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THE RANGATIRA - Chieftainship in

Traditional Maori Society.

Thesis submitted for the degree of B. Litt,

in the University of Oxford.

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1966.

N.K. KOPA,

ST HUGH'S COLLEGE.

Ki taku tumuaki,

Ki aku matua,

Ki Nga Hau e Wha.

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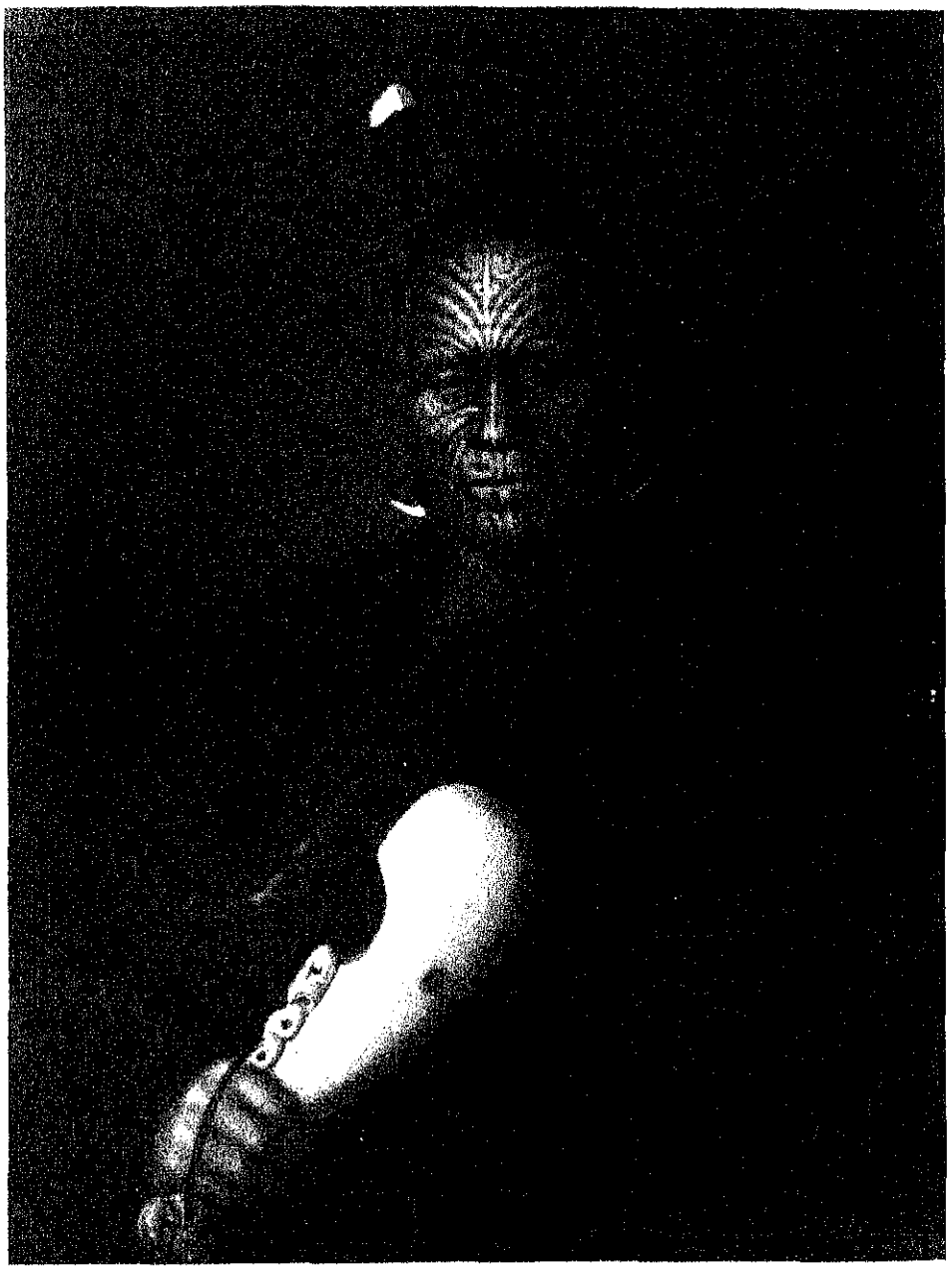
- the exhumation.

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TAWHIAO POTATAU WHEROWHERO

- was a chief of high lineage, being a direct descendant of Hoturoa, the chief who commanded his ancestral canoe Tainui on the migration from Hawaiki. Tawhiao was also connected by another line of descent with Tama-te-kapua, the commander of the Arawa canoe. [see Graham 1965: 72]

Introduction.

This thesis is a study of Maori chiefship, based on historical evidence. Very soon after the discovery of New Zealand by Cook in 1769, the Maori began to change and the traditional way of life was left behind. At the same time the Maori are one of the world's most documented people. In the accounts of the early explorers, missionaries, traders, and settlers, from Cook's time onwards there is a wealth of ethnographic material. The accounts were taken up by surveyors, native agents, and Maoris themselves either deliberately recording the passing way of life, or indirectly revealing many of its features while giving evidence in the lawcourts. Throughout the period we have the observations of amateur ethnographers as Colenso, Maning, White, Gudgeon, Tregear, Downes and others. The era of such observers culminated in the works of Elsdon Best.

In spite of all this documentation, however, the material suffers a major defect common to many early ethnographies, namely its selectivity. Much of the recording was piecemeal, and many of the significant elements were left out. The consequence is that there is little detailed recording of Maori institutions, so that they can be readily presented as intelligible working systems. With the exception of Raymond Firth's Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori, Bigg's Maori Marriage, and Vayda's Maori Warfare, the published material on any aspect of Maori culture is far from complete. Thus the student of Maori culture is faced with many gaps in the material on whatever institution he may wish to study. This is clearly attributable to the fact that early observers of indigenous Maori

society were mostly ill-trained for the role of ethnographer. The missionaries were particularly concerned with the reprehensible exotic, which they painted in lurid colours, because it offered justification for their work. This charge cannot however be levelled at all of them, for some of them were quite scholarly men, who tried to describe the facts truthfully.

The accounts of later observers were considerably affected by the disorganisation of Maori society which followed upon colonisation. There was an enthusiastic adoption of European goods, among which the musket led the Maori to embark upon a period of internecine warfare. Clearly no society could survive the holocaust of killing that followed the acquisition of fire-arms by a few tribes who had European contacts. By the time that the balance of inter-tribal power had been restored by the dispersal of firearms throughout the society, social disorganisation was already serious. Moreover with the adoption of Christianity in place of the old religion, many of the customs which relied upon the sanctions of the old magico-religious system, rapidly lost their influence, some of them being in direct opposition to the tenets of Christianity. From 1840 onwards Maori life throughout the country had become substantially different from that which Cook saw. Following the Treaty of Waitangi in that year, there was an enthusiastic adoption of European ways and a complete cessation of inter-tribal warfare.

Modern writers have pointed out the attempt to return to the indigenous way of life after the inter-racial wars of the 60's. But this was not and could not have been that of pre-European times, although

it did contain many features of it.

This situation ultimately influenced the writings of the period. With the exception of people like Colenso, Maning, and possibly White, most ethnographers were concerned with a past beyond their range of observation. Their interests were reflected in the titles of their writings, e.g. The History and Traditions of the Maori Race, The Ancient History of the Maori, and the Maori as He Was.

Despite the unreliability of the sources, I think that a case can be made for the reconstruction of one aspect of indigenous Maori culture, namely the institution of chiefship. We are concerned to discover those institutionalised patterns of behaviour, attitudes, and ways of thinking held to be appropriate to that category of people designated rangatira or chief in traditional Maori society.

Most observers have stated or implied that chiefship or a chiefly class was a feature of the society, but ethnographers have not made clear the attributes, real or ideal, of the chief. Moreover, some of the most reliable accounts have expressed some puzzlement over the lack of clear distinction between the chiefly and commoner class. Our interpretation is that the chief, though distinct from the commoner by virtue of descent and the ritual power inherent in him, was very much influenced by the fundamentally egalitarian nature of Maori society.

An important concern of this study is the symbolism of chiefship. The underlying rationale of Maori ritual is the belief, supported by mythology, that the chief though not vested with legal authority to issue orders, was by virtue of his ritual power something of a

superior being. His status was sustained, and at the same time enhanced, by the performance of elaborate rituals at each important step of his life.

Within the context of symbolic behaviour mention must be made of the mana of chiefs. This is a notion which had been variously interpreted, and to which some discussion will be devoted later. Generally speaking, it can be regarded as a special power or ritual attribute of chiefs held to be fearful to ordinary people. This was reflected in the patterns of avoidance behaviour, and attitudes of veneration and awe adopted toward the chief. The correlative to mana is the notion of tapu, which conveys the meaning of avoidance on pain of sanctions, ritual or otherwise. A chief could, by virtue of his mana, make persons or objects tapu. Similarly he could, by the exercise of the same ritual power, remove the prohibition imposed, and thus create a state of noa, i.e. make the objects and persons 'normal'. In the course of this study it is hoped that a dynamic and structural link between the mana-tapu-noa trilogy will emerge.

We have referred to ritual sanctions which followed on the breaking of tapu. The effect of such sanctions was to avenge, assert, and consolidate the mana of the community and therefore that of its chief, in the face of a threat to its effective power and prestige. And important ways of securing redress were the institutions of warfare and plunder.

An attempt will also be made to demonstrate that the prestige of chiefship was not only based upon ritual power and effective

leadership, but also on the possession of wealth and the generous distribution of it.

Social cohesion and thus the preservation of mana were further secured by inter-group alliances. In this connection the institution of marriage, and the inter-group discussions which accompanied it were, as we shall endeavour to show, of paramount importance.

Some reference was made earlier to the sources upon which this thesis is based. As source material the published accounts of earlier investigators probably have more value than the writings of later observers. The writings of Maoris themselves who were endeavouring to put on record the culture which they had seen change in the space of a few years are also important as source material. But some of these writers, like their European counterparts, were describing the past rather than the present, and they too were dependent upon the elders as informants.

Genealogies are also quite valuable as source material. They are said to be true records, and not fictitious attempts to secure status or bolster the social order, yet we cannot discard the latter possibility. However it was on the basis of their genealogical descent together with personal attributes that chiefs had their place in society.

The extensive collection of poetry which has been preserved, is another source of evidence concerning the past. It contains songs of various types, spells, and chants. Much of this material is demonstrably old, and presents no small difficulty of translation.

The kind of information that can be gleaned from this source is fragmentary, but nevertheless it may confirm other evidence, and suggest questions to be asked, rather than giving connected accounts of particular features.

Mention must also be made of Maori historical traditions as source material. Although they contain some elements of the marvellous, they nevertheless do deal with human beings, and not with culture heroes or immortals. Historical traditions are firmly tied to the present by a complex network of genealogy. Most Maori historical tradition is set in New Zealand, and incidents taken from it if treated with caution may be regarded as affording some evidence of the nature of a past culture.

Another invaluable source is the great mass of legendary material written and dictated by Maoris, and published by Sir George Grey, John White and others. Myths enshrine the beliefs of the people about their past, their attitudes and values and their conceptions of themselves and of the world they live in. Maori myths are an important source of information for the study of chiefship, for there are innumerable references from which it is possible to deduce the kinds of qualities and actions expected of the chief. In other words myths reveal the ideal chief. They also tend to sustain his status, and the bases of his authority and power.

Chapter I

The Land of the Maori

He ao! He ao! He Ao-tea-roa.
A cloud, A cloud, A Long-White-Cloud.

It was the demi-god Maui who fished up the islands of New Zealand from the sea, but it was Kupe who discovered them, and returned to Hawaiki with the news of a land inhabited only by birds. The voyage of Kupe came about in this way. In Hawaiki there was a very great canoe builder called Toto, who had two daughters. He set out to cut down a fine large tree on the banks of the lake called Waiharakeke, and when it fell the tree split lengthwise into two equal parts. Toto therefore made two great ocean canoes; one of which he named Aotea and gave to his daughter Hongorongo, and the other he named Matahorua and gave to his daughter Kura-marotini.

Now Kura-marotini was the wife of Kupe's young cousin Hoturapa, and Kupe desired her. One day when Kupe and Hoturapa were out fishing a long way from the shore, Kupe's line got caught in a snag. He was accustomed to

giving orders, and he said to his cousin: 'Hotu, my line is caught on something. Just dive down and loosen it for me, would you?' Hotu took hold of the line and said: 'Let me see if I cannot loosen it'. 'It's no use,' said Kupe, 'I've tried, it won't come. Just dive down, go on'. So Hoturapa jumped over and dived. But as soon as he was gone Kupe cut the anchor rope, threw the rest of his line into the sea, and paddled quickly for the shore. When Hoturapa surfaced the canoe was far away. 'E Kupe!' he cried, 'Kupe! Come back and get me!'

The whole act was a trick on Kupe's part to get rid of Hotu and have his wife. Hoturapa was drowned, and Kupe made off with Kura-mnrotini. However, her relatives were suspicious about the accident, and to escape their vengeance Kupe decided to leave Hawaiki. And so, in her canoe Matahorua, taking his own family, and Ketì as the priest and navigator, he set off into that part of the Ocean known as Te Tiritiri o te Moana, Portion of the Ocean. It was thus that Kupe came to explore this part of the Great Ocean of Kiwa, and found these islands that are now called Aotearoa.

After they had sailed for many days, keeping constant watch for any signs of land, such as a different colour on the underside of the clouds, or a cloud of unusual shape, it fell to Hine-te-aparangi, wife of Kupe, to be the first to

see something. She cried, 'A cloud, a cloud' (He ao! He ao!) and the land beneath the cloud, when they sailed along it, was found to be much longer than any island those people had known. They therefore named it Ao-tea-roa, Long White Cloud.[1.]

The two islands of New Zealand lie between 34°30 and 47°S. latitude and between 166°30 and 178°30 E. latitude. The North and South Islands, with areas of 44,281 and 58,092 square miles respectively, constitute continental land mass, and present a great diversity of scenery. Of the two islands the southern one is the most mountainous. The towering cold white peaks and glaciers, the alternating valleys and structural basins of the Southern Alps dominate over half of the surface of the South Island. Here at least seventeen peaks rise to a height of 10,000 feet, a height which is not equalled by any of the North Island mountains. Yet regions of mountainous configuration occupy more than a third of the North Island. In particular the high lying central plateau is dominated by a series of volcanic peaks and cones, while a good deal of the remaining country is characterised by rugged mountain ranges and dissected hill country. The rugged nature of the topography is said by the Maori in myth to be the result of the convulsions of the fish of Maui which, after being

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1. WHITE 1889: Vol.2.22,77; ALPERS 1964: 133, see SMITH 1915: p 2; 53 for another version; BUCK 1958: 5ff.

hauled to the surface by the culture hero, was thoughtlessly cut up, and the flesh eaten before the tapu could be lifted from it, and so it struggled until it died. And hence came the mountains and valleys as the wrinkles and folds in its skin.[1.]

The so-called lowland areas of both the North and South islands are small and discontinuous. They are for the most part composed of low hill country, undulating downland, sharp edged river terraces, as well as alluvial flats. Streams and rivers are plentiful, and in the past provided not only an important source of food, but were a very important means of communication. This is also true of the inland lake systems, a feature of both islands. In the North Island they are the result of volcanic action, and in the South of glacial movement.

While the climate may be described as being temperate and marine or oceanic, there is marked regional diversity owing to the great latitudinal range of the islands, and the nature of the surface configuration.

Almost sub-tropical conditions persist in the Northern Peninsula, and the sheltered bays of the East coasts with their high sunshine hours present local climates of a near

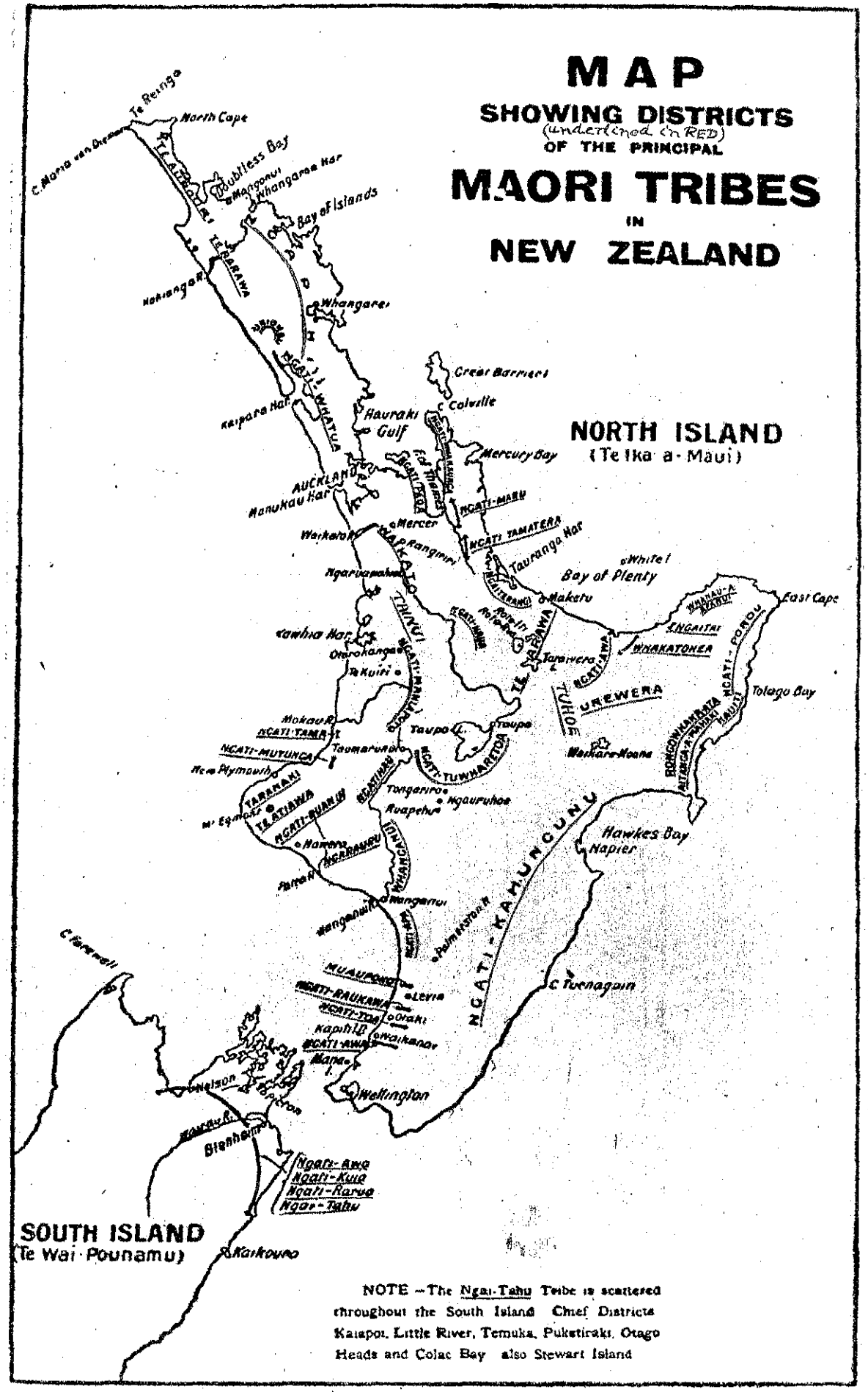
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1. GREY 1928: 16-17; FIRTH 1959: 50.

Mediterranean type. Central and inland regions are decidedly cooler and snowfalls are frequent on the higher levels. Generally speaking rainfall is everywhere abundant and evenly distributed throughout the year, but again there are regional variations. In the west coast of both the North and South Islands rainfall totals are higher due to the interceptance of the rain bearing and prevailing westerlies by the central mountain chain. For this reason the western districts, more particularly those of the South Island carry a vegetation which is more luxuriant and dense.

The four principal types of plant association in old New Zealand were rain forest, scrub-and-heath, bog swamp vegetation, and grassland cominated by tussock. The chief members of the scrub-and-heath formations were two species of Leptospermum (a wiry bush or small tree called the manuka by the Maori) and Pteridium (especially P. esculentum), the bracken fern having an edible root which constituted a staple of the Maori diet. The bog-swamp communities, occurring on some of the lower river valleys, were dominated by Phormium, the reed-like New Zealand flax, and by bulrush (raupo).

In the North Island where the Maori population was densest rain-forest was the principal association. Sub-tropical in type, the association was many storied, with a mixture of species including a wide variety of lianas,


MAP
SHOWING DISTRICTS
(underlined in RED)
OF THE PRINCIPAL
MAORI TRIBES
IN
NEW ZEALAND
NORTH ISLAND
(Te Ika a-Maui)
SOUTH ISLAND
(Te Wai-Pounamu)
Te Reinga
North Cape
C. Maria van Diemen
Doubtless Bay
Mangonui
Whangaroa Har
Bay of Islands
Hokianga R.
Whangarei
Great Barrier I.
C. Colville
Kaipara Har.
Hauraki Gulf
Mercury Bay
AUCKLAND
Manukau Har.
Waikato R.
Mercer
Raglan
Ngaruawahia
Tauranga Har.
White I.
Bay of Plenty
Maketu
East Cape
Kawhia Har.
Otorohanga
Te Kuiti
Taupo L.
Taupo
Tarawera
Tolaga Bay
Mokau R.
Waikare-Moana
New Plymouth
Tongariro
Ngauruhoe
Ruapehu
Hawkes Bay
Napier
Hamara
Wanganui R.
Wanganui
Palmerston N.
C. Farewell
C. Turnagain
Levin
Otaki
Kapiti I.
Waikanae
Nelson
Wellington
Wairau R.
Blenheim
Ngati-Awa
Ngati-Kuia
Ngati-Rarua
Ngai-Tahu
Kaikoura
NGATI-KAHUNGUNU
TE ARAWA
TAINUI
NGATI-MANIAPOTO
NGATI-TAMA-TE
NGATI-MUTUNGA
TARANAKI
NGATI-RUANUI
NGARAUWHA
WHANGANUI
NGATI-RAUKAWA
NGATI-TOA
NGATI-AWA
NGATI-PAOA
NGATI-MARU
NGATI-TAMATERA
NGAITERANGI
NGATI-RANGITEAORERE
NGATI-HAKE
NGATI-AWA
TUHOE
UREWERA
NGATI-JAWA
WHANAU-A-APANUI
NGAITAI
WHAKATOHEA
NGATI-POROU
RONGOWHAKATA
AITANGA-A-MAHAKI
HAUITI
NOTE – The Ngai-Tahu Tribe is scattered throughout the South Island. Chief Districts Kaiapoi, Little River, Temuka, Puketiraki, Otago Heads and Colac Bay also Stewart Island

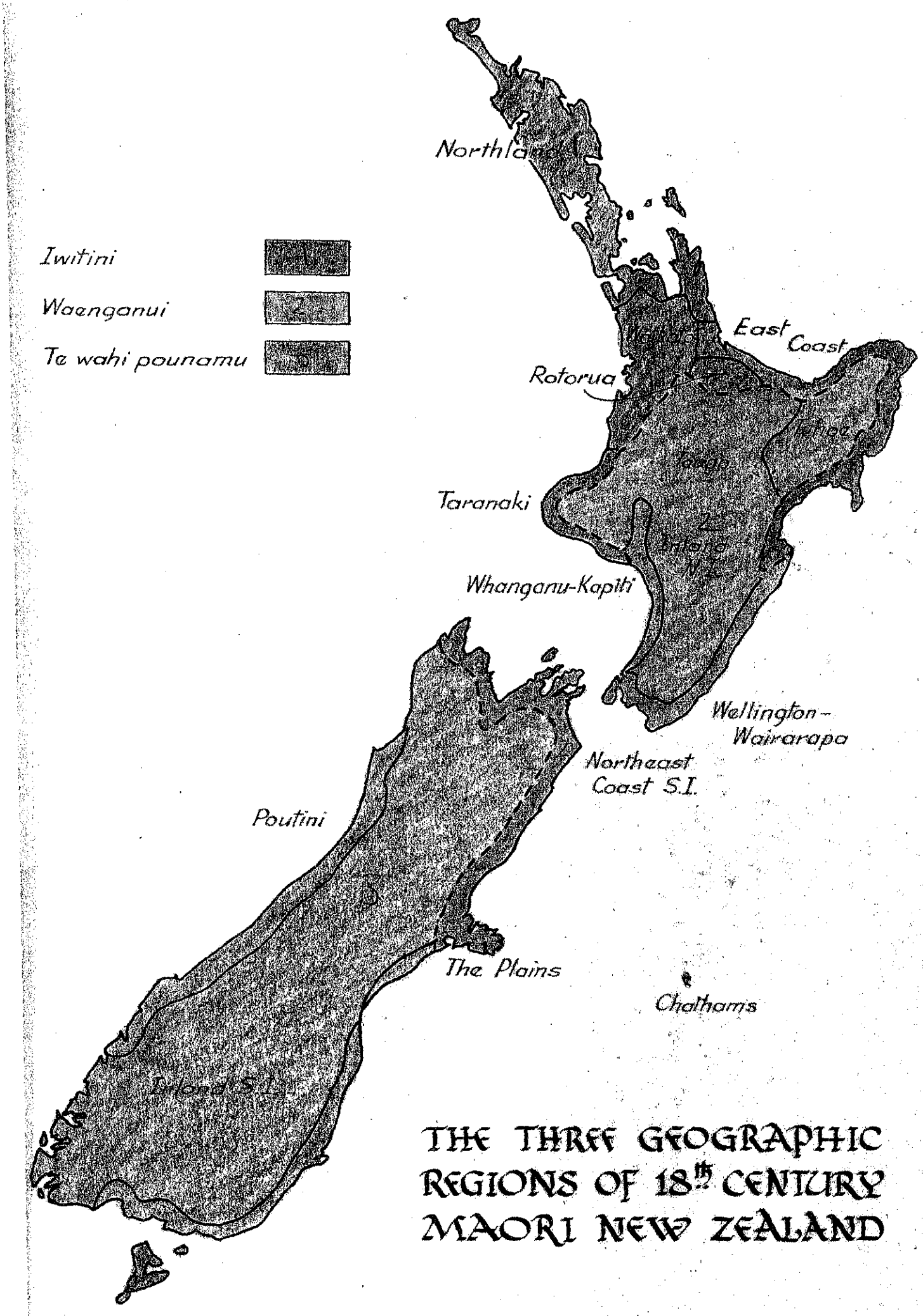
ferns, mosses and liverworts. The subtropical rain-forest extended into the South Island, but with increasing latitude it gradually gave way to almost pure stands of the New Zealand beech.

New Zealand native fauna represent a highly individual complex. Apart from the relatively few rats and dogs (said to have been brought to the country by the Maori ancestors), the indigenous animal life was notable mainly for its birds. The land mammals consisted of only two species of small bats, while New Zealand reptiles and amphibians included only twenty species of small lizards and two species of frogs. But there were over two hundred species of avifauna, the forests teemed with bird life. The pigeon (kukupa), parrot (kaka) and silver-tongued parson bird (tui) provided many a savoury meal. As did too the quaint Apteryx (kiwi), ground parrot (kakapo), the thieving wood hen (weka), the bell-bird, robin, owl and parakeet. There was also a great variety of salt-water and fresh water fish. Seals and whales likewise frequented the New Zealand waters.

The diversity of New Zealand's regional geography had considerable effect upon the settlement patterns of the indigenous population. This population incidentally numbered between 100 and 300 thousand, and was distributed among roughly 40 tribes.[1.]

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1. VAYDA 1960: 20; see maps opposite.



THE THREE GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF 18TH CENTURY MAORI NEW ZEALAND

The correlation between the regional geography and settlement patterns of old New Zealand has been systematised in the work of two New Zealand geographers, Cumberland[1] and Lethwaite.[2] Together they distinguished, and invented names for three regions in eighteenth century Maori New Zealand; Iwitini ('many people', or a'host of tribes'), a predominantly coastal northern region with a warm climate, a relatively gentle surface configuration, varied soils, flourishing vegetation, and a close association of land and water; Waenganui ('central', or 'in between', 'transitional'), as compared with Iwitini, possessed a cooler climate, a more rugged surface configuration, a less indented coast line, and a lesser interpenetration of land and water; and. finally, Te Wahi Pounamu ('the place of the greenstone') in the south, a region characterised by a cold climate, unsheltered grassland, frost, unsocial beech forest, and a snowy alpine interior.[3] According to Cumberland's delineation Waenganui included the central mass of the North Island and the northern coast of the South Island, while Te Wahi Pounamu embraced all of the South Island except the north-eastern coast.[4]

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1. CUMBERLAND 1949: 401-24 quoted by Vayda 1960: 6-7.
2. LETHWAITE 1949: 110-112; quoted by Vayda 1960:
3. CUMBERLAND 1949: 420-24, see Vayda 1960,7.
4. Ibid., 418-420, Ibid.

For the Maori, whose ancestors had migrated from a tropical homeland with only an inventory of tropical subsistence techniques, productivity varied considerably between the three regions. The region Iwitini had ample rainfall, abundant sunshine and a relatively low incidence of ground frosts. Thus it was only here that sub-tropical food crops which were so essential a part of the Maori diet could be cultivated. Moreover the long and indented shorelines of Iwitini provided richer sources of fish and seafoods than any other region. In the intermediate region of Waenganui agriculture was practised to some extent, but in Te Wahi Pounamu it was virtually absent. Forest supplies were less abundant, and even the staple food, fern root was less readily available than as in the two North Island regions. Thus productivity and settlement were greater in Iwitini than in Te Wahi Pounamu.[1]

Traditions of Origin, Migration and Settlement:

Every Maori social group had its own body of traditional belief which validated its claims to the territory it occupied, gave authority to those of high rank, and justified the group's external relationships with other groups. These purposes were served because the members of the group concerned believed

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1. VAYDA 1960: 7.

that the traditions were in fact true records of past events, and they acted accordingly. Alliances between groups were facilitated if it was believed that they shared a common heritage, and the commoner's respect for and fear of his chief was based, in part at least, on his belief in the semi-divine ancestry of those of high rank.

We can divide traditions into three categories; namely the discovery and origin traditions, migration and settlement, and local traditions. They might all be prefaced by the proverbial expression 'I came from the Great-Distance, from the long distance, from the Very-distant-places, from the Gathering-Place-of-Souls, from Hawaiki'. (I haere mai au i Tawhiti-nui, i Tawhiti-roa, i Tawhiti-pa-mamao, i te Hono-i-wairua), for this proverb is the formula which summarises the Maori idea of the migration of his ancestors from one Tawhiti or Hawaiki to another across the island strewn Pacific.[1]

The two best known traditions of the first category, assign the discovery of New Zealand to Kupe, and regard Toi as the first important original ancestor. Both traditions are current over wide but apparently complementary areas of the North Island. Attempts have been made to place the two in a single chronological sequence, but such efforts seem misguided since there is no reliable evidence that they ever

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1. COWAN 1930: 23.

formed part of the same tradition.

According to the tribes of the West Coast of the North Island, and including those of North Auckland, Kupe was the discoverer of New Zealand. He sailed from a homeland called Hawaiki for reasons already related.[1] Frequent references in traditional songs attest to his circumnavigation of New Zealand. A well known one says 'I sing of Kupe, who cut up this land, so that Kapiti, Mana and the South Island stand apart'.[2] Proverbs refer to the nettles, brambles, and sword grasses with which he protected the coasts of the newly discovered land. It is proverbial too that he sailed back to Hawaiki and never returned to the land which he had discovered. But later settlers came according to his directions.

Toi was regarded as the original ancestor by the tribes of the East Coast of the North Island. The traditions contain no reference to his coming to New Zealand, and the inference is that he was born here.

Some traditions exist which tell of the occupation of New Zealand by an aboriginal people before the advent of Toi. Traditions describe them as an inferior and shiftless people, and descriptions of their physical features led scholars like Percy Smith and Elsdon Best to propose a theory that they were of Melanesian stock.[3]

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1. See p.1.
2. BUCK 1958: 7, see SMITH 1915: 45.46.
3. BUCK 1958: 11.

It is typical of these and the discovery traditions that they are confused and contradictory, but the early occupation of New Zealand has tended to gain some support from archaeological research which has pushed the accepted time span of the human occupation of New Zealand back to very remote times. The works of Adkin and Duff have been particularly instructive in this matter. Moreover, Duff in his comprehensive work the 'Moa Hunters' proved conclusively that these early inhabitants were of Polynesian stock and not of Melanesian stock as Smith and Best proposed.

But among New Zealand pre-historians there is some debate as to the light tradition can throw on archaeological research. Adkins maintains that tradition should take a respectful place among the sources of relevant information in such research. He contends that archaeology and anthropology in their investigations can do no more than augment, check, confirm, modify and correct in detail and chronological succession, the lead given by fundamental tenets of tradition, which despite discrepancies tend to maintain its overall validity.[1]

Golson on the other hand refused explicitly to avail himself of the evidence of Maori traditions of origin and early migrations. His refusal was not activated by any

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1. ADKIN 1960: 228ff.

hostility to the traditional evidence, but by the belief that only when the archaeological field and traditional fields are worked on each in its own right, by its own techniques, can results of one be safely and profitably measured against the other. Moreover, says Golson, much more work must be done before the archaeological story can be integrated with the traditional one, while the traditional story itself would appear to be much less straight-forward than is generally assumed.[1]

Both tradition and archaeology are concerned with prehistory, but while the former is typically confused and contradictory, the latter does seem to support the traditional reference to the early occupation of New Zealand.

The migration traditions are more numerous than the origin traditions, and they pertain to smaller areas and fewer tribes. Primary social value has attached itself to the traditional arrival of a fleet of canoes in New Zealand about 1350, a very approximate date established by careful comparison of a large number of geneaological lines from all parts of New Zealand as well as Tahiti and Rarotonga; their probable place of departure.

The principal canoes were Tainui, Arawa, Takitimu, Mataatua, Aotea, and Tokomaru, names which continually appear

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1. GOLSON 1960: 380 ff.

in poetry and song, and are mirrored even in the indigenous social organisation. Each group of tribes had its migrant ancestors who arrived in one of the above named canoes. Some tribes appear to have emphasised their canoe migration traditions and descent from crew members more than others. In particular, the Hauraki, Waikato, King country tribes proudly demonstrate their descent from the Tainui canoe. The Rotorua and Taupo tribes from Te Arawa canoe, and the tribes of the Western Bay of Plenty and the Urewera country place special emphasis on their descent from the Mataatua canoe, even when the genealogical lines supporting this descent are internally inconsistent.

Some tribes, whose of the Urewera for example, while claiming their mana - their prestige and nobility from descent from crew members of the Mataatua canoe, base their claims to ownership of the land on descent from the original ancestor Toi. Thus the circle of tribes known as Tuhoe, are descendants of one Tuhoe-Potiki who was the great-grandson of Rutoa, the captain of the Mataatua canoe. But the rights to their land derive from Toi, and this is expressed in the tribal aphorism: 'The land came from Toi, the prestige and nobility came from Tuhoe' (No Toi te whenua, no Tuhoe te mana me te rangatiratanga). [1]

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1. BEST 1925: (a) 19, 23, 25.

14.

Other tribes, those of Te Arawa descent for example, rest both their territorial rights and inherited status on their descent from such land claiming ancestors as Tama-te-kapua, Ngatoro-i-rangi, Tia, Kahu, and Hei, all of whom came in the canoe.

Some of the tribes who have descended from these ancestors are the Ngati-Rangitihi, Tuhourangi, Ngati-Whakaue, Ngati-Pikiao, who trace descent from Tama-te-kapua. The Ngati-Tuwharetoa and others trace descent from Ngatoro-i-rangi, and the Tapuika trace descent from Tia. These tribes and others descended from the remainder of the crew occupy a large district in the east and centre of the North Island, and are collectively known as Te Arawa.

It has been indicated that some tribes claimed status from canoe ancestors, and land rights from aboriginal inhabitants, but generally speaking both status and land rights had more immediate locus in later ancestors, and the main function of canoe traditions appears to have been to give a sense of unity to whole groups of tribes, even though they might be warring one with another.

The canoe or migration traditions discussed above first came to the notice of Europeans in 1842, when the Tainui tradition in much the same form as it is told today was recited to the missionary Hamlin at Orua, near Waiuku, on

the shores of the Manukau harbour. Within a year or two the stories of a number of canoes were known, in outline at least, and by 1850 virtually all that is known of the canoe traditions had already been collected.

In what follows, the tradition of Te Arawa is presented in some detail as a typical example of a migration tradition. In Gudgeon's view this was one of the most interesting canoe traditions. He collected the names of seventeen chiefs who were believed to have come aboard 'a formidable array of chiefs for any one canoe'. When Gudgeon was writing the descendants of eleven of these could be traced without difficulty.[1]

The chain of circumstances which led to the voyaging of the Te Arawa canoe began when a dog called Potaka-tawhiti, owned by Hou-mai-tawhiti and his sons Tama-te-kapus, and Whakaturia, licked the festering sore on the high chief Uenuku. This was sacrilege, and the dog was killed and eaten by Uenuku's companion, Toi.

Tama-te-kapua and Whakaturia came looking for the dog, which hearing their calls, barked loudly within Toi's stomach. Toi clapped his hands over his mouth and said 'Alas! Hidden within the great belly of Toi, still you bark. You wretch!'

In revenge for the loss of their dog, Tama and Whakaturia

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1. GUDGEON 1892: 216.

made themselves stilts, and by means of them stole the fruit from the lofty breadfruit tree (poroporo) which shaded Uenuku's house. This was a further act of sacrilege and Uenuku's men lay in wait for the brothers when next they came to steal the fruit. Tama escaped but Whakaturia was taken captive. However with Tama's aid he too escaped, and the incident was followed by a series of battles between Hou-mai-tawhiti and his sons on the one hand and Uenuku on the other. Hou and Whakaturia were killed, and Tama decided to seek a new home.

We are told that his canoe, Te Arawa, was built by Rata, Wahieroa and others, all characters from mythology, and it is typical that the stories of the closing period in Hawaiki mark the borderline between myth and tradition.

When the time came for Te Arawa to sail, Tama-te-kapua, having already persuaded Whakaoti-rangi, wife of Ruaeo, to abandon her husband, also managed to kidnap Ngatoro-i-rangi, navigator and priest of the Tainui canoe, together with his wife Kea-roa.

On the voyage, Tama incurred the wrath of Ngatoro by seducing Kea-roa. In revenge the priest called on the gods to swallow up the vessel in the whirlpool called the Throat of Parata. The canoe tilted dangerously towards the vortex, and only the cry that the pillow of Kea-roa had slipped from

beneath her head aroused Ngatoro's pity, and persuaded him to save the vessel.

Te Arawa made land near Cape Runaway when the pohutukawa trees (metrosideros excelsa) were in bloom, and her crew, exclaiming at the prodigal display of their sacred colour red, cast their precious ornaments of crimson feathers into the sea, and plucked the flowers only to find that they faded almost as soon as they were picked.

In a series of incidents Tama was punished for his earlier misdeeds. He suffered defeat in a battle of wits with the captain of Tainui canoe over the ownership of a stranded whale. He was humiliated by Ruaeo, who although left behind in Hawaiki appeared dramatically in New Zealand, and after defeating Tama in a duel rubbed his head in filth and vermin. And finally, his canoe, Te Arawa was burned by Raumati.

According to the tradition, Tama-te-kapua, Ngatoro-i-rangi and others of the crew of Te Arawa travelled widely in the Bay of Plenty, and its hinterland, from Maketu to Moehau, and inland to Tongariro, naming and claiming the land as they went.[1]

Whatever the truth of the story, it is certain that

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1. GREY 1928: 54,60-70, 180-1. TARAKAWA 1893: 2,200-252.

the tribes who trace their descent to Te Arawa did in fact occupy the lands described. Their tribal tradition served to validate their land claims, to support their social status and their inter-tribal alliances.

With local traditions each tribe or subtribe held its own particular traditional record, told for the most part in terms of great battles and great men, and tied in with tribal genealogies. In some cases the story is continuous and internally consistent from the migration down to the present. In other cases it is fragmentary and discontinuous earlier than about 1600. An example of a well known local tradition is the Te Arawa story of Hinemua who swam Lake Rotorua to wed her lover Tutanekai. For the descendants of the couple the story has more than romantic interest, for the inter-tribal relationships and the ownership of land depended upon the recognition of the truth of the story.[1]

In these traditions there is little detail about the structure or size of the canoes, but the probability that double voyaging canoes, as well as single outriggers were used receives some support from the traditional account of Te Arawa.[2]

Ngata points out that Te Arawa was a double canoe

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1. GREY 1928: 106.
2. GREY 1928: 60.

known to the old Maori historians as the 'twin or double canoe of Tuamatua' (Te Mahanga a Tuamatua)[1]. Tuamatua it appears was a very important chief in the ancient homeland of Hawaiki who enjoyed domain over a very large tribe. This tribe eventually divided into two divisions; one under the chiefs of Tainui, and the other under the chiefs of Te Arawa.

Tuamatua had two sons, Raukari and Houmaitawhiti. The former had a son named Ngatoro-i-rangi, and the latter's son was called Tama-te-kapua. Ngatoro-i-rangi, as we mentioned earlier, was by virtue of his high rank the high priest of the tribe. Tama-te-kapua commanded the Te Arawa division of the tribe, and Hoturoa the Tainui division.

Grace records that when he was discussing the traditions of both Tainui and Te Arawa with Ngata in 1950, Ngata ventured the opinion that the two vessels were in fact one double canoe (ihu waka tau). Further, states Grace, Ngata thought that one hull was commanded by Tama-te-kapua, and the other by Hoturoa. Ngatoro-i-rangi being the high priest of the tribe was automatically tohunga (priest) and navigator. It was not until the vessel reached some point before New Zealand that the hulls were unlashed.[2]

Grace states that Ngata formed this opinion on the

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1. GRACE 1959: 54; BEST 1925(a) Vol. 1, 717; WHITE 1887-90: Vol. IV, 17-18.
2. GRACE 1959: 54f.

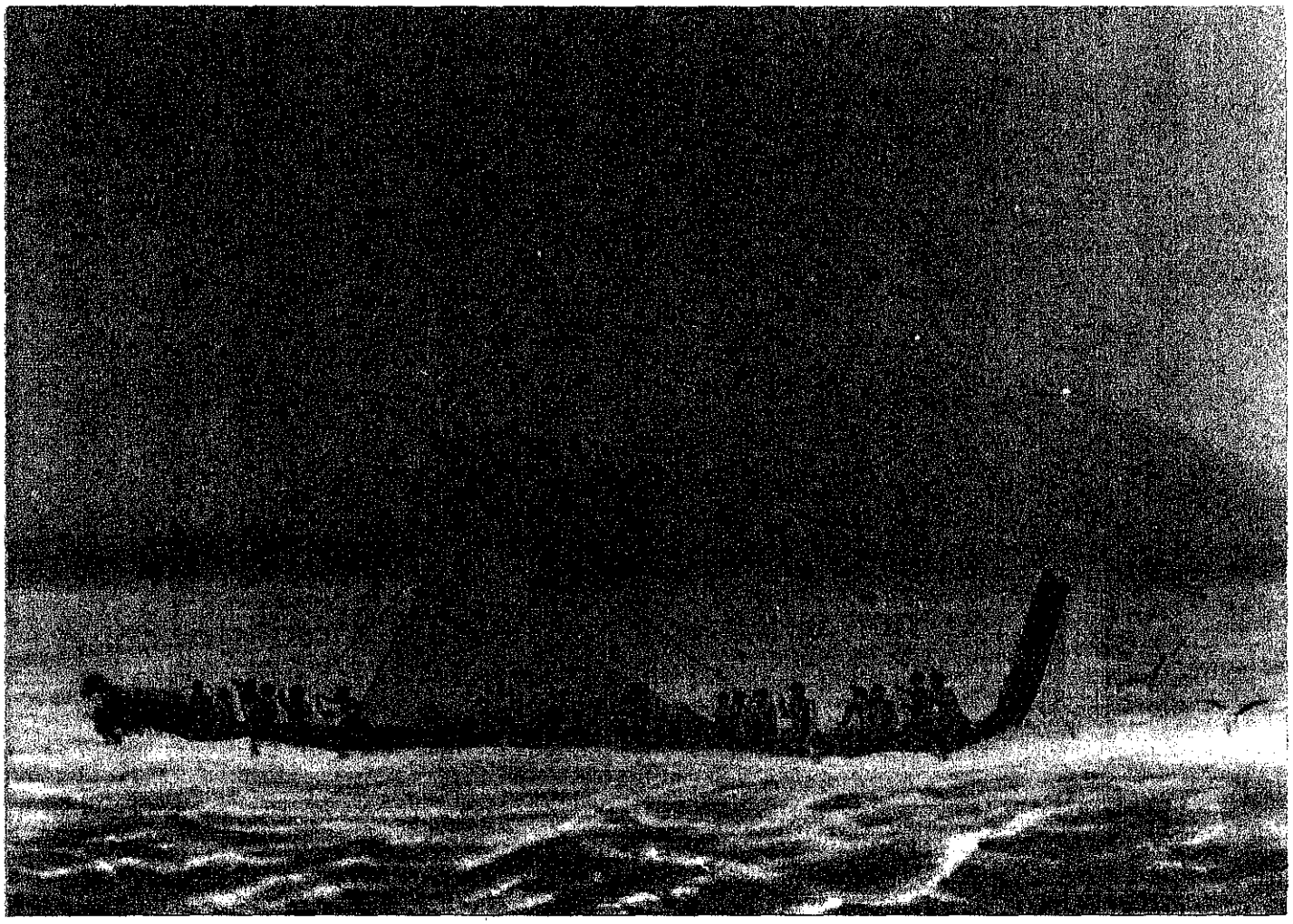
basis of many common features shared by the traditional histories of both canoes. For example, the story of Whakaotirangi and her basket of kumara (sweet potato) is common to both canoes. They claim her as a passenger and accord to her the honour of bringing the kumara to this country. Te Arawa people refer to her basket of kumara as 'the secure basket of Whakaotirangi (te kete rokiroke o Whakaotirangi) and the Tainui make reference to it as 'the small basket of Whakaotirangi' (te kete rukuruku o Whakaoitirangi). Both have the same kumara lore.

Similarly the accounts of the whale at Whangaparaoa, and the versions of the discarding of the red head-dresses (kura) are identical. The hauling chants of both canoes are the same: the Te Arawa version is 'haul Te Arawa the covered canoe to the sea' (Toia Te Arawa tapotu ki te moana...) while that of Tainui merely substitutes the name Tainui for Te Arawa. Ngata maintains that the above features and several others in the tradition are difficult to explain unless the canoes were closely associated on the voyage out.[1]

According to Grace, Ngata also thought that there were other accredited canoes which were said to have come separately but came as double canoes. Thus there was

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1. GRACE 1959: 54.



MAORI CANOE - seen off the Taranaki coast,
after Cook

a possibility that Takitimu and Horouta were twin (mahanga) canoes.[1]

The length of the voyaging canoes was porbably 60 to 100 feet long, says Buck, though some Polynesian canoes seen after European contact measured 100 feet and more.[2]

Cook says that the largest canoe he had seen measured 68½ feet long, 5 feet broad and 3½ feet high. He described it was having a sharp bottom consisting of three hollowed tree trunks of which that in the middle was the longest. The side planks were 62 feet long in one piece elaborately carved in base relief. The head was also adorned and richly carved.[3] Banks observed large canoes and judged that they carried more than 150 people.[4]

The only Maori information was recorded by Best as follows:

The Tainui canoe,	Ko Tainui waka,
it was said that the length	e kiia ana te roa tekau ma rua
was twelve prone lengths of	takoto o nga tangata roroa.[5]
tall men.	

The takoto measure was the prone length of a man with

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1. GRACE 1959: 54.
2. BUCK 1958: 45.
3. COOK 1842: 137, BANKS 1768-71: Vol. I, 421.
4. BANKS 1768-71: Vol. I. 411.
5. BEST 1925 (b) 282.

arms stretched forward. For a tall man this would be about 7.5 feet, thus making the length of the Tainui about 90 feet long.[1]

According to tradition, when Tainui was finally drawn up on shore she was laid in a sacred grove of manuka (leptospermum scoparium - shrub) near Maketu on the shores of Kawhia harbour. A stone was erected at each end to mark her length. The stones are still there, and the ground between them is bare of shrubs. On one occasion when Buck was visiting the spot he took a chain tape with him and made an accurate measurement of the reputed length of Tainui. He found that it measured 70 feet.[2]

The Canoe or Waka:

From the crew members of an ancestral canoe emerged clusters of tribes. Collectively called waka or canoe, and adopting the canoe name, they never together formed a social group of any real significance in pre-European Maori society. The tribes fought without scruple against each other. Tasman for example had reason to know that the Maoris made dangerous enemies and Cook was impressed by their martial appearance and courage. He observed that mutual distrust and open enmity prevailed between tribes of different districts, wil

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1. BUCK 1958: 45.
2. Ibid., 46.

while most tribal histories consist almost entirely of accounts of military campaigns, and the deeds of courageous chiefs. It was not until recent times that, owing to the pressures of European contact, there was any movement toward a closer association of groupings joined together by descent from an ancestral canoe, and occupying the same territory. The factor of common descent from an ancestral canoe became enshrined in the oral traditions and songs of each tribe, and strengthened by connection established through marriage, it sometimes assisted inter-tribal alliances. Otherwise inter-tribal relationships were competitive and antagonistic.

Tribal boundaries were fixed in districts where the canoes made their landfalls. The traditions are full of land claiming episodes. One of the best known accounts is again associated with the Arawa canoe. It is related that as the Arawa sailed up the coast of the Bay of Plenty, the chiefs indulged in the practice called tapatapa whenua, or taunaha. This was a custom whereby land was pre-empted by the chief, through identifying it with parts of his body. Thus Tama-te-kapua pointed to the headland known as Maketu point and called out, 'I name that place 'the projection of the nose of Tama-te-kapua' (te kurae-tanga o te ihu o Tama-te-kapua). One of the other chiefs named Tia claimed the place now known as Rangiuru

as the abdomen (takapau) of his son Tapuika.[1] This ceremony effectively reserved the land indicated for those whose anatomical parts had been publicly announced. Since the person of the chief as well as his property was surrounded by ritual prohibitions no one dared to contest or violate his claims.

Prominent land marks served to delimit tribal territory, but posts and stones ritually set up by the priest might also serve the purpose. Today territorial boundaries denote a significance of far greater cultural value than the conventional points on the European surveyors' plans. The history of the tribe was revived in the recital of the prominent land marks that constituted its territorial boundaries. Among the Waikato tribes the following text is often quoted by orators in proud identification of their affiliations: 'Mokau above, Tamaki below, Pare-Waikato to the west, Pare-Hauraki to the east, Maungatoatoa stands in the midst'. (Ko Mokau ki runga, Ko Tamaki ki raro, Ko Pare-Waikato, ko Pare-Hauraki, ko Maungatoatoa) The same tendency to embody tribal pride and history in land marks also obtains among the Ngati-Porou and allied tribes on the East coast.[2]

These territories were jealously defended against the predatory expeditions of other tribes. As generation

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1. TARAKAWA 1893: 220-252: 1894: 168-75, 199-207

2. NGATA 1940: 160-61. See also Te Rauparaha's farewell lament to his lands at Kawhia in SMITH 1909: 73.

succeeded generation in both war and peace, the headlands, bays, rivers and bush became objects of memories and sentiments which merged into the thinking and feeling of the people. Here the tribe defended its rights, built its villages, erected its sacred places and buried its illustrious dead.

The Tribe or Iwi:

The tribe was the largest kinship group in Maori society. It generally adopted the name of its male founding ancestor, but it appears that sometimes the name of a female ancestor was selected.[1] It seems also that incidents from tribal history provided tribal names. For example we are told that the Te Rarawa tribe of North Auckland took its name from an incident in which the founder ate an exhumed enemy (Kai rarawa). It is said too that the Te Aupouri people adopted that name from the smoke screen (aupouri) which enabled their ancestor to escape from a deseiged fort.[2]

Most tribal names were prefixed by the term Ngati meaning 'descendents of'. Thus the Ngati Tuwharetoa tribe inhabiting the area around Lake Taupo are descendents of Tuwharetoa who lived twelve generations ago before the late chief Tureiti Te Heuheu (died 1921) or about three hundred years ago. Other but less common prefixes having the same meaning include such terms as Ati, Aitanga, Ngai, and Whanau.

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1. BUCK 1958: 334.
2. Ibid., 335.

This prefixing of the tribal name was also applied to the numerous subdivisions or hapu of the tribe. The hapu ancestor was usually one where the branch line stemmed away from the 'ridge pole' (tahuhu) as the Waikato people express it, i.e. the direct line of descent from the eponymous ancestor of all the tribesmen.

The lands of related hapu were contiguous, and together formed the land of the entire tribe. In resisting invasion of tribal territory the several hapu sometimes acted together, otherwise the tribe as a unit had no important functions. Indeed when not engaged in extra-tribal warfare, different hapu of the same tribe not uncommonly turned upon one another, and fought fiercely among themselves.[1]

The Hapu: An ambilateral descent group.

The hapu in traditional Maori society was a group of consanguineal kin, tracing their relationships to one another through genealogies with ultimate reference to a common ancestor. It has been often termed a clan, but this is an inaccurate and confused terminology, as it was not a strictly exogamous group, nor was membership to it based absolutely on unilateral reckoning of descent, as is always the case with the true clan. For the purposes of this discussion the Maori

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1. BEST 1903(b): 40; SMITH 1896-97;1001 GUDGEON 1890: 584-85. GUDGEON 1904(b): 243-245; WHITE 1887-90: Vol. 3, 202, 262, 266 ff.

word will be retained for this body of kin.

The hapu had a common name, which was transmitted from generation to generation. The generation depth of the hapu varied according to the level of segmentation but recognition of eight to ten generations was common.

Firth was first to draw attention to the principles by which hapu membership was obtained.[1] As he observed, the evidence available to demonstrate how traditional hapu membership was determined is very incomplete. Moreover since the system has undergone significant changes in modern times, it is not now possible to obtain further material to clarify the issue. From the available evidence Firth has drawn some broad conclusions, and demonstrated the principles involved.[2]

Membership of a hapu could be claimed by descent through both males and females. While the tendency was to stress attachment through males, the individual nevertheless had a choice as to whether he would claim hapu membership through his father, or through his mother, or through both. In such a choice a person might take into consideration the difference in status between his parents within their own hapu. Firth applied the term ambilateral to this system whereby both parents were relevant in obtaining hapu membership.[3]

1.FIRTH 1929: 98-100.
2.FIRTH 1963: 30.
3.FIRTH 1959: 112; 1957: 2.

While there were no strict rules of exogamy or endogamy, marriage practice tended to favour union within the hapu, rather than outside. Where this happened children could trace local hapu membership through both their father and mother. In practice membership through the father would ordinarily be preferred, for Maori society was a ranked one with an emphasis upon the status of men. When questions of relative status were involved, it was preferable for a person to trace his rank through as long a male line as possible. However, if a person's mother's father had been a man of high rank, then he might prefer to stress this line of descent for ceremonial or other public purposes.

It would appear, as Firth[1] and Biggs point out, that membership of a hapu could not be obtained through affinal connexions.[2] Fortes misinterpreted the situation when he said, 'It is significant that membership can apparently be acquired by marriage to a member and taking up membership in the hapu territory'.[3] Biggs has made this clear in the following:

> 'Though not conforming to any usually recognised anthropological term, the hapu could be termed 'territorial kin'. It held the ownership of an area of land, and even if not normally occupying a single village, the group would draw together in times of war.

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1. FIRTH 1963: 31f.
2. BIGGS 1960: 23.
3. FORTES 1959: 22;; see FIRTH 1963: 31.

All members of a hapuu are descended from a single ancestor after whom the group is usually named, but because of frequent intermarriages most members have genealogical links of a closer order. Spouses who have married into and who live with the group do not become members of it, though the bi-lateral descent system ensures their children are members'.[1]

It would seem that consanguineal kinship was the only basis for hapu membership, and that neither affinal relationship nor residence was sufficient to entitle a person to membership.[2]

When marriage took place between members of different hapu, then the problem of choice of residence arose for the children. Generally marriages were virilocal, and children chose membership of the father's hapu. But uxorilocal marriages did occur. Here the children might choose to stay as members of the mother's hapu, or leave and join their father's hapu, or keep both claims alive by movement between the two.

As Firth points out, the important factor in this situation is that the rank of the mother might be the determining element in affiliation.[3] The status of women in general terms was less than that of a man, but the daughter of a man of rank herself held status, and could communicate

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1. BIGGS 1960: 23.
2. FIRTH 1963: 31.
3. FIRTH 1963: 32.

some of this status to her children. In a system in which an individual had choice of affiliation, the existence of status differences is likely to play an important part. 'A person may choose (or be allowed to choose) as his descent group of operational importance, the one in which, say, his mother has relatively high social status, even though the society as a whole has a patrilineal emphasis'.[1]

The factors which restricted hapu membership were primarily those of common residence, and common exercise of land rights. These involved the common recognition of selected genealogies, and the genealogical position of every member within the hapu. They found expression in common socio-economic interests and activities as in marriage. Furthermore in the political field they involved the acknowledgment of specific individuals as chiefs, and combined action against external units of the same kind as in war.[2]

In such matters, as Firth points out, 'the hapu behaved as a corporate kin group closely analagous in most of its activities to the behaviour of an unilineal kin group'.[3] Firth goes on further to say that the 'key to the effective operation of the hapu as a corporate group lay in the mechanism for sloughing off potential members'.[4]

1.FIRTH 1963: 32.
2.FIRTH 1963: 33.
3.FIRTH 1963: 33.
4.FIRTH 1963: 34.

While an individual was entitled to claim membership of a hapu through mother or father, this claim had to be validated by residence. Residence without consanguineal ties was invalid, and consanguineal ties without residence was also in the long run invalid.[1] It was this mechanism in traditional society which enabled the hapu to operate in a fashion analogous to that of a unilineal descent group.

> 'In so far as the concept of descent among the Maori is to be distinguished from kinship connexion it is primarily by reference to rights in land... Integral membership of a group is associated with a title to some of its land. This title is kept alive only by some form of occupation, the commonest form being residence in the village where the majority of the members of the kinship unit normally live... Among the Maori descent and the formal structure of the kinship grouping can be understood only by reference to residence and land holding'.[2]

In summary then, in traditional Maori society a person might belong to more than one corporate group. But this did not entitle his descendants to perpetual membership of all such groups. While choice was permissible, claims to membership had to be validated by residence, by living together with the other members of the group concerned.[3]

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1. FIRTH 1963: 34.
2. FIRTH 1963: 34.
3. FIRTH 1963: 34.

Lately a great deal of attention has been focused upon the Maori hapu, and other Central Polynesian societies, which have these 'ambilateral' or 'optative' descent groups. The element of choice operative in these societies, has led some authorities (Fortes[1] and Leach[2]) to argue that such groups cannot be termed descent groups, since they are never closed by a descent rule alone.

The view that 'descent' should apply to unilineal kin groups only, would seem to be too narrow, and unnecessarily restricting. As Scheffler points out...'descent, descent rules and corporate groups are in no way a necessary combination'.[3] While the Maori hapu may not be closed by a descent criterion, both residential and land use qualifications certainly performed this function. Moreover, as has been indicated, the hapu was a group, composed of persons organised and united upon a consanguineal basis. It had a collective name transmitted from one generation to another; it was a significant structural unit in the society, co-operate in performing multiple social tasks, and to all intents and purposes had the character of a descent group.

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1. FORTES 1959: 193-196: 206-212.
2. LEACH 1962: 130-134.
3. SCHEFFLER 1964: 129.

Marriage and the Hapu:

There were no marriage classes nor strict rules of exogamy or endogamy, but there was a definite preference for marriages within the hapu. Marriages outside the hapu involved greater hazards than in the case of in-group marriages. Any maltreatment or assault of a wife would be regarded by her natal group as an insult to themselves. They felt in honour bound to avenge the insult, and inter-hapu war occurred.[1] An elopement might also result in conflict between the groups who were affected by it.

From what has been said about the ambilateral nature of descent groups, the implications of land inheritance with out-group marriages was also important. Children who had land claims in two groups were a possible source of quarrelling, especially in view of the great value, sentimental as well as practical, with which land was invested.

The descent system too could lead to divided loyalties, resulting in 'milk drinking' (kai-wai-u) a form of espionage, stemming from relationship to both parties to the dispute.[2] For this reason, the male relatives of a woman who had married into another group might decide to kill any male

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1. BUCK 1958: 366.
2. BEST 1925 (a) Vol. 1, 279, 281, 319.

offspring she had.[1] And there are several incidents recorded in traditions, which tell of a woman concealing the sex of her child from visiting relatives.[2]

But in spite of theobjections to out-group marriages it is clear that these did take place though they were contracted mainly between people of high rank. Peace negotiations for example were sometimes concluded by a marriage between persons of rank from the hitherto hostile parties. Smith says that the ratification of peace by matrimony was a frequent practice in the old days.[3] Vayda quotes Niho-niho, a native historian, as contrasting a male peace with one in which women assumed the peacemaking functions. A female peace, according to Nihoniho, is firm and durable.[4] Te Heuheu, the famous Tuwhatetoa chief, is supposed to have said to his late enemies belonging to the Ngati Kahungunu party: '... now we have made peace for ever, for our daughter made peace, and a woman's peace is a lasting peace'.[5]

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1. BIGGS 1960: 25.
2. BEST 1925 (a): 1, 97; DOWNES 1915: 38-9.
3. SMITH 1910: 307; for examples, some of them legendary see GRAHAM 1920:40; MAIR 1895:37; RIMINI 1892:152; SHORTLAND 1856:282-83; SMITH 1910:277,307,367; WILSON 1907: 206.
4. VAYDA 1960: 121.
5. DOWNES 1916: 42.

The range of marriage possibility within the hāpu may be defined by a consideration of the incest group. Best says that relatives within three generation levels of a common ancestor were free to marry, and that only sibling and first cousin marriages were regarded as incestuous.[1] In the Tuhoe district Best recorded an incident of marriage between second cousins, which raised some opposition, but which was later over-ruled in public discussion.

First cousins wishing to marry were forbidden to do so, and in one case where the couple persisted, the union was regarded as incestuous. Biggs was given information by well-informed Maoris that first cousin marriages were permitted but he could not find any cases of it. His conclusion was that in spite of the general trend toward marriage within the kin group, the rarity of first cousin marriages suggested a strong sanction against them.[2] From his research Biggs says that it is very hard to make a clear-cut distinction between marriageable and non-marriageable kin, outside of brother-sister, parent-child unions, that are universally proscribed. Such unions were definitely incestuous, and the disgust and revulsion for them is expressed in such terms as 'tail-biter' (kai whiore, ngau whiore) and 'dog' (Irawaru-Irawaru was the progenitor

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1. BEST 1924: Vol. 1, 446.
2. BIGGS 1960: 24.

of dogs).[1]

That some degree of consanguinity between husband and wife was desirable is expressed in the following proverb: 'Marry your classificatory sister so that when you quarrel you quarrel only with your relative'. (Moea to tuahine. kia riri, ka riri ki a korua ano)?[2] The favouring of consanguineous marriages was not unduly restricting. The local group within which marital opportunities occurred was as indicated a bilateral descent group stemming from a single ancestor, the relationship of any two members of which was easily demonstrated by genealogists if not already a matter of common knowledge.

The Extended Family - Whanau:

Several whanau composed the hapu. The whanau was usually three generations in depth. It was the basic social group in Maori society, for within its confines social relations were of the most intimate nature. The members of the whanau lived together in one house, or perhaps two neighbouring houses. They shared the usufruct of eel weirs, fishing grounds, forest tracts, and worked agricultural plots in common. The whanau was united in all those tasks which Firth describes as demanding 'only a few people, and

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1. BEST 1924: Vol. 1, 447; BIGGS 1960: 24.

2. BIGGS 1960: 24; see TARAKAWA 1893: 244 for an example.

co-operation of not too complex an order'.[1]

In major communal activities, war as well as subsistence tasks, the constituent whanau united their efforts and performed as the larger group or hapu. At both levels therefore the hapu and whanau were assumed to be permanent and co-operative groups.

A question which might be raised concerns the existence of the individual family. Some authorities, particularly Best, allege that the elementary family did not exist among the Maori, and speaks vaguely of this supposed fact as an instance of 'primitive communism'. Firth criticises this assumption, and outlines some of the facts which suggest the importance of this group as a separate social unit.[2]

The Village:

The size and population of the hapu, like that of the tribes, varied considerably from region to region, and from time to time. In general it might be said to have comprised several hundred persons.[3] It is difficult to establish any exact correlation between local group and kinship group, but as a rule a village was held by a single hapu. If very large, however, then several hapu might occupy it together

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1. FIRTH 1959: 111.
2. FIRTH 1959: 116 ff.
3. Ibid., 113.

In this event the respective quarters of the hapu were usually delimited by low fences or palisades. Cook, who was the first European to have any real contact with the Maori, noted that in the larger villages, fences divided dwellings into groups.[1] Wakefield sometime later confirmed this adding that these divisions were occupied by a different section of the inhabitants - usually kinsmen.[2]

Villages were of two kinds: the pa tuwatawata or fortified village, and the kainga or unfortified village.[3] Pa were very common only in Iwitini, the northern most of the geographic regions.[4]

They were usually built upon hills, spurs, or craggy headlands or upon islands in lakes, swamps, or off the coast. When natural features were lacking, or needed reinforcements, huge earth works in the form of ditches, ramparts, scarps or terraces were constructed and topped with palisades. The earliest descriptions of these are to be found in 'The Voyage of Captain James Cook'.[5] Cook observed that these fortified places seemed almost impregnable.

The kainga or unfortified villages were usually located on flat country, near cultivation grounds, fishing and hunting tracts. The pa dwellers did not stay permanently in their fortified villages. These were cities of refuge

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1. COOK 1842: 146.
2. WAKEFIELD 1908: 107.
3. BEST 1924: Vol. 2, 305, 311; FIRTH 1959: 92, for plans and other details of forts see BEST 1927.
4. VAYDA 1960: 11, see page
5. COOK 1842: 145ff.



MAORI VILLAGE- KI.ANGA *Painted by S. Stuart*

Showing village courtyard scene during a tribal assembly

from the enemy. It appears that even seasonal camps of fishers or cultivators were often protected by fences or light stockades, and there were several transitional forms between the heavily fortified pa and the unfortified kainga.[1]

It is not possible to give a very accurate estimation of the distance between one village or hapu community and another. It might have been thirty miles, and it might have been considerably more or less. In some parts of the country - in more productive areas - village communities were closer together. But to plot the village sites and calculate the distances between them would be a tremendous task, moreover it would not give the distances between villages because it is not at all clear to what extent neighbouring village sites were (or were not) occupied simultaneously. However, whatever their precise magnitude, the distances between village communities must have been rather difficult to negotiate, due to the Maoris' lack of overland transport facilities, the roughness of terrain, the frequent impenetrability of New Zealand rain forest, and the limitations of water transport.[2] These factors might in part explain the exclusiveness of the hapu in

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1. BEST 1927: 14.
2. VAYDA 1960: 21.

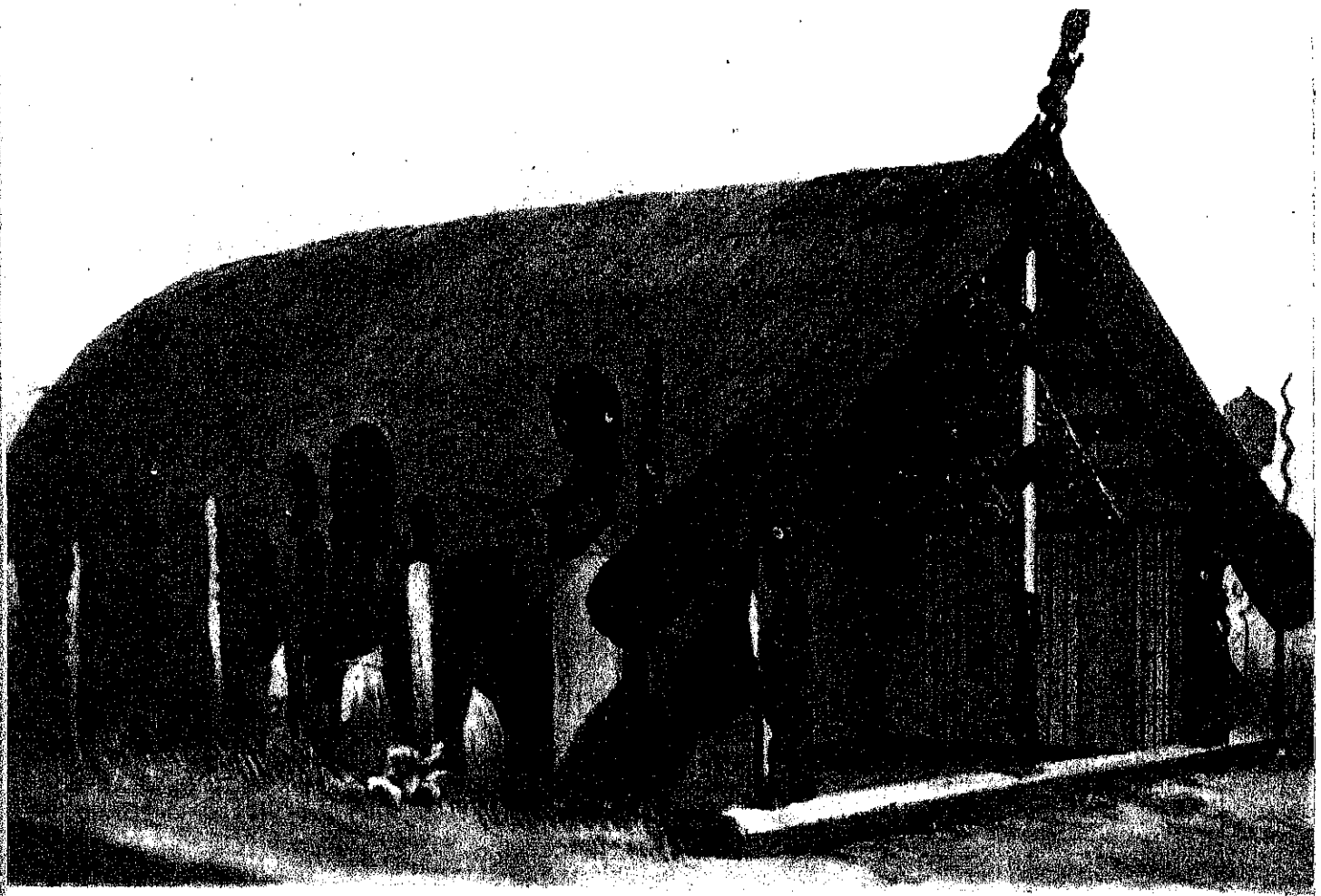
pre-European times, and its autonomy as a political unit.

Village disposition:

The layout of the houses in a village did not follow any fixed pattern. They were more or less ranged around the central place, the marae or village square. The houses were rectangular in structure, about 10 by 12 feet in ground plan, some larger and some smaller. They were built of either poles and thatch, or if of better workmanship, with worked timbers, excavated floors, and earth heaped up around the sides. Reeds and tree fern lined the inside, ensuring great warmth within the dwelling. There was a small door, and a window, neither of which allowed of much ventilation, a feature which caused not a little discomfort to early observers among the Maori.

As well as the ordinary dwellings, there were one or more superior houses (whare whakairo) carefully built, ornamented with wood carving and reed work. The chief's dwellings were of much better construction, and occupied the upper end of the village, i.e. the end farthest away from the entrance.

There were several ways of storing the food provisions of the village. Root crops were stored in underground pits, on elevated stages or in storehouses perched on posts



MAKETU HOUSE AT OTAWHAO, WAIKATO, 1840

to keep out the damp and thieving rats.

Storehouses which were not used for ordinary crops were utilised for tools, cordage and other gear. Crozet observed in one village in the north, that there were three storehouses on the marae between the two rows of dwelling houses. One near the gateway contained tools. In the next one was stored food - kumara (sweet potato), dried shell fish and fern root, while the third was a storage place for fishing gear, nets, rope and paddles. At the end of the village were open stages on which provisions were drying.[1]

Cooking houses were very flimsy, open structures, sometimes with walls of stacked firewood. In fine weather the ovens were mostly prepared outside. But at Waitahanui, the village of the Tuwharetoa chief Te Heuheu, Wakefield records that there were cooking houses 40 feet long by 15 feet broad, with walls 10 feet high constructed of enormous slabs of timber well fitted together.[2]

Some attention must be given to the marae and the whare whakairo or whare runanga, for not only did they constitute the social core of the village, but the chief's status was intimately associated with them.

The marae was simply an open space in the centre of

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1. CROZET 1783: 57-62, quoted FIRTH 1958:93.
2. WAKEFIELD 1908: 107.

the village, roughly rectangular in shape, grass-covered or worn to bare earth. It was the playground and meeting place of the people. Here in accordance with the values placed upon hospitality and generosity, the chief extended a welcome to visitors, and provided feasts and gifts for them. When guests were not so respected the marae became disreputable. (He tangata takahi manuhiri. He marae puehu).[1] Here in flowing metaphorical speech the chief made known his plans for military or peaceful action. His intentions might be received in silence, which in Maori society signified assent, or be contested by rival chiefs.[2] Here the chief initiated communal food expeditions, and magico-religious rites. The tangi or ceremony of mourning for the dead was carried out on this public square. Here too the dying chief was brought in order to give his farewell speech or poroporoaki to his people.

Enough has been said about the multiplicity of activities which took place on the marae to gauge its social importance. It was bound up with all the most important social events, and even today, it is the object of sentiment, pride, affection, and a symbol of the village prestige.[3]

The whare whakairo (lit. carved house) sometimes

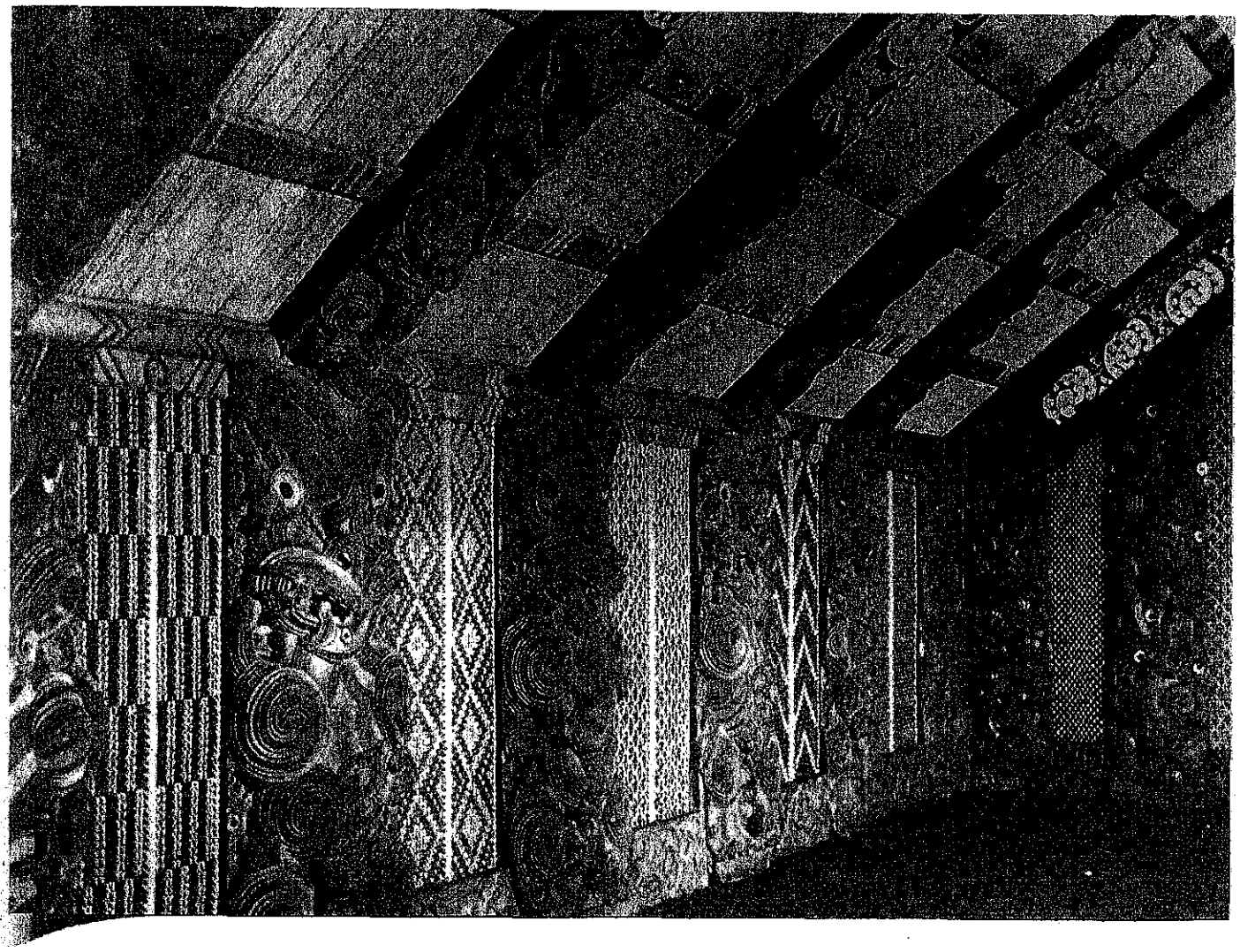
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1. KOHERE 1951: 41.
2. FIRTH 1959: 94-96.
3. FIRTH 1959: 96ff.

called the whare runanga (lit. assembly house) dominated the marae.[1] It was a rectangular house with gabled roof, beautifully carved and ornamented in a distinctive style. 'In the whole field of Maori material culture there was no more important object than a carved building of this kind'.[2] Ornate wood carving was lavished on the barge boards and the posts which supported them, the door jambs and lintel shield and the window architrave. From the apex of the gable was a finial in the form of a sculptured figure or a head of grotesque design. The interior of the house was as tastefully decorated. Around the low walls alternating with finely laced reed work panels were broad wooden slabs heavily carved and representing deities, fabulous monsters and human beings. Some of these figures bore the name of famous ancestors of the tribe, mythical eponymous heroes of the past, or men who were renowned for their deeds in the history of the people. The pride of the Te Arawa people for example is the carved house named after their ancestor Tama-te-kapua. Inside the house there is a carved slab representing him, and in his hands he carried the stilts, which it will be recalled enabled him to steal the forbidden fruit from Uenuku's tree.[3]

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1. BEST 1924: Vol. 2. 558-83; for details of construction and decoration. BUCK 1958: 122-29, 1921; 452-70; WILLIAMS 1896: 145-54.
2. FIRTH 1959: 97.
3. FIRTH 1959: 100-101.



VIEW OF INTERIOR OF ASSEMBLY HOUSE

(Whare whakairo - or Whare runanga)

- showing finely laced reed work panels separated by carved wooden slabs representing deities and ancestors.

Each tribal ancestor usually had some distinctive mark, as writing was unknown. For the seers and their pupils, these carved slabs around the walls were a veritable portrait gallery of their chiefly forbears. The distorted representations of fabulous monsters illustrated the mythological tales. In a society where social behaviour was determined to a large extent by religious beliefs and sanctions, the representations of deities provided a solid and tangible background for these beliefs.[1]

The Maori had tremendous respect for his ancestors, and the carved representations of them were a constant reminder of their deeds and accomplishments. A knowledge of genealogies was most carefully preserved. These together with much descriptive detail were painstakingly taught to children of rank. For entertainment, discussion of tribal or hapu policy, for welcoming guests, the whare whakairo provided a fitting environment.

Some indication of the dimensions of these houses might be gathered from Firth's description of two houses. The one built at Wai-o-mata-tini, Waiapu, by Ropata Wahawaha measured 80 feet long, 30 feet broad and 20 feet high. It was reported to have held 1,500 people. The other house called Rangi-tihi carved by Wero Anaha te Tahui, measured

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1. FIRTH 1959: 102.

60 feet long, by 25 feet wide, and about 18 feet to the crown of the roof.[1]

The period taken to construct one of these houses caried. Generally they took 3 to 4 years to complete.

Considerable etiquette pertained to the *whare whakairo*, especially as regards the position occupied by people of different rank. Guests were usually seated to the right hand side as one entered the building, close under the window. The men of rank in the village sat near the front of the house, but on the opposite side. The chief of highest rank had his own sleeping place, near the centre pillar (*pou-toko-manawa*) which was carved from a single tree trunk.

Considering the ritual prohibition surrounding the chief's person, and which extended to all his property, or to anything with which he had contact, the chief's sleeping place could not be occupied by lesser persons.

Certain ritual prohibitions applied to the house itself. In particular no food could be taken into it. Food in general was regarded as being of a highly polluting nature, and destructive of the sanctity of persons and things.

Wood-carving was a highly skilled and valued art. There is a myth which illustrates the heights to which the carver could attain. The myth relates the visit of a chief

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1. FIRTH 1959: 97.

called Tangaroa, to the house of Nuku-mai-teko. This house was highly ornamented with carved figures. Tangaroa greeted his host with the customary salute or hongi nose pressing), and then he noticed in the dim light a tattooed figure standing at the side of the house. In keeping with social procedure, Tangaroa advanced to salute the figure in the same manner, but found to his amazement that it was a wooden slab cunningly carved by Nuku-mai-teko to resemble a tattooed chief.[1]

Best says that the 'sign of chieftainship is a well built superior house situated within a stockaded village, while the token of a commoner is a house situated in the open, which sooner or later will be destroyed by enemies'.[2] A superior carved house always drew attention to the presence and status of a chief, as did also the carved storehouses or pataka. Every village possessed a number of these, but only one or two, the property of chiefs, were ever elaborately carved. In such cases they were highly valued objects. Moreover the social value ascribed to particular types of food such as preserved birds stored in them, and the close integration of choice foods and other delicacies with the position of the chief attest to their further significance.

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1. FIRTH 1959: 100; BEST 1924: Vol. 2.559, gives another version where Tangaroa visits Rua to whom is attributed the first introduction of the knowledge of carving.
2. BEST 1924: Vol. 1, 355; cf. BROUGHAM and REED 1963: 103.

The *marae* and *whare whakairo* together assumed tremendous importance within the village, and indeed beyond the village boundaries. Both institutions gave support to the chief, reflecting his dependence upon his people, and their dependence upon him. For in the words of the proverb, 'What is the chief without the people' (*He aha te rangatira ki te kore iwi*). By implication the answer is 'He is no one or nothing'.[1]

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1. cf. WHITE 1890: 115. 'The chief is not a chief who is without a tribe'.

Chapter 2

Political Organisation

Ko te tumu herenga waka.

(The stump to which the canoe is tied - proverb expressing the relationship of the chief to his people).

In the last chapter I described the tribe as being merely a composition of numerous local groups or hapu all conscious of having sprung from a common ancestor. Sometimes it is not easy to draw a clear distinction between these two social units, because some hapu were larger than others, and could therefore rank as independent tribes. But however this might be, each hapu possessed a hereditary leader whose position at the head of his group was ascribed by primogeniture and seniority of descent in the male line. These chiefs, as with their hapu, were ranked according to the seniority or proximity of their descent lines to the 'ridge pole' (tahuhu) as the Waikato people express it, i.e. to the direct line of descent from the ancestor of the tribe.[1]

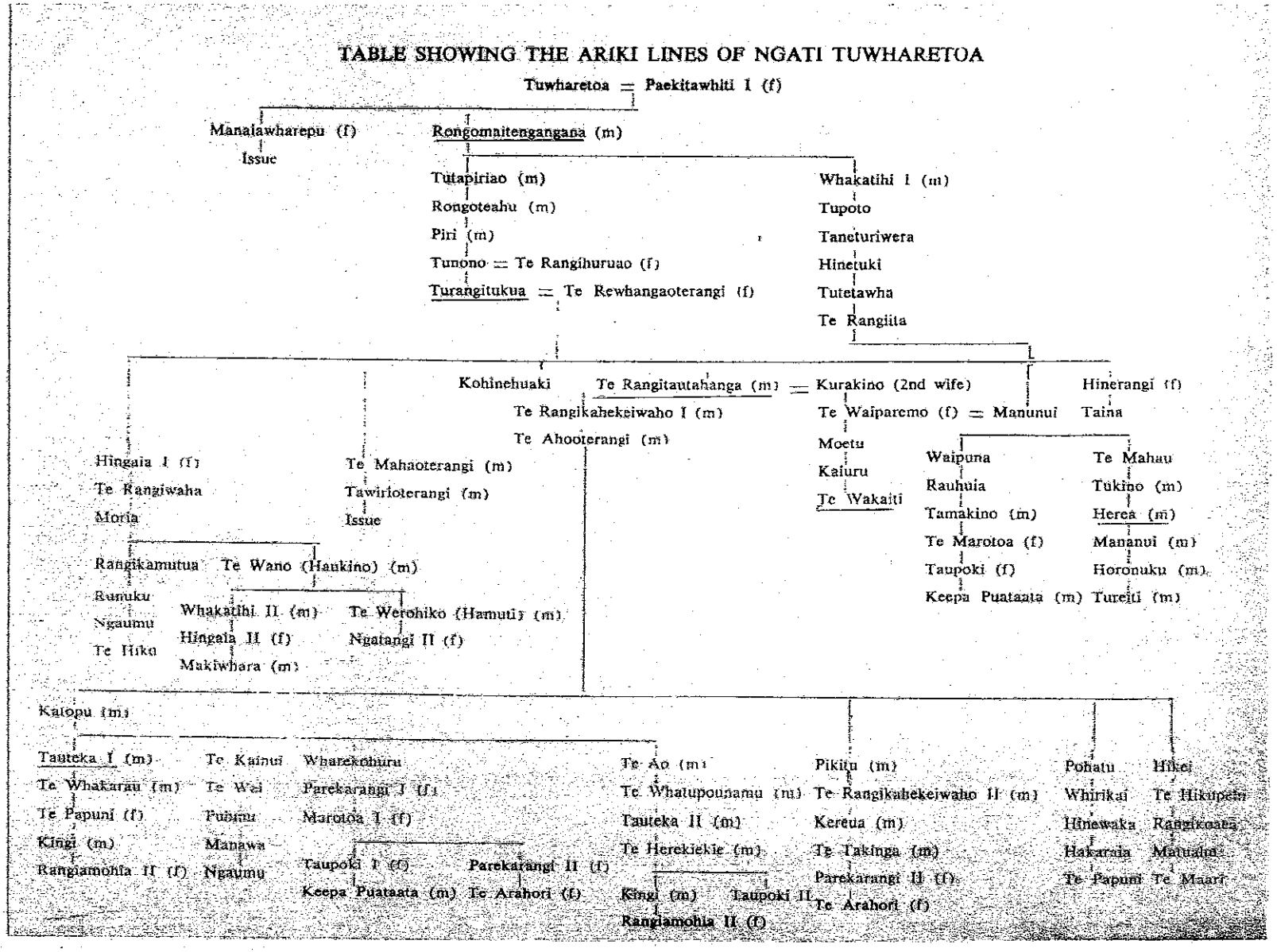
The chief of the senior hapu whose genealogy demonstrated descent through a continuous senior line of first born children was of the highest rank in the tribe, and in some of the literature his position of seniority to other chiefs or rangatira is distinguished by the title of ariki.[2]

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1. FIRTH 1959: 114; 1936: 383. The Tuhoe people speak of the direct line of descent from the eponymous ancestor as a 'direct narrative' or korero tahu.

2. FIRTH 1959: 106; BEST 1924a. Vol.1, 345; SHORTLAND 1856: 104; WHITE 1885: 202ff; WHITE 1889: Vol.3, 364; GUDGEON 1905: 130.

TABLE SHOWING THE ARIKI LINES OF NGATI TUWHARETOA



GRACE 1959: 233

Curiously enough the title of ariki for a chief does not appear in the texts of the earlier traditions of the people. It is not in the myths and legends collected by Grey,[1] nor in the migration or settlement traditions referred to earlier.[2] Yet in some of those texts relating some tribal histories, and recorded by White it does appear, and it is evident that it was in current use when Cook arrived.[3] In one of his journals Cook provides a list of cognates which he compiled with the assistance of his Tahitian informant Tupia, whom Cook found could converse with the Maori with little difficulty. Among the words if the Maori term for a chief, which Cook wrote as eareete (ariki) along with its Cook Island and Tahitian equivalents of eareete (ariki) and earii (arii).[4]

Buck seems to think that the term only applied to the highest ranking chief in the tribe,[5] but it is evident that within a single tribe there might be several ariki.[6] This was probably determined by the level of segmentation, some hapu, as indicated, being larger then others. In relation to the senior ariki they ranked only as rangatira - junior relatives, but beyond paying him the respect that was traditionally due to him on certain ceremonial occasions, they had little regard for his authority.

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1. GREY 1928: see also WHITE 1889: Vol.1. Chpt. 1-11, Vol.2. Chpt. 1-10.
2. WHITE 1889: Vol.2. 176
3. IBID Vol.4. 135, 154-5, 157, 264
4. COOK 1842: 198
5. BUCK 1958: 344
6. WHITE 1885: 213ff; WHITE 1889: Vol.4. 155-157; TRAVERS 1872: 96; BEST 1924a: Vol.1. 345; GRACE 1959: 233-4.

Most accounts agree that the position of the ariki was not one of a regal office, they rather describe him as a chief-priest.[1] Buck, while not defining his statement, says that the ariki exercised control over a vast number of people, presumably over all the hapu and their hereditary chiefs.[2] In a recent publication Maori society has been aligned with the centralised Hawaiian chiefdom or kingdom.[3]

But, if we take the tribe as the social aggregate, it cannot be said to exhibit any form of centralisation. It would appear that its political structure was rather of an acephalous nature. White says that each local group of hapu managed its own affairs independently of others, and without reference to any other chief.[4] The missionary Marsden states that there was no one chief possessed of sufficient power, authority and influence to establish himself as king over the rest, and that chiefs were too jealous to invest their authority in any one individual within their territory.[5] Tribal histories and the accounts of early observers indicate that political relationships between the local groups and therefore their chiefs within the same tribe, were characterised by attitudes of actual and potential hostility, expressed in the institutions of warfare, blood vengeance, and plunder (muru). This led Earle to attribute the actual and potential antagonism between the various chiefs within the tribe to the want of some 'regular government'.[6] The missionary Marsden again states that 'they have no regular government,

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1. SHORTLAND: 1856: 228, 229; TREGEAR 1904: 123-4; BULLER 1878: 202, 239; GUDGEON 1905: 130; 1906: 40-41; 1907b: 63; HARE HONGI 1894: 34; WHATAHORO 1909: 90
2. BUCK 1959: 343
3. GLUCKMAN: 1965: 82
4. WHITE 1885: 212
5. ELDER 1932: 334, 170, see 383 where Marsden proposed that the chief Hongi should have himself recognised as KING. 6. EARLE 1832: 67

and all crimes apparently are punished by an appeal to the sword, or by plundering the offender of his little property, and laying waste his potato grounds'.[1] But by his very own statement Marsden points out the institutions which contributed to government within the tribe, and toward the maintenance of order within its territories.

The chiefs over these various local groups or hapu were essentially leaders, and not political functionaries invested with the powers to command their people. White, who began to acquire his intimate knowledge of Maori life at Hokianga in 1835, says; 'I may confidently say that there never was, or is now, a chief who can order any member of his tribe (slaves excepted). The members of a tribe do resist the orders of a chief with impunity'.[2]

Shortland, an early scholar and Protector of Aborigines in New Zealand, stressed the democratic nature of Maori society, and suggested that its political constitution was best described as a democracy limited by a certain amount of patriarchal influence.[3] The above remarks are confirmed in the following statements. Kowhai Ngutu Kaka, the native historian of the Pakeha-Maori wars says, that chiefs had people 'to lead - not control'.[4] Thomson says, that in war men were led on rather than ordered on, and they fought by example

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1. ELDER 1932: 167
2. WHITE 1885: 224
3. SHORTLAND 1856: 227
4. M^{c}DONNELL 1887a: 499

more than by counsel.[1] In peaceful occupations such as cultivating, says Earle, the chiefs 'set the example of labour'.[2] Firth in commenting upon the democratic spirit of the Maori says that, '... in the cultivations all men fell to alike and did their share of the work; chiefs despite their rank worked shoulder to shoulder with the commoners'.[3] A chief could not simply command work to be done, he himself had to work. Says the missionary Marsden, 'Were the principal chief to call on any free people within his jurisdiction to labour, they would pay little attention to his commands. He had no authority over them in this respect, nor the means to enforce their obedience.'[4]

We conclude from these remarks that in fact a chief had very little social power in the strict sense of the word. But in relation to Maori society the concepts of power and authority must be placed in a wider frame of reference. In the first place, the basis of a chief's authority and the mainspring of his power was his own personal <u>mana</u> (ritual power). While this did not give him a warrant to issue directives, commands, according to Best, being replaced by suggestions and proposals for certain lines of action,[5] belief in the special power attached to a chief commanded considerable respect on the part of his people, and increased when the chief through exemplary leadership

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1. THOMSON 1859: Vol.1, 125
2. EARLE 1832: 18; FIRTH 1959: 215-16
3. FIRTH 1926: 139
4. ELDER 1932: 118, 335
5. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 348

successfully led his people in defence of their rights, and in seeking vengeance for injuries they sustained. Success achieved through exemplary leadership was not only a manifestation of a chief's mana, but redounded to his credit by increasing his power. This together with his self-imposed restriction of his sacerdotal functions were several aspects of the same thing.

The value placed upon the personal attributes of leadership cannot be overestimated, for the very existence, prestige, and identity of the hapu depended upon the mettle of its leader.

The Ariki.

We are told that when faced with defence or aggression the ariki was the leader of the tribe. Yet it is doubtful whether in fact all the hapu, under the leadership of their respective chiefs, ever combined their forces before the introduction of guns. According to the missionary Yate, it was sometimes with the greatest difficulty that hapu were mobilised.[1] The difficulties imposed upon communications by the nature of terrain must have been a contributing factor in pre-European Maori society, but so too was the state of inter-hapu relationships.

It is related that the high chief Hongi of the Nga-Puhi tribe could only get the concerted action of all the hapu, together with those of Te Rarawa, after he had returned from abroad with

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1. YATE 1835: 119

guns and ammunition, and had devoted himself to healing inter-hapu feuds.[1] Thus equipped, says the missionary Yates, no one dared to refuse when Hongi called; to do so was to invite extermination.[2] But apparently even when possessed of guns Hongi still had problems. Less than a year after his return from abroad, he led the entire Nga-Puhi force in an attack on the Ngati-Paoa stronghold in the Thames district. White, who knew the northern tribes well, relates that a dispute over how the fortress should be taken caused a rift in the forces. Four or five of the hapu retired and refused to take part in the fighting.[3]

But even in the pre-musket era chiefs with their followers have left the battlefield not only over differences of opinion in the plan of action, but through some slight to a chief's dignity.[4] And when in battle it was sometimes difficult to restrain them. Each hapu, says Best, remained under its own chief, and did as it pleased.[5] As a consequence often a battle was lost because chiefs chose to pursue the line of action in their own manner.[6] An analogy might be drawn with the Homeric battles of old, but whether the generalship was in the hands of the ariki or some other chief who had proved himself

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1. GUDGEON 1890: 28
2. YATE 1835: 119
3. WHITE 1885: 222-23; cf. SMITH 1905: 155
4. BEST 1902: 130; cf. KELLY 1949: 391
5. BEST 1903b: 40
6. GUDGEON 1907b: 78; TREGEAR 1904: 334; WHITE 1885: Vol.5, 26-27; KELLY 1949: 343, 391, eg of lack of unanimity among hapu GUDGEON 1890: 87-88; BEST 1904: 80

outstanding as a warrior and war leader, his leadership was circumscribed by that of chiefs over their individual units, and at any rate was limited to the duration of the battle itself.[1]

The Hapu as the Sovereign Social and Political Unit.

Each hapu had exclusive rights to the land that it occupied, and this was further segmented to give rights of many kinds to extended families and individuals. The rights to land and specific economic resources were jealously guarded against other hapu. Trespassers, and food poachers might be killed, and warfare involving considerable loss of life not infrequently arose between them from disputes over land.[2]

Maori history is full of incidents which indicate the exclusive attitude of the members of a hapu toward their economic resources and privileges. For example, rat runs were highly prized and could only be worked by people who owned the land, or who had been formally given the right to trap thereon. Unauthorised trespass was fiercely resented and might end in bloodshed. A party of Ngati-Koura, for example, went to Rua toki to take game from the forests near Paraheki, but were attacked by the people of the Ruatahuna district and severely defeated; both hapu belonged to the Urewera tribe.[3] Again, when the members of the hapu of Ngati-Mahanga went hunting for ground parrot (kakapo) on one occasion, it was on the lands of

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1. GUDGEON 1890: 87-88; BEST 1904: 80
2. FIRTH 1959: 377-8
3. IBID 379

Ngati-Tawhaki, who promptly slew, cooked and ate the offenders.[1] The Nga-maihi who were living at a pa (fortified village) at Puketapu sent a party to obtain fern root at Tinina-roa, where the mata variety (paesia scaberula) of that root which was a staple in the olden days, grew abundantly. The Ngati-tama-oki hapu, who were also of the Ngati-awa tribe, objected to this trespass on their rights, and attacked the fern root gatherers, but were defeated by them.[2]

Disputes sometimes arose over shark fishing grounds, such for example as those off Puponga point in the Manukau Harbour. The Ngati-Kahukoka, living on the southern shores of the harbour at Awhitu, claimed these fishing grounds, and so did the Nga-Iwi of Maungawhau, the latter in their capacity of senior hapu of the tribe. This led to strife between them. At times intervals of peace obtained when both hapu went fishing together, but it rarely lasted, for when one side caught nothing they accused the other of witchcraft.[3]

Incidents of this kind are numerous in the literature, but in all they serve to show that the hapu was a territorial entity occupying its lands to the exclusion of others. Its members shared the rights of exploitation that were denied to outsiders, except by special permission, and they acted together in defence of these rights. Local contiguity was thus a very important factor in uniting the

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1. IBID
2. IBID
3. WHITE 1889: Vol.4. 112-113 quoted by FIRTH 1954: 380; e.g. WHITE IBID: Vol.4, 86-87.

members of a hapu. But of equal importance was the fact that the hapu was essentially a body of closely related kin. The exact nature of their relationships could be specified, if these were not already a matter of common knowledge. Of course kin relationships could be demonstrated with any other hapu within the tribe, although this would have been a task for the genealogist. But for the members of a hapu it was kinsmen of a particular kind - i.e. those within eight to ten generations, and not the whole range of kin who constituted their political associates.

We have shown how membership of the hapu was obtained with the important proviso that it had to be validated by residence. Further, while inter-hapu marriages did occur, although mainly between members of high rank, there was a preference for endogamous marriages, and, as Biggs points out, these were probably more frequent, in pre-European Maori society.[1]

This tendency would have strengthened the hapu as a social and political unit. It has been pointed out, for example, that the organisation of war parties was based to such an extent upon the ties between hapu members that the Maoris coming into contact with the British forces for the first time thought that the soldiers and the sailors were from separate hapu belonging to the same tribe (iwi) called England.[2] The solidarity of the hapu was given further expression in the recognition of a hereditary leader or chief, to

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1. BIGGS 1960: 23-27
2. MANING 1876: 207

whom all the members were closely related, so that they were his dependants rather than his subjects.

Maning, who settled in Hokianga in 1833, and who was for most of his lifetime an acute, sympathetic, and spirited observer of Maori life, described a Maori friend as the 'head of a strong family' or hapu which mustered a considerable number of fighting men, all his relatives.[1] He also made the general observation that the men raised for war parties by chiefs were their relatives.[2] Other observers have commented on the efficiency of the hapu as a fighting unit because its members, the relatives and immediate followers of one chief were actuated by emotions and opinions which they had in common.[3] Enough has been said to show that the hapu was the sovereign social and political unit in Maori society. And the main contributing factors were local contiguity, kinship, and the recognition of a hereditary leader.

Social stratification.

Social stratification within the hapu was coincident with the principle of group ranking, with the stress on seniority, and the main differences in rank emerging from the order of birth.

The Maori stress seniority in two kinship terms, namely tuakana meaning senior or elder, and teina meaning junior. These terms have their first reference to the nuclear family and were only used of siblings of the same sex. Thus the first-born son (matamua) was tuakana to all his younger brothers; an intermediate son was tuakana to his

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1. IBID 1863: 186
2. IBID 1876: 201
3. GUDGEON 1907b: 78; THELEAR 1904: 334

younger brothers but teina to the first born, and so on.[1] These terms extended beyond the nuclear family to indicate the rank and statuses of extended families (whanau) with their respective heads within the hapu, and of hapu within the tribe. At any level of segmentation seniority always carried the most prestige. Thus in 'double relationships' (karanga rua), a man might according to patrilineal descent be of very junior rank, but his mother might be of superior descent, and on ceremonial occasions he was very likely to stress his seniority acquired through his mother. Similarly in an individual kin relationship A might be grandchild of B but according to descent be senior (tuakana) to B; and again on ceremonial occasions B would defer to A.[2]

Within the hapu members of the chief's immediate and extended family were also of rangatira rank. Members of junior families, i.e. those further away from the senior line of descent were supposed to be commoners, and were regarded as lesser persons although they did not always acknowledge the fact. Best says that in all his years of contact with the Maori he never met one who admitted to being a commoner (ware or tutua).[3] Turanga tangata rite is a Maori proverb meaning that all men are equal.[4] Some observers experienced difficulty in distinguishing a middle class, maintaining that only two grades existed - namely the chiefs (rangatira) and slaves (pononga or taurekareka).[5]

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1. BUCK 1958: 340-41
2. BUCK 1958: 341-42
3. BEST 1924a: Vol. 1, 346
4. GUDGEON 1907a: 34
5. ELSDON 1932: 483; EARLE 1832: 204; note slaves were captives of war.

This might be attributed to the fact that the social differentiation between chiefs and men of lesser rank was not distinguished by any obsequious forms of deference, special titles, or chiefly vocabulary, said to be accorded chiefs in some Central Polynesian communities and elsewhere.[1] Moreover, as indicated, a very independent spirit obtained among the Maori, and as Maning pointed out, in spite of the respect and the prestige attached to rank, many of the chief's followers considered themselves his equals.[2]

Within the village, the question of peace or war, like all matters of general importance, was considered in the assembly house or in the village plaza called the marae. Any member of the assembly was free to express an opinion, and most did so in warlike speeches, songs and chants.[3] At such assemblies the distinctive position of the chief was seen in the weight of his opinion, and in his skilful use of oratory as an instrument for inspiration. Buck says that the people were worked up into a state of excitement and military fervour, which made them impatient to set out to raid the enemy.[4]

It seems that sometimes when the chief alone was bent on war, he kept his purpose secret 'till he considered the time for action ripe', that is to say, probably until the time when he could expect the people's support.[5] He might then carve an effigy and before

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1. FIRTH 1959: 107
2. MANING 1876: 29, see EARLE 1832: 116
3. See BUCK 1958: 389 for a description, cf. Savage 1939: 35, 37
4. BUCK 1958: 389
5. TREGEAR 1904: 329

his assembled people, would call over it the names of the enemies and strike its head with his weapons. This is how Heke, the Nga-Puhi chief, is said to have invited his people and others to join him in fighting the European.[1]

Normally, once a chief succeeded to the position of leader of the hapu, and he proved himself capable, he occupied that position for the rest of his lifetime. He might however retire voluntarily through old age, or some infirmity, in which case leadership was assumed by his eldest son, if capable,[2] or a younger son of outstanding ability.[3] The chief nevertheless continued to wield influence and to carry out those ritual duties which were a function of his status by descent.[4]

But if on his succession the chief failed to show decision of character, and ability especially as a war leader, then his followers might accept the leadership of a younger brother, if capable, or failing him, then that of the nearest male cousin, as a rule patrilineal, or the leadership of a chief of much lower rank. While the chief never lost his social status, nor his mana ariki - his prestige as the first-born, and certain ritual and ceremonial privileges associated with it, it must be stated that the system of ranking was by no means rigid. It was possible for commoners of lowly rank to become

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1. WHITE 1885: 175
2. KELLY 1949: 248, 300; GRACE 1959: 163
3. GUDGEON 1905: 61; GRACE 1959: 190; legendary examples in GREY 1928: 89
4. WAKEFIELD 1839-44: 57; KELLY 1949



TE HIRA TE KAWAU

- chief of Te Taou hapu of the Ngati-Whatua tribe, was not a man of ability, and leadership of the hapu was delegated to his cousin Paora Tuhaere.

[see Graham 1965: 66]

influential through sheer personal ability. And among the qualities esteemed in this connection, were bravery in war, skill in debate, soundness of judgement, and a knowledge of traditional lore and precedent. Even slaves are said to have become influential on this basis, and although these cases must have been exceptional in pre-European Maori society, it does say something for the flexibility of the class structure, and for the values placed upon the personal and charismatic attributes of leadership.[1] Best goes so far as to say that much of a chief's *mana* that is to say, his influence and authority depended upon his personal magnetism.[2]

There are a number of examples in the literature which show how political authority was split up when, traditional leadership was not reinforced by charisma, but one or two examples quoted by Firth and Graham must suffice.[3]

Te Hira Te Kawau was the hereditary leader of Te Taou *hapu* of Ngati-Whatua, but neither he nor his brother were men of ability or force of character. Thus their father passed his *mana* 'authority' on to his nephew Paora Tuhaere, who became the political leader of the *hapu*, restraining its members from participating in the 'King' movement, and conducting the affairs of the group until the time of his death. Yet Te Hira still retained his *mana ariki*-his prestige as the first-born son, and certain ritual and ceremonial privileges associated with it. Thus in the imposition and removal of ritual

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1. WHITE 1885: 225; GUDGEON 1905: 62; BEST 1924a: Vol.2, 299
2. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 388
3. FIRTH 1959: 107-8; GRAHAM 1941: 116ff

prohibitions (tapu), the conduct of ritual observances at the birth of children, hair cutting, the fixing and delimiting of territorial boundaries, and in the recital of curative magic, only Te Hira could officiate. Moreover, at receptions given to visitors, and in the speech making that invariably marked such occasions, Te Hira always took precedence. The receiving and distribution of gifts were also his privilege, as was too, the right to bestow names on children, and to ask for female children from other hapu, and tribes as bethrothed wives for the young men of his people.

So while a chief might through incompetency be deprived of his secular leadership, he continued to exercise those ritual duties which he, and only he could conduct in his priestly capacity. Further, the son, or later descendent of the chief, might again recover the political and social status of his less able father or grandsire, and so once again unite in his person the exoteric and esoteric mana (power and authority) of chiefship.[1]

A chief who gained leadership on charismatic grounds as distinct from birth, was always acknowledged as occupying his position in that capacity. He was known as a rangatira paraparau,[2] or literally a chief who makes pretensions.[3] Such were Paora Tuhaere in the above example, and the renowned Ngati-Toa chief Te Rauparaha.[4] The main points of the latter's rise to power within his own tribe are well known, but he also acquired the military leadership of Ngati-Raukawa, with whom Ngati-Toa were closely related, and the manner in which this was attained

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1. FIRTH 1959: 108
2. IBID
3. WILLIAMS 1957: 265
4. D'URVILLE 1826-7: 161 for another example

is worthy of some mention here.

Hape-ki-Tuarangi, the ariki of Ngati-Raukawa was dying, and as was customary representatives from the various hapu of Ngati-Raukawa were assembled at his village of Maungatautari, to hear his last will and testament (ohaki or poroporoaki).[1] Among those present were also representatives of Ngati-Toa, including Te Rauparaha. Hape had been an able warrior and leader of the hapu against the Waikato and Maniapoto tribes, and had secured the friendly alliance of the Te Arawa tribes in his campaigns against them. The question of his successor was thus an anxious one. Hape said: 'When I was in health, this tribe was a tribe, and you had a chief ... However, when I have passed away in death, you will be lowered into subjection in revenge for my operations against other districts. Therefore my chiefs, I will ask you who do you approve of as chief?'[2]

No chief seems to have replied to the pertinent enquiry, challenging as it was in its implications. The lack of response on the part of the assembled chiefs was not due to any unwillingness to assume the responsibility as has been commonly thought, but rather as Graham points out, it was due to diffidence arising from the intricacies of Maori etiquette. A chief so responding would tacitly assume precedence over his colleague chiefs.[3] Rank, precedence of birth and other considerations were involved.

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1. correction to FIRTH 1959: 108; Hape-ki-hiarangi was ariki of Ngati-Raukawa and not of Ngati-Toa.
2. GRAHAM 1941: 116; WHITE 1885: 223; GRACE 1959: 260
3. GRAHAM 1941: 114

Apparently Hape put the question several times, but silence prevailed. It was then that Te Rauparaha rose from the back of the assembly and said: 'O Sir - It is I (I will take your place), for as the carved stern post of the canoe decays, another will take its place'. (E koro-ko au Ka mate atu he tete kura, ka ara ano he tete kura). The carved stern post of the canoe (tete kura) was frequently used as a figurative expression for the chief at the head of a hapu or tribe, hence Te Rauparaha's simile. He would be the carved stern post to replace the one being destroyed by death. In Maori society silence usually meant assent, but approval might be expressed by a slight coughing running around the assembly. Such was the case after Te Rauparaha had replied to Hape's request, and he was publicly accepted as the war leader of Ngati-Rauawa. The general affairs of the tribe however, remained vested with its hereditary chiefs, who on occasions in spite of their public acceptance of him, challenged his leadership.[1] But his prowess as a warrior, his foresight, and vision secured his supremacy. So much so, that in the latter part of his career with the assistance of his Ngati-Raukawa allies, he successfully dispossessed the Horowhenua and Manawatu people of their lands, and divided the spoils with his allies. By creating alliances and exploiting them, he came to have such power in the Cook Straits, that one Ngati-Raukawa high chief was moved to say to Wakefield; 'It is true Tirawaka (Maori rendering of Wakefield) he is our father and our ariki'.[2] While not a legitimate application of the term ariki, it was a supreme acknowledgement of

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1. TRAVERS 1872: 92; WAKEFIELD 1839-44: 84-88
2. WAKEFIELD 1839-44: 81-87; GRACE 1959: 141-43; for more detailed account of Te Rauparaha's career see TRAVERS 1872

Te Rauparaha's mana or power, which he acquired as a result of successful campaigns of conquest, and as these were achieved through his own creative, personal, and charismatic powers.

The Personal Attributes of Leadership.

The Maori believe that chiefs have always existed. From time immemorial as the myths, legends, proverbs and songs show they have always formed part of the social system. Chiefship was accepted as an institution, and so far as one can judge from the evidence the people were not concerned with any abstract problems concerning it. They took it for granted and did not question its suitability or strive for something better.

But an uncritical acceptance of the institution did not imply an uncritical tolerance of every chief. There were certain expectations and definite ideas about the kinds of qualities he should have, the manner in which he should behave, and even the way in which he should dress.[1] In concrete situations these ideas did much to determine popular reaction, and the conviction that the chief was the 'stump to which the canoe was tied'.

The modern New Zealand historians Clondiffe and Airey said that 'Warfare was not only accepted, it was exalted. It was not merely a last necessity, but rather the pinnacle of life'.[2] Traditions and tribal histories are full of accounts of military campaigns and the exploits of brave and courageous chiefs. 'War is a thing which kindles many a heart' says a Maori proverb.[3] It is thus not surprising that an old Maori should say to Best 'All toa' (famed warriors) are necessarily

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1. GREY 1928: 164.
2. CLONDIFFE and AIREY 1953: 12
3. GREY 1857: 16; see BEST 1902: 127

chiefs; bravery is not found among the ware (commoners):[1] or that Ponga's companions should say to him, 'You are of noble birth, it is not necessary to teach you to fight'.[2]

Ideally a chief should therefore be an accomplished warrior and contemptuous of death.[3] In battle it was even preferred rather than to be taken into slavery. The following remark made by a chief makes this clear, '... death comes to all men, and to fall in battle is becoming of a chief; but to take a man of rank prisoner is to degrade his tribe, and to attach the stigma of slavery to all his descendants'.[4]

But even though a chief should be a victorious warrior it was not his sole virtue, for in matters of peace a chief should also show his worth. This is expressed in myth; 'The only way in which a man can prove himself a noble man is by helping people, by providing food, by celebrating wedding ceremonies, ... all that makes peace flourish'.[5]

Diligence and skill in obtaining food is in many traditions mentioned as a criterion of nobility. The portrait of the chief Ponga provides a good illustration: 'Now Ponga was a handsome man, a man of few words, and a man who cultivated his land. He was a rangatira by virtue of his property, viz, the food which he distributed out to all his friends'.[6] The last addition is of course an important trait and mark of a chief. Liberality was admired and parsimony deplored. It is of interest to note how the Maori viewed Cook according to their own conception of the nobleman. It is related that an old man during his youth had visited

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1. BEST 1902: 82
2. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 120
3. WHITE 1889: Vol.5, 125
4. GUDGEON 1904a: 187
5. GREY 1928: 7
6. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 115; GREY 1928: 168; cf. WHITE 1889; Vol.4, 120

the ship, and he observed that 'There was one who was the most important man on the ship; one realised that he was master because he was a nobleman with a fine carriage, and he was quiet; some of the other beings (tupua) i.e. the sailors spoke incessantly, but this man did not utter many words'.[1] The narrator's conception was confirmed when Cook gave him a nail. In the narrator's words 'Indeed he was a great chief (rangatira) of the ship since he gave us presents and furthermore he was kind to the children. The great man is not hidden among the many'.

While liberality and hospitality were clearly desirable qualities in members of the nobility, kindness was no less important. In the traditions which relate to the chieftainess Tukutuku[3] and Raumahora,[4] both earned the respect and devotion of their people by their displays of kindness. It is said of Tukutuku that after her marriage to the chief Paoa both went on a journey through her territories.

> 'They landed at this village and that village, and then set forth again. Then the man (Paoa) saw the greatness of his wife. She had not spoken idly, she was a great chieftainess of these parts ...
>
> Next day they paddled on to Te Puru, where more sea food was given them. They turned about at Waiau. There Paoa saw the mussels of that place, and marvelled at them. Then they came back bringing six canoe loads of sea food. At Parengarenga

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1. WHITE 1889: Vol.5, 107, see also DOWNES 1929: 38, 148ff.
2. WHITE 1889: Vol.5, 108
3. IBID Vol.4, 225ff.
4. GREY 1928: 154; BEST 1927: 241

Tukutuku asked that some sea food be given her. The people heard and gave, and Paoa wondered at the people thinking that she was indeed regarded as a chief by them. It was like that with all the people they met, until they got back to her own village. A canoe load of sea food was distributed on the beach and they marvelled saying, 'A chief for us'. When those people saw Tukutuku's generosity they all flocked to her. She was generous to them and they were generous to her, and her people were unable to consume all her food. She worked at producing food for her people, whanake, pohue karito, wene, kaeo.[1] Her tribe saw this and said, 'No wonder the fame of this woman has spread. Behold her energy. They saw her working and they also worked. Before they had not worked to produce food, but let it grow of its own accord, on account of their laziness. They said, now is seen the work, oh chief. There is the quality of the heart timber, and there is the quality of the sap. Now a chief works'.

'She settled at a place and the people of her tribe gathered around her as her subjects. Before, there had been few people. By her kindness they grew in numbers and filled the village'.[2]

The rangatira shows distinction in his behaviour. He is kind but also a little reserved; he does not say much, as indeed it was emphasised in the case of Ponga and Cook, but as a consequence his

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1. These are foods of minor importance, neglected by thriftless people.
   Whanake - Cordyline australis so called cabbage tree.
   Pohue - name given to several climbing or trailing plants, e.g. clematis.
   Karito - young shoots of bulrush
   Wene - shoot, runner of a gourd.
   Kaeo - univalve molluscs.

2. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 229-30; quoted by BIGGS 1960: 56-7.

speech is weightier and it is left to the commoner to chatter.

Best has some interesting remarks to make about the qualities expected or believed to be possessed by a great chief.[1] He was supposed to have eight 'qualities of the heart' (pu manawa) which are as follows:

(1) Industry in obtaining food, and cultivating it.

(2) Ability in settling disputes.

(3) Bravery.

(4) Good leadership in war, and ability as a general.

(5) Skill in carving, tattooing, and ornamental weaving.

(6) Hospitality.

(7) Skill at building houses or pa (fortified village), and canoe making.

(8) A good knowledge of tribal boundaries.

The commoner was believed to possess four of these, but unfortunately we are not told which, but perhaps they were (1), (3), (5), and (7) above. While Best gathered this information from one tribe, it would seem to reflect the general conception of the ideal chief. To this must be added the admiration for dignity of bearing, and physical features, enhanced by clothing and adnornment.[2] Again from the story of Paoa, it is related that as he approached a village with his contingent, 'he appeared to tower above them; he looked as he walked along like the bird called the stilt moving in a flock of little birds'.[3]

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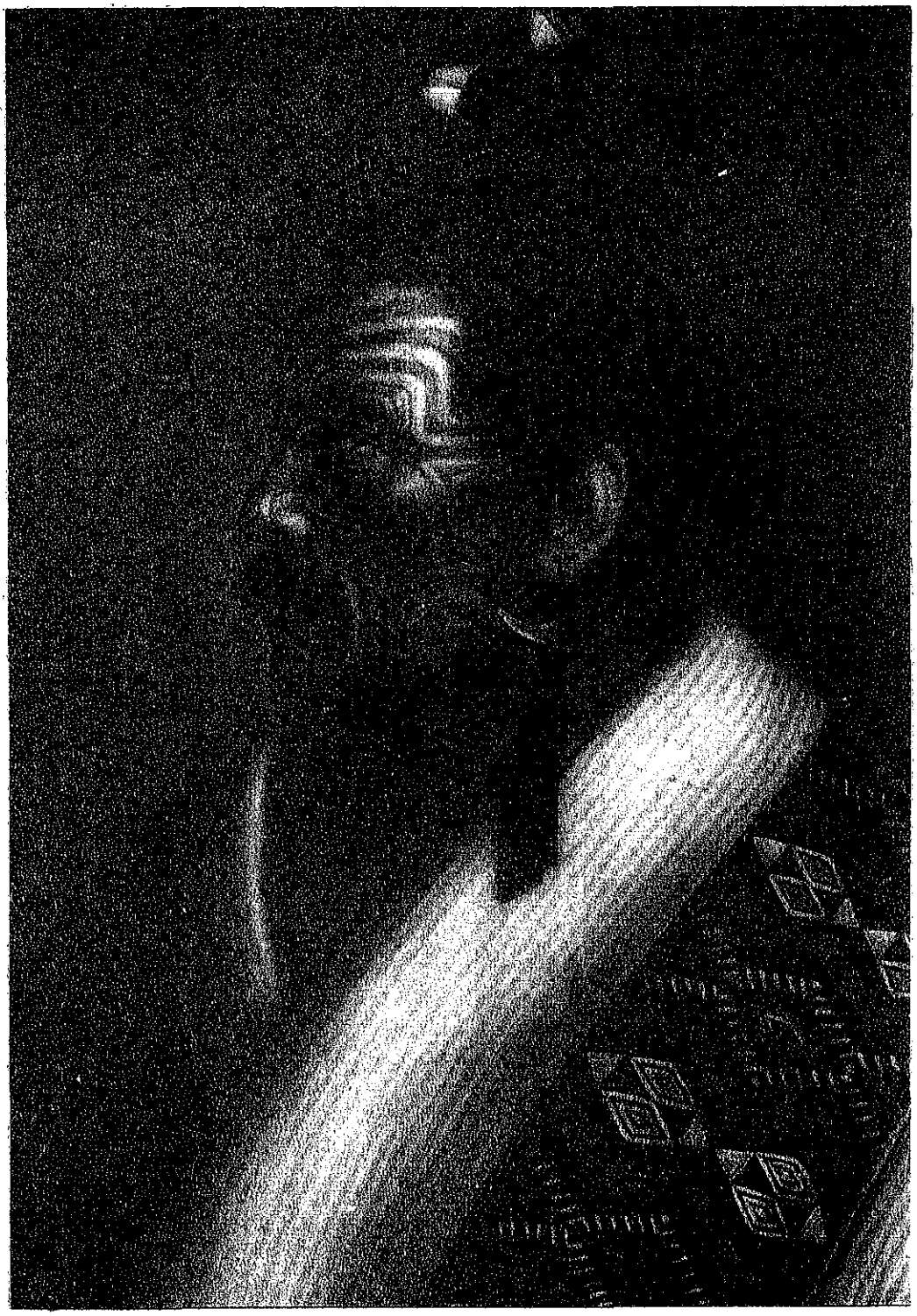
1. BEST 1898: 242
2. GREY 1928: 116, 154
3. IBID: 161.

Chiefs and chieftainess should always be conscious of their rank and behave accordingly. When Puhihuia eloped with Ponga, the whole episode began rather innocently by her accompanying the guests on their way; but her parents who were watching the guests leave, felt uncomfortable when she continued to accompany them, and her father cried admonishingly, 'Turn back my girl, turn back. It is foolish to go far away like this, the guests must think that you are a commoner'.[1]

The chief is also distinguished by his behaviour at a meal. 'A white heron which looks at the food before it eats' says a proverb.[2] This is the favourite image of a chief who in courteous manner waits for others to come before he begins his meal. Yet there is a negative aspect to chiefly behaviour in this respect, illustrated in the behaviour of the chief Paca who feigned the commoner. It is said that on one occasion he was being entertained to a feast, and according to the custom of presenting special food delicacies to distinguished guests, Paca had placed before him a special basket of fine salmon. Paca was observed to merely look at the dish, and then to pass it to his companions. He then took a basket of scraps and began to eat from it. The people said, 'He is a fellow of low rank, see what stuff he eats'. But however badly Paca behaved, the elders said, 'That man is a chief, he is only trying to appear to be a person of no importance',[3]

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1. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 127. cf.118
2. GREY 1857: 19.
3. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 221-24; GREY 1928: 161.



TE HAU-TAKIRI WHAREPAPA

- showing the traditional form of head-dress and kaitaka cloak.

[see Graham 1965:66]

In yet another tradition it is related that the chief Marutuahu on reaching manhood set out in search of his father Hotunui. The latter had established himself in the Hauraki district, many miles from his original home. Before Maru approached his father's village, he bathed in a nearby stream, and then dressed himself in the garments appropriate to his rank. In the eyes of the villagers' he appeared as handsome as the large crested cormorant'.[1]

Clothing made the man in the olden days. Cook was impressed and remarked upon the differences in dress among the native visitors to his ship, and took it as a differential of rank. Whether in peace or war, a chief was always distinguished from the commoners by his garments. On dress occasions he might wear any one of a variety of capes - either one covered with kiwi (apertyx) feathers (kahu kiwi) or one covered with the skin of dogs' tails (kahu waeroa). But the most highly prized were the cloaks made from finely woven flax and edged with a coloured border. These were called kaitaka or parawai.

A chief's personal appearance was rendered more impressive by a variety of striking adornments. After the hair was washed and rubbed with shark oil, it was tied in a knot on the crown of the head. Into this knot were arranged the feathers of the huia (heterolocha acutirostris) and kotuku (white heron).[2] The face and body were usually massaged with a mixture of red ochre and shark oil. In the ears might be suspended shark tooth pendants, the soft down of the albatross or

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1. GREY 1928: 116; WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 33
2. GREY 1928: 154; WHITE 1889: Vol.5, 125.

pendants of jade. And around the neck hung the flat grotesque figure of jade called the heitiki.

The facial adornment of a chief was further enhanced by intricate scroll lines of tattoo. While not a distinctive mark of rank, tattooing assumed this function because only the chiefs were economically able to attract the artists to do it.[1] To this portrait must be added a chief's weapons, which might include a carved wooden spear (taiaha) or various short clubs (mere) made of jade or whalebone. Some chiefs were well known for their adeptness in wielding one or other of these weapons,[2] and according to the victories and success achieved in the use of them, so many of these weapons came to acquire a ritual value for the descendants of the chief.[3]

Training.

The rituals observed at the birth of a chief, and the informal and formal instruction given him in childhood and adolescence, were aimed at inculcating or developing the qualities discussed above, thus preparing him for his role as leader of his people. During the naming ceremony (tohi, tua, tuapapa) after birth, the child was dedicated to its future sphere of life, so that the political, legal and social aspects were as much marked in his birth rituals as the magico-religious.

If a child was a male, spells were recited to engender in him those qualities which would best befit him for leadership in war or in

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1. FIRTH 1959

2. The Ngati-Tuwharetoa chief Te Heuheu was an expert in the use of the pou-whenua, a weapon very similar to the taiaha; TE HURINUI: 1959: 18 see GRACE 1959: 251 for another example.

3. for examples GUIGNON 1905: 55-56; WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 81; BUCK 1958: 378; SHORTLAND 1882: 64.

agriculture. If it were a female, then the ceremony expressed the wish that she should excel in domestic pursuits.

Some examples of these spells will be given in a later chapter on the discussion of birth rituals. We are told that the birth rituals were more elaborate and detailed in the case of children of chiefs. This is what might be expected, given the values placed upon chiefship and the privileges associated with it.

Children in general accompanied their parents in their daily tasks, and were admitted to village assemblies and important ceremonies. Marsden observed the sons of chiefs when only four or five years old sitting among persons of rank and paying close attention to the proceedings.[1] In this way they learned from an early age the rules of etiquette and tribal customs.

Many of the games and pastimes of the children were militaristic in objective. Some hand games like matimati or ti ringa involving two players were aimed at developing quickness of eye and hand. In this way they learnt to anticipate an opponent's arm movements as in, say, close hand to hand fighting.[2]

Training in the use of weapons was begun early. Children armed with a flax flower stalk were taught by their parents to spar, and when old enough were taught by an expert the strokes and parries of the various weapons as well as the accompanying footwork.

The safety and welfare of the hapu or tribe depended upon its

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1. ELDER 1932: 248

2. BUCK 1958: 239

military strength and efficiency. While all young men, whether of common or noble descent, were trained in the arts of war, as we have seen it was imperative that a chief should be a good warrior.

Skill in the useful arts such as canoe making, house building and carving stood high in the list of chiefly attributes. Young men of rank were initiated by their fathers into the techniques of these crafts and the ritual which pertained to them. In such economic pursuits as bird-snaring and rat trapping a young chief usually accompanied his father. Such undertakings also provided opportunities for instruction in the territorial boundaries, fishing domains and other property of the group in defence of which the young chief might be required to lead his people on his succession.[1]

A knowledge of genealogies, tribal lore and traditions was also indispensable. Informal instruction in these matters began in the family, and was undertaken by parents and elder relatives - especially the paternal grandfather. More formal instruction was received in the House of Learning (Whare wananga). Here in the winter months young men of rank of approved intelligence and tested powers of memory were taught tribal and local history, myths, legends, genealogies, magico-religious formulae, and sometimes the art of black magic.[2]

Tuition was conducted by the priests amid solemn ceremony, and under most rigid ritual prohibitions. Under these conditions

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1. WHITE 1889: Vol.3, 287; FIRTH 1959: 189
2. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 65, 103

the traditions of the community were handed down from one generation to the next. Best says that 'The object of the School of Learning was to preserve desirable knowledge pertaining to the subjects already mentioned, and other traditional lore, and to hand it down the centuries free of any alteration, ommission, interpolation or deterioration'.[1] Any deviation from the old forms of learning, says Best, was highly disapproved of, and any questioning of the ancient teachings was regarded as an insult to Tane the deity and patron of knowledge.[2]

War councils, feasts, and mortuary rites, provided a chief with ample opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge of genealogies and traditional lore. In the speech making which invariably marked such occasions, the chief took great pride in demonstrating his pedigree and his relationship to those assembled. A commanding oratorical style was a talent greatly admired, but as indicated one which of necessity had to be cultivated, for according to the substance and manner of delivery, so in many instances a chief could persuade and inspire his people to follow him.[3]

The Chieftainess.

Female leadership was never a feature of Maori society. When primogeniture coincided with the female sex, leadership passed to the next male in line, although the chieftainess still retained the social status and prestige which were her birthright. Among some tribes her distinctive position was denoted in a special title. Thus among the

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1. BEST 1923: 7; cf. WHITE 1889; Vol.1, 14; SHORTLAND 1856: 156.
2. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 65.
3. WHITE 1940: 102-3, 'A chief may be known by his full and commanding voice, as a common man may be known by his shrill, poor tone, like that of a tui (forest bird) when struck by the spear of a bird killer.'



PARE WATENE

- daughter of the chief Hemi Watene, of the Ngati-Maru tribe.

[see Graham 1965:66]

Waikato people the term tapairu was used, and among the Ngati-Kahungunu the term mareikura.[1] According to Best among the latter tribe, the chieftainess possessed the privilege of adorning her face with marks in blue clay called tuhi mareikura (tuhi meaning to mark).[2]

Buck says that it was probably the high regard in which the Ngati-Kahungunu held their women of rank that led them to allow their women to make public speeches, a procedure absolutely forbidden among other tribes. But this prohibition was probably not as absolute as Buck thought.[3] In White's book entitled 'Revenge', a tale which the author describes as being based upon real people, places and incidents, women of rank among a certain section of Tainui did make speeches.[4]

In rare cases a chieftainess was raised to a position of queenly pomp and power, as in the case of the Ngati-Porou chieftainess Hine-Matioro. Is is said of her that her fame was so great that even enemies who asked for mercy in her name were spared.[5]

While women were excluded from active leadership they might nevertheless have an important role to play in political relationships with other groups, as in marriage contracts arranged to terminate quarrelling between two groups, cement a peace, or secure the alliance of a powerful neighbour.[6]

Buck suggests that it was probably the desire to retain leadership by seniority in the male line that led to the restriction of the terms tuakana and teina to members of the same sex.[7] This has some

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 346.
2. IBID 348
3. BUCK 1958: 344
4. WHITE 1940: 109, 112-114 and 1874: 13-14
5. BUCK 1958: 344
6. DOWNES 1916: 42; SMITH 1910: 307; cf. GRAHAM 1922: 32.
7. BUCK 1959: 345.

plausibility, but the reasons for their usage seem to be more deep-seated. In a society in which the principle of male seniority was so important to the social structure, the real significance of their usage is to be found in the cultural attitudes and beliefs distinguishing the position of men and women. On its own a kinship terminology could contribute little to the defence of privilege without these beliefs and attitudes and the institutions which embody them.[1]

The beliefs and attitudes underlying the exclusion of women from secular and ritual affairs are ritual or symbolic, stemming from the mythological beliefs in the origins of men and women. Briefly the creation myth relates that the gods, all sons of the Sky Father Rangiinui and the Earth Mother Papa-tua-nuku decided to create human beings (*iza tangata*) as distinct from themselves (*iza atua*). They sought through nature for the female element, but failed to find it. It was then decided to seek the advice of their father who directed them to the source of it in the words: 'The House of Death and Misfortune is below' (*Kei raro te Whare o Aitua*).[2] Led by the god Tane, who incidentally had been prominent in the initial search, the gods journeyed to a place called Kurawaka on the *mons veneris* of the Earth mother. There they fashioned an image out of the red earth, and delegated the task of vivifying it to the god Tane, the Fertiliser.

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1. WINTI 1936: 278.
2. BEST 1905: 207; 1922a: 4ff.

Tane embraced the figure, and breathed into its nostrils. The figure sneezed and came to life. The gods called her Hine-ahu-one or the Earth-formed-maiden, and later Tane mated with her in order to produce human beings.[1]

Best says that the Maori firmly believed in the descent of man from the gods, and of woman from the Earth.[2] 'Man has inherited a modicum of ira atua (divine nature). This belief led to very singular results; it led to the conviction that this spark of the divine in man is not only extremely tapu (sacred), but that it represents the true vitality of man, his physical, mental, moral, and spiritual welfare'.[3]

These and associated beliefs in the opposed but equally potent ritual powers of men and women underlie their differing roles and statuses in ritual and secular affairs, and the numerous rules of avoidance with which they had to comply. They also provide a validation for leadership, for in chiefly genealogies mortal and immortal were genealogically linked. The regard in which a chief was held and an important sanction for his authority, was the belief that as a direct descendant of the gods and deified ancestors he was endowed with a special power or attribute termed mana.

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1. SMITH 1913: 138, cf. WHITE 1889: Vol.1, 151; BEST 1924a: Vol.2, 113ff.
2. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 361.
3. BEST 1922: 41.

Chapter 3

Mana and Tapu
- the ritual bases of chiefship

Both *manu* and *tapu* are terms with long histories of ethnographic discourse. It would seem, as Firth points out on the one hand,[1] and Steiner on the other, that the discussions which have been concerned to elucidate the meanings of these terms, have been based to a considerable degree on dictionary definitions[2]

This has perhaps been particularly so in the case of *mana*, where in past discussion the chief emphasis has been upon finding a European equivalent, on the assumption that the concept of *mana* had a common meaning in all Oceanic communities. In Firth's discussion, which is the most succinct account of *mana*, he points out that such an assumption might be quite unjustified; there might be quite genuine differences in meaning between different communities.[3]

In the diversity of translations of *mana* some authors have stressed the more ontological dimensions of the notion describing it as an almost self subsistent and impersonal power. Codrington for example declares that 'all Melanesian religion consists in getting *mana* for oneself or getting it used for one's own benefit'.[4] The following tabulated list of some of the meanings which have been attributed to *mana*, and which also illustrates the writers'

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1. FIRTH 1941: 189
2. STEINER 1956: 33-34
3. FIRTH 1941: 189-216
4. CODRINGTON 1891: 119

theoretical interests, is indicative of this emphasis.

Codrington	'supernatural power'
Durkheim	'impersonal religious force, totemic principle'
Marett	'magical power, or psychic force'
Handy	'spiritual potency'[1]

Other analogies have been drawn with electricity,[2] and with luck.[3]

In contrast to these interpretations are those made by other authors, who stress the pragmatic or instrumental aspect of mana describing it not so much in what it is thought to be in its constitutive essence, but rather in its manifold manifestations especially in success of any kind, or efficacy in achieving desired and specific ends. Thus Hocart says that in defining mana, it is almost invariably underlined by the idea of success. He makes the important point that this tends to be attributed essentially to the leaders of the community, that is to the chiefs and priests.[4] Capell says that the primary meaning of mana seems to be effective with the general implication that the efficacy imputed went beyond that encountered in everyday life.[5] Firth shows that the Tikopia always explain the notion in a pragmatic context, and in

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1. cf. H. HUBERT and MAUSS 1902-3: 108
2. HANDY 1927: 28; MEIBERG 1936: 4, 8
3. HOGBIN 1936: 265
4. HOCART 1922: 79
5. CAPELL 1928: 89-96, cf. WILLIAMS 1937: 110.

concrete terms.[1] Buck, himself a Maori, says that mana was not an undefinable mysterious quality flowing from supernatural sources; it was basically the result of successful and successive human achievements.[2] At first Buck's interpretation would seem to involve a contradiction of the traditional and most widely held view of the causal relationship of mana to success, the latter having the effect of increasing the efficacy of mana. As I shall try to explain later, Buck has a point in so far as he recognises, what the Maori never disregarded, the practical manifestations of mana as the only criterion by which to judge its existence. At any rate, from these definitions, some of which appear at first sight to be mutually exclusive, one must conclude that the notion of mana is not an easily definable one. In general, the multiplicity of possible translations derives of course in the first place, from the fact that there is no exact English equivalent for the term, and secondly from the number of different situations in which it was used.[3] Mana, like its correlative tapu, may be one of those cases which Malinowski mentioned in his essay on 'Meaning in Primitive Languages', in which no abstract classification of the meanings can provide a clue: the meaning must be found in the situation, and in the manifold simultaneous overlapping and divergent uses of the word.[4]

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1. FIRTH 1941: 205
2. BUCK 1958: 346
3. WILLIAMS 1937: 110
4. MALINOWSKI 1948: 258ff.

Some of the inferences drawn for anthropological theory from the material on mana have as Firth points out, been as varied as the different translations.[1] The works of Marett, Durkheim, Hubert and Mauss, have taken mana and such comparable notions as wakenda, orenda, and manitu as the raw material of primitive magic and religion, and upon this foundation have constructed a system of primitive philosophy.[2] While these writings are not without their merits and interest in providing an understanding of primitive religions, their technical and rather specialised use of the term mana may have little in common with the native interpretation of it.[3]

Hogbin in his article on mana,[4] and Malinowski, have criticised the above writers' handling of the conception as the basis of magic and religion.[5] Malinowski says that the concepts of mana, wakanda, and orenda are 'an example of an early generalisation of a crude metaphysical concept, such as is found in several other savage words as well.'[5] He makes two pertinent points in regard to understanding these native ideas. Firstly, he says that in order to gain some enlightenment of them, it is necessary 'to describe the types of behaviour first, and to explain their vocabulary by their customs and by their life'. Secondly, he gives the very necessary warning, that we have hardly any data showing how this conception

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1. FIRTH 1941: 191
2. cf. BENEDICT 1938: 630
3. HOGBIN: 1936: 274
4. MALINOWSKI 1926: 72-73
5. IBID

enters into religious and magical beliefs and practises, let alone to justify using it as a basis for a general theory of magic and religion.[1]

Capell was more interested in pursuing the linguistic history of the word, and was led to conclude that mana was a prevailing Polynesian concept, and that exactly similar ideas prevailed among the American Indians, but naturally under different names.[2] We have already indicated that there is little justification for this. The similarity of the ideas can only be discovered after they have been thoroughly examined within their own cultural contexts.

In what follows an attempt will be made to interpret what mana meant for the Maori. Ideally it would be appropriate to follow Firth's approach and work from textual material. But unfortunately there are very few references in the texts which are available here, in which the word mana occurs. This paucity of textual material may be due to the fact that mana was a pervasive notion, part of everyday thinking, to such an extent that an explicit definition was not deemed necessary. Few observers pursued the problem in detail. But with what material has been gleaned from the texts of traditions, proverbs and songs, and evidence drawn mostly from Best, the outstanding Maori ethnographer, and additional

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1. MALINOWSKI 1926: 72-73

2. CAPELL 1938: 630.

evidence from White and Gudgeon, it is possible to arrive at an understanding, and gain some insight into the Maori conception of mana.

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The notion of mana has several levels of meaning according to the circumstances, and the personal and social relations involved. Best's definitions imply a whole gamut of nuances which run from, authority, control, influence, prestige, power, psychic force, effectual - to having influence and power.[1] But this whole spectrum would seem to be summarised under three headings, which Best repeatedly uses and puts into the mouths of his informants, namely:

(1) Ancestral or hereditary mana, i.e. mana atiki.

(2) Supernatural or spiritual mana, i.e. mana atua (atua meaning god) and

(3) Human mana, i.e. mana tangata (tangata meaning man)[2]

These three, which are perhaps better regarded as aspects of mana, are far from being mutually exclusive, on the contrary a ritual element or content is common to them all a content which derives from a single source, that is to quote Best 'all

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 386; 1922b: 9, 33; WILLIAMS: 1957: 172

2. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 80, 265, 388; 1922b: 33, cf. GUDGEON 1905: 49.

mana emanates from the gods'.[1]

Working further on Best's definition, we must mention the fact that mana whether it be mana ariki, mana atua, or mana tangata, is shared in different ways, and at different levels by persons and things, in a variety of circumstances. Best gives us a more explicit idea concerning a person's participation in mana, which may occur at the three levels mentioned above simultaneously, i.e. a person may, all at once possess mana ariki, mana atua, and mana tangata. Thus according to Best the Ngati-Porou chief Tamatea-ariki-nui was said to possess all three forms of mana.[2] Now reading into Best's material, it appears that apart from the above chief's ancestral mana or power, which was invested in him by birth, i.e. mana ariki, he could by his close intimacy with the gods, ritual knowledge, invocation and practise secure or command their powers of mana atua in bringing about spectacular achievements, as the control of the natural elements. This perhaps reveals the highest pitch to which a chief in his priestly capacity could attain. From what we can gather from the material, the ability of supernatural power to act upon the course of events or natural phenomena was more often than not attributed to the priests themselves. The priests were usually members of the chiefly

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 371, Vol.2, 16; cf. GUDGEON 1905: 49; 1906: 121

2. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 388.

class, but their statuses and prestige were more dependent upon their training than on birth. They were repositories of traditional lore, and esoteric knowledge, including the numerous spells appropriate to the various rituals and indeed essential to the efficacy of the rites. Among the Maori, and other Polynesian peoples, and in the neighbouring ethnographic area of Melanesia, the emphasis was upon the spell, rather than upon the whole rite, or the materials used in it.

According to Best a priest could therefore shatter stones, cause thunder to roll, in short command natural phenomena to an extraordinary degree in virtue of his mana atua.[1] Moreover, and interestingly enough, Best says that a priest secured such command over the elements, not only in virtue of his mana atua, but also in virtue of his mana tangata, by which we understand his own personal power, which enabled him to impinge upon things, circumstances, and other people.[2] This would seem to link with Best's definition of mana as a psychic force, personality, magnetism, or charismatic power. What has been said here is explanatory of the example quoted earlier of the chief Tamatea-ariki-nui, who was said to have possessed these three forms or degrees of mana. This example may well be exceptional. For

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 80, 386; 1922b: 9
2. IBID: 80, 388, 393; 1922: 33.

it does not appear that the possession of this extra ritual power or mana atua was a sine qua non of effective ritual and secular leadership. A chief by virtue of the normal ritual power or mana ariki which attached to his descent was still regarded as a rather extraordinary being, an object of awe, veneration, and fear. He was still believed to have intimate relations with the gods, and the spirits of deified ancestors, and as part of his normal ritual duties could command their intervention in certain rituals performed for the collectivity. But the belief that he also possessed mana atua must have given tremendous impetus to his status, and made a marked impression upon the attitudes of his people toward him, and upon their relationships with him.

However, even without this extra virtue, there emerges a dynamic and triangular pattern of power relations. At the centre there is the chief or the priest, or the two functions combined in one. He commands the intervention of supernatural powers in virtue of his own inherent ritual power, which in turn enhances his ability to act upon people and things. His position and actions determine his people's relations to him, and among themselves as a group or a social unit, whose values are all knit around the central theme of mana. There would thus appear to exist a vertical and horizontal dimension to a leader's position as the embodiment of mana in all its refractions. The vertical dimension refers to his ritual power, and therefore his

ritual functions, which in turn is correlated with a horizontal impact upon people and things. Mana which is efficacious, and operative, must be preserved and defended. In this respect, Gudgeon says that while, to quote the proverb 'Land and women were the reason why men were destroyed' (He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata) it was more to the point to say that the chief element of discord was the mana of the leading chiefs.[1] What Gudgeon is alluding to here is the extreme sensitivity of the chiefs in relation to the pride that they took in their own personal mana. Thus a slip of etiquette, but more especially a curse whether intentionally or unintentionally uttered was regarded as a 'trampling of prestige' (takahi mana) and an insult, which could only be wiped out in blood. The literature contains many references to and examples of battles fought on these grounds. While Gudgeon would seem however to place more emphasis on insults as an element of conflict, in fact the question of land, women, and insults are all related to the one problem; that is the infringements of rights over land, of rights over women and so on, presented challenges which brought in their wake consequent reactions. Whether these reactions took the form of war, blood vengeance, plunder (muru), or political alliances, they can be seen in the light of one central problem of values, i.e. they all express one unique and collective concern of the group, to preserve its prestige, to

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1. GUDGEON 1905: 49-50.

assert its identity and power, in short to maintain the efficacy of its mana. Upon the effective achievement of these depended the status and real authority of the chiefs.

Mana in relation to places, things, and objects.

In regard to places, objects, and things the degree of their possession of mana is ill defined, but is none the less determined by certain attitudes, events of special significance, e.g. death, historical and symbolic relationships which existed between individual persons, or the social group, with the object or place in question.

Thus a particular mountain where 'the summer lightning was wont to play', or where the dead might have been buried, was a place which was said to possess mana.[1] It was a place to be avoided in normal circumstances, but otherwise could only be traversed after certain rituals had been observed. Within this orbit come such things which the Maori termed as tipua. This was a general term applied to things like stones, rocks, and trees which were believed to be in some way 'enchanted'.[2] According to Best's informants some of these objects became enchanted or acquired mana after a certain event.[3] For example if a chief chanced to die on a journey, or the bearers of a corpse stopped to rest at a particular place, then any prominent stone, rock or tree nearby was regarded as representing the spirit of the deceased. That is to say, it was believed that the spirit entered into the object, and thus endowed it with mana. Later travellers who

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 198
2. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 198-200
3. IBID 203, 206.

might happen to pass by it, were required to make an offering in the form of a branchlet, or bunch of leaves, as a token of remembrance, but also according to Best in order to maintain the ritual virtue reposing in the object.

There were also particular mountains, certain rivers and stretches of water, such as a lake, which as prominent landmarks within tribal territory were not only credited with possessing mana, but also as symbolising the mana or the power of the tribe.[1] This we see expressed in many tribal aphorisms, the best known being perhaps, that of the Ngati-Tuwharetoa people who say; 'Tongariro is the mountain, Taupo is the lake, and Te Heuheu is the chief' (Ko Tongariro te maunga, ko Taupo te awa, ko Te Heuheu te rangata).[2] This mountain was regarded as a sacred mountain by the Ngati-Tuwharetoa, and both Wakefield[3] and the missionary Buller tell us that the chief Te Heuheu regarded it as his ancestors, and forbade Europeans in the district to tread its slopes.[4] His own people feared to do so, but to permit a party of strangers to ascend it was believed to pollute its sanctity, and thus to make the tribe lose its mana.

There were certain weapons, which were dangerous to men, because of the mana which attached to them. Gudgeon mentions three, but he makes particular reference to the taiaha of Tinatoka.[5] This was

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1. IBID
2. GUDGEON 1905: 56
3. WAKEFIELD 1839-1844: 428
4. BULLER 1878: 239
5. GUDGEON 1905: 55.

a wooden spear which combined the advantages of a quarter staff, and which Gudgeon was told the Ngati-Porou people consulted prior to going into battle. Apparently it was laid upon a mat, and during the course of the rituals which were always performed over the warriors before going into battle, the priest recited a chant over it. If it turned over, then the success of the campaign was assured. According to Gudgeon's informants however, it was during the battle itself, that, when wielded in the hands of a chief or warrior of note, that the mana of the weapon was made manifest, it never failed to claim victims.[1]

Instrumental or Practical dimensions of Mana.

Earlier it was mentioned that Hocart and others stressed the fact that the notion of mana was almost invariably underlined by the idea of success and efficacy, that mana as a quality or attribute attached to particular persons was contingently defined by their ability to command success in their endeavours. Mana is a quality which is made evident in an almost infinite number of ways.

Chiefs and Warriors.

As already indicated effective leadership demanded a number of personal qualifications, in particular it was imperative that a chief should be a good warrior. The very existence of and identity of his people as a social and political unit,

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1. GUDGEON 1905: 55.

depended very much upon how well he could lead them in defence or aggression, in seeking revenge for homicides or insults levelled at himself or his people. Homicides and insults, as with infringments of land rights were nearly always regarded as 'a trampling of prestige' (takahi mana) and if not immediately revenged because the group either did not find the time convenient, or themselves strong enough to take up arms, were avenged at a later date, when the group was better prepared.

Bravery and courage in war were thus dominant values in Maori society. As a rule chiefs were brave warriors; their personal mana was believed to make them so.[1] When they combined this with ability to execute a strategic plan of action, and such practical skills as adeptness in the use of weapons, then their mana was believed to be very great.[2] A chief however who showed extraordinary courage, and survived dangers which would have overwhelmed ordinary beings, was regarded as one specially selected, and a favourite of the gods. A man of such calibre and personality was termed a toa, and he commanded tremendous respect, not only among his own people, but also among the enemy rank. Such courage and ability, says Gudgeon, were regarded as being superhuman, and while in general nothing could induce the sentiment of fear, the presence of a toa among the opposition

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1. GUDGEON 1904b: 238; BEST 1903b: 82
2. BEST 1898: 242; BUCK 1958: 338.

ranks was enough to instil it into the hearts of the enemy.[1]

Gudgeon gives a few examples, for he says that such men were never very numerous, neither were they necessarily men of very high rank. Te Rau-Paraa of Te Wairoa was a low ranking chief, who by his courage and ability became the fighting chief and toa of the Nga-Puhi confederation under such high ranking chiefs as Pomare and Kawiti. So great was the mana of this chief, that he succeeded in escaping from the disaster of Te Rore whereat Pomare, and 600 men fell under the spears of the Hauraki and lower Waikato tribes.[2]

The Ngati-Toa chief Te Rauparaha, to whom we have already alluded, was also regarded as a toa. Similarly the audacious and fearless Ngati-Porou chief Tinatoka, was also a toa. We have already referred to his weapon as being one possessed of such mana that it was consulted by the warriors before going into battle.[3]

Such feats of prowess and outstanding leadership in war were manifestations of mana. They gave notice that mana was present and had the effect of increasing a chief's influence and standing among his people. Thus it was said of Hape-ki-tuarangi that he 'was a great chief of Ngati-Raukawa, his mana was very great, as was

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1. GUDGEON 1904b: 238
2. GUDGEON 1905a: 62; cf. BEST 1902: 219-20
3. GUDGEON 1905a: 55.

his fame (Ko Hape-ki-tuarangi, he rangatira nui, no Ngati-Haukawa, he nui whakaharahara tona ingoa, me tona mana)[1].

As in war, no less in peaceful occupations a chief was required to exercise effective leadership, in other words to demonstrate his mana. In large-scale economic activities, as in agricultural and fishing pursuits, the chief himself 'set the example of labour'.[2] Obtaining food is the prized accomplishment' (He mahi kai te taonga) said the chief Kahungunu[3] and 'When commoner and chief work together the task is done' (Ma pango, ma whero, ka oti) says a Maori proverb.[4] In his priestly capacity the chief might conduct some of the rituals which accompanied most economic activities, but in general these were the duties of the priests. By reciting spells, and carrying out prescribed ritual acts, it was believed that the chief or the priest, by virtue of their mana, and intimate relationship with the gods and spirits of deified ancestors were able to secure their assistance in bringing about a successful harvest or bountiful haul of fish. The economics of chiefship will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter. Suffice it to say here that leadership in practical affairs, skill in the useful arts such as house building, canoe making, and carving were such admirable qualities of a chief, that his people might be moved to say of him, 'You are as great as Karewa was with

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1. GRAHAM 1941: 116; cf. SMITH 1913: pt.II, 235; WHITE 1889: Vol.1, 22; BEST 1903b: 222
2. EARLE 1832: 18
3. FIRTH 1954: 204
4. IBID 176, see also 178-9, cf. COLENSO 1879: 113

all his influence' (Ko te mana a Karewa tou mana).[1] The chief Karewa apparently was not only a warrior of renown, but excelled himself in food pursuits, the results of which he distributed to his friends and relatives, so that they were never without. In this respect, the need to maintain prestige and his standing among his people, required that a chief be hospitable and liberal with gifts to relatives and visitors. It is recorded that visitors to the village of one chief, were so moved by his generosity, that they commented among themselves, saying, 'This is Rehua's mana'.[2] Rehua was a minor deity of the forests, whom when according to mythology he was visited by the presiding deity Tane, he regaled him with a feast of birds caught in his own hair, the hair being the branches of the trees.[3]

When a chief could bring to bear his influence upon dissatisfied parties in a dispute, and persuade them to settle their grievances, he was recognised as being a man of great mana. In a letter to Sir George Grey some Maoris wrote; 'It was your mana which put an end to the disturbances in this country'.[4] The Maoris came to regard Grey as a kind of great chief, and felt his mana in the authority by means of which he came to making peace between the tribes.

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1. GREY 1857: 104; cf. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 146
2. IBID 87
3. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 176
4. DAVIS 1832: 46

Priests.

The functions of the priests were manifold. They were advisers in war, seers and physicians, sorcerers and teachers.[1] In these various roles, their mana as Maning points out was made manifest in the truth of their predictions, and in the acquired skill of their pupils.[2]

War.

It must be pointed out, that resolutions for war were never finally made until the priests had consulted the omens, and ascertained that the time was appropriate. These omens were numerous and varied, ranging from dream interpretations, twitchings of the priest's own body, the flight of particular birds, to the vagaries of natural phenomena.[3] If the omens were favourable, then rituals were conducted over the warriors, which included a ritual cleansing, and a dedication of them to the service of the war god Tu.[4] Incorporated within the rituals were incantations to the spirits of deified ancestors to inspire the warriors with courage, and to provide them with protection. This was usually followed by certain rites by which it was believed that the priest could divine the outcome of the battle, and determine those who would and those who would not survive. In all these rites the priest's ritual power was much relied upon as the assured means of securing the guidance and the favour of

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1. WHITE 1885: 134; BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 245, 250
2. MANING 1884: 175; FIRTH 1959: 302
3. WHITE 1885: 141-42, 165-66
4. IBID 168-169; BEST 1924a, Vol.1, 288.

the gods and spirits. Any success achieved redounded to his credit and increased his standing in the community.

Curative functions.

The same obtained in the priest's curative functions, which always begun with a diagnosis of the complaint, according to the nature of which the appropriate rite was conducted, or the medicine, usually a herbal concoction was administered.

In cases of an illness which was believed to be caused by witchcraft, more elaborate rites and incantations were performed. There is space only to describe briefly one form of rite conducted in such an instance.[1] It appears to have been composed of three parts. In the first the patient was subjected to a ritual cleansing in a nearby stream, a portion of which in most settlements was reserved for ritual purposes. In the second part, a portion of ground was cleared near the settlement, and a pit dug, intended as a grave for the spirit of the sorcerer or sorcerers. According to whether there was a single sorcerer or several involved, so an appropriate number of twigs were placed at the side of the pit. The priest and patient then seated themselves on either side of the pit facing each other, equipped with shells with which to scrape the spirits of those responsible for effecting the witchcraft.

In the third act, the priest intoned spells by means of which it was believed that he drew the spirit of the sorcerer

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1. WHITE 1885: 160-161; cf. MANING 1884: 175

out of the body and caused it to alight on the twigs. It is said that his extraordinary powers enabled him to see the spirit as it hovered about the twigs, and the moment it alighted, together with the patient, he scraped the twigs into the pit, and filled it in with earth.

The rite was believed to be instrumental in slaying the sorcerer, and enabling the patient to recover. It was also an acting out of a situation, an expression of a desire in symbolic terms.

Priest and teacher.

There was not a great deal of difference in the role played by the priest as a teacher. Pupils, usually young men of rank, were instructed in traditional lore and in esoteric knowledge at given periods during the year in the School of learning or Whare wanenga. Those pupils who specialised in sorcery, had at the conclusion of the course to demonstrate their mastery of the skills and acquired power or mana by performing some extraordinary feat. Says Best, the pupil was expected to prove his newly acquired scholarship and command of power, by shattering a stone, or blasting a tree.[1] But sometimes an even more trying test was applied, such as expecting the pupil to slay a relative, and even the teacher himself.[2]

Such acts were the proof of mana, and the means of reinforcing it. But before such a drama could take place, the priest himself was said to have conducted a solemn ceremony, in which he displayed his own

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 330
2. IBID 81.

extraordinary powers. It was believed that on such occasions he could cause thunder to roll, quell a storm, or blast a tree. What was essential however was that the pupils should emulate their teacher, and prove their own powers.

In all that we have said concerning the role of the priest in war rituals, curative ceremonies, and in the teaching profession, there is an underlying structure of a magical order. As Malinowski pointed out for Melanesia the magical act has three important elements, namely the rite, the condition of the performer, and the spell. In Melanesia as well as among the Maori the spell was the essential element in the rituals performed. The spell had to be repeated correctly, not only as regards the words, but also with fluency and proper intonation. Some formulae of a highly ritualised nature had to be repeated without a break, and to this end two or more persons were required. A slip or error invalidated the magic, but also in Maori belief spelt serious misfortune for the reciter. Contrary to what Judge Fenton says,[1] the efficacy of the spell was not primarily contingent upon its own innate virtue or power, but upon the mana of the priest, whose ritual potency however tended to flow over into the words.[2]

There is in the composite roll of the priest, the same dynamic structure of power relations which we found with the chief, i.e. of mana as a ritual attribute or power, which is defined and manifested

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1. See BUCK 1958: 499
2. FIRTH 1959: 270.

in effective and outstanding achievement whether this be of a ritual or secular nature.

Tapu.

The word tapu is the same as the Polynesian tabu or taboo. The best evaluation of the meaning of tapu has been discussed by Steiner in his essay on 'Taboo'.[1] As he rightly points out, the notion of tapu means both prohibition and sacredness. This accords with Polynesian linguistics, in which one and the same word expresses both ideas. The idea of impurity which is also covered by the term tapu is derived from the notion of prohibition. Once these distinctions have been discovered it becomes possible to convey them within the Maori or Polynesian cultural idiom by the citation of examples in which one or other of the European meanings is appropriate. Steiner has stressed the unique semantic configuration of tapu in which that which causes ritual impurity goes under the same heading as awe, veneration, abstention and keeping at a distance.[2]

Unfortunately the notion of noa has been interpreted by some as meaning the opposite of tapu, i.e. opposite in terms polarity. But actually the implication is one of mutual exclusiveness. Williams Maori dictionary tells us that noa may mean: free from tapu or any other ritual prohibition; of no moment; ordinary; made common; without restraint; at random, without object, and so on.[3] Noa simply means a sphere of life where no tapu obtains, and cannot therefore be the opposite of tapu.[4]

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1. STEINER 1956: 34
2. IBID: 35
3. WILLIAMS 1957: 222
4. STEINER 1956: 36

Tapu Customs.

It would be tedious to survey in detail the whole range of tapu customs as they obtained among the Maori. They are, as in Polynesia generally, manifold, but we might briefly reiterate Lehmann's tripartite division, with modifications, in order to show how extensive the tapu customs were. Lehmann's tripartite division includes what he calls, sociologically conditioned tapu; tapu of individual parts of the body and special bodily conditions, and thirdly religious tapu.

I. Under sociologically conditioned tapu fall:

(a) tapu connected with persons holding high rank, subdivided into: the power of chiefs to declare tapu,
tapu resulting from the sanctity of chiefs,
tapu connected with the priesthood,
tapu of rank and status,

(b) tapu of women, and those relating to the segregation of sexes.

(c) tapu connected with economic activities and crafts,

(d) tapu of war time,

(e) tapu sign as a legal symbol of claim or appropriation,

(f) tapa-tapa: the practice of pre-empting property and things by identification with certain parts of the body.

II. Under the tapu of individual parts of the body fall:

(a) head and dorsal tapu.

(b) bodily conditions, for example the ritual impurity of women in child-birth and menses.

(c) tapu connected with illness and death.

III. Religious tapu.

These are not very numerous, since Lehmann lists them under other headings, in particular the tapu connected with the priesthood.[1] As it stands Lehmann's classification of tapu is a very useful one, but it does not tell us much about the political implications of the tapu-ing powers of chiefs, and the conflicts that were sometimes involved. It is hoped that in the following discussion these will become explicit.

Personal tapu of Chiefs.

As indicated, mana as an attribute of chiefs was the mainspring of a chief's power. It was the essential aspect under which the people were made more than aware of his distinctive position, for always this power was regarded as being fearful to themselves. Beliefs in the sanctity of a chief led to certain restrictions upon their relationships with him, and one may positively say imposed restrictions upon the actions of the chief and his relationships with his people.

Since mana was the basis of his ritual status the chief had himself to observe a number of self-imposed restrictions in order to keep his mana inviolate. Loss of mana would entail loss of his special power as a man, as a chief, and therefore loss of his social authority. Among these observances should be mentioned the avoidance of entering a cooking shed, or a place where food might be suspended over him, or sitting where a woman may have sat.[1] It was believed that the ritual power of women was destructive to the ritual well being of man.[2]

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1. TREGEAR 1904: 193; MANING 1884: 92, 98; BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 255; MONTLAND 1856: 105-6
2. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 406.

These regulations had also to be observed by the priest, since the efficacy of his spells depended to a considerable degree upon his own personal mana, which had thus at all times to be protected from contamination.

Underlying these observances was the belief that certain parts of the chief's or priest's body were of particular ritual significance. Thus the backbone was the most important part of the body. On this account a chief could not carry burdens on his back. The limbs were regarded as a continuation of the backbone and thus derived importance from it. Hence the significance of the right thumb, or toe in the ritual act of transmitting a priest's mana to a pupil. The pupil was instructed to bite these projections, and thus absorbed the mana of his teacher.[1] But the head was also sometimes involved in this ritual transmission of mana, especially in the case of a chief who wished to pass his mana on to a son.[2]

The head was naturally looked upon as the seat of mana, i.e. according to Steiner's interpretation, mana as a life force or soul aspect, and the basis of a chief's or priest's authority. In this instance we should not underwrite Steiner's interpretation to the full. For in Maori theory a man's life principle was termed the mauri, which should not be confused with mana. The latter being a quality and not an intrinsic art of a chief's constitution. A chief could lose his mana and live. He was simply bereft of his special power, and hence of social authority. But if a chief or any man lost his mauri, he

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 245, 389
2. STEINER 1956: 45.

must die, for his life principle had been reft from him.

A chief's self-imposed restrictions also extended to his daily dealings with others. Thus he must eat aside from others, and in the open air, lest he should otherwise by virtue of his ritual potency make a house tapu, and therefore uninhabitable to others. Nor could he eat from a plate or drink from a vessel which might be used by others. He had also to observe extreme care in not leaving behind the remains of a meal of which he might have eaten. Shortland records an amusing, but nevertheless instructive incident, in which a chief who had been invited to dine with a colonial officer, took the remains of the meal with him, much to the astonishment of his host.[1]

The tapu of the chief was reflected in the attitudes and patterns of avoidance behaviour adopted by his people toward him. They avoided on pain of some ritual sanction, any place where a chief leaned, sat, or slept. Within the assembly house a special area was reserved for him at the base of the ridge pole, this was perhaps the most tapu place in the house. But more important were they required to avoid any contact with the chief's head.

It is fairly commonplace that the head of the chief was the most concentrated mana and tapu object in Maori society. It was hedged about with the most terrifying tapu which operated when anything entered the head, or when the head was being diminished, i.e. when the hair was being cut. Best says that only a person of very high rank, usually the priest or the chief's wife, could undertake the task of

1. SHORTLAND 1856: 106-107.

cutting the chief's hair.[1] Hair cutting involved the same kind of behaviour as killing. And the operator was sometimes useless for important tasks afterwards, especially eating. Such a person had to be fed. Even the chief himself might be put in this position, if he had touched his own head.

These feeding difficulties were more than ever expressive of exalted rank. Similarly the patterns of avoidance adopted by the people in relation to the chief were expressive of their regard for him, and an acknowledgment in terms of ritual beliefs and attitudes of his distinctive position.

Imposition of Tapu by the Chief.

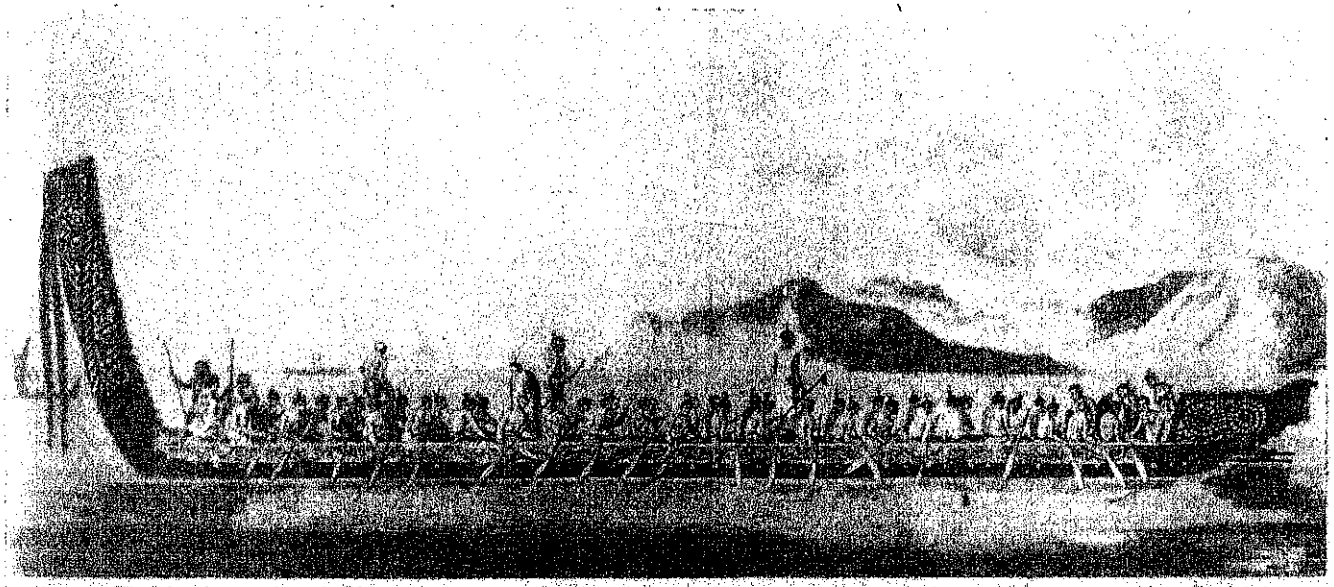
A chief's mana gave him the power to tapu objects in terms of his respective body. Thus as Tregear points out, a chief could claim any article belonging to a commoner, say for instance a canoe, by calling it after a part of his body.[2]

This practice of identification was called tapatapa. The best known example of his is recorded by Maning, and related to the confiscation of war booty through identification with parts of a tapu body - as it occurred in a war between the Ngati-Wakawe, and Ngapuhi tribes.[3]

The Ngati-Wakawe had retired with their canoes to their fortress on the island of Mokoia in the centre of Lake Rotorua. This sanctuary was situated thirty miles from the nearest point

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 257
2. TREGEAR 1904: 193; MANING 1884: 94; SHORTLAND 1856: 105ff
3. MANING 1884: 137-139



67. Maori war canoe, Gisborne. *After Cook*

CANOES

MAORI WAR CANOE

- seen off the coast at Gisborne, after Cook

normally approachable by canoes, which were used only on the coast and were difficult to transport overland. But Nga-Puhi had dragged a small flotilla overland, and in the course of their seige had brought up more and more canoes. The Ngati-Takawe, confident in their security, provoked the enemy, by making abusive remarks, jeering, and cat-calling. But worse still they plied their canoes to and fro in sight of the shore and the enemy. These canoes which could carry up to fifty or sixty men, were made of costly hard wood, and elaborately carved, and were one of the most highly valued objects among the Maori.

This display so agitated the Nga-puhi, that some time before they waged their attack, and in order to make sure of the booty they coveted, each chief and warrior claimed a canoe as his property. The chief Pomare called out, 'That canoe is my back-bone'. Taheha cried, 'That canoe. My skull shall be the baler to bale it out'. And Hongi Hika shouted, 'Those two canoes are my two thighs'. In this manner the whole flotilla was appropriated by the various chiefs, who thereby invalidated any later claims based on conquest.[1]

Land could also be claimed in this manner, the custom being termed tapatapa whenua. The best known example is the one quoted in the first chapter of this discussion, from the tradition of the Te Arawa canoe.[2]

It should be observed that if an object declared by tapatapa belonged to a commoner, the chief as White points out, was never-theless required to compensate the commoner by handing him back a gift,

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1. MANNING 1884: 137-139 2. See page 23.

sometimes double the worth of the original object. Failure to do so would create a conflict of rank or to put in Maori or Polynesian balance 'damage his mana'.[1] It was tantamount to lowering his esteem, and prestige in the eyes of his people. Commoners could also make use of their power in a small way, for example by making a mark upon a birding tree, or a tree that was desired to be used in the manufacture of a canoe.[2]

Should however a chief of equal rank claim the same object, i.e. if the claim was of the same order and ritual significance, then the matter became a straightforward conflict between their respective mana. One of the two would take possession and the other had either to accept his loss or resort to arms, and either issue determined their respective mana or power.

Nothing shows more clearly, as Steiner has pointed out, the meaning of mana and the tapuing power inherent in it. It has wider socio-political implications, for the conflicts which might arise between the tapu-ing power of individual chiefs invariably involved the groups over whom they held sway. Conflicts between groups might be said to have amounted to the assertion, the preservation and defence of mana. The whole socio-political structure within the tribe, and between tribes, would seem to hinge around this central theme of mana and the tapuing power inherent in it.

It should be stressed here that there exists an important structural link in the trilogy mana-tapu-noa. Noa, as we have

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1. WHITE 1885: 230

2. FIRTH 1959: 381

indicated, means to make common, and this may be applied to things as well as persons and groups. In relation to persons for instance, a chief is made noa when he is deprived of his mana. Some examples might be given which will illustrate how this could eventuate, and the consequences of it. In the Te Arawa canoe tradition to which we have made some references, we are told that the chief Tama-te-kapua was engaged in a duel with another chief named Ruaeo. Ruaeo succeeded in getting Tama's head down and rubbing it in filth and vermin, thus reducing Tama to a state of noa.[1]

Another traditional illustration relates that two chiefs Mango and Whatihua were at war. Whatihua, many of whose men were killed, was taken captive and led before Mango who forced his head down and made water upon it. This action deprived Whatihua of his mana. (Ko te rironga tenei e te mana o Whatihua).[2] A similar conflict occurred between two chiefs Pahau and Tamure. Both chiefs lived in the same village, but were presumably chiefs of their own hapu. Tamure felt himself to be insulted by Pahau, and sought help from outside the hapu, and it came to a fight. However the slaughter was not very great, but Pahau succeeded in getting Tamure's head down and making water upon it. As in the previous example, Tamure was similarly deprived of his mana by this action, and the textual reference states specifically that Pahau then became ariki of the hapu. (Ko Pahau te mea i a ia te mana o te iwix, a i kiia ai ko Pahau te ariki).[3]

It is also of interest that there are a number of mythical

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1. See page 17
2. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 77. (Lit. This was the taking of Whatihua's mana).
3. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 87 (Lit. The power of the tribe was with Pahau, and Pahau was recognised as ariki.)

illustrations of the fact that the use of one's power to reduce persons or objects to the state of noa is one and the same thing as the assertion of the superiority of one's mana over another. Implicit in this, of course, is the conflict of tapu.

In the myth which describes the battle between the Gods, we are told that the God Tu, the god of man, in order to avenge himself upon the God Tane, who was the deity of the forests and all that dwelt in them, ensnared the birds, cooked and ate them, and by his action made them common. The progeny of the God Tangaroa, the God of the sea, and the children of Rongo and Haumia who were the deities of cultivated and uncultivated food, were subjected to a similar fate.[1]

It is noteworthy that once a chief had lost his mana by being reduced to the state of a nobody, the consequences of such an event reflected not only upon his person alone, but extended to the group as a whole.[2] It is understandable then that a chief preferred to die rather than be taken into slavery, or be submitted to the kind of humiliation we have referred to. Likewise a hapu or tribe which suffered defeat in war had its mana trampled in the face of a superior mana, and it might be suggested was reduced to a state of noa.

However this loss of mana, and the consequent reduction in status might have been only temporary, until such time that the group had gathered sufficient military strength to enable it to reassert its

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1. GREY 1928: 4-5
2. BEST 1902: 134.

prestige and power.[1] Hence we might suggest that there is a basic correlation between the ritual and political trilogy of mana- tapu - and noa, characterised by conflict, be it overt or latent.

Tapu and Economic Resources.

Some of the above points may be illustrated in the institution of the rahui.[2] This institution will be discussed in more detail in a following chapter, but we may say briefly here, that the rahui was a form of prohibition or tapu, in some instances instituted by the priest, and in others by the chief. There were two forms, one which was effected through spells, and the other by identification. Both were designed to prevent the use of specific economic resources by unauthorised persons. The first type of rahui was usually instituted by the priest. It involved the setting up of a post on the edge of the forest, the bank of a stream, or whatever it was designed to guard. A lock of the priest's hair, or a bunch of grass, was attached to the post, and the post itself was called the rahui post. The priest then recited spells to 'sharpen the teeth of the rahui that it might destroy men.[3] It was a form of conditional curse, that was believed to slay any person who attempted to meddle with it. The second type of rahui, which was usually set up by the chief, did not involve destroying spells. It was instituted as a protection of actual rather than potential fertility of resources. And sometimes it was instituted for social reasons, as when someone was drowned in a river. In this case

1. BEST 1902: 134.
2. BEST 1924a: 390; 1904b: 83-8; FIRTH 1958: 258-62
3. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 392; FIRTH 1958: 258

the chief placed a rahui upon the river and surrounding area to prevent anyone taking fish from the water. To take fish from the river was tantamount to degrading the status of the unfortunate, and constituted an insult to the family or group.

Rahui was also used to conserve particular economic resources such as a shell bank, or a patch of forest which might become unduly depleted. The chief then set up a post, and perhaps suspended from it an old garment as a sign of the prohibition but attached no spells. The institution of rahui of this nature was a privilege of the chief, and its observance was a tribute to his rank and status.[1]

Poachers and trespassers of such a rahui were slain or killed, for this constituted a transgression of tapu, and a challenge to the mana of the chief who imposed it. Many instances are recorded which tell of hostilities which have arisen between hapu, and tribes, as a result of infringements. Sometimes conflicting claims to fishing rights led one hapu deliberately to break down the rahui post and declare another. Thus a rahui post was set up by the chief of the Rangitane people in order to tapu their lands of Tumaki and so prevent enchroachment of another tribe. When the opposition heard this they sent a party out, and cut down the post. Rangitane re-erected it, made due preparation, and commenced hostilities.[2]

When the chief Wanikau of Te Roto-a-tara wished to protect the birds and the fish on the lakes Tara, Kiwa, and Pouawa he did so

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1. WHITE 1885: 194, for examples for rahui imposed on other grounds.
2. FINTH 1958: 262

in the usual manner by setting up a post on the shore of each lake, and smeared it with red ochre. This successfully preserved the food supplies for Wanikau, until another chief by the name of Mautahi pulled the posts down and burned them. This led Wanikau to resort to arms in defence of his rights, and to avenge the transgression of his tapu.[1] There are other instances of this in the literature. But similar reactions occurred when there was poaching or trespassing on food reserves, whether they had had a rahui placed upon them or not.

Yet there was always some form of prohibition or tapu involved in regard to the preservation of economic resources, which if they did not incur ritual sanctions, certainly brought human sanctions.

Other causes of inter-group hostilities.

The types of injuries which called for retaliatory action included insults to the group, or what amounts to the same thing, to the chief or chiefly members of it. Poaching on food reserves claimed by the group, to which we have already referred, homicide or other violence, whether by physical means or sorcery, against any member of the group called for vengeance to be taken. Apart from the trespass on land rights which almost invariably called for immediate retaliation, homicide was perhaps the typical cause for hostilities between hapu and between tribes. Best says that a homicide was always regarded as a 'trampling of prestige' (takahi mana) and was a 'great cause' (take nui) for war.[2] The literature teems with examples of revenge sought in the case of homicide. The Nga-puhi chief Hongi [illegible] numerous expeditions against hapu of his own tribe, and

1. BEST 1904B: 83-8
2. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 389.

other tribes are said to have been undertaken in revenge for the killing of his near relatives. Revenge did not amount to the taking a single life, but if possible to exterminating the whole group of the offender, and of reducing them to a state of non by consuming their bodies. Further insult was heaped upon the enemy by using his bones for purposes which the Maori thought degrading. The victors might make from the bones such things as flutes, the heads of bird spears, the barbs of fish hooks, scones for holding baskets of food, rings for the legs of ceptive parrots, pins for holding dress mats together and so on.[1] For the skull there might be reserved the indignity of carrying water for the ovens. In 1770 Parkinson sa w a skull being used as a canoe baler.[2]

In avenging a homicide, the degradation of the bones through consignment to the various more or less utilitarian purposes mentioned above was practised especially upon the bones of the murderer and his descendants. Particular care was taken to debase every part of a great chief's body. His skin might be used for covering supple jack hoops or, in later days, cartridge boxes.[3] The fate of the eyes was to be swallowed raw by a high chief related to the murdered individual.[4]

Sometimes the heads of detested chiefs were preserved and

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1. cf; SHORTLAND 1856: 230; TREGEAR 1904: 359; WHITE 1885: 178
2. PARKINSON 1900: 753
3. cf. SMITH 1910a: 413; TREGEAR 1904: 359; WHITE 1889: Vol.5, 44-46; WILSON 1889: 35
4. BEST 1900: 754.

taken home, where they were reviled and insulted. They were occasionally exposed, being impaled on sticks or else on the defensive stockade of the pa (fortified village).[1] The heads of the enemy, says a traditional reference, were a sign that the victors had mana.[2] Yate, the missionary who joined the mission at the Bay of Islands in 1828, heard heads being taunted in the following strain:

> '... you wanted to run away, did you? but my meri (hand club) overtook you: and after you were cooked you were made food for my mouth. And where is your father? he is cooked: - and where is your brother? he is eaten: - and where is your wife? there she sits, a wife for me: - and where are your children? there they are, with loads on their backs, carrying food, as my slaves'.[3]

Insults to a chief's person might bring immediate warlike reprisals, or these might be deferred to a later period, when the group felt itself strong enough to seek revenge. Best says that if a person was insulted and did not find it convenient to seek revenge at once, he wordlessly extended his arm above his head and closed the fingers as if clutching something.

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.2, 61
2. WHITE 1889: Vol.1, 36
3. YATE 1835: 130

Or else he uttered some terse saying.[1] Either action signified that he accepted the challenge but would attend to the matter later on. S.P. Smith gives a native account of fighting around 1820 in the Hawkes Bay district. The chief, Te Heuheu, giving up a seige, was jeered at by the people of the fort for his grey hair. Te Heuheu said nothing but he waved his hand behind his back and thus indicated that he would return and kill them all on account of their taunts. Some two or more years later, Te Heuheu did return and he reduced the Ngati-Kahungunu fort with great slaughter.[2]

The ease with which the Maori could find cause for war has been commented on my numerous writers.[3] Fresh trouble sometimes arose over land rights, economic resources and there was always the likelihood that the survivors of, or descendants of enemies whose bodies had been confined to the oven would seek revenge. But there were also adjustments to be made for injuries committed perhaps generations ago. The memory of unavenged injuries was handed down as an heirloom, and the necessity for revenge is said to have been one of the first lessons taught to Maori children.[4] Shortland, and some later writers have pointed out that among the Maoris account was kept of the warlike exploits and the offences that the group, whether

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1. BEST 1902: 134
2. SMITH 1910b: 296
3. GUDGEON 1907a: 29; SMITH 1910b: 60-61; 1948: 28, 42; THOMSON 1859: Vol.1, 123
4. GUDGEON 1890: 158; SHORTLAND 1856: 230; cf BEST 1902: 139 SMITH 1896-97: 72.

tribe or hapu made against others and that others made against the group.[1] Shortland's Maori informants at Maketu gave him a debtor and creditor account of the offences extending over eight generations. Since, as a rule, one group or the other would regard itself in arrears, the prospect of hostilities between groups was usual. There was, as Banks remarked, even a danger of being surprised. The prospect of potential hostilities, and the state of suspense is illustrated in the following Maori expression, 'Birds sleep sound and peaceful upon the tree branch, but man, he is ever wakeful and in dread of enemies.'[1]

Revenge might be sought at any time. Best refers to the many recorded cases of the killing of guests at a feast.[2] There was no telling when hostilities might begin; so guests usually went to feast fully armed and prepared for war; to have gone unarmed would have been to ask for trouble from their hosts.[3]

According to Best, even a party escorting a woman to her marriage feast always carried arms in former times.[4] This was probably for defensive as well as aggressive purposes. It is related that around 1826 a child was born to the Urewera and Ngati-Awa chief Te Mautaranui. Thereupon his wife's people (Ngati-Kahungunu) invited him to a feast at their village near

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1. SHORTLAND 1856: 17-19; also BEST 1924a: Vol.2, 232; BUCK 1949: 139; BULLER 1878: 244; THOMSON 1859: Vol.1, 123
2. BEST 1902: 160; GUDGEON 1890: 55-56
3. McDONNELL 1887b: 591. For example of precautions by both guests and hosts at a time when muskets were in use see MANING 1863: 57-58
4. BEST 1903a: 49

Te Reinga falls on the Wairoa river. Te Mautaranui accepted, and with his party was slain by the hosts.[1]

Sometimes an attack was made at a funeral (tangi). S.P. Smith related that Tumu-Pakihi, an important Ngati-Whatua chief, died around the middle of the eighteenth century. Neighbouring hapu, and tribes connected in some way with the deceased, were invited as was customary to come to weep over the dead and to feast. Kiwi, a principle chief of the Wai o Hua tribe on the Auckland Isthmus accepted the invitation and went to Kaipara with a number of his people, all armed. At a signal, the Wai-o-hua massacred many of their Ngati-Whatua hosts.[2]

Desecration of sacred or tapu places such as a burial ground were also frequent causes of dispute. Abuse of a wife, adultery, or an irregular marriage, might also result in war, but more often than not these injuries seem to have been settled by institution of muru or plunder.

The Institution of Muru or Plunder.

In such disputes as those mentioned above, one party with the sanction of custom would attack and plunder the other. Such action always followed a set pattern. A war party (taua) would visit the offender with the intention of plundering (muru) him, or his group. The proceedings usually included a good deal of impassioned oratory,[3] and sometimes involved a clash

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1. BEST 1902: 19; SMITH 1910b: 353-355
2. SMITH 1896-97: 84
3. e.g. NICHOLAS 1817: Vol.2, 94-97

between the offender and the offended. Killing was unusual, but sometimes when this occurred then a real battle followed. Usually however, the duel ended with the first spilling of blood.[1]

Now if the plundering pattern was followed, and the duel ceased without either party being killed, then the stripping or plundering of the offender and his community followed. A feast was provided by the offender, who in any case was bound to lose all his property.[2]

Adultery seems to have been a typical reason for a plundering party (taua muru), especially when it involved the wife of a chief of importance. The earliest description of a taua muru is given by Nicholas,[3] in a long account which parallels in many ways the later and probably composite account of the taua muru given by Maning.[4]

Nicholas was under the impression that he was witnessing the prelude to a full scale conflict which had been narrowly averted by the oratory which had been heard. His account however, makes it clear that the incident was in fact a typical taua muru. The impassioned oratory which so impressed Nicholas, although he could not understand it, was an essential part of the proceedings; and the mediatory effects, barring accidents, were assured.

Maning's account concerns a man who had allowed his child

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1. MANING 1863: 111
2. MANING 1863: 110
3. NICHOLAS 1817: 91-113
4. MANING 1863: 108-112

to be injured by falling into a fire. Now although the incident may be apocryphal, it is nevertheless based on the writer's long and intimate contact with the Nga-puhi tribe of North Auckland, and his account agrees substantially with that given by Nicholas. Maning and others anticipated the functionalists in seeking an explanation for such strange customs as plundering (muru). Maning interpreted it as a check upon indiscriminate breaking of tribal laws, and as sanction against adultery, theft and carelessness with community goods, including children who were assets to the group as a whole. He also regarded it as a means of circulating property, a point of view accepted by Firth,[1] but criticised by Biggs.[2]

Biggs considered that the economic function of muru was more indirect. In Maori society a premium was placed upon generosity and hospitality, and the perishable nature of the most important form of wealth, i.e. food, necessitated its expenditure, involving a complex of reciprocal obligations. The custom of muru fits very well into this context. For anyone suspected of hoarding the more permanent forms of wealth could be a target for muru, instigated on real or flimsy grounds.[3] Even some of the European traders were liable to suffer.

Plundering (muru) was always carried out by a party of people (taua), and the taua muru should be regarded as a

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1. FIRTH 1959: 401
2. BIGGS 1960: 49
3. IBID

quarrelling or plundering party, and not a war party. It invariably moved against chiefs or persons of high rank, and tended to raise their prestige, even as it lowered their economic position. Maning tells us that the prospective victim of a taua muru would sometimes enquire anxiously about its size, feeling pride if assured that the taua was a large one.[1] As we shall see later, many informal or irregular marriages which occurred between members of the chiefly class from differing groups, involved some form of taua muru. Even when according to the cultural ideal the marriage was arranged, there might be some dissatisfied parties to the union who would express their dissatisfaction in the form of a taua. In either case it was directed against the relatives of the bride, though occasionally against her husband's relatives or group.[2]

In the absence of any inter-community mechanisms of authority, warfare and plunder served as mechanisms of redress for accomplished offences, and as a deterrent to further offences against the group by another hapu or tribe. In this connection it was essential that the hapu or tribe be equipped with a capable leader, for upon his successful leadership depended the survival of the group and its possessions. Moreover in retaliating for curses, degrading the bones of the dead and otherwise insulting the group or the chief himself, the hapu redeemed its honour and maintained its mana or prestige in the eyes of other hapu.

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1. MANING 1863: 109. 2. BIGGS 1960: 49.

Chapter 4

Economics of Chieftainship

He tukemata ano te taonga

(As the eyes of the warrior gain victory for him,
so the influence of wealth gains men their desire.)

The above proverb would probably hold true for most small-scale societies where wealth is correlated with social status. Certainly in Maori society the possession of wealth and the liberal distribution of it was essential to the maintenance of chiefly status ascribed in the first place on the basis of birth, and reinforced by the demonstration of certain personal attributes.

In Maori society as elsewhere chieftainship was equated with institutionalised liberality and all that this implies in the lavish display of wealth, and in entertaining and providing for immediate followers, travellers and visitors of note. The prestige and honour of a chief were very much dependent upon his ability to entertain lavishly when necessary. The extent of this dependence is well demonstrated in the story of the chief Paoa.[1] It is related that on one occasion he was visited by a party composed of a number of high ranking chiefs at a time when his food supplies were exhausted. Paoa 'could not open his mouth to say a word, he felt so disgraced at not having any food to set before his guests'.[2] After their departure Paoa was so completely overcome with humiliation, that the same night he abandoned his village and sought a new home.

In the same story the consequences of generosity and

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1. GREY 1928: 159
2. GREY 1928: 159.

hospitality on the part of a person of rank are illustrated. The story relates that the kindness and generosity of the chieftainess Tukutuku so moved the hearts of her people, that they presented her with large quantities of food, including such delicacies as dried shell-fish and eels, so that she might be able to render hospitality to visitors.[1]

In situations where the provision of ample food was impossible through no fault of the host, the humiliation and fear of loss of prestige was still very great. Such was the predicament of the chief Pehi Turoa of Wanganui. His cultivations were all destroyed by the pukeko (swamp hen) and the awheto (caterpillar). This disaster led him to compose a song in which he expressed his grief and shame, that on the arrival of visitors he should not be able to provide for them. In his song he also announced his intention of leaving the village and seeking refuge in with relatives in a remoter settlement.[2]

The extremes to which a chief would go in order to preserve his reputation and prestige, is illustrated in yet another story concerning the chief Te Kanu. He too was unexpectedly visited by some guests of high rank. At the time his food supply consisted only of fern root. He did not have any reserves of food delicacies to provide a relish or kinaki for the meal. He and the people of his village considered the matter and resolved that there was only one course open for them, one of their number would have to forfeit his life. They resorted to drawing lots, and the lot fell upon a

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1. IBID 167
2. SMITH 1959: 132.

very old man. The latter it would appear gave his life willingly to save the honour of his chief and that of his group.[1]

The shame incurred by being a poor host was not only something that might be brought about by accident or ill-fortune, a chief could be deliberately shamed by being placed in this position. This is illustrated in the story of Tutamure and his brother-in-law.[2] It is recorded that Tutamure had boasted of the rich food resources of his village at Whakatane. The brother-in-law travelled there with a large party with the deliberate intention of eating Tutamure out of house and home and so putting him to shame. The scheme was unsuccessful however, despite the brother-in-law staying as long as he decently could.

These examples from tradition clearly show how dependent a chief was upon having at his disposal adequate food supplies with which to fulfil his social obligations, and thereby maintain his prestige.

As in most small-scale societies food was the main form of chiefly wealth. While its sources were varied a very large part of it came from the chief's immediate control over resources; for example, ownership of private cultivations, and rights in fishing grounds and fowling tracts. In the exploitation of these the chief, according to Earle, 'set the example of labour'.[3]

A chief did not lose prestige by engaging in manual tasks, for in the words of the proverb 'short nails show the rank of a man

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1. WHITE 1889: Vol.5, 53ff
2. DOWNES 1914: 120; FIRTH 1959: 133
3. EARLE 1932: 18; cf. FIRTH 1926: 139.

of power'. We have already noted that it was said of the chief Ponga that 'he was a rangatira by virtue of his property viz. the food he obtained by cultivating his land, he distributed out to all his people'.[1]

Diligence and expertise in economic pursuits were desirable attributes in a chief, and a decided asset in increasing his influence and authority. Sometimes fame as a cultivator was favourably compared with that as a warrior; for 'a warrior's fame is insecure, a food producer's will endure' (He toa tawa he toa pahekeheke; he toa mahi kai, e kore e pakeke).[2] Moreover sometimes in making a choice of a husband a woman was given the advice that she should 'take no heed of good looks but rather of the calloused hand' (Kaua e tirohia te pai ahua, engari te rauna o te ringa).[3]

We have stated that a considerable part of the chief's wealth derived from his own reserves, and that in the exploitation of these he set the example of labour for his immediate followers, and for the members of his household which comprised his several wives, children and slaves.

The value of an adequate labour supply leads to the discussion of two related institutions which were vital in the economics of chieftainship. These are polygamy and slavery.

Polygamy and Slavery.

While the marriage of chiefs will be discussed in more detail

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1. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 115
2. COWAN 1930: 111
3. BIGGS 1960: 55.

in a later chapter, here we must refer to the economic aspects of polygamy insofar as it provided the chief with an important source of labour which gave him the comparative wealth necessary to sustain his position.

Leading chiefs are described as having more than one wife, and in general it would seem that this was a prerogative of chiefs.[1] Commoners are said to have been monogamous, but as Biggs points out it is very difficult to quote reliable evidence on this point, as there is a lack of specific references in traditions and in the records of early observers to the lower orders of society.[2]

Like many other native customs the institution was strongly reprobated by the early missionaries. Yet the statements made by chiefs and recorded by the missionaries themselves, attest strongly to its primarily economic and political importance. Marsden recorded chiefs as saying 'that their wives made the best overseers, and that they could not get their grounds cultivated if it was not for the industry of their wives.'[3] Nicholas, a layman, put the point more emphatically 'as all the wives except the head one, are generally obliged to be occupied in laborious employment, I am disposed to think that the chiefs take them rather for their manual services than for the charms of their persons or the endearments of their society. Indeed they may be considered in no other light than as hard-working

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1. NICHOLAS 1817: Vol.1, 177; says Rumatora had three wives
   ANGAS 1847: Vol.1, 316; Te Heuheu had eight
   BULLER 1878: 209; Tiraroa, ten
2. BIGGS 1960: 57
3. McNAB 1914: 382

servants.'[1]

In polygamous marriages the first wife was always regarded as the head wife or wahine matua, and secondary wives as muri manu, (meaning inferior or secondary wives).

Nicholas's comment on the fact that the head wife was exempt from manual tasks may have been true in some situations, but there is evidence to suggest that even the head wife made her contribution. For example, the head wife of the Ngapuhi chief Hongi Hika who, it is reputed, was also his military adviser, accompanying him on many of his expeditions, worked in the fields alongside commoners and slaves in spite of her rank, and of the fact that she was blind.[2]

The economic advantages of having several wives is also illustrated by the fact, that they provided other and more durable forms of wealth in the form of the valued and highly prized cloaks such as the kaitaka, (cloaks made of finest flax with ornamental border), and mantles of dogskin. These tended to be concentrated in the hands of the chief, and while they did not constitute specific insignia of rank they tended only to be worn by chiefs.

The need for labour also helps to explain the significance of slavery. As indicated earlier, one of the marks of chieftainship was the number of slaves a chief had. As captives of war, slaves were individually owned, mainly by the leading chiefs, and their masters had the power of life and death over them. The slaves were liable to be killed in order to serve as a human sacrifice or as the relish

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1. NICHOLAS 1817: Vol.1, 293

2. ELDER 1932: 166, see page 153 for other examples.

in a feast. Some were slain by their masters in a fit of anger, which the victims may or may not have been responsible for. A number of writers have observed that a Maori slave's life stood ever in jeopardy.[1]

Yet the condition of slaves was not a severe one physically. On the whole they were forthright in their speech and were kindly treated. Their work including tasks connected with cooking and burden-bearing, which were tapu to persons of high status, helped the chiefs to accumulate the supplies necessary both for the entertainment of visitors and for the initiation of major economic and military operations. In providing labour, and in joining their masters on some war expeditions, the old-time Maori slaves were a decided asset to the community.

With European contact slavery acquired a new value in a number of different ways. Slaves became employed in the arduous task of producing and processing flax, which was traded to the European vessels in return for muskets and ammunition. With the demand for further goods of trade, slaves were directed to cutting timber, rearing pigs and growing and planting food crops as commodities of exchange. Some slave women are said to have become prostitutes on board trading vessels, exchanging their favours for European goods which included guns and ammunition for their masters.[2]

With the rapid diffusion of muskets, a greater number of prisoners became enslaved, thus swelling the labour force of the

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1. cf: BUCK 1949: 402, 486; EARLE 1832: 14; POLACK 1840: Vol.2 54-55; YATE 1835: 120

2. One Bay of Islands chief, Pomare is said to have kept ninety-six girls for prostitution during the 1830's (THOMSON 1859: 1284-85 See McNAB 1908: 1 55).

chiefs. In a situation of change the additional labour force was not only an advantage, but literally vital to the community. The advantages were an increase of goods and services capable of being traded for muskets and ammunition. The acquisition of these became a vital necessity to the existence of the community. Many chiefs were not slow to realise the value of the musket in procuring political dominance. The celebrated Ngapuhi chief Hongi Hika, may be described as the first to have taken the initiative in this field.

As a result of his campaigns it became imperative for neighbouring and distant tribes to equip themselves against invasion and possible extermination. The situation might be described as being characterised by a race for arms, with those lagging behind facing destruction at the hands of those who forced ahead. In this context the importance of additional labour and therefore of slaves is clearly demonstrated.

But in pre-European times, as Vayda points out, the population size of Maori communities depended not upon the extent of foreign demand for goods and services but rather upon local food supplies.

We have said that one mark of a chief was the number of slaves he had in his household, it is possible that this number was not in fact very large. Not many slaves could be added to the numbers of a community which already was, as Maning says 'never far removed

from ne cessity or scarcity of food'.[1] In pre-European times it was advantageous to have a few slaves, but not too many.[2]

Vayda examines the views of a number of writers who asserted that prisoners of war were all killed and therefore not enslaved.[3] But these views are not entirely tenable for we know that chiefs did possess slaves, and that these were prisoners of war. Nevertheless as Vayda suggests it is probable that the enslavement of prisoners especially male ones was relatively infrequent in pre-European Maori warfare. Further he quotes Thompson's statement that before the year 1830 ten per cent of the Maori population were living in a state of slavery. If, as Vayda concludes, this guess relates at all the facts of the case, then it is possible that before the year 1800 (rather than 1830), the slave population was considerably less than ten per cent. While there is no census to support the case it is probable that slaves were indeed few in number.

The emphasis here has been on the institution of slavery as a source of labour, and its significance in Maori society may be largely understood in this light. But some of the other social implications of the institution must be considered as well.

Despite the fact that slaves were not ordinarily ill-used, to be taken into slavery was thought to be a condition worse than death. This attitude is understandable in the light of Johansen's

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1. MANING 1863: 208
2. VAYDA 1960: 107
3. IBID

observation that the Maori had to be surrounded by kinsmen or relatives in order to be a real human being.[1]

There are incidents in tradition which tell of parents killing their children in order to spare them from enslavement,[2] and incidents also of chiefs who tried to influence their captors to kill them and thus save them from disgrace.[3]

Kinsmen who did become enslaved were regarded by their group as being as good as dead. The reason for this attitude is that by regarding them as dead, the group continued to think of itself as an effective and co-operative unit. It has already been intimated that there was a virtual coincidence of kinship group with local group, and that this group was the functional unit in practically all military undertakings and some important economic ones. It has been stressed too that kinship ties had to be validated by residence, and that non-residence tended to cut people off from their kinship affiliations.

/Johansen makes the point that the strength of the kinship group lay in actually living together.[4]

Therefore to be an effective member of the group an individual had to be there to assist in those tasks necessary to its existence, as in subsistence activities and matters of defence.[5] The enslaved kinsmen thus removed from the group were explicitly regarded as being no longer effectively a part of it. By regarding them

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1. JOHANSEN 1954: Chapter I
2. BEST 1903b: 163; BEST 1924a: Vol.2, 299; McNAB 1913: 29 WHITE 1887: Vol.3, 284-85; Vol.6, 53, 131
3. BUCK 1959: 402
4. JOHANSEN 1954: 24
5. For indication of lesser importance of kinsmen removed from the local group, see BEST 1924a: 159; FIRTH 1936: 366, 508-511; JOHANSEN 1954: 18,23; SHORTLAND 1882: 93; SMITH 1910: 65.

as dead, the group as it were reaffirmed its solidarity. We understand from this why there were no expeditions despatched in order to liberate the enslaved, or to take revenge for the ill-treatment of them.

Yet, from what we have said about the importance of kinship in Maori society as the basis of co-operation in virtually all departments of life, it is plain that the emotions attached to kinship must have remained strong. In this context the renunciation of kinship obligations was facilitated by the stigma attached to slavery. Its severity was, as we have already noted, such as to induce parents to kill their children, and warriors to prefer death rather than slavery. A slave might escape and return to his people, who might or might not accept him. In fact there are stories which tell of slaves actually being returned to their masters. Rather than be reminded of their past condition, it is not surprising that many slaves preferred to remain with their captors.[1] In some cases it is related that slaves joined their masters in wars against their own tribesmen.[2] However, there were some compensations for the severance of kinship ties with the home group. Slaves could marry with freemen of the master group, and the offspring of such unions generally became free members of their free parents' group, although they and their descendants might occasionally be subjected to taunts of having had an ancestor who was once a slave.[3]

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1. BEST 1924c: Vol.2, 299; BUCK 1949: 402; SCHERZER 1863: 116-117; THOMSON 1859: I, 150
2. BEST 1903b: 160; POLACK 1840: 1, 35; SMITH 1910b: 116
3. BEST 1905b: 163; TREGEAR 1904: 158-159.

We said earlier that chieftainship was equated with institutionalised liberality - of making gifts especially of food in return for entertainment and services. This necessitated an exceptional quantity of labour power at the chief's command. In this direction then, both polygamy and slavery served to fulfil a useful function.[1]

Other Sources of Chiefs' Wealth:

But the exploitation of a chief's own resources with the aid of his wives and slaves was not the only source of revenue. He was continually the recipient of gifts, especially of food delicacies, from his immediate followers, from relatives in other districts, and the gifts received on a journey through the territory of another tribe considerably augmented his supplies.[2] In this latter situation there is a well-known proverb which describes the economic advantage of travelling with a chief of note through another territory. It says 'Follow after Rehua that you may obtain plenty of food' (E whai i muri i a Rehua, kia kai ai koe i te kai).[3] Thus in joining the party of a chief when travelling one could always expect to be hospitably entertained.

In the story of the celebrated beauty Mahinarangi, it is related that she had to undertake a long journey to join her husband Turongo, who had returned to his home in the Waikato. She had to break her journey at a number of villages en route. Her fame as

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1. MIKM 1959: 234
2. FIRTH 1959: 133
3. BEST 1902c: 99; FIRTH 1959: 297

a woman of beauty and her high rank earned her more than the customary honour of the villages. She was presented with only the choicest gifts befitting a person of rank.[1] It was not only an honouring of a noted guest, but also an honouring of the village plaza (marae) of the hosts. This twofold motive ensured that the people retained their reputation for hospitality and punctilious conduct.

One more example will demonstrate how the dependants of a chief contributed to his economic well-being. Te Kiwi was a very powerful chief of Tamaki. He made a practice of visiting neighbouring hamlets within his territory, and residing in each as the season arrived for the particular food for which that place was renowned. Thus he went to Takapuna when the season for birds' eggs came around. Similarly when the season for shark fishing arrived he would visit and reside at Mangere and Te To (Freemans Bay). After receiving the fruits of fishing he would proceed to Mount Albert when the people of that village caught 'godwit' (kuaka). At harvest time he would return to his own village at Maungakiekie to conduct operations in his capacity as ariki.[2]

The gifts made to a chief on such occasions or at any other occasion were made from a complex variety of motives. They were made in acknowledgment of the high rank and nobility of the chief, but self interest was no less important a factor. In making him presents a chief's relatives hoped to win his favour, and they expected

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1. TE HURINUI 1945: 16ff
2. FIRTH 1959: 297

some return gift of equal or equivalent value. They were motivated too by the desire to maintain their own reputation.

A chief also received food as rent from people who had the usufruct of land over which he exercised control. Firth mentions that when a family or group had temporary use of land for cultivation, a part of the produce from it would be given the owner in acknowledgment of that use. However, this gift was of course not analogous to rent in the modern sense, but was rather a token indicating that the title of the land remained with the owners. In modern terms, this could more appropriately be called transfer earnings for the chief, i.e. - a payment made to him so that he should not transfer the land to other uses. To ensure that the status quo was maintained the owners sometimes refused the token, lest its acceptance was construed as payment in exchange for titles.[1]

We are told that in some tribes at least it was the custom for the first-fruits of the harvest to be presented to the chief.[2] Spoils of war may also have contributed to a chief's revenue.[3] Apart from the food which a war party seized on the successful capture of a fortified village (pa), the loot of war also included weapons, mats, ear pendants, fish hooks, lines, small baskets and calabashes.[4]

Very often if the territory of a chief bordered on the sea he would have a right to any sea mammals that might be cast upon the shore. These also added to his accumulated wealth.[5]

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1. FIRTH 1959: 295-96
2. HARE HONGI: 1893: 120
3. MANNING 1863: 177-78; SMITH 1896-97: 88; WHITE 1889: Vol.V, 150,161
4. cf. DAVIS 1855: 8; POLACK 1838: 1, 206; WHITE 1889: Vol.V, 100
5. FIRTH 1959: 294

Many of the more durable forms of wealth were also concentrated in the hands of the chief. These comprised such highly valued objects and articles as the finely woven flax cloaks with ornamental border called kaitaka.[1] In the discussion of the economic aspects of polygamy, we noted how a chief's several wives made an important contribution to his wealth in the provision of these cloaks.

Weapons and ornaments made of both the prized greenstone and whalebone were also prominent among chiefly possessions. The weapons might include the short club (mere) or the wooden carved spear (taiaha), while among the ornaments the ear pendants (heitiki) of greenstone or shark's tooth figured prominently.[2]

Some of these articles might be described as hereditary wealth. Greenstone weapons in particular were transmitted through leading men in each generation and as such came to be regarded as tribal heirlooms and to acquire a value beyond that of utility or aesthetics.[3]

In the past and still today they were laid beside the couch of the dead, sometimes they were buried with the corpse and retrieved after a period of several years. This considerably increased their ritual value and caused them to become objects of respect and even veneration.

Objects of this nature represented the most prominent and

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1. FIRTH 1959: 294
2. IBID: see BRUNNER 1952: 63
3. SMITH 1910b: 297; SHORTLAND 1851: 34

attractive forms of wealth in Maori Society. Very often they were important items of exchange between chiefs on ceremonial occasions. When exchanged they were only handed over for articles of a similar kind, and never for food or the like, and the transaction was carried out with great ceremony.

While it is true that objects of this nature served as ornaments as well as for other uses, their main value derived from being objects of ritual respect. Being also tribal heirlooms they tended to emphasize hereditary status.[1]

Among chiefly possessions must also be considered the carved assembly houses, store-houses and canoes. While perhaps not actually owned by chiefs they were certainly held in trust by them, and together with other noted heirlooms gave dignity to the chief by his possession of them.

Distribution and exchange of chiefly wealth:

Lest one should feel that Maori chieftainship represented a plutocracy, it should be pointed out that the chief's wealth was not vastly in excess of that of an ordinary tribesman.[2] No towering cliffs of property separated the chief from the commoner.

The difference lay in the large quantities which he accumulated from a variety of sources and then dispersed in a number of approved ways in the fulfilment of his social roles.[3]

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1. SMITH 1910b: 172; GUDGEON 1905: 55
2. FIRTH 1959: 133-34
3. FIRTH 1959: 134, 298.

It has already been indicated how important was wealth in the chief's social role as host to visitors and guests. The calls upon a chief's hospitality were frequent, especially if he was a chief of some renown. The greater his fame, it seems, the greater the number of visitors who flocked to see him and to enjoy his hospitality.[1]

But aside from these demands upon his resources, there were the constant calls of his immediate household composed of wives, children and slaves. They had to be fed, and at the same time he might be required to give assistance to tribesmen in need and the bonds of kinship stretched far. A crowd of relatives would look up to him for sustenance, and at the same time, often for some generous re-payment of the services that they had rendered him.[2] In providing for them the chief might also make them a douceur in appreciation of their allegiance, and of the material contribution they might have made to his wealth. All payment in Maori society was made in the form of gifts. By giving freely and in excess the chief secured the continued support of his people for 'the totara (podocarpus totara - a forest tree) does not grow on the open plain, but in the shelter of smaller trees'.[3]

The calls of ordinary hospitality were heavy enough, but when the death of one or two prominent people of the village occurred, the drain on the chief's stores of wealth was enormous. 'When a great chief dies crowds of mourners flow in' (He mate tino tangata,

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1. IBID 298
2. IBID
3. BEST 1927: 241

tena e renga mai) to take part in the ensuing funeral ceremonies.[1] This necessitated the provision of food for the mourners during the mourning period and a feast at the conclusion.

In large scale communal projects such as the building of a large assembly house the economic and social role of the chief is clearly demonstrated.[2] In the first place as leader of the community he usually initiated the project by suggesting in council that such a task be undertaken. Such an undertaking always required a tremendous amount of co-operative effort, and the participation of a number of skilled craftsmen who might or might not be present or available in the community. In this case experts from other tribes were very often invited to assist in the task.

In describing the carved house which is now in the Dominion Museum, Auckland, the chief Tareha said 'Such a building as this is only erected by men holding a high position in the tribe; it is a sign of chieftainship, and the proprietor becomes a man of note. The whole tribe assists in building it when called by the chief for that purpose'.[3]

While the chief's proposal would be motivated by his concern and interest for the welfare of his people, an associated motive would be his desire to increase his reputation and prestige as a public benefactor and possessor of fine property. As the possessor of large stores of wealth a chief could afford to act the part of

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.2, 76
2. FIRTH 1959: 304-07
3. BEST 1924a: Vol.2, 571

'entrepreneur' in repaying the labour expended on his behalf. The people on the other hand rarely hesitated to support the chief's proposal, for apart from the fact that an engagement of this kind provided them with welcome supplies of food, it also afforded an opportunity for feasting and sociability. Moreover, their acceptance of the proposal derived too from the recognition that a building of such a character meant increased renown for themselves as a group.[1]

As the initiator of the enterprise the chief might also direct the operations himself, assigning certain sections of the task to various people, and ensuring their maximum efficiency. He might also set an example by working equally with his people, or if he did not actually take part in the labour by acting as foreman.[2]

As such, the chief would require to have considerable technical and magical knowledge.

The term tohunga is generic, embracing all experts or skilled persons. Thus it served to denote a specialist in any occupation. There has been a tendency to restrict the term to the priests and magicians of the community, but this is not tenable, for it included specialists in a variety of occupations. In the economic field, as Firth has pointed out, there were a number of different types of tohunga.[3] Thus a tohunga whakairo was an expert in carving and tattooing, a tohunga tarai waka was an adept in canoe-adzing, while the tattooer was called a tohunga ta moko.

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1. FIRTH: 1959: 304-07
2. FIRTH 1959: 235
3. FIRTH 1959: 220; BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 243.

As well as the technical knowledge which they derived from their training and experience in the craft, some, though not all, tohunga were also repositories of magico-religious knowledge and officiants in the ritual procedures necessary to secure the favour of the gods and the success of any undertaking.[1]

Thus equipped, the tohunga was eminently fitted to assume the post of skilled and practical adviser. Thus we may find a duality of function, with the chief providing the initiative and the tohunga giving the technical direction.[2] This division of economic function was by no means invariable but in large-scale tribal undertakings it was not uncommon.

During the erection of the house the chief supplied the food for daily meals, as well as interim gifts which served to keep the labourer's interest from flagging. On completion of the task a great feast was held for the workers and villagers, while relatives from neighbouring hapu might also be invited. The economic aims of the feast were firstly to reward the workers for their efforts. Beside being entertained to a lavish meal, large stacks of food were apportioned among the various groups present, and borne off by them to their respective dwellings and villages.[3]

For both the chief and the workers there was some economic gain, but the social implications were equally evident.

The feast was an occasion for the celebration of the completion of the building and an acknowledgement of its social importance. It

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1. WHITE 1885: 132ff
2. FIRTH 1959: 237
3. IBID: 305-06

gave scope for the chief to display his wealth in his role as public benefactor. Often the skilled workers were presented with additional gifts of fine cloaks, greenstone and feathered ornaments, adze blades and the like. One cannot overlook the excitement and pleasure which the people derived from the occasion. Apart from the merriment and the exchange of gossip, it provided an opportunity for making selective friendships and sexual choices.

Overall an important effect of the concerted effort, and its culmination in feasting, was the promotion of harmonious relationships and the strengthening of kinship ties. In short, the occasion expressed and emphasized the mutual interdependence of chief and people.

Feasts:

The feast held to celebrate the completion of a large undertaking such as we have discussed is only one of the many held in Maori society. Here as in most small-scale societies nearly every important occasion was marked by feasting.

Best has divided feasts into two classes, namely ritual and social. Feasts of the ritual type were held on such occasions as death (tangi), exhumation, birth and marriage. Feasts broadly classified as 'social' comprised 'friendly gatherings' such as when visitors came to the village.[1]

The Maori also classified feasts under two categories. Thus he divided feasts according as they came under the mana or sway of Tu, the God of war, or as they came under the mana of

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 379

Rongo, the representative of the arts of peace.[1]

Both classifications have their merit. As a broad systematization of commissariat phenomena Best's division has real sociological value, while the Maori categorisation is an interesting illustration of Maori conceptualisation.

Firth gives a refined classification of Maori feasts based on the consideration of the principal end which the occasion was intended to serve.[2] The first division embraces those types of which the prime object was to signify some important event in the life of an individual. These, which tended to revolve around life crises as birth, death, marriage, may be regarded as ritual feasts. In the second group Firth includes gatherings which were designed to emphasize important periodical, economic and social occurrences such as planting, the gathering of first fruits, or the New Year. The third group may be described as having the implicit aim of promoting social integration. Thus the feasts given on the summoning of allies, or the ratification of peace between hitherto hostile tribes, and the welcoming of visitor or the discussion of tribal policy, are included in this bracket.[3] In the fourth group come those feasts which are distinguished by their primary economic aim, such as that which concluded the completion of some large communal undertaking.

Firth's broad division does not imply any rigid demarcation

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 379
2. FIRTH 1959: 310-11
3. BROWN 1836: 299

between the characters of the feasts, for as we have noted one may serve several ends. The one mentioned above, held at the conclusion of the building of an assembly house, was perhaps explicitly economic in character, but it clearly also had prestige implications for chief and people.[1]

Moreover feasts of a ritual nature such as those held at the funeral obsequies of a high-ranking chief, might also have along with other important social effects the important function of promoting social integration.[2] Feasts held to mark the life crises will be discussed in a later chapter. Some aspects of the feasts held for allies and inter-tribal gatherings as described by Firth, might be included here.[3]

When he summoned allies the host chief had to make certain that they were well provided for in order to ensure their co-operation.[4] There are no very early descriptions of feasts held for allies, but Brown has described one which the Ngati-Haua prepared in 1837 for the Ngaterangi who had agreed to join in the attack on Rotorua. Brown says 'They have collected for the feast, six large albatrosses, nineteen calabashes of shark-oil, several tons of fish, principally young sharks, which are estimated by the natives as a great delicacy, upward of 20,000 dried eels, a great quantity of hogs, and baskets of potatoes almost without number.'[5]

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1. FIRTH 1959: 311
2. COWAN 1930: 241-42; CAMPBELL 1881: 178; BUCK 1958: 421-22
3. FIRTH 1959: 316
4. BUCK 1958: 393-394
5. BROWN 1838: 299

Just how important was the role of the feast for allies may be illustrated by some incidents from tradition. It is related that when the Ngati Mahanga neglected to provide food for their allies at the place of assembly, the Tuhoe turned upon the Ngati-Mahanga who were killed, cooked and eaten.[1] In this connection there is the often told story of the chief Paeko whose allies had an abundance of food on the morning of the battle but did not offer to share it. When the common enemy rushed upon the allied forces, Paeko raised his spear which was a signal to his followers to step aside from the foray. When called upon to assist the fighting, Paeko replied 'In war Paeko is called upon, but when food is ready he is not called.'[2]

Maori traditional history includes many incidents in which allies have taken umbrage over food matters.[3] The chief of the host group nominally headed the combined fighting force, thus if he was to retain his mana and have an integrated force it was imperative that he accord his allies the customary feast.

Inter-tribal feasts were always prodigious affairs, and preparations for them were often made months and even a year in advance. As one would expect, the chief invariably took the initiative in detailing the labour to accumulate supplies of food. It is related that preparatory to a large feast which he intended to give the Waikato tribes the chief Te Wherowhero had over a thousand

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1. BEST 1901: 64; BEST 1902: 17
2. BEST 1902: 130; GUIGNON 1907b: 78-9, TREGEAR 1904: 339 cf. WHITE 1889: Vol.V 26-27
3. Examples are given in BEST 1942: 315-316; FLETCHER 1916: 30; KELLY 1949: 125

of his people engaged in planting kumara (sweet potato) on lands at Whatawhata.[1]

Every effort was made to include among the provisions large quantities of food delicacies such as preserved birds (huahua) dried eels (tuna), crayfish (koura) and whitebait (inanga).[2]

When preparations for the feast were nearing completion, invitations were sent out to the hapus and tribes whom it was decided to entertain. The sending of and the reception of such an invitation was characterised by much formality and ceremonial. The invitation would be conveyed by a party of messengers sometimes numbering as many as a dozen people. The invitation would be delivered in the form of a chant led by the leader of the group, and employing much poetical and allusive phraseology. The reply would be framed in the same formal manner.

In the host village the food would be placed in plaited baskets made of harakeke (Phormium tenax), stacked and set out in long rows on the marae (village plaza). In a prominent position would be placed the baskets of food delicacies mentioned earlier. These provided the relish to the meal and were deemed particularly tasty by the gourmets of old.

Sometimes huge stages and scaffolds were built to support the food. Some were conical in shape and others were in the shape of triangular prisms. Colenso describes one on which the food was piled up in the form of a pyramid some 80 to 90 feet high, and

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1. FINDH 1959: 318
2. IBID

20 to 30 feet at the base.[1] The manifest purpose of a structure of this kind was to impress the guests and to provide a more effective way of displaying the food.

The guests would try to organise their journey so that they arrived in the early part of the day, and if this was not possible then they would camp the last night a short distance from the host village. They would be sent a preliminary gift of food to serve them for the evening meal, beyond this however there was no official communication between the groups.

On the next morning the guests would proceed to the edge of the marae led by their head chief.

Here he would perform a very simple ceremony, the object of which was to avert any evil influences of witchcraft or makutu that might be attendant upon a strange marae.

As well as the belief in the laws of tapu, the Maori also believed that there were certain people possessed of the powers of makutu capable of causing harm to people and things. Belief in the powers of makutu is a very important part of the Maori magico-religious system, but a discussion of it lies outside the scope of this study. Suffice to say however, that while a Maori might be aware of those persons possessed of the powers of makutu within his own district, he would be unlikely to know of such personages in unfamiliar districts. Hence on a visit to any strange marae he always took precautions against possible harmful influences.

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1. COLENSO 1879: 13; cf. YATE 1842: 139-40; FIRTH 1959: 319

The hosts would not regard this as an insult or an offence to their hospitality, for very probably they would have prepared similar protective spells.

As the guests proceed on to the marae the hosts (tangata whenua) would raise the shrill cry of the powhiri or call of welcome, and motioning the guests on with waving actions of the hands in which sometimes they held quivering branches of leaves. The welcome would be extended in formal speeches which provided the Maori with the opportunity to display his powers of oratory. Replies would be made in a similar vein, and the formal welcome itself might take several hours.

Following the formal welcome came the ceremonial presentation of the food, sometimes the food which had been previously stacked upon the marae. Sometimes this was carried out immediately, but if the feast was very large it seems to have been the custom in the past to delay the apportioning of the food until the following day.[1]

Whatever the procedure adopted the guests were first entertained to a lavish meal ceremonially carried on to the marae and set out before the guests. Young women of the tangata whenua (hosts), each carrying a basket of food, moved across the marae in a single line, moving with slow step, and in time to a chant or waiata perhaps composed especially for the occasion. This ceremonial

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1. cf. COWAN 1930: 242.

bearing of food was called the 'food-carrying' (tuku kai or heri-heri kai).[1] While much of this ceremonial is absent today and the food is no longer set out on the marae but in a dining hall, the songs are still chanted when the meal is prepared. The object of the heriheri kai was partly to amuse the guests, and partly to drew attention to the food before it was handed over. Sometimes each line of food bearers had its own song composed especially for the occasion with reference to the particular food which it carried.

The composition of songs in reference to the different types of food, and the innumberable proverbs which allude to them, demonstrate the more than biological interest that the Maori had in it. As Best stated 'Food ever occupies a very important position in the native mind. Their thoughts, conversation, proverbial sayings and stories deal frequently with the subject.'[2] Food was an object of respect, and the central motive impelling the Maori to use it in the lavish fashion of the feast was the desire to secure reputation and prestige.

The apportioning of the stacks of food followed an elaborate procedure. The apportioning was carried out by a master of ceremonies who might be the principal chief himself or someone of lesser rank appointed by him. The master of ceremonies would walk rod in hand from one heap to the next touching each in turn and

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1. IBID

2. BEST 1902c: 46

allotting each to the various groups present in the following fashion: 'For Ngati-Uenuku this heap, for Ngati-Pikiao this one, this for Tuhourangi, etc. (Me Ngati-Uenuku tenei tahua, ma Ngati-Pikiao tenei tahua, ma Tuhourangi tenei ..)[1] In this announcement the chief called the names of the various hapu present. When the ceremony of apportioning was over each section of the visitors then took possession of the heap assigned them, and proceeded to prepare some for consumption or further apportioning among the lesser groups of which the larger unit was composed.

It is true that it was often the custom when there was a guest of honour present for the donors to present the whole food supply to him. It was a gesture of respect for his rank and a mark of honour. He would at once present it back to his hosts or prepare to re-distribute it himself among the guests.

In the apportioning of the food the master of ceremonies took into account the rank and authority of the persons present in the groups. Thus he ensured that they should receive a share relative to their social position. It was considered a grave breach of etiquette by a chief of high rank if the chief of a minor hapu received his portion first. The position of the master of ceremonies was a very responsible one, for he had to be familiar with the rank of all the people present, and to be an expert in

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1. FIRTH 1959: 323

genealogies in order to place correctly the elder and younger branches of tribe.

Economic and social effects:

As Firth points out for the hosts, a feast of this nature which under the leadership of their chief they might have taken months to accumulate meant a tremendous drain on their resources. In a matter of a few days the products of their efforts were consumed or wasted, and after apportioning it among the guests there would be very little left for their future needs. One of the most striking features of Maori feasts on this scale seems to have been the prodigious quantities of food amassed and consumed. But in a social tradition which held liberality as a prime virtue the hosts thought little of their future requirements. Etiquette, concern for prestige and the pride surrounding display of wealth demanded a lavish and super-abundant supply of food at such events.

Thus remarks Firth, the feast held by the Waikato chief Te Wherowhero for the tribes to the south east of him was primarily reciprocal. He and his people had been feasted the year before by these tribes. But his feast was also motivated by his desire to show his rangatiratanga, his status and social standing among the allied tribes, and also to strengthen his friendly alliance with them.[1] At a feast of this kind there was always some discussion of tribal policy.

Once again the preparations for the feast were made some

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1. FIRTH 1959: 372

months in advance, and when the assembly came together it was estimated that over 3,400 people were present from some fifteen tribes or major hapu. The representatives of each hapu were under the leadership of its chief, thus the Ngati-Haua were present under their chief Pohepohe, the Tainui people from Kawhia were under Te Kanawa and so on.[1]

Many of the guests invited to an occasion like this would have come over a considerable distance, and it was the usual procedure for them to remain until the food was exhausted, and then to return home bearing with them such presents as had been made to them.[2]

Whether held ostensibly to discuss tribal policy or held in return for another feast, such occasions were always times of merriment, exchanges of gossip and excitement. At bottom they were an important medium for facilitating social integration.

Reciprocity in feasting.

In accordance with the principle of reciprocity which was all-pervasive in Maori life, a feast given by one tribe to another imposed upon the recipients the obligation to return this hospitality at some future date. There was no fixed time for this, but as soon as the tribe had accumulated sufficient stores they would feast the late hosts.

Failure to reciprocate earned for them some of the severest charges in Maori society - inhospitality and greed, and a loss of mana for their chief. Etiquette and the prestige of the chief demanded

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1. IBID
2. IBID

that the second occasion should outdo the first. Since the prestige of the group was synonymous with that of the chief it seems plain that in reciprocal feasts there was an element of competition.

Such an instance is recorded in the traditional history of the East Coast people.[1] It is related that the chief Te Whatu-i-apit held a feast for another chief Te Angiangi. As it sometimes happened large feasts were given names, determined very often by the main delicacy served. In this case the feast was called 'Tikitiki o te Whatu'. In accordance with the norm that a reciprocal feast should be given, Te Angiangi gave a return feast called Pokai-takataka. Not to be outdone Te Whatu felt impelled to hold another feast called 'Te Umu-tamariki'. In order to achieve his ends Te Whatu had to obtain the assistance of some of his friends to whom he gave some of his lands in payment for their assistance. Te Angiangi and his people were now in an embarrassing position. All his food supplies had become exhausted, so rather than suffer the humiliation and shame and possible loss of face, he made a presentation of large areas of his lands to Te Whatu-i-apiti.[2]

The function of feasts and gifts of the kind mentioned above clearly transcends the sphere of economics. In a society where chieftainship was explicitly equated with institutionalised

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1. FIRTH 1959: 337
2. FIRTH 1959: 337

liberality, feasting and the making of gifts on such occasions provided a medium for the expression of the social values of the society. On some occasions a feast may be primarily motivated by economic considerations such as remuneration for workers of a communal project. At the same time the chief may also make them gifts. Basic to the transaction however were the desires of the chief to maintain his influence among them, to preserve his reputation and ensure their continued support.

In the inter-tribal feast are found the same concerns for prestige and this was maintained by a generous display and giving away of wealth. But of more sociological importance was the fact that the occasion afforded a means for facilitating social integration.

The Gift.

In the above discussion there has been constant reference to the practice of reciprocal gift-giving. The basic notion underlying the whole practice is the concept of exchange.

In Maori society and in many other simple societies the transfer of goods was largely effected through the process of gift exchange. Between chief and people there was a constant flow of goods mainly in the form of food, but on ceremonial occasions as we noted briefly, other and more durable goods were also exchanged.

Firth has distinguished for Maori society as a whole two forms of gift exchange - the economic in which the primary object

is to acquire goods of utilitarian value, and the ceremonial in which the exchange fulfilled some wider social purpose.[1]

An example of the former is the ordinary exchange of food products, while the latter is exemplified by the exchange of greenstone heirlooms between representatives of related tribes at a funeral (tangi).

As Firth points out, these distinctions are not mutually exclusive, for an exchange of a primarily economic nature very often involved elements of the other, and a ceremonial exchange might also have economic implications.[2]

The exchange of gifts between chief and people certainly involved economic benefits for both parties. Those which the chief received from his people did, as we have indicated, contribute markedly to his supplies, while in discharging his obligations to them he contributed to their material welfare. But, as we have implied, neither the chief nor his people were activated by motives of economic gain; there were other and more important values involved. Given the stress placed upon rank and prestige, the goods exchanged between chief and people had more than utilitarian value, they assumed a ritual significance as well, and this in the main revolved around the concept of 'status increment'. The exchange of gifts was always made in the context of the obligation to make some return. The sanctions which necessitated the making of a return gift were several. In the case

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1. FIRTH 1959: 402
2. IBID

of the chief failure to do so meant a loss of prestige and perhaps of the support of his people. For the latter it meant the deprivation of valuable economic benefits. But there is another sanction - a ritual sanction, for the Maori believed that to retain a gift without rendering some return was to suffer 'some serious evil ... or even death'. This was effected through the hau or vital essence of the goods. It will be necessary to discuss the symbolic concept of hau or vital spirit as Best expressed it, and to discuss along with it another symbolic idea which is part of that constellation of concepts which relate to the spiritual entities of man and things.[1] This is the concept of mauri.[2]

Neither of these concepts is very easy to define or distinguish, if they can be distinguished at all. Even our most eminent Maori scholar Elsdon Best admitted that he had spent many years trying to ascertain from the old Maori the precise meaning of these terms. Still, his research has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of the problem.

In the first place both hau and mauri refer to the life principle which the Maori believed animated man, forests, land, and in fact all animate and inanimate things. But the terms extend beyond this to be applied to the material symbols or objects which were believed to protect this life principle.

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1. BEST 1922a: 32; BEST 1924a; Vol.1, 303, 306
2. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 303, 306, 391

In defining the mauri Best says that it is the 'physical life principle' and that 'it is not confined to man, nor yet to the animal kingdom. Everything animate and inanimate possesses this life principle; without it nought would flourish'.[1] Cowan describes the mauri as soul force; 'forests and cultivation grounds have their mauri the intangible quality that makes them fruitful as sources of food supply'.[2] Now since it was believed that the life principle or immaterial mauri was particularly susceptible to witchcraft the Maori sought to protect it by a material mauri. Such material mauri were in most cases stones, doubtless selected for their durability, and these were concealed somewhere about the place or object to be protected. Best says that by means of a certain rite the mana of the gods was implanted in the stone, thus the belief 'that the material mauri possessed the power of protecting the immaterial mauri or life principle of man, land, forests, birds, fish, etc. from all harm'.[3]

Best describes in some detail the material mauri and the situations in which they were utilised. Thus apparently ocean-going vessels carried mauri. Each village was supposed to have possessed a mauri which was carefully concealed according to one account at the base of the first stockade-post erected, or according to another reference below the village midden.[4] The symbol was

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 306
2. COWAN 1910: 107-8; FIRTH 1959: 280
3. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 305
4. IBID: 70

hidden for it would appear that if any enemy chanced to find it, he could take it away and perform over it a ceremony which would deprive it of its virtue. Best does not describe the ceremony, but he states that an inevitable and natural consequence of such an act was to make the people lose confidence, assurance and courage.[1]

Streams and forests, like everything else, possessed their own mauri, but often the term was also applied to symbolic objects (generally stones), placed in them by men, in order to protect their immaterial mauri. Best says that the material mauri of a stream was often a stone concealed near the source of the stream, unless it chanced to be on the lands of other tribes. He quotes the information given him by a member of the Ngati-Porou tribe who stated that 'in his district the stone mauri of a river or stream would have certain ritual recited over it to endow it with the necessary powers or virtue then would be concealed somewhere near the stream.'[2]

It was believed that the river so endowed with the material and symbolic mauri would have an abundance of fish.[3] Haunts of the wood pigeon such as lake and forest possessed a material mauri, the function of which was to ensure their number. Fields of cultivation also had a mauri implanted, for it was believed that it had a beneficial effect on the growth of crops.[4] In all these cases, the material mauri represented the immaterial mauri or hau.

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.2, 342-3
2. BEST 1922a: 33-34
3. BEST 1924a: Vol.1; 307
4. IBID: 390

and afforded it protection from deterioration and all other harm'.

What has been said about the nature of mauri first as a quality, and secondly as an object might be equally stated for the nature of hau. Thus says Best 'as in the case of mauri we have to deal with both an immaterial hau and a material hau.[1] As we observed for mauri, the hau of the forest, of the land, and of man could be injured by magic spells, and in the case of the first two this could result in unproductiveness, in the case of man, in his death.

Now both the concepts of hau and mauri have a dual significance, as we have noted, in that they referred both to a material form and a vital essence, and we noted that the latter was capable of being affected by external agencies, or of being destroyed by magical spells. But can we seek a distinction between these two concepts?

In the case of man there would appear to be a difference. Best defined the mauri as the 'activity that moves within us'.[2] Thus one can and does speak of the mauri being startled, but not of the hau being startled.

The hau seems to be a passive element and akin to the personality. Inasmuch as they are concepts which relate to the 'life principle', as distinct from the 'soul principle' (wairua), it follows that they cannot leave the physical basis the body, and thus they cease to exist at death. We shall be discussing the concept

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1. BEST 1922a: 33
2. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 304

of soul (wairua) in a later chapter.

In speaking of the non-material essence Best does say that they are different: 'The hau of man, of land, etc. is an intangible quality, one of the three potentials pertaining to such things. It is the vital essence, but it is not the same as the mauri or active life-principle. It represents the vital force, vitality - perhaps 'vital principle' is the best definition that can be given'.[1]

But even though Best tried to draw a distinction between the two what he in fact achieved was a verbal distinction.[2] As Firth points out in consistently defining the immaterial hau as a 'vital essence', 'vitality', 'vital welfare', 'a necessary vital principle', or 'life principle', and then the mauri as the 'physical life principle', and 'active principle' Best virtually equates the two.[3]

In a final remark he says: 'Both hau and mauri seems to be used in an anagogic sense. The hau of the forest, of land, etc. is about equivalent to the mauri or mauri ora of man'.[4] The distinction is blurred, it must be admitted, and the difficulty is added to by the fact that the Maori himself uses the term interchangeably. Be this as it may, the important thing is that these beliefs did provide some explanation for the state of things

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1. BEST 1922a: 32
2. FIRTH 1959: 281
3. FIRTH 1959: 281
4. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 308

and events which would be otherwise inexplicable. Thus if, for example, those natural resources upon which the Maori was dependent for his livelihood suddenly failed to provide sustenance, then the Maori, like many people in small scale societies, explained the phenomena in symbolic terms. As Firth points out, if birds migrate from a forest for no apparent reason, fish desert their accustomed reefs and shoals, and the fruits of trees decline, the Maori believed that the 'life principle' of their resources had been alienated by thoughtless acts, or by the machinations of ill-disposed people.[1] The death or illness of an individual, or the destruction of a village might also be attributed to the fact that the immaterial essence had somehow become contaminated or exposed to the actions of witchcraft through carelessness.

It is not surprising then that the people resorted to magical means to protect this life principle. Apart from the material symbols installed there were a host of ritual prohibitions which determined the behaviour and attitude of the people toward the utilisation of resources. As one would expect, the notion of the life principle was closely bound up with that of tapu, the ultimate sanctity of things which at bottom rested on the protection of the gods. Thus there were stringent rules which prohibited the carrying of cooked food into the forest, lest the tapu be broken, the mauri or hau become polluted, and the forest, stream, or land lose its fertility.

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1. FIRTH 1959: 254

Often more active measures were resorted to in order to prevent interference with economic resources by unauthorised persons, or enemies. These involved the setting up of a rahui, a ritual prohibition.[1] This was of two types, one being fairly mild in its effects, the other believed to be destructive of the welfare of the persons who interfered. In the latter case a post was set up on the edge of the forest or stream or other object to be guarded. A maro or lock of a chief's hair was attached, or a bunch of grass. The post was called a rahui post, and the tohunga would recite over it an incantation to 'sharpen the teeth of the rahui, that it might destroy men'.[2] Anyone meddling with it, or taking the fruits of the forest, or attempting to destroy the productivity of it would be killed by the force of the spells.

The other type of rahui may have been instituted for purely economic reasons, in order to preserve certain resources from becoming depleted. Generally a rahui of this type was set up by a chief, and once proclaimed no one dared to take supplies from the prohibited area. The observation of it was a tribute to his rank and status, for only a person of mana and influence could set up the pou rahui. (Post or pole indicating the prohibited area).

There is not the space to deal with all aspects of protective magic; they are fully discussed by Firth.[3] What is important is to point out that basic to all these practices is the

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1. BEST 1904: 83-8; FIRTH 1959: 258-62
2. BEST 1924a: Vol. 392
3. FIRTH 1959: 262ff.

religious notion of a life principle upon which the very fertility and productiveness of natural resources depends. In its very nature it was vulnerable, hence the elaborate magical or ritual safeguards adopted towards its preservation. These practices must have had some important psychological implications for a people so dependent upon their natural resources, in providing some assurance of the continued productiveness of their sources of livelihood.

There were also important implications for the economic system as a whole. While ritual prohibitions were in the first instance designed to keep the mauri or hau intact and undefiled, they did tend at the same time to regulate the exploitation of resources, and so to prevent their too-rapid depletion.

Mauss has skilfully shown how the exchange of gifts is correlated on the one hand with the obligation to repay, and on the other with the social values of liberality and generosity. He has shown too how honour, prestige and power are conferred in the transaction. While he analyses the whole social context of the institution he is basically concerned with the notion of reciprocity, which underlies the whole system.[1]

Mauss takes the idea of hau as providing the clue to the binding obligation to repay a gift. Basing his interpretation on the text of Tamati Ranei piri Mauss maintains that in making a presentation a bond is created, 'a bond between persons'.[2] It follows, says Mauss, that to give something is to give part

1. MAUSS 1954. 2. IBID: 10.

of one's nature and substance, in order words part of one's hau. And 'to receive something is to receive part of someone's spiritual essence'.[1]

To retain a gift is therefore to retain the hau of the donor, and this is not only illicit but dangerous for it gives the donor magical and religious power over the recipient. The hau for ever strives to return to its owner to its place of birth, and to the sanctuary of the forest. If it is not provided with some vehicle of return it wreaks vengeance upon the retainer.[2]

The trouble is that the hau of the gift is not necessarily, indeed cannot, be the hau of the giver. For as we have noted, all things animate and inanimate were believed to possess a hau or vital essence of their own. As Best pointed out the hau is essentially a passive quality. If it possessed an active quality why were such elaborate precautions taken to protect it? Even Tamati Rana piri's text does not suggest that the hau wants to return to the place of its birth, to its sanctuary of forest and clan of its owners'.[3] Mauss says that 'it is the hau which avenges the theft, which possesses the thief, enchants him, leads him to death, or constrains him to make restitution'.[4] But it is not the hau itself that causes death or illness, but rather

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1. IBID
2. MAUSS 1954: 9
3. IBID
4. IBID: 86

is it believed to be the medium through which the destroying spells of makutu (witchcraft) could be wrought.[1]

It is very true that the Maori did fear some ritual sanction as a consequence of neglecting to hand over a return gift, but this was not effected through the activity of the hau itself, but through the consequence of the hau being subjected to the spells or incantations of the owner. Alone the hau achieved nothing. As Firth points out Mauss does not recognise the action of witchcraft as a universal means of dealing with the unlawful detention of goods. Moreover to suggest that the hau of the giver, and not the hau of the gift was finally at the base of the obligation to make a return, is to go further than the text warrants. Tamati Ranapiri's information clearly refers to the hau of the gift, and not to the hau of the giver. In suggesting that in the exchange of gifts there is an exchange of personalities, Mauss is not interpreting the Maori view but is giving his own conceptualisation of it.[2]

Nevertheless, while Mauss may have misinterpreted the concept it does not detract from his central argument that the exchange of gifts is always obligatory. And if in Maori society the obligation is made under pain or ritual sanction here and elsewhere the social sanctions are equally important. For a chief not to acknowledge the support of his people by making them gifts in return for those which they make to him, was to lose prestige, to lose their support and to earn the social stigma of meanness

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1. FIRTH 1959: 419-20 2. FIRTH 1959: 420

and greed.

We can say too that by acknowledging the support of his people the chief was in fact expressing his indebtedness to them. We noted the proverb which expresses the idea that a chief is no one or nothing without his people. This was the gist of the chieftainess Rauwhora's reply to her father, 'the totara (forest tree) does not grow in open lands, but within the growth of smaller trees'.[1]

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1. BEST 1927: 241

Chapter 5

Chieftainship and Marriage

He wahine, he whenua e ngaro ai te tangata.

(For women and land are men destroyed)

The basic antagonism underlying relationships between the various local groups or hapu within the tribe is also reflected in the attitudes to marriage and marriage practised. While there were no strict rules of endogamy or exogamy, there was a preference for endogamous marriages, and as Biggs has shown in his study of the institution of marriage as it obtained in pre-European Maori society these seem to have been much more prevalent.[1]

The preference for endogamous marriages was in the first place determined by the fact that the local group in which most marital opportunities occurred was the hapu. As indicated it was a closely knit descent group stemming from a common ancestor, in which the relationships of every member could be easily demonstrated if they were not already a matter of common knowledge. But the more explicit objectives underlying the preference for endogamous marriages is expressed in the proverb, 'Marry your classificatory sister, so that when you quarrel, you quarrel only with your own relatives' (E moe i to tuahine, kia kino, e kino ana ki a koe ano).[2]

The intention was to lessen the possibility of inter-group conflict that might arise out of domestic squabbles. Any abuse or assault of a wife from outside the hapu was likely to be taken

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1. BIGGS 1960: 27.
2. BUCK 1958: 366; TARAKAWA 1893: 244

as an insult by her natal group. This was likely to lead to open hostilities.

Within the hapu there were certain categories of relatives with whom marriage was prohibited. It is not possible, however, to say whether these categories coincided with those between whom it was not permissible to have sexual relations. Best says that the parties three generations from a common ancestor were free to marry, only sibling and first cousin marriages being deemed incestuous.[1] In this connection he relates the case of a first cousin marriage from Tuhoe district which was condemned by the people as incestuous. He also reports another case of a second cousin marriage to which objections were raised but which was later accepted when it was admitted that such unions were permitted according to custom.

Despite the general opposition to first cousin marriages, they were sometimes condoned. But their rarity in genealogical records, as Biggs points out, suggests a strong sanction against them.[2]

It should be added here that the beyond the brother-sister, parent-child unions that are universally proscribed, it is not possible to make a clear line of demarcation between marriageable and non-marriageable kin.

Another factor which encouraged endogamous marriages generally, was the fear and suspicion that in the case of an exogamous marriage, loyalties might be so divided as to result in 'milk drinking' (kai waiu).[3]

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 446

2. BIGGS 1960: 24

3. BEST 1925: Vol.1, 279, 281, 319.

This was a form of espionage stemming from relationship to both parties in the dispute. For this reason the male relatives of a woman who had married outside the group might attempt to kill any male offspring she had. There are traditional reports which tell of women concealing the sex of their children from visiting relatives for fear of this happening.[1] Nonetheless in certain contexts marriages did provide a mechanism for social cohesion. It goes without saying that exogamous marriages did take place, although there was no strict formulation of the expression 'We marry among those whom we fight'. Exogamous marriages mostly took place between the representatives of various hapu, i.e. members of high rank. Some of these marriages were deliberately sponsored for the purposes of establishing political alliances, and were according to custom arranged with or without the consent of the contracting parties. But non-arranged marriages between chiefly families appear to have been just as frequent. These not only conflicted with custom but contained an element of potential inter-group dissension, especially when there was a disparity of rank between the contracting parties. For it was essential, even when the parties were of equal rank, that they should make known their intention to marry and thus give the public opportunity to discuss the matter. But often knowledge that the match would be opposed led the young couple to arrange to be discovered

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1. BEST 1925: Vol.1, 97; DOWNES 1915: 389.

in a liaison.[1]

Let it be said here by way of parenthesis that traditional Maori society allowed for a considerable amount of sexual freedom.[2] This is not to say, however, that it amounted to 'primitive promiscuity'. Shortland's remark that 'the more admirers (the young women) could attract and the greater their reputation for intrigue, the fairer was their chance of making an advantageous match' is an exaggeration.[3] Such terms as Kairau, and tikohika which are expressions for lascivious and promiscuous women, suggest that Angas was nearer the truth when he said that 'from an early age sexual intercourse is frequent but not promiscuous'.[4]

Courtship and personal choice.

Opportunities to make selective friendships and to have youthful affairs were provided by intergroup gatherings such as feasts, funeral ceremonies, and the visits of 'wooing parties' (kai tamahine).[5] This was a party consisting mainly of youths who would go to court a high ranking chieftainess, usually a 'virgin maid' (puhi).

According to Biggs, selection was not usually made with an immediate view to marriage. The choice was initially that of a lover, with marriage as a distant objective.[6] It seems not to have been unusual, when choosing a companion, for a woman to make the first

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1. GREY 1928: 106 for example
2. see BIGGS 1960: 15-16
3. SHORTLAND 1856: 142
4. ANGAS 1847: Vol.1, 314
5. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 462
6. BIGGS 1960: 28.

advances, or as White has shown, for a woman to make announcement of her choice. She might make secret assignations by approaching the man in a crowd and pressing his hand. In the tradition relating to the chieftainess Tukutuku and the chief Paoa, the former is described as making her intentions known in this way, and when the gesture was disregarded she employed an intermediary.[2]

Public acclamation of a choice was made before a special assembly. Provided that there was no objection on the part of the chosen, or the relatives, then the announcement was taken as a betrothal by the community. According to Best the procedure followed at such meetings was that a young man or woman stood up in the gathering and said, 'Assail me. So and so is for me'. (Werohia ki au. Maku e mea).[3] The expression 'assail me' is probably of military origin, used to challenge a warrior either in friendly or hostile combat. Sometimes a young woman might announce her choice after the match had been consummated. According to Biggs, it seems to have been fairly general even on the part of the protected daughters of chiefs, for marriages to be consummated before any of the ceremonial observances had been carried out.[4] Such marriages were regarded as being irregular, for while there was no objection to youthful affairs, any intentions toward setting up a permanent relationship ought according to convention be communicated to the public. General discussion of the matter was of special

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1. WHITE 1874: 278-9
2. GREY 1928: 164-65
3. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 463; cf WHITE 1874: 278; 1940: 121-31
4. BIGGS 1960: 32.

significance toward the easing of inter-group tension and obviating any cause for dispute.

Arranged marriages.

Arranged marriages between chiefly families from different hapu and tribes sometimes involved infant betrothals.[1] Best says in his discussion of marriage customs that a chief while visiting a village community might happen to see a female child who took his fancy and whom he would desire for his own son when they reached a marriageable age. If the child was of equal rank with his son, he claimed her by making some such remark as, 'You are for me', 'for my child' (Maku tonu koe, ma taku tamaiti). According to Best, the elders would agree unless they had some special objection to the chief or to the proposed alliance.[2] In other cases, a chief of a distantly related or even unrelated tribe, on hearing of a birth, sent a special envoy (toro) and request a betrothal. To refuse a request of this nature was likely to be taken as an insult, and could lead to dissension and possible strife.

From the information Best has gathered in the East Coast area, the usual time for making a betrothal, was after the naming (tohi or pure) rites had been performed over the child at birth.[3] But it could also take place at any time.

The envoy was usually accompanied by a small party which bore betrothal gifts with them. If the betrothal was agreed to, then a 'joining together' (karakia hono) spell was recited,

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 458-60; BULLER 1870: 217
2. IBID: 460; 1904: 43
3. IBID 455: 1929: 57.

followed by the placing of the baptismal gifts besides those brought by the envoy. The spells recited during the birth rituals were repeated again, and this was an indication to the envoy that the betrothal had been successfully concluded.[1]

An infant chieftainess so betrothed might remain in her own village until she was married, or she might spend a good deal of time in the village of her prospective husband. The binding nature of the link was emphasised in the proverb 'A human joining will not be severed, unlike a canoe rope or cable which may break' (He hono tangata e kore e motu, kapa he taura e motu).[2]

When the parties to an arranged marriage were adult, a period of betrothal was not necessary, and arrangements were made by the leaders of their respective communities.

The wishes of the individuals themselves were not necessarily taken into consideration. Savage quotes the case of the chief Te Pehi's daughter, who refused to marry the husband selected for her. As a result she was confined for a period of two years in a small elevated storehouse (pataka), before finally acceding to her father's wishes and accepting the husband chosen for her.[3]

The Virgin Maid or Pihi.

In connection with chiefly marriages which were contracted with the purpose of establishing political alliances or in an attempt to secure a lasting peace between opposed groups, we must consider

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 457; BUCK 1958: 367.
2. IBID: 458
3. SAVAGE: 1807: 13.

the institution of the puhi maiden. By definition the puhi was a young woman of rank, who was celebrated for her beauty and her social skills, and who was set up by the community as a focus of social esteem. She had attendants of her own age and rank whose duty it was not only to perform acts of service but also to guard the puhi's virtue. A puhi was expected to remain a virgin, and to this end it was imperative that she should not become involved in a love affair of her own choice, for she was normally destined to make a marriage with an end to securing the alliance of a powerful neighbour, or to terminate hostilities between warring groups.

Often groups of young men would come in a wooing party (kai tamahine) from neighbouring and even distant villages to court a puhi. Best says that 'the object of the young men was to exhibit themselves and their accomplishments in the hope that the girl would accept one of them as a husband. Such a visit was made when there was no special work in hand, and was marked by a round of festivities and social entertainments. The hosts would do their best in exhibition of dancing, singing, story telling, athletics and games of skill, in order to please their hosts, and to find favour in the eyes of the young woman'.[1]

It must be stressed however that the range of choice was a very circumscribed one. The all-important factor remained that the interests, cohesion and prestige of the group be maintained. This necessarily implied that there were certain associations which

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1. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 462; see WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 118 for description of festivities and dancing.

were out of the question. This being granted the puhi had her free choice up to a point under the indirect but firm control of the elders. In the traditions relating to the chieftainess and Tukutuku,[1] and Mahinarangi we are told that their choice of partner was accepted by the elders.[2] In both cases the approval was based upon the fact that the chosen partner combined rank with skill in the useful arts such as canoe making, house building and cultivation which as already indicated stood high in the list of chiefly attributes.[3] But the approval implicitly recognised the value of the alliances established by the unions.

Even when a marriage was successfully arranged there might still be some dissaffected parties, probably including some of the unsuccessful suitors. This dissatisfaction was usually expressed in a plundering party (taua muru) which was either directed against the successful suitor or his father-in-law. The following extract is descriptive of such matches as they are recorded in traditions.

'Tukutuku with her parents' consent slept with Paoa, a visiting chief'. Then it was proclaimed, 'Tukutuku has slept with Paoa. Immediately taua attacked Taharua (Tukutuku's father), and prepared to attack Paoa. They were rebuked by Taharua, who said 'Let the taua be against me only, do not proceed against the

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1. GREY 1928: 164-5
2. TE HURINUI 1945: 14
3. GREY 1857: 2; SHORTLAND 1856: 176-85; FIRTH 1959: 179 BIGGS 1960; for proverbs expressing the value of these attrib
4. BIGGS 1960: 38.

visitor. What goods has a traveller to plunder?' Now this woman was a puhi. No man had touched her, thosewho had approached her being not to her liking. Accordingly taua attacked without restraint, there being many of them in one day'.[1]

In an earlier chapter we described the institution of plunder as a sanction against injury, accident and the loss of valuable property. In the above account the action of the taua is explained as seeking compensation for the loss of a woman of rank to her community. The social loss was also accentuated by the fact that the woman was a puhi. Moreover the loss of her services to the group deprived it economically, and thus by plundering the chief, her father, of his wealth, the taua claimed economic recompense for this loss.[2]

In general however the taua seems to have been directed against irregular or non-arranged marriages involving persons of rank.

The Marriage Contract and Social Observances.

In relation to a ritual ceremony marking a marriage, there has been some controversy in which Best on the one hand is of the opinion that a chiefly marriage in Maori society was accompanied by a specific rite,[3] and Biggs on the other hand from a lack of textual material concludes that such a claim is not corroborated.[4] As Biggs correctly points out, the only procedure by which a marriage in Maori society was legalised was by public discussion, resulting

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1. GREY 1928: 167; BIGGS 1960: 38
2. BIGGS 1960: 39
3. BEST 1904: 1, see BULLER 1878: 217; TAYLOR 1870: 335; WHITE 1885: 119 who state that no marriage rite existed.
4. BIGGS 1960: 40-41.

in approval and the formal handing over of the bride. It was considered that only a marriage which was 'thoroughly discussed on the wide-wefted sleeping mat' (ata korerotia i runga i te takapau wharanui) could hope to be successful, and to lessen to the maximum degree the possibility of inter-group hostility.[1]

As to the legal elements of the marriage contract, Biggs has pointed out that these involved first, that the public, i.e. the communities involved, should know that the couple were setting up a permanent sexual relationship and second, that the public should agree to the union.[2]

Discussion preceding Marriage.

Best says that the higher the rank of the individuals, the more discussion was involved, and the wider the circle of those arranging the matter.[3] Whether preceded by a period of betrothal or not, the discussions accompanying an arranged marriage were an important part of the marriage observances, which were finally concluded when the couple took up residence together, or when the formal ceding of the bride to her husband was completed.

We pointed out earlier that any matter of importance affecting the group as a whole was discussed in public assembly, and the discussion preceding marriage, especially when the parties concerned were of chiefly rank, is an example of this. The discussions might be completely amicable, but often some objection to the match would be made, even when the parties to it were in fact favourably disposed.

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1. TIKAO 1939: 152; quoted in BIGGS 1960: 42; BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 460
2. BIGGS 1960: 42
3. BEST 1924a: Vol.1, 460

The argument and counter-argument that ensued had the function of emphasising the importance of the match to their respective groups. There might however be some who would resent being over-ruled or neglected in the discussions, and who would resort to expressing this in a taua.

The Formal Handing over of the Bride. Pakuwha

There are few references to the custom of formally handing over the bride, termed pakuwha or pakuha by some writers. The first mention of it occurs in White's 'Maori Customs and Superstitions' published in 1860. Here White says that 'the New Zealanders have no marriage rite; yet there is a custom among them called Pa kuha, which consisted of giving a woman to be the property of her suitor; and was usually done when the people were assembled together, in a set speech by the relatives of the female (especially her brothers and her uncles), the father and mother taking little or no part in the proceedings'.[1]

Best describes the custom as it obtained among the Tuhoe tribes of the Urewera around 1900.[2]

Among these people where the marriage of chiefs was concerned the ceremony was very elaborate. If the bride was from another district, she was escorted by a party composed of her parents and relatives to the home of her prospective husband, and there formally handed over to him. There followed feasting and the exchange of gifts between respective groups. According to Best the ceremony was sometimes held later, after the couple had been

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1. WHITE 1885: 119; BIGGS 1960: 44. 2. BEST 1904a: 45; 1924a: Vol.1 171.

cohabiting for some time. It was invariably given by the groom's relatives first, and followed later by a reciprocal feast held by the relatives of the spouse.

Buck gives an account of the custom in which he himself took part. The entire collection of gifts, including about twenty finely woven cloaks, was presented to him and his companion. They acknowledged the honour accorded them by merely touching the gifts and then handing them back to the donors.[1] The custom seems to have had the primary function of signifying the new ties of affinal relationship established by the union. There is little information in early sources which would suggest that the custom described by Best and Buck was universal. Probably it only occurred when the marriage was arranged between persons of high rank from different groups. It is possible too, as Biggs suggests, that the custom became more usual with the cessation of inter-group conflict, and further that the Christian emphasis on the marriage ceremony may have led to a wider acceptance of the pakuwhā assemblies witnessed by Best and Buck.[2]

Irregular Marriages.

We have in the above sections referred to the case where the couple might evade the traditional procedure of marriage contract, i.e. through public discussion resulting in approval by the whole community. A word should be said here about the conditions of such a departure from convention. The main elements of such a union

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1. BUCK 1958: 368-69
2. BIGGS 1960: 45.

were firstly, that a young couple were involved in a sexual liason with the intention of making it a permanent one. Secondly, they had not made their intentions known to the community, and thirdly, they arranged to have their liason discovered. The consequences were that the group was faced with a fait accompli. This was of special importance when one of the partners or both were of high rank. The public reacted by expressing its frustration and anger in the form of a taua, which might sometimes nearly amount to war.[1]

The worst form of irregular marriage was elopement.[2] This could easily lead to war, but sometimes the group refrained from bringing the matter to such an end especially when a recent conflict had already taken place between the groups concerned. The only outlet available in such a case was a plundering party, which would enable the community to avenge itself and discharge its anger.[3] White describes such a situation. He relates that the junior chief Ponga, a member of the Ngati-Kahukoka hapu, which had its village on the southern shores of the Manukau harbour, accompanied a party of high ranking chiefs on a wooing expedition (kai tamahine) to court Puhi-huia. Puhi-huia was the high ranking chieftainess and puhi of the Nga-iwi hapu which had its village at Maungawhau (Mount Eden) on the northern shores of the harbour. During the visit Ponga and Puhi-huia became mutually attracted

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1. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 111-59
2. GREY 1928: 109-11
3. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 111-59

to each other, and decided to elope, thus defying the anger of their people. It was planned that on the departure of the visitors, Puhi-huia should go aboard the canoe with Ponga. This was effected by Puhi-huia wandering further than was customary from the village to bid farewell to the visitors, and then making a dash for the canoe. Her people realised her intention too late, and when they rushed to their canoes they found the top strakes cut loose. On the return of Ponga's party to their own village, the hapu assembled in the meeting house to discuss the matter. Despite the condemnation of Ponga's behaviour, and the accusations levelled at him as a peace breaker, the hapu decided to support his actions. Meanwhile discussions had been conducted at Puhi-huia's own village, where it was decided that only a formal objection would be made, and to avoid the possibility of serious conflict, a taua was sent composed entirely of women. According to the account Puhi-huia met and fought some of the taua in personal combat and proceedings were concluded with feasting and the exchange of gifts between the two groups. It was a delicate situation, as the two hapu were only distantly related and had a short time before been at war.[1]

The Plundering Party or Taua Muru.

As we have seen, the discussions which preceded arranged marriages with or without a period of betrothal and/or formal

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1. WHITE 1889: Vol.4, 111-59

handing over of the bride marked the regularly arranged marriage. Many marriages were informal or regarded as irregular in the sense that they nearly always offended some parties concerned, either personally or through non-observance of custom. The proceedings which followed such marriages were no less significant than those which marked the arranged marriage.[1]

Custom prescribed that a marriage should be well discussed (ata korerotia) beforehand, and a union which deprived the community of this privilege provided a reason (take) for a plundering party (taua muru) which was directed against the offenders, usually the male and his relatives. The compensation (utu) demanded was valuable property (taonga) which was said to avert the consequences of a serious quarrel. The surrender of property might be regarded as compensating for the loss of the woman and her services to the group, and of providing atonement for the irregularity.[2]

In cases where the taua muru moved against the group of the female, it seems to have consisted of parties other than the groom's relatives, who felt that they had some prior claim to the spouse. Again the principle of compensation applied, and this was well marked in the speeches which were made during the visit. The demand was for property (taonga) as payment (utu) or compensation, and this demand could only be made when an irregularity gave reason for it.

The necessity for a cause or complaint before a taua muru

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1. BIGGS 1960: 50
2. NICHOLAS 1817: Vol.2. 94-97

could be launched is illustrated in an incident which the missionary Yate records.[1] Yate's servant, a former slave, had married a free woman. This of course conflicted with the social creed, but the woman's mother had told Yate privately that she was happy with the match, but that she must be angry about it with her mouth, lest the tribe should come and take away all her possessions and destroy her crops. Accordingly she protested against the marriage in public and demanded compensation which was given her by Yate in the form of a blanket. Thus by simulating dissatisfaction, and by demanding compensation from the missionary, the mother deprived others of a cause (take) for a taua muru to be directed against her and the consenting party.

Biggs argues as well that the taua muru had also the important social function of legalising the union, by forcing it upon the public and thereby securing agreement to the match.[2]

Marriage and Peace Negotiations.

Polack says that marriages were instituted to accommodate hostilities,[3] and S.P. Smith records that the ratification of peace by matrimony was a frequent practice in the old days.[4]

A peace concluded in this fashion was described by Nihoniho,

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1. YATE 1835: 236 quoted by BIGGS 1960: 50
2. BIGGS 1960: 51-52
3. POLACK 1840: Vol. 2, 37
4. SMITH 1910b: 307, cf. GRAHAM 1922: 32, for examples some of them legendary, see GRAHAM 1920: 40, MAIR 1895: 37; RIMINI 1892: 152; SHORTLAND 1856: 282-283; SMITH 1910b: 277, 307, 367.

a native historian, as a 'female peace', and one that was firm and durable. Conversely he says, a 'male peace', i.e. one concluded by men, was not one to be relied upon, for it was often characterised by deceit, treachery, and trouble.[1] The Ngati-Tuwharetoa chief Te Heuheu is reported to have said to his late enemies the Ngati-Kahungunu, '... now we will make peace for ever, for our daughter has made peace, and a female peace is a lasting one'.[2]

When hostilities were concluded by marriages there was a strong likelihood that amicable relationships would last. The children resulting from such unions would act as deterrents to further hostilities, because as these were related to both sides, their kinship even though not accompanied by common residence could provide a basis for alliance and friendship. Sometimes they did provide a basis for alliance, but they did not guarantee the cessation of hostilities altogether. The proverb 'a rope connection may be severed but not a human link' (He taura e motu, he taura tangata e kore e motu) represent the facts, but, as Best remarks, only with limitations.[3] For example the truce between Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Mamoe lasted only a few years, even though it had been concluded by marriages.[4]

Kelly tells us that the hostilities between Nga-Puhi and

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1. NIHONIHO 1913: 51, for examples see SMITH 1910b: 191-198; WHITE 1889: Vol.5, 156-159, 166-167
2. LOWNES 1916: 42
3. BEST 1929b: 34
4. WHITE 1889: Vol.3. 293f.

Waikato (two unrelated tribes) were concluded by the marriage of the Waikato chieftainess Matire Toha to Kati of Nga-Puhi. The marriage seems to have lasted only a short period.[1] One of the Nga-Puhi chiefs by the name of Pomare decided to lead an expedition against Waikato in revenge for an insult which he felt that he had received. Apparently his decision was not approved of by his colleague chiefs who said to him, 'Oh friend do not go. It was a peace made by a woman. If you go you will be lost'. ('E hoa, kauka e haere. He maungarongo na te wahine. Ki te haere koe ngaro tonu atu).[2] We might add that this was precisely what happened.

The affinal link per se, seems to have been even weaker than the kinship link. That this should have been so is understandable in the light of the fact that blood relatives were the nucleus of every Maori community. Bidwell who 'rambled' in New Zealand in 1839 and 1840, was of the opinion that in the case of two tribes at war, the marriage between the principal chief of one, and the only daughter of the other, would do nothing toward making peace between them, except that the two individuals would observe neutrality.[3] Bidwell incidentally regarded this as an example of the want of real power on the part of the chiefs.

Polack was told by some Northern Maoris, that their tribesmen and allies, i.e. a party of Nga-puhi, Te Rarawa and Te Aupouri, had some years previously made repeated attacks against a Kaipara

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1. KELLY 1949: 240
2. IBID
3. BIDWELL 1841: 10.

village, but had been unable to take it. According to Polack's version, the northern tribes sent a messenger of peace to the Kaipara people, and it was agreed that a leading chief from Hokianga should marry the principal Kaipara chief's daughter. Visits were exchanged, feasts were given, and the nuptials consummated. Then on the second day after the marriage a preconcerted signal was given by the northern tribes, and there ensued what Polack describes as 'an indiscriminate massacre' of the inhabitants of the place.[1]

It can be seen that marriage per se could not always be relied upon to cement a peace or maintain a truce between warring parties. A peace concluded by a marriage and expected to be enduring was called by the Urewera people a 'greenstone door' (tatau pounamu).[2] Greenstone was the most highly valued and durable material used by the Maori in the manufacture of his weapons and ornaments. Best says that after a long series of raids between Tuhoe and Ngati-Kahungunu, a 'greenstone door' was established by the chief Hipara of the latter tribe, by giving his daughter in marriage to a Tuhoe chief. On the other hand the 'greenstone door' made between the Tuhoe and Ngati-Tuwharetoa in the nineteenth century lasted a very short time.

We have tried in this discussion to emphasise the political dimensions of marriage. It is clear that in some situations marriage involving members of the chiefly class of one group and another, whether tribe or hapu, did provide a mechanism for social integration. But marriage is very often a two-edged sword,

1. POLACK 1838: Vol.1, 204-205
2. BEST 1924a: Vol.2, 226, 300
3. BEST 1924a: Vol.2, 300, SMITH 1910b: 367
4. FLETCHER 1917: 184.

which can lead to hostilities as well.

Chapter 6

Birth Rituals.

He puta taua ki te tangata, he whanau tamariki ki te wahine. (The battlefield for the man, the childbed for the women.)

There is a good deal of material describing birth rituals as they obtained among the Maori. Some of the accounts conflict with one another, moreover it is not always clear from the descriptions whether the rites were performed only in the case of children of rank. But given the position of the chief in the community, it is very probable that while it is not made explicit, the rituals recorded in some of the accounts applied only when children of rank were concerned, or at least were much more strictly observed in such cases.

In Maori society the condition of pregnancy and the event of childbirth were marked by tapu. The restrictions imposed were first expressive of the beliefs that the very powers connected with conception and birth, and indeed with the sexual organs, especially those of the female, harboured dangerous forces. But the patterns of avoidance adopted during such events, were also expressive of the concern and the importance which the community as a whole attached to them.

The Importance of the Spell.

In an earlier chapter we stressed the importance of the spell in Maori ritual, and the necessity of the right form of words to the efficacy of the rite. This is no less true in the case of birth

rituals. To forget the words, or to allow a break in the reciting of them was regarded as a bad omen, and to this end two or three priests might be engaged in reciting the spells. An illustration of the misfortune which could occur as a result of making a mistake in reciting a spell, is recorded in the myth of the demi-god Maui, who was slain by the goddess of the Underworld in his attempt to secure immortality for men.

Maui's father attempted to dissuade his son from his quest by saying, 'My child, an ill omen has befallen us; when I was baptising you, I omitted a portion of your baptismal spell, and that I know will cause your death'. Maui however was not to be daunted. Confident in his magical powers, and in the success which these had brought him in his previous ventures, he set out to conquer the goddess Hine-nui-te-po. But as his father prophesised, Maui suffered misfortune. He was crushed by the labia (puapua) of Hine-nui-te-po, and thus death came to mortals.[1]

Rites to Cause Conception (Whakato tamariki).

The importance for a chief to have heirs, meant that sometimes when his wife proved barren she could seek the assistance of a priest and have him recite a 'child implanting spell' (whakato) over her.[2] The rite was usually conducted near a stream, a portion of which in most villages was reserved for magico-religious purposes. The priest then recited spells over leaves, or a bunch of sweet smelling

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1. GREY 1928: 22

2. BEST 1906: 5-7; cf. P. MOATA 1951: 201; BIGGS 1960: 61

grass called karetu. The materials were then placed in contact with the patient's body, sometimes between the navel and the breast bone, or otherwise she might be instructed to take the materials used, and place it beneath her when she slept with her husband.[1] The following is an example of a 'child implanting' spell used in the conception rite:

Ka whakato au i a koe ki Papa-tua-nuku.	I implant you, as the Earth-mother Papa-a-nanding-in the earth was implanted.
Kia puta mai a Papa-tu-a-rangi.	That Papa-standing-in-the-sky may come forth.
Kia niwha i roto i a koe Ko wairua whai ao, ko wairua tangata.	That the mortal spirit, the man spirit, may be resolute to come forth from you.
Ko Tu-ka-niwha, ko Tu-ka-riri.	That the god of war, Tu who is resolute, Tu who is fierce,
Ko Tu whai ao,	Tu of the world of light,
Ko Rongo-ma-tane,	and the god of cultivators Rongo-ma-tane,
Kia puta i roto ko Tu-mata-engea	That Tu-of-the-flashing eyes may come forth and
Kia mau ki te rakau,	grasp the weapon,
To rakau poto, to rakau roa.	Thy short weapon, thy long weapon.
I puta ana mai	Wahieroa was born of

1. P. NGATA 1951: 281

Ko Wahieroa na Tawhaki	Tawhaki, ritually cleansed
Ka horohoroa i runga,	above, ritually cleansed
Ka horohoroa i raro,	below.
Ka puta ana ki waho ko	Then was born Te Hapu-one
Te Hapu-one-one	one,
Ka whanau i roto i a te hapu	Brought forth by the great
na Tiki nui,	Tiki,
Na Tiki-roa, na Tiki-a-poa,	By long Tiki, by Tiki-heaped up,
Na Tiki-tahito, na Tiki-hau	By old Tiki, New Tiki,
Ka pa ki te ruahine.[1]	Tiki who touched the woman.[2]

The initial reference in the spell is to the primal parent Papa-tua-nuku, who by her husband Ranginui, bore the departmental gods, two of whom are mentioned Tu, the god of man and of war, and Rongo the god of cultivation, and peace are invoked as a male child is desired. As indicated courage and bravery in war were admirable qualities in a chief, but they were not regarded as the only virtues. A chief should also prove his worth in producing food. In fact these latter qualities did most to secure the ascendancy of a chief. The spell thus expresses the value placed upon these virtues, and implies a wish that this combination should be engendered in the child.

Tawhaki, like Maui, was something of a culture hero. In myths he is described as having had a great command of magic which he secured by making an ascent to the highest heaven.[3]

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1. BEST 1906: 5 for text
2. BIGGS 1960: 62 for translation
3. GREY 1928: 37

The references to Tiki are personifications of the male genital organ.

Concerning conception and the means of bringing it about. It was a common belief that certain stones, and trees possessed powers to aid a woman in conception. The famous hinau tree (elaeocarpus dentatus) called Te Iho-o-Kataka (umbilical cord of Kataka) which stood at Ohaua in the Tuhoe district was believed to have such powers. It was said that the umbilical cords of two legendary figures had been placed within it, and thus to have endowed it with procreative powers.[1] At Kawhia on the West Coast of the North Island, there was a stone called Uenuku-tuwhata, which was also believed to have such powers.[2]

Pregnancy and Ritual.

When a woman, especially a chief's wife was observed to show loss of appetite, a craving for food delicacies, or a desire to eat seed kumara (sweet potato) and raw potatoes, then it was suspected that she was pregnant. She might also be observed to suffer fits of shivering, nausea and giddiness, or be observed to cover her breasts, and be particularly affectionate to her husband. When she was observed to show these symptoms, then the matter became one for considerable discussion among the women of the community. She might be questioned and given some instruction by her mother-in-law in

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1. BEST 1929: 7; TREGEAR 1904: 40
2. IBID

the following manner.

'O daughter'

'What mother?'

'Are you ill?'

'What do you mean, ill?'

'Are you pregnant?'

She replied, 'No, but I am disturbed by symptoms within me'.

'What are they, my daughter?'

'Well, I have lost my appetite for the foods of our village'.

'What do you crave for?'

'So-and-so'.

'Then you are going to have a baby'.

'No, no.'

'Well then when did you last menstruate?'

'The other month. It is coming on to the third month'.

The mother-in-law would say,'Oh, my girl, your womb has become adult, it has become large. This is not just stomach sickness. Your womb has enlarged but because it is your first child your stomach has not yet become distended'.

Then the young woman would say to her mother-in-law, or her sister-in law, or her own mother, 'Yes, I am sick. I dislike all our foods but I crave for foods from afar.[1] The only food of ours that I like is <u>puha</u> (greens), and raw sea-food and raw vegetables'.

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1. SIDETLAND 1882: 64 - Hinetekakara craved for <u>kiwi</u> (forest bird)

'That is right. You are going to have a baby .., we have all noticed your illness and known that you were ill'. The young wife was scolded for not informing her relatives of her pregnancy. She was then told to observe certain restrictions.
The old woman said 'My daughter, now that your illness is known, stop preparing food but sit aside. Stop craving for greens. Do not comb your hair. When you are purified, that is when you have been through the waituhi[1] (to mark with water) rite, then you will be free from tapu again'.

From the statement made above, and the description of the rite which will follow it is clear that at the onset and for a short period of early pregnancy a chief's wife was separated from the community, not only because she herself was considered to be dangerous, but it might be suggested that it was a restriction aimed at the protection of the growing embryo. The restrictions imposed upon her and her isolation are clearly related to this. To cut or comb the hair during early pregnancy was believed to be detrimental to the development of the foetus.[2]

Best tells us that when it was public knowledge that the chief's wife was pregnant, the people of the community might visit her in a group to congratulate her on being about to bear a child to carry on the line of descent (hei kahaki i te kaweu).[3] They might also

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1. BEGGS 1960: 64.
2. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 4
3. IBID: Vol.2, 2,3.

bring gifts consisting of fine garments, and personal ornaments of sharks' teeth and green stone as a mark of their pleasure and appreciation.[1]

Both the restrictions imposed upon the prospective mother and the respectful behaviour of the people emphasize the importance of the occasion, and express the value placed upon the child as a potential successor to chieftainship.

This is further marked by the conduct of the waituhi rite (to mark with water) and the preparations made for the feast which accompanied it. This is described in the following quotation.

'And soon everyone heard 'Oh, So-and-so's body is swollen'. Then the others enquired and soon the knowledge was confirmed. Then all were called together to gather food from all parts of the district. The heads of all great and small, nodded when they heard the news of the coming birth. They were happy about their grandchild, child, nephew, niece, younger cousin, elder cousin (as the case might be).[2] They were glad because people had died, then So-and-so had married and his wife was now pregnant, and a child would be born to replace those who had gone to the spirit world'.[3]

As Biggs points out the reference to the waituhi rite in the account given by Te Rangikaheke is the only one which states

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1. BEST 1929: 7
2. BIGGS 1960: 64 - all terms are classificatory
3. IBID

specifically that it was a rite performed over women in early pregnancy.[1] Apparently it had been regarded as synonymous with the tohi (out) and tangaengae (umbilical cord) rites performed after birth.[2]

Both Shortland[3] and Tregear[4] describe the 'overthrowing' rite (turakanga) performed when a woman, probably a woman of rank, was pregnant. Their descriptions parallel that given by Te Rangi-kaheke for the waituhi rite.[5] Biggs suggests that the two terms waituhi and turakanga are probably synonymous judging from Te Rangi-kaheke's account.[6] The description of the rite is as follows.

'The subtribe of her husband set about gathering food. Now were seen the eels, potted meat and birds of the forest trees, together with kiwi and sea foods for the waituhi-tanga. The food gatherers returned. Then priests selected according to the affiliations of the husband were fetched. They came in the evening and before the dawn they arose to turaki (the derivative noun form is turakanga) that woman, together with the crowd of people called together so that there would be many to feast on the foods gathered for the waituhitanga.

They reached the water, the priest cast off his garments and set up two mounds, reciting the appropriate charm. Then the wands were stuck into the mounds, again with appropriate incantation.

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1. IBID: Appendix 89
2. BIGGS: 1960: 65
3. SHORTLAND 1882: 64
4. TREGEAR 1904: 40
5. TE RANGIKAHEKE - Appendix BIGGS 89
6. BIGGS 65.

All watched the woman approach the water. If she stepped off with the left foot, the right foot would tread the mounds and the wands.[1] Then the gathering would know, 'Oh, So-and-so's child is a boy. Behold the omen'.

Then the woman entered the water. The priest took the sacred wands, bunched in his hands, and dashed them into the water, splashing the gathering there. He splashed the assembly that they might be able to eat the food gathered for the waituhitanga. After the waituhitanga then for the first time (since her pregnancy, the woman's hair was cut and combed and dressed with oil.[2]

As on most ceremonial occasions special ovens of food were prepared according to the rank and status of the people present. On the occasion described above we are told that 'There were two sacred ovens, one for the husband and wife and one for the priests. There were two offerings of cooked food wrapped in mats which were set on one side for the god. These were to remove the tapu'.[3] At the conclusion of the feast the prospective mother was free from tapu and able to re-enter the social life of the community. She 'could carry food and prepare it with the people of low rank'.[4]

Biggs makes the point that frequently the names of Maori rituals tended to refer to some part of the rite, rather than to its purpose. Thus the term turakanga, from turaki to overthrow refers to the 'trampling' of the tapu attached to the mother, but we note also that part of the ceremony was devoted to determining the sex

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1. SHORTLAND 1882: 66 - for variation
2. BIGGS 1960: 65 - Appendix 89-90
3. IBID 90 4. IBID

of the child. It was for this purpose that the priest set up the two mounds, and fixed the wands in them.

It is worth noting that this act was not peculiar to the a ove rite, but it occured very often in Maori ritual and served the most diverse ends. While the details of the rite varied according to the end sought, what was common was the fact that one mound was always dedicated to the male, and the wand placed in it represented the 'wand of life'. The other mound represented the female, and the wand was called the 'wand of death'.[1]

The following is an example of a spell recited during the waituhi rite.

Tena te pukepuke ka tu,	Now the hillocks are set up,
Ka tu ki uta ka tu ki wai,	Set up inland, set up seaward,
Ka tu i te ahunga mai i	Set up from the forming in
Hawaiki.	Hawaiki.
Ka tu i te apongo mai i	Set up from the heaping up in
Hawaiki,	Hawaiki.
I te whakatahuatanga mai i	From the causing to grow in
Hawaiki	Hawaiki.
Tena te pukepuke ka tu,	Now the hillocks are set up,
Puke ka ranga,	Lined up,
Ka tu i te ata,	Set up in the morning,
I te ata o tenei tuzakanga	The morning of this tuzakanga (overthrowing)

1. BEST 1901: 87. 1906: 161-2. 1924: 69. TREGEAR 1904: 530, 392, 515; cf. BEST 1898a: 241

I te ata o tenei whakaruku-nga.	The morning of this immersion.
I te ata o Tu-tawake	In the morning of Tu, of
Aii.	Tutawake, Aii.
Tena tokotoko ka tu.	Now the wands are set up.
Ka tu ki uta, ka tu ki wai.	Set up inland, set up seawards.
Ka tu ki te hohonu,	Set up in the deep,
Ka tu ki te parenga,	On the bank,
Ka tu ki te muri wai.	And in the eddy. Ooi.
Kei te muri wai o Hawaiki.	In the backwater of Hawaiki.
Whakahopu takahia ki tai	Tread on seawards.
Rukuruki, eaea. Rukuruku,	Immerse, emerge. Immerse, emerge.
eaea. Ooi.	Ooi.
Te Mokoputangaroaneha.	Te Mokoputangaroaneha.
Takiritia ra te tapu o Ruanuku.	Let loose the tapu of Ruanuku.
He tapu ka kunea ki te wai	Tapu taken to the water
Ka turakia, ka whakawaituhitia.	And turakina (overthrown) and
Ooi [1]	whakawaituhitia (conjured with water) [2] Oii.

Confinement and Ritual.

There are several accounts of birth rituals, but their discrepancies are many. Best's 'Lore of the Whare Kohanga'[3] is a very full and detailed account, but Biggs has questioned its authenticity and reliability as source material.[4] The account

1. GREY 1953: 361
2. BIGGS 1960: 66 - translation
3. BEST 1929
4. BIGGS: IBID 66-67

is essentially a translation of material given to Best by Te Whatahoro, who has been criticised by Biggs and others as being unreliable.

An examination of the various accounts nevertheless reveals a number of common elements. The confinement always took place in seclusion either in the open or in a specially built hut often termed the 'nest house' (whare kohanga).

Shortland wrote that 'before the birth of a child is expected to take place, a hut is built for the mother. This hut is placed at some distance from the dwelling of the family, and is held so sacred that slaves and persons of low rank dare not come near it'.[1]

The seclusion of the mother and her confinement in a special hut, is first associated with the beliefs in the harmful properties of menstrual blood, and blood shed at childbirth. Hence the confinement could not take place within an ordinary dwelling, or anywhere near where crops were likely to become contaminated.[2] For this reason the seclusion house itself appears to have been erected in a spot where there was little likelihood of crops being planted in the future.[3]

One or two accounts speak of several different seclusion huts. Best says that there were two, one in which the confinement itself took place and which was termed the 'foetus house' (whare kahu), and the other being perhaps the nest house (whare kohanga) proper

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1. SHORTLAND 1856: 143
2. SHORTLAND 1882: 64
3. BEST 1929: 9.

into which the mother and child were moved afterwards.[1] Te Rangikaheke speaks of three huts, and it is quite clear from his description that the progression of the mother and child from one house to the other permitted their gradual reintegration into their normal surroundings.[2]

It is probable that the nest houses were only built for first-born children of rank,[3] in which case apart from their ritual significance they were a material expression of the importance of the first-born.

Both Buller[4] and Best[5] speak of female attendants at the birth, but their specific relationship to the prospective mother is not recorded. Best says simply that they were usually close relatives. Buck states that the husband, mother and father of the wife were also present.[6]

The restrictions against visitors to the seclusion hut also applied to the attendants. They could not visit their homes, and thus have chance encounters with ordinary people, neither could they approach any place where food was cooked. When food was prepared for the inmates, it was brought and placed at some distance from the seclusion hut after which the bearer immediately retired. It was then collected by one of the attendants, but on no account could it be taken into the hut

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1. BEST 1906: 16
2. TE RANGIKAHEKE 1849: Appendix BIGGS 1960:90
3. BIGGS 1960: 67
4. BULLER 1878: 215
5. BEST 1929: 9
6. BUCK 1958: 350

and thus near the child.[1]

The general notion associated with cooked food and its function in ritual, stems from the belief that it was a symbol of destruction. In certain situations it was believed to be destructive of the sanctity of men and things. Thus one did not pass cooked food over a chief's person, or take it inside an assembly house, or any house for that matter. Meals were eaten outside. In other situations however cooked food was instrumental in removing the tapu from persons and things.

The restrictions against taking cooked food near the child derive from the fear of it endangering the spiritual welfare of the child to be born or born.[2] The child is not yet prepared against a danger-infested external world, so that contact with things and persons within it must be at a minimum. Only by being conducted through various rites of purification and dedication to the gods is the child prepared and admitted to the external world. Such ritual precautions would be observed with particular care in the case of a chief's child.

Buck says that the cutting of the cord (iho) was treated as a minor operation without any special ceremony such as that held in the Cook or Society Islands.[3] The cord was cut with a sharp flake of stone or chip of obsidian, by one of the female attendants or an experienced female relative among the attendants.[4]

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1. BEST: 1906: 16; 1929: 9
2. BEST 1906: 17
3. BUCK 1950: 351
4. IBID

after gently massaging the attached end of the cord, it was tied close to the abdomine wall with flax fibre, or some other material such as the thin stem of a creeping plant (nakahakaha) which had been previously scraped and soaked in water to make it pliant. The cut end was smeared with oil expressed from the seeds of the titoki (Alectryon excelsum), and a dressing of the inner lacewood bark (hoheria sexstylosa) soaked in titoki oil was applied. The dressing was kept in place with a bandage formed of a wide strip of inner lacewood bark, which readily splits into thin ribbon-like layers.[1] The after birth was buried in a place where it was unlikely to be walked over, for it was believed that such things were endowed with dangerous powers.[2]

In cases of delayed delivery a priest was called upon to recite appropriate spells. The following is a portion of a birth-easing spell used in cases of difficult labour.

I turuturu ra taku turuturu,	Set up for you is my post,
hei turuturu mohou,	a straining post for you,
E Hine-tinaku, e.	Oh Hine, you who are having a difficult birth.
Ko wai kei runga nei	Who is above there?
Horahia ra te moenga	Spread the sleeping mats of
Te moenga o Hine-mata-iti	Hine-of-the-narrow face
Kia piki ake au ki runga nei	That I may climb up, to Te Uira,

1. BEST 1929: 15
2. IBID : 15

Ki a Te Uira, ki a Te Awha,	to Te Awha,
Kia tikina mai aku toto,	That may be let down the blood
aku tohe, aku paraparaa,	and the birth cleansings,
Kia kautahanegatia.[1]	That it may be made empty.[2]

This spell was believed to have been recited during the difficult confinement of Hine-te-iwaiwa, sometimes also known as Hine-uri and Hine-keha. There are numerous references to her in traditions.[3] She was generally regarded as the guardian of women and the deity who presided over child-birth.[4]

The spell might then be followed by the recital of the genealogy of the child's father. It was believed that this helped in cases of difficult birth, but if this failed to facilitate the birth, then it was supposed that the mother had committed adultery.[5] The traditional story of the birth of the chief Tutanekai provides a good illustration.[6]

Rangiuru had been labour with Tutanekai for a number of days. 'Then the priests set out to perform the ceremony known as 'immerse in water' (ruku i te wai). They took the young shoots of flax and cutty grass, and some stones and gravel and recited spells over them. Then the genealogy from Hou-mai-tawhiti through Tama-te-kapua to Rangitihi was recited, but the child did not come forth'.[7] Whakaue, Rangiuru's husband took up the ritual and recited the genealogy

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1. GREY 1928: 49, text
2. BIGGS 1960: 68, translation, points out that Shortland 1882: 28-29 gives a translation of a rather different version
3. GREY 1928: 49ff; WHITE 1887-90: Vol.2, 134, 141
4. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 294; Vol.2 2ff
5. SHORTLAND 1882: 30f
6. GREY 1928: 106-109 and quoted by BIGGS: 68.
7. GREY 1928: 107-8 also quoted by BIGGS 1960: 69.

from Ueu-mai-rewhiti through all his descendants but to no avail. Then the husband said, 'Is it because it is a 'difficult birth' (whakatina) that you are in such pain?' Rangiuru said, 'Yes'. Then Tinirau said 'What then is your 'wrong, sin' (hara) that you should be in such pain?' ... Rangiuru replied, 'Oh, husband, do not be angry with me if I tell you now?' 'I will not be angry, because I love your body and fear lest you should die'. Then Rangiuru said, 'Listen, this child is not yours. It is not yours and that is why the spells were of no avail. If it were yours it would have been born, hence I know that it is not yours. I am pregnant by Tuwharetoa .. so go and perform the immerse in water (ruku i te wai) again, but recite the genealogy of Tuwharetoa'.

As Biggs points out the supposed connection between delayed delivery and adultery is shown in one part of the Hine-te-iwaiwa spell for cases of difficult birth which he translates thus:

E tama a wai?	A child of whom?
Ko te tama o te potipoti.	A child of idle amusement.
E tama a wai?	A child of whom?
Ko te tama a te hemshema.[1]	A child of adultery, of illicit liason.[2]

Rituals Following Birth.

Best records a ceremony called 'greeting' (maioha or koroinuo)

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1. GRET 1928: 108 for text
2. BIGGS 1960: 69 for translation.

which was said to have been conducted after the birth of a child of rank. The celebration involved the gathering together of the hapu of the chief and his wife. Gifts were brought by both families and laid before the child, and spells known as maioha were recited to signify its entry into the world.[1] But except for Buck's description,[2] which stems from Best there is no corroboration for such a ceremony.[3] Moreover the spells which Best's informant Te Whatahoro said were recited, have been shown by Biggs to be the stanzas of a lullaby which Te Whatahoro had previously published and annotated as such without mention that the stanzas were used as a series of spells.[4] There is much more evidence for the conduct of a ceremony which is said to have taken place after the child's navel cord had fallen off, that is when it was about a week old.[5] The ceremony and the rite has been variously termed tua, or tuapapa meaning to name, and tohi meaning to cut.[6]

The descriptions of the rite are conflicting, but once again a number of common elements emerge. It is clear that there was a ritual purification of the mother and child beside a stream of running water, and a naming and dedication of the child toward the appropriate role for male and female with sprinkling of water.

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1. BEST 1929: 16
2. BUCK 1958: 352
3. BIGGS 1960: 69
4. IBID
5. YATE 1835: 82-4; SCOTLAND 1856: 143-44; DIEFFENBACH 1843: Vol. 2, 27-30; WHITE 1856: 23-26; ELDER 1932: 478.
6. BIGGS 1960: 69

Samuel Marsden's account of the rite is as follows: 'When the child is born, both the mother and child are tabooed. A few days after the birth preparations are made for a feast. Two ovens are prepared, one for consecrated food and one for common food. At this feast a name is given to the child by the father and mother. Several prayers are offered up at the time while the different ceremonies are performed ... After the party have feasted - the mother upon sacred food and the others upon common - the leaves of a particular tree are procured and dipped into the water. With these leaves the person holding the child in his or her arms sprinkles the child with water'.[1]

The following is an example of a spell used in the dedication of a chief's son.

Tohi ki te wai o Tu	Dedicated with the water of the god Tu
Whano koe tangaengae ki	Grow up and capture men, and
te hopu tangata, tangaengae,	climb mountains,
Ke te piki maunga, tangaengae,	Grant it to his child,
me homai tangaengae,	tangaengae
Mo te tama nei,	
Whano koe, tangaengae, hia xiri ai	Grow up and fight and rage,
tangaengae,	kill men and take forts.

1. ELSDON 1932: 477-8, quoted BIGGS: 70

Kia nioha ai, tangaengae, ki	
te patu tangata, tangaengae,	
Ki te tomo pa, tangaengae, ki	
te patu whakaara, tangaengae,	
Ki te tu parekura, tangaengae,	Defeat war parties in battle,
kia riri ai, tangaengae,	
Kia toa ai, tangaengae, ki	Be fierce and brave to bear the
te mau patu, tangaengae,	club and the spear.
Ki te mau tao, tangaengae, ki	
te riri, tangaengae,	
Ki te toa, tangaengae, ki te	Be fierce and brave to bear
mau patu kowhatu, tangaengae,	the stone club and the wooden
ki te mau taiaha, tangaengae,	spear,
Me homai tangaengae,	Grant it to this child tangaengae
Hei whakatupu, tangaengae,	
mo te tama nei.	
Whano koe, tangaengae, ki nga	Grow up like the great
maunga nunui, tangaengae,	mountains, like the tall trees,
Ki nga rakau whakaihiihi,	
tangaengae,	
Ki nga rakau whakaihiihi o	Like the tall trees of the forest.
te wao, tangaengae,	
Me homai, tangaengae, hei	Grant to this child, that he may
whakatupu, tangaengae,	grow so.

no te tama nei.

Whano koe, tangaengae, ki te mahi kai mau, tangaengae, ki te hanga whare nui mou, tangaengae, ki te hanga waka taua, tangaengae.

Grow up and produce food, and build houses, and war canoes.

Ki te karanga pahi, tangaengae, ki te whakatupu kupenga mau, tangaengae.

Summon the people, to make nets for you, to fish for you, to net for you.

Ki te hi ika mau, tangaengae, ki te hao mahi mau, tangaengae.

Ae homai, tangaengae, hei whakatupu, tangaengae,

Grant it to this child that he may grow so.[1]

The Pure Rite.

This rite was not a ceremony to remove tapu, although Maori dictionaries and biblical translations equate the term with purifying.[2] However the definition of the rite given Best by his informant Te Whatahoro, as a 'rendering permanent of the sacred mana and the god given mana' accords with other evidence on the matter.[3] Men had the pure performed over them before going into battle, in order to make them courageous.

1. BIGGS 1960
2. IBID : 71; GREY 1853: 75-7
3. BEST 1929: 57

There is some evidence to show that sometimes if the child's real father was absent, neither the tohi nor the pure rite were performed. In these instances the ritual was performed when the child and the father met for the first time, sometimes even when the child was adult.[1]

Shortland describes what would appear to have been the final act of the birth rituals. He says: 'A small sacred fire being kindled by itself, the father takes some fern root and roasts it thereon. The food so prepared is called horohoronga (removal of tapu). He then places the child in his arms, and after touching the head, back and different parts of the body, with the horohoronga, he eats it. The following morning, at daylight, the child's eldest relative in the direct female line cooks fern root over a sacred fire, precisely in the manner the father had done, and having similarly touched the head and various parts of the infant with it is dressed food afterwards swallows it. The part of the ceremony performed by the female is called kumhine (old woman) and when it is ended the infant is quite noa, free from restriction and may be handed about among the persons standing by to be dandled in their arms'.[2]

The information relating to birth rituals is considerable, but it is at the same time very often conflicting. It is clear however that the rituals were conducted after the naval cord had

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1. e.g. GREY 1928: 44; BEST 1925: 101, 103; SHORTLAND 1882: 56; BIGGS 1960: 72
2. SHORTLAND 1856: 145; BIGGS 1960: 65.

fallen away. In connection with the dried cord itself, it is certain that the Maori attached considerable importance to it. A chief often buried the cord of his son on the boundary line of property to which his son would have rights of ownership, and the spot was sometimes marked with a stone or post. Sometimes it was placed in the cleft of a rock, and the place of disposal thereafter became known as the navel cord of so and so, whatever the name given the child (Te Iho o ...)[1]. On other occasions the cord was placed in a tree, which was thereafter known by the name of the child. An example is the famous hinau tree referred to earlier in relation to the conception rite. This tree was termed the 'navel cord of Kataka' (Te Iho o Kataka).

The purpose and meaning of the birth rituals were threefold. First they included a naming of the child and its dedication to the appropriate male or female role. In the case of a male child the stress was placed upon those qualities such as courage and bravery which would equip him for leadership in war, and a combination of these with initiative in economic pursuits. The successful acting out of these roles was always in Maori thought attributed to a chief's personal mana, hence the second purpose of the birth rituals, in particular the purg rite which was conducted to strengthen or to render permanent the child's personal mana. And thirdly the rites were conducted to purify the mother and child and to enable them to be reintegrated into normal society.

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1. BEST 1929: 13.

Chapter 7

The Mortuary Rites (Tangihanga Mate) of Chiefs.

He mate tino tangata, tena e rewa mai

(When a great chief dies, crowds of courners flow in.)

In order to understand the mortuary rites of chiefs it is first necessary to say something about certain religious concepts, for in a society where the religious system was so important it must obviously set its mark on the beliefs relative to death, and the other world, and consequently on the funeral rites.

Concepts of the Spirit. (Wairua)

Earlier it was mentioned in connection with gift giving that the Maori believed man to be endowed with three spiritual qualities. The spiritual qualities of hau and mauri have already been dealt with; the Maori believed that these spiritual entities did not survive death. But the third, the soul or wairua, survived death, and passed to the spirit world.

Best states that in life the soul (wairua) could leave the body during sleep and during its wanderings it might perceive impending dangers to its physical base, and give warning of these dangers in dreams.[1] But on death it was more likely to assume an inimical nature, and to bring illness and misfortune upon the relatives of the deceased.

According to White the relatives suffered fever, and abdominal troubles, if they neglected to perform the rites which would enable the soul of the deceased to enter the spirit world.[2] Thus when a chief was on the point of death the priest (tohunga) recited 'soul despatching'

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1. BEST 1905: 230 2. WHITE 1874: 264.

(tuku waiaua) spells over him.[1] These were continued throughout the lying in state, and even, according to Buller after that, while the corpse lay in its provisional burial place.[2]

On the other hand Taylor records that the Taranaki Maoris believed the spirit not to have departed at all, but to have remained near the corpse, and within the precincts of the burial ground.[3] These beliefs may be exceptional for in general it was held that the spirit did depart to the other world. It has been indicated that much of the ritual formula recited by the priest (tohunga), and the rites observed by the relatives (to be described later), were performed with the express purpose of sending the spirit of the deceased away, and thus preventing it from inflicting its spite on the living.

At the same time the Maori believed that the spirits of their dead could return from the spirit world to affect the living. It may be that on entering the spirit world, the soul (waiaua) lost some of its grosser qualities. Best tells us that it returned to protect its descendants, and to guide the souls of the dying relatives to the spirit land.[4]

Shortland wrote that 'the gods which the New Zealanders fear are the spirits of the dead, who are believed to be constantly watching over the living with jealous eye, lest they should

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 303
2. BULLER 1870: 220
3. TAYLOR 1870: 99, 220
4. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 301

neglect any part of the law relating to persons and things subject to the sacred restrictions of tapu'.[1] Shortland further added that the spirits confined their care almost exclusively to persons among the living with whom they were connected by ties of relationship, so that every tribe and every family had its own god (atua).[2]

Illness and death among the Maori were not regarded as a natural phenomena. Misfortune was believed to be always due to the actions of spiritual powers either because the individual had brought disaster upon himself by violating some tapu, or because he had become the victim of the evil machinations of witchcraft.

The spirits of deified ancestors were sometimes referred to as 'soul spirits' (wairua) or 'god spirits' (atua).[3] Now it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between the two ideas, for we are told that not only man was endowed with a soul (wairua), but also for example, that the forest was endowed with this spiritual entity. Moreover the concept of 'god spirit' (atua) embraced not only the more personalised spirits of ancestors, but also other non-personalised powers. The difficulty might be overcome by suggesting that both concepts are refractions of divinity, in some instances more personalised, and in others less so.

In Maori thought, as in the thought of many simple societies, nothing was quite inert. The Maori universe was spiritualised in a very complex manner. To take some examples at random. All the

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1. SHORTLAND 1856: 84
2. IBID
3. DIEFFENBACH 1843: Vol.2, 116

elemental forces were conceived as spirits. The moon spirit Hina or Hine-te-iwa-iwa, was regarded as a protective being, as the source of fertility, and the guardian of women.[1] The spirit of the ocean was Hine-moana, while the guardian of all fish was Tangaroa. Tane was not only the spirit of the sun, he was also the deity of forests and vegetation, and we have already referred to the conception in which he was considered the fertiliser, and the creator of man.

A discussion of the manner in which the Maori spiritualised his universe is beyond the scope of this study, the main concern is to show the attitude and the regard which the Maori adopted toward the more personalised spirits (atua) of his ancestors. It is worth mentioning that Best attempted to classify Maori gods into four divisions; the supreme, departmental, tribal, and family gods.[2] It is in these last two categories that the ancestral spirits fall. While the supreme and the departmental gods were shared by all the Maori tribes, each tribe had its own gods to whom it had exclusive rights. And most of these gods were deified ancestors whose protection was sought, especially in matters of war. While every battle was fought under the tutelary deity Tu, more active gods were required for the frequent campaigns, hence the elevation of deified ancestors to the positions of war gods.[3]

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 185-231; for more detail and discussion of other spirits.
2. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 234ff
3. IBID 237

The family gods were mainly the spirits of still-born children, and abortions. They were called 'membrane gods' (atua kahu, or atua kahukahu) from the membranes (kahu) which enveloped the embryo. Such gods were regarded as extremely malignant beings. They were believed to cause sickness and disease, so that they were often termed 'man-eating gods' (atua nyau tangata).[1] Their activities were not confined to the immediate family, for it was believed that they attacked any member of the tribe who transgressed the family tapu restrictions. Thus the whole tribe went in fear of them. Best gives two examples of the elevation of these inferior family gods, i.e. the spirits of still-borns and abortions, to the position of tribal war gods.[2]

Best says of the spirits of deified ancestors that they were more frequently appealed to in connection with magical rites, and ordinary everyday activities. They might be placated with offerings in order to secure their protection.[3]

More often it seems their protective powers took the form of warning their descendants of impending dangers by means of omens or signs, or by communicating these warnings in the dreams of their medium, who was usually the priest (tohunga).[4]

The spirit of a deceased relative could be purposely called up by the medium (tohunga). According to Maning the 'spirit entered into them, and, on being questioned, gave a response in a sort of half-whistling, half-articulate voice, supposed to be the language of

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1. BUCK 1958: 462-63
2. BEST 1924: Vol. 1, 242-43
3. IBID
4. IBID

the spirits'.[1]

Maning was present on several occasions when the priest 'tohunga) at the request of the relatives invoked the spirit of their deceased relative in the hope of determining through divination a particular course of events.[2] On each occasion the invocation took place at night inside the meeting house in the presence of about thirty people. The spirit responded in the same half-whistling voice mentioned earlier. Maning says that on all matters of importance the chiefs invariably consulted the priest (tohunga), and he gives two instances of predictions which came under his observation which showed the importance of the priesthood, of spirit mediumship,[3] and therefore the importance of the ancestral spirits in the thinking and social life of the people.

The Spirit World.

The most popular belief was that the spirits of the dead descended to a subterranean world to which access was gained at Cape Te Reinga. This Cape at the North-western extremity of New Zealand was also known as Te Rerenga-wairua meaning 'spirits' leaping or flitting place'. The spirits gained entrance to this subterranean world by descending the elongated root of a pohutukawa tree (metrosiderous excelsa). At the base of the cliff where land meets sea lay a chasm into which the spirits lept thus entering the spirit world.[4]

The term Te Reinga has often been applied to the whole realm of

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1. MANING 1884: 117; DIEFFENBACH 1843: Vol.2, 118
2. MANING 1884: 118
3. IBID 117, 123
4. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 317; 1905: 233.

the dead, but according to Best the correct and precise name is Rarohenga (underworld) and in most traditions it is referred to as such.[1] Frequently the spirit realm was also referred to as Paerau, and Te Po meaning the night of the darkness.

While the most common belief was that the spirits journeyed to a subterranean spirit world, there was a less widely known belief in the existence of a celestial realm. This celestial realm was situated in the uppermost of the twelve heavens, known as the 'summit of the heavens' (Toi o nga Rangi). There are some references to this celestial world in traditions, but Best contended that it was an 'esoteric version of priestly teaching' and known only by the members of the priesthood.[2]

According to another tradition the spirits of the dead travelled to an ancestral home called Hawaiki situated in the west.[3] Many traditions allude to the original homeland of the people as lying somewhere to the west, so the concepts of spirit world and original homeland have become confused. Moreover when the spirits travelled to the subterranean spirit world, they journeyed via this original homeland of Hawaiki, by traversing the 'broad path of Tane' (te ara whanui o Tane - Tane was the spirit of the sun). There at a place called the 'joining place of the spirits' (te hono-i-wairua) stood a square house called Hawaikinui with a door on each of the four walls facing out on the four cardinal points of the compass. The spirits were wafted by the winds to the particular door which faced their way.

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1. IBID
2. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 314
3. SMITH 1913: 112

The house was therefore an assembly point for the spirits. But the extraordinary aspect of the tradition, and one which appears to have been added to the original, was that this house was also a clearing place where the spirits were divided into those who were evil, and those who were not. The evil spirits were those who had committed murder and who had been guilty of bad conduct in life. The spirits convicted of evil passed out the south door, descended the 'long descent' called Tahekeroa to the underworld and entered the dark realm of Whiro, the god of evil. The souls of the righteous left the building by the east door, ascended a mountain named Tawhitinui or Maunganui, climbed a narrow stairway named Te Aratiatia or hanging ladder named Te Aratoihuarewa, and so entered the exalted heavens of the supreme god.

It is true that the Maori concepts of the spirit world were considerably confused, but the above version provided by an East coast school of learning conducted in the 1860's has been severely criticised by Buck.[1] According to him the account clearly bears all the signs of the influence of Christian teaching, and the clever interpretation and recasting of its principles in the language of Maori mythology.

Rewards and punishments in a future state were not known to the Maori. The gods rewarded and punished in the world of life, and death closed the account. The spirit entered the realm of the dead without apprehension. It is true that an evil spirit was believed

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1. BUCK 1958: 518.

to reside in the spirit world, and to seek the destruction of the souls of men. But his actions cannot be interpreted as a punishment for sin, but as a continuation of a vendetta fought among the gods. The evil spirit called Whiro on being defeated sought refuge in the underworld vowing vengeance on the descendants of Tane, who was the creator of men.[1] The journey of the spirit to the other world and its residence there was thus not without its dangers, but the Maori conceived of a protective deity in the person of Hinenui-te-po (literally: the great lady of the night - or the goddess of the underworld).

In the realm of the spirits the souls pursued a life analogous to that on earth.[3] They continued to cultivate, to build houses, to fish and to tattoo. Myths and legends which tell of the visits of mortals to the underworld describe it as a place of peace and harmony. Moreover knowledge of such refinements in the arts of carving, tattooing and weaving were learnt by mortals on their visits to the underworld and developed on their return to the upper world.[4]

There are several myths concerning the origin of death and its entry into the world of life. The most popular version attributes it to the contest between the culture hero Maui and Hine-nui-te-po (the great lady of the night - goddess of the underworld). In most

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 106
2. IBID: 119
3. DIFFENBACH 1843: Vol.2, 67
4. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 167, 172.

Polynesian mythologies Maui is the predominant culture hero. He was credited with great magical powers, and with having accomplished many marvellous deeds as a result. Such feats included his snaring of the sun, his deceiving of the goddess of fire so that man might have fire on earth, and the fishing up of the North Island of New Zealand for which the Maori name is 'The Fish of Maui' (Te Ika a Maui).

In the tradition concerning the origin of death Maui contended with the goddess of the underworld that man should be revived after death in the same manner as the moon and the sun. But the goddess of the underworld retorted that man, on death, should return to Mother Earth (Papa-tua-nuku) for all time so that he might be wept over and mourned for. Maui was not to be daunted, and he determined to seek immortality for man by entering the womb of the goddess of the underworld while she slept.

On his quest Maui was accompanied by a large retinue of many different species of birds. Before commencing his journey Maui cautioned his feathered friends to refrain from making any noise lest they should waken the sleeping goddess. However when his head disappeared in the initial part of the journey into the womb of the goddess, one of the birds, the lively and restless fantail, overcome with the ludicrous sight, laughed. The goddess awoke with a start just as Maui was entering her womb, pressed her thighs together and strangled Maui.[1] Thus the poet was moved to sing:

I mate mai te rangi	Death came to the mighty
I a Maui i konia	When Maui was strangled

1. GREY 1928: 22-23; BEST 1924: Vol.2, 29.

e Hine-nui-te-po	by the(Great lady of the night) the goddess of the underworld
Waiho ki te ao na i ...	And so it remained in the world ...[1]

Sometimes funeral orations and farewells to the deceased include references to Hine-nui-te-po. They always include references to one or all of the conceptions of the spirit world discussed earlier. An orator may begin his farewell address in the following manner:

Haere, haere, haere,	Depart, depart, depart,
Haere ki te Po,	Depart to the other world
Haere ki Hawaiki	Depart to the homeland,
Haere ki te Hono-i-wairua	Depart to the joining place of the spirits ...

The Approach of Death.

When a chief lay seriously ill, and death was believed to be not far off, he was removed from his house into a temporary shelter (whareau).[2] This temporary shelter was usually a crude structure of palm branches or scrub erected near the meeting house (whare whakairo) so that it faced out on to the marae.

There were both ritual and practical reasons for moving the ailing chief to a temporary hut. In the first place if his death occurred in the house, it rendered it tapu and unfit for further residence, in which case it was either abandoned or destroyed by fire.[3] An ordinary house could be thus destroyed without much loss. But the chief's house on the other hand was usually an elaborate structure

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1. BUCK 1958: 415
2. WHITE 1874: 266; BUCK 1958: 416. 3. BUCK 1958: 416

ornamented with carving, the product of much time and effort. It would be unthinkable to destroy it, so that it could be preserved only by removing the ailing chief from it.

At this time the dying chief might request a particular food, or the water from a special stream. Every effort was made to procure it, as the Maori regarded this as a request for 'food for the journey of death' (o matenga). Certain delicacies such as the flesh of the native dog, human flesh, rats or earthworms might be requested by the dying chief.[1]

When on the point of death the chief might be heard to say that the spirit of a deceased relative was calling him to join his ancestors in the spirit world.[2] His relatives gathered about the hut to express their sympathy and to hear his farewell message. The farewell message delivered before death was usually indicative of the chief's wishes regarding the disposal of his property, his interests in tribal lands, and the course of action the tribe should pursue after his death.

The parting injunctions were termed ohu and the whole farewell message termed poroporoaki. This was equivalent to the last will and testament of today. The expression of the chief's desires gave the people great satisfaction in that he had observed the traditions of his rank. It had very powerful and important effects, for being a public statement by one on the point of death, it was regarded as definitely binding on his relatives to execute his wishes.

If it appeared that the chief might die without leaving his people some message and words of comfort, the priest (tohunga) who

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 53 2. IBID: 30.

was the invariable companion at this time might urge him to fulfil the expectations of his people.

Maning who had a long and intimate association with the Ngapuhi people, and who had been 'adopted' by one of the chiefs of the tribe described such an incident. The tribe had assembled about the death bed of their chief expecting to hear his last will and testimony, but it was not forthcoming. According to Maning's account the priest (tohunga) shouted in the dying chief's ear, 'The tribe are assembled, you won't die silent?'.[1]

There was considerable disappointment when a chief died without leaving some message. Such is expressed in the following lines of a lament:

I heere koha kore e te hoa,	The friend left without a guiding word,
Kaore i muna iho	Without a speech of farewell[2]

The farewell was usually short as in the following example; 'Live, be brave, Do not fear your enemies. Keep the fires burning on our land. Let your arms be strong to lift the spear. Let your mana be felt by all the tribes'.[3]

The act of dying was termed whakahemohemo, and when the chief drew his last breath, the female relatives about his couch raised the loud wailing cry announcing his death. The death was sometimes announced by the firing of muskets,[4] and this together with the wailing

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1. MANING 1884: 130
2. BUCK 1958: 416
3. WHITE 1874: 333; BUCK 1958: 415; MANING 1884: 170
4. MANING 1884: 168; TAYLOR 1870: 217

had the effect of notifying the surrounding hamlets that the chief had passed away.

The Preparation of the Corpse - His symbols of rank.

On the death of the chief, his close relatives devoted all care and attention to preparing his body for the lying-in-state. The first duty was to truss the body in a sitting position. The knees were drawn up under the chin, and the arms secured over them by passing cords about the body.[1] In some cases however, the body was not prepared in this manner, but was laid extended on a platform (atamira) with the head slightly raised to afford the chief a view of his marae and his mourning people.

The chief was then attired in the ceremonial garments of rank. The finest cloaks of woven flax with ornamented borders (kaitaka)[2] and cloaks of kiwi feathers were draped about his shoulders. The hair was then dressed by being drawn up into a top-knot, in which were fixed the emblems of rank, feathers of the huia (heterlocha acutirostris - a forest bird) and kotuku (egretta alba modesta - white heron.[3]

Then the face was anointed with oil, and red ochre, while the ears were adorned with ear pendants of jade or albatross down.[4] Beside the corpse were placed the chief's weapons of war, such as the short club (mere), a wooden spear (taiaha) and in later times also

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 54; BUCK 1958: 416
2. ELSDON 1932: 244; CRAIK 1830: 192; POLACK 1838: Vol.1, 239-40; DIFFENBACH 1843: Vol.2, 62-63
3. POLACK 1838: Vol.2, 72-73, Vol.1, 239-60
4. ELSDON 1932: 244; TAYLOR 1870: 218; CRAIK: 1830: 192; ELSDON 1932: 244; DIFFENBACH Vol.2, 62.

his musket. Some observers noted that the skulls, and other human bones of ancestors were brought from the tribal sepulchre and arrayed beside the corpse.[1]

Usually the trussed corpse was placed upon a low platform (ataniwa), beside which gifts of food were laid to afford the spirit sustenance on its journey to the spirit world. The gifts might be bundles of fish or calabashes of oil,[2] or they might consist merely of tubers of taro (colocasia antiquorum).[3]

Domne wrote that every stage in preparing the body for the lying in state was accompanied by the recital of incantations (karakia).[4] Taylor gives these few lines of a chant, used when the body was being bound,

Ko te noti, ko te noti,	The tying, the tying
Ko te here, ko te here,	The binding, the binding
Nawai rahe kaha nei ...	Who is able to do it ...

but nowhere else in the literature are the chants recorded for each stage of the preparation.[5] Nevertheless given the fear of pollution, it is clear that the preparation of the chiefly corpse was an operation surrounded by intense tapu, and numerous spells would have been recited to ward off any harmful effects.

The House of Death. Te Whare Mate or Whare Potae)

The term whare mate (death house) applied not only to the house

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1. POLACK 1838: Vol.2, 73; ELSDON 1932: 244
2. EARLE 1832: 80
3. TAYLOR 1870: 220
4. DOMNE 1927: 50-51
5. TAYLOR 1870: 223

in which the chief's body lay, but also to the mourners, i.e. the chief's close relatives who attended upon him. Two other terms, namely *whare tauā* and *whare potae* also refer to the death house and the social group bonded in sorrow, but they are more accurately expressions for the period of mourning.[1]

At funerals the women were always the chief mourners. Those who attended included his wives and other female relatives.[2] The head wife sat at the right of the head of the corpse.[3] She wore a 'mourning cap' (*potae tauā*), which consisted of a band of woven flax fibres to which were attached strands of black dried seaweed, or the epidermis of a water plant or rush known as *kutekute*. These strands hung down concealing the face and head.[4] The other mourners wore wreaths of green leaves, usually the leaves of the *kawakawa* (macropiper excelsum), which were woven into circlets, the whole being termed *pare kawakawa* (wreath of *kawakawa*).[5]

The mourners kept up a continuous wailing, interspersed with the singing of dirges accompanied by quivering movements of the hands. Such expressions of the deepest grief were termed *apakura*. The term derived from a famous ancestress called Apakura whom the Maori looked upon as the teacher of the art of mourning.[6] Some laments were impromptu, and a great many of them have become preserved for posterity. They contain some of the finest poetry in the Maori language.

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1. BEST 1905: 172, 178
2. WILLIAMS 1867: 15
3. KLIER 1932: 76
4. BEST 1905: 179
5. DIEFFENBACH 1843: Vol.2, 62; TAYLOR 1870: 221
6. BEST 1905: 182

Such eulogistic phrases as 'the sheltering rata (forest tree) against the north wind', the 'plume from afar', 'the mooring post of the canoe', and so on, expressions of the highest tribute to a deceased chief, featured in many of the laments.[1] An example of such a lament is that composed by the Te Arawa chieftainess for Te Hata-pihi-o-Rehua.

Te Atua Matakore e i.	O thou god Matakore e i,
Ka mosi koa Taupiri, a Te Rewarea	Quite bare is Taupiri, also Te Rewarea
E tutei ana ra te kaulka taramea	And trimmed too are the moored red ochre canoes
I te matarae, i waho o Muruika, e i	Off the headland, outside of Muruika, e i.
Kei reira e noho ana Tamarahi pariri	There dwells Tamarahi pariri,
Titoko o te rangi, whakawhiti o te ra	The prop of the heavens, he who makes the sun to shine,
Whakaaio whenua, e i.....	And peace to spread over the land; ....[2]

Sometimes the laments contained references to the ancestors, and to the canoes (of the migration) from which the chief traced his decent. Nearly always there were explicit expressions of the loss which the tribe had suffered as the following few lines of a lament show.

Huri mai to aro, ka mihi mamao nei	Turn your face once again to give a distant greeting

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1. NGATA and TE HURINUI 1961: Part 2, 27
2. IBID: 99

Ki te iwi mokai, nau i — To the bereft tribe you left behind,

Taka hokai ana koe ... — As you hasten on your way.[1]

While the mourners sought to assuage their grief in song, weeping and wailing, they also expressed their sorrow by lacerating themselves with flakes of obsidian or flint.[2] Moreover to show their respect the relatives cut their hair short. According to White the hair was sometimes burnt as an offering to the spirit.[3] Sometimes a single long lock of hair was left as a reminder of the passing of the chief.[4]

It was not unusual for the head wife to commit suicide on the death of her husband, so that she might accompany him on his journey, and attend upon him in the spirit world.[5] Secondary wives sometimes committed suicide as well, so that they too might accompany their husbands. If they were young wives, there is some evidence to show that they were restrained by their relatives from taking their lives.[6]

There were no sanctions against the wife or wives if they chose not to take their lives, but it was considered 'correct' (tika) if they did. But it was still believed that the spirit required attendants to 'keep him from being angry', and for this reason slaves were sacrificed. Buck states that in the north among the Nga puhi people the victims were cooked, and then placed beside the tomb of the

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1. NGATA TE HUKINUI 1961: 231
2. POLACK 1 38: Vol.2, 62; ELSER 1932: 244
3. WHITE 1874: 340
4. BEST 1905: 174
5. POLACK 1838: Vol.2, 73; ELSER 1934: 76
6. MANING 1884: 173.

chief. They provided the 'food for the journey of death' (o matenga)[1].

After the wife or wives had strangled themselves their corpses were placed beside that of the chief, attired and adorned in the same manner.[2]

The Seclusion of the Death House.

Earle wrote that the women, the corpse, the hut, and the ground for some space around was under strict tapu.[3] It is common knowledge that the corpse of a chief extremely tapu, and all who handled the corpse were believed to have participated in this ritual impurity. Moreover it adhered to all the personal property which had had close contact with the deceased, so that a chief's personal belongings were always buried with him.

As for the close relatives of the chief, they were at the same time targets of the spirit, and compelled to perform certain rites which would send it on its way to the spirit world. A traditional source records a chief's instructions to his son to be sure to perform the funeral rites over his body, so that his 'spiritural influences' should not cause harm to the living.[4] Tregear wrote that if the spirit did not start off it became unclean (poke), and this was particularly the case when the deceased did not have legitimate offspring to perform the funeral rites over the corpse.[5]

White describes the 'threads of departure', a rite which required the close relatives to attach lengths of flax to the edge of the mat

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1. BUCK 1958: 429
2. WHITE 1874: 265; POLACK 1838: Vol.2, 73
3. EARLE 1832: 79-80
4. SHORTLAND 1882: 52
5. TREGEAR 1904: 387

on which the corpse lay. The flax strands had been thinned along part of their lengths, and the mourners drew upon these as the funeral ode (pihe) was incanted, until the strands broke, leaving one half of the strand attached to the mat.[1]

During the first few days of mourning, the near relatives fasted, and when they chose to partake of food they were required to take it away from the death house.[2] This prohibition stemmed from the fear of food becoming polluted, but it is probable that the prohibition was also associated with the notion of cooked food being destructive to the efficacy of the rites performed to despatch the spirit to the spirit world.

The attitudes to cooked food in magico-religious rites are associated with the belief in it as a symbol of destruction. According to the situation, cooked food was believed to destroy the sanctity of persons and things. Thus it was never passed over the person of a chief, neither for example could it be taken into a meeting house. Yet in the rituals of purification it was a recurring symbolic element. In the birth rituals described in the previous chapter it was employed to remove the tapu of birth, and in the death rituals, as we shall see, it was employed to remove the tapu from the gifts which visiting mourners had brought in honour of the deceased and laid beside him.

Best tells us that the mourners could not take food in public

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1. WHITE 1874: 269

2. BEST 1905: 180

nor could they seek it during the day, but only under cover of darkness, retiring to some hut to eat it in secret.[1] This public ban on eating, and the restriction against taking food during the day is related to the notion of the mourners symbolic identification with the deceased, with the shades of night, and as this imposed the mourners isolation from the general social life of the community.

The widow of the chief, when she did not choose to accompany her husband, continued in a 'state of mourning (*whare taua*) until her husband's bones were exhumed and the final rites were conducted. During this period she wore unattractive clothing, including a hat made from half a calabash fringed with dog's hair which hung down over her eyes.[2]

The Lying in State.

Few early accounts state how long the chief lay in state before being interred. Probably burial took place after the fourth or fifth day, although this might be delayed for 'when a great chief dies many mourners flowed in'. Many might come from a considerable distance, and given the difficulties of travel in pre-European Maori society it might take some time for the mourners to reach the village of the deceased.

Today the funeral (*tangi*) of a high chief might last for anything

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1. BEST 1905: 180

2. SMITH 1874: 155-9

from 10 to 14 days with the possibility of it being extended if it was known that a large contingent of late mourners was expected.

Few early observers give even a rough estimate of the numbers of mourners who attended, but it is quite clear from their generalised statements that the higher the rank of the chief the greater number of mourners. Cowan was present at the funeral of a high chief in 1894. He had attended the funeral (tangihanga) of Tawhio the ariki chief of the Waikato tribes, and he estimated that there were at least three thousand mourners present belonging to some thirty tribes from all parts of New Zealand.[1]

When a chief died he was described as being carried away in the 'canoe of death' (waka o Aitua). Special messengers were sent to notify related hapu and neighbouring tribes. These would not refuse to send representatives. Some indication has been given concerning the strength and reality of the bonds of kinship in Maori society. They implied definite obligations, not least of which was to attend the funeral of a deceased relative. Failure to comply was regarded as a slighting of the dead, and of the relatives. Defection would be remembered.

One observer remarked that the mourners appeared to come equipped for war rather than to take part in the obsequies of a deceased relative.[2] It is true that visitors rarely undertook a journey of any distance without being prepared against surprise

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1. COWAN 1930: 241-42

2. EARLE 1832: 197.

attacks, which would explain in part the above comment. But it was also part of the ceremonial dress for most occasions and not least for the funeral of a chief.

There are no early accounts of the manner in which the visiting mourners were received, and only generalised statements exist concerning the proceedings that followed. While most early accounts stress the amount of speech making, and feasting that took place, little is said for example about the etiquette and ceremonial which accompanied these activities.

Today a great deal of ceremonial is still observed on the arrival of visitors to a funeral (tangi). Certain patterns of funeral behaviour have persisted through the hundred or more years of change, a period that has witnessed the decay of many Maori customs. It seems reasonable to suppose that the ceremonial which mark the funerals of chiefs today was also observed at the funerals of chiefs in the past.

Most of the following description is based on contemporary material, and on my own observations of proceedings at funerals which I have attended and participated in.

The Local Mourners.

The first to pay their respects to the deceased chief were the members of his own village and hapu (subtribe). They came in their family groups led by the women weeping violently and raising the loud

wail for the dead. It was proper that they should express their grief in the manner suggested by the following lines:

Te roimata i heke	The tears which fell
Te hupe i whiua ki te marae,	The mucus which is cast on the village plaza,
Ko ea Aitua ...	Avenge the death ...

As the women wept and wailed a senior chief rose from the morning throng assembled before the death house, and addressed the deceased in words of farewell, 'Farewell o Sir, Depart to the ancestors ...' (Haere ra e Pa, Haere ki te Po, Haere ki nga tipuna).

The close relatives of the chief who attended upon him continued to wail loudly, and to shed copious tears. In the past as we have indicated they expressed their grief by self-inflicted lacerations. Sometimes it would appear that the chief mourners competed with each other as to who could raise the loudest lamentations.

Condolences were concluded in the ceremonial 'nose pressing' (hongi). This form of salutation which has its equivalent in the handshake was the accepted form of greeting. It is still observed today to some extent but in the main the handshake has replaced it.

Once the local villagers had paid their respects they were free to go and make preparation for the visitors. It has been indicated

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1. BUCK 1958: 418

already that in Maori society and elsewhere, social position and prestige were dependent upon the lavish display of wealth, or to put it more simply upon the feeding of people. While the visitors might come with their own provisions,[1] much of the food came from the chief's own stores. The preparations included the making of earth ovens (hangi) in which the food was steam cooked, and the building of temporary long thatched huts of palm (nikau) and bulrush (raupo) in which to accommodate the visitors.[2]

Most of the mourners attended out of respect and sorrow, but others might be attracted by the feasting and the sociability that the occasion provided. Funerals provided the opportunity to exchange gossip, to make selective friendships, and to discuss tribal policy.

The Reception of the Visiting Mourners.

Visitors usually arrived in their tribal groups. Sometimes several groups might arrive together, but they advanced on to the village court (marae) separately under the leadership of their respective chiefs.

All the visitors wore the universal symbols of mourning mentioned earlier, circlets of kawakawa (macropiper excelsum) or lycopodium.

When the visitors were sighted the village community (tangata whenua) gathered on the marae in order to extend the ceremonial welcome. They formed a reception line usually three or four rows deep, with the

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1. CRAIK 1830: 192
2. COWAN 1930: 242

women in front on either side of the death house. The local villagers also wore wreathe of greenery upon their heads, and in addition the women carried sheafs of palm leaves in their hands which they waved in quivering movements in the welcoming dance which was part of the proceedings. The men arranged themselves at intervals behind the women, preparatory to performing their dance of welcome which was part of the later proceedings.

The assembling for the reception might take some time, in which case a messenger was despatched to delay the advance of the visitors. Only after the ceremonial welcome had been extended was there any regular association between the two groups.

When the scene was set, two senior women from the village community moved forward toward the centre of the marae and in high pitched voices they delivered the call of welcome (karanga). The following is a typical and conventional example of a 'call' (karanga). 'Welcome, o people, Welcome o visitors. Bring with you the many deaths, behold death is here too. Welcome, welcome, welcome ... (Haere mai ra te iwi e. Haere mai ra e te manuhiri. Mauria mai nga mate tuatini, tenei a Aitua e takoto nei e i ...) The request included in the cry of welcome is simply an appeal to the visitors to bring the sorrow and tears (roimata) which they have shed on the occasions of death within their own group, to honour the deceased.

A senior woman from the ranks of the visiting mourners answered the call in the following manner. 'Depart o Sir, to the people of the night. Lie there o friend on the swift currents of death ... (Haere ra e pa. Haere ra ki te iwi i te Po. Takoto i te au o Aitua e hoa e.)

The theme might be taken up by other women in the party as it advanced with slow and measured step on to the village court (marae). The advance of the mourners might be halted by a single warrior in the ceremonial challenge (wero a).[1]

The warrior approached the visitors armed with weapon in one hand, and a green leaf in the other. The purpose of the act was to ascertain whether the visitors came in friendship or enmity. Today it is purely ceremonial, but in the past it was probably more meaningful in view of the hostile attitudes which groups adopted toward each other.

The warrior with cautious movements placed the leaf on the ground before the visitors. If the chief of the party picked up the leaf it signalised that the party had peaceful intentions. They were then led by the warrior to within a short space of the mourning house. The ceremonial challenge is not restricted to funerals, but is observed on most important social occasions attended by notable visitors.

While the visitors stood before the mourning house expressing their grief in wailing, weeping, and self-inflicted lacerations,

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 375; BUCK 1958: 390-91.

the local villagers performed their dances of welcome. The following is a typical chant accompanied by varying movements of the hands made more dramatic by the quivering of palm leaves in the hands of the women.

Toia mai te waka	Drag hither the canoe,
Kumea mai te waka	Draw hither the canoe,
Ki te uxenga - te waka	To the pillow - the canoe
Ki te moenga - te waka	To the sleeping place - the canoe
Ki te takotoranga i takoto ai ... te waka e ..	To the place where the canoe will lie ...

This was followed by a posture dance performed almost exclusively by the men. These posture dances or haka were numerous and of a great variety. Many were very warlike in character, certainly there were some performed before going into battle for the purpose of expelling any fears the warriors might have of the enemy, or to instil fear into the enemy. They were performed on most social occasions, and demonstrated with weapons in hand they were a frightening spectacle, at least for some early observers who witnessed them. Best quotes Earle as saying 'It (the dance) was conducted with such fury ... that at length I became so horrified, and for some time I could not divest myself of the feeling that our visitors were playing false, so closely did this mock battle resemble a real one ... The dreadful noises, the screeching of the women, and the menacing gestures ... were so calculated to inspire terror that stouter hearts than mine might

have felt fear.'[1] Today they are still performed with the same vigour, 'menacing gestures' and stamping feet which characterised the posture dance of the past, but in pre-European times they were a much more meaningful medium of expression. They were at once expressive of the group's warlike qualities, and it may be suggested that they were an expression of a deceased chief's prowess as a warleader.

At the end of the display the parties once more sank to the prolonged mourning, with the visiting women seeking at least to equal the shrill wailing of the chief mourners.

Gifts (Kopaki).

It was customary for the visiting mourners to bring gifts (kopaki) as a token of their esteem for the deceased chief.[2]

The term kopaki has the figurative meaning of a covering or shroud for the corpse. These gifts were never buried with the chief, but were retained by the relatives. The gifts (kopaki) conferred the highest honour on the deceased, his family and tribe. But it also involved a serious obligation of making an adequate return when the occasion arose of the death of a chief in the donating tribe.

The gifts were usually in the form of precious cloaks and weapons of jade (pounamu). The etiquette of presentation prescribed that the leading chief and his wife should convey them into the

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 103
2. TAYLOR 1870: 227; BEST 1924: Vol.2, 54, 70, 74

mourning house during the weeping stage of the ceremony. If the gifts were absolute they were placed at the foot of the corpse, the cloaks being placed with the neck border toward the corpse, and the weapons were laid with the handles toward the corpse. If they were not absolute, but were expected to be returned, then the cloaks were placed with the neck border away from the corpse, and the weapons laid so that the handles faced away. These gifts represented the 'tears' (roimata) of the visitors for the bereaved.[1]

Speech-making (Taki).

During this stage of the proceedings, and while the women continued to mourn, the senior chief of the community delivered the formal speech of welcome. Skill in oratory as we have shown was a virtue in chiefs, and a necessary requisite, for in other situations it was a powerful instrument for persuading the followers of a chief to adopt a particular course of action. It was noted also that the method of delivery was as effective as the spoken word.

The writer of the book 'Poenamo' gives an excellent description of the manner in which a chief delivered his speech at the funeral of a deceased relative.[2] Frequently the welcoming speech opened with a chant. The following ancient chant sung by the sentry on watch through the night is frequently used as an introduction

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1. BUCK 1958: 420-21

2. CAMPBELL 1881: 168

(tau) to the funeral address.

Piki mai, kake mai.	Ascend, climb hither.
Homai te waiora ki au.	Bring me the water of life,
E tu tehua ana koe.	I am depressed and forlorn.
Te moe a te kuia nei i Te Po,	In the night sleeps restlessly the old lady,
Na Wairaka i rarua ai.	By whom we are doomed because of Wairaka.
E papaki tu ana te tai ki Te Reinga,	The tides roar at Te Reinga,
Ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea.	It is dawn, it is dawn, it is daylight.
Tapatapa te ra nei,	The sun shines hazily,
Whakaeaea ake ana,	Appearing slowly (over the horizon)
Nei runga te kotipu,	Above the dividing line,
Nei raro te kotihono,	Below the combining line,
Kei kona koe e mihi ana.	From whence you greet me.
Ka mau te hono ra,	The union will endure change,
Whiti tu ana	Yet endure,
I rawea te Rangi e tu nei	(For) bound together were Rangi in the heavens above,
Te Papa e takoto nei.	And Papa on the earth below.
Turuki, paneke, kei hara mai te toki,	Follow on (lest) the axe comes,
Hawmi e hui e, taiki e.	Unite, assemble, be as one.

The speaker then addressed the deceased expressing both

sorrow and the wish that the deceased should join his ancestors in the spirit world. Buck stated that he always felt the address expressed more than a wish, but also a command to the spirit to go to the spirit world.

Takoto kei taku tuara i te uruuna taka,	Lie at my back on the pillow that falls not,
Te moenga te whakarahia,	And the bed that gives no rising,
Takoto mai i te anuanu, i te matao,	Lie there in the cold,
Tenei te taniwha o te moana	This is the monster of the sea
Ka puta i tana rua.	Emerged from his cave.
Ka ea ki taku tuakana,	To be requited by my brother,
Ka ea, ka ea.	It is paid for, it is paid for,
Kua ea ra te mahi a te hanga Aitua.	The task of death has been paid for.
Kua ea te wero i u ki taku kiri	Death's sharp point which pierced my body no longer gives pain,
Waiho mai ko te tangi	All that remains for me and the people
Ko te mamae ki au, ki te iwi.	Are sorrow, pain, and tears.
Haere ki te iwi,	Go to the tribes,
Haere ki te mano,	Go to the myriads,
Haere ki nga tipuna,	Go to the ancestors,
Haere ki te Po,	Go to the spirit world,
Haere, haere, haere ...	Depart, depart, depart ...[1]

1. Personal communication - Moka Hopa, of Kawhia - my translation.

The speaker then addressed the visiting mourners. The chiefs present were addressed personally, and each hapu acknowledged by name.

Nau mai, nau mai, nau mai ...	Welcome, welcome, welcome ... (name of tribe or hapu)
Haere mai i te ra e whiti ana,	Welcome while the sun shines,
Na taku ariki koe i tiki atu	My great chief fetched you here
I kukume mai i tua o te rangi	From beyond the horizon,
Haere mai, haere mai, haere mai	Welcome, welcome, welcome.
Haere mai e ... me o hapu	Welcome (name of chief) with your people,
Kua ea taku mate i to taenga mai i te ra nei,	Your arrival today has compensated for my death and sorrow,
Mauria mai te taonga nei, te roimata, me te hupe,	Bring your gifts of tears and mucus,
Whiua ki te marae o Aitua	Cast them on the village court
Ka tangihia, kae ea, ka ea, ka ea.	In weeping it is avenged, it is avenged, it is avenged.[1]

The central idea in the chief's address to the visitors is an acknowledgement of the fact that by sharing the grief brought by death, the sorrow of the bereaved is alleviated. The death is made tolerable, and the deceased replaced.

Having paved the way for the tone and pattern of address

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1. Personal communication - Moka Hope - of Kawhia - my translation.

the speaker was followed by other chiefs who spoke in order of rank. The same sentiments and acknowledgements expressed by the leading speaker were repeated. Sometimes the speech-making may go on interminably long. Nowadays the last speaker usually indicates that the addresses of the home people are over, by raising a hand aloft with the comment, 'This side is finished. Now it is over to you'. (Kua mutu i tenei taha. Kei a koutou inaianei).

In the replies that followed precedence was once more given to rank. The pattern of address might follow that established by the hosts, beginning with a chant, followed by an address to the bereaved. The introductory words of his address as 'Call, call, call, (karanga, karanga, karanga) were used in reply to the call of welcome (haere mai) given by the local speakers in their addresses. The speaker condoled with the bereaved family and tribe, stressed tribal affinities and friendship. The orator then turned his attention to the deceased. His address might take this form:

Toku papa haere.	My father farewell,
Haere, haere, haere.	Farewell, farewell, farewell.
Haere ki te Po, haere ki	Go to the Spirit land, to the Spirit land, to the Spirit land.
Haere ki ou tupuna.	Go to your ancestors.
Haere ki Hawaiki.	Go to Hawaiki.
Haere ki ou matua.	Go to your elders.
Haere ki Paerau.	Go to Paerau.

Haere ra, te maioro, te kaiia, te whakaruru hau.	Farewell the breast-work of the people, the shelterer from the piercing winds.
Haere ki Tawhiti-nui, ki Tawhiti-roa, ki Tawhiti-pamamao.	Journey the Great-distance, the Long-distance, to the Very-distant Places.[1]
Toko koi kahurangi, haere.	My protector, farewell.
Marua ana te whenua i a koe kua rixo i te taxi a Hine-nui-te-Po.	Defenceless is the land since you were caught in the toils of the Goddess of the Underworld.
Kua koxe he tangata hai arai te kino, i te aha, i te aha, i te aha ...[2]	Remains no one to avert whatever evil or misfortune (which may befall us).

Quotations from myths, and traditions might be employed, as also eulogistic phrases as the following; 'The sheltering totaxa (forest tree) in the great forest of Tane has fallen', 'The lofty mountain has been levelled to the ground'.[3] These eulogisms emphasised the importance of the deceased. Sometimes there might be specific references to the virtues of the chief as a warrior, and the recital of classical chants for other dead chiefs. The following few lines of a fine lament give some indication of the feeling which inspired composition:

Kaore te aroha ngau kino roto xa,	Alas the bitter pain which gnaws within,
Ki te waka pakaru,	For the canoe which was wrecked,[4]
Ki te hoa ka rixo ...	For the friend who has gone ..

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1. This formula embodies the Maoris idea of the migration of his ancestors from one Tawhiti or Hawaiki, across the island strewn Pacific. See COWAN 1930: 23.
2. BEST 1905: 171. 3. BUCK 1958: 419. 4. IBID: 418.

Succeeding speakers express the same sentiments, and at the conclusion of the orations the scene is set for the last and final stage of the reception to the visitors.

The Salutation. Hongi (Nose pressing)

The visitors first extend the ceremonial greeting to the local villagers who have aligned themselves on either side of the mourning house, before proceeding to salute the chief mourners. This might be prolonged with more wailing and shedding of tears, but once the visitors had expressed their condolences the formal reception to the visitors terminated. They were then free to associate freely with the local villagers, and to even join with them in receiving later arrivals.

Feasting.

In the book 'Poenamu' mentioned earlier the writer described some of the events at the funeral of a high chief which he attended. He observed that after each arrival had performed the proper amount of 'weeping' (tangi) they retreated to feast and to gossip.[1]

It was indicated earlier that for some of the mourners, the opportunity for feasting and the attendant sociability were probably the chief attraction for attending funerals.

During the lying in state, the visitors were fed, lodged, and entertained by the village community. Each meal was in the manner of a feast, but not to equal that which followed the burial. The smoke from scores of 'earth ovens' (hangi) rose into the air night

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1. CAMPBELL. 1881: 178.

and morning. There was daily to be seen the 'food carrying' (tuku kai) ceremony, the formal presentation of cooked food in small round flax baskets (kono) to the guests, with the accompaniment of dance and song.[1]

Visiting tribes were fully aware of the strain upon local resources, and frequently they brought their own provisions, as well as contributions of food to be presented to the hosts.

Providing the seasons permitted they might bring some special delicacy for which their territory was famed. Buck describes the presentation made by a party of Ngati-Ruanui mourners. Their contribution consisted of preserved karaka berries (corynocarpus laevigata, a tree and fruit of the same).

'The party of men and women, each carrying baskets of the food, was led by a tall chief of dignified aspect. As he marched toward the marae, he recited the solo part of an appropriate chant in a high key, and his party took up the chorus with a shout that brought everyone running to the marae. The local people took up their station in front of the meeting house, and their women raised the long drawn out cry of welcome (Haere mai).[2] The leader and his party continued their stately advance, keeping time with the repeated chorus. The chant was characteristic and from it the spectators knew what was in the baskets. The baskets were neatly deposited in rows on the marae, the chief presented them, and the whole party broke into an energetic haka (posture dance) as a grand finale. A local chief rose, and

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1. COWAN 1930: 242
2. literally 'come hither'.

accepted the contribution. The gathering dispersed and the baskets of preserved kareka berries was added to the local store house for distribution among the guests at later meals. The Ngati-Ruanui had done honour to their hosts, and incidentally had acquired credit for themselves, not only from the food itself, but from their manner of presenting it'.[1]

Today contributions come principally in the form of cash. Sometimes it is presented during the speeches of reply. Otherwise bank notes might be tied to the twigs of a branch and presented to the senior chief of the community at the conclusion of the speeches. While the nature of the gifts has changed, the main motive for making them remains the same. The gifts still represent the 'tears' (roimata) of the mourners for the deceased brought in his honour, but they also help to defray the expenses incurred by his funeral.

Dancing and entertainment.

In addition to providing meals, the hosts devoted their attention to entertaining the guests in dance and song.[1] During the day the entertaining took place on the marae in front of the mourning house. The atmosphere contrasted sharply with that within the death house. In some respects the light entertainment gave relief for the chief mourners from the emotional strain which death imposed upon them, and which precluded them from participating in the social life of the community.

Sometimes songs and dances were specially composed in honour

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1. BUCK 1958: 421-22

of the deceased. The hosts entertained by performing a variety of posture dances (haka). The guests reciprocated in the same manner, with an attempt to outdo the performances of their hosts. The women often joined the men in their performances of the posture dances (haka), but they also made their own contributions in the graceful poi (ball) dance in which a tiny ball was twirled on the end of a piece of string in time to chanting.

The elders of the community were more content to be spectators, and to exchange conversation on a variety of topics.

While the emphasis was on light-hearted entertainment and the display of skill in the art, it might be suggested that an underlying and very serious notion received expression in the attitudes and movements, particularly in the posture dances of the men. Earlier it was pointed out that some posture dances were performed for the express purpose of dispelling fear. Performed at funerals they may be interpreted as expressing a defiance of death, and an assertion of life.

In the evenings the community gathered in the assembly house where the entertainment of the day was continued. The speech-making was resumed, but did not take any order of precedence, unlike the formal proceedings of the day. In fact the Maori clearly distinguished between the ceremonial conducted on the marae and the informal atmosphere within the assembly house in the proverb:

Ko Tu ki waho	Tu outside
Ko Tahu ki roto	Tahu inside ...[1]

1. GREY 1928: 139

Tu was the spirit of war, and the inspiration of the energetic speech-making, challenge and dancing offered on the marae through the day. Tahu was the spirit of peace, and the friendly intercourse which took place in the assembly house at night.

As a matter of form the speeches always included some reference to the deceased, with a stress upon his descent from noted ancestors and particular canoe, and even his genealogical relationship with other canoes. The orators might also give account of campaigns he led, and descriptions of his prowess as a leader on the battlefield. Between speeches there was more dancing, singing and the recital of ancient chants. Among the audience there might be nodding heads as members weary of the proceedings drop off to sleep, only to awake later with renewed energy to continue the night's entertainment and discussion.

As Buck stated, and as I have observed, discussions might range over a wide variety of topics, from obscure points of history to contemporary Maori problems.[1] Topics were thoroughly discussed, with a lead being given by the elders of the hosts and visitors.

Methods of burial.

In the past the methods of burial varied in different places,

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1. BUCK 1958: 423

partly due to ecological differences. Sometimes it was not known where the chief was buried, for his body was removed at night in secret, to prevent his resting place from becoming known to outsiders.[1] Concealment prevented enemies from stealing the bones to make flutes, barbs of fish hooks, and other implements.[2] Such acts were regarded as degrading to the family and the tribe of the deceased. When they occurred, as they sometimes did, they were not infrequently a casus belli.

In some places the body was placed in the fork of a tree or on a platform constructed among the branches. Sometimes the corpse was placed in a canoe-shaped coffin, and then placed in the foliage of a tree.[3] At other times the burial took place within the confines of the village, the body being placed in an elevated mausoleum, exquisitely carved, painted with red ochre (kokowai), and ornamented with feathers.[4]

Some observers describe canoe burials for chiefs.[5] This mode of interment consisted of making a coffin by fastening together two sections of a canoe gunwale to gunwale. The coffin was then erected in an upright position and the body placed in it in

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1. MANING 1884: 172; BUCK 1958: 425; DONNE
2. cf. SHORTLAND 1856: 230; TREGEAR 1904: 359; WHITE 1885: 178
3. BEST 1905: 194
4. DIFFENBACH 1843: Vol.2, 63; ELDER 1932: 208-9; BEST 1905: 194
5. POLACK 1838: Vol.1, 137; BEST 1924: Vol.2, 63; BEST 1924: Vol.2, 63; DIFFENBACH: 1843: Vol.2, 63.

a sitting posture upon a grating. These structures standing sometimes 6 to 9 feet in height were also painted with red ochre, and ornamented with feathers where the two lengths of the canoe were joined together.[1]

Among some inland tribes swamp burial were practiced while coastal tribes disposed of their dead in the sand. It is probable however that this form of burial was adopted for people of lesser rank.

Sometimes the chief was placed in a cave, known only to the members of the tribe.[2] Earth burials were not uncommon.[3] A special spade was made for the digging of the grave, and consecrated with much ceremony and ritual.[4]

Cremation does not appear to have been a regular form of disposal, except in cases of death on the battlefield.[5] It was not practical to transport the whole bodies away from the enemy territory, so after removing the heads of their companions, the warriors cremated the bodies to prevent the enemy from using the bones for the sacrilegous purposes mentioned earlier. The heads were preserved and taken home to be wept over by the relatives.[6]

Best reports that a form of mummification was sometimes practised, the corpse being subjected to a drying or steaming

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 62-63; POLACK 1838: Vol.1, 138; DIEFFENBACH 1843: Vol.2, 62-63.
2. BEST 1905: 194; DONNE 1927: 53
3. WHITE 1874: 331; TAYLOR 1870: 217; BEST 1924: Vol.2.
4. TAYLOR 187: 217 5. BROWNE 1907: 69; BEST 1924: Vol.2, 67
6. BUCK 1938: 300, 424-25; MANING 1863: 63; Cf. BEST 1900: 351

process while trussed for burial.[1]

But whatever the form of burial, it seems that the interment, if it was not within the village enclosure, was certainly not far distant from it. Fear of desecration by the enemy was clearly a determining factor, but the emotional factor was probably as influential. A chief was not immediately disposed of out of sight, the interment was merely temporary. Only after a lapse of time were the final obsequies conducted. In the interim the corpse was left to decompose, while the place of interment remained tapu and avoided by the community. Sometimes the burial spot was enclosed by a fence, within which the utensils and other property of the chief were deposited.

The Burial.

Few early observers record the actual burial of a chief. Their general statements about the amount of ceremonial and ritual that marked the death and burial of a person of high rank, are significant in themselves, for clearly, given the emphasis on rank and prestige, one would expect this to be so. But little is said about the interment itself, or about those involved in it.

White's book is the only source which has anything like a detailed account of an actual burial. While it is a novel and not a sociological study, the book is nevertheless based on White's intimate knowledge of Maori life, and is quite valuable

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 56.

in indicating reasonably fully what probably occurred.[1]

White's description concerns the tree burial of a chief and his wife who had committed suicide upon the death of her husband. His account is lengthy, but a few broad points extracted from it together with some general infomation from later sources give an adequate picture of the event.

At the end of the lying in state, the mourners gathered within the death house and aligned themselves on either side of the corpse to recite with the priest (tohunga) the funeral ode (pihe). The bodies were then wrapped in bundles of climbing fern (mange-mange) and enclosed in the mats upon which they had lain.

The corpses were then strapped to poles to facilitate conveyance. Apparently the chief was conveyed by male bearers, and the wife by female bearers. Best says that the corpse was sometimes carried in a crude stretcher (amo),[2] while there is some suggestion that the corpse was borne on the shoulders of the bearer.[3]

As the corpses were borne away the assembly rose, and with one voice broke into the death wail, which continued until the burial party reached the grove of trees visible from the village.

When the party reached the grove the priest faced the north, which was the direction in which the spirit was believed to take

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1. WHITE 1874: 267ff.
2. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 64
3. TAYLOR 1870: 223

its leave. The corpse of the chief was then placed to the right of the priest, and that of his wife to the left. Moreover when the corpses were hoisted up, the chief was first drawn up on the east side of the tree, and his wife on the west side.

Now as it was mentioned White's is the only account of a burial, so that it is difficult to ascertain whether the manner of placement, and drawing up into the tree were universal. But it does accord with the manner in which the Maori categorised his universe. All things were either male or female, the one positive and associated with the right, and the other negative and associated with the left. Moreover what is probably universal, the east was always associated with life, and the west with death and darkness.

Rites of Purification (Whakanoa).

Immediately after the temporary burial the bearers were required to immerse themselves in a stream while the priest recited chants to remove the tapu from them.[1] After emerging from the stream they arranged themselves along the bank while the priest recited more chants, before returning to the village.[2]

As for the chief mourners their tapu state appears to have persisted, at least this is what is suggested in one tradition which quotes the last words of a chief to his son. 'For three

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1. TAYLOR 1870: 222; BEST 1905: 180-182
2. BEST 1905: 200

years, your person must remain sacred and you must remain apart from the tribe ... Then when my head falls upon my body and when the fourth year has come, waken me from my sleep, show my face to the light of day. When I arise, you will be noa (free from tapu).[1] It has been shown that the widow of the chief remained in mourning until her husband's bones were exhumed.[2] It would seem that the prolonged mourning of the close relatives continued until the celebration of the second funeral.

Both Best[3] and Taylor[4] indicate that a form of the divination rite termed the 'wand of life' (tira ora) was performed after the burial.

When for example a priest wished to determine by divination whether a sick person would recover from an illness, he took two rods (toko), one representing life (ora) and the other death mate). Sometimes the rods were fixed in two mounds of earth, but in the above case the rods were stuck in the water, in that part of the stream reserved for the performance of important rites (wahi tapu). The priest recited spells over the two rods to draw out of the individual the spirit (wairua) which was believed to cause the illness. If the spirit alighted on the staff of life, the sick person recovered, but if on the other, death was certain. However if the priest succeeded in spearing the spirit

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1. SHORTLAND 1882: 52, 53-56
2. WHITE 1874: 155-9; BEST 1905: 179
3. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 69
4. TAYLOR 1870: 223

as it hovered over the wand of death, the patient was believed to recover.[1]

As part of the rites following burial, the priest first set up the wand of death (tira mate) and recited over it the following chant:

Thou wand of the Po (Underworld),

The great Po,

The long Po,

The unseen Po,

The unsought Po,

Stand there o wand, wand of Tane, wand of the Po'.[2]

This chant provided by Best agrees in its essentials with that recorded by Taylor.[3] The rite was performed for the purpose of sending the spirit to the Spirit world, 'to join the myriads who had preceded it, lest it should remain in the world of life, and plague the living.[4]

The priest then set up the wand of life (tira ora) and over it recited the following spell:

Thou wand of this world,

The great world, the long world, the dark world.

Stand there o wand, the wand of Hikurangi (the name of a sacred mountain in the original homeland)[5]

According to Best the rite was performed [illegible]

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 40; TAYLOR 1870: 222
2. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 69
3. TAYLOR 1870: 223
4. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 69
5. IBID: 70.

in order to preserve the welfare of the living.[1] Best also says that sometimes a human sacrifice (kouanraumu) was made to 'lift the tapu from the mourners' (Ko te kouangaumu hai whakanoa).[2]

Part of the rites which followed burial included the destruction by fire of the house in which the corpse of the chief had lain.[3] The gifts which the visitors had presented as a token of their esteem were cleansed by the priest who placed small portions of cooked food upon them.[4] The food was taken from the oven (umu) specially prepared for the priest as part of the funeral feast. They were then distributed among the relatives.

The Funeral Feast (Hakari) (tupapaku)

In accordance with the values placed upon liberality, and its correlation with the maintenance of prestige, the feast which followed was a lavish affair.

Special ovens (umu) of food were prepared for the priest, and the senior chief of the village.[5] Speeches were made to the visitors expressing appreciation of the honour which their presence had brought to the bereaved and their deceased chief. The food was brought from the steaming ovens in small round baskets (kono), and carried by the women in the picturesque 'food carrying ceremony' (tuku kai) described earlier.

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1. IBID
2. BEST 1905: 181
3. WHITE 1874: 27.
4. TAYLOR 1870: 227
5. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 72; BUCK 1958: 425; TAYLOR 1870: 227-28

Both Cowan[1] and Frost[2] give some details of the catering for the funeral of Tawhio held at Taupiri in 1894. In this case two dining rooms had been built, both three quarters of a mile long. Two thousand loaves of bread were ordered daily, and large quantities of pork, beef, potatoes, fish, dried eels, and shell fish were provided to feed the multitude.

An important part of the proceedings, was the ceremony for the distribution of food and other gifts to the visiting tribes, by the relatives of the deceased. The food was placed in heaps (tahua) which were arranged in a long line upon the village court (marae). Buck describes the custom as he saw it carried out at the funerals (tangi) of Te Kakara of Waikanae, and Te Heuheu Tukino of Tokaanu, both men were of highest rank.[3]

At the funeral (tangi) of Te Kakara the heaps of food consisted of bags of sugar, sacks of flour, tobacco, cigarettes, and other minor articles evenly distributed. In the past the food would have consisted of baskets of sweet potato taro (colocasia antiquorum - a tuber) topped with dried fish or preserved pigeons. Buck stated that the most spectacular item consisted of cleft sticks holding pound notes which formed little flags stuck upright in the topmost layer of bags of sugar.[4]

The visitors sat in their tribal groups opposite the imposing array. 'A chief representing the family opened the

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1. COWAN 1930: 242
2. FROST 1947: 17
3. BUCK 1958: 427
4. IBID

proceedings by walking up to the tahuaroa (tahua: heap, roa: long) and turning to face the assembled tribes. In a loud voice, he called, Kanohi titiro, taringa whakarongo (lit. Eyes look, ears listen). He struck one of the bags with a walking stick and called, Te kai nei kia ... (This food to ...). Here the chief named the recipient tribe and then returned to his own group. Buck continued, 'The tribe to whom the pile of food and notes had been presented as a matter of form held a brief consultation to decide what tribe should be the next recipient. Their senior chief then walked over to the pile and called upon the assembled eyes and ears to pay attention. He struck the bags a sharp blow with a walking stick, and passed the food to another tribe. And so without any haste, the pile of food passed from tribe to tribe of those present, each representative using the same phrases, and striking the nearest bag with a walking stick ... When every tribe present had been honoured, the pile was passed on to individual well-known chiefs, and after those worthy of being honoured had been honoured, the tahuaroa was passed back to the family of the deceased.

A local chief then stepped out with some assistants and the long row of bags was divided into sections corresponding to the number of tribes present. The distributor then commenced at one end using the same preliminary call and allocated each subdivision in turn to the individual tribes until all were served. Nothing then remained but for the tribe to collect its subdivision and divide

it among themselves, perhaps reserving a share for those at home.'[1]

Buck states that at the funeral of Te Heuheu Tukino the heaps consisted entirely of fine cloaks, which were distributed in the same manner.[2]

The provision of a tahuaroa made serious inroads into the resources of the family and tribe, but the concern for maintaining prestige, and the desire to give the chief a farewell appropriate to his rank, demanded that the custom should be observed.

In summary, perhaps Earle's comment on the funeral (tangi) of the renowned Ngapuhi chief Hongi might be quoted. Earle wrote of Hongi 'In his last moments he was attended by more men of rank than had ever assembled before to witness the dissolution of a warrior, and this was considered the greatest proof of attention and respect which one chieftain could show toward another'.[3] Moreover by sharing the grief and sorrow the visiting relatives helped to soften the blow which death brought for the bereaved. And this was a matter which the bereaved clearly acknowledged when the orator welcomed the visitors to the village.

The funeral (tangi) tended also to strengthen the ties of kinship, and to impress upon the assembled the security of being members of a tribal group. And these values were to be reaffirmed when the occasion arose for the celebration of the final rites.

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1. BUCK 1958: 427-28
2. IBID
3. EARLE 1832: 208-9.

The Final Obsequies.

The period between the first burial and the celebration of the final rites appears to have varied considerably. Some observers state that it was celebrated after three or four months.[1] Buller wrote that the second funeral (hahunga - exhumation) took place two years after death.[2] Best on the other hand wrote that 'an average of many periods given by the natives places the time of exhumation at about four years after burial'. But 'as the function took place at irregular intervals some bodies might have been buried for seven or eight years, and others for but one or two'.[3] The second funeral was not conducted until the corpse was fully decomposed, and it was usually celebrated for the remains of several chiefs at one and the same time, which might explain the delay. Moreover the external factor of preparing for the great feast which accompanied the final rites might also have been a contributing factor.

According to Best preparations for the feast were begun at least a year in advance.[4] He does not state specifically, but these probably entailed the planting of extra crops, and if the tribe lived on the coast, collected food supplies might include dried fish and shell fish. If the tribe lived inland with access to forest reserves, then preparations might include the snaring and preserving of wood pigeons, and the gathering of fern root.

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1. CRAIK 1830: 192; TAYLOR 1870: 219; EARLE 1832: 248
2. BULLER 1878: 220
3. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 71
4. BEST 1905: 215; BEST 1924: Vol.2, 71

Taylor made the general statement that all the friends and relatives were called in to assist.[1] If several remains were to be removed, then the preparation for the feast involved the co-operative effort of several groups.

Most early accounts record that a great number of people gathered to take part in the final obsequies, but no-where are any estimations given of the numbers who attended. It is thus impossible to judge numbers, but if the celebrations were held for several remains, as was sometimes the case, then the numbers present must have exceeded the attendance at the first funeral.

The Exhumation (Hahunga).

Every stage in the process of disinterment appears to have called for its own particular chant, and once again the priest (tohunga) was assuredly the chief officiant.

According to one of Best's informants from the East coast the exhumers were required to immerse their bodies before commencing their task,[2] and to discard their clothing while removing the bones. Presumably these practises obtained among the East coast people. There is no evidence to suggest that they were universal. Nevertheless what is quite clear is the fact that the operation was conducted under the most rigid demands of tapu.[3] And whether the remains were removed from a cave, mausoleum, or earth grave, those engaged in the operation were later required to undergo a cleansing rite by immersion

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1. TAYLOR 1870: 219
2. BEST 1924: 71-72
3. BULLER 1878: 220; BEST 1905: 212

in a stream while the priest recited the appropriate chant.[1] This was not conducted until after the burial, as Buller and others observed that the exhumers gnawed at their food which had been attached to sticks fixed in the ground during the celebrations. They were unable to touch food with their hands after handling the bones.[2]

If several remains were taken up at the same time, the priest under whose supervision the disinterment was conducted, carefully arranged them in separate heaps.[3] The bones were then scraped clean of any superfluous flesh and washed in a stream.[4] They were then either wrapped in new mats, or placed in baskets[5] ready to be carried back to the centre of the village.

The bones were carried on the backs of bearers,[6] specially dressed for the occasion,[7] and wearing the symbols of mourning upon their heads. They walked in solemn procession preceding the priest. As the party approached the village the assembly welcomed the arrival of the bones with wailing, tears and self-inflicted lacerations.[8]

On one occasion which Best witnessed the bones were deposited on the porch of the meeting house, below the window, and on mats specially laid for the purpose.[9]

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1. BEST 1905: 200; TREGEAR 1904: 396; TAYLOR 1870: 224
2. BULLER 1878: 205; TREGEAR 1904: 396
3. BEST 1905: 212
4. EARLE 1832: 248; BULLER 1878: 220
5. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 72; TAYLOR 1870: 225
6. YATES 1835: 138; BEST 1924: Vol.2
7. YATES 1835: 138
8. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 73
9. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 74

The Central Rites.

While chants were recited the bones were painted with red ochre, and ornamented with feathers.[1] According to Yates the skulls were placed in the laps of several elderly women, presumably the chief mourners.[2] There is some evidence to suggest that the skulls were placed apart from the rest of the remains, on mats powdered with red ochre.[3] This is not surprising considering that it was the most tapu part of a chief's body.

Sometimes however the remains were displayed on an elevated platform (atamira) of the same type erected for the corpse during the lying in state,[4] or they were placed in a small hut thatched over the top but open on all sides allowing the mourners space to view the remains and pay their respects.[5]

In some cases, the teeth were extracted from the skulls and worn by the mourners as pendants, sometimes formed into necklaces.[6] Best makes a brief note to the effect that they were first taken by the priest and suspended from a stick while he recited a chant to remove the tapu.[7]

While the remains lay exposed to public view chants were recited over them. And if the deceased had died in battle the funeral ode (pihe) was repeated.[8] According to Buck it was

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1. EARLE 1827: 198; YATES 1835: 139
2. YATES 1835: 138
3. POLACK 1838: Vol.1, 238
4. SHORTLAND 1856: 148; BEST 1905: 212
5. EARLE 1882: 248
6. TAYLOR 1870: 219; BEST 1924: Vol.2, 74
7. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 74
8. WHITE 1874: 267-68; YATES 1835: 138.

performed by a group of warriors standing in a circle facing inwards, and stabbing the ground with spears in time to the dirge. At intervals one would call out 'Thrust at me' (Werohia mai ki au), whereupon the others did so. The speaker had to display agility in avoiding the thrusts.[1] In this way the warriors expressed the prowess of the deceased as a war leader, a theme which was taken up in the speeches delivered during the feasting.

The ritual decoration and display of the remains was one of the essential acts of the final rites. In its main elements it bears a striking resemblance to the manner in which the Indonesians are recorded to have treated the remains of their deceased.[2] According to Hertz's interpretation the purpose of the rite was to 'give the deceased a new and glorified body with which to enter worthily the company of his ancestors'.[3] Moreover, Hertz continues, 'parallel to what was done to the remains ... a funeral service was performed which solemnly introduced the soul into the society of the dead'.[4]

But in the Maori situation the soul was believed to have already joined the ancestors. The whole purpose of the rites performed at the first funeral was to introduce the soul into their company. And consistent with the belief that the spirit returned from the spirit world, we are told that the new divinity was present watching over the proceedings.[5]

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1. BUCK 1958: 425
2. HERTZ 1907, translated Needham 1960: 55
3. IBID
4. HERTZ 1907, translated Needham 1960: 58
5. POLACK 1838: Vol.1,224-5

It would seem to me that by treating the remains in the manner described earlier the living attempted to recreate the personality of the deceased, and to reincorporate him into the community of life. Of course initially the deceased's return was a moment of grief and sorrow, but the mourning does not appear to have been prolonged, even on the part of some of the chief mourners, if this is not reading too much into the description that follows. It would seem to me that the accent was on a much lighter note. The living celebrate a resurrection. The celebrations did not take place about naked bones; these were ornamented and attired with the apparel and ornaments of the deceased so that they vividly brought back the memory of the dead person.

The following is Shortland's description of the scene after the remains had been returned to the village at Maketu where he had been residing. 'The skulls of three celebrated chiefs, of the generation just passed away were to be seen once more by those on earth.

There was to be a great feast on the occasion, and a great number of persons expected to do honour to it. When I arrived at the place appointed, which was an enclosed space or courtyard within the Pa (fortified village) of Maketu, I found it thronged with spectators, and the very posts and rails surrounding it swarmed with dark faces. My guide, however, soon found a good place for me, whence I could look down on those within the enclosure.

At one extremity of it was a sort of stage, on which there were three figures in a siting posture, clothed with the mantles of the country of the handsomest description. Where their heads should have been however, there were to be seen only the fleshless skulls, their eye sockets stuffed with red cloth for eyes, and feathers of huia (heteralocha acutirostris - forest bird) and kotuku (white heron) in place of hair. In front of the platform and at a short distance from it, stood three elderly women. Their bared arms and breasts bore the marks of recent wounds, inflicted with shells, and sharp stones, in honour of the dead, to whom they were then addressing praises in the form of a wailing extemporary recitative, each actor using words as she felt most appropriate, but preserving the same melancholy strain.

The tangi (weeping) did not last long. In the rear of the three elderly ladies were seated in rows, eight or ten in a row, and five or six ranks deep, the best born belles of the town; and when the old ladies and the audience were tired of tangi (weeping), the scene changed, and the young ladies still seated on the ground, struck up a lively strain called haka (dance). The haka is not a modest exhibition but the reverse; and, on this occasion two of the ladies who stood in front - for the other went on with her monotonous chant, as if she really felt it, and perhaps she did - accompanied the music by movements of the arms and body, their postures being often disgustingly lascivious. However they suited the taste of the audience who rewarded the performers at

such times with the applause they desired. It was altogether as ungodly a scene as can well be imagined. The three skulls on one side more hideous in their strange garb. On the other side, a savage crowd of demons in the flesh, their faces strangely disguised with black, white, or red colours, and their hair grotesquely ornamented with feathers.'[1]

The Final Burial.

There is no evidence to suggest how long the remains were exposed to public view before they were finally buried. But depending on the locality there were two main forms of burial.

In the first the remains were placed in a cave (anu, or rua koiwi), which was the tribal sepulchre containing all the remains of the ancestors. The cave was located either in rough forest clad country, on high ranges or in rugged cliffs,[2] thus in places that were generally difficult of access, and known only to the particular tribe. In one account the mortuary cave was described as being situated on the shore of an inland lake, which could be reached only by a canal. The entrance was so inconspicuous as to escape ordinary notice.[3] Often the entrances were concealed by brush or tree growth.[4] In some cases men gained access to them from the head of a cliff by the aid of a rope.[5]

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1. SHORTLAND 1856: 147-49; cf. EARLE 1832: 248-49
2. SHORTLAND 1856: 146; BEST 1905: 218
3. TREGEAR 1904: 398
4. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 75
5. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 73

Best describes a cave in Rua-tahuna to which access was gained only by ascending a tree and laying poles from the branches to the mouth of the cave.[1]

The second main form of interment was disposal in a large hollow tree. Tregear records that a decayed pukatea (Laurelia novaezealandiae) tree named Te Ahoroa growing near Opotiki disclosed some 500 skeletons.[2] According to an elderly resident of the district the bones had been pushed through a hole in the trunk 50 feet from the ground.[3] The secrecy and the choice of inaccessible location of the tribal sepulchres was imperative, for it was feared that enemy tribes would utilise the remains for purposes that were considered degrading.

Sometimes the remains of a deceased chief was not placed with those of his ancestors, but were enclosed in a carved coffin shaped like a canoe, and then placed on top of a column erected in the centre of the village.[4]

It was considered a calamity if a chief was buried away from his tribal territory, and every effort was made to retrieve his remains so that they might be buried with his ancestors. Best describes an incident in which the remains of a chief who had been buried in the territory of another tribe, had been returned by a member of that tribe.[5] He had exhumed the remains, and had

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1. BEST 1905: 218
2. TREGEAR 1904: 398-99; cf. BEST 1905: 193
3. TREGEAR 1904: 399
4. DIEFFENBACH 1843: Vol.2, 63; BEST 1905: 194
5. BEST 1905: 214; 1924: Vol.2, 75

escorted them back to the village of the deceased. In the ceremonial speech making that followed the relatives of the deceased expressed their appreciation of the care that had been taken in escorting the deceased back to his village home, and gifts were exchanged between the parties before the visiting chief and his party returned to their home.[1]

The Burial.

Best gives a brief description of a cave burial, but there are no other descriptions on record of final interment for example in a hollow tree or a coffin burial within the village. But whatever the form of final disposal there were some features that were constant. As in the first burial the chief officiant was the priest which might be expected especially when, as was usually the case, the remains were interred in the tribal sepulchre. The tribal sepulchre was hallowed ground, revered and feared by the populace.

Before burial the remains were wrapped in mats, and tied up in a separate bundle, if there were several remains, then there were individual bundles. Each was carried by a bearer led in procession by the priest. According to Best the priest recited chants as the party made its way to the cave, and particularly at the entrance before the bearers deposited the

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 75

remains within.[1] The following is an example of a chant recited on this occasion:

He kimihanga,	A seeking,
He rangahau tonga	A pursuing.
Ka kimi ki hea?	Where shall I search?
Ka kimi ki uta.	I shall search on the shores.
Ka kimi ki hea?	Where shall I search?
Ka kimi ki tai.	I shall search the oceans.
Ka kimi ki Po.	I shall search in the nether regions.
Ka waere ma kereta.	I shall clear the way with heavy clay.
Ka waere ma kereti.	I shall clear the way with heavy clay.
Ka kitea mai te hau o te tipua.	That I shall find the vital essence (very essence) of the man of learning.
Te hau o te tawhito mai te Rangi tu.	The vital essence of old from the separation of Rangi (and Papa).
Kai te kahui mate i te Po.	With the assembly of the dead in the Darkness (the Spirit world)
Kai te kahui ora i te ao nei.	With the assembly of the Living.
Tena ka kitea koe ki tua.	If you are seen again.
Ka kitea koe ki te whai ao.	You will be seen in the light of day[2]

When deposited the skull was placed on top of the other bones, while imperishable objects of value, the deceased weapons of war, and ornaments of jade were placed beside them.

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1. BEST 1905: 218; 1924: Vol.2, 65
2. BEST 1905: 218; It was sometimes the practise to remove the bones of ancestors from the tribal sepulchre and place them beside the corpse; and it is probable that the last two lines of the chant refer to this custom.

In some cases climbing shrubs were planted so that they would eventually conceal the entrance to the cave.[1] And, so Best tells us, sometimes the priest located lizards at the entrance as guardians of the sacred cave.[2] Lizards were greatly feared as they were believed to represent the evil spirit Whiro, whom as it was explained earlier resided in the Underworld and fought to destroy the souls of men. Sometimes however they were selected as the medium (*axia*) for a god-spirit (*atua*), or regarded as the incarnation of a god-spirit, having powers to protect or destroy the living.[3]

Rites of Purification.

Just as the bearers were required to undergo a '*tapu* lifting (*whakanoa*) rite after burying the corpse, so after interring the bones, the bearers stripped themselves of their garments and immersed their bodies in a stream while the priest recited appropriate chants. There is only one reference to what occurred in the case of the close relatives. According to this source the women and children of the deceased had the *tapu* taken from their 'head-dress of sorrow' by the priest beside a running stream.[4]

Part of the purification (*whakanoa*) rites included the recital of spells over the food prepared for the feast which marked the occasion. On most ceremonial occasions the food was

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1. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 75
2. BEST 1924: Vol.2, 65
3. BEST 1924: Vol.1, 107, 226, 254
4. BEST 1905: 215

cooked in different ovens (umu) prepared according to the rank and status of those present. Best says that some of these ovens containing the food for the funeral feast were intensely tapu, and that among the Tuhoe people 6 different ovens each with a distinctive name were prepared. The first was an 'oven for the high priests only' (umu tuakaha), the second was prepared for priests of lower standing (umu potaka), the third containing food for the high chief (umu whangai) was the most tapu of all. The fourth oven was prepared for the 'elderly woman' (ruahine) who was employed in the tapu-lifting rites; the fifth contained food for the warriors (umu pera), and the sixth oven (umu tukupa) was prepared for the ordinary people. According to Best no commoner could approach or partake of the contents of those ovens which were specially made for the high chief of the tribe and the priests, on pain of being killed or subject to some ritual sanction which could result in death. The term popoa was applied to the sacred foods set apart for the tapu persons who took part on the disentombing.

The tapu was removed from the food by means of an invocation termed whakau. This was recited by a priest, who took a small portion of the food and first offered it to the ancestral spirits

'to give powers and influence to his invocation'.[1] He then took another offering, and holding it over the bulk of foods to be freed from tapu recited the following chants:

To kai ihi, to kai ihi.	Your food of dedication.
To kai Rangi, to kai Papa,	Your food (oh) Rangi, your food (oh) Papa,[2]
To kai tapu.	Your sacred food.
To kai rua Koiwi,	Your food of the resting place of the corpses,
To kai awe,	Your food of power,
To kai kaka.	Your food of pulpy consistency.
To kai ure paheke,	Your food of the exposed member,
To kai matamua.	Your food of the high born.
To kai rua tupapaku.	Your food of the corpses resting place.
Whakataha ra koe	Extend thyself
E te aneva o te rangi e tu nei	Oh Rainbow in the heavens above
He tawhito to tapu e hanai nei koi taku ure.	The power which you have given my member is of old (i.e. from time immemorial)
Na te tapu ihi, na te tapu mana.	From the sanctity, all powerful; from the sanctity of great influence.
Hinga ki mua, Takoto ki raro Ki to Kauwhau ariki.	Bow down and prostrate yourself before the gods.[3]

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1. text in BEST 1905: 216
2. Reference to the primal parents Rangi-nui, the Sky-father, and Papa-tua-nuku, the Earth mother.
3. BEST 1905:

In the next act the priest lifted a portion of the food to his mouth, and then recited the following:

E kai tatau, E kai, E kai.	Let us eat, Eat, Eat.
Kai atu tatau ki nga ihi i rangi.	Let us eat of the power of the heavens.
Kai atu tatau ki nga tapu i te rangi.	Let us eat of the sanctity of the heavens.
Kai atu tatou ki nga ruanuku	Let us eat with the men of learning
Kai atu tatau ki nga rua Koiwi.	Let us eat of the food prepared for the exhumation.
Kai atu tatau ki nga rua tupapaku.	Let us eat beside the resting place of the corpses.
Kai atu tatau ki nga atua tapu.	Let us eat with the sacred gods.
Kai atu tatau ki nga mana i te rangi.	Let us eat with the celestial powers
Mate rourous tiritiria,	Let us share the misfortunes,
Kia kai mai i te ati tipua.	That the descendents of the gods may partake (of it).
Kia kai mai te ati tawhito.	That the descendents of man may partake.
E kai. E kai.	Eat. Eat.
E horo, e horo o tatua,	Let our throats be speedy
Kia kai nuku tatau,	That we may eat of things terrestrial,
Kia Kai rangi tatau	That we may eat of things celestial

Kia kai matamua tatau	That we may eat (in the manner?) of the high born,
Kia kai wahi tapu tatau.	That we may partake of a portion which is sacred.[1]

The Feast.

One or two observers state that the feasting went on for several days after the interment. As in the case of the ceremonial feast which followed the first burial, the food was prepared in special ovens according to the rank and status of those present.

During the feast there was speech-making in which the virtues of the deceased were extolled. Moreover in Yates' observation there was 'dancing, whistling, singing, wrestling ... till the feast ended; when every one returns home, laden with presents of food, which had been previously placed in rows, three baskets deep, for the purpose of being carried away by the visitors'.[2]

Summary.

The practice of double burials for chiefs, and the accompanying ritual and ceremonial was first and foremost expressive of the high esteem with which chiefs were regarded. It was precisely this esteem which prevented the bereaved from disposing of the remains immediately, or of considering the deceased as

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1. BEST 1905: (see henceforth)
2. YATE 1835: 139

dead straight away. Perhaps as Hertz pointed out, psychologically the period between death and final burial was one of adjustment for the living, of getting used to the idea of being physically separated from the deceased.[1] There might be some consolation in the fact that the deceased had joined his ancestors to live a life not far different from that he knew on earth. And much of the ritual was expressive of this change of abode and change of status. Of course it is still true that the deceased belonged to a different world, and that too close a contact with him was fearful. But it was believed that the spirit returned from the spirit world, and that it could be called upon in times of stress and misfortune. In the main the spirit adopted a benevolent attitude toward its descendants. So social relations did not cease on death; the deceased could be communicated with, and appealed to for protection and guidance.

Perhaps there was no greater measure of esteem, or of the values placed upon rank, than in the numbers of relatives who assembled to honour a deceased chief. They came out of a sense of obligation, to comfort the mourners, and to share their sorrow. Even when perhaps the sense of obligation and the sentiments of sorrow might not be uppermost, the very act of coming together tended to strengthen the ties of kinship, and this was particularly so when the final rites were celebrated for the remains of several

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1. cf. HERTZ 1907 - translated NEEDHAM 1960.

chiefs. By gathering to reintegrate their dead into the social community, the various groups became conscious of, and consequently maintained, the ties that united them.

Conclusion.

The institution of chiefship has emerged as the internal force binding the group together. This it achieved first in virtue of the ritual power ascribed by descent. The Maori chief had no warrant to issue orders, to make binding decisions in relation to the group, outside the realm of ritual beliefs and practices. In ritual matters his authority would seem at first sight to have been unlimited. This was not the case, however, as we have attempted to show. Specifically when claiming the property of a commoner, by virtue of his power of tapu, the chief was bound to reimburse the commoner, sometimes by making a return gift that was double the value of the original.

Clearly the Maori chief was no autocrat at any time. His status depended entirely on mana. He was constantly required to demonstrate his legitimacy by effective leadership of a persuasive and exemplary kind. Success was therefore the ultimate criterion. Such a success, as we have attempted to demonstrate, could be of a purely ritual character; thus for instance, the chief could, by the efficacy of his incantations, secure the favour of the gods. Furthermore the potency of his mana was judged by his ability as a war leader. Failure to exercise effective leadership meant the loss of his secular role, although he maintained his status as the ritual head and certain ritual and ceremonial privileges associated with it.

The chief's role was no less significant in economic matters. In the first place, it was essential for him to have wealth for

the maintenance of his prestige and status, not only in the eyes of his own people, but also in relation to other groups, for as we have shown, liberality, the exchange of gifts, and hospitality were hallmarks of chiefly status. It was thus imperative that he should possess and excel in qualities of industrious entrepreneurship, and so set the example of labour in economic pursuits and provide the stimulus for large-scale group enterprises. Hence the relevance of polygamy and slavery in relation to the institution of chiefship, as these were instrumental in providing him with abundant wealth.

In contrast with what some observers have remarked about the central Polynesian societies characterized by centralised power structure of a vertical nature, the Maori are distinguished by a more horizontal pattern of power distribution. That is to say, that the ritual power ascribed to the ariki by virtue of descent was not coupled with a similar hierarchical transmission of command on the political plane. No doubt there existed an elaborate hierarchical ranking of chiefs according to the proximity of their descent lines to the 'ridge pole', that is, to the direct line of descent from the tribal ancestor. But this was not sanctioned by an equally hierarchical chain of command or powers of tapu. In other words the ariki was primus inter pares ... In political terms his authority could be challenged at any time, and the same obtained among the other chiefs in the tribe.

Such a structure left, no doubt, much room for inter-group

rivalry and conflict. At the centre of it all was the essential question of preserving, defending, and asserting the mana of each group and thus that of its leader. From this one can infer how closely and intimately knit together were the personal fate of the chief and the survival, both in ritual and physical terms, of the hapu. The group was its leader, and the leader survived through the group.

In binding chief and group together lay the specific notion of mana. Mana was the all-important value. As ritual potency, and the active force of the group, it was the vital principle, and the vitality of the group was proof of it. As an active potency it had to be asserted, defined, and illustrated in instrumental and functional terms, which meant success, prosperity, prestige and victory.

Similarly it was from mana that the chief drew all his social power, which he could exercise by means of tapu. These were prohibitions which the chief could place on objects and persons. It meant that these objects and persons were somewhat vested with a sacred character. Between them and the chief was forged a special ritual relationship. To break the tapu was tantamount to challenging the very virtue of the chief, and consequently that of the group. In the same way that he could make things tapu, the chief exercised the ritual power of desacralising things and persons by making them noa, i.e. common. There emerges thus a dynamic structural link in the

trilogy mana-tapu-noa, which expresses the fundamental dynamism of mana. Mana is defined, and asserted through exemplary leadership as in war, through the acquisition of wealth, through the succ ssful performance of ritual invocations and other rites. The honour of mana is avenged by war and plunder. Mana is consolidated through peace and alliances. Mana is transmitted through descent and recognised at life crises such as birth and death. In short, the whole history of the group, its very existence and culture, is grounded upon mana.

The adaptation of the Maori to a western economic system is still imperfect, but traditional values have not ceased to exist. This is demonstrated by the fact that the Maori people today seek more naturally the guidance of inluential leaders from within their own group. There remains still a respect for authority based on the traditional principle of seniority of rank, both in the socio-political and economic spheres. But there is also an increasing acknowledgment and recognition of the authority of men who are distinguished for their ability rather than for their social status. This is seen in the professional fields of teaching, law and medicine, and in certain economic enterprises in which the personal attributes of business acumen and force of personality are given scope.

Charismatic leaders have also emerged, men like Tahupotiki Ratana, and Rapana Te Ti, have gained authority through their power to mobilise the religious interest of the people.

An important feature of modern leadership is the emerging

role of the Maori woman. The outstanding example was 'Princess' Te Puea Herangi, who combined rank with outstanding gifts of organisation, common sense and driving power. Her secret lay in the fact that she combined traditional cultural values with remarkable administrative qualities. Her case is illustrative in so far as it proves to what extent rank can be enhanced by personal qualities of leadership.

Female leadership in modern Maori society is also significantly demonstrated in such welfare organisations as the Maori Women's Welfare League. Now Dominion wide, it holds important conferences which draw a good deal of public attention. It is worth noting that even in the conduct of business at such conferences, some traditional Maori customs still obtain. For example, the opening speeches are always addressed in traditional fashion, including a welcoming (powhiri) to the representatives of the different tribes.

The recent setting up of a tribal executive to guide government policies in relation to Maori affairs heralds new times, in which further scope will be given to initiative and leadership among the Maori people. This will be of vital importance for the socio-economic as well as political development of Maori communities in the coming decades. Our hope is that in this new era, the ancient saying may still prove true:

> The old net has been cast aside,
> But the new one goes a-fishing.
> (Ka pu te ruha
> Ka hao te rangatahi).

Bibliography.

The following abbreviations are used:

JPS. Journal of the Polynesian Society.

RAI. Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland.

TPNZI. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute.

JRAI. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

JRAS. Journal of the Royal African Society.

RSVTP. Royal Society of Victoria Transactions and Proceedings.

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