aotearoa New Zealand Christians because the disappearance and reappearance of Matariki is a meaningful, local way in which we can symbolise meetings between the human and the divine. Pope Francis’ 2015 encyclical *LS* promotes contemplation of the natural world as a way of building an ecological spirituality and a healthy and right relationship with Creation.¹⁰⁰⁰ A healthy and right relationship with Creation calls Christians to care for the natural world and invite Creation to inform and shape liturgical life.

Chupungco notes: “History shows that at every turning point of the year, at every critical moment in the life of the Christian people, the church instituted feasts to accompany them during the period of transition.”¹⁰⁰¹ He also notes that new feasts will sometimes need to be added to the calendar to mark seasonal turning points.¹⁰⁰² In Aotearoa New Zealand there is currently no widely accepted liturgical celebration of midwinter, and the church in Aotearoa New Zealand seems to be in clear need of a new feast in order to mark the seasonal turning point of midwinter.

Matariki is a midwinter festival; it is fundamentally about the turning of the year from its movement into darkness to look toward the light. Throughout the world, people celebrate the turning of the ecological year in various forms; in the northern hemisphere, Christmas has

⁹⁹⁸ *The Song of the Three Jews/Young Men*, New Revised Standard Version.

⁹⁹⁹ In *LS* 72 Pope Francis writes: “The Psalms frequently exhort us to praise God the Creator... They also invite other creatures to join us in this praise... We do not only exist by God’s mighty power; we also live with him and beside him. This is why we adore him.”

¹⁰⁰⁰ *LS* 85, 220, 221, 233 and 234.

¹⁰⁰¹ Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 201.

¹⁰⁰² *Ibid.*, 172.

successfully been connected to midwinter.¹⁰⁰³ Bronwyn White addresses the midwinter aspect of Matariki in her *Winter Affirmation*,¹⁰⁰⁴ where she reflects on light and dark, cold and warmth, as well as friendship, hospitality, food, human rights, justice, the sick, the dead and encouragement for the days ahead. In common with other Christian Matariki material, White's affirmation touches on a wide range of themes, and what she has composed could form a suitable basis for the Prayers of the People in a Matariki liturgy.

However, as well as marking/celebrating the basic seasonal element of midwinter, there are specific liturgical inculturation possibilities for Matariki. Below three possibilities are considered.¹⁰⁰⁵

7.6 Matariki and the Nativity of John the Baptist

In the fourth century, for a variety of reasons¹⁰⁰⁶ the Western Church fixed the date of Christmas on December 25th, and the Nativity of John the Baptist six months earlier on June 24th. Scripture does not mention that Jesus was born on 25 December; however, the chosen date makes Christ's birth coincide with the northern winter solstice so that even the cosmos itself is seen to be honouring his birth. Chupungco notes: "We know that the calendar date of these feasts (Christmas and Epiphany), though not devoid of logical thought or pastoral motive, is arbitrary."¹⁰⁰⁷ The Gospel of Luke (1:26–37, 56–57) states that John was born six months before Jesus; accordingly, following the computational hypothesis, John's birth was fixed on 24 June. John's birth at the (northern)

¹⁰⁰³ "When early medieval missionaries brought the faith to the northern European pagan barbarians, that is, the Germans and the Celts, and later the Scandinavians, they brought Christmas to peoples who lived in serious winter environments and who had long-established hibernal customs and festivals. In this northern environment, Christmas became the winter feast it could never have become in Egypt or North Africa." Kelly, *Origins of Christmas*, 147.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Bronwyn White, "A Winter Affirmation," in *Matariki - Winter Solstice 2005*, St Anselm's Union Parish South Karori, 19/6/19, accessed 30/10/23, <https://www.presbyterian.org.nz/for-ministers/worship-resources/special-services/matariki-services/matariki-winter-solstice-2005-st>.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ancestor veneration is not considered separately here but is included in the All Souls' liturgy found in the appendices.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Kelly, *Origins of Christmas*, 77.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 168.

summer solstice, with the onset of shorter days, was connected with John's statement, "He must increase, but I must decrease."¹⁰⁰⁸

Linking the Nativity of John the Baptist firmly with midwinter is one potential way to Christianise concurrent Matariki celebrations. Since Christian tradition has placed the Nativity of John the Baptist as the "cosmic counterpart" to Christmas. it would be logical for the cosmic counterpoint of a firmly summer Christmas to be a firmly winter Nativity of John the Baptist and in Aotearoa New Zealand to link this with Matariki.

Although not mentioning John the Baptist, theologian-poet James K. Baxter perhaps unwittingly addresses Matariki in his poem "On the shortest day of the year":

I had to learn early
how to bear the yoke that rests on the back of the living,
the grief of all who travel beneath the sun,
because the soul cannot cast off winter
until Christ comes to wake her from her sleep
and the stars begin to journey on joyful feet.
Those archers with their arrows, whose proud feet
Trample above our roofs.
Able to suffer pain, my body cold, but living,
A man in the grip of the dark, I saw the stars of winter
Blaze with the light but not the heat of the sun,
Rivers of fire above me.
Then I craved for the sun
to shine on my wet head, to warm my feet,
to bring me alive out of the ditch of winter
like God's arms.
I praise your winter, Lord, from the kingdom of sleep.
You shine like the early light of the sun
On a road that is hard for my feet.
To be is hard for the living.¹⁰⁰⁹

A John the Baptist focused Matariki celebration could concentrate on the turning of the year and looking to the coming of the light. It could be a time to remember that midwinter is the moment when the whole cosmos turns toward the light, and that from midwinter the year unfolds toward the

¹⁰⁰⁸ Gospel of John 3:30.

¹⁰⁰⁹ James K. Baxter "On the shortest day of the year", *Collected Poems*, 585

moment when the star stood above the stable and proclaimed the birth of Jesus. From the Nativity of John onward there is visible renewal in Creation as the sun's warmth and light increases growth from this point of the year onward. There is also a spiritual renewal which begins with the birth of the one who is not the renewal itself but the forerunner of the one who is life, the one who renews the whole of Creation. Just as new life emerging from the barrenness of death is a core concept celebrated in midwinter feasts, the feast of John's birth affirms the victory of regenerated and transfigured life and could be the focus of John the Baptist–Matariki. There are many existing liturgical resources in the Christian Tradition connected with light, renewal and turning toward life, which could be used for a John the Baptist–Matariki festival. One example is the Venerable Bede's hymn to John the Baptist: "Hail, harbinger of morn: thou that art this day born, and heraldest the Word with clarion voice! Ye faithful ones, in him behold the dawning dim of the bright day, and let your hearts rejoice."¹⁰¹⁰

Embracing the ancient Christian tradition¹⁰¹¹ of building and blessing a bonfire on the night of June 23, the vigil of St. John's nativity could enhance a John the Baptist–Matariki celebration. A blessing for a bonfire is included in the *1964 version of the Roman Ritual*.¹⁰¹²

To implement a John the Baptist–Matariki celebration, national and regional liturgical commissions of churches in Aotearoa New Zealand would have to realise the need for such a festival, then engage in a process of research, reflection, and composition or adaptation of liturgies. Involvement of Māori liturgists in this process is essential for ensuring appropriate utilisation of

¹⁰¹⁰ Bede, "Hail Harbinger of Morn", *New English Hymnal* No.169, 383.

¹⁰¹¹ Observed notably in Ireland, the Iberian Peninsula, Scandinavia and Brazil among other countries. In many places pre-Christian midsummer bonfire traditions have been Christianised.

¹⁰¹² Prayer: P: Our help is in the name of the Lord. All: Who made heaven and earth.
P: The Lord be with you. All: May He also be with you.

P. Let us pray. Lord God, almighty Father, the light that never fails and the source of all light, sanctify + this new fire, and grant that after the darkness of this life we may come unsullied to you who are light eternal; through Christ our Lord. All: Amen. *The fire is sprinkled with holy water; after which the clergy and the people sing the following Hymn: Ut queant laxis* P: There was a man sent from God. All: Whose name was John.

P. Let us pray. God, who by reason of the birth of blessed John have made this day praiseworthy, give your people the grace of spiritual joy, and keep the hearts of your faithful fixed on the way that leads to everlasting salvation; through Christ our Lord. All: Amen. *Roman Ritual Complete Edition*, 423-426.

Māori knowledge in each region. These commissions could then make recommendations to national and regional church bodies (informed by appropriate mātauranga Māori and the world church) to observe the festival liturgically, and assist in education of churches about and promotion of the feast. An example of a John the Baptist–Matariki liturgy follows later in this chapter.

7.7 Matariki and All Souls

Another fruitful possibility for celebration of Matariki is connecting it with remembrance of the departed, as suggested in the All Souls' celebration in Waipū quoted above. Ancestor veneration which is an important aspect of Matariki celebrations can fit within the framework of liturgical commemoration of the dead.

Historically, Matariki is very clearly associated with death; the constellation rises in winter, a time when many of the elderly and frail die.¹⁰¹³ Rangi Matamua reminds us that Māori did not just observe the rising of Matariki but also its setting.

The more well-known and celebrated festival occurred when Matariki rose in (the month of) Piriri welcoming in the new year; however, its setting in the early evening of (the month of) Haratua was also an important event...as the sun slowly disappeared below the horizon, laments were said to the dead, as Māori believed Matariki carried those who had passed during the year into the great abyss of darkness.¹⁰¹⁴

Once the traditional Māori astronomers had ascertained the Matariki signs for the year, the first thing the community would do was to gather together to mourn the dead. Matariki's disappearance would then be greeted with song, tears and lamentations – this particular ceremony was known as *te taki mōteatea* or the reciting of laments.¹⁰¹⁵ Māori believed that Matariki was the prow of a great canoe in the heavens *Te waka o Rangi*, whose captain Taramainuku had a giant net to gather the souls of the dead. When Matariki rose, this canoe was seen on the horizon and

¹⁰¹³ 'Ko Matariki te kaitō i te hunga pakeke ki te pō' – Matariki draws the frail into the endless night. Matariki proverb quoted in Matamua, *Matariki*, 97.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ibid., 47.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid., 63.

Taramainuku stood on board with his net. For the next eleven months of the year Taramainuku would cast his net across the earth and haul to the sky all who had died. The spirits of the deceased were suspended by Taramainuku at the stern of the canoe. When the year came to an end (and Matariki disappeared from sight), Taramainuku would cast the dead into the heavens to become stars. On this day, Māori knew that Taramainuku was casting the spirits of their loved ones into the heavens so they would mourn and call their names. Tohunga would conduct karakia as part of this mourning process, reciting the names of the dead and sending their spirits on their way.¹⁰¹⁶ When Matariki reappeared, remembrance of the dead was the first thing that happened among Māori.

Contemporary celebrations of Matariki seem largely to forget the first and more sombre portion of the festival conducted at the setting of Matariki and focus rather more on the upbeat second half when Matariki rises. The importance of the theological impossibility of resurrection without death cannot be overstated; however, to celebrate the joyous feast without the reflective or penitential season preceding it aligns with Aotearoa New Zealand's current tendency toward instant gratification. There is potential to develop a liturgical celebration for the setting of Matariki that is strongly connected with the worldwide tradition of All Souls.

A possible inculturation of All Souls that links it to Matariki could include moving observance of All Souls from November 2nd to the day Matariki sets below the horizon. The day (which would be a different date each year) could be marked with a liturgy of Requiem which would begin a solemn period of remembering the dead – a month of the dead (as November is sometimes called). During this period in which the stars of Matariki disappear from sight, graves could be visited, prayers offered in churches and homes, stories of the departed shared, family and cultural traditions taught, and genealogies learnt. Once the stars of Matariki reappear above the horizon, a new season begins, solemnity is set aside, a liturgy of Resurrection could be held and feasting take place. An example of such a liturgy is set out in appendix 1.

¹⁰¹⁶ Ibid., 65.

7.8 Matariki and Corpus Christi, harvest festival, Rogation Days

One of the important Māori ceremonies that occurred at the first sighting of the risen Matariki, after the bounty of the season had been ascertained and the mourning of the dead completed, was the practice of *whāngai hau*; ‘an offering of ceremonial food to an atua’. The term used to describe this ceremony, *whāngai i te hautapu*, means ‘to feed with a sacred offering’, and the word *hautapu* means ‘a sacred portion of food that is offered to the gods’. Among Māori, the names of the dead would be recalled, then food offered to Matariki since the stars were weak and cold.¹⁰¹⁷ It was understood that escorting the dead across the night sky, bringing the bounty of the year and signalling the return of the sun to earth takes a great toll on the constellation. In the early morning of (the month of) Pipiri, Māori would offer the best of the harvest to the constellation, to reinvigorate Matariki for another year of service.

Connecting the midwinter feast of Corpus Christi with Matariki is another possibility which deserves further research. The concepts of ceremonial offering of food to the divine and offering the best of the harvest, connect the natural occurrence of Matariki with the theological feast of Corpus Christi. Material from Lammas Day,¹⁰¹⁸ the feast of the beginning of the grain harvest (although properly situated on February 1st in Aotearoa New Zealand), could be explored for use at Matariki. A further possibility is connecting Matariki with the practices associated with Rogation Days¹⁰¹⁹ – a traditional opportunity to ask God’s blessing on agriculture.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid., 69.

¹⁰¹⁸ A festival traditionally observed in Celtic and English cultures to mark the beginning of the wheat harvest, the word Lammas comes from the Anglo-Saxon *hlaf-mas*, "loaf-mass". On Lammas day it was customary to bring to church a loaf made from the new crop to be blessed. Lammas has been superimposed on the Celtic festival of Lughnasadh or Lughnasa, a festival marking the beginning of the grain harvest. See Florence Berger, *Cooking for Christ* (Des Moines: National Catholic Rural Life Conference, 1949), 94-96.

¹⁰¹⁹ Rogation Days include prayers, fasting and processions to ask God’s blessing on agriculture. Rogation Days were commenced by St. Mamertus (d. 475), bishop of Vienne. Rogation Days were officially adopted into the Roman rite in the reign of Pope Leo III. The reform of the Liturgical Calendar in 1969 delegated responsibility for Rogation Days to episcopal conferences. Observance of Rogation Days spread throughout the Anglican Communion. The 2023 Lectionary of the Anglican church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia states: “Days of Prayer for the Care of Creation [Rogation Days]/ Ngā rā inoi kia tiakina ngā mea katoa i hanga These days on either side of the commemoration of St. Francis of Assisi (October 4th) provide opportunities for prayer to be offered for God’s blessing of the fruits and creatures of the earth, and the stewardship of the environment.” *The Lectionary/Te Maramataka 2023*, 158.

7.9 Urgent inculturation opportunity

It is evident that there is widespread interest in and energy to celebrate Matariki in Aotearoa New Zealand. It also seems clear that in efforts to mark this occasion to date, the spiritual and lamentation aspects of the traditional festival have been overlooked in favour of more secular and upbeat themes. Development of the Matariki festival by Te Papa and the New Zealand Government raises many questions about redirecting an indigenous festival for a nationalistic purpose.¹⁰²⁰ It is important to note what Te Papa left out of their initial version of this celebration and that they felt compelled to add a ritual after 16 years of celebration.

The rebirth of Matariki indicates clearly the need for appropriately inculturated festivals for the Christian communities of Aotearoa. A few liturgists and communities have entered into Matariki celebrations so far but there has been no official liturgy or clear framework for a Christian Matariki celebration to emerge from any national church.¹⁰²¹ This provides a wonderful opportunity to be grasped for contemporary liturgical inculturation of this natural and indigenously significant occasion to occur among today's Aotearoa New Zealand Christians, Māori and Pākehā.

Chupungco notes:

The liturgical feasts, which reflect the life and activities of the people, express the church's profound interest in what goes on in the world. They also reveal the church's missionary concern. For the liturgical feasts possess an evangelising power: through them the divine breaks into human history and weaves itself into the fabric of human life. That is why the church, which is always attentive to the changes that take place in the world, continues to seek ways of affirming through the liturgical feasts that the Lord of history is truly present in the life and activities of his people.¹⁰²²

¹⁰²⁰ Questions such as: Should the various tribes of Māoridom have been consulted before the museum advanced the festival? Should a government be involved in reviving or promoting festivals with a religious component? Were any Christian liturgists consulted about the resurrection of Matariki? In a pluralistic nation whose public discourse is often ignorant about, or fearful of religion, what care was taken by the government to avoid favouring one religious worldview of Matariki over others? By instituting the Matariki festival has the government de facto declared traditional Māori beliefs to be the national religion? It is beyond the scope of this thesis to engage with these questions.

¹⁰²¹ In 2022 the Tikanga Pākehā Liturgical Group distributed four liturgies developed by the author of this thesis for trial throughout the country. Also, in 2022 the Liturgy Centre of the Catholic Diocese of Auckland published Matariki resources for use in the diocese. An adverse reaction to that resource can be found here: Aidan O'Connor, *Matariki Liturgy: Sacred Heart or Brother Sun*, 24/6/22, accessed 23/10/23, <https://www.churchmilitant.com/video/episode/pack-matariki-liturgy>.

¹⁰²² Chupungco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 211.

Aotearoa Christians have an exceptional and urgent opportunity to be attentive to Matariki, to shape and refine the development of a festival which can easily connect with Christianity and which currently seems to be in need of clarity. One way of incorporating Matariki into the liturgical calendar is via the method of creative assimilation – i.e., creatively assimilating and recontextualising existing indigenous spiritual components alongside arrangements of existing elements to make a new liturgical form, as will be demonstrated in the example liturgies in the appendices.

7.10 Binding the influences of Pleiades

In 2021, four different Matariki liturgies focused on: the Memorial of the Departed, Nativity of John the Baptist, Thanksgiving for Creation, and Thanksgiving for Whakapapa were trialled in Dunedin. After initial research into the themes and liturgical inculturation possibilities of Matariki, the author of this study approached the Liturgical Commission of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, to ask whether the Commission had taken any action on Matariki and whether the Commission could provide Matariki liturgies for communities to try. After a presentation to the Commission on Matariki, the Commission appointed a Matariki Working Group consisting of the Bishop of Auckland (Pākehā), the Bishop of Te Tai Tokerau (Māori), the Principal of St. John Baptist Theological College Suva (Pasifika) and the author.¹⁰²³ Over several months, major Matariki themes for liturgies were identified by the Working Group. The liturgies were constructed and honed in consultation with the Working Group, trialled at All Saints' Dunedin in 2021, submitted to the Liturgical Commission, and then in 2022 the Commission distributed them for experimental use nationally. The intention of the liturgies was to provide examples of liturgies which were informed and inspired by Matariki themes, and which contained liturgical forms, music and ritual which would be familiar to Anglicans in Aotearoa New Zealand. Following the inculturation methods outlined by Chupungco, these liturgies sought "to be faithful to sound tradition and to foster legitimate progress

¹⁰²³ The Bishop of Auckland is Ross Bay, the Bishop of Te Tai Tokerau is Te Kitohi Wiremu Pikaahu, the Principal of St. John the Baptist Theological College was Sione Ulu'ilakepa (since 2023 Archbishop of Polynesia).

at the same time . . . an art requiring expertise in the science of liturgy, the virtue of flexibility, and often a great faith in the wisdom of the church.”¹⁰²⁴

The liturgies were designed to empower church communities to celebrate a festival which they perhaps would have avoided observing because it was either outside their experience, or because they feared making mistakes or causing offence, or because they had no appropriate resources with which to celebrate it. The notes which accompanied the liturgies encouraged communities to be attentive to what was happening in Creation in their particular place, and to determine the most appropriate manner of celebration according to local custom. The design of the liturgies and notes for the liturgies demonstrate the methodology outlined in Chapter Three of being attentive to te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church informed by the scholarship of Chupungco and Baxter as guides.

Matariki themes, traditional Māori greetings (*mihi*) and te reo were woven into traditional Anglican liturgical norms, with texts and musical forms from several centuries of the Western church. Scripture and Western hymnody were searched for mention of the stars, Baxter’s writings were scoured for anything to undergird the themes.

After receiving permission from the Bishop of Dunedin to use the experimental liturgies, the author chose the dates based on the Sunday closest to the Nativity of John the Baptist for the second liturgy (in 2021, 27th June) and the other Sundays around that date. The liturgies took place at 8pm, about three hours after sunset, in a nineteenth century gothic church with the visual and theological references of Western liturgical architecture and art.

All Saints’ clergy, the 8pm Taizé congregation and parishioners who usually attend morning masses were the core congregation, with other non-parishioners joining. The liturgies were advertised in the newspaper and in the Dunedin City Council’s official Puaka Matariki programme. At each liturgy, a speaker of te reo Māori either Fr. Wiremu Quedley, laywoman Rauhina Scott-Fyfe, or

¹⁰²⁴ Chupunco, *Liturgies of the Future*, 1.

seminarian Ben Ong offered an introduction and welcome in *Te Reo*. One worshipper noted: it was “Amazing to have the *mihi* (greeting), acknowledgment of land, tangata whenua, and the kaupapa (theme) of the day, very grounding.”¹⁰²⁵

At each liturgy it was announced that the liturgies were experimental, that the parish was a liturgical ‘guinea pig’ for the whole church, and that feedback positive or negative was welcome in order to improve the liturgies. Worshippers were invited to write on paper available in baskets at the back of the church (anonymously if desired) and leave them in the church, or to email the vicar with comments.¹⁰²⁶

For some, the specific Aotearoa New Zealand content in the liturgies was moving. One person wrote: I “Loved having Matariki quote in the introduction, it’s been in the Bible for more than 200 years¹⁰²⁷, we just haven’t been paying attention, but we could’ve been.” “Hearing Matariki in the biblical text is thrilling, because Matariki is our word for this very particular experience of the fall and rise of the constellation. That is a new festival for us – but an old concept that Māori know – and while it feels ‘discovered’ it has been there in the Māori Bible all along. So there's no incongruence with Christianity and hearing that text gives me the sense of a deep connection between the Māori awareness of the stars and the Hebrew awareness of the stars.”¹⁰²⁸ Since a motivation for inculturated liturgies is to ground worship in a specific context, these comments indicate that the liturgies were somewhat efficacious in connecting to the Aotearoa New Zealand situation.

Each liturgy was followed by supper with mulled wine in the church hall. The “liturgy after the liturgy”¹⁰²⁹ each time was an important part of affirming that the services were actual

¹⁰²⁵ Written feedback from anonymous worshipper 1.

¹⁰²⁶ The questionnaires were worded: “Kia ora, any feedback positive or negative about the Matariki services would be very welcome. If you would like to share any feedback (named or anonymous) from the Matariki services please write comments on this paper or email them to Fr. Michael vicar@allsaintsdn.org.nz”

¹⁰²⁷ 200 years since the Gospel has been in Aotearoa.

¹⁰²⁸ Written feedback from anonymous worshipper 1.

¹⁰²⁹ A Consultation of Orthodox Theologians on the ecumenical nature of Orthodox witness, arranged by the Orthodox Task Force of the WCC, took place at the New Valamo Monastery, Finland from 24 to 30 September 1977. It confirmed the importance of the missionary concern for “liturgy after the Liturgy” within the total ecumenical witness of Orthodoxy. The consultation declared: “In each culture the eucharistic

celebrations of midwinter and were affirmations of the community which gathered to worship together.

The four Matariki liturgies as used at All Saints' Dunedin 2021 can be found in Appendices 2-5.

7.10.1 Matariki liturgy I: Reception and feedback

When the Matariki liturgies were distributed by the Liturgical Commission, these notes from the Matariki Working Group were included with the first liturgy:

(The correct time in the Matariki season for this liturgy to take place should be chosen according to local custom. Local adaptation of this liturgy is recommended).
For this evening service the Paschal candle is placed in a central location in the church/marae or other place.
An icon of the resurrection, a cross, photos of the departed or other symbols may be placed near the Paschal candle.
A representation of Puaka/Puanga or Matariki (e.g., a projection or other image) may be placed in the church or marae.
If conditions allow the liturgy may begin outside with the congregation looking at the stars and identifying the position of Matariki or Puaka/Puanga.

At All Saints in 2021, the Paschal candle was placed prominently near the altar, and candles were placed around the church. A table with a basket of votive candles and a sand-filled bowl in which to place the votive candles were placed near the Pascal candle.

For the first liturgy remembering the departed, 47 people gathered in the dark on June 20th, a day on which the temperature ranged between a maximum of 9 and a minimum of 0C. Gathering in the candlelit church felt cold and wintry, being out of the house in the cold and dark and watching the glittering candles' defiance of the darkness felt a little exciting and naughty, as midwinter festivals often feel. The liturgy took place at 8pm as that is the usual time for the evening service at All Saints and because darkness enhanced the themes of the liturgy.

dynamics lead into a 'liturgy after the Liturgy,' i.e., a liturgical use of the material world, a transformation of human association in society into koinonia, of consumerism into an ascetic attitude towards creation and the restoration of human dignity." Ion Bria, *The liturgy after the liturgy*, 26/4/13, accessed 18/8/22, <https://orthochristian.com/61078.html>, (unpaginated).

The first liturgy included scriptural texts from Amos, Joel, Psalm 8, the gospel of John, the song of Simeon and 1 Corinthians and 1 Peter. There were hymns from the 7th and 19th centuries, Taizé chants and a responsorial psalm from the 20th century. There were two times of silence, prayers of the people and a ritual action of lighting candles and saying the names of the departed aloud. The unique Matariki element was that it encouraged public remembrance of the dead in June rather than just at the feast of All Souls or on an anniversary, and worshippers were encouraged to say names of the departed out loud as they lit a candle. Feedback included: “Very moving, very fitting, just what I needed.” “I had to go outside because I thought my sobbing would disturb people.”¹⁰³⁰ Another participant wrote:

I enjoyed all of the Matariki services very much. The first one, remembering loved ones who are no longer here, was heartbreaking but cathartic and in a way cleared the emotions for the following services. I liked the way we began with death, in a way, and ended with the promise of new growth.¹⁰³¹

Employing creative assimilation, the first Matariki liturgy used elements of funeral liturgies from *A New Zealand Prayer Book/ He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* (the sentences, the remembrance, Nunc Dimittis, prayers of the people, blessing). Those familiar with the funeral liturgies would have heard echoes of them in this ritual.

Lighting a candle as a prayer is made silently for someone, is a ritual familiar to many Anglicans. A Matariki tradition is to call out the names of the dead; at the first Matariki liturgy worshippers were invited to say out loud the name of the person being remembered or prayed for they lit a candle. This was new territory for most; however, saying names out loud as candles were lit came easily to worshippers.

Feedback from the Liturgical Commission about this liturgy was positive on the whole. Māori members of the commission expressed a preference to use material developed by Māori. Some on

¹⁰³⁰ Written feedback from anonymous worshipper 2 at Matariki services, 20/6/21.

¹⁰³¹ Correspondence from Glennys Faulds, a participant in all four Matariki liturgies, 15/7/21.

the Commission felt the tone of the liturgy was “too traditional”, the only change made by the Commission was to give a gender-neutral option for the sign of the cross – In the name of God, Creator, Redeemer and Giver of Life.

7.10.2 Matariki liturgy II: Reception and feedback

The second Matariki liturgy was the polar opposite to a summer Christmas – the themes were the birth of John the Baptist and the darkness of midwinter, and the experience was cold. In Dunedin, 40 people gathered for the liturgy on a cold and dark day on which the temperature ranged between a maximum of 12 and a minimum of 3C. Notes about the liturgy prepared for the Liturgical Commission offered these directions:

For this evening service the church is in darkness except for the Paschal candle. If conditions allow the liturgy may begin outside with the congregation looking at the stars and identifying the position of Matariki or Puaka/Puanga.

The congregation are given candles at the door, the church is in silence or suitable music is played as people gather.

When the people have gathered the altar candles or candles by an icon of John the Baptist are lit from the Paschal candle.

At All Saints’ Dunedin, elements of the first Matariki liturgy were repeated such as the architectural setting, the mihi (greeting) the Lord’s Prayer in *Te Reo*, the versicle and response from Amos about Pleiades and Orion, collect, scripture readings, prayers of the people, times of silence. An 8th century text set to Gregorian chant and 16th century choral music was used alongside Taizé chants and works by two contemporary hymn writers. At All Saints’ church in 2021, the service started in darkness except for the Paschal candle which had been placed near the altar. This liturgy differed from the first in that unlit votive candles were distributed at the door and light was shared from the Paschal candle in an echo of the Easter Vigil (employing organic progression techniques). A further echo of the Easter Vigil was the community gathering around a bonfire – however, in contrast to the usual Vigil ritual, in this liturgy the assembly processed out of the church at the end of the service and all lit the

fire. The liturgy concluded outside the church with the blessing of the fire, using a blessing for St. John's bonfire from the Book of Blessings.¹⁰³²

The use of light and fire in this liturgy were very well received. Feedback included: "Of course, like everyone else, I thoroughly enjoyed our bonfire representation of St John's fire."¹⁰³³ "Liked the fire, loved lighting it and standing by it and warming ourselves." "(The liturgy was) moving in a different way to last week, I thought last week was perfect, this was perfect in a different way." "It felt familiar and new, like the old liturgy before the changes."¹⁰³⁴

For another participant the interaction between liturgy and Creation was notable:

At the second liturgy when we delved into the imagery of darkness and pointing to the light with St John the Baptist, it was very moving to come outside and feel the shock of the freezing night, which was then interrupted by the heat from the flames of the fire we lit for St John the Baptist. It was a physical experience of being in darkness and finding light and warmth. Then we had the experience of being connected with the celestial bodies - because we were standing outside, we could see the moon lighting the sky, and sometimes the odd star (not Matariki!), it was exquisite to see the moonlit clouds passing over the moon. Amazing to be in a liturgy which was thinking about the environment and what it was leading us to reflect on in terms of our spiritual journey and then not have to translate back it was connected with what was happening outside, to see the moon when we walked outside was connected to the poetics of what the liturgy was about, completely reinforcing the imagery we have been thinking about in liturgical terms, a new experience.¹⁰³⁵

This liturgy's strong connection with the darkness and cold of winter and contrasting warmth and light was new for many worshippers. The power of celebrating winter liturgically through a Christmas lens is evident in the northern hemisphere. Celebrating winter liturgically through a John the Baptist lens was a welcome surprise for participants at All Saints in 2021. To have liturgical imagery reinforced by or in concert with what is happening in Creation is unfortunately still a novel experience for many Aotearoa New Zealand Christians. "I have loved the reflection on being in

¹⁰³² Blessing of a Bonfire on the Vigil of the Birthday of St. John the Baptist, *Roman Ritual Complete Edition*, 423-426.

¹⁰³³ Correspondence from Glennys Faulds, a participant in all four Matariki liturgies.

¹⁰³⁴ Written feedback from Carol Taurua, 27/6/21.

¹⁰³⁵ Written feedback from Julianne Clarke-Morris, 27/6/21.

darkness, not only in the dark environment of a candlelit liturgy, but in the darkness of winter.”¹⁰³⁶

For one worshipper the Isaiah text often used in Advent took on meaning it had not had in summer:

“It is so dark here, we have sunset at 5.20pm and on some days when it's cloudy the day begins to fade before five o'clock. It is also bitterly cold some days, especially for these evening services where it is always below 10 degrees and sometimes below zero. At this time of year we are literally people who walk in darkness.”¹⁰³⁷ That there was no disconnect between liturgy and lived experience was shocking for this person: “The new thing was the way the physical experience of the environment inside and outside the church matched the metaphors of our prayers. It took my breath away.”¹⁰³⁸

Another worshipper noted: “I have thought about the idea of liturgies that connected with the reality of the seasons for many years, but still they struck me in a fresh, unexpected way.”¹⁰³⁹

A participant who grew up in the northern hemisphere reflected:

As I was gathering material for a new Advent wreath I thought about how as a child growing up I loved the Advent journey and looking forward to Christmas with its mystery and intimacy. (it was years before I understood the meaning of Incarnation). This year's Matariki celebrations at All Saints helped reinstate the mystery and intimacy of Incarnation. Yes, the dark and cold did help. Advent is still a favourite season for me, and I wonder if I will find something different in the journey this year. And I hope there will be Matariki/St John celebrations this coming year.¹⁰⁴⁰

A possible change to the post-liturgical conviviality could be that after the liturgy instead of inviting people to walk away from the fire and go to the church hall for supper, the mulled wine could be brought to the people and let them enjoy the fire whilst drinking the wine.

¹⁰³⁶ Written feedback from anonymous worshipper 2.

¹⁰³⁷ Written feedback from anonymous worshipper 1.

¹⁰³⁸ Written feedback from anonymous worshipper 2.

¹⁰³⁹ Written feedback from anonymous worshipper 1.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Email correspondence from Maryalyce Reed, a participant in Matariki/Nativity of John the Baptist liturgy, 26/11/21.

7.10.3 Matariki liturgy III: Reception and feedback

On an early July evening on which the temperature ranged between a maximum of 10 and a minimum -5C, 31 people gathered for the third liturgy, giving thanks for Creation. Notes distributed by the Liturgical Commission for this liturgy state:

For this evening service, if a harvest focus is chosen, fruits of the land and sea appropriate to the region may be placed near the front of the church/space, or the harvest theme is not chosen, the blessing of seeds/tubers/seedlings appropriate the region may take place. A representation of Puaka/Puanga or Matariki (e.g., a projection or other image) may be placed in the church or marae. If conditions allow, the liturgy may begin outside with the congregation looking at the stars and identifying the position of Matariki or Puaka/Puanga. Liturgies connected with the agricultural year are familiar to many Anglicans; however, in recent years in urban Aotearoa New Zealand, harvest festivals and rogation days are observed less frequently than in the past, if at all. Increased awareness of climate change and human responsibility for environmental destruction has not translated into an increased number of regular Creation-focussed liturgies.

The third liturgy followed the pattern established in the first two: hymn, versicle and response from Amos, mihi, collect, scripture, poetry, prayers of the people with Taizé chant response, Lord's Prayer, blessing and hymn. Both hymns in this liturgy were from the 20th century, there was a quote from Hildegard of Bingen of the 11th century and a poem by Walt Whitman from the 19th century. This third Matariki liturgy was the only one of the four to include a penitential rite which offered an opportunity to reflect on mistreatment of Creation and to ask for God's forgiveness. As All Saints is an urban parish with many parishioners having no participation in food production, a harvest theme did not seem appropriate (though this could be a recommended option in rural settings).

Seeds were distributed as part of the service to assist in contemplation of human relations with Creation and act as a focus for reflecting on the year turning to spring and summer. A week after the third Dunedin liturgy a worshipper wrote: "Last week we had the Matariki service where we thought about which seeds we would plant in winter. Since then I have had the sunflower seeds in my jacket pocket and every time I put my hands into my pockets I feel the seeds there and think

about them sprouting in Spring.”¹⁰⁴¹ Another worshipper wrote: “Giving out the seeds (in the third liturgy) was a brilliant touch.”¹⁰⁴²

Fewer people made specific comments about this liturgy than the other three, perhaps because reflection on human relationships with creation is widely encouraged in 21st century Aotearoa New Zealand. However, in spite of care of Creation and connection to Creation being frequent topics of conversation, reception of the third Matariki liturgy shows that liturgical opportunities to reflect on Creation are rare, and that they are welcomed and needed.

7.10.4 Matariki liturgy IV: Reception and feedback

On a cold and dark July 11th, on which the temperature ranged between a maximum of 9 and a minimum of -2C, 44 people gathered for the final Matariki liturgy giving thanks for whakapapa/genealogy. The Liturgical Commission notes stated:

The correct time in the Matariki season for this liturgy to take place should be chosen according to local custom. Local adaptation of this liturgy is recommended. For this evening service, an image of the tree of Jesse may be placed prominently. A representation of Puaka/Puanga or Matariki (e.g., a projection or other image) may be placed in the church or marae. If conditions allow, the liturgy may begin outside with the congregation looking at the stars and identifying the position of Matariki or Puaka/Puanga.

Whilst liturgically remembering the cloud of witnesses, the saints and the departed are familiar to Anglicans, the fourth liturgy’s focus on whakapapa or ancestors was new for many. Following the method of creative assimilation (creatively assimilating and recontextualising existing indigenous spiritual components alongside arrangements of existing liturgical elements), the collect and preface from the fourth formula of mass for the lunar new year from the Catholic Bishops’ Conference of Vietnam were adapted for this service.¹⁰⁴³ A litany of saints which is used at the Easter

¹⁰⁴¹ Written feedback from anonymous worshipper 1.

¹⁰⁴² Correspondence from Glennys Faulds, a participant in all four Matariki liturgies.

¹⁰⁴³ Since 1964 Vietnamese Catholics have been authorised to pray for ancestors in the context of the mass, see: Paul Pham, “The liturgical inculturation of the suffrage for the dead” (Research essay, University of Portland, 2008), accessed 28/10/23,

Vigil, baptisms and ordinations in the parish was used in the new context of Matariki. Use of the well-loved litany of saints in this liturgy invited the congregation to consider the saints in a different way – not just as holy people from a distant context but as ancestors in the faith. Negative feedback was received about the genealogy of Jesus from Luke’s gospel used in this liturgy. Several worshippers noted that there are no women in that genealogy. Whilst still overwhelmingly male, the genealogy from Matthew’s gospel includes four women, so choosing to use Matthew’s genealogy is an easy change to make.

Writing reflections on a piece of paper and coming forward to place pieces of paper in a basket near the altar happened with ease. One worshipper noted:

It was also good to reflect on what our ancestors had passed on to us and what we hope for our children and future generations (in the fourth liturgy). I can't really think of anything much that would improve the liturgy as I found the whole celebration beautiful.¹⁰⁴⁴

7.10.5 Matariki liturgies summation

The four Matariki liturgies were very well received. Worshippers were a diverse group including Māori and Pākehā, international students, professionals and blue-collar workers, Anglicans, Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Protestants, a Hindu, recent converts and cultural Christians; ages ranged from children to the elderly. Anonymous questionnaires were available after each liturgy, and the comments in this chapter are from the questionnaires or emails.

One worshipper wrote about all four liturgies: “There was a perfect circle – from considering the dead, through John the Baptist, through Creation to considering what we have received from our ancestors.”¹⁰⁴⁵

https://files.ecatholic.com/12077/documents/2016/3/Deacon%20Paul_Liturgical%20Inculturation%20of%20funeral%20rite.pdf?t=1458970732000; Peter Phan, “Culture and Liturgy: Ancestor veneration as a test case,” *Worship* Vol 76/5(2002): 403-430.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Correspondence from Glennys Faulds, a participant in all four Matariki liturgies.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Written feedback from anonymous worshipper 2.

The Liturgical Commission of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia received the liturgies “very warmly” and referred them to the Māori, Pasifika and Pākehā liturgical working groups for “reflection/ use/ adaptation/ response”.¹⁰⁴⁶ The author did not receive any feedback from the Pasifika and Māori liturgical working groups.

In distributing the liturgies for Matariki 2022, the Liturgical Commission included the note: “These resources have been prepared by the Tikanga Pākehā members of Liturgical Commission for possible use on/around Matariki. We may, in the future, develop a common 3 Tikanga resource, but for this year the resources are from pākehā to pākehā”¹⁰⁴⁷ Unfortunately, this note asserts that Pākehā members of the Liturgical Commission prepared the resource and that there was no Māori input into the liturgies – both of these assertions are incorrect. The liturgies were prepared by the Matariki Working Group and presented to the Commission; Bishop Te Kitohi Wiremu Pikaahu played a full and active role on the Matariki Working Group, and Māori members of All Saints offered wisdom and guidance at various stages of devising and compiling the liturgies.

Bluck felt the liturgies were successful: “I think they are the best new liturgical material I've seen for years from this church.”¹⁰⁴⁸ A Māori priest who participated in all four liturgies wrote:

These karakia (services) resound with a depth which encompasses all under its umbrella in relation to 'Matariki'. A perfect way of expression of aroha (love), compassion. I rejoice that these have been brought into birth and will be available further for the Church. let us hope that people may be moved to allow themselves to worship in such a manner. It really makes my heart soar.¹⁰⁴⁹

The enthusiastic reception of the liturgies by those present points to the power and potential of place-specific and season-specific liturgies. Wider use of these and other Matariki liturgies would

¹⁰⁴⁶ Email Correspondence from the General Secretary of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia on behalf of the Commission. 31/8/21.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Diocese of Christchurch, *Matariki resources*, 2022, accessed 18/8/22, <https://anglicanlife.org.nz/news-and-announcements/matariki-resources/>.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Email Correspondence from John Bluck to Jo Dodd, 13/11/21.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Email Correspondence from Wiremu Quedley, 11/6/21.

seem to be a logical and fruitful step on the inculturation journey for Christians in Aotearoa New Zealand.

7.11 Inculturation processes

Whereas the four Matariki liturgies discussed above were developed using the methodology described in Chapter Six, being informed by *te whenua*/ the land, *te tangata whenua* /the people of the land and *te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu* /the one Holy Church with Baxter and Chupungco as guides, other methodologies will have to be found for other inculturation opportunities. The portion of the methodology which is unhelpful in some contexts (especially non-Pākehā ones) is the inclusion of Baxter as he so clearly speaks from and to Pākehā ontology. Without Baxter, the methodology is still useful and could be applied to more liturgical inculturation.

The principles recommended in the *KAT* report¹⁰⁵⁰ around *mātauranga Māori* and *Māori taonga* are helpful in addressing liturgical celebration of Matariki. *KAT* emphasises the principle of valuing Māori culture and the principle of partnership between cultures (Māori, Pākehā and more). Discerning who owns cultural knowledge, and therefore who can legitimately use it, would significantly aid the process of liturgical inculturation. Appropriately constituted liturgical commissions nationally and regionally (informed by *Te whenua*/ the land, *Te Tangata Whenua* /the people of the land and *Te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu* /the one Holy Church with Chupungco as resource) could consider how *mātauranga Māori* can appropriately be used in Christian worship, and can potentially enable liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand to proceed without anxiety for Māori or Pākehā. Appropriate liturgies, songs, and works of art related to the celebration of the liturgical year and sacred architecture suitably reflecting both local and imported design elements could be considered and promoted by the commissions. The establishment of such commissions would be an important step along the liturgical inculturation journey in Aotearoa New Zealand. *KAT* asserts:

New Zealand has often led the world in the area of indigenous rights. This is probably partly

¹⁰⁵⁰ See chapter six for discussion of *KAT*.

because of the crucial role Māori culture plays in New Zealand's national identity, and that in turn is a result of a unique history of conflict and cooperation, the relative size of the Māori population within the national population, and the fact that the country's particular geography makes physical integration inevitable. Whatever the reason, New Zealand is in a unique position to develop its own practical standards relevant to its own national context and to lead, perhaps assist, the world in doing so.¹⁰⁵¹

If a good commission model to consider the relationship between liturgy and mātauranga Māori were established, this is a model the Aotearoa New Zealand church could offer to the global church for its consideration. The need to establish an appropriately constituted commission to consider liturgical inculturation can be identified in The Amazonian Synod document:

The new organism of the Church in the Amazon should establish a competent commission to study and discuss, according to the habits and customs of the ancestral peoples, the elaboration of an Amazonian rite that expresses the liturgical, theological, disciplinary and spiritual patrimony of the Amazon, with special reference to what *Lumen Gentium* affirms for the Oriental Churches (cf. *LG* 23). This would add to the rites already present in the Church, enriching the work of evangelisation, the capacity to express the faith in their own culture, and the sense of decentralisation and collegiality that can express the catholicity of the Church. The commission could also study and propose how to enrich Church rites with the way in which these peoples care for their territory and relate to its waters.¹⁰⁵²

Both the *KAT* report and the Amazonian synod document point to the need for the whole church in Aotearoa New Zealand to work appropriately with indigenous people to safeguard indigenous knowledge and to ensure authentic liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Establishing regional commissions for liturgical inculturation and mātauranga Māori is a way to facilitate this process, as the Amazonian synod document indicates:

It is necessary that the Church, in her tireless labour of evangelization, work so that the process of inculturation of the faith may be expressed with the utmost coherence, in order that it may also be celebrated and lived in the languages proper to the Amazon's peoples. It is urgent to form committees for the translation of biblical and the preparation of liturgical texts in the different local languages, with the necessary resources, preserving the substance of the sacraments and adapting their form, without losing sight of what is essential. So too, it is necessary to encourage music and songs, all of which is included in and encouraged by the

¹⁰⁵¹ *KAT*, 98.

¹⁰⁵² *Final Document of the Amazon Synod*, section 119.

liturgy.¹⁰⁵³

In suggesting establishment of liturgical commissions by region, informed by te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church and guided by the methodologies of Chupungco (and perhaps Baxter), this chapter has identified a strategy for appropriate liturgical inculturation. Regional liturgical commissions would be the gathering place for those engaged in liturgical inculturation to navigate a way forward for the church in a particular area. A subsidiarity approach whereby regional commissions create locally-focused liturgies is a change from nationally formulated liturgies being sent to the regions and is a challenge to some traditional understandings of what constitutes proper ecclesiastical processes. However, if the church believes that God speaks through Creation, it seems logical that those close to Creation in a particular setting are better placed to observe God's working at a local level rather than inheriting a more generic interpretation imposed from a national level.

Chupungco's advice is apt here:

The institution in a local church of new liturgical feasts inspired by contemporary creative sociocultural or civil festivities is another area where the method of creative assimilation can be useful. Through this form of inculturation, the liturgical year is grafted on the seasons of the year, the traditional feasts of peoples, the cycle of human work, and political systems of nations. The church should not isolate itself from what goes on in the world. Its liturgy should interplay with the academic year, the business year, the political year...in order to imbue them with the mystery of Christ.¹⁰⁵⁴

In a 2003 opinion piece on Matariki Leo Koziol¹⁰⁵⁵ suggested Matariki as:

[s]ome kind of Christmas meets New Years meets Halloween meets Thanksgiving that is all of these events, but none of them. It is none of them, because it is Matariki, something unique that we can call our own... Matariki won't make up for our mixed up celebrations calendar, but it does promise to provide us with something that's uniquely about "us". It is universal to Māori and Pākehā, because we all live with the opposite shifting of seasons. It can be a Thanksgiving feast, it can be the light and happiness of a winter Christmas, it could even be a little bit of Halloween dress-up and bereavement grief catharsis.¹⁰⁵⁶

¹⁰⁵³ Ibid., 118.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Chupungco, *Methods of Liturgical Inculturation*, 266.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ngāti Rakaipaaka, Ngāti Kahungunu tribes, Director of the Wairoa Māori Film Festival.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Koziol, *The Matariki Long Weekend*.

Koziol's comment illustrates the yearning to address "the mixed up celebrations calendar" of many New Zealanders. Koziol's comments also show the importance of the church engaging with and helping to shape a festival onto which some unhelpful projections of North American festivals is taking place. Trying to shape Matariki as Halloween or Thanksgiving or anything else without an adequate methodology threatens to derail attempts to develop a uniquely Aotearoa New Zealand festival. Approaching liturgical inculturation with an inadequate methodology imperils inculturation efforts in Aotearoa New Zealand.

A methodology for inculturating the liturgical year to the Aotearoa New Zealand seasons engaging with te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church, with Chupungco as guide and Baxter as resource (established in Chapter Three of this thesis), was used in formation of liturgies for Matariki presented in this chapter. These liturgies are an example of what Chupungco terms creative assimilation; liturgical celebrations grafted on to the seasons of the year, informed by the traditional feasts of peoples, linked to the cycle of human work and harvest and planting, and, with government promotion of Matariki, it could be argued the liturgies are linked with the political systems of the nation.¹⁰⁵⁷ The liturgies are an example of the liturgical year seeking to align itself with the seasons and the people of Aotearoa New Zealand. Chupungco states that liturgical inculturation is:

[a] process whereby pertinent elements of local culture are integrated into the worship of a local church. Integration means that culture influences the composition and proclamation of prayer formularies, the performance of ritual actions, and the expression of liturgical message in art forms. Integration can also mean that local rites, symbols, and festivals, after due critique and Christian reinterpretation, are assimilated into the liturgical worship of a local church. One result of inculturation is that the liturgical texts, symbols, gestures, and feasts evoke something from the people's history, traditions, cultural patterns, and artistic genius. We might also say that the power of the liturgy to evoke local culture is one sign that inculturation has taken place.¹⁰⁵⁸

¹⁰⁵⁷ Chupungco, *Methods of Liturgical Inculturation*, 264-266.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 263.

The Matariki festival and the liturgies discussed in this chapter point to a way forward to align the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand with the life of the land/ te whenua and the people of the land/ te tangata whenua, whilst remaining irenically in the embrace of te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu/ the one Holy Church. The next chapter will seek to bring the insights gleaned throughout the project together to discern how to enable and encourage inculturation of the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand.

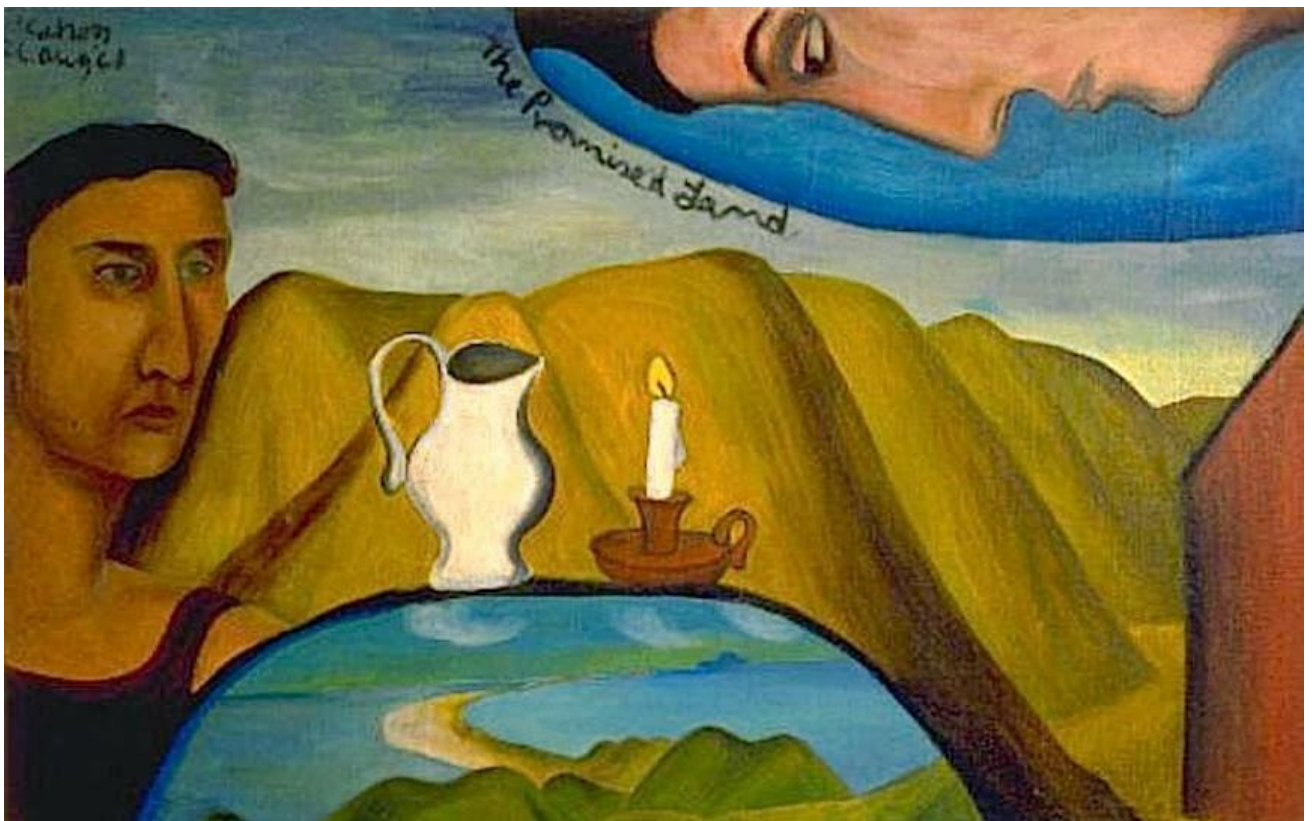


Illustration 13: This is the Promised Land, Colin McCahon

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Implications

In the 1860s, Mary Anne, Lady Barker (1831-1911), a Pākehā settler in the Selwyn district of Te Wai Pounamu wrote:

After breakfast I filled all the vases, and decorated the hall ... with my beautiful ferns, each spray of which was a marvel of grace and loveliness, and then it was time to arrange the verandah for service, which was soon done by the aid of boxes and red blankets... At church time, therefore, I took my place in the verandah with no domestic anxieties to distract my attention from the beautiful service, which has never seemed more beautiful to me than when held in that distant hidden valley with nothing but hills and mountains around us, and a New Zealand summer sky overhead. The great tidings of 'To us a Child is born' rang as sweet and clear and welcome in my ears, amid that profound unbroken silence, as they have done when pealed from organs or proclaimed to hundreds of gathered worshippers with all the pomp and ceremony of the most gorgeous cathedral.¹⁰⁵⁹

Lady Barker's 19th century description of a Christmas Day liturgy demonstrates no pining for a far-away, unachievable, wintery liturgical norm, but rather, the pragmatic practicality of one recognising the incontestable and authentic beauty of celebrating the birth of Christ exactly where she is, amid the reality of her actual time and place in Aotearoa New Zealand. Along with Lady Barker, this research project asserts that a liturgical year in tune with Aotearoa New Zealand's seasons is profoundly beautiful, contextually meaningful, appropriate, sweet, clear and welcome.

A locally-resonant liturgical year inculturated into the Aotearoa context is needed and possible. It is time for a new starting point for the conversation on liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand, as this project has argued.

8.1 The thesis' claim

The Western liturgical calendar has been imposed unchanged on Aotearoa New Zealand without regard to the land or its inhabitants. How place has shaped and should shape the liturgical year is a crucially important factor influencing authentic localised liturgical celebration because we

¹⁰⁵⁹ Lady Barker, *A Christmas Cake in Four Quarters* (London: Frederick Warne, 1887), 239.

who celebrate cannot and do not exist or experience God's presence except in and through a particular time and place.¹⁰⁶⁰ This stance contrasts directly with assertions that theology and liturgy should be neutral and placeless – a position which held sway for centuries but is seriously in need of reconsideration. Geographers Johnson and Larsen assert:

The critical scholarship of postphenomenological academics has elevated the primacy of place in contemporary Western (especially continental) philosophy ... No longer does the validity of knowledge rest on the reliability of the all-encompassing 'view from nowhere' over an objective, Cartesian space – this epistemology has been deconstructed as ideological reification – but instead requires an ongoing sensitivity to ontological context, that is, the precise place(s) out of which specific knowledge emerge. From empirical histories that explore the actual laboratories where scientific experiments occurred (Livingstone 2003) to the ontological argument for situated knowledges (Haraway 1988), critical academic work has illustrated the dynamic and inextricable relationships between place and the production of knowledge...situated knowledges, in short, account for their geographies of production.¹⁰⁶¹

The Western liturgical year is a product of northern hemisphere Christian experiences and theologies and is no longer adequate to meet the needs and reflect the lived realities of Christians in the south of the southern hemisphere. This study has argued that the liturgical year should be shaped by the land, and by the people of the land in which the liturgy is celebrated, whilst constantly keeping in mind that Christians in every part of the world are an integral part of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church. Pākehā Christians in Aotearoa New Zealand face specific challenges if they are to become truly at home in Aotearoa, if they are to develop an Aotearoa theology of place informed by experience of the land and informed by Māori experience and knowledge, and if they are to make the spiritual journey of the liturgical year truly at home in Aotearoa. As Bluck asserts: "A Kiwi spirituality has to revalue the ground under its feet. It may prove to be holier than we imagined."¹⁰⁶²

¹⁰⁶⁰ See Johnson, "Grounding the Timeless in Place."

¹⁰⁶¹ Johnson and Larsen, *A Deeper Sense of Place*, 11.

¹⁰⁶² Bluck, *Long, White and Cloudy*, 98.

This project has posited that there is a lack of inculturation of the liturgical year in Aotearoa, but that this problem is fixable. It has suggested a methodology, provided examples of inculturation experiments, and raised future possibilities for inculturation of the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand.

8.2 Significance of the project

Authored by a Pākehā Anglican priest from the south of Te Wai Pounamu/the South Island, this study constitutes a limited and time-specific attempt to address the problem of a non-inculturated liturgical calendar. Addressing a live issue such as the lived experience of the liturgy in an evolving contemporary society, means inevitably that as soon as the project is finished some information it contains will be out of date. Ongoing privileged conversations with tangata whenua, parishioners, clergy, liturgists of various traditions, and with the Liturgical Commission of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, all inform this research project and will continue to influence ongoing conversation and developments in this area.

This study has considered the arrival of liturgical calendars in Aotearoa New Zealand in a focussed way, and has sought a methodology of liturgical inculturation suitable for Aotearoa New Zealand. It has pursued an appropriate theology of place for Pākehā, and it has considered Baxter's contribution to liturgical inculturation for the first time academically. It has suggested practical ways of inculturating Christmas celebrations and has advanced formation of liturgies for Matariki nationally. The project has woven local insights together with international scholarship on inculturation, especially the work of Chupungco, and as a result of this research it has proposed some solutions for the liturgical inculturation problem in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Given how little has been written academically about the inculturation of the liturgical year into Aotearoa New Zealand's seasons, in its consideration of the topic, this study has attempted to advance the conversation significantly.

8.3 New starting point identified by the thesis

Chapter Two

This chapter observed that existing Māori communal systems marking the passage of time, celebrating annual feast days and fast days, and periods of remembering the dead, all prepared the ground for reception of the Western liturgical calendar in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, changing from a highly contextualised lunar calendar brought from elsewhere in Polynesia and honed in Aotearoa, to a solar calendar formulated in Europe with no reference to Aotearoa but presented as universally applicable, had the effect of supplanting indigenous maramataka/calendars. Imposition of the “placeless” Gregorian calendar resulted in loss of local knowledge, erasing of place specificity from calendars, and ultimately impoverishment in the marking of sacred time in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Celebrating liturgical cycles attached to northern seasons has bequeathed to Aotearoa New Zealand Christians an inadequate calendar. This research project has demonstrated that a misalignment of the southern seasons with the liturgical calendar has been keenly felt not only by those with direct experience of the northern hemisphere, but also by those who have never been out of the southern hemisphere. Intriguingly, until now, there seems to have been an unwillingness and inability by Aotearoa New Zealand churches to address the theological and pastoral problem in their calendars.

Paying close attention to Creation in particular places and understanding the innate flexibility of ngā maramataka had demonstrated that an inculturated liturgical calendar in Aotearoa New Zealand might indeed be possible.

This project has attempted to provide a rationale and methodology sufficient to empower the inculturation of liturgical calendars in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Three

In order to understand how the liturgical year might interact in concert with (rather than in

contradiction to) the natural seasons and the lived reality of the people of Aotearoa New Zealand, this chapter explored inculturation in general and liturgical inculturation in particular.

Various methodologies of inculturation from around the world were considered through the lenses of te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church. Chupungco's methodology was discerned to be the most helpful in informing an appropriate approach to inculturating the liturgical year into the Aotearoa New Zealand context as it is relevant to all three lenses, and hence was the primary methodology employed by this study.

Chapter Four

The notion of a 'theology of place' explores how Christians think theologically about, in light of, and from a specific location. Exploring the process whereby place shapes human experience has enabled this research project to examine how the liturgical year might be experienced and celebrated in a particular geography, climate, or place.

Developing or identifying clearly an Aotearoa New Zealand theology of place has enabled this project to consider how Aotearoa New Zealand Christians can reconcile imported northern hemisphere theologies of place found in Scripture and Tradition, with understandings of the lived experience and emerging theologies of place that confront and inspire them. This chapter demonstrated that whilst Māori have a well-developed and coherent theology of place, a Pākehā theology of place continues to be elusive. It asserted that progress toward a theology of place that is satisfactory to both Māori and Pākehā is fundamental to the process of inculturation, and therefore, is a worthwhile starting point from which to embark on the process of inculturation of the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Five

Because of his place in Aotearoa New Zealand (especially Pākehā) consciousness, Chapter

Five considered James K. Baxter. Baxter's insights on Pākehā and how they should live in Aotearoa make a valuable contribution to the methodology of liturgical inculturation advanced in this research project. Baxter saw that for the church to be truly grounded in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is essential that Māori culture, spirituality and experience are central to considerations. Through the vision he articulated, Baxter gave some direction for those engaged with the liturgical inculturation project in Aotearoa New Zealand. He asserted that the foundations provided by Christian tradition and Māori culture can work well together, and that a uniquely Aotearoa New Zealand inculturated space can be built and enjoyed by Māori and Pākehā together, renewing and enlivening the church.

This chapter considered the various stages of Baxter's journey of identity as a New Zealander and explored the various stages of his relationship with te whenua/ the land, te tangata whenua /the people of the land and te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu /the one Holy Church. These three foci identified by Baxter informed the project's methodological approach to the task of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Six

Chapter Six observed that the celebration of Christmas often causes irritation and a sense of dislocation for Aotearoa New Zealand Christians. A theological interpretation of Christ's birth through the lens of winter simply does not work in Aotearoa New Zealand when through Creation God is communicating with humanity via the opposite season from that consciously and unconsciously undergirding Christmas liturgical texts, symbols, songs and rituals. In addressing the current difficulties involved in liturgical celebrations of Christmas in Aotearoa New Zealand, this chapter analysed present practices, suggested actions to remove texts, symbols and rituals which are not consonant with the local context, and provided examples of how liturgical inculturation of Christmas might occur.

The purpose of 'defrosting Christmas' is to discover a deeper mode of celebrating the Nativity of Jesus which is culturally suited to Aotearoa New Zealand, capable of facilitating a fuller

experience of Christ in our midst today, and which New Zealanders can readily claim as their own. This chapter challenged liturgists to purge from liturgies anything which makes no sense in Aotearoa New Zealand, and to find or generate appropriate liturgical material that is truly consonant with both the theology of the universal church, and its particular expression in Aotearoa New Zealand's time and place.

Chapter Seven

Chapter Seven considered Matariki, a midwinter festival with roots deep in indigenous spirituality which has engaged the public imagination in recent years. The rebirth of Matariki indicates clearly the need for appropriately inculturated festivals for the Christian communities of Aotearoa. This chapter presented four experimental Matariki liturgies which were developed using the methodology described in chapter six.

Chapter Seven asserts that both the *KAT* report and the Amazonian Synod document indicate the need for the whole church in Aotearoa New Zealand to work appropriately with indigenous people to safeguard indigenous knowledge and to ensure authentic liturgical inculturation. Appropriately constituted liturgical commissions nationally and regionally informed by *te whenua*/ the land, *te tangata whenua* /the people of the land and *te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu* /the one Holy Church (with *Chupungco* as methodological guide) could consider how *mātauranga Māori* can be used appropriately in Christian worship and can potentially enable liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand to proceed without anxiety for Māori or Pākehā. In suggesting the establishment of liturgical commissions by region, this chapter identified a strategy for appropriate liturgical inculturation.

The Matariki festival and the liturgies discussed in this chapter point to how the liturgical year in Aotearoa New Zealand can be aligned with the life of the land/*te whenua* and the people of the land/*te tangata whenua*, whilst remaining irenically in the embrace of *te Kotahi anō Hāhi tapu*/the one Holy Church. This study aims to generate and guide future conversation about liturgical celebration of Matariki.

8.4 Research yet to be undertaken in light of the thesis

There are many possibilities for further inculturation of the liturgical year into Aotearoa New Zealand's seasons and culture. The limits of the thesis form have prevented some obvious aspects of the liturgical year from being included here, such as those noted below.

8.4.1 Easter

Consideration of the Easter cycle presents itself as an obvious next step to be taken to advance the approach begun in this project; the implications of observing Lent and Easter in late Summer and Autumn in Aotearoa New Zealand are overdue for exploration, explicit inclusion, and celebration in the church's liturgies. Despite many poems and hymns having been penned by New Zealanders on autumnal themes,¹⁰⁶³ official Lenten and Easter liturgies of the church are yet to reflect the seasonal reality of Aotearoa New Zealand. Whilst the official liturgies may not include explicit Spring imagery, there is no sign of any place or season specificity which might tap into or affirm the richness of Easter in Autumn in Aotearoa New Zealand. There is much more to do to inculturate Lent and Easter into late Summer and Autumn.

8.4.2 Spring Equinox

Another self-evident topic for scrutiny in the light of this study is liturgical inculturation of the Spring Equinox. The church in Aotearoa New Zealand lacks a liturgical festival strongly associated with the Equinox which takes place in September.¹⁰⁶⁴ The Spring Equinox falls on or around the 23rd of September, which is always in Ordinary Time.¹⁰⁶⁵ Principal September observances in the Western liturgical calendar are: the Exaltation of the Holy Cross/Holy Cross Day on September 14th, Matthew

¹⁰⁶³ Including by: CR Allen, Baxter, Ursula Bethell, Bill Bennett, Fay Clayton, Allen Curnow, Eileen Duggan, Paul Henderson, Sam Hunt, Timothy Hurd, Robin Hyde, Frederick Inwood, MK Joseph, RAK Mason, David Mitchell, Colin Newbury, Chris Orsman, Vincent O'Sullivan, Anne Powell, Shirley Smith, WL Wallace.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Gorman, Paul. "When does Spring officially start in NZ? It's complicated," *Stuff*, 2/9/19, accessed 23/1/23,

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/science/115457756/when-does-spring-officially-start-in-nz-its-complicated>.

¹⁰⁶⁵ For some churches Sundays after Pentecost or Sundays after Trinity.

Apostle and Evangelist on September 21st and Michael and All Angels on September 29th. None of these festivals seem to have an obvious connection with Spring.

The Spring Equinox falls within the Season of Creation which runs from September 1st to October 4th. Liturgical observance of the Season of Creation is lukewarm in Aotearoa New Zealand but perhaps with a Spring Equinox focus, the Season might gain some traction. Creating a liturgy to observe the Equinox during the Season of Creation constitutes an obvious opportunity for liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Perhaps the Equinox could be marked liturgically with a celebration of the land upon which a community's church stands, just as there is an annual feast of dedication for parishes celebrating the consecration of a particular building. A Sunday could be allocated to give thanks for the particular location (mountains, rivers, coast, wetlands etc.) of each worshipping community.

Kennedy Warne refers to a practice of knowing and being known – a ritual of attentiveness to place – which he asserts happens in a unique and profound way with indigenous people:

This process is enriching for pilgrim and place...those (indigenous) voices of memory lead me forward to a conversation with those whose connection to place far exceeds my own in duration, complexity and intimacy...as I see it, the invitation is to walk in conversation both with place and with those who hold the stories of place – stories that have emerged over multiple lifetimes and been woven into a literature that maps and matches the landscape...I wish to be awake to all the presences in this place, including those whose feet preceded mine and on whose shoulders rests the mantle of mana whenua. There is good reason to believe that a fully manifest conversation with place is impossible outside of a conversation with first people.¹⁰⁶⁶

An annual parish pilgrimage and liturgy with local Māori to a significant place of natural beauty would be one way of liturgically marking the Spring Equinox in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Seeing a need for closer connection with the seasons, Northland woman Tina Aitcheson has created a business called Paitu selling products inspired by Creation in Aotearoa New Zealand. "Paitu make New Zealand art to connect us to the seasons and cycles of our natural world, and respectfully

¹⁰⁶⁶ Warne, *Awakenings*, 206.

share treasures from the garden and forest. Our offerings include seasonal calendars, resources for family rituals, mindful journals, body care, *rongoā* (traditional Māori medicine), *harakeke* (flax) weaving, seeds and edible plants.”¹⁰⁶⁷ Aitcheson suggests activities to mark the Spring Equinox.¹⁰⁶⁸ Although Paitu is not aiming to make specifically Christian resources, Aitcheson’s materials could be a starting point for considerations of how Spring Equinox might be observed locally.

An annual occurrence in September which is marked by some churches is the return of migratory birds. The return of birds from the northern hemisphere is eagerly anticipated and the first returners are mentioned in print and electronic media. People are warned not to interfere with the tired, hungry avian travellers. In the lower South Island city of Dunedin, churches are invited to ring their bells for half an hour on a particular day to celebrate the return of the Toroa/ Northern Royal Albatrosses to the locality to breed.¹⁰⁶⁹ Ringing of the bells has captured the public imagination and is a joyful affirmation of what is happening in Creation; however, there is no liturgy to thank God for the return of the birds, just the public spectacle of bell ringing. Further north, the South Island cities of Christchurch and Nelson celebrate the return of the Kuaka/Godwits with the ringing of bells.¹⁰⁷⁰

Perhaps because of their almost unbelievably long voyages Godwits have a particular hold on New Zealanders’ imaginations. Charles Brasch’s *The Islands 2*, expresses some of the fascination with Godwits.

Always, in these islands, meeting and parting
Shake us, making tremulous the salt-rimmed air;
Divided, many-tongued, the sea is waiting,
Bird and fish visit us and come no more.
Remindingly beside the quays the white
Ships lie smoking; and from their haunted bay
The godwits vanish towards another summer.
Everywhere in light and calm the murmuring

¹⁰⁶⁷ Tina Aitcheson, *Paitu business*, no date, accessed 25/1/23, <https://www.paitu.co.nz/about/>.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibid, <https://www.paitu.co.nz/spring-equinox-celebration-ideas/>.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Unknown author, *ODT*, 18/9/19, accessed 25/1/23, <https://www.odt.co.nz/news/dunedin/bells-far-and-wide-celebrate-return-albatross>.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Unknown author, “Another bell tolls for Godwits,” *RNZ*, 14/9/11, accessed 25/1/23, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/85121/another-bell-tolls-for-godwits>.

Shadow of departure; distance looks our way;
And none knows where he will lie down at night.¹⁰⁷¹

Several other New Zealand writers have contemplated and identified with Godwits;¹⁰⁷² perhaps their epic journeys and desire to return to Aotearoa New Zealand from afar embody something of New Zealanders' liking for travel, and the knowledge that we live so far from others. As Margaret Clark writes, Godwits represent "Some of the New Zealanders who have helped shape the country's cultural and intellectual life reflect on their reasons for choosing, finally, to live in New Zealand and what they have found on their return".¹⁰⁷³ Whatever the meaning of Godwits, New Zealanders are captivated by them.

For the Dean of Christ Church Cathedral Nelson, Graham O'Brien, welcoming the birds home "is a reminder that we are heading into spring, the season of new life and (that we) celebrate the wonder of God's creation with these birds, flying literally around the world to be with us for summer."¹⁰⁷⁴ To mark the Godwits' return, in 2022 Nelson cathedral staff recited the *Benedicite Aotearoa* from *A New Zealand Prayerbook* which gives thanks for Kiwi, Sparrow, Tūi and Hawk, and for the occasion the staff added the Godwit to the canticle. The Nelson example shows the beginnings of a localised liturgical celebration of the Spring Equinox in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Whilst the South Island cities have celebrated Godwits for some years and Napier, a city on the East coast of the North Island, has started welcoming back the Godwits,¹⁰⁷⁵ Keith Woodley, a staff

¹⁰⁷¹ Charles Brasch, "The Islands 2", *Charles Brasch Collected Poems*, 17.

¹⁰⁷² Including: Bridget Armstrong *Flight of the Godwit*; Marlene Bennetts, *Yolaska the Godwit*; Margaret Clark, *Godwits Return*; Robin Hyde, *The Godwits Fly*; James McNeish, *As for the Godwits*; Sandra Morris, *Godwit's Journey*; Nicola Muir, *Baba Didi and the Godwits Fly*; Jenny Patrick, *The Very Important Godwit*.

¹⁰⁷³ Clark, *Godwits Return*, 2.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Gee, Samantha. *Eastern bar-tailed godwits arrive in region after marathon flight from Alaska*, 22/9/21, accessed 26/1/23, <https://nelsonapp.co.nz/news/eastern-bar-tailed-godwits-arrive-in-region-after-marathon-flight-from-alaska>.

¹⁰⁷⁵ The Napier celebration took place in October linking the return of the Godwits with a St. Francis blessing of animals' celebration. Waiapu Cathedral, *Bells to Welcome Godwit-Kuaka*, 28/9/22, accessed 26/1/23, <https://napiercathedral.org.nz/2022/09/28/bells-to-chime-to-welcome-godwits-kuaka/>. Whether a liturgical blessing of pets (mostly cats and dogs) which cause huge damage to ecosystems is a good way of marking the Season of Creation is a topic to be explored elsewhere.

member at the Pūkoro Mirānda Shorebird Centre in the North Island, suggests that New Zealanders further north should celebrate the return of the Godwits.

Between the Firth of Thames, the Manukau Harbour the Kaipara Harbour, and to a lesser extent the Waitemata Harbour, all of those have flocks of godwits – in fact possibly 50 percent or more of all New Zealand godwits are in the Auckland region...If each spring when the godwits arrive back, Auckland was to consider having some sort of festival, some sort of celebration, it would be truly the godwit capital.¹⁰⁷⁶

As of July 2020, Aotearoa New Zealand was home to 121 species protected under the Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals (CMS) which came into force in 2000.¹⁰⁷⁷ Species that migrate to and from Aotearoa New Zealand include whales, dolphins, porpoises, birds, sharks, rays, turtles, and eels.

A liturgical celebration referencing the return of Kuaka/Godwits, Toroa/Northern Royal Albatrosses or some other migratory creature could be one way of addressing the lack of an appropriate Aotearoa New Zealand liturgical celebration for the Spring Equinox.

8.4.3 Sanctore

The calendars commemorating saints used in Aotearoa New Zealand are populated by northern hemisphere personalities and events. To be truly grounded in the Aotearoa context, the existing sanctore needs to be occupied, informed, and shaped by Māori and Pākehā, and inclusive of people who have been icons of Christ in Aotearoa New Zealand, and commemorations with direct connection and real significance to the church in Aotearoa New Zealand.

As noted in Chapter Two, current sanctore in use in Aotearoa New Zealand are heavily populated by northern hemisphere people and histories. To make the sanctore consonant with the context of Aotearoa, local or regional liturgical commissions including Māori and Pākehā could meet

¹⁰⁷⁶ Newsroom Staff, "The return of the godwits," *Newsroom*, 29/10/21, accessed 25/1/23, <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/podcast-the-detail/the-return-of-the-godwits>.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Department of Conservation, *New Zealand Species listed in the convention on Migratory Species*, no date, accessed 27/1/23, <https://www.doc.govt.nz/about-us/international-agreements/species/migratory-species/nzs-migratory-species/>.

to observe what is happening in God's creation in that particular place, to learn what is important in the story of God's people in that particular place and time, and how the calendar might work to build up the Body of Christ in that particular place.

Naming local places of divine encounter in calendars and identifying inspiring local people of faith would move the calendar from a northern hemisphere relic to an engaging invitation to discern and acknowledge God's activity in the local context. In his 1995 book *Celebrating Eucharist*, Peters suggested additions to the national Anglican sanctorale.¹⁰⁷⁸ In 2022 the Anglican Diocese of Dunedin noted: "...the calendar in *A New Zealand Prayer Book/He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* currently does not commemorate anyone who resided south of the Waitaki [river], and few who ministered in the area which since 1869 has been known as the Diocese of Dunedin".¹⁰⁷⁹ The Diocese amended its sanctorale to include ten individuals and one religious order with connections to the diocese, corrected two mistakes in the national lectionary regarding the diocese, and added a commemoration of Te Maihāroa, a Māori prophet and his community who chose non-violent resistance when faced with eviction from their land by armed constables.¹⁰⁸⁰ The synod also resolved to forward the commemorations to the Liturgical Commission in the national Anglican sanctorale.

The people chosen for commemoration were those who had ministered heroically in the diocese, and those significant to the local Māori tribe, the nation, or the church nationally or internationally. Dates chosen for each commemoration were generally the *dies natalis*/death date of the person or a significant event in their life. When the motion was introduced to Synod, two of the voices in support were priests originally from northern England who spoke of how inspiring to the church in Northumbria and Cumbria it is to know that holy people lived, walked and ministered in the

¹⁰⁷⁸ He notes "The Prayer Book (page 11) allows for commemorations additional to those recorded in the Calendar (pages 14-25)." He provides some suggestions which might be celebrated on the given date or transferred to a nearby one. Peters, *Celebrating Eucharist*, 260-262.

¹⁰⁷⁹ *Motion: Diocese of Dunedin Calendar*, Synod of Diocese of Dunedin, 2022.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Anglican Taonga, *Dunedin marks southern luminaries*, 17/9/23, accessed 20/9/23, <https://www.anglicantaonga.org.nz/features/extra/dnc23>.

locality.¹⁰⁸¹ Synod passed the motion unanimously. The diocese of Dunedin’s is one model of how a sanctorale might be inculturated in Aotearoa New Zealand.

8.4.4 Amazonian Inculturation process – an emerging model to study

On 1 September 2022, representatives of the Ecclesial Conference of the Amazon (CEAMA) explained their inculturation process to officials of the Vatican Dicastery for Divine Worship. The sixteen members of the CEAMA team approached their work through four different sub-commissions: Anthropological-Sociological and Spiritual, Historical-Cultural, Theological-Ecclesiological and Ritual-Juridical. Their work studied the rites of the church, the traditions of the peoples of the Amazon, and sought to identify common matrices within the complex socio-cultural-religious reality of the Amazon and to consider possibilities, conditions, and implications of an Amazonian rite. The group developed an “inculturation in interculturality” process so that “the peoples, cultures and Church of the Amazon region recognize each other in this Amazonian Rite”.¹⁰⁸² Representatives of the CEAMA team were received excellently in Rome.¹⁰⁸³ The work of CEAMA team illustrates what a comprehensive and systematic liturgical inculturation process looks like. Thoroughly researching the CEAMA model and discerning whether the model could be duplicated in Aotearoa New Zealand is a research pathway worthy of further exploration.

8.4.5 Reception by secularised Pākehā

By some measures Aotearoa New Zealand is one of the most secular countries in the world,¹⁰⁸⁴ whether Māori can be included in the Western concept of secular is contested.¹⁰⁸⁵ Even

¹⁰⁸¹ Northern English saints include: Aidan, Cuthbert, Ninian, Bede, Wilfrid, Hilda, Mungo, Aelfred, Oswald, Oswin.

¹⁰⁸² Ferrone, (unpaginated).

¹⁰⁸³ Modino, (unpaginated).

¹⁰⁸⁴ Statistics New Zealand, *Losing our religion*, 3/10/2019, accessed 31/8/2024, <https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/losing-our-religion>.

¹⁰⁸⁵ “Where “religion” ends and “culture” begins is unknowable. As Aotearoa enters into a new phase where mātauranga Māori takes its rightful, foundational place, non-Māori seek to access our cultural treasures, with good intentions. But our culture is not secular. You cannot acquire te reo Māori without encountering the deep meanings the language carries. You cannot do a secular karakia – it’s not actually a thing. The next phase

though they might not be connected with a faith community, secular New Zealanders experience similar cognitive dissonance around festivals such as Christmas and Easter as religious New Zealanders do. This research project can assist religious and secular New Zealanders to ground festivals in the Aotearoa New Zealand context. How secular and religious New Zealanders respond to mātauranga Māori and Te Reo Māori is an important question for this project and for the nation's evolving self-understanding. Baxter demonstrates how a Pākehā with an initially limited exposure to Māori people and culture can learn and grow with mātauranga Māori. The *KAT* report notes that mātauranga Māori is increasingly part of the life of all New Zealanders. In recent years mātauranga Māori including its spiritual aspects has been embraced enthusiastically by non-Māori, including many secular Pākehā.¹⁰⁸⁶ Ready reception of mātauranga Māori can be seen in the widespread uptake of Matariki celebrations (see chapter 7), and in participation in Te Wiki o te Reo Māori/Māori Language Week.¹⁰⁸⁷ Evidence suggests that for an increasing number of New Zealanders faith or lack of it is not an obstacle to welcoming mātauranga Māori including its spiritual aspects.

in this evolution is non-Māori, particularly Pākehā, grappling with wairua and whakapono. It will be very challenging. It disrupts the powerful sense of omniscience that the Enlightenment bestowed on the west." Hirini Kaa, *Mihinare: 200 years of Māori and the Anglican Church*, 16/11/20, accessed 31/8/24, <https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/16-11-2020/mihinare-200-years-of-maori-and-the-anglican-church>.

¹⁰⁸⁶ "Over the past few decades public events in New Zealand have increasingly incorporated karakia (ritual chant or prayer) in te reo Māori as a key component of state ritual. The inclusion of karakia takes place within events organised by the civil service or within state-funded primary and secondary schools, welfare organisations, trade unions, and national memorials. This change has been so widespread that karakia are now a ubiquitous part of public events in New Zealand. One example of this is the annual commemorations for the 2019 Christchurch Mosque Attacks, held in Christchurch each year, which include karakia as part of the proceedings. Similarly, previous rituals involving Christian public prayer have frequently shifted languages into te reo Māori and, if anything, these have become increasingly prominent – while remaining distinctly Christian, the articulation in te reo Māori is widely seen as rendering them less confessional and more 'public'." Geoffrey Troughton and Philip Fountain, "An Insecure Secularity? Religion, Decolonisation and Diversification in Aotearoa New Zealand," *The Round Table* 112 (5), 2023, 529–42. doi:10.1080/00358533.2023.2268932, accessed 31/8/24.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Layla Bailey-McDowell, "Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori 2024: Te Taura Whiri's dream for nationwide show of love for Māori language," RNZ, 25/8/24, accessed 31/8/24, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihī/526116/te-wiki-o-te-reo-maori-2024-te-taura-whiri-s-dream-for-nationwide-show-of-love-for-maori-language>.

Conclusion

The challenge accepted at the beginning of this project was to discern how the liturgical year might be informed and shaped by the land and peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand. If Christians believe that God created Aotearoa and has always been present in Aotearoa, and that God has planted the seeds of the Gospel in the Māori culture and people; if Christians believe that God is not confined to being worshipped in northern hemisphere ways; and if Christians believe that God calls God's people to proclaim the gospel in ways appropriate for each context, then inculturation of the liturgical year is not optional for Aotearoa New Zealand Christians. Liturgical inculturation is not auxiliary to church life in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is a liturgical, theological and missiological priority and imperative.

Chupungco perceived that one of the challenges of liturgical inculturation was for some churches to define their own cultural patterns.¹⁰⁸⁸ He also asserted that by engaging in the work of inculturation, local churches will “uncover the riches of a common liturgical tradition and effectively and faithfully transmit such riches to every generation”.¹⁰⁸⁹ Exploring and developing mātauranga Pākehā (with Baxter's help) and examining the liturgical year of the one holy church informed by mātauranga Māori and the natural world of Aotearoa New Zealand, continues Chupungco's path, and uncovers for Aotearoa New Zealand Christians of diverse backgrounds the riches of a common liturgical tradition and effectively and faithfully transmits such riches to every generation.¹⁰⁹⁰

What the future trajectory of liturgical inculturation in Aotearoa New Zealand is, only God knows, but it is essential that Aotearoa New Zealand churches are actively engaged, actively listening, and actively responding so that Creation, the peoples, and cultures of Aotearoa New Zealand can truly inform authentic local celebrations of the liturgical year going forward.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Chupungco, *Methods of Liturgical Inculturation*, 275.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 275.

¹⁰⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 275.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Matariki liturgy I: Memorial of the departed

Hymn: Creator of the stars of night

7th century Latin hymn, trans J.M. Neale (1818-66)

Greeting

I runga i te Ingoa o te Atua, te Matua, te Tama me te Wairua Tapu. **Āmine.** /

In the name of God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Amen.

The one who made the Pleiades and Orion, and turns deep darkness into the morning, and darkens the day into night, **the Lord is his name.** /

Rapua te kaihangā o Matariki, o Tautoru; e riro ke ana i a ia te atarangi o te mate hei ata, e whakapouritia ana e ia te ra hei po; **ko Ihowa tona ingoa.**

The angels of God guard us through the night **And quieten the powers of darkness**

Welcome

E te whānau, in this Matariki season we have come together to remember before God our beloved dead, and to comfort those who mourn with our sympathy and with our love; in the hope we share through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Sentences

Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. *1 Corinthians 15:20*

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whose great mercy we have been born anew to a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. *1 Peter 1:3*

So we have the prophetic message more fully confirmed. You will do well to be attentive to this as to a lamp shining in a dark place, until the day dawns and the morning star rises in your hearts. *1 Peter 1:19*

The Remembrance

In a time of silence let us make our personal thanksgiving to God for our beloved dead, especially those who have died since last Matariki.

Silence

Collect

The Lord be with you **And also with you**

Let us pray. Abide with us, O Lord, for it is toward evening and the day is almost over; abide with us for the days are hastening on and we hasten with them; abide with us and with all your faithful people, until the daystar rises and the morning light appears, and we shall abide with you for ever.

Amen.

A reading from the prophet Joel (2: 1, 10-12, 13a)

Whakarongo ki te kupu a te Wairua ki te Hāhi. **Kia mau tonu tana ki a tatou.** /
Hear what the Spirit is saying to the Church **Thanks be to God**

God grant to the living, grace; to the departed, rest; to all the world, peace and concord; and to us and to every faithful servant, life everlasting:

Kia whakapaingia koutou a te Atua Kaha Rawa, a te Matua, a te Tama, a te Wairua Tapu. **Amine**

(May the blessing of Almighty God be with you, Father, Son and Holy Spirit)

Dismissal

Kia noho te Wairua o te Runga Rawa ki a tatou **Whakamoemititia a Ihowa/**

The divine Spirit dwells in us. **Thanks be to God**

Appendix 2: Matariki liturgy II: Midwinter/Nativity of John the Baptist

The people gather in the unlit church.

Hymn: Deep in darkness we begin

Text (adapted): A. Pratt b. 1948

Greeting

I runga i te Ingoa o te Atua, te Matua, te Tama me te Wairua Tapu. **Āmine.** /

In the name of God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. **Amen.**

Rapua te kaihangā o Matariki, o Tautoru; e riro ke ana i a ia te atarangi o te mate hei ata, e whakapouritia ana e ia te ra hei po; **ko Ihowa tona ingoa.** /

The one who made the Pleiades and Orion, and turns deep darkness into the morning, and darkens the day into night, **the Lord is his name.**

The angels of God guard us through the night **And quieten the powers of darkness**

Jesus said, "I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness but will have the light of life."

Welcome

E te whānau, in this Matariki season we gather in darkness before God to mark the mid-point of the year and to acknowledge our need for illumination.

Tonight, six months before we celebrate the birth of Jesus, we remember the birth of John the Baptist, the one who points us to the light. This evening let us commit to re-orientate ourselves toward the light of the world, to which John the Baptist points.

Silence

Collect

The Lord be with you **And also with you**

Let us pray. Blessed are you Lord God, creator of day and night; to you be praise and glory for ever. As darkness falls you renew your promise to reveal among us the light of your presence. By the light of Christ, your living Word, dispel the darkness of our hearts that we may walk as children of light and sing your praise throughout the world. We make this prayer through Christ our Lord who lives and reigns with you in the unity of the Holy Spirit, One God now and forever. **Amen**

Taizé Chant: Christe lux mundi, qui sequitur te, habebit lumen vitae, lumen vitae. (*Translation: O Christ, light of the world, whoever follows you will have the light of life.*)

During the chant all the candles in the church are lit.

A reading from the prophet Isaiah (60:1-3, 18, 19)

Whakarongo ki te kupu a te Wairua ki te Hāhi. **Kia mau tonu tana ki a tatou.** /
Hear what the Spirit is saying to the Church **Thanks be to God**

Psalm 139

A reading from St. Paul's letter to the Romans (13:11-14)

Whakarongo ki te kupu a te Wairua ki te Hāhi. **Kia mau tonu tana ki a tatou.** /
Hear what the Spirit is saying to the Church **Thanks be to God**

Silence begun and concluded by a bell

Prayers

Response: Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison. (*Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy*)

In hope of the coming light, let us pray.

Loving God, who promised Zechariah a son filled with the spirit and power of Elijah, to prepare a people fit for the Lord: we pray for reconciliation between all people. We pray especially for all refugees, those living with violence and disaster, in particular we pray for the people of: Palestine and Israel, Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, Myanmar. **Kyrie...**

Gracious God, when Elizabeth heard Mary's greeting the baby leapt in her womb: may she who believed your promise be blessed among women, and may we proclaim with joy the good news of your Christ. **Kyrie...**

Holy God, at John's birth Zechariah proclaimed he would be the prophet of the Most High: we pray for all who preach the Good News: for Bishop Steven and our diocese, Bishop Richard and the Hui Amorangi o Te Wai Pounamu, Christians in the Middle East, people and clergy of this parish, our neighbouring congregations, bishops kidnapped in Syria. **Kyrie...**

Lord God, when your Son came to the Jordan and was baptised by John he saw the heavens open and the Spirit descending as a dove: may we who are baptised into your Church faithfully proclaim in the world the words of your beloved Son. **Kyrie...**

John proclaimed your Son as the Lamb of God and John's disciples followed Jesus: help us to follow him also, and by our words and deeds to bring our families, friends and communities closer to you. Especially we pray for: All Saints' Fruit & Veges, Selwyn College, the Student Christian Movement and Anglican Family Care. **Kyrie...**

God of compassion, who sent John to witness to the light, to be the voice of one crying in the wilderness and to prepare the way of the Lord: comfort your people and bring your healing to the sick and needy, to the broken-hearted and the oppressed, to prisoners and captives. **Kyrie...**

God of life, John preached the baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins and suffered imprisonment and death for proclaiming your Law: we remember all who have died, Rest eternal grant unto them O Lord **and let light perpetual shine upon them** may they rest in peace and rise in glory **Amen.** joining our prayers with John the Baptist, the Blessed Virgin Mary and all the saints; grant us with them a share in your eternal kingdom. **Kyrie...**

God our light and salvation, in the darkness of midwinter, hear the prayers of your people. Shine on those who dwell in darkness and the shadow of death and guide our feet into the way of peace; we ask this through Jesus Christ your Son, our Lord. **Amen.**

The Lord's Prayer/Te Inoi a Te Ariki

Hymn: Longing for light, we wait in darkness

Text & music: B. Farrell b.1957

Holding their candles, the congregation go outside the church and gather around the brazier. With their candles they light the fire.

Blessing of St. John's Fire

Our help is in the name of the Lord. **Who made heaven and earth.**

The Lord be with you. **And also with you.**

Let us pray. Lord God, almighty Father, the light that never fails and the source of all light, sanctify this new fire, and grant that after the darkness of this life we may come to you who are light eternal; through Christ our Lord. **Amen.**

The fire is censed.

Gregorian chant: Ut queant laxis

Text: Paul the Deacon, (730-99)

Music: Guido of Arezzo (c991-1033)

There was a man sent from God. **Whose name was John.**

Let us pray. God, who by reason of the birth of blessed John have made this day praiseworthy, give your people the grace of spiritual joy, and keep the hearts of your faithful fixed on the way that leads to everlasting salvation; through Christ our Lord. **Amen.**

After a time of contemplation at the fire, a priest gives a blessing.

Blessing¹⁰⁹¹

The Lord be with you. **And also with you.**

In mid-winter we teeter on the brink of a promise of hope. The cold winds of winter whisper of spring. John the Baptist points to the light. May the beauty of creation fill you with wonder.

May the love of your ancestors wrap around you like a cloak. May your life be filled with blessings as numerous as the stars. Kia whakapaingia koutou a te Atua Kaha Rawa, a te Matua, a te Tama, a te Wairua Tapu **Amine** (*May the blessing of Almighty God be with you, Father, Son and Holy Spirit*)

Dismissal

Kia noho te Wairua o te Runga Rawa ki a tatou **Whakamoemititia a Ihowa/**

The divine Spirit dwells in us. **Thanks be to God**

¹⁰⁹¹ Adapted from blessing by Fionnaigh McKenzie used at St. Andrew's on the Terrace.

Appendix 3: Matariki liturgy III: Thanksgiving for Creation

Hymn: O Lord of every shining constellation

Albert F. Bayly (1901-1984)

Greeting

I runga i te Ingoa o te Atua, te Matua, te Tama me te Wairua Tapu. **Āmine.**

(In the name of God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Amen.)

Rapua te kaihangā o Matariki, o Tautoru; e riro kē ana i a ia te ātārangi o te mate hei ata, e whakapōuritia ana e ia te rā hei te pō; **ko Ihowā tōnā ingoa. /**

The one who made the Pleiades and Orion, and turns deep darkness into the morning, and darkens the day into night, **the LORD is his name.**

The angels of God guard us through the night **And quieten the powers of darkness**

Divine Love says: I, the highest and fiery power, have kindled every spark of life, and I emit nothing that is deadly... With wisdom I have rightly put the universe in order. I, the fiery life of divine essence, am aflame beyond the beauty of the meadows, I gleam in the waters, and I burn in the sun, moon, and stars.
Hildegard of Bingen, Book of Divine Works

God said: As long as the earth endures, seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night, shall not cease.”
Genesis 8:22

Welcome

E te whānau, in this Matariki season we have come together to thank God for Creation, for the sea and the land, for the rivers and wetlands, for the orchards, gardens, farms and animals which sustain us. As we celebrate, we confess our frequent disrespect for Creation, we lament the damage done to Creation in our parish and city, we repent our selfishness in not sharing the fruit of Creation fairly, and we ask forgiveness for the ways in which we misuse the resources God gives.

For the times we have used your gifts carelessly, acted ungratefully, not cared for the world you have made. E te Ariki kia aroha mai **E te Ariki kia aroha mai**

For the times we store up goods for ourselves alone, forgetting our sisters and brothers in need. E te Karaiti kia aroha mai **E te Karaiti kia aroha mai**

For the times we are thoughtless, and do not care enough for the world you have made or those who come after us. E te Ariki kia aroha mai **E te Ariki kia aroha mai**

Silence

Absolution

As we remember who we are, what we are, and what we have done, as we turn away from the forgetfulness and self-centredness of the past, may God the loving Creator welcome us, forgive us, set us free from the past and strengthen us to live a new life, to cooperate in a new creation. **Amen**

Collect

The Lord be with you **And also with you**

Let us pray. Gracious God, out of the overflowing of your love you created all things with rich variety and great beauty, and entrusted us with responsibility for them; grant that we might so value all that you have given into our care that we may strive to sustain its blessings for all people for all time; though our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ who lives and reigns with you and the Holy Spirit One God, now and for ever. **Amen**

Psalm 65

A reading from St. Paul's second letter to the Corinthians (6-15)

Whakarongo ki te kupu a te Wairua ki te Hāhi. **Whakapaingia te Atua**
Hear what the Spirit is saying to the Church **Thanks be to God**

Poem: On the Beach at Night Alone

Walt Whitman 1819-1892

Silence begun and concluded by a bell

Prayers of the people

Response: Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison. (Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy)

God, the beginning and end of all things, in your providence and care you watch unceasingly over all creation; we offer our prayers, that in us and in all your people your will may be done, according to your wise and loving purpose in Christ our Lord. Lord of all life: **Kyrie...**

We pray for all through whom we receive sustenance and life; for farmers and agricultural workers, for packers, distributors and company boards; as you have so ordered our life that we depend upon each other, enable us by your grace to seek the well-being of others before our own. Lord of all creation: **Kyrie...**

We pray for all engaged in research to safeguard crops against disease, and to produce abundant life among those who hunger and whose lives are at risk. Prosper the work of their hands and the searching of their minds, that their labour may be for the welfare of all. Lord of all wisdom: **Kyrie...**

We pray for governments and aid agencies, and those areas of the world where there is disaster, drought or starvation. By the grace of your Spirit, touch our hearts and the hearts of all who live in comfortable plenty, and make us wise stewards of your gifts. Lord of all justice: **Kyrie...**

We pray for those who are ill, remembering those in hospital and nursing homes and all who are known to us. We pray for all who care for them. Give skill and understanding to all who work for their well-being. Lord of all compassion: **Kyrie...**

We remember those who have died, whom we entrust to your eternal love in the hope of resurrection to new life. Lord of all peace: **Kyrie...**

We offer ourselves to your service, asking that by the Spirit at work in us others may receive a rich harvest of love and joy and peace. Lord of all faithfulness: **Kyrie...**

God of grace, as you are ever at work in your creation, so fulfil your wise and loving purpose in us and in all for whom we pray, that with them and in all that you have made, your glory may be revealed and the whole earth give praise to you, through Jesus Christ our Lord. **Amen.**

The Lord's Prayer/Te Inoi a Te Ariki

Taizé Chant: Let us sing to the Lord

Blessing of seeds for the new season

The presider invites the people to reflect on their hopes for the coming months, to consider the possibilities for new life in us and around us, and to ponder how we might plant the seeds of renewal in our own lives, in our communities and in the world.

Blessed are you, Lord God of all creation: in your goodness you have given us these seeds to sow. In them we perceive the promise of life, the wonders of your creative love.

By your blessing, let these seeds be for us a sign of your creative power, that in sowing and watering, tending and watching, we may see the miracle of growth, and in due course reap a rich harvest. As seeds must die to give life, reveal to us the saving power of your Son, who died that we might live, and plant in us the good seed of your word.

The presider sprinkles the seeds with water

Blessed be God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Blessed be God for ever.

The people are invited to come forward to receive seeds then return to their seats.

Blessing

The Lord be with you **And also with you.**

God the Father, who created the world, give you grace to be wise stewards of Creation. **Amen.**

God the Son, who redeemed the world, inspire you to go out as labourers into the harvest. **Amen.**

God the Holy Spirit, whose breath fills the whole of creation, help you to bear the fruits of love, joy and peace. **Amen.**

Kia whakapaingia koutou a te Atua Kaha Rawa, a te Matua, a te Tama, a te Wairua Tapu Amine (*May the blessing of Almighty God be with you, Father, Son and Holy Spirit*)

Dismissal

Kia noho te Wairua o te Runga Rawa ki a tatou **Whakamoemititia a Ihowa/**

The divine Spirit dwells in us. **Thanks be to God**

Hymn: Fill your hearts with joy and gladness

T. Dudley-Smith (b.1926)

Appendix 4: Matariki liturgy IV: Thanksgiving for Whakapapa

Hymn: Christ, mighty Saviour,

Mozarabic, 10th century

Greeting

I runga i te Ingoa o te Atua, te Matua, te Tama me te Wairua Tapu. **Āmine.**

(In the name of God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Amen.)

Rapua te kaihangā o Matariki, o Tautoru; e riro kē ana i a ia te ātārangi o te mate hei ata, e whakapōuritā ana e ia te rā hei te pō; **ko Ihowā tōnā ingoa. /**

The one who made the Pleiades and Orion, and turns deep darkness into the morning, and darkens the day into night, **the LORD is his name.**

The angels of God guard us through the night **And quieten the powers of darkness**

Welcome

E te whānau, in this Matariki season we have come together to thank God for whakapapa, for our ancestors, for those who have inspired and encouraged us and who continue to influence and shape us.

Silence

Collect

The Lord be with you **And also with you.**

Let us pray. Gracious God, as we contemplate the stars of Matariki, we clearly see that every part of Creation has its origin and purpose in you. We give you thanks that you have given life to our ancestors, grandparents and parents, so that they may transmit life to us. You have also filled them with good things so we may inherit them by knowing you, adoring you, and serving you. Bless us as we give thanks for those who have gone before us. Bestow your graces abundantly upon our ancestors, grandparents and parents, so that we may in our turn inherit their blessings. We ask this our Lord Jesus Christ who lives and reigns with you in the unity of the Holy Spirit one God now and forever. **Amen**

A reading from Genesis 15:1-17

Whakarongo ki te kupu a te Wairua ki te Hāhi. **Whakapaingia te Atua**
Hear what the Spirit is saying to the Church **Thanks be to God**

Psalm 90

A reading from the Gospel of Luke (3:23-38)

Whakarongo ki te kupu a te Wairua ki te Hāhi. **Whakapaingia te Atua**
Hear what the Spirit is saying to the Church **Thanks be to God**

Poem: On the Beach at Night

Walt Whitman 1819-1892

Silence begun and concluded by a bell

The Song of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Magnificat

Act of thanksgiving for whakapapa

People are given a piece of paper and a pen; as the Litany of Saints is sung people are invited to write on one side of the paper something they are grateful for from their ancestors, on the other side of the paper they are invited to write a hope for their children, or the young people of the community/world. People are invited to come forward and place the paper in a basket.

The Litany of Saints

Prayers of the people

Response: Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison. *(Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy)*

Gracious God, we thank you for our ancestors, for those who have shaped us, formed us, made us who we are. Help us to entrust our loved ones who have departed this life into your care. God hear our prayer. **Kyrie...**

When sorrow darkens our lives, teach us to look to you, remembering the cloud of witnesses by whom we are surrounded. God hear our prayer. **Kyrie...**

Grant that we on earth may share with our ancestors the rest and peace which you give through your Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ. God hear our prayer. **Kyrie...**

We remember those whose whakapapa has been interrupted by wars, violence or tragedy. May all your children know your loving, healing embrace. God hear our prayer. **Kyrie...**

Help us to cherish the good things we have inherited from our forebears. May we rejoice in the gifts which have been passed into our care. God hear our prayer. **Kyrie...**

Help us to live together in our families with love and respect. Make our homes places of blessing, peace and joy. God hear our prayer. **Kyrie...**

Bless our children and young people, that we may delight in those you have given us to love. Give us quiet strength and patient wisdom as we nurture them, and as we pass onto them the good from our ancestors. God hear our prayer. **Kyrie...**

God, the hope of all generations, in the life you have given to us through our loved ones you have offered us yourself. Your Son lived with us in all the uncertainty and darkness of life so that we might walk in your light. And your Spirit is given to us, as a light to guide our steps and as a brightness of heart to signal welcome to those who have found other doors closed. Within each one, Abba, you have planted a seed, the seed of Christ that grows no matter how deeply buried; the seed that becomes a tree in whose branches all your children may come and rest. Bless all generations of our families now and in the world to come. **Amen**

The Lord's Prayer/Te Inoi a Te Ariki

Blessing

The Lord be with you **And also with you.**

The blessing of the God of Sarah and of Abraham, the blessing of the Son, born of Mary, the blessing of the Spirit, who broods over us as a mother over her children, Kia whakapaingia koutou a te Atua Kaha Rawa, a te Matua, a te Tama, a te Wairua Tapu. **Amine** *(May the blessing of Almighty God be with you, Father, Son and Holy Spirit)*

Dismissal

Kia noho te Wairua o te Runga Rawa ki a tatou **Whakamoemititia a Ihowa/**
The divine Spirit dwells in us. **Thanks be to God**

Hymn: We praise you Creator

E. Budry 1904, trans A. Donaldson 1993

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