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STUDIES IN MAORI RITES AND MYTHS

BY

J. PRYTZ JOHANSEN

København 1958
i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

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Preface.

The present work on Maori rites and myths deals with some selected subjects which the sources make it possible to investigate comparatively thoroughly. My motive for the choice of subject is connected with the method used, which is explained in detail in the Introduction. Although of course I am highly indebted to students of religion of past and present I have as far as possible made my studies of the Maoris be self-contained without drawing on current theories of e.g. myth and rite, etc., as I am of opinion that these phenomena can vary somewhat and therefore must preferably be elucidated in each separate case.

The Introduction is followed by the first main section, which deals with the sacred precincts and the mythology connected with them. This subject is fundamental to any detailed treatment of Maori rituals, which amongst other things appears by the fact that all cosmogonic ideas are connected with the sacred precincts and that these in their function are based on the Maoris' fundamental dualism: Day and Night, Heaven and Earth, Life and Death. Furthermore, the study of the cosmogonies give occasion for a thorough discussion of the high god Io.

The next section is a study of the whole cycle of agricultural rites among the Ngati-Porou and related tribes. Here I have attached great importance to adducing the mythical associations and contents of the rites, my work being especially based on the ritual text (the *karakia*s). In this way I have succeeded in translating and interpreting the majority of these texts. I am not so rash as to believe that these translations should be faultless; but I hope that the method applied as well as some of the individual interpretations of difficult passages of the texts may be of per-

manent value. Several of the motifs which thus appear in the ritual, e.g. the 'theme of vengeance' may be found connected with other aspects of Maori culture in "The Maori and His Religion".

As some readers' knowledge of Maori naturally is limited, a few words about Maori pronunciation perhaps will be welcome. The stress is on the first syllable, ng is pronounced [ŋ], wh [ʍ], and the vowels have continental values.

Mr. Torben Monberg, M.A., has revised the references to the sources, Cand. mag. Niels Haislund has done the translation into English, Mr. A. G. Drachmann, Ph. D., has critically revised the MS., Mr. Georg Jensen and Mrs. Johanne Kastor Hansen have assisted at the reading of the proofs. I offer all of them my best thanks.

Finally I am obliged to the Rask-Ørsted Foundation for the grants which alone have made it possible for me to have my works on the Maoris published in English.

Introduction.

On the Study of Maori Religion.

Although the total material to illustrate Maori religion is of considerable dimensions, it will easily throw the student into a state of hopelessness because of its scattered and disconnected character. Actually it is difficult to decide where to start. It would seem a natural idea to start with the gods and the Maori's relation to them. Unfortunately the very concept of god is rather unwieldy. The Maori word for 'god', *atua*, on closer acquaintance proves to cover a protean multiplicity. Everything from flies, iron nails, and guns by way of great chiefs and Europeans to the highest gods may be termed *atua*, and in another dimension everything from the most arrant demons to the most faithful tribal gods is also covered by the concept of *atua*. It is true that only a fly with a certain extraordinary something about it is an *atua*, and iron nails had only a short golden age as *atua* before their commonness banished them from the anonymous part of the Maori's spacious pantheon. So vague is the concept. An *atua* need neither distinguish himself by *mana*, *tapu*, immortality nor any established determination. The young girl who is sent for water by night will say, "The grass of the road is an *atua*, whom I fear."[1] A deserted girl will sing about her lover,

> "Mitiwai's peak vanishes in the haze
> At its foot is my *atua*, for whom I am longing . . ."[2]

A Maori will declare, "My *atua* is boils."[3]

What then does *atua* mean but something which produces an impression because it is extraordinary, annoying, or great?

[1] AHM. IV, 123.
[2] Shortl. Trad. 180.
[3] Best Rel. 120.

Thus we are compelled to use another kind of determination as our basis. Here, it seems, there are two ways. We may confine ourselves to dealing with the gods known from the myths, or we may define a god as an *atua* to whom the Maori has a practical religious relation, which is almost identical with a ritual relation.

In fact, it was by combining these points of view that Elsdon Best attained to a classification and description of the Maori gods in his *Maori Religion and Mythology.*

If we want to reach farther than Best, it is natural to go further and concentrate our investigations on rituals or myths. In this way we give up the idea of describing Maori religion primarily through the relation to the gods. In return we shall no doubt obtain possibilities of a more thorough and exact determination of this relation; but hardly before a number of studies of details have laid a solid foundation by an inquiry into myths and rites. The following pages are a modest attempt of that kind. It is an inquiry into two complexes which I have found particularly ripe for study, viz. the sacred precincts and the agricultural ritual, both of them viewed in the light of and interpreted by the myths belonging here.

Rituals.

In *The Maori and His Religion* I have tried to penetrate to the foundations of the Maori's experience. The following remarks on the general character of the rituals should amongst other things in broad outline show how the consequences of the Maori's basic attitude inform rites and myths. Thus we shall try to draw the lines from the above-mentioned work further to the present one. Some of the documentation will not be found until further below in this paper, as it could only be adduced here to the detriment of the general view and coherence.

Rituals may be of a most different importance. There is the kind of magic prayer which anybody can use, e. g. if you get something down the wrong way or the like. The rites which we shall examine here, are of a less private, more weighty character. Generally they require the presence of a priest with a special training. They are surrounded by *tapu*, indeed, we may say that they mainly turn on the relation to *tapu* contents.

Even this has important consequences. I have previously dealt with the more negative aspect of the matter: the avoidance of what is *tapu* and the removal of an undesired *tapu*. We know from there that the danger of the violation of a *tapu* is that it creates an *aitua*, a pollution of life with fatal consequences.

But the Maori does not always shun what is *tapu*, he seeks it out in ritually controlled situations. He recites most sacred rituals, seeks out the most *tapu* sacred precincts, creates new *tapu* spheres in which he acts ritually, exactly in difficult or dangerous situations he resorts to the connexion with what is *tapu*. Exactly such rituals we shall find in what follows. It is evident that what the Maori seeks is not at all an *aitua*; it is a rather safe conclusion that the increased contents of life which he seeks, thus must increase his *mana*, or at least the *mana* of the things with which he has to do.

This, again, has significant consequences: on the one hand we find here the reason for the effect of the rituals. The character of *mana* as a communal life gives power to the rituals in people and country. On the other hand this character of the *mana* involves that more important rituals, which implicate the *mana* of the chief or the tribe, get a cosmic character. A renewal of the great *mana* becomes a kind of re-creation. It is not strange that we just find this motif attached to the sacred precincts and that we have instances of the typical Polynesian myth of creation;—a mythical amplification of the genealogy, as genealogies were just recited at births.

We have here touched on an important question, viz. the relation between myth and rite. The fact that there is an intimate connexion between certain mythical motifs and certain rites will appear from numerous examples during the following investigations of details. In this place we shall only offer some general observations.

The Maori himself does not make any nice distinction proper between myth and history; it is all *korero*, history. There is, however, the difference that the earliest history, the most mythical one, is *tapu*, i.e. it is only recited with observation of the demands made by the *tapu*.

The myth is history. This fact connects us with Chapter VII in *The Maori and His Religion*. There we have seen that history

can be reproduced in the events of the present day. In what follows we shall find numerous instances of myths being reproduced in the rites, a phenomenon which, indeed, is known from other religions as well. Furthermore, we have seen that time and event are inextricably coupled together, the mythical time itself being resurrected in the rites. This has an important and interesting consequence. The ritual act itself is mingled and merged with the mythical events. We see the result in numerous myths, where actual ritual details form part of the myths, frequently in a peculiar, apparently abrupt way. But these leaps from mythical events to rituals actually are no leaps. They look so to us, but they are simple consequences of the Maori's experiences of myth and rite.

It must so far be left undecided how much of Maori mythology should be considered ritual myths. In the present investigations the question will be discussed in each single case; see further below. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the myths have acquired a certain general character from their relation to the rituals. Even on an immediate view the myths appear as a number of loosely connected episodes. This feature is quite natural when the individual motifs of the myths are closely connected with ritual situations which need not be related to the chronological sequence of the myths themselves. To the Maori this interdependence between myth and rite athwart the myth's own sequence, has no doubt weakened the sense of the consistency of the myth as mere narrative. After the loss of the old experience it might happen that a Maori became meditative over things which were reasonable enough to early times, such as the Maori who tells that the high god Io, although alone in the world, had children. He suddenly gets scruples and says that it is of no use to ask whom Io married, for it is the Maori who is speaking and he has no committees of investigation.[1]

The connexion of the myths with the rites has a dissolving effect on the coherence in the mythology. We find that several myths of creation exist peaceably side by side. We shall see below that there is a natural explanation of this when they are considered in connexion with various ritual situations. Myths of creation are here understood to mean myths which not only deal

[1] JPS. 16, 111 (Paraone).

with creation proper, but also with the ordering of the cosmos out of states more or less chaotic and unsuitable for man.

The mingling of 'pure' myth and rite thus is expressive of an experience in connexion with the ritual; that is just why such ritual myths become important sources for the study of the rituals. The information about the outer form of the rituals to be derived in this way is only occasionally of importance; the essential profit is implied in the very mingling; the ritual gets a mythical context, which offers a solid basis for an interpretation of the ritual, a point at which interpreters have often proceeded with some arbitrariness. If this certainty is not to become illusory, it is necessary that it should be possible for us in each single case to establish whether a given mythical theme in a given version is a ritual myth for a given rite. It cannot be assumed that a myth is always related to some rite or other. On the contrary, it should be proved in each single case. For the solution of this problem the following criteria are of particular importance.

(1) We possess direct information about the mythical meaning of a rite or an element (e.g. an object) of this rite.

(2) The ritual texts contain allusions to definite myths.

These two criteria come from the ritual, but the myth may also contain an unambiguous criterion. Here, too, we may set up two cases:

(3) The myth contains fragments of ritual texts.

(4) The myth, often in a strangely abrupt way, contains elements of the ritual act.

The very first criterion, based on direct information, unfortunately can only be used in exceptional cases; for it is remarkable how rarely we have direct information about the mythical contents of a rite, so rarely that one necessarily must form some idea of the reason.

It seems to me that two causes have co-operated, viz. the attitude of Maoris as well as the attitude of recorders.

As to the former it was evidently easier to obtain information about myth than about rituals. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that the ritual texts (the *karakia*s) were so *tapu* that the Maori only reluctantly gave them up as long as the belief in them was still alive. On the other hand they soon sank into oblivion after the introduction of Christianity, and no wonder, as they often

are nearly unintelligible. Not rarely the information available is so incomplete as to be almost valueless.

Correspondingly the collectors were much less interested in the rituals than in myths and historical traditions. In several of the great experts on Maori traditions, especially PERCY SMITH, the interest was chiefly concentrated on the Maori's early history—or prehistory, if this term is preferred. Furthermore, the interpretation of the myths was based on nature mythology (e.g. still in ELSDON BEST). It was foreign to their mind that there should be a relation between myth and rite, indeed, we can see that BEST got such information without understanding it at all. Under such circumstances it is not so very strange that we have so little direct information about the relation between myth and rite. This attitude of the collector of material no doubt has deprived us of much important information. This is much to be regretted. But on a certain point it is useful: it provides us with an aid to make a critical evaluation.

A mythical trait which clearly points towards a rite, cannot have been introduced; it must with fair certainty originate from an ancient and genuine tradition. If the trait was introduced recently, it must at least have been on the basis of the old experience of the rituals.[1] Of course there may in each individual case be all sorts of irregularities. A ritual mythical trait may have been handed down in a misunderstood form, perverted and disintegrated. The very fact of its being handed down, however, will always lend a special interest to the version, above other versions in which that kind of traits are missing. Such versions need not in any way be less genuine, only they may originate from people who were not familiar with the ritual in question. The risk of our having to do with a smoothed-out myth, however, is of course somewhat greater.

[1] Criteria of that kind thus are not unmistakable marks of old traditions. Strictly speaking, they only tell us that in this case we have an old-fashioned mode of thought on a definite point. A remarkable example of the limitation of the criterion occurs in the inundation myth AHM. I, 157—163. On p. 160 we find a sacrifice and in the description of the initiation into the training in *whare kura* a reference to a rite that is performed like the one performed after the inundation (AHM. I, 5). AHM. I, 160 might very well be conceived as a ritual myth connected with this initiation sacrifice. On p. 158 we are further introduced to ritual myths; but the myth in this case is so obviously and so greatly inspired by the Bible that it cannot be used on a line with the others, even though it is expressive of an old-fashioned view of the rituals.

In the nature of things the ritual myths must be in the foreground in the following investigations; but the great probability of their genuineness, as it were, gives of itself an increased certainty as to the reliability of the results. Furthermore, there is something satisfactory about being able to utilize this rich mythical tradition to make sense of the much scantier tradition of rituals and in this way adding some traits to the description of Maori religion.

The rituals, if considered as acts, are on the whole very simple. The agricultural rituals to a great extent consist in a particularly careful performance of the usual actions, such as fetching seed kumaras from the pit, planting them, etc. The same applies to ritual meals. Furthermore, there are special sacral acts, first of all sacrifices of different technical execution, according as the sacrificial object is swung, laid down, hung up, or something else. Ritual purifications and the like also have their own group of acts. All of them, however, as far as substantiated by the sources, seem very simple. Even the simplest ritual act, however, is decisively distinct from the everyday actions by being accompanied by ritual words, *karakia*. This trait is so essential that *karakia* comes very close to meaning 'ritual'.

A *karakia* worthy of its name must have *mana*. This can hardly be doubted. When *mana* is attached adjectively to *karakia* this does not, of course, refer to this general fact, but is to emphasize the special *mana* of the *karakia* in question.[1] Of greater interest, therefore, are some passages which refer to the effects of a *karakia* as the effects of its *mana*.[2] Or more briefly, the *karakia manas*, i.e. it is effective.[3] This implies that a *karakia* which is effective, has *mana*.

In a few passages it is mentioned that the *mana* of recently acquired *karakias* is tested.[4] This is closely connected with the whole of the oral tradition. The European at his writing-desk naturally views the *karakia* as a text in a book, but it is not this text as an abstraction which is tested. To the Maori a *karakia* is certain words recited in a certain way. It is the correct rendering that is tested. We also learn how a *karakia* is to be recited: "*Ka*

[1] AHM. II, 113, 119, 122, 123; V, 36.
[2] Lore I, 9. AHM. V, 47; IV, 80.
[3] Grey M. 78.
[4] JPS. 5, 116 (Karepa-Te-Whetu), TNZI. 42, 440 (Best.).

tara te karakia ka ngahau, he tohu ora tena."[1] Both *tara* and *ngahau* indicate that it is to be recited rapidly; but *tara* especially implies something rhythmical, a quick rhythm, while *ngahau* refers rather to the vividness and readiness which is the consequence of the fact that something has been learnt well and comes straight from the heart. We may therefore translate the sentence as follows: "When the *karakia* is recited with a quick rhythm, is learnt well, and comes straight from the heart, it is an omen of life."

Best describes the recitation of the rather weighty *karakia*s, saying that they "were intoned by the reciters in a very peculiar rhythmic manner extremely pleasing to the Maori ear. . . . A great desideratum was a smooth, rhythmical, long-continued flow of words, maintained as long as the reciter's breath held out."[2] The earlier conception of magic as natural science gone wrong tends to make us imagine the magic formula as a purely mechanical matter. Therefore it is worth noting that the *karakia* is beautiful. The ritual is also art. How deeply this was felt by the Maori cannot be tested with certainty, but we have an indicator of his appraisal of beauty in the part it plays in his image of the nobleman.[3] Add to this his mastership in the art of carving. Is it too bold to imagine that beauty is something essential in life, and that it has one of its roots in the beauty of the creative rituals?

The long, unbroken flow of the *karakia* cannot be maintained by one man in the case of the long *karakia*s, so it is kept up by two priests, one of them succeeding the other when his breath gives out.[4]

The correct recitation is a good omen, as we have heard.[5] This is corroborated elsewhere. "When Te Aotaki *tohi*ed, there was no faltering, no interruption, together with the sentinel's songs . . . it is a sign of victorious fortune, a sign of life."[6]

The same is demonstrated with the opposite sign in the far-reaching consequences of an error in recitation. When Maui wanted to descend into the Underworld in order to conquer

[1] JPS. 14, 123 (Gudgeon).
[2] Best Rel. 196.
[3] Johansen, Maori 183 f.
[4] Best Rel. 196.
[5] JPS. 14, 123 (Gudgeon).
[6] JPS. 20, 22 (Mohi Turei).

death in the shape of Hinenuitepo, he asked his father to recite over him, but when his father recited he happened to skip some of the *karakia* and said to Maui, "Son! You will die. Our *karakia* failed, it is death for you."[1] As another version says, it was an *aitua*.[2]

Besides this correct recitation, the accurate performance of the manual part of the ritual is absolutely necessary for a *karakia* to be effective. Especially *tapu* must be respected. When Tamaahua found his wife to be dead (ill), he would offer a sacrifice to make her alive (well) again; but the servant who was to look after the oven, burnt his fingers and licked them thoughtlessly and it all miscarried. The way in which this is expressed is interesting: "the *karakia*s which make *tapu* failed."[3] The *karakia* is the centre of the ritual, the manual part in a certain sense is only one aspect of the *karakia*. As mentioned above, *karakia* is very nearly equal to 'ritual'.

The fact that rituals augur—either good or ill—is a simple consequence of their power to create. On the other hand, we cannot draw the inverse conclusion. There are no doubt rituals which are only intended to find out what the future holds in store.

Considering that the performance of the rituals is so important, it is no wonder that they are not interrupted "in spite of snow and frost"—this of course referring to outdoor rituals.[4] Neglecting a rite completely is of course extremely ill-omened.[5]

It is of interest to see the way in which the Maori behaves when a *karakia* has failed, also because it illustrates the seriousness of the matter. Once, before a fight we hear of an attempt at repeating all of it, but when the *karakia* failed a second time, the people in question submitted to their fate.[6] In the cases in which it was still possible to make a choice, the outcome of the ritual was decisive of the choice. An error in the ritual at the inauguration of a fortress resulted in its being abandoned and a fortress being built at another place.[7]

Some rituals were connected with a festival, *hakari*. This is

[1] JPS. 38, 26 (Potae and Ruatapu).
[2] Grey M. 22.
[3] JPS. 5, 233 (Hare Hongi).
[4] AHM. I, 12.
[5] Best T. 1011.
[6] JPS. 25, 16 (Beattie).
[7] Best Pa 114.

the case of the personal rituals of the family of the chief, "baptism", wedding, funeral. Furthermore, in the case of the inauguration of large, ornamented houses, harvest, etc. All these events, including those especially concerning the chief's family, are of a certain official character. At these festivals presents, especially food, were given to the guests with great display of festivity. The food was arranged elaborately and was distributed ceremoniously. There were singing, dancing, and warlike games, not unlike the arrangement at Greek festivals.

It seems allowable to assume that the joy at the successfully performed ritual and the festiveness formed a synthesis. On the other hand, it is more difficult to tell whether the festival in itself was connected with rituals or otherwise was of special religious importance. Very few descriptions of festivals give this impression. There is, however, some evidence in favour of a ritual character of the meal apart from what was connected with the present itself.[1]

Percy Smith offers a description of a festival at which the food was arranged in two long rows. Priests walked up and down between them, "counting" the enemies that were to be killed. The people, who were standing outside the rows, at a signal from a priest held out their hands and put a morsel to their mouths. Then the food was distributed.[2]

We have also pieces of evidence of festivals of a downright religious character, but they are of such a kind that one hardly knows what to think about them. This applies e.g. to the sun festival mentioned by Tregear on the basis of a communication from C. Nelson.[3] The festival is without parallels, and one is not quite sure that Nelson has interpreted the matter correctly. These early writers generally considered the Maori to be a sun-worshipper, which was in good agreement with the views of nature mythology, and which they found an intelligible and acceptable form of paganism.

Another piece of evidence is connected with the mythology of Io, but for this very reason may very well be the outcome of the loose speculations in connexion with Io. There it says about

[1] Johansen, Maori 107.
[2] Smith Wars 39; cf. Best T. 1074.
[3] Tregear, Race 467 ff.; cf. TNZI. 32, 291.

Hawaiki-nui o Irihia: "This is the most *tapu* Hawaiki of all places in the world; for this was the place where they celebrated festivals (*hakari*) to the gods, to Io-matua-te-kore, the Whatukuras, and the Mareikuras in Te Toi-o-nga-rangi (the highest heaven)."[1]

As the reference is to some purely mythical festivals, we can only conclude that the author of the Lore of the Whare Wananga thought that *hakari* might have a religious meaning. The idea was not alien to the Maori, which presumably is the highest degree of certainty to which we can attain, this being in itself a result. We have an amusing confirmation of this by Christian Maoris. About the turn of the century GUDGEON at a provincial hotel found a notice, which in translation runs like this:

"Let all men know that Christmas will be celebrated and a race meeting held at Te Teko on the 25th Dec. next. All those who patronise sports should assemble at that place, not only for the amusement provided, but to honour the new year, and the advent of our Saviour from the unknown. We wish Him to know that we hold His birthday in reverence and love, so that He may in like manner remember to love us on the day of judgment."[2]

If from this notice we subtract what the Maori had heard from the clergyman, there will be a remnant left which suggests the existence of a tradition about religious festivals.

Sacredness.

In "*The Maori and His Religion*" it was described how there is a number of *tapu* spheres, each with its own contents. There we particularly dealt with the chief's *tapu*. In what follows we shall have a look at the *tapu* of the rituals. These kinds of *tapu* can reasonably be called sacred, we may translate *tapu* by 'sacred', and the *tapu* contents may be called 'sacredness'.

We shall briefly look at the origin of the sacredness and in some more detail at the scope or extent of the *tapu* sphere. For simplicity's sake we shall speak about the sacredness, but this should more accurately be termed "one of the sacrednesses", as

[1] Lore II, 3.
[2] JPS. 14, 170 (Gudgeon).

undoubtedly there are several. How many? is a question of detailed study, which in part is undone so far. But in the work mentioned above I have pointed out at least two different ones, that of birth and that of the kumara.

The sacred precinct, its sacred objects, and the gods seem to form a permanent sphere of sacredness. An inquiry into the rituals belonging here may presumably define the outermost sphere of the sacredness more closely. There are, however, several types of sacred precincts, each with its place in different rituals. The question will be, if not answered, at any rate illustrated when below we shall deal with the various types of sacred precincts.

As long as we have no general view of the various sacred precincts, an account of the origin of the sacredness can only be sketchy. It will, however, be practical to point out two important cases.

We hear about sacred objects as the cause of sacredness: "The yard (*marae*) and the sacral school at Taporapora were a sacred yard (*marae*) because the sacred objects were placed there when Mahuhu went ashore in this place."[1]

Another main source of sacredness and probably the most important one is the rituals, the *karakia*s. Just about the sacral school it says elsewhere, "It is the priests who *karakia* the central pole, . . . by this the whole house became sacred."[2] About the branch of the sacral school concerned with agriculture it similarly says, "This kind of houses are sacred, it is the *karakia*s which makes them sacred."[3] It is not only houses which are consecrated in this way: "Whaketoro let his *karakia*s work on this island in order that the place might be sacred."[4]

The sacredness of course includes the *karakia*s. As they often allude to definite myths and the myths, too, are *tapu*, it might be asked whether these myths belong to this very sacredness. The question is probably too subtle as the myths are recited in the sacral school and not in connexion with the rituals.

The people who participate in the rituals are made sacred, if they are not so already, like the priests. Generally speaking

[1] AHM. V, 69.
[2] AHM. I, 4; cf. Lore I, 3, 6.
[3] AHM. I, 11.
[4] AHM. II, 172.

there is probably less ceremony at the entry into than at the withdrawal from the sacredness. The Maori seems particularly attentive to the danger of violation of the sacredness which is involved in carrying it with him into everyday life.

Objects that participate in the rituals are or are made sacred. Thus fire at sacrifices, the pole on which the sacrifice is placed, the basket in which the sacred kumaras are carried to the field for planting, the measuring line for the sacred field, etc.[1]

The place of the ritual is sacred. Often it is the sacred precinct, but if not, the place will become sacred, e.g. the place in the field (*tautane*) where the ritual planting takes place (. . *te mara tautane*: *he mara tapu tenei*).[2]

Finally, the time at which the ritual takes place is sacred. Most frequently the day in the case of more important ceremonies is considered as a whole. Best writes, "Any day on which a ceremony of importance was performed, was looked upon as being *tapu* by the Maori, and no ordinary work would be done on such a day, save the cooking of food."[3] On the agricultural ritual a text correspondingly says, "When the day comes when *karakia*s are recited, everybody keeps quiet, it is the Maori's sacred day (*ra tapu*) . . ."[4] The latter term undoubtedly in particular includes a comparison with the Christian Sunday and perhaps might as justly be translated as "it is the Maori's (own) Sunday (*ra tapu*)." The meaning at any rate is evident.

The part of the day in which the rites are performed is undoubtedly of particular sacredness. It was especially morning and evening that were used for the performance of the rites. We find allusions to this in *karakia*s, e.g. in connexion with an offering of pigeons: "The sacred fire is lit, lit by Tiki, it burns in the sacred morning."[5]

Best in several passages adduces the fact that the rites are placed in the morning or evening, but gives somewhat different reasons. In two passages he refers to the fact that people at that time are in their houses. In both passages the importance is implied in the sacredness, whether this is dangerous to the com-

[1] AHM. VI, 61; I, 9; JPS. 22, 36 (Kapiti); Best Agr. 158.
[2] Williams, s. v. *tautane*.
[3] Best T. 1113.
[4] Best Agr. 155.
[5] Dieffenbach II, 51; cf. Grey Mot. 60: *i te ata tapu nei*.

mon people,[1] or it would violate the sacredness if they went out. The latter view is authenticated by a Maori statement. If somebody in spite of the rituals wants to go out, it is said, "Stay! Do not violate the *karakias*."[2] Even though the latter view is substantiated best, there is hardly any doubt that both are correct. Both views will almost necessarily come into consideration.

In his *Maori Religion* BEST adduces a third reason, viz. that the Maori considered rites performed on an empty stomach to be particularly effective.[3] This reason, which is without connexion with the question of 'sacred time', can naturally only apply to the morning rituals. Unfortunately BEST does not refer to the Maoris, either, but to comparative religion, especially to A. REVILLE. The idea may very well be correct and does not exclude the others as it only refers to the morning rituals; but it is to be feared that it is based on speculation rather than on observation.

A study of the structure of the Maori language leads to the view that the action may be said to be implied in its constituents.[4] In *The Maori and His Religion* I have compared the grammatical action, as appearing in the "concretive", with the actual one and found considerable agreement.[5] In the same way sacredness may give occasion for a comparison as it may be said that so far as a ritual action makes sacred, so far does it go. On that basis it may be said that the action includes the people and things that participate in it, the place and time. These constituents correspond to those of grammar: subject, object, instrument, place, and time. All these from the point of view of the concretive are included in and are each expressive of the whole action. The grammatical conception of 'the mode' in which the action is performed and which also belongs to the meaning of the concretive, may perhaps be compared with the sacral tradition of the performance of the rites. This is sacred, too, and in so far can be included as well. However, as mentioned above, we approach in this way a sacredness which is attached to the sacral school, and therefore run the risk of asking questions which cannot be answered.

[1] JPS. 9, 189 (Best); cf. Johansen, Maori 258.
[2] JPS. 15, 147 (Best).
[3] Best Rel. 198.
[4] Johansen, Character 58 ff.
[5] Johansen, Maori 151 f.

Sacred Precincts.

The Maori had numerous *tapu* places about him. Many of these could be called sacred. There were sacred mountains, caves, stones, trees, there were places consecrated by the blood of great chiefs, by a ritual fire which once had been burning there, places hallowed by the remains of the ancestors, etc. It is not, however, all this which we are going to consider here, but a small selection, viz. the places which were sacred because they were intended to be permanent scenes of sacred actions.

Even the permanent scenes of the rituals offer no small variety in spite of the fact that we must content ourselves with the types about which we can elicit fairly full information from the sources. They are probably the most important as well. They are the 'sacred water' and the places called *tuahu* and *heketua* or *turuma*. To make up for the limitation we shall try to utilize all that can give us information about the equipment, mythical associations, and use of these places. As to their use we must, however, confine ourselves to the most general lines, a detailed investigation of all rituals that are performed in the sacred precincts could not at all be contained within the framework of this study.

One of the difficulties of the investigation is the possibility of local variations of the sacred precincts, the information often being so sporadic that we can hardly obtain a clear picture of the importance of the local distinctive character. There are, however, a number of important features which seem to have been distributed over the whole of the area of New Zealand from which the sources are most abundant. In certain cases comparisons with Polynesia may contribute to the decision.

Main Forms of the Sacred Precinct

The Sacred Water.

Wai tapu.

In each settlement there was a sacred water.[1] It might be a pond, a brook, or a spring. A pond had the advantage that its sacredness made fewer demands on everyday occupations than a brook or a spring, since it was hardly permissible to take the water for profane use. On the other hand a spring was clean at the well-head, and such *wai matua o Tuapapa* or *wai manawa whenua*, 'water from the heart of the earth', is stated to have been particularly suitable for ritual purposes.[2] It is difficult to decide the importance of this. It is certain that it was even possible to use water from a large lake, although it was impracticable to declare the whole lake *tapu*. The inhabitants then made shift by demarcating a minor part as sacred, this part being fenced in with poles.[3]

Otherwise we hear nothing about permanent interference with nature as regards the sacred water.

The sacred water mostly was only named *wai tapu*, 'sacred water', or *wai karakia*, 'ritual or *karakia* water'. We also hear about *wai taua*, 'army water', in connexion with the rites before war[4] and about *wai whakaika* or *wai kotikoti* ('hair-cutting water') as a place where the hair of people of noble birth was cut.[5] It may not be completely precluded that the reference was to different 'sacred waters', but probably it was only the same place which occurred under different names according to the rites in question.

Before the natural water began to be used as 'sacred water', a consecration presumably took place. We know nothing about it except what can be concluded from an extant legend about an inaugural ceremony. The inauguration was made by Whiketoro, one of those who immigrated onboard the Mangarara canoe.

[1] Best Rel. 215; Best T. 1074; JPS. 12, 65 (Best).
[2] JPS. 38, 253 (Best).
[3] Cowan 229.
[4] Best T. 144.
[5] Williams s. v. *whakaika*.

At first, with one of the stones from his sacral fireplace he beats a steep rock down upon an island so that a road is made along which it is possible to get on to the island. The continuation runs as follows: "Wheketoro took another stone from his sacred fire and beat a flat stone on the beach with the stone from the sacred fire, and a spring trickled out from the flat stone. This spring was his sacred water (*wai karakia*), it got a name which held out into later times, namely Whakaaurangi, and the spring may be seen this very day."[1] When Te-Waiopotango saw this, he did the same, and his spring was called Te-Muriwai.

This legend suggests that there was a certain ritual at the consecration with use of a sacred fire.

In the immigration sagas we hear on several occasions about ancestors who stamp forth (*takahi*) springs from the soil.[2] *Takahi* should no doubt be interpreted as expressive of a ritual, the more so as the 'stamping' in a few passages takes place after the recital of a *karakia*.[3] On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this piece of information concerns our question, as we do not know whether these springs were 'sacred water'. Indeed, this question must rather be answered in the negative. The springs were created as drinking-water, and tradition states about one of them that it is still used as such. Only that before using them one must show the consideration to pour two handfuls of water to the right and two to the left, in order that the spring should not dry up.[4]

What special character and function does the sacred water possess as compared with other sacred precincts?

For the answering of this question several ways are imaginable. It will be natural to compare the rituals which take place beside the sacred water and investigate the problem whether there is a specific common feature which can motivate that they are performed exactly there.

We find that rituals of initiation in a number of cases are performed completely or in part beside the sacred water, viz. rituals of warriors shortly before the battle, of pupils before their initiation in the sacral school, indeed, of any person who is to take part in a *tapu* rite, and at the consecration of a "prophet"

[1] AHM. II, 173.
[2] Grey M. 66, 68; Shortl. Rel. 83, 84.
[3] Williams s. v.
[4] Cowan 99.

(*matakite*). Furthermore, purifications frequently take place there, thus after burials and the conclusion of the mourning period, after war, and indeed at the leaving of different voluntary or involuntary *tapu* states, such as cases of illness, childbirth, and the stay at the sacral school.

Although this division into initiations and purifications may look rather plausible, it is not, in fact, worth very much. The ritual of warriors in certain places was performed in three parts, first at the *tuahu*, then beside the sacred water, and then again at the *tuahu*. Even though the ritual as a whole is to convey a *tapu* to the warrior, we cannot from this conclude anything as to the role of the sacred water, it might e.g. be just a purification. It may be difficult without closer examination to place the *tohi*- and *tua*-rites for children in this classification, and furthermore, they were not always performed beside the sacred water.

It is more prudent only to speak about changes in the state of *tapu*, but this does not exhaust the characterization of the rituals. Sometimes cutting of the chief's hair took place beside the sacred water, though perhaps mostly at the *tuahu* or the burial place. In this case it was probably mainly a question of disposing of the cut-off *tapu* hair.

Finally various rites performed beside the water deal with divination, sorcery, and love magic (in which perhaps divorce rites may be included, too). We might sort out some from each group in which the decisive factor is that a *wairua* appears and is affected or is only recognized.[1] Perhaps the water is particularly suitable for this. Even if so, it is doubtful whether all these cases of divination, sorcery, and love magic can be united under this point of view.

The most remarkable common feature about these rites is a negative one. To my knowledge sacrifices never occur near or to the sacred water. This corresponds to the complete absence of representatives of deities. It may no doubt be concluded that the sacred water is not a habitation for the kind of gods which are objects of any cult.

By going through rituals performed beside the sacred water we do not otherwise obtain great results, at most some hints. I

[1] Best Rel. 216; Shortl. Trad. 127; Best Spir. 13; Taylor 203; cf. JPS. 30, 179 f. (Smith).

have, however, included this survey, as in itself it is also of interest by displaying a variety which will not be sufficiently clearly brought out in the following investigations. In these we shall seek the information that may be obtained partly from the direct mention of the water by the ritual texts, partly by allusions to the mythological associations of the water. Here we shall of course attach special importance to such associations as are utilized in the ritual texts. Myths without a ritual connexion are only of secondary importance, but may contribute to throwing light on the Maori's view of the water.

Ritual texts used near the sacred water naturally claim our interest. A fair number has been handed down, but those that throw light on the role of the water in the rites are indeed few in number.

In a *tohi* ritual on a boy it says:

"You are *tohi*-ed, son, with Tutawake's water,
Turn round, son, in Tutawake's water.
May you fight, son, by virtue of Tutawake's water.
May you become bold, son, by virtue of Tutawake's water."[1]

The water here is a medium for a creation, which is to make the boy a bold warrior. I do not know Tutawake from anywhere else. It might be a name of Tu, the divine warrior to whom boys are consecrated. There is, however, another possibility. Perhaps it is not a personal name at all. It is true that it says in the text "*te wai o Tu-tawake*;" but as the article is often omitted in ritual texts, especially before a word with an initial *t*, the words may with equal right be read: "*te wai o* [*te*] *tutawake*," i.e. 'the water of the spell'. The god Tu then disappears completely. The water is effective by virtue of the *karakia* recited. The question cannot perhaps be decided definitively, but the other pieces of evidence of the water in the rites if anything support the latter view.

We have a *tohi* on a boy or youth who is consecrated to his first fight:

1. This is the sea, the sea which remains,
2. The sea of this *tapu*.
3. The man fights,

[1] JPS. 15, 158 (Best).

4. The man fights fiercely,
5. The man has the gift of victory (*toa*),
6. The man has energy.
7. The man is *tohi*ed
8. To fight, to fight fiercely."[1]

. . .

Lines 3—8 should probably be interpreted as a description and creation of the contents of "this *tapu*" in l. 2. The water then is the bearer of the sacredness of the war, which is conveyed to the man and gives him a fighting spirit and success in war. The fact that the sacred water is called 'the sea' (*te au*) is not in itself particularly remarkable; we have a parallel in a late *tohi*:

> Here your [i. e. Io's] pupil is *tohi*-ed, your descendant (? *uriuri*) in the water of Rongo's Sea.[2]

The water is here simply named Rongo's Sea (*Moana o Rongo*) a name which, for that matter, has mythical associations, as Rongo's Water (*Wai-o-Rongo*) is a sacred water in heaven, in which the *tohi* rite is performed to Tane.[3]

Tapu is also removed by the sacred water. In GREY's Moteatea there is a *tuapana* which seems to contain allusions to this. Unfortunately the ritual situation is not indicated. *Tuapana* is to make childbirths easy. Grey's collection contains two, one for girl children, the other for boy children. The latter contains some indications that the boy's *tapu* is removed by the water. It is uncertain whether the *tuapana* itself was recited besides the water, but it is not very probable. Still, I think that the following passage can throw light on the Maori's view of what happens when a *tapu* is removed by the sacred water.

Text.

31. Takiritia ra te tapu o Ruanuku,
32. He tapu ka kawea ki te wai,
33. Ka turakina, ka whakawaituhitia.
34. Ooi.
35. Takiritia, takiritia ra te tapu o te tama nei,

[1] Taylor 186 f.
[2] Best Koh. 30.
[3] Lore I, 24, 27.

36. He tapu kawea ki te wai,
37. ka huhua ka whakanoatia,
38. ooi,
39. ka whakahekea,
40. ka whakamamatia,
41. ooi.[1]

Translation.

31. Release Ruanuku's *tapu*,
32. A *tapu* which is taken to the water,
33. It is upset, it is *waituhi*ed.
34. Ooi.
35. Release, release this boy's *tapu*,
36. A *tapu* which is taken to the water,
37. It is taken off, it is made profane.
38. Ooi.
39. It is reduced,
40. It is removed.
41. Ooi.

Commentary.

31. Ruanuku. This is presumably a mythical name, but it is uncertain which (cf. TREGEAR, who is of opinion that it has something to do with the inundation myth). In the corresponding *tuapana* for girl children *te tapu o Ruanuku* is in apposition to *te tapu o Hine* (GREY Mot. 354). Hence it seems to refer to the *tapu* of the woman in labour.

33. *waituhi*: the performance of rites on women in labour or women who have just given birth to a child. The rite is also connected with the child when the umbilical cord is cut. To judge from the whole context the reference is probably mainly to the rite of women in labour.

A number of words are used which indicate that a *tapu* is removed, most of which can be used purely technically except *turaki* and *whakaheke* (l. 33 and l. 39). Apart from *whakamama* they contain an image which I have tried to bring out in the translation. For further explanation it may be stated that *huhu* especially evokes the image of a garment which is taken off. It is remarkable

[1] Grey Mot. 361 f.

that none of these similes represent the water as purifying, the more so as the image is found in another ritual situation. "The person goes to the water in order to wash off his yearning (*aroha*)," we read somewhere.[1] *Aroha*, a feeling, can be washed off, but not a *tapu*. I know no text at all which expresses that a *tapu* can be washed off. This is probably connected with the fact that purification in a strict sense is too passive a concept, considering the strength of a *tapu* content as well as the importance of activity for the Maori. Purification therefore is precluded from becoming of any profound importance in Maori religion. As 'purity' in the meaning of freedom from alien spiritual content is so essential to the Maori, it will, however, be unpractical to discard the *word* 'purification', only that it should always be kept in mind that it does not cover the ritual process very well.

For the whole of this question it is instructive to study a ritual through which the participants in a 'second interment' (*hahunga*) are brought back from the sphere of the burial to normal life. The priest places a pole in the water and recites:[2]

1. Toko kai mo te Po (?),
2. Te Po nui,
3. Te Po roa,
4. Te Po uriuri,
5. Te Po tangotango,
6. Te Po wawa,
7. Te Po te kitea,
8. Te Po te waia (read: whaia).
9. Tena toko ka tu,
10. ko toko o Tane-rua-nuku.
11. Ko toko o te Po,
12. oti atu ki te Po.

1. A pointed pole for Night (?),
2. Great Night,
3. Long Night,
4. Dark Night,
5. Black Night,

[1] TNZI. 38, 180 (Best).
[2] Taylor 226 f.

6. ? Night,
7. Night that is not seen,
8. Night that is not sought.
9. This is your pole which stands,
10. Tane-rua-nuku's pole.
11. Night's pole,
12. For ever Night's.

Another pole is erected with the words:

13. Toko kai mo te Ao (?).
14. Te Ao nui,
15. Te Ao roa,
16. Te Ao pouri,
17. Te Ao potango,
18. Te Ao wa tuma (read: whētuma).
19. Tena toko ka tu,
20. ko toko o Tane,
21. ko toko o Hikurangi,
22. ko toko te wai (read: whai) Ao,
23. ko toko te Ao marama,
24. Oti atu ki te ao,
25. Mo nga tangata ora o tenei toko.

13. A pointed pole for Day,
14. Great Day,
15. Ever-lasting Day,
16. Dark (sad) Day,
17. Black Day,
18. Obscure (low-lying) Day.
19. This pole which stands,
20. Tane's pole,
21. Hikurangi's pole,
22. The pole which possesses (or becomes) Day,
23. The pole, bright Day,
24. Forever Day's,
25. For the saved people of this pole.

Commentary.

The ritual is found in two slightly shorter editions, viz. Taylor 223, and Grey Mot. 263. Finally there is a translation

in BEST M. II, 69. Presumably BEST had an independent source, since he uses the word 'wand', which generally renders Maori *tira*. TAYLOR's texts are not so bad as they are sometimes made out to be; their fault is mostly inappropriateness or misleading recording. Thus he does not distinguish between *w* and *wh*. The translations are often erroneous and therefore offer little support, but explain why the record or editing is no better than it is. GREY's version bears traces of an incorrectly interpreted manuscript (*Tarieruanuku* for *Taneruanuku, o te atua ki te po* for *oti atu ki te po*). In return *w* and *wh* are kept apart.

l. 1. *Toko kai mo te Po*;

TAYLOR 223: *Toko kai (i) te po*;

GREY: *Toko koi te po.*

kai may be *kei* or *koi*, as in the other versions, where it is obviously a preposition. It cannot be interpreted like this here, where *kai* is followed by the preposition *mo*. Perhaps it should be read as *koi* 'sharp', as suggested in my translation. It appears from the other versions that something like 'the pole of the Night' is indicated.

l. 6. GREY: *whawha*. AHM. I, 42, however, has *wawa* in a corresponding list, Lore I, 56: *Po-te-whawha*.

l. 8. GREY: *whaia*.

l. 13. See note on l. 1.

l. 18. *watuma*. GREY: *whatu ma*. In the list, GREY, M. 2, it says in this place: *Ao-whētuma*.

The ritual falls into two parts, each with its characteristic principal word: Po and Ao. Of course it refers to the Maori's dualism.[1] *Po* stands for Death, the kingdom of Death, and the world of darkness, a comprehensive concept, translated here by 'Night'. Correspondingly *Ao*, the world of life and day, translated by 'Day'. Po (lines 2—8) is varied by seven epithets, Ao (lines 14—18) by five. A few of these names cannot be translated and hence escape further discussion. As for the rest we find that Po's epithets are found to be quite natural, while three of Ao's are somewhat peculiar, as they vary the expression of 'the dark Ao'. It may refer to the world before the creation of light, as it is used like this in another passage.[2] However, it is remarkable

[1] Johansen, Maori 221 f.
[2] Lore I, 19.

that this series of Aos occur as mythical names of clouds, and in this connexion the names are easy enough to understand.[1] In this place, it is precluded that Ao should be a cloud. I think an interpretation must start from the fact that these series of Pos and Aos are set formulas of a mythical and ritual character. It is less the individual names than the series as a whole which bear the sense. If we want to ask for the sense, the local tribal mythology is of course the best to consult. In this respect, too, the Po series is the easiest. TAYLOR's information mainly (or exclusively?) originates from the Taranaki tribes. In TAYLOR's book there is a genealogical cosmogony, in which we find the whole series extended with some more terms in what TAYLOR calls "the second period", viz. of the cosmogony.[2]

Night was born,
Great Night, ever-lasting Night,
Night who bent, Night who crouched,
Dark Night, black Night,
Te Po wawa, Night who is not seen,
Night who is not sought.
. . .

The series of Pos thus can be said to represent a phase of creation, viz. the birth of Night.

The series of Aos is more difficult. From Ngati-Hau, a tribe which is comparatively closely related to Taranaki, we have a series of genealogies beginning with Rangi (Heaven), among them:[3]

Raki (i.e. Rangi)
Rehua
Tamaiteokotahi
Aonui
Ao-roa
Ao-pouri
Ao-potako (i.e. Ao-potango)
Ao-toto
. . .

[1] Grey M. 2; AHM. I, 137.
[2] Taylor 109 f.
[3] AHM. I, 46.

Here, too, we are within the cosmogony, but it is very possible that these Aos are imagined as clouds. In TAYLOR there is a version of the separation of Earth and Heaven (Papa and Rangi). It contains the usual trait that it is Tane who separates them by lifting Rangi upon poles. It is a fundamental event; for on that occasion Te Po and Te Ao were separated.[1] In TAYLOR it says:

Yes truly was Tane the author

Of the great day
Of the long day
Of the clear sky
Of the day driving away night,
Of the day making all things distinct,
Of the day making everything bright,
Of the day driving away gloom,
Of the hot sultry day,
Of the day shrouded in darkness.[2]

TAYLOR does not quote the Maori text, and his translations are not very reliable. Still we may venture to suppose that there is a series of Aos, which, indeed, cannot possibly be identical with the present one, but still displays similarities. The two first members are undoubtedly Ao-nui and Ao-roa, the last one might be Ao-pouri. Although the agreement is only moderate, we are decidedly on the right track, as warranted by the expression in line 20: Tane's pole, i. e., of course, the pole placed under Heaven, when it was separated from Earth, and at the same time the one which is raised in the ritual.

In the first section, too, 'Tane-ruanuku's pole' is mentioned. I suppose that here, too, the reference is to the separation of Earth and Heaven. Otherwise, I only know Taneruanuku from the Ngati-Hau, where he appears in a genealogy as a character distinct from Tane between Tiki and Rangi-whakaahua. The genealogy is not very instructive and furthermore it originates from another, although neighbouring tribe. Tane-ruanuku can be rendered as 'Tane the magician'. The whole context suggests that it is Tane in a special function (viz. as the creator of 'Night').

In spite of a few obscure details—and when do we find a

[1] E.g. Grey M. 2.
[2] Taylor 120.

Maori ritual without such?—we may safely conclude that the ritual as a whole represents a cosmogony with the stress on an important point, viz. the separation of "Night" and "Day", of the spheres of death and life. By reference to a related ritual commented on elsewhere,[1] we may find the meaning of the whole ritual in the existing situation. The participants in the interment have incurred a *tapu* content from the sphere of death. This is an *aitua*, a pollution of life of a fatal character. By repeating the separation of "Night" and "Day" during creation, the *tapu* with a "Night" character is separated from the sphere of "Day" and life in the participants. It is a purification, but not a passive 'washing', on the contrary, it is of a most active character,—a creation of the world of life and light in its original purity. 'The saved people of this pole' can safely return to life.

At the same time we find here an illustration of the view advanced on p. 7 that important rites performed in the sacred precincts took on a cosmic significance. The people to whom the rites were performed, must be supposed to have included also the highborn; they could not be re-created separately, their *mana* involved that the re-creation became cosmic, became a world-creation.

So far we have not learnt anything about the role of the sacred water during the performance of this rite, but still the ritual contains a clue to this problem. In line 21 we find the expression 'Hikurangi's pole'.[2] The occurrence of this expression offers a further motivation of the fact that just this ritual has been discussed so thoroughly.

Hikurangi is a mythical place wrapt in a special radiance. The word has some of the same ring as the name of Paradise in our ears.

From a creation myth just in TAYLOR we may adduce the following lines:

The sun was born,
It was flung into the air as an eye to Heaven.
Then Heaven became beautiful.
It was The-reddening-dawn, The-morning-whose-light-is-a-fan,
The-shining-dawn, the dawn on Hikurangi.[3]

[1] Johansen, Maori 220 f.
[2] The expression is also found in Taylor's second version as *"ko toko Ikurangi"*.
[3] Taylor 110.

The Ngati-Hau, a tribe settled not far from the Taranaki, have this version:

"Rangi (Heaven), who stands here (above us) lay with Te-werowero (the Ray of Light?), then the Sun was born, The-reddening-dawn, The-morning-whose-light-is-a-fan, The-shining-dawn and the first rays of the Sun had fallen on Hikurangi, the sacred mountain of Hawaiki."[1]

The first morning of Creation, when the rays of the newborn sun glow on Hikurangi, has conveyed a ring of promise into the word. Perhaps we find this sentiment most beautifully at the end of Rangimauri's lamentation for the dead Tongaawhikau:

> Tonga! Sleep thou now there in the breeze,
> But I will listen to the birds
> That twitter while the morning breaks,
> Bearing witness, in truth, to the day on Hikurangi,
> The day-owning, the world of light.[2]

Hikurangi is very closely connected with the water in two myths. One deals with Maui, a figure who can probably best be characterized as the cultural hero of the Maoris. He has his own roguish manners, which manifest themselves with a particular humour in the grandiose myths about his strange and disrespectful deeds.

Understandably his elder brothers gradually became somewhat anxious about what their little brother Maui might take it into his head to do, and when once he asked them to be allowed to go fishing with them, they flatly refused. Maui, however, would not be put off, he slipped in advance down to the canoe and hid himself there. Only when they had gone a good distance out to sea, he emerged, and the brothers had to put up with his presence. He lured them farther and farther to sea by prospects of better fishing grounds and was not satisfied until he had lost sight of land. Maui was not the one to jig for small fishes.

Then he took out his grandmother's lower jaw, which with his usual frankness he had stolen from her, in order to use it as a fish-hook, quite a horrible thing, indeed; this was what the Maori used his enemies' bones for. Maui asked for bait, but his

[1] AHM. I, 43; cf. the version from the Ngati-Rauru ibidem.
[2] JPS. 5, 116 (Rangimauri by Te-Whetu).

brothers naturally were equally mistrustful and would not give him anything. Then he hit his nose with his fist till the blood came, and as soon as it clotted, he smeared it on the hook and dropped the hook outside the gunwale. It did not take long until he felt that there was a bite, and he began to haul in. Evidently it was a good-sized fish, for the canoe sank deeper and deeper. Maui's brothers implored him to let it go; but he pulled hard and up came the North Island of New Zealand. It was 'Te Ika a Maui', Maui's Fish, as it is also called.

This story has the character of a myth, but it is said that it did not belong to the sacral part proper.[1] It was generally told for entertainment. Nevertheless it was, or in some places might be a ritual myth; for in several versions we find the *karakia* mentioned which Maui used during his fishing. Among the Arawa, e. g., it ran as follows:

1. He aha tau, e Tonganui,
2. E ngau whakatuturi ake i raro?
3. Ka puta te hau o Ranga-whenua,
4. ka rukuruku,
5. ka heihei,
6. ka rukuruku,
7. ka eaea,
8. Ooi,
9. Mokopu-Tangaroa-meha.[2]

Parts of this *karakia* enter in various ritual texts. The first three lines are simply identical with a *karakia* which was used for fishing with a line and hook.[3] And in a *karakia* used at making nets lines 4—9 occur with a slight alteration.[4] The use at fishing is natural enough; it is more curious that lines 4—9 enter with an inconsiderable alteration in the *tuapana* of which we discussed some lines above (p. 24 f.).[5] The key to this little problem is Hikurangi.

The motif, Maui and his fish, enter directly in a few other

[1] Lore I, 67.
[2] Grey M. 16.
[3] Hamilton 23.
[4] Hamilton 54 f. (lines 13—15).
[5] Grey Mot. 361 (lines 25—30).

ritual texts.[1] Especially one in which we find an allusion to his fish-hook is of interest:

> This is the hook with which the great country which
> lies here, was hauled up,
> Hikurangi emerges.[2]

The line enters in a *karakia* directed against a fish-hook thief and perhaps is mainly to have effect by pointing out Maui's feat as a powerful deed; but for our purpose it is more significant that the first land that rises out of the sea is Hikurangi. This is connected with some traditions about Maui and Hikurangi. Taylor heard that Maui's canoe was stranded on Hikurangi and is still found there.[3] Others will have it that Maui lies buried there.[4] In the traditions mentioned Hikurangi is a certain mountain on the east coast; but probably the mountain Hikurangi cannot be separated from mythical Hikurangi (see below).

As mentioned above, parts of Maui's *karakia* enter in a *tuapana* already discussed (p. 24 f.). They run as follows:

25. Rukuruku,	25. Dive and dive,
eaea	Come up and come up,
rukuruku	Dive and dive,
eaea	Come up and come up,
ooi,	Ooi,
30. Te Mokoputangaroameha.[5]	30. Te Mokopu-Tangaroa-meha.

In itself the translation does not tell very much; but these lines, too, derive their main contents from the Maui myth. They agree with lines 4—9 in his *karakia*, with the exception of the verbal particle *ka* and *heihei* (bind, entangle) in line 5. The agreement gathers weight by the fact that the peculiar Te Mokopu-Tangaroa-meha occurs in both passages. In the *tuapana* these lines are succeeded immediately by those quoted above (p. 24) in which a *tapu* is removed by the water. The meaning must be that by Maui's feat Hikurangi is pulled out of the water (i.e. the sacred water) as a place for salvation and newborn life.

[1] e. g. TNZI. 34, 85.
[2] Grey Mot. 160 (cf. AHM. I, 91).
[3] Taylor 129.
[4] JPS. 4, 181 (Gudgeon); Polack, Manners I, 16.
[5] Grey Mot. 361.

This is corroborated by the study of another and more important myth concerning Hikurangi, the Ruatapu myth.

This occurs in numerous versions, which, however, agree in outline.[1] Uenuku had two sons, Paikea and Ruatapu. Ruatapu was the younger and in some places was also born by another and more lowborn mother than Paikea. Then one day it happened that Ruatapu violated his brother's or his father's *tapu* and incurred an insulting reproach. He brooded over the insult and in order to revenge himself he drilled a hole in a large canoe and afterwards plugged it up. He managed that he himself, his brother Paikea and all the noblest young men sailed far out to sea in the canoe. There he secretly pulled out the plug and all the young men were drowned except Paikea, who swam ashore. Paikea means 'whale'. Before that, Ruatapu had told him to gather the people at home on the Hikurangi mountain in order that they might be saved when Ruatapu came as a tidal wave. He also told him when he would come; but the time varies from the eighth month (approximately January, thus in midsummer) to the time about the New Year in the middle of the winter (June). In most versions, indeed, it ends by Ruatapu coming as a huge flood from which only those people were saved who stood on Hikurangi. The tribes in and around Waiapu with fair certainty identify Hikurangi with the mountain Hikurangi, but this detail is of more subordinate importance. The decisive feature is that Hikurangi as a mythical place means salvation from a danger in the shape of water.

Undoubtedly this myth gave an intense colour to the word. We note that in the case of some isolated uses. In a late song to Governor Grey on occasion of his departure it says that one must pray (*inoi!*) to "Tangaroa's Salt-Tooth (i. e. the sea) that it must become a road for you to Hikurangi."[2] The most interesting allusion is found in one of the sagas of the period of the taking of land. Tapo had been thrown overboard from the Aotea canoe and said while lying in the water, "Sons, let me be on Hikurangi," after which they helped him onboard.[3] It seems

[1] The most important are AHM. III cap. 1—2; JPS. 54, 162 (Carrington); Best T. 686; TNZI. 14, 17 ff. (Colenso). The contents of the myth are discussed from another point of view in Johansen, Maori 79.

[2] Grey Mot. 23.

[3] Grey M. 94.

evident that Hikurangi here is a place where one is safe from the sea, however the episode should otherwise be interpreted, for it is very peculiar. In the first place it says that Tapo asserted himself (*whakatamaramara*)[1] by asking for room on Hikurangi; secondly, the story continues as follows, "See, only then they understood that "This is Maru!" He asserts himself, and they understand that he is Maru, i. e. a god. The conclusion must be that Hikurangi is not only a place of salvation, but in particular a sacred place. Interpreted in this way the episode makes sense. The conclusion for that matter only takes us back to our starting-point. 'Hikurangi's pole' is, indeed, just a pole in the sacred precinct. This cyclic course testifies to the close connection of the Hikurangi of the myth and that of the rite.

The mythology connected with Hikurangi is undoubtedly the most important to illustrate the particular character of the sacred water. However, we have another ritual myth which fairly certainly refers to the sacred water. It is therefore of interest in this connexion, but as at the same time it is a document for the mythology of Io, it raises some problems which, in what follows, we shall discuss in connexion with the whole question of the high-god of the Maoris.

Io.

The outlook for Polynesian high-gods has been rather fluctuating. This has influenced the view of Io as well. In the last century this high-god was known only through a few sporadic notes, but in the present century a comparatively voluminous material has emerged, especially in the Lore of the Whare-Wananga. Fr. R. Lehmann in 1931 balanced accounts after mustering all the information available.[2] He completely endorsed the views of the New Zealand scholars (Tregear, Percy Smith, Elsdon Best, and others) and, as they did, he found that the mythology of Io was a genuine Maori tradition, in the main independent of Christianity. Although J. Frank Stimson in his Tuamotuan Religion, 1933, was somewhat critical towards the tradition of Io among the Maoris, the high-god, Kiho, which he

[1] Williams s. v. also translates by 'expostulate'; but this is probably only *ad hoc*.

[2] Ethnologische Studien 1, 271—292. 1931.

found among the Tuamotuans, however, at the same time seemed to confirm the existence of an early Polynesian high-god, Io or Kiho. But the very Tuamotu tradition about Kiho which STIMSON —more a linguist than a historian of religion—published, aroused distrust in more sceptical spirits. RALPH PIDDINGTON in 1939 called attention to a far-going correspondence between the creation myth of the Kiho tradition and the Genesis.[1] The same and the following year EMORY published two articles about the creation myth on the Tuamotu Islands.[2] According to these STIMSON had fallen a victim to a deceit. Kiho had been created *ad hoc* and introduced rather mechanically into mythology. If EMORY is right, and there is much to be said in favour of his view, Kiho cannot even be termed a high-god who has arisen late; the depressing thing is that he does not at all seem to have been high-god to anybody, and that, if so, the Kiho traditions do not represent any religion at all. This is an important point to the student of the history of religion. If only there has been a cult of Kiho—although a new one—corresponding to the texts, then these will remain of some interest.

Then Io emerged in Hawaii. A cautious article by HANDY on "The Hawaiian Cult of Io" was answered by EMORY, who here, too, with sure learning and commonsense convinced the reader that the Hawaiian Io, considered as a high-god, was quite a recent figment of some Hawaiians.[3]

The shares of the Polynesian high-gods then were very low. It might be expected that the Io of the Maoris would be looked upon with critical eyes. The criticism came from expert quarters, when in 1949 TE RANGI HIROA in "The Coming of the Maori" pounced on various pieces of pseudo-evidence of Io and offered some critical remarks on the fuller evidence.[4] On most points the validity of TE RANGI HIROA's criticism can hardly be contested. It will be utilized when we are to discuss the problem in more detail below.

Preliminarily we must lay down that there is no sure evidence of the existence of a proto-Polynesian high-god, on the contrary, there is every indication that the high-gods must have arisen after

[1] Williamson & Piddington, Essays 293—301.
[2] JPS. 48, 1—29; 49, 69—136.
[3] JPS. 50, 134—159 (Handy); JPS 51, 200—207 (Emory).
[4] Rangi Hiroa 531 ff.

the Polynesians had dispersed over the area where the Europeans found them.[1] Consequently each Polynesian high-god must, as it were, defend himself. The Io of the Maoris must be judged only on the basis of New Zealand material.

The first printed communication about Io originates from C. O. Davis, who in 1876 related that a Nga-Puhi had disclosed that "the Maoris in olden times worshipped a Supreme Being whose name was held to be so sacred that none but a priest might utter it at certain times and places. The name was Io, perhaps an abbreviation of Io-uru."[2] The Maori refused to offer further information, which may just as well be due to ignorance as to Io's sacral nature. Davis later refers to a mention of Io in a Maori song, but as this is due to a misinterpretation, it makes no difference, apart from illustrating a certain eagerness to find evidence of the existence of Io.[3]

Io is found at the head of a genealogy from the Ngai-Tahu published in 1887 by White.[4] However, as independent evidence it is without great value. On the other hand, a short text from the same year is of some interest. It originates from the Ngati-Hau and begins with the sentence: "The highest god is Io, he who created (built) the earth and Heaven."[5] There is a reference to a *karakia* to be recited to Io which is said to belong to '*hahu*', i.e. the unearthing of the remains of a corpse and their final interment.

White then adduced another text in which Io appears, but as pointed out by Elsdon Best and Te Rangi Hiroa, this is only apparently.[6] The same applies to this as to Davis' pseudo-evidence.

Finally, White in AHM.III as continuation of a translation of a text offers a description from the Ngai-Tahu without indication of source, but evidently originating from a white man's pen. Here "a certain heretical teacher" is mentioned, who maintained "that Tiki made man, whilst the fathers had always maintained that it was Io."[7] According to the continuation Te

[1] Cf. JPS. 65, 253 (Monberg).
[2] Lore I, viii.
[3] Rangi Hiroa 532.
[4] AHM. I, 26.
[5] AHM. II, 4.
[6] Best T. 1026; Rangi Hiroa 532.
[7] AHM. III Eng. 230.

Wera stamped out the heresy by eating the heretic; but this is undoubtedly attributing to Te Wera a motive which was both superfluous and alien to him. Actually the "heresy" was so widely distributed that Te Wera's stomach would not have sufficed for a real eradication.

C. E. Nelson informed Percy Smith that he had heard from a Ngati-Whatua chief about Io, probably as a high-god. However, we have no dating of this communication.

Finally, we have in the Lore of the Whare-Wananga, Part 1, a document about Io—and the fullest one—through which the Io tradition presumably can be traced back to the 1860's. Here also belongs Nepia Pohuhu's contribution concerning Io which was not published until later.[1] These communications originate from the Ngati-Kahungunu.

If we could be sure that these five pieces of evidence of the existence of Io, or only the four dated ones, were independent of one another, the pre-European existence of the high-god Io would be assured, as the tribes Nga-Puhi, Ngati-Hau, Ngai-Tahu, and Ngati-Kahungunu live almost as far from one another as is possible in New Zealand. But there is the rub. Percy Smith tells that the incentive to the recording of the Lore of the Whare-Wananga was given at a meeting of several tribes towards the end of the 1850's.[2] Perhaps Io may already then have been mentioned to a wider circle. However, this is somewhat uncertain as Io's name undoubtedly was highly sacral to these early Maoris. On the other hand, a meeting was held later, where the records were given a kind of authorization and were sealed by Tanenuiarangi's seal.

About this meeting Williams gives some supplementary information which originates from Augustus Hamilton, who attended the meeting. We learn that it was "a meeting of Maori tribes at which a number of versions were put forward, and selection of the best made by popular vote."[3] Judging from this statement, we are here in an atmosphere essentially different from that of the early Maoris, and we dare not count on being sure against a rather open mention of Io.

[1] JPS. 32, 1—4. 1923.
[2] Lore I, i.
[3] JPS. 46, 107.

Unfortunately we are not informed of the time of this meeting, which to PERCY SMITH seems to give increased authority to the Lore of the Whare-Wananga, while the present-day reader would rather be of the opposite opinion.

The possibility that the mythology of Io at one of these meetings or at both should have become known over great parts of New Zealand cannot be excluded. When DAVIS, as mentioned above, had heard from a Nga-Puhi about Io, he pressed him hard, but "he refused to disclose any more Maori secrets as he called them, and politely referred me to an old priest who resided about one hundred miles off." This 'old priest' for that matter may very well have been Te Matorohanga, the chief source of the Lore of the Whare-Wananga—we do not know.

While we must be in doubt about the independence of the early evidence of the two meetings mentioned, there is, as we shall see, hardly any doubt that the information which has become available in the present century, thus through ELSDON BEST, is indebted to the mythology influenced by the meetings.

The primary source of the mythology of Io thus may very well be supposed to be a pure Ngati-Kahungunu tradition. Whether this is so or not, this tradition is the fullest and the one which is recorded earliest. Even though this is not our real subject, we shall consider it in some detail.

In its earliest form it occurs in the Lore of the Whare-Wananga. This work was written by a half-caste H. T. Whatahoro (born in 1841) as a literal rendering of what older priests had related. These older priests were especially Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu. Both were born in the beginning of the 19th century and had grown up in the early Maori culture and religion. Both of them were as adults converted to Christianity, but repented and returned to the Maori religion. A possibility of influence from Christianity thus is by no means precluded; but at the evaluation of the probability of such influence, we must consider the Maori's character. If we compare the Maori texts with the texts originating from the rest of Polynesia, we are struck by the noble independence that is about the Maori. We only rarely find any attempt at demonstrating personal superciliousness towards the old traditions or an apologetic attitude. Where Christianity is perceived, we find it in an extraordinarily original presentation. This corresponds

to the force with which the Maoris have understood how to assert themselves from a military and political point of view.

The Lore of the Whare-Wananga in its entirety bears witness to this self-consciousness of the Maoris. The very existence of it is, indeed, quite a peculiar phenomenon. The idea probably was that of creating a national Maori work, a book about religion and history with an authority which could be contrasted to that of the Bible. The time of its genesis also is suggestive. It was a time when there was religious and political unrest among the Maoris, which also appeared in the Hauhau movement.[1] Only it is a pity that we have no actual knowledge of the inner history of the genesis. The feeling of independence which must be supposed to be an important incentive, will on many points make us safe from the more patent influence from Christian quarters, but on the other hand may have resulted in an amplification of the mythology of the high-god in order to strengthen the Maori by the idea of the elevated character of their own religion as compared with Christianity.

Unfortunately the evaluation of the Lore of the Whare-Wananga to some degree must be a question of an assumption as above. That this assumption is not all in the air, however, appears from the natural pride with which the Maori of today refers to the mythology of Io.[2] By studying the latest shoots of the mythology of Io we can furthermore find certain growing points in mythology and in this way assess the character of possible amplifications.

Before proceeding to do so, we must also touch on the recording Maori's, Whatahoro's, relation to the work. This appears as a literal rendering of Te Matorohanga's and the other priests' words, sometimes interrupted by questions from the listeners and the answers to these questions. In this connexion Williams writes: "But this can be little more than a literary artifice, and there is reason to believe that a good deal of his matter has been worked over more than once." Probably this accounts for the various minor inconsistencies in the work. Williams adduces some of these inconsistencies, which he finds rather compromising. This is connected with the fact that Williams wants to judge the

[1] Babbage, Hauhauism.
[2] E. g. JPS. 41, 14 f. (Wi Repa).

work as a source of the Maori's early history.[1] Undoubtedly it is doing an injustice to the work to consider it like this. It should primarily be considered a source of Matorohanga and his circle. From this point of view the various inconsistencies become of minor importance. In my opinion Whatahoro gives a fairly true picture of Te Matorohanga's doctrine, even if we cannot count on a completely literal rendering. Besides, I want to refer to my previous appraisal of the work—made from another point of view.[2]

The result of all these considerations must be that we have little security for any old age of the mythology of Io. Even though we may form an estimate as to which parts may be supposed to date back to pre-European times, this will, in fact, be only an estimate. We can obtain more security by the inverse approach: what elements have shown a particularly luxuriant growing power? In this way we can sort out some elements which fairly certainly are late.

When this is how matters stand, one may ask if a detailed inquiry is worth while at all? The answer is connected with the question what it is after all that we investigate and can investigate in such a people as the Maoris. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the tradition of the Maoris is not and never was an established, unchangeable corpus.[3] The fact that the oral traditions in post-European times have developed further under the impression of changed conditions, need not deter us from using these traditions in so far as the changes do not decisively interfere with hereditary culture and religion. Actually we shall never be able to go farther back than to the point in history where the first, still hardly perceptible turn of the tide in Maori culture had already set in.

As applied to the present question, the mythology of Io, this consequently means that, indeed, we can only make a very uncertain estimate whether it is pre-European and what parts are

[1] JPS. 46, 106 (Williams). To the inconsistencies mentioned we may add e. g.: Lore I, 23 and 33 show discrepancies; thus also the lists in Lore I, 40, 43, and 49. In Lore I, 42 Takaaho is an elder brother of Tane, but he is not found among Rangi and Papa's children. Lore I, 64 offers two widely different explanations of Wai-harorangi.—As a source of early Maori history the work has also been criticized by Te Rangi Hiroa, 16—18, 29, and 48, where he shows that the historical tradition has been amplified in various ways.

[2] Johansen, Maori 275 f.

[3] Johansen, Maori 270 f.

so. On the other hand we can ask how the mythology of Io stands in relation to our other knowledge of Maori culture and religion, in order in this way to decide whether, if it is based on a new development, it has slipped into the old pattern of religion. If so, it is a source of Maori religion, although at its very last stage. The advantage of this approach is that it makes us independent of the rough estimates of age and that we may replace these by investigations in which at each point we can make comparisons of a concrete character and can give definite reasons for or against including the mythology of Io in the investigations. Future investigators perhaps will arrive at other results, but this then should be done by a reference to definite facts, perhaps overlooked in the present investigations.

Now is the time to put forward the result of the investigations the principles of which we have laid down. We shall first in outline go through the mythology of Io.

Io is the highest god. This is partly stated outright (*ko te tino atua ko Io*),[1] partly expressed in phrases which more closely define his exalted character in various respects. "In Io alone is the *mana* of all the gods," says Nepia Pohuhu.[2] He also uses an expression for the same thing, which from the earlier Maoris' point of view is less acceptable: "the "princely" *mana* (*mana-ariki*), the *tapu mana*, the living *mana*, and the divine *mana* are in Io's hands."[3] Here we are probably faced with an example of inflation in the use of the word *mana*. What is the exact meaning of "living *mana*"? The phrase "is in Io's hands" would seem to be dependent on the Biblical phrase, if not directly, at least indirectly.[4] Te Matorohanga says, "in him (sc. Io) is the *mana* of life, death, and divinity."[5] "The *mana* of life and death" is a phrase which was hardly ever used by an earlier Maori generation. Te Matorohanga's idea for that matter is clear enough, the term means that Io controls the life and death of all beings. Te Matorohanga also uses other phrases: "These are the things which are attached by Io-mata-ngaro to himself alone: the *wairua* of all things, their life and form, by these three every-

[1] AHM. II, 4.
[2] JPS. 32, 2.
[3] JPS. 32, 3.
[4] E.g. Deut. 33, 3.
[5] Lore I, 16.

thing gets its form."[1] This quotation is no doubt to be considered from the point of view of the esoteric *wairua* doctrine, which presumably was characteristic of the Te Matorohanga circle,[2] i. e. that *wairua* is a fundamental principle in all things, which conditions their existence and their interdependence. *Wairua*, as used here, thus is strongly to emphasize the immediate inner dependence of all things on Io. This was corroborated by Nepia Pohuhu in a declaration which strikes one as quite pantheistic: "Everything is completely inside Io-matua. All things according to their form, (indeed,) every single thing has a *wairua*. He is the only father (*matua*) of all things, the only god of everything, the only lord, the only *wairua*—therefore everything is one, born by Io-taketake."[3]

A further source of our knowledge of Io's nature is the large number of epithets, each of which emphasizes one aspect of his perfection, either clearly from the name or adduced by an explanation.[4]

Some names are only expressive of Io's greatness in general: Io-nui, 'Great Io', Io-te-hau-e-rangi is to refer to the fact that all (12) heavens are his. Io-tikitiki-rangi or Io-tikitiki-o-rangi is explained by the fact that he is the god of both the heavens and the underworld. *Tikitiki* should probably be interpreted as a variant of *tiketike* 'exalted', so that the name can be rendered as 'Io, the exalted one of the heavens'. Io is invisible, hence the name Io-mata-ngaro, 'Io with the hidden face', or he is seen only as a radiant light: Io-mata-aho, 'Io-whose-face-is-radiant-light'.

Io is without any origin; he is called Io-matua-kore, 'Io who is without parents', varying with Io-te-matua-te-kore and Io-matua-te-kore. He is also called Io-roa 'Io the eternal'.

Io is no doubt to be conceived as omnipotent. Everything is indicative of this. The names do not exactly say so directly, but seem to presuppose it. Thus Io-mata-putahi is said to refer to the fact that he only need command once. A peculiar name is Io-te-whiwhia or Io-te-kore-te-whiwhia. One would think that it meant 'Io-who-is-not-possessed', but the explanation is to the

[1] Lore I, 14.
[2] Johansen, Maori 261.
[3] Lore I, 52.
[4] Appendix I is a survey of Io's names with references to the sources.

effect that nobody can possess anything except by virtue of Io's will. The omnipotence is more clearly indicated in a number of names which emphasize the immovability of his resolutions, thus Io-te-taketake or Io-taketake, 'Io-the-constant'; Io-tamaua-take has a similar meaning and is interpreted to the effect that his commandments cannot be shaken.

Io is omniscient. Therefore he is called Io-mata-nui, 'Io-with-the-big-eye'. Io-matakana, 'Io-the-vigilant' presumably alludes to the same. Io's omniscience has been expressed in a mythical form: "Te Whatahoro . . . states that at the dwelling place of Io, and situated immediately in front of him, there was a large stone that showed, in some manner, all that was occurring in all the different realms or worlds."[1] Io's sacral knowledge (*wananga*) is especially emphasized. He is the source of all *wananga*, therefore he is called Io-te-wananga, Io-wananga-o-nga-rangi, Io-i-te-wananga. The name Io-te-akaaka perhaps refers to the same.

Some names relating to Io as a parent and to his holiness will be mentioned below.

All these names take us into an exalted, but undeniably cool sphere. Only a few names are surrounded by a somewhat milder air. Io-mata-wai is said to denote that he is an *atua aroha*, 'a pitying god'. Io-te-waiora (cf. Io-matua-taketake-te-waiora) probably denotes Io as life-giving: 'Io-the-living-water'.

The exalted, but impersonally cool character of Io is corroborated by Io's whole placing in relation to the world. It appears as a consequence of Io's enormous holiness. Only a single name refers to this: Io-urutapu, 'the inviolable, immaculate Io', as it may be translated. The holiness, however, especially appears in the way in which mythology shows Io highly exalted above the world. Even though details here probably are inspired by Christianity, the whole is worked out in a way which is very characteristic of the Maoris.

Io is also called Io-te-Toi-o-nga-rangi, 'Io-the-peak-of-the-heavens', because he stays in the 12th or uppermost heaven, which is called Te Toi-o-nga-rangi or Tikitiki-o-nga-rangi. It is a common Polynesian and therefore early trait that there are several heavens above each other. Among the Maoris there were

[1] Man 1913 § 57 (Best).

various numbers, though not above ten—a sacred number—apart from the mythology of Io. The two highest heavens have no doubt been added in order to provide a dwelling for Io which is in agreement with his enormous holiness.[1] This is a purely Polynesian way of thinking.

It is also consistent from the Maori's view of *tapu* that Io is very much isolated, not only from the earth, but also from the lower heavens and the ordinary gods. His immediate associates are some colourless beings (Apa-)whatu-kura and (Apa-)mareikura, the only ones who without further circumstances have access to the 12th heaven. Everybody else must have Io's special permission in order to be admitted by the door-keepers, Rua-tau, Aitu-pawa, Rehua, Puhao-rangi, and Tau-o-rongo.[2] Among these at any rate Rehua is recognized as one of the highest and most *tapu* characters of ordinary mythology.

There are no less than two intermediate links between Io and the world. Closest to Io are the Whatukuras and the Mareikuras, and under them follow the Poutiriaos.[3] These intermediaries may be compared with corresponding figures in other mythologies, but apart from the angels of Christianity it is most natural to compare them with the intermediaries that are inserted when food is served for very *tapu* persons.[4] For then we see that whatever outside inspirations the Maori may have had, these figures are justified on a purely Maori basis, they are necessary for the maintenance of such a pure and strong life as that contained by Io.

Another aspect of the hierarchy is, however, emphasized much more in the mythology of Io, although or rather just because something quite new is introduced. The existence of the Poutiriaos is motivated by the fact that they are to see that the forces of life do not exceed their right limits, e.g. that the sun does not scorch the land, the gale does not raze it, etc. Furthermore the Whatukuras have been appointed as the superiors of the Poutiriaos with the special task of keeping the peace between the Poutiriaos. This is remarkable for several reasons. In the first place it shows that the creators of the Io-mythology must

[1] JPS. 32, 2 (Nepia Pohuhu).
[2] Lore I, 18 f.; JPS. 32, 2 (Pohuhu).
[3] Lore I, 18, 16; JPS. 32, 2.
[4] Johansen, Maori 212.

have felt that much was required to retain in the universe a harmony, which, indeed, seems very alien to the Maori mythology which is notoriously of an early date. One might think that the harmony in the universe might be connected with a hope that also the intruding Europeans could be kept within their bounds by the Poutiriaos. Secondly, it is remarkable how these highest authorities in the pantheon resemble an administration. Both the Whatukura and the Poutiriaos have been appointed by Io (through Tane) to definite offices, and the Poutiriaos are subordinate to the Whatukuras as ordained by Io. In early Maori mythology there is little about superiors and subordinates. In so far as such relations can be considered at all, they are embedded in a genuine Maori concept, viz. the kinship between the gods, which involves different generations, earlier and later lines, etc.

There cannot possibly be anything pre-European about these figures but at most their names. Their whole position obviously presupposes a knowledge of European administration. Indeed, it is an element of the mythology which has had a special growing power towards the end of the last and in the beginning of the present century. Whereas the Poutiriaos in Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu are only anonymous bands, we find a detailed account in a late recorded text in Best.[1] Different groups are enumerated there, each with its sphere, and are partially identified with earlier prominent "departmental" gods. A special corps among them has taken over the Whatukuras' task, that of keeping the peace among the others, while the Whatukuras have been raised to an insignificant direct activity, that of receiving reports from the special corps and passing them on to Io.

The Poutiriaos and the Whatukuras thus give evidence of strong inspirations from European administration. However, there is no doubt that the angels of Christianity have been another source of inspiration. It is quite certain that the angels appealed to the religious needs of the Maoris. Indeed, the founder and prophet of the Hauhau religion got his religion from the archangel Gabriel, who repeatedly appeared before him with prophesies and visions.

Io's isolated position in relation to the world is presumably the most remarkable manifestation of his holiness, but of course

[1] Best Rel. 251 f.

this is also expressed in a different way, partly ritually (see below), partly by the secrecy which for a long period surrounded Io and his name and which makes it equally difficult to prove Io's pre-European existence or the opposite. In a late published and undoubtedly also late recorded text due to ELSDON BEST, there is a trait which is rather incompatible with the idea of Io's holiness. It is a description of a prominent chief's deathbed. All his near relatives gather around him and some chief makes a speech in which Io is mentioned by name twice.[1] Considering that Io in the earlier tradition is only mentioned in connexion with sacred precincts or the solitude of the wilds, it is difficult to dismiss the idea that imagination runs wild here as regards the Io religion. Now it is not a mere esoteric religion, it is becoming the old Maoris' proper religion.

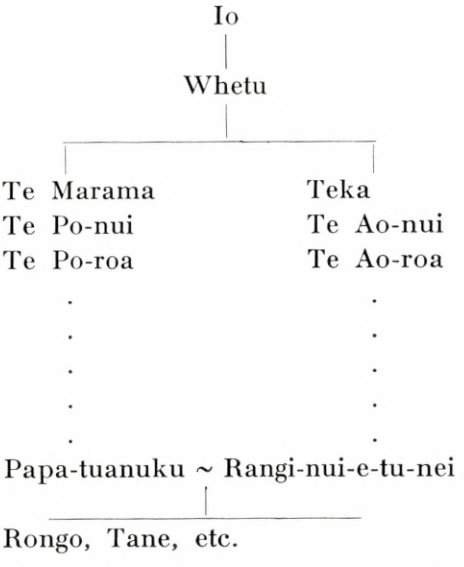
An important point of the theology of Io has not yet been discussed. One of Io's names is Io-matua, 'Io-the-originator', which is explained to denote that Io is the originator of everything. Io-matua-taketake-te-waiora, 'Io-the-permanent-originator-the-life-giving' expands the same. Io-te-pukenga or Io-i-te-pukenga 'Io-the-source' lays more stress on Io being the constantly active source, especially of all thoughts. In the Lore of the Whare-Wananga there is no further indication of the way in which Io is the originator of the world. The name Io-matua might perhaps be interpreted as if Io genealogically should be the father of everything—no unreasonable idea; see below. Still, this will probably be pressing the term too hard. Such a phrase as 'he is the root (*putake*) of everything' is too indefinite to allow of any conclusion.[2] Elsewhere we find partly allusions, partly a real creation myth. Hence Io is the origin of the world in two different ways, partly as the first member in a genealogical "creation myth", partly as a god who creates by his will similar to the Jahveh of the Genesis.

The genealogical cosmogony is at any rate an old common Polynesian myth. In its most frequent form it consists in the mere genealogical table. Still it is reasonable to denote it as a myth, partly because some of the early members are mythical characters, partly because mythical motifs are not rarely inserted in the

[1] JPS. 35, 24 (Best).
[2] Lore I, 14.

genealogy. In this way so many intermediate forms between the myth proper and the cosmogonic genealogy develop that there is hardly any doubt that the Polynesian considers the whole as varying presentations of the same contents.

There are two genealogical cosmogonies with Io at the head. One, from the Ngati-Maniapoto, begins like this:[1]



The genealogy differs from the commonest type partly by Whetu (Star), Te Marama (the Moon), and Teka (the Sun) appearing so early, partly by having two parallel lines. On the other hand, the lines of Te Po and Te Ao—abbreviated here by means of dots— are a typical as well as a significant trait. Thus also the marriage between Papa-tuanuku and Rangi-nui-e-tu-nei (Earth and Heaven). Their offspring, Rongo, Tane, etc., is also traditional.

The second genealogy (from the Marutuahu tribes) appears as a continuation of a creation myth proper and in this way effects the transition to the familiar Maori mythology.[2] It runs as follows:

Io
Te Aio-nuku
. .

[1] JPS. 14, 210 (Best).
[2] JPS. 16, 111 (Paraone).

Te Po-nui
. . .
Hine-ruaki-moe
Tahuhu-nui-a-rangi
Te Po
Te Ao
Rangi and Papa, etc.

The Aio figures here are atypical, but may perhaps be locally authenticated. For that matter, these genealogies were varied interminably.

What really separates the two genealogies from all others is Io's being placed at the head. It is true that there are a few other genealogies with Io as the first member, but they are without the unmistakable cosmogonic character and thus leave open the possibility that the introducing Io is not Io the high-god.[1]

As a real creator god we find Io already in WHITE's collection of texts. There it says: "Io is the highest god, He who created (*hanga*, 'built') Earth and Heaven."[2] The phrase inevitably recalls the first verse of Genesis.

From a later time, however, we have a rather full myth with Io as the creator god. This is the myth which is the real subject of the present investigations and for the sake of which we have given this circumstantial account of the mythology of Io. It was published in 1907, but is at any rate some years older. It originates from the Maru-tuahu tribes (Hauraki).[3] The myth is in poetic style, which is extraordinary for a Maori myth. TAYLOR's creation myths can hardly be adduced as parallels.[4] The division into short lines does not, of course, mean very much, as we do not know whether the myth has been sung (which, indeed, is not usual). Furthermore, also in indisputable songs, the division into lines in the editions seems to be rather arbitrary. I am probably not the only one to consider it a mystery jealously guarded by the editors.

The poetic style, the late publication, and certain, although unobtrusive similarities to the Genesis, make it hardly probable

[1] AHM. I, 26; Best T. 1028.
[2] AHM. II, 4.
[3] JPS. 16, 109 ff. (Paraone).
[4] Taylor 109 ff.

that the myth should be pre-European. There may be signs of a certain dependence on the tradition which is represented by the Lore of the Whare-Wananga. The Maori author apologizes for his ignorance of Io's wife by stating that "it comes from the Maori, who has no committee to perceive what is right" and has no ink, either, but must rely on his memory. Te Rangi Hiroa is of opinion that this is an allusion to the committee for the recording of the Lore set up among the Ngati-kahungunu.[1] If this is true, it is, however, a matter of wonder that it is just said that the Maori has *no* committee. Indeed, one would expect that he confined himself to stating that his tribe or region had no committee. Experts on the history of Hauraki may perhaps mention more obvious committees to which the allusion might apply.

It is, however, certain that there is a common Io-tradition, whether pre- or post-European. The question is: How comprehensive is the material common to all parts of the tradition. Te Rangi Hiroa is of opinion that it may have been restricted to this: There is a high-god named Io. The myth then has been freely elaborated by inspiration from the Genesis. This simple conclusion must, however, be revised, as Te Rangi Hiroa completely disregards the ritual aspect. As we shall see below, there is a very strong indication that there is a tradition common to the Io-rituals and hence a much wider connexion than the mere idea of a high-god Io.

The very Io-rituals are of considerable interest because we are faced with an aspect of the Io religion which is based on pure Maori conditions. Fairly certainly there must have existed, perhaps only for a short time, a real, living Io religion, which on essential points bore a pure Maori stamp. The present myth is certainly the most important document in that respect.

We shall now attempt a translation of and comment on the myth. When doing so we must necessarily take into consideration Hare Hongi's translation, the only one available. It is of course with some misgivings that one deviates from a half-blood Maori's translation; but it cannot be denied that Hare Hongi sometimes proceeds somewhat arbitrarily. Furthermore, he has a tendency —and he is not alone in that—to convey to certain Polynesian myths a quasi-philosophical stamp in the translations.

[1] Rangi Hiroa 533.

Text.

I noho a Io i roto i te aha o te ao,
he pouri te ao, he wai katoa.
Kaore he ao, he marama, he maramatanga.
He pouri kau, he wai katoa.
A, nana i timata tenei kupu:
kia noho kore, noho ia,
"Po, ko po whai ao."
Na! kua puta mai he ao.
Katahi ka whakahokia taua kupu ra ano, ko tenei kupu;
kia noho kore, noho ia
"Ao, ko ao whai po-o."
Na! kua hoki ano ki te pouritanga nui,
katahi ka tuatorutia e ona kupu;
"Hei runga nei tehahi po,
hei raro nei tehahi po.
Po ki tupua te po,
po ki tawhito te po,
he po mamate.
Hei runga nei tehahi ao,
hei raro nei tehahi ao.
Ao ki tupua te ao,
ao ki tawhito te ao,
he ao maneanea;
He ao marama."
Na! kua marama nui.
Katahi ano ka titiro ki nga wai e awhi nei i a ia,
ka tuawhatia ana kupu, ko tenei kupu:
"Te wai ki tai-kama, wehe nga wai,
tupu ai rangi, ka tarewa te rangi;
whanau a te tupua-horonuku."
Na! takoto ana a Papa-tuanuku.[1]

Translation.

1. Io dwelt in the open space of the world.
The world was dark, there was water everywhere.

[1] JPS. 16, 109 f. (Paraone).

There was no day, no light, nothing concerning light,
Only dark, water was everywhere.
It was he who first said this word:
. . .
"Night, a day-owning Night."
Behold! Day had broken.
Then he spoke in the same way as that word, this word
. . .
"Day, a night-owning Day."
Behold! the time of the great dark returned.
Then came the third of his words:
"Let one Night be above
And one (another) Night below.
Night, the magician's Night,
Night, the priest's Night,
A subjected Night.
Let one Day be above
And one (another) Day below.
Day, the magician's Day,
Day, the priest's Day.
A resplendent Day,
A bright Day."
Behold! It had become very bright!
Only now did his eyes seek the waters that surrounded him,
Then his fourth word was uttered, it was this word:
"Te Wai-ki-Tai-tama, divide the waters,
So that heaven will unfold itself. Heaven has been lifted up.
Te Tupua-horo-nuku is born."
Behold! Papa-tuanuku lay there.

Commentary.

1. Hare Hongi translates *aha* by 'breathing-space', and his commentary runs like this: "*A-ha.*—*A* is here used in the sense of far-off; *ha* is breath, a breathing." *a* can be used as a conjunction according to Williams, "denoting extension of space, or lapse of time," *a* is especially rendered by 'as far as', 'until', 'and'.[1] A considerable independence is assigned to this con-

[1] Williams s.v. *a* (iv).

junction, which otherwise appears only in grammatically greatly limited contexts; the sense of 'far-off' is assigned to it and it is boldly translated by 'space'. The result is 'breathing-space', a somewhat far-fetched concept. However, *aha* or *ahaaha* is used as a variant of *ahoaho* about 'open space', 'glade' in contrast to narrow valleys, forests, or the like.[1] It may be objected that *aha* perhaps is to be read as *āha*, as done by BEST in his word-list in JPS 35, 44. But this view is hardly based on anything but an inference from the doubtful etymology. The word is nowhere unambiguously rendered as *āha*.

3. *maramatanga*. The fact that *he marama* is here followed by *he maramatanga* is probably due to influence from the translation of the Bible, in which the concretive is occasionally (erroneously) used as the "substantive" corresponding to an "adjective" (e.g. Gen. 1,4 *a ka kite te Atua i te maramatanga*).[2]

6. *kia noho kore, noho ia*. This is the only line in the myth which seems to cause unsurmountable difficulties. HARE HONGI—without the least attempt at giving any reasons—translates it by "that He might cease remaining inactive". In literal translation it says: "in order to not-dwell, (in order that) he (can) dwell (or live)," or perhaps "in order to live lonely (unmarried), (in order that) he (can) dwell (or live)". Neither of these literal translations make much sense. HARE HONGI obviously interpreted *noho kore* "not-live, not-dwell" as "not be inactive", but this is no doubt giving an inadmissible twist to *noho*. The word only means "not to change place", often in the vague sense of "live (somewhere)", which allows of considerable activity. Furthermore, the second half of the line, *noho ia*, remains equally enigmatic.

Perhaps the line should be supplemented with some implied particles so as to become:

kia noho (i te) kore, { (kia) noho ia / (kia) nohoia

"In order to live in the wilderness, { in order that he can live / in order that it can be inhabited.

Indeed, this makes an acceptable sense. Another possibility is that of emending the line (the division into words is due to

[1] Loc. cit. s. v. *aha* (iii).
[2] Te Paipera Tapu 1868.

the editor rather than the author) and suppose that an *e* was read as an *o*:

kiano he kore (*i*) *nohoia*
"a wilderness was not yet inhabited."

The sense here, too, is good enough. In return the relation to the preceding line ("this word") causes difficulties.

16—17. *tupua* and *tawhito*. The commentary in JPS 16, 118 interprets *tupua* as a derivative of *tupu*. I do not reject the possibility of the correctness of this etymology. But then the derivation no doubt dates back so far that the etymology is hardly very guiding to the interpretation. I think that this should be based on the fact that the two words are completely parallel and therefore probably denote related concepts. As both words can be used about a '*tohunga*', I have translated them accordingly. The translation, however, is not quite certain. The words frequently occur together in *karakia*s, yet the translation suggested will not always be found satisfactory. (For a collection of examples see Best T. 1130 ff.).

18. *mamate*. Hare Hongi's view that *mamate* is a reduplication of *mate*, has been followed here; cf. JPS 16, 110, where Po-mamate (Subjected-Night) in good agreement with the present case is a synonym of *karakia whakamarama* (*karakia* to enlighten).

23. *maneanea*. Without suggesting any translation Williams adduces the quotation: *Ura maneanea ka taka ki te po* 'The *maneanea* glowing fell down into the night'. As compared with the present passage the sense seems to be something like 'resplendent, radiant'.

28. Hare Hongi translates: "Ye Waters of Tai-kama, be ye separate." This translation would be natural if the form was *wehea*, but as *wehe* is transitive and active, it seems more natural to me to interpret the whole beginning of the line as a name and translate accordingly. I have been able to identify neither Tai-kama nor Wai-ki-Tai-kama.

30. *Te Tupua-horo-nuku*. Outside this place I have only found this name in Smith, Wars 34 (Te Tipua-horo-nuku), but there the name hardly covers the same being as here. It means "The

demon swallowing the extensive''. According to the context it would be supposed to mean 'Earth'.

31. *Papa-tuanuku* 'the firm and extended', is a standing figure in Maori mythology, viz. Earth as a woman, married to Heaven.

This myth is fairly certainly inspired by the Genesis. It is incontestable that the informant had a certain knowledge of the Bible, at least indirectly; for he writes about Io's words: ''These words were later preserved by the Maori ancestors, who constantly had them in their hearts.'' The latter term (*i tuhi mai ki o ratou manawa tonu*) is almost literally derived from Rom. 2,15 (*he mea tuhituhi ki o ratou ngakau*). As pointed out in the Commentary *maramatanga* in line 3 is probably evidence of influence from the translation of the Bible.

The contents of the myth also offers certain similarities to Genesis. We note the following correspondences:

An original darkness
An original water
Both Io and God create by words.
The creation of Ao and Po, Day and Night, may be paralleled to the statement that God divided the light from the darkness.

It would, however, be premature on this basis to dismiss the myth of Io as a piece of plagiarism of Genesis. To my mind the myth of Io is actually based more on Maori ideas than on Genesis. The similarity to Genesis is unmistakable, and that an inspiration from there has taken place shall not be disputed; but it is worth examining both similarities and differences in more detail.

In the first place, it must be recognized that certain features are very obvious in the case of any cosmogonic myth.[1] This applies especially to ''the original darkness''. It also appears in the widely distributed Maori myth on the separation of Heaven and Earth. A primeval sea is also a widely distributed conception, though not among the Polynesians in spite of the fact that natural conditions might make such an idea obvious.

The fact that these features are so natural, as is seen by their

[1] ERE. 8, 47.

wide distribution, is important because it means that they are so easily adopted and thus also easily will enter otherwise original complexes.

Secondly, the similarities adduced are connected with differences which may be significant by showing the changes that have taken place in the case of the loans from Genesis when they entered the Maori's world of ideas.

The original water thus has acquired a more accentuated place in the myth of Io than in Genesis, where it is introduced more indirectly in the sentence "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

Apparently there is no difference between Io and God when they create by reciting some words. But there is decidedly a considerable difference between the Christians' and the Maori's ideas of it. What the Maori may have received from Christian quarters, must have been the idea that God, as the ruler of the world, created by a fiat. When Io creates, it is just as certain that the words he recites, are *karakias*; it says so in so many words in what follows ("there are three occasions on which the *karakias* in these words are brought out (i.e. are used)"). Io is not a ruler, he is the great priest, *tohunga*.

When Io creates Day and Night, Te Ao and Te Po, it is not only light and darkness, day and night, but the radical dualism which we have already met with (pp. 28 and 31).

On close consideration it thus appears that in spite of the probable historical dependence on Genesis there is an essential difference between the myth of Io in the eyes of the Maori and Genesis in the eyes of the Christian. The most important and fundamental difference is that whereas the creation myth in Genesis to the Christian is a piece of evidence of God's power, the creation myth of Io is a ritual myth. This is said outright by the informant, as he indicates concrete rituals in which Io's creative words enter. I do not see any reason to doubt the correctness of this statement, even though there may be a possibility that this ritual use is mere construction; for a closer examination of the Io rituals and the myth confirm our confidence in the informant.

We shall first consider those Io rituals which are immediately and surely connected with the Ngati-Kahungunu tradition. As

mentioned above, there is a distinct unity in the Io-mythology from the Ngati-Kahungunu tribe and that of the tribes living in the northeastern vicinity. Rituals originating from this region thus must also be offshoots from the same mass of tradition. According to the sources they naturally fall into two groups, an early tradition in the Lore of the Whare-Wananga and a later on collected by Elsdon Best in the present century.

In the Lore of the Whare-Wananga Io's name is found in the following rituals:

The house of the sacral school is consecrated. Lore I, 5 f.
The pupils in the Whare-Wananga swallow sacral stones; *loc. cit.* 7.
A woman is made fruitful; *loc. cit.* 36; cf. 37.
Prior to the building of the canoes Uruao and Takutumu; Lore II, 4 and 189.

This list is hardly so heterogeneous as it looks. Apart from the consecration of the *whare-wananga*, which of course holds a special position, all the rituals are directly aimed at human beings, viz. at qualifying them for a task; for in the ritual in connexion with the building of the canoes Io only occurs in the first part of the *karakia*, in which the builders of the canoes are consecrated to their work.

In Best there are some special Io-rituals:

A woman is made fruitful. Best Koh. 6; cf. the first woman is made alive. Best Rel. 76.
Child's *tohi*. Best Koh. 22 f., 30 f.; Best Rel. 228 f.
Child's *pure*. Best Koh. 27.
(*Maioha*. Best Koh. 18; JRAI. 44, 144.—There Io, however, seems introduced somewhat artificially).
Consecration of *matakite* or medium. Best Rel. 189, 190.
Cure of chief. JPS. 35, 8 (Best).
Divorce. Best Koh. 66.
A *karakia* without indication of its use (Best Rel. 246) must be left out of consideration.

From Best furthermore comes an interesting note on the Io-rituals in general.[1] It is to the effect that all Io-rituals, apart

[1] Man 1913 § 57.

from those connected with the *whare-wananga*, were recited in water (thus "the sacred water"); but not on a *tuahu*. Furthermore, that Io-rituals were only recited on important occasions, viz. in connexion with the *whare-wananga*, matters of importance to the whole tribe and rites on newborn, high-born children, but never in small matters or war.

This general characterization does not apply very strictly to the special cases mentioned. If we look at the sphere of use, it is, however, hardly possible to ascertain any obvious discrepancy. Does e.g. the ritual of divorce concern the whole tribe? It depends on the question what married couple is divorced. It is permissible, even reasonable, to imagine that the use of the ritual is limited to the circles of the highest chiefs. On the other hand, the express statement of the place of the rituals is peculiar. Even though the majority of the rituals are known or at any rate can be supposed to have been recited in the sacred water, this does not apply to the ritual to make a woman fruitful, as the woman lies on her back and the priest stands by her feet. This can only with difficulty be combined with the requirement that the priest is to stand chest-deep in the water.

Finally a (late?) text makes the Io-rituals in Hawaiki be recited on a high mountain. It is difficult to decide how much importance should be attached to this purely mythical idea.[1]

Such a discrepancy can be assessed in different ways. It may be based on slightly deviating views or erroneous information. It may also be viewed in the way that if a Maori informant is without a sense of pedantic accuracy, it will be wrong of the investigator to demand it. Or, in more positive terms, it is not uncommon that ritual ideals are presented and imagined more absolute than they appear to the outsider when he considers the individual rituals.

If, finally, we compare the later with the earlier ritual tradition, we find only a slight similarity in details, but there is an important general similarity. Apart from those in connexion with the *Whare-wananga*, the rituals all are aimed at acting directly on human beings, mostly at inspiring them to something definite (life of a chief, activities of a prophet, child-birth, etc.). Furthermore, there is undoubtedly a development towards the rituals of Io

[1] JPS. 36, 350 (Best).

being recited in the sacred water to the exclusion of other sacred precincts. This was perhaps achieved, perhaps only an ideal picture, but at any rate an idea in the Maori.

Considering how often Maori rituals indeed present local phenomena, I hardly think we can expect a stricter or more precise characterization of the Io-rituals than the one we have worked out here. This point of view is of importance for the evaluation of two problems. One is whether all Io-rituals can be supposed to be mere figments. As to this, it must be said partly that it cannot be the starting-point of our study, partly that the coherence of the picture which we have found, makes this possibility rather improbable.

The second question is about the rituals (of the Marutuahu rites) which are connected with the Io-cosmogony. There the informant mentions that the words used by Io at the creation of the world enter in the following *karakias*:[1]

> *karakia* to make barren women pregnant,
> *karakia* to enlighten the mind together with the whole body,
> the beginning of *karakias* to be recited in cases of illness or death (*mate*), war or speeches, *tohi* rites, genealogies (*tuawhakapapa*), and the other actions of the great priests.

If we compare this list with the rituals of the Ngati-kahungunu, we find no small agreement. In so far as the list allows of an estimate, it is also here a question of affecting human beings directly. Several of the individual ritual purposes are repeated, viz.

> making a woman fruitful,
> enlightening the mind, which probably fairly covers the initiation of a *matakite* or medium; cf. the pupils' initiation into the *whare-wananga*,
> cure of illness,
> *tohi*.

In both series there are also, however, occasions which are not common to them (the consecration of the *whare-wananga*, war, genealogies, etc.), which is not to be wondered at. The

[1] JPS. 16, 110 (Paraone).

similarity in character of the rituals is so great that it can be taken as a sign that the Marutuahu rituals are an offshoot of the ritual Io-tradition from the Ngati-kahungunu and their neighbours. Furthermore there is much to be said in advance in favour of this conclusion.

If we then assume that the Io-rituals bear a uniform stamp in outline, it is also very probable that the Marutuahu rites were performed in the sacred water, at any rate in the ideal case. The myth of Io offers an indirect confirmation of this. Prior to the creation there were only darkness and water. We noted that the water held a more prominent place than in the creation account in Genesis. So it is natural here to see a reflection of the ritual situation, as we know that it is a ritual myth. The priest not only repeats Io's words from the act of creation, but like Io he is surrounded by water. BEST describes the ritual situation as follows: "the priest who uttered the invocation entered the water in a state of nudity, and took his stand at the spot where the water was breast deep; also prior to commencing the recitation, he would stoop down and immerse the upper part of his body in the water."[1] Finally highly sacral rituals were often recited at sunrise.[2] It is perhaps permissible also in the primordial darkness to see an aspect of the ritual ideal situation reflected in the myth.

When looking at the myth of Io and the sacred water we see a creation myth which has arisen late and is connected with a good number of rituals that are recited in the sacred water. We find again an instance of the view advanced above (p. 7) that important rites performed in the sacred precincts got a cosmic meaning, became a creation of the world. Thereby the world was created bipartite, so as to consist of 'Day' and 'Night' (Ao and Po), which refers to the dualism of the Maoris. The dualism cuts through earth as well as heaven ("a Night above and another Night below," etc.). This is not the usual presentation, but perhaps it is connected with the special views of the Whare-wananga, through which a celestial kingdom of the dead becomes a real institution, while otherwise, as far as I can see, the idea only was that a few individuals were deified and thus got a celestial

[1] Man 1913 § 57 (Best).
[2] See p. 17.

abode. The ritual signification of this dualism has been investigated above in the case of related rituals.[1]

We may now in the main conclude our inquiry into the *wai tapu*, having adduced such rituals as can with certainty throw light on the conception of the sacred water, either through the ritual texts alone or by the use we make of the mythical allusions they contain. Only a little supplementary information should be added before we can summarize the results.

In the first place, there is a last ritual which might deserve being included. It is the ritual of *marere*, the first kumaras that are planted.

As the ritual cannot very well be treated by itself alone, we must confine ourselves to referring to the thorough discussion under the treatment of the agricultural ritual (p. 128 ff.) and in this place only note that the water, in so far as it shows any character, appears as a dangerous element from which the *kumara* is saved (p. 144).

Secondly we find a last mythical motif which should be mentioned. It is *Te Waiora a Tane*. Whenever the moon has become dark, has 'died', it is resurrected to new life and becomes a new moon by bathing (*kaukau*) in Te Waiora a Tane.[2] A mythical people that delivers their women by cutting them open, revive them by placing and bathing them in the same water (*horai ai* (read: *horaia ai*) *kaukau ai*).[3] Finally we hear that Maui had wanted that man should not die, but win new youth by bathing in Te Waiora a Tane. Already from this it seems obvious to interpret Te Waiora a Tane as a water. Waiora is generally translated as 'waters of life' or 'life-giving water', but Best refers to the fact that *waiora* normally means 'health', 'welfare', and furthermore maintains that the proper meaning is 'sunlight', ventilating his theory that Tane is a sun god.[4] The 'waters of life' have disappeared, being characterized as an "error, repeated in many works." The Maoris themselves, however, seem to be a prey to this illusion. A text from the Ngai-Tahu runs like this: "After the Moon's death it went right to Te Waiora-tane, Te Roto-

[1] See p. 31.
[2] AHM. I, 126; II, 20, 106.
[3] AHM. II, 14.
[4] Best Rel. 58.

nui-a-aewa, the water which revives[1] the Moon up there."[2] The other name, 'the-large-lake-of-fainting' (Te Roto-nui-a-aewa) and the additional explanation by *wai* 'water' can only with difficulty be combined with BEST's interpretation. It will hardly convince a generation which looks with scepticism on the previous 'sun mythology'. Although it must be conceded to BEST that the translation 'waters of life' is not quite satisfactory, it seems fairly to correspond to the conceptions of the Maoris. As a mythical conception *waiora* is widely distributed over Polynesia, where it is a water in the kingdom of the dead which rejuvenates the souls of the dead.[3]

The importance of this mythical idea to the present problem is found in something negative. In spite of the fact that the Maori had an idea of a mythical water which in itself was life-giving, I know no ritual text which connects it with the sacred water. An *argumentum ex silentio* is dangerous if found alone; but here it points in the same direction as the rest of our observations.

Our subject has compelled us to make digressions; so it is appropriate briefly to summarize the result of our investigations. We have seen that the sacred water itself plays a surprisingly passive role. It can confer a *tapu*, but probably only as a kind of intermediary between *karakia* and man (p. 23 f.). It seems to be without any proper function when a *tapu* is to be removed. Altogether, it may be a milieu for a creation, both when *tapu* is removed and when it is conferred (pp. 31, 61). We find only one signification in the sacred water in its capacity of water, viz. in some cases to represent a danger from which the ritual saves man (pp. 34, 36, 62). This is especially brought out in connexion with Hikurangi in the myth, a place which contains salvation from the dangerous water.

Tuahu.

Tuahu or, according to WILLIAMS, more correctly *tūāahu*,[4] is a sacred place which is regularly the scene of rituals. In order

[1] The *whakatai* of the text is read by me as *whakatā i.*

[2] AHM. I, 126.

[3] Williamson, Cosm. Index s.v. *vaiola.* I, 334 apparently has an example showing that the name could be connected with a sacral water, but unfortunately Vaiola is here a misreading for Vaisola, 'The fleeing water' (Krämer I, 126 f.).

[4] Williams s.v.

that the unprepared reader shall not be seized with hopelessness during the following discussions of details, I shall at once, although with a sigh and many tacit reservations, offer a provisional description. The typical *tuahu* is the sacred precinct *par excellence*, the place where the gods are represented and where offerings and other important rites are performed. We must imagine a rather simple scenery, a small elevation in the terrain with some poles and stones, probably fenced in. Although a few passages might be interpreted as if the *tuahu* also included *wai tapu* and *turuma*, this reference is never made in an unambiguous way in a reliable text. In so far the terminology is clear. On the other hand it may cause difficulties that the *tuahu* is sometimes only denoted as *wahi tapu*, which of course is correct, but which may give rise to some ambiguity, as a *wahi tapu*, a sacred place, can be so much besides. The difficulties are especially implied in the fact that in each settlement there was a special *wahi tapu* which was used as a sacral rubbish-heap, thus remnants from *tapu* persons' meals were placed there, mainly in order to be out of the way. This place is now found to be completely merged with the *tuahu*, whether occasionally or as a rule it is difficult to decide. Best e.g. writes about food offerings that they "were often placed at the *tuahu* or sacred place of the hamlet, at which spot was also deposited the *manga* or remains of food from the meal of an important *tapu* person, such as a superior priest, and the *ariki* (first-born male of a high chieftain family)."[1] White in Te Rou describes a sacral hair-cutting on the *tuahu* and in a note explains this as "a rubbish heap, which is a sacred place, from the remains of food eaten by sacred persons and things of that sort being there deposited."[2] These statements by people who were familiar with Maoris must be based on personal inspection and can hardly be set aside. Furthermore, this view gives the most natural interpretation of a place where somebody steps up upon the *parapara* (the remnants) and recites *karakias*.[3]

Just as *wahi tapu* sometimes may denote *tuahu*, thus also in certain contexts the expression *ki mua* 'in front' (presumably short for 'in front of the god').[4] *Ki mua* or *kei mua* may also be

[1] Best T. 1056.
[2] White, Te Rou 177.
[3] Grey M. 189.
[4] Williams s.v. *mua* (iv); JPS. 15, 147 (Best); AHM. III, 114 and elsewhere.

used about the burial-place,[1] which, indeed, like the sacral rubbish-heap may also be found connected with the *tuahu*.

In contrast to *wahi tapu* and *ki mua*, which denote too general concepts, the *tuahu* may occasionally be referred to by a word denoting a more special feature such as 'the pole' ('the poles') on *tuahu*. It is a matter of course that the context in all these cases must be such that one feels sure what is mentioned.

Thus it is evident that the investigations must keep to that which can with certainty be identified with a *tuahu*, in practice we must therefore mainly demand that the word *tuahu* is named. Even if so, the terminological problems are not quite exhausted. Occasionally several kinds of *tuahu* are mentioned. Some of these, such as *tuahu-tapatahi* and *tuahu-hauora*, are actually the same *tuahu*, only with different names according to the ritual uses.[2] But this is not always so. In one passage a man's man-*tuahu* (*te tuahu tangata*), his fishing-net-*tuahu* (*te tuahu a tana kupenga*) are mentioned, so that one must believe that there are references to two different places.[3] A text which will be quoted below, even gives an impression that there are several man-*tuahus*.[4] On Tahiti there was, for that matter, beside the ordinary *marae*s some more special ones for 'doctors', fishermen, canoe-builders, etc.[5] Now we only in a few places hear about *tuahu*s with special names, such as *pouahu* or *tuahu-kotikotinga* ('hair-cutting'-*tuahu*),[6] and therefore it is not possible to decide whether we are faced with an ordinary *tuahu* in a special situation or a special *tuahu*. This possible plurality of kinds of *tuahu* connected with the fact that no investigations into local variants of *tuahu*s are available, brings some uncertainty into the investigations. This uncertainty should not, however, be exaggerated. In the great majority of cases only the *tuahu* is mentioned, as if there was only this one or that at least it was much more important than the others. So we can with fair certainty assume that we are faced with a 'man-*tuahu*'. Furthermore, the fact that certain features are mentioned frequently and in many passages not only

[1] AHM. IV, 140.
[2] JPS. 27, 83 (Smith).
[3] Grey M. 67.
[4] Lore I, 3.
[5] Henry 145 ff.
[6] Best T. 856; Lore II, 164.

suggests that these features were distributed over the greater part of New Zealand, but also that the *tuahus* in question actually—as supposed—are mainly of the same kind.

After these introductory remarks we may proceed to the description of the *tuahu* and its place in Maori religion. Although arrangement and function cannot always be separated with equally great advantage, it is on the whole most practical to start with a description of appearance and arrangement.

The *tuahu* is a place, a precinct. It may be part of a canoe,[1] but as a rule it is a piece of land. In the literature on the Maoris we sometimes find a stone characterized as *tuahu*. This is fairly certainly a somewhat ill-defined usage, which perhaps is connected with a rather common, but somewhat misleading translation of *tuahu* by 'altar'. If we keep to the texts and cut out the less reliable ones,[2] only one text remains in which *tuahu* can be interpreted not as a place, but as a tree. There it is said about a tree (*totara*) that it was 'arranged (*i ahua*, literally 'earth-accumulated') as a *tuahu*'.[3] But partly the verb itself suggests that the *tuahu* was an area, partly it enters in the explanation of the name of a fortress, *Totara-i-ahua*, which undoubtedly must have influenced the forming of the sentence (*he Totara, i ahua hei tuahu*). It is another matter when the opposite takes place and, as mentioned above, *pouahu*, 'the pole of the mound', is used about the *tuahu*.

Where was the *tuahu* to be situated, whether connected with the sacral rubbish-heap or not? On this point we find a direct statement in the Lore of the Whare-Wananga.[4] In the first place it says there that it was found outdoors. Further: "A *tuahu* may be in two places, one is beside the latrine, the other beside the burial-place (*toma*)—these are its proper places. The reason for this is a fear that somebody should tread on it while carrying food or that food should be kept there. I have also heard about some *tuahus* which are only situated in an out-of-the-way place. This is also correct in the case of the *tuahu uruurutapu*

[1] Grey M. 94.
[2] Johansen, Maori 269 ff.
[3] AHM. V, 66.
[4] Lore I, 3 f. The *tuahu* is stated to be an outdoor place in contrast to *ahurewa* which is said to be found indoors. It seems doubtful that the latter statement should always be correct.

kind or the kind where offerings are brought to the gods or the *pure* rite on corpses (people who have touched corpses) is performed, or *tapu* is removed from some people."

In this account we miss an indication whether the reference is to a fortified place or an ordinary settlement. It seems that both cases are mixed up.

The *tuahu* of a settlement was probably always situated outside the settlement itself. Even fortresses, which indeed also had to have a *tuahu* within the palisades, often seem to have had one situated outside. SHORTLAND witnessed how the extension of a fortress because of an increase in the population caused "the old sacred place of the settlement" to be included in the fortress and therefore by a rite was freed from its *tapu*.[1] We have not, however, full certainty that the reference is to a *tuahu*. It is the generally accepted view that it was situated near the hamlet, often beside the burial-place.[2] We have no texts apart from the one mentioned which directly describes the site, but there are a few which give indirect information. They are especially to the effect that the place was a little out of the way and concealed. Ihenga must search in order to find the *tuahu* of a strange settlement, and when, in order to possess himself of the country, he establishes a *tuahu* "he enters a place overgrown with bushes, Coriaria Ruscifolia branches, Veronica Salicifolia, and Coprosma robusta, and erects the pole in the grass and the New Zealand flax."[3] The point is that the inhabitants should be led to believe that he had established his *tuahu* before them; so the ruse undeniably requires that the place is hidden, but also presupposes that this would seem convincing. In a few other places the New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*) is mentioned as growing round the *tuahu*.[4] It seems to be a standing feature in connexion with the *tuahu*. In itself it says little about the site; even though *Phormium tenax* most frequently grew on low and moist soil, it might also be found on dry sand and rocky ground, and generally speaking it was widely distributed.[5]

That an open hamlet should have a *tuahu* beside the latrine

[1] Shortl. Rel. 27.
[2] E.g. TNZI. 32, 262 (Smith); Taylor 221.
[3] Grey M. 67.
[4] AHM. I, 4; Grey M. 48, 77 f.
[5] Cockayne 142 f.

sounds less reasonable, unless the reference should be to a *turuma*. This is not probable either, as the *turuma* is the latrine itself used ritually. The expression 'beside the latrine' (*kei te taha o te paepae hamiti*) then would be somewhat strange. The most natural interpretation is that the reference is to a *tuahu* in a fortress.

The fact is that a fortress during a siege must have a *tuahu* within the palisades. I do not find the site beside the latrine corroborated anywhere; it may have been a local custom. SKINNER mentions two possible sites from the Ngati-Tama in northern Taranaki, viz. beside the priest's house or near the main entrance to the fortress.[1] From the Arawa COWAN tells about the *tuahu* of a deserted fortress which was situated "within the green-embowered ramparts of the old *pa*, right on the edge of the cliff." Thus it was, if anything, put a little out of the way.[2]

Fences. The *tuahu* was often fenced in, at any rate this is said to have been the case when it was situated in a fortress.[3] In South Island and in the Taranaki district all *tuahu*s seem to have been fenced in.[4] Apart from these areas and the fortresses a conclusion will be uncertain. According to BEST there was sometimes a fence among the Tuhoe, while PERCY SMITH considers this to be the most frequent among the Arawa. To this may be added some considerations: in places where the offerings were placed on a special elevation a fence perhaps was superfluous; but if they were placed on the ground or the *tuahu* was connected with the *tapu* rubbish-heap or the burial place, a fence would seem to have been absolutely necessary in order to protect it from dogs or other animals. This is illustrated indirectly by the fact that we hear about animals which had broken through a fence and eaten from *tapu* food and therefore immediately were killed.[5] All things considered, the fence seems to have been the normal and as a matter of fact enters in WILLIAMS' definition of a *tuahu*.[6]

Mound. WILLIAMS' definition also includes the words 'con-

[1] JPS. 20, 76 (Skinner).
[2] Cowan 135.
[3] Best Pa 95; JPS. 20, 76.
[4] Best M. I, 290 (from Stack); Taylor 215 f., cf. 175.
[5] Polack, N. Z. II, 60; Polack Manners I, 240. Taylor 169; Henderson 132; cf. JPS. 35, 104 (48) (Matorohanga).
[6] Williams s.v.

taining a mound'. Unfortunately this statement can hardly be accepted without further examination. COWAN describes the *tuahu* of a deserted fortress as 'a little clear space, surrounded by a low bank'.[1] On the assumption that the place is correctly identified and that the description is adequate, this *tuahu* had no 'mound'. However, this is the only piece of evidence against the mound which I know. But let us see what speaks in favour of its occurrence. Direct testimonies are comparatively few. PERCY SMITH says about *tuahu-tapatai* or *tuahu-hauora* that it is 'a hillock or mound of earth'.[2] The same is said about the *tuahu* on Puketutu. In some places it was a heap of stones.[3] Finally we find a text where people mount the *tuahu* (*ka piki a ia ki runga ki tana tuahu*).[4] In connexion with this *tuahu* also its *marae* 'yard', 'plaza' is mentioned, which presumably is to be understood in contrast to the mound. Therefore it is natural to deduce a mound from the expression 'the *marae* of the *tuahu*', which we find elsewhere.[5] This distinction between a *tuahu* and its *marae* is interesting because it closely corresponds to the structure of the sacred precincts of eastern Central Polynesia. There we regularly find an elevation, *ahu*, with a plaza, *marae*, which in these regions gives a name to all of it. TE RANGI HIROA has offered a discussion of *marae*, *ahu*, and *tuahu*, on which we also have based our account here.[6] It is most probable that the *tuahu* of the Maoris originates from a type with this structure. It is even certain that the *tuahu* originally always had a mound. This is not only an old Polynesian trait,—by the way, the *tuahu* altogether has an old-fashioned character as compared with the *marae*s of Tahiti—; but furthermore there is linguistic evidence. *Tua-ahu* means mound-like; to establish one's *tuahu* is often called *ahu i tana tuahu* 'heap up one's *tuahu*'.[7] Finally we find a *tuahu* with the proper name *Te Ahu-a-Rangi* 'The Mound of Heaven'.[8]

[1] Cowan 135.
[2] JPS. 27, 83 (Smith).
[3] JPS. 55, 39 (Graham); Best Rel. 171.
[4] AHM. V. 76. If we dare assume that *ahurewa* in JPS. 35, 222 (14) (Best) is a *tuahu* we have another text which shows the existence of a mound (*puke*).
[5] Grey M. 77.
[6] Rangi Hiroa 477 ff.
[7] AHM. V, 66, 74, 75.
[8] Smith, Peopl. 37.

There are undeniably many indications that a mound normally entered in *tuahu*. As to COWAN's testimony, on the other hand, this exception can perhaps be explained on the assumption that the mound, when the fortified place was abandoned, was removed as a particularly sacred part; but this is mere guesswork.

Poles. On the *tuahu* poles or sticks (*pou, toko*) were erected. Altogether, this is the feature of its appearance of which we dare be most sure. It is mentioned in the texts as a matter of course: "they looked at the poles of the *tuahu*", or at the arrangement of a *tuahu*: "the poles were erected in the grass" or "*tuahu*-poles were erected."[1]

When Turi settled in New Zealand "he built a fortress which was named Rangitawhi, erected the pole which was called Whakatopea, built the house Matangirei, built the latrine Paepaehakehake, and erected the platform for food, namely Paeahua."[2] The pole mentioned can hardly be anything but that of the *tuahu*, the more so as a *tuahu* was among the very first things arranged in a new place. The text suggests that the pole was of the greatest importance. Indeed, we also see that a *tuahu* is named *pouahu* 'the mound pole'.[3] This is further corroborated by the fact that sticks or poles were the centre of numerous rites, whether these were performed on a *tuahu* or not. On special occasions poles might be erected on the *tuahu*, e.g. at the birth of a child.[4]

In the information collected by ethnographers the poles are also frequently mentioned.[5] W. H. SKINNER's description from Taranaki is of special interest, because the *tapu* pole (*te pou tapu*) there was "in the form of a canoe-end fixed in the ground," in other words it was carved.[6]

The poles or sticks obviously corresponded to the *uru-marae* erected on the *ahu* of the *marae*s of Tahiti.[7] They also were carved.

Whata or *tiepa.* In certain places they had a kind of stage

[1] Grey M. 64; cf. AHM. I, 9; Grey M. 67, cf. 94; AHM. IV, 11.
[2] Grey M. 96.
[3] Williams s.v. *pouahu*.
[4] JPS. 15, 162 (Best); Grey Mot. lxxxiii.
[5] Taylor 215 f.; Tregear Race 379, cf. 490; Best T. 1072.
[6] JPS. 20, 76 (Skinner).
[7] Henry 134 and Emory 15.

(*whata* or *tiepa*) on which to place the offerings.[1] As these might also be fixed to the poles,[2] these *whata*s or *tiepa*s no doubt had a limited distribution. A parallel is found e.g. in the small tables (*pua*) for offerings which were used on Mangareva and the peculiar form of which was designed to prevent the rats from eating from the offerings.[3]

Stones. It is certain that the *tuahu* sometimes included one or more erect stones. As the stones in contrast to the rest of the equipment would resist the ravages of time, it might be expected that there would be some evidence of such relics if the custom had been widely distributed; but as this is not the case, the occurrence of stones on the *tuahu* must have been rather sporadic. Furthermore, the value of the evidence depends not only on the occurrence of stones, but just as much on the value of the tradition which makes the place a previous *tuahu*.[4]

Fireplace and oven. As fire was used in various rites, amongst other things for the preparation of offerings, a normal *tuahu* must have had a corresponding equipment. In the texts not only fire on the *tuahu* is mentioned,[5] but large ovens which might hold human beings. In a passage there is a menacing allusion to these ovens with the picturesque phrase "*tuahu*'s mouth is open in order to allure him to be roasted by Waikorora's big flat (?) stones."[6] Ngatoro used the stratagem of placing himself and some of his men in the ovens on the enemy's *tuahu*, the ovens being open and ready. The next morning when the priests entered the sacred precinct they were at once very pleased at the gifts of the gods, but their joy became short-lived; the rest of Ngatoro's men lay in ambush around the *tuahu* and the presumed corpses proved to be well-armed.[7] The ovens were flat hollows in the ground, in which stones were heated by a fire. Afterwards cooking was made by the hot stones. The excavations can be imagined

[1] E. g. Taylor 215 f.; Best M. I, 288.
[2] AHM. I, 9; Best T. 1076; AHM. V, 222.
[3] Laval 324.
[4] Stones on the *tuahu* in general: TNZI. 32, 262 (Smith). Examples in particular: Cowan 69 f., JPS. 34, 175 ff. (Graham) and perhaps 34, 12 (Firth).—Best, Aspects 34 has a photograph which has been reproduced in several places, but with fullest information there.
[5] Grey M. 48.
[6] Grey M. 184.
[7] Grey M. 77 f.

to have been made at need, but the stones must have been a fixture on the *tuahu*, if only because of their sacredness. All this of course on the assumption that ovens were used on the *tuahu* in question. In early times when sacrifices of prisoners of war and cannibalism still flourished, this must have been common, but after the abolition of these customs, the ovens probably disappeared, BEST at any rate does not mention them, although he describes stone-lined fireplaces on the *tuahu*. He is of opinion that they were found on 'some, if not all, of the *tuahu*'.[1]

Idols, sacred objects. On the *tuahu* various sacred things were kept. We hear about arrangements for their protection. They seem to have been common, although they are not mentioned very often. Texts from the Ngati-Maru as well as the Ngai-Tahu mention wooden receptacles (*rau rakau*).[2] From Taranaki SKINNER mentions a "*waka*, or receptacle (usually a wooden box), in which the emblem of the particular god (*atua*) of the tribe or the *pa* was kept."[3] COWAN refers to a rock cave used for the same purpose on a certain *tuahu*.[4] BEST mentions having heard that children's umbilical cord was placed "in a small stone cistern sunk in the earth at a *tuahu*."[5]

Already these quotations have informed us that idols (as we may call special objects which represent gods) could be found on the *tuahu*. Such objects are also mentioned elsewhere.[6] Most of them probably represented tribal gods. Still, BEST tells about special kumara gods, coarse stone images which were placed in the fields during plantings, but which were otherwise kept on the *tuahu*.

It may seem a matter for surprise that so important a thing as idols is mentioned so late and briefly, but the relation of the gods to the *tuahu* is not exhausted by a discussion of idols and therefore must be dealt with apart, for which reason we shall return to the matter later.

On the *tuahu* there might also be bones which were used in rites.[7]

[1] Best T. 1075, 1117 og 1118.
[2] AHM. III, 114; IV, 25.
[3] JPS. 20, 76 (Skinner).
[4] Cowan 137 ff.
[5] Best M. II, 11.
[6] Best M. I, 290 (from Stack); AHM. I, 4.
[7] Grey M. 48, 66.

They were presumably mainly bones of ancestors, but also bones from human sacrifices are mentioned.[1]

In a single passage it is mentioned that the axes for the building of a canoe were fetched from the *tuahu*.[2]

We have now tried to put together a fairly reliable visual picture of the *tuahu* and have only a single trait to add. In a text it is stated that every morning the priests scattered leaves on the *tuahu*.[3]

The fact that the picture of the *tuahu* of the Maoris on so many points is flickering, is connected with two things. In the first place, the simplicity of the place leaves the archaeologist in the lurch. The only durable things, the stones, are so unworked-up and uncharacteristic that they cannot even be used to identify the place with certainty. By a whim of fate a survey and drawing of a peculiar '*tuahu*' is extant;[4] but unfortunately it is of little value to our investigations as it is obviously a late product, presumably due to an offshoot of the *Hauhau* movement, the members of which had one of their *nius* in the neighbourhood. The other difficulty is worse and has further consequences. It is the fact that we know so lamentably little about the function of the various elements of the *tuahu*. This does not least apply to the stones, but actually to nearly everything, so that we always depend on our own judgment when the distribution of a certain trait is discussed. The only exception is the poles, in which case we are on firm ground.

We are now prepared for the next and more important task, that of trying to find the position held by the *tuahu* in the Maori's life and religion.

The *tuahu* is the principal place for the practice of religion, as may be concluded from the significant fact that it was established immediately when new land was occupied.

We get this information i.a. from an immigration saga, and the reason why we get such a piece of antiquarian information is solely that a stratagem was connected with it. It is told that the crew of one of the large canoes which brought the ancestors of the Maoris to New Zealand, viz. the Arawa, found a beached

[1] JPS. 5, 153 (Williams).
[2] JPS. 30, 166 (Graham).
[3] Grey M. 77.
[4] JPS. 37, 165 ff. (Downes).

whale, which they then made fast with a rope. Not long afterwards, when the crew from the Arawa was away, another of the canoes, the Tainui, arrived. When the crew of that discovered the moored whale, the leader Hotunui thought of a stratagem. He had the whale moored once more, fastening the rope below the first mooring. Then he gave orders to make a fire on the *tuahu* in order to dry the fresh poles and wooden receptacles there. When the men from the Arawa returned a conflict arose as to the ownership of the whale; but Hotunui was victorious when he showed the others that his rope was under theirs and that the poles in his sacred place were old and dry.[1]

This eagerness to establish the *tuahu*, of course, as shown by the story, is connected with the ownership of the country. There is a related story in which Ihenga like Hotunui smuggles in a *tuahu* and in which the speech occurs: "This is not your home, it is mine. Where are your fortress, your *tuahu*, your fishing net, and your field?"[2] On Tahiti we find a similar connexion between *marae* and possession of land.[3]

Among the Maoris this legal function is undoubtedly only one aspect of religion, an inner appropriation of the country. Below, in connexion with the special *tuahu uruurutapu*, we shall see that during travels there must always be a kind of conclusion of peace with foreign soil (p. 91 ff.). Furthermore, we have a fine piece of evidence that the Maori's heart clings to his *tuahu*. He has put his feelings into the mouth of a fairy people, Patupaiarehe, when the fairies by a forest fire on the mountain Ngongotaha were driven away from the lonely forests which were their haunts.

The fairy king sang at his departure:[4]

"I must sigh in the dusk when the yearning for my *tapu* pillow comes gnawing at my heart. Left by me, Ngongo'maunga, the mountain stands deserted.

It is Mahuika's fire[5] which burnt it down, therefore I go to Pirongia, away from my *tapu* pillow.

[1] AHM. IV, 25; Grey M. 64.

[2] Grey M. 68; Shortl. Rel. 69 f.; cf. Grey M. 104. *Tuahu* is founded immediately: Best T. 724.

[3] Henry 141; Taimai 15; cf. Rangi Hiroa, Mangaian Society, 1934, pp. 173 f.

[4] JPS. 30, 149 (Cowan).

[5] Mahuika is the mythical originator of fire.

Alas! Te Rotokohu!

Do not urge me on, let me moaning take leave of my *tuahu* which now is deserted.

One day more I shall stay here, then go away from here, never return."

Two things moves the chief's mind on his departure, his pillow, the property which bears his strongest and most intimate *tapu*, and his *tuahu*. This little song is one of the few extant testimonies of the Maori's intimate feelings towards his religion.

However, it is also worth quoting Te Matorohanga's lament over the general dissolution and confusion that has followed the abandonment of *tapu*. It concludes: "The sacral school has been abandoned, the *karakia*s abandoned, the *tuahu*s have been deserted."[1]

That the *tuahu* holds such a central position to the Maori in his religion and heart is undoubtedly connected with the fact that this is where he finds the gods.

It is certain that the gods were on the *tuahu* or at least usually could be summoned there. A number of facts vouch for that. In a certain passage rituals are mentioned which show "the *mana* and strength which were due to the fact that there were gods on their *tuahu*" (*te mana me te kaha e [? o] te atuatanga o ta raua tuahu*).[2] In another text it says that "the god's poles are erected" on the *tuahu*.[3] Best states that "these *tuahu* are often described as *toronga atua*, places where gods are consulted by divination."[4] With the existing state of our knowledge of Maori religion, we cannot expect completely irrefutable proofs of general assertions; but such expressions as those quoted above are of value because they indicate that normally one might meet the gods on the *tuahu*.

The presence of the gods on the *tuahu* was intentionally kept apart from the question of idols. Above, 'the god's poles' are mentioned, and *pua* is a word which Williams explains as "a post in the *tuaahu* upon which the *atua* was supposed to alight when summoned by the *tohunga*."[5] When this is added to the

[1] Lore I, 12.
[2] AHM. V, 75.
[3] Grey M. 94.
[4] Best T. 1075.
[5] Williams s.v. *pua* (iii).

fact that the gods also by invocation were located in fire in the fireplace on the *tuahu*[1] and that, finally, the gods could be represented by images or stones (see below), it is realized that the manifestations of the gods was highly dependent on circumstances.

As to the gods whom we find on the *tuahu*, we are compelled to be as indefinite as the Maori. When they are invoked this presumably takes place under a definite name which, again, depends on the ritual situation. Only in the cases when a god is constantly represented in the sacred precinct, we are likely to find a closer defining. Naturally we then find gods of the kinship group and the settlement. On an often reproduced picture of a *tuahu* from the Arawa with four erected stones Elsdon Best in "Some Aspects of Maori Myth and Religion" offers the information that "the stones represent the principal gods of the Arawa people: Maru-te-whare-aitu, Rongomai, Ihungaru, and Itupawa."[2] Why we do not get this important information in his large monograph on "Maori Religion", where the picture is shown on p. 171, is part of the mysteries often encountered by the reader of Elsdon Best's works. Cowan pictures an Arawa goddess carved in a rocky recess. She is Horoirangi, an ancestor of the Arawa.[3] As sacrifices of first fruits, etc., took place there, we dare perhaps classify the place as a *tuahu*, although Cowan does not use the word. In a rock cave immediately opposite Maru-te-whare-aitu was kept, also a tribal god, who was characterized more particularly as a god of war.

From Taranaki it is mentioned as normal that images of the god of a fortified place or the tribal god were kept near the sacred pole, i. e. on the *tuahu*.[4] Finally we have from the Ngai-Tahu a peculiar story about a god of a kinship group (he is called the chief's ancestor) who is stolen out of a besieged fortress. It must have lain on the *tuahu*, as the besieged after the discovery of the theft went there and performed a rite where the god had lain (*ka karangarangatia nga tangata katoa kia haere ki mua kia apohia te takotoranga o te atua*).[5]

[1] JPS. 33, 158 (Best).
[2] Best Aspects 34.
[3] Cowan 137 ff.
[4] JPS. 20, 76 (Skinner).
[5] AHM. III, 113.

Taylor gives a description of an invocation of a god made on the *tuahu* by a mediumistic priest by means of an idol.[1] The invocation causes the god to speak through him. About these idols Taylor maintains that they were only considered to be sacred during the séance; "at other times they were regarded only as bits of ordinary wood."[2] The theology attributed to the Maoris here is not rarely quoted. But it cannot apply to idols in general. We only need to refer to definite facts. Why should these gods be kept so carefully? Thus Cowan tells about the rock cave in which Maru-te-whare-aitu was kept, that the edge of the rock beside the mouth of the cave bore traces of its having been closed by a wooden door.[3] A work so toilsome as that of dressing the mouth of a rock cave is certainly not done for the sake of 'bits of ordinary wood'. The story about the theft of a god also shows something else; for the god accompanies the image and pines for home just as the owner pines for the god (*tae rawa te atua ki Te Taumutu, ka aroha mai ki nga tangata o Waikouaiti, ka aroha hoki a Taraitu ki te atua*).[4] The god then returns home.

It is a question how much importance should be attached to Taylor's view. In his book he communicates several texts which in spite of a somewhat defective recording are excellent, in certain cases the least corrupt version.[5] On the other hand his translations and general view often betray misunderstandings. Therefore we should not, perhaps, attach too much importance to his statement about the idols. There may have been a difference between the images of the tribal gods and those of the kinship groups on the one hand and those which represent gods that possess the priest. This is not a very probable explanation as the distinction hardly is very sharp. We have a fairly good knowledge of one of the latter gods, Te Rehu, who possessed his priest Uhia. It is expressly stated that Uhia established a *tuahu* for Te Rehu.[6]

Apart from gods of kinship groups and tribal gods some special gods might be attached to the *tuahu* for the purpose of guarding

[1] Taylor 183.
[2] Taylor 212, picture 214.
[3] Cowan 138.
[4] AHM. III, 114.
[5] See e.g. p. 100 (the Whaitiri myth).
[6] Best Rel. 130.

it.[1] It is stated that they appeared in the shape of lizards. This is hardly accidental, for lizards were objects of dread to the Maoris and often represented the dangerous aspect of sacredness.[2]

We cannot in a proper sense among the gods of the *tuahu* include the *kumara* gods which might be kept there, as it does not appear from the descriptions that they had any ritual function there as they had in the field.

If the objects representing gods on the *tuahu* were sufficiently small, they were kept in a special receptacle.[3] This might be in human shape, but such a statue cannot, indeed, be considered a real idol.

In this survey we have used such terms as tribal gods and gods of the kinship group, but unfortunately we must acknowledge their vagueness. Thorough investigations might remedy this; but this special problem cannot be probed to the bottom in this place without our losing sight of our proper subject, the *tuahu*. We may, however, remedy the vagueness somewhat as we proceed.

Among the rites performed on the *tuahu* sacrifices hold a prominent position. This must be due to the fact that there are gods on the *tuahu*. Indeed, it is often mentioned that the sacrifice is made to a god (*atua*),[4] but only in passing; in other passages the whole context shows that the sacrifice must be supposed to have been made to an *atua*.[5] If the gods' relation to sacrifices on the *tuahu* is not indicated at all, as is often the case, it must thus be considered something accidental about the account.

Among the offerings on the *tuahu* which we hear about, there are offerings of first fruits,[6] offerings of hairs (*makawe*) or other parts of the body from prisoners or enemies killed.[7] Offering of a dog in connexion with the building of a canoe[8] and offerings (*moremore puwha*) prior to instruction, the latter with distinct stress on the communion between the pupil and the *tuahu*.[9] We

[1] JPS. 46, 217 (Downes).
[2] See p. 105, note 3.
[3] Smith Wars 33 f. (from White).
[4] AHM. III Eng. 241; JPS. 15, 147; Best Agr. 160; Lore I, 3 f.
[5] JPS. 3, 28 (Nahe); Grey M. 94, 66 (there offerings are made to an ancestor's bones, but the ancestor should no doubt be conceived as a god).
[6] JPS. 15, 147 (Best); Best Agr. 160.
[7] JPS. 3, 28 (Nahe); Best T. 1056 f.; Taylor 213; cf. Grey M. 184.
[8] Grey M. 94 (the offering is accompanied by divination).
[9] TNZI. 31, 632 (Best); Best T. 1097; (cf. AHM. I, 5, which, however, is not quite confidence-inspiring).

find a special type of offering in the depositing of children's umbilical cord on the *tuahu*,[1] probably related to the burying of e.g. a lock of hair (also from adults) for protection from witchcraft.[2] The communion with the *tuahu* is no doubt important in both cases. This leads us on to the fact that the hair cut off at the hair-cutting was often placed on the *tuahu*.[3] Indeed, the hair-cutting because of the strong *tapu* of the head was a ritual process, especially in the case of chiefs and priests. It is uncertain whether the placing of the hair in a *tapu* place was only due to a wish for having *tapu* things put out of the way or it denoted a communion with what is sacred. The latter view would seem the most probable when the hair is expressly stated to have been placed on the *tuahu*. This is supported not only by the cases mentioned above in which we are informed of the intention, but also by the fact that hair-cutting often entered in the *pure* rite.

Unfortunately it is difficult sharply to define the *pure* rite. In early times it was regularly described as 'a ceremony for removing the *tapu* from houses, canoes, etc.',[4] but this is decidedly too narrow a definition, and WILLIAMS therefore cautiously adds 'and for other purposes'.[5] BEST calls *pure* 'a word demanding much attention',[6] which indeed is very true.

A *pure* can certainly remove a *tapu*, e.g. from the participants in an interment or from the warriors after a fight.[7] As the *pure* otherwise is always performed for a more positive purpose, it is natural to assume that this is an essential peculiarity about the *pure* and to state about the examples mentioned that one and the same rite may very well remove an unwanted content and create a new one. Rites of participants in an interment just offer instances of this, as shown above (p. 26 ff.). A certain text expressly states that the *pure* leaves the participants in a state of *tapu*.[8] The same must be the case when *pure* is performed prior to the planting of kumara.[9] Furthermore, we have testimonies to the effect that

[1] Best M. II, 11.
[2] TNZI. 34, 76 (Best).
[3] Taylor 208; White Te Rou 177; Lore II, 164 (here the reference is to a special hair-cutting *tuahu*).
[4] Tregear Dict. s. v. *pure*.
[5] Williams s. v. *pure*.
[6] JPS. 38, 171.
[7] Shortl. Rel. 57 f.; TNZI. 38, 200 (Best); Taylor 188.
[8] Grey M. 113.
[9] AHM. I, 82; cf. III, 6; II, 120.

canoes and houses got a *tapu* through the *pure* rite.[1] In the Lore of the Whare-Wananga and in BEST's Io texts the word is regularly used in the meaning of consecrating; but this may of course be supposed to be a peculiarity about the usage of the worshippers of Io.[2] For the further illustration of the positive character of the *pure* we may mention a couple of instances from the myths. Tinirau secured fish by performing a *pure* on the beach, and when Tawhaki had died, Whaitiri in one version resuscitated him by a *pure*.[3]

Pure thus is a very comprehensive concept, which in so far is no matter of surprise as in great parts of Polynesia it is, if anything, used like Maori *karakia*. However, what is of interest in this connexion is the relation between the *pure* and offerings of hair on the *tuahu*. If it is a question of *pure*-ing something, e.g. a canoe, we dare not, of course, without definite evidence assume that an offering of hair took place. Without being particularly probable, it is not, however, completely excluded. The matter is different when human beings are objects of the *pure* rite. SHORTLAND writes: "When they had dipped in the river, Kahu commenced cutting the young man's hair, which is part of the ceremony of *pure*. In the evening, the hair being cut, the *mauri*, or sacredness of the hair, was fastened to a stone."[4] Here the hair-cutting is expressly described as part of the *pure*. Presumably it is performed beside the river, but the *mauri* of the hair, no doubt a tuft of hair, is placed on a stone, and it seems probable that this stone was found on the *tuahu*. A *pure* by the water described by BEST was also accompanied by hair-cutting.[5] In one text it says downright: ". . . they and their father were *tapu* after having undergone *pure*, viz. hair-cutting."[6] It is somewhat confusing that BEST notes about *pure*: "As met with in the phrase '*ka purea te mahunga*' [the head or hair is *pure*-ed] it does not mean hair cutting, but denotes a ceremonial usage."[7] It is difficult to draw any conclusions from BEST's information, if, indeed, it is correct, since it is so negative. At any rate it cannot

[1] Best Canoe 32; Lore I, 6.
[2] E.g. Lore I, 26, 28, 42, 72; Best Rel. 251; JPS. 38, 169 f.
[3] TNZI. 7, 53 (Wohlers); AHM. I, 116.
[4] Shortl. Rel. 57.
[5] TNZI. 38, 200 (Best).
[6] Grey M. 113; cf. Taylor 248.
[7] JPS. 38, 169 f.

shake the testimony quoted above, according to which *pure* even may be a synonym of hair-cutting. The hair must regularly have been involved when *pure* applied to human beings. Only in SHORTLAND we are informed in more detail what happened to the hair cut off; but as the *pure* often simply was performed on the *tuahu* and we also know that hair from hair-cutting regularly was placed there, it seems obvious that the hair or at least a tuft of hair was sacrificed on the *tuahu*.

Besides, this discussion can give an impression how almost hopelessly hesitating we must often stand before important words from the Maori's religious vocabulary.

The offering on the *tuahu* is of special interest because it is a rite which presumably is particularly characteristic of this sacred place. But the rites may also be considered from other points of view, the question being left open whether they involved offerings or not. Thus it should be mentioned that *tapu* was removed also on the *tuahu*.[1] From the limited information extant it is easiest to consider the rites from the point of view of the occasion. This point of view does not produce great results, but a brief survey is of interest by demonstrating the importance of the *tuahu* in Maori religion. The list of occasions includes a number of important undertakings, often framed by rites on the *tuahu* both before and afterwards. They are war and hostility in general; both magic and countermagic can be performed on the *tuahu*. Furthermore, many kinds of work: fishing and agriculture, felling of trees, building of canoes, navigation and instruction. Finally we come across very special occasions, as a man wanting to overtake his fugitive wife, a father wanting to find a murdered child, or disappeared objects to be found. Of course the rites often were accompanied by divination. If we cast a glance at the list and consider that offerings frequently were part of the rites, we get an impression that people turned to the *tuahu* to obtain strength, and the reason must be sought in the fact that the gods were found there.

We can get a little further by a closer examination of an important and well authenticated part of the *tuahu*, viz. the poles. Poles or sticks enter in numerous rituals, often as the centre of the ritual act. The significance of the poles changes according to

[1] Lore I, 3 f. AHM. III, Eng. 240.

the details of the ritual, but still there seems to be a certain constancy.

The pole is often used as a symbol of that which supports or maintains: "Give some food as a "pole" (*pou*) for his (her) mother, she has not yet eaten anything."[1] The woman who is thirsting for revenge for her brother sings, "I should like to eat Pare-ihe's brain raw at once, so that it became a supporting pole (*poupou*) to my heart."[2] "The canoe was shattered and the men died, so there was no pole (*pou*) to lift the treasure."[3] The pole here alludes to the chief. Apakura in her lament refers to Wahieroa's death by calling him "the pole (*pou*) that is upset."[4]

This view of the pole or stick is not only poetical. Apart from functionalistic poles in houses, etc., a standing pole or stick in itself has a special power over the Maori mind. Once a threat of defeat was changed into victory by the priest of the army planting his stick in the ground and shouting to the tribe that it should die or gain the victory there.[5]

The character of the pole as supporting or maintaining is also of frequent occurrence in the rituals. Such phrases as "This is the pole which stands" very often occur in the concomitant *karakia*s.[6] Two poles may represent respectively Ao and Po, life and death.[7] In one rite one pole, *tira ora*, the wand of life, is left to stand, while *tira mate*, the wand of death, is overturned.[8] Here we get a very graphic impression of the belief that the pole is upholding—of course in so far as it is standing—otherwise there is no point in overturning it. On the other hand, conditions are rather complicated in the case of the *niu* rite, which often consisted in taking auguries for a warlike undertaking from small sticks.[9] Sometimes it is a happy augury if a stick remains standing, but the commonest is rather that the augury is taken according to the way in which certain stick fall, e.g. over or under others that represent the enemy. With these small sticks we have ob-

[1] Williams s. v. *pou*.
[2] JPS. 9, 137 (Tarakawa).
[3] JPS. 2, 188 (Te Kahui Kararehe).
[4] AHM. II, 149.
[5] TNZI. 32, 259 (Smith).
[6] Grey Mot. 262, 353, 361, 296; Grey M. 73, 172.
[7] See above p. 26 ff. and Best T. 1072 f.
[8] Johansen, Maori 220 f.
[9] Best Rel. 178 ff.

viously left the idea of a supporting staff but this is really no wonder.

Thus we note the difference between small sticks and proper staffs or poles as we proceed to discuss the poles of the *tuahu*. There is no doubt that their task is that of standing and like other ritual poles they have the purpose of being upholding. Special rites perhaps may attribute special significations to them, but it is worth while asking whether they are not of a special character only by standing on the *tuahu*. As to this there is a single piece of interesting information in BEST, who writes: 'Te Kowhai, of Te Waiora, stated that two staves, termed the *toko-uri* and *toko-tea*, were set up at a *tuahu*. They were said to be, or represent "*nga toko o te rangi*".'[1] In *toko uri* and *toko tea*, the dark and the light pole, we find, of course, the often mentioned dualism between Te Po and Te Ao, Night and Day. This dualism may also be represented by two stones on the *tuahu* and thus in so far is attached more to the pair than to the pole as such.[2] In return we are then given a piece of information which refers to the poles as such, viz. that 'they were said to be, or represent "*nga toko o te rangi*",' i.e. the poles of heaven. There can hardly be any doubt that the reference is to the poles which in the creation myth was placed under heaven and which regularly are named '*toko*'. Strangely enough, this did not occur to BEST; at any rate it has not left any traces in his writings. On the other hand, he calls attention to the fact that *toko* may mean 'beam of light', which suggests that here, too, he searches for traces of sun worship. It is true that *toko* means 'beam of light' in such phrases as '*nga toko o te ra*', the 'staffs' of the sun, i.e. beams of light radiating from the sun. The visual picture on which the Maori bases the phrase is evident. The 'staffs' of heaven about beams of light are less obvious. To my knowledge the phrase is not found in any text, either. The natural interpretation must be obtained in the myth of the separation of Rangi and Papa.

This myth is found in numerous versions from the whole of New Zealand. In outline it is the same in all tribes. The version which is most frequently quoted, because it is translated in GREY's *Polynesian Mythology*, is not the best one, as it is un-

[1] Best T. 1072.
[2] Cowan 69 f.

doubtedly made up out of two (or more) related versions. On the other hand, it possesses a distinct poetical flight. It is natural to call attention to two versions found in the appendix which GREY added to his collection of Maori songs. They obviously entered in the adapted version mentioned above. One of them deserves being rescued from oblivion, since no translation of it has been published.

GREY's adapted versions in the "Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna", however, have been criticized from Maori quarters, and it has been stated that the informant of most of it, Wiremu Maehe-Te-Rangikaheke, was a christened Maori without training in the sacral school.[1]

Now it is almost certain that the first version is not due to Maehe-Te-Rangikaheke. The fact is that there are two versions, which must be ascribed to two different informants. The latter version bears exactly the stamp to be expected if Maehe-Te-Rangikaheke is the informant, a certain smoothness in the telling and few traces of sacral learning, whereas conditions are just opposite on both points as regards the former version. Thus there is no reason to criticize it; on the contrary, it inspires confidence. Besides the fact that it is little known, also its early publication (1853) is in favour of its being selected as a sample, even though versions from other tribes may be just as well worth considering. So I offer a translation of the first section which alone is of interest here.[2]

See, this is the origin of the generation of the human beings, which is now told clearly.

Beforehand I say, as in the first lines I wrote about the ancestors: "In the Night (Po), in the first Night right to the tenth Night, the hundredth, the thousandth." Because of this, no Day at all was found. It was still dark among the Maoris. There also were Rangi and Papa (Heaven and Earth), they lay close together and not yet separated at all, and their children tried in some way to create Night and Day.

They thought: Look here! We will try to find a way in which Rangi and Papa can either be killed or separated. Tumatauenga

[1] TNZI. 32, 257 (Smith).
[2] Grey Mot. iii f.

said, "Yes, we will kill them." Tane-mahuta answered, "We ought not to do that—but let us separate them so that one is above, the other below, so that one becomes as a stranger to us and the other as a mother to us." Then all answered yes except one, who felt great pity (*aroha*) for them if they were to be separated. Five sanctioned that they should be separated; one felt pity.

This is the reason for these words: "Night, Night, Day, Day, there is seeking, there is search in the void, in the void." For it is their search for an idea as regards their parents, in order that man can be created and flourish. Behold! There are these words: "The duration, the greatness." It is the greatness of their idea of hurting their parents, in order that man can live, it is their signification.

The first one set to work, but could not, the second set to work, but could not, the third, the fourth, the fifth—and the fith could. In vain Rangi and Papa moaned; they moaned in vain. What did Tane-mahuta care? (Rangi) was fastened on poles. (Tane) set the head below and the legs in the air, see: heaven was high in the air, earth was far down. Therefore there is this proverb: "It was Tane who set poles; Rangi and Papa were separated, it was he who separated them, Night and Day were separated."

The chief event, that heaven and earth were separated, Tane setting poles under the heaven, is common to all versions. This event is so fundamental, because it creates the frequently mentioned dualism of Day—Night. It may be said that this very feature is brought out especially clearly just in this version. We are expressly informed of this chief motif both before and after. Night and Day are to be created, and the proverb summarizes the result: Night and Day were separated. The very separation is the proper substance of creation, what makes the world fit to live in for a Maori. The poles on the *tuahu* thus safeguard a fundamental feature in the order of the world, a feature which separates cosmos from chaos.

Before we continue the inquiry, it is necessary briefly to discuss the distribution of this ritual symbolism. However often the poles on the *tuahu* are referred to, we only in this one passage hear that "they were said to be, or represent the poles of heaven."

Is it imaginable that the idea was only local? When this question is to be answered it must be kept in mind how sparse the whole tradition of ritual symbolism is. It is impossible to argue *ex silentio*. But this view does not in itself take us any further, it just leaves us where we were. However, there are reasons in favour of the view that the symbolism must have been of general occurrence. If we disregard the question of the place, we often hear of poles in the rituals with exactly this meaning. Above (p. 30) we saw an instance. Another is found in a ritual for divorce. Naturally the separation of Papa and Rangi there appears as the primordial divorce and in the ritual the pole is mentioned:[1]

Tena pou ka tu
ko te pou o te wehe
ko te pou o Rangi nui e tu nei . . .

This pole which stands
The pole of divorce
The pole of Rangi-nui-e-tu-nei . . .

Rangi-nui-e-tu-nei is one of Rangi's poetic-ritual names (the-great-Heaven-who-stands-here).

In a *karakia* to Maru the purpose of which is not indicated, but which is seen to be related to war, the following line occurs:

ko te pou o Rangi-e-tu-nei.[2]

Add to this the peculiar fact that in Tahiti we find an analogous ritual symbolism. Teuira Henry offers the information that *unu-marae*, the planks erected on *ahu*, 'represented the *ana mua, ana roto, ana muri*, and all the other great stars of heaven.'[3] But the myth tells that the poles of heaven just are these stars (*o anâ-mua, e pou tomora'a 'tu i te 'apu o te ra'i*, etc.).[4] Even though in discussing the relation between ritual and myth we should be wary of putting A equal to C because A is equal to B and B is equal to C, there is hardly any doubt in this case, in which planks and poles are much closer to each other than the intermediate link, stars.

As the *ahu* of Tahiti and the *tuahu* of the Maoris originate

[1] Grey Mot. 296.
[2] Grey Mot. 262.
[3] Henry 134.
[4] Henry 361.

from a common Central Polynesian form, the common meaning of the poles (planks) as being poles of heaven must be a rather old Polynesian cultural element which the Maoris took with them to New Zealand. If we add that the idea that ritual poles are poles of heaven is authenticated from several Maori tribes, it seems permissible to conclude that it is due to a mere accident that only from one tribe we have this signification ascribed to the poles of the *tuahu* as such.

This conclusion is of importance when in what follows we discuss certain variants of the Rangi-Papa myth from other tribes; for in this case it makes sense to interpret some features of the myth from the relation to the *tuahu*.

We shall now return to the myth and consider some details more closely.

It is Tane (Tanemahuta) who performs the decisive feat. It is an interesting feature that he stands on his head during the lifting of Heaven. We hear that the trees originally stood with their tops downwards and their roots upwards; but Tane turned them upside down so that they stood on their heads, the Maori viewing the root as the head and the top as legs.[1] Tane thus is both the person who erects the pole and the pole itself. In poetic style Tane often occurs in kennings denoting things made of wood. The house is *Tane-pupuke* or *Tane-i-te-whaka-piripiri* (the Tane of what is joined together). The canoe is also *Tane-pupuke, te riu a Tane* (Tane's belly) or *te ara tau whaito o Tane* (Tane's narrow, floating way). *Tane-horo* is chips that fall (*horo*) from the axe. We note that the thing is sometimes called Tane-something-or-other, sometimes presented as Tane's tool (e.g. the canoe). We have here the same duplicity with which the myth invests the pole. When interpreted ritually it presumably means that both the priest who erects (or consecrates) the pole and the pole itself represent Tane. In the light of this view it is quite interesting that in versions from the Ngai-Tahu and the Ngati-Kahungunu Tane and Paia share in the task.[2] Actually the two are so closely related that somewhere it has been supposed that Paia only was another name of Tane.[3] Elsewhere, however, there

[1] Grey M. 176; TNZI. 7, 33 f. (Wohlers); Taylor 119 note.
[2] AHM. I, 22, 44, 123, 125, 145; JPS. 10, 6 (Best); Lore I, 22.
[3] Best T. 752.

is a slight difference expressed by the statement that 'Paia is the holy man (*te tangata tapu*); he possesses the gods and the *karakias*.'[1] Behind Paia we here dimly see the officiating priest in the ritual.

We need not discuss isolated versions in which Paia or Maui[2] replace Tane.

But there is reason to pause for a moment to consider some peculiar lines in a *waiata popo*, a kind of lullaby, in which a son is instructed about his name and kinship group:

Kei whea to tupuna?
Kia whakaputa mai
i muri ano Whakataupotiki.
Nana i toko te rangi i runga nei,
ka puta koe ki te ao marama.[3]

These lines might very well be understood as if *nana* referred to Whakataupotiki, who, if so, is made the lifter of heaven. As this is without any parallel, and furthermore, there will be something purposeless in the preceding two lines, I suggest the following interpretation in which *nana* refers to *tupuna*, who thus is Tane.

[If somebody asks you:]
Where is your ancestor? [viz. how far back?]
Then let Whakataupotiki
Be born still later.
[No, your ancestor] was he who set poles under heaven above us,
You were born to the world of light.

Whatever interpretation is chosen, the last lines show the present reality of the lifting of heaven and thus confirm a ritual view of the myth.

Best mentions three expressions which are supposed to refer to the lifting of heaven:[4]

ko nga rangi i roherohea e Tane:
The heavens which Tane fenced

[1] AHM. I, 145; cf. 40 f., where Paia recites *karakias* while Tane is erecting poles.
[2] Taylor 115 note. Is this a post-European loan from Polynesia?
[3] Grey Mot. 205; a variant: TNZI. 25, 427 (Bruce).
[4] JPS. 32, 66 (Best).

ko nga rangi tuitui a Tane:
Tane's 'pierced' heavens
ko nga rangi tokorau a Tane:
Tane's separated heavens.

The last expression no doubt refers to poles, as *tokorau* rightly should be written *toko rau*, as in the passive it is *tokona rautia*. Furthermore, *tokona* is the normal passive of *toko* 'to use a pole'.

That the middle expression actually means that Tane sets poles under heaven is confirmed by a comparison between two versions from the Ngai-Tahu. Both have been recorded by Wohlers and are almost word for word alike. But while one version presents the lifting of heaven itself in the usual manner, this is in the other version replaced by *ka tuia a Rangi i runga e Tane, mau ai.*[1]

These three expressions, especially the first, give a visual picture of the function of the poles or, more cautiously, one of the functions of the poles; for they suggest a demarcation or fencing of the *tuahu* by poles. According to these expressions the lifting of heaven takes place ritually not by a 'lifting', but by a demarcation of an area (*tuahu*) which represents heaven. This does not seem improbable. Ritually it is the separation of heaven and earth, of the sacred and the profane, 'Day' and 'Night', which is the essential thing.

In the middle expression the word *tuitui* occurs, in the myth correspondingly *tui*. Williams translates *tuitui* ad hoc: 'fasten up, render inaccessible'. But how is this to be visualized? *Tui* (and *tuitui*) means to pierce or to put something through a hole, hence to sew or lace up, the string passing through drilled holes. If we keep to the myth, only, the use of poles in connexion with *tui* seems somewhat obscure. We may very well imagine heaven to be pierced by the poles, but what is the use of it, when it is to be lifted? It seems to me that just the ritual interpretation proposed makes the expression more easily understandable. We can then imagine that pointed poles demarcate the *tuahu* or heaven by being stuck or rammed down into it.

In this connexion a mythical motif from the Ngai-Tahu is

[1] TNZI. 7, 34 (Wohlers); Grey M. 175.

of interest. In this it is stated that Rupe, 'the Dove', ascends to Rehua in uppermost heaven.[1] Rehua is evidently in possession of very great holiness. This ascent is described like this: "Rupe climbed up (*piki*), he searched, he only thought of finding Rehua. He came to a country and shouted, "Are there human beings higher up, too?"

The people of the country said, "There are human beings higher up, too."

"Can I go there, I wonder?"

"You cannot go there. It is those heavens which Tane fenced (*i roherohea e Tane*)."""

Rupe, however, gets up there and the same exchange of words is repeated, only that the answer now is:

"You cannot go there. It is those heavens which Tane pierced (*i tuituia e Tane*)."

But Rupe also gets up there and we learn that he goes on to the tenth heaven, where he meets Rehua.

In three other versions it is not Rupe, but Tane, who seeks out Rehua.[2] It seems strange that Tane must be informed of the fences, etc., which he himself made, but this feature just indicates a ritual reality which shows through. In Best there is a note on the pole of the *tuahu*: "Occasionally a bird would be cooked and placed upon the post, which bird was alluded to as Tane."[3] If we maintain that the *tuahu* represents heaven, then Tane also can make an ascension as a bird (bird's offering). As Rupe means 'dove' we also understand that Rupe and Tane can replace one another in the myth. And we also comprehend Tane's position better: Tane as a bird stands in another relation to fences and poles than Tane as wood.

The myth probably refers to the offering of a bird on the *tuahu*; but it is not this aspect of the matter which is to be discussed here; it has only been adduced in order to give more lucidity to the mythology which is attached to the *tuahu* in itself.

We see that the *tuahu* may represent heaven and that what happened at the creation was that heaven was separated from earth by poles which ritually formed a fence. The Rupe (Tane)-

[1] Grey M. 25; AHM. I, 73 ff.
[2] AHM. I, 120; Grey M. 177; TNZI. 7, 34 f. (Wohlers).
[3] Best T. 1076.

Rehua myth furthermore shows that there might be two demarcations: those heavens which Tane fenced (*roherohe*), and those which he pierced (*tuitui*). The *tuahu* could even be provided with several fences,[1] but the expressions may just as well cover an outer proper fence as an inner demarcation of the Holy of Holies by a few poles. For that matter the outer fence may also have consisted in only a few *pou rahui*, poles with red paint which indicated a *tapu* place. In this connexion it should also be mentioned that Tane in a creation myth decorates Rangi with red sacral paint, *rahui kura*.[2]

Thus it is a question of a gradual increase of sacredness on the *tuahu*. Such a graduation of the *tapu* was, indeed, natural to the Maori. We find a related graduation in the large number of ovens used at ritual meals and in the use of intermediaries at the serving of food to people with a high *tapu*.[3]

The graduation of sacredness on the *tuahu* has a parallel in the ten heavens of mythology. The number ten hardly had any appreciable ritual importance in this connexion, its presence is no doubt only due to the fact that it was a sacred number.

Uruuru-whenua.

People who arrived in a foreign region performed a rite which put them into a safe relation to the country. It was called *uruuru-whenua* and could take place on the *tuahu*; but it is more uncertain whether this was the usual thing.[4]

Certain stones, rocks, or (sometimes) trees were objects of this rite on the part of travellers when they passed the locality. These places possessed a certain *tapu*, but it is doubtful whether they came under the concept of *tuahu*. As, indeed, the places had certain features in common with the *tuahu*, they will be briefly mentioned in connexion with this.

The place is most frequently a stone or rock and the rite consists in picking a sprig or some leaves and sacrificing them to the stone or rock while reciting a *karakia*. Some few have

[1] Taylor 215 f.
[2] AHM. I, 42.
[3] Johansen, Maori 209, 212.
[4] JPS. 34, 178 (Graham).

been handed down.[1] They are short and may consist of two parts, one of which lays down that a stranger has come to the country, while the other expresses that the stranger's heart (*manawa*) or liver (*ate*) is sacrificed. The latter is both the most unmistakable and the most interesting. The sprig represents an essential part of the sacrificing person, and the sacrifice is evidently a communion. The phrase in the *karakia* runs like this:

Mau e kai te manawa o tauhou
or *He kai mau te ate o te tauhou.*
'Eat thou the stranger's *manawa* (heart)'
and 'The stranger's liver is your food.'

Thus there is somebody or something that is addressed. Indeed, we regularly hear about a *tipua* (demon) that is attached to the place.[2] Below we shall consider whether the *karakia* is directed to this *tipua*.

These demons are manifestations of wild nature. If one omits performing the *uruuru-whenua* one exposes oneself to a storm during the journey, at worst one risks being killed by the demon, especially if this is a vigorous *taniwha*.[3] The sacrifice, however, places the traveller in a safe relation to the demon. How this at least might be regarded is illustrated by an interesting case which has handed down to us the myth (legend) that belongs to one of these places.

Cowan tells about a rock which "for generations past has been venerated by the Maoris, who to this day perform there the ancient rite of '*uruuru-whenua*', the propitiation of the genius loci. There is a deep cavity in this fetish stone—a hollow so smooth and regular that it almost seems as if it were artificially carved. The cavity is generally found to contain a heap of small branches of *manuka*, the offerings of passing Maori travellers. It is the custom to break a green sprig of *manuka* and place it in the hollow stone; should a passer-by who is from another district neglect this ancient rite it will be uncomfortable for him, for a great storm of wind and rain will surely befall him. By the

[1] Best T. 975 adduces three, the last of which has been taken from Grey Mot. 136, of which a variant is found translated in Shortl. Rel. 77. Quite a different one is found in JPS 34, 178 (Graham), which, however, was recited at the *tuahu*.

[2] Best T. 972 f.; Cowan 111 f.; JPS. 46, 221 (Downes).

[3] JPS. 46, 222.

imaginative local Maori it is said that this was the very rock in which their ancestor Hatupatu took refuge when pursued by the ogress Kurangaituku . . ."[1]

The story about Hatupatu is found in GREY.[2] Hatupatu fell out with his brothers, and after some most dramatic events he came to live with a female demon, Kurangaituku; but he fled away from her after robbing her treasures. He was overtaken near the stone mentioned. Then he said, "Stone! split! open up!" and was saved by hiding in the stone.

If we dare view this as a model *uruuru-whenua*, it is the stone one addresses, it is the stone which is to "eat" and thus protect one's life from the demons. To this view the hardness of the stone becomes an essential quality, and it is probably not accidental that the object of the *uruuru-whenua* rite is practically always a stone or a rock.[3] I remember only one exception, where it was a tree.[4]

Heketua.

Strangely enough, the privy is of no small importance in Maori religion. It was the place of various rites, and cosmic and religious associations were connected with it. Even though this applied to the whole of New Zealand, there is no doubt that the religious importance was most developed among the Taranaki tribes. This characterizes the material, the main sources being Taranaki myths and the material collected by BEST.

To the object proposed here, viz. that of illustrating the general character of certain sacred precincts, the *heketua* is the most fertile. A relatively rich harvest of direct information and mythical allusions compensates us for the unpleasantness involved in the constant occupation with excrements.

The arrangement consists of a horizontal beam on which the user is squatting. Two or three vertical posts are placed in front to hold on to during the use. There are numerous names to denote the place, often referring to the horizontal beam (*paepae*), but this is only to denote *pars pro toto*. From different tribes we

[1] Cowan 112.
[2] Grey M. 81 ff.
[3] See e.g. Best T. 972 f.
[4] Cowan 111.

may list the following: *wakeheke, heketua;* widely distributed is *paepae* followed by an 'adjective': *hamuti, whakahoro, whakariro, tautara, koroahu* (a special kind), or a genitive: *paepae o te turuma, paepae o Whaitiri*; furthermore *taikarekare, taikawa, turuma,* and *wahi kino* ('dirty place'). The vertical posts may also have special names, the middle one being *Pou-o-Whaitiri,* the outermost ones *Hekeheke-i-rangi* and *Tu-te-papa.*[1] The word *turuma* is indicated in WILLIAMS' Dictionary to have two meanings: (1) A sacred place, similar to the *tuahu,* (2) Privy. I do not feel quite convinced that the word everywhere denotes two different things; but I should consider it probable that usage was somewhat varying among the different tribes. It is, however, difficult to probe the matter to the bottom. In the Lore of the Whare-Wananga we find the term *te tuahu i te turuma* 'the *tuahu* at the *turuma*',[2] i.e. the vertical post on the right.[3] This use of *tuahu* in connexion with *turuma,* which here decidedly denotes the privy, seems special to this work (cf. above, p. 67 f.). Through PERCY SMITH's footnotes we learn about the recorder's, TE WHATAHORO's, view of the ritual use of the *heketua.* It is to the effect that the place was chosen 'as being a place where no food was used'.[4] This view is so strange that it can hardly be taken quite seriously. In short, we get an impression that TE WHATAHORO knew nothing about the mythical and cosmic associations on which the ritual importance of the place was based. This ignorance may easily have influenced the usage in the work.

Besides the terms mentioned we also find *mianga* to denote the *heketua,*[5] Literally it means 'the place for making water'. It seems extremely probable that *mianga* to denote a definite place is always identical with *heketua,* as we otherwise never hear anything about a special 'urinal'.[6] This is contradicted by strange features in a couple of myths. In one of these Tawhaki searches for food for Waitiri and is told to go by "the way to the *mianga,* the way which leads to the water, the way which leads to the

[1] Most of them are found in "Williams", see further JPS. 38, 267 (Best); 20, 76 (Skinner); 27, 84 (Smith); 55, 121 (Graham); Best Pa 142, 98.

[2] E.g. Lore I, 74.

[3] Lore I, 88 note 14.

[4] E.g. Lore II, 109.

[5] Best Pa 66.

[6] There is a rather special exception for women who are isolated at childbirth: JPS. 38, 258 (Best).

excrements, the way that leads to the firewood, the way that leads to *taumata karakia* . . ."[1] Another myth includes quite a parallel situation, in which 'the way to the *hamuti* (= *heketua*)' is mentioned as different from 'the way to the *mianga*'.[2] There is a possibility that it is the same place, which only for ritual reasons is named by different names; but the stress on 'the way' makes this supposition somewhat far-fetched. In spite of everything we should rather assume that there may really among the southern tribes (the Ngai-Tahu and the Ngati-Kahungunu) have occurred a special *mianga*. If so, we must admit that we have very little to say about it. A rite against frost is laid at the *mianga*,[3] but the word may just as well mean *heketua*.

About urine we have the following curious statement made to Best by an old Maori: "Friend! It seems to me that the *ora* [good health] of the white men, and their exemption from disease, and sickness, and premature death, is caused by their never forgetting the *koutu mimi* [chamber pot?] at night time; it is ever in the room to protect them. For that urine represents the *tawhito* [the genitals], and will avert any evil consequences of any act of witchcraft levelled against them. For that organ was the life and salvation of my ancestors, and saved them from trouble and death."[4] If this can be transferred to the *mianga*, this place thus could avert witchcraft just as the penis.[5]

In the myths urine appears in a few passages with life-giving and creative qualities. In the ritual for the initiation of a sorcerer, on the other hand, it is on a par with the excrements as an expression for the underworld; see further below.

On the whole it is difficult to draw any far-going conclusions from this scattered information; we shall therefore return to our subject, the *heketua*.

Considering that a certain *tapu* is attached to the place, we must naturally ask whether all people used the same place or whether there were different places according as the user was a chief or a slave, a man or a woman. In an initiation myth it says that a "*paepae* for men" was erected.[6] This would seem to

[1] AHM. I, 109.
[2] AHM. III, 9.
[3] JPS. 7, 236 (Best).
[4] JPS. 13, 220 (Best); cf. the use of urine in rites: Best T. 1136.
[5] See further: Johansen, Maori 233 f.
[6] AHM. I, 85.

indicate that each sex had its own place. Curiously enough I have nowhere else found any corroboration of this statement. That Europeans do not mention this circumstance may perhaps be due to the fact that it seems too obvious for a European to be mentioned. Perhaps one would even assume that a *heketua* visited by both sexes might have provoked some comment.

Whether, apart from this, there was any difference, is debatable, but in this case, at any rate, we have at least several testimonies. CROZET writes, "à l'extrémité de chaque village sur la pointe la plus avancée à la mer, on trouve un lieu public de commodité pour tous les habitans."[1] "Each village had its common privy," says COLENSO.[2] In the face of these witnesses it is perhaps of less importance that HAWKESWORTH on the contrary declares, "Every house, or every little cluster of three or four houses, was furnished with a privy."[3] Indeed, here it is a case of working-up of original material, which as a matter of fact involved minor inaccuracies—in particular in favour of 'the noble savage', whose sanitary installations impressed the time. Other sources, however, confirm the existence of separate *heketua*s. Thus we hear about one belonging to a certain house.[4] These few passages in the sources can probably—if so wanted—be impaired; but we shall see that it is hardly worth while; for in the case of fortified places we only hear about one *heketua*.[5] We can now draw the conclusion: while there is a certain probability that the sexes had separate *heketua*s, there is every indication that otherwise the place could be used by anybody without regard to state of *tapu*. We need not know any more. How often, for practical reasons or according to local custom, several *heketua*s were erected in each settlement, is without interest in a religious respect.

A certain *tapu* is connected with the *heketua*. The cause must be sought in the excrements. COLENSO tells that on one of his travels he had picked some very juicy and good wild cabbage, which he gave to his Maori cook, who used to accompany him on his travels. But when he sat down at table, he had some

[1] Crozet 64.
[2] TNZI. 1, 375 (Colenso); cf. JPS. 27, 84 (Smith).
[3] Hawkesworth II, 314.
[4] JPS. 34, 314 (Best); cf. TNZI. 10, 71 f. (Stack).
[5] Best Pa 66; JPS. 20, 76 (Skinner); Grey M. 96.

highly inferior cabbage served. When he asked for the reason why, the cook answered that some of the local Maoris had seen COLENSO pick the cabbage near the *heketua* and had made him throw it away.[1] This may be compared with a passage in a myth. Tane was on a visit to Nukuroa and Tamatea-kai-whakapua. They served rats for him, but he refused to eat them because they had eaten from the two chiefs' excrements. Not, as one might believe, because the food for that reason was bad, on the contrary, he added, it was food for the two chiefs.[2]

This *tapu*, as COLENSO remarks, prevented the use of the contents of the *heketua* for manure, in spite of the fact that the Maoris probably were aware of their manuring effect. At any rate he quotes a saying which was used about a chief: *He poroporo tu ki te hamuti*, 'A *poroporo* tree standing beside the *heketua*'.[3]

The excrements undoubtedly were the origin of the character of the place, but they only take us to the negative aspect of it. Fortunately we have more information about the positive aspect.

Thus we know from numerous statements that the horizontal beam, the *paepae*, at the *heketua* was the centre of an averting rite, *ngau paepae* (to bite the *paepae*), which closely corresponded to its name.

TUTAKA from the Tuhoe tribe has given some interesting comments on this rite: "*Paepae* (the horizontal beam) is *tangata matua*," he says.[4] Apparently this must mean the 'significant human being' or the 'adult human being'. However, the same Maori says elsewhere: ". . . *tangata matua* is the male organ."[5] Furthermore, we have in a ritual text for the 'biting of the beam' some allusions to *tahito*, a word which at any rate may mean 'penis';[6] but as *tahito* is a somewhat polysemantic word,[7] and as the allusion need not be to the beam, either, the ritual text in itself does not mean very much. The only certain fact thus is that TUTAKA considered the beam as a sexual symbol and ascribed its averting power to this.[8] This view is quite isolated

[1] TNZI. 13, 11 (Colenso).
[2] Grey M. 178; (AHM. I, 122).
[3] Used in: Grey Mot. 125; cf. Grey Wh. 25 and JPS. 31, 33 No. 21 (Fletcher).
[4] Best T. 1140.
[5] Best T. 1134.
[6] Best T. 1139.
[7] Cf. p. 110, and Johansen, Maori 220.
[8] On the penis in rites for the averting of sorcery see: Johansen, Maori 232 ff.

and presumably was local. It is not supported by the rest of the tradition, but on the other hand it is not incompatible with it. TUTAKA may even himself give us the catchword for the widespread symbolism, for he says,[1] "One also goes to the beam to kill people. The performer places himself in front of the beam. The other side of the beam is for homicide. If the spirit (*wairua*, viz. of the one who is to be bewitched) gets to the other side of the beam, it is killed. The beam is a separating beam. The other side of the beam is called *kouka*. It is Night (*te Po*), it is Hine-nui-te-Po. Everything perishes there."

He adds a little illustrating scene from everyday life: "Somebody cries, 'Look after the child, that it does not go to the *kouka*!' 'Certainly not! It is still in front!' In front is the side of life, it is the world of light."

In other words, the excrements of the *heketua* are a kind of corpses, they are the kingdom of the dead. The beam is a barrier between the worlds of Day and Night. Again we find this important dualism in the rites of the Maoris. Before we proceed to discussing this in more detail, we shall, however, look at a number of myths and mythical motifs which partly show us how widespread this symbolism was, partly illustrates its mythical formulation more closely.

The female chief of the kingdom of death, Hinenuitepo, rules over the back part of the *heketua*. A myth tells how Maui once went down to the kingdom of the dead in order to conquer her by creeping into her the way we humans otherwise get out, as he wanted to get in and seize her heart. Unfortunately he took some birds with him, among them the fantail (*tiwaiwaka* or *piwaiwaka*) and the rail (*moho*, *patatai*). He enjoined on them to be quite still until he had got right in. But when he was still only half-way in, the comedy of the situation overwhelmed both the fantail and the rail. They burst out laughing, and the fantail danced about for joy (as is always its habit). Hinenuitepo woke up and pressed her thighs together. Maui died. The great rogue in the pantheon of the Maoris suitably met his death amid laughter.

These very birds, the fantail and the rail, traditionally belong to the *heketua*.[2] We have a very interesting piece of evidence of

[1] Best T. 1140.
[2] JPS. 16, 163 (Smith from the Taranaki region).

that in a dirge in which the following lines just refer to the Maui myth:

Death is no light matter,
[Even] before Maui people died.
It was the rail that laughed, then [Maui] was
crushed in there,
The moth got out, the fantail flew
Up on top of the *heketua*;
Then ill-luck [*he*] befell you.[1]

The kingdom of the dead in mythology and the ritual scene at the *heketua* have been merged in a very suggestive way. Maui's death as a primordial event has been treated elsewhere by me.[2] The merging has also on a certain point coloured the idea of the kingdom of death. Although we have several pieces of evidence that the kingdom of the dead is a pleasant place, we still, as an abrupt contrast, find that the dead 'feed on human excrement and drink urine.'[3]

As mentioned above, various parts of the structure of the *heketua* are named after Whaitiri. The horizontal beam is called *te paepae-o-Whaitiri*, 'Whaitiri's beam', and the middle post *te pou-o-Whaitiri*, 'Whaitiri's pole'. These names are explained by an interesting myth of initiation (origin) from the Ngati-Hau.[4]

"Because of Kaitangata's fame Whaitiri came down from heaven. She thought that Kaitangata's fame was a heroic fame. When Whaitiri was near Kaitangata's home, she killed her slave Nonokia and took out his heart as a propitiatory offering to Kaitangata. When Whaitiri had made her way to him and gave him Nonokia's heart, Kaitangata got afraid. Whaitiri then said, "I came here because I thought that your fame was a heroic fame; but no, it is a puffed-up fame (*he rongo ka rahia*); it is only my slave that has died." Meanwhile Whaitiri slept with Kaitangata. The first who was born was Punga, then Karihi, and the last-born was Hema. Their children relieved themselves, Kaitangata was disgusted and said, "Ugh! Children's excrements!" Whaitiri answered, "Are your hands too good to remove our

[1] Grey Mot 251.
[2] Johansen, Maori 161.
[3] Taylor 579, 231, 233; Shortl. Trad. 152.
[4] AHM. I, 84 f.

children's excrements?" Kaitangata said, "Who will remove that loathsome thing?" Then Whaitiri felt ashamed and she stretched the fine weather so that it could last long, and Kaitangata went to sea. Then Whaitiri built a privy (*paepae*) for men. The first post was set down, its name was Whakamaro-te-rangi, the second post named Meremere was set, Tutangatakino was placed on the easternmost one (*i te whakatokerau*) . . . (? *ki te huka*),[1] viz. at the end of the beam (*paepae*) in order to lick up Hawaiki's sandflies (*namu; Simulia australiensis*). Tutangatakino was sent to sea with diarrhoea (? *ki tararere*) in order to follow the blade of Kaitangata's oar. Now Whaitiri gave their children names and said to them, "When your father comes home, you must show him his privy (*paepae*). . . . "She gave them the names Punga (after Kaitangata's anchor stone, *punga*), Karihi, and Hema, and because of her feeling of shame fled up to heaven, enjoining upon her children that only Hema's son might follow her. Punga and Karihi had animals as their offspring, amongst others reptiles (*ngarara*). Hema got a son, Tawhaki, who later ascended to heaven and looked up Whaitiri."

The motif of erecting the *heketua* is also handed down at the end of a dirge. There are three texts extant, each of them in poor records; but keeping the myth in mind, we may without arbitrariness establish a satisfactory text by comparison of the three records.

30. ka mohiki te ao, ko te pai a Whaitiri
31. kumea kia warea Kaitangata ki waho ki te moana.
32. Hanga te paepae, poua iho te pou, Whakamaro-te-rangi,
33. ko Meremere.
34. Waiho te whanau, ko te Punga o tona waka,
35. ko Te Awhema.[2]

[1] The meaning of *huka* is obscure here; if anything, it refers to the form of the beam, e.g. which end is thickest or thinnest or the like. It may be related to *hukahuka* in JPS. 26, 242 f., which denotes the form of a tree, but which does not, for that matter, contribute to an explanation. White explains the word by *mutunga*, which seems quite arbitrary.

[2] The three traditions are G = Grey Mot. 89 (= AHM. IV, 16); T = Taylor 308; J = JPS. 14, 133. The division into lines follows G. On the whole T. is the best text, and hence it is used here, if there is no special reason against doing so. Relation to the various textual traditions:
30. *mohiki*, G *mohi ki*, TJ *moiki; pai a Whaitiri*, T *pai a Waitiri*, GJ *Pae-a-Whaitiri*.
31. *kia warea Kaitangata*, G *ki a Warea-kai-tangata*.
32. *poua iho . . .*, G *poua te pou whakamaro o te rangi*, JT *whakamaro te rangi*.
34. *Punga o tona waka*, G *Punga-o-te-waka*.
35. G *ko te Haumea*, J *ko te Houmea ko Te Awhema*.

30. [She] lifted the cloud, it was Whaitiri's fine weather
31. Which was stretched in order to lure Kaitangata to sea.
32. [She] arranged the beam, set the post, Whakamaro-te-rangi.
33. [The other] was Meremere.
34. The children were left behind, it was Punga [the anchor] of the canoe
35. [And] Te Awhema.

The tradition of this mythical motif thus is very satisfactory.

The person who erects the *heketua* thus is Whaitiri, and that this was a fundamentally important act appears from the fact that two of parts of the construction are named after her. The beam is called 'Whaitiri's beam', and through this her name is just attached to the boundary between the worlds of 'Day' and 'Night'. It is therefore of considerable interest to see her appear in a cosmogonic myth from the Ngati-Hau.

"Rangi-e-tu-nei [Heaven] is the wife of Papatuanuku [Earth], and at the time when they were separated, Whaitiri was the first goddess of 'Night' (*te atua kuia tuatahi o nga Po*). It was she who recited the *karakia* by which they were separated, this was why they were separated."[1] This is followed by her *karakia*, which mainly refers to the divorce of married couples.

As this version of the creation myth is unique, it is tempting to consider it a corrupt rendering of the usual version, in which Tane and Paia perform the separation. This, however, is hardly the case. The fact that we have only this one tradition is most simply explained by its only having had a very limited distribution. Whaitiri held a specially prominent position just in and about Taranaki, i.e. among the tribes of Taranaki, Ngati-Ruanui, and Ngati-Hau. Furthermore, this myth can quite easily be understood as the creation myth belonging to the *heketua*: The Whaitiri of the myth introduces the important bipartition of the universe which is generally expressed by the separation between Heaven and Earth, and Whaitiri's beam ritually separates the kingdom of the dead and the world of 'Night' from the world of 'Day'.

Even though this interesting myth probably is a rather local phenomenon, it is of more general interest. The myth may be special, but the view of Whaitiri underlying it, is of wider validity. We have several testimonies that her connexion with the boundary

[1] AHM. I, 44.

between 'Night' and 'Day' has informed both the mythology and her whole character.

While in the creation myth she belongs to the underworld, she has otherwise her home in one of the lower ones of the ten heavens. As mentioned above, her grandchild, Tawhaki, ascends to her in heaven. Up there various things happen, amongst other things Tawhaki cures her eyes. In a couple of versions it is told that when Tawhaki, after curing Whaitiri's eyes, wants to ascend to higher heavens, she says, "You must climb up cautiously in order not to die, [viz.] in order not to be squeezed (? *kamoa*) by Hinenuitepo's legs."[1] This warning against Hinenuitepo is strange as viewed from the myth's own topography. It may, of course, be understood purely figuratively, but it is most natural to comprehend it literally, and when we think of Whaitiri's relation to the *heketua*, it is not strange if the ritual topography gets mixed up with that of the myth.

For that matter Whaitiri's stay in heaven is natural enough, the name meaning thunder. It is of special interest that Whaitiri thunders at violations of *tapu* and sometimes kills the violator with the lightning.[2]

Altogether there is a demonic streak in Whaitiri's nature, which is in good agreement with her living close to the underworld. In a certain myth Tawhaki must approach to her with caution, because she eats human beings.[3] She is even said to have been the first cannibal.[4] But she does not belong to the underworld, she is on the boundary and has a kind of double nature. Her relation to fish and animals to be hunted is especially interesting. On the one hand she has a reputation for chasing the animals away.[5] This is even so firmly rooted that it has been utilized in a saying: "Whaitiri's descendants", people say about visitors who make the animals disappear.[6] Among the Ngai-Tahu, on the other hand, this is combined with the fact that Whaitiri teaches *karakia*s which make the hunted animals re-

[1] AHM. I, 96, 98.
[2] Best T. 872.
[3] AHM. I, 107 f. (from the Ngai-Tahu); Whaitiri eats human beings: *loc. cit.* 77, TNZI.7, 41 ff. (Wohlers).
[4] AHM. II, 64 (from the Ngai-Tahu).
[5] AHM. I, 77, 113 f.
[6] JPS. 8, 113 (Best); cf. Johansen, Maori 97.

turn.[1] She teaches Kaitangata to put barbs on fish-hooks.[2] It is, of course, questionable whether the last-mentioned features, which are only known from the Ngai-Tahu, can be combined with the Whaitiri who in the Taranaki region is connected with the *heketua*. It is true that Whaitiri has a special power over certain fishes, as she is their 'ancestor'. Furthermore, the mythical erection of the *heketua* is connected with the fact that Kaitangata, for whom it is erected, is out fishing. In TAYLOR there is a suggestive note: "The Religious Ceremonies connected with fishing were very singular. The day before they went to sea, they arranged all their hooks around some excrement, and used a *karakia*, which will not bear repeating . . ."[3] TAYLOR's information mainly originates from the Taranaki. The rite described must no doubt have been performed at the *heketua*, even though the description is somewhat indefinite. If so, it is likely that the ritual had something to do with Whaitiri. Though we are thus lamentably without direct information, we may say that Whaitiri probably had a similar importance for fishing at Taranaki to that of which we heard from the Ngai-Tahu.

From the Ngati-Hau we have a description of the way in which kumara was offered to Tawhaki, the priest counting one by one up to ten. This, we learn, refers to a mythical event, Tawhaki in heaven taking ten kumara tubers from an old blind woman who is constantly counting them and every time finds one less.[4] Just in this special version the old woman is nameless. Otherwise we have versions, even from the Ngati-Hau, in which it is simply Whaitiri who is cheated of her ten kumara tubers or taros.[5] This would seem to indicate that the offering to Tawhaki also has the aspect that what is offered is withheld from Whaitiri. It is difficult to decide with certainty whether this may illustrate Whaitiri's relation to food or is founded on her somewhat demonic nature; but the latter seems most probable. In the myth the 'offering' is the prelude to Tawhaki's curing of Whaitiri's eyes, whose blindness is due to a violation of *tapu*. According to TREGEAR the actual offering to Tawhaki takes place on account

[1] AHM. I, 78, 113.
[2] AHM. I, 105; TNZI. 7, 41 ff. (Wohlers).
[3] Taylor 197.
[4] AHM. I, 49.
[5] AHM. I, 88 f., 108; TNZI. 7, 43 (Wohlers).

of illness.[1] Presumably the offering dramatically shows how the patient is led from the boundary of Night to the region of Day. Even if we should have been lucky enough to have hit the mark, we have at most thrown a little further light on Whaitiri. We have no guarantee that the offering was to be made at the *heketua*.

So it is time to take leave of Whaitiri by summarizing our modest results. In and about Taranaki she was attached to the *heketua*, of which she is the mythical originator. In this way she put up a barrier between 'Day' and 'Night'. She represents the danger of the violation of *tapu*, at any rate as the hurler of the lightning, presumably also in the offering to Tawhaki. Altogether there is something semi-demonic in her character; she eats human beings and drives animals away, but also helps to catch fish.

At the *heketua* she places Tutangatakino. By Taylor he is named 'god of the stomach'.[2] As such he does appear in a *karakia* which Tawhaki recites.

— — — —

Give to Tutangatakino your big belly,
Tutangatakino's.[3]

Tutangatakino thus is well qualified to sit at the *heketua*, even more than a cursory consideration would suggest. A sore and swollen stomach belongs to the traditional consequences of violations of *tapu*, and Tutangatakino, like Whaitiri, has often something to do with these. Sometimes it is himself in the shape of a lizard who has given rise to the stomach trouble of the violator of *tapu*.[4] In particular he guards the *tapu* places together with others. He appears as a *ngarara* (lizard), and thus manifests himself as a demonic being; for these animals were as much hated as feared by the Maoris, because they brought illness and misfortune and were associated with witchcraft.[5]

It is still left for us to look in detail at the third character whom the myth connects with the *heketua*, viz. Kaitangata, the primordial user.

Kaitangata also appears in the other of the two myths of the

[1] Tregear Dict. s.v. Tawhaki.
[2] Taylor 137.
[3] AHM. I, 92.
[4] JPS. 30, 174 (Smith).
[5] JPS. 30, 173, 178 (Smith); 46, 217 (Downes); Lore I, 48, 157; Taylor 176.

origin of the *heketua* which are all that we possess. This myth originates from the Ngai-Tahu and deals with the way in which Rupe ascends to Rehua. Above (p. 90) we have discussed the beginning and shown that heaven represents the *tuahu*. Rupe returns to the earth, but ascends to Rehua a second time accompanied by his sister Hine.[1]

"And somewhat later the two came to Rehua's home up there; the name of this place was Putahi-nui-o-Rehua. When they came to this dwelling it was ugly because of dung.[2] Rupe then cried to Rehua: 'Rehua! How ugly your dwelling is!' Later Rupe also said to Rehua, 'After all, if it was lizards (*ngarara*) you would beat them until they ran away.'[3] Then the idea struck Rupe that he would make the old man's dwelling fine. So he started forming boards to shovel the dung in Rehua's dwelling. When he had

[1] Grey M. 27. The text originates from the Ngai-Tahu, since it deviates very little from AHM. I, 75, which is stated to have come from this tribe. A closely related version is found in Best T. 817 f. — but the greater part is given only in translated form.

[2] *paru*, dirt, excrement. The continuation shows that the reference is to excrements.

[3] Is found as a proverb in Grey Wh. 12 with reference to those who are too lazy to keep the house clean. Best T. 818 has: "Indeed, if only the excrements were lizard (*ngarara*), they might be scared to disappear, [viz.] to run away." This juxtaposition of reptiles (*ngarara*) and excrements is not a mere manifestation of an unbridled imagination. Both are intimately attached to the underworld and the *tapu* as something dangerous. They are paralleled completely in a rite in which he who is initiated in sorcery must eat excrements as well as swallow a live reptile — the last act being the worst. (JPS. 35, 100 (28) (Best); cf. NZJSc. 5, 329 (Best) and the picture on p. 322). *Ngarara* represents Whiro, who is a personification of illness and death (Best Rel. 132, 116). Miru sits in the underworld surrounded by *ngarara* (Tregear M. 466). *Ngarara* enters in a number of bad omens (JPS. 7, 134 (Best); TNZI. 38, 226 (Best)). It is those which make violators of *tapu* ill by eating them from inside (Taylor 135, 153; Best Rel. 117; JPS. 46, 217 (Downes)); therefore they are set to guard sacred places, treasures, etc. (JPS. 35, 14 and 29 (Best); 46, 216 f. (Downes)). All things considered we can understand that these animals inspired the Maori with considerable fear. There is a short fable extant (see e.g. Grey Wh. 11) in which the shark and the *ngarara* discuss the question which place is best, the sea or land. The reptile chooses the latter:

I want to stay on land
As Tu-the-Terrible,
As Tu-the-Terrifying.

There is also a certain connexion between the *ngarara* and Rehua. Tregear, it is true, distinguishes between the celestial god Rehua and the reptile god Rehua (Dict. s. v.), but these gods seem to be connected by more than their name (cf. JPS. 32, 234 (Tuhaere)), which seems natural enough, as the strong *tapu* has a terrible aspect, too. Rupe's speech thus can be paraphrased as "Excrements are almost as loathsome as reptiles, and yet you leave them there. It is mere laziness, for surely you would chase away the reptiles."

finished, he had formed two boards,[1] their names were Tahitahia and Rakerakea.

Now Rehua's dwelling at length was cleaned by Rupe. When he had finished it was made extraordinarily fine. He also built a *heketua*, where the dung might fall down. Furthermore he erected a post so that one might hold on to it with one's hands. The name of this post was Te Pou-o-Whatitiri.[2] So it was all finished.

Now Rehua's son was at sea; he was long away before he returned home. No sooner had he come home and looked about him than he exclaimed, "Why! How fine it has become!" He also caught sight of the *heketua* and saw that it was a good thing. So he thought that he would go and try the *heketua* in order to feel if it was good to sit there. So he went to try the place which had been arranged by Rupe. And when he had got beside the beam (*paepae*), he raised one leg on to the beam and put it there, then he held out his hand towards the post which was for support and which was called Te Pou-o-Whatitiri; then he took hold with his hand and held on to it. Only then [viz. as he was putting up his other foot] did he support himself. When he supported himself by the post, he thought that it stood firm. But no! The post was pulled out, he fell, hurt himself severely, and lost his life. This man's name was Kaitangata. It is his blood that colours the sky red; therefore it is said [about a sky with red clouds]:[3] 'Now Kaitangata is colouring red.' It was Rupe who made this trick which was the death of Rehua's son. But Rupe's original name was Maui-mua; it was when he changed himself into a bird that he got the name of Rupe.[4]"

Rehua's dwelling, Putahi-nui-o-Rehua, is also a constellation in *Canis major*.[5] Te Pou-o-Whaitiri and Paepae-o-Whaitiri likewise are constellations, the identification of which, however, is uncertain or has not been attempted at all.[6] Thus, we can only in part throw light on the astronomical aspect of the myth; but

[1] *papa*; the reference must be to a wooden spade of the kind which was generally used to clean open spaces in the hamlet (Best Pa. 97).

[2] Whatitiri and Whaitiri are variants.

[3] Cf. AHM. I, 75. A definite red colour of the sky is connected with the migrations of certain fishes (Best T. 819 f. and especially TNZI. 35, 77 f. (Best)).

[4] A large species of pigeons is called *rupe*.

[5] Best Astr. 33, 47.

[6] Best Astr. 46; Taylor 363.

we know enough to have an inkling of the connexion in broad outline. In both Kaitangata myths he is out fishing. The connexion with Putahi-nui-o-Rehua should probably be sought in the heliacal rising of this constellation, i.e. the end of August or the beginning of September. This is the introduction to *inanga* fishing,[1] and the fact that this is not accidental seems to appear from the statement that Rehua in primordial time instructed *inanga* how to behave, referring to a reddish tinge in the sky as a sign.[2] Unfortunately there are two uncertain features. In the first place also other seasons for *inanga* fishing are mentioned (dependent on the place?), secondly, Rehua itself, as a star, is said to be Antares, the heliacal rising of which occurs towards the end of October. For our proper purpose the details of the interpretation are indeed of less importance. The considerations are only of interest here by adducing the most probable explanation of the linking together of the *heketua* and constellations. Thus we must, if anything, seek it in seasonal fishing rites beside the *heketua*.

Rupe cheats Kaitangata. Rupe's motive for doing so is not evident; but the information that Rupe is identical with Maui-mua helps, in so far as it is a specialty of Maui's to cheat people, even though most frequently it is Maui-potiki (the youngest of the Maui brothers) who is playing that part.

We have better prospects of understanding the killing if we look at Kaitangata. In the myth first quoted his name plays an important part. Whaitiri is allured by it on the assumption that Kaitangata means 'man-eater'; but it does not, he is not at all a man-eater. The word, however, may just as well be interpreted as 'Human Food', and no doubt this is the very idea. That the *heketua* in both myths should be especially erected for 'Human Food' and especially that 'Human Food' should die there, makes good sense. The rear part of the *heketua*, indeed, has the function of being a "burial-place" of all the food consumed by human beings.

From the mythology we have already learnt that Whaitiri is connected with the *heketua*. If anything, we must imagine her to be a ritual goddess, who perhaps appears in definite ritual situ-

[1] Best Fish. 177.
[2] TNZI. 35, 77; (Best Fish. 171).

ations, but is not really resident. This expression may perhaps be used about Tu-tangata-kino, who is placed on the spot.[1] We get more concrete information from the region about Wellington, where tradition makes an ancestor, Whatonga, give the following instructions: "The *mauri* of the principal fort should be taken by you two to the lower side of (*ki te taha ki raro o*) the beam of the privy of the fort, and there deposited. It should be a *huka-a-tai* or an *onewa* stone, no other kinds should be used. Then locate Tuhinapo and Tunui-o-te-ika at that place, the two will be enough, those were the gods dwelling at latrines even from olden times. Maru is another god employed in that manner. These gods protect the fort, give warning of the approach of hostile forces, and show omens of death for the armed forces or the fort."[2]

It is quite interesting that Tuhinapo according to other sources has something to do with the sea, when it is kept in mind that Kaitangata was fishing during the erection of the *heketua*. In a text from the Ngai-Tahu Tuhinapo is called a god of the sea,[3] and in Best we find the information that Tuhinapo in a certain region (which?) guarded the fishing grounds against trespassers.[4] Tu-nui-te-ika is best known for appearing as a meteor and for having a demonic character.[5] Maru also seems to be somewhat demonic, but he is placated by offerings.[6] These gods, however, in spite of their distribution, are all a kind of tribal gods with a local field of activity. In the myths they only appear peripherally, we have no thorough knowledge of them.

The tradition quoted also tells us that the *mauri* of the fort, i.e. a stone which contains its *mana*, is kept beside the *heketua*. This is perhaps a little remarkable, but not impossible. We have an instance that a Maori as part of a stratagem maintains that he has hidden a treasure beside the *heketua*. Indeed, it is not true; but the others believe him, so it did not seem improbable to them.[7] That the *mauri* was buried *ki te taha ki raro o* "on the lower side of the beam", that is, strictly speaking, on the

[1] AHM. I, 85.
[2] Text: JPS. 28, 87, translation: JPS. 26, 160 (Best).
[3] AHM. I, 33.
[4] Best Fish. 6.
[5] Best T. 852 f.
[6] Best Rel. 124 f.
[7] Best T. 280; cf. JPS. 35, 221 (12) (Best).

"night side", should probably be taken as a vague expression; it was presumably hidden a little in front of or a little beside the beam.

Finally we shall survey the rites performed at the *heketua*, especially in order to learn about their relation to the mythical importance of the place.

The practising of witchcraft at the *heketua* of course was connected with the fact that the kingdom of the dead was represented there.[1] The way in which the place might be used for the initiation into this art is also interesting. Te Matorohanga tells that he saw two men being instructed in the art of sorcery behind the *heketua* and that they were given excrements to eat.[2] There is hardly any doubt that there is here a communion with the world of Night. This is not inconsistent with the fact that it must have been an ordeal, as is illustrated with an expression used about courageous warriors who say that they have *manawa kai tutae*, 'courage to eat excrements'.[3]

Naturally the place may be used to put away things with a dangerous *tapu*. If this is food, it is simply done by throwing it down behind the beam (*paepae*).[4] A ritual text belonging here is extant, but seems neither directly nor indirectly to allude to the *heketua*. After the festival in honour of new-born children of noble descent, the birth-"house" was torn down, taken to the *heketua* and burnt, after which the ashes were thrown behind the beam.[5] Finally there is a story about a killed enemy, a priest, whom the Tuhoe did not dare to eat because of his *tapu*. The corpse then was roasted in an oven beside the *heketua* and left there.

The typical rite at the *heketua* is *ngau paepae*, 'biting the beam'. The performance corresponds exactly to the name. This rite was often used in cases of illness, i.e. to remove an injurious *tapu*.[6] Two ritual texts belonging here clearly show that this is the purpose. One of them runs as follows:

[1] Best T. 1140, 67 f.; cf. the tale about Mahu: JPS. 8, 126 (Tarakawa and Ropiha); 35, 105 (Best); Best T. 859.

[2] Lore I, 9; cf. JPS. 35, 100 f. (28) and 96 (10) (Best) and Lore II, 168.

[3] Lore II, 90.

[4] Best T. 1142. Best seems to know some unpublished cases. I have found the tale only in *loc. cit.* 67 f. I do not understand the reference to JPS. 8, 125. It is probably due to a slip on the part of Best.

[5] JPS. 38, 267 (Best).

[6] JPS. 11, 51 (Best); Best T. 1138 f.

1. You bite towards the back,
2. You bite the beam that lies there.
3. It is the *tapu*s, it is the *tapu* food,
4. It is the houses, it is the pillows,
5. It is these *tapu*s.
6. Go behind, go away,
7. Go to heaven above us.
8. ? (*mahihi*) saved to the day-owning,
9. To the bright Day,
10. Saved spirit.[1]

Apart from Lines 1—2, which refer to the *heketua*, this *karakia* is quite analogous to those analyzed by me elsewhere.[2] With ritual caution the various sources of the dangerous *tapu* are enumerated (Lines 3—5), which then (Lines 6—10) is requested to go away. There is reason to expect that the *tapu* will find its right place, whether it belongs to 'behind', 'the world of Night', or in front in 'the world of Day', as it is just the boundary mark which is bitten. It is not necessary here, as in the case of the sacred water, to create these areas ritually; they are already there.

The other *karakia* runs as follows:

1. Bite the beam, bite the horror,
2. Bite the demon's head (*te upoko o te atua*),
3. Bite Rangi-e-tu-nei (i.e. Heaven),
4. Bite Papa-a-takato-nei (i.e. Earth).
5. You touch *ruahine*
6. In order that you can be saved by the earthly *tahito*, by the celestial *tahito*,
7. By the distant *tahito* at Tawhiti in Hawaiki.[3]

Here there are hard nuts to crack for the interpreter. When Heaven and Earth (mythically presented) are both bitten, this would no doubt be understood in the way that they meet here at the beam. The touch of *ruahine* refers to the fact that the ritual is concerned with the removal of a *tapu*.[4] Hence, it might be expected that *tahito*, the exact meaning of which is obscure,

[1] Best T. 1138.
[2] Johansen, Maori 191, 193.
[3] Best T. 1139.
[4] On *ruahine* see e.g. Johansen, Maori 224 ff.

should refer to the female genitals; but this is very uncertain. Since, as mentioned above (p. 97), there is only a single testimony of the beam as a sexual symbol, and a symbol of the penis at that, it is hardly possible to obtain a sure interpretation.

A third *karakia* used at the biting of the beam is not quite so problematic, but in return it does not say very much.[1]

Besides for the removal of a *tapu* which has caused sickness,[2] the *ngau-paepae* was also used for the removal of *tapu* in general, before any symptoms had appeared.[3]

The most remarkable use of biting of the beam, however, is a rite which averts witchcraft in advance, thus before any dangerous *tapu* is present at all. "If a man goes to a strange region, then he is made to bite the beam, this will avert witchcraft."[4]

This is difficult to understand except as meaning that the biter acquires the quality of the beam: to set a boundary between the worlds of Day and Night. "The beam is a breastwork (*parepare*)," says a Maori,[5] and he takes this breastwork with him after the biting of the beam.

It is undoubtedly the background of the fact that we have some evidence, direct as well as indirect, that rituals at the *heketua* often inaugurated major undertakings. Thus it applies to people who are to go to strange regions and to canoes[6] for the same purpose; furthermore to newborn children.[7] At the building of canoes and houses a chip was placed under the beam of the *heketua*.[8] As mentioned above, fishing also presumably was introduced by a rite at the *heketua*, and perhaps the same applies to the planting of kumara.[9]

Besides the rituals mentioned, there is an isolated mention of a rite consisting in the person in question lying sideways (*paeroa*) over the beam. It occurs in a commentary on a *karakia* for the remedying of something having got down the wrong way.[10]

[1] Best T. 1141.
[2] See also Best Koh. 29.
[3] Lore I, 7, 4, 37; Best T. 1138.
[4] Best T. 1140; cf. JPS. 30, 179 (Smith); JPS. 27, 84 (Smith).
[5] Best T. 1138.
[6] Best T. 1140; JPS. 31, 23 (Best); Lore II, 86.
[7] JPS. 30, 179 (Smith); cf. the myth about the creation of woman, Lore I, 37.
[8] Best Stone. 121.
[9] See pp. 103 and 122.
[10] JPS. 55, 121 (Graham); cf. Grey Mot. 98.

This is the conclusion of our discussion of rites performed at the *heketua*. The fact that this place holds so comparatively prominent a position in Maori religion is evidence of the importance of the dualism, often pointed out, among the Maoris, which, indeed, is pointedly expressed in the mythical-religious reality which manifests itself in this place, which otherwise seems so uninviting. Still, it may be asked whether the uninviting exterior did not assert itself in the religious field. BEST has a remark to the effect that the removal of *tapu* at *heketua* was used in the case of minor rites on ordinary people. It was a little sarcastic to say to a man, "Your parents had the *tapu* removed at the *heketua*."[1] In the case of highborn people the rite was performed at the sacred water. It does not seem improbable; but when one in one's mind goes over the occasions which actually gave rise to rites at the *heketua*, one gets a little doubtful. BEST is probably right, but this view may have been local. At any rate one is astonished at seeing 'Whaitiri's pole', not only the name of a constellation, but also the name of part of the *heketua*, being used as the honorific name of a deceased person on a par with such expressions as 'the pole of Heaven' and 'the *mana* of the god'.[2]

Rites and Myths of the Cultivation of Kumara.

Introduction and Survey.

Amid the ritual complexes found among the Maoris, the rites concentrated on the planting and harvest of kumara held a special position. No other single field gives occasion for so frequent allusions in the mythology, the allusions carrying further weight because they often appear in a strangely abrupt manner which shows that particular reasons besides the myth's own events must have motivated them. Correspondingly the tradition of the rituals of kumara offers a both comprehensive and detailed picture which is perceptibly distinct from the dishevelled fragments which constitute the greater part of our further knowledge of the Maori ritual acts.

[1] Best Koh. 29.
[2] JPS. 11, 121 (Morpeth).

The special position of the kumara ritual can be illuminated from several points of view. Kumara was a nutrient which was held in high esteem. It is hailed as 'a noble dish' when in the myth it is served for the first time.[1] Probably it contributed to this high esteem that the cultivation of kumara in New Zealand is rather exacting and calls for both favourable conditions and diligent care.[2] Apart from a few places on the South Island, the cultivation will only succeed on the North Island.

The esteem of kumara, however, is only one aspect. Human flesh decidedly was nobler food, while preserved birds in any case were rated very high as a delicacy.

There are other conditions which probably are more important for our understanding of the central position of these rituals. It is partly the public character of the rituals, partly their annual recurrence. The same, indeed, may be pointed out e. g. with reference to the rituals of fishing, but agriculture according to its character has a longer and greater ritual cycle of a very regular kind.

The agricultural rituals display considerable variations from region to region; so it is necessary during the investigations always to keep in mind from what locality the information under consideration is derived. However, it appears that we have only from the Ngati-Porou so full information that it is possible by means of it to form a complete picture. There is no reason to deplore this, in so far as this tribe like the neighbouring ones possessed a very rich mythology, of which a great part has been handed down to us. The kumara ritual of the Ngati-Porou therefore becomes the natural centre of the following investigations, a centre from which we shall occasionally make a trip to other tribes. The rich mythology will appear to be of great importance to the whole study, not only because the relation between ritual and myth in itself is of interest, but still more because in the myths we have a means of penetrating to the significance which the rites had for the participants, to the life pulsating under the exterior form. The student of religion in this possibility of interpreting the rites finds a further motive of the study of the cult, besides the motive afforded by its central place in religious life.

[1] Best Agr. 155.
[2] TNZI. 35, 12 ff. (Walsh).

The presentation will necessarily fluctuate between ritual situations and mythical motifs, which may easily make it somewhat flickering. Therefore it will be reasonable to preface it with a few very brief surveys, partly of the external events, partly of the most important of the complexes of myths which refer to the cultivation of kumara.

The kumara or sweet potato (*Ipomaea batatas*) is a rambling vine which produces underground starchy tubers (swollen shoots). For its cultivation it requires a sheltered, light, rather sandy soil. Before a piece of land begins to be used, it must be cleared with fire and axe, after which it is possible to raise a crop for a few years (e.g. three years) in succession, before the soil must again lie fallow for a number of years. When the field has been cleared the soil must be loosened with a digging-stick and crumbled and at the same time weeds, roots, etc., are removed.

Only with the planting of seed tubers of kumara the part of the work begins which is of a ritual character. From Pita Kapiti of the Ngati-Porou we have a connected description of planting and harvest with special stress on the ritual.[1] It is true that it can be said with certainty that the description, although fuller than any other, is not complete, but it is reasonable to use it alone as basis, as it cannot be supplemented without special discussion. Discarding such discussion and the ritual texts, which also require special treatment, we shall now present the main features according to Kapiti's above-mentioned description.

A small part of the field, called *tautane* or *māra tapu*, the sacred field, is reserved for the special ritual planting which precedes the ordinary planting. If the field is owned by a kinship group (*hapu*) each member brings two kumara tubers which are placed in the sacred basket (*totowahi*). The basket is woven during the recital of a *karakia*. In this basket the kumara tubers are carried to the sacred field.

In the morning of the day when the planting takes place, a fire is laid in two ritual ovens, *anuanu* and *marere*, the latter being placed near the water. He who is to eat from the *anuanu*, sleeps at the edge of the field, while the other planters eat from the *marere*.

[1] JPS. 22, 36 in Williams' translation. More sporadic features from other tribes and technical details have been collected in Best Agr.

We are not told why the *marere* was to be placed near the water, and as we know from other quarters that certain rituals were performed before people set out to start the planting, and as the field was made *tapu* right to the harvest, there must consequently be gaps in the description of the rituals at this stage of the work.

The actual planting of the sacred field is described as follows: The "priest" (*tohunga*) takes the sacred basket with kumara tubers and distributes them to the small mounds on which they are to be planted during recital of a *karakia*. After the planting the basket is torn up and buried at the edge of the field.

The other, relatively profane part of the field is planted. Next, a ritual meal from the two ovens, *anuanu* and *marere*, is taken.

When all fields have been planted in this way, two things are placed in each field, a branch of *mapou*[1] (*Myrsine Urvillei*) and a digging-stick, called 'Penu', both of which are stuck down beside the first mound during the recital of a *karakia*. Next a festival is held at the edge of the field.

The field is weeded once during the summer.

The star Poututerangi gives a signal for an examination of the state of the kumara and the pit is put in order.

When the star Whanui appears, the harvest begins. A special "priest" (*matapaheru*, the same who inspects the kumara) lifts the kumara tubers from the first mound in the sacred field. This is done in a special way, as he first gathers the stems and runners and ties them up with "*toetoe mātā*" (*Carex teretiuscula*), a peculiar band, considering that the Maori otherwise uses New Zealand flax, and simultaneously he recites a *karakia*. Next, also during a recital, he lifts the kumara tubers out of the mound with a peculiar instrument, for he must not use a digging-stick shaped with tools, and therefore simply uses a broken-off branch of *kōkōmuku* (*Veronica salicifolia*). Having lifted the first kumara ritually, he again, during recital, buries the whole plant in the ground together with the broken-off branch. This is done for a special purpose; for when the crop has been gathered, he again lifts the kumara from the first mound together with the broken-off

[1] The *mapo* of the text is presumably a misprint.

branch, the stems still being tied up, while he recites a *karakia*. Thus the kumara of the first mound is gathered both first and last.

The description here has another gap which can be pointed out with certainty, as nothing is stated about the offering of first fruits and the rituals which remove the *tapu* from the kumara. Altogether, it is peculiar to the description that no offerings are mentioned at all. Nor are the placing of the kumara in the pit and the great harvest festivals mentioned with one word.

The ritual formulas used at various stages of the sacred acts are extant. Unfortunately they are difficult to interpret even though probably the difficulty in general is exaggerated; but at any rate they are of importance by giving the catchwords which connect the rites with the various myths. Inversely the myths can supplement our knowledge of the ritual, but indeed this source must be used with great caution. Many tempting vistas must be passed by with a sober-minded shrug, because the supposed ritual allusions cannot with certainty be placed in the succession of events with which the description quoted makes us familiar. However, we get a helping hand from a very interesting passage in one of the myths, a passage which has not, to my knowledge, been the subject of the interest it deserves. The passage in question occurs in one of the versions of the myths about how the kumara came to New Zealand from Hawaiki, the mother country of the people. We shall therefore consider this complex of myths first in the following survey of the most important kumara myths.

The Kumara is Fetched from Hawaiki.

A man (or god) Kahukura or Rongoitua comes from Hawaiki to New Zealand. There he is fed, but does not relish the food. Therefore he offers a kind of porridge made of water and dried kumara, which he has brought with him in his belt. This food arouses the greatest pleasure in the people, and as soon as they have heard how it can be provided, they build a canoe and under his leadership sail to Hawaiki. There the kumara has been lifted and placed in the store, but—in one of the versions—they go alongside the cliffs of Hawaiki. A *karakia* is recited and the kumara tumbles down from the cliffs into the canoe, another *karakia* puts an end to this fall. In other versions they get hold of the kumara in other ways. The canoe returns and lands at

Ahuahu. There a woman secretly brings fernroot onboard. This is a violation of the *tapu* of kumara and leads to a shipwreck. After various events the men succeed in refloating the canoe and repairing it while reciting *karakia*s. The voyage continues and the kumara is brought south along the east coast to a number of specified places.

This summary is only to serve the purpose of conveying a certain idea of the character of the myth and therefore mainly follows one version[1] and only contains the main features.

Three versions from the Ngati-Porou are extant, furthermore from the Ngai-Tahu two longer and one very short one,[2] all the three of which offer some points of similarity to those of the Ngati-Porou. Finally we have from the Ngati-Awa and elsewhere some rather deviating myths, which, however, have the same main motif. We shall not occupy ourselves very much with these, but sometimes it may be of interest later to compare the elaborations of certain features which are repeated in the majority of the myths.

One of the Ngai-Tahu versions has just an interesting feature which may throw light on a Ngati-Porou version. After Rongoitua and his men had arrived at Hawaiki, he ordered them to surround the chief's house, "in which they heard people chanting incantations which were sung when the kumara-crop was being planted. 'Ah!' said Rongoitua, 'these are the *karakia* (incantations) you need: learn them.' They listened, and learnt them."[3] Together with the kumara they thus brought the ritual (or parts of it) belonging to it from Hawaiki. In a Ngati-Porou version we find a parallel to this scene. After the arrival in Hawaiki Rongoitua's men attacked the local tribe—viewed as human beings, but actually kumara. Most of them were killed and dragged onboard; but when the canoe was leaving they heard a cry (*haūmere*) from the shore. The crew of the canoe asked Rongoitua, "What are they doing now?" and Rongoitua answered, "They are revenging (*huki i nga toto*)." There were more cries and every time Rongoitua briefly explained the sense of the cry. In succession we get the following series of acts:[4]

[1] AHM. III, 75—78; the two other versions from the Ngati-Porou are found in *loc. cit.* 67—72 and JPS. 21, 152—163 (Kapiti).
[2] AHM. III Eng. 111—114 and *loc. cit.* Maori 73—74; 75.
[3] AHM. III Eng. 112.
[4] AHM. III, 77 f.

1. kei te huki i nga toto
2. kei te rokoi, kei te auaha
3. kei te ko
4. kei te whakato
5. kei te hu o nga mamore
6. kei te whati te ko
7. kei te whakatakoto, kei te whakamama.

After the last line was added: *ka mutu*, 'it is finished'.

Most of these acts may be identified with definite phases of the kumara work and its ritual. Thus it is a question of another elaboration of the same motif, that the kumara ritual was brought home together with the kumara. As to details the difficulties will be discussed below. Provisionally, to give a general idea, a translation and brief commentary will be given, without explanations.

1. 'They are performing a rite of vengeance'. This catchword gives us a possibility of interpreting an interesting ritual motif by attaching a definite myth to the ritual; see further below.

2. *Rokoi? kei te auaha*, 'they are fecundating'. Alludes to the distribution of the kumara tubers on the hillocks of the sacred field.

3. 'They are digging'; i.e. the soil of the hillock is prepared with a few stabs with the digging-stick to receive the kumara tuber.

4. 'They are planting'.

5. *Hu?; mamore*, naked, etc., referring to a tree means 'without branches'. It may perhaps be translated as 'the lopped one'. If so, the allusion probably is to the branch or staff (*toko*), which is placed beside the first hillock after the planting; but the meaning of the whole phrase is very uncertain.

6. 'The digging-stick is being broken (off).' This must refer to the digging-stick which is used when the kumara of the first hillock on the sacred field is lifted, as we know that this digging-stick must not be shaped by tools, but must be just a broken-off branch.

7. 'They lay down, they remove the *tapu*.' Refers to rituals in connexion with the harvest.

This list together with the connected description gives a chronology of the rituals, which may serve as a framework in the later investigations. For the sake of brevity we shall refer to the list as the "Hawaiki Programme".

The Pani Mythology.

If the wish for adducing the Hawaiki Programme had not interfered with the present arrangement, it would have been more natural to start with the Pani mythology.

From the Ngati-Porou a myth is extant—unfortunately in English, only—in which it is first related that a war breaks out between Tu and Rongo on the occasion of a kumara field, Pohutukawa.[1] Tu (i.e. man) is assisted by a weapon, Te-ake-rautangi (i.e. the digging-stick), and kills Rongo and a great many of his people (i.e. kumara) in the battle, Moengatoto. Tu cooks Rongo and eats him. The rest of the kumara escapes and hides in Pani's stomach (the pit or the field).

Pani gives birth to kumara in a water, Moanariki, and cooks it in an oven; afterwards she distributes it to people. One morning she is surprised by a man, Patatai, while she is sitting in the water, and ashamed she flies to the hamlet. This brings kumara into man's possession.—Pani is married to Maui-whare-kino; from her originates the kumara ritual.

We have short allusions to this myth in a couple of songs from Poverty Bay (Turanga), from tribes whose traditions are related to those of the Ngati-Porou.

They run as follows:

> Mauiwharekino was married to Pani,
> [The kumara] was brought to Monariki's water.[2]

and

> Pani-matua was married to Maui,
> Rongomaraeroa (i.e. kumara as divine) was born.[3]

In other neighbouring tribes we find a closely related mythology. The motif of the fight between Tu and Rongo is the subject of a considerable section of a song from the Ngati-Kahungunu, but it is not there connected with Pani.[4] Therefore it is of less interest in this connexion.

The motif of the parturient Pani is briefly mentioned in a Ngai-Tahu tradition.[5] On the other hand we have a very full

[1] AHM. III Eng. 114 f.
[2] Ngata No. 145.
[3] Ngata No. 234.
[4] Ngata No. 115; cf. Best T. 772.
[5] AHM. III, Eng. 113.

version from the Ngati-Awa, which is of special interest.[1] It begins by Rongomaui ascending to heaven and stealing kumara from his elder brother, Whanui. He brings the kumara down to earth in his penis (it is 'his basket') and fecundates his wife, Pani-tinaku, who gives birth to kumara in the water, Monaariki, during recital of a *karakia*. Rongo orders her to light the fire under a ritual oven and recites a *karakia* which removes the *tapu* of the kumara.

One day she is surprised in the water by her sons, the brothers Maui. Ashamed she flies down to an underworld, Mataora, but Maui finds her cultivating her kumara field.

Furthermore, numerous scattered allusions to the Pani myth are extant, partly from other tribes, partly of uncertain provenance.[2]

These are the two largest complexes of myths concerning kumara. They have been summarized together, because we shall come across a few of their motifs in several different ritual situations. The survey is not aimed at exhausting the variations, because a more detailed examination of a motif in various tribes will often take us through different complexes of myths and hence break up the general view. As occasion arises we shall therefore in more detail examine certain motifs, such as form part of the complexes mentioned as well as others which form part of myths that certainly belong to the kumara mythology in a wide sense, but each of which are connected with kumara on a single point, only.

The Individual Steps of the Kumara Ritual and their Mythical Allusions.

The description on which the following investigations are based is not complete. That is certain. On a few points we can with fair certainty supplement them, but on other points we are referred to more or less probable conjectures, especially as regards the introductory stages.

It is almost inconceivable that there should not have been any rite which made the field *tapu*. We only know that kind of

[1] Best Agr. 154 f.
[2] Best Agr. 49 ff. include an ample, although not complete collection.

rites from other tribes. From the Ngai-Tahu we have a description according to which 'priests' during the recital of *karakia*s dedicated the field to Marihaka and Pani by planting *koromiko* twigs in the field. Afterwards they took a handful of weeds or leaves that were brought to the sacred field, which seems to have been a permanent sacred precinct there.[1] The field was not rarely consecrated by means of one or more poles (branches) of *mapou*, which were placed at the edge of the field. This was hardly the case among the Ngati-Porou, as a *mapou* branch was planted at a much later time there (see p. 170 on these poles).

Otherwise the first ritual act is the weaving of the sacred basket. It is difficult to make a fairly reliable translation of the ritual words belonging here. The main contents were (with reservations!) as follows: 'now I am (or we are) weaving this sacred basket from of old, from Hawaiki (i.e. the place of origin of the ritual), from Waipupuni. From out there, from Matatera.' It is asked, 'Where does this sacral basket come from?' And the answer is, 'From Raupenapena' and 'From Rautetieke'. Matatera and Waipupuni are the field of the harvest (see p. 177). Thus a connexion is made to the crop, a part of which is to be planted just now. The basket is mentioned partly as *kete*, 'basket', partly as *toto* = *totowahi*, i.e. the special ritual basket, finally as *rahu*, 'basket made of strips of undressed flax'.[2] Lack of knowledge of the allusions contained in proper names, in connexion with uncertainty about the translation, makes this *karakia* little fertile for the student who tries to penetrate further into the ritual act.

We must content ourselves with the general consideration that the sacral character of an act penetrates all that falls under its sphere. When a basket is to be used for taking sacred kumara to the sacred field, the basket also becomes sacred, and this reacts upon the weaving of it so that this also becomes a ritual act.

But this view also leads to the question: are the kumaras which are to be planted and the people who participate in this act, brought into a sacred state? And if so, how? Furthermore: Can it be quite a profane act to fetch the kumara from the pit?

The myth about the way in which the kumara is brought

[1] Best Agr. 59 f. from Stack, Kaiapohia.
[2] JPS. 22, 36 f. (Kapiti).

from Hawaiki offers some hints; for as the investigations proceed we shall find several examples of a certain correspondence between the events of this myth and the ritual. If, already now, we utilize this background (which will only gradually stand out during the description), there is a peculiar feature in the myth which becomes of interest. When in one of the Ngati-Porou versions the men want to build a canoe for the fetching of the kumaras and look for a trunk, it is just the beam (*paepae hamuti*) of the *heketua* which is chosen.[1] This remarkable choice may be due to a ritual background, viz. that the ritual of planting was started at the *heketua* by providing against the effects of violations of *tapu* and sorcery, which would be in good agreement with the character of this sacred precinct (p. 111). This, however, can only be a conjecture. The possibility that the reference is to a historical fact cannot be completely rejected, although it is not very probable. Another reason for this feature is indicated in a Ngai-Tahu version, in which Rongoitua maintains his right to take a tree trunk which has been beached, by voiding an excrement on one end of it; from this end of the trunk a canoe is built which "was called Manuka (abhor, disgust) because of the excrement seen on it."[2] The connexion between *heketua* and canoe then might have arisen as an explanation of the name of the canoe, Manuka. This statement of the reason, however, seems less convincing when the matter is considered more closely; for it is rather doubtful whether the translation 'abhor, disgust' for *manuka* is justifiable. Williams renders '*manuka*' (ii) by 'trouble, anxiety', a meaning which does not seem to be especially suitable for provoking the Maori etymology mentioned. If we compare the various possibilities, the ritual explanation is the most probable one, but it is undeniably a slender foundation which will not bear further building upon it. Here we shall leave the matter rest.

In two Ngati-Porou versions it is stated that the kumara, after the canoe has arrived in Hawaiki is obtained in a most remarkable way, as it grows in great quantities on the cliffs of Hawaiki and from there tumbles into the canoe after Kahukura has recited a *karakia*. This picture, however, is modified a little, for it is expressly stated that it is "the very rock of Hawaiki, viz. kumara"

[1] AHM. III, 76.
[2] AHM. III Eng. 112.

which tumbles down.[1] In a song originating from Poverty Bay, from one of the Ngati-Porou's neighbouring tribes, two lines are found in which the singer wishes food for his son:

In order that by your ancestor, by Uenukuwhakarongo,
can be given
Kumara, Parinuitera.[2]

Here Parinuitera, a name for the cliffs of Hawaiki, thus appears as another name of kumara. The same appears in another song from the same region, in which a father exhorts his son as follows:

Seize Tane's spade with the big blade
In order to dig out Parinuitera.[3]

That the cliffs of Hawaiki should have consisted of kumara which falls into a canoe, cannot be history. It only makes sense by a ritual interpretation.

Indeed, we are capable of determining Parinuitera's ritual reality very closely, not from the Ngati-Porou, it is true, but from their neighbouring tribe, the Ngati-Kahungunu;[4] for we have from this tribe an odd story, which begins as follows:[5]

"The principal place of residence of this chief, of Rangiwhakaoma, was at Rakaupuhi; there he dwelt. One day he went to the entrance porch of his kumara store, and there he sat down. Now the name of that store was Raumatirua. While he was there a certain lad, named Tawakeariki, the son of a chief named Te Aotata, went also to that spot, when Rangiwhakaoma said to him, "O, sir, whither art thou going?" The boy replied, "Just here, to this place, to look at the kumara in thy store." On hearing this Rangiwhakaoma said to him, "Stay a bit; it is not so very good to look about here (in the kumara store).[6] Far better is it, O thou! below in the unseen world (*reinga*), that the looking about may be both beautiful and pleasing." Then the boy went quickly

[1] JPS. 21, 157 f.; AHM. III, 68.
[2] Ngata No. 145. For Parinuitera see AHM. III Eng. 117, Best T. 919.
[3] Ngata No. 234.
[4] This piece of information comes from AHM. III Eng. 129 f.; to judge from the place-names it might be a more closely related tribe.
[5] TNZI. 13, 40 (Colenso).
[6] This is obviously the translator's commenting addition; but it is hardly correct, they are still at the entrance.

below to the unseen world (*reinga*) to observe and look about at the steep cliff in Hawaiki. There he expressed his admiration at the beauty of the kumara; and, while he was thus admiring, lo! the whole piled-up stack of kumara (in that store) was made to fall suddenly down upon him, so that he was immediately killed.'' The boy's father is informed of the killing of his son and revenges it. This and the following events as well take a course as quite normal history of kinship groups without any mythical features.

The story shows that the 'cliffs of Hawaiki' can be reached in a moment when one stands at the entrance to the kumara store. 'Reinga' is the underground kingdom of the dead, but here special emphasis is laid on the underground. Not rarely at least the rear end of the kumara store was situated underground, and at the same time it is the place where the seed kumara generally was stacked. Thus it is extremely natural to identify the 'cliffs of Hawaiki' with the piled-up seed kumara.

But, it may be asked, if so, why are these ordinary things described by mythical expressions like 'underworld' and 'the cliffs of Hawaiki'. The reason must be sought in the fact that the kumara store is *tapu*, the seed kumara probably to a special extent. As the boy descends into the store, he therefore enters a sphere of sacredness that is otherwise only frequented ritually, which implies that the kumara is regarded as 'the cliffs of Hawaiki'.

We can now with fair certainty state that the scene in the myth in which the kumara is fetched from the cliffs of Hawaiki must have been played ritually when the seed kumara was fetched from the store before being planted. To an outward consideration there was hardly any appreciable similarity between the events of the myth and the ritual; but as we do not know the ritual, we have not got much to say about the matter. However, it is probable that the *karakia*s used in the myth are identical with those recited in the store. Even if this is not true, this motif in the myth keeps its interest by revealing to us the Maori's attitude and experiences at this stage of the ritual of planting.

The motif runs as follows in the two versions:

. . . and Kahukura taking a '*ko*' named Penu he pierced the cliff of Hawaiki, at the same time repeating his *karakia* thus:

1. Te ko, te ua nuku, te ua tara
2. te ua patapata i awha,
3. te whererei iho ai tae o Matuku
4. te whererei iho ai tae o Pani
5. he tapu taku kiri nei,
6. te ripiripi o te rangi,
7. te whakarangona atu te Ati-tipua
8. te whakarangona atu te Ati-tawhito.[1]

The other version is of a somewhat simpler form:[2]
now Kahukura hewed the cliff of Hawaiki reciting a *karakia* over it in order that it should slide down. This is his *karakia*:

Te ko,/te ua nui, te ua roa,/te ua whatu, te ua tara
te ua patapata awha
Rangi tukia,/Rangi whaka-ihoa.

Then Lines 3—8 with the following deviations:

3. and 4. *wherere* for *whererei.*
5. *tapa* for *tapu*; *nei* is missing.
7. *whakarongona* for *whakarangona* (current parallel forms).
8. *Tahito* for *tawhito* (current parallel forms).

Translation (according to the first version):

1. The digging-stick, the rain which spreads, the hail,
2. The heavy shower.
3. Matuku's secretion is born,
4. Pani's secretion is born.
5. My person is *tapu.*
6. The ? (*ripiripi*) of heaven
7. Atitipua is not obeyed
8. Atitawhito is not obeyed.

Commentary.

1. The digging-stick; of course the one which is stuck into the rock.

The rain; i.e. the kumara that falls. The other version is a

[1] JPS. 21, 157.
[2] AHM. III, 67 f.

little fuller, but only amplifies the picture: "the great rain, the long rain / the hail, the hail /."

This, of course, is to express abundance and wealth and undoubtedly does not correspond to any ritual procedure. For the sake of the sprouts the seed kumara must be handled carefully; therefore it is hardly possible that they should have been allowed to fall.

2. The line describes a form of rain, probably, as translated, a shower.

3.—4. *tae* is used substantively; cf. "*waiho te tae o Matuku.*" (JPS. 21, 157). Pani's 'secretion' is kumara, the term referring to the parturient Pani (see above). The curious term *tae* is probably a worn-down form of *tahe*, with a similar meaning; *tahe*, however, is especially used about menses and abortion. Apart from the etymological connexion between the words, we have a parallel line in Best T. 938: *whakatahetahe tama ki te wai Pani.* The idea of the simile is perhaps that the seed kumara, as seen from the point of view of birth, is an abortion in contrast to the 'real' birth at the harvest (cf. Grey Mot. 380: *whererei*). Whereas L. 4 makes reasonable sense, L. 3 is a little mysterious. It is not evident what position is held by Matuku. Matuku is a demonic being, who kills Wahieroa and in return is killed by Rata, the son of the latter. In two versions of this motif from the Ngai-Tahu Matuku is killed when ascending from his cave in order to perform a kumara ritual, in one version before the harvest, in the other in connexion with the planting.[1] Finally there is an enigmatic puzzling allusion to kumara and taro which are dropped from Wahieroa's belt (*ka marereti a te tikitiki o Wahieroa*).[2] These details are too disparate for a natural interpretation but one would conjecture that Matuku is a demonic parallel to Pani.

6.—8. The connexion with the situation is not evident. Consequently the translation is not quite sure, either.

The first version continues as follows:[3]

"And then behold! Down fell the cliff of Hawaiki, that is the kumara, and 'Horouta' was filled. Kahukura then withdrew his spade, and, holding it horizontally, said another *karakia*:

[1] AHM. I, 66, 88.
[2] Grey Mot. 294; cf. Best Agr. 103.
[3] JPS. 21, 158.

Tina! Toka!
Rarau te wheke-nui—
A-Mutu-rangi,
Tina! Toka!
Te pari ki Hawaiki.

At this the cliff at Hawaiki ceased to fall; the cliff again became secure, whilst the hold of 'Horouta' was full of kumaras."

The other version again is a little simpler:[1]

"The cliff of Hawaiki, namely the kumara, slid down, it continued sliding down into the canoe, Horouta; then Kahukura recited a *karakia* in order that the kumara should cease sliding down, and he said:

Tina toku rarau,
Te wheke nui
A Mata-rangi.
Tina te pari
ki Hawaiki.

The kumara ceased sliding down. The Horouta was filled with this food, with kumara . . ."

This *karakia* in translation runs like this:

1. It is enough! It is enough![2]
2. Caught is the great cuttle-fish,
3. Muturangi.[3]
4. It is enough! It is enough!
5. The cliff at Hawaiki.

Our main profit from this ritual myth is the peculiar light it throws on the Maori's relation to the seed kumara in the store. If anything, he steals it. In the Pani mythology this is brought out still more sharply. Rongomaui, Pani's husband, ascends to heaven in order to fetch kumara. He asks his elder brother for them, but he refuses. Rongomaui then, as is expressly stated,[4] steals the kumara. In revenge the brother sends pests down to the kumara field. The motif again slightly changes colour in the version in which the kumara is fetched in Hawaiki and in which

[1] AHM. III, 68.

[2] The line seems to contain a play on words, *toka* meaning both 'rock' and 'satisfied'.

[3] What does this refer to? The translation is uncertain.

[4] Best Agr. 154 (Ngati-Awa).

the kumaras—almost human beings—are attacked and dragged away as killed enemies.[1]

There are other versions, too, in which the kumara is peacefully fetched.[2] The other view, however, is so widespread as to deserve comment. The Maori thus does not consider the kumara as a possession when he is on the ritual plane. It is extremely characteristic of his whole attitude towards existence that he does not from this point of view conceive the kumara as a gift from the gods, but something he gets hold of either by stratagem or by force. There is not to him the self-expression or value in obtaining passively as in capturing. We shall see that a similar attitude informs several phases of the kumara ritual.

Marere and *hukitoto.*

The kumara now is fetched from the store. We then leave the more or less vague considerations and are on firm ground. Kapiti's description, however, gives scanty contributions, viz. two pieces of information: the kumara is (1) put into the sacred basket and taken into the field, where it is covered by chickweed, and (2) two ritual ovens are fired, *anuanu* and *marere*.[3] The former must be the most *tapu* one, as only one person eats from it. About the *marere* it is stated that it is situated near the water.

What has the *marere* to do with the water?

The answer is connected with the meaning of the word. In Williams' Dictionary two meanings are given:

1. The ritual oven mentioned.
2. The first kumaras that are planted.

We shall see that these two things are intimately connected, as indeed is implied by the name common to them. *Marere* undoubtedly denotes a definite kind of offering and thus both the first kumara and the oven used for this purpose. We shall now discuss the evidence of the sources in detail.

As to the oven we know that it is of the type called *pure*. This appears from the quotations in the dictionary. For further con-

[1] AHM. III, 77.
[2] Best T. 695 ff., cf. 926 f. (from Ngati-Awa) and JPS. 30, 43 (from Turanga).
[3] JPS. 22, 37.

firmation the first quotation originates from KAPITI's text, thus is a Ngati-Porou statement. *Pure* is a rite which often is aimed also at removing a *tapu*, and at the same time it is the oven from which the people eat at this rite.[1] In connexion with kumara it is the *tapu* in the planters which is to be removed after the planting.

We do not with certainty know the contents of the oven, but we have a description (probably originating from WHITE's papers) without statement of the provenance of this oven and the ritual removing *tapu*. As the oven is called *hangi taki rarangi*, the description can hardly originate from the Ngati-Porou. It is stated here that the oven contains kumara.[2] Thus probably also among the Ngati-Porou.

Furthermore, the *marere* should be placed near the water.

About the *mareres* as an offering and the kumaras to be planted —that is, those fetched from the store—we get the following information in a text from the Ngati-Porou:[3]

"At the planting the *mareres* are taken to the water and displayed there; they are sacrificed to the man who has provided this food, to Kahukura. The priest recites (*karakia*-es) over the food which is to be cultivated in the ground (i.e. the seed kumara), and [he sees] whether a [hostile] army is to lift it, or a flood, or the multitude of gods. If Kahukura moves a little it is known that it is evident (?) in[4] the priests' mind that no armies will appear in order to lift the food (? *toko kai*), and the whole tribe then starts cultivating food in the ground."

This description thus shows that

(1) The *mareres* are taken to the water.

(2) Some or perhaps all of the *mareres* are offered to Kahukura, i.e. the man who fetched the kumara in Hawaiki and who, otherwise, reveals himself as a rainbow.

(3) The *marere* furthermore enters in a ritual from which auguries for the harvest are taken. The informant probably imagines that Kahukura appears as a rainbow, at any rate it is his movement which gives the favourable augury.

[1] Cf. p. 79.
[2] Best Agr. 93.
[3] AHM. III, 71.
[4] *e aruaru ana i nga whakaaro o nga tohunga*. *Aruaru* is perhaps a variant of *ariari*, 'clear, gleaming'.

About the ritual by the water we get some sparse information in WILLIAMS, who s.v. *mārere* (2) prints a quotation without any reference, i.e. from an unpublished manuscript. As WILLIAMS' father collected information about the kumara ritual from among the Ngati-Porou, the information probably originates from this tribe, the more so as it is completely in keeping with the account above. The quotation runs like this:

"When they have arrived there . . . the priests place their *mareres* in the water."[1]

Finally BEST adduces a brief note which according to his (preceding) statement can be supposed to originate from a Maori, TUTA NIHONIHO, Waiapu (i.e. one of the Ngati-Porou), but to judge from the character of the section in question, it seems as if BEST has mixed it with supplementary information so that we are not quite sure what originates from the Ngati-Porou and what has been added with uncertain provenance. Let the reader judge for himself; here is the passage:[2]

"The following notes from Tuta Nihoniho pertain to the Waiapu district: When clearing a piece of land for cropping, all timber, weeds, etc., were burnt to the ground, . . .

Prior to the planting of the kumara crop an offering was made to the gods in order to ensure a good crop. The generic term for such conciliatory offerings is *whakahere*, but the specific name for it in the above ceremony was *marere*. This offering was usually a bird. Among the Ngati-Porou tribe Kahukura, the rainbow god, represented Rongomaraeroa, the tutelary deity of the kumara. The above rite was performed at the side of the cultivation. A branch of *mapou* was stuck in the earth of the place where the ceremony was performed. The following ritual was recited

ko te ko a te wai marie
. . ."

More than anything else it is the information about Kahukura among the Ngati-Porou that confuses the reader, who, indeed, must believe that it all refers to this tribe. If we compare the passage with the features which with certainty can be referred

[1] Williams s.v. mārere. 2.
[2] Best Agr. 82.

to the Ngati-Porou, it seems little probable that the passage from BEST as a whole should deal with the rituals of this tribe. The information about Kahukura is presumably derived from the previously quoted passage in WHITE's Ancient History of the Maori.

Presumably the wisest thing would be to leave this passage out of consideration in so far as we concentrate on the ritual of the Ngati-Porou.

KAPITI's description contains nothing about these rituals which even only with difficulty can be fitted into it. On the face of it KAPITI's account must give the impression that the succession of the events is as follows:

(1) The kumara is put into the sacred basket.

(2) The basket is carried to the field and put down at the edge of it covered with chickweed.

(3) The earth in the field is arranged in mounds.

(4) The next morning the ovens are fired. The kumara tubers are planted, etc.

If the *mareres* are to be put into the water, this must thus be done either before Item 1, i.e. without connexion with the ovens, or the basket must be taken from the field to the water, thus in connexion with Item 4. This seems less reasonable, but does not the same apply to the idea that the basket should be placed in the field one or more days before the planting? I am inclined to think that the relation between Items 1—2 and 3—4 should not at all be conceived as chronological, but only as information appearing as the informant remembered them. This is not incompatible with the description.

We can now in outline give a full picture: The seed kumaras (*marere*) which have been fetched from the store for planting in the sacred field, are first taken to a water (the sacred water?), where they—some or all—are put into the water. Some of them are offered to Kahukura and auguries are taken for the fate of the kumara in the field until the harvest. In some places perhaps a bird was offered, which then also was named *marere*.

Near the water an oven is fired. The oven probably contains kumara; its name, *marere*, makes it probable that it is seed kumaras that are cooked in it, perhaps only a single one, while the rest are ordinary kumaras.

If the kumaras are put into water beforehand, it may also have the practical purpose of rinsing them; cf. p. 187.

To this meagre information we may supply a content by a study of certain myths. But first we must remind of the "Hawaiki Programme". Rongoitua sails away from Hawaiki with the captured kumara onboard—thus ritually: goes away from the store. He then hears a number of shouts which mark culminating points in the ritual. The first is: *kei te huki i nga toto*, 'They are performing a (rite of) vengeance'.[1] Judging from its placing one would immediately think of the rituals connected with the *marere* by the water. The same allusion to a rite of vengeance when they leave Hawaiki is found in a Ngai-Tahu version of this myth, which shows that a ritual motif of vengeance is found in other tribes than the Ngati-Porou.[2] This is of special interest, because from a third tribe, the Ngati-Hau, a myth is extant which obviously refers to this ritual. It is a version of the great myth of vengeance in which Whakatau is the hero. It runs like this:[3]

"It began by Apakura going to make Whakatau revenge the death of her son, Tuwhakararo. When she had made her way to Whakatau he was in his home, Paparahi,[4] and Apakura went up to him and said, "I have come to make you revenge your younger brother's[5] death, because you are his elder relative (? *we*).[6] Whakatau agreed and said to Apakura, "Go you and return home; there you must build a canoe for me and make a digging-stick and bring some calabashes onboard the canoe for me; they are to be filled with oil." Apakura returned home and the people asked, "How did he behave towards you?" She said, "He ordered me to build a canoe, a digging-stick is to be shaped, and calabashes with oil in them are to be taken onboard to him." They set to work and soon they had finished the things. Whakatau came and then a great many men stayed in the hamlet who were to be his companions in arms. Whakatau asked, "Who are all these?" The people answered, "They are those hundreds who

[1] AHM. III, 77.
[2] AHM. III, 74.
[3] AHM. II, 146 ff.
[4] *paparahi*: stage for drying kumara.
[5] 'younger brother' is a classificatory term of kinship.
[6] White explains *we* as *tupuna*; but perhaps we are to read *whe*, 'dwarf' as Whakatau has the reputation of being of very short stature.

are to be your companions in arms." Whakatau said, "No! Stay you here, all of you, but let three men accompany me in order that they may bring back the canoe." Then Whakatau (147) and his companions went onboard his canoe, "Te-hiku-toto" (the Revenge), and they paddled by night in order that they should not be seen by the fortress (the hostile one), and when they were off the fortress, they left the canoe without anchor, so that it might float freely. In the morning some of the people of the fortress came out in order to make water; they caught sight of the wooden bowl (*kumete*) out there which was floating on the sea, and the whole fortress heard the shout, "There is a wooden bowl which is floating here." Then Te-Mangourunui—he was one of the men of the fortress—said, "I shall undertake to swim out there." When he got alongside the canoe he was pierced by Whakatau's digging-stick. He died and the dead body was taken onboard. When the people from the fortress saw that Te-Mangourunui had died, they said with emphasis, "The swimming was wrong." Mangoururoa said, "My swimming is for the stem." He slipped into the water (*marere ki te wai*) and swam to the canoe which was floating out there. His swimming was for the stem. Whakatau saw him as he dived at the stem, and Whakatau poured oil on the water from one of the calabashes, and when it was possible to see down into the water, he was seen while he swam, and he was pierced by Whakatau's digging-stick. After he had been hit, the dead body was lifted onboard the canoe. The people saw that he had died and Mangouru-tapena said, "It was the fault of the swimming that caused his death, the swimming should be for the place of baling, namely the middle of the canoe." He slipped into the water and swam under the water. Again oil was poured on the water by Whakatau, the water became clear, and Mangoauru-tapena was discovered swimming under the water towards the canoe, he, too, was hit by the digging-stick, but he only came to speak indistinctly.[1] It was his tongue (that was hit), he did not die, and Whakatau gave him life and allowed him to swim ashore. Then they stopped.

Whakatau and his companions sailed back in their canoe,

[1] *pepa* has been translated by 'speak indistinctly', as the present passage is compared with use of the word later in the text (p. 148 line 4). The passage, however, contains a play on word, on which see below.

but when they had come to the long reach homewards Whakatau said to his companions, "Let me go ashore, and you return with the canoe, and when you have come home and it is dawning, if then Haereiti (the rainbow[1]) is seen in the sky, then I have set fire to Tihiomanono and Poporokewa's crowds have been killed by me; but if the sky only glows red, then it is me who has been killed by Poporokewa." When he had spoken his companions returned home by the canoe and he walked and came near to the fortress. There he took a load of firewood and stuck his sword (*taiaha*) into the firewood. The sun was setting and when night had fallen on the people of the fortress gathered in a house in order to question (148) the man who had been wounded by Whakatau from the canoe. The men asked him about Whakatau [how he looked]; a man rose and said [at length], "Cannot you tell only if the man's appearance is like mine?" The man whose tongue through Whakatau spoke indistinctly said, "The penis resembles, the testicles resemble, the eyes resemble." He sat down and another man rose and asked, "Well, is the man's appearance like mine?" He who spoke indistinctly said, "No," and his words were as those spoken to the first man who asked him. There were many who rose and asked, but he who spoke indistinctly constantly spoke the same words to all of them and when all the men in the house had asked the man who spoke indistinctly, Whakatau rose and also questioned him, and Whakatau asked, "Well, is the man's appearance like mine?" And he who spoke indistinctly because he had been wounded with the digging-stick by Whakatau in the canoe,—he looked searchingly (*whakatau*),[2] and a long time passed as he stared intensely, until he exclaimed, "Why! He! I am almost saying that he is yourself!" At that moment Whakatau seized his weapon, the sword, which he had stuck into the firewood, he brandished it from one side to the other in the house (?), but his weapon neither reached the back wall nor the doorway; then he quickly jumped out through the smoke-hole (*pihanga*) above and got out of the house. He ran to the doorway of the house in order to bolt the door of the house. Then the morning dawned, Haereiti appeared at the fire-making, the house was burnt,

[1] Haere, a spirit residing in fragmentary rainbows. (Tregear Dict.).
[2] Here, again, there is a play on words: he looks *whakatau* at *Whakatau*.

Haereiti arose in the sky. And the people at home understood that Te Tihiomanono had fallen before Whakatau as Haereiti stood up in the sky. The house was in flames and Poporokewa's crowds were burnt. Then Whakatau sang his song:

> Because the torches are bound, therefore [it says]
> Ruru-te-haku-rama.
> Because the heart is roasted as a propitiatory offering
> (*whakaepa*), that is, as a conciliatory offering
> (*whakahere*) to Haereiti therefore [it says]
> The Fire-to-roast-heart throws a flickering glow on to
> the sky.

In the morning Whakataupotiki asked a prisoner of war whom he had spared, "Where is the way down which Poporokewa escaped?" The slave answered, "In the back wall of the house." (149) Whakatau asked, "How shall we get him out?" The slave answered, "Make him glean kumara (*whakawairau*)." Whakatau asked, "How shall one shout?" The other answered, "In this way, you must shout like this: 'Poporokewa', then he will grunt and you must shout, 'It is the third month, it is time to prepare the field for the kumara.'" Whakatau went away to a *mouku*-root[1] which he pulled out. There he observed the way down which Poporokewa had descended, and Whakatau made a noose at the mouth of the cave in order to pull it round Poporokewa. When this was done Whakatau called, "Poporokewa!" A grunt rose. Whakatau further said, "Come up, come up! It is the third month,[2] they are preparing the field for the kumara, come up and recite *karakia*s over the field." He came up, first his head, then his chest, finally his waist into the noose. Poporokewa was caught and killed, then Poporokewa's multitudes were killed by Whakatau."

The scene of this event is a merging of Hawaiki, where Poporokewa is supposed to live, and a place where a wooden bowl (*kumete*) represents a canoe and a digging-stick is a natural weapon, and where offerings are made. Time in the same way is both the past and the third month of the year, just as the planting is going to start.

[1] *mouka* or *mouku*, two species of ferns.

[2] Otherwise the commonest time of planting is the fourth month; but this depends on the location, etc. Best Agr. 100.

This interlacement of history and actual action is fundamental to the Maori's experience of history (see p. 8).

Time, stage, and action are in close agreement with the ritual events played with *marere* by the water. We know that at this stage of the ritual something happened which was called 'the revenge', and here we have the great myth of vengeance in a version which places the vengeance at the very same time, immediately before the planting. In a planting *karakia* for kumara the provenance of which is not stated, we have an obscure allusion to the same thing, as it is said that 'many are to lie, numberless are to lie in the water from Tuwhakararo'—he is the man whose death is revenged by Whakatau.[1] Haereiti alludes to the rainbow and obviously among the Ngati-Hau corresponds to Kahukura among the Ngati-Porou, who is also imagined as a rainbow that reveals itself during the rite. The myth also contains some puns which in part allude to the ritual.

I think that there is a play on words when it says about those who wanted to fetch the wooden bowl that they slipped into the water, as the verb *marere* (fall, let oneself fall or drop) reminds of *mārere*, the name of the kumara that is put into the water. Also without this play on words it seems natural to suppose that some of these kumaras played the part as Whakatau's enemies. Through the historical veil of the myth we dimly see a ritual act, viz. that some kumaras are taken out of the water by being transfixed by a digging-stick and placed in a wooden bowl.

The action of the myth is strained dramatically by the fact that one of the enemies is only wounded and thus later endangers Whakatau's life. He is mentioned as *pepa*, which is translated by 'who speaks indistinctly', but *pepa* is a ritual-technical word which means 'make an error or slip in reciting a *karakia*, thus causing an *aitua*'.[2] The action of the myth corresponds to this by playing through the dangerous consequences of a ritual fault so far that the hero for a short moment faces death.

The three men who want to fetch the canoe (the wooden bowl) bear variants of the same name, viz. Mangouru-nui, 'big Mangouru', Mangouru-roa, 'tall Mangouru', and Mangouru-

[1] Grey Mot. 276.
[2] Williams s.v. *pepa*.

tapena. *Tāpena* means "Insult or irritate an *atua* (god) by passing food over a person who is *tapu*."[1] The name thus alludes to a violation of *tapu*. We cannot state its exact form; but a closer consideration of myth and rite shows that a violation of *tapu* is the heart of the whole of this ritual.

Whakatau sets fire to Tihi-o-manono. Behind this we see the oven *marere* which is fired beside the water; it is for this oven that Whakatau is to use his load of firewood. The technique is to the effect that stones are heated by a fire in the oven, and afterwards the food is cooked by steam from the hot stones. The stones in the oven are the hostile inmates of the house; they have the same inner life as the kumara taken from the water to be cooked in the oven (presumably together with others),[2] therefore the people in the myth belong to one tribe.

In order to understand the act of vengeance in the myth we must realize the purpose of the oven. It gives up its contents as a ritual meal after the planting, which means that it marks the conclusion of a ritual and a return to the workday. We can be quite sure that the decisive element of this ritual meal is the removal of the *tapu* which the planters have incurred by handling the sacral seed kumaras. This contains a ritually regulated violation of *tapu* and it is this violation which is played through already when the oven is fired, as the violation—according to Maori way of thinking—actually takes place at this time.[3] The necessity of turning from the sphere of the planting, consecrated by the kumara, to the workday thus forces the Maori to violate the kumara and appear as its enemy. The hostility and the violation are envisaged as an act of vengeance. This is natural, partly because this offers a kind of higher reason for an otherwise questionable act, partly because altogether vengeance is a culminating point in the life of the Maori. The ritual form perhaps is indicated by the *tāpena* mentioned above. This is uncertain, but at any rate the word alludes to the questionable aspect of the violation—the hostility towards the kumara, indeed, is merely determined by the situation—since *tāpena*, as mentioned above, is the violation of a god (*atua*). This *atua* is Kahukura,

[1] Williams s. v.
[2] Johansen, Maori. 209 ff.
[3] Johansen, Maori 211.

the god of the planting of kumara, or as he is named in the myth, Haereiti.

The violation must be limited to the situation in which it is necessary and therefore Haereiti is propitiated with an offering. Whakatau in his song just alludes to a propitiatory offering:

> Because the heart is roasted as a propitiatory offering (*whakaepa*), that is, as a conciliatory offering (*whakahere*) to Haereiti therefore [it says]
> The Fire-to-roast-heart throws a flickering glow into the sky.[1]

The heart mentioned in the song does not appear among the Ngati-Porou; but then the myth originates from the Ngati-Hau. We may perhaps here benefit by BEST's information that the *mārere* as an offering in most cases was a bird. If this was the case among the Ngati-Hau, the reference is fairly certainly to the heart of the bird. Unfortunately the details of this offering of a bird are unknown; therefore the following considerations must be somewhat uncertain; yet I think there is so great a probability in favour of them that they are worth mentioning; for I believe that the following section of the myth, in which Whakatau kills Poporokewa is entwined into the sacrificial act. This motif is extant in several different connexions, found especially frequently in the Rata myths, in which the demonic character is called Matuku. Above (p. 126) we have seen that this motif is connected with the kumara ritual. The reason why it is to be adduced here is, amongst other things, that Matuku in the myth is often represented as a supernatural bird.[2] We do not learn anything about Poporokewa's shape, but it does not seem improbable that he was also imagined to occur in the shape of a bird. The noose in which he is caught might be the string in which the sacrificial bird is hung up in the sacred precinct;—however, this can only be mere conjecture. There is relatively greater certainty in the view which disregards the details and only starts from the mythical fact that Poporokewa possesses the ritual of planting. The offering then is to be understood in the way that in Poporokewa this

[1] Cf. Grey Mot. 388.

[2] E.g. AHM. III, 6 (from the Ngati-Kahungunu); AHM. I, 83 (from the Ngai-Tahu). *Matuku* is the name of various birds (bittern or herons).

important ritual is captured, which would be a natural consequence of a propitiatory offering to the god who inspires the ritual of planting and hence the planting of the kumara, and whose revelation augurs the fate of the planting.

It is excusable if the reader is a little dazed by this repeated reference to the traditions of other tribes in spite of our programme of keeping to the Ngati-Porou ritual. We cannot know whether the myths adduced have come into play in this tribe. Later we shall even see that quite another myth, the Kae myth, may also have been played through at the oven. Our investigations, however, have not therefore been futile. The information about the general meaning of the ritual which has been obtained by the interpretation of the myths, has no doubt been valid beyond the area of the individual tribe. It shows with certainty what the Maori could think of and experience in connexion with a ritual like the one found among the Ngati-Porou.

We shall now leave this complex of myths.

We have so far only thrown light on one part of the ritual, viz. that connected with the oven and the offering; but they are not the only myths interwoven with the significant events by the water in connexion with the *marere*. They have also left traces in the myths about the fetching of the kumara from Hawaiki, and in this case we are so fortunate as to deal with versions from the Ngati-Porou so that we are actually in a safer position as regards the interpretation of the relation between myth and rite.

The myth with the Hawaiki Programme continues immediately after the reception of the ritual by the return voyage to New Zealand:[1]

"They paddled while the sun set and rose again, but they were still in the same place, the sun set and rose again, but they were still in the same place. Their sailing was not at all right (*tika*) and the reason why their sailing was not *tika* was that the paddlers had eaten. They got confused and beside themselves; then Rongoitua said, "What are you doing? You shall kill me in order that you can go farther and some of you can survive this." Then Rongoitua was killed and sacrificed (*ika tahuatia*);[2] behold! when he stood up in the canoe he got hold of the sky and drew

[1] AHM. III, 78.
[2] On *ika tahuatia* see JPS. 35, 335 (Best).

himself away (? *whakatipa*), holding on to the clouds in the sky; he leant down and rested on their settlement[1] in Hawaiki. Because he bent, he reached their settlement in Hawaiki; having bent in the sky he was Rongo-tike (Rongo-the-elevated);[2] Rongo-i-tua was his (previous) name, after his death it was Rongotike. Behold! now at length the sailing of the canoe was right; they got ashore, and the people reached their home in Aotearawa (i.e. New Zealand)."

This is a sacrificial myth. The situation in the myth corresponds completely to the ritual one when the oven is fired, viz. that the *tapu* of the kumara is violated. In the myth this is done by the paddlers having eaten onboard the canoe which is consecrated by seed kumara, and so they have endangered themselves as well as it by a double pollution of life. The consequence appears immediately in the myth: the canoe refuses to budge, and furthermore there are the traditional consequences of a violation of *tapu*, confusion and madness. It is an offering which gets them out of this state. The offering is called *ika tahua*, which probably in particular is a 'propitiatory offering', but the word is known to me from only one other passage besides. He who is sacrificed is Rongoitua, i.e. the kumara god himself, which ritually corresponds to the fact that among the Ngati-Porou the sacrifice, *mārere*, consists in seed kumara. The myth shows that the kumara is honoured by the offering, for in this way it obtains a higher degree of divinity, marked partly by its revelation in the sky as a rainbow, partly by the fact that it comes home to Hawaiki, which may very well mean the sacred precinct in this context. As the people sacrifice and thus honour the seed kumara, they save its life from the danger into which the violation of *tapu* has brought it, and again attach it to themselves. Mythically the people succeeded in conveying both the kumara and themselves back to their home in New Zealand.

What cannot be read from this version is the fact that the sea on which they are sailing is more or less clearly identified with the water in which the *mārere* is found. But it is a very natural idea when the other versions are drawn into the field of

[1] 'their', i.e. that of Rongoitua and his people.

[2] Though perhaps Rongotikei, 'Rongo-the-straddling', who also appears as a rainbow.

vision; for they contain the feature that the kumara falls into the water and is saved again. It is quite interesting that we find the same detail in a Ngati-Awa version and perhaps also among the Te Arawa, for this fact in itself implies a common ritual background.[1] It is, however, hardly worth while discussing these versions in more detail, as we have two almost identical ones from the Ngati-Porou, in which the motif is delt with rather amply. Unfortunately we cannot in this connexion benefit by all the details offered by the full versions. The events take place during a sail southwards along the east coast of New Zealand, presumably a historical feature. This, however, results in the trip being ornamented with legends which make the names of localities and regional characteristics originate from the ancestors' deeds. This is a type of legend which otherwise especially flourishes in the history of immigration. Therefore we shall not translate this section of the myth as a whole, but let summary and translation alternate as occasion requires.

Thus we shall begin where the kumara has tumbled from the cliffs of Hawaiki into the canoe, Horouta, and the trip home may start:[2]

"The priests decided that no other food might be taken onboard this canoe than kumara, it was because the canoe was *tapu* by the kumara.

Kahukura stayed in Hawaiki. The canoe sailed here and landed at Ahuahu, and when they were to sail farther on from Ahuahu one of the members of the crew stole a bunch of fernroot (*aruhe*), which she crumpled up in order to hide it on her person, and she went onboard the canoe, the Horouta. The others who paddled the Horouta forward did not know that she had taken the fernroot with her. The canoe was paddled on and came to Whakatane. The god who guards the kumara was terribly angry at this bunch of fernroot and violent gales arose; they were Hau-nui, Hau-roa, Apu-hau, and Tu-awhiorangi.

Then they flung the woman from the canoe into the water. When she came to the surface, she (69) took hold of the stem of the canoe with her hands, and the people in the canoe cried, "Let go! The canoe is capsizing!" She did not let go and the

[1] Best T. 698; JPS. 2, 222 (Tarakawa).
[2] AHM. III, 68 f.

Horouta capsized there; (for) it was a woman who had stolen the bunch of fernroot, the name of the woman being Kanawa, and the place where the Horouta capsized is (therefore) called 'Te-tuke-rae-o-kanawa'."

At the capsizing, part (*haumi*) of the canoe is lost; the people make a *tangi* (lament) over the canoe and decide to replace it. 140 (*hokowhitu*) stay by the canoe, 140 men go away in order to make a new *haumi* under the leadership of Pawa; he again sends a small party away in order to catch birds.

"Awapaka was the leader of those who were to catch birds, and he gave orders that the birds were to be roasted in calabashes (the fat to be melted out?) . . . When the oil (*hinu*) was ready in the calabashes, a message (? *aorere*; WHITE suggests *karere*, 'messenger') came from Pawa to Awapaka, and the words of this messenger (*karere*) were these: "Awapaka, take your calabashes out (of the wood?). The Horouta is saved, but meanwhile you must go to Waiapu (? *u*[1] *ki Waiapu*) in order that they may reach you (i.e. meet you) there."

Awapaka and his people set out with their calabashes with preserved birds, and when they came to Taumata, they ate the oil (or fat, *hinu*), from which comes the name: Taumata-kai-hinu (Taumata where *hinu* is eaten). The *rongo* of the oil was sent by Awapaka; there was one calabash which was used as *rongo* for the Horouta; the name of this calabash was Toetoe."

In what follows it is told that the calabashes became stones. Then the tale is continued: "The Horouta was saved, but Pawa [*a Pawa*, read: *e Pawa*] did not obtain a *haumi*; the man who saved the Horouta was Rangi-tu-roua. He obtained *titoki* wood and used it [as a lever] to turn the canoe in order to raise it, and he recited this *karakia*:

1. E iki, e iki, te tura uro whiti
2. E iki, e iki, te tura uro whiti.
3. Hiki nuku e, hiki rangi e,
4. hiki nuku e, hiki rangi e.
5. Ha, ha, ka hikitia tona ure.
6. Ia, ia, iaia, Ha iii![2]

[1] *u* is otherwise used about reaching land from the sea; the use here is remarkable.

[2] The text for this and the following *karakia* has been taken from the other version, JPS. 21, 159, as it is presumably better.

1.—2. ?
3.—4. Lift Earth, lift Heaven.
5. Ha, ha, his penis rises.
6. Ia, ia, iaia; ha iii!

The canoe was righted and then it was pulled ashore, where its shattered parts were mended. This is the *karakia* recited while it was being pulled ashore, after it was righted:

1. Paneke i a wai?
2. Paneke i a Tuterangiaitu,
3. hauhau te toki,
4. matapo ia, matapo ia,
5. huri te po, moi marire mai
6. moi marire mai, e tu a ure
7. moi marire mai, e tu a ure.

1. Moved by whom?
2. Moved by Tuterangiaitu.[1]
3. The axe hews,
4. It (he, she) is blind, (twice)
5. Night is coming, ? calmly hither
6.—7. ? calmly hither; be erect like a penis.

When the work at the canoe was finished, the kumara was again taken onboard. They paddled on and landed at Whangaparaoa, Waiapu, Turanga, Nukutaurua, Heretaunga, Te Whakawhitinga, Kaikoura, and the canoe arrived at all the places (71), where it distributed the kumara completely; therefore the following words are found in Horouta's *karakia* for the planting of kumara:

> Ahuahu whenua i tupu ai te kai
> i ri taua i te ngaru, e . . .,
> etc." (we shall discuss this *karakia* below).

To the Maori the number of place-names which mark the trip of the Horouta along the coast, obviously are of great importance since they form the basis of a lengthy section in the planting liturgy. The fullness embodied in the names at that time is irrevocably lost; we must content ourselves with noting their importance as a fact.

[1] I have not been able to obtain any information about Tuterangiaitu.

Moreover, the myth contains features corresponding to the ritual situation connected with the *marere*: the kumara and the crew are endangered as a consequence of a violation of *tapu*, and this danger results in the kumara falling into the water. The violation of *tapu* here is due to a bunch of fernroot which a woman takes with her, a detail which might reflect that the ritual desecration by the firing of the oven was done by a woman, *ruahine*, by means of fernroot. This assumption is supported by a myth which we shall consider below (p. 156).

There is something exciting in also here, as in the Whakatau myth, coming across calabashes with oil (and preserved birds); but we do not even know whether such calabashes belonged to the ritual. Indeed, the myth gives us a catchword, as it says 'that the *rongo* of the oil was sent by Awapaka' and that 'there was one calabash which was used as a *rongo* to the Horouta', but what does *rongo* mean here? Generally (as a substantive) it means 'tidings, report, fame' and 'peace (after war)'; in this passage, however, it seems to denote a ritual-technical concept.

The chief motif, for that matter, is that the canoe with the kumara capsizes and that both canoe and kumara are saved. We have heard nothing of those kumaras, *marere*, which are only put into the water in order to be planted afterwards, but they are in the foreground in this mythical motif; for if the interpretation is correct, the rescue of the kumara refers to the *marere* being taken out of the water. In this simple action the Maori thus experiences that the seed kumara is rescued from the dangerous sea. It also seems that a planting *karakia* alludes to this rescue.

Those *karakia*s which are recited while the canoe in the myth is righted and hauled ashore, apparently do not contain any allusions to the kumara ritual, but perhaps appearances are deceptive. Both contain phallic allusions ('his penis rises' and 'be erect like a penis'). In the former *karakia* it might be a reference to the lever, but hardly in the latter. There is quite another possibility. There may be an allusion to the basket in which the kumara is carried into the field; for we read in the Pani myth that the kumara which Rongo stole in Heaven 'was placed by Rongo in his penis', and that 'his penis was the basket in which he collected the kumara children'—afterwards he fecundates Pani with it.[1]

[1] Best Agr. 154 f.

The words 'his penis rises' or 'his penis is raised' may very well be a mythical-ritual term denoting that the basket is lifted with the seed kumara and a corresponding interpretation offers itself for 'be erect like a penis'.

However this may be, it is at any rate certain that the planting is a sexual act. We shall then remove the scene from the water and follow the kumara which is carried—no doubt in a procession—to the field, the sacred part of the field.

The Planting.

In the "Hawaiki Programme" '*te huki i nga toto*' is followed by a shout which is interpreted as an accompaniment to '*te rokoi*' and '*te auaha*'. As both are marked by one and the same shout, they must either be synonyms or two aspects (parts) of one ritual act. As we do not know the meaning of '*rokoi*', this consideration becomes of importance as it shows us that if only we can identify *auaha* with a rite, it is sufficient to fill this item in the "Hawaiki Programme".

Auaha is translated like this by WILLIAMS: 1. v.i. 'leap, throb, thrill with passion', etc. 2. v.t. 'shape, create, form, fashion'; used in ancient legends.

It may be added that *auaha* especially is used about the fecundation in the sexual act. We find this use among the Ngai-Tahu: 'When Tane had grown up, then his penis *auaha*-ed',[1] and among the Ngati-Kahungunu: '(Tiki) *auaha*-ed in Hineone's vagina (? *karihi*)'[2]—Tiki, also named Tiki-auaha, denotes the phallos in the myth.[3] It is the latter usage which is mainly of interest in this connexion, because the planting as a whole is conceived as a sexual act. The allusion is not, however, to the special act that the kumara is placed in the earth, for this is mentioned as Item 4 in the "Hawaiki Programme". We shall see at once to what element in the ritual *auaha* alludes with the greatest probability.

We shall now proceed to KAPITI's description. Having mentioned the ovens it includes a special mention of the apparel of

[1] AHM. I, 119.
[2] Lore I, 37.
[3] Best Rel. 73.

the planters, the main contents of which is that the planters should be particularly beautifully dressed.

The field to which they now proceed, has of course been prepared by means of the digging-stick, and the earth has been set in hillocks approximately like molehills, each hillock being intended for one kumara tuber.

Interposing the information that the following sections deal with the planting of the sacred field, we shall quote KAPITI[1]:

"When all were in readiness the *tohunga* would take the *totowahi* in which the kumara had been placed, and, holding it in his hand, would throw[2] a single kumara on each of the hillocks that had been prepared, reciting at the same time the following *karakia*:

(See below).

The *tohunga* carrying the *totowahi* would go along the furrow separating the special plot, reciting the above *karakia* as he went, and laying the kumara one by one on each of the hillocks; and if, as he walked reciting the *karakia*, he found on nearing the end, that the kumara were more in number than the hillocks, he would put two or three kumara on each hillock, so that the kumara might all be placed on the hillocks; or, on the other hand, if he found that the hillocks were more numerous than the kumara, he would pass by two or three hillocks, placing kumara on the third or the fourth, so that the last of the kumara should be placed on the last of the hillocks with the concluding words of the *karakia*, viz., "*He harurutanga, he ngatorotanga.*"

This being done the *tohunga* would pull to pieces the *totowahi* which had held the kumara, and bury it at the margin of the plot."

The *karakia* recited by the priest runs as follows:

1. Tō, tō!
   Tukia uta, tukia tai.
   Te hiki Raukatauri, Raukatamea,
   Itiiti ma Rekareka.
5. Tenei te hiki ka hiki;
   tenei te hapai ka hapai.
   Ko te hapai na wai?

[1] JPS. 22, 37 f.
[2] We should rather expect 'place' than 'throw'.

Ko te hapai na Rongo,
Rongouakina, Rongotekaia.
Te kainga ki tua, te kainga ki waho,
te kainga ki Ranginui, ki Rangiroa,
ki Rangi-te-pa, ki Rangi-te-rakahia mai ai.
Whiriwhiri taku kete ko Maunanea;
rangaranga taku kete, ko Maunanea.
Ki te tuapuke taku kete, ko Maunanea.
Te kopia te paenga runga, ko Maunanea.
Te kopia te paenga raro, ko Maunanea.
Kia kawiuwiu, kia katoatoa.
Pepeke te hue i waenga,
haere te kakano hai tia.
Ko te kura mai whea?
ko te kura Matatera.
He harurutanga, he ngatorotanga,
ka rongo tua, ka rongo waho,
ka rongo te uranga, ka rongo te heketanga,
ka rongo tira whai mata, e Tane.
He harurutanga, he ngatorotanga.

Translation:

Be pregnant, be pregnant!
Right into the country, right out to the sea.
Raukatauri, Raukatamea,
Itiiti and Rekareka are carrying (or lifting).
This is a carrying which carries,
This is a lifting which lifts.
Who is lifting?
It is Rongo who is lifting,
Rongo-uakina, Rongo-who-steals.
The settlement on the other side, the settlement outside,
The settlement in Ranginui, in Rangiroa,
In Rangi-te-pa, in Rangi-te-rakahia.
Make my basket, Maunanea,
Weave, my basket, Maunanea.
My basket, Maunanea, is on the hillock.
Fold Maunanea together (at) the uppermost (southernmost) margin of the field.

Fold Maunanea together (at) the lowermost (northernmost) margin of the field,
18. In order that it may be shrunk, in order that it may be contracted,
Let be shrunk, let be contracted the bottle-gourd which . . .
The bottle-gourd hides in the middle,
20. The seeds ?
From where comes the sacred thing?
The sacred thing (i.e. the basket) [is from] Matatera.
It is rumbling, it is booming,
It is heard beyond, is heard outside,
25. It is heard to hit, is heard to go down,
The branch with the fresh (leaves) is heard, O Tane!
It is rumbling, it is booming.

Commentary.

1. Addressed to the field, which must here be supposed to play the same part as Pani, who is fecundated by Rongo.
2. It is usual that the ritual texts by such "exaggerations" include a sphere of indefinite size; thus we do not rarely find that *karakia*s which are to remove a *tapu* include an abundance of possibilities; see e.g. p. 110 and JOHANSEN Maori 193.
3.—4. For the names of Rupe's and Hineteiwaiwa's sisters see JPS. 37, 268 (Ruatapu and Potae) and AHM. I. 76. It is misleading that the text (JPS. 22, 37) is edited as if there were two words: *itiiti marekareka*. According to the Ngati-Porou version there are two persons, Itiiti and Rekareka; of course this is followed here, even though *ma* is a somewhat unusual copula, which otherwise is used only in quite special combinations, e.g. at the merging of mythical names (e.g. Rongomatane). Elsewhere it is accordingly one person: Itiitimarekareka (AHM. I. 76, Ngati-Hau). The lines refer to the episode in the myth about Tinirau and Kae, in which these women carry Kae. See further below.
8.—9. Alludes to Rongo having hidden the kumara in his penis, i.e. the basket of the ritual, in order to fecundate Pani, i.e. the sacred field. Also the epithet 'who-steals' alludes to this myth, as Rongo has stolen the kumara in Heaven.

11.—12. The names all begin in *Rangi*, i.e. 'Heaven'; is this where the kumara is fetched?

13.—14. Maunanea must be the name of the basket. The Maori rarely lost an opportunity of naming things.

15.—18. These lines probably refer to the fact that the basket is torn up and buried at the edge of the field; it is not said in so many words for sure, but partly the reference to the edge of the field is otherwise puzzling, partly it is natural that the basket should be crumpled up when it is torn up so as to be buried more easily. It is uncertain whether Line 18—as in my translation—belongs to the preceding ones. The punctuation of the text connects the line with the following, and as these lines are rather puzzling, it is difficult to come to a decision as to the correctness of the punctuation of the text. The text was edited by W. L. Williams, a fact which in itself is of a certain importance; on the other hand he was not infallible; see the commentary on Lines 3.—4.

19.—20. ? Cf. the shorter version in Best Agr. 91 f. The lines in this shorter version corresponding to Lines 18—20 are much changed, almost beyond recognition. This suggests that they were unintelligible to the Maoris at the time when the text was recorded.

21.—22. *kura* is often used about ritual treasures or sacred objects. As mentioned above (p. 121; cf. p. 177), Matatera is the field of the harvest and from the point of view of the myth undoubtedly a place in Hawaiki. The place is mentioned in a *karakia* which is recited while the sacred basket is being woven:

> From far away, from Matatera
> Is my sacred basket . . . (?).[1]

On the basis of this passage Lines 21.—22. are interpreted, since *mai*, 'from', must be considered an archaic preposition from the Maori point of view. It is still used in Tahitian and Hawaiian.

23.—27. The sense of these lines becomes evident and the translation is supported by a comparison with the con-

[1] JPS. 22, 36 f.

clusion of the *karakia* that is recited when the first kumara is lifted at the harvest:

> This is the digging-stick which goes down (*heke*)
> This is the digging-stick which booms (*ngatoro*)
> This is the digging-stick which rumbles (*haruru*).[1]

This agreement in expression shows, as would otherwise hardly be guessed, that the reference is to the digging-stick. Accordingly I read *uranga* as *ūranga*, from *ū*, 'strike home (of weapons and blows)'. As the texts generally do not indicate quantity, there is no greater arbitrariness in this reading than in reading *ŭranga*.

'The branch with the fresh (leaves)' alludes to a digging-stick like the one used at the harvest from the sacred field, viz. a simple, broken-off branch. It is not, however, likely that the present lines should refer to the harvest. The fact is that before the kumara distributed are actually planted—thus immediately after their being distributed—the hillocks are worked with a few stabs from the digging-stick. Why should not this on the present occasion as well as at the harvest be a special ritual digging-stick, viz. a branch? Otherwise, if it was not so, since it is not reported, was it not so at the time when our ritual text was made? KAPITI begins his description with the words: "the '*ko*' or digging implement was brought from Hawaiki, and was called Penu." As this name is also used about the broken-off branch at the harvest, KAPITI's information does not go against our assumption. As so often, the god Tane here stands for an object of wood, thus for the digging-stick. The fact that he is addressed, also, if anything, suggests that the digging-stick is present, as it is to be used immediately afterwards.

This ritual text thus touches on a number of themes. The first concentrates on the basket, its importance and fate in the ritual, the second focuses on the digging-stick. On the whole the succession of the themes corresponds to the order in which they are played through ritually.

[1] JPS. 22, 41.

Especially the various allusions to the significance of the basket are of great interest.

It is identified with Rongo's penis, and the bearer of the basket, the priest who lifts it, is Rongo. This, together with the introductory words: 'Be fecundated', shows that a 'sacred wedding' was celebrated between the priest and the sacred plot, between Rongo and Pani, so that the field, Pani, is fecundated with the kumara as it is distributed on the hillocks by the priest.

This is the reason for making the *auaha*, 'to fecundate', of the "Hawaiki Programme" refer to this moment during the ritual.

Apparently groundlessly an allusion to the myth of Tinirau and Kae (p. 147 lines 3—4) breaks into the motif of 'the sacred wedding'. In considering this myth we shall see that these lines are actually connected with the others. Fortunately a Ngati-Porou version is extant; a summary of its beginning runs as follows:[1]

Kae (or Ngae, as he is named in this version) and his younger brothers lived in Reporua, a locality in Waiapu, New Zealand. They went out fishing, but were driven out of their course by the gales. The younger brothers died and Kae got to Hawaiki, where he lost his way and entered a sacred precinct. This might have been his death, but the chief, *Tinirau*, shielded him and treated him in the very best way. When Kae longed to go home, Tinirau let him have his tame whale Tutunui, in order that it might convey him home. In return Kae had to promise to spare Tutunui and not to make it go too close to the shore. Kae broke this promise; Tutunui perished on the shore and was cooked by Kae. The firewood was *kokumuku* (*Veronica salicifolia*). The fragrance from the cooking was carried to Hawaiki by the wind, and Tinirau felt that it came from his tame whale. So he wanted to revenge the killing, The text continues:

(268) "He called his children and his sisters, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Itiiti, Rekareka, Rawea, Kurahau, Poruhiruhi, Poroherohe, Whakaarorangi, Ruhi-i-te-rangi, and Hine-te-iwaiwa. They came in order to say to Tinirau, "What are Kae's signs (by which we may recognize him)?"—"A broken tooth (*niho*)." And they came hither, seeking for Kae's dwelling on all the islands. They got as far as Kaikoura and crossed to this island,

[1] JPS. 37, 267 ff. (Ruatapu and Potae).

New Zealand, and were (still) occupied in looking for Kae. Raukatauri and her companions were occupied like this, but they could not find Kae. They went to all the settlements, but did not find him. They played at darts, the game of *ku*, cat's cradle, whirligig, spun a top, they used all Raukatauri's games in order to deceive Kae, the man who had killed Tinirau's favourite animal. They went on and on and arrived at Reporua, where they stayed while they still performed their activities [amongst other things] putting fire into their throats. They also threw darts over houses, the people of the place being on one side of the house and they themselves on the other. Meanwhile the people of the place looked at all that the visitors performed; then they danced their *haka* in four rows. It was a (269) *haka* dance of the kind called *pōtēteke*, in which the dancers turn upside down so that the head is below and the legs in the air, and they sang their *haka*:

E poteteke ma taua e kawe ki hea?
...

(3) Kae did not laugh at this *poteteke*. They considered the matter, and when the end approached, they performed their second *haka*:

1. Ako au ki te kowhiti;
2. kaore te kowhiti.
3. Ako au ki te whewhera,
4. kaore te whewhera.
5. E kowhiti Nuku,
6. e kowhiti Rangi,
7. e kowhiti werewere.
8. Puapua e!
9. Hanahana e!
10. Tinaku ai.

Translation:

1. I learnt to display (?)
2. But I did not display.
3. I learnt to open,
4. But I did not open.

5. The female will appear,
6. The male will be erect.
7. The labia minora will appear,
8. The mons veneris,
9. The uterus,
10. In order to conceive.

Finally came the end of their *haka*:

Ei, kai taku tara e kopi nei tuhera.
Ei! my genitals, which are closed, they open now.

Then at length Kae laughed and cried to them, "Look! Look! Gals! There you finally performed something good, when you opened to your clitoris!""

Commentary:

The text is taken from a slightly deviating version, viz. Grey M. 30. JPS. in Line 1 has: *E ko* for *ako*; in Line 3: *ko* for *ako*; furthermore everywhere the variant *kohiti* for *kowhiti*.

1.—2. *kowhiti* (or *kohiti*). The word in its applications generally implies the idea that something appears unexpected, but, to judge from the dictionary, can also be used without this picture being present to the mind (e.g. the meaning 'select'). In Lines 3—7 we may from this conception of the word obtain a reasonable translation (although uncertain as regards Lines 5—6). The difficulty in the first two lines is due to the fact that the context gives so meagre a direction. *Kowhiti*, however, must denote something essential in the dance, for we find in one (or two) Ngai-Tahu versions (TNZI. 7, 52 (Wohlers), cf. AHM. II, 133) the expression *kohititia ai* [*e*] *ratou, ka kata a Kae* 'there was *kowhiti*-ing by them, then Kae laughed'. Hence, *kowhiti* must be a purely technical term from the erotical dance, and the whole context suggests that the reference is to sudden exposures and the like.

5.—6. *Nuku*, 'the extended', is a common mythical and poetical designation for the earth. *Rangi* is Heaven. It is difficult

to combine these concepts with *kowhiti*. I therefore think that Earth and Heaven, the two first sexed beings in the world, here denote 'the female' and 'the male'.

7.—9. The translations of *werewere*, *puapua*, and *hanahana* have been taken from TREGEAR, Dict. WILLIAMS only translates by pudenda muliebria. Is this due to philological caution or to the fact that he was a cleric? I do not think that there is any special reason to doubt TREGEAR's specifications.

"Finally the fires were extinguished and when they had gone out, the people of the place were rendered unconscious by a (magical?) sleep. A *karakia* was recited over the posts and bottom of the house in order to lift it; it was lifted and raised and carried across the heavens, but the stone foundation of the fireplace fell down and is still found there. It says about this: "This is where Kae was lifted high and only put down again in Tinirau's settlement." In the morning Tinirau went to see Kae, and he said to Kae, "Where is my favourite animal?" Kae said, "It was immediately sent off by me in order that it might return home to you." Then Tinirau said to him, "It ended as food in your belly, the fragrance rose and came right over here." This was the end of the conversation; Kae was dragged out and killed; he died, was cooked and eaten up. This is the end of this tale about treachery."

There are three motifs in this myth which recur in all versions:

(1) Kae offends against Tinirau by killing his tame whale. (2) Kae is tricked into laughing and is carried off. (3) Kae is killed by Tinirau.

The first motif can be treated briefly as it is uncertain whether it is connected at all with the agricultural ritual apart from giving a basis of the relation to Kae. Tinirau is connected with fishing and is generally married to Hineteiwaiwa, the foundress of the *ruahine* institution.[1] On this basis we may guess; but what more can be done?

We shall therefore proceed to the second motif, which in any case must be in the centre of our interest because the ritual

[1] Johansen, Maori 224 ff.

allusion is to Kae's abduction. This is the fixed point from which the interpretation must start.

The priest carries the basket while reciting the words:

> "Raukatauri, Raukatamea,
> Itiiti and Rekareka are carrying."

Thus he identifies the moment with a situation in the myth, playing the women's part himself, and the seed kumaras in the basket are identified with Kae in this situation.

The myth contains a couple of plays on words which just allude to this ritual situation. The distinctive mark of Kae is a broken tooth, but a comparison with the other versions shows that the picture visualized by the Maori is less the individual broken tooth than the gap in the row of teeth or—in other cases—an irregular tooth position.[1] Tooth is *niho* in Maori, sprout is a reduplicated form of it, *nihoniho*. No doubt it may be contended that the row of teeth with the gap has its ritual parallel in the scattered sprouts on the seed kumara. Another play on words is probably found at the end of the *haka* which makes Kae laugh. Line 10: *Tinaku ai*, indeed, must be translated by 'in order to conceive'; but as a substantive *tinaku* means 'seed kumara'. The very concise expression may very well contribute the secondary idea: 'in order that seed kumara may appear'.

The allusion of the ritual text to the Kaemyth enters in a section whose subject is otherwise the fecundation of the field, the sacred wedding. For this reason, too, we can be sure that also the scene in which Kae is tricked by the dancing women is included in the allusion; for this scene has a highly erotical content. Already the first dance has this character, as implied in the name *poteteke*, which by WILLIAMS is explained as 'An indecent dance, in which the naked performers executed grotesque movements'. Kae, however, does not find it amusing enough; only the unveiled display of the most intimate female genitals puts him in good humour.

We do not know whether there was any ritual parallel to this

[1] An indefinite number of teeth broken; AHM. II, 127; TNZI. 7, 52 (Wohlers) = AHM. II, 133. Two teeth: AHM. II, 123 f. The teeth placed apart: JPS. 37, 270; placed obliquely: AHM. II, 142; one overriding another: Grey M. 29.

scene. It does not seem inconceivable to me that the women danced a highly exciting dance, e.g. by the water, when the seed kumara was laid into (back into?) the sacred basket. There is, however, a more probable possibility, viz. that there the reference is to a desecration of the kumara by the female genitals (cf. JOHANSEN, Maori 223 f. and above, p. 144). Then an erotical element had been contributed to the rite at the same time. However this may be, the scene of the myth fit naturally into the ritual situation. We only need reminding of the general cultural background, to which it belongs that woman leads erotically, to see the reason why the basket with the seed kumara—which represents the male element—is stimulated erotically in order to prepare the union of earth and kumara at the wedding.

But the scene of the dancing women is not only erotical, it is also gay. Raukatauri, who leads the dancing women, and Raukatamea are both mentioned as originators of all kinds of play and entertainment.[1] COLENSO has edited a ritual text with the same application as the present one and also containing an allusion to Raukatauri and the others. He remarks in a note on the dancing scene in the Kae myth, ". . . the bare mention of this always caused pleasing mirthful ideas to the Maoris."[2] A humorous and gay framing of the erotical is not, perhaps, in itself in need of any comment; but it probably had its special mission here by supporting the transition from the situation when the seed kumara is rescued and on the whole is honoured, to the next one, in which it, visualized as Kae, is killed. Indeed, it is the substance of humour to let unreasonableness and contrasts remain, but to throw new light on them so that they still are united without curtailment. It is not accidental that in the myth in which the Maori makes death be victorious for ever, as Hinenuitepo kills Maui, this event is presented in a grotesquely comical light.

We cannot adopt this point of view of the mission of humour without being led to the last motif, the killing of Kae. Has it any ritual counterpart, and if so, what is it? If we keep to the Ngati-Porou we cannot answer the first question and consequently can only conjecture as to the second.

[1] JPS. 38, 53 (Best); Best Games 1; cf. Tregear Dict. s.v. Raukataura (variant or error?).

[2] TNZI. 14, 43.

Here it is instructive to include a couple of versions from other tribes in our considerations.

From the *Ngai-Tahu* we have two interesting versions. In one, communicated by Wohlers, the tale contains the feature that the women knit (weave) a special container, *purerangi*, a basket or net in which Kae is carried. This reminds of the sacred basket; unfortunately we do not exactly know what *purerangi* means.[1] The end of the other version directly concerns the present question. There it says (after Tinirau has got Kae in his power): "Kae's ears were twisted off by Tinirau and eaten raw by Tinirau, and Kae (himself) was eaten, too. Then *karakia*s were recited to the gods in order to remove *tapu* (*karakia taumaha ki nga atua*) and *karakia*s over the cultivation of kumara."[2] This conclusion—which would otherwise be quite unexpected—will not surprise us now. It shows quite clearly that the killing of Kae is connected with the kumara ritual, and the word *taumaha*, the meaning of which, it is true, does not guarantee that there is a reference to the *removal* of *tapu*, if anything points to the firing of the ritual oven (the *marere* of the Ngati-Porou) as the scene of the killing. From the *Ngati-Awa* we also have an interesting conclusion. Kae is taken as a prisoner to Tinirau. "In the morning an oven was fired. Something full of holes (? *watawata*) was spread as a cover for Kae and food was laid for Kae beside the covers. Then Kae was waked. They said, "Look, if this is your own bed." Kae answered, "Indeed, it is my bed." They said, "Come with us to eat!" He followed them and the place where Kae was to sit was shown to him by Tinirau. Kae sat down and with his hand took his food, which was placed before him. The women poured water upon Kae's back; the water sank down into the hot oven under Kae. The steam rose to Kae from the water which boiled down there by the heat from the stones of the oven. The steam made Kae swell (? *putu*) and he died."[3]

This singular manner of death seems to have been taken direct from the ritual oven into the myth.

Something similar is obtained from a lament over Kotuku, composed by Turoa (from which of the tribes?):[4]

[1] TNZI. 7, 52.
[2] AHM. II, 127.
[3] AHM. II, 142 f.
[4] Grey Mot. 153 f.

52. Kahui-te-raki, this is your nephew
Who is bid welcome,
And placed in the closely woven basket,[1]
55. In which Raukatauri brought Kae,
He died,
Hidden in Harururoa,
Paekawa's earth-oven,[2] in which Hunakiko lay,
In which lay
60. Manawa, e-i.
Therefore you were scorched by the heat of the fire.
— — —

The understanding is made difficult by our ignorance of what is hidden behind the names in Lines 52, 57—60. But it seems as if it is also Kae who is hidden in the oven.

These mythical allusions from scattered tribes all are to one and the same ritual drama (the *hikutoto* of the Ngati-Porou), viz. the firing of the oven from which the planters are later to eat. It is true that we are not particularly well informed about the rituals in these tribes, but it is practically certain that there was a rite to remove the planters' *tapu*; and that an oven was part of the ritual is at least very probable.

In itself it is conceivable that the killing of Kae among the Ngati-Porou also took place at the oven and thus rightly pertained to the *hikutoto*. Unfortunately the mythical contents of this motif of vengeance at any rate must draw on the mythology of other tribes. If we here have treated the Kae motif, so to speak *post festum*, it is because we did not find the allusion until we discussed the planting ritual. On the basis of our knowledge of the Ngati-Porou tradition alone we might very well believe that the killing of Kae referred to the burial in the ground, which, indeed, is closely related to the underworld.

We must probably content ourselves with ascertaining that the erotical and gay atmosphere in connexion with the basket that is carried, has an element of drama of vengeance: the seed kumara is somehow tricked into death. Here, again, we note the motif of vengeance as a feature extremely characteristic of the Maori.

[1] *waowhia* corrected into *whaowhia*, cf. Williams s. v. *whao*.
[2] *kokori* is interpreted as a reduplication of *kori*, 'native earth oven'.

Before we leave the myth of Kae we shall only offer some brief remarks on these different versions. From the same tribe (e. g. the Ngai-Tahu) we find versions with and without allusions to the kumara ritual. This difference is presumably due to the informant; if he has officiated at the kumara ritual or learnt the version of such a ritual, there will be a considerably greater chance that we shall find ritual allusions than if the narrator is anybody else. With the very modest demands made in New Zealand on the collection of traditions, we are prevented from including this in our considerations. This is stated only in order to call attention to the fact that mere chance may have brought about that the only published version of the myth of Kae from the Ngati-Porou only contains sparse traces of the ritual.

After the kumara is distributed, the sacred basket is torn up and buried at the edge of the field. This action has hardly any purpose but that of getting a sacred object out of the way without violating its *tapu*.

According to the "Hawaiki Programme" the 'fecundation' is followed by digging. It must be the hillock in which a hole is made for the reception of the kumara with a few stabs by the digging-stick. We may wonder at the sequence,—that these holes are not rather made immediately before the distribution of the kumara, but also the ritual text sounds the themes in the same succession: first the fecundation, then the use of the digging-stick. Before this double testimony we must give in. Pita Kapiti passes immediately from the tearing up of the basket to the planting of the 'profane' field and thus offers no guidance. As to the special digging-stick which perhaps is used for the ritual planting, reference is made to the Commentary on p. 149 f. (on Lines 23—27).

According to the "Hawaiki Programme" then follows *whakato*, i. e. the planting itself. The kumara is put into the hole made in the hillock.

When the sacred field is planted, the rest of the field is worked by the digging-sticks and the kumara is planted. This action is not most sacred, but is not quite profane, either.

From the Ngati-Porou we have a *tewha*, i. e. a planting song, which must have been sung during the planting of the relatively profane field, as may be concluded from the fact that everybody joined in at certain places in the song.[1]

[1] Best Agr. 93 f.

Unfortunately this song gives rise to more headache and dismay than profit. It is almost impossible to find the least sense in great parts of it, and the remainder holds a curiously isolated position. As to the fact that much cannot be translated, we may point to the direct cause, that the text is corrupt and undoubtedly was not understood by the Maoris themselves. This can be demonstrated in detail. The last four of the seven strophes of the song are extant in several versions, probably from other tribes. If we compare the differences between the versions, then it is recognized at once that these must mainly be due to the fact that the words did not make sense.

In that respect the following comparisons need no comment.

Strophe 4 of the song in Best Agr. 94 runs as follows:

Tupe tane i whiti te ramarama, tupe tane ko tama te ahu iho, ko tama te kiko whitirau ki taku paenga e ru ai au e tupe tane.

For comparison see Grey Mot. 293 f. Lines 54 ff.

54. Tenei au e Tupetane.
ko Whiti-te-ramarama au e Tupetane,
ko Tama-te-ahu-iho
ko Tama-te-ahu-ake,
58. ko Whitirau-te-toki,
. . .
. . .
61. taku paenga ruwai e Apo e,

The beginning of Strophe 5 in Best Agr. 94:

Koia e ru, koia e raro, koia patupatu, koia Rangahua, te tama i torohakina e koe ki Waeroti, ki Waerota, te tau mai ai to hua kuru, tiwha. Tiwha horahia, whakataka te hua . . .

Grey Mot. 293 f. Line 24 ff. has:

koia Ru,
koia Whe,
koia Potipoti,
koia Rakahua,
te tama i torona,
whakina e koe,
ki Waeroti,
te tau mai ai tohu-akura-tiwatiwa,
horahia ori ka mate tama . . .

While in BEST Agr. 102 f. Line 9 ff. we find:

Koia e tu, koia e tama, koia patupatu,
koia te tama i te roha kino
e koe ki te waero ti, ki te waero ta
kau mai ai to hua a kuru.
Tiwha!

The end of Strophe 5 bears a similar confused relation to BEST Agr. 102 f., Line 14 ff.

Strophe 7, BEST Agr. 94, runs:

Uea, uea te titi o te rua kia tutangatanga te awa ki Mokoia, e Whatu mangungu, Whatu mangungu e. E hia aku mata kai taku tua, kai taku aro pihapiha o te kai kua riro iara i te taua koia . . . e.

GREY Mot. 293 f., Lines 13—23:

uea te taua iti,
uea te taua rahi,
kia tutangatanga, te ara ki Mokoia,
whakatu manunu,
whakatu manunu,
hara manunu,
e whia aku mate?
kei taku tua,
kei taku aro,
pihapiha manawa o te ika kua riro,
i hara te taua

BEST Agr. 102 f., Lines 1—8:

Ueue ana te tipi o te rua
kia tu tangata ai te awa ki Mokoia
whatu mangungu, aro mangungu
e hia aku mate
kei toku tua, kei toku aro
pihapiha manawa o te ika
kua riro i te taua.
(Chorus:) E hara i te taua; koia!

Finally we find in BEST Agr. 94, Strophe 3:

Uea, uea, parea te titi o te rua ki tutangatanga te awa ki Mokoia. Whatu mangungu e hia aku mata kai taku tua, kai taku aro pihapiha o te kai. Kua riro iara i te taua koia . . . e.

Now, in both Strophe 2 and Strophe 5 we find the word *kuru*; the Maoris knew that *kuru* was a tree in Hawaiki. On the Polynesian islands *kuru* means 'bread-fruit tree', and as this tree was not found in New Zealand, this song, as regards great parts of it, must presumably be very old, and was either brought by the Maoris from their previous home or was composed while the memory of the bread-fruit tree was still fresh. It is no wonder that a song which is so old has become unintelligible. Its age also explains why the few mythical allusions which we can dimly see cannot very well be related to the ritual; probably they reflected the mergings of cult and myth disappeared long ago.

Quite apart from the age, if an expert does not succeed in making a reasonable text out of these corrupt texts, it is hopeless to try an interpretation. We shall therefore confine ourselves to offering a few remarks.

Strophe 3 mainly consists of allusions to the myth of Maui, who pulls the North Island out of the sea.[1] In a very disjointed form this is also found in another version.[2] We have here an example of a mythical allusion which is difficult to see through. We may imagine that it corresponds to an atmosphere of the ritual: the field is ritually recreated, emerging from the sea as in primeval times. But the interpretation lacks precision. In the Maui mythology we find several motifs which clearly move within the sphere of the cultivation of kumara. In this connexion it may especially be pointed out that Maui teaches his mother the song which is sung while the field is being dug. This is not, however, what is referred to and Maui's close connexion with Pani for that matter seems to allude to the harvest. The same applies to the allusions to the offering of first fruits in the myth of the North Island which is pulled out of the sea.

Strophe 6 is the most interesting one, especially because it is intelligible and thus stands out against the farrago of syllables which constitutes the greater part of the song. The strophe runs as follows:

Whakarongo ake ai au ki te ngutu o te wahine ra, te riri ana, te nguha ana ki te paenga o tona māra. He kohimuhimu ki te

[1] Best Agr. 93 f. (3).
[2] Best Agr. 94 (1).

pou o te whare, he korerorero ki te pou o te where. He kapua, he kakara te hoki ta te atirua.[1]

Translation:

"I listen to the women's lips away there, who are scolding and raging at the edge of his field. There is whispering to the post of the house, there is incessant talking to the post of the house . . . (?)."

This is quite an amusing strophe, which apart from the last sentence makes quite clear and simple sense. It is most natural to suppose that it alludes to something which really took place as long as the ritual was still performed. The question is only: why are the women furious or act as if furious at the edge of the field? Why are they talking incessantly at the post of the house?

The man of the world will at once say: This feminine excitement can only be due to jealousy! The religious historian must agree with him in this case. The ritual situation is just that the men are celebrating a sacred wedding with the field, while the women are debarred from entering. Have they not, then, good reasons for filling in the drama by pretending to be jealous along the edge of the field? In another version the strophe quoted leads direct to allusions to the wedding in the field:

10 distribute from my basket (or: my basket distributes), give abundance!
Here am I, Pani, seeking, searching for "te kore", "te kore te whiwhia",
13 for "te kore", "te kore te rawea".[2]

The expressions "that which is not possessed" (*te kore te whiwhia*) and "*te kore te rawea*" has—at least among the Ngati-Kahungunu—quite a definite mythical association, as they allude to the search of the gods for "the feminine" in order to create woman from it.[3] Indeed, the words evoke the primordial wedding, whose constant burden they are.[4]

We must content ourselves with this, as regards the song; the rest is unintelligible.

[1] Best Agr. 94 f. (6).
[2] Best Agr. 103.
[3] Lore I, 33.
[4] Lore I, 35 ff.

After the planting of the field is finished, the scene is transferred to the two ovens, *marere* and *anuanu*. The planters eat from the contents of the former. In this way they eat themselves out of the *tapu* in to the workday. They need not fear the violation of *tapu* connected with it; for it has already taken place at the firing of the oven during a ritual drama, the contents of which we have mentioned in detail above. So we need not in this place discuss the function of the *marere* more closely.

The *anuanu*, on the other hand, offers a problem. In the passage where the firing of the *anuanu* is mentioned, it says: ". . . the person whose lot it would be to partake of this would be laid to sleep at the margin of the plot," and later we obtain the following information: "When all the kumara were planted the man who was to eat the '*anuanu*' would be roused up; the '*umu*' [earth oven] not being uncovered in the usual way, but the earth at the edge of the '*umu*' being pushed aside. When the food was thus extracted the '*umu*' would be entirely covered with earth."[1]

This man thus does not participate in the planting and therefore has hardly any kumara *tapu*. It is rather a question of a 'field' or 'earth' *tapu*. As the oven is of the '*pure*' type,[2] it is perhaps intended to remove a *tapu* which, then, must be supposed to be that of the earth. This might explain the special way in which the oven is opened and immediately covered, as the idea might be that the *tapu* in this way is returned to the earth. But this is only conjectures; I cannot find any mythology alluding to this oven, and furthermore, the question why the man sleeps at the margin of the plot is still open. Is it a sacred wedding that is symbolized, parallel to that celebrated at the distribution of the seed kumara? As long as this problem has not been solved, the function of the *anuanu* must be uncertain.

Pita Kapiti then says[3] that when all fields are planted "then each man would prepare his feast for the ceremonial bringing of the sacred pole for his own field. On the day for bringing the sacred pole all the members of the '*hapu*', or of the tribe, would take part in this business. The pole (which was of the wood called '*mapo*')[4] was fixed close to the first hillock of the field,

[1] JPS. 22, 37 f.
[2] Williams s. v. *anuanu*.
[3] JPS. 22, 39.
[4] *mapo* is probably a misprint for *mapou* (*mapau* or *tipau*), *Myrsine Urvillei*.

and with it the '*ko*' called 'Penu', the following '*karakia*' being recited:

Ahuahu whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Whitianga whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Tauranga whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Maketu whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Whakatane whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Opotiki whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Te Kaha nui a Tiki whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Whangaparaoa whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Wharekahika whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Whakararanui whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Waiapu whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e.
He tau mua, he tau roto, he tau heketanga,
he whakatotohitanga,
he wai rengarenga, he koiri ki tau e;
he wai rengarenga, he koiri ki tau e.
Hoehoe ana mai te waka i Matatinitera e,
hoehoe ana mai te waka i Waipupuni ra e,
ka tuku te punga tau a rire,
ka tuku te punga tau a rire,
no Horouta ana te punga tau a rire,
no Haere ana te punga tau a rire.
Penu, Penu, te ko Penu.
Homai he tina, homai he marie,
homai he angitu ki tenei ko,
huakumu ki tenei ko, hua tai ki tenei ko,
hua kahika ki tenei ko, hua kareao ki tenei ko,
hua titoki ki tenei ko, hua karangu ki tenei ko,
hua karaka ki tenei ko.
Rere mai te maramara, koia piri, koia taha.
Haua he tutu, he rangi, he maoa.
Penu, Penu, te ko Penu.

Translation:

1. Ahuahu is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves;

Whitianga is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves;
Tauranga is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves;
Maketu is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves;
Whakatane is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves;
Opotiki is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves;
Te Kaha nui a Tiki is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves;
Whangaparaoa is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves;
Wharekahika is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves;
Whakararanui is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves;
Waiapu is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves.
A first reef, an innermost reef, a reef where the waves break (?? *heketanga*)
A place where there is cutting (?)
Turbid water, out and in at the reef,
Turbid water, out and in at the reef.
The canoe constantly paddles here from Matatinitera,
The canoe constantly paddles here from Waipupuni.
The anchor is dropped in deep water,
The anchor is dropped in deep water.
The anchor which has been dropped in deep water is the Horouta's.
The anchor which has been dropped in deep water is Haere's.
Penu, Penu, the digging-stick Penu.
Give satiety, give peace,
Give success to this digging-stick,
Fertility to this digging-stick, . . . to this digging-stick
Kahika berries to this digging-stick, *kareao* berries to this digging-stick,

Titoki berries to this digging-stick, *karangu* berries to this digging-stick,
Karaka berries to this digging-stick.
Chips fly hither, some of them stick, others fly past.

30. ?
Penu, Penu, the digging-stick Penu.

Commentary.

1 ff. *taua*: us two, viz. the speaker and the one addressed, presumably Penu (see p. 169).
Ahuahu, *Whitianga*, etc., are places along the east coast where the Horouta landed and to which it conveyed kumara. The last name, *Waiapu*, is the very place from which the text originates. One of the versions (AHM. III. 71 (Ngati-Porou)) about the Horouta's voyage to Hawaiki for kumara and back just ends by quoting this section of a corresponding *karakia* and motivates the occurrence of the names by an allusion to the places to which the Horouta conveyed kumara. This *karakia*, too, begins with Ahuahu as the first place where the Horouta landed. The other names are different, which (amongst other things) is due to the fact that the text comes from a place somewhat farther south on the coast. A third, much shorter version (Best Agr. 98) is represented as the *karakia* which was recited when the first kumaras from the Horouta were planted at Ahuahu. Of the lines 1—11 only the first is found consistently.

17. Waipupuni: this place is also mentioned as a place from where the sacred basket comes in a *karakia* recited during the weaving of it. Furthermore, both Waipupuni and Matatera appear in a *karakia* to be recited at the lifting of the crop in the sacred plot as a name of the field.[1]

20 f. The function of *ana* in this connexion is not clear to me. Does it mean that the cable (understood) reaches right up to the canoe?

21. Haere, presumably another name for Kahukura; cf. p. 137 f.

22. *Penu* is the digging-stick which the Horouta brought with it from Hawaiki (JPS. 21, 157 f.). The line is also found in a harvest *karakia* (JPS. 22. 41).

[1] JPS. 22, 36 f. and 41.

25. *huakumu* in itself does make sense. The version in Best (Agr. 98) has: *kia hua kuru ki tenei māra, kia hua kakano ki tenei māra*, 'let there be bread-fruits in this field, let there be *kakano* berries in this field'. *Hua kuru* fits better into the pattern otherwise followed by Lines 25—28 and very possibly is the original form; but it is understandable if the half forgotten bread-fruit tree (*kuru*) has been abandoned for the benefit of the more intelligible *huākumu*, 'very fruitful'.—*hua tai*:?

26.—28. *kahika* (*kahikatoa*): *Podocarpus dacrydioides*. Tree.
kareao: *Rhipogonum scandens*. Twining plant.
titoki: *Alectryon excelsum*. Tree.
karangu: *Coprosma robusta*. Shrub.
karaka: *Corynocarpus laevigata*. Tree.
All these plants bear berries abundantly; it is this fertility which is summoned to the digging-stick in order that the field may participate in it. The berries are all edible, but only a few of them are of practical importance (see e.g. Best Forest 65 ff., 54). Lines 25—28 are found almost unchanged in a *karakia* connected with the harvest in the sacred plot (JPS. 22, 41).

29. What does this refer to?

30. The words are so disconnected that I dare not attempt an interpretation.

31. See 22.

This *karakia* falls into two sections, the former, Lines 1—21, obviously alluding to the Horouta's voyage from Hawaiki to Waiapu, the latter, Lines 22—31, relating to the digging-stick Penu and the field.

The former section, again, consists in a going through the route of the Horouta along the coast of New Zealand with the same refrain, which partly refers to the fertility, but especially the safety on land from the waves of the sea. The meaning is obvious, but the sea probably at the same time in a wider sense represents the dangers which threaten man and crop. The rest of the first section does not tell us much; from Line 20 it may be assumed that the reference is still to the voyage of the Horouta; but we have no clue to the various allusions; consequently

the translation of Lines 12—21 as a whole must be more uncertain.

It might be supposed that this first section should once again carry the history of the kumara back to Hawaiki, but on second thoughts this will seem less reasonable. The ritual of course in a wide sense deals with the kumara, even highly so, but its immediate focus is the sacred pole and the digging-stick which represents Penu, thus the very one which the Horouta brings with it from Hawaiki. It is hardly the history of the kumara, but that of the digging-stick Penu which we follow up in Lines 1—21. (Perhaps the episodes in Lines 12—21 are just connected with this new angle of view of the voyage of the Horouta.) Hence, with the Maori's view of history it is Penu's nature and character that are evoked in it; this implies the ritual relevance of this section. At the same time we see how this view uncovers the unity of the whole ritual text; for the former section in this way becomes a historical prelude to the latter section.

The second section makes the digging-stick a centre from which fertility and good fortune radiate to the field. From the Maori's point of view the two sections are fundamentally equivalent, both are to clothe Penu in its fertilizing nature, one by evoking history, the other directly. This is first done in plain words with variations which in the translation are differentiated more than is actually justifiable, as both '*tina*' and '*marie*' include the idea of something happy and fortunate, partly as something firm and satisfied, partly as something quiet and relaxed. Next, the fertility in berries which is characteristic of a number of plants—mainly uncultivated ones—is imparted to Penu.

It is significant that the second section with little variation returns in the *karakia* which is recited when the crop of the first hillock of the sacred plot is lifted. This shows the position held by the ritual with 'Penu' in the whole cycle of rites. We see that it marks the transition from the various motifs of the planting—sex and vengeance, etc.—to the harvest motif. Now fertility is alone in the foreground.

The signification of the digging-stick Penu thus is rather clear, but we have not been given the least hint of the *mapou* branch.

In the myth we learnt that it was brought from Hawaiki in the Horouta together with Penu and the kumara. Here it only

says that it is used in the rites of planting and on this occasion is mentioned as a '*toko*', i.e. '*pole*', and furthermore that its name is 'Ateate-a-henga',[1] later spelt 'Atiati-a-henga'.[2] This name is also known in Whanganui, but in the form Atiati-hinga.[3] Unfortunately this information does not tell us much. Even though the obscure '*kei te hu o nga mamore*' of the "Hawaiki Programme" may apply to the pole, this does not take us any further. BEST—presumably from the Ngati-Awa—states that *mapou* is called *maro o Whanui*, 'Whanui's kilt'.[4] This at least gives a hint, for Whanui is the star which heralds the lifting of the crop, and this has a mythical parallel in the fact that Whanui is the celestial owner of the kumara, from whom Rongo steals it. The *mapou* pole thus should be connected with the harvest, which fits very well into the picture of the ritual that we succeeded in finding.

From other tribes we have several pieces of information about poles or branches in the field, often expressly stated to be of *mapou*.[5] There is, however, the difference that in most cases the poles are placed before the planting starts, as part of a rite which is to make the field *tapu*. Sometimes the skulls of the ancestors are placed on the poles, which for that matter in several places represent gods, viz. those connected with the cultivation of kumara: Rongo, Maui, Kahukura, and Marihaka. The relation between the gods and the field is briefly but exhaustively described in a text in which it is stated that by the rite which ends the planting all the *mana* of the field is given to Rongomaraeroa.[6] This new owner of the *mana* of the field can inspire the kumara to growth and fertility. In *mana* it is implied that the owner (the god) and the field enter into a fellowship.[7]

The ritual of the digging-stick and the pole brings things to an end for the time being: the planting has been happily completed. Therefore the happy act is naturally rounded off with a great festival which is held at the edge of the field.

During the following five months or so the kumara field is left more or less in peace. It was *tapu* to strangers. The most

[1] JPS. 21, 158.
[2] JPS. 21, 161.
[3] AHM. IV, 5.
[4] Best T. 833.
[5] Best Agr. 58, 59 f., 76, 82, 104 f., 110; Cowan 116; AHM. III Eng. 112.
[6] Best Agr. 159.
[7] Johansen, Maori 95.

important event was the weeding. Raymond Firth has listed the rituals which may be performed during this period. His list runs as follows:[1]

Magic for rain,
Magic against frost,
Magic against pests,
Magic to promote growth,
Ritual offering of food to Pleiades,
Magic for broken tubers.

Such a comprehensive list, however, can only be drawn up if everything is included without consideration to provenance. It must remain undecided how much of it was known to the Ngati-Porou. The only item handed down to us by the Ngati-Porou is the last, viz. the measures to be taken if a kumara tuber was damaged during the weeding. They are described as follows by Kapiti:[2]

"If during the weeding a kumara tuber was broken, the man who had broken the tuber would call out, "Step aside! Step aside! I have had the misfortune to break a kumara tuber, the sacred root of Rongoiamo's foster child." When all the men had gone aside the '*tohunga*' would take the broken tuber, and, putting with it some chickweed from the field and some kumara leaves, would wave it aloft, offering it to the propitious breezes, and recite the following *karakia*:

1. Whakairi tu atu au i te toto o te kumara nei.
   Ma wai e ngaki, e ranga to mate.
   Ma Tu e ngaki, e ranga to mate.
   Ko Rongo ka uakina.
5. He aha te hau nei?
   He muri te hau nei.
   Pupū te kohu i raro.
8. Rau tipu te kai. Penu, Penu, te ko Penu."

The '*karakia*' being finished, the tuber would be buried again in the hillock of the kumara which was broken. On the following morning the *tohunga* would examine it and would find that it had already become united to its own stock."

[1] Firth NZ. 254.
[2] JPS. 22, 40.

Attempt at a translation of the *karakia*:

Standing I lift the weed (stem) of this kumara.
Who shall take care of your death, who shall revenge it?
Tu shall take care of your death, Tu shall revenge it.
? (Rongo is pushed aside).
What wind is this?
It is the north wind.
The fog rises from below,
The food is revenged. Penu, Penu, the digging-stick Penu.

Commentary:

1. *toto* is both weed and stem; presumably it refers to the chickweed that is lifted together with the kumara. Chickweed is also put on the seed kumara in the sacred basket. Its presence here suggests that the planting is recreated.
2. Both *ngaki* and *ranga* mean 'revenge' (vb.), the latter, however, being a poetic word. In the translation I have tried to give a variation in the expressions which to some degree reflects the difference in meaning, but not the poetical ring of *ranga*.
4. *Uaki*: 'push a door back'. The meaning is not clear to me at all.
6. The north wind is the gentle wind in these regions. The line thus alludes to the favourable wind to which the broken kumara tuber is offered, i.e. whose beneficial influence on the growth in this way is imparted to the kumara tuber.
7. The fog . . . I think the reference is to the autumn when the fog develops, i.e. to the harvest time.
8. *Rau tipu* should probably be read as one word: *rautipu* (or *rautupu*): 'be revenged (or revenge) at a killing'. The meaning is presumably that the motif of vengeance, which very characteristically of the Maori was introduced in Lines 2—3, is played through merely symbolically—only through the words—so that man is let off.

   Penu . . . This refrain is known to us, it has in it a ring of the fullness of the harvest. Just as it concludes the planting and heralds the growth, so it is here to restore the growth.

When the star Poututerangi appears, the kumara is inspected by a *tapu* man, the '*matapaheru*'. When he can report that the kumara is fully developed, the stores for the kumara are prepared.

The Harvest.

Our material for the rituals of the harvest unfortunately is very scanty. The description therefore must be defective as well as very uncertain on some points.

We shall begin with KAPITI's description:[1]

"When the star Whanui appeared the lifting of the crop would be begun. The '*matapaheru tohunga*' would go to the first hillock of the field, where the sacred pole had been fixed, having as his implement a piece of '*kokomuku*' not shaped with a tool, but simply broken off, and having also a string, not of flax, but of '*toetoe mātā*'. On reaching the hillock he would gather up the trailing shoots and bind them with the string, reciting at the same time the following '*karakia*':" (see below).

The officiating priest, the '*matapaheru tohunga*' thus is the same as he who previously inspected the kumara. The digging-stick is a broken-off branch of *kokomuku*, i.e. *Veronica salicifolia*. As is well-known, it is not uncommon that cult implements must only be made with a very old-fashioned technique. With the making of the digging-stick we have reached the last item but one in the "Hawaiki Programme": "They are breaking off the digging-stick." Like the digging-stick, also the string denotes an otherwise abandoned technique, The New Zealand flax is not found on the Polynesian islands. The '*toetoe mātā*, i.e. *Carex teretiuscula*, which is used is presumably a relic from the first immigrants' attempt at finding a serviceable material.

The *karakia* which was recited while the stems were tied up runs as follows:

1. Whitiki atu au i taura nei,
   i te makura.
   No tua ana mai, no Hawaiki,
   taura nei, te makura.

[1] JPS. 22, 40 f.

5. Ka whiwhi au, ka rawe au.
   Ka mau, ka mau
   kai takupu nui no Rangi.

Translation:

1. I tie the string round,
   The sedge round.
   From early times, from Hawaiki
   Is the string, is the sedge.
5. I wind round, I tie round;
   Secured, secured [is it]
   To the wide horizon (?) of Heaven.

Commentary:

2. *Makura* is a synonym of *toetoe mata*.
3. The cult implements generally originate from Hawaiki, e.g. the sacred basket and the digging-stick Penu. This agrees with the fact that the ritual in general is considered to have been obtained from Hawaiki. (The line is also found in the *karakia* which is recited during the weaving of the sacred basket).
5. The text has *ha rawe au*, which is no doubt due to an ordinary misprint.
7. *takapu*: the meaning is quite uncertain; the sense of the line is not clear to me, but *Rangi* (Heaven) is presumably the cult place.

This *karakia* does not guide us to any profound meaning of the rite, which perhaps had no other purpose than that of facilitating the performance of the succeeding manipulations of the kumara plant. There may perhaps, however, be an appropriation of the kumara implied in the act, as suggested in Line 6.

Kapiti continues:

"The 'tohunga' would then take his implement, and begin to dig at the hillock, reciting, while doing this, the following '*karakia*':

1. Homai he tina, homai he marie,
   whakatau weweru ki tenei ko,
   huakumu ki tenei ko,
   hua tai ki tenei ko

hua kahika ki tenei ko
hua kareao ki tenei ko,
hua mapou ki tenei ko,
hua titoki ki tenei ko,
hua karangu ki tenei ko,
hua karaka ki tenei ko.
Tenei te ko ka heke,
tenei te ko ka ngatoro,
tenei te ko ka haruru.
Penu, Penu, te ko Penu.

Translation:

Give satiety, give peace,
Garment as ornament to this digging-stick,
Fertility to this digging-stick,
? to this digging-stick,
Kahika berries to this digging-stick,
Kareao berries to this digging-stick,
Mapou fruits to this digging-stick,
Titoki berries to this digging-stick,
Karangu berries to this digging-stick,
Karaka berries to this digging-stick.
This is the digging-stick which goes down,
This is the digging-stick, which booms,
This is the digging-stick, which rumbles:
Penu, Penu, the digging-stick Penu.

Commentary.

1.—10. The beginning is almost identical with Lines 23—28 of the *karakia* which was recited when Penu was planted (see the commentary on p. 168). However, there are minor differences. Line 24 and half of Line 25 have been omitted. In return there is in Line 2 a somewhat enigmatic wish for a beautiful garment (*weweru* is often woven with a figured border) for the digging-stick, which becomes only the more curious as it is a question of the primitive ritual digging-stick. In the case of one of the digging-sticks otherwise used it might perhaps refer to the feather ornaments which decorated the

upper end;[1] for that matter, the digging-stick proper was hardly used at the harvest, but a kind of spade (*kaheru*) shaped like an oar.[2]

7. *Mapou* fruits. I am not aware that these fruits were of any interest at all to the Maoris; I suppose that *mapou* has been included because the sacred branch placed beside the hillock is of *mapou*.

11.—13. Cf. the end (Line 25 ff.) of the *karakia* recited at the distribution of the seed kumara (p. 147) and the Commentary (p. 149 f.).

14. The primitive digging-stick is identified with Penu (cf. p. 167, commentary to Line 22). Hence it is considered as originating from Hawaiki like the ritual.

The ritual text is to create a rich crop. The most peculiar thing is perhaps that this appears as a power in the digging-stick, which not only 'finds', but as it were 'creates' the crop. So we can better understand the part played by 'Penu' when after the planting it is stuck down beside the first hillock. As the digging-stick thus is the focus of the ritual in which the power is concentrated which is to create the good crop, it is conceivable that its stab into the earth is presented in very strong terms; that it 'booms' and 'rumbles' emphasizes its unique character.

Kapiti continues:

"This done, and all the kumara of the hillock at which he had been digging being lifted, he would then bury all, the kumara still hanging to the shoots, with the string with which they were bound and the implement, reciting, as he buried them, the words of this '*karakia*':

1. Tanumai, ko tapukenga ki Waipupuni,
   ko tapukenga ki Matatera,
   ko tapukenga ki Te Whakoau maunga;
   ki raro nei koe moe te hita ai,
5. moe te rawea ai,
   moe whakarongo ake ai."

[1] Best Agr. 37.
[2] Best Agr. 24.

Translation:

1. Lie buried, it is the burial at Waipupuni,
   The burial at Matatera,
   The burial at Te Whakoau-maunga.
   Sleep you down there without moving.
5. Sleep while you are tied round,
   Sleep while listening to that up here.

Commentary.

1. The *tanumai* of the text is read as *tanumia* (or *tanu mai*).
1.—2. Waipupuni and Matatera also occur in the *karakia* recited at the weaving of the sacred basket; there they are parallel to Hawaiki, see further p. 121.
3. I cannot offer any information about Te Whakoau-maunga. It seems natural to consider these places as localities in Hawaiki. It would fit very well into the picture if the cult place was identified with Hawaiki, just as the cult objects are identified with the original ones from Hawaiki.
4.—5. *te* in the combinations *te hita* and *te rawea* causes difficulties. As far as I can see it can in both places be conceived either as affirmative or as negative. I have made my choice on the basis of the whole context, but am somewhat uncertain as to the former. However reasonable it may seem to make it a negation of *hita*, 'move convulsively or spasmodically', it is not quite precluded that *hita* might denote a good omen.
6. Listen, viz. to the ritual.

For the discussion of the principal motifs of this text, burial and sleep, it is necessary to consider both the mythology and the position of the ritual as regards the following events. We shall therefore go on quoting KAPITI's description, thus carrying it on to its conclusion:

"Then the lifting of the whole crop would be set about; which being done, the kumara would be collected from the heaps, and when all were gathered into baskets, the kumara of the first hillock would then be unearthed again, with the string still binding them, and the implement; and during the unearthing these words of '*karakia*' would be recited:

1. Whakaarahia i te papa tuangahuru;
   e kari maranga hake
   i to takotoranga,
   e kari maranga hake
5. i to whakamoenga,
   e kari maranga hake."

Translation:

1. Be awakened by the tenth crash;
   [I] will dig in order to lift you (?)
   From your resting-place,
   [I] will dig in order to lift you (?)
5. From your sleeping-place,
   [I] will dig in order to lift you (?).

Commentary.

1. *tuangahuru.* Even though *tua* normally can only be used in connexion with the numerals from 1 to 9, there can hardly be any doubt of its meaning here. Ten is a sacred figure.[1] There are ten heavens, ten kumaras in the offering to Tawhaki, etc.

   Crash.—The reference must be to the impact of the digging-stick against the ground; cf. the ritual text recited during the first digging.

2. *hake*? Is it related to *hahake*, 'naked', or is it an early variant of *ake*, 'up'? Cf. Tonga *hake*, 'up'.

5. *whakamoenga.* Exactly: the place where (the kumara) has been put to sleep.

This is the end of KAPITI's description. Also in the case of the lifting of the crop there are obvious gaps. The "Hawaiki Programme" discloses one of these, as the programme after its allusion to the digging-stick broken off still has this last item:

They lay down, they remove *tapu*, it is finished.

This the only piece of information extant from the Ngati-Porou about the removal of the *tapu* at the lifting of the crop, is so brief that we can only form an idea of the ritual events

[1] AHM. I, 49.

by a comparison with the sporadic information otherwise in our possession regarding it.

In any case it is the first fruits which are the object of the rites. The first fruits everywhere where they are specified include at least the contents from the first hillock. These are not taken to the store.[1] On the other hand an offering is generally made of the first fruits, perhaps the whole content of the first hillock is used as an offering. In one case the offering of the first fruits consists in the first kumara plant with all the tubers simply being taken to the sacred precinct (*tuahu*) and hung up there, after which the rest of the first fruits are cooked in three ovens.[2] In the other cases, in so far as the procedure is stated at all, all the first fruits are cooked, then the offering of first fruits is removed, and the rest of the contents of the oven is eaten by priests and chiefs.[3]

The effect of these rites at any rate is a removal of the *tapu* from the field.[4] This is ascribed either to the rites as a whole or to the offering of the first fruits alone.[5]

The offering of first fruits is made in slightly different ways. The offering is taken to the sacred precinct where it is hung up or buried.[6] In other cases we hear that it is lifted while being consecrated to the ancestors or to gods.[7] As to its later fate there is silence, but probably it ends at the sacred precinct. Of the deities who receive the offering the following are mentioned: the ancestors, Rongo, Pani (here male), and Matariki, i.e. the Pleiades.[8]

It is difficult to decide whether this ritual removes the *tapu* both from the field and from the kumara as well, or only from the field. TREGEAR and WILLIAMS only mention the removal of the *tapu* from the field (the cultivation, a kumara ground).[9] BEST, on the other hand, always mentions 'the crop'. It is difficult to decide whether this is a loose usage or whether the idea is

[1] Best Agr. 158.
[2] Best Agr. 114.
[3] Best Agr. 114, 108; cf. Williams s. v. *tamaahu*.
[4] Best Agr. 116, 108, 114; TNZI. 35, 93 (Best); Williams, s. v. *tamaahu*.
[5] Tregear Dict. s. v. Pani (from White, Maori Customs 115).
[6] Best Agr. 114, 108, 160.
[7] Best Agr. 114; Cowan 55.
[8] Best Agr. 114; Cowan 55; Tregear Dict. s. v. Pani; Best Agr. 52, 113.
[9] Tregear Dict. s. v. Pani; Williams s. v. *tamaahu*.

that every *tapu* is removed. The latter is probably the case when it is expressly stated that the ordinary field workman partakes of a ritual meal (although from another oven than that of the offering of first fruits).[1] If so, this effect was probably restricted to certain tribes, for besides we have information about a ritual meal after the kumara crop has been stored: "When all the crop was stored then some of the large tubers were cooked for the workmen in an oven known as a *tuapora*. When this oven was opened, a *tohunga* first took therefrom a small portion of food and, holding it up, waved it to and fro. This was then suspended, probably from a tree, as an offering to Rongo, a placation of that *atua*, inasmuch as the people had been cooking his offspring, the kumara. The contents of the oven were then put into baskets and placed before the workmen."[2] Although it is not expressly stated that the kumara prior to the offering was subject to an eating *tapu*, this seems to be a tacit condition of the whole rite. This must also be WILLIAMS' opinion since he defines *tūāpora* as 'first fruits of a crop, etc., which were treated ceremonially by the *tohunga* to remove *tapu* from the crop.' Besides there was a second 'offering of first fruits' after the lifting of the crop, which was sent to the principal chieftains or the 'high priest', which was called *amoamohanga*,[3] while, as mentioned above, the name of the first fruits proper was *tamaahu*.

We can then sum up the results as follows: The first kumaras lifted (from the sacred plot) were used as an offering of first fruits, which was generally accompanied by a ritual meal, often restricted to a limited number of persons. This rite removed the *tapu* of the field so that the lifting of the kumara could take place. Perhaps the *tapu* of the kumara was also removed on this occasion, but frequently, after the crop has been stored, another meal was taken, with an offering through which the kumara was released for food.

If this is compared with KAPITI's description we immediately come up against a difficulty. There is nothing about *tapu*s and their removal there, although the "Hawaiki Programme" expressly states that there was such a procedure, as indeed is the

[1] Best Agr. 108, 114.
[2] Best Agr. 115.
[3] Williams s.v. *amoamohanga*; Best Agr. 95; JPS. 16, 85 (Gudgeon).

only possibility compatible with the general mentality of the Maori. Thus we can safely assume that the *tapu* of the field was removed immediately before the crop was lifted, but no doubt after the lifting of the crop in the sacred plot had started. This was usually done by a rite of the first fruits, viz. in connexion with the offering of first fruits. Here is the difficulty, for it cannot only be a case of a gap in KAPITI's description, but an offering of first fruits at this stage is simply incompatible with KAPITI's account, as, indeed, the kumaras first lifted are buried again. Of course we may imagine anything about the kumaras then lifted afterwards as regards offering, meal, etc., but partly this would be little convincing conjectures, partly we are still left with the rite performed over the first kumaras. What is its place, then? The only reasonable consequence is the simple one that the *tapu* of the field is removed as the first kumara plant is buried. As it can hardly be imagined that the kumara should be released for food without a ritual meal, I suppose that such a meal was eaten after the lifting of the crop in conformity with conditions in other tribes.

The line "They lay down, they remove *tapu*, it is finished" of the "Hawaiki Programme" may allude to either of these two rites and therefore is of little use to us.

The view advanced, on the other hand, is supported by the interpretation of the only harvest myth known to us from the Ngati-Porou. It is only extant in COLENSO's translation, which runs as follows:[1]

"THE STORY OF THE FIGHTING OF TUMATAUENGA WITH HIS ELDER BROTHER RONGOMARAEROA

(Literally translated.)

Their angry contention arose about their kumara plantation; the name of that plantation was Pohutukawa. Then Tumatauenga went to see Rurutangiakau, to fetch weapons for himself; and Rurutangiakau gave to him his own child Te Akerautangi; it had two mouths, four eyes, four ears, and four nostrils to its two noses.

[1] TNZI. 14, 36 f. Colenso does not state his source, but White refers it to the Ngati-Porou (AHM. III Eng. 114 f.).

Then their fighting began in earnest, and Rongomaraeroa with his people were killed, all slain by Tumatauenga. The name given to that battle was Moengatoto (sleeping-in-blood, or bloody sleep). Tumatauenga also baked in an oven and ate his elder brother Rongomaraeroa, so that he was wholly devoured as food. Now the plain interpretation, or meaning, of these names in common words, is, that Rongomaraeroa is the kumara (root), and that Tumatauenga is man.

A remnant, however, of the Kumara (tribe) escaped destruction, and fled into a great lady named Pani to dwell; her stomach (*puku*) was wholly the storehouse for the kumara, and the kumara plantation was also the stomach of Pani. When the people of her town were greatly in want of vegetable food, Pani lit the firewood of her cooking-oven, as if for cooking largely, and it burnt well, and the oven was getting ready. The men (of the place) looking on, said, one to another, "Where can the vegetable food possibly be for that big oven, now being prepared by that woman?" They did not know of her storehouse, she herself only knew. She went outside to the stream of water, and collected it (the food) in two gatherings only (*or*, two scrapings together with her hands); she filled her basket, and she returned to the village (*pa*), to place her food in the oven, and to attend to the baking of it; and when the kumara was properly cooked, she served it out to her people, distributing it evenly. And thus she did every morning and every evening for many days. Now the vegetable food of the time of war is fern-root (pounded and prepared in a mass), which (root) the Maoris commonly call the Permanent-running-root-of-the-soil. In the morning of another day, Pani again went and lit the fire of her cooking-oven, to bake food for all her people; then she went outside, as before, to the stream of water, and seizing her big basket she sat down in the water, groping and collecting beneath her with her hands. While she was thus engaged in gathering the kumara together, there was a man hidden on the other side of that stream, his name was Patatai, and he was a *moho*; he, seeing her and her doings, suddenly made a loud startling noise with his lips (such as the Maoris make to startle wood-pigeons), which Pani heard, and was wholly overcome with shame, at herself and her actions having been seen. The name of that water was Monariki. The woman

returned crying to the village, through her great shame; and hence it was that the kumara was secured for man. The name of her husband was Mauiwharekino. From Pani came the several sacred forms of words (*nga karakia*) used ceremonially by the wise men (*tohungas*) at planting and at harvesting the kumara. It was Tumatauenga who destroyed the kumara, lest the strengthening virtues of Rongomaraeroa should come down (*or* become known) to the habitable earth (*or* to this land)."

This myth falls into two motifs, the battle in the field and the parturient Pani.

We shall begin with the first motif.[1] The scene is a field owned in common by Rongo and Tu, i.e. by the divine originator of the kumara and man as a *tapu* warrior. This corresponds completely to the situation when a sacred plot is to be harvested, for it has just this double sacral connexion, to belong to the sacred kumara as well as the priest. Tu seeks help from Rurutangiakau; this name may perhaps—in part at Colenso's suggestion—be interpreted as "the-whispering-scrub-of-the-coast"; at any rate Tu gets Rurutangiakau's own child "Te Akerautangi"; this is the name of a tree, *Dodonaea viscosa*, the hard wood of which is worked up into weapons (of the same name) and digging-sticks. The two mouths, etc., describe the carvings of the digging-stick at the upper end, with a face on each side. In certain places such richly ornamented digging-sticks were used at the ritual in the sacred plot.[2] With this weapon Tu killed Rongo. The battle was called Moengatoto, the *toto* bed or the *toto* sleep. *Toto* may be blood—but perhaps also weeds or a third something. Finally Rongo is cooked in an oven by Tu and eaten.

This describes a harvest in mythical form. It is not, however, an ordinary harvest, for the kumara is not to be eaten by man; on the contrary Tu will withhold the kumara from man. This harvest completely corresponds to the one made of the first fruits in the sacred plot, the killing in question consists in the kumara being buried again after being lifted. It is quite interesting that the name of the battle alludes to sleep (or bed) for in the ritual text recited at the burial (p. 176 f.) it is just said that the kumara

[1] In the following section I am indebted to Colenso's Commentary, TNZI. 14, 37 f.

[2] See e.g. Best Agr. 36.

is to sleep, and correspondingly it is 'awakened' after the harvest.

Ritually the burial of the first fruits means that the field can be harvested, i.e. that it is no more *tapu*. The myth shows us that this is done by the *tapu* of the kumara, its inner life, which in this situation is called Rongo, being killed, or more exactly, suffering a defeat which leads to temporary death, a sleep. The whole attitude is characteristic of the Maori, the kumara is not *given* to him, he captures it.

The myth accentuates that this does not remove the eating *tapu* of the kumara; it is not for man, but for Tu, i.e. the officiating priest (in this situation), that the kumara is lifted. Thus our previous considerations are corroborated.

Tu eats Rongo. If there was a ritual parallel to this, which is very probable, the eating must take place after the lifting of the crop.

It is not without interest to compare the myth with a version from the Ngati-Kahungunu, as the end of a song from this tribe consists in a rendering of the myth about Tu and Rongo's contention.

Of the more or less identical versions of the song, the one edited by NGATA is used. The end of the song (Lines 16—25) runs as follows in translation:

It began with Tu's and Rongo's contention
About their field, Pohutukawa.
One was defeated, it was Moengakura,
The other was defeated, it was Moengatoto.
It was Ueka who became sick of the fight,
He went out and found Marere-o-tonga,
And Timuwhakairia, [in whom] the ritual knowledge was safe.
A peace was made, mediated by women,
It was a permanent peace [made] before the god,
The contention was brought to an end![1]

This version completely agrees with the current form of the ritual, in which the field is released for the harvest by an offering of first fruits, the mythical reflection of which here is the peace made 'before the god', i.e. at the sacred precinct.

[1] Ngata No. 115.

I cannot tell for certain who Timuwhakairia is,[1] but Marere-o-tonga is one of the mythical founders of joy and the ceremonial games.[2] This is undoubtedly connected with the great festivals which are celebrated after the lifting of the crop and which are heralded by the offering of first fruits.

As an offering of first fruits no doubt was made also among the Ngati-Porou, it is natural to conjecture that it was also a conclusion of peace, but this cannot be any more than guesswork.

We shall now turn to the second mythical motif, the parturient Pani. Some of the kumara escape from Tu's attack and hide in Pani's stomach, i.e. the kumara store, as is expressly stated. The situation then is certain: the kumara is lifted and stored. (Pani's stomach is also the field; this piece of information is of course connected with another situation, viz. the planting, as shown above).

Pani gives birth to the kumara in a stream which is called Monariki, and cooks it in an oven. During this she is taken by surprise and escapes to the village in her shame; in this way man gets hold of the kumara.

In its entirety this agrees completely with a rite through which the eating *tapu* is removed; but an interpretation of the details is probably impossible as we do not know anything about this rite among the Ngati-Porou. So we must confine ourselves to stating that the myth corroborates our assumption that such a rite was performed.

Still, something may be said about the relation between Pani's delivery and the ritual, not, it is true, among the Ngati-Porou, but among the neighbouring Ngati-Awa, as the myth there is elaborated in such a way that we may venture a more detailed interpretation.

The myth begins by Rongo stealing the kumara in Heaven and fecundating Pani with it. Next it says:[3]

"Pani became pregnant and when the time of her delivery approached, Rongo said, "Go you to Mona-ariki's (or Moana-riki's) water and give birth there." The woman came to the water and began reciting her *karakia*; it is like this:

[1] Cf. AHM. III, 37, 38, 25 f.
[2] JPS. 38, 53 (Best); TNZI. 34, 38.
[3] Best Agr. 154.

Pani! Pani! Rinse in the water!
It comes down behind, comes down before me.
Like whom? Like Pani.

Then she gave birth; the woman's kumara children were born; Pio, Matatu . . . (various sorts), and the others were born, for the woman has many children. Now Rongo said, "Arrange a *tapu* oven (and) an oven for the people (*umu waharoa*)."[1] The *tapu* [directions] for the *tapu* were given; the name of the *tapu* oven is *kirihau* or *kohukohu*; the *kohukohu* ritual was given—this is the *karakia*:

Taumaha ki runga, taumahi ki raro
etc. (Unfortunately I am unable to give a translation).

Then it was made profane and it was finished."

In connexion with Pani's ovens another version from the same tribe has the following passage:[2]

"And this was the origin of the knowledge possessed by the Maori people of carefully preparing and cooking food. Hence the Maori can cook food before he eats it."

The myth then continues by telling how Pani is taken by surprise—here by her son Maui—and ashamed escapes down to Mataora (a kind of underworld). There Maui finds her while she is working in her kumara field. This episode is introduced by a statement that now we shall learn how the results of Pani's birth and oven were handed down to the descendants. However, this does not become obvious to the reader; but the meaning is probably that when Maui—who is a kind of culture hero—finds Pani, her knowledge, etc., is secured for man.

It is not this conclusion which we shall deal with here, but the scenes in which Pani gives birth to and cooks the kumara.

The *karakia* recited by Pani during her childbirth is quite interesting. It highly strikes one as being a ritual formula recited by one who—more or less—represents Pani. Actually it is not suitable at all to Pani, as indeed Pani is invoked.

Behind the myth we rather clearly see a ritual consisting in

[1] On *waharoa* see Best T. 1120. Williams has a different translation, which, however, fits less well here. Best Agr. 155 makes *waharoa* be for the priests. There is, then, some uncertainty as to the translation.

[2] Best T. 829.

somebody—presumably a woman (*ruahine*?)—washing kumara tubers in a brook or the like in order afterwards to cook them in an oven. We can also give reasonable grounds for the washing. BEST has a paragraph which seems to give us the clue. He writes: "Any tubers cooked as food for the workmen while engaged in lifting the crop, must not be scraped, but are cooked with the skin on and eaten in the same condition."[1] We do not know whether 'Pani's oven' was fired as an introduction to or in conclusion of the harvest, but in both cases it would be natural if the rule mentioned by BEST was observed. Hence we have the practical reason for the cleaning of the kumara. In itself it is probable that the same comes into play when the *marere* at the planting are put into water. But this practical measure, as it is played in a sacral sphere, obtains a more profound significance: it becomes the birth of the kumara.

As to the oven, the word *taumaha* in the *karakia* recited suggests a connexion with the offering of first fruits and the desecration of the field. On the other hand the mythical context and a few lines later in the *karakia* suggest that the main thing is the removal of the eating *tapu* of the kumara. It is especially noticeable that Pani's oven is a 'primordial oven', by which all cooking in ovens is initiated and hence ritually justified. The doubleness of the function may have its simple reason in the fact that both things took place at the performance of the same rite among the Ngati-Awa and not separately at two different rites as presumably in the case of the Ngati-Porou.

The fact that the Ngati-Porou also knew the myth of the parturient Pani and her oven suggests that there was a related rite, which, however,—as mentioned above—must be supposed to have been performed as the conclusion of the harvest and only in order to remove the eating *tapu*.

It is now seen that the last item of the "Hawaiki Programme": "They lay down, they remove *tapu*," can refer to both rites among the Ngati-Porou. 'They lay down' can either refer to the first fruits which are buried again or the words may allude to the fact that the kumara was put into the water or into the oven at the concluding rite. The former possibility is perhaps the most probable one.

[1] Best Agr. 114.

The joy at the harvest extended into great festivals which were especially brilliant because they fell in the season when food was most abundant. In the myth of Tu and Rongo's contention and their reconciliation (the Ngati-Kahungunu) we found an allusion to this joyful sequel. Feasts, games, dancing, singing, speeches, and other gay or serious entertainments made the harvest festivals one of the great events of the year—or rather its greatest.[1] We have several testimonies (from the Ngati-Puhi) to that effect from the earliest travellers. CRUISE writes: "One of the gentlemen of the ship was present at the shackerie [i.e. *hakari*] or harvest-home (if it may be so called), of Shungie's [Hongi's] people. It was celebrated in a wood, where a square space had been cleared of trees, in the centre of which three very tall posts, driven into the ground in the form of a triangle, supported an immense pile of baskets of koomeras [kumaras]. The tribe of Teperree of Wangarooa was invited to participate in the rejoicings which consisted of a number of dances performed round the pile, succeeded by a very bountiful feast; and when Teperree's men were going away, they received a present of as many koomeras [kumaras] as they could carry with them."[2] WALSH gives a piece of information which undeniably arouses one's curiosity: "It [i.e. the harvest] was naturally made the occasion of a *hakari*, or harvest festival, accompanied by religious rites, but of these I have been unable to learn any details."[3] It is a pity and unfortunately only too characteristic of our sources of Maori religion, that they so often leave us in the lurch on points as to which our imagination easily induces us to believe, perhaps rightly, that they were the very most interesting ones.

Appendix I.

Io's Names.

An asterisk means that the reference in question also includes an interpretation of the name.

The names are listed alphabetically, *te*, prepositions, and negatives, however, being disregarded.

[1] Cf. Best Agr. 112.
[2] Cruise 106.
[3] TNZI. 35, 20 (Walsh).

Io-te-akaaka. Lore II, 4.
Io-te-hau-e-rangi. Lore I, 16*
Io-i-te-hiringa. Lore I, 6.
Io-i-te-mahara. Lore I, 8.
Io-mata-aho. Lore I, 16*, Best Rel. 253 f.*, Man 1913 § 57, JPS. 29, 141.
Io-matakaka. Best Rel. 190.
Io-mata-kana. Man 1913 § 57.
Io-mata-nui. Best Rel. 253 f.*
Io-mata-ngaro. Lore I, 6, 16*; Best Rel. 253 f.*; Man 1913 § 57, JPS. 29, 141.
Io-mata-putahi. Lore I, 16*.
Io-mata-wai. Lore I, 16*.
Io-matua. Lore I, 8, 16*; Best Rel. 253 f.; Man 1913 § 57; JPS. 29, 141.
Io-matua-kore. Lore I, 16*.
Io-matua-te-kore. Best Rel. 253 f.*; Lore I, 13; Ngata Mot. 201 (= JPS. 16, 45); Man 1913 § 57.
Io-te-matua-te-kore. Lore I, 6.
Io-matua-taketake-te-waiora. Lore II, 4.
Io-nui. Lore I, 16*; Best Rel. 253 f.*; Man 1913 § 57; JPS. 29, 141.
Io-te-pukenga. Best Rel. 253 f.*
Io-i-te-pukenga. Lore I, 6.
Io-roa. Lore I, 16; Best Rel. 253 f.*; Man 1913 § 57.
Io-taketake. Lore I, 6; Best Rel. 253 f.*; Man 1913 § 57.
Io-te-taketake. Lore I, 16.
Io-tamaua-take. Lore I, 16*.
Io-tikitiki-rangi. Lore II, 4.
Io-tikitiki-o-rangi. Lore I, 16*; Man 1913 § 57; JPS. 29, 141.
Io-te-toi-o-nga-rangi. Lore I, 16; Best Rel. 253 f.*
Io-urutapu. Best Rel. 253 f.*
Io-te-waiora. JPS. 32, 2; Man 1913 § 57.
Io-wananga (o-nga-rangi) JPS. 32, 2*.
Io-te-wahanga. Lore I, 16*; Best Rel. 253 f.*; Man 1913 § 57.
Io-i-te-wananga. Lore I, 8.
Io-te-whiwhia. Best Rel. 253 f.
Io-te-kore-te-whiwhia. Man 1913 § 57.

Appendix II.

Io's Origin.

It is difficult to decide definitively whether Io as a high god arose in pre- or post-European times. The Io known to us at any rate is characterized by European inspirations. By throwing light on the question of Io's origin we can, however, contribute to an estimate of Io's age.

The question apparently has already been discussed by RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI in a paper from 1950, reprinted in "Essays on the History of Religions", Leiden 1954, pp. 37—42, under the title of "Io and Rangi". With great learning and numerous parallels he makes an analysis of Io's character and concludes: ". . . in the last analysis Io is Rangi himself sublimated and raised to a higher plane." This is not the result of the present discussion, but there is reason at once to point out two things which to an essential degree explains the differences. One is that PETTAZZONI completely disregards the possibility that Io as a high god may have entered, as it were, sideways into Maori religion, viz. from Christianity. The other is the fact that PETTAZZONI's argumentation is phenomenological, not historical. The conclusion might perhaps be supposed to remain in force even if Io admittedly was not a former god of Heaven.

These preliminary remarks are intended to make it evident that the question of Io's historical origin actually has hardly been touched on by PETTAZZONI. I think we ought to disregard the previous speculations about Io as an early, common-Polynesian god, Io, Iho, or Kiho, since, as mentioned on p. 36 ff., they rest on a foundation which will not stand the test of criticism.

It is evident that Io's history in a wide sense can very easily be enormously ramified. Individual priests, special social conditions, the development and character of other gods, etc., may enter as factors. We have no means of pursuing all these hypothetical threads. There is, however, a problem which to any consideration must be of importance, viz. the question: did the name of Io exist as a god's name before the high god arose, and if so, what did it cover?

Now it appears that side by side with the tradition of the high

god Io a few pieces of information about another Io or, if you like, several other Ios are extant. Several of these pieces of information, however, are so inane that they cannot be used for anything. There will, however, be a few left which are worth considering in detail.

To these perhaps hardly belongs a genealogy in which Io appears among Rangi's and Papa's children, because it originates from the Chatham Islands.[1] Yet, it is worth including, because it suggests rather an old Io, who was not a high god, but only was one among many others, on a line with Rongo, Tane, Tangaroa, Tiki, and other gods from the general pantheon of the Maoris.

In a kumara *karakia* there is an Io,[2] who perhaps might be brushed aside as only a refrain *i—o*, if we had not a very interesting kumara myth in which Io appears. However conditions may be as regards Io in the *karakia*, the myth is at any rate the principal document in this case, both because it gives us unambiguous information about another Io and because it originates from the district of the Ngati-Kahungunu, the centre of the high-god tradition and therefore is highly relevant to the question. The myth comes from a manuscript written by S. Locke and has been printed in Ngata Mot., the introduction to No. 115. It runs as follows:

"Rongomaraeroa and Tumatauenga contended about the fields, Tawarua and Tawaraio. Tumatauenga rose (started?) immediately in the evening. He was killed, it was (the battle of) Moengakura. In the morning the other started, [he was killed,] it was the battle of Moengatoto. Io began building a fortified place with palisades and a watch-tower.

Now Ueha realized that man would be exterminated, he would not appear in the world. How should man be saved? Then he went out to Marereotonga in order to have him make peace. He came, but did not quite succeed.

Then he sent for Mohanuiterangi, and at length a permanent peace was concluded. It was a peace which woman had mediated, a consolidated peace in the sacred precinct (literally: 'before the god', *ki mua ki te atua*); the war was over.

[1] JPS. 4, 42 (Tamahiwaki).
[2] Grey Mot. 293 f. (Line 51).

Rongomaraeroa's sphere is that of providing food, sending people on travels, dancing, and building houses. Tumatauenga's sphere is always war and fight. Io's work is that of building fortified places with palisades. Therefore this song is true."

The song alluded to contains a short version of the myth without Io being mentioned (see p. 184).

The remarkable thing is that we from the Ngati-Kahungunu themselves learn about an Io who in spite of the scanty characterization is easily distinguished from the high god. As it is difficult to imagine that this myth with Io arose after Io's name had become most sacred, it is almost certain that the Io who builds fortified places is earlier.

Furthermore, the kumara myth as a type is undoubtedly old among the Maoris; as pointed out above (p. 183 f.) the myth is a ritual myth. Finally Io's appearance in the Moriori genealogy from the Chatham Islands points in the same direction.

So we dare assume that this Io is the earlier. The question then is whether he has anything else in common with the high god than the name. Has the Io who builds fortified places been changed into the high god by an independent Maori priest?

It is difficult to answer the question definitively unless further information should emerge. What could move a Maori to seize upon just this figure it is difficult to say. Tentatively we may point to a few features: Io is not compromised by direct participation in the conflict, but keeps to the defensive line. One of the high god's principal features in the early Io tradition is just that of keeping aloof and keeping things within their boundaries. The relation of the Io building fortified places to the conclusion of peace is quite obscure. It might be supposed that he introduced the peace. But all this will only be vague hypotheses. We do not even obtain any support by including Ioio-whenua in our considerations. It is true that Best says about the latter that he "represents peace and all peaceful conditions and pursuits, thus in Matatua lore,"[1] for in the Ngati-Kahungunu tradition he, together with others, gets the character that "all these are personifications of or represent volcanic action, earthquakes, and subterranean fire."[2] So we are back again where we started.

[1] JPS. 38, 53 (Best).
[2] JPS. 37, 68 (Best).

Quite independent of a possible genetic connexion between the two Io's, however, is the following consideration: The sacred name of the high god must rather soon have made the tradition of other Io's impossible. The fact that we possess such a tradition at all from the tribe which must be considered the centre of the worship of the high god is evidence that the tradition must be very late. All things considered there is the greatest probability that Io became a high god after the Europeans came to New Zealand.

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Consulted books on the Maoris and some other works quoted. Abbreviations.

ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES OF PERIODICALS AND SERIAL PUBLICATIONS

DMB.	Dominion Museum Bulletin. Wellington.
DMM.	Dominion Museum Monograph. Wellington.
JPS.	Journal of the Polynesian Society.
JRAI.	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
MPS.	Memoirs of the Polynesian Society.
NZJSc.	New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology.
TNZI.	Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute.

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