MYTHS FROM MURIHIKU

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## Glossary and Bibliography

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This thesis presents, in a newly edited and annotated form, a collection of Maori language texts recorded by the Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers in the far south of the South Island of New Zealand in approximately 1850. There are introductory analyses and translations. A general introduction discusses the relationships which exist between these narratives and comparable narratives existing in the North Island, and elsewhere in Polynesia.

The Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers was a German Lutheran missionary who arrived on Ruapuke Island in Foveaux Strait in 1844, and lived there until his death in 1885. He recorded traditions which were related to him by the local Waitaha/Kāti Māoī/Kāi Tahu people. They provide the main record of South Island mythology to have survived, and they are also one of the most important collections of narratives concerning traditional Māori lore and religious traditions in the country as a whole.

Although Wohlers made certain corrections to make the texts conform to perceived linguistic norms, in vocabulary and idiom these narratives reveal distinctive South Island dialectal forms.

When themes and motifs in these narratives are compared with related material from other parts of Polynesia, much can be discovered about their meanings, and the processes of oral transmission which have shaped and preserved them.

In content, this collection contains myths about the earliest ancestors (Rangi and Papa and their children), who formed the earth and sky, and created life on earth and the natural phenomena and resources necessary to sustain life. Other narratives tell of the acquisition by humankind of useful or necessary arts or activities, and the origins of the correct rituals for such activities as farming, fishing and taking revenge on enemies. Others are stories of adventurous encounters with witches and monsters. Many of these traditions are unique to this collection.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A. THE POLYNESIAN CONTEXT

This thesis presents a collection of traditional Māori stories from the small island of Ruapuke in Foveaux Strait, New Zealand. They were recorded in the mid-nineteenth century by a German missionary, J.F.H. Wohlers. Contact with Europeans was already significant, but sufficiently recent for the elder members of the community to retain their traditional Māori lore.

Ruapuke

Ruapuke is the very image of geographical isolation. It lies at the far south of the South Island of New Zealand, separated from the mainland by a stormy strait which often prevents access to the island. It is low-lying and small in size, measuring about seven kilometres by five, and deeply indented along its western edge. These deep inlets gave some shelter to canoes, but the strong storms which lash the island meant that often the inhabitants of Ruapuke and their visitors were stranded there for days or even weeks.1 Crops cultivated by Māori in the warmer climates further north would not grow on Ruapuke, so the diet of the islanders consisted largely of shellfish, fish, seal meat and fernroot, along with the seasonal harvest of muttonbirds from even smaller islands nearby.

Isolated as the island was, there were periods when it functioned as an important centre for South Island Māori. Its very remoteness meant that it became a place of refuge for groups of survivors from inter-tribal conflicts. Over the centuries many people had taken up residence there, from the times of the very earliest tribes, about whom little is known, to those of tribes whose genealogies can be traced back to important founding ancestors. The three most important of these later tribes are Waitaha, who trace their ancestry back to the canoe Uruao, Kāti Māmoe, whose whakapapa link them with Ngāti Kahungunu and allied tribes of the North Island, and Kāi Tahu, who are linked to Ngāti Porou of the East Coast

1Wohlers gives a lyrical description of the mountainous waves which crash against the bluffs of the island (Wohlers, 1883: 115). But the consequence of this wild weather is frequently mentioned in his reports to his mission in North Germany: the death by drowning of members of the local community, often the most prominent members of the tribe.
of the North Island.2

After the reverses suffered further to the north in the 1830s,3 many hundreds of Kāi Tahu travelled southwards in search of safety, continuing a pattern which had been in force over the centuries. They established themselves in the Southland area, known as Murihiku (‘Land’s End’), to regroup, rally their forces, and gather war-parties to attack their enemies in the north. After the paramount chief of Kāi Tahu, Te Maiharanui, whose home was in Canterbury, had been captured and put to death by his enemies in 1830, the leadership of the tribe became less clear. The chief of the Murihiku region, who lived on Ruapuke Island, became the leading contender for the position. Around 1835, Tūhawaiki succeeded his uncle, Te Whakataupuka, as the principal Murihiku chief. He became the focus of the struggle to reassert Kāi Tahu mana, and so Ruapuke became an important centre not only of the Murihiku region but of the whole of Kāi Tahu territory which extended over most of the South Island. Wohlers states that Ruapuke was ‘the residence of the distinguished people of the race and of the most exalted chieftains, and the centre and gathering place of the Maoris, who were scattered all over the country’.4

The South Island was sparsely populated. At the time of European contact the whole Murihiku area probably supported a population of less than one thousand,5 of whom about two hundred lived more or less permanently on Ruapuke in half a dozen different villages. After the death by drowning of Tūhawaiki in 1844, his heirs continued to live on Ruapuke.

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2This is a very sketchy overview of a complex situation. All tribal groupings are composed of many hapū or sub-tribes, and conquests and marriage alliances blur many boundaries. For an analysis of some of these complexities, see O’Regan, 1990: 7-12. Other information in contained census and land claim lists, whakapapa and private family papers.

Wohlers said nothing about the tribal affiliations of the people on Ruapuke Island, either in his reports back to the North German Mission or in his registers of births, deaths and marriages. In his Book 9 (omitted from this thesis) there is an account of a Kāi Tahu-Kāti Māmoe contest (‘Ko Tarewarei’, published in White, 1887, III: 171-4), while ‘Ko Raureka’ mentions the Waitaha tribe (White, 1887, III: 175-7; the Haweia and Kopu-ai tribes in this story are names added by White.)

3Te Rau-paraha’s raids on South Island settlements on the Kaikōura Coast and in Canterbury.

4Wohlers, 1893: 101. This was recognised by the British colonial authorities in 1840 when the Treaty of Waitangi was sent to three Kai Tahu centres for ratification by the leading chiefs: Banks Peninsula, Ōtakou and Ruapuke.

5Edmund Halswell estimated the population of the area in the early 1840s as a maximum of 810 and perhaps only half this figure (British Parliamentary Papers 1847-8 (46) App. 40). In 1844 Edward Shortland put the figure at 650 (BPP 1846 (337) 153-9). Mantell’s 1853 census lists 278 people in Murihiku, including 127 in six settlements on Ruapuke (Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives, 1886, G-16).

Wohlers himself said that there were about 200 people living on Ruapuke when he arrived in 1844, and about another 400 living elsewhere in the Foveaux Strait region (Wohlers, 1881: 123).
But with the changing patterns of Māori life after European settlement, the mana of the Kāi Tahu chieftainship was no longer invested in a single person. Changes in lifestyle led to a move away from Ruapuke, as the islanders sought the more secure harbours of the larger Stewart Island and the farmlands of the mainland. A number of chiefs became involved in new-style ventures such as trading and commercial fishing. But even though Tūhawaiki’s nephew, Topi Pātuki, participated in Pākehā whaling ventures, sold garden produce in Invercargill, owned race-horses and had a part share in various coastal vessels, it was on Ruapuke that he lived until his death in 1900. However, in the latter years of the nineteenth century there were very few permanent residents on the island. Those who stayed were the elderly. The younger members of families who had previously lived there and who had rights to Ruapuke reserve land now lived on Stewart Island and used Ruapuke to graze their sheep.6

Polynesia

The small island of Ruapuke is part of a much bigger Pacific Island grouping, Polynesia, whose people share a common cultural background despite being separated by thousands of kilometres of ocean. Their languages, while being particular to each group, are nevertheless recognisable as belonging to one family.

Polynesia is now seen to be made up of two major culture areas, Western and Eastern Polynesia. Western Polynesia includes Samoa, Tonga and the Polynesian outliers further west. The much larger Eastern Polynesia includes Hawai’i, French Polynesia, Easter Island, the Cook Islands and Aotearoa/New Zealand.7

The cultural and linguistic relationships between the different islands reflect the migratory history of the Polynesian people. From Tonga, first settled about 1300 BC, the first Polynesians moved to Samoa, and from there westwards to the outliers.

Before 500 AD, there was a new major shift, this time eastwards to the Society Islands.

6Wohlers, 1895: 199-200.
7These correspond to the linguists’ groupings of Tongic and Samoic languages (the archaeologists’ Western Polynesia) and Eastern Polynesian.
Tahiti was then the new centre from which further settlement took place. Aotearoa was probably the last area in Eastern Polynesia to be settled (around 800 AD) and its inhabitants came from Tahiti, perhaps by way of the Australs or the Cook Islands. It is in these areas of Eastern Polynesia that one would expect the closest affinities with the culture of Aotearoa generally and of Murihiku in particular.

The Polynesian World View

It is not just language and material culture that Polynesian people share and which allow one to see regional groupings and affinities. Ideas, values, religion and literature are areas which archaeologists and even social anthropologists are inclined to avoid. And yet, as Orbell has shown, it is only by looking at a concept like Hawaiki in all its different Polynesian manifestations and not just in Aotearoa that it can really be understood.

Other shared concepts found throughout Polynesia are mythological figures such as Tangaroa, a 'god' usually associated with the sea, Māui, who fished up the islands from the ocean depths, the canoe-builder Rata, and Hina, the representative of womanly activities. A belief in the power of tapu and in a quality known as mana is also universal in Polynesia. Such concepts, values and mythological figures are to be found in the stories passed on from generation to generation, spreading from one island group to another.

To call these accounts 'stories' is not in any way to disparage them. Because of the difficulties of definition, I have chosen to use this word for the Murihiku accounts which I am presenting. This is a direct translation of the Māori word kōrero which the narrators themselves probably used when referring to them. But this does not mean that they are to be regarded as simple tales fit only for children. On the contrary, the ideas, language and rhetorical devices in them are often complex.

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9This literature was, of course, communicated orally as there was no written form of language before the arrival of Europeans.
10Orbell, 1985a: 5. Hawaiki appears as a paradisial land in the literatures of Eastern, but not Western, Polynesia.
11Kōrero, a noun or verb, covers a range of meanings associated with communication: 'talk, story, discussion' and so on. Words used in many areas of Polynesia to refer to story-telling (tara and kai and their variants) also have a range of meanings, which often include singing and game-playing.
Traditional Polynesian ideas are often difficult for a person living in the modern world to grasp. The people who told these stories lived in a closed world of shared culture, so that the concepts and preoccupations which emerge in these narratives concerned them all. Western ideas of causality and chronology do not always apply in this world. There was no possibility of comparing, analysing, accepting or rejecting values and ideas, for the world of the stories was the world of reality.

Archetypes

One of the reasons why Europeans find the stories difficult is that Polynesians tended to think in archetypes. Archetypes are prototypes: figures, concepts or events in the stories which set the pattern for future generations to follow. A figure such as the archetypal canoe-builder Rata, for example, becomes the model for all future canoe builders. The tohunga who takes the kūmara from the storehouse and plants it in the field re-enacts the old myth of the fight of the humans against the kūmara people.12 Because of this, one cannot expect psychological realism or logical sequences of events in Polynesian myths. The figures in the Murihiku stories do not necessarily have credible motives for their actions. Instead, they exhibit one particular quality or aspect, which is revealed in the way they speak or act. The number of roles open to them is restricted: men can be chiefly or low-born, brave or cowardly, strong or vacillating. Women either help or obstruct the hero, they rarely act on their own account. What this means in terms of the narrative is that sometimes a person seems to act in an unbelievable or inconsistent way.

Often, too, there are what seem to be illogical sequences of events. A number of events may be described, but the connections between them are not made clear. An example of this is in the story of Rona in this collection of myths from Murihiku. Rona is a figure who is associated with the moon, and storytellers usually find a way of taking him or her from the earth to the moon. But in this version there is no attempt to show how or why he gets there. Many questions cannot be asked, for the narrators of the tales would not have

12These figures are discussed in the introductions to ‘Rata: canoe builder and avenger’ and ‘Rongo-i-tua: the coming of the kūmara to Aotearoa’.
considered them meaningful: before Tura visited the Island of Women, were male babies ever born, and if so what happened to them? Where did humans get fire from before Māui got it from Mahuika? How can Tāne be a grown man coming back to find his parents, before he is actually born? How could the headless Nuku-mai-tore have noses?

Physical details in the stories are also not necessarily realistic. The kūmara or sweet potato was not grown as far south as Ruapuke, and can therefore have played no part in the daily life of the people there. And yet in these stories there are karakia and descriptions of ritual acts which must have been remembered and passed down from the time when the ancestors of the people lived in the warmer climate to the north. The mythological stories of the arrival of the kūmara in Aotearoa and the teaching of the correct methods of cultivation were of religious significance to the people of Ruapuke, even though they could have had no practical application.

The stories related by the people of Ruapuke show that they shared in the same preoccupations as their relatives in the the rest of Polynesia. The seventeen narratives discussed in this thesis span almost the whole range of subject matter found in Polynesian stories elsewhere. There are myths of origin, accounts of settlement and exploration, and stories about encounters with witches and monsters. The themes of the narratives are varied: there are stories about vengeance, jealousy, trickery, and reversals of fortune. There are rivalries between brothers and brothers-in-law; unfaithful wives are punished; abandoned sons go in search of their fathers. There is the constant clash of human will against the forces which oppose it and threaten to overwhelm it: spirits and supernatural beings who try to keep their resources in their own hands instead of handing them over for human use, and malevolent monsters who try to kill the hero or otherwise prevent him from accomplishing his task. Human beings triumph by using spiritual methods (karakia and ritual) and also by their own superior force or cunning.

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13 The kūmara grew no further south than Taumutu, according to Shortland (1851: 243-4).
14 See the stories ‘Ko Rongo-i-tua’ and ‘Ko Māui’.
Archetypal figures

The first stories in this Murihiku collection concern the earliest ancestors. These are the beings often referred to by Pākehā commentators as ‘gods’, while the figures which follow on from them are spoken of as ‘demi-gods’ and ‘heroes’. And yet in traditional Māori terms there is no such clear-cut division. All these figures appear at the beginning of the whakapapa of living persons, and are seen as human ancestors. This is shown by the words used in cosmogonical accounts to describe them, tāngata, ‘people’, and tīpuna, ‘ancestors’.

The distinctions between ‘natural’, ‘supernatural’ and ‘human’ as Europeans define these categories do not exist in the Māori world view. Just as the ‘gods’ are directly related to human beings, so too are rocks, trees and birds, for these are all children of Tāne, the father of the human race. In some traditions, Māui and Tāwhaki accomplish acts of creation such as raising the sky or fathering birds and trees, and even figures who are known to have lived in more recent times can perform deeds which would be regarded as supernatural in European terms.

Many actions performed by human beings in later times may also be seen as re-enactments of primal acts. Thus when a husband and wife separated, they could, in ritual, be identified with Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku, the first parents of mankind who were forced to live apart. When wood spirits raise Rata’s tree, they use the same words as were used in the beginning by Tāne to raise Rangi, and these words can be used in later times by people hauling a canoe.

There is often a contrast, either implied or stated, between the words tāngata, ‘human beings’, and atua, often loosely translated as ‘gods’. The word atua is never used, however, to refer to beings such as Rangi, Papa-tua-nuku, Tāne or Tangaroa. It may describe a being

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15In his 1874 version Wohlers has one section dealing with ‘heathen gods of the Māori, and allegorical beings of the same period’; this includes the stories of Tangaroa, Rangi and Papa, Tāne, and Māui (Wohlers,1874: 5-14). The ‘ancient heroes’ are Kaitangata, Tāwhaki, Rata, Whakatau and Tinirau. Wohlers says that these latter ‘seem to rest on an historical foundation’ (Wohlers,1874: 15-30). He apparently draws this conclusion because of the way these tales form a complete cycle, and because the magical elements in them can be rationalised away (he sees the sky homes in the stories as memories of distant islands, and the evil monster enemies as foreign races which they had encountered centuries before on their travels).

16This is discussed in ‘Rata: canoe builder and avenger’.
who is strange, non-human and potentially hostile. In the Murihiku stories the inhabitants of Hawaiki who are taught the use of fire by Tura and Pungarehu, or the monster who leaves her scales all over Ruru's food are said to be atua and not human beings.\textsuperscript{17} It may indicate that the speaker is afraid of the being who is described as an atua, as when Hoka describes Rona in this way, or when Māui's brothers use it of the giant fish which is hauled out of the sea by Māui. In the story of Hāpopo, the word is applied to a personal spirit who gives advice and instructions to his medium, but even here, the relationship is not a comfortable one, for the atua turns against the medium and brings about his death.

Although Rangi and Papa and their sons are tāngata, 'people', they are felt to be in some way different from those who followed after them. The distinction is perhaps one of scale: Tāne, Tangaroa and the other brothers are the founders and guardians of their realms, in a broad sense. But some, rather later figures are more specialised, with more specific interests. Sometimes they bring the requisite technology to a task. For example, while Tāne is responsible for creating human beings, Tura introduces the specific birth method, as well as all the trappings of childbirth (the birth house, the posts to be grasped during parturition, the karakia to be recited, and so on). Hine-nui-te-pō drags people down to death, but Whiro takes them there on his canoe. Mahuika contains fire in her body, and is sometimes said to be fire. But figures such as Tamatea and Tura are associated with firesticks and firemaking.

Other worlds

All over Polynesia, other worlds are thought to exist in conjunction with the human world. These worlds exist on different planes, upper and lower, and across the sea.

The upper world is inhabited by spirit beings, but it can be visited by mortals such as Māui, who, in the Murihiku story, is taken there as an infant. Sometimes, too, the inhabitants of the upper world visit the world of human beings, to take a human spouse and leave half-human offspring. The upper world is thought to be made up of various levels (in the Murihiku story of Tāwhaki there are ten of these).

\textsuperscript{17}The patupaiarehe or fairies found in North Island accounts are also called atua.
There is also a lower world which can be visited by men and women. It is inhabited by beings who are potentially threatening (Mahuika, Hine-nui-te-pō, Matuku, Miru), but it is also a source of knowledge, for example knowledge of the arts of tattooing and firemaking.

Hawaiki occupies a special place in Māori myth. It lies across the sea, and is a paradisial land, the source of kūmara and other good things. The land of Hawaiki is found in many Eastern Polynesian traditions. In Samoa and Tonga, the comparable concept is the land of Pulotu, where taro, yams and fish are found. In Aotearoa as elsewhere, this paradisial land can be threatening as well as beneficent. Before it can be acquired from Hawaiki the kūmara has to be fought for, and there are strange and dangerous beings who inhabit the island. In the stories from Murihiku we are not told about the role of Hawaiki as the home of the souls of the dead, although a woman in one story laments her husband who is ‘far away in Hawaiki’.

Formulaic utterances

Songs, incantations and other formulaic utterances play an important part in Polynesian narratives. It is obviously beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss different song styles or the functions of incantations in the narratives of other island groups, so the following remarks concern only the narratives of Aotearoa in general and Murihiku in particular.

Karakia

Karakia are ritual chants which date back to ancient times. This means that they contain many obscure words and expressions, perhaps arising from different physical circumstances (the use of different types of plants or objects in ritual, for example) or from a number of small changes over time. Because they are religious texts a certain amount of obscurity was no doubt acceptable or even desirable. The extremely rapid style of delivery combined with the use of obscure and sometimes obsolete words would have

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18 Some of these changes no doubt arose because of the adaptation of the karakia to serve a number of different purposes. See the discussion in note 42 of the introduction to ‘Māui: trickster and innovator’.
19 The faster sections often exceed 300 syllables a minute and have reached tempos as high as 380 syllables a minute (McLean and Orbell, 1975: 20).
given to these utterances a power and mystique which set them above ordinary speech.

In the stories from Murihiku, karakia appear in every conceivable situation: when people meet each other or when they take their leave; when they climb to the skies or make their way down to the underworld; when they till the ground, fish the seas or trap game in the forests; when they face an enemy in combat, or need to protect themselves from the more insidious attacks of spirits or enemy witchcraft. In these many ways, karakia serve to advance the plot, as well as being of great religious significance.

Waiata

Several waiata, songs, find their way into the stories, and are linked to the actions of the characters. Tāne and his wife Hine-atauira sing their farewells to each other as they separate, and Tama sings a waiata tangi to mourn the wife whom he has killed. Two children sing a sorrowful waiata to the moon as they await death at the hands of their father. And Pioioi (Pipit) sings and performs an insulting haka as he escapes from an old woman who intends to put him in her oven.

In addition, formulaic language is used to highlight persistent plot patterns. When Rona’s wife invites her lover down from the skies, her words and his replies become a formula which is repeated each time the situation reoccurs. Sometimes the repeated formula passes into the language as a proverb, as happens in the case of the sneering words uttered by Tama’s rival.20 Such rhetorical devices are employed to structure the tale and give it dramatic impact.

The transmission of the ideas

As the Polynesians moved from island to island in the Pacific Ocean, they took their stories with them. These stories can survive almost unchanged over centuries of time and thousands of kilometres of ocean. But over time some stories evolved in various subtle ways. Sometimes they were adapted to describe the conditions of a new land. New plants,

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20See the introductions to ‘Rona: an unfaithful wife and a vengeful husband’ and ‘Tama: the origin of tattooing’.
new animals, and local landmarks were fitted into the fabric of an existing story. Well-known motifs were often regrouped.

The usual definition of the word ‘motif’, as it is used in discussions about folklore, is the one given by Stith Thompson in his motif index of folk literature: ‘the smallest element in a tale having the power to persist in tradition’. The motifs are the building blocks of the tale, and can have an independent life of their own, in that they can move round from story to story, and be combined in endless different ways.

In Europe, in particular, studies have been made of individual motifs or tale types as they travel from one folklore area to another. The Polynesian region is a rewarding area for study, in that islands provide discrete geographical units, and make it easier to trace the course of these ideas as they move from island to island. And yet, so far as the Polynesian region is concerned, little research into motifs has been undertaken. The only major studies are Beckwith’s valuable analysis of one island group and Luomala’s of a single mythological figure. Such studies are now made easier by the publication of Kirtley’s *Motif-Index of Traditional Polynesian Narratives*, which attempts to catalogue motifs from this whole area in a systematic way. This is a useful listing, although, at least in the case of Māori narratives, many of the examples quoted come from secondary sources and so are of less interest. Difficulties also arise because it is not always clear why a motif has been assigned to one category rather than another. But the work allows motifs from many areas of Polynesia to be located for comparison, even when the listings are far from complete. Kirtley himself has made useful short studies of motifs found throughout Oceania, and Lessa, although presenting collections of tales from Micronesia, provides a model of comparative folklore research and has valuable things to say about neighbouring

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21Quoted in Kirtley, 1971: iii.
22Beckwith, 1970. This contains much comparative material.
23Luomala, 1949.
24Kirtley admits that ‘some interesting texts from intensely collected groups like New Zealand, Samoa, or Hawaii — areas abundantly represented already — were passed over’ (Kirtley, 1971: vi). But it is unfortunate that he included texts from a work such as that of Kate Clark. Although this author implies in her preface that these are versions collected from Māori informants, it is clear that most if not all of her stories are compilations from earlier, written sources.
25Kirtley, 1967 and 76.
Polynesia.26

With the help of such indexes one is able to trace motifs which may travel almost unchanged across the ocean. The story of Whakatau, for example, differs little in versions told in Samoa or in Ruapuke. In other cases, the motifs which make up a tale may be combined with motifs from other tales or be assigned to a different mythological figure, and the story take on a new life of its own. The story of Rona in the Murihiku collection is an example of one whose fabric is composed of a number of different threads, from many areas of Polynesia. Elements of the ogre-wife tale are combined with the motifs of the sky lover and the person in the moon.

The transmission of names

It is no surprise to find the names of important figures recurring all over Polynesia, accompanied by certain motifs such as striking attributes of the person, or adventures connected with his or her name. As we have seen, accounts of Māui fishing up the land or of Rata building his canoe are widespread. But as well there are figures who seem of little importance, and yet their names persist for hundreds and even thousands of years. The trio Rā-kuru, Hine and Tautini, and the magic fish-hook with which they are associated, are an example of this type of grouping of names and motifs in a story which has eventually found its way to a remote corner of the world.

But the same name is not always linked to the same set of actions. Some motifs, such as the visit to the ‘island of women’, are associated with a number of different figures: Tura and Pungarehu in our Murihiku stories, but Kae, Pau, Kirikiri, Ginifale and many others elsewhere in Polynesia. And the meanings of many names have been reinterpreted during their journey from island to island. With each reinterpretation, new incidents are created to explain the name. Sometimes this happens with major figures such as Māui-tikitiki and Punga,27 but sometimes a seemingly minor figure occurs almost as widely: Tu-horo-punga

27See the discussion in note 17 of ‘Māui: trickster and innovator’, introduction; and notes 62 and 63 of ‘Whaitiri and Tāwhaki: the woman from the skies and her chiefly grandson’, introduction.
is an example. These names persist, but the stories are modified to accommodate the new ideas associated with the name.

It is not only names of people which are passed down as archetypes. Great battles or other important events can also be archetypal, and their names will be remembered in story. These names, like names of people, move from story to story, and gain a special resonance because of this.

As names pass on from narrator to narrator over the generations, they take on layers of meanings and associations. As we will see in comparing these stories from the south with others from many areas of Polynesia, one figure may appear in a number of situations. This is because these archetypal figures, who are associated with a primeval event, may be said to be involved in any subsequent re-enactment. So it is natural that Rata, who built the first canoe, is also said to have taken part in the building of many of the canoes which first made the voyage to Aotearoa. As the archetypal canoe-builder, he was necessary to the process, and his presence gave mana to the tribes who could name him among the builders of their ancestral canoes.

Dualities

Many of the stories in this collection have a dual structure. Within the tales figures are often paired: there are good and bad brothers, bold and timid sons, and so on. Similarly, stories are often told in two parts. In some cases there is an ‘at home’ and an ‘away’ episode, as in the story of Paowa, or the hero may have two distinct adventures while away from home, as does Pungarehu. In the story of Ruru-teina, the two parts are rather more subtly combined, so that instead of an episodic structure there is a story-within-a-story. Inside a story there may be a pairing of concepts: successful and unsuccessful attempts,

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28 See the discussion of this figure in ‘Rona: an unfaithful wife and a vengeful husband’.
29 When Europeans started making enquiries into Polynesian myths, they found themselves confronted by what seemed to be conflicting accounts. Sometimes a figure might be associated with events which were thought to have occurred on widely separated islands, or with groups of people who were known to have lived at quite different periods of time, or a ‘god’ with miraculous powers might later reappear in a ‘human’ role. The only way to deal with such apparent anomalies seemed to be to regard as separate personages the figures who appeared in different contexts. The pages of the Journal of the Polynesian Society are full of references to ‘another Māui’ and ‘Whiro, the second of that name’, and so on.
journeys upwards to the skies and down to the earth, or down to the underworld and back up to the earth, and so on. This is part of an overall way of seeing the world in terms of dualities: life/death, day/night, sky/earth, light/dark, male/female, right/left, tapu/noa. Clear examples of these dualities may be seen in the story of Tūtaka-hinahina.

The persistence of formulaic utterances

Because their information is conveyed in a way that can be readily memorised, formulaic utterances can be remarkably persistent throughout Polynesia. Phrases in karakia or waiata have sometimes been passed on almost unchanged from story to story. Usually, however, the words have undergone subtle adaptations. As this has happened, the meaning of the chant has changed, and often a new story or episode of a story has been built up around it. The karakia chanted by the beings who raise Rata’s tree is an example of this. Where there are names in a karakia or song, these may change from version to version. In this case one cannot say with certainty which survived the process of transference best, the song or the story.

Muruhiku and Polynesia

It was perhaps fortunate that Wohlers was so isolated from other European researchers. He therefore had no temptation, in recording the stories, to adapt them to fit what he might have seen as some kind of standard version provided by the stories from the north. One has only to look at his later versions, rewritten after he had read traditions recorded by researchers in the North Island, to see examples of adaptations which, under different circumstances, he might have made to his earlier collection.

Generalisations have been put forward in this thesis in a preliminary form. It would have been possible to provide a more detailed analysis of motifs, perhaps by plotting them in a

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30 See for example the first story in this collection, ‘Ko Tūtaka-hinahina’.
31 See the discussion in the introduction to ‘Rata: canoe builder and avenger’. See in particular note 20, on the persistence of the word mōta.
32 See the songs in the ‘ogre wife’ tales which are summarised at the end of the introduction to ‘Rona: an unfaithful wife and a vengeful husband’.
33 See the discussion of this topic in, for example, the introduction to ‘Whakatau: the archetypal avenger’, notes 1 and 13.
tabular form. However, there remain many hundreds of unpublished Māori manuscripts in private and public collections, and until more of these are edited and arranged in proper fashion, any conclusions can only be tentative. I have therefore concentrated on presenting the stories in this collection in as straightforward a fashion as possible. The analyses of the stories proceed in a more or less linear fashion. This has been done in the hope that it may make it easier for the reader to consult the texts themselves, at least in their translated form. It would have been possible to do more grouping of themes and motifs for discussion, but when the material itself is so complicated, the simplest approach may yield the best results. What I have done can be taken further, perhaps by someone undertaking a similar study of traditions in another tribal area.

The coverage of many aspects in this thesis is necessarily sketchy. It is not possible in a work of this length to deal adequately with all the stories, some of which could be the subject of whole books or theses. I have kept strictly to Polynesia, although it is obvious that the discussion could often be extended, especially to Fiji, which has close cultural links with Samoa and Tonga.

For these reasons, no definite conclusions can as yet be reached about the ultimate source of individual motifs. It is obvious that most of the motifs in the Murihiku stories came there by way of the North Island, in particular from tribes which have common ancestors, Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Kahungūnu. But there may have been other stories which underwent modifications in the south, and which then found their way northwards. The story of the giant man-eating bird is perhaps a case of this.\(^{34}\)

There are a few cases in which a motif found in Island Polynesia seems, in Aotearoa, to belong almost exclusively in the south. The episode which concerns Māui and Tuna is an example of this. The motif occurs in the Ngāti Hau area,\(^{35}\) but seemingly without the sexual overtones which it has in southern Māori and Polynesian versions. A similar case is the name Matokarau-tāwhiri, which seems to be unknown elsewhere in Aotearoa, and

\(^{34}\)See 'Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-haunēi: a journey to a strange land'.
\(^{35}\)Taylor, 1870: 125.
which may come direct from Island Polynesia. Other motifs which seem to belong exclusively to the South Island are the motifs of the magic voyage in a log, and the trickster’s exchange of his inferior raft for the hero’s canoe. Since many South Island Māori trace their ancestry to earlier tribes such as Waitaha, it is possible that these motifs arrived in the south as the result of traditions brought by these tribes.

The Lessa approach

A quote from William Lessa, the author of *Tales from Ulithi Atoll*, sums up my own approach:

‘I wish to emphasize the enormous value of comparative folkloristic materials for shedding light upon my Ulithian narratives. I did not seek, in this connection, to comb all the literature in order to discover every possible cognate merely for the sake of rendering the record complete. Instead, I tried to find as many related examples of motifs and tale types as were necessary to clarify the many obscure passages and meanings that so often characterize oral tradition, where the native listener is expected to fill in the lacunae and indeed is able to do so from his vantage point as a participant in his culture. A good many of my Ulithian stories appeared to me to be utterly disjointed and unintelligible until they were subjected to the kind of comparative analysis that cognates from other islands make possible. After that, they not only made good sense, but fascinating and instructive reading as well. They clarified significantly a good many points that the more conventional approaches used in field work had not elucidated.’

So this thesis is a close examination of the myths of the southernmost corner of the Polynesian triangle. Many of the figures and motifs which occur in these myths are widespread in Polynesia. Some stories have been considerably reshaped to fit their new environment. A few stories seem to be unique to Aotearoa, or even to Murihiku. One day research will be sufficiently advanced for the small area I have investigated to be part of a comprehensive study of Polynesian thought which will fit the Polynesian world into the

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36 The name of Rata’s mother, see ‘Ko Rata’.
37 Lessa, 1961: 144-5.
general history of ideas.
B. THE MANUSCRIPT

When the Rev. Johannes Friedrich Heinrich Wohlers arrived on Ruapuke Island in May, 1844, his goal was clearly set before him. He was obeying Christ's injunction to 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel'. The world in this case was a small island of some two hundred Māori people at the far south of the South Island of New Zealand, whose chief, Tūhawaiki, wished to secure the services of a missionary.

The Māori people of Ruapuke Island had had some contact with Europeans at that time, since there had been sealers working in Foveaux Straits since about 1809, and whalers and traders after them. There were even a number of Europeans living on the island. Māori people, however, were in the overwhelming majority, and it was the Māori language which would continue to be spoken for many decades. To fulfil his mission to preach the gospel, Wohlers had to learn the Māori language.

He had already prepared himself for this task. As the ship which brought him to Ruapuke Island passed through Wellington, he had acquired a Māori grammar book,¹ a Prayer Book and a New Testament. These he studied on his way down to the island. Once he had landed, Wohlers set himself, with typical thoroughness, to the task of learning the language. His autobiography² explains his method: he started by listening to others read the New Testament, which many people on the island already possessed, and by reading it out aloud himself. In this way he learned pronunciation and began to grasp the structure of the language. To make himself familiar with idiomatic language, he asked people to recount brief anecdotes which he wrote down. He then read these back to them, carefully noting their corrections. He worked over these narratives by himself at night, until he was sure of the grammar. Eventually he was able to hold meetings in Maori villages with 'short extempore prayers, the reading of a chapter, and explanatory remarks'. A further step was to write out the texts of simple sermons in Māori, learn them by heart, and preach them to

¹This was Lee and Kendall, A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand, published in 1820. Wohlers says of this, 'this book has no use for me save to see how the New Zealand language has been first thought to be, because almost none of its idioms is genuine Maori' (Second Report, 29/9/44, Norddeutsche Missions Gesellschaft MS, DUHo).
²Wohlers, 1895: 104; 108; 110; 114.
the people at Sunday services.3

At some point during his first years on the island, Wohlers began to develop an interest in traditional Māori lore. He explains this as simply an extension of his linguistic endeavours, an attempt to find more complex material to work on. However, the complexity of the language in the mythology, and the skills which are evident in recording this material, indicate that by the time Wohlers recorded these traditions he must already have gained such mastery in the language that he hardly needed to set himself exercises of this sort.4

So the recording of these myths must have had more than mere linguistic interest for Wohlers. A second reason for collecting the stories was what might perhaps be called a professional reason, since it pertained to his profession as a Christian missionary. This was the need ‘to penetrate into the spirit of the language and the spiritual ideas of the people’.5 His job being to convert the heathen, he believed he needed some knowledge of the powers ranged against him. The opposition cannot have appeared too fierce in Wohlers’s eyes. He saw Māori religion as having had ‘sublime’ elements and felt that it had ‘arisen from poetic inspiration’,6 but saw it as having become debased over the years. He seems to be suggesting that there was a period in which Maori religion went through a ‘golden age’, during which it had provided models and precepts for living a good life, but that gradually human cruelty and corruption had crept into the mythology, distorting and debasing it. Although this professed motive is, no doubt, a rationalisation of the situation in which he saw himself, as a bearer of light to those who were still in darkness, it is nevertheless evidence of his willingness to look into these traditions and weigh up what they had to offer.

A third reason for collecting the traditions, one which he himself gives, is that he is doing

3'I have got it [the Māori language] so far that I can preach to them in Maori and try to explain the catechism' (Second Report, 29/9/44, Norddeutsche Missions Gesellschaft MS, DUHo; that is, three months after his arrival on Ruapuke). He expresses his appreciation of the language: 'The language is by no means poor. It can be formed logically and permits of exact expression of every thought.' (Letter, 19/2/46, Norddeutsche Missions Gesellschaft MS, DUHo). Further commentatory remarks are in Wohlers 1895: 108-9.
4He reports that he 'retreated into seclusion as far as it could be done in order to penetrate deeper into the Maori language' (Report no. 14, July 1-Sept. 30, 1847, Norddeutsche Missions Gesellschaft MS, DUHo).
5Wohlers, 1895: 127.
6Wohlers, 1895: 135.
so in the interests of ‘science’. In the nineteenth century the word had a broader sense than that usually assigned to it today, for its meaning encompassed any branch of serious study. A European with any pretensions to scientific inquiry was seen to have a duty to collect and preserve items of ethnological interest.

Although Wohlers was brought up in a small rural community (he often refers to himself as a peasant, and speaks of his ignorance and low social status), it seems that even in his early days he had the makings of a man of science. When he was a schoolboy, his intelligence had soon been noticed and he was sent off to live with his grandmother and uncle so that he could concentrate on his studies in a quiet environment, free from most of the physical labours of peasant life. He later spent five years at the Hamburg Mission House, from the age of 26 until he was 31, in an intellectual environment which was at last able to satisfy his desire for knowledge. There he received a broad education that included English, natural history, geography and church history. Because of his special talents, he was given extra lessons in Greek and Latin. He taught himself Hebrew. Wohlers might protest his lack of expertise, but twentieth-century specialisation was still far off, and a man of science could study and report on whatever was of interest in his environment.

Wohlers may have had a further reason for collecting the stories, one which is perhaps hinted at in his seemingly dismissive statement that ‘they may also be worth reading as curiosities’. Although scientific enquiry may have accounted for the recording of much of the material, including many obscure passages, one suspects that he often had an interest in the tales for their own sake and rather enjoyed them. At a time when many Pākehā recorders suppressed such material, the faithful recording of the passage in which the lascivious Ngārara-hua-rau tries to woo a reluctant Ruru-teina points to a sly sense of humour. The spirit of scientific enquiry does not account, either, for Wohlers’s sensitivity

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7Wohlers, 1895: 128. The German word used by Wohlers in one of his letters to Von Haast (30/9/84, Von Haast Papers, MS Papers 37, WTu) expresses the breadth of such interest: \( \text{wissenschaft} \) means knowledge in general, scholarship, rather than the narrower field that ‘science’ covers today. I am grateful to Emeritus Professor Agathe Thornton of Otago University for her translation of this letter and her explanation of this word. Elsewhere the expressed aim of Wohlers’s research is more restricted: the results of his labours are to be communicated to ‘scientific men, who might thereby trace the development and migration of the races’ (Wohlers, 1874: 4).


9Wohlers, 1874: 3.
to the poetic elements in the stories, as evidenced in the unusual care with which he translates passages such as Rangi and Papa’s farewell to each other, and transcribes long and complicated karakia and waiata.\textsuperscript{10}

Wohlers’s informants

How did Wohlers go about collecting his Māori mythology? According to his reports and his autobiography, it was a gradual process. The old people who were acquainted with traditional lore were at first reluctant to part with this knowledge, but as Wohlers showed his interest in the fragments of stories which were imparted to him, they gradually told him more. ‘Many a Winter evening I sat with two or three of these old “wise people”, and we discussed their old religion and the old gods and heroes of heathendom. I wrote down their narratives in the Māori language and studied it in private.’\textsuperscript{11}

The fragmentary nature of some of the material in the collection is thus explained. The story of Tāne, for example, consists not only of the main body of the story, a narrative of some ten pages of continuous manuscript, but also of three short fragments of the story and three waiata, which are found in two other books of the manuscript. At the same time many of the stories are too fluent and polished to have been acquired from note-taking during one recitation of the story, even though Wohlers evidently wrote from dictation very efficiently.\textsuperscript{12} Another remark tells us: ‘I have to digest such legends better before I can produce them in exact descriptions in such a way as not to distort them’. So the myths were rewritten from notes taken at the time, and perhaps read back later to those who had narrated them.

Wohlers gives no hints about the identity of the ‘old wise people’ who told him the stories.

\textsuperscript{10}He mentions the ‘poetical beauty’ of Tāne’s karakia to Rehua (Wohlers, 1974: 9; 1895: 133).
\textsuperscript{11}Wohlers, 1895: 127-8; see also Report no. 13, April 1-June 30, 1847 (Norddeutsche Missions Gesellschaft MS, DUHo). As he explains, ‘wise people’ is his translation of tohunga: ‘the best Tohungas had nothing to do with witchcraft and soothsaying. It was their duty to preserve in their memories the old theology, heroic sayings, and the genealogy of the nobility, and to perpetuate these to successors who had a natural adaptability for retaining them.’
\textsuperscript{12}I could write as fast as a man could speak ... one can write the Maori language faster than a European one because no syllables have more than two letters’ (Wohlers, 1895: 108). However, these remarks relate to his initial efforts with everyday narratives. When it came to mythology, the greater complexity of the ideas and of the language used to express them would have made the task more taxing.
The use of the word ‘people’ rather than ‘men’ suggests that these informants included women, but this is as far as one can go. People who are named in Wohlers’s quarterly reports to his Mission are not signalled in any way as informants or confidants. In one report Te Waikauru, a tohunga married to one of Wohlers’s earliest candidates for baptism, is mentioned by name, but in a way which suggests that he and Wohlers did not enjoy the sort of friendly working relationship which would have allowed them to collaborate in recording mythology. A note in the baptismal register records that ‘he is not working against Christianisation but he is going on making witch-craft’.13

Despite Wohlers’s reference to the continuing practice of ‘witchcraft’, it seems clear from what he says that these traditions were playing increasingly little part in the everyday life of the people. Already when Wohlers arrived the forces which would eventually displace the old Māori religion were at work. The chiefs Tūhawaiki and Topi Pātuki were interested in new, European ideas, and were carrying out successful trading ventures in the European manner. The young men of the island had for some years been involved in whaling in the southern waters, and were keener on the active life and the new ways than they were in learning the old traditions.

New concepts were also spreading. Māori Christian teachers were established in the island, and travelling teachers often visited. Māori love of oratory and debate was evident in the hot controversies which raged between the members of the two Christian sects represented on the island, the Anglican and the Wesleyan,14 while the fascination with lists of Biblical names carried on the tradition of intense interest in whakapapa.15 While to Wohlers much of this seemed trivial and time wasting, in fact it was proof that many of the old preoccupations were continuing in a new form.

But the fact that these new ideas could slip so easily into traditional Māori patterns of thought meant that the old ideas were especially vulnerable. Tribal lore had always been the province of the old, passed on gradually and sometimes with a certain amount of

13Report no. 4, 1/5/45 (Norddeutsche Missions Gesellschaft MS, DJHo; Register Books, 1850-1885, qMS 1850-85 P, Wu).
14Wohlers, 1895: 110.
15Wohlers reports that they tested each other out in a kind of community quiz session (Wohlers, 1895: 149).
reluctance to the young. By 1874 Wohlers would say, ‘These tales could no more be collected now, at least not in the south; for the old Māori are dead, and the younger ones have not learned them, because the new ideas introduced by Christianity and European settlements have superseded the old Māori ideas’.16

What the sealers and traders had begun, Wohlers was to complete. Whatever interest or instruction he may have found in the local mythology, his real task was to urge the Māori people of Ruapuke Island and surrounding districts to renounce what he saw as their false beliefs in favour of the new gospel and way of life he was bringing them.

1. The date of the manuscript

So these stories of the south were written down by Wohlers, probably first in note form and later in connected narratives. Putting an exact date on the composition of this manuscript presents problems. We know that Wohlers had started collecting the myths in about the middle of 1847,17 but that he felt that he did not yet understand them. His statement at the beginning of his 1874 article that ‘this paper has been compiled from a number of tales collected by me in the Māori language some twenty-five years ago’18 accords with his comment to John White in 1880 that he collected the stories ‘thirty years ago, when there were still old Māori living who belonged to the time before European ideas had reached New Zealand.’19 This would put the composition of the manuscript at roughly 1849 or 1850. He also states that he ‘was drawn into correspondence with Sir George Grey when he was Governor of New Zealand for the first time’.20 The style of the manuscript which Wohlers sent to Grey at this time suggests that he had had time to reflect on and reorganise his material, which must therefore have been recorded some time before.

16Wohlers, 1874: 3. One example of the modern ideas held by the younger Māori was the fact that Topi Pātuki allowed Wohlers to use the house in which his wife had died. As Wohlers remarks, even the process of dismantling and then re-erecting it would not have been enough to lift the tapu from it in previous times.
17See notes 4 and 11.
18Wohlers, 1874: 3.
19Expressed in a letter accompanying his papers, 30th May, 1880 (Elsdon Best Papers, MS Papers 72/6, WTu).
20Apparently the only one of these letters which is still extant is one written by the Civil Secretary Alfred Domett at Grey’s direction, and dated 7th April 1853 (MS 319, DUHo). In this Grey thanks Wohlers for his Māori Mythology sent on 28th December, 1852. Grey left New Zealand for South Africa at the end of 1853, and did not return until 1860.
One significant date which must be taken into account is the 'evening of Easter day', 1850. On this day Wohlers's house caught fire, and 'everything was lost, including all [his] books and papers'. This appears to mean that all his records of Māori tradition were burnt in this fire. There is however another possibility to be considered. Wohlers was friendly with the Wesleyan missionary, Charles Creed, and paid several visits to the Creed family at Waikouaiti during their stay there. Creed was interested in Māori mythology: his manuscripts in public collections show that he was preparing a book on the subject. The two men, with their common interest, must at times have lent each other material to copy and compare, for among Creed's papers are word for word copies of some of Wohlers's stories. It is quite possible therefore that Creed had Wohlers's manuscript at the time of the fire.

In view of the difficulties involved in trying to date the manuscript precisely, I have called it 'the c.1850 manuscript' throughout this thesis.

2. The Contents of the manuscript

The text of the manuscript is recorded in eight medium-sized notebooks or exercise books, containing twelve leaves each. Usually the entire booklet (that is, 24 pages) is filled up, although in two cases there are blank pages at the end (Book 6 has the last two pages blank and Book 7 the last one). Often a small item (such as the fishing karakia or the story of Takaroa's fight with Raki) seems to have been used simply to fill in a blank page or half page. All the extant books are to be found among White's papers (Book 1 is in the Auckland Public Library, and Books 2 and 4 to 9 in the Alexander Turnbull Library). Book 3 has so far not been found, but comparison of texts published by White and

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21Wohlers, 1895: 181.
22On one of these, at the end of 1847, he was suffering from both physical exhaustion and mental depression, and spent two months recuperating at Waikouaiti. After his marriage in Wellington on 21st September, 1849, he took his wife on a visit there on their way back to Ruapuke (Wohlers, 1895: 167-9; 180).
23There are manuscripts by Creed in the White and Wohlers papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, and the Hocken Library, Dunedin.
24Internal evidence suggests that it was Creed who copied from Wohlers, for in many cases he has made errors which result from a misreading of Wohlers's handwriting. On the other hand, the small additional paragraph at the end of the manuscript which Wohlers sent Grey possibly came from Creed (see the discussion in the introduction to 'Tīne: creator of light and life').
25AP: MS 714/IV; WTu: John White Papers, MS Papers 75/138b.
Wohlers⁴⁶ and examination of lists kept by White show that it must have contained the story of Tinirau. The longer version published by White would probably have occupied an entire booklet of the same size as the others, though it may have been followed by one or more short items.

The division of texts in the manuscript is as follows. Details in square brackets are not Wohlers’s own titles, but were written on the manuscript by White. Details in round brackets have been added by the present editor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ko Tutakaihinahina</td>
<td>1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Wakatau</td>
<td>4-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Tane</td>
<td>9-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Hapopo</td>
<td>19-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Paikea</td>
<td>22-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ko Maui</td>
<td>1-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Rongoitua</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(Tinirau: manuscript is missing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ko Rata</td>
<td>1-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Waitiri</td>
<td>8-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(This includes the story of Tāwhaki)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ko Pungarehu raua ko Kokomukahaunei</td>
<td>1-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Pioio</td>
<td>9-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Rona</td>
<td>14-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Karakia hii tuna, hii ika hoki]</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ko Tama</td>
<td>1-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Te Roiroihenua</td>
<td>21-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Blank pages)</td>
<td>23-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ko Hineitepuwha</td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Tautini</td>
<td>6-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Tura</td>
<td>14-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Blank)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(Ko Ruruteina)</td>
<td>1-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko Paowa</td>
<td>14-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Tangaroa]</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Tane]</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Hineatauira]</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴⁶White, 1887, 1: 127-136; Wohlers 1874: 49-53 (Māori versions).
[9]  
[Tutakahinahina]  1-3
Ta Tane Waiata ki a Hineatauira  3
Ta Hineatauira  4
Te Wahatanga a Paia i a Rangi  4-5
Ko Raureka  5-7
Ko Te Rangitama  7-8
Ko Tarewai  8-15
Ko Raka-waha-kura  15-19
[Tuahuriri]  19-23
[Te Ruapu]  23-24

Book 9 has features which make it different from the other booklets. Firstly, the number at the head of the first page has been written not by Wohlers but by White, so that the book may not have formed part of the original sequence of stories. Secondly, it shows signs of having been written more roughly than the other booklets: the handwriting is more carelessly formed, and the text is more closely written and usually extends right to the outer edges of the pages. There are also many more abbreviations (‘Rakaw’, ‘Mat’, ‘rangat’). German glosses are sometimes placed in brackets after difficult words or phrases. Thirdly, one of the stories, the story of Te Roiroï-whenua (untitled, but headed ‘Tutakahinahina’ by White), seems to be the prototype for one in an earlier booklet (Book 6). It is told in almost the same words, but there are some differences which suggest that the version in Book 6 is a corrected one. These facts point to the possibility that Book 9 was perhaps a rough copy, which contained one story which Wohlers had already worked on, and others which had never received their final reworking.

It has been noted already that Book 3 is missing. As well, Wohlers’s manuscript lacks a small piece at the top of the first page of Book 8 (the story of Ruru-teina). This must in fact have been missing when White was using the papers, since his version of this first paragraph (and of the missing portion on the top of the next page) is far too long to have fitted into the gap. Using the few fragments of words at the side of the page and calculating

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27 A list among White’s papers and in his handwriting names each of the books and their contents. Book 3 is among these, but not Book 9.
28 The last story, ‘Te Ruapu’, is incomplete, even though it runs to the bottom of page 24, the last page in the booklet. The complete story is among Creed’s papers, in what appears to be a copy. This suggests that Wohlers may have had the later part written on a loose sheet, or in another booklet which has since been lost. This booklet, if it existed, may also have contained the story of Te Wera, which is among Creed’s papers and which bears stylistic similarities to the rest of this group of stories (published in White, 1887, III: 118-23, Māori version). Wohlers may even have been leaving these stories to Creed to publish.
the probable number of words used, I have reconstructed the two passages in an attempt to bring it closer to the style of the rest of the story.

It is this c.1850 manuscript that I am editing in this thesis. It is the most extensive collection of myths from the south, and is one of the most important collections in the country as a whole.

Other manuscripts written by Wohlers

Wohlers later edited some of the stories for other purposes. When Sir George Grey and later Alexander Mackay wanted examples of southern myths for their publications, Wohlers sent them edited copies. He also prepared a series of three talks to deliver before the Otago Institute, and these talks were later published. These are all shortened versions of the Murihiku stories, edited according to Pākehā ideas of how a story should be told. They are therefore further removed from the older traditions which are encapsulated in the c.1850 manuscript. The details of these other manuscripts are as follows:

1. Auckland Public Library: GNZM MSS 55, pp 61-70. Wohlers sent this to Grey on 28th December 1852, before the publication of Grey’s Ko nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna Maori (1854). It contains three myths: ‘Ko Tangaroa’, ‘Ko Rangi’ and ‘Ko Tane’, along with translations of these. The catalogue wrongly described these as ‘Six legends of the tribes of Foveaux Straits’, and the misnomer has been perpetuated.

   The manuscript consists of a rewritten and reorganised version of the three myths, with the incidents presented in a more satisfying order chronologically. Alfred Domett, on behalf of Grey, acknowledged receipt of the manuscript and announced the intention of having it published in the Maori Messenger.29 This, however, does not seem to have been done. Grey used the last paragraph of ‘Ko Rangi’ in his ‘Ngā Tama a Rangi’30 and the story of Tāne’s ascent to Rehua in ‘Ko Rupe rua ko Hinauri’, in which the name Tāne is changed to Rupe.31 The complete manuscript was published in a later edition of Grey’s work.32

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30 Grey, 1971: 9. Because of the rarity of the first edition of Grey’s work, Ko Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna Maori he mea Kohikohi mai, the references throughout this thesis are to a later publication.
2. Museum of New Zealand, Wellington: unclassified manuscript. This manuscript was written for publication in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*. It contains the complete text of the Maori and English versions of the articles published in volume 7 of the *Transactions*. Volume 8 published further stories in English from this manuscript but omitted the Māori versions. The article in Volume 8 ends with the words, ‘The end of the Maori tales worth translating’. This probably means that Wohlers could not understand certain stories in his collection: the group of tales about ancestors from Hawaiki (‘Ko Häpopo, ‘Ko Paikea’, ‘Ko Rongo-i-tua’), which have to be seen in context to make sense, and ‘Ko Pioioi’, for which one needs to know the significance of the proper names. The stories about more recent ancestors must have been felt by Wohlers to be of interest only to local people.\(^{33}\)

3. Hocken Library, Dunedin: MS 234. This manuscript consists of versions in English of Kai-tangata, Hema, Tāwhaki, Waheroa, Rata, Tū-whakararo, Whakatau, and Tinirau, and versions in Māori, interspersed with English, of Tangaroa, Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku, Tāne, Tūtaka-hinahina and Māui. Two letters to Alexander Mackay accompany the manuscripts. In one, dated 7th September 1874, Wohlers tells Mackay, ‘I hasten to send you a spare manuscript, which I happen to have, of the II Part of my Maori Mythology. I wrote the same for the Otago Institute, but was not satisfied with it when finished, so I rejected it and wrote another, which I have sent to the Institute — the differences of the two, however, are immaterial.’ He goes on to inform Mackay that he is working on the Maori version to send to the Institute, and continues, ‘As soon as I can find time I will copy for you the I Part, containing the Period of the gods.’ The letter dated 26th November 1874 states, ‘I enclose here a copy of the ancient Mythology of the Maori, comprising the Period of the gods, mostly in the Maori text’.

It will be seen from this that the first letter accompanied the versions in English of Kai-tangata, Tāwhaki and so on, as mentioned above, which are indeed very similar to the

\(^{32}\)‘Tangaroa’ and ‘Tāne’ in H. W. Williams’s edition of *Ngā Mahi a ngā Tūpuna*, 1928: 175-9. This material also appeared in *Te Pipiwharauroa*, of which Williams was the editor (Wohlers, 1913: 2-3).

\(^{33}\)See also note 28.
versions published in the Transactions (see below, under 'Published versions'). The second group of stories, the 'period of the gods', sent with the second letter, is a version obviously composed specially for Mackay. It is a rewriting and condensing of the Māori version of Part I of the article in the Transactions (most of the star names have been omitted, for example). There are short passages of English interspersed throughout, which serve as introductions or explanations and not as translations (for example, Wohlers points out that neither he nor his informants could understand the Maru-i-te-whare-aitu incident in the Māui story).

As Wohlers used only about half of his original material in his Transactions articles, and as what he did publish there, and what he sent to Grey, are in an extensively rewritten form, there seems little point in systematically listing the variations which exist between these and his original manuscript. These versions, altered in certain respects, condensed, rewritten to be of interest to a Pākehā audience, and containing much information which comes from northern sources, are of interest here only for comparative purposes. They have been consulted to clear up, wherever possible, problems of spelling, vocabulary and syntax in the c.1850 text. Moreover the published versions of Wohlers’s shorter manuscripts are, with the exception of a few printer’s errors (which are mentioned in textual notes in this thesis), exact renderings, and may be consulted by interested researchers. However, one must keep in mind that, after perhaps twenty-five years of not working on his material, Wohlers himself may have had some difficulty in understanding his original wording. Wherever I have felt this to be the case, or where comparative material which was not available to Wohlers has made a different and seemingly more valid interpretation possible, I have felt free to follow my own interpretation.

Published versions

Did Wohlers ever intend to publish his c.1850 collection of writings on Māori mythology? The fact that most of the manuscript is evidently written up as a fair copy suggests that he intended either to publish it or to pass it on to those who would put it to good use. With the appearance in 1854 of Grey’s Nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna, Wohlers must have seen the
possibility of publishing his own manuscript, but he appears to have been too busy, and may have felt himself too far away from a major town, to be able to see it through publication. Apart from sending Grey the short manuscript discussed above, and writing several brief resumes to the North German mission, Wohlers seems to have done nothing with his material until 1874 when he was asked to speak to the Otago Institute.

1. *Transactions* Vol. 7, 1874. The Māori and English versions of Wohlers’s article were to a large extent independent of each other. The English text, while giving the gist of the stories recorded in Wohlers’s manuscripts, does not pretend to be a close translation of the Māori text which follows it, for it was delivered as a series of two talks to the Otago Institute. The editors must then have asked for the Māori versions of the stories to include for publication. These were what Wohlers was working on at the time when he wrote to Mackay.

2. *Transactions* Vol. 8, 1875. The series of talks which is reproduced as Part III was delivered as a talk to the Institute on 12th October, 1875. While it is in no way a word for word translation of the Māori version with which it belongs (the National Museum manuscript, see above), it is a reasonably faithful rendering. It is likely that by the time he gave his third talk, Wohlers thought that he would be asked for a Māori version, and prepared the two versions in conjunction with each other. However, the Māori manuscript has a note at the top, in another hand, ‘Not to be printed’. This manuscript remained unpublished.

3. John White’s *Ancient History of the Māori*. Wohlers’s c.1850 manuscript was sent to John White on 30th May 1880, in reply to White’s request (on 9th April of the same year)

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34 He obviously wished to share his writings with his fellow countrymen. Several times in his letters and reports to the North German Missionary Society he asks whether his superiors would advise him to translate his stories into German. It seems, however, that he received no encouragement to do so. At one stage he sent a group of stories to Inspector Brauer (mentioned in Fourth Quarterly Report, Oct. 1-Dec. 31, 1853, Nordeutsche Missions Gesellschaft MS, DUHo), but as these were sent privately they were not preserved along with the rest of the Mission reports.

35 From the heading to the *Transactions* article it can be seen that Part I, ‘The Period of the Gods’ (Tutakahinahina, Tangaroa, Rangi, Tāne and Māui), was delivered on 7th April 1874, while Part II, ‘The Period of the Ancient Heroes’ (Kai-tangata and his descendants; Tinirau), was given on 10th August of the same year.

36 I have been requested by the Otago Institute to furnish the Māori text to this Second Part also, to be printed with the English’ (Letter to Mackay, 7/9/74, Wohlers Papers MS 234, DUHo).

37 Wohlers, 1875: 103-23.
to borrow it to use in his *Ancient History of the Maori*. White used the complete manuscript in the first three volumes of this work, but in a fragmentary form:

‘Tangaroa’, 1: 23 (English); 20 (Maori).
‘Te Wahatanga a Paia i a Rangi’, 1: 50; 43.
‘Tāne’, 1: 140; 125.
‘Ko Tura’, 2: 7-11; 8-12.
‘Ko Wakatau’, 2: 147-9; 143-4.
‘Ko Paikaia’, 3: 30-1; 15-16.

The titles here are those found in Wohlers’s manuscript. Details of modifications made by White will be found in the notes to the individual texts.

As White’s *Ancient History of the Maori* was not published until 1887, Wohlers never saw his work in print. The manuscript remained in White’s possession after the death of Wohlers in 1885.

**Principles of this edition**

Māori manuscripts have in the main been denied the respect which they deserve. Grey took the material which was sent to him by Māori informants and made his own versions of the myths, often using two or more Māori versions, from different tribal areas, in the process.

White did not indulge in rewriting to the same extent, but he did cut up individual texts  

38 Except, apparently, for the fishing karakia at the end of Book 5. But this may have been intended for inclusion in a later volume.

39 White did some rewriting of the material sent to him. However, many of his changes are relatively minor,
and intersperse them with accounts from other sources. This in itself could be justified, given his wish to compile a complete Māori history by comparing different tribal versions. However, he often attributed passages to the wrong tribal area, and broke up passages which form a coherent whole in their original versions. He collected many short fragments on various subjects, and these he often inserted into a story, with little regard for consistency of form, tribal source or subject matter.  

Modern standards require that each body of tradition be seen as a coherent whole, so that the various themes and motifs can be set in their proper context, and so that dialectal features and particular tribal preoccupations can be examined. Accurate translations need to be provided, so that those who have little or no knowledge of the Māori language can share in this resource.

In editing the manuscript I have decided to make some minor changes to the order followed by Wohlers. When rewriting the texts for publication in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, Wohlers himself grouped some of the stories together in their logical sequence. I have followed his example in keeping ‘Ko Te Roiroi-whenua’ of Book 6 with ‘Ko Tutakaihinahina’ of Book 1; and the short narratives and waiata of Books 8 and 9 with the Tāne story in Book 1. I have, however, kept all these passages separate rather than weaving them into one story.

Another change made by Wohlers in his 1874 version is to rearrange the ‘ancient heroes’ section into a cycle of stories which begins with Kai-tangata and ends with Whakatau. I have reversed the order of two stories, ‘Ko Waitiri’ and ‘Ko Rata’. The line of descent which runs from Kai-tangata to Tāwhaki and then on to Rata can be seen in the c.1850 version, for the linking name Wahia-roa is found in both stories. However, there is no reason to place Whakatau at the end of the genealogical line, since in this version there is nothing to suggest that he is connected with the Kai-tangata family.  

such as the addition of proper names and explanatory phrases. He consistently inserts the proper article a before the third person singular pronoun; this is apparently a feature of the dialect of the far North, where White grew up.

40See for example the two sentences at the end of ‘Ko Paowa’ (White, 1887, II: 59), which come from an unknown source.

41Whakatau does not figure in this cycle in versions from Island Polynesia. Wohlers had read Grey by the
this story in its original position.

None of the material within the stories has been rearranged in any way, even though Wohlers himself did this when writing his 1874 version.

Since no manuscript copy of ‘Ko Tinirau’ has been found, it has been omitted from this edition of the texts. Book 9 has also been omitted, with the exception of the three waiata which are part of the story of Tāne and have been placed after that narrative. As has been previously explained, Book 9 appears to be a preliminary draft. More importantly, the stories are of a different sort from those in the rest of the texts. They deal with more recent Kāi Tahu ancestors, figures who may be seen as ‘historical’. They therefore require a different sort of critical apparatus from the other narratives in this study. They should be approached with the aid of whakapapa and local traditions rather than with the wider Polynesian view which has been brought to bear on the other narratives in this study.

In order to make the organisation of this material clearer to the reader, I have given each story a number. This is followed by a brief descriptive title. The order in which the items have been arranged within each grouping is: (a) Introduction, (b) Māori Text and (c) English Translation. This order is not intended to downplay the importance of the text, but is an acknowledgement of the fact that such complex material will, for most people, need some words of explanation before its significance can begin to be appreciated.

In quoting comparative material, I have tried wherever possible to name the Māori informant rather than the collector who recorded his work. Thus for example I have spoken of Te Rangikāheke’s version of the story of Rangi and Papa, or Pōtae’s version of the story of Whaitiri, rather than name Grey and White as the authors of these stories. However, it is not always possible to follow this practice. In some cases the recorder has not given his source (most obviously in the case of Wohlers himself). In others, the recorder has worked time he wrote his 1874 version, and may have been influenced by the fact that in one of Grey’s versions Whakatau is Rata’s grandson. But Grey also records another version in which Whakatau’s lineage is different.

It would be possible to edit ‘Ko Tinirau’ from White’s version, using the shorter version in the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute for assistance where necessary, and this will be done at a later stage. The story has themes and motifs which weave in and out of the other stories.
from two or more originals, and has woven the two together so closely that it is sometimes
impossible to unravel the separate threads.43 In these cases I have for convenience called
the version after its Pākehā collector, since readers are more likely to be able to consult the
published versions than manuscripts which are held in research libraries in different parts
of the country.

The sections headed ‘Other versions’ at the end of each chapter consist of comparative
material. In cases where the story has many cognate versions in both Island Polynesia and
Aotearoa, only a brief and by no means exhaustive list of other versions is given. When the
story is less widespread, summaries of cognate versions are given. The order usually
followed in listing these versions is:

A. Aotearoa:

(1) other versions from the same region as our text

(2) those from the East Coast of the North Island, the tribal area which is generically
closest to the Murihiku people

(3) other versions from Aotearoa. Within this group, the items are listed in order of their
resemblance to the Murihiku text.

B. Island Polynesia.

The order here is determined by those principles set up by linguists to establish the
relationships between Polynesian languages. So stories from Eastern Polynesia come first,
followed by those from Samoa and cognate groups, then Polynesian outliers, and lastly
Tonga and Niue. Different groupings might have been chosen on cultural grounds (Samoa
and Tonga share many of the same stories, for example), but this would have required
justification in terms of social history and is beyond the scope of this thesis.

As far as possible, I have tried to retain Wohlers’s own spelling and punctuation. As an
educated man and one whose expressed aim in recording the texts was to extend his

43A case in point is the story of Tāwhaki recorded by Grey. As Simmons has pointed out (1976: 365-9),
Grey’s sources are manuscripts written by Matene Te Whiwhi of Ngāti Toa and Hohepa Paraone of Te
Arawa. Whole episodes, smaller paragraphs and sometimes single sentences from one source are interwoven
with those from the other. Some linking phrases seem to come from neither source: they may be Grey’s own,
or may have come from an as yet unidentified third source.
understanding of the language, he must be considered a reliable guide to the rhythms of
speech and, with certain exceptions,\textsuperscript{44} to the sound of the language. The changes I have
made are as follows:

1. Spelling

(a) The addition of macrons. Vowel length was very rarely indicated in the nineteenth
century. The few words in which Wohlers indicated vowel length by a doubling of the
letter have either been left in that form, or the change has been signalled in the notes. The
meaning of some words changes according to whether the vowel is pronounced long or
short, and in some cases the correct form is now a matter for conjecture. Readers should be
aware that this is so, and that a different interpretation is sometimes possible. In cases
where a different vowel length would make a significant change in meaning, I have
indicated this in the notes and explained the reasons for my choice.

(b) Underlined \textit{k} and \textit{ng}. The \textit{k} which would be written \textit{ng} in the northern dialect has been
underlined throughout the texts. Similarly, where Wohlers has hypercorrected by writing
\textit{ng} where a \textit{k} is required, the \textit{ng} has been underlined. It seemed important to retain these
spellings as indications of southern dialect, but, in order to avoid confusion, to use some
symbol to distinguish them.\textsuperscript{45}

(c) Square brackets. Some letters were omitted by Wohlers in his manuscript, either
because of regional variants, or because he misheard a sound or made a transcription error.
In such cases, the missing letter has been added in square brackets, in an attempt to clarify
the sense. See a more detailed discussion of this in the following section ‘The Language of
the South’.

(d) Rounded brackets. The rounded brackets are in the text and are reproduced exactly as
Wohlers has them.\textsuperscript{46} To avoid confusion, I have therefore not followed the common

\textsuperscript{44}This is discussed in the following section, ‘The Language of the South’.
\textsuperscript{45}Although the hypercorrections originate from Wohlers and not, as far as one can tell, from his informants,
they are still useful in confirming that there was no discernable difference between the sounds. They also
perhaps serve to indicate words which were in less frequent use. See the discussion of this in ‘The Language
of the South’.
\textsuperscript{46}As these brackets usually contain explanatory comments by Wohlers, I have usually not reproduced them.
editorial practice of enclosing in rounded brackets those portions of the text (repetitions of characters, syllables or words) which seem to be superfluous. I have either allowed these to stand, in cases where these seem to supply possible dialectal evidence (for example, the occasional example of the use of wh where w would be expected: iwha, wharu), or have normalised them. Any changes have been signalled in the footnotes.

(e) Word boundaries. A number of words have been emended to bring them into line with modern conventions of written Māori. Hōmai, hoatu, hiaai, waenganui and others, which Wohlers usually recorded as two words, have been written as single words, without this change being signalled in the notes. I have not, however, changed whana atu and whana ake to whanatu and whanake. Since Wohlers consistently writes these as two words, this may well be an indication of their pronunciation. And Williams lists whana, in the sense of 'travel, come, go, be on the point of' as a separate item which is not always followed by atu.

(f) Hyphenation of Proper names. Proper names present special difficulties, for they often permit of several different forms and interpretations. Wherever their meaning can be easily established, I have added macrons and hyphens in an attempt to reveal this meaning, since it often has a bearing on the story. A knowledge of the meaning of a name like Hine-tūahōanga ('The-woman-with-the-sandstone-back') is an aid to the understanding of the Rata myth, and allows comparison with other myths in which this name occurs. The difficulty is that the meaning is not always obvious. Should we refer to Hine-a-tauira, 'The-pattern-woman', or to Hine-ata-uiira, 'The-dawn-glow-woman'? In these cases I have left the question open by hyphenating in as general a fashion as possible (here, as Hine-atauira).

2. Punctuation

(a) The text contains numerous short sentences beginning with ka. It would have been possible to group these together in longer compound sentences, but the shorter sentences may well reflect Wohlers's perception of the oral story-telling style, so they have been

in their original form in the translation. I have sometimes incorporated the information contained in them into the translation (in the case of proper names, for example: 'Māui went' instead of 'He (Māui) went'). The words which Wohlers intended as a gloss are referred to in the textual notes.
allowed to stand.\footnote{Since Māori is a paratactic language, it makes no difference to the syntax whether one looks on these as a string of simple sentences or as fewer compound ones.} In the translation, however, I have followed normal English usage and used primary and subordinate clauses.

(b) In cases where usage has changed, I have modernised the punctuation (a comma precedes direct speech, for example). Sometimes, too, the addition of a comma seems to be required for clarification. Minor changes such as these have been made without comment. Where there has been a major change in punctuation so that the sense of a sentence has been changed, I have indicated this in the notes. This is particularly evident in direct speech, where Wohlers seems sometimes to have misunderstood the meaning. Sometimes the confusion arises because he has omitted to close the quotation marks at the end of a passage of direct speech.

(c) I have retained most of the dashes which punctuate the text, as these are part of the conversational style. I have, however, replaced a dash with three small dots after the word ā, in cases where it is used to indicate a change in the direction of the narrative or a pause before the next event takes place. It would have been pronounced as a long a, followed by a pause.

(d) The text has been broken up into shorter paragraphs. Wohlers has very few separate paragraphs, perhaps because, as an indigent missionary constantly short of writing materials, he felt that paper was too precious to waste on blank spaces.

(e) Karakia have been put into lines, not because they were spoken this way but because this highlights their importance and makes it easier for a modern reader to grasp the ideas expressed in them. Since their method of delivery was very different from that of ordinary speech (they were intoned rapidly, with as few breaths as possible), setting them out in verse form is one way of indicating this fact. Waiata, on the other hand, had natural divisions which followed the musical line. However, since it is not possible to be sure of the line breaks without knowing the music which was specific to each song, some of the line divisions in the waiata in this edition are necessarily arbitrary.
I have given translations of waiata and karakia wherever the meaning is reasonably clear. However, where the meaning of a passage is obscure, I have left the original untouched but have italicised it to show that it is not part of the translation.

3. Syntax

The only deliberate syntactical change which has been made is the restoration, in square brackets, of the personal article a before the personal pronoun au. Since the article is found before other pronouns, its omission is probably a matter of spelling and pronunciation (the absorption of the article into the following a, which would then perhaps have been pronounced longer). If it is a dialectal feature, my correction has not obscured the original.

In cases where the syntax of the original seems confused, it has been necessary to interpret the words in a way which makes some sort of sense. Any editorial additions have been placed in square brackets, and the emendation clearly signalled in the notes.

Additional editing information

(a) Glosses for Māori words. When the meanings of words discussed in this thesis are given in quotation marks they are taken from H.W. Williams, Dictionary of the Maori Language, 7th edition, 1971, unless indicated otherwise.

(b) Quotations. References to passages in White and Grey are usually to pages in the English sections of these works. Māori sections are referred to either when the question is of specifically linguistic interest, or when the English text has been bowdlerised or simplified and no longer contains the point which is being discussed.

(c) Glossary. A glossary of common Māori words, many of which have passed into New Zealand English, is given at the end of this thesis.

(d) Footnotes. In general, footnotes to the texts deal with purely textual matters, while

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48See the series of statements in a dialogue near the beginning of 'Ko Hine-i-te-puwha'.
matters of interpretation are kept for the introduction.

(e) **Translations.** I have aimed at a straightforward, close translation of the narratives, so that the text can be followed by those whose knowledge of the Māori language is limited.
C. THE LANGUAGE OF THE SOUTH

In this section my aim is two-fold: firstly, to provide basic linguistic information as an aid to reading the texts, and secondly, to list examples of dialectal usage that will allow professional linguists to obtain a better overall picture of the southern dialect.

Relatively little is known about the dialect of southern Māori.\(^1\) It seems that native speakers of this dialect were rare by the middle of the twentieth century, and linguists such as Biggs report the South Island Māori dialect as being ‘extinct’.\(^2\) Greater caution is expressed on this subject by Harlow,\(^3\) but even his information comes from reported sources and not first hand. However, it is hoped that the present discussion about the dialect as it is recorded in one body of texts last century will be of some use in adding to what is known from elsewhere.

These observations are put forward in a tentative fashion, as points for further consideration. If the examples listed here are confirmed by examples from other sources, they may be accepted as evidence of features belonging to the southern dialect of Māori. If, on the other hand, they turn out to be the only examples, then they may perhaps be rejected as errors of understanding or transcription.

There is a long history of regarding the southern dialect of Māori as ‘barbaric’ and as ‘bastard Māori’.\(^4\) European visitors speak of its harsh sound, and the missionary, James

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\(^1\)I am using the term ‘southern Māori’ or ‘South Island Māori’ in the broad sense in which it is used by linguists such as Harlow (1979: 123-38) and Biggs (1989: 61-75). Harlow (page 124) points out that there is evidence for further sub-divisions, and Wohlers himself talks of ‘the Murihiku dialect’ (1874: 31), but the present analysis leaves any such complications to one side. I am grateful to Dr Harlow of Waikato University for making the text of Tiramōrehu’s work available to me on computer disk. This has facilitated the work of comparing examples of linguistic use. However, a more detailed analysis of this material remains to be done.

\(^2\)Biggs, Hohepa and Krupa ‘assert that South Island MAO is extinct’ (Harlow, 1979: 124).

\(^3\)‘However, the claims that one does hear that speakers exist, especially in Southland, cannot be discounted without checking’ (Harlow, 1979: 131).

\(^4\)Most of the evidence for this is anecdotal. A South Island kuia, Mrs Raukura Gillies, tells of being laughed at and forced to modify her speech when she joined her husband’s people in Wanganui (Gillies, 1985: 10). Grace talks of the ‘bastard Mori or tongue’ spoken by ‘the degenerate people of Kaiapoi’ (1907: 173). Beattie records many instances of hearing remarks such as ‘Look at those awful southerners, massacring the beautiful Maori language!’ (Beattie, 1920b: 64). Traditions which he sent to Smith for inclusion in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* were often dismissed with the words ‘South Island Māori, cannot be translated’ (some of the problems arose because of Beattie’s limited knowledge of Māori, but often Smith was simply impatient with a style of writing which was unfamiliar to him). Tregear (under Māui) states that ‘the southern version is obviously at fault’ in its name for Māui’s father and its details of Māui’s birth. Since
Watkin, who was stationed at Waikouaiti and compiled a wordlist of South Island Māori, went so far as to report that it was totally incomprehensible, even to a fluent speaker of Māori.⁵

It seems doubtful that the language was ever as far removed from North Island forms of speech as these reports would suggest. For every visitor who complained of the difficulty and strangeness of the language, there seems to have been at least one other who found communication relatively straightforward. Shortland, for example, travelled along the East Coast of the South Island in 1843-4, and was able to converse with Māori and record their whakapapa, stories, and geographical information.⁶ Other missionaries, such as the Rev. Charles Creed and Father Comte, communicated with their flock with relative ease.⁷

Wohlers himself seems to have learnt the language of the far south quickly and relatively easily. It might be argued that in his case he was coming to the language without preconceived notions of a 'correct' way of speaking it. However, the written tools he had at his disposal were those very ones which Watkin said were quite unusable, that is, the New Testament and catechism which had been printed in the north. Wohlers gives no impression that either he or the people who read these works with him found the language contained in them significantly different from that which was spoken locally.

Direct comments by Wohlers on the subject of the language of the south are few. In a report to the North German Mission,⁸ he speaks of 'a very large inland lake, the Waiora (the R in this word is almost pronounced like an L)', and 'the little island of Ruapuke (the P in this word is spoken so softly that it could be a B'). He does not reproduce these forms in his own texts, however, for he believes that he must adopt standard forms: 'I have mostly kept to the general Māori orthography, because that is better for the understanding

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⁵Harlow, 1987: vii. Watkin suffered from bad bouts of depression which made him see insurmountable problems where others might see minor setbacks, but he was a good linguist, and should have picked up the language relatively easily.⁶Shortland, 1851.⁷Creed came to Waikouaiti in 1844 from Taranaki. Father Comte came to Akaroa from Hokianga in 1840 (see P. Tremewan, 1985: 5-11).⁸First Report, 16/6/44 (Norddeutsche Missions Gesellschaft MS, DUHo).
of the meaning of the words'. That is, we can expect few revelations about the pronunciation of the southern dialect of Māori from these texts, since Wohlers has done his best to make them conform to a North Island norm.

The question of syntax is more complex. Wohlers explains that he has taken pains to retain 'the essential passages and expressions of the untutored old Maori, even if the grammar does not seem what it should be'. It is clear that he recognises what he has written as a distinct dialect, and that he expects his readers to be able to notice that it is different from standard North Island Māori usage. He points out that he provided Grey with several passages for his collection of Maori mythology, and asserts: 'It will also be observed that in Sir George Grey's book those few passages which are alike [i.e. like those in Wohlers's 1874 texts] are in the Murihiku dialect'. So the grammar of these texts can be expected to reflect southern usage.

Some of the dialectal features to be found in these texts will be analysed in their respective categories.

A. SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION

Since Wohlers uses only the phonemes which are found in the written form of the language as standardised by the missionaries of the north, there are no examples of some features of southern pronunciation recorded by Watkin and Boultee, and fixed in the place names of the southern region. The well-known dialectal features not found in Wohlers's collection of myths are:

- the voicing of consonants which were unvoiced in Northern dialects (Otago for Ōtakou; Kilmog for Kiri-moko; moggy for mōkihi; The Robulla for Te Rauparaha)

- the labialisation of the dental fricative /r/ (Waihola for Waihora, bola for pora)

- the dropping of the terminal vowel, in pronunciation and sometimes even in

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9 Wohlers, 1874: 31. Wohlers 1895: 108-9 gives a brief idea of the composition of the language, but his list of consonants does not represent southern pronunciation. (The inclusion of /n/ instead of /k/ is simply a mistake.)

10 Wohlers, 1874: 31.

spelling (Kāik for Kāinga; Kilmog for Kiri-moko)

These features have often been blamed on faulty Pākehā pronunciation of Māori, and in some cases words were indeed distorted by an attempt to make a recognisable English word out of a foreign-sounding one (for example, the whalers often referred to their try-pots as ‘go-ashore’, which is apparently an anglicisation of the Māori kōhua). But these linguistic features have also been recorded by people who were making a special effort to record the words as they heard them. A recorder such as Boultbee, for example, had no preconceived ideas about the language, and tried to reproduce exactly what he heard.

In the North Island, Eastern dialects commonly use ai where ei is found in Western dialects (in words such as kai/kei; hai/hei). This feature is found in South Island writers like Matiaha Tiramōrehu, Taare Te Kaahu and others, but almost never in Wohlers. The only example appears to be nai used in an exclamatory way (Nai tō mātou nei tia! ‘Here’s our slave!’).\(^{12}\) This is probably the equivalent of nei (iii), 6 or 7 in Williams, though it may be a special dialectal word.

There is much evidence to suggest that kūmara was regularly pronounced kūmera in the South. However, in this case too Wohlers always uses the northern spelling.

Although, as we have seen, Wohlers made every effort to make his spelling conform to what he saw as the standard dialect, there are occasions when he slips, and these instances are highly revealing. As would be expected, he makes few or no ‘mistakes’ in common words which he would have encountered in everyday speech. Words which do slip through his editing are unusual words or proper names. One would expect Wohlers to write these as he actually heard them, rather than as he knew they should be spelt. As well, there are ‘mistakes’ which are actually corrected in the manuscript: words which Wohlers must have recorded as he heard them, but which he afterwards normalised.

Wohlers has clear, careful handwriting, and in most cases there is no difficulty reading what he has written. However, there is one exception to this. Even though his a and o seem

\(^{12}\)It is also listed by Watkin (Harlow, 1987: 52, under naea; 91, under uta).
to be quite distinct, there are many cases in which what looks to be a clear \( o \) has to be read as \( a \) (e.g. ingaa for ingoa, karero for korero), and vice versa (ka for ko in front of a name). So there may be mistakes in these edited texts which arise from Wohlers’s handwriting. Sometimes it has been possible to check spellings against Wohlers’s 1874 version of the stories, but this material is only about half the length of the original c.1850 manuscript.

1. Consonants

The three consonants which cause Wohlers some difficulty are \( k \), \( h \) and \( wh \).

(a) \( k \)

Harlow points out in his introduction to the writings of the southern chief Matiaha Tiramōrehu that ‘[Matiaha] spoke a variety of Maori which did not contain the sound written this way \( [ng] \) in the North ... That Matiaha uses \( ng \) is due rather to the fact that even at this early date there was some idea of a “right” way to spell Maori, probably based on Biblical translations. Matiaha was aware that when he said \( k \), this could be spelt either \( ng \) or \( k' \). Wohlers, approaching the language as a careful learner, grammar book in hand, usually makes the ‘right’ choice. But certain unusual words retain their southern \( k \): toroko (‘caterpillar’) hūkui (‘handle’), tuaro (‘back of the house’), kūtura, (‘barb’), and proper names Muri-raka-whenua, Takaroa, Te Maku, Toka. There are a number of other examples.

In Wohlers’s determination to keep to the ‘correct’ spelling, the reverse phenomenon also takes place, though this is less common. Examples of words which are written with \( ng \) where the equivalent North Island term would be written with \( k \) are: kauranga (kauraka, ‘don’t’), maonga (maoka, ‘cooked’), ngaroa (karoro, ‘parry, avoid a blow’), and the name Mahuinga (Mahuika in the story of Maui). Tiramōrehu himself often makes this sort of mistake in an attempt to write in an acceptable form.

Sometimes the word left uncorrected is a common one, such as pako, ‘black’.\(^\text{13}\) Since the normalised form is found elsewhere in the texts, one must simply assume that Wohlers

\(^{13}\)See ‘Ko Wakatau’. The 1874 version is left uncorrected.
made a slip (and in the case of pako failed to notice it later when writing the stories up for publication).

(b) h

In this case the question is more complicated. It is known that h is often dropped in South Island Māori, but under what circumstances does not seem to have been established. A reading of texts such as that collected by Chapman in 1898\(^{14}\) shows a frequent but not absolute dropping of the initial h in words such as he and hoatu. In a small group of words, Wohlers has occasionally dropped the h, but more often included it (\(h\)e, \(h\)oatu, \(h\)oake, \(h\)ouhou, Hine-tua-\(h\)ōaka).

A medial h in the first part of reduplicated words is frequently omitted. This is one of the four dialectal features which Harlow finds in Watkin’s language.\(^{15}\) Examples in Wohlers’s Murihiku texts are: pū\(h\)ouhou (in the story of Tura), ta\(h\)utahu (in the story of Wakatau), and pūko\(h\)ukohu (in Ruru-teina and Pioioi). This may also account for the two spellings of the name in the first story, Tutaka-hinahina and Tutakahinahina.\(^{16}\) The intrusive i in this name may have come about because Wohlers first heard it as Tutakainahina, and was uncertain as to how it should be written. By 1874 he had adopted the form Tutakahinahina. Wohlers also has examples of an intrusive h: Raheroa for Raeroa, and so on. This is probably due to the same excessive desire to be ‘correct’ as is evidenced in the incorrect writing of k as ng.

(c) wh

A similar degree of uncertainty exists over the question of the phoneme written as wh. Linguists stress that there is a great deal of disagreement over the pronunciation of this phoneme, even in present-day Māori.\(^{17}\) Wohlers has several examples of doublets, that is,

\(^{14}\)DUHoa, MS 416/H-417.
\(^{15}\)Harlow, 1987: xix. Williams notes as ‘poetical’ a form aiahi, for ahiahi. He does not give the source of the song which is used to illustrate this word, but it is likely to be a northern example.
\(^{16}\)The second form seems to be the more acceptable spelling. Figures called Tītaka-hinahina are found elsewhere.
\(^{17}\)Harlow, 1979: 123-4.
he writes both whāia and wāia, whata and wata, whārōrō and wārōrō, but it is difficult to see any pattern in this. One might think that in view of Wohlers’s avowed attempt to write in standard Māori, his occasional lapses may be a reflection of the way the language was actually pronounced. However, working against this is the fact that most early Christian material was written with the w forms, and Wohlers may simply be reverting to an older style of spelling.\textsuperscript{18} This phenomenon is not by any means confined to the south, or to Pākehā writers. Many northern Māori (Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Mohi Ruapatu, for example) also write as w the phoneme represented by the spelling wh.

One possible indicator of pronunciation is proper names. A pair of similar names found together in one of the earlier stories is Whakatau and Tūwhakararo. Wohlers records the first of these as Wakatau. Does this perhaps suggest that he heard it this way, and connected it with waka, ‘canoe’ (the canoe is an important element in this story)? Even if he heard the second name as Tūwakararo, he would realise that waka was more likely to be the causative whaka. Waitiri, too, may have been at first associated with wai, ‘water’, rather than with whaitiri, ‘thunder’. Another word which may have been wrongly recorded for similar reasons is w[h]aiw[h]aiā, ‘witchcraft’, in the story of Paowa. This is a relatively unusual word, and a key incident in this story concerns water which is made to dry up through the exercise of witchcraft.

The occasional example of a reverse phenomenon, the intrusive h, is also found, chiefly in numerals: iwha, tokoiwha, wharu. This often occurs when these words are used as the name of a month rather than as a cardinal number, but, as it occurs in other cases too, one cannot say that there is a pattern here.\textsuperscript{19}

There is some overlap of h and wh. According to Harlow,\textsuperscript{20} there are three groups of words

\textsuperscript{18}The prayer and hymn book published by the Wesleyans and acquired by Wohlers used w forms in its 1839 edition and wh in 1841 and thereafter (Williams, 1975: items 36 and 68). It is impossible to know for certain which edition Wohlers was using, but since religious books were in great demand, probably only the later edition would have been available to him. The New Testament editions available to him used the w forms (Williams, 1975: items 20, 64, 72).

\textsuperscript{19}There is also the question of the complete dropping of wh, as exemplified in words such as Akaroa for the northern Whangaroa and kōai or gōai (a tree known to northerners as kōwhai) (Beattie, 1920b: 76; 1954: 88; Skinner, 1921: 72). No examples of this occur in Wohlers’s texts.

\textsuperscript{20}1979: 124-6.
containing these phonemes: (i) those which always have \( h \) (ahi, noho); (ii) those which always have \( wh \) (whare, whaka-); and (iii) those for which either is possible, with a dialectal distribution (Eastern North Island: pōhiri, hea; Western /Northern North Island: pōwhiri, whea).

There is some slight evidence for the adoption of ‘Eastern’ forms in the Murihiku texts. The form pōhatu is used in several texts, rather than pōwhatu. In the story of Pioioi, the forms hērua, kāhakina are used, rather than whērua, kāwhakina. In a karakia chanted by Rata as he snares Matuku, the original Whare-nuku is changed to Here-nuku, which suggests a pronunciation which sounded enough like Hare-nuku for this to have been the more obvious first choice, recorded as Whare-nuku and later ‘corrected’ to Here-nuku. On the other hand, whea is always used in preference to hea. So the evidence is conflicting, and no clearcut conclusions can be drawn.

2. Vowels

It is even more difficult to decide what information can be drawn from these texts in the case of vowels. Pākehā recorders often make mistakes with Māori vowel sounds, especially in the case of diphthongs. Wohlers seems to be a better transcriber than most. However, he adopts some forms which are not found in North Island dialects. In some cases it may simply be his ear which is at fault, but confirmation of some of these forms is found in other sources. Some of the regular changes made by Wohlers are:

(a) The vowel a replaced by e

In discussing Watkin’s South Island wordlist, Harlow notes that ‘/a/ becomes /e/ before high vowels /i/, /u/’. Wohlers too has examples of this: kaueti instead of kauati (in ‘Ko Tutaka-hinahina’, ‘Ko Tura’, ‘Ko Pungarehu’); pouenui instead of pouanamu (in ‘Ko Raureka’); whereina instead of wheraina (‘Ko Waitiri’); hemiti instead of hamutī (‘Ko Rongo-i-tua’). Since this change is attested elsewhere (Tikao has similar examples), it is likely to be be a dialectal feature.

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22 Tikao, 1939: pouenui (65, 132); taieha (69); taieri (106).
According to Harlow, in words such as taurekereka 'the -c- is out of place in Māori but is characteristic of TON [Tongan] words of this shape' (Watkin was based in Tonga before coming to New Zealand). However, Wohlers has examples of an almost identical c/a change in hinehine, the name of the tree which is usually called hinahina (see in 'Ko Māui').

(b) i and u

One of the features which distinguish the Eastern from the Western dialects is the distribution of i or u in certain words. In Eastern dialects i is found in words such as inu and tipuna, while Western dialects have u (unu, tupuna). In the language written down by Wohlers the two vowels seem to be interchangeable and there is no discernable pattern. As with the h and wh forms, some of his examples are forms found regularly in the Western dialect of the North Island (tupuna, Kāhui Tupu[a] (the first found consistently throughout, the latter from the story of Rongo-i-tua)), while others are Eastern dialectal forms (tipua, inu).

Sometimes the form seems to be confined to these texts, and may be the result of Wohlers' own mis-hearing (tupia for tipia in the karakia which Tāne chants to Rehua; hutua for hutia in 'Ko Tautini'). On the other hand, this may be part of a Polynesian-wide flexibility in the use of these two vowels.

A special case seems to be what Harlow calls 'unrounding of /u/ in back and labial environments'. Examples of this in Wohlers's texts include: tiraimoko for tiraumoko; ngahuri for ngahuru, tohi for tohu (all in 'Ko Paikea'). Examples are also found in Watkin's word list.

(c) Final vowels

In some Māori dialects the final vowel is pronounced so softly as to be almost non-

24Note the Chatham Islands pronunciation inihina for this word (Shand, 1911: 23).
existent. This is particularly noticeable in the Ngāti Porou dialect, and it seems to have been taken a stage further in the South, as many place names attest (see the discussion at the beginning of this section). Wohlers does not omit final monophthongs, as Boultbee regularly does, but he often drops the final element in a diphthong, and many of his vowels show a change when they are found at the end of the word. This perhaps suggests that Wohlers heard the word imperfectly.

Examples of this feature are: parāo[a], takapa[u] (in ‘Ko Paikea’); Kāhui-Tupu[a] (in ‘Ko Rongo-i-tua’) Te Kārara-hua-ra[u] (in ‘Ko Ruru-teina’); Pioio[i] (in the story of that name); Puku (in the story of Whaitiri) for the figure known elsewhere as Punga, and many more.²⁷

The many examples of terminal e instead of the standard a may also be due to this: tupune, tarie (‘Ko Māui’); mokopune (‘Ko Pioioi’, ‘Ko Pungarehu rāua ko Kōkōmuka-hau nei’, ‘Ko Paowa’, and others); ehare (‘Ko Ruru-teina’); Rehue (‘Ko Tāne’, ‘Ko Tama’), whakarehue (‘Ko Tama’), Merake (‘Ko Tautini’). Another possibility is that Wohlers’s perceptions as a German influenced his spelling of this sound (b/ in German is written e).

(d) Diphthongs

In some cases, diphthongs are reduced to single vowels: Po[u]tini (‘Ko Raureka’);

Harlow has noted that this same feature occurs in Watkin’s list.²⁹

The terminal diphthong ae seems to be a special case in Wohlers’s texts. Pākehā often find it difficult to distinguish between the endings ae and ai in listening to spoken Māori.

Wohlers manages well with words such as waewae, pae, tae as opposed to waiwai, pai, tai. However, there are some which he spells differently from the accepted norm: tutai

²⁷Harlow says that Watkin’s examples of the use of u instead of a are ‘a quirk of Watkin’s hand’, but the phenomenon is found elsewhere; for example, Taare Te Kaahua frequently writes utu for ute (‘Ka Whaiwhai a Kai-tahu ki a Kati-toa’, Polynesian Society Papers, MS Papers 1187/230, WTu).
²⁸There are a few instances in which this might be read as oho; that is, ‘[he] woke up’ rather than ‘day broke’. Wohlers’s 1874 texts sometimes show evidence of the opposite, namely, diphthongisation of a word previously written with a single vowel: oumu, ohou (Wohlers, 1874: 32; 45). Beattie notes oumu as one possible pronunciation in the South; perhaps it was more frequent on Ruapuke (Beattie, 1954: 89).
²⁹Harlow, 1987: xi (kumuare[a]re); xiv (moteri, bene, mori).
(passim); *tapuai* (‘Ko Pungarehu rāua ko Kōkō-muka-haunei’). Watkin records the former word as *tutai* and *tuutai*, and Boultbee as *tootai*. It is true that these three transcribers are all Pākehā, but the cumulative effect of this evidence, along with Wohlers’s excellent record in recording other examples of this diphthong, suggest that this is a form for which other examples should be sought, as it is a possible South Island dialectal variant.

(e) Other, less frequent, vowel changes

There are certain changes which occur less frequently, and which may therefore be examples of incorrect transcription. For example, the word *manuwaru* is recorded twice as *manuwaru* in the story of Ruru-te-ina. The form *toke* is used so regularly for *toki* in the story of Raureka (twelve times) that one suspects a genuine dialectal variant, but both Tiramōrehu and Watkin have *toki*. So the occasional changes of vowel in words like *tuketukea* (for *tukitukia*), *Tāwhake* (for *Tāwhaki*), *whakapinipini* (for *whakapinepine*), *ripēripia* (for *ripīripia*), *kapu* (for *kapo*) are probably faults in transcription rather than dialectal variants.30

B. GRAMMAR AND SYNTAX

There are many passages throughout the work whose meaning is hard to unravel. This is particularly noticeable in the frequent passages of conversation, where highly condensed utterances often convey a large amount of information. Since this is a feature of conversation in any language, it is difficult to say whether some forms are examples of syntax peculiar to this dialect.

A great deal more comparative analysis needs to be done on this topic. The following points are merely put forward as questions for further study.

1. Singular personal pronouns

One of the more striking features of this dialect is the use of the extended forms of the personal pronoun, which employ *h*. These are (a) the forms in *t* (*tāhaku* and so on, and their

30Beattie, however, mentions some of these changes: ‘both kamo and kamu for twinkling, and pukio and pukiu for a niggerhead, and so on’ (Beattie, 1954: 89).
plurals), (b) the forms in *nāhaku* and (c) the forms in *māhaku*. These forms are said to be frequently found in Ngāti Porou dialect. It is noticeable, however, that all Williams's examples come from either Wohlers or waiata, and this despite the fact that Williams came from the East Coast area. Of the 24 possible forms of these pronouns, nine are illustrated with examples from Wohlers, seven with examples from waiata, while six are given with no example of their use. Two (*nōhona* and *mōhona*) are not given at all, although the latter form is found in Wohlers (‘Ko Paikea’). So this is a feature which one can confidently say is a mark of the South Island dialect, even if it does not belong exclusively to this dialect.

2. ‘A’ and ‘o’ categories of possession

The *a* and *o* categories do not appear to be rigidly adhered to in these texts. For example, one would normally expect *he tamāhine na Hāpopo* and *te kāinga o Hāpopo*, but in the story in which these sentences appear (‘Ko Hāpopo’), they are apparently recorded as *he tamāhine no Hāpopo* and *te kāinga a Hāpopo*. There are many other examples of this feature. It may be that the Murihiku dialect pays less attention to these categories, as is the case in some other dialects. On the other hand, the apparent randomness of the vowel may be due to Wohlers's handwriting (see above).

3. Passive voice

The form of the verb in the passive voice is sometimes different from the usual form. This may be a feature of this dialect (Harlow for example points to *hikaina* as a passive form rather than *hikaia*), or it may be that the situation was a good deal more flexible than one might expect.

Other examples:

*maua* is often found where one would expect *mauria* (*maua* is also used frequently by

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31 Texts from the Ngāti Porou area are at present being prepared for publication by Mr Anaru Reedy (*Ngā Kōrero a Mohi Ruatapu*, Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press). This will facilitate the gathering of this kind of data, and should make detailed comparisons of this nature possible in future.

32 Harlow, 1979: 127. He says that little study has been made of verbal forms.
Tiramōrehu).

rongotia: the passive form is usually rongona or rangona, but in one case rongotia is found ('Ko Ruru-teina').

karanga often seems to have the force of a passive verb, even when it has no passive ending. Examples: Na, *ka karanga atu e Rona* ('Ko Rona'); *Ka karanga mai e Rukutia* ('Ko Tama'; two other examples are also found in this story); *Ka karanga mai e tērā; Ka karanga mai e Te Ngārara-hua-rau* ('Ko Ruru-teina'). The form employing the passive ending is more commonly found, however.

An odd mixture of the passive and stative constructions is found in the expressions *ka warea i te moe; ka parangia i te moe* ('Ko Māui', 'Ko Tama'). Examples of these expressions could be looked for in other South Island texts.

Wohlers sometimes has a spurious -a suffix on the end of verbs, but whether this is a genuine feature of the dialect or a personal confusion over the passive termination it is difficult to say. Examples are *kaua* ('Ko Wakatau'), *kikinia* ('Ko Tura'), *taratā* ('Ko Māui').

4. Negatives

Biggs says that 'negative and conditional markers show a good deal of dialectal variation'. He sees kāhore as a North Auckland form, and kīhai as 'northern and western'. However, kāhore is the preferred form in both Wohlers and Tiramōrehu, while kīhai is very frequent in Tiramōrehu, and occasionally found in Wohlers.

5. The deictic particle ia

According to Biggs, 'Ngāti Porou writers often use ia as a postposed deictic'. This is a dialectal feature also found in these texts from Murihiku. It is particularly frequent in the

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33Harlow points to a feature in Watkin's word list which he sees as deriving from Watkin's Tongan background: this is a suffix -a or -ia. In Watkin these are found at the end of nouns: hororoa, kohua, popoa and tabua.
351989: 71.
first two texts of this collection. In ‘Ko Tūtaka-hinahina’ are examples such as Kāhore ia ana mātua, ‘But he had no parents’; Ka noho ia taua tangata i te wahine, ‘Then he took as his wife a woman whose name was Kaiherte’, and in ‘Ko Wakatau’, Ka mate ia a Tū-whakararo, ‘And so Tū-whakararo died’.

6. Omission of the personal article a

Examples of this are found in these texts, but evidence suggests that it is not confined to this dialect. The occasional omission of the personal article before names beginning with Te, especially those which are generic rather than specific (Te Ngārara; Te Ruahine) is probably a feature of the language in general. (In the cases quoted here, an alternative would be to write the name in lower case: te ngārara, te ruahine.)

A is frequently omitted before the first person pronoun: ki [a] au. It may arise because the repeated vowels merged in rapid speech, and it may therefore be a spelling mistake.

7. Unusual word order

There are many examples of a word order which would not normally be found in the classical language. This feature, however, needs a great deal more study before any conclusions can be drawn. Two examples are:

Ka kī atu a Waitiri i taua maka kia hōmai: one would expect Ka kī atu a Waitiri kia hōmai taua maka (‘Ko Waitiri’).

Ka oti te kākahu ngā weruweru would normally be written Ka oti ngā weruweru te kākahu (‘Ko Paowa’).

One frequent stylistic feature in these texts is a deferred subject. This subject may appear several phrases or even sentences after the initial verb with which it belongs. This has the effect of building up to a dramatic climax.

Examples: Ka whakarongo atu (a Te Roiroi-whenua) e ngau ana i te tūtaata. Ka tūkina atu, ka tirohia e haere ana i roto o te tāepa e rua, ko te uwha, ko te toa. ‘Te Roiroi-whenua
listened to something gnawing there in the early morning. He went to fetch it, and saw, moving along within the fence, two of them, a male and a female.’ (‘Ko Tūtaka-hinahina’)

*Kua tae mai ki te tara o te whare. Ka puta atu a Rata ki wahio; tēnei e takoto nei i te tara o te whare, kua oti i aua tūpuna nei te waka nei.* ‘It had arrived at the side of the house. When Rata went outside, there it was lying at the side of the house: his canoe, which those ancestors had finished for him.’ (‘Ko Rata’)

There is no sign of the unusual construction found in the handbook attributed to Watkin, in which *i a* appears to replace *ko*: *I a ia te Atua kaha rawa* (‘He is the omnipotent God’); *I a koe manaaki haere ki hewani?* (‘Do you wish to go to heaven?’).36

**C. SEMANTICS AND VOCABULARY**

There are many words and phrases in these texts which seem to have a different meaning in the South. Some of these are easily distinguishable: *tou* may in certain contexts be the northern *tonu* and not a personal pronoun; *pōrangī* means ‘to find’ as well as ‘mad’; one meaning of *tāua* is ‘grandmother’. The sense of these words may be deduced from the context.37

Sometimes, however, the task is more difficult. Words may not appear in Williams’s *Dictionary of the Māori Language*, or if they do, they may be unglossed. Even when Williams glosses them, his examples are often drawn from Wohlers’s texts, so that one has no way of knowing whether the word is used in other contexts, or whether Williams is just making the kind of intelligent guess that any reader could make.

The more unusual words found in Wohlers’s texts have been listed below, grouped into categories. Firstly, there are those which Williams distinguishes as being Kāi Tahu dialectal words; secondly, those for which Williams gives no gloss; thirdly, those for which his gloss is clearly unsatisfactory in the context in which they are found, and

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36[Watkin], 1841: 4-5.
37Even so, mistakes may be made. It seems highly likely, for example, that in many English-language retellings of the story about the discovery of greenstone by the people of the East Coast (South Island), Raureka is described as a ‘madwoman’ because of a confusion between the two meanings of *pōrangī*, ‘mad, deranged’ and ‘to seek’.
fourthly, words in Wohlers’s texts which are not listed in Williams. A fifth category deals with some anomalies in Williams’s dictionary entries. A short section deals with transliterations, and finally there is a section dealing with idioms which seem to be peculiar to this dialect.

In some cases a fuller discussion of the word or expression is found in the textual notes or the introduction to the story in which the word occurs.

1. Entries which Williams marks out as Kāi Tahu

This includes entries which are marked as ‘Tahu’, or those with examples taken only from Wohlers. The ones marked with an asterisk are ones which Harlow notes as being also found in the Ngāti Porou dialect; there may also be other examples of this which are unknown to me. Items which are also found in Watkin’s list of South Island words are noted.38

hākinakina: ‘sport, enjoy oneself’

*hākorō: ‘old man, father, parent’. The word usually means ‘father’ in the Murihiku texts, but there are several cases in which it is used in the plural (‘Ko Waitiri’, ‘Ko Raureka’, ‘Ko Tarewai’).

*hākui: ‘old woman, mother’

harareka = harakeke: ‘flax’

hiko: ‘snatch’ (this appears in Watkin’s list, but with no gloss)

*huanui: ‘road, highway, path, pathway’

kanakana: ‘stare wildly’

koukouoro: ‘dense, dark bush’ (Williams’s remark ‘it is printed koukouaro’ suggests that he is familiar with the word from other sources. He draws his example from White, but the

letter White transcribes as an a could just as easily be an o.)

kurikuri: ‘fusty, evil-smelling’ (from kurī, ‘dog’)

mahiti: ‘be spent, be exhausted, consumed’ (Watkin has mahaiti and maheiti)

moa: ‘climb’ (perhaps also connected with moari, ‘swing, or giant stride’?)

pōrangi: ‘seek’ (the word is found in its North Island sense of ‘mad, demented’ in only one case, in the story of Rongo-i-tua) (Watkin has polaki and poraki with both meanings given in the gloss)

puruhia: ‘blunt’39 (Watkin has puruhi, ‘dull’)

tāua: ‘old man, old woman, ancestor, grandparent’ (Williams gives the word a macron, although present-day speakers do not pronounce it this way. In Wohlers’s texts it is used only of females, and this seems to be the way it is used by South Island Māori today.40 Watkin also records the word.)

taumatua: ‘the place where the pure for a kūmara plantation, or other similar ceremonies, were performed’ (This may also be Ngāti Porou; Williams has an unsourced quotation as well as the one from Wohlers.)

tia: ‘slave’41 (found also in Watkin)

* tou = tonu: ‘still, continually, quite, just, simply, only, immediately’ (found also in Watkin)

*wahia: ‘firewood’

whai: ‘lay hold of’ (usual meanings: ‘pursue, proceed’)

39 White glosses the word with pīhuki, apparently a doublet. The words are evidently cognate with the Marquesan puriki, which is used in a similar context to the word in the Murihiku text (Lavondes, 1966: 72). However, the word must be rare, for the French commentator mistakenly derives it from the French bourrique (a noun meaning ‘she-ass’ and therefore used adjectivally to mean ‘stupid’ rather than ‘blunt’).

40 Although tāua is found many times throughout the narratives, the corresponding masculine form, pōua, ‘old person, grandfather’, is found only once, in the later version of the texts (1874: 38).

41 White often translates this as ‘mother’, even in contexts where this is obviously incorrect; this may be its more usual northern meaning.
whaiere: ‘express displeasure or astonishment at’

2. Entries which Williams quotes with no gloss

kihukihur: perhaps ‘tips of leaves’ (‘Ko Rata’)

konokono: in the phrase kia konokono ariki, in the story of Whaitiri. Possible meaning, ‘when a chief has grown up’? Tiramōrehu has konakona, in a portion of the manuscript not reproduced by White;\(^42\) this word may be connected with konaki, ‘spring up, grow, swell’ (in the sense of pregnancy). Another possibility is kanokano, ‘relative living among a distant tribe’ (connected with kākano, ‘seed’).

ratuatio: context suggests ‘put the noose of the rope over your head’ (‘Ko Tura’)

taputere: perhaps ‘she said it wrong’ (‘Ko Waitiri’)

tautahua: perhaps connected with tahua, ‘heap’ (the heap of bodies), or it may be the reduplicated form of tahu, ‘to burn’ (‘Ko Wakatau’).\(^43\)

titamatia: context suggests ‘were separated’ (‘Ko Tāne’)

3. Entries for which Williams’s gloss is unsatisfactory

Williams’s gloss is given in square brackets after the word. The suggested alternative follows.

horehoretua [dry watercourse]: It may, however, be a proper name, Te Horehore-tuakau (‘Ko Waitiri’).

hori [be gone by (stative)]: In Murihiku texts, ‘to go’ (passim).

kakahu [garment]: But in the story of Tama, it is probably kakahu = ngangahu: ‘distort the features’.\(^44\) (Watkin has ‘to bite’ as the meaning of this word.)

\(^42\)Wohlers manuscript, MS 234, DUHo.
\(^43\)It is significant that Watkin gives as one of the meanings of tahu, ‘to burn the dead’, which suggests that this may have been a common practice in this area.
\(^44\)Harlow discusses this form (1979: 135; 1987: xiv, 28. Wohlers has ngau meaning ‘to bite’ twice in his
kaukau [bathe]: The context in the story of Tama suggests that it means ‘to drink’. (Watkin and Boulbee also have examples of this meaning.)

kauwhau [recite, proclaim, declare aloud]: In the contexts in which the word is found in Wohlers’s texts (‘Ko Pungarehu’, ‘Ko Tama’, ‘Ko Tura’) the idea is rather that the spirit or consciousness (hau) returns to the person, after a period of sleep or faintness. (Watkin’s list contains the word kauhou, which he translates as both ‘the lungs’ and ‘to breathe’.)

korakorako [fair, whitish, freckled]: The word may in fact be rakorako, ‘expose, uncover’; or Rokoroko, a name (‘Ko Māui’).

manaaki [show respect or kindness to, entertain]: In the story of Paikea, the whalebone found on the beach is said to be manaakitia e Uenuku. In Watkin’s wordlist manaaki is glossed as ‘to like, to desire’, and in the handbook attributed to Watkin there are several sentences which illustrate this meaning. In the example in the story of Paikea, ‘want’ or ‘desire’ would suit the context.

pakapaka [scraps]: In the story of Paowa, it may mean ‘food set apart for the funeral’.

patata [seems to refer to the fence round the dead man’s body]: This is true for the use in ‘Ko Tūtaka-hinahina’, but in ‘Ko Māui’ it perhaps refers to a fence alongside a channel, which prevents Tuna from escaping up the banks.

pāiti [Microlaena stipoides, a grass]: Since it is being woven hei uwhi, ‘as a covering’, it must be a cloak (‘Ko Rona’).

pepe, peo [‘flutter, slip’, ‘hasten’]: The context suggests ‘flew up’ or ‘darted off’. (One of Watkin’s unglossed entries may be revealing in this respect. It is possible that peora ki runga may be peo ra ki runga: ‘fly up’. This is obviously a speculation only, and needs confirmation from other sources.)

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texts (in ‘Ko Tūtaka-hinahina’ and ‘Ko Tama’), so the form is present in the southern language).


Harlow, 1987: 44.
pono [come upon]: Williams also has an example from Wohlers, which he glosses as ‘taunt’. White translates *ka pono te ringa o Tama-i-waho* as ‘put his hand out and took hold of the hand of Tama-i-waho’; Wohlers has ‘some fighting happened in which Tama was wounded’.

tarata [the name of a tree]: It must, however, have some other meaning connected with fishing in the phrase *me tarata te maŋa* (‘Ko Hine-i-te-puwha’).

tiro [look]: A synonym for *whata*, ‘storehouse’ in the stories of Māui and Rona. The word may be connected with *tirena*, ‘scaffolding or raised frame upon which things were hung’; this word is used by Hone Tārea Tikao. It seems always to be used in connection with fish.

*tūmata* [set on fire, burn]: White gives *hiku toto*, ‘ceremonies for avenging the dead’, as a synonym (‘Ko Rongo-i-tua’).

waitau [mouldy, decaying]: In the south the word is used to describe the process of steeping in water by which the *kāuru* was made edible (‘Ko Rongo-i-tua’).

weruweru [garment]: Williams seems to imply that it is a special kind of garment, whereas in the Murihiku texts it is the usual word for a garment.

whare reperepe [oyster shell]: See the discussion of this word in the introduction to ‘Hine-i-te-puwha and Tautini; the tale of a fish-hook.’

4. Words which are not listed in Williams

*hiaaï*: the context suggests ‘desirous of sexual intercourse’. The word is a compound of *hia* and *aï*; compare *hiakai*, ‘hungry’, *hiamoe*, ‘sleepy’, and so on (‘Ko Tāne’).

*poroporoioihere*: may be a combination of *poro* 7, ‘finished, come to an end’, and *iere*, ‘sing’.

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47 Wohlers, 1874: 20.
48 *Ka whakairihia ki nga tirewa, ara he whata*, ‘They are hung up on *tirewa*, that is *whata*’ (Tikao in Best, 1977a: 231; 240).
on the analogy of *poroporoaki*, ‘leave instructions at departing’ (‘Ko Hāpopo’).

*pukakaukore*: some kind of plant (‘Ko Tura’)

*tārakiraki*: perhaps some sort of greens, see *raki* (ii) (‘Ko Pioioi’)

*tauaaha*: for *tāwaha*, the river mouth. The spelling (two words in Wohlers’s original version, one in his later version) would seem to indicate that in the south the word was pronounced with the long *a* in the middle rather than in the first syllable (‘Ko Māui’).

*tokowahu*: perhaps for *tokomahu*, ‘steam’; *tokowahu* may be a dialectal variant, or a spelling error (‘Ko Pungarehu rāua ko Kōkōmuka-haunui’).

*tukuwēwē*: one of the ovens used in ceremonies after the birth of a child; possibly derived from *wē*, ‘squeal, cry’ (referring to the first cry of the new-born baby?) (‘Ko Tura’).

*ukua*: Wohlers: ‘dispersed’ (‘Ko Wakatau’).

5. Words which stem from printers’ errors

Two words appear in Williams’s dictionary illustrated with examples from Wohlers. However, these words are printer’s errors. It is not known whether the words do in fact exist elsewhere.

*kō*: printer’s error for *kē*; glossed as ‘wind’ by Williams.\(^{50}\)

*tamō*: printer’s error for *tūmo* or *tūmau*; glossed as ‘be absent’ by Williams.\(^{51}\)

6. Transliterations

These texts contain few transliterations, either because Wohlers consciously avoided them,\(^{52}\) or because they were rarely used by the people who narrated the stories. Only three

\(^{49}\)In another narrative recorded by Wohlers, a gloss in parenthesis after *poroporoiere* reads ‘he karakia’ (‘Ko Raka-waha-kura’; reproduced in White, 1887, III: 94).

\(^{50}\)Wohlers, 1874: 47.

\(^{51}\)Wohlers, 1874: 34.

\(^{52}\)Greys made a conscious effort to avoid transliterations, and made many corrections to the manuscripts which he collected (*wiki to e whitu ngā rā* and so on).
examples of possible transliterations have been found:

**hinarei:** possibly ‘sting-ray’ or ‘stingaree’ (‘Ko Tama’).

**pāka:** In the passage in which the word is found in the story of Rona, the word is obviously a synonym for *poro rākau,* ‘log of wood’, but it is also said to be ‘fashioned’ in some way. Tiramōrehu, who uses some transliterations regularly (e.g. *tāima, Paipera*), employs the same word in a similar story.⁵³ It is either a transliteration of the English word ‘box’, or a dialectal word.

**rūpeni:** this word is found in a line of the waiata tangi sung by Tama to his wife. The whole line is obscure, so no translation is given. It is possible that *rūpeni* is the English ‘ribbon’ (for which the variants *rūpine, ripeni* and so on are also found elsewhere). This is the type of word sometimes used in waiata composed after European contact as a complimentary term for a woman (one well-known Ngāti Kahungūnu song describes a woman as *taku rūpeni pai,* ‘my beautiful ribbon’).

7. Idioms

**Ki rō o (te wai, te ngahere):** This is found throughout the texts, and is perhaps a local idiom, since Wohlers consistently writes it this way. One would expect either *ki rō wai* or *ki rō te wai.*

**kūrapa:** This is glossed by Williams as ‘idling, trifling’, ‘unsuccessful’ and, as a verb, ‘spread out’. However, in the story of Rongo-i-tua the context shows that the meaning required is ‘hurry up’. This is one case where alternative evidence is available to confirm an initial speculation. Watkin has an entry for the word,⁵⁴ and it is also used in letters from southern correspondents.⁵⁵ It seems to be a genuine southern idiom, *kia kūrapa,* ‘make haste’ (*kūrapa,* ‘quick’).

**hapū ki waho** (in ‘Ko Rata’): the more usual expression is *puta ki waho,* or occasionally

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⁵³White, 1887, I: 154-5.
⁵⁵See for example a letter from Topi Patuki, 21/12/1854 (WTu, Mantell Papers, MS Papers 83/195).
whānau ki waho. This may be an error, or it may be a Murihiku idiom.

_nau mai_ (passim): Shortland finds that this expression differs slightly in its use in the south; it is ‘used in the common sense of _haeremai_... In the North this word is used only like _tautimai_, as a form of welcome’.\(^{56}\) Williams, however, gives as meanings ‘come, go’ and ‘welcome’, without suggesting that the first of these is a Kāi Tahu idiom. The other use mentioned by Williams seems also to be found in the Murihiku texts: ‘_Nau mai_ is also used apparently simply to introduce a suggestion: “Come!” _Kātahi ka kī atu ki te tamāhine, “Nau mai! haere; e tae ki ō mātua, kōrerotia atu”_ (N.71)’.

_aua_ (passim): The usual meaning is ‘I don’t know’. Williams also gives _aua ra_ (or _auara_), ‘certainly there is’, after a negative question. In the Murihiku texts, the word often seems to have this second meaning even where there is no negative involved. For example, when the woman from Te Rēinga tells Whaitiri: _Aua ra te mea e mate na koe_, she cannot be saying, ‘I don’t know why you’re ill’, for she immediately gives the reason. She must mean, ‘Now, this is the reason for your illness ...’.

_Na wai iō kī_: literally, ‘Who said so?’ but as both Shortland and Watkin state, it is used as ‘a term of contradiction’.\(^{57}\) If the previous question is posed in the negative, it has the sense of, ‘Oh yes [on the contrary]!’

There are other expressions which are unusual, but which are used only once, so that it is difficult to know whether they should be classed as idioms or as transcription errors. In the story of Rona, the people use the expression _Māmā taku rehe!_ when exclaiming about the lightness of the magic log. This is not the usual syntax for exclamations, and may be a southern turn of phrase. In the story of Tāne, Ta karoa’s spear is said to go through both Rangi’s buttocks, _taua rua ngā papa_. The usual syntax would be _aua papa e rua_.

Conclusions

As can be seen from the above discussion, the question of southern dialectal forms as they

\(^{56}\)Shortland, 1851: 310.

are revealed in these texts is a confused one, since so much has been obscured by the circumstances in which they were recorded. First, Wohlers' status as a Pākehā transcriber meant that his hearing of certain sounds was bound to be defective to some extent, and his unfamiliarity with the language could have caused at least some of the unusual syntax which is apparent in these texts. And secondly, his desire to write 'correct' Māori meant that he deliberately modified at least the spelling of the language, and possibly, though he asserts that he tried to avoid this, a certain amount of syntax.

However, allowing for these drawbacks, there is still a considerable amount of information to be drawn from these texts. They are chiefly useful for the confirmation they can offer for features which are in evidence in other South Island texts. Information from the south is so scarce that all sources need to be tapped in order to build up a complete picture. The one large area which lies relatively untouched is the treasure-house of letters from southern Māori, which lies in archives and in private hands throughout the land. Many of these have been recently examined for what they have to say about land dealings last century. But they are also a rich source of information on the southern language. A full analysis of their language would reveal much which has since been lost. Nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou.
Tūtaka-Hinahina:

Light Dawns in a Dark World
INTRODUCTION

All over Polynesia people narrated (and in many cases still narrate) myths which offer explanations for the origin of the world: for the presence of light and darkness, of land, sea and sky, of human beings, animals and plants. They tried to make sense of the world they lived in, and account for illness, evil and death. Often several different myths existed which explained the same phenomena.

Many of these myths are shared by all the peoples of Polynesia. Stories about Māui and Tāwhaki, for example, have been recorded in all major island groups. Often quite minor figures appear in stories from regions which are separated by many thousands of kilometres of ocean.

The myth of Tūtaka-hinahina is, as far as is known, not found in any other tribal area of Aotearoa, or indeed in any other island in Polynesia. Parallels may sometimes be seen in myths which relate the origins of specific plants or animals used as food, but the story of Tūtaka-hinahina does not account for the acquisition of food by human beings, and it lacks the essential element of sacrifice often found in these myths.¹

Raki and Papa

The myth which has most in common with the story of Tūtaka-hinahina is that of Raki and Papa, especially the version told in the far south. In both myths, darkness covers the earth because of the father,² and those trapped in the darkness can see no glimmer of light. It is the actions of the son or sons which cause the light to appear, so that human beings can live

¹The 'story curiously resembling this' mentioned by Tregear (1891: 566, under 'Tutakahinahina') indeed has many points of resemblance: the death of a father, the appearance of maggots from the heaving earth, and the eventual life and success for the son (Gill, 1855: 135-8. Since the story is related only in English it is impossible to tell whether there are also linguistic similarities). But this story from Rarotonga is typical of stories which are concerned with the origins of a specific item of food, hitherto unknown. Here, this food is the pig (now called e _iro no Maaru_, 'the maggot from Maaru', according to Gill's informant); elsewhere it is food such as coconut, taro, breadfruit or kava (see Kirtley, 1971: motifs A2611, A2611.0.1 and A2611.3. Kirtley has mistakenly included Wohlers's story in the second of these groups, 'Plants from grave of dead person or animal'). Tūtaka-hinahina's death on the other hand brings about an overturning of the natural order of the world, which must be restored to its former state by the performance of various rituals. There is also a Samoan myth in which maggots are the origins of human beings, but this too seems to be unrelated (Turner, 1884: 8; Stair, 1897: 213; Ella, 1885: 599).

²In both myths, the father's position is the same: he lies face downwards and back uppermost.
their proper lives. In both cases, the father gives the son instructions about what to do to achieve this end.\(^3\) When light comes, the people are seen huddled together, as they were when darkness covered the land.

When he reworked the story of Tūtaka-hinhina for publication, Wohlers commented that 'the old Maori here told it in connection with Tangaroa'.\(^4\) He explains the statement that 'Te Roiro-whenua is indeed Tangaroa', with the words, 'some tohunga say that Te Roiro whenua is identical with Tangaroa'.\(^5\) The connection with Takaroa is further reinforced by the statement that Tūtaka-hinhina 'walked upon the surface of the waters', a feat also performed by Takaroa.\(^6\)

What, then, is Takaroa's place in relation to the founding ancestors of the Māori race, Rangi and Papa? Māori cosmogonical accounts are usually given in the form of a whakapapa or genealogy which begins with Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku, Sky and Earth. These two cling together and give birth to offspring, the number and names of whom vary from tribe to tribe.

In the far south, this genealogy took a different form. Rakī, instead of being the father of all, occupies a position junior to Takaroa.\(^7\) Takaroa's origin or parentage is obscure,\(^8\) but he is said to have taken Papa-tua-nuku to wife and fathered at least one child. While he was away from home his nephew, Rakī, took Papa for his own wife. On Takaroa's return he fought and wounded Rakī. Once his honour had been satisfied in this way, he left Papa to Rakī and went away.

\(^3\)In another version from the south, Rakī tells his sons, *Kia patua [ahau], kia ora ai kā tāngata ... kia tipu ai te whata [a] ko i a koutou ... kia tipu ai te ao hei ao, 'I should be killed, so that people may live ... so that light may increase for you ... so that the world can grow up as a world' (Tiramārehu, 1987: 3).
\(^4\)Wohlers, 1874: 5. Here the story is the second myth in the collection, and follows the story of Takaroa.
\(^5\)Wohlers, 1874: 6.
\(^6\)Wohlers, 1874: 5.
\(^7\)See the introduction to ‘Tāne: creator of light and life’ for further remarks on the place of Takaroa.
\(^8\)If we accept literally Wohlers's statement that Te Roiro-whenua is identical with Takaroa, it follows that Tūtaka-hinhina is Takaroa's father. It seems unlikely, though, that this was what was believed. Wohlers indicates that there were conflicting opinions about it (Wohlers, 1874: 6). Takaroa's father is occasionally mentioned elsewhere: Creed states that he was Te Moretu: *Na Te Moretu ko Takaroa, he tungāne mo Pokoharu-te-pō te wahine tuatahi o Rakī, 'Takaroa was Te Moretu's son, a brother of Poko-harua-te-pō, the first wife of Rakī' (White, 1887, I: 21 and 24). It is obvious that people often believed in several different cosmological accounts at the same time, without finding it necessary to make them agree with one another.
Here, then, we have Ta'garoa as the oldest forerunner of mankind, just as he is in some
myths in Island Polynesia. But behind him may stand the figure of Tūtaka-hinahina, the
father of all.

'Ko Tūtaka-hinahina': summary

In this story Tūtaka-hinahina, a being who has no parents, takes a wife and fathers a son.
When he dies the whole world becomes dark, so that people can no longer see each other.
His son, Te Roiroi-whenua, hears his father's voice telling him to look at the burial place,
where the earth is now heaving upwards. There Te Roiroi-whenua sees two maggots, a
male and a female. He leaves the female, but takes and cooks the male. Now light begins to
appear, birds sing, and people rejoice. The sun rises and then sets in its natural course, and
people are able to live their normal lives.9

'Ko Tūtaka-hinahina': analysis

In the world which is described in the myth, a world existing at the beginning of time, light
is already present. However, it is not clear whether anything else functions in a normal
way. The only people mentioned at first are Tūtaka-hinahina, his wife and son.

The darkness which covers the earth after the death of Tūtaka-hinahina is shown to be an
unnatural occurrence. Instead of reporting that the sun sets, the narrator makes the unusual
statement that the nights are kūtia, 'drawn tightly together, contracted, pinched, nipped.'10
The image which is being used here is not altogether clear to a European reader. Perhaps
the world is seen as a great bag or calabash, the sides of which are drawn together so as to

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9This is the story which is recorded in the first booklet of Wohlers's manuscript, written c.1850. Another
story, which appears in booklet no. 6 (after 'Ko Tama'), is called 'Ko Te Roiroi-whenua'. Since they appear
to be two versions of the same story, they are discussed together in this section. While also printed the second
story straight after the first, but with no break, Wohlers later wove the two together into a composite whole,
and published the resultant version as the second story in his 1874 collection of myths.
What appears to be a first draft of 'Ko Te Roiroi-whenua' appears in booklet no. 9 of the c.1850 manuscript.
Since there are only minor differences between the two drafts, the first draft will not be discussed.
10The word is used in connection with Māui's death, pinched between the labia of Hine-nui-te-pō (Grey,
1971: 23). It is also used of closing off the top of any container such as a calabash. Expressions similar to the
one in the passage under discussion are found elsewhere. Shortland records a remark by one of his informants
about the rā-kūtia, 'the closed-off sun', an eclipse, and a karakia whose opening words are 'Close up Night,
close up Day' (Shortland, 1882: 40; 61).
keep out the light.\textsuperscript{11}

Rituals

Whereas in the story of Ra\={k}i and Papa’s separation, light comes into the world as a direct consequence of the sons’ actions in forcing apart their parents, in the Tutaka-hinahina story the desired effect is gained by means of a ritual. Although the actions performed by Te Roiroi-whenua are referred to only briefly, enough is said to allow one to see that they correspond to what is known about similar rituals used in other circumstances. When Te Roiroi-whenua calls to the people to ‘String up the bird!’ he must be using the word ‘bird’ in a metaphorical sense, just as the word ika, ‘fish’, was often used to mean a victim, usually in the sense of a human victim sacrificed in a ritual way.\textsuperscript{12} Birds and fish were used extensively in ritual, and were usually strung up in a tree, at the prow of a canoe or in some other appropriate place, before being taken down for further rites.

Here instead of a bird the sacrifice is something with a closer association with Tutaka-hinahina. Te Roiroi-whenua takes and uses two maggots from his father’s grave. The maggots come from the earth in which his father has been buried and they have been gnawing at his father, but the connection is even closer than this. The maggots are said actually to be his father. Because maggots have the waxy texture of fat, they were perhaps thought to be made of the same substance.\textsuperscript{13}

As one would expect, it is the male maggot which is chosen as the main element of the ritual.\textsuperscript{14} Since maggots do not have distinguishable sexual characteristics, no doubt the

\textsuperscript{11} Another piece of evidence in support of the idea that the world is seen as an enclosed calabash ‘pinched off’ from the sources of light is the word \textit{hau}, the term in general use for the dawning of day. Its primary meaning is ‘slit, lacerate, tear, cut’, and it can be used both of the dawning of the day and of stars appearing just before dawn. This suggests that the world was thought to be covered over in some way at night, and that the stars and dawn light had to slash their way through this covering in order to be seen. Compare a Ng\={i}ti Hau account which explains that the first heaven above the earth is full of p\={i}wata, chinks and cracks which allow glimmers of light to shine through ([Orbell], 1965: 16-20). Watkin’s only gloss for \textit{kutia} is ‘filled with smoke’, Harlow, 1987: 40. This is given without context, but the reference may perhaps be to the kind of enveloping darkness which would be experienced if the fire were doused and the house became full of smoke.

\textsuperscript{12} See Williams, 1971: 76, \textit{ika} (iii). In a karakia recorded by Smith (1899: 154) a similar expression to the one used in our passage is found: \textit{T\={a}kina te manu}, ‘Offer up the bird’. Smith points out in a note that this may refer to a human victim.

\textsuperscript{13} The blowflies which are frequently mentioned in connection with dead bodies in M\={i}ori texts are spirit messengers sent to lead relatives to the body (see examples in ‘Ko Tura’ and ‘Ko Tama’ in this collection).

\textsuperscript{14} Often however it was the female element which was destroyed while the male was left standing, as in the
mere fact of their being a pair was enough to indicate that there must have been one of each gender. They may have been distinguished by some sign such as the appearance of the male on the right-hand side of the grave while the female appeared on the left, for the right hand side (of a house, of the human body, and so on) was considered the male side, the side of life and good fortune, while the 'female’ left side was connected with misfortune and death.\textsuperscript{15} Both elements, however, had to be present for the ritual to be effective.

In normal circumstances the bird or fish would be taken down next day and cooked on a fire specially lit and dedicated for the purpose. Although in the context of this story there is no ‘next day’, this is what happens to the male maggot in the story. The female is left to one side while the male maggot, which is closely identified with the father, is consumed by the fire.

The other element used by Te Reroi whenua in his ritual to bring back the light is his firestick. This is an important possession, since it is mentioned as having been used in the ritual and as being visible when the world resumes its normal condition. The story does not say, but one imagines that Ruapuke inhabitants had a local landmark, perhaps a hill or island, which was identified as the firestick.\textsuperscript{16} The firestick itself is not named, although it is possible that the name of the fire, Tötoi, applies to this as well.\textsuperscript{17}

Once the maggot has been burnt, light begins to shine through the darkness.\textsuperscript{18} The

\textit{tira ora, tira mate} ritual described by Best (1925a: 766; 1072-4).
\textsuperscript{15} Best, 1925a: 1014.
\textsuperscript{16} According to Beattie, there is an island near Ruapuke called Te Kauati-a-Tamatea (Beattie, 1915: 110). This is particularly significant in view of Tamatea’s part in the second version of the story, ‘Ko Te Reroi whenua’. Compare also the way in which Rakai-hautu’s digging-stick was said to have been stuck into the ground after it had been used to dig out the southern lakes, and to have taken the form of a hill above Wairewa (Beattie, 1918: 147).
\textsuperscript{17} Tötoi may mean ‘shake, sway from side to side to side’, perhaps a better description of a firestick than of a fire (but see textual note 7). Compare this fire with Ruru-rama, the victory fire in ‘Ko Wakatau’, which overcomes darkness and brings light to the world for Apakura.
\textsuperscript{18} Best (1897: 49-50) quotes a karakia chanted over the first bird of the season, which was hung up in a tree for Töte. One would expect birds to be presented to Töte, the guardian of forest creatures, but in this case it may be even more important that Töte is the one who separated Rangi and Papa and let light into the world. In the karakia, the tying and hanging up of the bird is also likened to Māui’s binding of the sun. So on several levels a bird is connected with the separation of light from darkness. It may even be that ‘Ko Tititaka-hinahina’ is a very ancient ritual to ensure the daily rising of the sun, although no such ritual seems to have existed in later times. (The only other slender evidence for such a ritual comes from Savage, 1807: 21-2.)
description of the coming of light is the most graphic part of this account. The different stages are described in detail: the first glimmer, the gradual spreading and strengthening, and along with this the accompanying songs of birds and shouts of people. With the coming of light the normal rhythm of day and night is also resumed: the sun rises to its peak and then sinks down and sets, and the stars appear.19

Proper names

The names in the passage do not offer much help in interpreting the story. Possibly the hinahina of the father's name refers to his grey hairs.20 Most of the other names in the passage seem to be unknown elsewhere. When light comes and people can be seen once again, three of those revealed are Hākoro-tū, Hatatai and Tāne-nui-a-Raŋi. The first two names are found only in this myth and the last is recognisable as one of the well known names of Tāne. As in the story of Raŋi and Papa, once the son has thrown off the weight of his father, those who have been lying in darkness throughout the long ages are suddenly revealed.

'Ko Te Roiroi-whenua'

This story is obviously another version of the same myth, although its exact relationship to the first version is hard to define. The fact that the two stories are recorded separately in different books of the manuscript suggests that Wohlers must have collected them on two separate occasions. Later he found that the two versions could be woven together to make a coherent version, with episodes from one meshing neatly into the other.21

However, the fact that these two stories can be fitted together so easily does not necessarily mean that this is the way they should be read. They should rather be seen as two separate versions of the myth, obviously linked in theme and incident but with

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19Stars are the first things to be set in place in the new world created by Tāne once he has raised his father Raŋi and allowed light to come into the world. This may be seen as another parallel between the two stories.  
20Two other figures called Tūtaka-hinahina seem to be unrelated to our figure. The name is found on a list of the many sons of Raŋi and Papa in Tiramōrehu's version of this myth (1987: 2), and among the names of voyagers on the Tākitimu canoe (Smith, 1915: 205-33). For the form of the name, see note 1 under the Māori text.  
21This is the version published in 1874.
different styles and emphases. As the titles of the two pieces suggest, the first is very much concerned with the father (his characteristics, his marriage and the birth of his son, his death and its consequences), while the second focusses on the son. In the first story, even when the narrative moves on to the actions of the son, these actions are performed in obedience to the instructions of the father, and involve the ritual over the father’s grave.

In the second story, Te Roiroi-whenua takes centre stage. It is true that he is once again acting in obedience to Tūtaka-hinahina’s instructions, but they are general instructions given by Tūtaka-hinahina to all his people. In fact it is not even stated that Tūtaka-hinahina is Te Roiroi-whenua’s father. He is said rather to be his tupuna, his grandfather or ancestor. The emphasis is on Te Roiroi-whenua’s actions, both in gathering his stores of food and firewood and in burying his tupuna in a fitting manner.22

Tūtaka-hinahina’s burial

Te Roiroi-whenua’s actions are described briefly here, but the statement that the father’s body is turned ‘with his face downwards and his back uppermost’ suggests that what may be being referred to here is the hurihuri ika rite. This involved watching the body closely after death, and reading omens from its movements. The rite was often performed in times of war, but could also be used at other times.23

In ‘Ko Te Roiroi-whenua’, the explanation given for the coming of darkness is different from that in the first story. This time, the sun is held back by three beings, Kumea-te-ao, Kumea-te-pō and Unumia-te-kore.24 These names are not found elsewhere, but their

22 In both versions of the story certain phrases are repeated and build up gradually to a climax. An example of this is the passage describing the coming of the light. The poetical repetitions are, however, particularly striking in the second version of the story, where groups of parallel phrases are repeated, lists of words are enumerated, and concepts are set up in opposition to one another. Many of the names in the story are typical of names usually associated with karakia or certain sorts of waiata. Wohlers remarked, ‘Perhaps the tale is a skeleton only, left of what may have been a good poem, the deeper meaning of which has been lost’ (Wohlers, 1874: 6); he was speaking of his composite version, but the remark seems particularly apt when applied to ‘Ko Te Roiroi-whenua’.
Beattie recorded a waiata on the same theme sung by Tikao, and containing many of the same words and phrases as are found in the myth (MS 582 E8 18, DUHo). It is possible that the Murihiku myth may also have been handed down in the form of a waiata.

23 The war-time rite is described in Tarakawa, 1894: 203 and 207, and is also referred to in Grey, 1971: 78. The use of the rite in the case of a natural death is described by Shortland (1882: 53-5). Here, Tama-te-kapua gives his son lhenga similar instructions to those given to Te Roiroi-whenua by Tūtaka-hinahina. They include the command that his body is to be used as a hurihuri ika.

24 What happens at the death of Tūtaka-hinahina seems to parallel Māui’s snaring of the sun. Māui and his
meanings, ‘Drag-the-day’, ‘Drag-the-night’ and ‘Drink-the-nothingness’, reveal their function in the myth: they are in some way controllers of light and darkness. Through their actions complete and lasting darkness covers the earth. People are no longer able to see to go about their daily tasks, and gradually die of cold and starvation.

Te Roiroi-whenua has been assiduous in laying in stores for his household, and so he survives longer than the rest. Eventually, however, he too is reduced to burning portions of his house. It will be noticed that the items burnt are listed in order of their degree of tapu, rather than in the logical order of demolition: first the ordinary fencing, then the supporting posts, then the rafters and battens (tapu because at the top of the house), and lastly the fence around Tūtaka-hinahina’s grave. This cataloguing of items is a motif which is found elsewhere in these southern texts.

In this version no voice rises from the grave. Instead the impression is given that Tūtaka-hinahina’s maggots appear in response to the violation of the grave, that is, Te Roiroi-whenua’s burning of the patatara, the fence around the grave. The maggots are not said to be a pair, male and female, and it is not stated specifically that they are cooked. Nor is Te Roiroi-whenua’s fire specifically said to be a ritual fire. However, since each step of the fire-making process is described, one assumes that its purpose is the same as that in the first version of the story: the creation of light.

The desired outcome is achieved not directly but through the agency of an intermediary. Whereas in ‘Ko Tūtaka-hinahina’ it is light which bursts through the darkness, in ‘Ko Te Roiroi-whenua’ a figure called Tamatea gropes his way through the night to Te Roiroi-whenua’s oven.

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25 Patatara is here used in this specialised sense. In other contexts too it is seen as the boundary, spiritual rather than physical, between what is tapu and what is ordinary (Tikao, 1939: 104. My thanks to Marie Rapley for supplying this reference). However, it is often used in a more general sense, as in the story of Māui and Tūna (see ‘Ko Māui’).

26 For example, when Paowa sets fire to the witch’s home, she lists her burning property in ascending order of sacredness (see the story ‘Ko Paowa’).
Tamatea

Tamatea is found elsewhere in Polynesia as 'the chief god of fire'. In Aotearoa he is known as one of the founding ancestors, an original explorer of the land, who made his way around both islands giving his name to many landmarks. But here too he is associated with fire, for he is said to have burnt away vegetation to allow his descendants to settle the land, and to have left behind subterranean fires. His name can be found attached to many landmarks which connect him with fire.

In this story, it is Tamatea's shaking or lighting of the oven which brings the light. Tamatea assumes a central importance, for he not only brings the dawn but also remains as its guardian. His name, meaning 'Light Son', is no doubt symbolic of this role. He is said to take over the role from Takaroa, the former guardian of the dawn. The importance of this is shown by the strong statement about Tamatea which acts as the climax to the story.

Other names in this version of the story are Te Nuku-te-iki, Te Nuku-te-rea and Te Nuku-muru-aitu, which are evidently names of places. They are, however, symbolic place names rather than geographical ones, and convey the idea of an earth in formation, at the beginning of time.

Opposing concepts

In this myth we are presented with a series of opposing concepts: dark/light; death/life;

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27 Along with Pere, the goddess of volcanoes (Henry, 1928: 241, 359).
28 Colenso, 1880: 7; Jury, 1911: 58; and see the discussion of the importance of this figure in Orbell, 1985a: 59-60.
29 Examples of place names are Te Karchu-o-te-ahi-o-Tamatea, 'The ashes-of-Tamatea's-fire' (found both in the Sounds in the far south of Te Wai Pounamu and on the Port Hills near Christchurch) and Te Ahi-kāki-kōuru-o-Tamatea, 'Tamatea's-fire-for-cooking-crabfish', now known as Kaikōura. Tamatea's name also figures, along with the mythical figures Whiro, Rongo, Tāne and Tangaroa, on the maramatāka, the Māori almanac giving the good and bad nights for planting and fishing (Best, 1977a: 112, 218, 248-50).
30 See the previous discussion on tukia. It may be felt that the interpretation of tukia as 'lit the oven' is not sustainable here, since Te Roiroi-whenua has already done this. But it could be argued that while Te Roiroi-whenua has supplied the physical fire, it is perhaps necessary for Tamatea to bring his own spiritual fire to make the ritual effective.
31 There is evidence that Tangaroa, too, is connected with fire; see for example Henry, 1928: 351.
32 The Nuku part of these names refers to the earth, and is found in the name of the earth mother, Papa-tau-nuku. Iki means 'consume, devour, devastate' and rea 'spring up, grow'. Muru-aitu is less obvious but signifies something like 'gather-misfortune'. As is the case with trios of names found in karakia, the first two elements contain contrasting ideas, and the third is an extension of one of these ideas. Compare the three names found earlier in the story.
father/son; old age/youth; female/male; night/day; Taŋaroa/Tamatea. By using the power of the male maggot, the son brings light and life to overcome the darkness brought about by his father’s death. Tamatea, the ‘Light-Son’, comes from the darkness to take over the dawn from Taŋaroa.

The one pairing which does not fit this neat schema is the identification of Taŋaroa with Te Roiroi-whenua. To make the analogies complete, Taŋaroa should be the father, Tūtaka-hinahina, and Tamatea the son, Te Roiroi-whenua. However, it has been already noted that the identification of Taŋaroa with Te Roiroi-whenua is far from certain. Moreover, all the oppositions listed above were not codified into a rigid structure, round which a consistent story could be built. They were instead part of the nature of the universe, the Māori worldview.

It seems, then, that in the story of Tūtaka-hinahina we have a significant myth relating to the very earliest times in human history, a time before Raki and Papa and the activities of their children. Is Wohlers’s story an alternative one about how light came into the world? Is it perhaps an older version, cherished only in the memories of the people of the far south?
TEXT

KO TŪTAKA-HINAHINA¹


Ka mate tōna matua, a Tūtaka-hinahina. Ka kūitia ngā pō. Kāhore ia kia mārama. No reira i pōuri ai te rangi, me te whenua, me te moana. Ngā tāngata kāhore i kitea. Kōrero ana mai ngā tāngata i roto i te pōuritanga.

Ka rongo³ ia (Te Roiroi-whenua) i te kōrero o tōna matua, ‘I konei i mate au,’ tāpuketia ahau ki te tara o te whare; ka tāepatia.’ Ka ki iho, ‘I konei ra kia aro mai. Māhau te titiro ki te rewanga ki runga o te oneone.’

Ka whakarongo atu (a Te Roiroi-whenua) e ngau⁵ ana i te tūataata. Ka tīkina atu, ka tirohia e haere ana i roto o te tāepa e rua, ko te uwha, ko te toa — ko ngā hinu o tōna hākoro, he iro no te hākoro, no Tūtaka-hinahina. Ka karanga te tama, a Te Roiroi-whenua, ‘Tuinga te manu!’

¹White 1887, II: 48-51 (English); 46-7 (Maori). Wohlers adopts the spelling Tutakaihinahina in this first text, but elsewhere spells it Tutakahinahina (for example, in his 1874 version and in the next story, ‘Ko Te Roiroi-whenua’). He may have heard it as Tutakainaina, and when correcting to standard North Island dialect have at first left the i in the name (see the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection A 1(b), for a discussion of the omission of the phoneme h/i in this dialect). To avoid confusion, I have emended it to Tūtaka-hinahina.

²Noho is the regular word used throughout Wohlers’s texts as the equivalent of mōe, ‘to marry’. It is frequently used in the same way in North Island dialects. Ia, a particle usually used for emphasis, does not seem to have any special force in this story or the one which follows, ‘Ko Wakatau’. See the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection B 5.

³Both rongo here and whakarongo in the next paragraph are written with what looks like a terminal a. For this quirk of Wohlers’s handwriting, see the language section in the introduction, subsection A.

⁴These passages of direct speech present certain difficulties. I have followed Wohlers’s interpretation (1874: 6; 32) for I konei (an alternative is to see it as a Murihiku variant of the expression hei konei ra, ‘farewell’), and for the i which follows it. The latter has been corrected in the original manuscript and is unclear (it may be the e verbal marker, indicating future time). The punctuation too is uncertain. The phrase ka ki iho is separated from the rest of the passage by two dashes. This must mean that the father continues to speak, and I have punctuated the passage accordingly. Iho, ‘downwards’, is used because the father is felt to be superior to his son, even though in spatial terms he is beneath him.

⁵Wohlers originally wrote kau, but corrected this in the manuscript.
Ka tata te pō, e tiaki ana i ngā pō roroa. Ka karanga tērā ki ngā tāngata, ‘Kia rongo koutou i te pōuri-tanga!’


Na, ka tangi te umere, ‘He awatea!’

Ka mārama, ka kītea ngā tāngata. Ka mārama te rangi, ka mārama te whenua, ka mārama te moana. No mua te waha o ngā manu i karanga ai, no muri te waha o te tāngata. Na te awatea i tuki. Ko ngā tāngata katoa i reira e takoto ana i a Hākoro-tū, i a Hattatai, i a Tāne-nui-a-Rangi. Ko Takaroa ia Te Roiroi-whenua. I reira e takoto ana te kauot i whakakitea ai te ahi. Ko te ingoa o tēnei ahi, ko Tioi; ko te ahi i taona ai ngā iro o te hākoro.


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6 Wohlers has not enclosed this sentence in inverted commas, but the word koutou shows that it is in direct speech.
7 Tukia is being read here as the passive form of tungi, ‘set a light to, kindle, burn.’ This is offered as a more credible reading in the context than the usual interpretation of the word as the passive of tuki, ‘pound, ram, beat, knock’. There are various accounts of rituals involving ovens, but as far as is known none of them contains any reference to the striking of the oven. However, the latter interpretation has several points in its favour. One is that it is Wohlers’ own (‘shaken’, 1874: 6). But he may be being influenced by his identification of Tamatea with Tāwhiri-mātea, god of winds and storms. Secondly, the name of the fire is Tioi (‘shake, sway from side to side to side’), which may perhaps be descriptive here, though this is by no means certain. And finally, tuki meaning ‘to kick’ (a possible way of ‘shaking’ the oven?) is found in this dialect (Harlow, 1987: 84).
8 Although this phrase is not punctuated as direct speech in the manuscript, it seems to be an exclamation uttered by all the people on seeing the light. Wohlers interprets it this way in his English translation (1874: 6).
9 Here, too, the word tuki is used in an unusual way (see note 7). In many waiata it means something like ‘thrust forward’ (for example, in Ngata and Hurinui: song 216, line 12), and this may be its meaning here. Compare also tutuki, ‘reach the farthest limit, extend’.
10 Nui is wrongly spelt nui in the manuscript.
11 A possible reading for this sentence is Ko Takaroa ia Te Roiroi-whenua, ‘Takaroa was with Te Roiroi-whenua’. However, in the previous sentence, the ia phrase which precedes the proper names is clearly written in the manuscript as two words, whereas here ia is a single word. Moreover, in the English version of the story (1874: 6) Wohlers states, ‘Some of the Maori tohunga say that Te Roiroi-whenua is identical with Takaroa.’
12 The word hirirangi is perhaps related to hihi, ‘spring up, rise up (of thoughts)’, or to hirtinga, ‘perseverance, energy, determination’ (found also in the phrase Hiringa-a-Nuku or Hiringa-a-Rangi, ‘the eighth month’, presumably the time when the sun reaches its peak of energy and strength). Newha, the root form of takanewha, can mean both ‘close, as the eyes when sleepy’ and ‘set, as the sun’. Takanewha is used in both senses in this passage.
Toki-nui-a-Rehua.\textsuperscript{13} Ka takanewha ngā kanohi o ngā tāngata. Ka noho.

**KO TE ROIROI-WHENUA\textsuperscript{14}**


Ka puritia te rā e Kume-atea,\textsuperscript{16} e Kumea-te-pō, e Unumia-te-kore. Ka pōuri te rangi, me te moana, me te whenua. Ka noho pōuri ngā tāngata. Kāhore e kitea te huanui ki te kai, me te huanui ki te wahie. Ka noho tonu rātou i roto i ō rātou whare. Ka kai i ā rātou kai. Ka tahu i ā rātou wahie. Ka tahu i ngā takitaki, ka tahu i ngā poupou o ngā whare, ka tahu i ngā heke, ka tahu i ngā kaho, ka tahu i ngā patatara. Ka mahiti \textsuperscript{17} rātou wahie, me ō rātou kai. Ka mate rātou — hokowhitu.\textsuperscript{18} Ka ora ko Te Roiroi-whenua, ko ōna taurekareka, ko ōna tēina. Na te mea i ora ai, i nui ana kai me ana wahie.


\textsuperscript{13}In the c. 1880 manuscript *ka tu tokinui a Rehua* appears to be a statement, but in his 1874 version Wohlers gives *tokinui* an initial capital to make the phrase into a composite proper name. Wohlers does not translate it, but the name perhaps refers to a constellation, possibly Orion's Belt, (sometimes called *Te Kakau a Māui*, 'Māui's Adze-Handle'). Toki-nui-a-Rehua' means 'Rehua's Great Adze'.

\textsuperscript{14}White runs the story straight on, without a separate heading. The reference is therefore the same as that given for 'Ko Tūtaka-hinahina'.

\textsuperscript{15}In the first of these stories, Tūtaka-hinahina is spoken of as the *mātua*, father, of Te Roiroi-whenua. It may be that *tupuna* is used here to indicate a male relation in a general sense, or it may be used to give Tūtaka-hinahina an elevated status: he is the progenitor, not only of Te Roiroi-whenua but of the generations to come.

\textsuperscript{16}Wohlers has crossed out his original *Kumea te ao* and replaced it by *Kumeatea*. This is probably a transcription error, since *Kumea-te-ao*, 'Drag-the-day', makes a better contrast with *Kumea-te-pō*, 'Drag-the-night'. The third one is 'Drink-the-nothingness'.

\textsuperscript{17}The *a* and *o* categories do not appear to be rigidly adhered to in these texts. This may be a feature of the local dialect, or because Wohlers has written the words carelessly (see the section 'The Language of the South' in the introduction to this thesis, subsection A, for a discussion of his handwriting).

\textsuperscript{18}The number is presumably not meant to be specific, but simply 'a large number of them'.

\textsuperscript{19}Williams does not indicate that *mahiti* is a dialectal word, though the only example he gives is from Wohlers. Wohlers uses it consistently where in North Island idiom one would find *pau*.\textsuperscript{19}
Ka tae mai ia a Tamatea (ko Tamatea-mai-tawhiti tōna ingoa hoki), i muhu mai i te pō te whai(alo). I roto anō rātou e noho ana [i] Te Nuku-te-iki, i Te Nuku-te-rea, i Te Nuku-muru-aitu. No te tukinga a Tamatea i te umu, ka tae te ohonga ki raro. Ka whana ake te ata mātau i raro; whakatāne. Ka tū te ata. Ka korokī te manu, ka wairore te ngutu — ko te ata nui. Ka horahina, ka tangi te umere a ngā tamariki, ‘He awatea!’

I a Ta Karoa te ata i mua. No te kutunga i a Tūtaka-hinahina, i a Tamatea te ata.

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20 In his 1874 version Wohlers omits the phrase te whaiao and makes Tamatea the subject of the sentence. However, since the narrative deals with the arrival of light in the midst of darkness, the reading given above makes sense. Williams says that whaiao is a ‘poetical word’ for daylight; muhu, too, seems to belong to poetry, for the only other example given by Williams is from McGregor (1893: 50; see also Ngata, 1961: song168, line18).

21 For tu kinga, see note 7. Ohonga is ohanga in the 1874 version. However, this must surely be a case where Wohlers has misread his own handwriting. The first two vowels in the word appear to be the same, and ohanga makes more sense than ahanga. Wohlers himself translates it as ‘start’.

22 See the section ‘The Manuscript’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection 1 (e), for a note on whana ake and whana atu. For whakatāne, see the pepeha or saying uttered by the mothers in ‘Ko Wakatau’ and ‘Ko Māui’. In the present passage the sense would seem to be that the dawn is showing ‘manly’ qualities of strength and vigour.

23 Williams gives a similar word, wairori, meaning ‘twist, turn around’. Perhaps the birds are opening up their beaks in song. Watkin has the word wairore with no gloss, following tarika, ‘ear’ (Harlow, 1987: 92).

24 This word could be horahina (possibly for arahina), but horahina seems a better reading.

25 See note 8.

26 There are various possibilities for the unusual word kutunga. The most likely is that it is a variant of kutinga, from the verb kūtū (that is, ‘the time when Tūtaka-hinahina was cut off’). The sound change involved is one which is frequently encountered (for example, tupuna/tipuna; tumu/timū; unu/ima). Another possibility, though a less likely one, is that it is a derived noun formed from kūtū, meaning something like, ‘the time of Tūtaka-hinahina’s maggots.’ (According to Williams, the reduplicated form kutukutu means ‘maggots’ as well as other vermin.) Or the word may be tu kinga, as recorded by Beattie in a song dictated by Tikao (MS S82; DUH). If this were the correct form, it might relate back to the lighting/striking of the oven.
TRANSLATION

Tūtaka-hinahina. He was a human being. This being walked freely on the surface of the waters. Tūtaka-hinahina was his name. But he had no parents. Then he took as his wife a woman whose name was Kaihere. She lived with Tūtaka-hinahina, and her son was born. This child's name was Te Roiroi-whenua.

When Te Roiroi-whenua's father Tūtaka-hinahina died, the nights were closed off. There was no light at all, so the sky and the earth and the sea became dark. People could not see each other. They talked to each other in the darkness.

Then Te Roiroi-whenua heard his father speaking, 'Here where I died, I am buried by the side of the house, and fenced round.' And he said, 'And now you must attend to me. You are to look to the place where the earth heaves up.'

Te Roiroi-whenua listened to something gnawing there in the early morning. He went to fetch it, and saw, moving along within the fence, two of them, a male and a female — they were his father's fat: maggots coming from his father Tūtaka-hinahina. The son, Te Roiroi-whenua, cried, 'String up the bird!'

Night drew near, and he kept watch through the long nights. He called to the people, 'Listen, all you who are in darkness!'

For it was not light. He therefore cooked the male maggot, and the female he left there. He cooked it in an oven, he lit the oven used for the male. Light came down. First light appeared. Dawn gleamed and broke. It was first light, then broad light — full daylight.

Then the cry broke out, 'It's day!'

When it became light, people could be seen. The sky became light, the earth became light, the sea became light. First the voices of the birds rang out, then the voices of the people. Now daylight burst in on them. And all the people were assembled there, along with Hākoro-tu, Hatatai and Tāne-nui-a-Rangi. For Te Roiroi-whenua is Takaroa. The fire
plough which brought the fire into being was lying there. The name of this fire was Tioi; this was the fire which was used to cook the maggots from his father.

The sun appeared and rose up on high. It rose to its peak and began to decline. Then the sun set. Toki-nui-a-Rehua rose up. The people closed their eyes. And they lived on.

TE ROIROI-WHENUA

When Tūtaka-hinahina grew ill, he told the people to set to work gathering food and gathering firewood. The people worked. When they were exhausted, they stopped.

Te Roiroi-whenua worked, and so did his slaves. When it came to the time when his ancestor (Tūtaka-hinahina) died, he stopped working. He buried his ancestor and heaped the earth over him. He turned him with his face downwards and his back uppermost.

The sun was held back by Kume-atea, Kumea-te-pō and Unumia-te-kore. The sky and the sea and the earth became dark. The people lived in darkness. They could not see the pathway to the food or the pathway to the firewood. So they had to stay inside their houses. They ate their food and they burned their firewood. They burned the fences, they burned the posts of the houses, they burned the rafters, they burned the battens, they burned the graveyard fences. Then their firewood and their food was all used up, and they died, one hundred and forty of them.

Te Roiroi-whenua and his slaves and younger relatives survived. The reason they survived was that he had large stocks of food and firewood.

However, when this was all used up, he burned his sacred fence. Tūtaka-hinahina’s maggots appeared above the ground. Te Roiroi-whenua went to get them, and gathered them up in his hand. He rubbed up a fire with his fire plough. When it caught light, he whirled it round so that it blazed up. He lit the oven and it began to burn.

Tamatea (he was also known as Tamatea-mai-tawhiti) arrived, and light came groping
through the darkness. They were still living in Te Nuku-te-iki, Te Nuku-te-rea and Te Nuku-muru-aitu. When Tamatea lit the oven, there was an awakening start down below. The first light moved up from below, and increased in strength. The dawn rose up. The birds twittered, they opened their beaks wide — it was full dawn. It spread around, and the children’s cry rose up, ‘It’s day!’

In former times, the dawn belonged to Takaroa. After the time that Tūtaka-hinahina was cut off, the dawn belonged to Tamatea.
WHAKATAU:

THE ARCHETYPAL AVENGER
INTRODUCTION

The story of Whakatau deals with the large themes of death, grief and vengeance. The narrative begins with the death of Whakatau's father and recounts the various steps taken by the son to secure vengeance, culminating in the burning of the enemy house Tihi-o-manono.

In Wohlers's original manuscript version, written c.1850, 'Ko Wakatau' is recorded in between the stories of Tūtaka-hinahina and Tāne, two narratives concerned with origins. Whakatau is also an initiator, an archetypal figure whose actions set the pattern for human behaviour. This story too is therefore a myth of origins.

The story was later considerably reworked by Wohlers for publication in the Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute.¹ Here Whakatau is no longer an isolated avenger figure, but takes his place at the end of a family chain which begins with Whaitiri and Kai-tangata, and passes down through the heroes Tāwhak and Rata. These two heroes, too, avenge the deaths of their fathers, so that the whole cycle is concerned with murder and revenge.

We shall now examine the myth as it was told in the far south, before moving on to see it in its wider setting in Aotearoa and Island Polynesia.

1. Death of Tū-whakararo

In all other versions of the story the victim, whether called Tū-whakararo or some other name, is Apakura's son. However, the change of role which sees him becoming Apakura's husband and Whakatau's father in Wohlers's version does not change the story in any significant way. Tū-whakararo is the archetypal victim, and is important insofar as he provides a motive for the vengeance which is the theme of the story.

¹The genealogical connection which is made between Rata and Whakatau in this version (Wohlers, 1874: 48-9 (Māori); 23-4 (English)) cannot be made in the earlier version, for the name of Rata's son is not given. Wohlers may have learnt of the possible link through Grey's collection of myths, which he had read in the intervening time.
It is not made clear whether the woman taken by Tū-whakararo, Hakiri-maurea, is captured in battle or whether Tū-whakararo takes her from a jealous rival and is killed in revenge, as happens in the similar incident recorded by Grey. It would seem that the Aitanga a Rahe-roa (or Rae-roa, ‘long-foreheaded’ people)\(^2\) who kill Tū-whakararo are the woman’s tribe and are taking revenge on her behalf. Their role in the myth is to be the archetypal enemy, powerful and alien.\(^3\) They belong to a line of enemies such as the Ponaturi of North Island myths and the Aitanga a Punga of southern ones,\(^4\) who make their appearance, almost interchangeably it seems, in stories about revenge. They do not need to be described, for the shadowy menace of their presence is evoked by the use of their names alone.

2. Whakatau’s canoe

It is not only the news of his father’s death which makes Whakatau determine on revenge. It is his mother’s weeping which plays a vital role in stirring him to action. Pakura, usually known as Apakura, is a very significant figure, for she is the role model for all mourners. At the end of the narrative the nature of this mourning is described: it is ceaseless, like the moaning of the sea. As long as there are men who meet their deaths through war, adventure or treachery, there will be women left at home weeping for them.

But Apakura’s weeping does more than simply mourn her dead; it is an expression of grief that is also a call to vengeance. This same call is found over and over again in waiata tangi, laments for the dead, where the mourner not only expresses his or her grief but also exhorts the relatives of the dead to avenge the death. In such laments the call for vengeance does not need to be made explicit. Often the description of the mourner’s feelings of loss and sorrow are simply followed by a brief reference to weapons or to a canoe. In the same way, in this story the narrator moves immediately from Apakura’s grief to Whakatau’s canoe

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\(^2\)Wohlers standardised the names Whakatau, Apakura and Rae-roa in his 1874 version.

\(^3\)Williams states that *rae* is used curiously in proverbial and epigrammatic sayings, apparently meaning *person*. The fact that these people are powerful enemies is indicated by the epithet *roa*, ‘long’. Orbell (1977: 282) points out that calling a person’s brow ‘wide’ (*nui*) or ‘long’ ‘refers to power, and the status which a powerful person possesses’. There are two proverbs which make a contrast between the powerful Rae-roa and the weak Rae-poto (‘short-foreheaded’) people (Grey, 1857: 31 and 92). The general sense here is that when the strong appear, the weak miss out on all the food.

\(^4\)See the stories ‘Ko Waitiri’ and ‘Ko Rata’.
preparations. The inference here is obvious: Whakatau is about to sail off on a mission of vengeance.

Whakatau paints his canoe black on one side and white on the other. The significance of this is not entirely clear. Apparently it is intended as a ruse to deceive the enemy — a ruse which is later successful. The idea is to lull the enemies’ suspicions and to lure them out to the canoe to attack them one by one, and so the canoe is made to look like a seal. Perhaps it is felt that if it is painted in this way a quick stroke by the paddlers will bring the canoe round to reveal first the black side and then the white, so that it will seem to appear and disappear against the brightness of the sea. In this way it will give the impression of an animal surfacing and diving.

3. Contest at sea

The people on shore cry out that a seal has been sighted. Mangō-tipi swims out and recognises Rei-nui-a-tokia, but not the other person in the canoe. When Whakatau strikes him with his adze, he swims ashore and tells the people about the stranger. Another person swims out, is struck, and returns with the same message. After this a great many people are killed.

The sequence of events in this episode seems unsatisfactory when compared with versions from elsewhere. It seems unlikely, for example, that two of the enemy warriors should be able to avoid Whakatau’s blows and escape to shore. It was no doubt because of this that Wohlers decided to rewrite this episode.

5 In other versions of the story some sort of deception is often involved at this point. See for example Taylor, 1870: 245, where the people mistake the canoe for a kumete or wooden bowl. Johansen (1958: 132-9) has an ingenious interpretation of this myth in terms of the kumara ritual, but the southern version contains none of the significant vocabulary highlighted by Johansen. The present version has therefore been analysed at the level of narrative alone.

6 Perhaps in the south the incident took this particular form because a ruse involving imitating a seal is found in many South Island stories (for example, Stack, 1898: 56-7; Beattie, 1945a: 103).

7 In the 1874 version, this episode has been considerably rewritten. The narration moves from the general to the particular: a group of unnamed people swim out to the canoe and are killed one by one by Whakatau, until eventually a named enemy, Mongotipi, swims up. He is struck by Whakatau’s adze, but turns and makes his way back. He is therefore the only one to escape to pass on the message to those on shore. Wohlers seems to have been trying to give the story a more formal structure. At this point in other versions there is often a series of repeated incidents: Whakatau uses different pieces of equipment (a calash of oil, a noose) to catch warriors who are champions in different methods of attack (Grey, 1956: 95; Shortland, 1856: 69-70), or the enemy champions take it in turn to attack different parts of the canoe: the prow, the middle, the stern (Taylor, 1870: 245).
The name of the enemy swimmer is variously rendered by Wohlers as Mangotipi, Mongotipi and Makotipi. The reading Mangō-tipi is used in the translation and in discussing this figure, in order to make the link between this version and other versions of the Whakatau myth, in which there are characters who bear some variant of this name. These enemies, like those in many other stories, seem to have a fish-like nature, and this is reflected in the first element of the name, Mangō, ‘shark’. The tipi of the name is possibly associated with the statement that he ‘turns to one side’ before making back to the shore.

The other named person who takes part in the action is Rei-nui-a-tokia. He may be a brother of Whakatau, as is Rei-mātua in Grey’s version. However, in this version of the story his presence is not felt to need explanation.

One other detail which may carry more than its surface meaning is the remark made of the second person to swim up to the canoe: ‘Then indeed his face could be seen’. This may simply refer to the fact that Mangō-tipi has now approached close enough to be seen. But it may perhaps reflect a more striking motif which is found in some North Island versions. In these, the swimmer is swimming underwater and cannot be seen by those in the canoe. Whakatau pours oil on to the sea to clarify it, and the enemy swimmer is at last revealed.

In this passage the series of phrases, both narrative and direct speech, which are taken up and repeated a second time in almost identical fashion, serve to highlight the actions of the important enemy figures, the two who manage to reach the shore to warn their people. The many people who are killed receive only a passing mention.

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8Grey has Mangō-pare (a type of shark), Mangō-huri-roa and Mangō-huri-tāpena (1971: 51-2); Taylor has Mangō-uru-mui, Mangō-uru-roa and Mangō-uru-tāpena (1870: 245). Other enemies who are said to come from the sea or whose names connect them with the sea are the Ponaturi (Grey, 1956: 47-51; 88-90), the Aitanga a Punga and Ihupuku, Kewa and Paikea (‘Ko Tāwhaki’). Tangaroa and all his sea creatures are said to be constantly at war with Tāne and the inhabitants of the land (Grey, 1956: 7).

9Grey, 1956: 95; Taylor 1870: 245. This may be a local adaptation of an Island Polynesian fishing method, which involved chewing up the flesh of candlenuts and spitting it on to the water to clarify it (Beckwith, 1970: 431; note a proverb quoted in Lucas, 1982: 30, ‘When the kuikui nut is spat on the water, the sea is smooth’, the equivalent of the English ‘pouring oil on troubled waters’). See also Taylor 1870: 280, in which a giant octopus is caught by pouring a calabash of oil on the sea.
4. Whakatau makes a plan

Whakatau wishes to enter the enemy meeting house, so he adopts a disguise which will allow him to mingle with the workers from the village. By rubbing ashes over his face and stooping he can make himself look like an old slave instead of a noble warrior. This is a motif which is found in many Māori stories.¹⁰

In the 1874 version of the story, Whakatau sets about disguising himself as soon as he has been set down in the forest. This is after all logical, for if the wood-gatherers have already seen him without his disguise, as would appear to be the case in the c.1850 version, why have they not recognised him as a warrior and a potential threat? Is it credible that he should be able to stop to disguise himself on the way back to the village, in the company of those who have already seen him?

In the earlier version, however, a different kind of logic is operating. We are told about the disguise only at the precise time at which it becomes important to the story, that is, at the moment when Whakatau is entering the enemy village and must not be recognised. Chronological time is here less important than narrative time.

The disguise plays a crucial role in the story, for besides explaining why Whakatau can enter the house of his enemies undetected, it allows the narrator to present a scene which is dramatic and also humorous, as the enemy peer at the stranger and try to discover whether he is the one who has killed so many of their number earlier in the day. It is possible that the episode involving the disguise was included in the story to explain the name Whakatau, for the word can mean, among other things, ‘imitate, feign’.¹¹

Inside the house, Tihi-o-manono, the people are dealing with the bodies of the dead. One assumes that the bodies are those of the men who have been slain in the previous day’s battle. It is not clear what treatment these bodies are receiving; the word used may mean

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¹⁰Compare for example ‘Ko Paowa’ and ‘Ko Tama’ in this collection.
¹¹Williams, whakatau 4 and 5, under tau (v). In other versions other explanations are implicitly suggested, for example, in one of the versions recorded by Grey the people are said to titiro whakatau, ‘gaze searchingly’, at Whakatau (Grey, 1956: 52).
‘heap up’, ‘burn’, or perhaps ‘perform tapu-removing ceremonies over’. It is obvious that funeral ceremonies of some sort are in progress. Since these ceremonies will involve all the members of the tribe, Whakatau’s schemes for vengeance will have maximum effect.

5. Tū-whakararo’s bones

As Whakatau enters, his father’s bones call out to him in love and lamentation. This motif too is found elsewhere. The son correctly interprets the message, but the listening enemies, who hear only the rattling of dry bones, call out in derision. In this narrative their cry of ‘Who is there to avenge your death?’ has ironical overtones, for those who are hearing or reading the story know that the avenger has appeared and is about to act.

6. Whakatau’s plan in action

Although this passage is confusing in its details, the overall meaning is clear. The episode follows the course of the one recorded by Grey. The people in the house are discussing the day’s events, and wondering about the stranger who has killed so many of their fellows. As some ask what this stranger looks like, they all look round the room to see if there is anyone who resembles him.

In former times, when the story was narrated to its Murihiku audience, a large portion of its significance must have been carried in the actions performed by the narrator. Much of the difficulty of this passage lies in the fact that the different speakers are not identified by name. This sort of information could easily be conveyed by the narrator by changes of

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12Compare ‘Ko Rata’ in this collection.
13This formulaic phrase is used in many different situations, and is capable of varying shades of meaning, depending on the context. When Whakatau’s sister, weeping alone in the enemy’s house, gives voice to these words, they are an expression of her despair (Grey, 1956: 78). In waiata tangi, laments for the dead, the singer often implies ‘there is no-one to avenge you’, but with the purpose of shaming a relative into action (Ngata and Te Hurinui, songs 53, line 16; 255, line 9). In a song to taunt an enemy after his death the line is sung in derision (Shortland, 1856: 182. This seems to be a cursing song rather than a ‘lament in honour of a chief slain by an enemy’ as stated).
14Wohlers himself may well have been puzzled as to the meaning of the passage before he read Grey’s version. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have extensively rewritten his own version. Some of his corrected sentences bear a close resemblance to Grey’s version of this incident (compare Grey, 1971: 52-3). In the 1874 version, a context is provided for the series of rather puzzling questions and answers: people are asking about the person on board the canoe. One person, Mongotipi, is now the focus of attention, and therefore all the questions and answers revolve round him. All verbs have subjects: people ask, Mongotipi replies, and so on. As in episode 3, the narrative builds up dramatically through a series of unnamed people to a named one. One by one the people are inspected and rejected until finally the hero, Whakatau, is revealed as the one whom they are all seeking.
voice or manner. Similarly, at the point when Whakatau finally reveals himself, the narrator may well have performed some action such as wiping his hand over his face, to indicate that Whakatau now removes the dirt which disguises him. In the 1874 version, Wohlers added a sentence to explain that this is what happens.\footnote{\textit{"Was he like me?"} asked Whakatau, who had by this time rubbed off the ashes and charcoal, and who had now drawn himself up in his natural bearing" (Wohlers, 1874: 24).}

The next passage is a descriptive one, and thus easier to follow. Whakatau’s actions are similar to actions performed by other figures in vengeance stories of this type: he extinguishes the house fires and, in the darkness, seizes his father’s bones, runs outside, and there fastens the door and sets fire to the house.

The fire in which the great house is burnt is significant enough to be given its own special name: Ruru-rama. In this version there is nothing to explain this name, but in several other versions Apakura chants a karakia as she binds (\textit{ruru}) the torches (\textit{rama}) for her son to take to set fire to the house.\footnote{See for example Apakura’s torch-binding karakia, \textit{Here e ruru ki ōku rama}, ‘Go bind my torches’, recorded in Shand, 1911: 78. See also White, 1887, II: 148; Grey, 1853: 374. Elsewhere, a waiata gives the instructions \textit{Patua ki te anahe, tōna [a synonym for \textit{ruru}] ki te rama}, ‘Beat the fernroot, bind the torch’ (Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: song 300, line 82). Fernroot was used as provisions in time of war, and is a symbol of warfare.}

This action must be commemorated in the name.

\section{7. A mother’s pride}

Apakura, back at her village, now comes outside to look at the fire, the glow of which can be seen in the sky.\footnote{In the 1874 version she is said to be \textit{i runga i tōna whare}, ‘on top of her house’ when she sees the fire. This addition is presumably influenced by the version recorded by Grey (1956: 98; here it is Hine-te-iwaiwa who has sent Whakatau off on his mission of revenge, and who therefore watches to see if he has been successful).} In his 1874 version, Wohlers gives this action a sharper focus by mentioning it in an earlier episode: as Whakatau sends his men back to the village in their canoes, he instructs them to tell Apakura to watch for the burning of Tihi-o-manono.\footnote{In both Grey’s and Taylor’s versions the nature of the outcome is to be divined from the state of the sky (Grey, 1956: 96; Taylor, 1870: 245).} In the c.1850 version, the significance of the episode is conveyed by repetition. The glow of the fire in the sky and the saying uttered by the mother are important enough to be referred to twice.

Apakura’s saying is similar to the one uttered by Māui’s mother when her son
accomplishes a great deed. Like Māui, Whakatau is here called *taku pōtiki*, ‘my youngest’. In many versions of the story *pōtiki* is attached to his name as an epithet. He is often said to have had a birth similar to Māui’s, in that he is a girdle thrown away by his mother and rescued by a supernatural being.\(^{19}\) In this version these parallels are not made, but the saying is a reminder of the connections between these two figures.

In this version of the story little is said about the hero. We know nothing of his lineage apart from the names of his parents, and his physical characteristics are not described. In other versions of the story the contest between the powerful enemies and the seemingly weak hero is brought out more forcefully. Whakatau is the youngest in a long line of brothers, and he is also physically small. His small stature is sometimes emphasised to the extent of exaggeration: ‘He could disappear inside a finger nail’.\(^{20}\) And yet he is the one specifically chosen for the task, rather than his tall brothers.

In the southern version none of these details is given, but the fact that the hero is on his own is emphasised: he has sent all his companions back before going into the woods and from there into the house of the enemy. As mentioned earlier, the name given to his enemies suggests that they are a powerful tribe, and Whakatau must rely on his own mana to confront and overcome them.

8. A death avenged

The statement that the father’s death has been avenged and that the mother rejoices is made twice. The repetition emphasises the point of the story, the vengeance, but it also points to the fact that the death has been avenged in two ways, both by Whakatau’s actions and also by the tears shed by Apakura. A well known proverb tells us that, ‘By nose mucus and tears, death is avenged’.\(^{21}\) Mother and son have both played their part in avenging Tū-whakararo, and the mother can now rejoice.

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\(^{19}\) He is sometimes said to have supernatural powers and trickster tendencies: he can run under the water with his kite, and he tricks both the villagers and his mother (Grey, 1956: 91). The trickster elements in his character arise from the fact that he, like Māui, is an abortion (the word *maro* is used of both). See the discussion in the introduction to ‘Māui: trickster and innovator’.

\(^{20}\) Hongi, 1898: 38. In the Moriori version, he is ‘an insignificant one just like a lark’ (Shand, 1911: 70).

At the end of the story Apakura’s grief is described: although vengeance has been taken, she will weep on endlessly, as a pattern for all mourners. It was this weeping which informed Whakatau of his father’s death and sent him off to seek revenge, and at the end of the story this fact is repeated. This story thus has a particularly satisfying circular structure.

Whakatau as a symbol

The significance of this myth and the number of different themes which are encountered in it make Whakatau’s name a potent symbol in many different situations. His name in waiata in many areas of Aotearoa calls up ideas of vengeance, more particularly of the triumph of the weak over more powerful adversaries. Because of his actions in preparing his canoe, his name may be used in a karakia chanted at the launching of an important canoe.22

It is perhaps less obvious why another karakia which invokes the name of Whakatau should be a kawa-whare, or karakia to lift the tapu from a newly constructed house. One can only conjecture that what Whakatau can destroy (the great house Tihi-o-manono), he can also protect.23

One oriori even equates Whakatau with Tāne himself. The poet dedicates a child to the task of seeking vengeance on behalf of his people, who have been attacked and driven from their lands by another tribe. The child is to identify himself with Whakatau and emulate his actions:

In former times there was Whakatau-pōtiki,
He was the one who propped up the heavens above,
And you emerged into the light.24

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22Nihoniho, 1908: 96; 103. See also the reference to Whakatau’s canoe in Ngata and Hurinui, 1980: song 291, line 32. The singer is obviously calling the hearers to vengeance.
23Smith, 1899: 154-6. Smith points out that this karakia was also used before going to war, and it is perhaps used as a kawa-whare only in the context of the particular house whose construction is being described. Another karakia used before going into battle was known as Whakatau’s karakia. It was chanted by a warrior as he girded on his war belt (Colenso, 1878-81, 13: 67-9; see also Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: song 254, lines 46-7). The war belt does not feature in Wohlers’ version of the story, but it is mentioned in the Ngāti Toa version recorded by Mātene Te Whiwhi. Here, Whakatau uses his belt to pull down the centre post of the house. Grey has obscured this important detail by changing the word tātua, ‘belt’, to taura, ‘rope’ (Grey, 1971: 53). In another Ngāti Toa story, a warrior recites Whakatau’s karakia over his hand, and then waves his war belt at his enemies, killing them all (White, 1888: 83).
24Ngata and Hurinui, 1961: song 185, lines 11-13; see also the discussion in Orbell, 1978: 95-6.
Just as Tāne lifted his father Rangi and let light and life into the world, so in his own way Whakatau brought back life to his mother and family by avenging the death of his father.

Apakura’s part in this story is so significant that her name, too, is used in a symbolic way. A mourner can say that he or she is ‘in Apakura’s house’. And even more importantly, Apakura’s name is given to a special sort of waiata tangi, one which is sung at the very height of mourning.

The story in Island Polynesia

It is in fact Apakura who assumes the central role when one looks for the story in the wider Polynesian area. She is the constant in all versions, whereas the figure of Whakatau changes or is in some cases absent. In this way he differs from figures such as Māui, Tāwhaki and Rata, who are found throughout Polynesia and whose exploits follow a recognisable pattern.

Apakura is found in versions of the story recorded from areas as widespread as Bellona and Rennell in the west and the Marquesas Islands and Mangareva in the east. She is always a woman in search of vengeance. The dead person mourned by her is usually her son (or sons, in the version from Bellona and Rennell); only in the Kāi Tahu/Kāti Māmoe version does she mourn her husband. The son’s name varies greatly from version to version.

The avenger in these versions is usually a brother or brothers. In some versions he appears to be unrelated, but given the tribal nature of these societies, this is unlikely to be the case. Sometimes all the brothers except one are cowardly, as in the Marquesan versions (this is reflected in the versions from Aotearoa in which Apakura rejects the ‘tall’ brothers). In some cases the brothers are worse than cowardly: they are the ones who kill and eat

\(^{25}\)Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: song 254, lines 1-3.

\(^{26}\)As McLean and Orbell remark: ‘As a song type, the apakura is unequivocally for the dead. It is used at the height of sorrow, is generally accompanied by wailing, and is addressed directly to the body’ (McLean and Orbell, 1975: 103).

\(^{27}\)There appears to be only one version of the story which does not have Apakura as the grieving mother, and that is the Ngāti Toa version. Here Hine-te-iwaiwa becomes the mourning mother, seeking Whakatau as the champion who will avenge her son’s death. In this version, Apakura is Whakatau’s mother.

\(^{28}\)Ngāti Ruanui, Ngāti Hau, Rarotonga, Bellona and Rennell. In the Samoan version he is a brother-in-law. For detailed references, see the list of versions at the end of this discussion.
Apakura’s son. In these cases Apakura is forced to look beyond the immediate family circle for her champion.

It seems, then, that a major change has occurred in the Murihiku version of the story. In making Apakura’s husband the one who is murdered and her son the one who avenges his death, the story has perhaps assimilated the pattern of the similar stories of Tāwhaki and Rata. As has already been pointed out, in terms of the theme of the story the change is not of great significance: the woman mourns either her husband or her son, and the hero avenges the death of a close male relative.

Signs and omens

In all versions of the story, signs and omens play an important part. Some of these are found in only one version. In the Mangarevan version, for example, the mother watches the frigate birds: because their heads and legs droop, she knows that her son is dead. In the Chathams version, the empty seat on the canoe, seen from the cliff top as the brothers return, tells Apakura that her son is dead.

By far the most common portent involves blood. In the Marquesan versions, Apeku’a’s son calls up various portents to prove his lineage and to try in vain to save himself from being put to death; one of these is a rain of blood. When in spite of this he is killed, a spot of blood appears on Apeku’a’s breast. This tells her that her son is dead.

Waves of blood appear in some versions. In the Samoan version Apa’ula sings a lament in which she prophesies that if the sea breaks white, her son will live, but if it breaks red like blood, he will die. The mother’s drinking well carries this same message in the Rarotongan version. The waves of blood are found in the Moriori version, too, but here they are a sign that the enemy has been defeated in the first of the battles.

This last-mentioned version from the Chathams also makes use of another motif, one which it shares with Māori versions. In these, the message is to be read in the sky. A red

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29Rarotonga, Bellona and Rennell, Samoa. See detailed references at the end of this chapter.
glow in the sky will be a sign of victory.\textsuperscript{30} The red of the blood in the Polynesian versions has now become the red glow of flames in the sky. The reason for this change must be that it is only in versions from Aotearoa that the house Tihi- or Uru-o-manono is found. In these versions, the burning of the enemy house provides a spectacular climax to the story.\textsuperscript{31}

The disguise

As has already been mentioned, Whakatau’s disguise is an important motif in the story as recorded by Wohlers. This motif is found in other versions too, but it takes a different form.

In the Marquesan stories, Vaka-uhi can change his age and appear as a child, a young man, a mature man and an old man in succession. Sometimes he acts as a young man for a time, and then goes back to being a child again.\textsuperscript{32} In the Chathams version, he can assume a woman’s voice to enter the enemy house.

In the Māori versions, we find him hiding from Hine-te-iwaiwa, and successfully convincing her that he is not the person she is seeking; concealing his identity as he makes his attack in his canoe; and passing into the enemy house and remaining completely unrecognised until the moment when he chooses to reveal himself. Some versions even suggest that he can turn himself into a spider.\textsuperscript{33} This may be a metaphorical way of referring to his small size, but this is not altogether clear. What is clear is that, like Māui, he can perform magic and assume disguises to further his own ends.

Other motifs

Another motif which has been noted in the Murihiku version, and which is also found in versions from Polynesia, is Apakura’s torch or firebrand. In versions from Aotearoa, the

\textsuperscript{30}Sometimes the hero also mentions the possibility of defeat, which will be shown by falling rain or by a dim glow in the sky.

\textsuperscript{31}In some Marquesan versions of the myth Taheta is burnt in his house, but the house is not named, and does not act as a signal to others of Taheta’s death. It therefore lacks the symbolic significance of the house in the Māori myth.

\textsuperscript{32}See detailed references at the end of this chapter.

\textsuperscript{33}In Smith’s version of the karakia, the word used is whakaptingāwerewere. Compare the story of Māui, where whakakāhu means ‘turned himself into a hawk’.
fire is used in the final act of vengeance, as the enemy house is burnt to the ground. In Marquesan versions, the firebrands are the sign which tells Apakura’s brothers that she needs someone to be her son’s avenger. In one instance, she lashes two firebrands to her head and goes to visit her brothers. A bundle of candlenuts and clothes dyed yellow are her sign in the Rarotongan version of the story.

The oil which is poured on the sea has a different function in one Marquesan version. Here, this action is performed by the youngest brother, to allow him to look down and discover the whereabouts of his elder brother, Haa-tau-niua, who is under the coral reef.

There are many other such motifs which could be discussed, but enough has been said to suggest the ways in which the narratives were adapted and reinterpreted as they made their way from island to island in the Pacific Ocean.

OTHER VERSIONS

A. Aotearoa

1. Ngāti Kuia


Tū-whakararo, the eldest son of Apakura, is murdered. The youngest son, Whakatau-pōtiki, a very small man, urges his family to take revenge. He turns himself into a spider (another of his names is Whakatau-pūngāwerewere, ‘Whakatau-spider’) and hides in the bow of the canoe. When they arrive at the enemy village, he emerges and destroys many of the enemy. Only one canoe escapes back to the shore. Whakatau enters the enemy house, Tihi-o-Manōno, by once again turning himself into a spider. When he is recognised he rushes from the house, bars the doors and windows, and sets fire to it. Apakura sees the glare of the fire and sings her victory song, in which she names Whakatau’s torch as Uru-taki-nuku.

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34This list does not make any claim to being complete, but these are the most accessible versions and the most interesting from the point of view of comparisons.
2. Ngāti Toa

Mātene Te Whiwhi in Grey, 1971: 48-53. (Shortland, 1856: 67-71 may also come from this region, since it is very similar to this version. Shortland does not state his source.)

Whakatau is Apakura’s son, a maro or girdle thrown away into the sea. This abortion is raised by Rongo-taka-whiu. Whakatau flies kites under water and can be caught only by Apakura, to whom he reveals his identity. His cousin Hine-te-iwaiwa seeks him out as her champion, to avenge the death of her son. When his canoe reaches the enemy village, the enemy warriors swim out and are caught by various methods. Whakatau sends a message back to Hine-te-iwaiwa to sit on her house and watch the sky: if heavy rain falls, it means he is dead, but a glow in the sky means victory, the burning of the enemy house. He enters the house successfully and at the appropriate time reveals his identity. He then attaches his belt to the house post, runs outside, pulls the house down and sets it alight.

3. Ngāti Hau

Taylor, 1870: 244-7; White, 1887, II: 149-50 and 150-4 (English); 145-6 and 146-50 (Māori). (White’s two texts appear to originate from Taylor.)

Apakura asks Whakatau to avenge the death of her son Tū-whakararo. He paddles off in his canoe called Hiku-toto (‘Revenge’), which the enemy mistakenly think to be a wooden bowl. He kills or wounds various enemies who swim out to him, and at nightfall enters the house Tihi-o-manono. When he is finally recognised by the enemy, he takes out his hidden weapon and kills many people before making his escape through the hole in the roof. He sets the house on fire and goes to the pit where Poporo-kewa is to be found. He tricks Poporo-kewa into coming up, and snares him.

The first of White’s two texts contains Apakura’s song of revenge, and a description of the way in which the relatives of a deceased person went about raising a war party.

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35 The enemy who has the name of a shark, Mangō-huri-tāpēna, is caught when oil is poured on the water and he can be speared; the one with a bird name, Pitakataka (‘fantail’), flies to the canoe and is caught in a trap.
4. Te Āti Awa


Tū-whakararo, Apakura’s son, is killed by enemies. His brother Whakatau gathers a war party, while Apakura beats fernroot and sings a lament which is also a call to vengeance. Whakatau’s men surround the house (Uru-o-manono), and capture a man who tells them how the enemy chief, Popo-horo-kewa, may be recognised. Whakatau, aided by his sister (who is married to one of the enemy), enters the house, slips a noose over the head of Popo-horo-kewa, and escapes via the roof. He then sets fire to the house.

5. Ngāti Ruanui


When the house Uru-o-Manono is consecrated, Tū-whakararo is killed as the sacrifice. His mother Hapakura asks Wai-rerewha for one of his sons as her champion; the smallest one, Whakatau, is chosen. He enters the house and snares the two chiefs Tukituki-pīngāwerewere and Poporo-kewa. He then sets light to the house and burns all the people inside.

6. Arawa


In this version, Whakatau-ihu is spoken of in more general terms as the bravest of all the men of old, the one who avenges deaths (rather than one specific death). His burning of the great house is recounted, but the house is not named. No names of people are given, apart from Whakatau’s own name.

B. Island Polynesia

1. Chatham Islands

Shand, 1911: 67-82.
Apukura and her husband Rei have a family of sons who visit Maurea, a tapu woman, at the house Ta Uru-o-Monono. Tu is killed by Papara-kewa. Apukura seeks her brother Whakatau’s help. The enemy swim out to Whakatau’s canoe, and are killed or injured. Whakatau lands, assumes the voice of Maurea so that he can slip into the house, and spears the two enemy chiefs. He then sets fire to the house, and carries Maurea back to Apukura, who exacts a grisly revenge.

2. Rarotonga

Te Arika-tara-are, 1921: 53-70.

Apakura has eight brothers. Her eldest brother, Oro-keva-uru, is jealous of his nephew, Apakura’s son, and kills him. Apakura goes to Avaiki to seek a champion. Vakatau-ii and his brothers agree to help her. All the evil brothers are killed, and finally Vakatau-ii [Vakatau-i’i] and Oro-keva-uru meet in single combat. Fearing that Vakatau-ii may be killed, one of his brothers lays a noose on the beach, and Oro-keva-uru is snared (this name appears to be the equivalent of the Poporo-kewa of the Māori versions).

3. Marquesas


Some of the Marquesan versions of this story are very long and contain a great variety of episodes, while others have only one episode. The following is a brief summary of some of the motifs occurring in these stories: Apoku’a (or Pei-kua) asks all her brothers in vain for help when her son is murdered by Hanea-motua. Only Taheta, who is a supernatural being, will help. The enemy are killed after a great battle, and Taheta takes an enemy woman (sometimes said to be Hanea-motua’s daughter) as his wife. Her son is born prematurely when the mother is murdered, and is brought up by two old women. When Taheta rejects him because of his low birth, the son takes his revenge.

In this version, two people seem to share the name and role of Whakatau. Sometimes
Taheta is called Ha'atau-niua, an obvious cognate with Whakatau. His birth, like that of Whakatau in some of the stories from Aotearoa, is supernatural: he is raised in a coral reef under the sea. He has extraordinary powers and helps his sister to take vengeance. Later, however, he becomes the tyrannical father on whom his injured son must wreak his own vengeance.

The name of the son, Vaka-uhi, also seems to be a cognate. Vaka-uhi assumes disguises and plays tricks in a way which resembles the Whakatau of other versions, and in some versions he avenges himself by burning Taheta in his house.

Apekua'a takes a particularly vicious form of vengeance in all these versions, chopping off portions of her enemy with the words, 'That's for my son!'

4. Mangareva

Te Rangi Hiroa, 1938: 329 — 333.

The heroine in this version is Toa-apakura, the daughter of Apakura. The son of Toa-apakura, Tunui-te-maku, goes to court a famous beauty and is killed. Toa-apakura's eight brothers help her take vengeance. The various episodes in the story have given rise to a large number of songs.

5. Samoa


Apa'ula is given by her brothers, the sons of the Tuifiti, to the chief of Samoa. When they take her back to Fiji, she is pregnant. After the child is born, her brothers kill and eat him. She goes back to Samoa to find her brother-in-law, Va'atau-sili, the brother of her husband who is now dead. Va'atau-sili is ugly and mis-formed, but after sleeping in a cave becomes tall and handsome. He tears out a coconut tree to use as a club, travels to Fiji and kills

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36The brothers are called their 'eight rei', 'necklaces', in a song. This must have some connection with the figure called Rei who is found in many of the versions, and also with the episode in the Chatham Islands version in which the enemy chief counts the necklaces of the brothers and finds that one is missing (in this way, he knows that one of them is hiding).
Apa'ula’s brothers.

6. Bellona and Rennell


Instead of going from brother to brother for help, as she does in eastern Polynesian versions, ‘Apekunga (Apakura) here goes from land to land (seven islands) singing a lament and seeking help. Finally Ngae (Kae)\textsuperscript{37} agrees to avenge ‘Apekunga’ s two sons who have been killed by their uncle, her brother. ‘Apekunga exacts a horrible revenge by cutting off and eating her brother’s penis, saying when he cries out, ‘This is how I feel for my two sons!’.

\textsuperscript{37}Here Kae appears to be an unrelated figure. In Marquesan versions he is Apakura’s grandfather. In Aotearoa he appears in a different story cycle as the person who suffers the avenging fury.
TEXT

KO WAKATAU


Ka karanga a Rei-nui-atokia, ‘Whakataha.’

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1White 1887, II: 147-9 (English); 143-4 (Maori).
2Wohlers uses the standard North Island spelling for Tū-whakararo but not for Wakatau. The name is corrected to Whakatau in the 1874 version. Pakura is either a local variant of the North Island Apakura, or the result of a fusion of the nominal particle a with the initial A of the name.
3Both here and after ka patua Wohlers originally wrote a Wakatau in parenthesis, but obviously realised his mistake and crossed out his bracketed additions. At this point the story is still concerned with Tū-whakararo.
4Wohlers corrects this to Rahe-roa in his 1874 version. See the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection A 1(b), for a discussion of the aspirate in this dialect.
5See ‘Ko Tūtaka-hinahina’, textual note 2 for the use of ia.
6Hīkui, and hīkoro later in the story, are the standard Murihiku terms for ‘mother’ and ‘father’.
7This is left as pako in the 1874 version of the story, even though it appears to be a common word.
8Wohlers translates this as ‘seal’. The pakaka of the 1874 version is probably the result of a printer’s correction (it is pakake in the manuscript, corrected in an unknown hand to pakaka). The glosses in Williams’s dictionary suggest that the two words are used interchangeably for both ‘seal’ and ‘whale’.
9The e is added in the 1874 version. Alternatively the sentence could be corrected by removing the terminal a of kaua (which may have been incorrectly added through confusion with the following a of ana). The whole of the swimming episode shows signs of confusion, and the syntax is difficult to unravel.
10See the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection C 7, for ki rō o te wai.
11It is not clear whether this name should be Moko-tipi, Moko-tipi, Maķi-tipi or even Makā-tipi. The 1874 version has both Mongotipi and Makotipi. For a further discussion of the name, see the introduction to this story.
12Wohlers evidently experienced some difficulties with both this passage of direct speech and the similar one which occurs below. He made several corrections to his original punctuation, and in his 1874 version changed the syntax of the sentence: ka karanga ati ki a Reiuiaatokia (1874: 48). I have re-punctuated it in a way that makes sense, though it is by no means certain that this is correct.
Ka hiko\textsuperscript{13} ia a Wakatau, ki te toki. Ka pangaina ki te toki. Ka tipi\textsuperscript{14} ia, ka haere ki uta. Ka körero atu ia, ‘He waka ia.’ Ka kī atu ia, ‘Ko Rei-nui-a-tokia tētahi tangata. Kotahi te tangata kāhore au i kite.’

Ka makere tētahi ki rō o te wai. Ka tae ia ki te waka. Ka whakakitea atu ia tōna kanohi. Ka karanga mai ia, ‘E Rei-nui-a-tokia, i reira mānu atu nei koe!’

Ka karanga atu ia, ‘Whakataha.’

Ka whakataha ia ki te ihu, i reira ia a Wakatau, i te ihu o tētahi waka. Ka ea ia, ka pangaina ki te toki. Ka tipi haere ia ki uta. Ka körero atu ia ki ngā tāngata, ‘Ko reira anō tētahi; ko tētahi ia, he tangata kē ia.’

Ka nui ia ngā tāngata i mate ia. Ka hoki mai ia te waka, ka tae ki tawhiti i waenganui o te moana. Ka kī atu ia ki ngā tāngata, kia whakāllria ia ki uta. Ka kī atu ia ki ngā tāngata, ‘Haere koutou.’\textsuperscript{15}

Ka noho ia i rō o ngāherehere. Ka mutu ia te noho, ka whakaaaro ia i roto i tōna ngākau. Ka haere ia, ka tūtaki i te kaiwahie, e haere mai ana. Ka hopukina na, ka whatiwhati wahie. Ka kī atu ia, ‘Whatiwhatia hoki ētahi wahie māhaku.’


Ka karanga mai ngā tāngata, ‘Arahina mai ki konei.’

\textsuperscript{13}Although in the manuscript this looks like hika, neither hika nor hinga fits the context here. Wohlers added hiko above the word hinga found later in the passage, and his 1874 version has hiko in both instances. Williams glosses the word as ‘snatch’; his only example is this one, but the context suggests that he is correct.

\textsuperscript{14}Williams gives as the basic meaning for tipi, ‘pare, slice, pare off’, and also ‘glide, skim lightly along the surface, go quickly or smoothly’. Wohlers changed the word to tipa, ‘turn aside, escape’, in his 1874 version. However, the two words are obviously connected, and tipi forms one element of Maōi-tipi’s name.

\textsuperscript{15}The manuscript is muddled at this point, for Wohlers has made additions and corrections. The phrase ka kī atu ia ki ngā tāngata is repeated twice in one sentence. The sense of the passage is clear, and I have made corrections accordingly.
Ka haere ia ki reira. Rokohina atu ia i tautahua\textsuperscript{16} i ngā tūpāpaku i roto i te whare. Ka kite mai ngā iwi o te hākoro i a ia, ka tangi mai ki tana tamaiti. Ka kī ake ngā tāngata, ‘Ma wai ia tōu mate e utu mai?’

Ko Tihi-o-manono\textsuperscript{17} te ingoa o tēnei whare. Ka ui atu ia ki a rātou, ‘Whakaatu i a koutou.’

Ka whakaatu ia tētahi tangata. Ka kī atu ia, ‘Me whai te āhua [o] tētahi tangata? Ko te āhua anō ia, me ia na?’

Ka kī atu ia, ‘Me au nei te āhua?’

Ka kī atu ētahi tāngata, ‘Koia na kē ana ia te āhua.’

Ka kī atu tētahi tangata, ‘Ko au kei te titiro, ko te āhua me ia nei anō te āhua.’

Ka kī atu ia, ‘Me au nei anō?’

Ka kī atu ētahi o ngā tāngata, ‘Koia anō ia, tēnā.’

Ka rere mai ngā tāngata ki te hopu i a ia. Ka pō te rā.\textsuperscript{18} Ka hiko\textsuperscript{19} ia ki te tahā, ka rikia, ka mate ia te ahi o runga o te tuaroko.\textsuperscript{20} Ka pō te rā. Ka mau ia i ngā iwi o te hākoro. Ka puta ki waho. Ka pāia te whare. Ka hikaina te ahi, ka tahuna te whare. Ko te ingoa o tēnei whare, ko Tihi-o-manono. Ka weraia ngā tāngata ki rō o te whare. Ko te ingoa o tēnei ahi, ko Ruru-rama.

\textsuperscript{16}Williams quotes this sentence, but without translating. He comments, ‘Wohlers does not translate; nor does White, who gives the passage with te before tautahua; there has evidently been some error in transcription.’ White seems to have taken the sentence to refer to Wakatau’s discovery of his father’s bones, but the tūpāpaku spoken of in the passage must be the dead who have been killed by Wakatau the previous day. Tautahua may be connected with tahu, ‘heap’, which can sometimes refer to a heap of bodies, or it may be the reduplicated form of tahu, ‘to burn’. It is significant that Watkin gives as one of the meanings of tahu, ‘to burn the dead’, which suggests that this may have been a common practice in this area. See the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection A 1(b) for a discussion of the disappearance of the h in the initial syllable of reduplicated forms.

\textsuperscript{17}Wohlers originally wrote Tipi-o-manono. His correction is hard to read, but the word appears as Tihi-o-manono later in the text.

\textsuperscript{18}This calls attention to the fact that it is dark (the reason for having fires alight in the house). When Wakatau extinguishes the fires darkness falls once again, even though this time it is not literally true that the sun sets.

\textsuperscript{19}See note 13 above.

\textsuperscript{20}Wohlers has ‘corrected’ this form back to tuaroko in his 1874 version, after first writing tuarongo. He must have felt unsure of a word which was perhaps infrequently used.
Ka haere ia i te pō. Ka puta te hākui ki waho. Ka kite ia te hākui i te pō,²¹ i te huru o te ahi. Ka pepeha ia ki tana tamaiti, i te pō. Ka mau ia te huruhuru ki te rangi. Ka pepeha te hākui, ‘Ko Wakatau, pōtiki āku, e whakatāne i a ia!’


²¹The manuscript has *Ka kite ia i te hakui i te po*, but the first *i* appears to have been crossed out, as the sense would require. At this point in the story the narrative returns to Apakura, who is waiting at her own home.
²²I am interpreting *whakatītī* as referring to the boast which has just been made by Apakura about her son. The simple form *whakatītī* may be used in this sense, as in *Kei te kōrero whakatītī, 'Kei a au a Raumati!'* ‘He spoke boastfully, “I’m the one who has Raumati!”’ (Grey, 1971: 88).
²³*Mua* refers to the sacred place.
²⁴The manuscript has *tanga here.*
TRANSLATION

Tū-whakararo took Apakura as his wife, and his son Whakatau was born. He went off on an expedition, and captured a woman whose name was Hakiri-maurea. He was killed by the Aitanga-a-Rae-roa. And so Tū-whakararo died.

Then Whakatau heard about it and made a canoe. He heard his mother weeping. He painted the canoe black on one side and white on the other. Whakatau launched the canoe and set off out to sea. When he drew level with the [enemy] village, he was seen by the people. They called out, ‘It’s a seal!’

Some of the people jumped into the water and swam out — one was Mangō-tipi. He came up to the canoe which was floating there. Mangō-tipi looked at it and called, ‘Hey, Rei-nui-a-tokia, floating there! Go back!’

Rei-nui-a-tokia called out, ‘Come alongside!’

Whakatau seized an adze and struck him with it. Mangō-tipi turned aside and went to shore. He told them, ‘It’s really a canoe.’ He said, ‘Rei-nui-a-tokia is one of the men, but there’s one other man that I didn’t recognise.’

Another one jumped into the sea. When he reached the canoe, his face could be clearly seen. He called out, ‘Hey, Rei-nui-a-tokia, you’re floating away there!’

Rei-nui-a-tokia called back, ‘Come alongside!’

He moved up beside the prow, and there was Whakatau, at the prow of one of the canoes. When he came up above the water, Whakatau struck him with the adze. He went weaving back to shore, and said to the people, ‘Yes, one of them is there all right, but that other one, he’s a stranger.’

And now a great many people were killed. So then the canoe came back, and withdrew far.

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1The more usual form of the names (Whakatau, Apakura, Rae-roa, Mangō-tipi) has been used throughout this translation.
out to sea. Whakatau told his men that they were to land him ashore. He told the men, ‘Off you go!’

He remained in the forest. When he had finished waiting there, he had a plan worked out in his mind. He set off, and met some wood-gatherers, who were coming towards him. He caught up with them as they were breaking up firewood. He said to them, ‘Break some wood up for me, too.’

When they all had large bundles, they went off to the village. He painted his face with soot to disguise himself. Then when they got near the village, they called out, ‘Here’s our slave!’

The people called back, ‘Bring him here!’

When he got there, he found them heaping up bodies inside the house. When his father’s bones recognised him, they cried out their lament to the son. The people called up to them, ‘Whoever is there who can avenge your death?’

The name of this house was Tihi-o-manono. Whakatau said to them, ‘Now then, show yourselves.’

So one person showed himself. Whakatau said, ‘Who did the other person look like? Was he really like him?’

He said, ‘Was he like me?’

Some of the people said, ‘Well, he really looked quite different.’

And one man said, ‘As far as I can see, he really looked just like him.’

And Whakatau said, ‘Was he really like me?’

And some of the other people said, ‘Yes, that’s right, that’s him!’

The people rushed up to catch Whakatau. Darkness fell. He seized a calabash, poured out the contents, and put out the fire at the back wall of the house. Darkness fell. He took his
father's bones and ran outside. He drew the door shut, kindled a fire and set the house alight. The name of this house was Tihi-o-manono. The people inside the house were burnt up. The name of this fire was Ruru-rama.

He went off in the darkness. His mother came outside. His mother could see the glow of the fire in the darkness. She uttered a saying about her son, in the darkness. The glow reddened the sky. The mother uttered her saying, 'It's Whakatau, my youngest, making a man of himself!'

She made her boast. She came out in the dawn light and saw him there, standing before the sacred place. The death of his father had been avenged. The mother rejoiced. The death of his father had been avenged. The mother, Apakura, was overjoyed. And this is what her weeping is: it is the sea which goes on weeping. This is Apakura's crying for Tu-whakararo, the father of Whakatau. And that was how Whakatau learnt that his father was dead. And that is why the son made his journey.
TĀNE:

CREATOR OF LIFE AND LIGHT
INTRODUCTION

In the mythology of the Murihiku region, the most important of the beings who are seen as the ancestors of the human race is Tāne, one of the sons of Raki (Sky) and Papa (Earth). It is Tāne who (with some help from others) lifts Raki up above and pushes Papa downwards. He is also the father of water and trees, as well as of human beings. He fixes the stars in their places to adorn his father and mark the changing seasons, sets trees and plants in the earth to clothe his mother Papa, and arranges food for human beings by bringing birds down from the skies.

Tāne is one of a group of figures (along with Tū, Rongo Whaitiri and others) whose name symbolises his or her function. Tāne means ‘man, male, husband’. Tāne is the great representative of humankind. He is the husband of the first woman, and moreover in his role as fertilising male he copulates with many other beings in his search for a suitable wife. In this way he becomes the father not only of human beings but of many other forms of life.

The importance of Tāne can be seen in the two main accounts of the origins of the world which we have from the southern region, one recorded by Matiaha Tiramōrehu¹ and one by Wohlers. Both narratives focus on Tāne rather than on his parents or brothers.

Tiramōrehu’s version begins with a long whakapapa of Raki’s offspring by his numerous wives, but the narrative itself quickly moves on to Tāne and his actions. Wohlers’s account begins with Tāne, a Tāne who is a young adult in search of a wife to satisfy his own urges and to be the mother of the human race.² A summary of Wohlers’s version of the myth follows, and summaries of other versions will be found at the end of this chapter.

²As he points out, Tāne is important in the south not so much as protector or personification of trees and birds (as he is in the Arawa version of the myth recorded by Grey) but for his role in ‘the origin and final destiny of mankind’ (Wohlers, 1874: 8).
Summary of the myth

1. Tāne seeks a wife, and fathers:

(a) non-human offspring. Tāne’s couplings with mountains and trees do not satisfy him. His overtures towards his mother are repulsed. He attempts to couple with individual female sexual parts, but remains unsatisfied.

(b) human offspring. As instructed by his mother, Papa-tua-nuku, Tāne makes a female form out of earth to be his wife. Their daughter is Hine-atauira, who in her turn becomes Tāne’s wife and the mother of his children.

2. Tāne visits Rehua, his elder brother who lives in the tenth sky. He reveals his identity to Rehua in a karakia.

3. Tāne provides birds for human use. Tāne refuses to eat the cooked birds which Rehua sets before him, for they have been feeding from Rehua’s head. He asks for some live birds to take back with him, and is given instructions about how to acquire them.

4. Tāne visits the rat people. Tāne finds two women whose husbands are away catching rats. One sleeps with Tāne, but one turns away from him. Tāne refuses to eat the rats which are prepared for him. When the husbands return, Tāne again refuses the proffered meal of rats, for they have been feeding on human faeces.

5. Tāne loses his wife. When Tāne returns home his mother tells him that Hine-atauira has gone below, to Night. Tāne follows his wife to a house there, but cannot find her and can get no response to his questions. Finally the people in the house tell him that he must return to the world to bring up his offspring, while Hine-atauira remains below to draw them downwards. Day is thus separated from night.

6. Tāne acquires stars and constellations while he is in the world of night. He then takes these home.
7. Takaroa and Raki. When Tāne reaches home, he finds that his father Raki has been wounded in a fight with Takaroa over the latter’s wife, Papa-tua-nuku. After obtaining satisfaction, Takaroa leaves Papa to Raki.

8. Raki and Papa have children: a crippled family at first but later healthy offspring, Tāne-nui-a-Raki and Paia. Raki sings a song, tāua ka wehea, ‘we two must be separated’.

9. The raising of Raki. Paia suggests that Raki should be lifted away from Papa, but Tāne thinks that the task will be impossible. However, the brothers eventually succeed in raising Raki.

10. The beautifying of Raki. Tāne tries to improve his father’s appearance by decorating him with kura, which do not look right. He then tries stars, which make Raki look beautiful.

11. The beautifying of Papa. Tāne plants trees on his mother, first upside down, but this does not look right. He then turns them the right way up so that Papa looks beautiful.

12. A finished world. Raki sends his sons into the different realms. They eat the fruit of the trees which are now in place, and settle there permanently.

The manuscript also contains additional short passages which belong to this myth, along with a group of three waiata. This material was recorded separately, but has been brought together for convenience under the heading ‘Ko Tāne’. The numbering here continues in the same sequence:

13. Takaroa and Raki. This is a slightly fuller version of episode 7. Takaroa’s absence from his wife is accounted for: he has been on a journey ‘to the Kāhui-pūakiaki, to the treasures of Whakitau’ (no information on these names is available). The actions of the two

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3Wohlers’s spelling of these two names has been retained.
4These have been included at the end of the text, ‘Ko Tāne’. Wohlers often obtained his information in fragmented form, unlike TiramBrehu who was in control of his own material and could organise the order in which he wrote down the episodes. Episodes 13-16 may therefore have been jotted down by Wohlers over a period of time, for inclusion in a later version. It is also possible that his informant began his recital with a whakapapa of Raki and his wives and children, just as TiramBrehu does, but that Wohlers lacked the interest or the linguistic competence to record this.
contestants are described in more detail.

14. Tāne makes nets and catches birds as they come to drink. The wives of Nukuroa and Tamatea pluck and prepare the birds for eating.

15. Hine-atauira asks Papa-tua-nuku where her husband is, and is told that he is really her father. Hine is overcome by shame and hides herself in the underworld.

16. Songs of separation. These are songs sung by Tāne, Hine-atauira and Rakī to express the sense of loss they feel as they are parted from their spouses.

The episodes of the myth will now be discussed in detail, following the order in which they are given above.

1. Tāne seeks a wife and fathers:

(a) non-human offspring

Since Tāne’s search for a wife for himself is of the utmost importance to human beings, it is natural to find that the Murihiku account plunges straight into this episode, with only the briefest of references to Tāne’s parents, Rakī and Papa. Tāne is already fully grown, with all the urges of a young man, and in this rudimentary world where nothing is yet in its proper place or functioning as it should, he tries to find sexual satisfaction by copulating with mountains and trees. This incident sets the pattern for the whole of the rest of the story: each time Tāne will have one or more unsuccessful attempts at achieving his goal before meeting with success. In this case the unsuccessful attempt produces a useful result, even if not the one desired by Tāne, for his coupling with Maunga-nui, Great Mountain, gives rise to mountain streams, the first step in making the earth habitable for human beings. He also tries to copulate with trees, but is equally dissatisfied with this solution.⁵

⁵The word auaha is given in Williams as ‘leap, throb, thrill with passion’ and, in connection with Tāne, as ‘shape, create, form, fashion’. It is also found as an epithet attached to the name of Tiki: Tiki-auaha, ‘Tiki-the-procreator’. See a further discussion of the word in Johansen, 1958: 145-51, and the use of auaha in ‘Ko Rongo-i-tua’.

⁶In other versions Tāne’s coupling with trees meets with some form of success in the form of tree offspring (see Shortland’s version in the summaries of other versions at the end of this chapter), and this is probably true here too, as he later decorates Papa with ana hua, ‘his fruits’, the trees. Sometimes, too, he produces stones, water and other natural features in his experiments with non-human women (Tiramōrehu: 1987: 5;
Tāne’s next attempt at sexual gratification is directed at his mother, Papa-tua-nuku. She is a female and therefore desirable, but since she is his mother a sexual relationship is out of the question. She firmly refuses her son’s advances and directs his attention elsewhere. This encounter too is part of the pattern of contrasting successes and failures. Tāne is repulsed by his mother, for she is aware of the relationship between them: Te, nāhaku hoki koe, ‘No indeed! For you are my son.’ Later, however, Tāne will be able to have sexual relations with his daughter, for she, unlike Papa-tua-nuku, is ignorant of their true relationship.

(b) Human offspring

Tāne now goes off to collect the various portions of female anatomy which he will use in creating the first woman. These are said to be in the possession of two beings, Mautarere and Punaweko, about whom little else is known.7 Tāne’s actions at this point are not clear, but it seems that he tries to copulate with one female part in isolation (the huruhuru or pubic hairs) and has to return unsatisfied to his mother once again. It is she who suggests that he should make a woman out of earth.8 The huruhuru (and no doubt the other female parts as well) are placed on this earth form, and Tāne is at last sexually satisfied, Kātahi anā ka tika, ‘Now at last it’s right’.

When Tāne and his wife, Hine-hā-one,9 have a daughter, Hine-atauira, Tāne eventually takes her too as his wife and they have a family of children. The human race is now properly established, but in bringing life into the world Tāne has also brought the

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7 According to Best, ‘Among the Takitimu tribes Punaweko is well known as representing land birds’, sometimes being thought of as the personification of such birds and sometimes as their originator (Best, 1982: 243, 263-4). This probably explains why Punaweko supplies the huruhuru, which means ‘bird feathers’ as well as ‘pubic hairs’. Shortland (1882: 22) records that Tāne is given the huruhuru by a female ancestor named Punga-heko; this must be a dialectal variant of the name. Mautarere’s name does not seem to have been recorded elsewhere. In the version of the story which he sent to Grey, Wohlers lists Mautarere and Punaweko among the females desired by Tāne (Grey, 1971: 177).

8 In some versions of the story Tāne is said to make his woman out of the red earth of Kurawaka, the mons veneris of Papa (see Shortland’s version in the summaries at the end of this chapter).

9 This may mean ‘Woman-with-a-breath-of-earth’, or may be a variation of the more usual form, Hine-ahu-one, ‘Woman-heaped-up-from-earth’. Another variant is Hine-hau-one (Tiramōrehu; hau has many meanings). For Hine-atauira’s name, see textual note 5.
possibility of death. This is indicated by the children’s names.\textsuperscript{10} The first element in each, *Tahu*, is obscure, but it seems to signify some form of evil, while the second element indicates dragging (*kumea*), decay (*whakairo* or *whakaero*) and death (*oti-atu*).\textsuperscript{11} The reason for these names becomes clear later on in the story, when Hine-atauira chooses to remain down in the world of night and drag her children down to live with her there.

2. Tāne visits Rehua

Having established his human dynasty, Tāne decides to go on a journey to the skies to see his elder brother Rehua. Here the narration proceeds in a non-chronological fashion, for we have not yet been told of the separation of Raiki and Papa by Tāne and his brothers. It is the lifting of Raiki which creates the various levels of the sky in which these beings live, and it is Tāne who helps to carry his father into the sky, and who propels and fastens him there. But the narrative proceeds as if these actions have already been accomplished.

As Tāne calls up to the beings in each of the ten skies,\textsuperscript{12} they inform him that he will not be able to climb up, for these skies have been *roherohea*, ‘enclosed’ and *tuituia*, ‘fastened’ by Tāne.\textsuperscript{13} Since the person calling to them is Tāne himself, the performer of these actions, he is able to ignore the veto of those who live in these skies and continue his journey to the tenth heaven where Rehua is to be found.\textsuperscript{14}

In spite of the fact that Rehua is the elder brother, a tapu being who lives in the highest of

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\textsuperscript{10}Wohlers, 1874: 8.
\textsuperscript{11}Wohlers’s list, corrected for his 1874 version, is Tahu-kumea, Tahu-whakairo, Tahu-oti-atu, Tahu-kumea-te-pō and Tahu-kumea-te-ao. Tiramōrehu’s list is Tahu-kumia, Tahu-whakaero, Tahu-utituri, Tahu-pēpeke and Tahu-pūkai. Several of this latter group repeat elements found in the names of Raiki’s crippled children. The first element of the name, *Tahu*, is used in other South Island texts in a context which suggests negative rather than positive qualities. Both Te Maramu (1894: 10) and Tiramōrehu (1987: 2) speak of *ngā Tahu* as a group of children produced by Raiki and his first wife, Poko-harua-te-pō. These children have names which suggest aggression (Werohia, Tao-kai-maiki, and so on), and are grouped with *ngā Anu* as ‘destroyers of mankind’.

\textsuperscript{12}Although it is not stated in this version, these beings must be the ones spoken of in Tiramōrehu’s version, namely those of Raiki’s children who remain up in the skies. These include the children of his first wife, who are *whakahau* (‘take the form of winds’), those of his second wife, who are *whakawairua* (‘take the form of spirits’; these are the first set of Papa-tua-nuku’s children, among whom is Rehua), and the children of Raiki’s third wife, one of whom is Tama-i-waho (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 1-2).

\textsuperscript{13}In his 1874 version Wohlers says that the skies are *kumea* (drawn out) as well as *tuhia* and *roheia*. It is unusual for him to add phrases, as his practice is to cut repeated passages.

\textsuperscript{14}This is one of the reasons why this incident is unsuited to the story of Rupe, where Grey has inserted it (Grey, 1956: 64-5).
the heavens, it is he who is said to be the ignorant one, while Tāne knows the karakia.\textsuperscript{15} This karakia presents some linguistic problems, but on the whole its significance is clear.

In the first three lines, Tāne seems to be viewing the sky as a garden where Rehua is weeding and raking the soil.\textsuperscript{16} One of the main purposes of the karakia is to inform Rehua of the identity of his visitor, and thus Tāne mentions his own name and the fact that he is the one who propped up the sky. Another name mentioned is that of Te Rangi-pua-ih no, said to be the name of the prop (\textit{turuturu}, presumably one of the props used by Tāne).\textsuperscript{17}

3. Tāne provides birds for human use

When Rehua offers Tāne a meal of tūi which have fed off the lice on his head, Tāne refuses to eat them, for Rehua is his elder brother and his head is therefore highly tapu.\textsuperscript{18} In this way, two of the prime rules for the correct behaviour of human beings are established: the head is tapu and must never come into any sort of contact with food, and younger brothers must always show extreme deference to elder brothers.

However, in spite of Rehua’s great tapu, his world is not as it should be;\textsuperscript{19} birds and trees live in the skies, where they are of no use to the human beings whom Tāne is establishing on the earth. Tāne therefore wishes to take some birds back with him to the land below.

\textsuperscript{15}This is a motif found several times in these myths. The realms of supernatural beings, either above or below the human world, are usually said to be the source of human knowledge (as in, for example, the stories of Miru (Kararehe, 1898: 55-63) and Mataora (Smith, 1913: 182-93), and those of Whaitiri and Tama in this collection), but the hero often introduces karakia into these realms. Māui has to teach a planting karakia to his father, even though the latter lives in the underworld and has knowledge of fire and cooked food, while Tāwhaki’s knowledge of karakia allows him to climb safely to the land above.

\textsuperscript{16}The idea of gardens in the sky is found elsewhere as well: compare Māui’s contest with Maru-i-te-whare-aitu. A mackerel sky is \textit{te māra kūmara a Ngātoro-i-rangi}, ‘Ngātoro-i-rangi’s kūmara garden’ (Williams; see also Shortland, 1882: 23 for a variant of this). It is possible that Tāne’s karakia was also used as an everyday planting or harvesting chant, but it has not been recorded elsewhere.

\textsuperscript{17}Tiramōrehu names Toko-maunga as Tāne’s prop and Rua-tipua as Paia’s (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 4). Shortland also names two props: Toko-huru-nuku and Toko-huru-rangi.

\textsuperscript{18}The lice must not be eaten, for they have have presumably absorbed some of Rehua’s tapu by biting his head (compare human situations in which a father’s mana is transferred to the son in this way, for example, Shortland, 1882: 53). Tiramōrehu says that the effect of Tāne’s eating would be to make him blind, \textit{kei kai ia, matapōuri ia}, ‘lest he should eat and go blind’. He also records an episode in which Tū and Roko tempt Rehua into eating Tāne’s tapu food (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 11-12; see also Jean Smith’s commentary on this episode, 1974: 71-4).

Best points out that in Hawai’i \textit{lehua} is a word for forest. It may be that Rehua in some way is the forest, and the trees are his hair.

\textsuperscript{19}In Greys’s story of Rupe’s visit to the skies, all is not perfect in Rehua’s realm. Rupe has to clean Rehua’s yard and build him a latrine. Although Grey does not record a karakia in connection with this work, he names the two brooms used: Tahitahi and Rakerakea. The \textit{tahia} and \textit{rakea} of the Murihiku chant (\textit{Tipia, tahia, ngakia, rakea}) could refer equally well to the activity of sweeping; the two stories may be different interpretations of the same incident.
Rehua explains that the best way to accomplish this is to take trees instead of birds, and to plant them on earth, so that they will bear fruit and attract the birds to feed on them. His instructions, although delivered in few words, prescribe the method for catching birds: they must be caught in autumn (ka hua te rākau ... ka tangi te hau, 'when the trees bear fruit ... when the wind blows') and they must be caught in nets (kaha) which are to be laid at the water where the birds come to quench their thirst. Tāne thus gains control over the birds by luring them back to earth, where they can be safely snared, cooked and eaten by human beings.20

4. Tāne visits the rat people

The next episode is more obscure.21 Tāne still seems to be in Rehua’s realm, a realm over which Tāne is apparently now gaining control. The details of his visit to the rat people are hard to interpret. Who exactly are the persons named? The first two, Nukuroa and Tamatea-kaiwhakapua, are said to be the husbands of the two women, but the other two, Te Tapu-ao and Hine-ki-taha-rangi (the ariki, the ‘first-born sons’ or ‘high chiefs’ to whom they must offer the rats), are not explained in any way. Why does one woman willingly sleep with Tāne, while the other refuses him? And why does the latter woman’s husband chide her for acting in this way?

There are many parallels between this episode and the preceding one about the birds. Both rats and birds belong in the same forest world.22 Both are being offered to Tāne as food, but are rejected by him for reasons which are associated with a fear of breaking tapu restrictions.23 The link between the two episodes can also be found in episode 14. Nukuroa

20A short passage attributed by White to Kāi Tahu suggests that Rehua was thought to be the originator of the art of cooking (White, 1887, I: 29; 37. This is recorded as a separate passage in the Māori version, but in the English translation is inserted into the middle of a text by Tiramōrehu).
21Wohlers is obviously at a loss to understand; he can ‘see no meaning’ in the rat catching episode and finds that ‘this catching and cooking of birds and rats seems to indicate a later period than that of the gods’. He is relieved to be able to move on to a ‘more godlike’ topic, Hine’s flight to the underworld (Wohlers, 1874: 9).
22The forest floor is te whakarua o Tāne, ‘the feeding ground of Tāne’, according to a fable about the parakeet and the rat recorded by Best (1977b: 356; 405).
23The 1852 version uses almost identical words to explain these two rejections: No reira i mataku ai a Tāne, no te tangata o mua, kāhore i kai, and Kāhore kia kainga e Tāne, i mataku i reira, na te tangata o mua. These are translated by Wohlers as ‘He was afraid to eat anything which came in any way from the body of his elder brother’ and ‘But he would not accept it, fearing the rats might have eaten of their dirt, as they were his elder relations’.
and Tamatea, the two names added by Wohlers in parenthesis, are those of the rat-catching husbands mentioned in episode 4. If these names were supplied by Wohlers’s informant, as one would expect, then it would seem that Tāne teaches the two wives the art of bird snaring (following Rehua’s instructions) and cooking while he is living with them.

One possible interpretation for this episode is that it describes some sort of struggle for control of the rat resource. Perhaps by sleeping with Tāne the woman will give birth to a rat which will be able to be safely used as human food, while the tapu rats must be offered to the ariki.\textsuperscript{24} This would make a parallel with the bird-snaring episode.

On the other hand, the rats here are shown to be disgusting — they are feeding on human faeces, and then being used as food by men and women.\textsuperscript{25} Tāne refuses to eat such food, and his actions set the pattern for human behaviour. He has already shown by his actions that it is dangerous and wrong to eat food which has come into contact with the head. He now shows that the same strictures apply to body wastes.\textsuperscript{26}

5. Tāne loses his wife

Tāne’s mother greets him with the news that he no longer has a wife, for Hine has gone away. Hine’s actions are not related directly, but by others: first by Papa-tua-nuku, and later by ngā tāngata o te whare, the people in the house in the underworld to which Hine has fled. Episode 15 (see above) explains what has happened in Tāne’s absence, and in later versions this information is woven into the story.

Papa-tua-nuku states that Hine has gone below, and conveys to Tāne Hine’s farewell message: he must continue to live on earth and care for their children (the names of whom

\textsuperscript{24}The idea that the food resource is gained through Tāne’s copulation with a female would be quite in keeping with earlier incidents (see note 6). Note too that Best records one female as the mother of rats, a certain Hine-mataiti (1977: 356).

\textsuperscript{25}In real life the kiore or Polynesian rat was a clean feeder, living mainly on the seeds and berries of the forest plants. In pre-contact times it was eaten, preserved in fat in calabashes (a method also used for preserving birds).

There may be another parallel here with the Rehua episode as recorded by Grey, in that Rupe feels a similar sort of disgust on seeing the filth of Rehua’s marae, where ‘even lizards would not be chased away’.

\textsuperscript{26}Wohlers came up against a practical example of this when he tried to persuade Māori farmers on Ruapuke Island to use animal manure on their plots. Their abhorrence of this practice was very evident.
are recited in her farewell speech), for she has gone to the night, to Te Rēinga,\(^{27}\) and will eventually drag their children down there. These instructions are never spoken directly by Hine, but their repetition through the mouths of others gives them the force of a universal truth or maxim laid down by some outside force, against which even Tāne’s great powers are unavailing.\(^{28}\)

Usually it is Hine-atauira who questions the main post and gable-board of the house and hurries off, filled with shame and confusion, when she receives no answer to her question.\(^{29}\) However, in this version it is Tāne himself who asks questions and receives no answer. In the context of Tāne’s frantic search for his wife, the attribution of these actions to him seems appropriate.

The songs of farewell sung by Tāne and Hine to each other may well belong at this point in the story.\(^{30}\) Although some expressions in the waiata are obscure, the overall sense is clear.

\(^{27}\) The underworld is here called Te Rēinga and Te Pō. The various other names found in this and in Tiramōrehu’s and Shortland’s versions (Poutere-rangi, Tū-kai-nanapia, Rarohenga, Naona, Rekoreko, Waewae-te-Pō and so on), seem to represent different ‘houses’ or divisions in the underworld, but one should not expect these to fall into a rigorous table of descending levels. There are many synonyms for death and the underworld, much used in waiata tangi.

\(^{28}\) Wohlers sets the instructions out as if they were a waiata, and indeed they make a fine contrasting pair of verses, with the words hoki, koe and ao opposed to noho, au and pō. (The words change slightly according to Tāne’s position: the first time they are uttered he is in the world with his mother Papa, and is told to noho, ‘remain’, while the second time he is in the world of night and must hoki, ‘return’, to day.) The names of the children which make up part of the first recital of the instructions are not repeated in the second.

\(^{29}\) It is Hine who does the asking in Tiramōrehu (1987: 6), Tikao (1939: 33) and the waiata quoted by White (1887: 117; although said to be Ngā Rauru it is Kāi Tahu, from Creed’s papers). Ngāti Kahungunu sources also have Hine as the questioner (Smith, 1913: 144; Best, 1923: 116-7). The motif in which a person asks a question of various portions of a house and receives no answer is also found in Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961: song 116, and is discussed in Orbell, 1988: 28-31.

\(^{30}\) Tiramōrehu includes the songs at this point in his account, but Wohlers records them separately, perhaps because there are several expressions in them which are obscure. Some lines are followed by comments in brackets which are apparently an attempt to elucidate some of the obscure phrases. For example, after the word Arotau comes the phrase roa o ngā tau. Since Arotau is given a capital and treated as a place name, it would seem that it functions as a personification: Tāne has left Hine at ‘Length-of-years’, that is, for a long period of time.

Te Kura-māhuhuhuki, said by Williams to be an expression which ‘occurs in many karakia’, is here called he ingoa whare, ‘a name of a house’.

The phrase taku ara ki Raŋi nei means ‘my pathway to Raŋi here’, but it is hard to see why a house should be felt to be a pathway, and why it should be taken to Raŋi, since one of the speakers intends to live permanently down in the underworld (where she is at the time of speaking), while the other is to go and live in the world. It is obvious that the original waiata (one would imagine it to be very old) contained sequences of sounds which were interpreted in different ways. Tiramōrehu has two different versions of this line, both of which one can see as possible reinterpretations of an unknown original. Tāne sings taku īrangirangi, ‘my distress’, while Hine sings te kura ki rangi, ‘the treasure in the sky’. (In the southern dialect the original would have been pronounced rakiraki.)

The other two names in the songs are more straightforward, for Te Rangi-pōhutukawa (or Te Rake-pōhutukawa) is said to be Tāne’s village, while Pittere-rangi is an obvious alternative form for Poutere-rangi, which is elsewhere said to be Tū-kai-nanapia’s house in the underworld (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 8).
In the first line of each the relationship between the two is now made explicit: Tāne admits that Hine is *he tamaiti*, ‘a child’, while Hine recognises Tāne as *he matua nōku*, ‘a parent of mine’. Other straightforward ideas are those of abandonment (I *waiho ai au koe*, ‘I left you’) and sorrow (*ka nunumi au, ka tangi*, ‘I will depart, and weep’). Tāne and his daughter-wife are grieving for each other as they separate, one to live in the upper world of life and light and the other to stay down in the realm of darkness and death, to which she will eventually drag down all their offspring.\(^31\)

The closing statement, *Ka tītama te pō, ka tītama te ao*, is translated by Wohlers in his 1852 version as ‘Since then, there is a division between the upper and lower world’. The word *tītama* is not glossed in Williams, but it also occurs in the name Hine-tītama, which is generally translated as ‘the Dawn Maid’.\(^32\) However, since the sentence quoted above occurs after Hine has sent Tāne back to the world of the living, while she herself resolves to stay in the world of the dead, the most likely interpretation of the word *tītama* is ‘separate’ or ‘divide’.\(^33\)

6. Tāne takes stars and constellations

Tāne next goes off to ‘the home of Tū-kai-nanapia’,\(^34\) from which he takes ō ngā tūpuni o *Wehi-nui-a-momoa*, ‘some of Wehi-nui-a-momoa’s cloaks’. Wehi-nunui-a-momoa or -mamo appears in Kāi Tahu whakapapa as one of the sons of Raiki and Papa, and a younger brother to Tāne,\(^35\) but the meaning of the ‘cloaks’ is obscure.

Some light may perhaps be thrown on Tāne’s actions here by referring to Tiramōrehu’s

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\(^{31}\)In this version she is not said to take the name Hine-nui-te-pō, although Wohlers added this information in a later version (1895: 134). Tiramōrehu has two different figures, Hine-a-te-ao and Hine-a-te-pō, who are guardians of two levels of the underworld (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 6-7).

\(^{32}\)This interpretation is implied by her role in the myth (she starts off as the young wife of Tāne in the world of day, and ends up as the woman who rules the world of night), and also because she is often said to be one and the same person as Hine-ata-uirua, ‘the Dawn-glow Woman’. See textual note 5 for another interpretation of the name.

\(^{33}\)In a Ngāti Kahungunu oriori the similar lines *Ka kātia te pō, ka kātia te ao*, and *Ka wehea te pō i konei, te ao i konei*, obviously referring to separation, are used in relating this incident (Best, 1923: 116-7). Similar expressions are used of the separation of sky and earth by Tāne (*Tāuke ati nuku, tāuke ati rangi i konei* in the Ngāti Kahungunu oriori; *Ka heua te ao, ka heua te pō* in Te Rangihiheke’s version of Rangi and Papa, Grey, 1971: 2). Compare also the use of the word *motuhia*, ‘cut off’, in Te Matorohanga’s version of Hine-tītama’s words to Tāne at their parting (Smith, 1913: 38).

\(^{34}\)See note 27.

\(^{35}\)Tiramōrehu, 1987: 2; White, 1887, I: 30.
version. He explains that when Tāne went off to fetch the stars, *Kua mau noa ake aua whetū i a Wehinuiamamao, kua tīpunitia rawa aua whetū e ia ki ōna whara, ki a Hirauta, ki a Hiratai, ki a Te Parinuku, ki a Te Parirangi,* ‘Wehi-nui-a-mamao had already taken up those stars, and had put them as a covering on his cloaks, on Hira-uta, Hira-tai, Te Parinuku and Te Pari-rangi’.  

The significance of these four names is not known but they perhaps refer to four areas of the earth or sky which Wehi-nui-a-mamao wishes to beautify. According to Tiramōrehu’s account Tāne, as the elder brother and the one in charge of adorning their father and making the world fit for human habitation, has the greater claim on these cloaks and instantly receives them at Wehi-nui-a-mamao’s hands.

Two of these cloak names can be recognised in Wohlers’s Hirautu and Poreri-nuku, but it is not clear whether the other names listed are also thought to be Wehi-nui-a-mamao’s ‘cloaks’. Te Kāhuwi (Kāhuwi) Whetū is literally ‘the company of stars’ and seems to be a general term encompassing all the names which follow. Of these, only two are immediately recognisable. Poaka (Poanga or Puanga) is Rigel, while Takurua is Sirius. Tiramōrehu remarks *mo ngā kai ēnei whetū e rūa,* these two stars are for food’. Puanga has a proverb about it, *Puanga kai rau,* ‘Puanga of much food’,  but it is difficult to see how Takurua, the star which marks the winter, can be connected with food. As for the other stars in this list, their identity has not been established. The Wero stars (called Whero by Wohlers) are spoken of elsewhere, but not in contexts which make them identifiable.

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36Tiramōrehu, 1987: 8. One of Creed’s statements may also be revealing. His account of Tāne and the stars is in note form, but corresponds closely with the other Kāti Tahu versions, the four names for the cloaks being identical. Then follows a statement in parenthesis, in English: ‘buttons on the mats’. Is this perhaps meant to indicate that the stars are fixed on the mats or cloaks in such a way as to make them look like the flecks on a ngore cloak?

37Hira means either ‘multitude’ or ‘widespread’ and pari means ‘cliff’, while the epithets *uta, tai, nuku and rangi* indicate ‘land’, ‘sea’, ‘earth’, and ‘sky’. Whether Wehi-nui-a-mamao’s ‘mats’ or ‘cloaks’ are portions of the sky or whether, perhaps by a form of metonymy, they are actually the names of stars it is impossible to say without further information.

38Puanga is also the star whose heliacal rising marked the beginning of the new year, and was the signal for a time of feasting and enjoyment. Tikao calls it ‘the principal star of the Canterbury year’ (Tikao, 1939: 49). Hongi’s information would seem to indicate that at least some of them belong to the constellation of Canis major: ‘The Kāhuwi-Takurua presides over the winter months. Its members are Wero-i-te-ninini; Wero-i-te-kokoto; and Wero-i-te-whakataka Pungarehu. [And three other Takurua stars.]’ Tiramōrehu makes a distinction between two Wero stars left as signs of the winter months, *waiho hei tohu mo te makariri,* while *Wero-i-te-ao-māria* is a *tōhu mo te raumati,* a sign for the summer (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 8). Beattie confuses the issue by identifying the Wero stars with both cold and hot weather (Beattie, 1918: 141; 1917: 108), while Tikao says that they are signs of hot weather (Beattie, 1939: 49).
The other stars named are even more obscure.\textsuperscript{40}

It is not at this point clear why Tāne has taken these stars, as Rāki has not yet been raised and fixed in place as the sky. However, it would seem that Tāne is collecting them to set in place as signs for the seasons. This is implied by the statement that \textit{Ka tae ki te raumati, ko reira tava Kāhui Whetū}, ‘When it came to summer, that Host of Stars would be in place there’.\textsuperscript{41}

7. Takaroa and Rāki

The non-chronological nature of the myth is clearly demonstrated in episodes 7 and 8. Here we are told that on Tāne’s return he finds his father lying prostrate, wounded by Takaroa. Because of his severe wound, Rāki fathers first a family of sickly children and later, as he recovers his strength, of strong, upright ones. Among this latter group of sons is Tāne himself, the Tāne who has up to now been engaging in his own activities of procreation.\textsuperscript{42} However, what is lost in chronological consistency is perhaps gained in poetical force, for the motif of a son hastening back to take care of his ailing father is a potent one in Māori stories.\textsuperscript{43}

The relationship of Rāki to Takaroa and their battle over Papa-tua-nuku is the element which makes the South Island accounts so strikingly different from their North Island counterparts. In fact this episode has no equivalent anywhere else in Polynesia. Although Tangaroa is an important figure in most Polynesian mythologies, often appearing in the primary position in cosmogonies, in no other recorded collection of myth does one find the uncle-nephew relationship between Takaroa and Rāki, Papa’s adultery with Rāki and the fight between the two males.\textsuperscript{44} That this episode was felt to be important is perhaps

\textsuperscript{40}Information on Māori star lore is difficult to come by. Beattie has only scattered references to stars (e.g. 1918: 141, 145; 1917: 108), while Tikao names many stars without identifying them (1939: 48-50). Best’s small monograph is little more than an assorted collection of statements drawn from Māori and Pākehā sources, and a long list of star names, many of which are glossed with a question mark, indicating that Best could find no other information about them (Best, 1978). Hongi has a short account, but his information, drawn from the Ngā Puhu area, often conflicts with that of others (Hongi, 1913: 195-211).

\textsuperscript{41}There is a parallel here with Tiramārehu’s information about the Wero stars (see note 39).

\textsuperscript{42}In Tiramārehu’s account this discrepancy does not exist, for Tāne and Paia are the first of Rāki and Papa’s children and are born during Ta'aroa’s absence, before he returns and wounds Rāki.

\textsuperscript{43}Compare for example the story of Tura.

\textsuperscript{44}In Māori myth it is usually said to be Tāne and Tangaroa who wage war upon one another (Grey, 1956: 7).
reflected in the fact that Wohlers recorded it twice, once within the body of the narrative (episode 7) and once as a separate incident (episode 13).\(^{45}\)

8. Raiki and Papa

Raiki and Papa now go on to have a number of children, with names which reflect Raiki’s state. At first he is weak (Tāne-kūpapa-co, ‘Tāne-lying-in-a-wasted-condition’, Tāne-mimi-whare, ‘Tāne-urinate-in-the-house’, Tāne-hūpeke, ‘Tāne-bent-up’),\(^{46}\) but gradually he improves in health until he fathers Tāne-te-waiora, ‘Tāne-in-good-health’. At last he fathers the tūtanga ... e whakatika ki runga, ‘the family standing upright’ (that is, perfectly restored to health), Tāne-nui-a-Raiki and Paia.\(^{47}\) Once again a pair of opposing ideas is presented: the weak and prostrate contrasted with the strong and upright.

Other tribal versions also record these names, or variants of them. But where the story of Takaroa’s fight against Raiki is absent, different explanations are given. According to Tūhoe lore, for instance, these are Tāne’s names, and reflect his position as he first lay on the ground and then gradually raised his legs and lifted his father upwards.\(^{48}\)

9. The raising of Raiki

In this southern version, there is no general discussion among the brothers about raising Raiki, as there is in the well known Arawa version. Here, it is Raiki himself who takes thought for his cramped and sickly children, and suggests that he and Papa should be separated. He does this by means of a chant containing the words tāua ka wehea, ‘let us be separated’.\(^{49}\) This chant is given in another, fuller version in a later book of the

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\(^{45}\) At the stage when Wohlers was recording the myths he cannot have been aware of the uniqueness of this incident (Grey’s volume of mythology did not appear until 1854), but perhaps his informants made quite sure that he recorded their own special version.

\(^{46}\) Lying in a hunched up position was a sure sign of misery and defeat, according to Māori thinking; see Orbell, 1977: 283-5.

\(^{47}\) It is assumed that Tāne-nui-a-Rangi refers to the Tāne who figures in the rest of this story, rather than being a separate figure. For one thing, this is an epithet commonly applied to Tāne (‘great-son-of-Rangi’). For another, in the next episode of this version Tāne and Paia act in concert, so one would expect to find them also paired at birth.

\(^{48}\) Best, 1972: 759; see also Taylor, 1870: 117.

\(^{49}\) In Tiramōrehu’s version he first suggests that his sons should kill him, and then that they should lift him away from Papa (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 3).
manuscript, and there one can gain a better grasp of the ideas involved. The chant gives a list of pairs of figures, starting with the parents, Raki and Papa, and moving on through the names of their children (Ari and Hua, Uru and Kakana, Te Aki and Whatiu, and so on). The effect of the repeated tāua ka wehea with the pairs of names is to reinforce the idea of separation, in this case the separation of the parents.

After Raki’s suggestion, it is Paia who takes the lead in urging the separation. Tāne at first holds back, saying that there are not enough of them to perform the task, but on receiving encouragement from those above and below, he agrees. It is not clear who does the lifting. Ngā kaiwha, ‘the lifters’, could be Tāne and Paia only, or the whole group of people who live ‘above’ and ‘below’. The propping and fastening of Raki is not mentioned at this point in the story.

In both Wohlers’s and Tiramōrehu’s versions the same karakia is recited at this stage:

Whakatika tuarā nui o Paia. Māmā Te Kawa-i-huarau, ‘Straighten up, great back of Paia. Te Kawa-i-huarau is in pain.’ It is Paia’s back which is bearing the load (who or what Te Kawa-i-huarau is is not clear). This emphasis on Paia’s back may be the reason for Shortland’s assertion that Paia is a female, for normally high-born Māori males did not carry either things or people on their backs. However, in this case the task is one which can be undertaken by the sons, for the lifting of Raki confers great mana upon them. In Tiramōrehu’s version Raki calls Paia tō teina, ‘your [Tāne’s] younger brother’.

10. The beautifying of Raki

Now that Raki, Sky, has been lifted up above Papa, Earth, Tāne can see that he must make his father look comely. First he places on him the kura, which he collects from Ao-kehu at Awarua. What exactly is this kura? Tiramōrehu makes the comment I te ao ka tau, i te pō

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50See ‘Te wahatanga a Paia i a Rangi’ in the text.
51Wohlers calls this a ‘tangi’, that is, a waiata tangi, a lament sung over the dead or to commemorate some other particularly devastating loss. However, the form of the piece, with its pairs of names and repeated formulaic phrases, suggests a karakia, and it may perhaps be part of a divorce ritual. This particular karakia has not been recorded elsewhere, but Best describes a ceremony to end the love of a husband and wife who wished to be separated, in which a similar karakia referring to the separation of Rangi and Papa was used (Best, 1976d: 369). See also Taylor, 1855: 21-2.
52In Tiramōrehu’s version Paia lifts Raki, while Tāne props him in place. The props are of great importance, and are named (see note 17).
kāhore i tau, ‘In the daytime he looked beautiful, in the night-time he did not’, that is, the kura is something which shows up in the day but not at night. The most likely explanation for the word is that it refers to the clouds, specifically the red clouds to be seen at sunrise and sunset. The clouds are beautiful at these times, but are invisible at night.

Once again, there is a pairing of episodes: first an unsuccessful attempt, followed by a successful one. Tāne returns to Ao-kehū and this time brings back stars, which are used to replace the unsatisfactory kura. These stars are different from those listed in episode 5; they are the more important and more easily identifiable ones. Te Ika o te Rakī, ‘the Fish of the Sky’, is the Milky Way, Pātari is the collective name for the two Magellanic Clouds, and Autahi is Canopus, a star which is often said to be the most sacred of all, which ‘always dwells alone, as tapu persons are wont to do’. Wohlers calls it te whetū o te tau, ‘the star of the year’.

Tāne is said to tātai the stars on Rakī. The use of this verb indicates that when he beautifies Rakī with the stars, he does not cast them up randomly but sets them all in their correct places. Tātai is also the verb used of reciting genealogies and other lists which must be given in the correct order, and it occurs in the expression tātai aro rangi, ‘study the heavens for guidance in navigation’. The idea here is that the stars may be counted, and that they keep to their appointed places, places which Tāne has chosen for them. Tāne has set the pattern of the seasons, and arranged the stars as signs for food, for winter and for summer.

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53 Kura usually refers to something red, feathers or treasured possessions of some sort. Orbell (1975: 311) discusses the expression te kura ki Awarua, ‘the treasure at/from Awarua’, in an oriori in which it is used of the new-born child. She points out that in another context it refers to ‘the practice of magic and witchcraft associated with warfare’. Awarua is a place associated with Hawaiki, in which human beings and other treasures are thought to have their origins. Ao-kehū may be either a person or a place.

54 Other names for this galaxy are Te Ika Matua a Taŋaroa, ‘Taŋaroa’s Great Fish’ (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 8) and Te Mangō-rea, ‘The Great Shark’.

55 Tiramōrehu identifies these as Manako-tea, ‘Light Manako’ and Manako-uri, ‘Dark Manako’. It is possible that the Panako-te-ao listed by Wohlers is the equivalent of one of these. It is not recorded elsewhere.

56 Best, 1923: 42-43; see also Hongi, 1913: 203; Ngata, 1959: song 60, line 20. Like the Southern Cross, Autahi revolves round a point in the southern sky and is always visible on clear nights, unlike other stars which disappear from the sky for certain periods of the year. This must be why it is said to be a male and the first-born of the stars.

57 This is brought out more clearly in Tiramōrehu, 1987: 8-9, and Tikao, 1939: 32-33; 48-49.
11. The beautifying of Papa

Tāne now turns to his mother, to find something with which to clothe her. He uses trees, *ana hua*. Wohlers sees these as ‘her fruit’, that is, the crippled children to whom Papa gave birth while Raki was clinging weakly to her. This is a possible interpretation, as these children all have the name ‘Tāne’, which is often used as an emblematic name for a tree. However, the phrase is perhaps more likely to signify ‘his fruit’, for as we have already seen (episode 1a), Tāne has fathered trees in his search for a suitable mate. The trees are his children, just as human beings are, and they are sometimes referred to as the *tuākana* or elder brothers of human beings.

In this version of the myth Tāne does not have to put his head down and his feet in the air to lift his father up, as he does in the well known Arawa version of the myth.\(^{58}\) But this motif does find a place in the story, in a different form. For when Tāne first sets the trees on his mother Papa, he puts them in the earth upside down, with their branches, their feet, in the earth and their roots or heads in the air. When he stands back to look at his handiwork he finds that this does not look right, and so takes them out and replants them heads down and legs up, that is, roots down and branches in the air.\(^{59}\) Papa too now looks beautiful.

12. A finished world

In the last episode of the story, Raki sends two pairs of his children out into the world to try out the new land. They discover that the land is covered in trees, whose fruits they can now eat. They therefore decide to stay there permanently.

Having clothed both his mother and his father, Tāne has now established the world in its proper order. The sky is set in place above the earth, and adorned with stars which not only beautify it but also mark the changing seasons and tell human beings when to plant and

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\(^{58}\)This motif may be found in Wohlers’s earlier version of the myth (1874 : 7; 33), which seems to have been heavily influenced by Grey’s version. Wohlers’s own comments suggest this.

\(^{59}\)The belief that the roots are the head and the branches the legs of the tree is the opposite of that found in many other cultures. Perhaps it was realised that trees draw their sustenance from the earth (they die if they are uprooted), and so they were felt to be feeding at the breast of Papa.
when to harvest. Papa is clothed with trees and plants which offer food to the birds which Tâne has brought down. Tâne has filled the world with human beings, who now have food to eat: the fruits of the earth, and the birds which they can trap following the method taught by Tâne. The world is complete, and it is beautiful.

Other South Island versions of the myth

1. Wohlers

a. 1852

Knowing of Grey’s interest in collecting Māori mythology, Wohlers sent him a version of this myth in 1852. This version has been considerably rewritten and reorganised in order to make it chronologically consistent: for example, the episodes concerning Tangaroa, Rangi and Papa have been moved to the beginning of the story, and given separate headings (‘Ko Tangaroa’ and ‘Ko Rangi’). Tâne’s search for a wife, and his visit to Rehua, to the rat people and to the underworld in search of his wife, form a third story (‘Ko Tâne’).

One short episode which appears at the end of the section called ‘Ko Rangi’ but which does not occur in the c.1850 version of the myth is the mihi exchanged between Rangi and Papa at their separation. This closely resembles a similar passage in Tiramōrehu’s version of the myth (see below). It is possible that Wohlers learned these details from Creed, for whom Tiramōrehu wrote his account.

Wohlers also sent Grey a translation of the myth. It follows the Māori version very closely, and is thus helpful in interpreting the story. For example, Waimatatiki is given an initial capital and is seen as one of the females with whom Tâne copulates, and these females are said to be ‘personifications of springs, mountains etc.’ The account of Tâne’s refusal to eat Rehua’s birds is followed by the comment ‘he was afraid to eat anything which came in any way from the body of his elder brother. (Here we see already the believe [sic] in the Tapu.)’

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60For details of this version, see the introductory section, ‘The Manuscript’.
61Grey used this episode to end Te Rangikaheke’s account of Rangi and Papa (Grey, 1971: 5).
b. 1874: Māori

In this version too the material is divided up into three separate myths, ‘Tangaroa’, ‘Ko Rangi raua ko Papatuanuku’ and ‘Ko Tane’. It incorporates all the episodes contained in the c. 1850 version, including some of the additional short passages, but in many cases the text is abridged or reworked. The two episodes in which Tāne acquires two different groups of stars are now amalgamated (the names of the stars and constellations are, however, given in full).

There are also a number of additions. Tāwhiri-mātea is now named as one of Rangi’s ‘upright offspring’, along with Tāne-nui-a-Rangi and Paia, now called Paiao (‘Cloud’). After Paiao and Tāne try unsuccessfully to lift their father, Tāne puts his head to the ground and his feet upwards, and succeeds in raising Rangi. Episode 1a has been bowdlerised to omit references to Tāne’s physical condition, but now contains a further detail about his search for a wife: he is searching among ‘mountains, waters, trees and birds’ (the last word is an addition).

c. 1874: English

The English version published at the same time is far from being a word for word translation of the Māori version, and must be regarded as a version in its own right. It contains a number of comments by Wohlers, some drawn from his general reading (for example, ‘Tangaroa is known and worshipped by the whole Polynesian race as the chief god and creator of the world’) and some from his knowledge of local traditions (‘This is all that is known here about Tangaroa’). The latter comments are obviously of greater interest.

The English version, like the Māori one, is clearly influenced by Wohlers’s reading of Grey’s *Nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna*, which was published not long after Wohlers sent Grey his manuscript (1852 version, discussed above). Some of Wohlers’s additions are specifically acknowledged to be from Grey’s Arawa version (for example, the list of Rangi

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64 That is, the translation in this version is unlike the one in version 1a, which is much closer to the Māori.
and Papa’s children), but sometimes the original Murihiku version has undergone subtle changes which would seem to have been influenced by Grey’s version. In place of the original discussion between Paia and Tāne about lifting their father (episode 9 in the c.1850 version), we now find the brothers trying in turn to lift their father, just as they do in the Arawa version. A paragraph discussing the nature of Tāwhiri-mātea follows the description of their efforts, once again giving the version according to ‘the northern natives’.

Some of Wohlers’s translations are useful in interpreting the text. For example, he points out that the names of Tāne and Hine-atauira’s children ‘indicate a drawing towards corruption and the world of death’. Often, however, his help is withdrawn at the very point at which it is most needed: the difficult rat-catching episode is dismissed with the words, ‘There is more of the tale of this sort ... but I can see no meaning in it.’

d. Versions in German

In the same year that Wohlers was preparing his versions for publication, he also wrote a short account of this myth as a sample of Māori mythology to send back to the North German mission, promising to send more stories if any interest was shown. The account is considerably abridged, and few names are included. The episode which receives the fullest treatment is the one dealing with Tāne’s search for his wife in the underworld.

Wohlers may have been encouraged to develop the stories more fully for his autobiography, published in German in 1883. This version was written in the last years of his life, when he was at last able to devote more leisure to reading, writing and reflecting. It contains many comparisons with the Biblical creation myth (chapter and verse are quoted), with the result that the original Māori myth is often slightly distorted. For

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65 First Paia (Cloud) tried, but could not lift him. Then Tāne tried, with no better result. Then they tried all together; but Heaven was too heavy for them. At last Tane put his head on the ground and stretched his feet upward. That succeeded.’ (Wohlers, 1874: 7; this part is not in the Māori version.)
66 Tāwhiri-mātea is nowhere mentioned in the myths recorded by Wohlers. This does not mean that he was unknown in the far south, but it is significant that in Tiramōrehu’s version he is listed only as one of the many children of Rāki and his first wife Pokoharu-te-pō (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 1).
67 Fragment of a letter dated 7/11/74 (Norddeutsche Missions Gesellschaft MS, D Uh).
68 Passages quoted from this version are taken from the English translation, Houghton, 1895: 129-34.
example, he discusses the word *tuakane* (*tuākana*) of episode 2 and decides that it refers to
the angels, ‘the elder brothers of mankind’. Christian ideas of guilt and repentance are
echoed in Hine’s instructions to Tāne to ‘sorrow for our guilt’.

The episodes concerning birds and rats are dismissed with the words, ‘the folk-lore
becomes confused’. Most names, apart from those of the chief characters, are omitted.

2. *Tiramōrehu*

Matiaha Tiramōrehu, who lived at Moeraki in Ōtakou, wrote his account for the
missionary Charles Creed in 1849. Tiramōrehu’s version corresponds closely to that of
Wohlers, and shares many episodes, some of which are narrated in almost the same words.

**Similarities:** The episodes concerning (a) Takaroa’s fight with Rakī over Papa-tua-nuku (7
and 13 above), (b) Rakī and Papa’s sickly children, (c) the beautifying of Rakī and Papa,
(d) Tāne’s visit to Rehua and (e) Tāne’s search for a wife and his pursuit of her in the
underworld, are all narrated in a way which show that they belong to the same body of
tradition which Wohlers is recording. The order in which the episodes are narrated and
many of the details are different, however. The chant, ‘Tūmatatatoro, raise up the
mountain!’ and Tāne and Hine’s songs of separation are almost identically worded in
Tiramōrehu’s and Wohlers’s versions.

**Differences:** Tiramōrehu begins by giving Rakī’s whakapapa, and a list of his many wives
and children. When Rakī is to be raised, it is he himself who suggests how it should be
done. As has already been mentioned, Rakī and Papa’s farewells to each other are part of
this version, but were not recorded by Wohlers in his original version. Tiramōrehu does not
record the rat-catching episode (episode 4 above), and the episode concerning Tāne’s
creation of human beings takes a completely different form from that in Wohlers’s version.

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69 Tiramōrehu’s account was published in full by White, but was cut up, reordered and interspersed with
passages from other sources. The manuscript was reedited as a coherent whole by Van Ballekom and Harlow
(Tiramōrehu: 1987). See their introduction to this work for further details on the manuscript.
70 The names of their children do not exactly duplicate those in Wohlers’s list. Tāne-mimi-whare, for
example, is missing, while a new group is added: Upoko-nui and others. Te Ói recalls Wohlers’s *oi tonu*, an
expression not used by Tiramōrehu.
3. Te Mamaru

In 1893 Teone Rena Rawiri Te Mamaru of Moeraki sent to Tregear a number of pages containing his own and his wife’s whakapapa. The lists were accompanied by notes about some of the mythological figures named there. This material was edited, tabulated and translated by Smith for publication in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.

Te Mamaru’s comments are brief, but they have much in common with Tiramōrehu’s version of the myth. He precedes Raiki’s name with the same list of forebears as Tiramōrehu records, and mentions Raiki’s first wife, Poko-harua-te-pō, and their offspring, who seem to be natural forces. He gives the same account of Raiki and Takaroa’s fight over Papa. Like Tiramōrehu, he relates that Tāne created the two first beings, Tiki and Io (a woman), out of earth, and married them to each other to fill the earth with human beings.

4. Shortland

This version is not specifically said to be from the south, but notes in the manuscript suggest that Shortland collected the story from this region. The version has many features which are similar to those discussed above.

Shortland begins with Rangi’s whakapapa, beginning with Pō and continuing to Te Mangu, but the list differs from the one given by Tiramōrehu and Te Mamaru. The episode concerning Tangaroa, Rangi and Papa has a different twist: Papa commits adultery with Tangaroa, Rangi attempts to obtain satisfaction, and is wounded by Tangaroa. Their fight is described in language which seems to be similar to that used in the Murihiku versions (the account is in English, so detailed comparisons cannot be made). It is therefore possible that Shortland, being more familiar with the idea that Papa is Rangi’s wife, has

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72 Tiramōrehu has a first list of offspring who are whakahau, ‘in the form of winds’, and then a second list, which resembles Te Mamaru’s, which he calls *Kāhui Tahu*. Smith translates Tahu as ‘sorceries’, but notes that they are ‘perhaps Guardians’ (Te Mamaru, 1894: 10). See note 11 for a discussion of the name.
73 1882: 12-23. The manuscript in which this material appears is Shortland MS 15 (DUHo).
74 A note in the inside cover of Shortland’s manuscript reads ‘Te Mangu is the Te Maku of my book. The k in the dialect of Kaitahu is the ng. It was my error to call maku moisture, not remembering that maku might be for mangu’ (the ‘book’ referred to is Shortland 1856, see page 56). This is further evidence of a Kāi Tahu source.
wrongly recorded his information to make Tangaroa the adulterer. On the other hand, this may simply be yet one more variant of a myth which has numerous variations of detail.

Rangi's crippled children have names similar to those in the Murihiku version, and he eventually has two healthy children, Tāne-nui-a-Rangi and Paea. The latter is said to be a daughter.

As in the Murihiku versions, Rangi (who here gives the order) is lifted upwards on Paea's back. As in Wohlers's version, Papa repulses Tāne's advances and sends him to many other females, who give birth to trees, plants, water, lizards and stones. Tāne makes a female form, Hine-ahu-one, and has Tiki-tohua (the origin of birds) and Tiki-kapakapa,75 who is eventually given the name Hine-a-tauira, 'Pattern Maid'. Tāne takes her to wife and fathers Hine-titamauri.

The episode in which Hine flees to Night is also similar, but with one significant variation. In this version she is said to hang her head down and open her thighs upwards.76 We are not told why she takes up this position, but what follows is her instructions to Tāne about their children. One assumes, then, that she who has given birth to humankind is now going to receive them back through her vagina into her womb.

North Island and Island Polynesian versions

Polynesian myths about the creation of the world are so numerous and have so many variants (even within a single tribal area) that it is not proposed to make even a selective listing of versions here. Accounts from various North Island tribal areas may be found in Grey, 1956: 1-11; Taylor, 1870: 109-24; Best, 1925a: 742-89; White, 1887, I: 17-54 and 130-64. Many more exist in manuscripts which are kept in archival collections in libraries in the major cities, and in private hands. Accounts from the islands of Polynesia will be found in many of the publications listed in the bibliography.

75 These two names are also found in Tiramōrehu, 1987: 12.
76 Once again the 'upside down' theme is introduced, this time in a completely different context. See the c.1850 version, episode 11.
Ko Tāne


Na, ka haere [a] Tāne ki waho, ki a Mautarere, ki a Punaweke. Ā, i reira te huruhuru, i reira te kiko, i reira te [h]anahana, te puapua, te kanitore. Ka hiai ki ngā huruhuru. Kāhore hoki kia nā tōna puku.

Na, hoki mai tērā ki tōna hākui, ka hiai. Na, ka kiai atu e tōna hākui kia hoki atu. Ka kī atu te hākui, ‘Kia ahatia e koe?’

Na, kiai mai e te tama, ‘Kia aitia te tara e au.’

Ka kiai atu e te hākui, ‘Tikina, ahua i te oneone.’


1White 1887, I: 133-9 (English); 119-24 (Maori).
2This sentence and the similar one two sentences further on have been scored out in the manuscript. Since this appears to have been done for reasons of decency rather than sense or syntax, I have ignored the correction. Wohlers omitted the two sentences from his 1874 version.
3This expression may be a proper name, perhaps of a female with whom Tāne copulates. In the version which Wohlers sent to Grey (published in Grey, 1971: 177-9) this is the case: Ka haere ki a Wai-matatiki, ki a Maunga-nui. Wai hāpua in the next sentence is less likely to be a proper name, since it is preceded by the indefinite article.
4These words are all rendered by Williams as pudenda muliebria, although they refer to specific portions of the female anatomy. In my translation I have tried to deduce the meaning from the way the words are used in other texts.
KI ATU TĒRĀ, ‘Kātahi anō ka tika.’

KA KĪ ATU TE HĀKUI, ‘Arā, nāhaku hoki koe.’

KA PUTA MAI KO HīNE-ATAUIRA5 (KO HīNE-TĪTAMA HOKI TĒTAHI INGOA O TAU A TAMĀHINE). NOHO TONU I A IA TANA TAMĀHINE. NA, KA PUTA KI Waho NGĀ TAMARIKI, KO TE KUKUMIA, KO TauWHAKAIRO, KO Te Hau-Otioti, KO KUMIA-TE-PŌ.

NA, KA HAE A TĀNE, KA HAU, KA PŌRangi KI A REHUE,6 KI TE TUAKANA. KA TAE TĒRĀ KI TĒTAHI KĀINGA NEI. Ā, KA KĪ ATU TĒRĀ, ‘KĀHORE HE TĀNGATA I RUNGA NEI?’

KA KĪ MAI NGĀ TĀNGATA O TE KĀINGA, ‘HE TĀNGATA ANŌ I RUNGA NEI.’

‘E KORE RĀNEI AU E TAE?’

‘E KORE KOE E TAE. KO NGĀ RANGI TĒNEI I ROHEROHEA E TĀNE.’

KA WĀHI AKE TĒRĀ, NOHO ANA I RUNGA I TĒRĀ RANGI. NA, KA KĪ ATU TĒRĀ, ‘HE TĀNGATA ANŌ KEI RUNGA NEI?’

‘HE TĀNGATA ANŌ.’

‘E KORE RĀNEI AU E TAE?’

‘E KORE E TAE, KO NGĀ RANGI I TUITUIA7 E TĀNE.’

KA PĒNEI TONU, TAE RAWA KI TE NGAHURU O NGĀ RANGI.

Na, ka tae ki te kāinga o Rehue, ka haere mai tōna tuakana, a Rehue, kia tangi. Na, tangi mākūare a Rehue. Na Tāne te tangi karakia:

5This name could be split up as Hīne-a-tauira, ‘Pattern-woman’, or Hīne-atauire, ‘Dawn-glow-woman’. Either name would be appropriate in this context. The names of the children recur in a slightly different form later in the story (see note 18).

6Rehue is an example of the way Wohlers often writes a terminal a as e (the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection A 2(c)). Hau meaning ‘seek’ is given in Williams with this example only, but the compound hīhau is widely used. Pōrangi here as very often in South Island texts means ‘seek, look for’.

7This form could be read as tuhituhiia. In his 1874 version Wohlers wrote it as tuhia and translated it as ‘painted’. However, in his version sent to Grey (see note 3 above) Wohlers says that Tāne ‘has fastened this heaven and set its boundary’, and also that Rangi has been ‘fastened above by Tāne’, ka tuia a Rangi i runga e Tāne.
Tipia, tahia, ngakia, rakea,
Tipia⁸ te rangi kia rahirahi,
Tōō mai i waho, whāriki o te rangi.
Auaha tōu ingoa, ko Te Rangi-puaioh,
Te turuturu o te rangi.
Kia mau ai ko Tāne anake,
Nāna i tokotoko te rangi tou.⁹

No te mutunganga o te tangihanga, na, ka kiia atu, ‘Tahuna he ahi.’

Ka kā te ahi. Hōmai ngā ipu.¹⁰ Ka takoto ki te aroaro. Na, ka mahara a Tāne, ‘Kei whea rānei ngā kai mo ēnei ipu i hōmai?’

Titiro rawa ahau e wetea ana mai i roto i tōu upoko. Na wai hoki te kai i kai ai i ngā kutu o tōu upoko!’

No reira i mataka a Tāne,¹³ kāhore i kai, tī tonu. Te kīnga atu e Tāne ki a Rehue, ‘E kore rānei e haere i [a] au?’

Kiia mai e Rehue, ‘E haere i a koe. Ki te mea ka hua te rākau; na, rere atu te manu, ka tau ki reira, kai ai.’

‘Me aha?’

‘Ki te mea, ka tangi te hau, ka maroke te kakī o te manu, ka tae ki te wai — me tā ki te

⁸The original has tupia. Wohlers has tipia in his later version. The i/ī interchange is common in this dialect.
⁹Tou is a dialectal form of tonu, used frequently in these texts. See the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection C 1.
¹⁰This may be meant to be direct speech, part of Rehue’s instructions to his people, along with Tahuna he ahi. Wohlers has kept both phrases in indirect speech in his 1874 version.
¹¹In these texts kōkō is the word exclusively used for the tī. It is sometimes used in other dialects too, particularly in Ngāti Porou. It is also a poetical alternative found in waiata and proverbs.
¹²Te is omitted in both this and the later version, but is inserted in the version sent to Grey. Upoko can mean ‘hair’, as in this passage, as well as ‘head’.
¹³The Grey version has no te tangata o mua at this point.
kaha."

Ka tae a Tāne ki te kāinga o Nukuroa ko Tamatea-kai-whakapua. Ko ngā wāhine anake e rokohina atu, ko ngā tāne kua riro ki te whai kiore. Tokoru a ngā wāhine. Ka noho i a Tāne. Kotahi te wahi a noho, kotahi te wahi i whakapekaapeake. Na, ka mea kai māna. He kiore te kai. Kāhore ia i kai. Na, ka kīia atu e ia, 'Ko te kai tēnei a ō kōrua nei tāne?'

Na, ka kī mai ngā wāhine, 'Āe.'

'Me waiho tēnei kai ma [ō] kōrua ariki.'

Ma ō rāua ariki, ma Te Tapu-ao rāua ko Hīne-ki-taha-rangi.

Na, ka kīia atu e Tāne, kia haere ki ā rāua tāne. Ā, ka riro aua wāhine. Rokohina atu e noho ana ngā tāne. Na, ka kōrero atu, 'Kua noho māua i te tāne. Ko tuku hoa i whakapekaapeake, ko au i anga atu.'

Na, ka kī mai ngā tāne, 'He aha koe i whakapekaapeake, tē tahuri atu?'

Ā, ka kīia mai anō, 'Haere ki tā kōrua tāne. Āpōpō māua whana atu.'


Na, ka hoki mai tērā, a Tāne, ka tae mai ki te kāinga o te hākui. Ka ui tērā, 'Kei whea taku nei wahine?'

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14The small fragment which is found in Book 8 and reproduced at the end of this story ('Tāne') must belong after this incident (see note 37).

15Williams gives mataahi as 'food prepared on a spit', using as his only example the sentence from Wohlers' later version of the story. However, there is no other evidence for this meaning of mataahi. In his version for Grey, Wohlers originally wrote 'a present of caught rats', changing this to 'a sacred [sic] present of rats'. This may mean that the word has some sort of connection with māta (iii) in Williams, particularly mata tapu, 'food set apart for the atua'.

16Wohlers, Watkin and Boulbee all spell tītāe with a terminal i. See the section 'The Language of the South' in the introduction to this thesis, subsection A 2(d).

17In Wohlers's 1874 version, it is just before Tāne's return that Hine-atauira asks her question and learns the truth about her husband. In the c.1850 manuscript, this information is given in the small additional passage found in Book 8, which is reproduced below as 'Hine-atauira'.
Ka kiviai mai e te hākui, ‘Kāhore ia wahine māhau. Kua riro ia, kua heke. Kiia iho koe, kia noho:

E noho koe i runga nei, hei whakatupu i ā tāua hua.
Tukua au ki te pō, hei kukume i ā tāua hua ki Te Rēinga,\(^{18}\)
Ko Tahu-kumea, ko Tahu-whakairo, ko Tahu-oti-atu,
Ko Tahu-kume-te-pō, ko Tahu-kumie-te-ao.’

Ko Poutui-te-rangi\(^{19}\) te ingoa o te whare. Na, ka ui mai te tangata\(^{20}\) o te whare, ‘E haere ana koe, e Tāne, ki whea?’

Ka kiviai atu e Tāne, ‘E whai atu ana ahau i tō tāua tuahine.’\(^{21}\)

Na, ka kiviai mai [e] ngā tāngata o te whare,

‘E hoki, e Tāne, ki te ao, hei whakatupu mai i ā tāua hua.
Tukua au ki te Pō, hei kukume i ā tāua hua nei.’

No reira i tītamatia te ao, i tītamatia te pō.\(^{22}\)

Ka haere anō a Tāne, ka whai anō.\(^{23}\) Ka tac tērā ki te kāinga o Tū-kai-nanapia. Ka tangohia mai ki a ia ō ngā tūpuni o Wehi-nunui-a-momoa.\(^{24}\) Tangohia ana mai ko Hirautu, ko

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\(^{18}\) Te Rēinga has no capital in the original. The primary meaning for hua is ‘fruit’, but here it means human offspring. The list of names differs slightly from that given previously (see note 5).

\(^{19}\) The name of the house has many variants, see the small waiata at the end.

\(^{20}\) In the manuscript, Wohlers has crossed out both te and ngā and then placed a row of dots under te to reinstate it. His translations are ‘some one’ (Grey version and 1874) and ‘a voice’ (Wohlers, 1895: 134). The implication in these versions is that it is Hine herself speaking. A few lines further down the phrase is ngā tāngata o te whare.

\(^{21}\) Tuahine is perhaps being used in a broad sense, to cover both the father-daughter relationship of Tāne and Hine and the relationship of Hine to the unknown speaker.

\(^{22}\) Ngāta and Hurinui (1980: song 201, lines 40 and 93) translate Hine-tītama as ‘the Maid-deceived-by-the-male’, an ingenious suggestion which fits in with the story and certainly accounts for the tama of the name. However, if with the meaning ‘deceived’ does not seem to be attested elsewhere, Williams does not translate tītamatia, but the primary idea seems to be that of separation.

\(^{23}\) In his 1874 version, Wohlers combines this next incident with Tāne’s trip to Ao-kehu to find ornaments for his father.

\(^{24}\) He is elsewhere called Wehi-nui-a-mamo, and is Tāne’s younger brother. See Van Ballekom and Harlow, 1987: 2 and 8; White I: 21, 25, 30. The other names in this passage are names of stars and constellations, some of which are recognisable (for example Poa ā is Ptang a, Rigel; Takurua is Sirius) but most of which remain unidentified. The names spelt Whero by Wohlers are usually spelt Wero.
Poreri-nuku, ko Te Kāhuwi Whetū, ko Poaka, ko Takurua, ko Whakare-pukarehu, ko
Kuaki-motumotu, ko Tahu-weruweru, ko Whero, ko Whero-i-te-ninihi, ko Whero-te-

Ka haere mai a Tāne, ka tae ki te kāinga, ka rokohina mai e takoto mate ana a Rangi — kua
ā i a Taakaroa, mo Papa-tua-nuku.25 Haere mai a Taakaroa, kua noho a Rangi i a Papa-tua-
nuku. Ā, haere mai kia ngangare raua. Kotahi te huata a tētahi, kotahi te huata a tētahi. Ka
whana atu, ka werohia e Rangi a Taakaroa. Ka ngaroa e Taakaroa, ka whiti te tao te papa o te
irāmutu, taua rua ngā papa, o i tonu.26

Ka noho a Rangi i a Papa-tua-nuku, ka puta ko Tāne-kūpapa-ero, ko Tāne-mimi-whare, ko
Tāne-nakatou, ko Tāne-w[h]ārōrō, ko Tāne-hūpeke, ko Tāne-tūturi, ko Tāne-te-waiora, ko
Tāne-i-te-mata-ā, ko Tāne-tūtaka — takoto tou. Ka puta mai ki waho ko Tāne-nui-a-
Rangi, ko Paia. Ko te tūtanga tēnei e whakatika ki runga.

He tangi na Rangi:

    Ko Rangi ko Te Maku27 — e takoto nei,
    Tamairetora, tamairetora — tāua ka wehea.28
    Tamairetora, tamairetora — tāua ka wehea.
    Ko Ari ko Hua — e takoto nei,
    Tamairetora, tamairetora — tāua ka wehea.
    Tamairetora, tamairetora — tāua ka wehea.
    Ō tāua takanga — e takoto nei,
    Tamairetora, tamairetora — tāua ka wehea.

Ka tarē29 a Paia, kia whahatia a Rangi ki runga. Ka kī atu a Tāne, 'E kore e tae, kāhore he

25Another version of this incident is recorded in Book 8 of Wohlers's collection. This is reproduced at the
end of 'Ko Tāne', as 'Taakaroa' (see note 37).
26In this sentence, ngaroa has been hypercorrected by Wohlers. The form in North Island dialects is karo,
'parry, avoid a blow'. The expression taua rua ngā papa is unusual: one would expect aua papa e rua. Oi may
be o (tv), 'creep, crawl' in Williams. Wohlers replaces it in his 1874 version with takoto. Rangi has been laid
low, as the names of his children indicate; in Matiaha's version, one of these children bears the name Te Oi.
27This name has been changed in the manuscript to Ta Maku in a hand which does not appear to be either
Wohlers's or White's. The original name is probably the equivalent of the North Island Mangu ('Darkness')
rather than Mākti ('Wet'). In the 1874 version Ta Maku is replaced by Papa.
28Tamairetora is written as one word, but its meaning is unknown. It may be a proper name, or a kind of
chorus. A slightly different version of the song appears in Book 9, and is reproduced with the short pieces at
the end of this passage, as 'Te Wahaata a Paia i a Rangi'. It will be seen that further pairs of names appear
in the latter version.
29Tāre is given in Williams as 'be intent upon', with this example. (Williams also gives the meaning, 'be
drawn towards, entertain affection for', and illustrates it with an example from Wohlers.) However, in
the above passage it could possibly be a variant of tārī, 'urge, incite'. Paia becomes Pai-ao in the later versions,
but Tiramōrehu and Te Mamaru also have Paia (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 2, 4, 5; Te Mamaru, 1894: 9-15).
tāngata.'

Ka kīia atu anō e Paia, kia wahatia; ka kī atu, 'Wahatia.'

Kāhore kia tae, takoto tou. Ka karangatia e Tāne, 'Ko wai kei runga nei?'

Ka kīia iho e tērā Rangi,30 'E tūpā, whāia!'31

Ka karangatia ki raro, 'Ko wai kei raro nei?'

'E tūpā, whāia!'

Ka karangatia e Tāne,

E tū mā totoro!32 Whakaeekea te maunga!
E tū mā totoro! Whakaeekea te maunga,
Kia iheuheu33 c Tāne!

Na, ka hoki iho ngā kaiwaha, ka titiro ake a Tāne ki te matua. Na, kāhore he whakatau. Ka haere ki Ao-kehū, ko te kura tū ki Awarua.34 Na, i reira ngā kura. Ka mauria mai e Tāne.


Na, ka mahara tērā, kāhore hoki he whakatau mo ōtenei matua, mo Papa-tua-nuku. Na, ka whakaaarahia e Tāne i ana hua, hei whakatau i te matua. Ko ngā rākau. Ka parea ngā upoko

30 Rangi is given a capital here by Wohlers, presumably because the sky, while in the process of being lifted, is felt to be first and foremost a person rather than a part of the natural world.
31 Originally Wohlers wrote Tupawhaia as if it were a name, changing it in his 1874 version into three words. For a discussion of the word, see 'Ko Rata', note 12.
32 As with tūpā whāia, Wohlers originally wrote Tumatotoro as a name, but later changed it to three separate words. In his version for Grey, he has e tana totoro (Grey, 1971: 175). Tiramōrehu has Tumatotoro (1987: 5); however, his capitalisation and word division tend to be erratic.
33 Iheuheu would seem to need a passive ending; perhaps the long run of vowels confused Wohlers. For the initial i see Harlow 1987: 23.
34 The manuscript has ki a Okehu and ki a Warua, but the context suggests that these are places rather than people. In his 1874 version Wohlers omits the a before Okehū, while retaining it before Warua. I have corrected the manuscript kuru to kura, since this is the way it appears in the next sentence, and the way Wohlers has corrected it in both his Grey version and the one for publication in 1874. At this point in his narrative, Tiramōrehu has rāhuikura and kura (1987: 5).
ki runga — ko ngā waewae i parea ki raro. Ka peke mai tērā, ka titiro, ka titiro atu —
kāhore hoki kia tau. Ka ūkina atu, ka turakina ki raro. Ka parea te upoko ki raro, ko ngā

Ka tonoa e Rangi a Te Aki, a Watiu35 ki waho, ki te whakarongo. Rokohina atu ngā hua o
teo papa, te inaho, te maru. Whakawarea tonu, kai ai. Ka tonoa a Uru rāua ko Kakana ki
runga. Rokohina atu ngā hua o te pua rākau, kai tonu, kāhore hoki kia hoki mai. Tūmo36
tonu atu.

[Takaroa]37

Ka noho a Takaroa i a Papa-tua-nuku. Ka haere a Takaroa ki waho, ki te Kāhui-pūakiaki,
ki ngā taonga o Whakitu. Ā, ka hoki mai tērā, hoki rawa mai, kua noho te wahine (a Papa-
tua-nuku) i a Rangi. Ka hemo mai a Takaroa ki te huata, ka hemo atu a Rangi ki te huata.
Ka tata mai tētahi. Ka werohia e Rangi ki a Takaroa. Ka hoki mai ki te taha a Takaroa. Ka
taha te rākau a Rangi. Ka whiti te tao te papa o te irāmutu, taua rua ngā papa, oi tonu. Ka
tukua te wahine ki a Rangi. Takototia e Rangi.

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35It seems that at this point Rangi is sending pairs of his children down to earth. This pair and the ones
mentioned later figure in the song ‘Te Wahatanga a Paia i a Rangi’ (see the passages which follow). Watiu is
probably the figure elsewhere known as Whatiu. Williams is not helpful on inaho and maru, calling them ‘a
shrub’ and ‘a tree’ respectively, and quoting this passage. They may be local names for trees which are
known by other names in the North Island.

36Owing to a printer’s error, tūmo appeared in the 1874 version as tamo. This is quoted by Williams under
tamo, ‘be absent’. Unless the word is found elsewhere, it would seem that Williams is extrapolating the
meaning from this one example. Tūmo is found elsewhere in Wohlers’s texts as the equivalent of tūmāu.

37White 1887, 1: 23 (English); 20 (Maori). This and the next two short passages were used by Wohlers to fill
up empty pages at the end of Book 8. The titles were written in by White.
[Tāne]38

Ka kī atu a Tāne ki ngā wāhine (o Nukuroa rāua ko Tamatea), ‘Kotia mai ētahi harareka.’39


[Hine-atauira]43

Ka ui atu a Hine-atauira ki a Papa-tua-nuku, ‘Kei whea taku nei tāne?’

Kī mai tērā, ‘E, ko tōu tāne koia? Ko tōu hākoro ra pea!’

Ka mate i te whakamā a Hine-atauira, ka haere ki te pō, ngaro iho ai.

38White 1887, I: 140 (English); 125 (Maori). White inserts this passage into a text by Matiaha Tiramōrehu. The incident described takes place after the episode concerning Rehua (see note 14), but since it is not clear at exactly what point this incident fits into the narrative, it has been kept as a separate story.
39Williams gives this as an alternative to harakeke, with no comment. It may be a South Island usage.
40It is difficult to make sense of tā here. In most of the examples given by Williams it is a transitive verb, which would require a passive ending in this sentence. It is possible that it is tā (x) in Williams, the equivalent of tata, ‘near’.
41This sentence, too, is unusual syntactically. One possibility is that tā kaha is a compound verb, with the subject, ia or a Tāne, understood.
42Perhaps hei is meant here, since the food is the birds which have been caught and plucked.
43White 1887, I: 147 (English); 132-133 (Maori). White combines this small passage (and one from Matiaha Tiramōrehu) with the two songs which follow; the reference for all three is therefore the same. Wohlers incorporated the incident into his published version and added a few words of explanation: Irunga ano i te kainga o Rehua a Tāne ..., ‘While Tāne was visiting Rehua ...’ (1874: 26).
Tā Tāne Waiata ki a Hine-atauira

He tamaiti rānei a koe,
I wehea ai i Arotau? (roa o ngā tau)
Te Kura-māhukihuki (he ingoa whare)
Taku ara ki rāki nei.
I waiho ai au koe i Te Rangi-pōhutukawa.
Ka nunumi au, ka tangi,
Ko te tatau o whare, ko Pūterere-rangi, ē, ei.\textsuperscript{44}

Tā Hine-atauira

Ko Tāne rānei i\textsuperscript{45} koe, he matua nōku?
Te apo kei Hawaiki,
Te Kura-māhungihungi,\textsuperscript{46}
Taku ara ki rangi nei.
I waiho ai au koe i Te Rangi-pōhutukawa.
Ka nunumi au, ka tangi,
Ko te tatau o te whare, ko Pūterere-te-rangi, ē, ei.

Te Wahatanga a Paia i a Rangi\textsuperscript{47}

Na Rangi:

Whakatikatika tuarā nui o Paia.
Mamae Te Kawa-i-huarau.

\textsuperscript{44}The words in parenthesis in this waiata are as Wohlers has them. Wohlers’s punctuation is minimal and I have therefore re-edited the waiata, and have read as names some of his word groups: for example i Te Rangi-pōhutukawa appears here rather than i te rangi, pōhutukawa.
\textsuperscript{45}This i is probably a musical ‘drag’ from the terminal i of rānei.
\textsuperscript{46}This word is usually written māhukihuki, as it is in Tāne’s waiata. Williams says that ‘the expression kura māhukihuki occurs in many karakia’.
\textsuperscript{47}White 1887, I: 50 (English); 43 (Maori). In Wohlers’s manuscript this waiata is near the beginning of Book 9, following the songs of Tāne and Hine. It is written very roughly, with many abbreviations, some of which are hard to interpret.
Te wehe o Rangi:

Wehea ko Rangi ko Papa kia wehea,
Tamairetoro, tamairetoro, tāua ka wehea,
Tamairetoro i, i, tamairetoro e.
Wehea ko Te Māku ko Tama-i-waho kia wehea,
Tamaire e, i.
Wehea ko Ari ko Hua kia wehea,
Tamairetoro i, i.
Wehea ko Rehua ko Tama-rautu kia wehea,
Tamairetoro.
Wehea ko Uru ko Kākāna kia wehea,
Tamairetoro.
Wehea ko Te Aki ko Whatiua kia wehea,
Tamairetoro.
Wehea ko Tū ko Roko kia wehea,
Tamairetoro.
Rangi took Papa-tua-nuku as his wife, and his children were born — Tāne was one of their children. When Tāne grew up, he felt a stirring in his penis. And so Water-in-springs was brought into the open. And his penis stirred again, and caused Water-in-pools to be brought into the open. And then that was done. So he turned inland, and there was Great Mountain. Then Oozing-water, Dripping-water, Welling-water and Embrace-the-shore were born. But Tāne’s belly had not yet been satisfied. He tried going into a tree, a knot in a tree. But he was not yet satisfied.

Now he came back to his mother. His heart desired his mother, to copulate with her. But his mother said, ‘No you don’t! You’re my son.’

So Tāne went a long way off, to Mautarere and Punaweko. And in that place were the pubic hairs, the mons veneris, the labia majora, the labia minora and the clitoris. He brought these back, so as to copulate with that part. He felt desire towards the pubic hairs. But his belly was not yet satisfied.

Now, he came back to his mother and desired her. But his mother said that he should go back. She said to him, ‘What were you trying to do?’

He said, ‘I was trying to copulate with the vulva.’

His mother said, ‘Go and make her out of earth.’

Hine-hā-one was the name of that woman made of earth. He put on the pubic hairs, and arranged them on the earth. He copulated with that. Now at long last it was as it should be. Now he came back to his mother and said, ‘Now at last it’s right!’

His mother said, ‘There you are, you’re my son.’

Hine-atauira (Hine-tītama is another name for this daughter) was born. His daughter slept with him as well. And then children were born: Te Kukumia, Tau-whakairo, Te Hau-ōtioi and Kumia-te-pō.
Then Tāne set off, searching around and looking for Rehua, his elder brother. He arrived at one particular village and asked, ‘Aren’t there any people up above here?’

The people of the village said, ‘Yes, there are people up above here.’

‘Will I be able to get there?’

‘You won’t be able to get there. These are the skies whose bounds have been set by Tāne.’

He broke through, and stayed up in that sky. Then he asked them, ‘Are there really people up above here?’

‘There really are people here.’

‘Will I be able to get there?’

‘You won’t be able to get there, these are the skies fastened together by Tāne.’

He went on in this way, until at last he reached the tenth of the skies.

Then he came to Rehua’s house, and his elder brother, Rehua, came up so that they could weep together. Now Rehua wept in an ignorant manner. But Tāne’s weeping was in the form of a karakia:

Hoe it, sweep it, weed it, clear it,
Hoe the sky to bring abundance.
Draw out from afar the floormat of the sky.
What may your name be? It is Rangi-pua-ihō,
The prop of the sky,
To hold it firm. It was Tāne alone
Who propped up the sky itself.

When the weeping was over Rehua said, ‘Light a fire.’

When the fire was lit they brought calabashes, and set them before him. Then Tāne thought to himself, ‘Wherever is the food for these calabashes that have been brought here?’

Tāne watched as Rehua untied the binding in his hair — for Rehua’s hair was bound up.
He shook it down over the calabashes — out came some tūi, which were feeding off the lice on Rehua’s head. When the calabashes were filled with tūi, they were taken to the fire and boiled. When they were cooked, they were brought before Tāne and set beside him. His elder brother told him to eat. Tāne said, ‘I won’t eat. I have just seen them being shaken out from your head. And who could eat food which has been feeding on the lice on your head!’

Therefore Tāne was afraid and would not eat — he left it standing there. Tāne said to Rehua, ‘Will they come with me?’

Rehua said to him, ‘They will go with you. When the trees bear fruit, then the birds will fly off and alight on them to feed.’

‘What should I do?’

‘When the wind blows, the throats of the birds will be dry, and when they come to the water, you must make nooses.’

Tāne went to the home of Nukuroa and Tamatea-kai-whakapua. He found only the women there, as the men had gone off to catch rats. There were two women. They slept with Tāne. One of the women slept with him, and the other refused. Then they made food for him. The food was rats. He would not eat, and said to them, ‘Is this your husbands’ food?’

The women said, ‘Yes.’

‘You must leave this food for your lords.’

For their lords, Te Tapu-ao and Hine-ki-taha-rangi.

Now Tāne said that they should go to their husbands. And so the women went off. They found where their husbands were and said, ‘We’ve slept with a man. My companion refused, but I made advances to him.’

So the husbands said, ‘Why did you refuse him, instead of turning to him?’
And they also said, 'Go back to your man. Tomorrow we'll go there.'

In the morning the husbands came back. They came to Tāne's village. They gave him special food, but Tāne did not want that special food. This was because it was rats which had been eating their excrement, rootling about in their excrement. Tāne would not eat it, because he was afraid of his elder relations. So he would not eat it, but left it standing there. And Tāne said, 'Well, this is your food. It's for your supreme lord.'

So then Tāne returned, and came to his mother's home. He asked, 'Where's my wife?'

His mother said, 'That woman isn't for you. She's left, she's gone down below. She left a message for you to remain:

You remain up above here to raise our offspring.
Let me go down to the night to draw our offspring down to Te Rēinga,
Tahu-kumea, Tahu-whakairo, Tahu-oti-atu,
Tahu-kume-te-pō, Tahu-kume-te-ao.'

So Tāne went off to follow his wife. Now, up he came to a house, and questioned the supporting post of the house, but its mouth did not speak. He then asked the gable-board of the house, but its mouth did not speak. He was overcome with shame. He hurried off round to the side wall of the house. The name of the house was Poutui-te-rangi. Now the person in the house asked him, 'Where are you going, Tāne?'

Tāne replied, 'I'm following our sister.'

The people in the house said to him,

Return, O Tāne, to the world to raise our offspring.
Leave me in the Night to draw our offspring down here.

And so the day was made separate, and the night was made separate.

Tāne went on, still following his wife. He came to the home of Tū-kai-nanapia. He took away with him some of the cloaks of Wehi-nunui-a-momoa. He took away with him Hirautu, Poreri-nuku, The Host of Stars: Puanga, Takurua, Whakare-pukarehu, Kuaki-
motumotu, Tahu-weruweru, Wero, Wero-te-ninihi, Wero-te-kokoto, and Wero-i-te-ao-māori. When summer came, this Host of Stars would be in place there.

When Tāne returned and came back to his home, he found Rangi lying there injured — he had been wounded by Takaroa, because of Papa-tua-nuku. Takaroa had come back and found that Rangi had slept with Papa-tua-nuku. And so they came together to have a battle. Each of them had a spear. They moved forward, and Rangi made a jab at Takaroa. Takaroa dodged the blow, and his spear passed through his nephew’s buttocks, both of them at once, and Rangi was laid low.

Rangi took Papa-tua-nuku to wife, and Tāne-kupapa-co, Tāne-mimi-whare, Tāne-nakatou, Tāne-waroro, Tāne-hupeke, Tāne-tuturi, Tāne-te-waiora, Tāne-te-mata-tu and Tāne-tutaka were born — they were lying completely prostrate. Then Tāne-nui-a-Rangi and Paia were born. These were the members of the family who stood upright.

A lament of Rangi’s:

Rangi and Te Maku, lying here,
Tamairetoro, tamairetoro — let us be separated.
Tamairetoro, tamairetoro — let us be separated.
Ari and Hua, lying here,
Tamairetoro, tamairetoro — let us be separated.
Tamairetoro, tamairetoro — let us be separated.
The two of us lying here in a heap,
Tamairetoro, tamairetoro — let us be separated.

Paia insisted that they should lift Rangi up above. Tāne said to him, ‘You won’t be able to manage it, there aren’t enough people.’

Paia told him again that they should lift him up, and he said, ‘Lift him up!’

He could not manage it, and Rangi still lay there. Tāne called out, ‘Who’s up there?’

And they called down from that sky, ‘Heave him and hold him!’

He then called down below, ‘Who’s down there?’

‘Heave him and hold him!’
Tāne cried,

Stand and stretch! Raise the mountain up!
Stand and stretch! Raise the mountain up,
And let it be separated by Tāne!

Now when those who had carried him up came back down again, Tāne looked up at his father. But he was not very beautiful. So he Tāne went off to Ao-kehu, and there was the kura standing at Awarua. Now, the kura were there. Tāne brought them back. He stood there, lifted them up and set them all in place. Then Tāne came down, and when he got back down he looked up — all was darkest black. So he set off and went in there again and brought them back. He returned to Ao-kehu and brought back the stars, and lifted them up and set them in place. He spread out the Fish-of-the-sky, the Milky Way. He put Panako-te-ao and the Magellan Clouds there. He put Canopus, the star of the year there. He stayed there and looked up at his father: at long last he looked beautiful.

And now he thought that he had not yet found anything to make this nearer parent, Papatua-nuku, beautiful. And so Tāne brought along his offspring to make his parent beautiful. These were the trees. He set their heads uppermost, and their legs he set downwards. He jumped up and looked, he looked at his mother, but she was not yet beautiful. He proceeded to turn the trees over. He set the heads down and the legs he set uppermost. He jumped up and looked at them. And now at last his mother looked beautiful.

Rangi sent Te Aki and Whatiua out there to find out what was happening. They found the fruits of the earth, the inaho and the maru. They at once turned aside to eat them. He sent Uru and Kakana up there. They found the fruits of the flowering trees, and at once ate them, and they did not go back. They stayed on there for ever.

**Takaroa**

Takaroa took Papa-tua-nuku as his wife. Takaroa went far away, to the Kāhui-pūakiaki, to the treasures of Whakitau. And then he returned, but by the time he got back his wife Papatua-nuku had gone to live with Rangi. Takaroa feinted with his spear, and Rangi feinted
with his spear. They drew near each other. Rangi thrust at Takaroa. Takaroa moved to one side. Rangi’s weapon glanced to one side. The nephew’s buttocks were pierced by Takaroa’s spear, both of his buttocks, and he was laid low. The woman was left to Rangi. Rangi spread her out flat.

Tāne

Tāne said to the women (Nukuroa and Tamatea’s wives), ‘Cut me some flax.’

Tāne wove this into nooses. Then he finished the nooses. When the wind blew, the birds came down to the water. Tāne set the nooses over the water. When the birds came near, he pulled the nooses right on to the bank, and put them to one side. Then when evening came, there was a pile of birds. He went back home to the women and said to them, ‘Go and fetch the birds.’

The women came to the birds. There was one bundle for one of them and one for the other. When they had finished plucking them, they prepared food for all of them.

Hine-atauira

Hine-atauira asked Papa-tua-nuku, ‘Where’s my husband?’

She answered, ‘What, your husband indeed! He’s really your father!’

Hine-atauira was overcome with shame and went off to the night and hid herself down there.

Tāne’s song to Hine-atauira

Are you indeed a child,
Left behind at Aro-i-tau? (the long years)
Te Kura-māhukihuki (name of a house)
Is now my path to the sky.
You left me behind at Te Rangi-pōhutukawa.
I will depart and weep
At the door of the house, Pūtere-rangi, ē, ei.
Hine-atauira’s song

Are you Tāne, a parent of mine?
The gathering at Hawaiki,
Te Kura-māhukihuki,
Is now my pathway to the sky.
You left me at Te Rangi-pōhutukawa.
I will depart and weep,
At the door of the house, Pūtere-te-rangi, ē, ei.

Paia’s raising of Rangi

Rangi says:

Straighten up, great back of Paia.
Te Kawa-i-huarau is in pain.

The separation of Rangi:

Separate Rangi and Papa so that they are separated,
Tamairetoro, tamairetoro, let us be separated,
Tamairetoro, ē, i, tamairetoro ē.
Separate Te Māku and Tama-i-waho so that they are separated,
Tamaire, ē, ē, ē.
Separate Ari and Hua so that they are separated,
Tamairetoro, ē, ē.
Separate Rehua and Tama-rautu so that they are separated,
Tamairetoro.
Separate Uru and Kakana so that they are separated,
Tamairetoro.
Separate Te Aki and Whatiua so that they are separated,
Tamairetoro.
Separate Tū and Roṅo so that they are separated,
Tamairetoro.
HĀPOPO:

AN ARCHETYPAL VICTIM
INTRODUCTION

In widely scattered tribal areas of Aotearoa, the name Hāpopo is used of a person who makes a wrong decision, and as a consequence, suffers defeat or death. In the far south and on the East Coast of the North Island, a priest follows false advice and loses his life: his name is Hāpopo. In the west, a voyager arrives in Aotearoa on the Tainui canoe and foolishly throws away his treasure: the stones on the beach are now called ‘the plumes of Hāpopo’ in memory of this. A man killed in one of Hongi’s raids in the far north is said to be ‘left alone on the peak of Hāpopo’.

According to Williams, the very word hāpopo is synonymous with defeat and death. His gloss is ‘corpse of an enemy, generally intended to be eaten’. Since Williams gives no examples of the use of the word, one cannot know if it was in general use. It is, however, quite regular in construction, being formed of a prefix hā and the noun popo, ‘rottenness, decay’, in the same manner as the next dictionary entry, hāpiro. Williams’s source may be a proverb quoted by White: ‘The god is gone, and Hāpopo may be eaten’ (as the original Māori is not given, it is not possible to know how this is worded).1 White’s comment that Hāpopo is ‘the body so called in time of war’ suggests that he had actually heard cases of the word being used in this way.2

One can thus see two possible ways that the idea of Hāpopo as a symbol of a defeated man evolved. The word may have been first used not as the name of an actual person but as a concept which was personified,3 in which case the word hāpopo would later have become identified with a particular person (who was regarded as having received his name because of what happened to him). The stories about him would then have gradually have expanded

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1White, 1885: 178. See C 7 in the other versions listed at the end of this chapter. The word hāpopo does not appear in Williams until the 5th edition, 1917.
2In his tale Te Rou there are two instances where White seems to be quoting this very proverb. In one case, the old priestess addresses the two enemy corpses with the words, ‘Know you not that we have a charm in these words, used of old, “Your spirit is gone; the body alone is left” ’ (White, 1874: 49). Later, in talking about the body of the slave that the group is feasting on, a character says, ‘... as he had no god to guide him, he can be eaten by any one without fear of harm coming to them’ (White, 1874: 227). In his preface to Te Rou, White states that ‘the songs, proverbs and incantations [in this work] are trustworthy (though, perhaps, in some respects imperfect) reproductions of the ancient originals’.
3Such personifications are common in proverbs: Ka riri Kai-pō, ka haere Kai-ao; Mate wareware te uri o Kaitos; Tī ana Rae-ros, noho ana Rae-poto, and many others.
to include an incident which would explain the proverb. On the other hand, an actual or mythical person, Hāpopo, may have been seen as the archetypal example of a person who is deprived of the protection of the gods and left vulnerable to his enemies. His name would thus have been used to symbolise all other such deaths.  

Existing as a symbol, the name Hāpopo is used in narratives and waiata, in different contexts according to the circumstances. Hāpopo is an ancestor sometimes remote in time and place (in Hawaiki in numbers A 2 and 3 in the versions at the end of this chapter), and sometimes involved in more recent and localised power struggles (see versions A 1 and 4(a)). Even in stories which seem entirely different from the one under consideration, Hāpopo will be seen to share some of the characteristics of the Murihiku Hāpopo: he is killed (version 4(b)), defeated (version B 1), deceived, suffers loss, and has a popular saying commemorating him (version A 5). In waiata tangi, the name Hāpopo immediately signals to listeners that the person being celebrated is felt to have met his death because of some fault he has committed, or through the treachery of others (see the waiata section at the end of the chapter).

The Murihiku version of the story: summary

Rangi-roa, Taki-reia and their followers come to visit Hāpopo’s daughter Niwa-reka. She tells them that her people are out on the plain, erecting a sail. The two men join the large party already there, and the sail is raised amidst great rejoicing, but it is then allowed to fall, killing most of the visitors.

Rangi-roa and Taki-reia escape, taking refuge with Paoa, who calls up a wind to repulse Hāpopo’s pursuing army. A war party is then raised, and Hāpopo’s house is surrounded. Hāpopo’s atua is overheard, at first warning Hāpopo of the approach of the war party, but giving him false reassurances after a piece of fernroot is waved at it by the enemy. Hāpopo is attacked and killed uttering the proverb, ‘You idiot atua! You’ve left nothing but death for Hāpopo!’

4 Compare the way in which the name Apakura became applied to a certain type of waiata tangi: see the introduction to ‘Whakatau: the archetypal avenger’, note 26.
After this, Rangi-roa and his followers move on to win every battle.

Analysis

The total lack of context, and a story which bears little resemblance to any other in the recorded literature, make it very difficult for a reader at first to fathom who the characters in this story are, what they are doing and why they act as they do. And yet a careful examination of the nature and function of the characters in this account, and in others in which they appear, will clarify some of the obscurities. An investigation of some of the rituals mentioned in the text may also suggest explanations for some of the more mystifying actions which the characters perform. Finally it will be seen that although the last paragraph consists of little more than a string of names, these names have great significance and reinforce the central idea of the story.

Hāpopo

First and foremost, this is a story about Hāpopo. Even though he does not appear on the scene until nearly half way through, and the actions of the other characters are recounted in far more detail, Hāpopo is the man who figures in the title because it is his deception and defeat which are the main point of the story. He is obviously a man of some standing, who can send a messenger to order his visitors to join his people in erecting a sail for him, and can send out his war party to attack his enemies.

Besides being a chief, Hāpopo is also a tohunga. This is not stated specifically, as it is in other versions (see versions A 1 and 2 at the end of this chapter), but is implied in the fact that he is a medium.  

Hāpopo and his atua

In discussing Hāpopo’s downfall, it is obviously of prime importance to investigate the tohunga’s relationship to his atua. (This word has been left in the original, here and in the translation, because of the difficulty of finding an English equivalent which will adequately

\[5\] He is overheard in conversation with his atua, who addresses him as e waka, ‘medium’.
convey the Māori concept. The nearest word would be 'spirit'.

Although we know nothing of the background of Hāpopo's atua, the story gives us some details of his nature and function. He seems to be a kind of familiar spirit, with Hāpopo acting as his waka or medium and conveying his instructions to the rest of the people. At the time when the atua is being consulted, the tribe is expecting to be attacked, and will place implicit faith upon his words. They will prepare for war on his advice, or go peacefully to sleep if no warning is given.

The atua's reply to Hāpopo's questions is spoken in the disjointed, almost breathless manner which according to Best is a feature of oracular pronouncements. Apparently his reply is a stock utterance for such occasions, since Best records two speeches which are similar to that made by Hāpopo's atua.

All these details indicate that Hāpopo's atua resembles Te Rehu-o-Tainui and other tribal gods of war described by Best. The medium of Te Rehu-o-Tainui was said to be urua, 'possessed', and to have 'acted like a deranged person'. This trance-like state of possession is also attested elsewhere. In view of this, one wonders whether the word haurangirangi, 'mad' or 'deluded', and its variants, which Hāpopo uses in the proverbs to describe his atua, are in fact a kind of transferred epithet, with the attributes of the tohunga being attributed to the atua. (One might rather have expected Hāpopo to accuse his atua of being deceitful or treacherous.)

The priestly medium of a tribal war god earned considerable mana from its successes, but,
as Best points out, his position was a precarious one, since he ‘had to be careful not to offend the guardian spirit in any way, for if offence was given, its protection was at once withdrawn. The medium had to be scrupulously careful not to pollute his own condition of tapu’, or he would be defenceless against his enemies, and ‘above all he would be rendered kahupo, or spiritually blind; that is, he would be deprived of the powers of the seer’.\(^{11}\)

Such is Hāpopo’s fate, except that, as far as we can tell from the story, Hāpopo himself commits no hara or breach of tapu. In the East Coast versions, the atua seems to be against Hāpopo from the beginning, although there must be more to it than this. Our version is particularly interesting in that the atua at first acts entirely as it should, warning Hāpopo and his tribe of the coming danger. It is only after the enemy scout, Watua-tihi, waves a piece of fernroot at it that it changes its style completely, lulling Hāpopo into a sense of false security. This feature, the falsifying of the omens by the enemy through the agency of a piece of fernroot, is also found in the Beattie version (A 1).

Just how this action affects the change in the atua’s attitude is not clear. Is the fernroot, as White suggests, ‘an offering to propitiate him’? Best says that food given to the atua as a placatory rite, to ensure good hunting, fishing and so forth, was ‘waved’ (poia, the word used in our text).\(^{12}\) And yet, even in these ‘first fruits’ ceremonies described by Best, the idea does not seem to be that the participant ‘propitiates’ the gods, but that he renders them harmless, so that he can capture and eat them (that is, their manifestations as plants, fish and so on).\(^{13}\) It is surely much more likely that the action of waving fernroot is here intended to deprive the atua of its powers. The Beattie version adds support to this, in that the fernroot is said to be thrown ‘on Hāpopo’s whare’ (that is, on to the roof), an obvious act of desecration.

As for the agent of desecration, one might have expected kūmara (a symbol of peace) rather than fernroot to be used, as it was in a rite to destroy an advancing war party.\(^{14}\)

\(^{11}\)924a, I: 240. Sometimes the atua might withdraw his protection for other reasons, such as anger at being given poor food (Stack, 1914: 32).

\(^{12}\)Best, 1925a: 1056-7.

\(^{13}\)Compare the way that Tū recites karakia over his brothers in order to subdue and eat them (Grey, 1956: 10).

\(^{14}\)White, 1887, III: 103.
However, it must be remembered that in the Murihiku story these are not people protecting the village in which they live but a war band on the move, and moreover a small group of survivors in alien territory. As such, they would have had access only to fernroot.  

The use of fernroot in other tapu-removing rituals too is well documented.  

It is significant that the atua foretells Hāpopo’s death in the words, ‘the rope will be round your neck’. Since, according to Māori custom, a tohunga’s blood must not be spilt, some method of killing him had to be chosen to avoid this.  

It is quite possible therefore that the atua’s words are not just a figure of speech but a factual statement as to the manner of Hāpopo’s death. Neither this version nor any of the others makes this clear; it is simply stated that Hāpopo is killed. Who, then, is responsible for his destruction?

Niwa-reka, Rangi-roa and Taki-reia

In spite of their significant role in the action, other characters in the story remain shadowy figures. It is not clear why Rangi-roa and Taki-reia come to visit Niwa-reka, but it is possible that a clue lies in the second sentence, Ka hōmai te rongo o te wahine, ‘They heard news of a woman’. A similar sentence is found near the beginning of both ‘Ko Tininirau’ and ‘Ko Ruru-teina’, in which the heroine or hero goes in search of a spouse. It is true that in both of these stories a description of the beauty of the man or woman in question follows, whereas in this case the statement stands by itself. However, whether or not Niwa-reka is famous for her beauty, or for some other reason such as being an industrious weaver or simply the daughter of a powerful man, there can surely be only one reason for her fame to spread abroad and for men to come to visit her: she must be highly desirable as a

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15 Fern root ... was a favoured food for journeys' (Best, 1924a, II: 231); ‘The fern-root is the food for times of commotion and war, and is the only food a war-party can rely on when marauding in the country of an enemy’ (White, 1887, III: 97; not in the Māori text); ‘the fern-root, or Ariki-nounou, is also a god of Tumatuenga’ (White, 1887, III: 104).

16 See for example, Shortland, 1882: 40-2; White, 1887, I: 6. The fact that Kīmara was not grown south of Taumutu does not affect the events in the story.

17 Other methods include marooning (Orbell, 1973: 127-40), and being clubbed to death with his enemies’ bare hands (Stafford, 1967: 199-200).

18 There is nothing to suggest that the Niwa-reka of this story has any connection with the better known wife of Mata-ora, originator of the art of tattooing (Smith, 1913: 182-93).

19 White 1887, II: 134-40 (English); 127-36 (Maori). This is from a manuscript by Wohlers which has not been located.
marriage partner.  

While Rangi-roa and Taki-reia are paying their visit to Hāpopo’s village, Hāpopo destroys their followers. There is no indication as to whether this hostile act is part of an on-going feud, or whether it stems from the actions of the pair towards Niwa-reka. The arrival of the group as a hokowhitu, a word often used to mean a war party, may indicate that they are expecting to be attacked; or perhaps the people they are visiting think they have come with hostile intent, and so decide to attack first. We can only speculate on the reasons behind the actions.

As far as can be ascertained from published and available manuscript sources, Rangi-roa and Taki-reia, like Niwa-reka, have no identity outside this story. Rangi-roa may possibly be the Rangi-puritea of Grey’s proverb (C 6 on the list at the end of this chapter), who causes Hāpopo’s death by means of a ‘snare’, but there is no way of proving this. The two men and their followers are initially the losers in their encounters with Hāpopo, but eventually, with human and superhuman help, they carry the day. Hāpopo’s atua deserts him, his army is defeated, and Hāpopo himself is killed. Rangi-roa and Taki-reia become the victors in a series of resounding successes.

Paoa

A large part of the success of Rangi-roa and Taki-reia is due to the intervention of Paoa, with whom they seek refuge after the death of most of their people. Paoa’s sudden appearance in the story is neither prepared for nor explained, but once again a certain amount can be learnt by comparing him with figures of this name in other traditions.

The name in these traditions is spelt in a variety of ways: Paoa, Paua, Pawa and Paowa.  
Paoa is always a figure of great mana. Sometimes he is so powerful that he is credited with god-like actions; in one account he is actually said to be one of the ‘gods’ responsible for

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20The word noho is more significant than at first appears. Since it can also mean ‘marry’ or ‘sleep with’, perhaps here the men incur Hāpopo’s anger by sleeping with his daughter? And is this the reason that the two men stay behind when the rest of their company has moved on, or do they wait because they are suspicious — justifiably so, as Hāpopo’s actions later prove?

21The first three are found in many East Coast (North Island) traditions; the last in another of Wohlers’s stories, ‘Ko Paowa’.

the creation of the first woman.\textsuperscript{22} The best known Paoa is the captain of the Horouta canoe, who brings the precious kūmara to Aotearoa and creates several of the great rivers of the East Coast (North Island).\textsuperscript{23} Paoa can be seen as a tohunga (in a Ngāti Kahungūnu account, a tohunga named Pawa kills and then brings to life Uenuku’s messenger),\textsuperscript{24} as a magician (he pits his skills against a giant named Rongokako and, although worsted in the contest, is said several times to possesses ‘the powers of a demigod’, and to be capable of supernatural feats),\textsuperscript{25} or as a great chief (he dresses and eats like a commoner, but nevertheless his height and noble bearing reveal his chiefly rank).\textsuperscript{26} His role as an archetypal figure is seen in a tradition from Ngāti Kahungūnu, in which a visiting chief arrives and is announced not by his own name but with the words, ‘O sir! Here is Paua coming’. We are then told that this name ‘is only used for a great chief’.\textsuperscript{27} In oriori Paoa is named as one of the great ancestors, and in karakia his name is used for its efficacy.\textsuperscript{28} One such karakia is used to call up a strong wind, and the wind itself is named Apū-tahi-a-Pawa.\textsuperscript{29}

Wohlers’s Paoa shares many of the attributes of other figures of this name: he is a powerful chief, since the losers run to him for protection. He must also be a tohunga, since he has a prophetic dream and, significantly in view of what has just been said, can raise the wind to drive back the enemy army. In his dream he hears a voice saying, ‘\textit{Kei te umu wheri, kei te umu whera, kei te umu ka putu’}, an utterance which is difficult to interpret and which must in fact be deliberately obscure. The oven referred to obviously indicates defeat and death,

\textsuperscript{22}Nepia Pohuru, 1922: 47.
\textsuperscript{23}Gudgeon, 1903: 122; Turei, 1912: 160, 162; Locke, 1882: 361; and elsewhere.
\textsuperscript{24}White, 1887, III: 7.
\textsuperscript{25}Porter, 1925: 31-4.
\textsuperscript{26}White, 1887, IV: 211-4; Grey, 1971, 156-73. Gudgeon points out (1894-7: 4) that this figure should not be confused with the earlier Paoa, but this does not diminish the force of our argument, which is that all figures bearing this name will exhibit many of the characteristics of other bearers of the name.
\textsuperscript{27}Pango-te-whare-auahi, 1905: 92. In a similar situation in another tradition (Tarakawa and Ropihia, 1899: 123) the name Taua is used. This may be a merging of the names Paua and Taua, the latter a minor East Coast chief.
\textsuperscript{28}See the story 'Ko Tautini', and White, 1887, III: 74 (Māori version).
\textsuperscript{29}This is the karakia used by Ngatoro-i-rangi to destroy his brother-in-law Manaia (Grey, 1956: 141-2). Tikao gives paoa as the old name for the east wind, usually known as marangāi (1939: 47). There are many other examples of the use of Paoa’s name to denote power; one further instance will suffice. Williams cites the name of a fern, \textit{huruhuru o ngā waewae o Paoa}, ‘the hairs on Paoa’s legs’. A great chief might refer to his followers as ‘the hairs on my legs’; Paoa’s name here is standing in for chiefs in general.
with the words whera\textsuperscript{30} and ka putu suggesting that it is ‘open wide’ and ‘heaped up’ with victims. The word wheri is not in Williams. Almost certainly, wheri and whera are a matching pair of the sort found often in karakia (wīwī and wāwā, tapeti and tāpetā and so on), and wheri simply foreshadows the idea contained in whera.

As is usual with oracular utterances such as this, the outcome referred to is ambiguous: are the victims, the occupants of the ovens, to be Hāpopo’s people, or those of Rangi-roa? Either way, after the event the tohunga will be able to claim to have foretold correctly.

Another obscure passage is Paoa’s subsequent message to the defeated group (\textit{He aha hoki te mōrehu — mahiti katoa}, ‘But what can the survivors do — they’re all finished’). Perhaps he is being deliberately pessimistic in order to stir them into action.\textsuperscript{31} This is certainly the result, for Rangi-roa and Taki-reia are finally victorious over Hāpopo and his army.

We have, then, two powerful figures, both of them chiefs and tohunga, set up in opposition to each other. One of them, Hāpopo, meets with defeat and death, while the other, Paoa, helps his allies to eventual victory.

‘Stitching the sail’

One of the most difficult points to elucidate in the passage is the question of what activity is being performed by the people out on the plain. The interpretation of the phrase \textit{Kei te tui i te rā} is crucial here. In spite of White’s fanciful translation, ‘They are chanting songs and offering sacrifices to Ra (the sun)’,\textsuperscript{32} which has been quoted by Tregear and many others as evidence for a cult of sun worship among the Māori, there seems little reason for going beyond the usual meaning of the words: the people are in the process of stitching together or lacing up a sail.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{30}Compare the ovens that were open (\textit{e tuwhera ana ngā hāngi}) before Manaia’s defeat (Grey, 1971: 77).

\textsuperscript{31}Compare the words of Rata’s mother, \textit{E kore e taea e koe, ‘You won’t be able to do it’} in ‘Ko Rata’. For examples of this kind of taunt in waiata, see the introductory section of ‘Whakatau: the archetypal avenger’, note 13.

\textsuperscript{32}White sometimes personalises te rā and sometimes treats it as a common noun, often both in the same phrase: ‘Ra (the sun)’, ‘the Ra (god) or shade of Hāpopo’, and finally ‘the shade’. Tregear’s theory of sun worship among the Māori is expounded in 1893: 131 and 1899: 284-92.

\textsuperscript{33}Tuta Nihonihio, in describing sailmaking (Best, 1976a: 259-61), speaks of lacing together (\textit{nati}) strips of raupo leaf. He also describes joining together several small woven pieces to make one large one — this may be the process being described in Wöhlers’s story. Best does not give Tuta’s word for this process. \textit{Tuis}
Further evidence for this interpretation is found in a passage in Creed’s papers, a single sentence which reads, *Na Hāpopo i kuti te rā o te waka, i mate ai te tokomaha*. White’s translation, ‘Then Hāpopo (decay) folded up the sun, and caused the death of a vast multitude’, ignores the words *o te waka*, ‘of the canoe’, which surely put the nature of the rā beyond doubt. The word *kuti* here suggests that the sail is somehow folded over or drawn together, so that the people are trapped as in a net, while the *tukua ki raro* of Wohlers’s version suggests that it is dropped down on top of them.

There remains the question of why a group of people should be erecting a sail out on a plain. The story offers no explanation whatsoever. What is noticeable however is that the account conforms closely to others in which two rival groups are engaged upon an ordinary activity, whereupon the home tribe suddenly use their seemingly innocent, everyday tools or equipment to attack the visitors: a kō becomes a sharp-pointed spear, a kāheru a striking weapon, a large seine net a trap for human beings. It may be that Hāpopo has called the visitors to his village for the ostensible purpose of stitching together the huge sail, which they expect to take to the sea to use in a cooperative venture. Then, at the moment when the sail is raised and the people are admiring their completed labours, it is allowed to fall and destroy the visitors.

Another possibility is that some sort of ritual act is involved. No description has been found of a ritual involving the use of a large sail, but the word *huri* calls to mind the *huri takapau* ritual, discussed below. Whether the activity concerned is an ordinary one such as the stitching together of a new sail, or whether it involves a ritual gathering, does not in fact affect the end result. The people are still unwittingly occupied in an activity which will

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34WTu, MS Papers 1187/201. Reproduced by White in 1887, I: 181 (English); 164 (Māori).
35One explanation which suggests itself is that the sail is serving as a sun screen, though since no description of the use of such a screen has been found, this would seem to be unlikely.
36White, 1888: 181-2; White, 1887, III: 161-2; Grey, 1956: 199-201. In two out of the three cases here the tribe planning the aggression sends a messenger to invite the other tribe to take part, just as Hāpopo sends his messenger to Rangi-roa and Taki-reia.
37Some further action on the part of the hostile tribe would no doubt be necessary: perhaps the victims would be clubbed to death as they struggled underneath the sail.
38Other objects which one would not immediately associate with religious ceremonies were sometimes used in a ritual way, large kites for example (Pio, 1901: 191-3).
lead to their death.

Rituals

Rituals do play a large part in the story. Words describing these are whakaponohipa, hukia ngā toto, patua te manu, huri takapau and hikaina he ahi. Details of these rituals are hard to come by, since most accounts in the Māori language merely mention them in passing, assuming that listeners or readers are well acquainted with what is going on. One is therefore forced to rely on descriptions by Pākehā writers such as Best, who were writing about a different tribal area, and about practices which had largely ceased at the time of recording.

Some of the words used in the text to describe rituals may be dialectal terms. Whakapono, for example, is not among the words discussed by Best in any of his numerous writings, but it seems to be part of Arawa vocabulary as well as that of Kāi Tahu–Kāti Māmoe. After the account of the famous battle of Ihu-motomotokia, we read: kei te hurihuri i nga ika tapu, whakaponohipa ma te atua. This is translated by Grey as ‘The priests now turned over the bodies of the first slain, termed the holy fish, as offerings set apart for the god’.

The word whakapono is glossed by Williams as ‘perform rites connected with human victims’. It occurs frequently in Wohlers’s texts, usually in connection with the death of an enemy. In one notable case, Whaitiri wishes the rite to be performed so that she may safely eat the bodies of the men she has just killed. In the story before us, Rangi-roa and Taki-reia have been on the receiving end of the attack, so that it is not clear whether or not they have any enemy bodies over which to perform rites.

The next expression on the list, hukia ngā toto, is certainly appropriate in this context. Williams defines the terms huki toto and hiki toto as ‘avenge death, etc’ and as ‘certain ceremonies in connection with avenging the dead’. Once again, the available descriptions of the ceremony are very brief. Best describes how the blood of a man killed by treachery was collected and suspended on a stick (‘hence probably the use of the word huki’) while

40 See the relevant episodes in ‘Ko Waitiri’ and ‘Ko Māui’.
‘the wizards’ spells were recited over it’. The ritual described by White is much closer to our version, in that birds (mātātā or fernbirds) are caught, and a song is sung. White tells us that the ceremony is called pihe hiku toto, ‘a dirge for the dead’. This pihe would seem to correspond to Wohlers’s poroporoire. In White’s account the bird is not cooked but dismembered, and the pieces tied to fern stalks which are raised while the incantation is recited. The killing and cooking of a bird is a feature of many rituals, as is the use of a sacred fire.

The hurihanga takapau, as described briefly by Best, appears to have had as its object the removal of the war tapu from the returning warriors. The ritual in the Murihiku story must have a different purpose, since the warriors are in the middle of a campaign. It is not clear whether the similar phrase whai takapau (under takapau in Williams) involves ritual, but the idea of revenge contained in the phrase would certainly suit our context better. Best also mentions a takapau rite to weaken an atua. As the next episode in the Murihiku story describes the weakening of Hāpopo’s atua, this may be what is accomplished by the ritual in our story. The phrase huri takapau means ‘turn the mat’ (apparently a small mat was sometimes used in ceremonies of this type); perhaps the idea of ‘turning’ the mat symbolises a turning in the fortunes of the people involved in the ritual.

Those summoned by the messenger to assist in the overthrow of Hāpopo may well be personifications rather than actual people. Their names translate as Large Elbow, Crushing Elbow, Bent Elbow, Knowledge, Strength, Persistence, Refreshed and Thought. Taken singly, these could be names of human beings, but their cumulative effect here suggests a non-human army, raised to do battle on the humans’ behalf. Such battles take place in

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42Best, 1905: 198.
43White, 1885: 168.
46Best, 1982: 126.
47White describes a pre-dawn divination ritual performed by a priest prior to a battle, in which a small mat is used (1885: 169-70). Best makes no mention of the use of an actual mat. Other rites used in time of war involved causing the body of one of the slain to turn over, allowing the tohunga to predict the course of the battle to come (Best, 1902-3: 155). An even more striking ceremony described by Best (1905: 202-3) concerns a rite to ‘challenge or incite the spirit of the dead man to turn and avenge the death of its body’, causing it to rise and take action. Any of these rituals would suit the context here.
traditions recorded elsewhere: in a North Island narrative the attacking and defending of a
pā is carried on entirely by spirits (atua), with the human mediums taking over only at the
end. In another Murihiku text the hero, Tarewai, finds himself attacked by an army
composed of the souls of the dead enemy. If Rangi-roa’s army also consists of the souls
of the slain, they will be of the same spirit nature as the force which they set out to oppose,
Hāpopo’s atua.

Battles

After the drama of the passage relating Hāpopo’s downfall, the last paragraph of the story,
with its repetition of auināke, ‘the next day’, plus a name, sounds flat and almost
meaningless. However, on closer examination these names, too, may be seen to have deep
significance. For many of them are names of battles famous in Māori history. Some cannot
be found elsewhere: Te Miki (Te Mingi?) and Te Kai-whakapono, for example, have not
been identified. But others are clearly recognisable. Two battles which feature in East
Coast stories in which Hāpopo appears (see A 2 and 3 below) are Te Rā-kūngia and Te Rā-
tō-rua. The first of these is recognisable in Te Rā-i-kumia of our version, while the
second was originally included in Wohlers’s list, but rather surprisingly crossed out.

Other famous battles which may be recalled here are Maikuku-tea, perhaps recognisable
in the Maikuku-o-te-rangi of our text, and Tai-paripari, of which Te Pari may be a
shortened form. A Murihiku account of Tū and Rongo’s rebellion in the heavens names
three battles: Taku-tai-o-te-raķi, Awarua and Te Uru-rangi. The first of these is obviously
present in our passage, while the other two may well be represented by Te Awe and Uru-te-
rangi.

49Ko Tarewai’; see White, 1887, I: 101.
50Colenso, 1880-81, 14: 17. Colenso translates these as ‘the lengthened day’ and ‘the day of two sunsets’; the
former translation, however, is suspect. The word kuku (passive kūngia) means ‘nip’ or ‘pinch’, so that the
expression is similar to the ones discussed in the introduction to ‘Tūtaka-hinahina: light dawns in a dark
world’ (notes 10 and 11). Alternatively, kūngia may derive from kū, ‘weared, exhausted’.
51See textual note 18. Wohlers’s informant must have originally mentioned the name, but either he or
Wohlers may have decided later that it was not correct.
52Grey, 1956: 142.
53Mohi Ruatapu version, A 2 on the list at the end of this chapter.
54Tiramōrehu, 1987: 12.
It may be argued that these battles are traditionally said to take place in widely different times and places: in the very beginning of time ‘in the heavens’, in the days of Uenuku and Whena in Hawaiki, or in Ngatoro’s time in Aotearoa. However, names of battles, like names of people, do move from story to story, and are linked together in various permutations. What is more, these names are often brought together in waiata, where their enumeration has tremendous emotional impact, and serves either as a celebration of a tribe’s victories, or as a reminder of the untimely deaths of others who have fallen in battle. In the same way, the last paragraph of our story names battle after battle, victory after victory for Rangi-roa and his allies. Their triumph is complete, and Hāpopo and his army are utterly destroyed.

Conclusion

The Murihiku version of the story of Hāpopo provides us with a wealth of detail not found elsewhere. Although the motives of the various characters in the story cannot be fully explained, and some of the activities described remain a mystery, most of the names of characters, rituals and battles occur elsewhere, so that their presence in this story can be at least partly explained. Hāpopo, a minor figure in proverbs and stories from other regions, becomes the central figure of our story, and allows us to see him as the archetype of the deluded victim whose death is brought about by his willingness to listen to false advice.

OTHER VERSIONS

Other accounts provide useful insights to help elucidate obscure passages in the text. A summary of some of these accounts is given below.

55Rā-tō-rua, for example, is said in another tradition to be one of Manaia’s victories (Grey, 1956: 182), and Tai-paripari to be a more recent victory (Colenso, 1880-81, 13: 48). In waiata Ihu-motomotokia is paired with Moana-waipu, and Maikuku-tea with Tai-paripari (Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1981: songs 240 and 231).
56Ngata, 1959: song 33.
A. Aotearoa

1. Kāi Tahu/Kāti Mamoe

Beattie, 1945a: 102 and 139.

The three chief men of Kāti-wairāki in Westland are Hāpopo, Tai-poroporo and Tai-timu.\footnote{These names have other associations. The name of the tribe, Kāti Wairāki, reflects the haurangi theme in other accounts, while Tai-timu and Tai-poroporo, the names of the two chiefs, are names associated with battles in other accounts. One might say that these are simply coincidences, and yet motifs and names often appear together in this way, adding to the richness of these stories. See note 10.}

When the Kāti-māmoe chief Te Raki-tauneke sends his war party against them, Hāpopo, who is a tohuka as well as a chief, consults his taipo or familiar spirit.\footnote{There seems to have been a great deal of controversy over whether taipo is or is not a genuine Māori word. Williams notes: ‘This word is used by Māoris believing it English and by Europeans believing it Māori, it being apparently neither’. However, it was recorded very early (c.1827) by Boulbee in the far south (Starke, 1986: 113), and is likely to be a dialectal word, perhaps one unknown to North Islanders until after European contact.}

One of the enemy warriors throws fernroot on to Hāpopo’s house, causing the omens to go wrong, so that Hāpopo believes the enemy are still far off. He is killed and cooked, ‘and so the name of Big Bay is now Kā-umu-o-Hāpopo (the ovens that cooked Hāpopo)’.

In a later comment, Beattie mentions that Hāpopo made another error of judgment in deciding to leave Nancy Sound, where he was safe, and move up to Big Bay. Because of this error, his Nancy Sound home was known afterwards as Te Hē-o-Hāpopo (the mistake of Hāpopo).\footnote{Beattie also mentions a waiata commemorating this mistake, but so far I have not been able to locate this among his papers. It may, however, be the waiata sent in to the JPS by Carrington (see section C below, waiata 1).}

2. Ngāti Porou

Colenso, 1881: 3-15.

Uenuku’s killing of his adulterous wife leads to a feud against his brother-in-law Tawheta, in the course of which a war party of Uenuku’s people under Whatiua surround the tohunga Hāpopo’s house. They hear Hāpopo anxiously questioning his god about the anticipated attack, but the god gives total reassurance. Hāpopo is killed uttering the words which have since become a proverb, ‘Lying and deceiving demon! thou gettest clear off, leaving the
trouble with Hāpopo.' Tawheta's daughter is captured as a slave wife for Uenuku, and will later give birth to Ruatapu.

This version is reproduced (and acknowledged in his preface) by White (1887, III: 13-23). There is no Māori version, since White apparently had no access to Colenso's source: a manuscript written by Mohi Ruatapu and Henare Potae for Samuel Locke.60 Mohi Ruatapu's version of the Hāpopo incident is as follows:

Ka rokohanga atu e rātou e uru ana te atua, arā, e whakatara ake ana a Hāpopo i rō whare, e mea ana, 'Kōrero, kōrero, ko te whakaariki? E noho mataku ana mātou. Kāore e moe ki te pō.' Ka mea mai te atua ra, 'Kāore he taua, kia noho tātou a turuturu ki tahito o te rangi.' Ko te ingoa o te atua ra ko Te Kanawa. Ko te waka ko Kahurangi. Ko te tangata pātai ko Hāpopo, e karanga ake ra i rō whare, 'Kōrero, e tā, ko te whakaariki?' 'Kāore he taua e koro; e koro, kāore he riri e tae mai ki a koutou. Noho mārire.' I te ata ka huakina... Ka patua te whare nei, ā, ka mate. Ka tōia a Hāpopo ki waho patu ai. Ka whakataukī a Hāpopo i konei, 'Atua kahurakiraki, waiho te raru mo Hāpopo.'

Another slightly different version in the same manuscript61 specifies that Hāpopo is the tohunga or priest, and gives Tai-paripari as the name of the battle on shore, two details which appear in Colenso's English version but not in the Māori one quoted above.

3. Ngāti Kahungunu

White, 1887, III: 1-9 (English); 1-10 (Māori).

The main events are similar to those in the Ngāti Porou version, but some names and minor incidents differ. Hāpopo is called Rangi-Hāpopo, and the incident in which he figures is greatly condensed. The proverb is not spoken by Hāpopo but is said to have originated from the incident.

4. Tūhoe


When Ngāti Ruapani attack Tūhoe at Ō-haua-te-rangi near Ruatahuna, Hāpopo's wife is

60 Ruatapu and Potae, ms, Part 1:124 (WTu). Spelling and punctuation have been modernised. See Orbell, 1968: 111-2 for details.
61 Ruatapu and Potae, ms, Part II: 44-5 (WTu).
captured but escapes to warn her husband. Hāpopo consults his atua, who answers only, ‘Tikore! Tikore! Tikore!’ (‘thus conveying the meaning that no danger existed’). Hāpopo is soon caught and killed by the enemy. The proverb recalling this event is given as, ‘Na Tu-a-kahu-rakiraki, waiho te mate mo Hāpopo’ (‘Twas Tu-a-kahu-raki [the name of the atua] that abandoned Hāpopo to death’).

In a later version describing the same incident, Best gives a date and a locality for this event. He provides a different version of the proverb: ‘This deceitful god was described to me as a paltry, misleading sort of creature, of whom it is said: He atua kahu rakiraki, waiho te mate ki a Hāpopo.’

b. Best, 1925a: 933. Written for Best by Tutakangahau.

Rata sets out to avenge his father Wahie-roa who has been killed by Matuku-tangotango and Hāpopo. ‘Matuku and his son Hāpopo were slain.’

5. Tainui

Aoterangi, 1923: 3-7.

As the Tainui canoe approaches Whangaparaoa, Hāpopo sees the pōhutukawa trees in bloom and throws away his red plume. Too late he discovers that he has only withered flowers: Mahina has his treasure and refuses to give it back. The author adds, ‘Now our forefathers called all red stones on the seaside Tai-apakura, another name being the great plume of Hakopa [Hāpopo].’ Hāpopo and others settle at Manukau.

B. Island Polynesia

Rarotonga

Smith, 1899: 15-19.

Apakura’s brothers kill her son Tu-ranga-taua. Vakatau takes revenge on the tribe and kills

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621925a: 499. The words ‘paltry’ and ‘creature’ suggest that Best is perhaps interpreting kahu rakiraki as some sort of ragged garment, unfit for a god with any mana.

63In other tribal versions this action is performed by others, named or unnamed: see Grey, 1956: 114; 169.
several of the brothers, but two of them, Apopo-te-akatinatina and Apopo-te-ivi-roa, manage to escape and settle in Rarotonga. (In Māori versions of this story Apakura’s son is Tū-whakararo and the avenger is Whakatau. The Rarotongan dialect drops the h which is found in New Zealand Māori.)

C. Related material

Whakataukī or Pepeha

Grove, 1984: 4, 23, 133.

The large number of variants in these proverbs suggests that the various accounts about Häpopo may have been attempts to elucidate words which were puzzling to the hearer. One can see the genesis of such accounts in the short explanations offered by the collectors of the proverbs. The first group of syllables of the proverb are interpreted in many different ways. Sometimes they are seen as a name (see A 4(b) above), but more often they are interpreted as the word atua plus some defining word or phrase. Usually this word is the adjective haurangirangi or one of its variants (hārekereke, kahurangi and so on), but sometimes it is a phrase such as huaki rangi or ka ahu rangi, ‘coming from the sky’.

The following is not an exhaustive list, but an attempt to show the wide variety both of forms the proverb takes and of explanations of its meaning. Other versions are to be found in the summaries already given.

1. ‘Atua kā hura i te Rangi: Waiho te mate mō Häpopo. God manifests his power in the heavens, yet abandons Häpopo to a miserable fate.’ Hongi, 1911: 131.64

2. ‘He Atua huaki rangi (or, he Atua ka ahu rangi), waiho te mate mo Häpopo. A god came, and promised us success, through the priest Häpopo, but he flew away again and left Häpopo to perish (applied to a young prophet).’ Grey, 1857: 13.

64 This has a distinctly Biblical ring about it, which may make it the most recent of the interpretations given here.
3. ‘He atua kahurakiraki. Waiho te mate mo Hāpopo. Hāpopo was a man who was
drugged to death by false physicians and tohungas. For people who lead others astray and
then leave them to shift for themselves.’ Turnbull, fms n.d. P Scrapbook. WTu.

4. ‘He atua rere te atua, mahue raru a Hāpopo. The god is a timid god, so Hāpopo was left
in the lurch.’ Kohere, 1951: 43-44.

5. Kīhai i tupu te huruhuru o taku ure, ka kite au i ngā Puke i Hāpopo. A saying quoted by
Te Morehu at a land court hearing, to explain how he had lost his family at a very early
age. The ‘Hills at (or of) Hāpopo’ symbolise defeat. Papatupu Block Committee Minute
Book 44 (Te Hukatai Collection).

6. Te kotinga poro, ka taka ki roto
    Waiho te mate mo Hāpopo
    Ko te Rangipuritia nana te rena.

‘Our tribe was separated into two parts, and Hāpopo fell between us; the punishment fell on
him, but it was Rangipuritia who laid the snare by which Hāpopo fell.’ Grey, 1857: 86.

7. ‘The warrior who thus fell into enemy hands was of course eaten, nor was the priest
exempt from this doom; the god who resided in him departed with his breath, as the
proverb on such occasion means “The god is gone, and Hāpopo (the body so called in time
of war) may be eaten.” ’ White, 1885: 178.

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65This is the word used in the manuscript. However, it is most likely to be a mistake for ‘dragged’. The
reference to ‘physicians’ may have occurred through a false association of ideas.
66I am grateful to Dr Jane McRae, Te Hukatai Librarian at the University of Auckland, for references C 3
and 5.
67With no other details given it is not possible to say who this tribe is and what has caused the separation, but
it could well be a description of Uenuku’s tribe (see versions A 2 and 3 above). The proverb may be
suggesting that Hāpopo is in some way trying to further his own interests with each side, and falls foul of
both, or the meaning may simply be that he is a vacillating man. The result in either case is the same: he
makes the wrong choice and suffers the consequences.
The Rangi-puritia of the proverb may be identical with the Rangi-roa of the Murihiku story (who also causes
Hāpopo’s death), but without further information one cannot be certain.
Waiata

1. *Kāi Tahu/Kāti Kuri*.

Carrington, 1945: 160.

This waiata was sent to Carrington by a descendant of the chief Kaikōura Whakatau, and is a Marlborough-Kaikōura song. The word divisions and punctuations are probably Carrington’s rather than those of his informant, Mrs Beaton, for they suggest that the recorder was unfamiliar with the story (the proper names in the song appear as common nouns with adjectives, for example). The translation is free, and speaks of ‘the deadly hand of fate’ advancing silently and without warning.

Although Carrington says that this song was ‘for Karaki’, ‘the father of Matiaha-tiramorehu, the noted learned man of the South Island’, the heading ‘Waiata na Karaki’ indicates that Karaki was the composer. The use of the names and of the word *raru* allow one to state with confidence that the dead person being mourned in the song was felt to have met his death through treachery.

The portion of the waiata which relates to Hāpopo is reproduced below. It has been re-edited and retranslated.

Me atamai Tuke-nui, me atamai Tuke-roa,68
Me atamai Ihumāneana, nāhana i kau te poupou tara
O te whare na Hāpopo, ka hika ki raro,
Ka whai raru te takata, a-i-i-e.

Scorn Tuke-nui, scorn Tuke-roa,
Scorn Ihumāneana, those who attacked the side post
Of Hāpopo’s house, and down it fell.
The man was deceived, a-i-i-e.

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68Since *ata mai* as two words makes no sense here, the word has been read as *atamai*, ‘behave contemptuously’.

*Te Waka Māori, 1872: 112.*

In 1872, at Mataahu on the East Coast, a meeting was held to affirm Ngāti Porou loyalty to the British Crown and to counter the effects of Hauhauism. The Rev. Mohi Turei sang a long song, one verse of which is as follows:

```plaintext
E iri mai, e Rauru,  
Māui, Tainui,  
E Rura, e Riki,  
Ngā kehua kino  
I ngaro ai te tāngata,  
I raru ai a Hāpopo.  
He uri no Houmea,  
No Hine-nui-te-pō, 1

Hang there, Rauru,  
Māui, Tainui,  
Ruru, Riki,  
The evil spirits  
That cause men to be lost,  
That led Hāpopo astray.  
Offspring of Houmea,  
Of Hine-nui-te-pō, 1
```

Here Hāpopo is seen as the poor deluded victim of the *kehua kino* named in the waiata. He stands for those who have, in the Rev. Turei’s opinion, been deceived by Hauhauism.


This is a waiata tangi or lament for Te Tihi, who died in one of Hongi’s raids. That the poet had the proverb in mind and was not simply referring to a geographical landmark in naming *ngā puke i Hāpopo* is shown by the use of *waiho*, and also by the fact that the person addressed is said to have committed a *hara*, which is probably thought to have been
similar to Hāpopo’s mistake.  

Kāti ano ra, e tama, kia waiho atu koe  
I āu hara ka nui, kei ngā puke i Hāpopo, na i!  

Thus it comes, O son, you are left alone,  
With all your grievous faults, on the peak of Hāpopo, alas!

69 Compare proverb C 5 above.  
In a story about Paikea, Rev. Mohi Turei records that the old name for Mount Hikurangi was Puke Hāpopo. Turei does not say, but it is possible that the mountain was thought to have changed its nature, from being an ill-fated hill associated with Hāpopo and defeat to being, through Paikea’s success, a symbol of triumph over adversity (Te Waka Māori, 1877: 134; AJHR 1880: G-8: 14). The name Puke-hāpopo is also found in ‘Ko Paika’ in Wohlers’s texts.

Ka kiai mai e te wahine, ‘Nai, e noho mai na i te pākihi.’

‘Kei te aha?’

‘Kei te tui i te rā.’

‘Hei aha?’

‘Hei huri i te whenua, i ngā tāngata.’

‘Kei whea te ara?’

‘Kei te huatu.’

‘Nē, ko te ara tērā?’

‘Āe, ko te ara tērā.’

He tokomaha o ngā tāngata kāhore kia ui — haere tou. Na, ka haere mai te karere, ka tae

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1White 1887, II: 52-5 (English); 48-50 (Maori).
2Wohlers closes this bracket after tō rāua ope. It makes more sense, however, to make he tamāhine no Hāpopo the aside. The use of the a and o forms in these texts sometimes seems haphazard: one would normally expect he tamāhine na Hāpopo and, further down, te kāinga o Hāpopo. See the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection B 2.
3Nai is found regularly in these texts, and is also listed by Watkin (Harlow, 1987: 52, under naea; 91, under uta). It is probably the equivalent of nei (iii), 6 or 7 in Williams. See the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection A 2(d).
4Huatu is not given in Williams. Watkin lists the word and translates it as ‘spear’, though his final u may be a handwriting quirk for a (Harlow, 1987: 21; see also his introduction, xi). Niwetoka would seem to be referring to some sort of landmark, perhaps a post stuck into the ground.
5The word tērā is unclear in the original. Wohlers seems to have first written tēnei and corrected it to tērā, and the resulting word looks more like tenra.
6For tou, see the introductory section, ‘The Language of the South’, subsection C 1.
mai, ‘[H]oake na ia, kia whakaarahia ake te rā o Hāpopo.’


Ka kī atu, ‘Kāhore hoki he rawa.’

Ka kiia mai e Paoa, ‘Ko tiki moe. Karangatia ana mai, “Kei te umu wheri, kei te umu whera, kei te umu ka putu.”’


Ka karanga mai e ngā mōrehu, ‘Āe. He aha hoki te mōrehu?’

Ka kiia atu e Paoa, ‘Whakahokia. He aha hoki te mōrehu — mahiti katoa.’


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7 Wheri, whera and ka putu have capital letters in the manuscript and were originally preceded by o, indicating that Wohlers interpreted them as names, ‘Wheri’s oven, Whera’s oven, Kaputu’s oven’. However, the o’s have subsequently been crossed out, evidently by Wohlers, since Creed has an identical version of the story. These must therefore be ordinary descriptive phrases.

8 Unutai or inutai is given by Williams as an interrogative adverb meaning ‘What is it?’ Best (1918: 54) explains it further as, ‘A singular ceremonial interrogative, now obsolete. It was put by a person of rank to an approaching messenger, perhaps only when the latter seemed to be the bearer of important news.’

9 The punctuation in this passage is uncertain. Wohlers encloses these two sentences in one set of quotation marks with the clauses separated by dashes. This seems to indicate that Paoa makes the whole speech. Another possibility is that there is a change of speaker; this would parallel the first exchange between Paoa and the survivors.

10 The meaning of tīmata is unclear. White’s gloss is hiku toto, a likely interpretation, since the context makes it clear that the war party is involved in ceremonies connected with avenging the dead. See the introduction to this story for a discussion of these ceremonies.

11 Although poroporoiere is not in Williams, the word iere, ‘sing’, is. What is meant is possibly the singing at the end of a ritual, on the analogy of poroporoaki, ‘take leave of’ (often in the sense of ‘farewell the dead’; cf. Williams poro 7, ‘finished, come to an end’). See the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection C 4.

Ā, noho ana, na, ka tonoa te karere ki a Tuke-nui, ki a Tuke-pē, ki a Tuke-koru, ki a Uhu-māneanea, ki a Uaua, ki a Tete, ki a Whakanā, ki a Mahara.\(^{12}\) Ka haere mai ki te ngau i te whare o Hāpopo. Ka tukua te toro. Ka tae — rokohina atu e puta ana te atua o Hāpopo, ‘E waka! Te mate — e mea ana au — e waka — haehae tuata — ka mau te taura ki te kakī — e waka!’\(^{13}\)

Ka poia atu e Watua-tihi (e te toro) ki te aruhe ki taua atua. Ka kōrero pai te atua, ‘He aha hoki te rawa? Noho ana tāua — e waka — kāhore hoki he rawa.’


He kāinga mate mo tana hokowhitu. Ka whati ngā mōrehu ki roto ki a Tū-toko rāua ko Rau-riki. Ka whati ngā mōrehu ki reira.


\(^{12}\)Mahara was originally written as Mara, with the ha written in above the line.
\(^{13}\)I have left Wohlers’s original punctuation here, as it is probably meant to convey the atua’s special panting manner of speaking (see the introduction to this story, footnote 6).
\(^{14}\)Tukua must be a variant of tukia, ‘attacked’.
\(^{15}\)As discussed in the introduction to this story, there are many variations in the spelling of this word, but haurangingi is not likely to be one of them. It must be a spelling error.
\(^{16}\)The manuscript has no, but the proverb is well known from other sources. I have therefore amended no to mo, the form most often found.
\(^{17}\)Williams gives only ‘give’ or ‘bring’ as meanings for hōmai. The parallel word hoatu, however, can also mean ‘move on’, so hōmai perhaps means ‘move forward’ (in order to give battle) here.
\(^{18}\)Another sentence at this point in the manuscript, Auīnake ka homai, ko Te Rotorua, has been erased. As it is not reproduced in Creed’s copy of the story, it must be Wohlers’s own correction. A further correction makes toro (i.e. toru?) into rua. See the introduction to this story for a discussion of the names.
TRANSLATION

There once lived two men called Rangi-roa and Taki-reia. They heard news about a woman, Niwa-reka (a daughter of Hāpopo). They set off, with a hundred and forty men in their party. When they arrived at Hāpopo’s village, they sat down with the woman and asked, ‘Where are the people?’

The woman said, ‘There they are, waiting on the plain.’

‘What are they doing?’

‘They are lacing up a sail.’

‘What for?’

‘To overshadow the land and the people.’

‘Where’s the path to get there?’

‘Next to the upright post.’

‘Really, is that the path?’

‘Yes, that’s the path.’

Most of the people had not asked these questions, but had gone straight on. Now a messenger came to them, and when he arrived he said to them, ‘You go off over there, so that Hāpopo’s sail can be set upright.’

And so off they went, and all gathered together, a hundred and forty of them. The sail was now raised and set upright. They all gazed at it and were delighted. Then Hāpopo’s sail was made to fall down. The people were killed — most of them died.

The survivors, Rangi-roa and Taki-reia, escaped and ran off. They came to Paoa’s village. He asked them, ‘What are you going to do about it?’
They answered him, 'Oh, there's nothing to be done.'

Paoa said to them, 'I had a dream. Someone was calling out to me, 'It's at the open oven, at the spread-out oven, at the heaped-up oven.''

The survivors came on, and were pursued by Hāpopo's people. Paoa raised a great wind, and they did not get caught. They came straight back. Paoa asked them, 'Have you news?'

The survivors called back, 'Yes. But what can the survivors do?'

Paoa said to them, 'Send them back. But what can the survivors do — they're all finished.'

Now they recited the incantations and performed the ceremonies for avenging the dead. They waited there, and the next day the avenging war party set off, and killed a bird. They performed ceremonies over it. They came back, and when they got back they went to a stream to remove the tapu. They advanced, singing their final songs. When they came to the sacred place, they chanted a karakia. When that was finished, they proceeded to kindle a fire by friction, and roasted the bird and ate it. Then they waited. When day broke they performed the tapu-lifting ceremony. Then they waited again, for the defeat was not yet avenged.

So they waited, and then sent a messenger to Tuke-nui, Tuke-pē, Tuke-koru, Uhumāneaea, Uaua, Tete, Whakanā and Mahara. They came to attack Hāpopo's house. A scout was sent out, and when he got there he heard Hāpopo's atua speaking, 'O medium! It's death! I tell you — medium — when the dawn breaks — the rope will be around your neck — O medium!'

Then Watua-tihi (the messenger) swung some fernroot towards the atua. The atua talked sweetly, 'What's the use? Let's just stay here, medium! There's nothing to be done.'

Now when it was nearly daybreak the war party was surrounded and the house was attacked. Hāpopo was defeated. He said, 'You idiot atua! You've left nothing but death for Hāpopo!'
It was death too for his war party. The survivors turned and fled into the midst of Tū-toko and Rau-rika’s people. That is where the survivors fled to.

Early the next morning an attack was made, and that was Maikuku-o-te-rangi. When it was broad daylight an attack was made, and that was Rā-i-kumia. These were two victories for Rangi’s people. The next day it was Te Miki. The day after that, it was Uru-te-rangi. The day after that, it was Takutai-o-te-rangi. These were victories for Rangi and his people. The next day it was Te Pari and Te Awe. Matua-te-re was defeated, and Te Kaiwhakapono.
PAIKEA:

AN INSULT AVENGED
INTRODUCTION

Paikea is the great founding ancestor of the East Coast tribes. His prodigious swim to Aotearoa, mounted on the back of a whale,\(^1\) is recounted with pride by his descendants. Landmarks connected with his exploits are still pointed out today, and an important meeting house in the area where he is said to have first landed is adorned with a striking carving of the ancestor, riding proudly on the back of his whale.

In most versions of this story, Uenuku has a bastard son whose name is Ruatapu. It is therefore surprising to find that this version of the story from Murihiku stands out in sharp contrast to other versions in naming Paikea as the bastard son, while Rua-tapu is the true-born hero. This is not the case in other Kāi Tahu versions. Kāi Tahu share a common ancestry with East Coast tribes of the North Island. While there is some dispute about lines descent from the founding ancestors Porou-rangi and Tahu-pōtiki,\(^2\) Paikea’s place at the head of these related tribes is undisputed.

Like the story of Whakatau in this collection, this narrative stands alone. It differs from East Coast (North Island) versions in that it does not form part of a cycle of stories, unfolding in the context of wider concerns such as family disputes and major battles, which are often said to take place in far-away Hawaiki and to lead up to the voyages of discovery to Aotearoa.

A southern version: summary

Bones from a stranded whale found by Whatitata are made into clubs and combs. Uenuku’s comb is taken in his absence by his son Paikea. When Uenuku hears about this, he shames Paikea by calling him a bastard.

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\(^1\)According to some accounts, he turned himself into a whale. Uenuku, Paikea and Ruatapu are figures who seem to be almost absent in stories from Island Polynesia (but see summaries B1 and B2 at the end of this chapter).

\(^2\)Ngāti Porou claim their eponymous ancestor Porou-rangi as the tuakana or elder brother, while Kāi Tahu say that Porou-rangi was the nephew of Tahu-pōtiki. See the whakapapa in Shortland, 1851: 94, Table B; see also O’Regan, 1990: 7-12. Tiramōrehu states Kāi Tahu’s claim to Paikea as their main ancestor in this way: ‘Now, from this one person, Paikea, are we descended who now live here’ (1987: 24).
Paikea sails off to the south with a group of young men, and pulls the bung out of the canoe. All drown except Ruatapu and Paikea. Paikea says that he will carry the symbols of life to the shore, and Ruatapu gives him instructions for the safety of the people who are on land.

Ruatapu swims off to call up the winds and waves. He returns with great force to destroy all the low-lying settlements. Only those people who have taken refuge on Mount Hikurangi survive. Hine-mao-kura swallows up the sea.

Analysis of the story

The account recorded by Wohlers contains many details which are similar to those in other versions, particularly other versions from the south. In cases where his account is highly condensed, his statements can often be elucidated with reference to what is said elsewhere. The following analysis makes reference to other versions where necessary.

Uenuku

Uenuku, the father in this story, figures in a large number of myths from many areas of Aotearoa. He is often associated with the rainbow and with warfare. In stories about the migration of the Māori people from their homeland in Hawaiki to Aotearoa, he is seen as a patriarchal figure, the leader of a great tribe, and it is his actions in initiating a war which are often said to be the cause of the migration. Many tribes trace their descent to him.

In stories in which Ruatapu appears, the action often begins with the previous generation. Uenuku and Whena (or Tawheta) engage in a long war, in which Uenuku is the final victor. Uenuku takes Tawheta’s daughter as a slave wife, and Ruatapu is born of this union. Once again Uenuku is seen as an archetypal figure, an originator of the art of warfare, since he is the one who has provoked this war. The revenge taken, first by one side and then by the other over a period of time, culminates in Ruatapu’s all-embracing act of vengeance.

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3In stories from the West Coast of the North Island, the contest is between Uenuku and Turi. In Arawa stories, Tama-te-kapua falls foul of Uenuku and is eventually forced to take refuge in a new land.
The comb

Uenuku’s comb is the material article which gives rise to the whole drama of insult, revenge and the founding of a new land. Its history is given: it comes from the bones of a whale found stranded on the beach by a person who seems to have no other connection with the story. Some of these bones are made into war clubs, and some into combs. Both whalebone clubs and combs were objects of prestige in the Māori world, fit possessions for a great chief such as Uenuku. The comb gains even greater prestige through being associated with Uenuku’s head, the most tapu part of his body.

Other versions also mention the comb. In a version from Ngāti Kahungūnu it is given a name, Titi-reia (this name has a symbolic significance, and occurs in a saying about high-born children). The bastard son either steals the comb or asks to be allowed to wear it. In a Ngāti Porou version, the high chief is dressing the hair of all his sons for a great occasion (that is, he is tying their hair into a topknot on the top of the head and decorating it with an ornamental comb), but Rua-tapu, being a nobody, is left out.

In the Murihiku version the characters are not engaged in any great canoe-launching or other festivity. Instead the son merely takes advantage of his father’s absence to use his comb. As mentioned already, in the other Kāi Tahu versions as well as North Island ones Ruatapu is the bastard son. As well as calling the bastard son Paikea, Wohlers also seems unsure of Uenuku’s name. He spells it three different ways, none of them the usually accepted one. Has Wohlers simply misinterpreted his information, or were his informants unsure of their facts?

Evidence from a waiata

A Ngāti Kahungūnu waiata (waiata C 1(a) in the list at the end of this chapter) closely resembles Wohlers’ version, and may suggest a possible answer. Phrases which are found

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4See the discussion of this name in section C 1(a) at the end of this chapter.
5White, 1887, III: 10 (Māori). A child born into a recognised marriage was sometimes said to be titia ki Titi-reia, to ‘have Titi-reia fastened in his hair’.
6Other versions sometimes give different reasons for Ruatapu’s disgrace; see the list of versions at the end of this chapter.
almost word for word in these two versions and in no other include haere ... ra te takutai, manaakitia mai nei e Uenuku, kua hē te iringa o te heru, ka unuhia te karemu and ma wai e kawe ngā tohu ora ki uta. The names of the three victims are also recognisably the same. Other phrases are also shared by Creed’s versions (versions A 1(a) and (b) at the end of this chapter). It is perhaps significant that in this song the offending person is not actually named at all. Kahutia-te-rangi (who is in this case the figure on the gable of Uenuku’s house) is asked where the comb is, and answers that it has been taken by ‘the bastard thief ...’. At this, Ka mate tērā i te whakamā, ‘that one was overcome by shame’ (lines 22-25.)

It is possible that the version of the story told in Murihiku was handed down in some such form as this, and that Wohlers, hearing the story in its condensed form, added the names himself (as he does in other accounts), and confused the two names in the process. This could certainly be the case in the second instance of the name, Ka mate tērā, a Paikea, i te whakamā. However, the question and answer in which Paikea is first named are more specific than those in the waiata, and it is more likely that Wohlers was writing down what he actually heard, Ka kī atu a Ruatapu, ‘Na Paikea i koukou tōu heru’. Perhaps some people in the far south, separated for generations from their ancestors, actually did tell the story this way. Evidence from this area is so scarce that one cannot say for certain. The two versions collected by Creed offer no confirmation, as they both name Ruatapu as Uenuku’s bastard son.7

Apart from the difference over the name of the bastard son, Wohlers’s version agrees well with others from the East Coast of the North Island (see ‘Other versions’ at the end of this chapter). Uenuku uses the same insulting words to the bastard son as he uses in other versions, at the same time alluding to the high birth of his other son. The bastard son is, as elsewhere, filled with shame, and sets off in a canoe called Tū-te-pou-a-rangi, recognisable as the Tū-te-poa-rangi or Tū-te-pewa-rangi of other versions.

7People from other tribal areas sometimes gave accounts which differed greatly from East Coast versions. See summary A 5 at the end of this chapter, and see also Hare Hongi’s account, 1910: 89-93, in which Paikea and Ruatapu are one and the same person.
Revenge at sea

At this point Wohlers’s account becomes so condensed that it is only by referring to other versions that the modern reader can understand what happens. Contemporary Māori listeners would either have heard the story so many times before that they would have been perfectly well acquainted with the missing details or, as has been suggested earlier, have been accustomed to hearing it in waiata form, where such compression is part of poetical style. Paikea sets off towards the south,⁸ pulls out the bung (no mention has been made of his having made the hole on purpose) and the water rushes in. It is only at this point that we hear of his companions, three of whom are mentioned as dying (the implication is that they drown in the sea).

Now only Ruatapu and Paikea are left. In this episode and in the ones which follow, Wohlers’s version is in line with all the rest: it is Paikea who will swim to land and Ruatapu who will later destroy the land and the people. However, there is surely a serious problem of logic here. Why should Paikea, a bastard and unworthy of his father’s respect according to the beginning of the story, now be the one to land safely and carry on the tribal name? Why should it be Ruatapu who suddenly takes over the task of revenge?

In the other versions, it would seem that Ruatapu has intended to take his revenge in two stages. First all the elder sons of the tribe are to be destroyed: this will be Ruatapu’s own personal revenge for his father’s words which have shown up his inferior status. After this he will send a tidal wave which will obliterate the whole tribe, thus avenging his mother and her people.⁹ When Paikea escapes pursuit, showing proof of a superior power,¹⁰ it seems that Ruatapu decides to allow a remnant of the tribe to escape destruction.

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⁸The direction is significant. In traditional Māori thought, a journey towards the south frequently symbolises death, as for example in Ngata, 1959: songs 50, 54; Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961: song 110; 1980: songs 228 and 241.

⁹Colenso also makes this point in a note in 1880-81, 14: 25. It is also implied in Ngāti Kahungūnui version A 2(b) is stated that Ruatapu has avenged te kīi mokai nei mona i roto o Rangi-kapiti o te whene o Whena i mau ai a Paí-mahutanga, ‘this calling him a slave in Rangi-kapiti, the house of Whena where Paí-mahutanga [Ruatapu’s mother captured’.

¹⁰The source of Paikea’s power is mentioned in the East Coast versions, see versions A 2(a) and 3(a) at the end of chapter. See also note 29.
In Wohlers’s version the wider setting of family and tribal humiliation are absent, so that we are left with the story of a person who has been called a bastard and who takes revenge by sinking his canoe, but who is afterwards allowed to reach the shore with the ‘symbols of life’. The implication is that Paikea by his very survival proves himself a true son of his father.

Paikea’s statement, ‘I shall succeed by the power of the female organ and by the power of the male organ’, may be interpreted in different ways. Paikea may mean that he has the whole power of human survival in his hands, the knowledge which will allow male and female to procreate. This is proved at the end of the story, when men and women do survive, thanks to Paikea, and do produce offspring. Or he may be asserting his superior mana which comes from both sides of his ancestry, from his mother no less than from his father. If the latter interpretation is the correct one, Paikea by his actions can be seen to be reinstating both his mother’s mana and his own.

It is not stated what the tohi (tohu) ora, the ‘symbols of life’ given by Ruatapu to Paikea, are. It is possible that they have a material form (in the same way that the mauri or ‘life force’ of a forest or fishing ground could be represented by a stone or small carved figure), but in this case they are perhaps more likely to be the instructions which Ruatapu gives to Paikea to allow him to survive, along with his followers. These instructions include the information about the time of Ruatapu’s arrival, and the place where the people may retreat for safety.11 It may also be a knowledge of important rituals such as those for the kūmara.12

Ruatapu’s revenge

Since Paikea is so central to the story as Wohlers tells it, it is surprising to note his

11 Other versions show a considerable variation in the time of Ruatapu’s expected arrival (see the summaries at the end of the chapter). Those from the far south state that he will come in the late autumn (Wohlers) or winter (Creed’s note after mātahi and marauroa says ‘June’). This would no doubt be the expected time for storms and high waves. In contrast, the East Coast versions have him threatening to come in summer. He boasts, ‘if I do not come you can say I am a stray child of our parents, and begotten of our father by a woman of no rank’. His mana will no doubt be all the greater if he comes at an unusual and unexpected time of year.

12 In an account by Gudgeon (1903: 121), Paikea is said to have been responsible for introducing correct kūmara rituals: ‘finding that Whirionui was not conducting the very sacred ceremony in proper form, he took the matter out of his hands and finished the invocations, by which alone a good crop could be assured’. In other accounts, we see Paikea being presented with offerings of kūmara, which seem to symbolise his love of peace (White, 1880: 12)
complete disappearance at this point. We are told that he swims ashore safely and must assume that he passes on Ruatapu’s message, since people do take refuge on Mount Hikurangi and many do survive. But there is a contrast between this version and those from the East Coast, which chart Paikea’s progress to the shore, record his long karakia, and detail his further exploits once he has reached land.\(^{13}\) Instead, Wohlers’s story follows Ruatapu’s course out into the open sea and back again to the land.

Ruatapu’s part in the story is not fully explained. In the beginning, the implication is that he is the ‘man who is begotten on the wide-spread mat’, the son of noble birth and breeding who is worthy of his father’s favour. Paikea is the low-born son who is insulted and who escorts his companions out to sea to take his revenge. But now Ruatapu is to exact vengeance — whether for the insult or for the lives lost is not made clear. Perhaps in this version it is the deaths which Paikea has caused which must be avenged.

That Ruatapu’s name is linked with destruction at sea is shown by the expression ‘te Tai o Ruatapu’, known in the south as well as throughout the rest of Aotearoa as a name for heavy seas.\(^{14}\) Many people will suffer this vengeance, but because he has now proved his mana, Paikea himself will escape, along with other members of his tribe.

Creed’s version of the story (A 1(a)) helps to explain what happens next. Ruatapu seeks help from Hua, who seems to be a guardian of the tides and is elsewhere named as one of the children of Rangi and Papa.\(^{15}\) Other proper names in the passage are names of winds. Tiu is the north wind and marangai stormy weather from the north or the east. It seems likely that Punuaotoku is a distortion of the Pū-nui-o-tonga (‘Great-wind-from-the-south’) found in Creed’s version.

The winds and waves that reach the shore batter the settlements which are presumably on low-lying ground (since their names all contain the word raro, ‘below’). Even high-standing Hikurangi Mountain is shaken by the elements, but is made firm by Marere-ao

\(^{13}\)See versions A 2(a), 3(a) and (b).
\(^{14}\)Beattie, 1919: 50.
\(^{15}\)See the song ‘Te wahatanga a Paia i a Rangi’ in ‘Ko Tāne’. In an East Coast story narrated by Rimini, Hua-roa a group of figures who are said to be large waves (1901: 186).
(who does not appear otherwise in the story). In other versions of the story there are a references to a person or a place called Marere-o-tonga. These references are obscure, but in East Coast stories there is a figure of this name who is connected with peace-making. It may well be that the figure mentioned by Wohlers has the same sort of associations. Perhaps a comparison is being made between the firmness and lasting quality of the peace which has now been achieved, and the solidity of Hikurangi mountain, where the tribe have taken refuge after the destructive contest between Ruatapu and his family.

The final act which allows the people to go on living is the drinking of the sea by Hinemao-kura (who must be identical with Creed's Moa-kura who performs the same action). This detail is found only in versions from the far south, and is perhaps an incident from a local legend which has become attached to this particular story. Moa-kura may have had descendants who wished to honour the name of their ancestress in this way.

For all that it is a tale of shame and angry retaliation, this story is one which is recalled with great pride, not only by the descendants of Paikea, but also by those of Ruatapu. Johansen speaks of the 'demonic ghastliness' of the figure of Ruatapu, but this is probably an overstatement. Ruatapu's act of revenge is on a grand scale: first his drowning of all the flower of his tribe, and then his overwhelming of the land in a vast tidal wave. So even he can be named with pride, and the family relationship can be acknowledged, as for example in a Ngati Kahungunu waiata tangi mourning the death by drowning of one of his descendants. Even in the far south, his name and deeds are remembered and recounted.

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16 In version 1a, White gives the name as Turuturu-a-marae-re-a-tango, apparently a place on Hikurangi (1887, II (Māori); 51 (English)). However, he may well have misread Creed's original (Polynesian Society Papers, MS Pap 1187: 202, WTu). Similarly, the passage in the Ngati Kahungunu waiata (waiata number C 1 below) may have a different interpretation. It has been translated as 'And crowds milled around on Marere-o-tonga/ (Crying aloud), 'Hold fast' however, Marere-o-tonga is not necessarily a place. A person, Marere-o-tonga, may be standing up (tuttō) and ad the mountain. The grammar would certainly support this.

17 Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961: song 115, lines 21-5. See also the headnotes to this waiata.

18 A similar feat, for example, is recorded in the legend of the ogre Kōpū-wai, who drank the Matau River (Stack, 1877: 60-1).


20 Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: song 258. The author of the waiata may be seeing Ruatapu as an ancestor in a metaphorical rather than a genealogical sense, but he is nevertheless proud to claim a relationship with him.
OTHER VERSIONS

A. Aotearoa

As one would expect, the overwhelming majority of references to Paikea come from the East Coast of the North Island. There are also several versions from their Kāi Tahu relatives in the south. Versions from areas other than these tend to have a slightly different emphasis, as discussed below.

The source for most published versions of the story of Paikea is White’s *Ancient History of the Māori*, Volume III.21

1. Kāi Tahu

a. White, 1887, III: 50-52 (English); 30-31 (Māori); this version is found in Creed’s notes (Polynesian Society Papers, MS Papers 1187: 202, WTu).

While Uenuku is away, Ruatapu uses his comb. Uenuku returns and denigrates him by making reference to his low birth (he is called *tama pōriro tirau-moko*, *moenga-a-hau*, *rau kawakawa* and *tama mea*). Ruatapu gathers a group of travellers (*wharaunga*) and takes his canoe, Tū-te-poa-raki, to his ancestors Tau-kato and Tau-nui-a-tara.

The next episode recalls the story of Whiro and Tura, and is found in no other version.

Paikea jumps into his younger brother’s canoe, thinking that it is *he waka haere noa*, ‘a canoe which is just going to travel’, but when it gets to the open sea and he asks where they

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21White’s versions come from a number of different tribal areas, the bulk of them apparently being from Ngāti Kahungunu. However, on closer examination some of these versions are seen to derive from areas other than those listed above. A list of White’s versions, divided into tribal areas as stated by him. Those correctly identified are indicated by a tick, and the name of their source. The true source of the others is stated in parenthesis, where it is known. Where possible, internal evidence, this too is stated. Page numbers here are quoted for the Māori section only, except in the case of the first Ngāti Porou version, for which White gives no Māori translation.


Ngāti Porou: 13-28 (‘English version only; Colenso), 23-8 (source unknown), 28-9 (Kāi Tahu. Internal evidence suggests this), 32-7 (‘Moli Turei’),

Kāi Tahu: 15-16 (‘Wohlers), 29-30 (‘Creed’).

Nga Puhiri: 14-15 (‘C.O.B.Davis’).

Te Arawa: 31-2 (‘C.O.B.Davis. This and the one above appear to be the same version, slightly rewritten’).

Ngāti Hau: 32 (Kāi Tahu: Creed).

I have not sighted the Jury manuscripts, so am relying on information kindly supplied by Ms Sharon Dell of the Alexander Turnbull Library.
are going. Ruatapu’s answer is *He waka heke tonu ki raro. Ki raro* could mean ‘to the north’, but the first phrase is similar to Tura’s *He heke tonu ki te mate*, and suggests the interpretation ‘A canoe going down below’ (that is, down to the underworld, to death). The symbolic names of places also suggest this: the canoe travels, apparently, through the Sea of Excrement and on to the Sea of Blood; it sinks at The Water of Drowning near Death Cliff.

Paikea is said to survive because he chants a karakia to his god (the words are not given). He swims for two months to get to shore. Ruatapu tells him to take refuge on Puke-hikuraki and Turuturu-a-marere-a-tango, because he (Ruatapu) will not arrive in the seventh, eighth, ninth or tenth month, but in the first or second (*hei te matahi ahau ka haere atu, a hei te Marua-roa*). Paikea, Uenuku and Kahutia go to Hikuraki, and in the time of Marua-roa, the wind Pū-nui-o-tonga brings the waves ashore, submerging all the pā. The people who flee to Hikuraki are saved. Moakura drinks the sea.

Notes at the side of the page state, *Ka tūmāu a Ruatapu ki te moana* (‘Ruatapu stayed permanently out at sea’) and *Ruamano the fish which helped Paikea to the shore*.

b. White, 1887, III: 49-50 (English); 29-30 (Māori). This is from a small note in Creed’s papers.

Once again Uenuku’s comb is the cause of Ruatapu’s shame. The names of the canoe and the ancestors are the same as in version 1a. Ruatapu goes to a group of people who are perhaps personified forms of waves: Te Hiwinga, Hine-ohua, Hine-apohia and so on. Three of these make their way ashore.

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22 The question is written in English in the original.
23 Moana-torenga may perhaps be connected with *tore*, the anus. This is suggested by the fact that Creed himself has a gloss in brackets, tikatia, possibly meant for tikotia (‘excreted’). It is significant that White has omitted the name altogether from his English version, his usual practice when faced with embarrassing words or concepts.
24 *Ruamakia* must be *rumakia*.
25 See the discussion in note 16.
26 A note in English says ‘sister of Ruatapu’.
27 Elsewhere, Ruamano is the name of a taniwha (Best, 1925a: 963-5).
c. White, 1887, III: 48-9 (English); 28-9 (Māori).

The elliptical storytelling style, and the names of the ancestors, the canoe and the victims suggest that this also is a southern version. One new motif is that when Paikēa and Ruatapu separate, Paikēa is said to go to his father, and Ruatapu to his mother. This is significant, as it reveals the dichotomies male/female; land/sea; success/disaster; life/death.

The months named by Ruatapu are essentially the same as those named in version A 1(a). The winds are called Pū-nui, Marākai-a-tinaku, and Te-ope-rua-riki. The pā are called Pā-roro-uri and Pā-roro-tea, as in Wohlers’s version. Moa-kura-manu drinks ‘the blood of the tide of Ruatapu’.

Ruatapu is said to have sought the huge seas with which to destroy his people from his ancestors Makara, Tau-nui-a-tara, Hika-itī and Hua.

2. Ngāti Kahungunu

a. White, 1887, III: 9-13 (English); 10-13 (Māori):

Uenuku takes Pai-mahutanga, his defeated enemy’s daughter, to wife and fathers Ruatapu. Ruatapu uses Kahutia-te-rangi’s comb, is shamed and takes his revenge by borrowing Hae-ora’s canoe Tū-te-pae-rangi or Te-huri-pure-i-ata and boring a hole in the bottom. He sets out to sea with a hokowhitu of young men who are said to be ngā tama anake, kāore ngā pōtiki e tukua ki runga. This must mean that they are the true-born sons like Kahutia-te-rangi and not the insignificant younger sons and sons of slave wives.

Once out at sea, Ruatapu removes the bung and the canoe fills and sinks. Ruatapu, floating on the bailer, kills the young men until only Hae-ora and Paikēa are left. Paikēa tells Hae-ora that he will get to shore by the way provided by his mother, kei te ara i taku koka ... kai a te Petipeti kai a Rangahua kei a Rongo-mai-taha-nui. Hae-ora blows his important tribal

28White attributes this to Ngāti Porou, but there is evidence to suggest that it is a Kāi Tahu version. It may be from Creed’s papers, although it has not as yet been located. The same names and some of the same turns of phrase are found as in versions A 1(a) and (b). The spelling, too, is typically Kāi Tahu.
29White translates Petipeti as ‘Portuguese man-of-war’, Rangahua as ‘porpoise’, and Rongo-mai-taha-nui as ‘whale’, but there is no other evidence for this translation. Williams gives petipeti as ‘jellyfish; a general
knowledge (the correct seasons for the planting of crops and so on) into Paikea’s posterior, and then dies. Ruatapu continues to try to kill Paikea, but finally allows him to escape.

The time of Ruatapu’s arrival on shore is uncertain: he seems to be giving both winter (e roa te pō o te makariri) and summer (ngā pō nunui o te waru) as possibilities. If he drowns, it will be proof that he is indeed a bastard son. To survive his onslaught, the people must take refuge on Mount Hikurangi. Ruatapu departs on his bailer while Paikea rides on his mother or female ancestor.30 Paikea chants a long karakia as he travels, and eventually arrives safely at Ahuahu.31

b. White, 1887, III: 38-41 (English); 21-23 (Māori).

This account begins with the words Mo Te-whiri-pure-i-ata tēnei kōrero. In version A 2(a) above this is an alternative name for Ruatapu’s canoe, but here the canoe has only one name, Tū-te-pewa-rangi.32 Te-whiri-pure-i-ata is therefore left unexplained.

The story is similar to version A 2(a). The reason for the conflict is once again a comb, but the circumstances are different: Uenuku is decorating Kahutia-te-rangi’s hair, and refuses to do the same for Ruatapu, or to lend him his brother’s comb. Another variant is that Kahutia-te-rangi is named as being the first one to be killed at sea; that is, Ruatapu begins by avenging the personal slight to himself. After Hoe-ora’s33 death, an explanatory passage is inserted in which the theme of vengeance is made explicit: the names of the defeats of Ruatapu’s mother’s tribe are enumerated, while this new triumph for Ruatapu is given its own name (Te Puru-unuhia, the ‘Drawn-out Bung’).

Ruatapu floats off on his bailer, while Paikea swims to shore at Ahuahu. No mention is

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30 Ka tukua e ia ki runga ki tona koka. It is not definitely stated that this is a whale, but the implication is there.
31 The story continues with Paikea’s course around the East Coast: his wives, offspring, exploits and death. Nothing more is said about Ruatapu, although it is possible that White has merely omitted the relevant passage.
32 See the two names given to Ruatapu’s canoe of vengeance in version A 2(a) above; see also version A 3(a), below.
33 Haeroa in version A 2(a).
made of assistance by ancestors or gods, and the long karakia is absent. Ruatapu’s arrival is announced in some detail: it is named as Tai-a-Ruatapu and is said to have washed gravel, pumice stone and pipi shells on to the land.

3. Ngāti Porou


In readiness for the ceremony for launching a new canoe, Huri-pure-i-ata, Uenuku dresses his sons’ hair. The rest of the story is similar to Ngāti Kahungūnu versions. One variation is that, by first removing his foot from the hole in the canoe, then covering it again, Ruatapu is able to lure his companions further out to sea. In this version, the only two survivors are Paikea and Ruatapu, and it is the latter who asks which of the two is to carry the tidings of the disaster to land (as in the Murihiku version). Paikea names his ancestry, as in version A 2(a).

Some of the words in Ruatapu’s speech are the same as those spoken by Hae-ora or Hoe-ora in the previous versions. He ends by holding up his paddle,34 and the two separate. Paikea swims away, chanting the karakia which is almost word for word the same as that in version A 2(a).

b. Mohi Turei, 1877: 133-6; reproduced in White, 1887, III: 53-8 (English); 32-7 (Māori).

Ruatapu, the son of Uenuku and his slave wife, lives at Hawaiki.35 When his kite lands on the roof of his father’s house and he climbs up to retrieve it, his father chides him for trampling on his sacred head.

Three names are given for the canoe in which Ruatapu seeks vengeance: Tere-hapua, Tū-te-pewa-rangi and Rangi-pato-rua. As in versions A 2(a) and (b) there are three survivors, and it is Hae-ora who asks the questions about which one of them is to land safely.

A further explanation is added at this point, probably Turei’s own contribution: if the

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34 This is a symbol of his success, as Colenso points out.
35 This version seems to be the only one that states this unequivocally.
survivors land at Hawaiki they will be put to death according to custom, as happened in later times in Aotearoa. As well as giving the reason for Paikea’s choosing to swim to Aotearoa instead of the nearer Hawaiki, Turei’s statement explains the origin of the custom of muru as practised upon survivors of a shipwreck.

Ruatapu’s long speech is similar to the one in A 2(a), but his fate is quite different. In this version he drowns, and the bursting of his bowels\(^{36}\) causes a vast wave which sweeps the shores of both Hawaiki and Aotearoa. His entrails become jellyfish. As in A 2(b), pumice stone is carried ashore by the force of this tidal wave, but this time we are told that it is carried far inland, to Kāingaroa and Taupō. Paikea meanwhile has been swimming for five months (carried by taniwha, we are later told), and arrives in Ahuahu in Aotearoa at the time of the planting of the kūmara. By gathering the people together at Puke-hāpopo and by performing a ceremony using perehia grass Paikea saves them.

Mohi Turei tells his story as an explanatory preface to the long karakia chanted by Paikea (almost identical with that in versions A 2(a) and 3(a)). It is clear that this karakia, a treasured tribal possession, is the most important part of the story, the reason for telling it.\(^{37}\)


Cowan mentions Tuta Nihoniho as an informant, and may have received a complete version from him, but the details published here are too sketchy to allow one to check for similarities or differences in the main part of the story. One minor variation, however (and it may have been put on record by Cowan for the very reason that it was the only one), is that Paikea lands first at Great Barrier Island, which he names Aotea. When he moves on to the mainland he calls this Aotearoa, and is the first to use this name for the North Island of New Zealand.

\(^{36}\) This is the kind of fate usually suffered by monsters; compare the deaths of Houmaea (Orbell, 1968: 70-1) and Pou-a-hao-kai (White, 1887, III: 4). Ruatapu is therefore seen to be a monster of some sort.

\(^{37}\) Mohi also mentions Paikea’s most important marriage, the one which eventually leads to the birth of Porou-rangi, the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Porou.
Paikea 'is said by Ngāti Porou to have come to New Zealand on the back of his *taniwha* ancestor, Paikea, and thereafter took the name of Paikea in commemoration of his great exploit, discarding his old name of Kahutia-te-rangi.' Gudgeon points out that Mohi Ruatapu, 'the most learned of all their *tohungas* ', taught that the two were different people, Paikea being descended from Toi-kai-rākau and Kahutia-te-rangi from chiefs of Hawaiki. Various whakapapa are provided to support his assertions.\(^{38}\)

4. *Ngā Puhi and Te Arawa*

White, 1887, III: 28-9; 52 (English); 14-15; 31-2 (Māori)\(^{39}\)

This account specifically states that it concerns an ancestor from another tribal area, namely, the East Coast of the North Island.\(^{40}\) It is brief and is recounted in general terms: Ruatapu is simply said to be a conceited young man whom his father wishes to put in his place, rather than being guilty of a specific act of impertinence; nor are any details given about the way the other crew members perish at sea. In short, it is the kind of version one would expect another tribe to possess. It gives the main outline of the story, with particular emphasis on the founding ancestor's achievements, and notes the tribal motto: *Ngā mahi a Paikea whaka-Tangaroa*, 'The exploits of Paikea who turned himself into Tangaroa'. Knowledge such as this is used by other tribes on formal occasions, to honour their visitors or hosts.

The canoe in this version is called Te-huri-pure-i-ata, as in versions A 2(a) and 3(a) above. Paikea by his priestly power turns into a fish, then back again into a man when he reaches

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\(^{38}\)In some versions, Uenuku and his family seem to be thought of as original inhabitants of the East Coast, whereas in most they live in Hawaiki before travelling to Aotearoa. There are many different versions of the story, and it is no wonder that details often conflict.

\(^{39}\)The version given as Ngā Puhi originates from C.O.B. Davis, and was published in 1855 in both *Māori Mementoes* and in *Te Kareare Māori* (Vol.1 no.1, March, 1855). C.O.B. Davis was the editor of the latter at that time. Comparison of this text with the one classified as Te Arawa by White shows that the two are remarkably similar. It is not clear on what grounds White attributed the story to either of these two tribal areas. He appears to have made two separate versions from the same source.

\(^{40}\)White's Ngā Puhi version has *Te Tai Tokerau*, but this does not accord with the Arawa version or with either of the English versions, and must be White's mistake.
Ahuahu.

5. Ngāti Hau

Taylor, 1870: 277; White, 1887, III: 35-6; 36-7 (English); 18-19; 19-21 (Māori)

These versions, which all appear to come from Taylor, may be seen in the same light as version A 4. In the first edition of *Te Ika a Maui* Uenuku is mentioned only briefly, in connection with the rainbow. This suggests that Taylor perhaps heard the story of Uenuku’s son after the publication of his book. The story published in the second edition of his work is a garbled and in parts extraordinary version. The cause of the battles between Uenuku and Wena or Whena is said to be the loss of Uenuku’s children’s *kura*.41 Names of people, places and battles are confused, and, to cap it all, we are told that ‘Manurautaka was taken captive alive and eaten by Uenuku sitting on his mat, made of the scalps he had taken, which was named Ruatapu’.42

White’s version of the story makes a great deal more sense.

The third version listed under this heading appears to be a Ngāti Hau version, for a note on White’s manuscript states, ‘RT [Richard Taylor] MSS Bk 4 end of bk 4th’ Uenuku’s insult is uttered when Ruatapu kills Kahutia-te-rangi’s dog (named after its owner). Apart from this incident, the version seems to have a great many features in common with East Coast variants of the tale. One point of note is the initial statement that it is a *kōrero tara*, a fable or fairy story. Certainly the opening sentence echoes the ‘once upon a time’ of fairy tales: *Noho ana tetahi tangata ko Uenuku te ingoa*. This perhaps suggests that Taylor’s informant related it in such a way as to distance himself from the information, which originated from another tribal area.

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41 This is a story usually told in this area in connection with the arrival of the Aotea canoe (Grey, 1956: 169). Taylor quotes, ‘A plume found by Mahina’.
42 If White’s Māori version is actually Taylor’s original, then either Taylor or his informant had misunderstood the story. However, this remains to be checked.
B. Island Polynesia

1. **Rarotonga**

Smith, 1898: 118-9; genealogical sheet inside back cover.

The names Uenuku-rakeiora, Uenuku-tapu, Uenuku-aitu and Ruatapu, but apparently not Paika, are on genealogies in Rarotonga. Smith records little information about these figures, who do not appear to play the same roles as they do in Aotearoa. The name Uenuku is, however, associated with a flood tide, ‘Te Tai o Uenuku’.

2. **Marquesas**


The figures in these stories (six versions of the same tale) have names which differ from those in the Māori account, but some of the motifs are similar: the taking of a slave wife by Taheata (whose name would seem to be cognate with the Tawheta who is the enemy of Uenuku in some of the East Coast stories), his belittling of the son of that union, Vaka-uhi, and Vaka-uhi’s voyage of revenge (he builds a canoe, puts out to sea with his half-brother, and bids him farewell out at sea. Thereafter the story takes a different course).

C. Related material

**Waiata**

Several waiata mention Paika, sometimes briefly (with reference to Paika’s spell or his swimming prowess), sometimes at greater length. Some of the more significant references are:

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43For example, in Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: song 257A, lines 13-15.
1. Ngāti Kahungūnu.


This has been discussed in connection with Wohlers’s version, but one point which needs further elaboration is the question of the significance of the name Whatitata. In the notes to the waiata the explanation is advanced that the song was sung as a lament for Whatitata, ‘who travelled to other lands, and on his return found that his wife had misbehaved herself’.

The word used for the wife’s conduct is hē, the same word used for Ruatapu’s misuse of the comb.

A different interpretation of the song is provided by Shortland. Whatitata, a Kāi Tahu man from Kaikōura, is taken captive and carried off to the North Island and eventually to England. On his return to his own country, he asks about his land and his family. No-one answers, until at last the minister tells him, ‘Kua riro ōu whenua i te hoko e Te Rauparaha’, ‘Your land is lost to you because Te Rauparaha has sold it’. Sad at heart, Whatitata then composes the song, which we are told was ‘sung at Ahuriri in 1863 when their mill was completed’. In this case, it must be the loss of the land which is being compared to the loss of the comb.

As the waiata is likely to be a great deal older than is suggested by either of these explanations, this must be a case of reinterpretation. The fact that the waiata contained the name Whatitata must have allowed it to be associated with men of this name.


Because Tiaki-tai died at sea, his death is compared to Ruatapu’s journey out to sea. This is called te tira o te Whiri-pūrei, ‘the company of those who were at Whiri-pūrei’ (or Huri-pure-i-ata). A variant list of names of those who perished on the occasion is given, and in the last lines of the waiata there is a condensed form of Hae-ora’s message (see versions A

44McGregor, 1893: 91.
45Shortland manuscript MS 15: 37 (DUHo).
46The ‘bastard thief’ who has stolen it must be either Te Rauparaha or the Pākehā, or both. It is probably impossible to say whether the Whatitata of McGregor’s waiata is the same as the person in Shortland’s.
2(a), 2(b) and 3(b) above).


Although this text comes from Marlborough and has the characteristic Kāi Tahu use of k rather than ng, the composer, Whanake, was from Ngāti Kahungunu and probably lived in the North Island.\(^{47}\) Whanake expresses the idea that Paikea dives down to escape Ruatapu’s blows (compare version A 5: ruku ana a Paikea, na reira a Paikea i ora ai), and then that he calls on the help of the great Rehua in the heavens to lift him from danger. Hikurangi is used as a symbol of Paikea’s final triumph.

2. Aitanga-a-Mahaki or Rongowhakaata


This famous oriori, known throughout Aotearoa, makes reference to the tama meamea incident and the Huri-pure-i-ata disaster. The editor states that the original version read Ka kiai Paikea e Ruatapu ki te tama meamea, but that ‘the true account from ancient times is that it was Uenuku who spoke of Ruatapu in those terms.’ However, his substitution of the name Uenuku for Paikea makes the translation of lines 39-40 read as if they refer to Ruatapu, whereas it is quite clear that it is Paikea who abandons his paddle and swims away, chanting his karakia (whakakau).\(^{48}\)

\(^{47}\)One famous person of this name was head chief of Ngāti Ira (closely related to Ngāti Kahungunu), until the northern tribes drove this tribe out of the Wellington region c. 1825. He is known to have been a poet.

\(^{48}\)See Orbell, 1975:72. One version of the waiata from Stewart Island has Ka kia Paikea Ruatapu ... (Polynesian Society Papers, MS Papers 1187: 183, WTu). This could obviously be emended either Ka kia [e] Paikea Ruatapu or Ka kia Paikea [e] Ruatapu. Other manuscript versions may be similar. If this is the case, this may offer some support for, or at least explanation of, Wohlers’s version of the story.
KO PAIKEA

Ka noho a Whati-tata, ka haere rā te takutai. Ka pono ki te parāo[a]. Ka mauria mai ngā iwi, hei patu. Ka manaakitia e Uianuku, hei heru mōhona. 3

Ka hori a Uinuku ki waho, ki Huka-o-te-rangi. Ka hoki mai tērā. Hoki rawa mai, kua hē te iringa o te heru. Ka ui a Uinuku, ‘Na wai i koukou taku heru?’

Ka kī atu a Ruatapu, ‘Na Paikea i koukou tōu heru.’ 4

Ka kīia atu e Uianuku, ‘Kātahi nei ra, ma pōōiro tīrāimoko e koukou taku heru — ka mau [h]e koukou, ma te tangata e moe ki runga ki takapau[ ] haranui.’ 7


Ka kī atu a Paikea, ‘Māhaku e kawe ngā tohi ora ki uta.’

Ka kī atu a Ruatapu, ‘E kore e tae i a koe.’

1 White 1887, III: 30-1 (English); 15-16 (Maori). The passage in English begins on page 29, but the first few paragraphs are from a different source.

2 The manuscript has Uinuku, corrected to Uianuku by Wohlers. Later in the passage the word is spelt Uinuku and Uianuku. For manaaki, see subsection C 3 in the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis.

3 The possessive forms in h are a regular feature of this dialect. See the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection B 1.

4 I koukou is repeated, presumably by accident as the page is turned.

5 Wohlers has pōōiro, presumably in error. Tīrāimoko is usually written tīrāmoko. The u/i change in this dialect is discussed in subsection A 2(b) in the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis.

6 Another accidental repetition, of the word ka this time. The sentence permits of several interpretations; the one chosen here requires the least editing.

7 The expression is no doubt used infrequently, so that Wohlers is uncertain of the spelling. Williams gives it as takapau hora nui or takapau wharanui, ‘an expression referring to birth in lawful wedlock.’ Either form would be possible here.

8 Hinga is probably hiko, ‘move at random or irregularly’. Creed uses the word in his two versions of the story (Polynesian Society Papers, MS Papers 1187: 202, WŢu). See also ‘Ko Wakatau’ note 13.

9 Tohi is used for tohu. See note 5.
Ka kī atu anō a Paikea, 'Tērā anō e tae i [a] au — e tae te ā-hinga, e tae te ā-ure.'


Na, ka kau tērā ki waho, a Ruatapu. Ka [ ] ki te kapua whakatūtū, ki te kapua whakarara, ki a Hua, i reira e tohu ana mai. Ka whakakahatia e Ruatapu. Ka meatia e Ruatapu ki a Punua-ao-toku, ki a Tiu, ki a Marangai-a-tinaku ...


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10 Wohlers has these as single words, ahinga and aure, but it is easy to see in them the words for the female and male genitals.
11 *Hohi* in the manuscript.
12 The original has ngahuru for ngahuru, perhaps in error (however, see note 5). Although ngahurumatamua and ngahuripotiki are written as one word by Wohlers, they should probably be seen as noun/adjunctive groups, with the adjectives meaning something like 'first-born' and 'youngest', that is, the beginning and the end of autumn.
13 Wohlers always writes two words, whana atu, where modern convention writes one, whanatu. See 'Ko Tītākā-hinahina', note 22.
14 There would seem to be a word missing at this point, possibly kau.
15 Creed has this as Punnuiatonga (see the introduction to this story, in the section called 'Ruatapu's revenge').
16 Wohlers has 'etc' at this point, indicating that there are other names which should be included here.
17 Creed calls her Moakura, and adds a note underneath, 'sister of Ruatapu' (Polynesian Society Papers, MS Papers 1187: 202, WTu).
TRANSLATION

There lived a man called Whati-tata, who walked along beside the sea. He came upon a whale. He took the bones with him to make into clubs. Uenuku wanted to make them into combs for himself.

Uenuku went off far away, to Huka-o-te-rangi. Then he returned. By the time he got back, his comb had been hung up the wrong way. Uenuku asked, 'Who has dressed his hair with my comb?'

Ruatapu said, 'Paikea dressed his hair with your comb.'

Uenuku said, 'Well, just think of that — that bastard dressing his hair with my comb! The top-knot should be worn by the man who is begotten on the wide-spread mat.'

This person, Paikea, was overcome with shame. He went down to the canoe, Tū-te-pouarangi, and set off for the south. When he got right out to sea, he pulled out the bung, so that it filled up with water. Pipi, Te Ratu-mahena and Tahao were killed. There was Paikea, still alive, and there was Ruatapu, still alive. Ruatapu asked Paikea, 'Who will carry the symbols of life to the shore?'

Paikea said, 'I will carry the symbols of life to the shore.'

Ruatapu said, 'You will not succeed.'

Paikea spoke again, 'I certainly shall succeed — I shall succeed by the power of the female organ, and by the power of the male organ.'

So Ruatapu gave him the symbol of life. And he, Paikea, swam to shore. And his elder brother told him, 'Off you go, then. Don’t live at Pā-raro-uri; and don’t live at Pā-raro-teao, and don’t live at Raro-hana, but go to the mountain, Hiku-rangi, and live there. Off you go, then. But take heed. I shan’t come at the beginning of autumn; but at the end of autumn, that’s when I shall arrive.'
Now off swam Ruatapu, out to sea. He [swarm] to the heaped-up cloud, to the thundering cloud, to Hua, and from there he sent a sign. Ruatapu exerted his strength. He called up Punua-ao-toku and Tiu and Marangai-a-tinaku.

And so the sea came, driven by the wind. Now when it arrived, at first it was a little wind, and this fortress, Pā-raro-uri, fell, and then Pā-raro-te-ao fell. Now a great wind blew, and Raro-hana fell. The people fled to Hiku-rangi Mountain. When they moved to Hiku-rangi Mountain, it was on the verge of falling. But Marere-ao made it firm. The survivors produced offspring. The sea was swallowed up by Hine-mao-kura, and the people lived.
MĀUI:

TRICKSTER AND INNOVATOR
INTRODUCTION

'We now come to a strange person - not a god, and not like other men; neither good nor absolutely bad, but always dealing in mischief and wicked practical jokes', wrote Wohlers in his introduction to the story of Māui. Others describe Māui as a demi-god, perhaps simply as a way of saying that he is hard to categorise. His actions, like those of the god Tāne, establish the world and make it fit for the human race to live in, but they are performed in such a capricious and unconventional manner that the resultant benefits often seem accidental rather than planned. His family regard him with mixed feelings of admiration, wariness and even fear. His mother rejects him twice (both at birth and when he returns as a young man) before finally accepting him, his brothers are jealous and afraid to take him on their daily fishing expeditions, and his sister reproaches him bitterly for his treatment of her husband.

And yet, in spite of Māui's capriciousness, he does bring great benefits to the human race, and this southern version emphasises many of his positive qualities. He is an excellent provider, winning praise from his parents for his ability to bring home a huge catch of pigeons. His feat in fishing up land arouses his mother’s pride ('It must be that Māui-pōtiki of mine, he's making a man of himself'), and one can also sense the narrator's admiration: 'There stood the storehouses and the houses. Dogs were barking, fires were burning, people were sitting and going about. It was Māui’s Fish ...' There is praise too for his conquest of the sun: 'If it had not been for Māui, the day would go on being dark'.

Accounts of Māui's adventures have been collected from all parts of Oceania, including Melanesian and Micronesian groups, where the same trickster figure is recognisable under different names. The wide area of dispersal makes it obvious that the myth is very ancient. The present study will not attempt to make a comprehensive review of the Māui figure or

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1Wohlers, 1874: 10. Elsewhere (Report, Oct.-Dec. 1853, Norddeutsche Missions Gesellschaft MS, DUHo) Wohlers compares Māui to the German Til Eulenspiegel, 'a legendary person who has committed all kinds of pranks and funny tricks', but this ignores Māui's fundamental role as a creator and inventor.

2In many other versions of the story Māui is chided by his wives and children for being too lazy to provide them with fish. (In the south this incident is found in the story of Tinirau, and the outcome is a similar display of mana.)
to list the many hundreds of recorded versions of the story, but will instead concentrate on
the version recorded by Wohlers, elucidating obscure passages and drawing attention to
any special features which make this version different from others.3

Selected versions of the myth will be found summarised at the end of this chapter. Special
attention has been paid to a version from Kāi Tahu’s region of origin, the East Coast of the
North Island, since this, as one might expect, is the version which has the most episodes in
common with the Kāi Tahu versions.4

A South Island version

The version recorded by Wohlers is only one of a number recorded in the south, but it is by
far the longest and most detailed.5 Even so, it is highly condensed in comparison with
many of the North Island versions, and without the benefit of these the reader would often
be at a loss to understand what is taking place. Statements such as ‘Mahuika’s fingers and
toes were all used up’ are meaningless without the knowledge that the fire is stored in
Mahuika’s fingers and toes, which she gives to Māui one by one. The end of the narrative,
too, is a masterpiece of brevity: Ka tomokia e Māui, ka puta ki waho, ka kata, ka mate.

When the subjects of these four verbs are supplied, we find that three different sets of
people are involved: ‘She [Hine-nui-o-te-pō] was entered by Māui, he [Māui] emerged,
they [the brothers] laughed, he [Māui] died.’6 Where there is no similar incident in another

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3Luomala’s studies of the Māui myths draw together much material not only from the Pacific but also, in
some cases (Luomala, 1940), from as far afield as North America and Africa. An incomplete but useful
summary of versions from each archipelago may be found in Luomala, 1949: 250-72. Beckwith (1970)
surveys the stories found in Hawai’i and refers briefly to other versions, listing some important motifs (page
227). The list of motifs provided in Ruatapu and Pōtae (1929: 2) is fuller than Beckwith’s but not complete,
for example two episodes which occur in Wohlers’s version are omitted. Also listed (pages 16-17) are several
dozen versions of the Māui myth which appear in the first thirty-six volumes of the Journal of the Polynesian
Society alone. Tregear gives useful summaries of versions from both Aotearoa and Island Polynesia (1891:
see under Maui and Taranga). A short discussion by Best (1982: 329) provides many interesting variants,
although some of his interpretations are dated and he names few specific sources. Dixon (1916: 41-56)
summarises the myth and makes comparisons with Micronesian and Melanesian versions. Westerveld’s work
(1912) is a popularisation of the Māui myths with no critical apparatus, but covers the whole Pacific area and
records many lesser known motifs. Lessa (1961: 290-321) has a detailed and indispensable analysis of one
important motif: ‘Island fished up by demi-god (hero)’, with an extensive list of versions from Melanesia,
Micronesia and Polynesia.

4Ngāti Kahungunu versions would no doubt have even more similarities, but with the exception of the Whare
Wānanga material, which presents certain problems, there are no published versions from this area.
5See the list of other versions at the end of this chapter.
6Wohlers added the words nga tuakana, ‘the elder brothers’, and a Māui to the last two sentences of his
published version to clarify the meaning (Wohlers, 1874: 41).
version the listener may be left in the dark, as in the case of Māui’s first deed, which is to kill two people called Te Roiroi-whenua and Te Rako-whenua. These figures are not found in other versions, and nothing else is said about them here.

The episodes found in Wohlers’s version of the story are as follows:

1. **Unusual birth and upbringing.** Māui is a loincloth belonging to his mother, Hine, and thrown by her into a bush-lawyer. Mī and Weka find him and bring him up. He is later taken to live in the sky.

2. **Killing of Te Roiroi-whenua and Te Rako-whenua.**

3. **Killing of Maru-i-te-whare-aitu** after he and Māui have fought over their respective cultivations.

4. **Dart-throwing game.** Māui sees his brothers at play and joins in. His dart hits and breaks the bargeboard of his parents’ house.

5. **Māui reveals his identity to his mother and brothers.** At first his mother refuses to believe him, but when he describes his unusual birth she admits that he is indeed her son.

6. **Māui discovers the whereabouts of his father, Te Raka.** He hides Te Raka’s loincloth to delay him and next morning watches as his father pulls up a house post and disappears below.

7. **Māui’s success in catching pigeons.** He achieves this by changing himself into a pigeon to act as a decoy. His mother speaks proudly to Te Raka of their youngest son’s superiority.

8. **Māui takes the form of a pigeon to follow Te Raka to the land below.** He avoids capture and perches on his father’s digging stick to teach him the correct karakia for cultivation. The karakia also reveals his identity to his father.

9. **Māui and Mahuika, the guardian of fire.** Māui extinguishes the fire each time Mahuika gives it to him. At last Mahuika realises who he is and causes a conflagration which nearly kills Māui. Māui turns himself into a hawk, then sends down rain and snow to extinguish the fire. The remains are thrown into the various (named) trees from which fire can now be kindled.
10. **Māui and Muri-ranga-whenua.** Muri-ranga-whenua is starved to death and his jawbone is taken by Māui, who washes it and fashions it into a fish-hook.

11. **Māui fishes up land.** Fearing his magical powers, his elder brothers refuse to take him with them on their fishing trips, but he hides in their canoe and appears when they are out at sea. Using clotted blood from his own nose as bait, he hauls up a fish which is inhabited and which becomes land, Te Ika a Māui.

12. **Māui and Tuna.** Tuna violates Māui’s wife and is trapped by means of a ditch lined with ten skids. When Māui kills him, his body becomes different species of eels and plants.

13. **Māui snares the sun.** Because Hine, Māui’s wife, never has enough daylight for cooking his food, Māui goes with his elder brothers to the pit from which the sun rises each day. They lay a snare, and when the sun is caught Māui holds him back until he agrees to move slowly over his daily course.

14. **The first dog.** Māui persuades his brother-in-law, Irawaru, to lie down and have his head deloused. He turns him into a dog, makes him eat excrement and answer the call ‘Moi moi’. When Māui’s sister asks after her husband, she is told to try calling ‘Moi moi’. She chides Māui for his tricks and weeps over her husband.

15. **Māui and Hine-nui-o-te-pō.** Māui hears about Hine-nui-o-te-pō and decides to try and defeat her. Warning his brothers not to laugh he enters her vagina, but they disobey and she kills him.

With the exception of the second item on this list, all these incidents are to be found in other versions of the myth, though not all in any one other version.

The various episodes in the story will first be dealt with in the order in which they occur in the Murihiku version of the story. Other versions of the myth will be referred to in cases where they throw light on the Murihiku version.

1. **Unusual birth and upbringing**

The story begins with a brief whakapapa which gives Māui’s family background. He has a grandparent called Mahuika and a mother and father named Hine and Te Raŋa. Here at
once we encounter a divergence from the better known versions, for in Te Raka we can recognise, taking account of South Island dialectal changes, the North Island Taranga. However, in the North Island Taranga is generally known as Maui’s mother, and this has come to be thought of as the ‘correct’ version, with the South Island version being some sort of aberration. But in fact in most Maui stories throughout Polynesia Maui’s father is Taranga (or some dialectal variant of this name), and even elsewhere in Aotearoa Taranga is occasionally named as the father.7 That characters in different versions of mythological stories should change sex or their relationships with one another is not at all surprising when one considers the length of time during which these stories have been narrated and the vast area over which they have been dispersed.

In this Murihiku version Hine and Te Raaka have five children, all called Maui but each distinguished by an epithet: -mua, ‘in front’ or ‘first-born’, -waho, ‘outside’, -roto, ‘inside’, -taha, ‘to one side’.8 These epithets correspond closely to those listed in other versions. In the Arawa version, for example, the brothers are called Maui-taha, Maui-roto, Maui-pae and Maui-waho. Often, however, some general term such as ngā tuākana, ‘the elder brothers’, is used instead.9

In the Murihiku version of the myth the four eldest Māui brothers are not given any other distinguishing characteristics, although at one point they split into two groups, one of which is more kindly-disposed towards Māui.10 Otherwise their collective name indicates their collective identity. As in folk tales world wide it is the youngest son who is the focus of attention, and Māui’s knowledge, ingenuity and bravery is set up in contrast to the

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7 In Samoa the father is Talanga (Powell, 1892: 79-83); in Rarotonga Ataranga (Te Ariki-tara-are, 1899: 67ff); in Rennell ‘Atanganga (Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 109 ff); in Hawai’i Kalana or Akalana (Beckwith, 1970: 228-9), in the Tuamotus Taana I Fenua (Von den Steinen, 1988: 110-1), to name but a few. In both Wi Tako’s and Te Whiwhi’s manuscripts (used by Grey but altered for his published version) Taranga is the father (GNZMMSS 59 and 46, AP). A related name, Tarahunga, is found in Taylor (1870: 124).
8 The confusion over names in Wohlers’s version is commented on in textual notes 1 and 9.
9 Ruatapu and Pōtae, 1929: 16.
10 The atawhai and atawhai kino brothers of Wohlers’s version resemble those who counsel brotherly love or who complain jealously in Te Rangikāheke’s version (Grey, 1956: 14-16). In another story Grey mentions Māui-mua, another name for Rupe, who goes on to have adventures of his own (Grey, 1956: 68). Since atawhai conveys such positive notions of kindness (Watkin, for example, translates it as ‘love’, ‘goodnatured’, ‘benevolence’, Harlow, 1987: 5), it is rather odd to see it coupled with kino. It may be a special South Island idiom, or perhaps Wohlers or his informant wished to soften the impact that kino would have if used on its own: the brothers are not evil, but wary of someone whose mischief may land them in trouble.
ignorance, uninvinitiveness and pusillanimity of his elder brothers.

The epithets attached to Māui’s name vary from version to version, and highlight his many attributes: pōtiki, ‘youngest’, atamai, ‘clever’, tinihanga, ‘trickster’, and so on. The most common epithet, tikitiki-o-Taranga, is also found in the southern version, in a slightly different spelling. The name is obviously very old, since it is so widespread, not only in Polynesia but throughout Melanesia and Micronesia as well. This name must therefore have preceded most if not all of the folk etymology advanced to explain it.

Tikitiki is variously interpreted as referring to Māui’s physical smallness or to his position as baby of the family, to his elevated position, whether physical or moral, to the swellings on his body, to his mischievous nature and so on. In Aotearoa, Grey’s translation of the name, ‘Māui-formed-in-the-topknot-of-Taranga’, now seems to be the accepted version, even though there is no reason to believe that this was the interpretation given to it by Te Rangikāheke or other narrators at the time. Evidence from both Wohlers’s and Ruatapu’s versions suggests that Taranga’s tikitiki is a garment, a loincloth or kilt. This loincloth is an important structural motif in the story: it wraps the immature foetus, is hidden from the parent in order to delay that parent’s descent to the underworld,

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11 See for example Lessa’s discussion, 1961: 290-1.
12 ‘Māui-the-littlest (ki’iki’i) was born’, Beckwith, 1970: 227; tikitiki in Māori may be a corruption of pōtiki.
13 Tī’e-tī-e-i-Talanga, ‘riding upon Talanga’, Powell, 1892: 80, and see his note 16; tikitike, ‘important, exalted’ (Williams, 1971).
14 Te Ariki-tara-are, 1899: 71.
16 The phrases ‘which you had cut off for the purpose’, and ‘I cut off’ (reffering to Taranga’s hair) are Grey’s embellishments (Grey, 1956: 13 and 22). The original Māori states only that Taranga wrapped up her child in her tikitiki. (Grey, 1971: 6 and 11). Grey must have been familiar with the use of the word tikitiki to mean ‘topknot’, for in Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna alone it occurs in the stories of Rata, Hatutapu and Hotunui. It is noticeable however that the people sporting topknots in these accounts are all men (warriors and high class males), for Māori women did not wear their hair in this style.
17 Sir George Grey’s collection of Māori mythology has continued to be published into this century, and is often wrongly thought of as the ‘standard’ version, from which all others are deviants. As Simmons (1976: 366-7; 369) has shown, the version published by Grey is a composite one, with incidents woven together from three different manuscripts. In the process, Grey has destroyed the internal logic and particular tribal emphasis of each. Luomala’s analysis (1949: 36-63), drawn from the published source alone, is therefore of no relevance.
18 Both tikitiki and maro refer to the short loincloth worn by both men and women. They can also be used of the pad of absorbant moss worn by a woman at the time of menstruation, and presumably also after the birth of a baby. In Ruatapu and Pōtē’s version Māui calls himself he toto, he take no tō tikitiki, ‘blood flowing from your tikitiki’(1929: 17). In Grey’s version the foetus is wrapped up in the tikitiki; in the Murihiku and Ngāti Porou versions the baby may actually be thought to grow from the blood in the pad of moss, as does Whakatau in another account (Grey, 1971: 48).
In yet another interpretation of this motif, Hina becomes pregnant through wearing a man’s loincloth which she finds on the beach (Beckwith, 1970: 229). This is said to be the origin for another of Māui’s names, Māui-a-ka-malo (‘Māui-of-the-loincloth’: Beckwith, 1970: 227).
and is hung round the neck of the pigeon.

The mother tries to dispose of her infant by throwing it into the most inhospitable surroundings she can find. In the Arawa version recorded by Grey she throws her aborted foetus into the sea, a hostile element which wages constant battle with the land. In Ruatapu and Pōtēa’s Ngāti Porou version, the foetus is first hidden in the bargeboard of the house and then taken to a cave and left with the dead bones of an ancestor (that is, it is treated as if it were dead). In the South Island version Hine chooses to throw her maro into a bush-lawyer, a prickly plant found in other stories too as a symbol of an almost insurmountable obstacle. That Māui survives at all proves that he is a person of superior mana.

According to traditional Māori thought a foetus which did not reach full term was highly dangerous and had to be dealt with in the correct manner, with appropriate ritual incantations and actions. Failure to do this would result in an atua kahukahu, a malignant spirit with particularly hostile feelings towards the other members of its family, for it had been deprived of the human warmth and comforts which were its birthright. Hine’s foetus, abandoned without care or ceremony, does not die but is rescued and brought up by other beings. Māui does not therefore actively seek to harm his family, but he cannot always be relied on and his feelings towards his parents and siblings are often equivocal.

The two beings who find and raise the abandoned maro are called Mū and Weka. The latter name is that of a flightless bird, and occurs, as either a common or proper name, in Māui stories outside Aotearoa. Since names such as these are often found in pairs, the name Mū may perhaps be a variant of moho, a kind of rail. Birds, or beings with the names of

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19Summary 3 at the end of this chapter.
20See ‘Ko Tama’ in this collection, and see also Orbell, 1985b: 101 and 179-80.
21Grey, 1956: 13, footnote; see also Best, 1906: 13; Shortland, 1856: 292.
22In Rotuma a ve’a (whose name, Marikilagi, ‘the woman who had come down from the sky’, resembles the Tama-nui-ki-te-Rangi of the Arawa version) brings Moeatikiti up and tells him how to make himself known to his parents (Churchward, 1937-8: 489; Russell, 1942: 243) In Tonga Muni (Māui) follows a ve’a to find his parents (Gifford, 1924:134); while in Samoa the roles of parent and guardian are reversed: Ve’a is a virgin chosen by Ulelepapa to bear her husband Talanga’s child for them to bring up (Powell, 1892: 80).
23Wohlers says that Mū and Weka are ‘names alluding to wingless birds in the bush’ (1874: 10). Mū (ii) ‘insects’ (Williams) is also a possibility in this context, although it seems far less likely. Mu is the name of a fairy people in Hawai‘i (Beckwith, 1970: 321-6), but the name is not found in this connection in Aotearoa.
birds but who speak like people, are often said to be the earliest inhabitants of Aotearoa, and occur in traditions about the earliest explorers.\textsuperscript{24} These two, Māui and Weka, may therefore be early, autochthonous ancestors.

Māui is next taken up to live in the sky, where his guardians are four beings whose names begin with Ao (‘cloud’). The story as told in the south is therefore set on three levels, sky, earth and underworld, whereas other versions speak only of the latter two.\textsuperscript{25} The episode which is set in the sky serves to emphasise Māui’s mana: his greatness is such that he is thought to be worthy of such an elevated home. This region must be assumed to be the setting for the next two episodes, although this is not made specific.

2. Killing of Te Roiroi-whenua and Te Rako-whenua

As has been already stated, this is one episode which does not occur in other versions of the Māui stories, and so few details are given here that it is impossible to explain the incident more fully.\textsuperscript{26} However, it is obvious that the pattern is being laid down for the series of feats which both here and elsewhere are called patunga, ‘fights’ or ‘ contests’, in which Māui is always the winner.

3. Killing of Maru-i-te-whare-aitu

After killing these two people, Māui launches into a contest with Maru-i-te-whare-aitu. Maru’s name translates as ‘Maru-of-the-house-of-misfortune’, and here he is obviously cast in the role of the enemy. In other contexts Maru is found as a god of war, particularly in the Arawa region, and he is usually connected with disease and death.\textsuperscript{27} But in another

\textsuperscript{24}Grey, 1956: 164-5. In the story of Hau, who comes to Aotearoa on the Aotea canoe, two slaves called Kiwi and Weka abduct Hau’s wife (Best, 1927: 68, 72). The context suggests that they are autochthones, though this is not explicitly stated.

\textsuperscript{25}The name of the rescuing ancestor in the Arawa version, Tama-nui-ki-te-rangi, suggests a connection with the upper regions, but it is not stated that Māui is taken there.

\textsuperscript{26}The name Te Roiroi-whenua occurs in the story of Tūtaka-hinahina. There is, however, no apparent connection between the two stories. The only one of Tiramōrehu’s patunga or ‘destructive acts’ not also found in Wohler’s account concerns Māui breaking up a block of stone (White, 1887, II: 79). This may be identical with Wohler’s episode 2, but the only obvious feature they have in common is the fact that they both take place while Māui is still living in the sky.

The only other version to mention Maru in connection with Māui is Te Whiwhi’s (GNZMSS 46: 6, AP). Here, Maru’s garden is bewitched by Māui, and his daughter is killed as Māui’s ika tuatahi, his first victim.

\textsuperscript{27}Best, 1925a: 854-6; Ngata, 1959: song 5 line 7 (here the two parts of the name are separated). In another song Maru is connected with gardens and destructive caterpillars (Ngata and Te Hurūnui, 1980: song 235, lines 9-13). According to Taylor, he is also associated with a frog, te mokomokai a Maru-te-whare-aitu; this
version from the far south (version 1b) Maru is said to be Māui’s elder brother, and the incident is seen as a kind of family squabble, which the elder relatives (pōua) have to try to keep under control. In the version under consideration no reasons are given for the strife between the two, but, since it concerns kūmara plantations, it may perhaps be seen as a struggle for the possession of the precious kūmara plant.

The struggle for possession of the kūmara is also found in myths from the Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe regions. Once again there is a contest between two brothers, the younger a Māui figure called either Māui-whare-kino or Rongo-māui and the elder called Whānui. The younger brother makes his way to the sky where Whānui lives to ask for seed kūmara. When his brother refuses, Rongo-māui steals the kūmara by hiding them in his penis and bringing them back to earth. Even then the contest between the two brothers is not ended, for Whānui sends down caterpillar pests to attack the kūmara.28

In the southern myth Māui does not steal the kūmara. The impression is rather that this is a contest between two rival tohunga, each striving to outdo the other in destructive witchcraft. In the end Māui proves to be the stronger and Maru is killed, seemingly because he has not managed to complete the necessary rituals (kāhore hoki i tae kia whakaponohia) and is therefore vulnerable to Māui’s attack.29 Māui remains the possessor of a flourishing kūmara plantation, and of the karakia which will enable the plants to be grown successfully.30

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28 It is significant that here the epithet whare-kino, also meaning ‘house of evil, misfortune’, has been transferred to Māui. Whānui is the name of the star Vega, whose heliacal rising was the sign for the lifting of the kūmara crop (Best, 1976c: 214). When Rongo-māui reaches the earth, he impregnates his wife Pani with the seed kūmara; she later gives birth to the tubers. A Tūhoe version quoted by Best makes another link between Māui and the kūmara by specifically stating that ‘Pani was one and the same personage as Taranga, the mother of the Māui brothers’ (Best, 1976c: 102-6).

29 Whakaponohia usually refers to ceremonies performed over human victims. Wohlers changed the word to karakia in his later version, perhaps because the former word was not usually used of ceremonies performed over kūmara plantations. Stack mentions placing ‘a handful of leaves or seeds (pita)’ on the tauamatau, (1893: 25), but this took place before the kūmara was planted, whereas in the story Maru’s plantation is already flourishing (ka ora tā Maru, tana mahinga kai). Since according to Williams the tauamatau is ‘the place where the pure for the kūmara plantation, or other similar ceremonies, were performed’, Maru has perhaps come to perform the rite prior to harvesting the crop, but he is waylaid and killed before he can accomplish it. Detailed descriptions of the various rituals are hard to come by, but see Best 1976c: 220-1 for brief comments on pure, tamaahu, and whāngai whetiti.

30 This becomes obvious in a later episode. Elsewhere, Māui’s connection with the kūmara is enshrined in an honorific expression for this food, te kura a Māui, ‘Māui’s treasured possession’ (Davis, 1855: 172).
4. Dart-throwing game

As in other versions of the story, Māui now decides to seek out his family. The dart throwing incident which leads him to them is found elsewhere, notably in Ruatapu and Pōtae’s East Coast version.\(^{31}\) No doubt Māui can be seen as the inventor of the game of darts, despite the fact that his brothers are already playing the game when he arrives.

This dart-throwing episode is also a stock motif of many folk tales, and takes several forms. In some stories the abandoned son throws a dart and follows it as it magically guides the way to his father’s village.\(^{32}\) In other cases, the son is so successful in dart throwing and other contests with the children in his village that he incurs their jealousy. They call him a bastard, and he sets out to find his father.\(^{33}\)

In this Murihiku version the dart-throwing motif has a slightly different twist, for Māui as usual has a destructive streak mingled with his skill. His dart strikes the house (the bargeboard, the upper and tapu part of the house)\(^{34}\) so forcefully that the board breaks and his mother comes out to remonstrate.

5. Māui reveals his identity to his mother and brothers

As in other versions, Māui is asked whose child he is, and gives the unexpected answer, Nāhau anō, ‘I’m your own child’. The mother protests that she has only the children who are known to her, whereupon Māui relates what happened at his birth. By having Māui relate the story again for the benefit of his mother and brothers, the story-teller is enabled to recreate a key episode in the narrative, that of Māui’s extraordinary birth.\(^{35}\) The information convinces Hine that Māui is indeed her very own child, and he is taken back to the village.

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\(^{31}\)See summary number 3 at the end of this chapter.
\(^{33}\)White, 1887, II: 173; 1888: 174.
\(^{34}\)Compare the episode, in other versions of the story, in which Māui throws a berry which hits his father on the forehead. A Tūhoe version has another variant of the motif: the dart leads Māui to his grandfather Murirangawhenua. It hits the old man in the jaw, which Māui then takes as a fish-hook (Best, 1925a: 940).
\(^{35}\)In the Grey version it is recounted in direct speech twice, once by Māui to his family and later by Taranga to the people in the underworld (Grey, 1956: 13-4; 22). This has the effect of enhancing Māui’s mana as a person much spoken about.
6. Māui discovers the whereabouts of his father, Te Raka

When Māui arrives in the village, he wonders where his father is. Te Raka comes only at night time, and leaves in the early morning, so that he is never seen by his children. This whole episode is reminiscent of stories about fairy lovers, who make their way to the beds of their human spouses. Fairies are said to shun the sunlight, and to come down only at night. Apart from the human partner, no-one knows of their coming until the human at last decides to reveal their presence to the rest of the people. This is done by blocking up all the chinks in the house so that no light enters and the fairy is tricked into sleeping on into daylight.

In these stories the fairy is usually a female, and the female Taranga of North Island Māui myths fits into this pattern better. One cannot help feeling, too, that the ruse used by Māui to delay his father, that of hiding his loincloth (the chink-blocking motif is absent in this southern version), would be better suited to a female than to a male Taranga, since women were far more concerned with personal modesty than were men. The motif, then, may have been originally associated with a female Taranga, and transferred unchanged to the male Te Raka of the southern story.

Māui’s purpose in delaying his father is to watch where he goes during the day. In this case it is not merely a clump of reeds but the house post itself which is pulled up to allow the father to descend to the world below. This is a motif found in many stories from Island Polynesia, in which a passage under the house post provides a link between an upper and a lower world. People in the upper world, the everyday world, can observe those in the world beneath going about their daily business.

There are stories about similar male fairies, for example Uenuku-rangi (Best, 1982: 416-7) and Miru (Kararehe, 1898: 55-63). Male fairies, however, usually go about securing a human female in a different way, trapping her in the woods or in her house, often in daylight (Best, 1975: 995 ff.; Orbell, 1968: 8).

See for example a Tūhoe version in which Taranga is explicitly said to fear sunlight, and deserts her family on being tricked (Best, 1925a: 936-7).

See for example Gill, 1876: 64-5, 70; Banapa, 1920: 88-9. Creed’s version (1b in the summaries at the end of this chapter) has a good example of this motif.
7. Māui’s success in catching pigeons

Māui does not immediately follow his father down to the world below, but first uses his disguise to enable him to catch large quantities of pigeons, which come unsuspecting to him in his pigeon form. (Te Raka’s loincloth forms part of this disguise, as it is transformed into the striking white breast feathers of the pigeon.) The pigeon-catching episode is obviously thematically related to the East Coast bird-spear incident, but Māui has chosen a different method for capturing his birds.39 Māui is proving his prowess as both a hunter and an inventor, in the one case by inventing the barb on the spear and in the other by initiating a new way of catching birds, by decoy. In mythological terms this episode is not a digression from the main story but a logical development of the main theme: Māui’s consummate skill in all he undertakes.

8. Māui takes the form of a pigeon to follow Te Raka to the land below

Māui’s actions as a pigeon and his father’s recognition of him are related more briefly by this narrator than by Grey or Ruatapu, but here the incident has an additional significance. For when Māui reaches the underworld he finds Te Raka digging in a thoughtless or ignorant fashion, that is, he has undertaken this activity without using the correct planting rituals. Māui perches on the handle of Te Raka’s kō or digging stick and proceeds to chant a karakia to teach him the correct way to cultivate his crop.40

The importance of this karakia is that it both reveals Māui’s identity to his father and teaches a very effective kūmara ritual which can be handed down from generation to generation. Māui’s connection with kūmara cultivation has already been dealt with (see section 3 above).

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39In the East Coast version all the brothers try unsuccessfully to spear birds, until the mother shows Māui her *tonetone*, clitoris, as a pattern for an effective barb (Ruatapu and Pōtæ, 1929: 5). Tikao (1939:12) has Māui’s mother demonstrating a barb for a fish-hook in a similar manner, while in the Murikoiu collection Whaitiri is the initiator of barbed fish-hooks (see ‘Ko Waitiri’).

40In versions from other islands the roles are sometimes reversed: the father cultivates in the correct manner, while Māui interferes with his magic powers by secretly watching (Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 110, 114; Elbert and Kirsley, 1966: 350-2). There is often intense hostility between the two, so intense that the father tries to kill his son (Churchward, 1937-8: 490; Henry, 1928: 352-3) and sometimes even succeeds in doing so (Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 110, 114).
Although this karakia contains several obscure words, the context suggests a possible interpretation. Other versions do exist, as it was apparently well known in the south, and these versions throw light on some expressions.\(^{41}\) First of all, as Wohlers indicates, Māui is making himself known to his father, and therefore he mentions his own name and that of Te Raŋa. Secondly, since the song is said to herald the spring and lay down the time for planting, there are as one would expect words indicating the seasons.\(^{42}\)

Once Te Raŋa has heard the karakia and recognised his son, Māui resumes his human shape. As is customary in such a situation, the father wishes to welcome his visitor by setting food before him, but the cooking fires have gone out and more fire must be fetched.

9. Māui and Mahuika, the guardian of fire

It is while Māui is in the world below that he has his next two adventures, in which his grandparents are also involved. In the c.1850 Māori text the sex of the two is not stated, but in the rewritten 1874 version Mahuika is a woman.\(^{43}\) Mahuika’s gender is significant, for the nature of the contest changes from version to version according to whether this figure is male or female.

If Mahuika is viewed as a female, the incident can be seen as a mythical account of the

\(^{41}\)Several versions of the karakia have been recorded in the south. Manuscript versions by Chapman (MS 416/H: 15) and Beattie (MS 582/E8: 26) may be found in the Hocken Library. A version by Te Maramu (or Te Marumaru) was published in a Māori newspaper (see Orbell, 1990: 20).

\(^{42}\)The most likely interpretation, suggested by the context, is that te whitu and te rahi are names of months in the Māori calendar (versions of the karakia recorded elsewhere include te waru as well). Other names are perhaps used here as poetical names for seasons: Tararauriki (‘small spiky leaves’?), taupiri (cf. pipiri, ‘winter’) and orarangi (‘health of the sky’, i.e. ‘summer’?). This interpretation of taupiri receives some confirmation from Creed’s version, where the word is taupuru (‘overcast, gloomy’). Creed also has arorangi (aro-o-Rangi, ‘the front of Rangi’?). The karakia may have been reinterpreted in many different ways. Williams’s gloss for arorangi reads: ‘Part of the snare of a waka kererū, the cross supports on which the paepae rest. Tukua te taupiri, takaia te arorangi.’ Since this quotation is unsourced it is impossible to check its context, but it may be a karakia used in setting pigeon traps. So the karakia chanted by Māui may contain yet another layer of meaning, associating it with catching pigeons. The words manu tīra, manu werohia could bear this second meaning; and Māui’s pigeon-catching abilities and pigeon disguise would also fit this interpretation. Some expressions similar to the ones discussed above are also found in a karakia used to call back a person who was said to have been spirited away by a demon (Best, 1925a: 1052).

\(^{43}\)Wohlers calls her taura wahi, ‘that woman’, and adds a short passage of conversation: Mahuika asks Māui, ‘What brought you here? Was it the wind which blows on my skin?’ and discovers, ‘Oh, you are my grandson!’ (1874: 12). As Wohlers had in the mean time read Grey’s version, this perhaps influenced him in rewriting this passage. The motif of using direction of the wind to identify a stranger occurs three times in the Arawa version: in episodes about Taranga and Muri-raŋa-whenau as well as Mahuika (Grey, 1956: 22 and 24).
relations between the sexes, as Māui strives with Mahuika for possession of her fire. The symbolic link between fire and dangerous female sexuality is exemplified elsewhere (for example in the Hawai‘ian stories of the volcano goddess Pele). Māui, the male, must conquer and control the powerful female forces which threaten to overpower him. Once under human control, the firemaking process itself becomes a graphic symbol of sexual relations.

If Mahuika is seen as a male, as he is in many Island Polynesian accounts, the contest becomes one of age giving way to youth. The young and vigorous Māui pits his strength, in a physical contest such as a wrestling or throwing match, against his older male relative and leaves him crushed and broken. The focus in these cases is very much on the physical prowess of the two males, and Māui does not use his magic powers to transform himself into a hawk or to summon rain and snow.

Wohlers’s Māui-Mahuika contest therefore fits the male-female rather than the male-male pattern. Whether Māui pits himself against a male or female Mahuika the result is the same: human beings gain control of fire and can use it in their own world.

One detail which is only implicit in the versions from Aotearoa, but which is stated specifically in many island versions, is that the underworld land where Māui’s parents live is also the land of cooked food, which they bring up daily for their children (who would otherwise have to go without). This incident is therefore the reverse of the Tura myth, in which human beings introduce fire and cooked food to supernatural beings in another

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44Beckwith, 1970: 167-200. One of the most striking features of Te Rangikāheke’s version of the Māui myth cycle (Grey, 1853: xxxiv-xl), which is the basis of Grey’s Māui story, is that Hine-nui-te-pō is the guardian of both fire and the underworld. She is thus an exceedingly powerful female figure, in control of both fire and death. The struggle between the two becomes a continuing motif, with Māui winning the first round but Hine-nui-te-pō being the eventual victor. The original Te Rangikāheke version is analysed in a study by Thornton, 1987: 77-85. Thornton notes the link between the fact that fire is contained in Mahuika’s fingernails, and that Māori women often made amorous advances by gently scratching their prospective lovers.

45The two sexes took part in the fire-kindling process, the woman holding down the lower piece of wood (which was thought to have the fire contained within it, thrown there by Mahuika), while the man rubbed it into life with a pointed stick. See Best, 1924: 87-102; also Koskinen and Hatiful, 1959: 277-83. For a graphic description of the fire-making process in which the sexual element is amusingly implied, see Grace, 1901: 188-9.

46See for example Von den Steinen, 1988: 112, 123; Churchward, 1937-8: 419; Gill, 1876: 54-5 and 67-9; and in particular Powell, 1892: 81-2, in which the element of male competition is further emphasised in that Māui steals Mafui‘e’s woman.

47See ‘Whiro and Tura: a voyage to death and a voyage to life’. 
world. As has already been discussed, according to one set of traditions the kūmara may be seen to belong to the upper, sky world. In another sense its home is obviously under the ground, and this southern version of the Māui myth has no difficulty in associating the kūmara with both areas. Through Māui’s actions both fire and kūmara become the property of human beings in the human world which is at the centre of things.

10. Māui and Muri-raka-whenua

The other grandparent, Muri-raka-whenua, is said specifically to be a grandfather (in Grey’s version this figure is a grandmother). In the c.1850 version it is others who ill-treat him, for when Māui takes food to him in the place of the regular bearers he finds the old man already dead from starvation. However, in the 1874 version two sentences are transposed so that it becomes Māui who, after offering to carry food to Muri-raka-whenua, eats the food and leaves the empty baskets at the side of the house. This latter interpretation is the more likely one, since it is much more in keeping with the rest of Māui’s activities.

As he lies there, Muri-raka-whenua has one side of his body still alive and the other rotting away. This is a motif found in other stories, where it indicates a person of great mana, with a superhuman side as well as a human one. Muri-raka-whenua is obviously a very tapu person, and what is more, he is a relative of Māui’s. In former times enemy bones were sometimes made into fish-hooks as a particularly virulent insult, a way of humiliating a defeated enemy or his family. For Māui to use Muri-raka-whenua’s jawbone as a fish-hook is yet another example of Māui’s ambiguous attitude to his family. This is an extremely daring and dangerous act, for such violation of the laws which bind families together risks being punished by supernatural agencies. But the outcome is yet another triumph for Māui, for by harnessing the power of his relative he can accomplish his next great feat.

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48 There are traditions in which it is said that kūmara is the food of the dead in the underworld.
49 It also agrees with Creed’s version, 1b at the end of this chapter.
50 See for example the story of Hine-poupo the great swimmer (Orbell, 1968: 93-4 and in particular note 7).
51 It is presumably the shape of the jawbone which first suggested the idea of a fish-hook to the earliest narrator of the story.
52 In another version by Ruatapu and Pōtē the jawbone is further desecrated by being nibbled by fish (kōkouti tītara-whare) as Māui washes it (MS Papers 189/53, WTU). The passage in Wohler’s version in which a ruao takes Māui’s hook is obscure; it too seems to be part of a tapu removing ritual.
11. Māui fishes up land

This is Māui’s best known exploit, one which is related of him in all parts of Polynesia. As in other versions, Māui’s brothers are unwilling to have him accompany them on their fishing trips, and he must resort to a subterfuge in order to join them. Once again, Māui boldly breaks tapu and does what no-one else would dare to do: first of all he hides among the cooking materials, a place which would normally be shunned by a person of high birth, as the proximity to cooked food would be highly damaging to his personal tapu.

Secondly, once he is discovered and allowed to stay he punches his own nose and smears his hook with blood clots for bait, a motif found in some form in most other versions. Although using part of his own body as food for fish is a highly dangerous act, Māui gets away with it, and even secures the greatest prize of all, land, Te Ika a Māui.

The land comes up in its finished state, complete with people, dogs, houses, storehouses and cooking fires. In this South Island version there are no restrictions placed on the brothers. They are not ordered to refrain from cutting up the fish or looking back at it, so there are no unfortunate consequences of the kind which follow their disobedience in other versions.53

In versions from many parts of Aotearoa a karakia accompanies the hauling up of the fish. These karakia vary a great deal, and are perhaps local fishing incantations.54 The karakia in the southern version seems to be called both a poua (or poa) and a whānai. Perhaps the latter word is a more general term, as it occurs in other rituals whose aim is to make

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53In North Island versions, the brothers hack at the fish (Grey, 1956: 32-4) or trample on it (Ruapatu and Pōtē, 1929: 13 and 25), so that it becomes mountainous and unpleasant to live in. In various Pacific island versions the brothers, by disobeying Māui’s instructions and looking back, cause the fish to slip off the hook and break up, so that islands are now far apart instead of near each other (these and other explanations are analysed in Lessa, 1965: 307-10). One South Island version echoes this latter idea. Tikao (1939: 49) states that because the brothers were disobedient and jumped on to the land (the North Island), Māui was unable to fasten it to his canoe (the South Island), and so the two remain separated to this day.

54Compare the karakia in the southern version with those found in Grey (1971: 16) and Ruapatu and Pōtē (1929: 25). Waro is given in Williams as ‘deep hole or pit, abyss’, and is used, for example, of Pekehaua’s cave (Grey, 1971: 133; Taylor, 1870: 160). Sometimes waro is accompanied by the adjectives teā, ‘light’ and uru, ‘dark’; and elsewhere the variant raro is found (according to Best ‘a mystical term either for the underworld or for the earth as opposed to the sky’). Best has several variants of similar fishing and eeling karakia (Best, 1977b: 63; 131; 219).
something secure or immobile.\textsuperscript{55}

Another feature of this version is the pepeha or wise saying uttered by Māui’s mother in a moment of spiritual communion (timu) with her son as the fish takes the hook. The saying may even have been in general everyday use, for a very similar one is recorded as having been uttered by Whakatau’s mother at the moment of her son’s triumph.

12. Māui and Tuna

Māui’s adventure with the eel is often recounted in the South Island. In Island Polynesia this episode may be told about Māui, or may be a separate story about Hina and Tuna. It is almost unknown in the North Island.\textsuperscript{56}

The shape of the eel and the fact that it is covered in a clear slime make it an obvious phallic symbol, and this is reflected in expressions such as hiku rekareka, ‘tickling tail’, used of sexual intercourse.\textsuperscript{57} In the Murihiku version Tuna commits both adultery and incest with Māui’s wife, since we are told that Hine is actually Tuna’s daughter. Hine’s words suggest that she does not find the experience disagreeable, but Māui cannot let Tuna’s actions go unpunished, for they are an attack on his manhood.

In taking his revenge Māui creates two kinds of eels, the sea-water or conger eel and the fresh-water eel, and he also invents the first eel trap and the karakia to accompany its making.\textsuperscript{58} As well, he causes various parts of Tuna’s body to turn into plants of different sorts. This is a rather less obvious transformation, for why should an eel turn into plants? In fact, this may be one case where a modified version of an older Polynesian motif has

\textsuperscript{55}The whāngai hau rite ‘was believed to stabilise or render permanent the courage and successful actions of the party’ (Best, 1941 II: 297). (In other whāngai rituals first fruits were offered in order to secure a bountiful harvest; see note 29 above.)

\textsuperscript{56}It is found in a version from Ngāti Hau (Taylor, 1870: 125), but here Tuna is not Hina’s lover, as he is in South Island and Island Polynesian tales. It is also found in a Tūhoe account (Best, 1925a: 833-5), but Best suggests that this account is perhaps not authentic Tūhoe tradition.

\textsuperscript{57}Best, 1923: 56.

\textsuperscript{58}This method of taking eels, by digging a channel and constructing side wings to guide the eel into it, was very common along the east coast of the South Island and perhaps on Ruapuke also. The eels either made their way to a trap at the end of the run, or if very numerous could be flipped out on to the bank as they swam along. Best expresses puzzlement at the mention of the use of skids (1925a: 834), but it is possible that these were spoken of in an older story, or that they were used in a local method (the fact that a karakia is used as the skids are laid down makes the latter seem likely, for in general the formulae that were remembered were the ones that were still in use). The skids find a place in a Ngāti Kuia version (number 2 on the list) and in a Tahitian version; in the latter Māui makes a path of banana trunks (Teuinatu, 1950: 45-7).
been retained when the local conditions which gave rise to the concept no longer existed. In tropical Polynesian islands the resemblance of the coconut to the head of an eel was noted, along with the suggestive action of pressing the nose and mouth to the coconut in the semblance of an embrace while drinking.\(^{59}\) The connection between eel and coconut is therefore seen as a logical one, and the story of Hina and her lover, the eel from whose body the coconut palm springs, is widely dispersed throughout Polynesia.\(^{60}\) In Aotearoa, where the coconut palm cannot grow, other local plants have apparently taken its place.\(^{61}\)

13. Māui snares the sun

The South Island version of this incident is comparatively straightforward, and differs little from accounts from other areas. In versions from Aotearoa the reason given for slowing down the sun is usually that people have no time to gather or cook food. In this southern version there is only just enough daylight to cook the food. By the time people come to eat it, darkness has already fallen. In versions from other areas of Polynesia it is sometimes said that Hine has not enough daylight to allow her to beat out her tapa cloth and spread it to dry.\(^{62}\)

Māui decides to stop the sun’s mad rush through the sky, and with the help of his brothers sets a snare to holds him fast. In some versions of the story the sun is beaten into submission, but in the southern version he is merely held fast until he begs for mercy and promises to make his daily crossing more slowly. The episode ends with an enigmatic statement which appears to be in the form of a proverb or wise saying vaunting Māui’s conquest of the sun.\(^{63}\)

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\(^{59}\) An even more suggestive resemblance between eel and coconut is made in a song recorded by Te Rangi Hiroa (1938: 312). Here there is a graphic description of the quick growth and sudden collapse of the coconut tree which springs from Tuna’s head (see also Beckwith, 1970: 478-88 on phallic symbolism in the ‘stretching-tree’ motif.)

\(^{60}\) See the comprehensive study by Kirtley, 1967: 89-107.

\(^{61}\) The significance of these plants is not clear, but there is obviously some sort of connection seen between their shapes, colours or other qualities and various parts of Tuna’s body. Compare Taylor, 1870: 125, where ‘another part’ (a euphemism) of Tuna becomes the supple-jack and his blood is absorbed into red-wooded trees such as rimu and totara; and Best, 1925b: 834, where Tuna’s testicles are said to become various meaty roots.

\(^{62}\) Other reasons are also given, such as that the taro root was formerly cooked for such a short time that it burnt people’s mouths.

\(^{63}\) See textual note 41 for an analysis of the saying. The fishing episode ends with a proverbial-type utterance, to the same effect, and Hine’s final words about Māui in episode 14 are also similar. So this seems to be a stylistic device in the story.
14. The first dog

Many Māori stories speak of the rivalry between brothers-in-law. Since brothers had a very close relationship with their sisters, the relationship with the sister’s husband was bound to be tense. The story of Māui and Irawaru is the archetype of these accounts. The important point of the story is not so much the incident which triggers off Māui’s revenge (he is jealous of Irawaru’s success in fishing, angry at Irawaru’s refusal to give him a cloak, or disgusted at his greed, according to various tribal versions) as the long-standing hostility between the two brothers-in-law, which sooner or later is bound to provoke Māui to action.

In this southern version it is not clear what is the pretext which finally makes Māui decide to destroy his brother-in-law. In his later published version Wohlers states that ‘Māui was disgusted with him because he was such a greedy man at meals’, but it is difficult to draw this interpretation from his Māori version. Whatever the reason, he puts Irawaru into a charmed sleep while delousing his head. While Irawaru sleeps Māui draws out his limbs, nose, tailbone and penis to make him into the shape of a dog, and then proceeds to defecate and make Irawaru eat the faeces. This provides a moment of humour and an example of the punishment being suited to the crime: Irawaru has angered Māui by his greed, and is now being made to eat filth in retaliation.

After the death of a father it was the brother who had to find a husband for his sister, for example, and he had special responsibilities towards her children. For relationships within the family, see Orbell, 1978b: 104-19.

The problem lies in the interpretation of the word * rua*. It may mean something like ‘rush upon’, with the idea that Irawaru gobbles down the food before Māui has a chance to eat his share. Compare Pakauwera’s version (in English): ‘Their mother used to prepare food for them, and Tārua [Māui’s brother in this version] used to gobble up his food, so that Māui went short’ (1917: 123). It is also possible that * rua* is being used in a verbal sense, meaning something like ‘went back for a second helping’ (compare * Ka tokorutia* in Orbell, 1968: 16-17.)

Because the person being deloused was in a position of extreme vulnerability, the operation was only carried out among members of a family. A similar episode recorded by Matene Te Whihiwi is included by Grey in a footnote to his English translation (1956: 40). The method in Grey’s main text is quite different: Māui presses the canoe down on top of Irawaru after a fishing trip, breaking his back and stretching his limbs.

Dogs do eat filth in real life, and this episode accounts for the habit, which is mentioned in other versions too. But the idea of poetic justice is obviously satisfying. In the Ruatapu and Pōtaei version, Irawaru refuses to give Māui a cloak, and has all his garments taken by Māui after he has been turned into a dog (1929: 11; 24); and in the Arawa version a fishing trip triggers the hostility, and so a fishing canoe is used to teach Irawaru his lesson (Grey, 1956: 40). In Taylor’s version the crime and the punishment are explicitly linked: Irawaru gobbles up the bait ‘like a greedy dog’ and is therefore turned into one (1870: 126).
This episode also accounts for several characteristics of dogs: they are close to human beings in that they share the same houses and often the same food, and can respond in an intelligent way to human commands, but they also have some disgusting, non-human habits. So in some respects they are treated as family, but because they are not human family their flesh can be used as food and their skins as clothing.

15. Māui and Hine-nui-o-te-pō

We have seen in a previous story that Tāne’s daughter Hine-atauira fled to Night after she found that her husband was also her father. In this underworld she became, according to many versions of the story, Hine-nui-te-pō, The Great-woman-of-the-night, and she now drags her children down to her after their life on earth. This is the origin of death for human beings.

Māui now tries to reverse the usual order of things by entering Hine-nui-o-te-pō’s body by her vagina, the path by which babies emerge. He finds Hine-nui-o-te-pō stretched out asleep, and enters her body by passing between her legs.

Although in most versions Māui is said to enter Hine by way of her vagina, the path he plans to take after this varies. Sometimes he intends to enter Hine’s womb and then make his way back through her vagina. Sometimes he plans to work his way through her body and out of her mouth, and sometimes to complete the journey both ways. Sometimes his object is to eat her heart and thus kill her. In almost all versions the idea of emergence is important: this will be Māui’s triumphant rebirth back into the world of light and life.

However, in the Murihiku version, as in other versions, Māui’s plans to outwit the

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68As well as eating filth, dogs commit incest. Williams glosses irawaru as 'incest'; see also Best, 1925a: 939 for the expressions kai whiore and ngau whiore.
70Ruataπ and Pōtae, 1929: 26; Grey, 1971:23. This episode is even more explicit in a Ngāti Kahungunu version, Smith, 1913: 63.
In Shortland’s version of the story, when Hine descended to Night ‘her head moved downwards. Her thighs opened and her genitals gaping wide’ (1882: 23, footnote; the translation is mine. Shortland’s material for this section may have come from the South Island). It seems certain that in this case the dead children returning to their mother are thought to do so by entering the birth canal in the reverse direction, until they are back in her womb, the world of the dead. Māui, however, intends to return to the world of the living by coming out of Hine-nui-te-pō.
guardian of death suffer a total reversal. Before he can burst out into the world his
companions,\(^7^1\) unable to contain themselves any longer, wake Hine-nui-o-te-pō with their
laughter.\(^7^2\) In this southern version we are not told specifically that Māui is crushed to
death by Hine’s sexual organ, but it is obviously implied.\(^7^3\)

Although we are deprived of the dramatic tension which is created in North Island versions

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\(^7^1\)In the southern version it is his brothers who accompany him. In many other versions he is accompanied by
a group of small birds (for example in Grey, 1956: 43-4). When this is the case, the myth serves to explain
the behaviour of the fantail, which behaves as if it enjoys human company, and which twitters in a way which
resembles laughter.

\(^7^2\)This laughter has usually been interpreted as an acknowledgement of the comical nature of the situation
(commentators talk about Māui’s legs threshing round wildly, or his ridiculous appearance when disguised as
a caterpillar), but the laughter here is in fact a sexual response, as it is in other similar situations. Compare the
daughter-in-law’s reaction when she sees Whiro’s penis (see ‘Ko Tura’), or Kae’s when he sees the obscene
finale of the dancing-girls’ haka (White, 1887, II: 124-5; 133; 142; Māori versions are quoted here, since
White omits the significant details from his translation).

Jean Smith (1974: 47) sees laughter as ‘frequently associated with the reversal of a death —> life movement
into a life —> death movement’, but in all the cases she quotes the laughter is a response to sexual
stimulation. The situation has sometimes been set up specifically to exploit the expected reaction: the
dancing-girls know that by doing their erotic haka they will make Kae open his mouth in an appreciative
laugh.

In another case of sexual entrapment, the precise nature of one man’s laughing response is made explicit:
_khai ia i kaha te papuhi i tana ahi i te kata atu ki te puta a te wahine ra ... me te mapumapu ana ngutu i te kata ... i pōhei me te tamaiti e mote ana i te 11, 'he could hardly manage blow on his fire, he was laughing so much
at the woman’s genitals ... and making sucking noises with his lips ... just like a baby sucking at the breast'
(White, 1888: 89-90, Māori version; the translation is mine).

The proscription against laughing in certain circumstances (see the story ‘Ko Pungarehu’ in this collection)
may be against letting the mind be diverted by sexual matters in a situation where this is inappropriate.

There are also situations in which there is no question of a life —> death reversal. Whakatau laughs as his
raho is seen (Shورد, 1856: 68), and a young man who has resorted to a ruse to win himself a wife laughs as
her garment falls off, for he knows she will now be his (Hongi, 1912: 30-2).

\(^7^3\)Some of the language used in the southern version is difficult to interpret, in particular the phrase e nanamu
noa ana mai ngā puapuapua. Williams gives this one example under the gloss ‘flash, glitter’, but no other
elements of the word nanamu indicate ‘flash frequently’ as a possible meaning. The root word namu means
‘sandfly’, and the reduplicated forms for the most part are connected with this: nanamu, ‘smart, single, sting, irritate’; namununamu, ‘small, diminutive, anything causing a blister on the skin’. What emerges from this
therefore is the idea of something small but at the same time hostile, which is perhaps one way of viewing the
female sexual organ.

The word may however have a more specific connection with female sexuality. One of Williams’s examples
for namu (given without its reference) is Ko te whakaputanga o te tamaiti i te namu o te whaia ki te aoturoa,
which Williams glosses as ‘?Pudenda muliebria’. The reference is in fact to a footnote to a line in an oriori,
which runs, _Ka māro tama i te ara namunamu ki te taiaro_, translated as, ‘You, O son remained steadfast on the
narrow pathway to the wide world’ (Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980, song 201, line 12). The note further
explains, _Ko te ara namunamu he ara whātūi, ‘The passage-way (ara) is a narrow one’_. This seems to suggest
that Williams is correct in giving namu or namunamu as a word for the vagina. I have translated e nanamu
noa ana mai ngā puapuapa as ‘opening up her genitals towards him’. In this context the word must refer to the
idea of the female genitals as the birth passage.

In translating nanamu as ‘flash’, Williams is perhaps working on the analogy of other versions, where the
word used is uira or _kōwhakihwaki_ (e.g. Grey, 1971: 22). However, the latter word too may mean ‘open’,
since under the rubric _kōwhakihwaki_ Williams lists a parallel word, _fiwhaki, _‘expand, open’. The use of the
frequentative form of the verb suggests a repeated action, Grey’s ‘opening and shutting’ (Grey, 1956: 42). In
Te Rangiūkēheke’s version of the story, when Māui goes to visit Hine the first time, _ka kīte ia i ēna kuha e
fīrāra tonu ana, ‘he saw her thighs wide open’ (Grey, 1853: xlvii)

Another line of thought is provided by Pakauvera’s version: ‘Then he listened, and looked also. Māui said
unto his mother, ‘What is that which is _kamu_ (the noise of the lips opening and shutting) there?’ (1917: 127).
The word _kamu_ may even be cognate with namu. Another version also mentions the murmuring noise made
by Hine’s genitals (Best, 1925a: 947).
by a longer recital of Māui’s struggle with Hine-nui-te-pō, the very suddenness and baldness of the statement about Māui’s death in the South Island version give it a finality which is in its way as effective as the fuller North Island versions. We are told nothing about the possibility of immortality for the human race should Māui be successful. Instead we have the horror of an exciting and productive life suddenly cut off. As the Māori proverb says, *He mahi atu tā te tāngata, ma Hine-nui-te-pō e kukuti mai*, ‘People work away, but Hine-nui-te-pō cuts them off’.

It is particularly this last adventure of Māui’s that gives to the myth a tragic dimension not found in other Oceanic versions, where this incident is absent. Commentators emphasise the ‘prankster’ or ‘trickster’ elements of Māui’s character, and indeed these are present: his destruction of the barge boards of his parents’ house and his repeated visits to Mahuika, for example, are evidence of a childish sense of humour and willfulness. But in his struggles with Mahuika, Hine-nui-te-pō and others Māui is not being destructive and importunate for the mere sake of it. He is involved in a contest to prove his mana, and the contest is a serious one, a matter quite literally of life and death.

**Conclusion**

Throughout Aotearoa the story of Māui is told and retold, and references to his name and exploits are found in countless waiata and proverbs. For the people of the south, Māui seems to have been held in special regard. As Beattie says, ‘All the Southern Maoris lay great stress on the story of Māui, and in telling of the past often begin with him’. The South Island is seen as Māui’s canoe, which existed before the North Island was hauled up from the depths of the sea, and South Island Māori gain a great deal of mana from this (even though, as Cowan remarks, ‘it would be hard to convince a Northern Māori of the

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74His final attempt to conquer her is often part of a longer conflict in other versions: according to Tūhoe, Māui has killed Hine-nui-te-pō’s lover, the eel, and has also desecrated her land by pulling it to the surface (Best, 1925a: 833-4), or has defeated Hine’s younger sister, Mahuika (Best, 1925a: 794-7; this may be Ngāti Awa). In an Arawa version, Māui has tricked Hine out of her fire and nearly defeated her (Grey/Te Rangihiheke, 1853: xlvii).
76Occasionally the hero is said to try to gain immortality for the human race by exchanging bodies with the crab or swallowing the sea slug, but these episodes have a distinctly comical cast.
superior antiquity of the Greenstone Land').\textsuperscript{78} The event is commemorated in the name of the meeting house at Tuahiwi near Kaiapoi (which is called Māhunui, after Māui’s canoe), and in the names of many geographical features: Te Taumanu o te Waka, ‘The Thwart of the Canoe’ (the Kaikōura Peninsula), Te Puka o te Waka, ‘The Anchor of the Canoe’ (Stewart Island), and many more.\textsuperscript{79}

The people of the south also remember Māui in the names of their wildlife. Cowan tells us that the pīpīwharauroa, the shining cuckoo, is known as ‘te manu a Māui’ because it announces spring planting with its cry of Kōia! Kōia! (‘Dig! Dig!’). Māui is ‘the tutelary deity of the gardens and cultivations’.\textsuperscript{80} The pigeon ‘is still figuratively spoken of as a symbol of Māui’s spirit’.\textsuperscript{81} The daddy-long-legs is known as te tatau o te whare o Māui (‘the door of Māui’s house’), the kōkopu is known as ‘Māui’s food’, and the limpet is recognised as still having Māui’s fishing-line concealed within its shell.\textsuperscript{82}

At the time when Wohlers was recording the stories of Māui and his deeds, the people recounting them were very much aware that they used Māui’s karakia for the cultivation of crops, made firesticks from the trees into which Māui had forced Mahuika to throw her fire, and trapped the eels which he had introduced into the world. They owed dogs to his cunning,\textsuperscript{83} and long daylight hours to his skill. Above all, he had supplied them with their island home. It was no wonder that they enjoyed telling of his many adventures.

OTHER VERSIONS:

So many versions of the Māui myth exist that it is impossible to give summaries of even a representative sample here. Only published South Island versions are mentioned, along with the Ngāti Porou version which has been used for comparisons in the body of this discussion. Grey’s version has not been summarised, as it is a composite one.

\textsuperscript{78}Cowan, 1905d: 161.
\textsuperscript{79}Cowan, 1905b: 120.
\textsuperscript{80}Cowan, 1905c: 338-9; Beattie, 1919: 48-9.
\textsuperscript{81}Beattie, 1915: 104.
\textsuperscript{82}Beattie, 1919: 49, 50; 1920b: 65; 73.
\textsuperscript{83}According to Beattie, the people to whom he spoke still regarded Irawaru as their elder brother (Beattie, 1915: 104).
1. *Kāi Tahu/Kāti Māmoe/Waitaha* 84

a. Tiramōrehu85

Mū and Weka find Hine’s ‘blood skirt’ and raise it as a supernatural being (*atua*), Māui. Maui performs a number of ‘sacred destructive acts’ (*patunga tapu*). Tiramōrehu numbers these, and in most cases gives no other details.

1. The destruction of Maru-ki-tauhare-aitu’s cultivations.
2. The destruction of a rock called Tai-koia.
3. The destruction of the barge-board of Te Raŋa’s house, during a game of darts between Māui and his newly-found brothers.
4. The seizing of Muri-raŋa-whenua’s jaw-bone.
5. The snaring of the sun.
6. The defeat of his ancestor Mahuika.
7. The defeat of his brother-in-law Irawaru.
8. The defeat of Tuna.
9. The catching of his ‘land-fish’.

In the end Māui himself is defeated by the genitals of Hine-nui-te-pō, because of the uncontrolled laughter of his brothers.

b. Creed86

1. **Unusual birth and upbringing.** Māui’s mother is called Hine-muri-raŋa-whenua, and his father Te-raŋa or Ta-raŋa. Māui is ‘something left in a house’. He is taken to live in the sky by Mū and Weka, but the Ao figures are absent in this version.
2. **Dispute with Maru-i-te-whare-aitu.** Maru is Māui’s elder brother. He and Māui

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84 There are also Māui stories scattered throughout Beattie’s works, but his main analysis of the Māui myths (1954: 141-60) draws heavily on published sources and follows outdated theories. Other versions of the myth exist in unpublished manuscripts.

85 White, 1887, II: 79-81 (English); 72-4 (Māori). This was written for the missionary Charles Creed.

86 White, 1887, II: 81-6 (English); 74-9 (Māori). This is Kāi Tahu, in spite of White’s attribution to Ngāti Hau. Creed recorded it in English, so the Māori version must be White’s own translation. Episodes 12 and 13 are numbered continuously in the above summary, even though White has given them separate headings. White has probably changed the order of some episodes.
blight each other's crops with frost, rain and snow and are chided by their parents. Apparently Maru is not killed.

3. **Dart-throwing game.** Māui takes food down to his parents. The dart-throwing episode closely resembles Wohlers's version, as do episodes 4-8.

4. **Māui reveals his identity to his mother and brothers.**

5. **Māui and Muri-ranga-whenua.** Māui starves Muri-ranga-whenua to death and takes his jawbone for a fish-hook.

6. **Māui discovers the whereabouts of his father, Te Raaka.** He pulls up a house post and looks down on the world below.

7. **Māui flies down to the land below.** He perches on his father's digging stick to teach him the correct karakia for cultivation. The karakia begins by closely resembling the one in Wohlers's version, but has an additional seven lines.

8. **Māui and Mahuika, the guardian of fire.** This episode closely resembles the one recorded by Wohlers. The trees which contain the fire are named as *hinahina*, *patete* and *kaikōmako*.

9. **Māui and Tuna.** Tuna violates Māui's wife. Māui causes a flood to sweep him into a net spread across a trench. Māui cuts off his head, which becomes eels; his body becomes the monster eel Pukutuoro, and a number of different species of plants (named).

10. **Māui fishes up land.** This episode is similar to the one recorded by Wohlers, except that Māui uses the tip of his nose as bait, and the land is called the Island of Aotearoa.

11. **Māui and Hine-nui-te-pō.** This episode is quite different from that in any other version. Māui begins to eat Hine-nui-te-pō, starting at her feet. Once he gets to her throat she closes her lips and he dies. He is buried in a cave.

12. **Māui snares the sun.** This closely resembles Wohlers's version.

13. **The first dog.** The reason given for Māui's hostility towards Irawaru is said to be the latter's refusal to help cultivate their plantation.
c. Kōruarua, 1988: 49-51

This is a version from Taumutu of the story of Māui and Tuna. Tuna has intercourse with Hine-tū-roto and Hine-te-kaere, the sisters of Irawaru. Māui sets up an eel trap, catches Tuna and chops him in two: one portion becomes a fresh water eel in the lake, and the other a conger eel in the salt water lagoon.


This is an unusual version localised on Banks Peninsula.

A giant covets Māui’s wife, so Māui casts him to the bottom of the sea and piles rocks on top of him, thus forming Banks Peninsula. Each spring the giant wakes and starts moving, causing splits to open and fill with sea water: these are Akaroa Harbour, Pigeon Bay and Lake Forsyth. Each time Māui piles on more rocks, until at last the giant is immobile.

When Māui and his family die they go to live on the moon. The giant too dies, and the struggle is renewed. Māui piles the moon on top of the giant, who alternately eats and vomits up the moon. This accounts for its waxing and waning.

e. Tikao, 1939: 9-22

This version has a great many incidents and details not found in versions recorded further south.

Māui’s mother is Hine-aro-raki, and she and her sisters are in charge of winds, waves and other natural phenomena. Hine throws her aborted foetus into the sea, where it is cared for by one of the sisters.

Māui models his fish-hook on his mother’s genitals. He marries Hine-tū-repo and Hine-te-

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87 Hine-tū-roto seems to be Māui’s wife, even though she is called his sister. Hine-te-kaere may be Hine-te-ngahere; see version e below.
88 First edition 1874. Foley was a junior officer on a French warship, the Rhin, which was stationed in Akaroa from 1843 to 1846. His Quatres années en Océanie (1866) shows ethnographic interests and includes translations from Grey’s Polynesian Mythology. This version may be Foley’s own invention, but it may well have been told to him by local Kāi Tahu people.
kahere, the sisters of Irawaru. The latter is lazy and refuses to cultivate their plantation, so is turned into a dog as he sleeps. The Tuna episode is similar to that in 1c above.

Māui’s mother makes him kites in the form of hawks and pigeons. These give him the power of flight, and allow him to follow Te Raṅa and later to escape Mahuika. Each day Te Raṅa brings from the underworld only enough fire to last for that day, so Māui decides to win the secret from Mahuika. Several details in this version differ from the Murihiku version: Mahuika’s pet is a pākura or swamp hen, which betrays Māui by telling Mahuika that he is extinguishing the fire as it is given to him. In retaliation, Māui presses a spark on its head (the red crest which it now wears). He also squeezes the fantail (causing its eyes to bulge and its tail to splay out) so that it will reveal the secret of where Mahuika has hidden her fire.

The episodes about the binding of the sun and the fishing of Te Ika a Māui closely resemble the Murihiku version, but in the latter story Māui tells his brothers that they must pull hard on the fish, to draw it to the canoe. Instead, they leap on to it and cause it to drift away, which is why the North and South Islands are separated today.

Both the birds and his brothers accompany him on his adventure with Hine-nui-te-pō. The reason for the birds’ laughter is said to be revenge, because of his former cruelty towards them.

2. Ngāti Kuia

Pakauwera, 1917: 123-9

Māui separates the sun and moon, and makes the sun go more slowly. He and his brother Taraṅa live together, but Taraṅa gobbles all the food and Māui goes short. Māui therefore takes Taraṅa on a journey and turns him into a dog. Their mother enquires anxiously after Taraṅa and is told to call him as one calls a dog.

Māui hides his mother Hine’s maro and follows her to the world below in the form of a sparrowhawk. He teaches the people there a karakia for cultivation.
The Mahuika episode resembles Wohlers's version, but the Tuna episode has a different twist in that the sexual element is missing. Tuna is called a taniwha and is said to eat people. Māui takes a male companion to act as a decoy to lure Tuna up the nine skids he has laid, and kills him.

Māui hears ‘the noise of the lips opening and shutting’ (kamu) and discovers that this is made by Hine-nui-te-pō. He enters her, but Taraŋa laughs and Māui is killed.

The fishing episode is similar to Wohlers’s version. Smith (the editor) has separated it from the rest as a story about a different person, ‘Māui the navigator’, but it obviously belongs to the rest of the story.

3. Ngāti Porou

Ruatapu and Pōtae, 1929: 1-26

In the latter part of last century a distinguished East Coast tohunga Mohi Ruatapu collaborated with the chief Henare Pōtae in recording much of the traditional knowledge of their tribe. Some of the narratives which they recorded, including the Māui cycle, exist in several versions, each varying from the others in details or even whole episodes. The following is a list of the episodes recorded in a version published in the Journal of the Polynesian Society:

1. **Unusual birth and upbringing.** Māui’s mother Taranga first hides her miscarried foetus in the bargeboard of her house and later carries it to the cave of her forbear Muri-ranga-whenua. In three days and three nights it develops into a person, Māui-pōtiki.

2. **Dart-throwing game.** Māui sees his brothers at play and joins in. He is the most successful player, causing his dart to glance off his brothers’ backs (the origin of the flattened aspect of the human back).

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89See a discussion of this in Orbell, 1968: 111.
90The published version of the Māui story, translated by Best for the Journal of the Polynesian Society (1929: 1-26), is taken from a manuscript written by Ruatapu and Pōtae for Samuel Locke (WTu).
91Elsewhere this is said to account for the groove either down or across the human back. Best (1976b: 61)
3. Māui reveals his identity to his mother and brothers. The brothers take Māui back home, and during the performance of a haka, he reveals his origins and is welcomed into the family.

4. Māui’s success in fishing. The brothers catch no fish, since the bottoms of their nets are not tied. Māui shows them how to tie the nets properly.

5. Māui’s success in bird-spearing. The brothers catch no birds, as their spears lack barbs. Using his mother’s clitoris as a pattern, Māui designs an effective, barbed bird spear.

6. Māui discovers the whereabouts of his mother, Taranga. He blocks up the chinks in the house and steals Taranga’s loincloth, thus delaying her until after sunrise, when he can watch her pull up a clump of sedge and disappear below.

7. Māui takes the form of a pigeon to follow Taranga to the land below. He perches on a pūriri tree and throws berries down on to a person’s head. He then dodges the spears that are aimed at him until he is recognised by his parents. His father’s name is Irawhaki.

8. Māui and Mahuika, the guardian of fire. This is similar to the Murihiku version, except that Māui turns himself into a pigeon to escape the fire. The trees from which fire can now be kindled are not named.

9. The first dog. Māui’s brother-in-law, Irawaru, refuses to give Māui one of his garments and takes no food when they go on a journey. He goes hungry when Māui draws out the land (to make the journey longer) with his enchantments. Māui turns Irawaru into a dog while tattooing him, and then performs a tohi ceremony over him. Irawaru’s wife commits suicide and Māui takes possession of Irawaru’s cloaks.

10. Māui invents hand games. He amuses his companions with his own cat’s cradle designs and counting games.

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describes a darts game in which the darts are bounced off a mound of earth, but does not mention whether human backs actually were used for this purpose.

92In this version Mahuika is an ‘old woman [who] was all fire, her body, arms, legs, head and hair were all fire’ (Ruatap and Pōtē, 1929: 8).

93Although the cloaks are simply called kākahu, a general word for cloaks, one can see that this incident commemorates the invention of the fine dogskin cloaks worn by chiefs. In waiata and oratory a fine dogskin cloak may be called Irawaru, in memory of this first dog.
11. **Māui and Muri-ranga-whenua.** When the women grumble at Māui’s idleness, he takes Muri-ranga-whenua’s jawbone from its cave, washes it and chants a karakia. A particular species of fish, the *kōkopu tātarāwhare*, eats the rotten flesh. Māui then fashions the jawbone into a fish-hook.

12. **Māui fishes up land.** Māui hides in his brothers’ canoe and appears when they are out at sea. He chants a karakia to make distances longer so that they cannot return him to land. Using blood from his own nose as bait, he hauls up Te Ika a Māui. The brothers trample on it and cause the hills and ridges which now, according to the narrator, spoil it.

13. **Māui snares the sun.** Māui slows the sun by chanting a karakia. After this people have time to find food for themselves.

14. **Māui and Hine-nui-te-pō.** Māui hears about Hine-nui-te-pō and wishes to defeat her. His father’s karakia contained an error which will lead to Māui’s death, but Māui ignores his warnings. He plans to enter her vagina and emerge through her mouth, and then return in the other direction. His companions, small forest birds, are warned not to laugh, but when they disobey Māui is ‘nipped by [her] dread organ’ and dies.

Like other stories recounted by Ruatapu, this one provides the karakia appropriate to each of Māui’s actions, evidence of the tohunga’s interest in such matters.

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94Best translates this as if Māui intends to pass *either* one way *or* the other, but *a* indicates an additional action rather than an alternative one. Another version uses *hoki*, ‘and’, at this point.
TEXT

KO MĀUI


Na, ka haere mai, ka tae mai (ki te kāinga o tōna matua). 8 Ka rokohina mai e kōkirikiri ana

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1 White 1887, II: 71-8 (English); 65-71 (Maori). White has added two paragraphs from a different source (not as yet traced, but probably a South Island one) to the beginning of this passage. This makes an already confused set of family relationships even harder to untangle.

2 Wohlers has hypercorrected the name Mahuika, which has a k even in northern dialects. The original Hine has been corrected in the manuscript to Hina, perhaps by Wohlers himself, as this is the form he adopts in his 1874 version. Later in the story she is called Hine.

3 Wohlers obviously found the names of Hine’s children confusing. Māui-waho is added in the margin of the manuscript, and two names, Māui-tiketike and Te Raŋa are lightly crossed out, probably by White. Perhaps what Wohlers actually heard was, ko Māui-titiiki-a-Te-Raŋa — ko Māui-pōtiki, that is, ‘Māui-titiiki-a-Te-Raŋa — who is Māui-pōtiki’.

4 Williams gives kura as ‘A red variety of kūmara, reserved for the tohunga and ariki.’

5 Wohlers has left tороkū uncorrected in his 1874 version too, no doubt because it was an unfamiliar word.

6 Marukotewhareaitu in the manuscript.

7 Under māori (iii) Williams gives ‘a variety of kūmara’. Alternatively, the word may mean ‘weeds’, that is, the ‘normal, usual, ordinary’ (māori) products of the earth.

8 The parentheses in this paragraph are in the manuscript. There are many examples throughout these texts of the insertion of explanatory names and phrases such as a Māui and ki te kāinga o tōna matua, in cases where the Māori narrator would have felt that the meaning was obvious. The phrase Ka puta ki waho te wahine is,
ngā tuākana. Ka kōkirikiri (a Māui) ka pakū atu ai, ka tū ki te maihi o te whare o Te Ra īa rāua ko Hine. (Ka puta ki waho te wahine), ka pōrangī, ka uī, ‘Na wai ka pae nei te maihi o te whare?’

Ka kī atu ngā tuākana, ‘Na rāia te tamaiti nei.’

‘Na wai ra te tamaiti?’

Ka kī mai, ‘Nāhau anō.’

‘Kāhore hoki, ka mutu anō ia āhaku kōrua anake: ko Māui-mua, ko Māui-roto, ko Māui-taha, ko Te Ra īa.’


Kātahi anō te hākui ka mahara, āe, nāhana anō.

Ka noho i te kāinga i te hākui. Ka mahara, ‘Kei whea ra tako hākoro?’

Ka ahiahi te rā, ka tū waenganui pō, ka oho ake — e moe ana rāua ko te wahine. Ka kainamu ki te ata, ka tata ki te awatea, ka ngaro a Te Ra īa. Ka ahiahi, ka tū waenganui pō, ka moe whakakikokiko. Ka tae mai a Te Ra īa, ka titiro atu tērā, ka wewete i te maro, ka hoatu ki tahi, ka warea atu i te moe. Ka tikina atu e Māui taua maro, ka mauria mai, ka waiho ki raro i tōna moenga. Ka oho ake a Te Ra īa, ka pōrangī, ka awatea. Ka unuhia te poupou, ka ngaro. Ka hori te hākui ki te ahi kai. Ka whāia e Māui te poupou, ka titiro ia ki raro.

Ka karanga atu tērā ki te hākui kia hōmai he hinu. Ka pania ki ngā waewae. Ka karanga

however, an integral part of the sentence, and may have been put in brackets in error.

Once again Wohlers seems to be having trouble with the names of Hine’s children (see note 3), but this time there seems to be no logical reason for the inclusion of Te Ra īa in the list. (There is one South Island version in which Tāra īa is a brother of Māui (Pakaunwera, 1917: 124), but this is most unusual.) Another difficulty is the use of the dual form kōrua to refer to four people. Wohlers rewrote the sentence for his 1874 version.

The use of the third person shows that this should actually be indirect speech, even though it is direct in the manuscript.

In this instance hori seems to have the same sense as tahuri, ‘turn to, set to work’, rather than its more usual meaning in these texts of ‘go’.
atu, 'Hōmai he tuhi.'


Ka ahiahi te rā, ka haere ki te kāinga me tana kawenga kererū. He tūra[nga]13 a ngā tuākana, he hopu tou tāna. Ka manawareka te hākui, ka titiro te hākui, he tūranga a ngā tuākana, he hopu tou tā Māui. Ka ahiahi te rā, ka tae mai a Te Ra’a. Ka kiia atu e Hīne, ‘Tā tāua tamaiti i whakamate te kai, he tūranga a ngā tuākana, he hopu tou a14 tāna.’


Ka whana atu te kaipīhere. Ka rere, ka tau ki ērā takitaki o ngā māra. Ka whai anō te kaiwhai, kia pīhere ki a ia. Ka rere mai te kererū ki runga ki te hūkui o te kō a Te Ra’a, e kō ana i waenga. Tangi ana i reira, noho ana i runga o te hūngui15 o te kō. Na, titiro ana te hākoro, kī ake nei, ‘Ko te tangata pea koe o16 runga na?’

Ka kū iho ai ki te hākoro. Ka whakaake17 ki raro ki te whenua. Na, kua whakatangata. Na,

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12Tūhi is translated by Wohlers as 'charcoal' and by White as 'red ochre'. It could be either, but since the New Zealand native pigeon has a red beak and a red ring around its eyes White's suggestion is the more plausible one. Wohlers says that the oil is 'to make them [his limbs] pliable', but it is more likely that Māui is using it to mix the colouring matter for spreading on his legs and beak.

13In his later version Wohlers corrects this to he mea tīr ra, which makes grammatical sense but which cannot have been what the narrator actually said. It would be possible to correct it to E tīr ra, but this leaves an ungrammatical a before ngā tuākana. Since the expression he tūranga a ngā tuākana occurs twice in the following two sentences, this seems the most likely interpretation. The omission of the first nga would be a natural mistake to make in transcribing what was dictated. In my translation I have been guided by Wohlers's paraphrase, 'Māui had a large bundle of sound pigeons, while his brothers only had two or three each, much lacerated by spear wounds' (1874: 11). However, an alternative translation, 'The brothers just stood there, while Māui actually caught them', seems equally sustainable. Māui is catching the pigeons by imitating them and moving up close to them (and presumably catching them with his bare hands).

14This a is grammatically incorrect, and was probably put in by accident by Wohlers, on the analogy of a ngā tuākana. He corrects it to ahana in his 1874 version.

15Wohlers is obviously unsure of the standard form of hūngui, as he tries it out both ways and in his later version corrects it back to hūkui. Once again, it is an unusual word (see note 5 above).

16This is one of the many cases where Wohlers writes what looks like an a, but which must be an o. It is corrected in the 1874 version.

17Possibly for whakaangi, 'float, move easily'.
i rokohina atu te hākoro e kō mākūware ana. Nāhana (na Māui) i hoatu te peha:

Kōia, ko Tararau-riki,
Ki mai Māui, ka hara i te whitu,
Tukua te taupiri, tātaia te orarangi,
E tau, e, kōia, kōia manu tīria,
Manu werohia ki te poho o Te Rāka,
Ka tau rērere, ka tau whakaaki,
Ka tau mai i te rūhi.18

Ka mutu, ka mahara a Te Rāka, ‘Ko Māui.’


No reira i mahara nei, ko te tangata rawa19 anō i runga nei.


18 Some of this verse is written in the margin of the manuscript and is difficult to read, which is why White's version differs from the one given here. I have used Wohlers's 1874 version to help establish the text, choosing the original where it is clearly written and seems to make sense. See the introduction to this chapter, section 8, for a discussion of this passage.
19 Rawa may be an intensive adverb (‘that very man’), or the adjective rawe meaning ‘apt, clever’, or, in this context ‘cunning, deceitful, mischievous’. Compare rawehanga, rauhanga, rawahanga.
20 The word pepe seems to have been added to throw light on peo, but neither word is glossed very satisfactorily in Williams. It must mean something like ‘flew up’ or ‘darted off’.
21 The word whakakākahu in Wohlers's original manuscript is obviously a mistake: Māui is using his magical powers to turn himself into a hawk (kāhu). The word is corrected in the 1874 version.
22 Kapu is corrected to kapo in the 1874 version. Williams uses this example and translates ‘hail’, but may simply be making an intelligent guess as in his other examples kapo is used in conjunction with stars and lightning to mean ‘twinkle’ or ‘flash’. Māui is calling down weather phenomena which are getting progressively worse, so I have called huka-a-tara ‘sleet’ and huka kapu ‘hail’.
23 Wohlers corrects this to e Mahuīnga in his later version. However, there is probably a personification here: the fire which is thrown into the trees is Mauhiuka herself (cf. Best, 1924b: 91).
24 The word kaikōmaka could be yet another case in which Wohlers writes an o which looks like an a. However, the manuscript for the 1874 version has the terminal o carefully corrected to a, in Wohlers's handwriting. The sentence is ambiguously worded (unless the word was used in the far south to refer to a

Kua rere iho hoki a Māui, kua whakatangata ia. Na, ka hoki mai anō ki te kāinga o Raka; i reira anō ngā tuākana; i reira anō tētahi tupuna o tērā. Ka noho i konā, ā, maoka he kai. Ka haere ngā tuākana, ka kawe ka mai ma tō rātou tupune.25 Ka whana atu, kai rawa; ko ngā rourou [i] waiho ki te tara o te whare, takoto ai.


different tree). The narrator seems to be saying that the fire did not remain in the kaikōmako, whereas in other versions the kaikōmako is one of the trees which does contain Mahuika's fire (Grey's list is: kaikōmako, pukatea, poporokaiwhiria, māhoe and taraire; 1971: 19). The other tree names used here also vary slightly in their spelling.

25Throughout these texts Wohlers often uses the forms tupune, mokopune, Rehue and so on. See the section "The Language of the South" in the introduction to this thesis, subsection A 2(c).

26Williams mentions no fish called rūo, but gives rūao as 'galaxias fasciatus'. Wohlers often elides a and o, as in the words o ake, Otearoa.

27The manuscript has kawae. Elsewhere the standard spelling kauae is used.

28In the manuscript this phrase forms part of the preceding sentence. I have repunctuated it, as Wohlers himself did for his later version, since it makes more sense this way. It parallels the sentence above, in which the brothers also set off while it is still night.

29Wohlers translates tahunga as 'the basket with the fishing lines', which may be correct, since the brothers find Māui at the moment when they are taking out their fishing tackle. There is however no meaning given in Williams which would support this. It may mean the provisions for the fishing expedition (cf. tahu, 'to cook'). Further on in this passage it is written as tahua, which Williams gives as 'heap' (also no doubt connected with tahu). Wohlers has tahunga in both instances in his 1874 version.
a Māui, noho ai.

Ka karanga atu ngā tuākana, kia whakahokia ki uta. Ka kī atu ngā tuākana atawhai, kia waiho ki runga o te waka. Ka kī atu anō ngā tuākana atawhai kino, kia whakahokia ki uta. Ka kī atu ngā tuākana atawhai, 'Waiho anō i konei noho ai, he maka hoki ū āna kauranga e hoatu.'

Na, ka mea ngā tuākana kia tukua ngā maka. Ka kī atu tērā (a Māui), 'Hōmai māhaku tētahi maka, me tētahi māunu.'

Ka kī atu, 'Kauranga hoki.'

Na, ka mea, kia tukua ngā aho o ngā tuākana. Ka motokia tōna ihu, taratī a ana te toto, ka rere, ka taratī te karukaruku. Ka pōtaea ki runga ki te maka, hei māunu. Ka tukua ki rō te wai.

Na, i taua tukunga, tae rawa te timu ki te hākui — 'Ko Māui-pōtiki pea āhaku, kei te whakatāne i a ia.'

Na, kei te kainga anō [o] taua ika ra, ka hāpaina mai ki te ihu o te waka, ka poua. He karakia anō na Māui. No te kāinga o taua ika, ka whāngainga e tērā,

    Kai mai e waro wararī, e waro, ka wanaika ake.

Ka tangi te poa o te ika. Ka karanga atu ngā tuākana, 'Māui, kia tukua atu taua ika ra.'

Ka kī atu a Māui, 'Ko tuku ika anō tēnei i tae ai au ki te moana.'

'Māui e, tukua atu, he atua tāhau.'

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30The a at the end of this word, both here and in the 1874 version, is unnecessary, and has probably been included because of the following a of ana. Taratī is actually a stative verb, as can be seen in the sentence which follows.
31Wohlers has changed poua to poa in his 1874 version, presumably to match the poa following the incantation. He leaves these sentences untranslated. Williams too does not translate poa, merely noting a possible though highly unlikely parallel with Tahitian poa meaning 'scales of a fish' and 'mouth and throat'. The text states that this is the name of a karakia (cf. Williams pou (i) 9, 'fix, render immovable by occult means'). The gloss for pou (i)10 is perhaps also relevant, 'fasten to a stake'. Māui may be fastening the fish to the edge of the canoe, while at the same time chanting a karakia which will render it immobile.
32Warari is not in Williams. I have interpreted it as being connected with rarī, 'make an uproar', but it may be a form of wareware ('heedless'), or it may be a distortion of the waro uri ('dark depths') found in similar karakia elsewhere.
Na, ka karanga atu a Māui, ‘Ko taua ika anō i tae ai au ki te moana.’

Ka kumea ki runga, ka tukua, ko te whenua. Tukua rawatia ake — tū ana ngā w[h]ata, me ngā whare, auē ana te kuri, kā ana ngā ahi, noho ana ngā tāngata, haere ana. Ko te Ika a Māui.33 Kōrkoroko te ika i hīa e Māui. Ka ea te ika, ka whakawhenua.


Ka mahara a Māui, ‘Me aha ra? Me kari te awa?’

Ka kari a Māui ki te awa, ā ... ka honu. Ka kī atu tērā ki te wahine, kia haere rāua. Ka tae rāua ki te awa. Ka kīia atu e Māui, kia haere ki te taunga, noho ai. Ko Māui ki te tauaaha.35

Ka whaihangatia te patataara.36 Ka whakatakotokia e Māui ki ngā roko,

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33I have given Ika a capital, since it is a special fish, and now the Māori name of the North Island. The manuscript may have o Māui (as usual, there is some doubt about the way Wohlers writes his a and o), but a is the usual form and this is the way it is written in the 1874 version. The word which follows it, too, may have o rather than a, though in this case Wohlers has retained his original spelling in his later version.

Kōrkoroko is applied to fair skin, and the fish may be being described in this way, though it seems more likely that the word is a form of rakorako, ‘expose, uncover’.

Another possibility is that Rokoroko is a name. In this case the sentence would then read, ‘Ko Rokoroko te ika i hīa e Māui’. In a manuscript copied from Wiremu Rehu of Tuahiwi, the name Rokoroko appears to be the name of Māui’s fish (Beattie, MS 582/E 13: 15, DUHo), and there is also a mountain near Kaikōura which is known as Ōkroroko (Beattie, 1922: 138).

34Korepekia is not in Williams, though it must be related to koropeke, ‘having the limbs doubled up’, and toropeke, ‘a loop of rope ... to assist in climbing’. The eel loops its tail around her. Hine’s words are syntactically unusual, and are perhaps used as a kind of proverb.

35Tauaaha must surely be tāwha, the river mouth. For the spelling, see the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection C 4.

36Patataara is used here to refer to a part of the trap which Māui is setting for Tuna, perhaps a fence alongside the channel to prevent Tuna from escaping up the banks (the side wings are mentioned later). See the section ‘The Language of the South’ in the introduction to this thesis, subsection C 3. The roko in the next sentence must be the equivalent of the North Island form rango or ngaro, ‘roller’. There may have been some merging of a and o forms: cf. the two forms rangona and rongona for the passive of rongo (‘to hear’).

In the manuscript the numbers between three and ten are indicated by a series of dashes. I have set out the karakia in the same way as it is set out in the published version.
Ko te roko pā tahi, ko te roko pā rua,
Ko te roko pā toru, ko te roko pā whā,
Ko te roko pā rima, ko te roko pā ono,
Ko te roko pā whitu, Ko te roko pā waru,
Ko te roko pā iwa, ko te roko pā ngahuru.

Ka puta a Tuna, tere tonu mai [i] ngā harakeke me ngā pakī.37 Ka tata mai, ka heke — tae rawa ki te whahine, ka mea kia hoki. Ka panga a Māui ki te toki, ka rere te hiku ki te moana nui — koia te kōiro. Ka rere te upoko ki te wai māori — koia te tuna. Ko te roro whero — koia te pukapuka; ko te roro mā — koia te kōare[are]. Ko ngā huruhuru o te upoko — koia te aka.

Ka mate ra tērā patunga a Māui.


Ko te kā anake, kua pō te rā. Mahara tērā, a Māui, ‘Me aha?’

Ka kī atu tērā ki ngā tuākana, kia manawanui. Ka kī atu tērā ki te whahine, ‘Na, e kore koe e mea kia tahuna he umu.”38


Ka kī atu a Māui, ‘Me tārie40 koe, e tuku.’

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37Paki must have the same meaning as pakipaki, given in Williams as ‘side wings, or guides, of an eel weir.’
38Māui means that his wife is not to light the oven until he has completed his task.
39I have left Wohlers’ original spelling of rā, sometimes with a capital and sometimes without. The sun is at the same time a person, who can be tied up, argued with and beaten, and our ordinary, everyday sun. Compare also rangi, both the sky and the sky father.
40The form tārie found here and a few lines below may be a South Island form, or the result of Wohlers’s German background (see note 25). It is unusual in classical Māori to use a passive form after me.
Ka auē anō te Rā, 'E Māui e, tukua!'

Ka kī atu a Māui, 'E tārie e koe, e tuku, kia maonga te umu. Pakipaki Hine i herea ai te rā e Māui e tū nei.'

Kātahi anō te rā ka roa. Mehemea i kore a Māui, pō tou te rā.


Ā, ka takoto a Māui. Ka hākurea. Ka mutu, ka kī atu a Māui, 'Takoto hoki koe, kia hākurea tōu upoko.'


Ka haere ki tahaki tīko ai. Ka moimoitia mai. Ka whakatika atu ki runga, ka haere ki taua tūtai, kai ai. Ka waiho e Māui ki konei e kai ai. Ka haere a Māui ko tō rāua kāinga, ka kī mai te tuahine, 'Kei whea tōu taokete?'

Ka kī atu a Māui, 'Na na anō, kei tō māua nohoanga.'

Ka kī atu te tuahine, 'He aha koe e kore e tono mai?'

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41 This sentence presents problems. White’s solution is to run pakipaki straight on after umu and to give Hine a possessive a. Since one of the meanings given in Williams for pakipaki is ‘an oven for drying food’ (and presumably also by extension for cooking it), this seems to be a straightforward way of solving the problem. However, in the manuscript Wohlers has made a definite break after umu, punctuating with a dash as well as a full stop. From its condensed form, one would guess it to be a proverb or popular saying, probably expressive of Hine’s delight that Māui has accomplished one of his greatest feats (cf. Māui’s mother’s cry after her son has fished up the land).

42 The meaning of rua in this sentence is unclear. Wohlers has retained it in his 1874 version, which would seem to indicate that he had some idea of its meaning, since he usually changes or eliminates obscure phrases. For a discussion of this passage see the introduction to this story.

43 See the discussion of the spelling of this word in the language section of the introduction, subsection A 2(d).
Ka kī atu a Māui, ‘Karangatia!’

Karanga noa, kāhore hoki kia haere mai. Ka kī atu a Māui, ‘Whakamātau ki te moimo.’

Ka kī mai te tuahine, ‘He kurī koā e moimo ai?’

Ka kī atu a Māui, ‘Koia, whakamātau ki te moimo.’

Ka whakamoimoikia, tiro atu, haere mai ana, he kurī ia. Ka kī atu te tuahine ki a Māui, ‘Māui rawehanga,\textsuperscript{44} kāhore koe kia titiro tōu taokete?’

Ka piko te tuahine, ka tangi. Ka tae mai, ka ngā\textsuperscript{45} ki te wahine. Ka\textsuperscript{46} tangi noa te kurī ki te wahine.

Ka noho tērā, a Māui. Ka hōmai te rongo o Hine-nui-o-te-pō. Ka kī atu a Māui, ‘E kore rānei au e tae?’


Ka tomokia e Māui, ka puta ki waho, ka kata, ka mate.

\textsuperscript{44}Williams gives rauhanga and rawahanga, the latter with the example from the 1874 version, where Wohlers has changed his original word. Watkin, however, gives rauchaka, ‘joke,’ and takata rauhaka, ‘jester’ (Harlow, 1987: 68), so Wohlers’s original version may have been the usual Murikuku form of the word. Tiūro seems to mean ‘see to’ or ‘look after’ here, rather than simply ‘see’. Wohlers gives it as, ‘Thou didst not consider that he was thy brother-in-law’. This is yet another syntactically condensed statement, similar to a proverb.

\textsuperscript{45}Williams gives ngā as ‘breathe, take breath’, with the reduplicated form meaning ‘breathe heavily or with difficulty’. Here it must refer to the dog’s habit of nuzzling or snuffling in friendly greeting.

\textsuperscript{46}Ka is repeated in the manuscript, a transcription error made in turning the page.

\textsuperscript{47}This is another superfluous a.
TRANSLATION

Hine was descended from Mahuika. She married Te Raŋa. Then Māui-mua, Māui-waho, Māui-roto, Māui-taha and Māui-tiketike-o-Te-Raŋa, who was Māui-pōtiki, were born. The last-named was a pad of moss which was thrown into a bush-lawyer vine. Mī and Weka came by and found him lying there. They took him, wrapped him in rags and raised him there. He grew up to be a man.

Ao-nui, Ao-roa, Ao-pōuri and Ao-hekere heard about him and came to fetch him. They took him up to the sky, and he lived there. Te Roiroi-whenua and Te Rako-whenua were killed. This was Māui’s first act of destruction. He performed the rites over the bodies.

Māui lived with Kai-tatu-whāinga and Maru-i-te-ware-aitu. Māui caused snow to come down on Maru’s cultivation, so as to destroy it. All Maru’s kūmara rotted. Maru sent caterpillars so as to destroy Māui’s cultivation. It was destroyed, and nothing grew. By his efforts Maru made his own cultivation flourish. Māui realised that his cultivation had been destroyed, while Maru’s flourished. He went in search of Maru, lay in wait and killed him as he came along. Maru carried kūmara and weeds in his hands. He came up to the sacred place and was killed, for he had not managed to perform the sacred rites.

Now Māui set off and came to his father’s house. He found his elder brothers playing darts. Māui thrust his dart forward, so that it struck against the bargeboard of Te Raŋa and Hine’s house with a loud crash. His mother came out and searched around, and asked, ‘Who’s this breaking the bargeboard of the house?’

His elder brothers said, ‘Why, it was this child here.’

‘Whose child is he?’

He said, ‘I’m your child.’

‘No you’re not, I’ve only got you others: Māui-mua, Māui-roto, Māui-taha and Te Raŋa.

Māui said, ‘All the same, I really am your child. I’m your pad of moss which you threw
away into a bush lawyer. It was my ancestors who brought me up. I really am your child. I’m Māui, the bundled-up pad of moss.’

Then his mother realised, yes, he really was her child.

He went to stay in his mother’s village. He thought to himself, ‘Wherever is my father?’

As the sun went down in the evening and the middle of the night drew on, he woke up: the husband and wife were sleeping together. When it was very nearly dawn, just before daybreak, Te Raka went away. Evening came, then the middle of the night, and Māui pretended to be asleep. Te Raka arrived, and as Māui watched, he unfastened his loincloth, put it to one side, and then went off to sleep. Māui went to get that loincloth and brought it back and put it under his bed. When Te Raka woke up he searched around, and when daylight came he pulled out a house-post and disappeared. When his mother went off to cook food, Māui seized the post, and looked below.

He called to his mother to give him some oil. He painted his legs, then he called, ‘Bring me something to draw with.’

When she brought it, he painted it on his lips, legs and forehead. He went off and came into the forest. He found pigeons there. He disguised himself as a pigeon, painting on himself the legs of a pigeon, the forehead of a pigeon, its beak. He put the loincloth round the neck of the pigeon.

When evening came he went home with his bundle of pigeons. His elder brothers wounded the pigeons, but he just caught them. His mother was overjoyed when she looked at them: his elder brothers had wounded ones, but Māui’s were caught cleanly. When evening came, Te Raka came back. Hine told him, ‘How good our son is at catching food! His brothers have wounded ones, but his are caught cleanly.’

They all went to sleep. While it was still night Te Raka went off down below. Māui waited. He disguised himself as a pigeon again and went off down below. He landed on the fence round a cultivation. The people from the land below shouted out, ‘Our pigeon!’
The hunters moved forward. He flew off, and landed on other fences round the gardens.
The pursuers chased him again so that they could snare him. The pigeon flew on to the
handle of Te Raka’s digging stick, as he was digging in the cultivation. He sang to Te
Raka, as he sat there on the handle of the digging-stick. Now his father looked at him and
said, ‘Are you the person from up above?’

Māui cooed down to his father. He came down to the ground, and straight away he had
turned himself into a man. Now, he found his father digging without the proper rituals.
Māui gave him a karakia:

    Dig, for it is Tararauriki,
    Māui says to you, it is wrong in the seventh month,
    Let the winter pass, let the summer be spread out,
    Sing now, ē, dig, dig, bird sown,
    Bird planted in Te Raka’s breast,
    It sings as it flits about, it sings as it flies,
    It sings here in the ninth month.

When he had finished, Te Raka realised, ‘It’s Māui!’

He took him home to prepare food for him, but the fires had gone out. So there was no fire.
Te Raka gave the order for fire to be fetched. Then Māui said that he would fetch it
himself. He set off and came to Mahuika’s house. She gave him some fire. He came
straight back and extinguished it so that the flame died. He went straight back to her house.
Mahuika’s fingers and toes were all completely used up. When she came to the little toe,
Mahuika said to him, ‘You aren’t from down here at all. You’re really a person from up
there, from the world above.’

So then she realised that he really was that notorious person from the world above.

Now he slipped aside and turned himself into a hawk. Mahuika lit her fire. She let her fire
blaze up. Māui sent down mist, he sent down driving rain, he sent down rain which
splashed in great drops. He sent down sleet, he sent down hail. Mahuika at once rekindled
her fire. The driving snow beat down into it, and it went out. Mahuika threw some into a
kaikōmako tree, she threw some into a putawētā tree, but it did not take hold. She threw
some into a kohe tree, and it took hold. She threw it into a tōtara, and it took hold. She threw some into a matagouri and it took hold. She threw some into a hinehine, and then it blazed right up.

Māui now flew down, and became a man. Now, when he went back to Te Raka’s house again his elder brothers were still there, and a grandparent of his was also there. He stayed there, and food was cooked. His elder brothers went off, carrying food for their grandparent. They went off and ate it all up, leaving the baskets lying at the side wall of the house.

Now those people who were carrying the food for that grandparent of theirs turned a deaf ear to him. So Māui said that he would carry it. When he came upon Muri-raka-whenua, he found that he was lying there dead. One side was still alive, and the other side had gone rotten. Māui seized and ripped out Muri-raka-whenua’s jaw-bone. He carried it to a stream, fashioned it and said tapu-freeing charms over it, then took it to sea. The fish which was hooked on Muri-raka-whenua’s jaw-bone was a ruo. Māui hid the jawbone inside his clothes, to use as a fish hook.

He came back to their village again and lived there. While it was still dark, his elder brothers went off to sea, for they were afraid of Māui. When he woke up, they had gone off. And so he waited. When it was dark the next night, he went off and came to the canoe. He found the canoe lying there and got into the bow. He took hold of a kit of cooking materials, and climbed inside and lay down.

Dawn was just about to break. His elder brothers came along, got to the boat, looked here and there — and no, he was not there with them. They dragged the canoe to the sea and paddled off. When they got right out to sea, on to the fishing ground, they baited their hooks. When they took hold of the kit of cooking things that was there, out came Māui, and sat there.

His elder brothers claimed that he should be taken back to shore. Then the kind elder brothers said that he should remain on the canoe. The unkind elder brothers said that he
should be taken back to shore. The kind brothers said, ‘Do let him stay here, only don’t
give him a fish-hook, whatever you do.’

Now the elder brothers decided to let down their hooks. Māui said, ‘Give me a hook and
some bait.’

They said, ‘No, don’t on any account!’

Now the elder brothers decided to let down their lines. Māui struck his nose, and the blood
spurted out and flowed down, and the clots gushed out. He smeared it on the fish hook as
bait. Then he let it down into the water.

Now as he let it down, at that very moment a premonition came to his mother: ‘It must be
that Māui-pōtiki of mine, he’s making a man of himself!’

Then his fish bit again, and he pulled it up to the prow of the canoe, and secured it with a
poua. This was in fact a karakia uttered by Māui. When that fish bit, he said this whāngai
karakia:

> Bite here, o roaring depths, o depths, you are moving threateningly upwards.

The poa of the fish rang out. His brothers cried, ‘Māui, let that fish go!’

Māui said to them, ‘This is my very own fish that I came to sea to catch.’

‘O Māui, let it go, you’ve got a supernatural being.’

But Māui declared, ‘This is my very own fish that I came to sea to catch.’

He pulled it up, and released it: it was land. And when it was completely freed, there stood
storehouses and houses; dogs were barking, fires were burning, people were sitting and
going about. It was Māui’s Fish. The fish that was fished up by Māui was laid bare. The
fish came up to the surface, and it turned into land.

Then Māui went off and came back to his and his brothers’ village. When he got there,
Māui took to wife Hine, a daughter of Tuna and Te Repo. While Hine was living with
Māui, she went off to a stream. When she came down to the stream, Tuna appeared, and twisted his tail round her, and the slime clung to her. Hine went away and said, 'This man, this pleasing man, whose skin is so smooth to the touch!'

Māui thought, 'What am I to do? Should I dig a channel?'

Māui dug a channel, and made it deep. He told his wife that they should set off. When they came to the channel, Māui said that she should go to the landing place to wait. Māui went to the mouth of the river. He constructed a fence. Māui laid down the skids,

- The first skid for the eel trap, the second skid for the eel trap,
- The third skid for the eel trap, the fourth skid for the eel trap,
- The fifth skid for the eel trap, the sixth skid for the eel trap,
- The seventh skid for the eel trap, the eighth skid for the eel trap,
- The ninth skid for the eel trap, the tenth skid for the eel trap.

Tuna appeared, and raced right up through the flax and the frames. He came close and went down into it; by the time he got to the woman he thought that he had better go back. Māui hit him with an adze, and his tail swam out to the broad ocean: this was the conger eel. His head swam into the fresh-water stream: this was the fresh-water eel. His red brains formed the rangiora tree and his white brains the raupō root. As for the hairs of his head, these were the vines.

So that victim of Māui’s was defeated at that time.

Māui lived on there. Hine lit her oven, but no sooner was it alight than the sun went down. The food was eaten in darkness. Māui waited. The sun rose the next morning. Māui said to his wife, 'Light the oven for the food.'

No sooner was it lit, than the sun set. Māui thought to himself, 'What should I do?'

He told his brothers that they should be courageous. He told his wife, 'Now, don’t you do anything about lighting an oven.'

And so he and his brothers went to the rim of the pit. When it was dawn, the sun appeared: while the sun was still below, the glimmering rays appeared. Māui cried out to them to
drag up the sun, for a snare had been laid on the pit where the sun was. Now, while the sun
was still below, the beams apearved above. The sun came up and stayed there. His head
appeared above, and the noose stayed round his neck. Māui called out to them to pull. They
pulled. The sun wailed, ‘Māui, let me go!’

Māui said to him, ‘You must wait a while, then I’ll release you.’

The sun wailed again, ‘O Māui, let me go!’

Māui said, ‘If you wait a while I’ll release you, after the food has been cooked in the oven.
Rejoice, Hine, that the sun has been bound by me, Māui, standing here!’

Then for the first time the day was long. If it had not been for Māui, the day would go on
being dark.

After that victim had been defeated by Māui, Māui lived on. Then he set off and came to
the house of his brother-in-law, whose name was Irawaru. Then the two of them lived
together. Food was cooked for them and they ate. By the time Māui had [rua], it had all
been eaten up.

They lived on. When the sun shone, Māui said to him that they should go off to another
place to sit down. Māui said to him, ‘Pick the lice out of my hair.’

So Māui lay down. He had his head picked over. When it was finished, Māui said, ‘You lie
down too, so that your head can be picked over.’

As Irawaru had his head picked over by Māui, he was overcome by sleep. Māui stretched
his ears out, first one ear and then the other ear. He stretched one arm out, then the other
arm. He stretched one leg out, then the other leg. He stretched Irawaru’s coccyx out to
make a tail. He stretched his penis out and curved it up under his belly. He stretched his
jaws out.

Then Māui went to one side to defecate. He called out the words used to call dogs, ‘Moi,
moi!’ Irawaru ran straight up to him, and went up to the excrement and ate it. Māui left
him eating there. When Māui went off to their house his sister asked him, 'Where's your brother-in-law?'

Māui said, 'Over there, where we were sitting.'

His sister said, 'Why don't you tell him to come here?'

Māui said, 'Call him!'

She called, but in vain, for he did not come back. Māui said, 'Try calling out, "Moi, moi!"'

His sister said, 'Well, is he a dog to be "moimoied" to?'

Māui said to her, 'All the same, try calling, "Moi, moi!"'

So she called, 'Moi, moi!', and looked at him as he came towards her: he was a dog.

Māui's sister said to him, 'Māui, you trickster, didn't you consider your brother-in-law?'

His sister bent down and wept. The dog came up and nuzzled at the woman. He just whined helplessly at the woman.

Māui lived on. Then he heard of the fame of Hine-nui-o-te-pō, and said, 'Can I overcome her?'

Māui waited. Then he set off and came to her home, where Hine-nui-o-te-pō was opening up her genitals. Māui came on unconcernedly, as her genitals went on opening up towards him: this was Hine-nui-o-te-pō. When he got there, he entered her. He said to his elder brothers, 'Don't laugh! When I've come out again, then you can laugh.'

Māui entered her, and when he was on his way out, they laughed and he died.
RONGO-I-TUA:

THE COMING OF THE KŪMARA TO AOTEAROA
The story of Rongo-i-tua concerns the kūmara (sweet potato), and the people who brought it to Aotearoa from its original home in Hawaiki.

Rongo-i-tua’s name indicates his connection with the kūmara, for it is apparently an extension of the name Rongo. An origin figure named Rongo (or Rongo-mā-Tāne), one of the sons of Rangi and Papa, is the guardian of the kūmara plant, and his name can be applied to the plant itself.\(^1\) The word *rongo* also has other meanings, all of them thematically associated with the kūmara. In certain contexts it means ‘peace’. In some accounts there is a contrast between the peace-loving kūmara, a plant which needed peace and stability for its cultivation, and the warlike fernroot, a food used by armies on the move.\(^2\) *Rongo* can also mean ‘fame’, which fits in with the idea of the kūmara as a prized foodstuff. Rongo-i-tua’s name may be translated as ‘Kūmara-from-affar’, for the person and the plant both come from distant Hawaiki.

In the cool and variable climate of New Zealand, the cultivation of the highly prized and delicate kūmara required much labour, and was accompanied by a great deal of ritual. Because the kūmara was held in such high esteem, all tribes had their own version of the myth which describes the introduction of this precious plant into Aotearoa.\(^3\)

Wohlers did not rewrite this story for publication, and seems not to have grasped its significance. In a letter to John White accompanying his manuscript, he mentions that he omitted several stories from his 1874 collection, ‘because I could make no sense out of them... Of such is the tale ... of Rongo-i-tua of Hawaiki, which seemed to me an incomplete allegory which I could not understand, kumaras, human beings, rainbow-form running one into the other.’\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Grey, 1971: 5; 1956: 10.
\(^2\) See the introduction to ‘Hāpopo: the archetypal victim’, note 15.
\(^3\) The topic was sometimes hotly debated, for example in correspondence in the newspaper *Te Waka Māori* in 1872. This debate is reprinted in White, 1888: 3-26. See also Colenso, 1878-81, 14: 40-3 for summaries of five tribal versions.
\(^4\) 30 May, 1880. Elsdon Best’s papers: MS Papers 72/6, WTu.
It is no wonder that Wohlers found the story confusing, for he suffered the disadvantage of working in the far south. The cold climate of this region meant that the kūmara could not be cultivated here, so that the details of cultivation and ritual referred to in the myth would have had no practical and visible counterpart in the daily lives of the people. Furthermore, the isolation of the region meant that Wohlers had little other written material for comparison.

Other versions of the story exist, from Kāi Tahu and other tribal areas, and these throw light on some of the more obscure passages in the Murihiku version. Careful analysis reveals that it is a complex and coherent myth of great significance.

The myth recorded by Wohlers will first be summarised and analysed. Other versions will be referred to when they throw light on the Murihiku version. Summaries of these other versions will be found at the end of the chapter.

Murihiku version: summary

1. **Departure from Hawaiki.** Rongo-i-tua leaves home in shame after he has knocked down the platforms on which the kūmara are spead out to dry.

2. **Arrival in Aotearoa.** He travels to Otearawa (Aotearoa) in a log and stays with the Kāhui Tupu (Tupua or Tipua). He hears the sound of fibrous foodstuffs being beaten, but refuses to eat these foods when they are set before him. Instead he prepares some kūmara which he has brought with him. The people enjoy this and wish to get some for themselves.

3. **The building of the canoes.** Rongo-i-tua indicates the rising sun as the direction in which the kūmara is to be found, and instructs the people to build two canoes from a log which has been used as the beam of a latrine.

4. **Āraite-uru sets sail.** Āraite-uru, made from the base of the log, sets off. Rongo-i-tua instructs the crew not to take the 'parents' of the kūmara which have been washed up on the beach at Hawaiki, but to capture the Kāhui Rongo.
5. Mānuka sets sail. Anxious at the failure of Ārai-te-uru to return, Rongo-i-tua orders the people to make the top half of the beam into a second canoe, Mānuka. They sail off, but soon meet Ārai-te-uru, which is returning with the wrong sort of kūmara. Rongo-i-tua sends Ārai-te-uru home and carries on to Hawaiki.

6. Battle with the kūmara people. Rongo-i-tua's companions begin to collect the 'parents', but are told to go to the house of the Kāhui Rongo and capture the people there (the names of eight of these are listed). After the battle, Rongo-i-tua asks if all those in the house have been captured, and is assured that this is the case.

7. Ceremonies over the dead. As Rongo-i-tua and his men depart they hear a series of loud cries from those of the Kāhui Rongo who, despite the crew's assurances, are still alive. Rongo-i-tua interprets these cries for his companions.

8. Return to Aotearoa. Although the paddlers row with all their might, the canoe stays in one place, for the crew have broken tapu by eating. Rongo-i-tua orders them to kill him. He becomes a rainbow stretching from Aotearoa to Hawaiki. The canoe is now able to return home, and Rongo-i-tua acquires a second name, Rongo-tike (Elevated Rongo).

Analysis in detail

1. Departure from Hawaiki.

Māori stories abound in incidents in which the hero or heroine is shamed in some way over food and who therefore has no recourse but to leave home. In particular, the myths about voyages to Aotearoa often begin with a shameful incident involving food. The story of Rongo-i-tua therefore follows a well established pattern set by other migration myths.

This first episode, Rongo-i-tua's destruction of the kūmara-drying platform, introduces the

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5Grey, 1971: 159; 1956: 202-4. It makes little difference whether the accusation about stealing food is true or false: see the discussion of Hotunui in Johansen, 1954: 52.
6For example, Tama-te-kapua and his brother steal fruit from Uenuku's poporo tree, and thus set in motion a series of events culminating in the departure of the Arawa canoe (Grey, 1956: 100ff.); Manaia's wife spoils the food in her oven and causes much voyaging and warfare between the tribes in Hawaiki and Aotearoa (Grey, 1956: 128ff.); Uenuku eats Turi's child and sets off the train of events which leads to the voyage of the Aotea (Grey, 1956: 158ff.).
theme of the whole story, for the platform which Rongo-i-tua destroys is not used for food in general, but is a *rara kao kūmara*, a platform for drying kūmara which is to serve as *kao*.\(^7\)

Later we find Rongo-i-tua producing this substance for the people of Aotearoa, and it is this which leads to the voyage of the canoes to Hawaiki in search of the kūmara.

The name Rongo, found in Rongo-i-tua’s name, is also to be found in the name of the kūmara people, the Kāhui Rongo, the ‘Rongo Group’ or ‘Rongo Race’. Rongo-i-tua himself is closely associated with the Kāhui Rongo, who are later attacked and captured by the people from Aotearoa. When the Kāhui Rongo criticise him and drive him away, he repays this insult by taking sides against them with their enemies the Kāhui Tupu (or Tipua).

This episode thus resolves what could otherwise be seen as a contradiction: Rongo-i-tua is one of the kūmara people, but his people must be attacked, captured and used as food by the Kāhui Tupu, in order for this precious resource to find its way to Aotearoa.

2. Arrival in Aotearoa.

In most myths of tribal migration, the ancestors arrive in properly prepared, manned and equipped canoes. However, there are many accounts of individuals or small groups arriving by less conventional means. Ancestors may arrive on whales, pieces of pumice, gourds, birds, or by other equally unorthodox methods.\(^8\)

Rongo-i-tua’s vessel is a log of wood found on the sea shore. He takes no ostensible part in guiding this vessel: it is said to be blown along by the wind, and cast up on the shore of Aotearoa. But it must be understood that the real guiding force for the log the mana of its occupant, Rongo-i-tua.\(^9\)

The name of the race of people discovered by Rongo-i-tua in Aotearoa, the Kāhui Tupu or Kāhui Tipua, is often translated as ‘band [or race] of ogres’.\(^10\) However, as Wohlers’s

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\(^7\) Kao was grated and dried kūmara which when mixed with water made a sweet paste which was a highly-prized food.

\(^8\) Orbell, 1985: 29-30.

\(^9\) For this motif, see the discussion in the introduction to ‘Paowa: an encounter with a witch’.

\(^10\) Te Maiharoa, 1957: 6; Stack, 1898: 15. They are also seen as giants; *Tupu* can mean ‘goblin, demon, object
version of the name shows, the word *Tupu* must be connected in this instance with the verb *tipu* or *tupu*, which means 'spring, issue, begin' or 'be firmly fixed'. It suggests a people who are the original inhabitants of the land and are firmly established there.\(^{11}\) In some other South Island stories, the Kāhui Tupua are said to travel to Aotearoa from Hawaiiki or 'beyond',\(^{12}\) but in the myth recorded by Wohlers they are the native people of Aotearoa.

In this myth, then, the Kāhui Rongo and Kāhui Tupu form a contrasting pair: the former live in distant Hawaiiki and are guardians of the highly prized kūmara, while the latter live at home in Aotearoa and eat the products of the earth, the uncultivated foods which are spurned by Rongo-i-tua. What is more, the Kāhui Rongo live peaceably in their distant home (as we have seen, the word *rongo* also means 'peace'). It is the warlike Kāhui Tupu who cross the seas to attack them and carry them off. A further contrast becomes evident by the end of the story: while the Kāhui Tupu are connected with the soil of their native land, the Kāhui Rongo, through the actions of one of their number, Rongo-i-tua, are linked to the sky.

The leader of the Kāhui Tupu is a man named Toi. Two meanings for *toi* are 'origin, source of mankind' and 'native, aboriginal'.\(^{13}\) The word is thus closely linked in meaning with *tupu*. In other myths Toi is a figure who is said to have been in the country from the beginning, before the arrival of canoes from Hawaiiki.\(^{14}\) He is a source figure, the original ancestor, and many tribes trace their roots back to him.

Perhaps because he springs from the land and feeds on the trees and other forest plants, Toi is often known as Toi-kai-rākau, 'Toi-the-wood-eater'. This characteristic is brought out in the next episode in the story. Rongo-i-tua hears the sound of beating and asks what it is; he

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\(^{11}\) *Tupu* is glossed in Williams as '1. grow, increase; 2. spring, issue, begin; 3. be firmly fixed', and, as an adjective, 'genuine, own'. Stack also sees the Kāhui Tipua as 'terrestrial monsters ... sprung out of the earth', that is, as autochthones in its original sense (1879: 168). Many of the names given to the *tangata whenua*, the 'people of the land', seem to indicate that the people were thought not only to be the original inhabitants but to have actually sprung from the soil. Compare the Hapū Onewone people (see version 2b at the end of this chapter), and also the person sought by Kupe on his arrival in Aotearoa, Tuputupu-whenua (Q.V. in Tregear, 1898). One of Beattie's lists of tribes which inhabited the land from the beginning includes peoples with the names of rocks and plants (1915: 108).


\(^{13}\) Numbers 6 and 7 in Williams.

\(^{14}\) Orbell, 1985: 25-6.
is told that this is Tuki-o-te-whenua, 'The Pounding-of-the-land'. The people are in fact pounding three of the foods which grow wild in the land, cabbage-tree, fernroot and hinau berries. The word is both a description of what is happening and a personification of the process.\textsuperscript{15}

Rongo-i-tua finds this food unpalatable, and refuses to eat it. The next incident in the story implies that this highly fibrous food not only tastes unappetising, but also produces unpleasant faeces. The people inspect Rongo-i-tua’s faeces and notice how unusually smooth they are. This leads them to become curious about Rongo-i-tua’s special diet, and mentally prepared for the important news he is about to give them.\textsuperscript{16}

Rongo-i-tua now calls for water, and empties the contents of his belt into it. In Māori myth weapons and important articles such as adzes and canoe-bailers are frequently given names reflecting their special properties. Such is the mana of Rongo-i-tua’s belt with its precious contents, the kao or dried kīmara, that it too has a special name, Mau-hope, ‘Hug-hips’.\textsuperscript{17}

When the people eventually taste this delicious new food and ask Rongo-i-tua where they can get it, he does not at once impart the information. In this instance as in other similar ones in which knowledge is sought, the information is not to be won without a struggle.\textsuperscript{18}

Rongo-i-tua yields up the knowledge which the Kāhui Tupu need for their journey indirectly, by pointing in the direction of their enemies, naming their names, and pointing to a tree which can be used to make a canoe for the journey. The people themselves must

\textsuperscript{15}These foods had to be pounded to break up their fibres and to soften them. See Best, 1977b: 70-86 (aruhe); 87-9; 390-2; 1976c: 258-72 (kārū); 1977b: 36-41 (hīnau). Other versions of the story list other similar foods, such as mamaku and kīkīcī.

\textsuperscript{16}The relationship between tiko and kīmara is important enough to be honoured in waiata; see for example McLean and Orbell, 1975: 77; Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: songs 201, line 57 and 244, lines 10-11. This connection is seen also in another story in Wohlers’s collection, ‘Ko Pioioi’.

Excrement is an important structural motif in this version of the myth. First, the sight of Rongo-i-tua’s faeces arouses the people’s interest in the new food. The second mention of faeces comes with the information that the tree from which the canoe is made is a paepae hamutū, the beam of a latrine. We are reminded of this fact later in the story with the even more direct expression paepae tītai, ‘excrement beam’. This must be cleaned of excrement to be made into the second canoe, Mānuka. Versions 1a and 1b (see ‘other versions’ at the end of this chapter) have a similar motif in the excrement which is deposited on the butt of the tree, but it is not used to structural effect in this way.

\textsuperscript{17}In Stack’s version of the story this name is not mentioned, but the drama of the moment is heightened by Rongo-i-tua’s actions: he hides his hands behind his back and mixes the kao with water out of sight of the Kāhui Tupu, reciting a karakia as he does so.

\textsuperscript{18}Compare for example the story of Rata, in which the young man must ask again and again for the information about his father’s whereabouts, how to get there, how to recognise and chop down the tree for the canoe, and so on. His mother imparts her knowledge indirectly.
deduce from his actions his meaning and how they are to act.

They learn that the kūmara is to be found in the direction of the rising sun, that is, the east. The east is associated in Māori thought with life, light and well-being. It is the direction in which the paradisiacal land of Hawaiki lies, and so the direction in which one would expect the kūmara to be found.

3. The building of the canoes

As in other canoe traditions, the tree from which the canoes are hewn has special characteristics. Sometimes the tree is said to be of tremendous size, so that two canoes may be cut from it, as is the case here. The other special feature of the tree from which Ārai-te-uru and Mānuka are made is its connection with excrement. The three South Island versions mentioned have variants of this: in Creed’s version (1a) the excrement serves as a marker to indicate the halfway point of the tree, the cutting line to separate the two canoes, while in Stack’s version (1b) the excrement is deposited on the butt by Rongo-i-tua, a trick to allow him to lay claim to the tree. In Wohlers’s version the whole tree has been serving as the beam of a latrine.

It may seem surprising that a canoe which is to carry human beings should be constructed from the beam of a latrine, since in traditional Māori society everything to do with human excrement had to be kept separate from everyday life. The rather unlikely explanation of the name Mānuka in version 1a (it is said to be named because of the people’s disgust at seeing the excrement) is a reflection of the normal or expected reaction to such matters. Moreover, this canoe is to embark on a particularly sacred mission, that of bringing back the kūmara. If the kūmara has to be kept separate from the presence of the fernroot,

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19 Taylor, 1870:124; Grey, 1956: 161 (Matahourua and Aotea); Hamilton, 1896: 33 (Mataatua and Aotea); Tikao, 1939: 62 (Horouta and Mānuka). In one tradition, Arawa is said to have been made from one of the branches of a ten-branched tree (Shortland, 1856: 12).

20 Migration myths often relate similar tricks played by immigrants from one canoe on those from another to lay claim to valuable resources: Grey, 1956: 115; 123; 179-80; White, 1888: 33-4.

21 The meanings of mānuka listed by Williams indicate anxiety rather than disgust. Even though no explanation is offered in the Murihiku version, Rongo-i-tua’s anxiety is recorded, and it is perhaps implied that Mānuka receives its name because of this: Ka noho tērā, a Rongo-i-tua, ka whakaaro ia ki taua waka ra—kāhore anō kia hoki mai, ‘Rongo-i-tua waited, and he thought about that canoe, which had not yet returned’.

22 Colenso, 1878-81, 14: 35; Kapiti, 1912: 158-9.
which although noa, ‘common’, is a useful item of human food, one would expect it to require even more protection against the deadly pollution of excrement.\(^{23}\)

The stories of Māui have shown us, however, that a person of great mana can break prohibitions and turn the result to his own advantage. The jaw-bone of a grandfather, the use of which would normally bring retribution from the gods, can in Māui’s hands draw up an island. Rongo-i-tua can take a tree which is marked out as highly tapu and make it suitable for his chosen purpose.\(^{24}\)

Another possible explanation for the motif of the canoe made from the beam of a latrine is that it fulfils the requirements of ritual rather than narrative. Johansen discusses the possibility that rites performed before the kūmara were collected from the storehouse may have taken place at the heketua or latrine.\(^{25}\) This would place this particular motif in the same category as that of the canoe which is mistaken for a wooden bowl in the Whakatau story.\(^{26}\) In both cases the episode is puzzling in terms of realistic narrative, but highly satisfying when seen in terms of the kūmara rituals involved.

Rongo-i-tua gives the departing voyagers instructions about which sort of kūmara to choose. This passage contains words whose meaning is not altogether clear.\(^{27}\) The crew are told not to collect the mātua, literally, ‘parents’. The word matua is an element in several plant names, and seems to indicate a plant which grows in association with another: the matua-aruhe grows near the aruhe, and so on.\(^{28}\) The fact that the basic meaning of matua is ‘parent’ suggests that these are seen as the original forms of the plant, from which the more useful forms have developed.

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\(^{23}\)The Māori refusal to use manure for cultivation has already been noted (see the introduction to ‘Tāne: creator of light and life’, note 27).

\(^{24}\)Another canoe constructed from a tree which has a similar connection with something which in normal circumstances would be shunned is Tainui. According to one source, Tainui was built from a tree which grew over the body of an aborted foetus (Kelly, 1949: 5; 34).

\(^{25}\)Johansen, 1958: 122. As Johansen points out, although this is highly probable, evidence is lacking.

\(^{26}\)Taylor, 1870: 245. See the discussion in the introduction to ‘Whakatau: the archetypal avenger’.

\(^{27}\)Some of these names seem to represent ordinary, inferior types of plants, which are perhaps mistaken by the crew for kūmara. Kōpura, which can mean a seed kūmara, is also used of the root of the cordyline or cabbage tree, and, with the addition of an epithet, of a type of fungus (kōpura-whetiti). Popouhua may be convolvulus (pōhue, popouhue) and kawariki a plant of the ranunculus species.

\(^{28}\)The same applies to fish: the matua-whāpuku or rock cod can be fished up in the same locations and in the same season as the hāpuku or groper.
A similar idea is found in other myths about the coming of the kūmara to Aotearoa. In a Tainui story, Hoturoa’s wife pays the penalty for her adultery by having all her precious seeds produce the wrong species of plants: instead of kūmara, paper mulberry and other useful plants, only useless plants appear. Colenso, who recorded the story, points out that each of these plants resembles closely the other one of the pair; in some cases they are in fact the same species.29 In an East Coast myth recorded by White, this fact is recognised: the convolvulus is said to be a type of kūmara.30

Ārai-te-uru’s return with its relatively useless cargo is no doubt felt to account, in mythical terms, for the presence in Aotearoa of these other plants.

4. Ārai-te-uru sets sail

Many canoe traditions speak of a pair of canoes which make the journey to Aotearoa together. Sometimes one of the canoes is noa, and carries the food supplies both for the journey and for cultivating in the new land, while the other is tapu and carries the spiritual cargo: the karakia and religious knowledge which will allow the tribe to thrive.31 Sometimes the two canoes have similar cargoes, but the captain of one breaks an important tapu and so dooms his canoe to destruction, while the other acts correctly and meets with success on the journey and in the new land.32

In the Murihiku version of the story of Rongo-i-tua it is Ārai-te-uru, made from the base of the tree, which sets off first and which fails in its mission. The reason for this is that the crew have neglected to follow the instructions given to them at their departure.33 Although Rongo-i-tua has warned the men not to take the ‘parents’ of the kūmara which are washed

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29 Colenso, 1878-81, 14: 41-2, text and footnote.
30 One sort of kūmara which was brought over in Horouta was the convolvulus, called Waha-roa-te-koiwi, which now still grows on the sea shore’ (White, 1880: 12).
31 Tākitimu and Horouta, for example, are said by Wi Pere to have been two separate canoes (often they are said to be the same one), the former being sacred and carrying no food and the latter being noa (Pere, 1898: 111).
32 Aotea and Ririno set off together, but the captain of the latter, Potoru, disregards Kupe’s sailing instructions and sails towards the west and destruction. Turi, on the other hand, sails Aotea towards the east as Kupe had advised and comes safely to Aotearoa (Grey, 1956: 168-9).
33 Version 1b mentions the crew’s impatience to set sail as the reason why the kūmara brought back by Mānuka fail to grow (Stack, 1879: 161).
up on the beach, they disobey his instructions, and set about collecting the wrong ones. Then they set sail for their homeland once more.  

5. Mānuka sets sail

The cleaning, making and launching of the second canoe, Mānuka, mirror the procedures followed in the case of Ārai-te-uru. Many of the same phrases are used in describing both episodes, so that the success of the second canoe after the failure of the first is thrown into sharp focus. Once Mānuka reaches Hawaiki her crew, too, repeat the mistakes made by the crew of Ārai-te-uru. At first they disobey Rongo-i-tua’s instructions, and start to gather up the ‘parents’ which are strewn along the beach.

The difference between this canoe and the unsuccessful Ārai-te-uru is that Rongo-i-tua himself is on board, with his mana and his special knowledge. As in a number of other Māori stories, the person who was forced to leave home alone and ashamed now returns at the head of a war party to take his revenge on those who have belittled him. Because he himself is one of the Kāhui Rongo, Rongo-i-tua can give instructions about the best method of attack.

6. Battle with the kūmara people

In Maori thought the idea that the kūmara is an enemy to be attacked and overcome before it can be put to use by human beings is not in any way unusual. The fact that the enemy are both kūmara and people at the same time is also perfectly consistent with traditional Māori thought. In this collection of stories there are, for example, many instances of beings who act in a human way but are at the same time birds. And some of the sons of Rangi and Papa, human ancestors who argue among themselves, fight and act in a thoroughly human way, are also representatives of specific types of food and can be eaten as such by

34 In other versions of the story, Ārai-te-uru’s arrival in Aotearoa is fraught with danger and eventually ends in disaster: her cargo is scattered the length of the beach at Moeraki in the form of the large, unusually-shaped boulders there (Stack, 1879: 161; Tikao, 1939: 63-4; Head, 1986: 25-30 and many others). Our version does not include this episode.

35 The same sort of idea is expressed in a waiata about chopping down a tree, in which the poet speaks of the ‘anger’ he feels towards Tāne, the guardian of the tree, and calls upon Tangaroa to aid him in his ‘attack’ against the tree (Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961: song 175, lines 16-24).

36 Compare Matuku in 'Ko Rata'; Pioioi and Kūkuruatu in 'Ko Pioioi'.
the brother who represents man, Tū.\textsuperscript{37}

The kūmara people all have names, two of which (Kawakawa and Pipiko) have already been encountered earlier in the story. These two are recognisable as names for varieties of kūmara, and it is highly likely that the other names also represent varieties of the plant, for it is known that many dozens of varieties were cultivated.\textsuperscript{38}

After the battle, Rongo-i-tua asks Mānuka’s crew the same question that he had formerly put to the crew of Ārai-te-uru, and receives the same answer. These men too are deceiving him, however. It would seem that they have obtained the bulk of the kūmara, but not the most important ones or chiefs of the kūmara tribe. That is, the story here follows the pattern of other mythical accounts in which, because of some fault (disobedience or an oversight), the gift of the gods is not as perfect as it otherwise would be.\textsuperscript{39} Thus this myth seems to be suggesting that much better kūmara, perhaps growing spontaneously without all the tedious ritual and cultivation techniques, would have been secured for human beings if only the Kahu-kura\textsuperscript{40} and Kāhui Rongo had also been taken. If the Kāhui Rongo had all been captured, they would have been passive victims in the hands of the Kāhui Tupu, whereas now those who have escaped capture can perform all the ceremonies over their dead and thus free themselves to take revenge.

7. Ceremonies over the dead

As Rongo-i-tua and his followers leave Hawaiki, they hear a series of shouts which the

\textsuperscript{37} Grey, 1956: 8-9.

\textsuperscript{38} A list compiled by Archdeacon Williams, for example, consists of over two dozen names (Williams, 1894: 144). Since the kūmara could not be cultivated so far south these names would no longer have had practical significance, so that some of them may have become distorted to the point where they are no longer recognisable as kūmara names. It should however be noted that the list recorded by Creed agrees almost exactly with that recorded by Wohlers.

\textsuperscript{39} For example, Maui’s fish might have been smooth and flat, but because of his brothers’ impatience it is now rough and hilly (Grey, 1956: 32-4); Rua-te-pupuke could have given the world talking houseposts, but thoughtlessly seized only silent posts (Stack, 1875: 175-6; Ruatapu and Pōtae, 1928a: 257-60); compare the Judeo-Christian myth which asserts that Adam and Eve’s disobedience led to the necessity of raising by the sweat of man’s brow fruit and vegetables which were free for the taking in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 3: 17-19).

This may be the idea behind Creed’s version of the story (see version 1a at the end of this chapter), in which, instead of collecting te hāpū matua, ‘the chief tribe’, the crew collect te hāpū iti, ‘the inferior tribe’. Perhaps it is felt that what has been brought to Aotearoa is only a poor imitation of the rich food resources of Hawaiki.

\textsuperscript{40} Ngā Kahu-kura, according to the text; that is, a group of people. Kahu-kura is sometimes the person responsible for introducing the kūmara to Toi and his people. He too is connected with the rainbow.
crew ask Rongo-i-tua to explain. His answers are difficult to interpret, since they are extremely brief and contain vocabulary which is unusual, and perhaps either dialectal or obsolete. Where the dictionary gives no help with these words, the translator is obliged to deduce what sort of actions the people must be performing, and to interpret each phrase accordingly.

John White’s interpretation is that the people are engaged in a kūmara-planting ceremony, and their shouts reveal different stages in that process. Several of the phrases involved do suggest this interpretation, although White’s translation is marred by an over-use of circumlocution and guess-work which pays little attention to the Māori text.41

For Johansen, what is involved is not merely the planting of a kūmara field, but a whole series of rituals connected with planting and harvesting the crop.42 He envisages a series of ceremonial actions which may involve people and implements as well as the kūmara themselves. He sees the first statement, Kei te huki i ngā toto, as referring to the cooking of some of the seed kūmara in the marere oven next to the sacred water, and he brings in the myth of Whakatau in support of this contention.43 The themes of enmity and violation evoked by this action are perfectly in accord with Māori thought.44 As we have seen, the kūmara people are real enemies who must be conquered in battle, and Rongo-i-tua has shown himself genuinely anxious to escape quickly from their land once he has discovered that not all of these people have been conquered. The idea that they can and will take vengeance if not subdued is implicit in all Rongo-i-tua’s actions. Now that warfare has

41For example, Kei te rokoig kei te auaha: ‘They are preparing to set the kumara-crop’ (do the preparations involve digging the ground, collecting the kūmara, setting out the digging implements, saying special karakia? None of these actions relates, as far as one can tell, to the actual words of the statement. White may of course be being coy, and translating auaha by ‘set’; see the discussion of Johansen’s interpretation.) Another example of White’s arbitrary translations is Kei te hu o nga manaore: ‘... they were taking the young shoots from the kumara-bulbs to plant for a future crop’.

421958: 112-87. Since White wrongly attributed the Murihiku story to Ngāti Porou, some of Johansen’s statements need emending. His picture of kūmara cultivation as practised by Ngāti Porou is largely built up by meshing Pita Kapiti’s descriptive account with the Murihiku version of the story, in particular this series of shouts, which Johansen calls the ‘Hawaiki Programme’. The fact that this is a Kāi Tahu text does not materially weaken Johansen’s case, for Kāi Tahu inherited a large part of their traditions from East Coast tribes. However, if Johansen had known the true tribal origin of the text he might not have given it such a central position in his thesis, and he might have been less reluctant to incorporate information from other tribal areas.

43See the discussion of this in the introduction to ‘Whakatau: the archetypal avenger’, note 5.

failed, other methods will have to be used. Johansen shows, by reference to the myth of the
death of Kae, that the kūmara is thought of as being in some way tricked into death.\textsuperscript{45}

Johansen sees \textit{auaha} as meaning ‘fecundating’, and as referring to the moment when the
small tapu plot was sown with the first kūmara by the tohunga; this seems plausible. He
gives a tentative interpretation of \textit{rokoī}, based on Pita Kapiti’s statement that the kūmara
planters wore special clothes for the occasion. Johansen’s instincts have led him along the
right track here, even though he lacked the evidence provided by Wohlers’s manuscript, for
the word transcribed \textit{rokaī} by White must be \textit{rākai}, ‘adorn, bedeck’.\textsuperscript{46} The people are
dressed in their best for the ritual.

The next step is to dig (kō; in this case a few stabs in the mound on which the kūmara has
been placed) and to cover up the kūmara (\textit{whakatō}).\textsuperscript{47} Johansen is on less sure ground with
\textit{Kei te hū o ngā māmore}, but considers that it refers to the stripped branch of \textit{mapou} (a
species of shrub) which was placed in the ground at either planting or harvest time.\textsuperscript{48} After
this, a stick is broken (\textit{Kei te whati te kō}) for ceremonially harvesting the first kūmara,
which are then laid back in the earth (\textit{Kei te whakatakoto}) while the rest of the field is
harvested.\textsuperscript{49} The last statement (\textit{Kei te whakamama}) refers to the ceremonial removal of
the tapu which all who have taken part in the proceedings have acquired from handling this
sacred plant. Without this tapu-removing rite they would be unable to resume their
everyday occupations.

Johansen’s interpretation receives support from Stack’s version of the myth (our version
1b). In this, Rongo-i-tua tells his followers that the Kāhui Rongo are reciting karakia which
must be learnt by the Kāhui Tipua and taken back to Aotearoa for their own planting
rituals. In Wohlers’s version, the men’s enquiries and Rongo-i-tua’s careful explanations
suggest that here too sacred knowledge is being imparted, to be learnt and taken back to

\textsuperscript{46}See the introductory language section for the difficulty in distinguishing between a and o in Wohlers’s
handwriting. See also also \textit{JPS} 10: 204 for a note on \textit{whakarākei}, ‘comb the hair, put on fine garments’.
\textsuperscript{47}Johansen, 1958: 179-84.
\textsuperscript{48}This cultic object was important enough to merit a special reference in the myth relating the voyage to
Hawaiiki to fetch the kūmara, Johansen, 1958: 169.
\textsuperscript{49}Johansen, 1958: 173.
Aotearoa.

Although Johansen’s interpretation is coherent and convincing, there is one other aspect which he has not covered, and which adds a further dimension to this part of the myth. For at this point the Kāhui Rongo are not only conveying karakia and techniques for cultivating the kūmara, they are also burying their dead. One can therefore see this series of actions as a funeral rite. Since these are kūmara people, the corpses they are burying are kūmara tubers, so that in burying their dead they are at the same time planting kūmara. The shouts that ring out as the Kāhui Tupu depart can therefore be seen as cries of grief, as karakia (compare version 1b) and as instructions about planting and harvesting.

The expressions Kei te kō (‘They are digging’) and Kei te whakatō (‘They are planting’) are obvious examples of expressions which apply equally well to the action of planting the kūmara or of burying them. Kei te whati te kō (‘The digging stick is being broken’) and Kei te whakatakoto (‘They’re laying them down’) might well refer to the breaking and laying down of the digging stick which has been used to make the ‘graves’, and which is now tapu. As for Kei te hū o ngā māmore (‘It’s the sound of the stripped branch’), this expression takes on a further layer of meaning if the actions are seen as part of a burial ceremony, for as well as the sense already discussed it may also refer to the inarticulate cry (hū) of those who are left childless (māmore) after the battle with their enemies.50

Since the Kāhui Rongo are kūmara, it could be seen as a natural step for their burial rites to be taken over as planting rituals by the enemy tribe, the men who have seized their dead and carried them off home.

8. Return to Aotearoa

The crew of Mānuka commit a breach of tapu by eating. What they eat is not specifically stated, but one assumes it is some of the newly-acquired kūmara, which are still under tapu. Because of this sin against the gods a sacrifice is required, and Rongo-i-tua offers himself. As has been noted above, he is in one sense the embodiment of the kūmara, the ‘Rongo-

50Māmore has a secondary but quite common meaning, ‘childless’.
from-afar’, and is thus an appropriate sacrificial victim. Like the kūmara, he is killed for the benefit of human beings; the kūmara are buried but produce an abundant food crop, while Rongo-i-tua by dying frees the crew from the effects of their sin. Perhaps, too, the mythographers felt it to be appropriate that Rongo-i-tua should die at this stage, and this episode provided a reason for this to occur.

Rongo-i-tua at his death becomes a rainbow. He is now a god-like figure, allied with the sky (the home of tapu beings), and receives a new and significant name, Rongo-tike, ‘Rongo-the-elevated’.51 His presence links Hawaiki, the land of the kūmara, with Aotearoa. The temporary links formed earlier in the story (Rongo-i-tua’s voyage to Aotearoa and the Kāhui Tupu’s voyage to Hawaiki) are by this action made permanent.52

OTHER VERSIONS

1. Kūi Tahu/Kāti Māmoe

a. Creed53

The story begins with the statement that someone (the kūmara itself may be meant) ‘came from Hawaiki, the place where Hine-hau-one was formed. The kūmara was killed there by the Kāhui Tupua, by Toi, Rauru and Whakatonga. The kūmara is Pani’s family.’54 Rongo-i-tua comes from Hawaiki to Aotearoa ‘in appearance of rainbow’, as a note above the line indicates. No reason is given for the visit. Waitau55 is prepared, but Rongo-i-tua asks for water and mixes up a paste. The people find this delicious.

51 This variant of the name seems quite as appropriate in this context as the Rongo-tikei, ‘Rongo-the-strider’, of Stack’s version. It is pointless to try to work out whether one name is a ‘corrupted’ form of the other.
52 Information about the significance of the rainbow in Māori thought is scarce. Tikao relates that Kahukura, god of the rainbow, sent rainbows to smooth the waves and to provide a sign to show the way to the new land (1939: 41; 99). Best (1976d: 194-5) says that the rainbow served as an omen, particularly in times of war (this is consistent with the fact that the rainbow gods Uenuku and Kahu-kura are also gods of war). In the myth under study the sacrifice of Rongo-i-tua has secured the kūmara permanently for the people of Aotearoa (in the same way that in version 2b Taumata’s blood is spilt to prevent the mauri of the kūmara from returning to Hawaiki). It may therefore be that the sight of the rainbow called up, for some tribes at least, the memory of Rongo-i-tua’s gift of the kūmara and the link between Hawaiki and Aotearoa.
53 Polynesian Society Papers, MS Papers 1187/202, WTU. Published by White, 1887 (III): 105-7 (English); 73-5: (Māori).
54 Hāere mai i Howaiki [sic]. I Howaiki te wāhi i ahu ai a Hine-hou-one. Patu[a] mai te kūmara i reira e Te Kāhu[i] Tupua, e Toi, e Rauru, e Whakatonga, e Te Kāhui Tupua. He w[h]ānau na Pani te kūmara. This paragraph was omitted by White.
55 See textual note 8.
Next morning he finds on the beach a log which has drifted there from Hawaiki. He measures it and excretes in the middle as a marker. There are ten fathoms on either side of his mark. Ārai-te-uru is the lower half, and Mānuka the top. The Kāhui Tupua adze out the canoe (we are not told which half) and all set off, with Rongo-i-tua as captain.

While Rongo-i-tua stays on board, his men surround a house and capture those who live there, eight names of whom are listed. Rongo-i-tua comes ashore and informs them that their prisoners are only the hapū iti or inferior tribe; the hapū mātua or chief tribe has escaped. As they depart, they hear shouts which are part of the ritual for blood vengeance. One of the karakia used in such rituals is given.

b. Stack

As in version 1a, no reason is given for Rongo-i-tua’s visit to ‘this island’. He finds the Kāhui Tipua, seven chiefs of whom are named. Rongo-i-tua refuses to eat the foods prepared for him and secretly prepares some kao, dried kūmara, which he has brought with him (his accompanying karakia is given in Māori). Rongo-i-tua tells them that they must cross the sea to obtain the kūmara. Tua-kakariki finds a large tree on the beach, but Rongo-i-tua tricks him out of his find by excreting on the butt of the tree and claiming that this is his own secret sign, made before he left home, and the proof that the tree followed him from Hawaiki. The tree is split in two, and two canoes are made.

The order in which the two canoes make their voyage is reversed in this version. The crew of Mānuka set sail and bring home their kūmara, but when they plant them, none grow. Rongo-i-tua sails off in Ārai-te-uru and reaches Whangara in Hawaiki. He orders his men

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56Some of these are recognisable as names for kūmara, and all are presumably meant to refer to different varieties, for at the end we are told He tāngata ēnei — waiho ai hei kūmara, ‘These were men — and they remained as kūmara’. The names are almost the same, with only minor variations, as those listed by Wohlers (see episode 6). Above the line there are notes in a mixture of English and Māori, which White has incorporated into the names but which seem to be phrases describing the qualities of the different types of kūmara: for example, ‘ma — very white’ above Kawakawa; ‘dark’ above Papa-rangi; ‘makoro’ [māngoro, ‘mealy’] above Tikoro; ‘kia pokerekahu dark reddish’ in the margin near Whaiata.

57Stack, 1879: 159-64. This version is in English only.

58The name Aotearoa is not mentioned until the end of the story.

59The first three names are those of version 1a. These names often figure at or near the beginning of whakapapa (though sometimes in a slightly different order), for they are seen as very early ancestors.
to surround the chief’s house and learn the kūmara karakia which the people can be heard chanting.\textsuperscript{60} The canoe is sent back under the command of Pakihiwi-tahi and Hape-ki-tua-raki, but capsises off Moeraki, where the washed-up cargo can still be seen (the Moeraki Boulders). Rongo-i-tua takes one step from Aotearoa to Hawaiki, and is seen as a rainbow. He is subsequently known as Rongo-tīkei, ‘Rongo-the-Strider’.\textsuperscript{61}

Beattie and others record versions of the above, but in most cases these versions add nothing new, and they are often derived from published sources.\textsuperscript{62} A version by Tikao has an unusual combination of motifs: Rongo-i-tua is said to have come from Hawaiki on the back of Te Manu-nui-a-Tāne (a huge bird usually associated with the ancestor Pou-rangahua); Rata is named as the man responsible for cutting down the log which drifted from Hawaiki to Aotearoa;\textsuperscript{63} an additional tribe, Kāhui Mātaua, is mentioned; there are two separate pairs of canoes, Horouta/Mānuka and Ārai-te-uru/Tākitimu; and a later voyage is made to bring back better quality kūmara.\textsuperscript{64}

2. North Island versions

a. East Coast\textsuperscript{65}

The narrative is preceded by a whakapapa of Toi, the owner of the Horouta canoe.\textsuperscript{66} A number of karakia are given. These are for such purposes as assuring the safety of a canoe and securing the kūmara.

Kahu-kura and his friend Rongo-i-amo, who live in Hawaiki, fill a waistbelt (named

\textsuperscript{60}At this point there occurs a short passage which is not part of the narrative and which is probably an interpolation by Stack. We are told that karakia were chanted before three posts, Kahu-kura, Māui-i-rangi and Marihaka, and offerings of koromiko leaves were left. Any error in the sacred rites resulted in the death of the tohunga and the destruction of the crop. Marihaka and the offerings of koromiko leaves are mentioned in another passage by Stack (1893: 24-6). Stack had obviously received detailed local information about the cultivation of the kūmara.

\textsuperscript{61}Stack’s article goes on to mention further myths which account for the origins of kūmara and other plant food.

\textsuperscript{62}Beattie, 1941: 34-9 and elsewhere. Shortland mentions the myth (1851: 188), but mistakenly names the canoe Taki-te-uru (perhaps having confused it with Tākitimu).

\textsuperscript{63}Rata is often said to have made the tribal migration canoe: see a discussion of this in ‘Rata: canoe builder and avenger’.

\textsuperscript{64}Tikao, 1939: 61-3.

\textsuperscript{65}Kapiti, 1912: 152-163. In English only. A shorter version of the same story, written in Māori, is published in Te Waka Māori, 11/9/72: 112-4.

\textsuperscript{66}It will be seen that several of the chiefs listed in versions 1a and 1b are sons and grandsons of Toi, according to this whakapapa.
Whetonga) with kao. Kahu-kura makes a special path to Aotearoa (called ‘this island’) by bending his mother Hine-te-wai over, with her feet in Hawaiki and her arms here. He then proceeds to bend his father, himself, Rongo-i-amo and others over her (nine layers in all, perhaps the different colours of the rainbow).

Toi and his people offer them ti, mamaku and aruhe to eat, but Kahu-kura asks for water to be brought. Rongo-i-amo pours kao from his belt. They fill seventy bowls with the mixture, and give Toi instructions about how to eat it. As in the Murihiku version, the people ask how to get this food and are given an indirect answer: here Kahu-kura points to the shed in which the canoe, Horouta, is kept. A group of men under Kahu-kura set out for Hawaiki, where the people mistake first taro roots and then kūmara tops for kūmara. The tubers themselves are, however, already harvested. Kahu-kura recites a karakia to make the cliffs of Hawaiki, which are made of kūmara, fall into the canoe (along with rats and pūkeko). Kahu-kura sends Horouta back home, with Pawa as its captain. They bring back tapu objects to aid in growing the kūmara: a spade and a mapou stick, and also pōhutukawa trees.67

b. Bay of Plenty

Toi’s visitors from Hawaiki have different names (Taukata and Hoaki), but there are many resemblances between this version and the Murihiku version.

Toi’s people are the Hapū Oneone, ‘the tribe of the soil’. The canoe used for the journey is called Ara-tāwhao, from tāwhaowhao, ‘driftwood’, because the log from which it was made was found cast up on the shore, a detail which links this version with South Island versions.

Two features are closely reminiscent of Wohlers’s version. Firstly, there is the description of what the visitors hear as they wait for food to be brought to them. They ask, ‘What is

67 The story goes on to tell of the further adventures of the crew: a woman, Kanawa, breaks tapu by bringing aboard a bundle of fern root, thereby causing a violent storm to arise and almost wreck the Horouta. The kūmara are distributed along the eastern coast.

68 Best, 1925: 692-709. This account is linked with the myth of Pou-rangahua, who is also credited with the introduction of kūmara to Aotearoa (see also Best: 918-31).
that making a noise?’ and are told, ‘Indeed, it is Haumia-roa’ (this is an emblematical name for the fern root which is being beaten for their meal; see episode 2 in Wohlers’s version).

Secondly, when Hoaki sends the people back to Aotearoa he tells them to kill Taukata ‘that his blood may be spilled within the storehouse, lest the prized product of Hawaiki return thither’. This sacrifice of the man responsible for bringing the kūmara may be compared with the sacrifice of Rongo-i-tua (episode 8).
Ka noho a Rongo-i-tua i Hawaiki, i tō rātou kāinga. Ka hanga i te rara kao kūmara. Ka tukitukia e Rongo-i-tua. Ka kī atu ngā tāngata, 'He aha koe e tukituki ai te rara? Ākuanei ka pū ngā kai ki raro. Ma wai hoki ka whaihanga?'


Ka noho i konā. Ka whakarongo ia ki te haruru o te patu o te tī kāuru, e patu ana i te aruhe, e patu ana i te whīnau. Ka kī atu tērā, 'He aha tēnei?'

Ka kī mai ngā tāngata, 'Na ia?'

'Āe.'

'Ka rongo koe — ko Tuki-o-te-whenua.'

Na, ka noho tērā. Ka puta mai te kaiipu, ka tī ki rō o te whare. Ka anga ngā ringaringa o tērā, ka [h]oake ki rō o te waha. Ka whakamātau ia — kāhore rawa kia rite. Ka mahue;

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1White 1887, III: 107-10 (English); 75-8 (Maori).
2That is, Aotearoa or the North Island. Wohlers often omits the a in the combination ao, especially in the expression ka ajo te rā.
3Although this is the form given by Wohlers, it is obvious that these are the people generally known as Kāhui Tipua. The sound changes are consistent with what is known about Murihiku pronunciation: see subsections A 2(b) and (c) in the introductory section, 'The Language of the South'.
4Tī kāuru is not among the Māori names of the various species of Cordyline listed by Best (1976c: 263), but this is perhaps a descriptive name: 'the tī that is made into kāuru'. Williams glosses kāuru as 'edible stem of tī-para'.
5Wohlers encloses these last two speeches within the same set of speech marks, but his method of punctuating direct speech is often haphazard. See the introduction to this story for details about the foods which are being spoken of here.
6The manuscript has he waitau at this point, scored out by Wohlers. Waitau is mentioned as being produced later in the meal. See note 8.
7Once again, it is difficult to distinguish between Wohlers's a and o. The manuscript has what appears to be ko onga, but this makes neither grammatical nor semantic sense.

Ka moe. Ka [a]o ake i te ata. Ka haere ia ki te tiko. Ka hori mai ia ki rō o te whare. Ka haere atu ngā tāngata, ka mātakitaki ki tōna tūtai. Ka tirohia, ka kī, 'He aha te kai o te manuwhiri nei? Kei te takoto te kiri o te tūtai.'

Ka kī atu tērā, 'Kawea he wai.'


Ka kī atu a Rongo-i-tua, 'Aua noa.'

Ka kīia atu e ngā tāngata, 'Kei whea tēnei kai?'

Ka kī atu a Rongo-i-tua, 'Aua noa.'

Ka ahiahi te rā, ka moe. Ka [a]o ake i te ata. Ka awatea, ka puta te rā. Ka karanga mai a Rongo-i-tua ki ngā tāngata, 'E puta ki waho.'

Ka puta ngā tāngata ki waho, mātakitaki ai — 'Ki te aha?'

Ka kī atu a Rongo-i-tua, 'E kai ō koutou kanohi ki te hurungia mai o te rā — ki a

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8This sentence is added above the line. Waitau is given in Williams as 'mouldy, decaying', but this is not the meaning here. In the south the word is used to describe the process by which the kāuru was made edible. After being cooked the fibrous mass from the trunk or roots of the d' could be steeped in water (cf. tau (vi) 7 in Williams), making, according to Tikao, a substance which had the sweetness and consistency of jam (Best, 1977b: 89).

9For tūtai see the language section in the general introduction, subsection A 2(d). Wohlers's punctuation for this sentence and the one which follows it has been emended. In the manuscript the question mark follows tūtai while the He aha sentence has a full stop.

10Takoto (8) in Williams is glossed as 'be well set, well shaped'.

11His belt must have contained a special pouch in which to keep the kīmara powder.

12Eke 8 in Williams, 'to thicken'.

13This may mean either 'It's far away' or 'I don't know'. The sense is almost the same: Rongo-i-tua is not giving up his knowledge lightly.

14This is the way Wohlers writes the sentence, no doubt following the condensed way the story was told by his Maori narrators. The hearer must imagine that Rongo-i-tua tells the people, 'Mātakitaki!' 'Look!' after they have followed his first instruction and emerged from their houses.
Kawakawa-nui, ki a Pipiko-nui.'15

Ka kī mai ngā tāngata, 'Kei reira?'

Ka kī atu tērā, 'Āe, kei reira.'

'[H]e aha te mea ka tae ai?'

Ka kī atu a Rongo-i-tua, 'Aua noa. He aha koia tērā?'

'He rākau.'

'Tāraitia ki te waka.'

Ka pōrangiitia, ka kitea te rākau — papae hemiti.16 Ko Ārai-te-uru te pūhanga, ko Mānuka te kāuru. Ka topea te pūhanga o Ārai-te-uru, ko Mānuka te waiho. Ka tāraikia. Ka oti. Ka utaina, ka mānu atu ngā tāngata, ka hori atu. Ka kī atu a Rongo-i-tua ki ngā tāngata e mānu atu na, 'Koi hē koutou, ka rokohina atu e koutou ko ēnā e paea e te tai na, ehara17 tēnā, he mātua tēnā. Engari kia tae koutou ki te whare ra, kia mau mai i a koutou18 te Kāhui Rongo.'

Ka mānu atu rātou, ka ū, ka manuwarū.19 Ka utaina ngā matuarua, ngā kōpura, me ngā popouhua, me ngā kaurariki.20

Ka noho tērā, a Rongo-i-tua, ka whakaaro ki taua waka ra — kāhore anō kia hoki mai. Ka kī atu tērā, 'Tikina, horoia.'

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15As the personal particle a indicates and as an incident later in the story confirms, these are names of people, not places.
16The phrase papae hemiti would be almost incomprehensible were it not for the fact that it is reproduced a little later in the story in a slightly different form (papae tītai), and that a related incident occurs in the story told by Stack and others (see the introduction to this story). Paepae, the usual form of the word, is a reduplication of pae. Papae is probably also a reduplicated form, although it does not seem to be used elsewhere in this sense (Williams gives it only as a verb, to 'be driven broadside on shore'). In the manuscript there is a comma after papae, though this may have been added by White. The sound changes involved in rendering hamutū as hemiti are all consistent with what is known about this dialect (see footnote 3). It would seem that Wohlers has reproduced what he heard without understanding its meaning. The same seems to be true too of the names in the next sentence, which he has not capitalised.
17The manuscript has ehare here.
18The manuscript has a second, superfluous i here which has been inserted into the text, perhaps by White.
19This is the way Wohlers spells the word throughout. Williams gives manawa-ri and Watkin manauaru (Harlow, 1987: 44), so manuwarū is perhaps a spelling mistake rather than a dialectal variant.
20These names have variant spellings a little later in the passage: popouhua is found as poupouhua, and kaurariki as kaweriki. The names are discussed in the introduction to this story.

Ka karanga mai te kauhoe, 'Tēnei anake, tēnei anake.'

Ka karanga ake a Rongo-i-tua, 'Tēnā anake?'

Ka karanga mai te kauhoe, 'Tēnei anake.'

Ka karanga ake a Rongo-i-tua, 'Tēnā anake ʻo te whare nei ka taka mai?'

Ka karanga mai te kauhoe, 'Tēnei anake.'

Ka piri mai te waka ki te taha. Ka titiro a Rongo-i-tua ki runga ki te waka. Ehara ia, he poupouhua, he kaweriki, he matua, he kōpura. Ka kī atu a Rongo-i-tua, 'Haere koutou, e hoe.'

Ka haere rātou, ko Rongo-i-tua, ka tae ki te kāinga ki Hawaiiki. Ka manuwarū rātou, ko ngōhe i ngā mātua. Ka kī atu a Rongo-i-tua ki te kauhoe, 'Ehara, he mātua tēnā. Nau mai ra, haere, kia tae ki te whare i te Kāhui Rongo. Kia mau katoa i a koutou, kia mau te roro, kia mau te mataao.'

Ka whakapahakia, ka hopukia, ka mate, ko Pipiko, ko Kawakawa, ko Tama-i-rangi, ko Papa-rangi, ko O tikoro, ko Heuru, ko Popo-haeata, ko Pakiai. Ka mate i konā, mahiti

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21 Tāuru and kāuru are given as synonyms by Williams, but it is possible that there is a distinction in the text here between the top half of the tree, from which Mānuka is being adzed, and the leaves and small branches at the very top, which must be cut off.

22 In the manuscript Wohlers has preceded Rongo-i-tua by a comma instead of leaving the name attached to the previous phrase. This suggests that ētou refers to the first group of people, the ones in Ārai-te-uru, who are now sent back to Aotearoa. Whatever the syntax of the sentence, the meaning is clear: Rongo-i-tua and the crew of Mānuka now continue on to Hawaiiki to fetch the kūmara.

23 Williams has nothing which helps to explain ngōhe (or ngahe, a possible reading of the word). The construction of the sentence indicates that some action is being performed by the crew at this point. The word kōhī suggests itself (if Wohlers has mistakenly corrected the t of the original to ng).

24 The manuscript has matao here and several lines further down. The word may be spelt matao or mataaho.

25 The names O tikoro and Heuru have been added in the margin of the manuscript. The two initial vowels of Popo-haeata have also been overwritten.

Ka kī mai ngā tāngata, ‘Tēnei anake, tēnei anake.’


Ka kī mai te kauhoe, ‘Āe, mau katoa.’

Ka whakaaro tērā, a Rongo-i-tua, ‘Kāhore ētahi o te whare nei kia taka mai, ka puta?’

Ā, haere a Rongo-i-tua ki uta, ka tae ki te whare, ka titiro ngā kanohi ki runga ki te mataao o te tuanui. Ā, ka kī atu tērā, ‘Utaina tā koutou patunga.’

Ka utaina ki runga ki te waka. No te waka anō ka tomo. Ka kī atu a Rongo-i-tua, ‘[H]oatu tātou, e mānū. Kūrapa!’


Ka kī atu ngā tāngata, ‘Kei te aha?’

Ka kī atu tērā, ‘Kei te huki i ngā toto.’

Ka tangi te hāumere. Ka kī atu ngā tāngata, ‘Kei te aha?’

Ka kī atu a Rongo-i-tua, ‘Kei te rākai,28 kei te auaha.’

Ka tangi te hāumere. ‘Kei te aha?’

‘Kei te kō.’

Ka tangi te hāumere. ‘Kei te aha?’

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26 Kūrapa, and kia kūrapa several lines further on, seems to be a southern idiom (kūrapa, ‘quick’, kia kūrapa, ‘make haste’). See subsection C 7 in the introductory section on language.

27 The manuscript here has kia utu, which must be a spelling mistake.

28 This word could be read as either rokoi or rākai. The latter seems more likely. See a further discussion in the introduction to this story.
'Kei [te] whakatō.'

Ka tangi te hāumere. 'Kei te aha?'

'Kei te hū o ngā māmāre.'

Ka tangi te hāumere. 'Kei te aha?'

'Kei te whati te kō.'

Ka tangi te hāumere. 'Kei te aha?'

'Kei te whakatakoto.'

'Kei te whakamama.'


29 The syntax of this sentence is unusual: one would expect either Kei te hū ngā māmāre or Ko te hū o ngā māmāre. See the introduction to this story for a further discussion.
30 These two sentences, in which the information is condensed, are apparently answers to the ‘Kei te aha?’ question asked as usual by the people.
31 The context suggests that pōrangi is being used in its better known sense of ‘mad, demented’ here, rather than in its usual South Island sense, ‘seek, search for’.
32 Williams does not have this expression, but it is in Best’s list of unusual words (1926-28b: 335).
33 The construction of this phrase is unusual: one would expect either the verbal form, i tū atu tērā, or the derived noun form, i te tūnga atu o tērā. This is a mixture of both.
Rongo-i-tua lived in his people’s village in Hawaiki. They built a platform for drying kīmara. Rongo-i-tua knocked it down. The people said, ‘Why did you knock the food platform down? Now the food is all piled on the ground. Who’s going to put it up again?’

Rongo-i-tua was overcome with shame and anger, and went off to the beach. He found a log of wood lying there. He got into it and rolled it down to the water. It was blown along by the wind, and landed at Aotearoa. He straightened himself up and came out of the log. He set off and came to the village of the Kāhui Tupu people, where Toi, Tai-whakatupu and Tai-whakatawhito were.

He stayed there. He heard the sound of the pounding of kāuru, and they were pounding fernroot and hīnau berries. He said to them, ‘What’s that?’

The people said to him, ‘That over there?’

‘Yes.’

‘What you can hear is Pounding-of-the-earth.’

Now he waited. People came in bearing calabashes and stood them in the house. He moved his hands towards them, and put [the food] into his mouth. He tasted it — it was not at all as it should be. He left it and did not eat it; he just left it lying there. In the evening, the kāuru was set to steep in water. The sweet matter was put in and it was left. Then it was brought inside. He tried it, but did not eat it; he just sat there.

He went to sleep. When day dawned, he went off to defecate. When he came back into the house, the people went out and looked at his faeces. They looked at it and said, ‘What sort of food does our guest eat? The outside of his faeces is so smooth.’

Rongo-i-tua said to them, ‘Bring me some water.’

They brought him some water: two calabashes full. The calabashes stood there. He poured
something into them from inside his belt. (The name of his belt was ‘Hug-hips’.) He put it into the calabash and squeezed it, and when it had thickened he shared it out among the people. They ate it and were delighted with its sweetness. They asked, ‘Where is this food to be found?’

Rongo-i-tua said, ‘It’s a long way off.’

The people asked him, ‘Where is this food to be found?’

Rongo-i-tua said, ‘It’s a long way off.’

Then the sun went down, and they went to sleep. Dawn came, and daylight, and the sun appeared. Rongo-i-tua called to the people, ‘Come outside.’

The people came outside to look — ‘What at?’

Rongo-i-tua said, ‘Let your eyes gaze on the glowing of the sun — on Kawakawa-nui, and on Pipiko-nui.’

The people said, ‘Is it there?’

He said, ‘Yes, it’s there.’

‘How do we get there?’

Rongo-i-tua said to them, ‘It’s a long way off. Whatever is that over there?’

‘A tree.’

‘Adze it out into a canoe.’

They went in search, and found the tree: it was the beam of a latrine. Ārai-te-uru was the lower part and Mānuka the top. They cut off the lower part for Ārai-te-uru, and left Mānuka. Then they adzed out Ārai-te-uru, and when it was finished the people went on board, launched it and set off. Rongo-i-tua said to the people who were sailing off, ‘Don’t make a mistake: when you find the ones that are cast ashore by the tide, it’s not those, they’re the
parents. But you must go to the house there and take the Kāhui Rongo.’

They sailed off and landed, full of joy. They loaded up the matuarua, the kōpura, the popouhua and the kuariki.

Rongo-i-tua stayed behind and thought about that canoe — it had not yet returned. He said, ‘Go and fetch it and clean it up.’

They went and fetched and cleaned up Mānuka, the top of the tree that was an excrement beam. When they had washed it clean, they cut the top off it. They adzed it out, and when it was done the people boarded it and set off. They paddled and sailed on and on, and after a long time, when they got out to the open sea, they met that other canoe, Ārai-te-uru, paddling back towards them. As the canoe drew near, Rongo-i-tua called out, ‘Have you got them?’

The paddlers called back, ‘They’re all here, they’re all here.’

Rongo-i-tua called out, ‘You’ve got them all?’

The paddlers called back, ‘They’re all here.’

Rongo-i-tua called out to them, ‘You’ve got the whole lot of the ones from the house, that were heaped up for you?’

The paddlers called back, ‘They’re all here.’

The canoe drew alongside. Rongo-i-tua looked into the canoe. But no! They were popouhua, kaweriki, matua and kōpura. Rongo-i-tua said to them, ‘Off you go, paddle away!’

They went off, while Rongo-i-tua came to the village at Hawaiiki. They were all overjoyed, and gathered up the parents. Rongo-i-tua called to the paddlers, ‘No, those are the parents. Now, off you go, get off to the Kāhui Rongo’s house. Seize them all: seize the front of the house and the window.’
They came up close and seized them, and Pipiko, Kawakawa, Tama-i-rangi, Papa-rangi, Otikoro, Heuru, Popo-hae-ata, and Pakiaki were killed. They were killed here, they suffered a great defeat. Some of them did escape; these were the Kahu-kura and the Kāhui Rongo. The war-party, the human people, came back to Rongo-i-tua. Rongo-i-tua said to them, ‘Have you got them all?’

The people said, ‘They’re all here, they’re all here.’

Rongo-i-tua said to them, ‘Where are you? There you go counting them all up. Where are those Kāhui Rongo? Quick!’ And Rongo-i-tua said to them again, ‘Did you get them all?’

The paddlers said, ‘Yes, we got them all.’

Rongo-i-tua thought, ‘Surely one of those from this house that were to be heaped up for us has escaped?’

So Rongo-i-tua went ashore, and came to the house, and lifted his eyes to the window on the roof. And then he said, ‘Put your dead victims on board.’

They put them on board the canoe. Then the canoe was completely full up. Rongo-i-tua said, ‘Let’s get started! Quick!’

They pushed off from the shore. They listened, and heard a cry go up. He said to them, ‘Now then, listen to that. You said they were all dead. But you heard that cry ringing out.’

The people said, ‘What are they doing?’

He said, ‘They’re performing the ceremonies for avenging the dead.’

The cry rang out. The people said, ‘What are they doing?’

Rongo-i-tua said, ‘They’re adorning themselves, they’re fertilising.’

The cry rang out. ‘What are they doing?’

‘They’re digging.’
The cry rang out. ‘What are they doing?’

‘They’re planting.’

The cry rang out. ‘What are they doing?’

‘It’s the sound of the stripped branch.’

The cry rang out. ‘What are they doing?’

‘The digging stick is being broken.’

The cry rang out. ‘What are they doing?’

‘They’re laying them down.’

‘They’re performing the tapu-removal ceremonies.’

Then it was finished. So they paddled off. Down went the sun, and then it rose: they were in the same place. Down went the sun again, then they woke up: there they were in that very same place. They could not sail on. The reason they could not sail on was that the rowers had eaten. Then they became confused and maddened. Rongo-i-tua said, ‘What are you doing? Come and take me and kill me, so that you can escape, so that those of you who survive will have offspring.’

They killed Rongo-i-tua and performed over him the ceremonies for a victim. Now as he stood up in the boat, he reached right up to the sky, and then bent to one side, at the same time holding fast to the clouds in the sky. Then he dropped downwards, and came to rest far away in that home of theirs in Hawaiki. As he arched over, he reached as far as their home in Hawaiki. After he was taken up into the sky, he was Rongo-tike, ‘Rongo-the-elevated’. Rongo-i-tua was also his name, but after his death he became Rongo-tike.

Now at last the canoe could sail straight on. It came ashore and the people came to their home in Aotearoa.
WHAITIRI AND TĀWHAKI:

THE WOMAN FROM THE SKIES
AND HER CHIEFLY GRANDSON
INTRODUCTION

The Murihiku version of the myth of Tāwhaki is a saga which spans several generations, beginning with Whaitiri and Kai-tangata and moving on through their children and grandchildren down to Rata (who will be discussed in the next chapter). It deals with the themes of cannibalism, the ambiguous nature of women, murder, revenge, mana (and the lack of mana), and visits to and from the sky world.

The chief male figure of the myth, Tāwhaki, has all the attributes that were most admired in the Māori male. He is handsome, chiefly, resourceful and brave. He embarks on the noblest quest a son can undertake: the search for the murderers of his father, and for a fitting method of revenge.

Female figures in Māori myths tend to play a minor role in the action of the stories: they are there either to support the hero or to oppose him. The helpful women are usually, though not always, family members, either mothers or sisters, and they possess knowledge which is crucial to the hero’s success. They come into prominence in the story at the point when this knowledge is required, and then disappear from view after their short role is played. Examples of these figures are Rata’s mother and Tāwhaki’s sister Pūpū-mai-nono.

Hindering females, on the other hand, often come from the outside. Sometimes they are human, or seem to be so, and sometimes they are non-human. They all possess karakia or other powers which make them dangerous to the hero, and they play a greater role in the action of the story, since the interest is focussed on the hero’s efforts to overcome them. Examples of these female figures in Murihiku narratives are the witch women encountered by Ploioi and Paowa, and the ngārara who tries to entrap Ruru.

Because the stories are told from the male point of view, the attitudes towards women displayed in them reflect male psychology. There is a certain amount of fear and revulsion shown towards many of the female figures. Often one woman is seen to combine both desirable and undesirable characteristics. The archetypal female figure here is Hine-atauira, the daughter-wife who changes into the highly dangerous Hine-nui-te-pō, whose embrace,
as Māui found to his cost, is death.

Whaitiri, the female figure in this myth, is another such ambiguous female figure. In her can be seen aspects of other types of female who appear in Māori myth: the ‘fairy wife’, the devouring shag woman, the cannibal grandmother, and more besides. These contrasting facets of her nature will be examined in turn.

Whaitiri, the ‘fairy wife’

The story of Whaitiri as recorded by Wohlers has several features which ally it to the classic Māori fairy story, a tale type sometimes known as the ‘swan maiden’ tale. Like the fairy women in these tales, Whaitiri has her home in the sky, and she takes her name from one of the weather phenomena associated with that region. In this case it is not mist, a frequent element in fairy names, but thunder (whaitiri). She comes down to the human man of her choice and makes advances to him, and after living with him for some time she becomes pregnant with their child. Her husband insults her to his friends, and compounds the injury by refusing to admit it. Angry and ashamed, she makes her way back to her

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1The story of Te Niniko, recorded by Smith (1910: 129-30) is a standard ‘fairy wife’ tale which contains the following five motifs frequently found in these tales: (a) a tīrehu (fairy) visits a man secretly each night; (b) he wishes to show off her beauty to his family, but she orders him to wait until their child is born; (c) he convinces with his people to block the chimneys in the house to prevent the daylight entering; (d) she wakes up in broad daylight and, watched by all the people, jumps on to the ridge-pole of the house to sing her farewell song; (e) she flies off up to the sky, sometimes in a cloud, mist or a column of smoke (see also Best, 1925: 871; White, 1887, I: 88; 127-8).

A Tāhoe version of the myth of Whaitiri recorded by Best follows this pattern closely, except that motif (b) is replaced by a new motif: Whaitiri informs her husband Kai-tangata that, because she is tapu, he will have to wash their child. When her husband forgets and calls her to wash the child, she travels back to the sky in the mists (Best, 1925: 909-11). The story of Tāwhaki and Tangotango, another ‘fairy wife’ tale, also contains a similar episode (Grey, 1956: 51-2).

This type of story is often referred to as a ‘swan maiden’ tale. Lessa has an excellent analysis of this tale type, which he traces throughout Oceania and back to its probable roots in India (Lessa, 1961: 120-161). There is, however, a problem in trying to include Māori ‘fairy wife’ tales in this classification. Lessa admits that, in the Māori tales, ‘an important element of the classic versions is missing. The heroine is not transformed into a helpless mortal-like being by taking off a garment and having it stolen by a man. In fact, she usually comes to the man of her own free will and makes amatory advances to him, although she is seized by force.’ The first point mentioned by Lessa, the stealing of the woman’s garment (or wings, or tail, depending on the version) is perhaps of minor importance in defining the motif, but the second point, the fact that the woman is usually captured and forced to remain with the man against her will, would seem to be crucial. Lessa points to Polynesian versions, especially those from Tahiti and the Tuamotus, in which the idea of capture is important. It is true that this motif is present in Aotearoa as well, but it is rarer. And even when the man has seized the woman and made her his wife, there is no idea of subsequent captivity; she gives him orders about keeping her presence secret, and leaves him when he disobeys. The motif has therefore undergone such significant modifications (perhaps because of the role women in Aotearoa played in initiating love-making, see the section ‘Te Ruahine-mata-māori’ in ‘Paowa: an encounter with a witch’) that it no longer seems helpful to use the ‘swan maiden’ label.
home in the skies, abandoning her husband. Before she leaves she does what fairy wives often do: she pauses for a moment to speak her farewell message. In vain her husband tries to catch at her garments to hold her back; she is beyond his reach and mounts to the sky.

In the Murihiku myth Whaitiri’s child, Hema, is left behind, and it is to him that the mother’s message is addressed. She tells him that he will not be able to make the journey to the skies, but that his ‘fruit’, that is, his sons, will be able to do so.

**Whaitiri, the cannibal woman**

The fairy wife in a typical fairy story descends to earth because she has seen a handsome man and desires him for her husband. But Whaitiri’s desire is more complex, as the first words of the story reveal. She is attracted, not by Kai-tangata’s good looks or by his chiefly qualities but because of a misunderstanding about his name, which means ‘Eat-man’ or ‘Cannibal’. Since she herself is a cannibal, she thinks that this is a man who will satisfy her needs along with his own. This story is no doubt seen as one explanation for the practice of cannibalism on earth: it is initiated not by human beings but by the supernatural beings who live in the skies.

The practice of cannibalism is moreover initiated here by a woman, while her husband is ignorant of her intentions and innocent of any participation in her activities. There is no doubt a certain amount of humour implicit in this gender-reversal. Kai-tangata, the male, is a fisherman who cannot catch fish, and who seems exceptionally meek and ignorant. In

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2 In the tale type outlined above, only one sort of betrayal is mentioned: the husband’s refusal to keep his wife’s origins a secret. However, other stories mention different ways in which the fairy wife may be betrayed: she may be physically mistreated, as in the case of Niwareka (Smith, 1913:184), or verbally insulted, as are both Tangotango (also called Hāpai; Grey, 1956: 52) and Whaitiri. In this southern version, Whaitiri may be seen to be filling the role which Tangotango/Hāpai plays in the Ngāti Toa/Arawa versions (see version A 4 in the list of ‘Other versions’ at the end of this chapter). In a version from Mangareva the situation is reversed, and it is Tāwhaki himself who is the visitor from the sky, who comes by night to his human wife and is tricked into revealing himself in daylight (Hiroa, 1938: 318-26).

3 Sometimes the fairy mounts to the top of the ridge-pole to sing a special farewell waiata telling of her sorrow at having to leave (Best, 1925a: 867; 871). At other times, as here, she gives instructions to be followed by the person who will later come in search of her.

4 In Tiramōrehu’s version she is ‘taken up by the clouds to the heavens’ (1987: 36).

5 The Ngāti Pīrout version, too, speaks of Whaitiri’s expectations and of her disappointment (White, 1887, I: 87-8; this is by Ruatau and Pōtaitū).

6 One is reminded of the Biblical myth of Eve and the serpent.
contrast to this, his wife’s ferocity stands out even more sharply. She is also extraordinarily successful at her fishing: the fish she catches in her net are men.

Whaitiri is disappointed in her expectations, for her husband’s name does not describe his own activities. She even has to show him how to make effective fish-hooks, since his efforts at fishing are failures. The other people in the village evidently share Kai-tangata’s ignorance of cannibalism. The story suggests that when Whaitiri brings back human prey, the villagers are shocked and surprised on seeing human victims in her net instead of the fish they have been expecting.

Because Kai-tangata is not used to killing and eating human beings he has had no experience in performing the karakia to lift the tapu from human victims. After several unsuccessful attempts to persuade him to perform, Whaitiri finds that she has to recite the karakia herself. The implication in this passage is that Kai-tangata, as the male and the head of the family, is the appropriate one to perform rituals of this sort (Whaitiri, who is pregnant, appeals to him to ‘remove the tapu from our child’s man’, that is, the man who will be serving as food for the unborn child). An additional idea may be that Whaitiri’s karakia, because it comes from the skies, will not be effective in the human world.

The horror of Whaitiri’s deed is made even worse by the fact that her victims are relations, ‘ancestors of Kai-tangata’s’. Even if Kai-tangata had been used to eating human flesh, the flesh of his own relatives would have been forbidden to him. By making his relatives’ bones into fish-hooks he commits an act which is equally abhorrent, for he is in effect causing his own relatives to be eaten by fish. Since Kai-tangata knows the origin of the bones when he steals them, he possibly does so with an ulterior motive, in the knowledge that some sort of punishment will inevitably follow such a breaking of the rules of tapu.

Whaitiri eats fish caught on the offending fish-hooks (perhaps Kai-tangata, knowing of his own breach of tapu, refuses to do so), and immediately becomes blind. Blindness, either physical or spiritual, was often said to follow an act of tapu-breaking such as eating tapu food. What causes Whaitiri’s blindness is apparently not the action of eating her human

\[7\text{For example, when Tāne is offered birds which have fed on his elder brother Rehua’s head he refuses to eat}\]
victims in their state of tapu, but of eating the fish caught on hooks made from their bones. Why the effect should be so far removed from the cause is not made clear. Perhaps it is because Whaitiri, being from the sky, is not affected in a normal human manner. Or it may be a case of ‘poetic justice’: Whaitiri introduced barbed fish-hooks into the world, and is now injured by those very fish-hooks.

Whaitiri’s home

Whaitiri, blinded and impotent, now suffers the humiliation of her husband’s insults. She leaves Kai-tangata and mounts up to her own land, called here Pū-o-te-toe, ‘Clump-of-reeds’, or perhaps Pū-o-te-toi, ‘the base-of-the-toi’. The significance of this name is not clear. The first form of the name suggests that it may be linked to the clump of reeds which is sometimes said to be the entrance to another world, as in some versions of the story of Māui. The second form (which is that used by Tiramōrehu) suggests an association with the axis mundi, the mystical centre of the earth where earth and sky were thought to meet.

As we have seen, when Whaitiri leaves her husband she is said to ‘climb upwards’, back to her home in the sky. But later her two grandsons seek her in her home across the sea, and from there make a separate journey up the pathway to the sky. In his later version of the story, Wohlers notes the discrepancy: ‘That place, it seems, was not in a perpendicular, but in an horizontal direction, far away over the sea’. The situation is ambiguous, and perhaps was not entirely clear to the tellers of the tale. Perhaps because of this ambiguity, Tiramōrehu has resolved the question by having two separate figures. One is Te Ruahinemata-morari, the old blind woman who lives over the sea at the ‘Base-of-the-toi’, and the other is Whaitiri, the ‘fairy wife’ figure who mounts to the skies and is seen no more.

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kei kai ia, matapōuri ia, 'lest he should eat and become blind' (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 6). Best has examples of other kinds of spiritual fault which could lead to blindness (Best, 1902-4 (11): 49-50; 1905-7, (14): 212).

8 Tiramōrehu has Pū-o-toi as the place where the old woman lives (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 15).

9 Tāwhaki is sometimes said to climb up to the sky on this, but the concept is not well understood and has often been blurred in translation. Taylor’s version of the story has the word toimau, which he calls the ‘outside or verge of heaven, the fence which divides it from the earth’. Earlier, in his discussion of Rangi and Papa, he remarks that ‘The general idea of Heaven was that it was a solid and opaque body, spread out upon the earth, which was flat as a board; Papa, the earth, bears this specification. The two parts thus joined together formed a globe, the heaven being one half of the sphere, the earth being the other’ (Taylor, 1870: 114). It seems from this description that in this instance the toi, rather than being the axis mundi, is thought to be the raised perimeter of the world, where sky and earth meet.

10 Wohlers, 1874: 17.

Whaitiri, the blind grandmother

After Whaitiri’s disappearance from Kai-tangata’s world, the narrative turns to focus on her son and grandchildren. But she returns to the story when the time comes for her grandson, Tāwhaki, to remember her words and go in search of his grandmother. When he finds her, she has taken on another role, this time as an old, blind woman who counts out items of food.

This figure is found in numerous stories (many of them concerning figures other than Tāwhaki and Karihi) all over Polynesia. Often her name reflects her blindness: she is called Te Ruahine-mata-morari, ‘The Old Blind Woman’, Mata-kerepō, ‘Blind-eyes’, or Kui-porari, ‘Kui-the-blind’. The hero usually mounts to the upper world or descends to the lower to find her. As we have already seen, it is unusual to find her living across the sea, although she often lives in the ordinary, human world.

In most stories the old woman’s blindness is not explained. It must, of course, have something to do with the fact that she is old, although the persistence of the motif in this specific form (an old blind woman who lives in another world and counts items of food) means that there is more to it than this. The Murihiiku version provides an explanation for her blindness: this has originated from her own activities in the world below. Whaitiri’s union with a husband in the human world has given her human grandchildren.

As we have already seen, female family members usually help the hero to achieve his

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12The name corresponding to this in the Murihiiku stories recorded by Wohlers is Te Ruahine-mata-morari. See the discussion of this figure in the introductions to ‘Pipit and Dotterel: two thieves bird brothers’ and ‘Paowa: an encounter with a witch’.

13Kui usually means ‘old woman’. However, sometimes this is interpreted in different ways. In some Polynesian dialects the form of the name is ‘Uhi, ‘yam’, no doubt because of the yams which the old woman is counting (Henry, 1928: 560). The old woman is found in stories about Māui (Banapa, 1920: 90; her name here is Ina-matapio Ina-mata-porari), about Hina and Tinirau (Collocott, 1928: 37), and about other figures (Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 68-76; her name here is Sinakibi). Sometimes the blind woman motif has an independent life (Burrows, 1923: 168-70). Some versions of the story from Tikopia and Tonga have an old man in this role (Firth, 1961: 48-9; Gifford, 1924: 153-5).

14Often the old blind woman lives up up in the sky, although sometimes she may be found, as here, at the foot of the pathway to the sky (Grey, 1956: 53). Often she lives in the netherworld (Stimson, 1937: 80; Henry, 1928: 559-60; Gill, 1876: 250-5).

15A Ngāti Hau version recorded by Taylor (1870: 142) also proffers an explanation for her blindness: her eyes have been pecked out by small birds. Otherwise, Polynesian and North Island versions usually do not explain this.
object. Mothers and sisters produce useful objects, teach karakia, and supply valuable information. It is usually females outside the family group who wish to harm the hero. The blind old woman in the Polynesian stories at first fails to recognise the hero and indulges in threatening behaviour. Sometimes she swells to an enormous size in order to swallow him, or lashes out with a weapon, or mutters to herself in a way that the hero recognises as hostile.\textsuperscript{16} However, once the old woman discovers the identity of her visitor her behaviour at once changes: her stomach contracts back to its normal shape, or she stops waving her weapon about, or else she changes her angry mutterings to welcoming cries: ‘It’s my grandson!’

In the Murihiku version of the story the grandmother, even after acknowledging the relationship and welcoming her grandsons into her house, still has evil designs upon the two youths. The narrator has from the very beginning prepared his hearers for the ambiguous attitude which Whaitiri displays towards her grandsons. Her cannibal nature, which allows her to eat members of her own husband’s family, has been revealed. It therefore comes as no great surprise to find that Tāwhaki and Karihi are in great danger in their grandmother’s house. Even after they have won her confidence by restoring her sight,\textsuperscript{17} Tāwhaki knows that he and his brother must not lower their guard. He therefore resorts to an ingenious stratagem. He and Karihi find ‘cats’ eyes’ from winkles shells to put over their closed eyes, so that the old woman will be deceived into thinking that they are still awake.\textsuperscript{18}

That Whaitiri has had evil designs on the youths is shown by the fact that she does indeed come to look at them during the night, and by her prevarication the next day about the path they need to take. When they finally prevail upon her to tell them the way to the skies,

\textsuperscript{16}Grey, 1956: 24-5; 54; Taylor, 1870: 144. The \textit{kōwhiuwhiu} spoken of in Tiramōrehu’s version (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 15) is given in Williams’s dictionary only as ‘fan’, but the context suggests that it is something more lethal. In several Cook Island versions, the old woman swings a fish-hook to catch her prey (Gill, 1876: 110-1; 252).

\textsuperscript{17}This episode figures in almost all versions. In the version recorded by Wohlers the brothers slap or tap Whaitiri’s eyes, but in other versions from Aotearoa and from wider Polynesia the methods are many and various: the two put spittle, coconut paste or ants on her eyes, or even throw coconuts at them. In a Ngāti Porou version, she is given Karihi’s eyes (White, 1887, I: 90).

\textsuperscript{18}In one version of the story of Kae and Tinirau, Kae uses pāua shells to gain the same effect. According to Beattie, there is a kind of shellfish in Otago called \textit{kanohi-o-Tāwhaki} (‘eyes-of-Tāwhaki’); this must be in commemoration of this incident (Beattie, 1920b: 63).
Karihi falls to his death and is promptly killed by Whaitiri.

Tāwhaki however has proved that his mana is greater than hers by evading her attempts to eat him and by insisting on being shown the right path. What is more, he is the person who was previously chosen to succeed by Whaitiri. These constraints mean that she must cooperate with him and give him good advice for overcoming future obstacles.

Whaitiri and Houmea the shag woman

Another figure in Māori mythology with whom Whaitiri is associated is Houmea the shag woman. In versions from Tahiti, there is a cannibal woman named Haumea, who appears, as does Whaitiri in versions from Aotearoa, at the head of the family tree which contains the names of Tāwhaki and Karihi.\(^{19}\) In Aotearoa Houmea’s story has been recorded in detail only on the East Coast of the North Island, but brief references to her occur in other areas.

Whaitiri’s special style of swimming closely resembles that of Houmea.\(^{20}\) She dives and then bobs out of the water in her pursuit of Tū-peke-tī and Tū-peke-tā, just as Houmea does as she chases after her husband and children. It is significant that Whaitiri’s two victims do not mistake her for a fish, but wonder instead if she is a person or a bird — a shag is obviously what they have in mind.

Unlike Houmea, Whaitiri does not gulp down fish, but she does exert control over them in several different ways. As we have already seen, in the Murihiku version of the story Kai-tangata is an ignorant and unsuccessful fisherman, because his hooks have no barbs. It is Whaitiri who has the secret of making proper barbed fish-hooks. She shows her husband her clitoris to follow as the pattern for making them correctly.\(^{21}\) Kai-tangata is at first

\(^{19}\) Haumea is their grandmother (Leverd, 1912: 1-25). See a further discussion of this figure in the introductions to ‘Rona: an unfaithful wife and a vengeful husband’ and ‘Paowa: an encounter with a witch’. In discussing this figure, I have drawn largely on the work of Dr Orbell of Canterbury University (1968: xiv-xvi; and private notes on Houmea).

In Tahitian versions this figure is known by several different names: Nona, Rona, Haumea and Vahine-‘ai-ta’ata (Leverd, 1912: 1-3; Henry, 1928: 552). This last name (‘Cannibal-woman’) may be the origin of the name Kai-tangata in the Māori stories. The husband may have inherited the name and the wife the characteristics of this figure.

\(^{20}\) Houmea swims like a shag, and is sometimes even said to be a shag (by Ngāti Porou: Orbell, 1968: 71).

\(^{21}\) Compare the barbed hooks and bird spear made by Māui; see versions 1e and 3 in the summaries at the end
disgusted at this, but later has apparently overcome his scruples, as he fishes successfully.

Whaitiri not only knows how to make an effective fish-hook, she also knows the proper karakia to be said over the fish. In fact she obviously has some kind of magical sympathy with the fish, as she knows the instant that Kai-tangata has made his catch. In other versions of the story Whaitiri’s connection with fishing is made more explicit, for she is in control of the fish supplies and withholds or grants them at will.

Both Whaitiri and Houmea are the subjects of uncomplimentary remarks. When Kai-tangata entertains his friends by slandering his wife, his comment is ‘This woman’s body is just like the snow and the wind’. The woman’s skin is referred to in a similarly insulting way in a proverb about Houmea quoted by Mohi Ruatapu, ‘Houmea rough and ugly flesh’. This is a way of exteriorising the husband’s feelings about his wife, and setting himself apart from her.

**Whaitiri and thunder**

We have seen that the name Whaitiri means ‘Thunder’. It is only in Aotearoa that the name is applied to this figure, and this particular aspect of her nature seems at first to be an adaptation found only in Aotearoa. There is a hint, however, that she may have an association with thunder in Rarotonga too, though this is not made explicit. The figure on the same point on the genealogy as Whaitiri is called Ina-ma-ngurunguru (ngurunguru means ‘to rumble continuously, as of thunder’).

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22 She says the hapuku karakia when Kai-tangata catches a hapuku or groper.

23 The word pākuru is glossed by Williams as ‘knock, make a knocking sound’, but there is obviously more to it than this, as Williams’s other examples of the word show.

24 White, 1887, I: 87 and 127-8 (English versions); 77 and 113-4 (Māori versions). She is said to have control over food in general (Na katahi a Whai-tiri ka papaki i te kai, ‘Whai-tiri now determined on driving the food away’); in the context however this food appears to be fish. She also supplies something which is called ika-whenua, ‘food of the land’, which falls from the skies as food for her child. In the Tūhoe version of the story, frost and snow are said to be Whaitiri’s ‘fish’, which she hangs up on a food-storage platform (Best, 1925: 909). The Tūhoe people live inland, with no access to the sea.

A further link with the story of Houmea is a structural one: this is the list of parts of the settlement which Tāwhaki and Karihit visit in their search for the correct path. Houmea searches in ‘the privy, the buildings, the clump of trees, and the lookout place on the hill’, while Whaitiri sends her two grandsons to visit ‘the path going to the urinal, the path going to the stream, the path going to the latrine, the path going to the place for gathering firewood, the path going to the sacred place where the kīmara rites were performed’. See also the witch’s karakia in ‘Ko Paoa’.

One explanation for thunder (there are others, as we shall see later in the episode concerning Tama-i-waho) is that it is made by Whaitiri’s raho, ‘labia majora’, clashing together.26 Whaitiri can therefore be seen to be associated here with the powerful Hine-nui-te-pō, whose genitals ‘flash’ at the edge of the horizon.27 The word pāthau in the Murihiku story may also be associated, though in a rather different way, with this concept. Williams glosses the word as ‘mutter, chatter to oneself’, but this translation seems inadequate in this context.28 Whaitiri’s actions are emphasised by being referred to repeatedly, and they are highly threatening, for they fill her grandsons with fear and apprehension. It seems possible that patihau should be interpreted as patī-hau, ‘break wind’. This would provide an explanation for the thunder with which, as we have seen, Whaitiri is associated, and would also add to the story the mixture of humour and terror that is typical of these stories of powerful female ogres.

This idea is also found in the Tuamotus, and it may be present elsewhere (coy translations may obscure it). Leverd gives a guarded description of a cognate figure, ‘Ui, ‘blowing’ as she tries to destroy the thieves who have been stealing her food: ‘Trees were blown down and stones split as by a powerful blast where 'Ui had blown’. Reference to the original Tuamotuan text shows that she is in fact breaking wind.29

One cannot, of course, know how the people of Murihiku interpreted the word patihau at the time when the story was recorded. But the fact that Wohlers translates it as ‘beating her about with a weapon’30 suggests that there was some meaning to the word other than mere muttering. In the translation of this story I have chosen the word ‘rumbling’, in the hope that this may cover some of the different meanings which are possible.

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26White, 1887, I: 87; 126 (English); 77 and 113-4 (Māori). The word raho is translated ‘thighs’ in the English versions.
27See the discussion of Hine-nui-te-pō in the introduction to ‘Māui: trickster and innovator’, note 73.
28Only this example is given, but the word is given as a compound form of tīhau, which has a similar meaning. Wohlers has ‘fashing about with a weapon’ in his 1874 English version.
29Te Aipitaro-i-nui-a-parara, 1911: 176. The translation is by Leverd. ‘Ui says, ‘Stinking is the sky from 'Ui’s breath!’ but this is a euphemism.
An associated idea is perhaps found in the story of Fine-mata, a related ogress figure found in the Tuvalu Islands. In a similar situation, she performs an indecent dance, exposing herself and slapping her thighs loudly (Kennedy, 1930: 221-6).
30Wohlers, 1874: 17.
One other detail which points to the mysterious and powerful aspect of Whaitiri is the reference to the rope which Tāwhaki has to untie from around around her neck. The rope joins the world below and the world above, and is the pathway which Tāwhaki must use in making his ascent. Here Whaitiri is a figure who links earth and sky by providing a pathway between the two.31

Whaitiri, then, is an extremely complex female figure. In some ways she can be seen as a ‘fairy wife’, but unlike other fairies who come only at night and shy away from revealing themselves to any but their chosen mates, she brazenly flouts the conventions of the people among whom she finds herself, taking control of fishing procedures and killing members of the family. Once back in her own home she becomes the ‘old blind woman’, welcoming her grandsons because they are her own flesh and blood, but acting treacherously towards them because she is still in the grip of her cannibal nature.

Tāwhaki

While Whaitiri is an ambiguous and largely dangerous figure, her grandson Tāwhaki radiates chiefly virtue. Like his grandmother he is associated with storm phenomena, but whereas her name evokes the dark, ominous roll of thunder, Tāwhaki is mainly associated with lightning. People were sometimes said to have seen him clothed in lightning, or to have seen lightning flashing from his armpits.32 Because of his journey to the skies these are now his realm. In traditional waiata his name could be used to honour a dead person, who could be told to ‘climb the pathway of Tāwhaki’.33

In North Island versions he is the epitome of the chiefly first-born son. As the elder brother of Karihi he takes charge of karakia and ritual, and he watches over his younger brother, sending him back home when danger threatens. The purpose of his journey to the skies is

31Elsewhere Whaitiri, ‘an old female goddess of the first of the Nights’, is said to have chanted the karakia used at the separation of Earth and Sky (White, 1887, I: 51 (English), 43-4 (Māori)); see also Taylor, 1855: 18; 21-2; [Orbell], 1965: 17. Because the karakia was used on the occasion of the original, highly successful separation of the first parents, Rangi and Papa, it could be used in cases of couples who wished to separate from each other.

32Grey, 1956: 61; Taylor, 1870: 138; 146; White, 1887, I: 55; Best, 1925: 917.

33Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961: song 172, line 13. Tāwhaki’s nobility and his connection with the sky led early commentators to draw parallels with Christ (see Taylor, 1870: 101).
usually to find the wife and child who have abandoned him.\textsuperscript{34}

In the southern version, however, the emphasis is different. For here we find that Tāwhaki is no longer the elder but the younger brother. He is in fact the youngest child. This is significant because it alters the pattern of the story. Instead of being the one who takes the lead because of his position in the family, Tāwhaki is now cast in the same mould as Māui and Whakatau: he is a youngest child who puts himself forward and supplants his siblings and who, against all the odds (the jealousy and hatred of certain members of his family and dangerous encounters during his journey), emerges triumphant.\textsuperscript{35}

Unlike Māui and Whakatau, Tāwhaki has a normal birth and is endowed with physical beauty. Many versions of the myth refer to his attractiveness and chiefly bearing.\textsuperscript{36} In the southern versions this is not stated directly, but various women are said to ‘die’ of love for him or to abandon their husbands to follow him.\textsuperscript{37} One southern version, not from Murihiku, makes Tāwhaki copulate with a great number of women and father trees, birds and so forth, in the way that Tāne is usually said to do. This version also spells out that Tāwhaki as the younger brother is noa and so free from the restrictions placed upon his elder brother, free, that is, to copulate with any woman he encounters upon the way.\textsuperscript{38}

In a number of Eastern Polynesian versions Tāwhaki is said to have a ruddy skin, a sign of beauty.\textsuperscript{39} In other ways, too, he is associated with the chiefly colour red: pōhutukawa and rātā flowers, as well as various birds (pūkeko, kākā and kākāriki), are said to have acquired their red colouring from some action of Tāwhaki’s.\textsuperscript{40} Some Ngāti Hau versions of the myth give a prominent position to a karakia in which there are references to various sorts of blood, which come together to bring Tāwhaki to life after his elder cousins have killed him.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{34}As has already been mentioned, in several North Island versions it is Tāwhaki who has the ‘fairy wife’.

\textsuperscript{35}In Island Polynesian versions, Tāwhaki is sometimes the elder and sometimes the younger son. But the roles of the two sons are clearly differentiated.

\textsuperscript{36}White, 1887, I: 97-100; Taylor, 1870: 139-41; Grey, 1956: 61. Note also a Ngāti Kahungunu waiata which comments on his beauty: Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: song 215, lines 13-16 (and accompanying note).

\textsuperscript{37}Tiranorehu, 1987: 36-7.

\textsuperscript{38}Ka whakanaotia mo te aha, mo te aha (White, MS Papers 75 B 13, WTu).


\textsuperscript{40}Best, 1925a: 916; White, 1887, I: 55; 61; Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1981: song 271, lines 1-4.

\textsuperscript{41}White, 1887, I: 57-8; 97-8; 101-3.
Karihi

In Wohlers's version, Tāwhaki at first has the help of his elder brother in his pursuit of the murderers of their father Hema, but from the moment that the true quest begins, he acts alone. He is the one who can say the correct karakia, even though this should be the task of his elder brother. Karihi does not live up to all that is expected of him as the eldest male member of the family.

In this southern version Karihi is not evil, as he is in many other versions. He actively supports Tāwhaki and falls in with his plans. But he is impulsive, thrusting himself forward at moments when Tāwhaki should be the one to take the lead, and he is weak. In the end he fails in his task, falls and is killed by Whaitiri.

Journey across the sea

As we have seen, the journey to find Whaitiri and avenge their father's death takes the brothers across the sea. This motif makes the southern versions differ from all others, for elsewhere the journey takes the hero either to the skies or to the world below. In this episode, as is typical of these stories, the actions are performed twice. There is a first, unsuccessful attempt to cross the sea, followed by a second, successful one.

Tāwhaki and Karihi's sister, Pāpū-mai-nono, has an important part to play in their quest. She does not take part in the voyage of revenge, for this is not a role that women play in Māori myth. Her role is to supply the knowledge which is vital to the success of her brothers' mission. She chants a karakia which will allow them to cross the sea safely. The words of this karakia indicate that she may at the same time be performing ritual actions which have as their purpose the quelling of the stormy sea. This ritual, which has been described elsewhere, required a woman to remove one of her pubic hairs and cast it into the sea, chanting a karakia as she did so.

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42 In some versions from Island Polynesia, Karihi plots against Tāwhaki and even takes his life. He is sometimes said to be Tāwhaki's uncle, one of Punga's evil children.
43 In Tiramōrehu's version, Pāpū-mai-nono also looks for physical signs of the state of the sea, the presence of seaweed and the state of the waves (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 37).
44 Smith, 1917: 118. According to Smith's informant Pakauwera of Ngāti Kuia (a tribe whose home was in
Tāwhaki’s journey to the sky

The reasons for Tāwhaki’s journey to the sky differ from version to version of the myth. Tāwhaki’s search for his wife and daughter has already been mentioned. In the southern version, the pursuit is one of revenge. This is an appropriate adventure for sons to undertake, and since it forms the basis for a great many Māori myths, it is no wonder that many of the incidents (such as the hero’s encounter with a blind grandmother) are found in similar form in many Polynesian stories.

The brothers are taught the safe way to climb by Whaitiri. Danger comes from the west, a direction often associated with danger and death, in the form of blustering winds which buffet the brothers as they climb. Karihi is knocked down to his death, while Tāwhaki, through the power of his karakia, is able to withstand the winds and continue his journey.

Tāwhaki and Tuna

As Tāwhaki makes his way up to the sky he meets Tuna, Eel. This episode appears to be found only in South Island versions of the myth. In the version recorded by Tiramōrehu, Tāwhaki also meets Pakura, Swamp Hen, who gives the same reason as Tuna for moving down to the earth: the heat and dryness of the sky world. It is not surprising that the two figures should be linked in the story, for they are both creatures who inhabit swamp and wetlands.

Tuna is another of the half-and-half figures found frequently in these texts. His name

the north of the South Island), the ritual was known as a rotu. The chief of the expedition would tell his wife Whakaarahia te huruhuru! ‘Lift up the pubic hair!’ While she held it out over the water, the husband would recite a long karakia. Smith quotes only four lines of the karakia, which begins Ko te huruhuru o Rangi, ‘It is the hair of Rangi’.
45Their father has been killed. In this version nothing more is said about the mother, but in other versions the mother often helps the sons to take revenge on their enemies (Grey, 1956: 48-51).
46See the discussion in Luomala, 1940b: 367-71.
47In laments for the dead disasters are often said to come from the west; see for example Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961: song 127, line 6. A different interpretation of the word Uru-rangi, which in the southern version is the name applied to these winds, is found in a Ngāti Hau version of the myth (White, 1887, I: 103). Here, Uru-rangi is the husband of Maikuku-makaka, a woman of the skies with whom Tāwhaki sleeps. When her husband takes her back by force, Tāwhaki avenges himself. The episode as a whole is reminiscent of the Pakeha episode in Wohlers’s version.
48The swamp hen figures in Ngāti Hau versions, though as a different motif. The eel is absent (White, 1887, I: 61; 110).
49Compare Matuku, Pioioi and others in this collection.
indicates that he is an eel, and yet he can move and talk like a man. Three out of the four names on his whakapapa are names which apply to lightning, so it is not clear whether his ancestors are natural phenomena or human beings. His actions at the moment when Tāwhaki meets him are eel-like, for he is moving down to earth in search of coolness and water.\(^{50}\) On his arrival on earth he takes refuge in a stream (Muri-wai-o-ata).

In this myth Tuna is not the embodiment of lust, as he is in Polynesian stories of Hina and the eel (including the story of Māui in this collection). He is a nobler figure, endowed with special powers. His forehead is said to be shaded by two objects whose names are given as Te Kawa and Marae-nui. This statement is obscure. The upper case initial letters on the words indicate that they are proper nouns, names of either persons or important concepts. Tiramōrehu includes the two words among a long list of names of karakia.\(^{51}\)

However, the narrator who told the story to Wohlers must have had a different interpretation for the names, for it is obvious that in this version they cannot be karakia. The objects, whatever they are, are said to be ‘attached to’ Tuna’s forehead ‘as a shade’. It is hard to see what was in the mind of the narrator as he spoke these words. Wohlers later called them ‘two ancient headdresses’ (presumably in an attempt to interpret the words used), but this does not take us much further forward.

The word used here, kōpare, is used elsewhere to describe a custom practised in former times during the crossing of Raukawa or Cook Strait. The rocks called Ngā Whatu (now known as The Brothers) were so tapu that first-time travellers across the Strait were not allowed to look at them. The custom of shading the eyes when passing the rocks is referred to in several waiata.\(^ {52}\) It is possible that some such idea of tapu is involved in our story. Tuna is passing through the tapu regions of the sky and on down to earth, and it may be that he must shade his eyes because of this.\(^ {53}\)

\(^{50}\) This probably stems from observation of the natural world, for it is known that eels can cross stretches of land in periods of drought to reach a more suitable habitat.


\(^{52}\) Grey, 1853: 147; 151.

\(^{53}\) Williams also glosses kōpare as ‘present of food taken on a visit’ (the unsourced quotation means ‘Take the food to the tangihanga as a shade for ourselves’) (Williams, kōpare 5; this should in fact be 6). It may be that Te Kawa and Marae-nui have something to do with marae protocol — the names themselves suggest this. A person paying a visit to an unknown settlement would need to employ a mixture of caution and
Tāwhaki and Tuna greet each other in a form of karakia called *matamata rongo*. This seems to be a formula for peace making.\(^{54}\) Since Tāwhaki is in a strange and perhaps dangerous place, it is not surprising that anyone he encounters on the way should be regarded as potentially hostile. So perhaps for this reason a protective formula is being employed, to assure the good intentions of one towards the other. As the corresponding passage in Tiramōrehu’s text suggests, the formula used at this time could be used on other occasions when peace was to be made.

**Tāwhaki’s enemies**

Once Tāwhaki has arrived up above, he proceeds to act as Whaitiri has advised. Some people, she has warned him, are hostile, and must be avoided; these are members of Tangaroa’s family.\(^{55}\) The names of two of them are Kōrero-ure (‘Penis-speech’) and Kōrero-tara (‘Vulva-speech’). The names of the other two women may also have similar associations.\(^{56}\) Emphasis seems to be laid on the fact that these women ‘talk’. Their very names reflect this, and they are contrasted with the ‘silent’ women who come later. It is not made clear why this should make them dangerous, but it seems to be part of the pattern of negative male feelings about women which pervades this myth.

deference, and the food would be seen as, in a sense, a shield against danger. Other Island Polynesian information might throw more light on this subject. In what appears to be a similar motif in a story from Bellona, a culture hero (Hatumanoko) is said to have his god ‘Unga [Uira], ‘Lightning’, on his forehead. Two other gods are frightened when ‘Unga flashes (Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 168-9).

\(^{54}\)Williams says ‘salute by pressing the noses together’ (*matamata* must here refer to the tip of the nose). In a somewhat obscure passage describing this incident, Tiramōrehu speaks of peace-making, and uses the expression *whatinga-a-rongo* (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 39). There is evidence to show that the hongi (greeting by pressing noses together) was used in peace-making contexts. A karakia about peace-making speaks of Uenuku and Maru, two gods of war, greeting each other with a hongi (Grey, 1853: 314). A revealing passage describing the hongi may be found in d’Urville, 1992: 239-40 (note 35). Here the two chiefs approach each other with a certain amount of caution ‘before submitting to this public acknowledgement of their alliance’.

\(^{55}\)Tangaroa is often seen as an enemy; see note 8 in the introduction to ‘Whakatau: the archetypal avenger’. The enemies in this story are all connected with the sea. Tangaroa is sometimes said to have a family of beautiful daughters, usually described as fair-haired (Best, 1923b: 52; Gill, 1876: 13; Te Ariki-tara-are, 1899: 65; Pratt, 1888: 447-51).

\(^{56}\)There is a more comprehensible pair of names in Tiramōrehu’s version: Pakihinganui and Pakihingaroa (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 39). Since the names of the first pair are associated with sexual organs, the hinga in the names of this second pair is probably *hika*, ‘*pudenda muliebris*’. The first element of the name may well mean ‘clap, strike together’. This is similar to the idea of Whaitiri making thunder with her labia (see the earlier discussion, under ‘Whaitiri and thunder’). Women whose genitals are spoken of as being noisy are found elsewhere: see for example summary number 2 in ‘Māui: trickster and innovator’, and a Tuamotuan account (Stimson, 1933: 42-3) which speaks of female demons who babble away at the sides of the path, are very beautiful, and are called ‘Labia majora’, Paki raho nui (a name which must be cognate with the names in our story).
In the case of the other women, the ones with whom Tāwhaki is allowed to make contact, the situation is more straightforward. They are said to be part of Tāwhaki’s own family, his ‘sisters’, and they are therefore suitable young women, in age and rank, for Tāwhaki to take as mates. Because they are related to him, their interests are likely to be the same as his. The other, unrelated women are potentially dangerous.

Tāwhaki lets Tangaroa’s family pass without accosting them, and instead meets and sleeps with Häpai-nui-a-maunga, with whom he has a child. He leaves her to go in pursuit of Hine-nui-o-te-kawa, the wife of Paikea. Because of this, Tāwhaki and Paikea have some sort of contest, the details of which are obscure. The details are less important than the outcome, however: Paikea is defeated and the woman stays with Tāwhaki.

Paikea is an enemy, a member of the group of people who killed Tāwhaki’s father. As has been noted already, the enemies in this story are, as they are so often elsewhere, connected with the sea. Their names reveal this fact: Paikea and Kewa are names of whales, and Ihupuku means ‘Fur Seal’. The two enemies who later in the story escape Tāwhaki’s vengeance and bolt in terror to the sea are Ihupuku and Popoiangoro, ‘Sea Leopard’. These figures are described at one point as Tāwhaki’s tuākana, ‘elder relatives’.

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57 In Tiramōrehu’s version Pīpī-mai-nono, earlier named as Tāwhaki’s sister, is said to be among those whom he encounters on the way, and some versions point out that other members of the group are granddaughters of Whaitiri’s, and therefore cousins of Tāwhaki.

58 Wohlers says that they are sitting by the fire and ‘grinning at’ each other (Wohlers, 1874: 19). The word whakatete is, however, used elsewhere in the context of aggression, usually in warfare. It is hard to see why Tāwhaki says ‘I have been burnt by the fire’; one would expect Paikea, as the loser, to have been affected this way. But Tāwhaki’s association with burns is found elsewhere. Best records an episode in which Tāwhaki, after being captured and burnt by his enemies, is brought back to life by his father Takotako with the aid of a whai wera (Best, 1925a: 911). It may be that this association with burns was suggested by the fact that Tāwhaki is sometimes described as having a ruddy skin (see note 39).

59 In other versions of the story the killers of Tāwhaki’s father are said to be the Ponaturi, an evil people who live in the sea and who come on to land at nightfall; or the Tini o Watwai, the ‘Watery Multitude’ (Grey, 1956: 47-51; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 36).

60 Creed (in White, 1887, I: 59) lists other ‘fish of the sea’ which are killed with Mai-waho’s hailstones: in addition to those found in Wohlers’s version, there are Parīoa (‘Sperm Whale’), Kekeno (‘Seal’), Terehu (‘Cow-fish’), Whakahao (‘Sea-lion’) and others. There are also the ‘fish of the land’: Mamaku, Te Poka (Ponga) and Katote (three types of tree fern). The last are named because of an imagined resemblance between the large sea creatures and tree ferns. (Compare also Te Whetu, 1897: 100, in which a loud noise made by two children is said to be the reason why tree ferns hang down their heads. See also Rapatini in White Papers, MS Papers 75B 13, WTu.)
Punga

The name transcribed by Wohlers as Puku should probably be read as Punga. In many versions of the myth throughout Polynesia there is a figure called Punga, who has evil characteristics. Sometimes he is a demon who opposes other heroes such as Rata or Māui. One of the meanings of his name is ‘coral rock’ or ‘pumice stone’, and he is often said to turn into this or to be associated with it in some way. In many stories Punga and Hema are brothers, and there is usually hostility between them. Often they are rivals in love. As is the pattern in tales of this type, the younger brother, Hema, is usually victorious over the elder.

In Māori mythology Punga is known as the ancestor of lizards and certain sorts of fish such as sharks, and his ugliness and evil nature are spoken of in proverbs. He is an archetypal enemy, similar to the Ponaturi and other powerful enemies who have associations with the sea. In North Island versions of the myth, Punga or his children do Tāwhaki a great deal of harm by insulting him, beating him or even in some cases killing him. Their motive is sexual jealousy, since Tāwhaki’s good looks make him a favourite with all the women. The ugliness of Punga and his family makes the handsome Tāwhaki shine all the brighter in contrast.

In this southern version Hema marries a woman who is said to be ‘a younger sister of Puku’, and Tāwhaki’s enemies are called Te Aitanga a Puku. The motif of the attack on Tāwhaki by Punga and his children is absent. Instead it is Tāwhaki’s father who has been

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61 Henry, 1928: 494-6; Gifford, 1924: 134-6 (Māui is called Muni in this version).
62 In Mangareva, Puga and his people hide in the sea as fish or coral rock (puga) in order to attack Tahaki as he dives (Hiroa, 1938: 318-26). Punga and Sema are brothers in the Tuvalu version, and Punga is the enemy (Kennedy, 1929-32: 173-5). In a Tokelauan story, Puga is a threatening female character (Thomas, Tuia and Huntsman, 1960: 66-85; Tāwhaki and Karihi are mentioned in a song in this story). Punga and his brothers who oppose Tāwhaki often turn turn into whales or porpoises (Pirth, 1961: 48; Te Aipitairoa-a-nui-a-parara, 1911: 177; Leverd, 1912: 1-9; Stimson, 1934: 53).
63 Shortland, 1856: 18 (‘Punga was the ancestor of the lizard, shark, and ill-favoured creatures: hence the proverb “aitanga-a-Punga” (= child of Punga) to denote an ugly fellow.’); Grey, 1956: 6; Grey, 1857: 44; 67; White, 1887, I: 97 (in this version the animal nature of these people is also shown in their houses, which are swampy and full of leaves and rubbish, while Tāwhaki’s is clean and human).
64 See the discussion of the enemies, in the previous section.
65 Since teina means ‘younger brother, of a male; younger sister, of a female’, it suggests that Puku is a female. However, in the expression Aitanga a Puku, ‘Descendants of Puku’, the ancestor is far more likely to be a male. There may have been some confusion in the recording of the names.
killed, but the term tuākana, ‘elder brothers’ or ‘elder relations’, still remains, to remind us of the family associations.

Tāwhaki’s revenge

The description of Tāwhaki’s method of avenging himself on the people who have killed his father is not easy to follow, for the passage contains several obscure words. However, reference to other versions from the south helps to clear up some of the obscurities. It seems that Tāwhaki takes his revenge by frightening his enemies. First of all he carries to the village a large piece of firewood, which he lets fall with a loud crash. It would seem that this brings the people out in terror, so that Tāwhaki learns from this that loud noises terrify them. He therefore makes up his mind to visit Tama-i-waho in the highest level of the sky, to obtain from him the thunder, hailstones and other noisy weather phenomena which will frighten his enemies.

The South Island versions make this episode the reason for the name of Tāwhaki’s son, Wahia-roa. Tāwhaki tells his wife to call their unborn child by this name in memory of the large piece of firewood with which he has startled his enemies. Elsewhere the name has given rise to various other explanations, usually in connection with a log of firewood.

Tama-i-waho is a figure about whom not much is known, but he is an important figure nonetheless. He is usually associated with thunder. As Tāwhaki moves up through the sky towards him Tama-i-waho retreats, cross-barring the sky behind him as he goes. These cross-bars are not explained, but since Tama-i-waho is also the guardian of lightning, he is

66 Tiramōrchu’s version of the first part of this episode is straightforward: Tāwhaki wishes to shock his elder brothers, who are planning to kill him, so he drops a big log on to the marae. However, the latter part is obscure. A manuscript version of the story from Taumutu gives a clearer account (White MS Papers 75 B 13, WTu).
67 In his first recording of these myths, Wohlers placed the story of Rata before that of Whatitiri and Tāwhaki, obviously not realising the family connection between the figure (the name Wahia-roa links the two). In his published version he has them in chronological order.
68 In the Grey version, when Tāwhaki is recovering from the beating administered by his jealous relatives, he tells his wife to fetch a particularly large piece of firewood to build up the fire which is warming him. The name given to his son will be a remembrance of the revenge which he will take on these enemies. A Tahitian version explains the name as Vahi-e-roa, ‘Place-entirely-strange’, commemorating Tāwhaki’s journeys (Henry, 1928: 565).
69 In the Tihoe version, he has a band of fighting dogs which Tāwhaki hears barking as he moves up through the heavens (Best, 1925a: 915-6). It is not made explicit, but probably the barking of the dogs is thought to be thunder.
perhaps thought to be creating his barrier from this phenomenon. The myth may be an explanation of flashes of lightning, which are perhaps seen as forming a criss-cross fence or barrier across the sky.

But Tāwhaki too is, as we have seen, associated with lightning, and so these barriers do not prevent his advance. Each time Tama-i-waho erects his cross-bars, Tāwhaki breaks through the barrier and keeps on advancing.

The two engage in a contest which is once again hard to interpret. It seems to revolve around a concept of male beauty. Each of the pair calls the other tangata kino, ‘ugly man’, while referring to himself as tangata atāhau, ‘handsome man’. The contest between the two, with its bursts of aggression from first one and then the other, is perhaps seen as an explanation for thunderstorms. Eventually Tāwhaki gains the upper hand (whether it is a physical or a moral victory is not entirely clear), and Tama-i-waho is forced to accede to his demands.70

Tāwhaki has come for whatu, ‘hailstones’, which will come crashing down and make a loud noise. But at the same time, as Tiramōrehu’s text makes clear, these are karakia — perhaps karakia for calling down hailstones and other weather phenomena.71 Tāwhaki’s association with weather phenomena is well recorded in mythology from all regions of Polynesia. He is associated with lightning, as already noted, and also with floods,72 and winds.73 These attributes are no doubt reflected in the names of the karakia which Tama-i-waho sends down to him. As these gifts from Tama-i-waho crash down, all Tāwhaki’s enemies rush for the sea.

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70 The Tūhoe version, too, describes some sort of contest: Tama-i-waho greets Tāwhaki in an insulting manner and ‘makes an unpleasant noise with his lips’ (Best, 1925a: 916). Tāwhaki here is defeated and falls to his death.
71 Wohlers is obviously unclear at this point, as he says that these are ‘perhaps names of islands’, a puzzling remark. Two of the names, Hurihanga-te-ao and Hurihanga-te-pō, may be associated with a flood named Hurihanga i Mataaho which Tāwhaki calls on the gods to send down to drown his elder relations who have tried to kill him (Grey, 1971: 37). But the other names remain obscure.
72 Taylor, 1870: 115.
73 This is particularly obvious in material from the Chathams. Several karakia naming the winds are associated with Tāwhaki (Shand, 1911: 195-201).
Conclusion

The noble Tāwhaki has now fulfilled his mission. He has avenged his father’s death, and in the process renewed his family ties with his grandmother and fathered the next generation.

SOME ADDITIONAL MOTIFS

The formulaic number ten

Polynesian make use of various formulaic numbers, of which ten is one of the most important. In this story the number ten is used in three important ritual countings. First, Pūpū-mai-nono’s karakia lists the numbers one to ten. This may mean that she is waving the plucked hair to and fro over the water to still the waves. The efficacy of the karakia is perhaps thought to increase with the number of times this action is performed.

Whaitiri’s use of the formula is more specific. She picks up her pieces of food one by one, counting as she goes, but each time there is one piece fewer, as her grandsons gradually steal the food. This time the counting formula contains an element of comedy, as the old woman constantly repeats her astonished phrase, ‘Who is meddling with my food?’ and is forced to go back and count from the beginning. In spite of the comic element this is still a karakia, a ritual incantation. It is even said to have been the origin of the particular form of words used when counting food in a ritual manner.

The final use of the formula is in a highly serious context. As Tāwhaki climbs to the sky he repeats a karakia which names the ten levels of the sky, to each of which he climbs. He has such mana that he is able use the karakia correctly to reach the tenth and highest level.

Eyes

The episode in which Tāwhaki and Karihi place cats’ eye shells over their eyes to deceive Whaitiri is an important one in the southern version. And as we have seen, the motif of the

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74 See Kirtley, 1971: motif no. Z71.16.2.
75 In the Murikiki version of the story the nature of the food is not specified. In other versions it is said to be yams, kilmara, taro, packets of breadfruit paste and so on, according to the area of origin of the story.
76 White, 1887, I: 57.
healing of the blind grandmother’s eyes is found all over Polynesia. But eyes are an important motif in many other ways.

In versions from Island Polynesia, eyes are often plucked out. This is often the fate suffered by Hema, the father of Tāwhaki, whose eyes are used as lights by women (that is, he is utterly degraded).77 Sometimes Karihi’s eyes are plucked out, usually by Tāwhaki himself (in one version, they are left in the sea, with instructions that fish are not to eat them; they do, and that is the reason for the large staring eyes of certain fish).78

In Aotearoa, this motif is also found in some North Island versions. When Karihi falls and is killed, Tāwhaki takes his eyes and later uses them to heal Whaitiri’s blindness.79 On their way to find Tāwhaki’s wife, Tāwhaki and Karihi and their slaves pass the fortress of Tonga-meha. The party is warned not to look at the fortress, but one of the slaves does so and has his eyes instantly plucked out.80

Excrement

Another motif which would repay further investigation is that of excrement. This motif is found in three main contexts. Firstly, it is found in connection with children. Sometimes the father complains of the filth of his children, and his insulting words to his wife on this subject cause her to leave.81 Sometimes the mother leaves home because she tires of carrying the children’s excrement away to dispose of it.82

Secondly, the excrement motif is found in the context of the building of a latrine.83 In one case, this motif is combined with the previous one, for the husband complains about the filthiness of the children’s excrement, and in his absence his wife constructs a paepae or latrine. When the husband returns, he falls to his death because one post has been badly fastened.84

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77 Stimson, 1937: 72; 87; Stimson, 1934, 50; Leverd, 1912: 11.
79 White, 1887, I: 89-90.
80 Grey, 1956: 53.
81 White, 1887, I: 96; Taylor, 1870, 139; Firth, 1961: 45
83 White, 1887, I: 90; Taylor, 1870: 308-9.
84 This latrine is said to have become a constellation in the skies, with the upright posts as important stars
The third context in which the excrement motif is found is that of the humiliating treatment which Tāwhaki’s father Hema receives at the hands of the enemy. Tāwhaki must rescue him from the very depths of degradation, expressed in the fact that he has been kept captive in the village latrine.85

OTHER VERSIONS

The myth is so widespread in Polynesia that it is beyond the scope of this work to summarise all versions. The following list gives some idea of their number and distribution. Included are several narratives which do not speak of Tāwhaki, but which contain an important element of the myth such as the visit to the old blind woman. This information is given in parenthesis.

References to White are for the English versions only. Where the author of the passage is known, this information too is included in parenthesis.

A. Aotearoa

1. Kāi Tahu/Kāti Māmoe

Tiramōrehu, 1987: 14-18; 36-41 (first published in White, 1887, I: 54-5; 61-7); White, 1887, I: 59-60 (Creed).

2. Ngāti Porou

Ruatapu and Pōtae, 1928b: 359-66; White; 1887, I: 87-90 (Pōtae).

3. Ngāti Kahungūngu

White; 1887, I: 126-30 (Te Whatahoro Jury).

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(Taylor, 1870: 363). This story is told in a slightly different form by Grey (1956: 67-8; 1971: 27-8). Here, Kai-tangata is the son of Rehua, who has a paepae built for him by Rupe. Whaitiri does not enter the story as a human figure. Instead, the post which comes loose and sends Kai-tangata to his death is called Te Pou o Whaitiri.

85Stimson, 1934: 50; 1937: 72; 87; Leverd, 1912: 11.
4. Ngāti Toa/Arawa

Grey, 1956: 46-61. (For information on Grey’s sources, see Simmons, 1976: 363-70. Since Grey has woven his two sources together in such a way that it is sometimes difficult to unravel them, I have used the term ‘the Grey version’ throughout this discussion, rather than refer to the Māori informants by name).

5. Ngāti Hau/Ngā Rauru

Taylor, 1870: 101; 114-5; 138-47 (the latter half of this closely resembles Grey’s version, and may be from this source); 308-10; 363; White, 1887, I: 55-7; 57-8; 95-108; 110-1; 111-3; 113-4; 125-6 (all these possibly originate from Taylor, although they are extensively rewritten).

6. Tūhoe/Ngāti Awa

Best, 1925: 909-18.

B. Island Polynesia

1. Chatham Islands

Shand, 1911: 191-201.

2. Cook Islands

Te Ariki-tara-are, 1921: 1-15 (Rarotonga); Gill, 1876: 109-14 (Mangaia. Tāne is the person who visits Kui-the-blind, steals the yams which she is counting and then heals her); Gill, 1876: 65-7 (Manihiki. Here it is Māui who meets and cures Ina-the-blind).

3. Tahiti

4. *Tuamotu*

Te Aipitaroi-a-nui-a-parara, 1911: 172-84; Stimson, 1934: 50-77; Stimson, 1937: 60-96.

5. *Marquesas*

The story of Tāwhaki does not appear to have been recorded in this area. Von Den Steinen asserts that the name Tāwhaki or Tafa‘i has become Fai in the Marquesas (1988: 25), but his story of Fai (150-61) contains few motifs which might allow one to see it as a Tāwhaki myth. The story of Koomahu (104-9) contains the motif of the blind old woman in the sky with her dangerous fish-hook.

6. *Mangareva*

Hiroa, 1938: 318-36.

7. *Hawai‘i*

Beckwith, 1970: 241-58 (see page 257 for summaries of other stories which contain the blind grandmother motif); Thrum, 1923: 69-72.

8. *Samoa*


9. *Tuvalu*


10. *Tikopia*


11. *Bellona and Rennell*

Elbert and Monberg, 1955: 68-76 (Sinakibi, ‘Blind Sina’, counts her food while chanting a counting incantation); 294 (a Tāwhaki anecdote which appears to relate to a more recent
12. *Efate* (New Hebrides)

MacDonald, 1898: 765-8 (This story provides a link between the ‘swan maiden’ story types of Melanesia and the Tāwhaki stories of Polynesia. The people of the sky come down to earth, take off their wings, and catch fish. A man steals one set of wings, so that its owner cannot fly away at dawn with the others and must remain below as the man’s wife. The man later ill-treats his wife; her children, Maka Tafaki and Karisi Burn, find her wings hidden in a banana stem, and she is able to fly away, after first giving them instructions and singing a farewell song. Later the two sons climb to the sky and find an old blind woman cooking six yams. As in other versions, they steal the yams one by one until the old woman recognises them and calls out their names. They cure her blindness by cutting her eyes with a piece of sugar cane, and in return she allows them to be lowered to earth in a basket filled with good things).

13. *Niue*

Smith, 1902-3: 92-6 (An old blind woman counts yams. An unnamed child steals them and cures her blindness. Puga is a trickster who gains the art of net-making for human beings).
KO WAITIRI

I noho a Waitiri i runga o te rangi. Ka tae mai te rongo a Kai-tangata he kai-tangata — kāhore, he rongo noa. (I noho ra a Kai-tangata ki raro nei.) Na, ka haere mai a Waitiri, ka tae mai ki te kāinga i a Kai-tangata. Ka noho i konā, ka noho taua wahine i a Kai-tangata.

Ka haere a Kai-tangata ki te moana. Ka tū mai ki uta; kāhore hoki he ika kia mau i ana maka, tā te mea he kūtutea ana maka — kāhore he kānīwha hei whītiki i te kauae o te ika.

Ka kī atu a Waitiri i taua maka kia hōmai, kia kītea e ia. Ka kī atu a Waitiri, ‘Ko tāu maka tēnei?’

Ka kī mai a Kai-tangata, ‘Āe’

Ka titiro a Waitiri, kāhore he kānīwha. Na, ka kī atu tērā, a Waitiri, ‘Na, titiro mai.’

Ka whereina atu tōna tara. Ka titiro atu a Kai-tangata, ka mea atu, ‘Ē!’

Whakarihariha atu, ka puta ki waho a Kai-tangata. Ka kītea e Waitiri ngā maka, ka kī atu ki a Kai-tangata, ‘Na ngā maka.’

Ka mauria mai e Kai-tangata ki a ia. Ka kōrero atu a Waitiri, ‘E haere koe ki te moana, he kai ki a koe he hapuku.’

Na, ka haere a Kai-tangata ki te moana. Ka noho taua wahine, a Waitiri, ka tā i te kōrohe.


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1White 1887, I: 119-25 (English); 105-12 (Maori). The name is Waitiri in the more standard dialect and in Wohlers’s 1874 version.

2Kūtutea is a word which Wohlers leaves uncorrected in his 1874 version.

3The word order of this sentence is unusual: one would expect Ka kī atu a Waitiri kia hōmai taua maka.

4Whera, ‘spread out, open up’. Wohlers has it as weraina in his 1874 version. See the introductory language section, subsection A 2(a).

5The he here is probably the verbal particle; that is, the phrase should read e kai.
Ka auinäke, ka²⁶ haere ki te moana. Ka kitea atu e Waitiri te waka a Tū-peke-ťi, a Tū-peke-tā, e mānu ana mai. Ka titiro atu taua wahine, a Waitiri, ka haere, ka tae ki te wai, ka makere ki rō o te wai, ka ruku. Ka karanga a Tū-peke-ťi, ‘He tangata rānei? He manu rānei?’


Ka lī mai ki uta. Ara mai, he waewae ūngata (he tūpuna hoki no Kai-tangata). Ka takoto. Ka kiaia atu e Waitiri ki a Kai-tangata (kua hoki mai ia i te moana), kia whakapono. Ka kī atu a Kai-tangata, ‘Kāhore kia mātau⁸ i [a] au.’

Ka kī atu a Waitiri, ‘Whakaponoia te ūngata a [tā]⁹ tāua tamaiti.’ (Kei te hapū anō a Waitiri.)

Ka kī atu a Kai-tangata, ‘Kāhore kia mātau i [a] au.’

Ā, ka kī atu a Waitiri, ‘Au ra,¹⁰ māu e whakapono te ūngata a [tā] tāua tamaiti, nau [i] rongo hoki.’¹¹

Na, ka mea a Waitiri, ka whakapono a Waitiri, ka taputere¹² te karakia. Ka oti te karakia, ka kotikotia ngā ūngata, ka kainga e taua wahine. Ko ngā iwi ka whakairia ki runga o te

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⁶ Ka is repeated in the manuscript by mistake, as Wohlers goes on to the next line.
⁷ Kōtahi in the 1874 version.
⁸ Mātau is being used in a stative construction here.
⁹ The 1874 version has what would seem to be the correct form, tā tāua (she may be saying taua tamaiti, ‘that child’, but this seems unlikely). The phrase is repeated later (see three sentences further on).
¹⁰ Williams discusses the use of aua ra (or auara) after a negative question, but it seems to have exactly the same sense here, where a question is not being asked. Waitiri is contradicting Kai-tangata’s previous statement. See a further discussion in ‘The Language of the South’, subsection C 7.
¹¹ There are several ways in which this sentence could be emended, but this way seems the most straightforward.
¹² Williams lists the word with the example from Wohlers, 1874: 42, but gives no translation. Wohlers’s free rendering (1874: 16) is ‘she could only imitate a priest’s invocation, and produced nothing but a mumbling sound’.

Ka noho a Waitiri. Ka ahiahi te rā. Ka moe ai iho a Waitiri. Ka kiia mai e te wahine o raro o Te Réinga,15 ‘Aua ra te mea ka mate na koe. Ko ngā iwi o tāu patunga kua oti te kawe e tōu tāne ki te moana. No reira ngā hāpuku i kai na koe, ka mate na koe.’

Ka noho a Waitiri. Ā ... ka nui noa atu ngā nohoanga a Waitiri, ka puta ki waho ko Hema. Ā, noho ana a Hema. Ka noho hoki a Kai-tangata. Ka whiti te rā, ka haere mai ngā tāngata, kia kite i a Kai-tangata. Ka noho rātou i rō o te whare. Ka awatea, ka puta atu rātou ki waho, noho ai. Ā, ka ui atu ngā tāngata ki a Kai-tangata, ‘E aha ana te wahine e noho i a koe?’

Ka kī mai, ‘Kei te wahine e noho i [a] au nei?’

‘Ā.’16

Ka kī atu a Kai-tangata, ‘Ko te kiri o tēnei wahine, me te hau tonu; ko te kiri17 o tēnei wahine, me te huka tonu!’

Ā, ka rongona atu e taua wahine. Ka haere mai ki rō o te whare noho ai te tāne, ka kī atu te wahine, ‘He aha ā koutou kōrero?’

Ka kī mai te tāne, ‘He aha koia hoki, he kōrero noa anō ia.’

Ka kī atu te wahine, ‘He aha ā koutou kōrero?’

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13 This may bea or no.
14 White has this as inuhia, ‘scale’, but alternatively it could be umu, ‘draw out’ that is, ‘gut’. Watkin lists unuhia, ‘to extract’ (Harlow, 1987: 91).
15 Neither the c.1850 manuscript nor the 1874 version gives this a capital, but it obviously means the underworld (Wohlers says, ‘from the nether world’).
16 Wohlers has a double a here. According to Williams, ā is a colloquial form of āe.
17 In his 1874 version Wohlers changes this to ngākau. The word ‘body’ rather than ‘skin’ probably better expresses the sense of kiri here.
Ka kī mai a Kai-tangata, ‘Ko Whai-tāne e ui ana mai ki a koe; koia mātou e kōrero mai nei.’

E huna ana a Kai-tangata; na, kua rongona atu. Ka mate taua wahine ra i te whakamā. Ka kōrero a Waitiri ki a Hema, ‘Kauranga koe e whana ake, kia konokono ariki,18 kia tupu i āu hua; māna e piki ake [i] ngā rangi i a Tama-i-waho.’

Na, ka kake a Waitiri, ka kapo a Kai-tangata ki te weruweru o Waitiri. Ka kake ake a Waitiri ki runga, ka tae ki Te Pū-o-te-toe,19 ki reira noho ai.

Ka noho a Hema i [a] Te Karenuku, he teina no Puku.20 Ka noho i a Hema, ka puta ki waho ko Pūpū-mai-ono, he tamāhine no Hema. Ka puta ki waho ko Karihi, ka puta ki waho ko Tāwhaki.21 Ka noho a Hema, ā, ka pō maha atu, ka haere a Hema, ka tae ki te kāinga a Paikea mā,a Kewa mā, a Ihupuku mā. Ka tae ati i reira a Hema, ka patua, ka mate.


Ka kī mai a Tāwhaki rāua ko Kariki, ‘I te kau māua, kāhore hoki māua kia whiti, hoki tou mai nei.’

Ka kī atu te tuahine, ‘Me ui mai kōrua ki [a] au, māku e hoatu te tikanga ki a kōrua.’

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18Williams offers no help with konokono, for he simply records this sentence, with no gloss. The context suggests that it is some sort of word for ‘produce’ or ‘give birth to’. See the discussion in the section ‘The Language of the South’, subsection C 2. It is left as konokono in Wohlers’s 1874 version.
19Wohlers has Putoe toe in his 1874 version.
20In the c. 1850 manuscript the story runs straight on, with no headings. Puku is perhaps the figure known as Punga; see the discussion in the introduction to the story.
21The manuscript has Tawhake here, the only time Wohlers adopts this spelling of the name (Creed often uses this form). On the other hand, apart from this first mention of Karihi, Wohlers has him throughout (with only one exception) as Kariki. This may possibly be a Murihiku variant of the name. He corrected the text for the later version, but by this time he had read Grey. I have used the more usual form, Karihi, for the translation and the discussion.
22In his 1874 version Wohlers changed this to ō rāua mātua. He had in the mean time read Grey, which perhaps accounts for this change and also for his insertion of the extra phrase ko te wahine i raurangia, ‘the woman was allowed to live’. The mother is not mentioned again in either version. See the discussion of hākorō in subsection C 1 in the introductory language section.
Ā, ka hoatu e Pūpuā-mai-nono, ‘Na, whakarongo mai kōrUA:

Huruuru tākiritia i Raro-hara, i Te Kipohutu.
[H]orahaina atu te moana pātōtō e takoto nei,
[H]orahaina te moana waiwai23 e takoto nei.
Hiki ka tahī, hiki ka rua, hiki ka toru, hiki ka whā,
Hiki ka rima, hiki ka ono, hiki ka whitu, hiki ka wharua,
Hiki ka iwha, hiki ka ngahuru.24

Ka haere rāua, ka tae ki te kainga i a Waitiri, e pātīhau25 ana. Ka tae mai he tangata, ka
mate i a ia, he kai māna. Ka pātīhau taua wahine, a Waitiri. Ka rokohina atu e Tāwhaki
rāua ko Kariki e pātīhau ana. Ka kawe a Waitiri, ka tatau i ana kai, ‘Ka tahi aku kai, ka rua
aku kai, ka toru aku kai, ka whā aku kai, ka rima aku kai, ka ono,’26 ka whitu, ka wharua, ka
iwha, ka ngahuru.’

Na, ka riro te ngahuru i a Tāwhaki rāua ko Kariki, te kavo. Na, ka mahara taua wahine,
‘Kei whea te ngahuru o aku kai, kua riro? Ko wai ra i mea i aku kai nei?’

Kua riro te iwha, ‘Ko wai ra te mea i aku kai nei?’

Kua riro te wharua, ‘He tangata anō te mea i aku kai nei?’

Kua riro te whitu,27 ‘Ko wai ra e mea nei? He tangata anō.’

Ka pēnei hoki riro katoa.

Na, ka pākia e Karihi28 ngā kanohi o Waitiri. Ka titiro ōna kanohi. Na, ka kī atu a Waitiri,
‘Pūrangi aeho29 tōku mata e Kariki.’

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23 The 1874 version has waiwai for this.
24 See the introductory section on language, subsection A 1(c), for these forms.
25 Williams sees pātīhau as a compound form of tīhau. Only this example is given. Williams translates it as
‘mutter, chatter to oneself’. Wohlers as ‘beating about her with a weapon’ (1874: 17). See the introduction to
this story for a further discussion.
26 This is a good example of a case where Wohlers’s a and o seem to have become muddled: the phrase
appears to be clearly written as ko ano, but there is no doubt that ka ano is required.
27 The manuscript has white here.
28 See note 21 on this form of the name.
29 Pūrangi aeho is written in two words in both the c.1850 and the 1874 manuscripts. The passive ending
found in the next sentence is corrected in the 1874 version. Williams gives the word as pūrangiāho, which he
sources incorrectly as Wohlers, 1874: 43. Ruatapu (1928: 364) has Pūrangi e aho, which Best translates,
‘Clear shall your eyes be rendered by Karihi’.
Ka pākia e Tāwhaki. Ka kī atu a Waitiri, ‘Pūrangia aeho tōku mata e Tāwhaki.’


Ka noho rāua i konā, i te kāinga, i te kāinga o tō rāua tāua. Ka noho rāua i konā, ka pātihau taua tāua. Ka mahara rāua, ‘Ākuanei tāua mate ai i te tāua nei kei te pātihau tonu.’


‘Āe, kei te moe ō roto,2 ko [ō] waho kei te titiro.’

Ka kī atu tētahi, ‘Titiro mai hoki ko tōhoku.’

‘Āe, kei te moe [ō] roto; ko [ō] waho hoki kei te titiro.’

Ā, haere rāua ki te whare o Waitiri. Ka noho rāua ki konā. Ka titiro rāua ki te whare o Waitiri, pū ana te iwi o te tāngata. Ka kī atu rāua ki a Waitiri, ‘Na wai i hōmai ngā kai māhau?’

Ka kī mai a Waitiri, ‘Na aku mokopune anō.’

Ka kī atu rāua, ‘Kei whea te ara i hōmai ai he kai māhau?’

‘Koia tou anō tēnā.’

Ka kī atu rāua, ‘Kei whea te huanui?’

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30 Words such as *mokopune* may be either evidence of Wohlers's German background, or a genuine clue to Murihiku pronunciation. See a discussion under subsection A 2(c) of the section “The Language of the South.”

31 The manuscript is unclear at this point. Wohlers has corrected the word to *aka*, that is, *anga*, in his 1874 version. What looks like an initial *t* (as reproduced by White) may in fact be an *h*, scored out with a line across it. What must be meant here is the ‘cat’s eye’ which closes the animal inside its shell, and not the whole shell.

32 I have taken this as the pattern for all subsequent uses of the phrase, in which the *ō* has seems to have been assimilated into *ko.*
Ka kī mai a Waitiri, 'Koia tēnei te huanui e takoto nei.'

Ka haere rāua, ka pōrangī ki taua huanui — ka haere, ka pōrangī — he huanui mīanga, he huanui haere ki te wai, he huanui haere ki te tikotiko, he huanui haere ki te wahie, he huanui haere ki te taumatuā karakia. Ka hoki mai rāua ki te kāinga, ka noho, ka ui atu. Ka kī mai anō a Waitiri, 'Koia anō tēnā te huanui.'


Kei te moe rāua. Ko ē rāua konohi o roto kei te moe; ko [ō] waho anō kei te titiro. Ā, kei te hua taua tāua kei te ara rāua. Kāhore, kei te moe. Ka ao\(^{35}\) ake i te ata, ka ui atu rāua, 'Kei whea te huanui?'

Ka kī mai taua tāua, Tāhuri mai ki [a] au. Na te huanui ma kōrua, kei [a] au.'

Ka kī atu rāua, 'Kei a koe tonu?'

'Āe'

Ka kī atu rāua, 'Koia tonu tēnei i a koe na?'

Ka kī mai taua tāua anō, 'Āe.'

Na, ka kōrero te tāua ki a rāua, 'Nau mai haere kōrua. E tūtaki i a kōrua e haere mai nei — ka whakarongo atu kōrua — e kōrero haere mai ana, ko a\(^{36}\) tātai wāhine a Takaroa, ko Paki-hika-nui, ko Paki-hi[ka]-hewahewa,\(^{37}\) ko Kōrero-ure, ko Kōrero-tara.'

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\(^{33}\)Williams glosses \textit{taumatuā} as the place where the \textit{pure} for kūmara is performed.

\(^{34}\)I have punctuated this sentence in this way in an attempt to make it clearer that this is what Waitiri thinks — but she is in fact mistaken. The passage is confusing if one is not clear what is going on. (Alternatively, it is possible that Wohlers has muddled his phrases and that what is meant is \textit{Kāhore! Kei te ara rāua!} 'No! They are still awake!')

\(^{35}\)This is one of only two cases in which Wohlers writes \textit{ao} in full.

\(^{36}\)A has been scored with a very faint line in the manuscript, which may indicate that it should be deleted. If this is the case, it should no doubt be replaced by \textit{te}. Wohlers seems to have changed his original \textit{tatau} to \textit{tatai}, here and in the next sentence.

\(^{37}\)This has been emended to make a better pair with Paki-hika-nui. See the discussion of this pair of figures in the introduction to this story.

Na, ka kī atu anā a Tāwhaki rāua ko Kariki, ‘Kei whea anā te huanui?’

Ka kī mai taua tāua anā, ‘Kei [a] au anā te huanui.’

Na, ka whai atu a Tāwhaki rāua ko Kariki ki te kakī o Waitiri, e mau ana i reira, te taura. Ka tākiritia, ka mau ki te rangi, he taura. Na, ka kī atu a Waitiri, ‘Na, kia pepeke kōrua.’

Na, kī atu a Tāwhaki ki a Kariki, ‘Ko koe te tuatahi.’

Ka moa atu a Kariki. Ka moa atu ki muah Ā, kei te kōrero anā a Waitiri ki a Tāwhaki, ‘Na, kia pepeke kōrua. Kotahi māna kōrua e patu. Ko ngā hau o te Uru-rangi, ngā hau popoki o runga; māna kōrua e patu.’

Ā, piki ware noa a Kariki; kāhore ana karakia. I a Tāwhaki ngā karakia. Ka karakia a Tāwhaki:

Mokopiki, mokopiki, mokokokake,
Koi tahi i runga, koi teka rawa i runga,
He rangi ka piki, he rangi ka kake, he rangi ka heiti.
Ka piki Tāwhaki ki te rangi tuatahi,
Ka piki Tāwhaki ki te rangi tuarua,
Ka piki Tāwhaki ki te rangi tuatoru,
Ka piki Tāwhaki ki te rangi tuawhā,
Ka piki Tāwhaki ki te rangi tuarima,
Ka piki Tāwhaki ki te rangi tuaono,
Ka piki Tāwhaki ki te rangi tuawhitu,
Ka piki Tāwhaki ki te rangi tuawaru,
Ka piki Tāwhaki ki te rangi tuaīwa,
Ka piki Tāwhaki ki te rangi ngahuru.
Ka puta kei runga i te rangi haroreharore,

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38 This sentence is syntactically unusual. Wohlers has kai and hōmai as two words, but the context suggests that Waitiri is describing the groups of women, ‘the ones who bring me food’.

39 At this point in the 1874 version, Whaitiri tells them: Kei au ano te huanui, kei toku kaki. Whai mai, wetea, ‘The pathway is indeed with me, on my neck. Take it and untie it.’

40 According to Williams, moa means (i) Dinornis gigantea (the bird); (ii) ‘bed or raised plot in a garden’; (iii) ‘climb’ (with this example only). I have translated it ‘swung himself up’, since it may also perhaps be connected with moari, ‘swing, or giant stride’.

41 This may be a proper name (of a person or place), or a personification.
Ka pata kei runga kei te huwika,
Kei te pataahi, kei a Rehue.42

Ka piki rāua, ka moa rāua. Ka patua iho a Kariki e ngā hau o te Ururangi. Ā, kei te piki anō a Tāwhaki. Whāwhai rawa a Tāwhaki ki a Kariki: kua makere ki raro i te kāinga o Waitiri.

Ka piki anō a Tāwhaki.

Tau rawa iho ki te teina,43 kua mate i a Waitiri.

Ā, ka piki anō tērā, a Tāwhaki, ka patua iho e te hau o te Ururangi, piri rawa ki te moana.

Piki ake anō a Tāwhaki, ka eke ki runga. Pono rawa a Tāwhaki, e heke ana mai a Tuna. Ka tūtaki rāua. Ka ui atu a Tāwhaki ki a Tuna, 'Tēnā koe te haere mai. He aha koe i haere mai?'

'He tāhu[n]a44 no runga — he maroke no runga, he pakeke, kāhore he wai.'

Ā, ka heke mai a Tuna, ko Te Kawa, ko Marae-nui e mau mai ana i te rae o Tuna, e kōparetia ana. Ka matamata rongo rāua. Ka tukua mai a Tuna. Na Te Uira a Tuna, na Te Kanapa, na Te Kohara, na Rautoro a Tuna. No reira e takoto noa a Tuna i Te Horehore-tuakau,45 kāhore hoki he wai. Ka whakamanawa a Tuna ki raro, ka takoto ki raro, ki Te Muru-wai-o-ata, ki te wai takoto ai a Tuna.

Ka tukua mai a Tuna, ka haere a Tāwhaki. Ka whakarongo a Tāwhaki e kōrero haere ana mai te whānau a Takaroa. Na, ka tukua atu, ka haere a Tāwhaki; ka tūtaki ki a Hāpai-nui-amaunga, ka whai atu a Tāwhaki, ka aitia. Puta tou mai ki waho ko Ware-tua-te-ao.

42Wohlers did not reproduce this karakia in his 1874 version, probably because it is obscure in parts. He has a numbers of erasures and corrections in his original, and some words may have been reproduced carelessly. Mokokokake is probably meant to be mokokake (the prefix moko is not given in Williams for these particular words, but is found in others, such as mokopeke). It is difficult to tell if words are meant to be separate or not: kaheiti is written as one word, for example. Harorehoreare may be a variant of horahora, 'widespread', or of herehere, 'bald, bare, smooth' (echoed in the place name Te Herehore-tuakau). Tiramōrehu has hārorehere ("?weakness") here. Other difficult words are hewiwa, perhaps for huinga, and pataahi. The middle portion of the karakia is considerably abbreviated in the manuscript: a series of dashes follow the first two complete numbers, and the next phrases are written ki te rangi tuatoru ... ki te rangi tuan4 ... ki te rangi 5. An even longer series of dashes is followed by ki te rangi ngahuru. I have written the karakia out in full, since this was obviously the way it was said.
43This seems to be a slip, as Karihi is the elder brother in this version (see the first paragraph of the story).

Wohlers corrects it to tuakana for his 1874 version. Another possibility is that ki has been added in error, and that te teina is the subject of the sentence.

44Wohlers corrects tahua to tahuna for his 1874 version.

45Williams glosses herehereatau as "dry watercourse", with only this example. It seems more likely that it is a proper name. See Tiramōrehu, 1987: 18, where Tāwhaki is said to die at a place called Te Herehore-tuakau.
Ka tukua ki tahaki tēnā wahine, whāia atu ko Hine-nui-o-te-kawa. Ka noho i a Tāwhaki. Ka haere ki te kāinga. Ā, whana atu ana a Tāwhaki, ka tangi mai ngā iwi o te hākorō, ka oho mai ki a Tāwhaki. Ka karakia a Tāwhaki. (He karakia roa i konei).


Ā, ka [a]o ake i te ata, ka noho i te wahine. Ā, ka hapū te wahine i a Tāwhaki.


Ka noho anō a Tāwhaki, ka pō te rā. Ka moe rāua ko te wahine. Ka kī atu a Tāwhaki, ‘E puta tāu tamaiti, he wahine, e puta he tāne, me waiho tāu tamaiti ko taku wahie, ko Wahia-roa.’

Ka noho a Tāwhaki. Ka [a]o te rā, ka haere ka whai i te rangi, i a Tama-i-waho, i runga. Ā, ka whana atu a Tāwhaki, e haere ana a Tama-i-waho; e ripekatia honoa te rangi e Tama-i-waho. Wāhia ake hoki a Tāwhaki te rangi — ripekatia honoa hoki. Ka w[h]anake tonu a Tāwhaki — e ripekatia honoa hoki te rangi. Ka karanga iho a Tama-i-waho, ‘He aha tāu e whai mai i [a] au?’

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46 Wohlers was no doubt given the karakia by his informants, but its length perhaps made him decide to omit it.

47 The meaning of this phrase is uncertain. Whakanā means ‘satisfy, refresh; lull to security; rest, remain still’, but the meaning of korohi is not known. Since Wohlers retained the phrase for his 1874 manuscript, it must have had some meaning for him.

48 This must be an error: e is required.
Ka karanga ake a Tāwhaki, ‘Tukua mai ki [a] au tētahi.’

Ka karanga iho a Tama-i-waho, ‘Kāhore, kāhore.’

Ka karanga ake a Tāwhaki, ‘Tukua mai ki [a] au tētahi, hei utu mo taku matua.’

Ka karanga iho a Tama-i-waho, ‘I whai mai koe ki [a] au, te tangata kino.’

Karanga ake a Tāwhaki, ‘He tangata ātaahua au, he tangata kino koe.’

Ā, ka kohara ki a ia e Tama-i-waho. Ka pono a Tāwhaki. Ka karangatia e Tāwhaki, ‘He tangata kino koe.’

Ka horokia e Tāwhaki, ka pono te ringa o Tama-i-waho. Karanga iho a Tama-i-waho, ‘He tangata ātaahua koe.’

Ka karanga ake a Tāwhaki, ‘Tukua mai tētahi ki [a] au.’

Ka tukua iho e Tama-i-waho. Ka karanga iho a Tama-i-waho, ‘Ka mutu, ka mutu. Kotahi hoki te takoto āta nei.’

Ka karanga hoki a Tāwhaki, ‘Tukua mai.’


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49 The meaning of pono here is unclear. White has ‘put his hand out and took hold of the hand of Tama-i-waho’, but the action is apparently more hostile than this. Wohlers has ‘some fighting happened in which Tama was wounded’ (1874: 20). Williams translates as ‘taunt’ another example of the word from Wohlers. The incident is discussed in the introduction to this story.

50 The capital letters are in the original. Wohlers has altered the spelling slightly in his 1874 version, and says that ‘possibly they are names of stars, or ... islands’ (1874: 20). It would seem more likely however that they are names of karakia. See a discussion of this in the introduction to this story.

51 Puku may perhaps be Pu`ka; see note 20.

52 I have chosen this reading, as popoiangore means ‘sea leopard’, and the other enemies in this story have names which connect them with the sea. The name could equally well be read as Papaikore.
Whaitiri lived up in the skies. She heard it said that Kai-tangata was a cannibal, but no, this was only a rumour. (Kai-tangata lived down below in this world.) Now, Whaitiri came down here to Kai-tangata’s village. She lived there; this woman lived with Kai-tangata.

Kai-tangata went off to sea, and then he came back to shore, for he had had no fish biting at his hook. The reason for this was that his hooks were smooth: they had no barb with which to hold the jaw of the fish. Whaitiri told him to give her the hook, so that she could have a look at it. Whaitiri asked him. ‘Is this your hook?’

Kai-tangata said, ‘Yes.’

Whaitiri looked at it and saw that it had no barb. So Whaitiri said to him, ‘Now, look at this.’

She displayed her genitals. Kai-tangata looked and said, ‘Ugh!’

Kai-tangata was disgusted, and went outside. Whaitiri found some fish-hooks and said, ‘Here are the fish-hooks.’

Kai-tangata took them with him. Whaitiri told him, ‘When you go out to sea, the groper will bite for you.’

So Kai-tangata went off out to sea. His wife, Whaitiri, stayed on shore and made a bag net. She waited there. As soon as Kai-tangata got a bite, the sound of it reached the shore — it reached right to where Whaitiri was. When the fish surfaced it was a groper, and Kai-tangata pulled it up. He paddled the canoe back to shore. Then a karakia was chanted over it: the name of the karakia was hāpuku [groper]. It was Whaitiri herself who chanted the karakia.

The next day he went off to sea again. Whaitiri saw a canoe belonging to Tū-peke-ти and Tū-peke-tā floating towards her. When the woman saw it, she went off down to the water, jumped in and dived under the water. Tū-peke-ти cried, ‘Is it a person? Or is it a bird?’
She dived down. Tū-peke-tī took one glance under the boat, and stood up to spear her. She lunged upwards with her knife, slashed his stomach and killed him, and he fell into her net. The other man rushed up to strike her, thinking that he would be able to spear Whaitiri. Whaitiri lunged upwards with her knife and he fell right down into the net. Whaitiri swam ashore. She left the men lying there inside the net. Whaitiri said to the group of women, ‘Pull it ashore.’

So they pulled it ashore. As it rose up, human legs appeared (the men were even ancestors of Kai-tangata). They lay there. Whaitiri told Kai-tangata to chant a karakia over them. But Kai-tangata said, ‘I don’t know how to do it.’

Whaitiri said, ‘Chant the karakia over the man for our child.’ (For Whaitiri was pregnant.) Kai-tangata said, ‘I don’t know how to do it.’

So Whaitiri told him, ‘Oh yes you do, you’re the one to say the karakia over the offering for our child, for you’ve heard it.’

Then Whaitiri decided that she would chant the karakia, but she mumbled it. When she had finished, she cut the men up into pieces and ate them. She hung the bones up in the roof of the house. When they were dry, Kai-tangata stole them and worked at them in secret. When he had finished making the barb, he fastened the hooks to the line, and then he took them out to sea. A groper took the bait, and was drawn up. And then the canoe was filled with groper, and he paddled to the shore. When he got there, the groper were gutted, and cooked in the oven. When they were cooked, Whaitiri ate some, and her eyes were smitten with blindness.

Whaitiri stayed on there, and when the sun went down she went to sleep and had a dream. A woman from the underworld told her, ‘Now, this is the reason why you are suffering. It is those bones from your victim which your husband succeeded in taking down to the sea. That is where the groper came from that you ate, and why you are suffering.’

Whaitiri lived on there for some time, until Hema was born. Hema lived on, and so did
Kai-tangata. One day when the sun was shining some people came to see Kai-tangata. They stayed in his house, and the next day they all came outside to sit down. And the people asked Kai-tangata, ‘What is that woman that lives with you like?’

And he answered, ‘The woman who lives here with me?’

‘Yes.’

Kai-tangata answered, ‘That woman’s body is just like the wind; that woman’s body is just like the snow!’

Now, the woman heard all this. When her husband came back into the house to sit down, his wife asked him, ‘What were you all talking about?’

Her husband replied, ‘Why, what could it be about, it was just idle talk.’

His wife asked, ‘What were you talking about?’

And Kai-tangata replied. ‘Whai-tāne asked about you, and so that’s what we were talking about.’

Kai-tangata kept it from her, but she had heard it all. So the woman was overcome with shame. Whaitiri spoke to Hema, ‘Don’t follow up after me, but when you have raised a chief, when your offspring have grown up, they will be the ones to climb up to the skies of Tama-i-waho.’

So Whaitiri leapt up, as Kai-tangata tried to seize her clothing. She mounted upwards and went to Te Pū-o-te-toe, where she remained.

Hema married Te Kare-nuku, a younger sister of Puku. She married Hema, and Pūpū-mai-nono, Hema’s daughter, was born. Karihi was born, and then Tāwhaki. Hema lived on there for some time, and then after a very long time he went away and came to the village of Paikoa, Kewa, and Ihupuku and their followers. When Hema arrived there, they fought and killed him.
Tāwhaki and Karihi lived on. They went off in search of their father. They set off, and swam out into the sea which lay before them. But they kept swallowing water, and so they had to come straight back to shore, without being able to accomplish anything. Pūpū-mai-nonono said to them, 'Where did you two go to?'

Tāwhaki and Karihi told her, 'We were trying to swim out, but we couldn't manage to cross over, so we came straight back.'

Their sister told them, 'You should have asked me, and I would have given you a way of doing it.'

So Pūpū-mai-nonono gave them [a karakia], 'Now, listen to me:

A hair plucked out at Rarohara, at Te Kipohutu.
Spread out the sounding sea which lies before us,
Spread out the watery sea which lies before us.
Raise it once, raise it twice, raise it three times,
Raise it four times, raise it five times, raise it six times,
Raise it seven times, raise it eight times,
Raise it nine times, raise it ten times.'

The two of them set off and came to the village of Whaitiri, who was rumbling away. When anybody came to her she would kill him or her as food. So she rumbled away, and Tāwhaki and Karihi found her rumbling away there. Whaitiri lifted her food up and counted it, 'I have one piece of food, I have two pieces of food, I have three pieces of food, I have four pieces of food, I have five pieces of food, I have six, seven, eight, nine and ten.'

Now Tāwhaki and Karihi snatched the tenth piece away. The woman thought to herself, 'Where has my tenth piece of food gone? Whoever is playing with my food?'

The ninth piece was gone: 'Whoever is playing with my food?'

The eighth was gone: 'Surely somebody is playing with my food?'

The seventh was gone: 'Whoever is playing here? There must be somebody.'

It was all taken away in the very same way.
Now, Karihi slapped her eyes, and her eyes were able to see. And Whaitiri said, 'My eyes have been opened to the light by Karihi.'

Then Tāwhaki slapped her. And Whaitiri said, 'My eyes have been opened to the light by Tāwhaki.'

She saw with her own eyes: 'Why, it's my grandchildren! So you're the ones who have been playing with my food. It's my grandchildren.'

They stayed there in the village, their grandmother's village. As they stayed on there, their grandmother kept on rumbling away. They thought to themselves, 'At any minute now this old woman who keeps on rumbling away is going to kill us.'

Then the sun went down, but they could not get to sleep. The old woman kept on rumbling away that she would kill them. When day broke, they went off to the beach. They found some winkles clinging to the rocks, and picked out the cat's eyes from the winkle shells. They stuck them on to their eyes. One of them looked at the other and said, 'Look at my eyes.'

'Yes, you've got them shut inside, but on the outside they're still looking out.'

And the other one said, 'Now you look at mine.'

'Yes, the inside ones are shut, but the outside ones are still looking out.'

So they went to Whaitiri's house, and stayed there. They looked at Whaitiri's house, where human bones were all piled up. They asked Whaitiri, 'Who is it who brings you your food?'

Whaitiri told them, 'It's my own grandchildren.'

They asked her, 'Where's the path they take when they're bringing you food?'

'After right here nearby.'
They asked her, ‘Where is the road?’

Waitiri told them, ‘Here’s the road, lying right here.’

So they went off to look for that road — they went off and searched around: there was a road going to the urinal, a road going to the stream, a road going to the latrine, a road going to the place for gathering firewood, and a road going to the sacred place where the kūmara rites were performed. They came back home and sat down and asked again, and Waitiri told them once again, ‘The road is right here nearby.’

So they went off again and had another search, but they still could not find it, so they came back home once again. When night fell, they went straight off to sleep. When they had gone to sleep, the old woman thought she would kill them. She thought they were asleep — ‘But no!’

But they were asleep. It was their eyes underneath that were asleep, but the ones on the top were keeping watch. So the old woman thought they were awake, but they were not, they were asleep. When day broke, they asked her, ‘Where is the road?’

The old woman said to them, ‘Turn and face me. Now, the road for you to follow is with me.’

They said to her, ‘You really have it?’

‘Yes.’

They said, ‘You really had it all the time?’

The old woman said to them again, ‘Yes.’

So then the old woman told them, ‘Now off you go, the two of you. If you meet some people coming in this direction — listen as you go along — talking as they come along, that will be Tangaroa’s women, Paki-hika-nui, Paki-hika-hewahewa, Kōrero-ure and Kōrero-tara.’
When she had finished reciting the names of Tangaroa's women, the old woman said to them, 'They are the ones who bring my food. Now, the ones who come in this direction after that, coming along silently, will be your cousins, Pūpū-mai-nono, Hāpai-nui-a-maunga and Hine-nui-o-te-kawa.'

Tāwhaki and Karihi then asked her, 'Where exactly is the road?'

And the old woman told them again, 'The road is right here with me.'

So then Tāwhaki and Karihi reached out to Whaitiri's neck, where a rope was tied. They untied it, and found that this rope was attached to the sky. Now Whaitiri said to them, 'Now, jump up there, the two of you.'

So Tāwhaki said to Karihi, 'You go first.'

Karihi swung up, he swung up first. And Whaitiri told Tāwhaki, 'Now, both of you jump up there. But there is one thing that will attack you. It's the winds of the western sky, the winds blowing down from above, that's what will attack you.'

And then Karihi climbed up thoughtlessly, without a karakia. Tāwhaki was the one who had the karakia. He chanted his karakia:

Climb up, climb up, mount up,
To move up on high, to thrust right up on high,
A sky which is climbed to, a sky which is mounted to, a sky which is heiti.
Tāwhaki climbs to the first sky,
Tāwhaki climbs to the second sky,
Tāwhaki climbs to the third sky,
Tāwhaki climbs to the fourth sky,
Tāwhaki climbs to the fifth sky,
Tāwhaki climbs to the sixth sky,
Tāwhaki climbs to the seventh sky,
Tāwhaki climbs to the eighth sky,
Tāwhaki climbs to the ninth sky,
Tāwhaki climbs to the tenth sky.
He comes forth on high in the spreading sky,
He comes forth on high, with the huwika,
With the pataahi, with Rehua.

They both climbed up and swung out. Karihi was beaten back by the winds of the western
sky. And Tāwhaki still kept on climbing. He grabbed at towards Karihi, but he had fallen below into Whaitiri’s village. Tāwhaki climbed up again.

Then he came right down to where his brother was, but he had been killed by Whaitiri.

And so Tāwhaki climbed up again, and was beaten back by the winds of the western sky, so that he came right down close to the sea. But Tāwhaki climbed up again, and mounted up on high.

Then Tāwhaki suddenly came upon Tuna, who was descending. As they met each other, Tāwhaki said to Tuna, ‘Greetings to you as you come this way. Why have you come here?’

‘It’s all burnt up there, it’s dry and hard, for there’s no water.’

And so Tuna came down, with Te Kawa and Marae-nui attached to his forehead as a shade. He and Tāwhaki pressed noses with each other, and then Tuna was allowed to carry on downwards. Tuna was descended from Te Uira, Te Kanapa, Te Kohara and Rautoro. And Tuna had been lying helplessly at Te Horehore-tuakau, for there was no water. Tuna moved on, down below, and lay down below at Te Muru-wai-o-ata, which was the name of the stream where Tuna went to lie.

Tāwhaki let Tuna go on and continued on his way. He heard Tangaroa’s family talking as they came towards him. But he let them go past, and continued onwards; and then he met Hapai-nui-a-maunga, and seized her and had intercourse with her. Then Whare-tua-te-ao was born.

Tāwhaki put this woman aside and went after Hine-nui-o-te-kawa. She took Tāwhaki as her husband, and they went off to the village. And as Tāwhaki approached, the bones of his father called out to him, they made a sign to Tāwhaki. Tāwhaki chanted a karakia (there is a long karakia at this point).

Tāwhaki lived at the village of Paikea and his companions. The woman Hine-nui-o-te-kawa fell in love with Tāwhaki, the handsome man. She left her husband Paikea. When the sun went down, the person whose wife she was got into an argument. Tāwhaki picked a
quarrel with him at the fireside. The woman was gazing at Tāwhaki. Tāwhaki was thrust aside, and was burnt by the fire. Tāwhaki said, ‘I’ve been burnt by the fire.’

Then next morning he took the woman as his wife. And the woman became pregnant to Tāwhaki.

Now Tāwhaki told the people that they should go and collect firewood. Tāwhaki was the one who urged them to do it. The wood collectors went off and came to where the firewood was. The wood collectors heaved their bundles on to their backs and came back. Tāwhaki too shouldered his bundle. Tāwhaki had just one piece of wood. When the wood collectors got back, they let their bundles fall. Then they finished dropping their firewood. When Tāwhaki let his piece of wood fall, ka whakanā ngā korohi of Paikia and his companions. They all came outside, talking together. Tāwhaki thought to himself, ‘So this is what startles my older relations.’

Tāwhaki went on waiting, and the sun went down. He and his wife slept together. Tāwhaki told her, ‘When your child is born, whether it is a girl or a boy, you must call your child after my log of firewood, Wahia-roa (‘Long-log’).’

Tāwhaki waited. When the sun came up, he set off and went in search of Tama-i-waho in the sky above. And so Tāwhaki moved forward, and Tama-i-waho went away, joining crossbars together across the sky. But Tāwhaki broke through the sky, and then it was barred up again. Tāwhaki went on moving upwards, with the sky still being barred up. Tama-i-waho called down to him, ‘Why are you following me?’

Tāwhaki called up to him, ‘Send one of them down to me.’

Tama-i-waho called down, ‘No, no.’

Tāwhaki called up, ‘Send one of them down, as payment for my father.’

Tama-i-waho called down, ‘You followed me, you ugly man.’

Tāwhaki called up, ‘I’m a handsome man, you’re an ugly man.’
So Tama-i-waho flashed lightning at him. Tāwhaki taunted him. Tāwhaki called to him, ‘You’re an ugly man.’

Tāwhaki gave a hasty snatch, and seized Tama-i-waho’s hand. Tama-i-waho called down, ‘You’re a handsome man.’

Tāwhaki called up, ‘Send one of them down to me.’

So Tama-i-waho sent one down. Then Tama-i-waho called down, ‘It’s finished, it’s finished. There’s only one that is still lying here.’

Tāwhaki then called out again, ‘Send it down.’

So Tama-i-waho sent down Whatu, Ateatea-rangi, Hurihanga-te-pō, Hurihanga-te-ao, Mata, Koruehi-nuku and Mata-a-Tāwhaki, and by these he drove the children of Puku off to the sea. Ihupuku and Popoiangore escaped.
RATA:

CANOE BUILDER AND AVENGER
INTRODUCTION

All over Polynesia Rata’s name is known and stories about him are recounted.\(^1\) He is the archetypal canoe builder, whose initial ignorant attempts meet with frustration and failure but who, with help from both human and supernatural sources, eventually succeeds in making a canoe. Often this is for the purpose of avenging his father’s murder.

Almost all the motifs contained in the Murihiku version recorded by Wohlers are found in other versions from Aotearoa, in different combinations. There is little to distinguish this version as unusual or as belonging to one particular tribe or locality. In this introduction we shall examine the various elements which go to make up the story, comparing them with other versions from Polynesia. In this way, it is hoped to show the stock of motifs from which narrators drew, and the way in which these motifs are combined to make this particular version of the tale.

At the end of this chapter will be found summaries of two other versions from the south, and a version from Ngāi Tahu’s region of origin, the East Coast of the North Island. A list of some of the many versions from Island Polynesia will also be given.

Summary of the Murihiku version

1. **Death of Rata’s father.** Wahia-roa marries Matokarau-tāwhiri. To satisfy her pregnant craving for kōkō birds, Wahia-roa goes hunting in Matuku’s territory, where he is killed.

2. **Rata learns of his father’s death.** When Rata grows up and asks about his father, his mother tells him what has happened. She finds a suitable tree from which he can make a canoe.

3. **Rata’s tree.** Rata experiences great difficulty in finding the tree and cutting it down.

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\(^1\) Martha Beckwith (1970: 259-75) summarises Rata stories from Hawai’i, New Zealand, Tahiti, Tuamotus, the Cook Islands, the Marquesas, Tuvalu, Samoa, Tonga and Santa Cruz, but there are others. See ‘Other versions’ at the end of this chapter. For the motif of the tree which rights itself after being felled, see Dixon, 1913: 60-9; Lessa, 1961: 88-94 (Oceania); Kirtley, 1971: D950; D1602.2; F441; F441.2; F441.6.5 (Polynesia). See also discussions in Best, 1982: 440-8 and Henry, 1928: 468-515; Elbert and Kirtley, 1966: 361-4.
After it is mysteriously set upright for the third time, Rata hides and hears the beings who have raised the tree chanting a karakia in which they chide him for not first performing the proper ceremonies.

4. The canoe is made. Rata returns home and tells his mother what has happened. The next morning, the completed canoe is waiting by the side of the house. Rata performs the proper ceremonies over the canoe, which is named ‘Niwaru’.

5. The revenge: first expedition. Rata sails off to the home of Kiore-poto and Kiore-roa. The former chants a karakia and escapes; the latter is killed. But vengeance is not yet complete.

6. The revenge: second expedition. Rata travels to Matuku’s land and sets a trap at the mouth of Matuku’s underground cave. He makes the slave Tama-uriuri call his master. After some protest Matuku emerges and is caught in the snare. Rata kills him with his adze. His vengeance is now complete.

Each of these episodes will now be discussed in detail.

1. Death of Rata’s father

In all the versions of the story from Aotearoa there are two main episodes, the canoe-building episode, and Rata’s revenge of his father’s murder. In Island Polynesia the second episode takes a slightly different form, or is absent. Rata is usually said to be the son of Wahia-roa (or some dialectal variant of this name). While occasionally Wahia-roa plays an important part in the story, his usual role is a more passive one. He is the genealogical link

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2Both the father and mother have often been abducted and kept in slavery to perform humiliating tasks. Rata is not always the son. In one version from the Cook Islands Nganaoa goes to seek his parents, Vaiaroa and Tairi-tokeru, and is aided by a person called Rata (Gill, 1876: 142-8); in another the tree is cut down by Orokeu, Oro-nana and Oro-taere, while Rata is the guardian of the forest (Te Arikirareare, 1919: 139-41; Gill, 1912: 51-4). In Samoa and Tonga Lata (Rata) is known as a canoe builder, but little else seems to be known about him (Turner, 1884: 264; Stair, 1897: 273-5; Kramer, 1941: 907-8; Stuebel, 1976: 106-7; Collocott, 1928: 15-16).

3Best, 1922: 1-28, for example, begins with a long episode in which Wahie-roa’s expedition in search of bird feathers and his subsequent murder are related in detail. In the version at present being discussed, the genealogical link between Tawahiki and Rata is not made specific. The story of Rata precedes that of Tawahiki. However, the name Wahia-roa does occur in both stories, and in his 1874 version Wohlers reverses their order, and gives Wahia-roa a separate section between the two. Since there is internal evidence for the link, I too have reversed the order of the two stories.
between the great heroes Tāwhaki and Rata, and his death provides the motivating force for all Rata’s actions. His murderer is the enemy against whom Rata will pit himself once he reaches maturity.

The name of Rata’s mother varies from version to version. In versions from most parts of Aotearoa she is unnamed, or given some non-specific name such as Kura, or else is called Hine-tua-hōanga. The Murihiku versions are alone in calling her Matokarau-tāwhiri. This name is cognate with names found in many other Polynesian versions, but its meaning is far from clear, nor is it possible to deduce it from her role in the story. She plays one of two roles: either she is captured along with her husband, or else, having remained at home while her husband is away on the expedition which ends with his murder, she is left to bring up their son and to see that he avenges his father.

In this version of the story, Matokarau-tāwhiri contributes directly to this first episode of the plot, since it is her pregnant cravings which lead Wahia-roa to enter enemy territory and there meet his death. This motif of the wife’s cravings is not present in other versions from Aotearoa, although it is found elsewhere in Polynesia, where, in three versions, the death is the direct result of the wife’s need or wish for certain foods.

2. Rata learns of his father’s death

When Rata’s mother survives (as she does in the Murihiku version) instead of being

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4The significance of this name will be discussed later.
5Tahiti-tokerau, Ko’olau-kahili, Tairirii-tokerau, Tahi’i-tokoau and so on (other names are Tula in Samoa and Maemae-a-rohi in Tahiti). The only version which offers any explanation of the name is a Tuamotuan one (Henry, 1928: 495). Here the mother’s name is Matamata-taua, but she is said to take the name of her country, Tahiti To’erau (North Tahiti), ‘as her rightful title as high chiefess of the realm’. I have been unable to ascertain whether this explanation reflects actual practice.
6In this case she is usually spared to perform some degrading task for her captor’s wife or daughter, and her rescue by Rata is an important subplot in the story.
7In a Rarotongan version Rata’s mother is pregnant and wishes to eat eels, which Vaie-roa catches for her. The parents are later drowned in a flash flood, which is not specifically accounted for, but which seems to have been sent in revenge (Savage, 1910: 145-55). A Tuamotuan version has both Vahie-roa and his wife going to catch fish to increase her milk for their new-born child, and being attacked by Matu’u-ta’ota’o as they fish (Leved, 1910:176). A version from Tuvalu also has the mother wishing to eat fish after her baby’s birth. The fish is an eel who warns Mafia-loa of dire results should he carry out his plan. Mafia-loa ignores this advice, kills and eats the eel, and is duly killed along with his wife (Kennedy, 1930: 213).
In the Murihiku story, Rata’s mother seems to imply that Rata himself is responsible for the death, although innocently, by her comment, ‘I was pregnant with you, and had a craving. He went to Matuku’s place, and was killed.’ It was in fact the unborn child rather than the mother who was felt to desire some particular food. The motif of the wife’s pregnant cravings is a common one in Māori stories. In another story, it contributes directly to the resolution of the plot (Orbell, 1968: 46-51).
captured along with her husband, she has an important role in the subsequent events. She is the one who nurtures her son and gradually imparts the knowledge which he needs to avenge his father.8

In the Murihiku versions Rata’s question about his origins seems to arise without any external prompting. This is different from the often long episode which occurs in many other versions, in which Rata discovers the truth about his parents through the slighting words of other children during competitive play.9

Throughout Aotearoa, stories are told of fatherless boys who question their mother about the whereabouts of their father. In almost all cases the mother tells the son, as here, to ‘Look towards the rising of the sun’.10 In Māori thought the rising sun is connected with life and success, while the setting of the sun evokes death and defeat. Given that Rata’s father is in fact dead, one might expect Rata’s mother to tell her son to look towards the setting sun. However, the phrase is used in a symbolic way, in that the father is identified with the positive values associated with the rising sun. The son must travel eastwards here, not to be reunited with his father, but because this will lead him to where Wahia-roa was killed, and where revenge must be sought.

Rata’s repeated failures and eventual successes help to structure the story and give it dramatic tension. This is true of all the versions of the story, which have a wide variety of parallel motifs all serving to build up this dramatic impact.11 In overcoming all these difficulties Rata shows proof of tenacity, strength and courage which also mark him out as fit for the task of avenging his father.

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8In many versions this role is filled by a grandmother, or even occasionally by a sister (Shortland makes her a sister, at first unnamed but later said to be Hīne-tua-hīanga; 1856: 4-9). The motif of the helpful female relative, who is always ready with warnings, directions and karakia, is found frequently in Polynesian stories. The nurturing guardian is said to be a grandfather in Leverd, 1910: 176-8, but this may be a misinterpretation.
9Compare for example the stories of Tama-inu-pō (White, 1888: 173-4) and Tautini-awhitia (Orbell, 1968: 47), and the long episodes about competitive play in Marquesan stories of this type (Von den Steinen, 1988: 57-9; and the similar episodes in the story of Vakauihi, e.g. Lavondes, 1966: 55-68).
10The same phrase is used in the stories of Tama-inu-pō and Tautini-awhitia, see the previous note.
11Motifs include: Rata as a child trying out in turn different forms of toy boats (bamboo, wood and so on); members of Rata’s family (his father, elder brother, younger brothers and then himself) pitting themselves one after the other against the enemy; a series of enemies of increasing strength to be overcome; a band of helpers with different skills, each of whom has to use his particular skill to perform some special task, and so on.
3. Rata’s tree

 Whereas the episode in which Rata discovers the truth about his father is highly condensed in the Murihiku version in comparison with many other versions, the tree-felling episode contains long conversations, repeated incidents, and a karakia. The hero encounters setback after setback, and wins through only after a series of trials and errors.

 First of all, Rata tries three times to find the proper tree chosen by his mother. One element of this sequence is the fruit brought back by his mother to help him to recognise the tree. This motif is found elsewhere only in a Ngāti Porou version. Rata’s three trips into the forest are a direct parallel with the ones which he makes to fell the tree.

 With such an important undertaking in hand, the adze or adzes used in felling the tree are of prime importance. In this version of the story Rata’s adzes are not given special names, as they are in some versions, but they are important enough to need sharpening on the back of Hine-tua-hōanga, ‘Woman-with-the-sandstone-back’.

 Hine-tua-hōanga is a personification of sandstone, on which stone adzes were sharpened.

 In this story Hine-tua-hōanga is seen as both a human person, a grandparent of Rata’s, and the actual whetstone which will sharpen his adzes. She is yet another example of the kind

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12 Ruatapu, 1871, MS Papers 189/53, WTu. Here, Rata’s mother shows him bark and leaves to help him recognise the tōtara.
13 Hine-tua-hōanga appears in several myths. In the fullest of these, she is the enemy of Ngahue, who possesses a special stone, the pounamu or greenstone, called his ‘fish’. Hine-tua-hōanga with her whetstone pursues Ngahue’s fish from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. Ngahue finally manages to hide his fish in the West Coast rivers of Te Wai Pounamu, where it is still found today. Hine-tua-hōanga is still the ‘enemy’ of the greenstone, for greenstone must be ground into shape by rubbing it on sandstone, hōanga (Grey, 1956: 106-7).

 Rata is often said to make a visit to Ngahue to obtain adzes. (In mythical terms, it is logical that Rata should be said to seek his adzes from the guardian of the greenstone.) Ngahue does not figure in the tale as recounted by Wohlers, but it is evident that his name was known in the south, since he plays an important part in Tītīmōrehu’s version (Titāmērehu, 1987: 41-2).

 14 Best (1974: 203) states that the reason the sharpening is done on her back is because of ‘some fanciful connection between the hollow along the human vertebra and the groove in which a stone is rubbed on sandstone’. This statement shows that the sandstone is thought of as a real human figure, with a human body. The meaning of Rata’s name cannot be stated with any certainty, but Best suggests a connection with this incident, since rata means ‘sharp’ (1974: 107). However, one could also see in it a connection with the meaning ‘seer’ (because Rata is sometimes said to dream about his canoe before it has been completed, as in a Tuamotuan version, Henry, 1928: 500-1) or ‘tame, quiet’ (Leverd, 1910: 176; Henry, 1928: 474). In most versions Rata is seen as ignorant and naive, an aspect which is particularly noticeable in the versions in which he is left all alone in the world and must experiment with the things around him to find out what to eat, wear and so on (Kennedy, 1930: 213-5; Elbert and Kirtley, 1966: 358).
of dual figure, half human and half non-human, who has already appeared in these stories (in the person of Rongo-i-tua, for example, a human ancestor and at the same time the kūmara). Another of these figures, Matuku (half human and half monstrous bird), will appear at the end of this story.

As Rata sharpens his adzes, the sandstone is said to chant the words Kia koi, kia koi. The sound of the words presumably imitates the harsh, grating noise made by the adze as it moves backwards and forwards over the stone. But at the same time this is a karakia (‘Be sharp, be sharp’) to ensure that the weapon will be fit for killing the enemy.

Once Rata has sharpened his adzes he must fasten them to handles, a process referred to only briefly in Wohlers’s account. In Tiramōrehu’s version it is given more prominence, for the lashings are given specific names, to highlight their mana. A named adze is a tool of great importance, but when even its bindings are named it must be very special indeed.

With such laborious preliminaries and with the help of ancestors and special adzes Rata should, one feels, meet with immediate success as he sets out to fell his tree. And indeed, the tree falls in an amazingly short time. But the next day it is standing upright in its place, as if it had never been cut down at all. Almost all versions make this the focal point of the story,¹⁵ for it is an episode which is rich in elements of surprise, comedy, magic and drama.

The nature of the non-human forces against which Rata finds himself pitted changes from version to version. In many Island Polynesian versions Rata is opposed by a monster, Sinota or Hinata, the guardian of the tree.¹⁶ Like ogres or giants the world over he is malevolent but dim-witted, and is easily outwitted by Rata. In stories from Aotearoa the forces which oppose Rata are usually said to be acting on behalf of Tāne, the guardian of the forest. They are called such names as te tini o te Hakuturi, Te Tini o ngā Para-rākau, or

¹⁵However, sometimes the story becomes so long and involved that the magic tree incident is merely one in a whole series of adventures. An example of this is the Tahitian version (Henry, 1928: 468-95).
¹⁶Elbert and Kirtley, 1966: 355-64 (examples from the Reef Islands and Pukapuka are also quoted here); Firth, 1936:150-1; Kennedy, 1930: 214-5; Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 96-9 (where he is called Soso or 'Isoso); Stuebel, 1976: 106-7 (where the role is shared between Sinoi and the Lady Sina-asa-ulu). In Tonga the guardian is called Haelefeke, but unlike these others he is a powerful figure, and he becomes Rata’s helper (Collocott, 1928: 15-16).
te whānau a Tāne. In Wohlers’s Māori text they are referred to simply as nga tāngata, ‘the men’ or ‘the people’. Their exact nature is uncertain, but they are apparently visible to Rata.

The karakia which is chanted by these beings as they set the tree upright is almost as persistent as the tree-raising motif itself, and is remarkably similar in many far-flung islands of Oceania. Reference is made to the various parts of the tree (chips, leaves, branches), and the fact that these will now once more adhere to the base and crown. When Tāne is not mentioned, the forest guardian often states his own name and asserts his ownership of the tree.

The persistence of this karakia may seem surprising, since at first sight it would seem to have no great practical value. However, the naming of the different parts of the tree no doubt helped to make it memorable. It may also have been used in different ways. In the Murihiku versions, the formula used in the last line of the chant is the same as that used in the raising of Rangi. The lifting of Rangi is the archetypal situation, setting the pattern for all actions which involve lifting or hauling. One would therefore expect to find the same words being used in cases where similar types of actions, such as hauling a canoe or lifting up the ridgepole or centrepost of a house were being performed.

17Taylor, 1870: 255; White, 1887, I: 80; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 20; Grey, 1971: 47-8. Grey’s source is Te Whiwhi (Ngāti Toa), but the passage containing the chant and the words te tin o te Hakuturi are interpolated from another source. Te Whiwhi calls them te whānau a Tāne. Taimui versions make them specific types of birds (Shortland, 1856: 6; Kelly, 1949: 13). Te Rangikāheke too lists a number of different small birds as nga hakuturi in his commentary on this word in a waiata (Te Rangikāheke, GNZMSS118: 168, AP). Beattie (1919: 43-5) quotes an unusual South Island version (which is similar to Cook Island versions) in which the birds hollow out Rata’s canoe, led by their leader Ruru, who was saved by Rata.

18Tiramōrehu makes this specific: ‘Then Rata showed himself so that they could see his face’ (1987: 42).

19This chant is included in Murihiku versions, in the East Coast versions published by White, and in many Island Polynesian versions (from Samoa, Tikopia, Tuvalu, Tonga, the Tuamotus, Bellona and Rennell, Pileni and many others). Even when the chant is given only in English or is set out in prose, it is possible to identify it.

20One word which persists in many versions is māota. This appears in Samoan and Cook Island versions as the name of the tree itself, and is glossed by Gill in a note as ‘a large handsome tree common in Samoa (where the scene of this story is laid)’ (Gill, 1912: 52). Smith too mentions the moota or māota, ‘a fine tree used in canoe building, with a very handsome foliage ... ’ (1902: 88); and a similar word, mao-mea, is used of the tree in a Tahitian version (Henry, 1928: 483). In some North Island versions of the karakia the word seems to refer to a particular type of tree, for the Hakuturi say ‘E tīt te māota!’ (Grey 1971: 47; White, 1887, I: 80). Grey’s translation does not specify the type of tree (1956: 87). In Aotearoa the name māota is according to Williams applied to the Dysoxylum spectabile, but this tree is not used for canoe-building, and furthermore Biggs considers that the word is not applied to this tree in Aotearoa (1991: 70). The other meaning of the word is ‘fresh-grown, green’, and this seems to be its sense in the karakia as it is recorded by Wohlers.
In the version under consideration the beings who have set Rata's tree upright seem to be content merely to have Rata recognise their presence. Tiramõrehu's version suggests that the approval of these beings is necessary before Rata can proceed any further, for before dismissing him the spirits announce, 'We have seen you'. Elsewhere the spirits seem to wish Rata to acknowledge his relationship with them, after which they are satisfied and all aggression ceases.\footnote{This may be compared with the reaction of the various grandmothers encountered by Māui and Tāwhaki: these women are prepared to devour a stranger, but become helpful once the relationship has been acknowledged. See for example Grey, 1956: 24-5; 54.}

In some versions, however, some sort of rite or offering is required: Rata must lay a branch of greenery (usually the asplenium fern) over the cut stump.\footnote{White, 1887, III: 3; Shortland, 1856: 5. In a similar incident, the hero is told to lay his mother's menses across the stump (Kelly, 1949: 35). It may be that the article laid across the stump, along with the accompanying karakia, was thought to prevent the two parts joining together again. It is impossible to say which came first, the ritual practice or the story.} Even in the Murihiku version, where no ritual procedure is mentioned, the implication is that Rata has omitted a ceremony of some kind, for the spirits and Rata's mother both point out that Rata has cut down his tree 'thoughtlessly' (without paying proper attention to ritual). In this way the story of Rata serves as a cautionary tale. His descendants know from his example what to expect if they cut down a tree in an inappropriate manner, and accordingly they take care to follow the correct ritual procedures.\footnote{Thornton, 1986: 16-22. However, it is doubtful if the rites described served to 'conciliate' Tāne or 'reconcile Tāne with the felling of his tree'. The whole tone of the waiata is aggressive: the poet is 'angry' and is attacking Tāne, with the help of 'Tangaroa's spear' (Tangaroa is the enemy of Tāne, so the workmen are aided by him in their attack). See also Kelly, 1949: 35-6. Karakia and gifts bind Tāne, so that he is obliged to do what the petitioner requests (note the verbs here and whakahere, which basically mean 'tie, bind' but in ritual texts are said to mean 'conciliate, propitiate'; see also Johansen, 1954: 109-19). Thornton describes other rituals, such as burning the first chip in a sacred oven. These may be related to accounts in which Rata hides or burns one of the chips, so that when the tree spirits try to raise the tree they cannot do it, since one piece is missing (Gill, 1912: 51-55).}

4. The canoe is made

It was stated at the beginning of this introduction that Rata is the archetypal canoe builder. This is his role in waiata and karakia, and in accounts about other figures in which Rata's name is mentioned. And yet, in the myth which relates his adventures, he is seldom said to be the actual builder of the canoe.\footnote{In Mangareva, according to Te Rangi Hiroa (1938: 326), Rata is said to have thought of the design for a canoe while lying in bed gazing up at the roof. He later takes the roof off and turns it upside down to use as a} It may be pecked out for him by the birds, in gratitude
for his rescuing their leader, or built by the other non-human or supernatural agencies who are responsible for raising the tree. But Rata’s mana and his involvement with the magical tree mean that his name has become closely associated with canoe-building.

Usually Rata is summarily dismissed before the canoe is made. This is perhaps because of a belief that the efficacy of magic is spoilt by allowing it to be watched by human eyes. A version of the myth from Tuvalu makes this specific: Rata returns secretly to spy on the workers and is ordered away by Sinota, the guardian of the tree.

In the Murihiku version Rata does not continue to spy once he has caught the supernatural beings at their work. He does as they bid him and retires to bed, and is rewarded the next morning with the sight of his canoe, perfectly finished, waiting at the side of the house.

Rata’s next task is to remove the tapu which adheres to the canoe, and so make it fit for its task of vengeance. The making of any war canoe is a serious undertaking and is accompanied by much ritual. Rata’s canoe is particularly tapu, since it has been completed not by human agency but by supernatural beings.

We know little of the rituals involved in launching a new canoe, apart from the scattered and fragmentary references contained in accounts such as this one. Here the rite is called taitai, which Williams glosses as ‘perform certain ceremonies to remove tapu, etc., the ceremony apparently originally involving striking the object with a twig’ (the root meaning of the word is ‘dash, strike’).

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25 Gill, 1876: 144; Beattie, 1919: 45.
26 For example, Māui’s father knows at once when his son has been watching him, as his planting magic starts to go wrong (Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 110-4). Other magical deeds can be accomplished only during the hours of darkness: the Menehune’s construction of their temples (Beckwith, 1970: 333-4); Tinirau’s provision of a magical shower of fish (Wohlers, 1874: 30), and so on.
27 Rata sees the adzes at work all by themselves. As soon as they become aware of his presence they stop, and Sinota warns him that if he tries to spy the canoe will not be finished (Kennedy, 1930: 214-5).
28 Best’s monograph on the subject of canoes is almost exclusively concerned with details of construction (Best, 1976a). A typical account of the procedures followed in launching an important canoe is found in Kelly, 1949: 34-9. Rata’s name is often mentioned in the rituals quoted by Kelly.
29 Other terms used of canoe-launching ceremonies are kawa, which involves striking the canoe with a twig of the kawa shrub (kawa 5 in Williams), and whakainu, ‘cause to drink’, described by Williams as ‘a spell recited when a net or canoe is first taken to the water’. In Tahiti the fa‘ainu ceremony was accompanied by the action of dipping the canoe prow the water (Henry, 1928: 489, 491, 501).
Williams also says that in removing tapu from a canoe ‘the ceremony was accomplished with the slaughter of a slave’.30 Echoes of this practice are perhaps to be found in versions of the story in which Rata kills a child as his canoe is completed.31 In the Murihiku version, however, the sacrifice seems to involve no more than seaweed (which is used in a number of rituals) and two fish. Fish are particularly appropriate for this ritual, for the word ‘fish’ is often used in a symbolic way to refer to a human victim.32 It is therefore fitting that a canoe going on a voyage of vengeance should catch and make use of fish in its launching ceremonies.

The taitai ceremony referred to here appears to take place over two days. It is not clear what form the ritual takes, but it seems that the canoe is taken out on a special trip to catch the fish which are then used in the tapu-lifting. The word raupaka used at the end of the paragraph is given in Williams as the equivalent of raupanga, ‘offering, sacrifice’; the idea may be that a fish hung up in the bow of a canoe will draw other fish to it. The sacrifice hung up at the shrine will no doubt lure Matuku into Rata’s clutches.

5. The revenge: first expedition.

In many versions of the myth, the revenge takes place in two stages. Sometimes Rata has to rescue his mother and his father (or his father’s bones) from two different places. Sometimes the evil enemy, whose name is usually Matuku or Matuku-tangotango, is accompanied by another evil being, Whiti or Pou-a-hao-kai.33 Rata fights and conquers this other figure either before or after his encounter with Matuku.

In the version recorded by Wohlers, Rata first encounters two beings called Kiore-poto and

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30See under tai iv.3.
31Shortland, 1856: 6. This episode is usually told in connection with Whiro, who takes people down to death. In the story of Rata it may well be associated with a canoe-launching ritual. On the other hand, it may simply be an example of a motif which moves from story to story.
32For example, te ika o te ati, the first person killed in battle; te ika pareno, a human victim slain as an offering to Tangaroa; te ika purapura, a human victim buried at the post of a new house, and so on. See Williams under ika (ii) and (iii).
33Sometimes there is a whole series of enemies, who are encountered one by one as Rata makes a sea voyage. Matuku is often one of these, and is said to be one of the servants of the powerful king Puna or Punga (who has been discussed in the section dealing with Tāwhaki). It is often Punga’s daughter who has Rata’s mother in her power.
Kiore-roa. Their presence in the myth is not explained, but they may well be Matuku’s attendants. It is Kiore-roa who is killed. Kiore-poto survives, perhaps because he can complete the whole of his short karakia, while Kiore-roa has such a long karakia that he is killed before he can reach the end.

The final words of the karakia are familiar ones used frequently in ceremonies to free new buildings from tapu, but also used in other circumstances. The references to Tangaroa and Tū-nui are harder to interpret, but at least in the case of Tangaroa one may hazard a guess. The two Kiore are enemies of Rata, who, because of his canoe, is now closely allied with Tāne. So it is logical to find the Kiore allied to Tangaroa, Tāne’s enemy.

Are Kiore-roa and Kiore-poto human beings or animals? Part of Kiore-poto’s karakia can be found in a longer one quoted by Best in a discussion of rat-hunting. This raises the possibility that the two figures in our story are regarded as archetypal rats, and that, since the time of Kiore-roa’s defeat, it has been possible for humans to turn the rats’ own protective karakia against them. The method of killing is not described at this point, but one would expect that Kiore-roa, like Matuku, is caught in a snare, just as rats were caught in real life.

On the other hand, figures with similar names occur in versions elsewhere, with no suggestion that they are anything other than human. In Tahiti ‘Iore-roa, ‘Iore-poto, ‘Iore-mumu and ‘Iore-vava, members of the royal household and brothers-in-law to Vahie-roa, all set off on the voyage of vengeance and are killed in turn. And in a story from Taranaki, Hare Hongi refers to Kiore-tī and Kiore-tā, who are perhaps half-brothers to Rata. So the nature of the Kiore is left in doubt; perhaps it differs from story to story.

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34 Compare Kiore-tī and Kiore-tā in ‘Ko Ruru-teina’. In a Tahitian version Puna, the master of Matuku, has two attendants who bear the names of crabs, Tupa-uta and Tupa-tai (Henry, 1928: 505). In a Tuamotuan version, two lizards are the doorkeepers of King Puna (Stimson, 1937: 146-7). See also the rat and lizard servants in Beckwith, 1970: 491.
35 This is seen as a ‘binding’ karakia to make the walls of the house firm and to protect those inside from evil.
36 The name Tū-nui-a-te-tika is found in association with that of Tangaroa in a karakia for the canoe Tākitimu (Smith, 1915: 221), so it may be that the two names form a formulaic pair in the way that, for example, Whiti and Tonga do (see the canoe-launching episode in ‘Ko Tautini’).
38 Henry, 1928: 475-6. The k is missing in the Tahitian language.
39 Hongi, 1898: 40.
The revenge Rata is seeking is not accomplished by the death of Kiore-roa, so that in this way the episode echoes the overall structure of the myth: repeated failures before eventual success. The encounter is however useful in providing Rata with a testing ground for his youthful powers. Since his father’s death has not been adequately avenged. Rata must set off once again, this time to attack the real enemy, Matuku.

6. The revenge: second expedition.

The dramatic repetitions which make up the first part of the story have already been noted. In this final episode repetition again plays its part. Rata enlists the help of the slave Tama-uriuri to call Matuku from his cave, and this call must be made twice before he finally appears. The repetition of this call and Matuku’s answers, with their specialised and unusual vocabulary, heighten the drama of this culminating point in the story.

Matuku, whose name means ‘bittern’, is an archetypal monster enemy. As is usual with such figures, he is not described, but in many versions of the story his bird-like nature is evident. References are sometimes made to his flying or to his stabbing with his beak, and in particular to his wings being broken in the fight. Sometimes, too, he is said to ‘change into’ a bittern after his death. His resemblance to a bird is not made specific in the Murihiku version, but he is caught in a trap, in the way that birds often are.

Matuku is said to be in a cave down below, tending the cultivations which he has there. He will come up at the appropriate time to perform the ceremonies over his pūhā plots.

Although pūhā was an important part of Māori diet and was no doubt cultivated to a certain extent (as were, for example, flax and karaka trees), there was, as far as is known, no ritual procedure connected with the cultivation of this widespread and easily grown plant. So that the use of the word tamaahu, which elsewhere is quite specifically connected with kūmara,

\[40\] In the Tahitian versions, for example, his arrival is described in these words, ‘there came with large outspread wings an immense black bird-fiend with fierce glance and wild screech’; he has a ‘large hooked beak’ and ‘talons outstretched’ (Henry, 1928: 494).

\[41\] Taylor, 1870: 257. The bittern is a lonely bird of the swamps. Its evasive habits and eerie, booming cry perhaps caused it to be thought of as somewhat sinister. Best (1977b: 191) calls it a son of Punga, who is said to be the father of all ugly creatures (see the discussion in the previous chapter, under the heading ‘Punga’). Matuku is associated with Punga in several versions of the story from Island Polynesia.

\[42\] Compare the trapping of the giant bird Pouākai; see ‘Ko Pungarehu’.
is surprising, perhaps deliberately so. For Matuku is a monster, and his actions may be meant to be a grotesque parody of human activities. 43

Matuku may, however, have a more widespread connection with kūmara-growing. Johansen points to a reference to him in a karakia, in which his name is coupled with that of Pani, the woman who according to East Coast myths gave birth to the kūmara. 44 Johansen suggests the possibility that Matuku in this passage is ‘the demonic equivalent to Pani’. It is possible that there are North Island versions in which Matuku performs his ceremonies over kūmara rather than pūhā, though none has been found. 45 Certainly Matuku is in charge of more than one kind of food, for as the first part of the story shows, he also has forests where tūī can be caught.

Māori versions of the story do not in general contain episodes of the trickster type common in Island Polynesian versions. The exception is the riddling episodes found in East Coast versions of the myth. 46 But the theme of deception is still present in Murihiku versions. In Wohlers’s version, Matuku is tricked into thinking that it is the correct night for coming up to perform his rituals. In Tiramōrehu’s version Matuku refuses to fall for this trick, and must be enticed up by the offer of some treasure.

In this last episode, another element in the plot falls into place: the adze produced by Rata’s mother and sharpened by his ancestress is now put to its proper use in avenging his father’s death. The dramatic tension is released with the last statement, ‘Now the death was avenged. At long last it was as it should be.’

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43 For example in one story a ngārara, another kind of monster, has special pools for washing himself and dressing his hair, exactly as if he were a great chief (Orbell, 1968: 38-41).
44 The karakia refers to te tae o Matuku and te tae o Pani, ‘the secretion of Matuku’ and ‘the secretion of Pani’ (Johansen, 1958: 125-6).
45 A similar figure to Matuku, in a parallel episode, has kūmara gardens and is caught in a noose by Whakatau (White, 1887, II: 153). One might be tempted to consider this pūhā episode as an adaptation peculiar to the Murihiku region, where kūmara could not be grown. However, as we have seen in other myths (‘Ko Rongo-i-tua’ in particular), narratives and karakia concerned with kūmara growing were still remembered and recited even when they were of no practical significance. It is possible that pūhā has some special association with Matuku, which has not been explained. A line in a waiata, Ngā heiheī o Matuku, is translated as ‘the entangling shrubs of Matuku’, and a note explains that this is heiheī pūhā, ‘an inferior plant’ which is found in swamps after rain (Ngata, 1959: song 89, line 32). The primary meaning of the phrase must be ‘Matuku’s snare’, that is, the one in which he was caught.
46 White, 1887, I: 90-4; III: 5-9. Samoan versions have episodes in which Rata plays a trick with crabs, and in several Island Polynesian versions he tricks Sinota with a fake conch shell.
Conclusion

Rata, then, is the archetypal canoe builder. Because of the purpose for which his canoe is made, he is also one of the great avenging figures of myth.\(^{47}\) His name is therefore found in many karakia concerning either canoe-building or vengeance.\(^{48}\)

Rata also plays a key role in narratives telling of the voyages of the ancestors from distant Hawaiiki to Aotearoa. He is said to be involved with a number of different canoes, among them Tainui, Te Arawa, Tākitimu, and Aotea.\(^{49}\) Since stories of this kind are always concerned with building and launching canoes, it is clear that if Rata is said to be concerned in the process, it will add to the mana of the tribes who can claim him as their own.

When it is a question of a more recent canoe, the people making or launching it can feel themselves to ‘be’ Rata as they go about their tasks:

Here am I, Rata,
Seeking, searching,
In the landing-place Pikopiko-i-whiti,
Where Whiti-nui died.\(^{50}\)

The motif of the tree that stands upright is also found in a number of stories about canoe-building, even when Rata is not involved. Best relates the stories of two other figures who experience the frustration of having their tree set upright again, just as Rata does.\(^{51}\) Even if Rata’s name is not mentioned, his deeds must be in the minds of others undertaking these activities, and they can feel themselves supported and strengthened by the power and prestige of this illustrious ancestor.

\(^{47}\) Even the great avenger Whakatau calls on his men to ‘Let the sideboards be at once fresh lashed on to our canoe, to the canoe of our ancestor Rata’ (Grey, 1956: 94).
\(^{48}\) See for example karakia in Kelly, 1949: 34-9; Shortland, 1856: 165-6; Taylor, 1855: 81. When Rata is viewed as a mythical rather a historical figure, his presence in karakia and waiata can be readily understood.
\(^{49}\) Shortland, 1856: 4-7; Grey, 1956: 107-8; White, 1887, III: 45.
\(^{50}\) Graham, 1924: 132. This was sung at the launching of the Ngāti Paora canoe Kahu-mau-roa in the latter half of the eighteenth century.
\(^{51}\) One of them is Toroa of the Mātaatua canoe (Best, 1972: 714, 740). In a folktale from Taranaki, two children trying to build a canoe to go in search of their father have the same experience (Te Whetū, 1897: 99-100).
OTHER VERSIONS

Versions of the story are so widespread throughout Polynesia that it is impossible here to do more than make a brief reference to some of those which are more accessible and which are interesting from a comparative point of view. The only ones to be summarised here are the two other versions from the far south, and an East Coast version.

A. Aotearoa

1. Kāi Tahu/Kāti Māmoe

a. Tiramōrehu

This is very similar to the version recorded by Wohlers. However, no reason is given for Wahia-roa’s death at the hands of Matuku. Rata’s mother, Matokarau-tāwhiri, gives different answers when her son asks the whereabouts of his father. There is an additional episode in which Rata goes to ask Kahue (Ngahue) for an adze, but the episode in which Rata kills Kiore-roa is absent. The exchange between Matuku and Rata is similar to that in the version recorded by Wohlers, but Rata eventually lures Matuku into the noose by promising him some valuable property.

b. Pokuku

A karakia names Rata’s adze as ‘Aumapu’. In an accompanying brief explanation the narrator says that Kahue gave this adze to Rata so that he could make the canoe Tākitimu. Ruru, the owl, aids Rata because the latter rescued him when he was attacked and defeated by the sea birds.

53Tiramōrehu names the adze: Nga-pakitua. This name is recognisable as that of the adze brought on the first canoe to the South Island (Beattie, 1918: 138, 141). So it appears there are stock names for famous adzes as well as for battles. Tiramōrehu also gives mana to the story by naming another ancestor who received his adze on the same occasion, the famous Kupe.
54Beattie, 1919: 43-5.
2. Ngāti Porou/Ngāti Kahungunu

Rata’s father, Wahie-roa, has been killed by Matuku-tangotango and Pou-a-hao-kai. Rata chops down a tree to make a canoe in which to take vengeance, but it is set upright by the multitudes of Haku-turi, of Roro-tini, and of Pona-ua, who chant a karakia as they raise it (the karakia is very similar to the one recorded by Wohlers). When Rata complains, they chide him and tell him that he must place asplenium fern on the stump before carving out his canoe. They agree to go with Rata. The canoe is called Āniwaniwa or Aniu-waru.

Pou-a-hao-kai calls, ‘Little heads, little heads’ to them, but Rata foils him by calling back, ‘Display the big face on the horizon’. When they are told to sit on one side of the house, Rata makes sure they sit on the other, where they are safe. Rata demands water, and sends Pou-a-hao-kai off to fetch it, chanting a karakia to make it dry up as Pou-a-hao-kai advances. Finally Rata cooks stones and feeds them to Pou-a-hao-kai, whose stomach bursts.

Rata asks Tama-uriuri, a companion of Matuku-tangotango, where the latter is, and is told that he is down below, but will appear at full moon to perform rituals. Tama-uriuri calls out the wrong information to Matuku, as he does in the Murihiku version. Rata spreads a trap over the pit. Matuku laughs as he sees Rata lying on the ground, apparently dead; but the ropes are pulled tight, his wings are broken and then Rata kills him.

3. Other versions from Aotearoa

Shortland, 1856: 4-9; Hongi, 1898: 39-40; Taylor, 1870: 255-7; Grey, 1971: 47-8; 1956: 84-90; White, 1887, I: 75-82 (English); 66-73 (Māori). (White’s first two versions are omitted here, as they come from Wohlers and Tiramōrehu).

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55White, 1887, I: 90-4 (English); 80-3 (Māori); III: 5-9 (English); 3-6 (Māori); the two versions are practically identical.
56Perhaps they are calling on the sun to aid them here.
B. Island Polynesia

1. *Cook Islands*
Gill, 1876: 142-8; Savage, 1910: 145-55; Gill, 1912: 51-4; Te Ariki-tara-are, 1919: 139-41.

2. *Tahiti*
Henry, 1928: 468-95.

3. *Tuamotu*

4. *Marquesas*

5. *Mangareva*

6. *Samoa*

7. *Tuvalu*
Kennedy, 1930: 213-5.

8. *Tikopia*
Firth, 1936:150-1.

9. *Pileni/Reef Islands/Pukapuka*
Elbert and Kirtley, 1966: 355-64.

10. *Bellona and Rennell*

11. *Tonga*
Collocott, 1928: 15-16.
KO RATA


Ka noho te wahine. Ka hapū a Rata ki waho.2 Ka whakatupukia. Ka ui, 'Kei whea ra taku nei matua?'

Ka kī atu te hākui, 'Kua mate.'

'Na wai?'

'Na Matuku. I haere ki te mea kai māhaku. Ka hapū koe, ka hiakai au. Ka haere ia ki te wāhi a Matuku, ka mate ia.'

Ka kī atu a Rata, 'Kei whea tōna kāinga?'

'Me titiro koe ki te putanga mai o te rā; kei waho kē kei te moana. E kore e tae.'

Na, ka noho te hākui. Ka haere ki te wahie; ka pōrangī, ka kite ia i te rākau, he rākau pai, he tōtara. Ka mauria mai te pua3 o te rākau. Ka ahiahi ka kōrero atu tērā ki te tama, 'Ka kite au, he rākau, he rākau pai, he tōtara. Āpōpō koe ka haere ai ki te toro i taku rākau.'

Ka hoatu ki te pua, kia kite a Rata. Ka haere a Rata, ka pōrangī. Ka hoki mai, ka kī atu, 'Kāhore kia kitea e au.'

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1White 1887, I: 68-72 (English); 59-63 (Māori).
2This is an unusual use of hapū, the more usual expression being puta ki waho, or occasionally whānau ki waho. This may be an error (Wohlers has used hapū three times already in a very short paragraph), or it may be a Murihiku idiom.
3Wohlers speaks of a ‘branch’ and White of ‘some twigs’, but pua usually means ‘flower, seed’. The fruit of the tōtara is small but distinctive, with a fleshy red receptacle beneath the seed.
Ka kī atu te hākui, ‘E kore e ngaro i a koe; kei te rākau taratara tērā, koia tēnā.’

Ka haere a Rata, ka pōrangī, kāhore hoki kia kitea. Ka kī atu anō te hākui, ‘E kore e ngaro i a koe; kei te rākau taratara anō.’

Ka haere, ka hoki mai, ka kitea e Rata tautau rākau. Ka kī atu te tama, ‘Me aha?’

Ka kī atu te hākui, ‘Ki ngā toki.’

Ka kī atu te tama, ‘He puruhia ēnei toki; kāhore he niho.’


Na, ka kī te waha o te hōanga, ‘Kia koi, kia koi, kia koi, ...’

Kua koi ngā toki. Ka tae mai ki te whare, ka hou[h]jia. Ā, ka ahiahi te rā. Ka moe; ka [a]o ake i te ata; ka haere a Rata. Ka tuaina tautau rākau, ka hinga ki raro; ka topea te ngāuru o runga.


Ka kī atu te hākui, ‘I ahatia e koe?’

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4 Both White and Wohlers translate taratara as ‘rough-barked’, but it could equally well mean ‘spiky-leaved’. Both descriptions would fit tōtara.

5 Wohlers originally wrote toke, and the word has been corrected, either in Wohlers’s hand or another’s, to toki. In the story of Raureka, toke is the word used. Toke may be a Murihiku variant. Best (1974: 127) discusses the words poki (a possible Ngāi Tahu word for adze) and poke (the word for a European axe), a pair of variants of similar form. See the discussion in subsection A 2(e) of ‘The Language of the South’ in the general introduction.

6 The only example of puruhia given in Williams is this one. White glosses with pūhuki (Williams ‘blunt, dull!’). See a further discussion in subsection C 1 of ‘The Language of the South’.

7 See the discussion of the expression nau mai in the introductory language section, subsection C 7. In the present text the expression seems to be used in the following sense described by Williams: ‘Nau mai is also used apparently simply to introduce a suggestion: “Come!”’.

8 Although in most cases Wohlers has ‘corrected’ names for his later version, this name is left as Hinetuaoka. It would seem that he has failed to make the connection with hōanga, even though this word appears in the next sentence.
'I tuaina mākūwaretia\(^9\) e au.'

Ka kī atu te hākui, 'Me tua wareware ōu tūpuna?'

'Āe, i tuaina tonutia e au.'

Ka kī atu te hākui, 'Nau mai haere, hoki.'

Ka tae atu a Rata ki taua rākau ra anō. Ka tuaina, ka hinga ki raro. Ka kotia te tāuru. Ka peke mai tērā ki tahaki, ka tū atu ai. Ka whakarongo tērā e karangatia ana mai:

Ko Rata, ko Rata a Wahia-roa,
Tuautaina mākūwaretia e koe
Te wao tapu o Tāne,
Kihu\(^10\) māota o Tāne.
Ka rere te maramara ki te pūhaka,\(^11\)
Ka rere te maramara ki te kāuru.
Koia e piri, koia e tata,
Koia tautogoria,
E tūpā, w[h]āia.\(^12\)

Kua tū ki runga te rākau. Ka whana atu, ka tū ki runga, ka hopukia e Rata, ka mahue, ka memeke ngā tāngata ki tahaki. Ka kī atu a Rata, 'Koia nei anō e mea i tuku rākau nei! Koia nei anō e rawehanga i tuku rākau nei!'

Ka kī mai, 'Haere koe. Waiho tāu rākau ki konei takoto ai. Ma mātou whaihanga atu.'

Ka tae tērā ki te kāinga. Ka kī mai te hākui, 'I te aha tāu rākau?'

'Whana atu rawa au, kua tū ki runga. Ka tuaina e au, ka hinga ki raro; ka topea te tāuru; ka peke ki tahaki, tū atu ai. Whakarongo ahau, karangatia ana mai, whakahuitia mai taku

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\(^9\)The word mākūwaretia is also found in 'Ko Tāne', when Rehua greets Tāne without due form, and in 'Ko Māui', when Māui's father plants his crops without saying the proper karakia.

\(^10\)The word kihu does not appear in Williams. However, the reduplicated form kihukihu is glossed as having a parallel meaning to hikuhiku, and one of the meanings given for hiku is 'tip of a leaf'. The context makes this meaning likely.

\(^11\)Maramara is written as two words, marama ra, in the manuscript.

\(^12\)In the account of the lifting of Rangi, the same line is found (See 'Ko Tāne', note 31). Wohlers’s English translation is, 'Now take hold, and up with him!' (1874: 21). In the c.1850 manuscript tupawaia is written as one word, but is separated in the later version. Hare Hongi explains tūpā as 'a canoe-hauling term which was in common use by canoe-building tribes ... This phrase or call of the fuggleman: E-e-e, tūpā whai ake ... ensuring a unity of effort on the part of the two sets of haulers ... ' (1908: 107).
ingoa: “Ko Rata, ko Rata a Wahia-roa ...”.'13

Na, ka moe tērā, ka ara ake i te ata. Kua tae mai ki te tara o te whare. Ka puta atu a Rata ki waho; tēnei e takoto nei i te tara o te whare, kua oti i aua tīpuna nei te waka nei.


Kiore, Kiore, mātaki te whakarua.
Waiho Kiore, kia tau ana tōna whare,
Te whare o Tū-nui, te whare o Taḵaroa,
Whiti mauauma — ko Tārai-awatea.
Hui — ē, tai — ē, Rona, Hana,
Haere mai, toki, haumā!17


Ka huaina (hiahia)18 e Rata, ka haere, ka hoe i te moana. Ā ... ka tae ki te kāinga i te pāihi19 (ko Tama-uriuri te ingoa) e noho ana i Pūoro-nuku, i Pūoro-rangi (whenua pea).20 Ka ui

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13 In the manuscript Wohlers has ‘etc’. Presumably his informant chanted the whole chant over again, and this was one of the ‘tiresome repetitions’ which he felt would be better removed.
14 A printer’s error caused kē to be printed as ko in Wohlers, 1874: 47.
15 Mua is used as the equivalent of ōāhu, the sacred place.
16 ‘Te is repeated, as the page was turned. Auinaake is written with two a, as here.
17 This karakia is not translated by Wohlers in his later version. It is unclear whether certain words in it are names or common nouns. These words are: Kiore (probably a proper name here, since the speaker’s name is Kiore-poto), Rona and Hanā. The latter two have capitals as if they are names, but they may be part of the binding karakia: rona ‘it binds’ and hana ‘it shines’. The last two lines are a variant of the formulaic expressions found in many karakia, including some which are still used today (Haramai te toki, hui -ē, haumi - ē, taiki - ē).
18 Wohlers’s gloss is unhelpful. Hua seems to mean ‘to think’ or ‘to decide’ here.
19 In the manuscript the word pāihi looks more like raihi. The same word is used several sentences further on. In his English translation (1874: 22), Wohlers states that this man is ‘the former servant of his [Rata’s] father’, though this is not expressly stated in the Maori.
20 The words in parenthesis are in the text. They are apparently an explanation added by Wohlers.
atu, ‘Kei whea tau tangata?’

Ka ki mai, ‘Kei ko ano. Ko au ano te nei e waiho nei hei tiaki i nga mara.’

Ka ki atu, ‘E kore ranei e tae mai?’

Ka ki mai taua pahi, ‘E kore e tae mai. Ki iho ki [a] au, he[i] tawhitu, hei tawharu,21 ka haere mai ia, kia tamaahungia a mua koti puwha.’22

Ka ki atu, ‘E kore koe e karanga?’

Ka karanga a Tama-uriuri, ‘Matuku — e! Nau mai ra, kia tamaahungia a tua koti puwha nei!’

Ka karanga mai a Matuku, ‘Kei te whakahere koe ki nga poh a Matuku. Hei tawhitu,23 hei tawharu ka haere atu ahau ki te tamaahu ki a tua koti puwha.’

Ka karanga ano a Tama-uriuri, ‘Matuku — e! Nau mai ra, whaia a tua koti puwha!’

Karanga mai a Matuku, ‘Kei te whakapororo koe i te manawa24 o Matuku. Akuanei rawa ano koia a Matuku.’25

Kua takoto te mahanga a Rata ki runga ki te rua o Matuku. Puta-[a]roaro-nuku te ana,26 I raro ano a Matuku. Ka karakia a Rata,

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21 Tawhitu and tawharu seem to be variants of te whitu and te waru and are translated by Wohlers as the seventh and eighth months (1874: 22). One would have expected Wohlers to standardise the spelling for his published version of the story (1874: 47), but he has left them unchanged.

22 The manuscript has tamaahungia, but Williams gives the word as tamaahu (with examples from other sources), and this is its form a little later in the passage. Koti as a verb means ‘cut in two’ or ‘divide’. Its derived form kotanga is given in Williams as ‘boundary line’, but it is also the portion of land which is enclosed by a boundary line. Matiaha uses kotiti in the same sense (Tiramorehu, 1987: 20).

23 Tawhitu in the original manuscript, corrected in the 1874 version.

24 Manawa signifies both a physical organ, translated according to context as belly, bowels or heart, and the feelings which are thought to be centred in these organs. Wohlers translates the word as ‘patience’ (1874: 22), which suits this context.

25 Literally this means something like, ‘Very soon indeed [i.e. right at this moment] here is Matuku!’ The sense is, ‘I’ll get you!’

26 This phrase has been added in the margin in pencil, in a hand which does not look like that of Wohlers, although he may have written in haste and at an unfamiliar angle. It appears in the later version as Putawharenuaku, a misreading of the original. Matiaha has Puaronuku (1987: 20).
Taku māhanga nei ka here ki runga,
Ka here ki te tangata, takitaki taua,
Ko Here-nuku\textsuperscript{27} ai, ē! Ko Here-raki ai, ē!
Ka whiwhia, ka rawea, ka maua.

Na, ka puta ake a Matuku. I raro anō a Matuku, ko te huruhuru kua puta ake. Ka puta ki runga, ka noho te māhanga ki te kakī. Ka kumea. Ka panga a Rata ki te toki. Ka mate a Matuku.


\textsuperscript{27}Wohlers originally wrote Whareraki, but changed this to Hereraki.
TRANSLATION

Matokarau-tawhiri married Wahia-roa. When his wife Matokarau-tawhiri became pregnant, Wahia-roa went of to catch birds for the pregnant woman. He came upon Matuku’s tūi-snaring territory, and brought the birds back for the pregnancy. The next day when Wahia-roa went to Matuku’s tūi-snaring ground, he was caught by Matuku, and killed.

His wife lived on. Rata was born, and was raised to manhood. He asked, ‘Wherever is my father now?’

His mother told him, ‘He’s dead.’

‘Who did it?’

‘Matuku did. He went to catch food for me. You were in my womb, and I had a craving for food. He went off to Matuku’s land and was killed.’

Rata said to her, ‘Where does Matuku live?’

‘You must look to where the sun comes up, right away out to sea. You won’t be able to get there.’

Then his mother waited. She went to fetch firewood, and searched around and found a tree, a fine tree, a tōtara. She brought back a fruit of the tree. In the evening she spoke to her son, ‘I have found a tree, a fine tree, a tōtara. Tomorrow you can go and see my tree.’

She gave him the fruit, so that Rata could find it. Rata went off and searched around. He came back and said to her, ‘I couldn’t find it.’

His mother said to him, ‘You can’t miss it, it’s a tree that has rough bark, that’s the one.’

So Rata went off and searched, but he still could not find it. His mother said to him again, ‘You can’t miss it; it’s a very rough-barked tree.’
Rata set off back there again and found that tree. The son asked his mother, ‘How should I go about it?’

His mother answered, ‘With adzes.’

Her son said, ‘These adzes are blunt; they have no teeth.’

His mother said to him, ‘Come on, off you go, take them and hold them over the backbone of your ancestress, Hine-tua-hōanga [Woman-with-a-sandstone-back].’

Now the mouth of the whetstone said, ‘Be sharp, be sharp, be sharp ...’

The adzes were now sharp. He went back home and bound them to handles, and then the sun went down. Rata went to sleep, and when dawn broke, he set off. He cut the tree down and when it fell to earth, he cut off the top.

Then Rata set off back again and went into his house. He stayed there, and when dawn broke he went off to the tree. By the time he had found it again, it was standing upright. He cut it down, and when it fell to earth, he cut off the top. He came back home and told his mother, ‘By the time I got there, the tree was standing upright.’

His mother said, ‘What did you do?’

‘I cut it down without paying proper attention.’

His mother said to him, ‘Should you have chopped down your ancestors thoughtlessly?’

‘Yes, I just chopped it down.’

His mother said to him, ‘Come on then, off you go, go back.’

Rata went back to that tree yet again. He chopped it down, and it fell to the earth. He cut off the top. He hid himself a little way away, and stood there. He listened, and he heard someone calling out to him:
It's Rata, Rata, Wahia-roa's son,  
You kept thoughtlessly cutting down  
The sacred forest of Tāne,  
The fresh green leaves of Tāne.  
The chips fly to the root,  
The chips fly to the crown.  
So they come close, so they come near,  
So they are spread out.  
Heave it up and off we go.

At once the tree stood upright. Rata moved forward as it stood up and caught it, and the people left it and gathered together to one side. Rata said to them, 'So you're the ones who are doing this to my tree! So you're the ones who are playing tricks on my tree!'

They told him, 'Off you go. Leave your tree lying here. We will work on it.'

When he got home, his mother said to him, 'What happened to your tree?'

He said, 'By the time I got there, it was standing up. I cut it down, and it fell to the ground, and I cut off the top, and hid a little way away, and stood there. As I listened, someone was calling to me, saying my name, "It's Rata, Rata, Wahia-roa's son ..."'

So then he went to sleep, and in the morning when he woke up it had arrived at the side of the house. When Rata went outside, there it was lying at the side of the house: his canoe, which those ancestors had finished for him.

When dawn broke the next day he dragged it down to the sea to lift the tapu from it. Fish from on board were taken and brought ashore. Seaweed was taken to the sacred place to have karakia recited over it. Those pieces of seaweed were taken to the sacred place for the tapu-lifting ceremony. One fish was roasted and eaten, and one of them was set aside. The next day, the other fish was cooked, the second of those fish. The fish was eaten and the basket hung up as an offering.

Now the next day the canoe was hauled to the sea. The name of the canoe was Niwaru. The war party set off, and came to the village of Kiore-roa and Kiore-poto. One of them said a karakia. One of them had a short karakia, and one of them had a long one. It was Kiore-
poto who said his:

Kiore, Kiore, look to the north,
Leave Kiore with his house in good order,
Tū-nui's house, Taṅaroa's house.
Whiti maumaua — it is Tārai-awatea.
Come together, draw together, Rona, Hana,
Bring the adze and raise the shout!

Kiore-roa was killed. They took the dead man, Kiore-roa, back with them, back to Rata's mother's village. But the death [of Wahia-roa] was not yet avenged.

Rata decided to set off, and he paddled out to sea. After some time he arrived at the village of a slave named Tama-uriuri, who was living at Puoro-nuku and Puoro-rangi (these are perhaps countries).

Rata asked him, 'Where's your master?'

He said to them, 'He's still away over there. I'm the one who's been left here to look after the gardens.'

They said to him, 'Won't he be coming here?'

The slave said, 'He won't be coming here. He told me that in the seventh or eighth month he would come and lift the tapu from our pūhā patches.'

They said to him, 'Won't you call him?'

Tama-uriuri called, 'Hey, Matuku! Come here, so that you can lift the tapu from our pūhā patches!'

Matuku called to him, 'You're getting confused over Matuku's nights. In the seventh and eighth months I'll come up to lift the tapu from our pūhā patches.'

Tama-uriuri called again, 'Hey, Matuku! Come up and perform the ceremonies for our pūhā patches!'

Matuku called out to him, 'You're wearing out Matuku's patience! Matuku's coming for
you right now!'

Rata's noose had been laid over Matuku's cave. The cave was called Puta-aroaro-nuku.

While Matuku was still below, Rata said his karakia:

My noose here which binds up above,
Which binds the man, is the avenging war-party,
It is Bind-the-earth, ee! It is Bind-the-sky, ee!
He is held, he is wrapped around, he is caught fast!'

Now Matuku came up above. While he was still below, his hair appeared above ground.
When he came up, the noose was round his neck and they pulled it tight. Rata hit at him with the adze. Matuku was killed.

Now the death was avenged. Now at last the score was evened.
PUNGAREHU AND KŌKŌMUKA-HAU-NEI:

A JOURNEY TO A STRANGE LAND
INTRODUCTION

This story has obvious connections with the better known myth about Tura’s visit to the island of women.\(^1\) In both stories the heroes are swept away from their home and carried to a strange and distant land. In both cases the people who inhabit this land are called Te Aitanga o Nuku-mai-tore, the Descendants of Nuku-mai-tore: strange, non-human beings who do not know the use of fire. The visitor from the human world must teach the non-human people how to light fires and cook food.

However, the two stories are significantly different. Tura’s story, combined with that of Whiro, is a powerful myth about life and death. The fairy people of Tura’s island are all women, to whom he must teach the art of procreation and childbirth, and this knowledge inevitably brings old age and death. Whiro’s and Tura’s names are known in waiata, karakia and whakataukī in many parts of the country.

The story of Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei, on the other hand, seems to be a more localised folktale, which draws on some of the themes of the myth but uses them to create a tale of adventure. On Pungarehu’s island there are both men and women, and the heroes do not teach the people the proper way to have children. Instead, they rid the island of a giant bird which has been preying on those living there. The story ends happily for all concerned, and the heroes return safely to their wives and home.

The names in the story

The names of the two main figures may or may not be significant in the context of the story.\(^2\) Pungarehu literally means ‘ashes’, and it is possible that this may reflect the fact that Pungarehu introduces the people of Hawaiki to fire.\(^3\) As for Kōkōmuka-hau-nei, the

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\(^1\)See ‘Whiro and Tura : a journey to death and a journey to life’.
\(^2\)The two names appear only in the title and not in the body of the text. Wohlers gave his later, published version the title ‘The tale of a fishing canoe blown off the land’ (1875: 109-10).
\(^3\)Another person bearing the name Pungarehu is among Turi’s band of immigrants to Aotearoa (Grey, 1956: 170). Turi’s party find on the beach a pair of footprints, one normal and one crooked, which belong to another of their number who has been thrown overboard and who has arrived ahead of the main party. This is all the information given about this incident, but the combination new land / crooked footprint / Pungarehu suggests an association with the Murihiku story.
first part of his name, kōkōmuka, is perhaps the southern form of the word for the hebe shrub (known as koromiko in the north). In one of his discussions of southern lore, Beattie quotes (in English) what is said to be the Waitaha version of a well known proverb: ‘Kokomuka was the shrub which cooked the pouākai’. Kōkōmuka-hau-nei’s name may therefore reflect an association of ideas between the man and the plant, both of which played their part in destroying the pouākai. One cannot, however, read too much into this.

It is not clear whether the name Te Aitanga o Nuku-mai-tore is felt to have any specific meaning, but the fact that these people are all women is probably indicated in the last element of the name, tore (which means, among other things, ‘pudenda muliebria’).

The home village

The storyteller sets the scene by describing the usual activities of the two men. Their lives are governed by routine: they get up, go fishing, bring back the fish, have their meal and go to bed. The narrator gives the list twice, so that listeners are made aware of the ordinariness of the men’s lives.

A distant land

One day, however, all this changes, for the men are blown away to a strange land. The comment that the sea has been deep throughout their journey but now becomes shallow has a symbolic significance, besides describing a physical reality. For the land which they are approaching is Hawaiki, the land which is sometimes said to be surrounded by shallow seas, and where the dead are said to go when the tide is at its lowest.

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4 Beattie, 1918: 151. The proverb is usually worded He koromiko te wahi e taona ai te moa (Grey, 1857: 18). The Waitaha version may be a later adaptation of the proverb, arising from a more recent identification of the pouākai with the moa.

5 The Nuku-mai-tore are women in the story of Tura; compare ‘island of women’ stories (see ‘Whiro and Tura: a voyage to death and a voyage to life’). Other variants of the name are Nuku-mau-tere (Gill, 1915: 151), Nuku-mau-toru (Audran, 1929: 319-21); Nuku-mau-toe or Nuu-mau-toe (Von den Steinen, 1988: 76-93); Nuku-mau-tole, ‘The Island-of-many-vaginas’ and Nuku-namu-tole, ‘The Island-smelling-of-vaginas’ (Beaglehole, 1938: 401-2). Beaglehole reports that on the island of Pukapuka, a man who is having trouble finding himself a woman can be told to ‘Go to Nuku-mau-tole!’ — a land where there is no male competition.

6 References to this belief are scattered throughout waiata; see for example Ngata and Hurinui, song 162, line 6; see also Orbell, 1985a: 15-16. This idea is found in traditions in Island Polynesia as well: Samoan and Tongan tales tell of the shallow seas surrounding the paradisial land of Pulotu (Brown, 1915: 94; Gifford, 1923: 149); and in a Marquesan song, a man sings of his dead wife in Hawaiki, whose ‘tide is low’ (Orbell, 1987: 173). In the last karakia in ‘Ko Tautini’ (story no. 14), this may also be the significance of the phrase,
In this version of the story the people of Hawaiki live on seal meat. In other stories which recount the killing of a giant bird in Hawaiki the heroes are said to find kūmara growing on the shore, or to find an old woman eating a whale.7 So Hawaiki is seen as a paradisial land where food, especially prestigious food such as whales and kūmara, is found in abundance. Hawaiki is also a highly tapu place, as evidenced in its inhabitants’ ignorance of fire and cooking.8 Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei call these people atua, spirits, as opposed to the tāngata or human beings who know about fire and eat cooked food. In fact, the land itself seems to lack the proper materials for use in generating fire. When Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei arrive on the island they search unsuccessfully for some wood with which to make a fire plough. As they find nothing suitable, they are forced to use material brought on their own canoe from their own, human land.

A strange people

When the two men land on the shore, they see strange footsteps. The wording of this passage is ambiguous, but the significance seems to be that there are two sets of footprints, one print of each being that of a human foot and the other a ‘walking stick foot’.9 A similar motif occurs elsewhere. People with supernatural powers are often said to be half human and half non-human: they may have one side which is made of stone or fish, or one side which is rotten while the other is still alive.10

‘Tautini’s paddle, wield it on the shallow sea’, which is repeated twice (one would otherwise expect a pair of contrasted concepts, ‘shallow’ and ‘deep’).

Another name for the land to which the two visitors come is Tawhiti-nui-a-rua (the name Tawhiti, sometimes accompanied by an epithet, is often found in association with that of Hawaiki). Wohlers makes the two names into two different places in his 1875 version (Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei are from Hawaiki, the other two from Tawhiti-nui-a-rua), but other beliefs about Hawaiki and comparisons with stories similar to this one show that the strange land to which the visitors come must be Hawaiki. What is more, the woman at the end sings of her husband ‘separated in Hawaiki’ (the fact that this can also mean ‘dead’ in no way negates this argument).

7Makitanara, 1983: 16-28; Orbell, 1968: 90-104. As already noted in the discussion of the story of Rongo-i-tua, Hawaiki is the land from which the kūmara is brought back to Aotearoa. Whales, too, are a prestigious food often associated with Hawaiki (see, for example, McLean and Orbell, 1975: 73.) The Pou-a-hao-kai (another name for the poukākai) is said to be the guardian of whales in this oriori.

8Cooked food was thought to be supremely destructive of tapu, as evidenced by the many restrictions against taking it aboard war canoes or into sacred places, meeting houses and so on; and by its use as a tapu-remover in countless rituals. Fairies, too, are said to be atua. They fear fire and the steam from cooking fires, and eat their food raw (Cowan 1925: 34-5).

9The comment that one of the people is lame may well be the storyteller’s rationalisation of the information.

10See the remarks concerning Muri-rangi-whenua in episode 10 of ‘Māra: trickster and innovator’. Hine-poupou, the miraculous swimmer, has one side whole and one side rotten on completion of her swim (see
The inhabitants of the land are also said to have staring eyes. At first Pungarehu and his companion fear that they are staring threateningly at them, but they soon realise that the men are absorbed in their work and not taking any notice of the visitors. This total absorption with the work in hand is perhaps evidence of the same kind of intense application said to be exhibited by fairies when they fish or build dams and causeways all night long.

The Descendants of Nuku-mai-tore people are, as we have noted, all women. They are, therefore, members of a different group from that of the two men found on the island by Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei. The men appear to disassociate themselves from the women by calling them kaikeka, ‘madwomen’, and by warning the visitors that the women will attempt to kill them. On the other hand, the women seem to be at home in the village where they do their dance, the village to which the two men take their visitors.

The dance performed by the women is full of menace: knives are brandished as they sing their provocative song. But the dance is also highly erotic. The scene is reminiscent of the one in which Tinirau’s sisters perform an erotic dance in order to lure Kae back to Tinirau’s village to be killed. Here too the women are said to kowhiti; that is, they dance in such a way that they display their genitals. Kae’s response is to laugh, and as a consequence he is borne off to his death. Unlike the unsuspecting Kae, Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei have been warned of the danger, and so they do not laugh.

Although the heroes do not introduce natural childbirth as Tura does, hints of this motif are present in this story. The women put all their sexual energies into copulating with kiekie flowers, rather than mating in a normal, human fashion. And the flint knives which they

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11 The word *kana* and its duplicated form *kanakana* are related to *ptikana*, the fixed stare adopted in posture dances, and *matakana*, ‘wary, watchful, on the lookout’. Also connected are the words *kanapa* and *kanapū*, ‘flashing’. In our story, however, it would seem that the two workers are gazing at their work in an almost mesmerised fashion, oblivious to what is going on around them. Another idea which may be in the minds of the heroes as they gaze at the strange men is witchcraft, since this too is one of the meanings of *kanakana*. In two Ngāti Kahungunu stories strange people are described as having *whatu kanae* (Smith, 1915: 69 and 71; Best, 1922: 4 and 17). The kanae is a fish, so no doubt the same idea (of unblinking fixity combined with strangeness) is being expressed here.

12 White, 1887, II: 130-46; Taylor, 1870: 242-3; this is also discussed in Johansen, 1958: 151-8.

13 See the discussion of this in ‘Whiro and Tura: a voyage to death and a voyage to life’, note 28.
carry have their counterpart in the flint knives carried by the women who come to cut open Tura’s wife in order to remove her child.14

Fire is brought to the island

The most striking feature about the people among whom Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei find themselves is their ignorance of fire. They welcome their visitors and give them food, but the food of the country is raw seal meat, and the visitors cannot eat it.

When Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei light a cooking fire, the people respond with a kind of karakia whose purpose seems to be to try to chase the strangers away.15 But Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei are not affected by the karakia. They proceed to make an earth oven, light the fire and cook food. This important process is described in detail.

In contrast to their horrified reaction at the smoke of the fire, the people are now full of praise for the delicious food set before them. The same statement is made about them as Tura makes about the Nuku-mai-tore in his island: ‘You are not human beings, but spirits!’ That is, the same contrast is made between spirit and human, raw food and cooked food, the tapu world of Hawaiiki and the ordinary human world of Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei.

The pouākai

In many parts of Polynesia there are stories of a giant bird which acts in a similar manner to the pouākai of the Murihiku story. The giant bird in these narratives is called Veka, Halulu and other names, and these stories are so widespread that they must be ancient. When stories about the bird became localised in the South Island of Aotearoa, they must have gained particular potency because of the presence in that island of a large, ferocious

14 The dangerous female menace is expressed in a different way in two versions of the ‘island of women’ story from Island Polynesia: the man who lands on the island is so much in demand that he is killed by its female inhabitants, the Nuku-mau-tere (Gill, 1915: 151; Beaglehole, 1938: 401-2). See also note 5.
15 Compare the chant uttered by the old woman in Makitanara, 1983: 20: Piropiro haunga! Ka wera a Hawaiiki; ‘What a foul stench! Hawaiiki is burning.’ In other stories it is an ogre who, as he enters the room where the hero is hidden, says Piropiro haungaunga! Taku kai he tangata; in effect, ‘What do I smell! Human beings for me to eat’ (Taylor, 1870: 257; White, 1887, I: 70 (Māori version). These may well be alternative interpretations of the same chant.
eagle which has since become extinct.  

In stories told in Aotearoa this episode is often set in a strange and distant land, often named as Hawaiki. It has, however, become particularly associated with Te Waipounamu, the South Island, where there are several local versions which name specific mountain ranges, rivers and so on as the territory of the pouākai.

The name of the bird varies somewhat, and this gives rise to different explanations. In one version it is called Pou-a-Hawaiki or ‘Pou-of-Hawaiki’, obviously a reference to its supposed place of origin. Another version calls it Pou-a-hao-kai, and relates how the bird uses its wings to scoop up (hao) its food (kai). One storyteller sees in the first syllables of the name the word pōua, ‘old man’ or ‘grandfather’, common in Kāi Tahu dialect.  

Although the enemy is a giant bird rather than a giant reptile, the story follows a similar pattern to the well-known ngārara stories. The heroes set a trap by building a special house, as they do in many ngārara stories. The drama of the story is built up by having the monster put first one wing and then the other into the house, each being broken in turn by the waiting humans. After the death blow is struck, the monster is usually cut open to reveal greenstone, weapons and human bones in its stomach. In the Murihiku story the bird has a hoard of bones back in the cave where it has been living.

In some versions of the story the hunters are said to find two chicks in the pouākai’s cave, and in one version (Te Maihāroa’s, see below) the chicks sing a song which the hunters take care to learn before they kill them. This is reminiscent of the lament which, in some ngārara stories (including the one in our collection), is sung by the ngārara’s two scales.

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16There is no need to identify the pouākai with any particular extinct bird, such as the moa or harpagornis moorei (the giant eagle), birds which were found in Aotearoa but not in other islands where the story was told. As in the case of the ngārara, one can adequately account for the folktale animal by recognising that it has the characteristics of a real-life animal, but blown up to enormous proportions to make it into a monster. In a story from the East Coast of the North Island, the Pou-a-hao-kai is said to be the companion of Matukutangotango, another bird-monster (White, 1887, III: 2–4).

17See ‘Other versions’ at the end of this chapter. North Island Māori apparently spoke of the bird as inhabiting the South Island, for Taylor lists in his ‘Natural History’ section ‘an immense bird which lived on the tops of the mountains of the Middle [i.e. South] Island, and was called powakai’ (Taylor, 1870: 610).

18See the versions at the end of this chapter.

19See the discussion of ngārara in the section ‘Ngārara and taniwha’ of ‘Ruru-teina: victory for the youngest son’.
There is one significant difference between pouākai and ngārara stories: the pouākai takes human victims for food only. It remains remote from its human victims, unlike ngārara, which capture human women as wives and sometimes even produce half-human offspring. The pouākai sometimes has a wife and offspring, but these are birds, with the same attributes as the male pouākai.

The return

In the end, the hero must leave the new land and return to his own home. In the story of Tura, the hero takes a wife and fathers a son while living in the land of women. In some of the stories about the killing of the giant bird, the hero is given a wife from among the people as a reward for ridding the community of the destructive pest. There is sometimes a running contest, in which the successful runner is the one who wins the wife.²⁰ Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei, however, do not take wives from among the people of Hawaiki. As soon as their contest with the pouākai is over, they make their way back to their former home.

Once they arrive in their village, the two men find their house reeking of abandonment and decay. Their wives have taken new husbands and are living in a nearby house. However, it is obvious that they still think affectionately of their former husbands, for one of them wakes and sings a waiata aroha, a song of love and longing.

This waiata is a typical example of the genre: the woman mentions the evening, the time of the setting sun, when her longing for her husband ‘rises up’. He is, she thinks, far away in Hawaiki. This may be a way of saying that he is dead, since the souls of the dead were thought to travel to that land. She has mentioned her separation from her husband, and now speaks of a range of mountains which separates them: this is probably symbolic of their separation, and does not necessarily refer to an actual mountain range. Her husband’s voice is said to come to her over these mountains, making her grief ‘bite’ (kai) more deeply.

After singing her song, the wife wakes up. Both wives now recognise their former

²⁰See the versions A 2(a), A 2(b) and A 3(b) at the end of this chapter.
husbands. Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei, reunited with their wives in their own land, now take up their old lives again.

The story in this particular form is unique, but there are other stories which share some of the same motifs. A selection of these narratives is summarised below.

OTHER VERSIONS

A. Aotearoa

1. Waitaha

a. Stack, 1877: 63-4

Stack’s story is similar to the pouākai episode in the Murihiku version, but is set at Tāwera, Mount Torlesse, and its hero is Hau o Tāwera. According to Stack, this is one of ‘the scraps of Waitaha history which have survived’.

Stack also gives the location of two other traditional ‘pouākai’s nests’, one near Greymouth and one in Otago. Pouakai is said to mean ‘old glutton’ (from pōua, ‘old man’ or ‘grandfather’; kai ‘food’).

b. Te Maihāroa, 1957: 12-15

The pouākai lives on top of Mount Torlesse in Canterbury. A group of men, led by Ruru, build a cage over a depression in the ground. Ruru, who is a swift runner, lures the bird into the trap, where it is with great difficulty killed. The hunters climb Mount Torlesse and hear Pouākai’s chicks mourning for him. They learn the song, and then kill the chicks.

c. Skinner, 1912: 146-7

The story is set in the West Coast of the South Island. The bird is called Pou-a-Hawaiki, ‘Pou of Hawaiki’. Pukerehu kills it by hiding in a lake and waving a dogskin on a stick to attract it. He kills its mate and climbs to its nest, where he finds and kills two chicks.
2. Rangitāne/Ngāti Kuia


The first half of the story concerns Hine-poupou and the revenge she takes on her husband. In the second half, the husband and his brother are blown away from their land and washed up on an island called Hawaiki, where kīmara are growing on the shore. They find an old woman who does not know the use of fire, and introduce her to cooked food. She tells them about the pouākai, instructs them how to kill it by building a house as a trap, and gets them to run a race to see who will be the decoy. The younger brother wins.

They see the bird scooping (hao) fish up with its wings, lure it to the trap, and kill it. The old woman’s daughter (or grand-daughter — she is called both) has been promised to the younger brother as his wife, but the elder brother takes her. When the three return home to Te Wai Pounamu, the elder brother’s first wives jealously kill the wife from Hawaiki.21


This version is similar to the one above, except that the younger son marries the daughter. When she becomes pregnant, the women cut her open and she dies (compare the myth of Tura). The monster is called a ‘taniwha’ or a ‘fish’ throughout, but it has wings and acts in the same way as the pouākai.


The story was collected in 1851. It is also similar, except that the old woman has no daughter.

3. Ngāti Koata


This story is similar to the ngārara stories discussed in the section ‘Ngārara and taniwha’ of

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21 This last episode is probably an example of a transferred motif, since it is similar to the caesarian birth motif in stories about the ‘island of women’.
'Ruru-teina: victory for the youngest son', but the fact that the ngārara has wings gives it a certain resemblance to the pouākai stories.


In this story too the ngārara has wings, and lives with an old woman and her daughter on a magic, disappearing island where kūmara grow wild. A party of men who are shipwrecked on the island kill the ngārara, and their leader is given the young woman as his wife. So this story follows a similar pattern to pouākai stories.

B. Island Polynesia

1. Tahiti and Tuamotu

Henry, 1928: 494; 504.

The description of Matuku-tangotango in these versions of the story of Rata resembles descriptions of the pouākai.22

2. Hawai'i


Kukali is carried away by a giant bird called Halulu, and dropped into a walled valley, along with other human victims. When it wishes to eat, the bird puts down one wing at a time and scoops out its prey. Under Kukali's direction, the people attack it, destroying first one wing and then the other. Having climbed out of the valley, they throw down burning branches to destroy the body. Two of the breast feathers fly away.

3. Samoa


Longoboa and Kae go on a journey to the edge of the world. Kae lands on an island

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22The figure of Matuku-tangotango, which is found in many stories about Rata (see 'Other versions' at the end of 'Rata: canoe builder and avenger'), has many similarities with the pouākai. The Tahitian and Tuamotuan versions have been chosen because their detailed descriptions clearly reveal these similarities.
inhabited by a giant bird, Kanivatu, and keeps himself alive by eating meat from a stranded whale. He eventually clings to the bird’s legs to escape from the island.

4. Tokeleau


A man-eating bird called Veka is unsuccessfully attacked by two brothers called Faitititi and Tagulu (two words for thunder). It is finally killed by the youngest brother, Te Uila (Lightning). This is the reason that lightning now precedes thunder.

The description of the killing closely resembles descriptions in the other versions.

5. Tonga

Gifford, 1924: 139-42.

This version is similar to version B 3.
KO PUNGAREHU RÄUA KO KÖKÖMUKA-HAU-NEI


Ka haere rāua. Ka kite rāua i waho i te oneone e takoto ana ngā tapuwae. Kotahi te wae wae tokotoko, kotahi te wae wae tangata. He hape te wae wae o tētahi, he wae wae tika tētahi. Ka kī rāua, 'Kei whea ra ngā tāngata nāna i tapuai?'

Ka whakarongo rāua, e pā ana te toki i rō o ngāherehere. Ā, ka haere rāua. Ka whakarongo haere. Ka kī atu tētahi, 'Na, tau anō e pā mai nei.'

Ā, ka titiro atu rāua, 'Āne na e tārae mai nei.'

Ā, ka whana atu rāua. E tārae ana. Haere tou te rerenga o te maramara, haere ngā kanohi titiro ki reira. Ka rere te maramara a tētahi; haere tou ngā kanohi ki reira. Ā, ka kanakana aua tāngata nei. Ka kī atu te waha o tētahi, 'E tā, kei te kana tou ngā kanohi o ngā tāngata nei'

Ka kī atu te waha o tētahi, 'He kanakana noa anō ia. Kāhore tāua kia kitea mai.'

1White 1887, II: 30-4 (English); 30-4 (Maori).
2Williams gives pāiri as 'wash boards' attached to the sides of a canoe'. Wohlers's translation of the word is 'some pieces used for barracouta hooks'. It is possible that pāiri is a variant of pī, which can mean 'fish-hook', but the phrase o tō rāua waka suggests that what is being referred to here is in fact a part of the canoe. Whakapekeina must be derived from peke, 'upper part of the arm, shoulder'. 'Conceal', given as a meaning for whakapeke by Williams, is a secondary meaning derived from the idea of folding the limbs to conceal oneself.
3Wohlers has two words, tapu ai in his manuscript here. The sense, however, is tapu (or tapuwea) used in a verbal sense, 'make footprints'. Wohlers regularised all spellings of the word to tapuwea for his 1874 version. For the ending ai, see the introductory section, 'The Language of the South', subsection A 2(d).
4White has changed tau to tou and omitted anō to make sense of this difficult sentence. However, the phrase as it stands is the one used by Wohlers in his later version, and therefore it must have made some sense to him. It would seem that tau is a verb, perhaps Williams's tau (v) 2, 'to fall, of blows'.
5See a discussion of the word kanakana in the introduction to this story, footnote 11.
I haere whakamoka rāua — ninihā haere atu ai rāua — whakapinipini. 6 Ā, ka haere tou atu rāua. Tahuri rawa ake, ka hopukina, ka mau. Ka tau rātou, ka ui mai ki a rāua, ‘No whea kōrua?’

Ka kī atu rāua, ‘No uta māua; na te hau māua i pupuhi mai.’ Ka kī atu rāua, ‘No whea hoki kōrua?’ 7

Ka kī mai rāua, ‘No Hawaiki māua, no Tawhiti-nui-a-rua māua.’

Ka kī atu rāua, ‘Kei whea tō kōrua na kāinga?’

Ka kī mai, ‘Na tō mātou na kāinga.’


Ā, ka haere rātou. Rokohina atu te Aitanga a Nuku-mai-tore e oni ana i runga i te tāwhara o te kiekie. Ā, ka haere rātou ki rō o te whare. Ka noho rātou i rō o te whare. A, ka takaina mai he kai, hōmai ki rō o te whare. He pakake mata. Kāhore hoki rāua kia kai. Noho tou rāua. (Kāhore he ahi o taua wāhi. Ā, ka ota anō ngā tāngata o reira, ka kai mata tou rātou.) 8 Ā, ka noho.

Ka ahiahi te rā. Ka hōmai he pakake ma rāua, kāhore hoki rāua kia kai. Noho tou rāua. Ā, ka puta mai te kaikōwhiti ki a rāua; kautete te matā ki runga ki te rākau. 9 Ā, ka haere mai, ka kōwhiti, ka mea mai,

Tēnā ka kata, tēnā ka kore;
Tēnā ka kata, tēnā ka kore.


Ā ... ka ahiahi te rā, ka kī atu tērā, 10 ‘Pāia mai te whare.’

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6 This may be a dialectal form for whakapinepine (the same sort of form occurs elsewhere in these texts) or a spelling error. There may also be a merging with the word whakapiripiri.

7 These two speeches are made atu, that is, ‘away from’ the speaker, while the speeches made by the other two people are made mai, that is, ‘towards’ Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hauneei, the two with whom the reader or listener identifies. The context makes it clear that the two speeches grouped together here are made by Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hauneei.

8 Wohlers closes the brackets after wāhi, but the sentence which follows also forms part of the same explanatory aside.

9 Wohlers makes a very definite break after rāua: a semi-colon in this manuscript and a full stop in his later version. In the latter version he also writes kaikōwhiti as one word. This is the group of women, the kaikēka, about whom the strangers have been warned.

10 Tērā usually refers to the last person mentioned by name. In this case, although Pungarehu must be meant, he has been referred to by name only in the title.
Ka tangohia ake tā rāua kaueti. Ā, ka hikaina, ā, ka tae te haunga ki ngā ihu o ngā tāngata. Ka karanga mai,

Piopio11 tai whakarua,
Na wai koe i hōmai ki tōku taiwhenua?
E ĭ, haere.
Piopio tai whakarua,
Na wai koe i hōmai ki tōku taiwhenua?
E ĭ, haere.


Ka kī atu te waha o ērā, 'Ehara kōrua14 i te tāngata, he atua koia koutou. Ehara koutou i te tāngata, he ota tonu tā koutou kai.'

Ā, ka noho rātou. Ka kī mai ki a rāua, 'Kotahi te mea e iki nei i a mātou, he pouākai' (he manu kaitangata).15

Ka kī atu te waha o ērā, 'E haere ana ki whea i mahiti ai koutou?'

Ka kī mai ngā tāngata o reira, 'Whana atu mātou ki te wai, whāwhai tou mai.'

Ka kī atu te waha o ērā, 'E kore anō e kītea te haeremaitanga?'

Ka kī mai te waha o ērā, 'Na wai [i] kī,16 e kītea atu ana.'

11 Williams glosses this word as 'stranger'. His example suggests that it is used in ceremonial welcomes.
12 The only word resembling this in Williams is tokomahu, 'steam'. Tokowahu may be a dialectal variant or a spelling error.
13 Williams does not give the verb típakī, but two words which must have related meanings are típakina 'a small basket for food' and típako, 'pick out, select'.
14 Koutou is meant here, since Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hauhei are addressing all the people. The confusion may have arisen because throughout much of the story the dual form of the pronoun is used.
15 The phrase in parenthesis ('a man-eating bird') seems to have been added by Wöhlers as an explanation. I have therefore omitted it from my translation.
16 Literally this means 'Who said so?' but as Shortland states (1856: 310) it is used as 'a term of contradiction'. As the previous question is posed in the negative, Na wai [i] kī here has the sense of, 'Oh yes we do!'

Ā, ka hoki mai ērā ki te kāinga, noho ai. Ā ... ka mokaka rāua, ka aroha ki ā rāua wāhine. Ā, ka haere rāua, ka tae ki tā rāua waka. Ka mānū ki rō o te wai. Ka hoe rāua. Ā, ka ahiahi te rā, ā, ka pō. Ka ā ki tō rāua kāinga. Ā, ka haere rāua ki rō o tō rāua whare. Kua mahue, kua kurikurikia19 (haunga) i rō o te whare. Ka kī atu rāua, ‘Kua mahue — kua mate rānei?’

Ā, ka titiro rāua ki tētahi whare, e kā ana te ahi. Ka mahara rāua, ‘Na na anō, kei tērā whare.’

Ka haere rāua ki tērā whare. Ka tomo atu rāua ki rō o te whare. Ka noho rāua. Kāhore rāua kia kītea — e moe ana ngā tāngata. Ko tētahi ko tōna wāhine, ko tētahi ko tōna wāhine. (Kua noho ē rāua wāhine i te tāngata kē.) Ka hoki ake te kauwhou20 o tētahi wāhine. Ka mea ake ka tangi ake,

Whano ka ahiahi, ka whana ake te aroha
Ko te matua i wehea ki Hawaiki.
Tērā te waha te pā mai i tua mauanga rārā.
Ka kai, ē.

Ā, i te ata ka whakaara ake ngā wāhine me ngā tāne. Ka kī atu tētahi wāhine, ‘Ko ā tāua tāne!’

Ā, ka noho i ā rāua tāne tawhiti21 anō.

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17They made a house with a window (mataa or mataaho) but, as the phrase in parenthesis indicates, no porch and therefore no door.
18The manuscript has pekea here.
19The only example in Williams of this descriptive word comes from this text. Literally it means ‘it had become like dogs’; the word added in parenthesis means ‘stink’. Williams does not give the word a macron.
20Williams does not give this word, and the only meaning given for the similar kauhau or kauwhau (‘recite, proclaim, declare aloud’) does not fit here. Watkin’s list contains the word kauhou, which he translates as both ‘the lungs’ and ‘to breathe’ (Harlow, 1987: 32). It would seem that the idea is that her spirit or consciousness (hau) returns, that is, she wakes and sings. The word kauhou occurs elsewhere, for example in the story of Tama (Q.V.).
21Tawhiti (‘their old husbands’) may be meant here, but tawhiti does not seem out of place in this context. The husbands are returning after a long stay in distant Hawaiki, so can be described as ‘husbands from afar’. This sentence is omitted in the 1874 version.
Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei lived with their wives. They would go to sea to fish for barracouta, and when the canoe was full, come back to shore. The women would go down and bring the fish ashore, gut the fish and throw away the gills. They would tie up the fish, carry them away to the storehouse, then take a rest. The next day the men would go to sea, and when the canoe was full, come back to shore. The fish would be gutted, the gills thrown away, and the fish tied up. The fish would be carried to the storehouse and hung up. An oven would be lit to cook the fish, and when they were cooked, the people would eat them. When the sun went down, they would go to sleep.

One morning the canoe put out to sea. The wind howled, and they sailed away, blown by the wind. For a long time they sailed on, over the deep sea. Then at last the sea became quite shallow, and they came to land. They dragged their canoe ashore. They looked for a firestick, but nothing was to be found. But there were some pieces of wood from their canoe. They put these under their armpits.

Then they set off. Further along the coast, on the ground, they saw footprints. There was one walking-stick footprint and one human footprint. One was made by twisted feet, and one by normal feet. They said to each other, ‘Wherever are the people who made these footprints?’

They listened to the sound of an adze striking in the forest. So they set off, listening as they went. One said to the other, ‘There it is, it’s a knocking sound, coming in this direction.’

And so they looked and said, ‘Yes, there they are, adzing away.’

So they approached, as the others kept on adzing. The chips kept flying, while the men’s eyes followed them as they went. Each man’s chips flew, and his eyes followed them as they went. Their eyes gazed at them in a fixed stare. One of the two visitors said, ‘Friend, see how these people’s eyes keep staring away!’

The other one said, ‘They’ve just got their eyes fixed on nothing in particular; they haven’t
seen us.'

They crept up cautiously, moving with great stealth, keeping close one behind the other. They came right up close. Before the others had time to turn round, they had caught them and held them fast. They all sat down, and the others asked, 'Where do you come from?'

The two of them said, 'We've come from the shore. We were blown here by the wind.' Then they said, 'And where do you two come from?'

The others said, 'We're from Hawaiki, from Tawhitinui-a-rua.'

Pungarehu and his companion said, 'Where's your village?'

And they said, 'Our village is over there.'

They all set off. When they had gone some distance, the other men said, 'In a little while some crazy people will come up to you, but you mustn't laugh. If you laugh, you will die.'

And so they went on, until they came upon the Nuku-mai-tore tribe copulating on the kickie flowers. So they went on into the house and sat there. Food was prepared, and brought into the house. It was raw seal meat, and the two men could not eat it. They just sat there. (There was no fire at that place, and so the people of the place just had uncooked food, they ate their food quite raw.) The two continued to sit there, and when the sun went down, seal meat was brought for them, but they would not eat it. They just sat there.

At length the dancers appeared, with their flint knives bound on wooden handles. As they approached, they displayed themselves, and said to them,

       Now you laugh, now you don't,
       Now you laugh, now you don't.

But they did not laugh, so the women just went away. So they stayed there, and they all went to sleep. The next morning, seal meat was brought for them and the others ate it raw. The two men continued to sit there.

Then, when the sun went down, Pungarehu said, 'Close the door of the house.'
They took their firestick. When they had rubbed it to kindle a fire, the smell reached the noses of the people. They cried out,

Strangers from the north-east,
Who brought you to my land?
Stand up and go.
Strangers from the north-east,
Who brought you to my land?
Stand up and go.

The two men swung the fire backwards and forwards until it blazed up, and they lit the oven, and when that blazed up they moved the stones out. They arranged some of the stones in the oven. They put the seal meat in and placed the other stones on top of the meat. Then they placed mats over the top, and covered the oven up with earth so that it was buried. They went to one side and waited. After a short while they came back and opened the oven. The steam rose up, and with it the appetising smell. When they smelt the appetising smell the people all cried out, 'How good it smells!'

The men went to the oven, and put the seal meat into small baskets. They carried it inside the house, and the people were delighted, for now they were eating cooked food for the very first time. So they ate their meal, and when the sun went down, they went to sleep. When day broke, the oven was lit again, and when the seal meat was cooked they ate it. They said, 'Now we're eating cooked food for the very first time; we only had raw food before.'

The other two said to them, 'You're not human beings, you're spirits! You're not human beings, because you just eat raw food.'

And so the two continued living there. The people said to them, 'There's one creature that's devouring our people, and that's a pouākai.'

Pungarehu and his companion said, 'Where does it come to, to eat you all up?'

The people of the place said, 'When we go to fetch water it rushes down on us.'
The two men said, 'Don’t you ever see it coming?'

The others said, 'Well yes, of course we see it coming.'

So they built a house, and when it was finished they made a window in it. It had no front porch. The two men jumped up to the window and sat there. They waited for a while, and then they saw it coming towards them. It came nearer, and when it was still some distance away it thrust its head out at them. It came nearer and nearer. Suddenly it jabbed its beak on one of them. He jabbed back with his adze. One wing was broken. Then the tip of the other wing was broken. They struck at the bird and killed it. Then they went to see its cave, and found human bones lying in heaps there.

So they went back to the village to live. After some time the two men felt lonely, and longed for their wives. So they set off, and when they reached their canoe they put out to sea and paddled off. The sun went down, and night came. They landed at their own village, and then went off into their own house. It was deserted, and inside it had a musty smell as if dogs had been in it. They said to each other, 'Have they left — or perhaps they’re dead?'

So they looked across to another house where a fire was burning. They thought to themselves, 'Yes, there they are, in that house over there.'

They went to the house and stepped inside. They sat down there. They could not be seen, for the people were all asleep, each with his own wife. (The wives had married new husbands.) One regained consciousness, and sang as she wept:

When evening comes, my love rises up
For my husband who is far away in Hawaiki.
It is his voice which comes to me from over the far mountains,
It consumes me, ʻē.

And so in the morning the women and their husbands awoke. One of the women said,

'There are our husbands!'

Then they went back to their husbands who had come from far away.
PIPIT AND DOTTEREL:

TWO THIEVING BIRD BROTHERS
INTRODUCTION

This brief tale deals with several of the major preoccupations which are found in the myths analysed earlier in this study: relationships between elder and younger brothers; a power struggle over the possession of a precious resource, the kūmara; and the origins of other living things (in this case, two common birds). These serious themes are treated in a humorous manner.

Summary of the story

Pīoioi,¹ ‘Pipit’, hears his elder brother Kūkuruatu, ‘Dotterel’, crunching something in a noisy way, and demands to know what he is eating. Kūkuruatu tries to pretend that it is a louse, but is eventually forced to admit that he is enjoying kūmara stolen from the storehouse of an old woman called Te Ruahine-mata-māori. The two brothers go to visit the storehouse, but are seen by the old woman’s grandchild. Te Ruahine tells the grandchild to watch how the two fly; the one who flies hunched up will be food, but the one who flies stretched out will be a spirit.

The two brothers enter the storage pit and proceed to eat and defecate. The old woman reaches down with her net. Kūkuruatu escapes but Pīoioi is caught. As she is about to throw him into her oven, he asks to be allowed to perform his haka. He dances further and further away from her, and finally snatches up the grandchild and runs off. The old woman yells at him to come back, then gives up the chase and says that she will come after him later.

After two unsuccessful attempts, the brothers finally succeed in cooking the grandchild in their oven.

¹See textual note 1 for the form of the name.
Analysis in detail

The two birds

As we have seen, in Māori stories it is not unusual to find a figure who partakes of more than one nature. Matuku the enemy of Rata, for example, is seen in human terms but at the same time as a bird. There are numerous other examples of this in the literature. The figures in these stories have a dual nature; they speak and act as men, and at the same time perform actions and display characteristics which show them to be birds or other animals.

The two brothers in this story are two birds, Pīioioi, New Zealand Pipit, and Kīkūruatu, Banded Dotterel. These birds are found widely throughout Aotearoa, and share a common habitat in the rough, open country of both islands. In another version of this story from the South Island, the two brothers are said to have originated as men, but to have taken on the form of birds to escape from the old woman. However, in the story recorded by Wohlers no miraculous transformation takes place, and the etiological element is implied rather than made the focal point of the tale. Kīkūruaru is not said to be branded on the chest by the old woman, as he is in Te Maihāroa’s tale; however, the birds’ particular mode of flight is mentioned in the tale, and it may be that the story is understood as accounting for this.

The dual human/bird nature of the two brothers is brought out in the two eating episodes in our story. In the first, the brothers are catching, cooking and eating barracouta, and discussing their meal, in a way that is completely human. However, in a later episode they are in the kūmara pit, and this time the description is of birdlike behaviour, for they are ‘eating and defecating, eating and defecating’. The old woman tries to catch them in the way that she would catch birds, with a long-handled net.

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2Pātātai, ‘Banded rail’, also tricks a woman (Pani) out of her kūmara (Colenso, 1878-81, 14: 37-9). In a story recorded by Grey, Kupe says that two ‘people’, Kōkako and Tiwaiwaka (Fantail), will answer Turi from the land (Grey, 1971: 93). See also ‘Ruru-teina: victory for the youngest son’ note 1, and the discussion of Kiore-tī and Kiore-tā.

3See summary number A 1 at the end of this chapter. This version is cast in the form of a ‘just so’ tale, in which the characteristics of a certain animal are explained in terms of its previous behaviour.

4No doubt the appearance of kūmara also suggested defecation. Compare a Tongan story in which yams are brought from Samoa in a woman’s anus (Gifford, 1924: 178-80). See also note 24.
Brotherly rivalry

A major preoccupation in Māori stories is rivalry between brothers. We have seen how the younger Māui asserts his mana over his elder brothers, and how Tāwhaki manages to take over from his elder brother the priestly and leadership roles. The elder brother usually tries to hold on to his mana, but has it wrested from him by his more daring and ultimately more powerful younger brother.

Sometimes, however, the younger brother does not have things all his own way. In some stories he is the one that who gets caught and who has to rely on his wits to escape. In our story it is Pioioi who is unable to escape in time. As we find out later, he is the younger brother.

Pioioi is a trickster figure, very much in the mould of Māui. And it is not surprising to find that there is a Māui story which in many ways resembles this one. Māui robs a kūmara pit, just as Pioioi does, but his adversary is Hine-nui-te-pō herself. Hine’s instructions to her servants are very similar to Te Ruahine’s words to her grand-daughter: one style of walking will indicate that the intruder is a thief, while another will mark him out as an atua or spirit. Māui succeeds in outwitting both Hine-nui-te-pō and his brothers.

Te Ruahine-mata-māori

In a number of stories about a journey to a strange land a female figure called Te Ruahine, ‘the Old Woman’, appears. In the collection recorded by Wohlers, she appears in the story of Whiro and Tura, in which she helps the hero to find a wife. In some of the stories about the pouākai, she and the hero are united against a common enemy, the giant bird. These old women are associated with the kūmara, but in an indirect way: the precious tubers grow wild in the land in which the women live, Hawaiki.

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5Compare Tama-te-kapua and his younger brother, Whakattiria; and the two brothers Tieke-rahi and Tieke-iti. Like Pioioi, the younger brothers have to do a haka in order to escape (Grey, 1956: 100-4, and story no. C 1 at the end of this chapter).
6See summary C 4 at the end of this chapter.
7See the summaries of stories A 2(a)-(c) at the end of ‘Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-hau-nei: a journey to a strange land’.
In other stories the old woman found by the hero is hostile towards him. In this case her name, Te Ruahine, is often followed by an epithet, which occurs in several variants. Often it indicates that the old woman is blind; she is called Te Ruahine-mata-morari, 'The Old-blind-woman' (compare Hine-i-te-morari in version 1 at the end of this chapter, and Matakerepō in version C 5). She is probably associated with the blind grandmother who counts items of food in many of the versions of the story of Tāwhaki.  

However, in this story and also in 'Ko Paowa', which is found later in this collection, she is not blind, and her name is accordingly different: she is called Te Ruahine-mata-māori, 'the old woman with the ordinary face'. The old woman possesses two precious resources, the kūmara and a grandchild. We are not told whether the grandchild is a boy or a girl, but the general pattern, in comparable stories, is that she is a female.

We are not told where this story takes place. But since it is a story of origins, the most likely place for it to be set is Hawaiki, the source of fertility (as evidenced in the kūmara and the grand-daughter of this story). Even though Hawaiki is the land where all good things have their source, it is also a dangerous land, where women are hostile and carry knives, or pursue the hero by land or sea. And the resources have to be stolen or fought for.

'Hunched up' and 'stretched out'

As the two brothers fly towards the kūmara pit, the grandchild sees that 'one of them was flying hunched up and one was flying stretched straight out'. As we have already seen, a hunched up position is a sign of misery and defeat, while a stretched out position means that a person is sure of success. So in this story we know that one of the brothers will be

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8See the discussion of this motif in 'Whaitiri and Tāwhaki: the woman from the skies and her chiefly grandson'.
9This may be a rationalisation by Wohlers of a difficult name, but it is equally likely to be a genuine southern variant. If it is the latter, and some sort of folk etymology is in operation, it may be that she is thought to have a face which looks 'ordinary' (māori) but which really belies her true nature. See also the introduction to 'Paowa: an encounter with a witch', in the section 'Te Ruahine-mata-māori'.
10Compare the earlier story of Rongo-i-tua.
11See the introduction to 'Tāne: creator of light and life' footnote 46, and also summary C 5 at the end of this chapter, where the symbolism is made explicit.
defeated by the old woman, and one will be successful.

What is not certain is which expression applies to which brother, since the only words used are ‘one’ and ‘the other’. Judging by the symbolic meaning of the words, Pioioi is likely to be the one who flies hunched up, since he is the one who is caught by the old woman. Since his brother is the one who escapes, he must be the one who flies stretched out.

However, the expressions probably also refer to Māori perceptions of the way the two birds fly, and this is less easy to establish. Kūkuruatu, Dotterel, is the more likely one to be thought of as flying ‘hunched up’ because of the dotterel’s habit of luring predators away from its nest by feigning injury.12 The pipit, on the other hand, ‘descends in short glides, wings and tail elevated’.13 If this is the way the two birds were perceived, one would expect Pipit to be the one to escape, while Dotterel, the nervous flier, would be caught. In fact, the reverse is the case. However, as we have seen, the language used is not precise at this point.

**Pioioi’s haka**

The haka which Pioioi chants in order to deceive the old woman and make his escape is found in several other narratives, in variant forms. It is likely to be of ancient date, and the form of the words must have been interpreted differently as they changed. In an East Coast version (C 1 at the end of this chapter), we can see this process of reinterpretation in action. In the traditional story, two brothers whose names seem to be those of birds are involved in a kūmara-stealing incident, as in our story. Their names, Tieke-rahi and Tieke-iti (‘Big Saddleback’ and ‘Little Saddleback’), appear to have been taken from the words of the haka.14 But in a later use of this same haka, the person chanting it had another interpretation in mind. He saw the word *Tieke* as ‘Jack’, that is, the Union Jack which

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12 Occasionally it feigns injury and sometimes even death, but more often it pretends to be searching for food, always edging away from its nest’ (Oliver, 1974: 262). Another authority describes its habits in this way: ‘its actions are rapid and jerky. When feeding, it runs quickly, pausing every few metres to pick up some morsel of food. When disturbed, it stands upright and bobs its head up and down nervously before flying off with a rapid flight’ (Lockley and Moon, 1988: 60).

13 Falla, Sibson and Turbott, 1979: 199.

14 Other interpretations are possible, ‘Big Cloak’ and ‘Little Cloak’, for example, but the fact that there are several other stories about theflying bird brothers (in particular our Murihiku story, a close cognate) makes it probable that they are bird names.
represented British sovereignty. He therefore chanted the haka in defiance against the Crown.\textsuperscript{15}

In the Murihiku version of the haka the words of the first line could be interpreted as ‘Let there be an abundance of food’. This makes sense in the context, for it can be seen as referring to the hoard of kūmara which the brothers have found in Te Ruahine’s kūmara pit. In the version narrated by Te Maihāroa (version A 1) the words are harder to unravel, and the narrator claims that he is unable to translate them. One variation in Te Maihāroa’s version is that the old woman’s daughter is called Whano, a name which is perhaps derived from the third line in the song.\textsuperscript{16}

Some of the other lines of Pīoioi’s haka are difficult to interpret, and the translation offered here is tentative. It is possible that tauaki means ‘expose, publish, show’; Pīoioi may be exposing himself insultingly as he does his haka.\textsuperscript{17} It seems more likely, however, that the word is tauāki, a variant of kī, ‘say’, and is a reference to the twittering cry that Pīoioi, who is a bird as well as a man, gives as he runs along. The kia tie kai, kia tie kai of the first line may well be an imitation of the bird’s shrill cry, as well as having a meaning in human language, as we have already discussed.\textsuperscript{18} And Pīoioi’s darting movements (towards the door and back again, in version A 1; compare Tieki-iti’s in version C 1) evoke the movements of a bird luring intruders away from its nest.\textsuperscript{19}

The last line of the haka has been interpreted according to the spirit of the story. Since Pīoioi and Kūkuruatu have already been insulting Te Ruahine-mata-māori by fouling her kūmara pit, it seems likely that the haka may contain some gloating reference to this.\textsuperscript{20} If

\textsuperscript{15}Orbell, 1968: 52, footnote.
\textsuperscript{16}The line might be punctuated E Whano, tanaki.
\textsuperscript{17}However, the word usually seems to be connected with verbal rather than visual exposure: in waiata aroha, it means that a once secret love affair is now public knowledge (see for example Ngata, 1959: song 9, line 7; song 70, line 40).
\textsuperscript{18}Birds’ cries are often thought to have this dual function; compare the riroriro’s call in the story of Hatupatu (Grey, 1971: 81; riroriro means ‘gone away’), and the calls of the long-tailed cuckoo and shining cuckoo (Orbell, 1985b: 197; 200-1; 211.). In a story about a battle between sea and land birds, each bird has its own distinctive and meaningful cry (Best, 1924, I: 179-81).
\textsuperscript{19}See note 12. As we have seen, this behaviour seems to be typical of the dotterel, but many other birds perform similar actions.
\textsuperscript{20}Other interpretations are possible. For example, under the head word kōpāni, Williams lists an expression kōpāni henua or kōpāni horua, ‘an incantation to close the rua iti when the spirit of the enemy has been lured into it’. Pīoioi may be performing some similar ritual with his haka. It is also possible that tē should be te, but if the interpretation given above is correct, the negative statement is
this is a correct interpretation, it would further explain the old woman’s fury, and make the words of her vengeful threat even more appropriate.

The old woman’s threat

As Pioioi runs away, the old woman calls after him that she will follow him at some time in the future: she will not come on a misty day, but will choose some other type of day. These words are hard to interpret.

In another version of the present story (see number 1 at the end of this chapter), two types of weather are contrasted. The old woman says that she will not come on a bright day, but only on a misty day. A misty day is also the choice of Te Ngārara-hua-rau.21 This is what one would expect, since non-human beings such as patupaiarehe, Ponaturi and others are said to shun the sunlight and to move about in darkness or mist.22

In the present story, however, the old woman says that a misty day is not suited to her arrival, but that some other conditions will bring her. It may be a question of weather, but the word tūtai (or tūtae), ‘excrement’, which makes up one element of the phrase has to be taken into account.23 The most likely meaning here is that Pioioi has eaten so many kūmara that he will suffer from diarrhoea, for the link between a plentiful supply of kūmara and consequent copiousness of excrement is well known.24 It may even be that Te Ruahine has inflicted diarrhoea on him as a punishment for his theft of her kūmara.25

The uncooked grandchild

The grandchild’s alliance with the old woman has marked her out as a threatening figure,

more insulting.

21See the introduction to ‘Ruru-teina: victory for the youngest son’, in the section ‘Te Ngārara-hua-rau’. In this example the contrast is lacking, for the ngārara does not mention the first element, the sunny weather.
22Cowan, 1925: 7, 39, 50.
23The word paikū is not in Williams, but it may be an expanded form of kū. One meaning given for kū is ‘showery unsettled weather’. White seems to be taking paikū as kū (i) in Williams, ‘wearied, exhausted’. His translation, which seems valid, is, ‘when your body is weak from the effects of illness I will be with you’ (White, 1887, II: 61). Another possibility is that the word is connected with kūkū, ‘thick fluid’ (that is, diarrhoea).
24References to this are found in several waiata: Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961: song 145, line 58; 1980: song 201, line 57; see notes on tikotikoire. See also McLean and Orbell, 1975: 77, notes.
25Compare the punishment meted out by the tohunga Tumu-whakairihia on the two men who have interfered with his wife (White, 1887, III: 43-4; 59).
one who must be killed. The reason the heroes decide to cook the grandchild is perhaps because she is a kind of ogre, and this is the fate which often befalls ogres.\(^\text{26}\) Or it may be that her association with the kūmara means that she must receive the same treatment as a kūmara, that is, she must be thrown into the oven and cooked.\(^\text{27}\)

Piioioi and his brother make two unsuccessful attempts to cook the grandchild before she is finally cooked. This motif perhaps points to the tapu nature of the grandchild. The cooking and/or eating of an enemy was thought to rob him of all his tapu, and there was a widespread belief throughout Polynesia that a person who was especially tapu could not be easily cooked.\(^\text{28}\) The reason for the grandchild’s tapu is not explained, but since, as we have seen, she is associated with Hawaiiki, she must draw her tapu from this association.

So we have here an origin story, which tells, in a lively and humorous way, how two birds received their distinctive characteristics. As far as is known, this particular story is known only in the South Island. However, it contains a haka which may be even older than the story itself, since it is found, in a slightly different form, in several other stories.

OTHER VERSIONS

Only one other version of this story has been found (number 1 below), but a number of narratives have related themes. The ones which are summarised below have some specific point or points of resemblance: the names of the characters, the words of the haka, or the enemy woman’s instructions. Stories which bear only a general resemblance to the one under discussion have not been included.\(^\text{29}\)

\(^{26}\)See the summaries of the ‘ogre wife’ stories at the end of the introduction to ‘Rona: an unfaithful wife and a vengeful husband’. The complicity of the grand-daughter is made explicit in a story from Hawai‘i, in which a pretty girl acts as a decoy to lure travellers into her cannibal grandmother’s cave, where they are devoured raw (Beckwith, 1970: 264).

\(^{27}\)If this is the significance of the motif, there may be a parallel with Kae. In at least one version of the myth the death of Kae can, as Johansen has demonstrated, be seen as reenacting kūmara-planting rituals (Johansen, 1958: 151-9).

\(^{28}\)For examples in the wider Polynesian area, see Métraux, 1940: 311 (the people try to cook Tangaroa, but each time they open the oven, he is still raw); Te Ariki-tara-are, 1920: 49-50 (the body of Tangia’s enemy remains raw after several attempts to cook it. Tangia is told that he must first ‘remove the tapu’ from the body); Te Ariki-tara-are, 1920: 121 (Tāne’s bird cannot be cooked, for it is tapu); Beckwith, 1970: 96-7 (a person with supernatural powers is thrown into an oven; when the oven is opened it is full of food, but the person is unscathed).

\(^{29}\)For example, the story of Tama-te-kapua and Whakaturia contains two related motifs: the two thieving brothers, and the ruse of the haka which allows the younger brother to make his escape, but contains none of the specific points mentioned (Grey, 1956: 100-4).
A. Aotearoa

1. Waitaha/Kāti Māmoe/Kāi Tahu

This story is entitled ‘The Legend of Kukuruwhatu, or How the Dotterel Got His Marks’.

Pioioi (the ground lark) and Kūkuruwhatu (the dotterel) are originally men, who fall in love with the beautiful Whano, daughter of the old witch Hine-i-te-morari. Kūkuruwhatu goes to court Whano, but is caught, imprisoned and branded across the chest.

Pioioi then sets off to find Kūkuruwhatu. He too is caught, but insists on singing his song before being put in prison:

Tietie-eke
Tietie-eke
E whanotanaki
Whe a Kai ai
Kaiāi
Teheru.

During the second verse of his song, he dances round so that he finishes up next to Whano. He then snatches her up and flies away, turning into a bird as he does so. The old woman calls out to her daughter, ‘You will never see me when it's a bright day like this. You'll only see me when it's misty, raining or snowing.’

B. Island Polynesia

There are no stories which are directly related. However, there are many stories about ogresses, often combined with the motif of stealing food. Stories from Tuvalu concern an ogress named Fine-mata, who shares the same cannibal nature as the other ogresses in

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31The breeding plumage of the banded dotterel is two coloured bands, one black and narrow on the neck and the other broad and chestnut-coloured across the chest. Thoehoe have a similar explanation for this bird’s plumage: Tuturiwhatu, a sister of Taukata and Hoaki, is cooking kūmara, falls into the oven and burns her breast (Best, 1925a: 693-5). Her name, too, means ‘banded dotterel’.
32The informant states that the song is so old that it is untranslatable and its meaning forgotten, and also that the story has never been published before. However, both song and story are essentially the same as Wohlers’s version, published by White. In his notes Beattie states that in the version he was told the girl is a grandchild of the old woman, and is unnamed. He also notes that pohowera, ‘warm chest’ (‘burnt chest’ would be a more accurate translation in this story), is an alternative name for the banded dotterel.
these tales. There may once have been a final word at the end of her name, similar to those at the end of the Māori names, for in one version of the story she is said to be kivi, ‘blind’, and to count coconut-shell vessels of toddy. A story from Bellona concerns a blind woman called Sinakibi (‘Blind Sina’), who also counts items of food. These figures are also related to Whaitiri.

C. Related material

1. Ngāti Porou

Big Tīke, the elder of two brothers, goes out fishing each day, while Little Tīke, the younger, steals kūmara. Eventually the owners of the kūmara lie in wait, block the entrance to their kūmara pit and trap the thief, intending to kill him. He persuades them to let him do his haka first:

_Tīke taretare. Tīke taretare! Pō! Tū ana i waho!

(Ragged Tīke, ragged Tīke! Watch me! Standing far off!)

As he dances, he gradually moves further off until he is able to make his escape.

2. Ngāti Kahungunu

Kōkō-uri (Dark Tūi) and his younger brother Kōkō-tea (Light Tūi) decide to steal kūmara from Māhu and his wife Ati-nuku. Kōkō-tea wishes to break the kūmara storehouse door down, but Kōkō-uri suggests making a hole at the back. Following this advice, the younger brother successfully steals some kūmara, even though the owner is standing at the front of the store house. Eventually Ati-nuku (the wife) hears the kūmara falling at the back and gives the alarm.

Kōkō-uri and Kōkō-tea are not mentioned again, except in one of the songs commemorating the event. It seems probable that the story about them was added to the

33Kennedy, 1930: 199-204; 221-6.
34Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 68-76.
36Tarakawa and Ropihia, 1899: 122-34.
37The rest of the story concerns Māhu’s journey to his brother-in-law Taewa-a-rangi, a noted tohunga, to
main story in order to explain the words of the song.

3. *Te Arawa*³⁸

A similar haka is chanted:

\[
A \text{ tie kei, tie kei tietiekei tickei tie ha koa, koa koa ei ei.}
\]

This haka is used in different circumstances. It serves as a ruse to deceive an enemy into thinking that there is a large force awaiting their attack. We are told nothing about the interpretation or source of the haka.

4. *Tribal area unknown*³⁹

The two elder Māui brothers, Māui-mua and Māui-roto, ill-treat their youngest brother, Māui-pōtiki, giving him only inferior food to eat. After fishing up land, Māui-pōtiki goes to the country of Hine-nui-a-te-pō and plays his flute on the hill overlooking her garden. Hine-nui sends her slaves to see who is coming, telling them, ‘If the man comes down the hill walking upright on his legs, catch him, for he is a thief: but if he comes walking on his hands and feet, having his belly and face upwards, then know that he is an *Atua*, and be sure not to meddle with him.’

Māui-pōtiki overhears this, descends the hill safely on his hands and feet, and robs the old lady’s kūmara store. The next day the brothers discover that Māui-pōtiki is feasting on kūmara. In telling his brothers the source of his kūmara, Māui reverses Hine-nui’s instructions to her slaves. When Māui-mua sets off to rob kūmara, he walks upright and is captured. Hine-nui kills him by squeezing him between her thighs. This is the first death in the world.

5. *Tūhoe*⁴⁰

Hine sends Mata-kerepō to lie in wait for Māui in a pit, telling her that if he leaps into the

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³⁸Locke, 1882: 454.
³⁹Shortland, 1856: 61-4.
⁴⁰Best, 1925a: 383.
pit with his legs drawn up they will be able to kill him, but if he leaps with his limbs stretched out he will escape. He jumps with bent legs and is killed, whereupon the two women rejoice and sing Māui whakaringaringa, Māui whakawaewae Pakia. Māui comes to life again, and the word whakamāui, ‘to act like Māui’, is now used by Tūhoe to describe a recovery from a serious illness.

Māui is later killed by Hīne in the usual manner.

Ka haere a Kūkuruatu ki te kaiā ki te rua a Te Ruahine-mata-māori rāua ko a3 tana mokopuna. Ā, ka tae mai a Kūkuruatu. Ka kai huna a Kūkuruatu [i] te kiko o te maŋā me te kūmara.


Ka kī atu a Kūkuruatu, ‘He kutu.’

Ka kī atu a Pioioi, ‘E kore e ngaro te patē o te kutu, kia iti, he kutu; e nui puku ana tēnā.’

Ka kī atu a Kūkuruatu, ‘He kutu anō.’

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1White 1887, II: 59-61 (English); 54-6 (Maori). The names are those of two birds, pīioio or pīioioi, New Zealand pipit (Anthus novaeseelandiae), and kīkūrātū, banded dotterel (Charadrius bicinctus). The text has henceforth been emended to pīioio, a form which is used by Wohlers only twice the text (see notes 10 and 14). See the introduction to this story for a discussion of these names.

2Williams gives an expression puru rourou, ‘a choice piece of meat placed on the top of a basket of vegetables’ (see also White’s bracketed gloss, i kai kīnaki). Watkins has ‘the flesh part of a meal’ (Harlow, 1987: 65). Used as an active verb, the word means ‘cram in’ (Williams puru 4), but the structure of this and the sentence below where the word is again used suggests that it can also function as a stative, with a similar meaning to the word kī, ‘full’. No doubt the narrator is conveying the ideas of ‘choice morsel’ and ‘cramming full’ in the one word: Pioioi is seizing and gobbling up all the best morsels for himself.

3This would seem to be an intrusive a. Wohlers makes a similar error later, see note 5.

4Patē is usually found in the longer form patatē.
Ka kī atu anō a Pioioi, ‘He aha tāu?’

Ka kī atu a Kūkuruatu, ‘He kūmara rāia.’

Ka kī atu a Pioioi, ‘No whea āu kūmara?’

Ka kī atu a Kūkuruatu, ‘No te rua ia o Te Ruahine-mata-māori a5 rāua ko tana mokopuna.’

‘Nē, no reira āu kau?’6

‘Āe.’

Ka kī atu a Pioioi, ‘Ka haere tāua ki taua rua nei.’

Ka kī mai a Kūkuruatu, ‘Āe.’

Ā, ka haere rāua. Ā, ka tirohia mai e te mokopuna e rere atu nei — e rere hūpeke ana tētahi, e rere whārōrō ana tētahi. Ka karanga atu te mokopuna, ‘Tāua, tēnei ra ngā tāngata te rere mai ra.’

Ka karanga mai te wha o te tāua, ‘Tirohia7 atu.’

Ka karanga atu te mokopuna, ‘Nai, tēnei tou te rere mai nei, ka tata mai ki tā tāua rua.’

Ka karanga atu te tāua, ‘Tirohia atu. Ka rere hūpeke mai, he kai tēnā nāhau; ka rere whārō mai, he atua tāu.’

Ā, ka ngaro ki roto ki tā rāua rua. Ā, ka haere rāua ko tana mokopuna. Ā, ka tata rāua ki te roro o te rua, ka noho rāua ki te roro o te rua. Ka titiro rāua ki rō o te rua: e kai ana a Pioioi rāua ko Kūkuruatu, e kai ana, ko te kai ko te tiko, ko te kai ko te tiko.

Ā, ka kanakana8 a Pioioi rāua ko Kūkuruatu. E noho ana [a] Te Ruahine-mata-māori, ko te

5 Another intrusive ā; see note 3.
6 'A variety of kūmara', Williams kau (iii), 3.
7 Tirohia in the manuscript.
8 This word is discussed in 'Ko Pungarehu rāua ko Kōkōmuka-hau-nei', note 5.
kōrapa\(^9\) anake. Ā, ka kanakana a Pioioi\(^{10}\) rāua ko Kūkuruatu, i rō o te rua. Ā, ka rere mai a Kūkuruatu, hoki rawa iho te kōrapa o Te Ruahine-mata-māori — kua puta a Kūkuruatu. Ka kanakana a Pioioi i rō o te rua; ka hoki iho te kōrapa a Te Ruahine-mata-māori — ka mau a Pioioi, ka arahina ki te kāinga.

Ka tae atu ki te kāinga, ka tahuna he umu, ka kā. Ka tīkina he tārakiraki,\(^{11}\) he pūwhā. Ka tae mai. Ka urua te umu. Ka oti te uru te umu, ka whai atu, ka hopukina, ka mea kia turakina ki rō o te umu. Ka kī atu a Pioioi, ‘Waiho, tārie au e turakina ki rō o te umu, kia haka au i ā māua haka ko taku tuakana.’

Ka kī atu [a] Te Ruahine-mata-māori, ‘E haka\(^{12}\) ā kōrua haka.’

Ka kī atu te waha o Pioioi, ‘Āe, e haka ana ā māua haka ko taku tuakana:

Kia tie kai, kia tie kai,
E whana tauāki:
Whea kai? E kai ē,
Tē hērua.’\(^{13}\)

Ka kī atu te waha o Te Ruahine-mata-māori, ‘Kei te tītaka tou ōu waewae.’

Ka kī atu a Pioioi,\(^{14}\) ‘E kawea ana e te haka:

Kia tie kai ...

Ka whāia iho ai ki te mokopuna a Te Ruahine-mata-māori, kāhakina e Pioioi. Ka karanga

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\(^9\) White translates kōrapa as ‘weapon’, but since these are birds as well as people, they must be captured in the appropriate manner. Te Ruahine seems to be using a hand-held net (Williams, kōrapa 3, ‘long-handled landing net’; compare also whakarapa, ‘hand-net for taking quail’). The kōrapa described by Best seems to be a kind of drop-trap (1977b:192 and 324; illustration: 263).

\(^{10}\) This is probably the correct form of the name. See note 1.

\(^{11}\) Tārakiraki appear to be some sort of greens, see raki (ii), Williams.

\(^{12}\) The construction used in the previous sentence would seem to be the more usual one. Haka does not have a passive form, so one would expect it to be followed by i, in this and the following sentence.

\(^{13}\) Several of the words in this haka are difficult to interpret, and the translation is therefore tentative. It has been repunctuated in line with the interpretation offered here; Wohlers simply writes it as one sentence, with a comma after the first tie kai and a semi colon after tauāki. Williams gives a form tauāki, but refers the reader back to tau (v), where the word in this form does not appear. Instead, the words whakataukī and whakataukī are listed. All these words are associated with speech; compare also a line in a waiata (Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961: song 126 line 11): Hei kaka tauāki, translated as ‘You are as the chattering parrot’. See the introduction to this story for a further discussion of this haka.

\(^{14}\) At this point Wohlers at first wrote Pioioi, but then crossed out the terminal i. See note 1.

\(^{15}\) Wohlers has ‘etc’ in the manuscript. Presumably his informant repeated the whole haka.
atu a Te Ruahine, ‘Pioioi, whakahokia mai taku mokopuna, Pioioi, whakahokia mai taku mokopuna!’

Kāhore hoki kia whakahokia mai. Ka karanga atu a Te Ruahine-mata-māori, ‘E kore au e tae atu i te rangi pūkohu; 16 i te rangi anō e rere ana te paiktō o te tūtai, 17 ko au tēnā.’


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16 *Pukokohu* in the manuscript. See the introductory section, ‘The Language of the South’, subsection A I(b), for a discussion of this form.

17 See the introduction to this story for a discussion of this obscure phrase.
TRANSLATION

Pioioi (Pipit) and Kūkuruatu (Dotterel) lived in their village. They went off out to sea to fish for barracouta. When they got back to shore, they lit an oven to cook their barracouta, and ate their meal. Pioioi crammed his mouth full of choice food, but Kūkuruatu had none to put in his mouth. They went to sleep, and when dawn broke they went off out to sea to fish for barracouta. When they got back to shore, they lit an oven to cook their barracouta, and when the food in their oven was cooked they ate their meal. Pioioi was cramming his mouth full of choice food, but Kūkuruatu did not have any to put in his mouth. Pioioi had kept all the choice food for himself. And so they went to sleep.

Kūkuruatu then went off to rob the store-pit belonging to Te Ruahine-mata-māori and her grandchild. So when Kūkuruatu got back, he made a secret meal of barracouta meat and kūmara. Some time later, when the sun was shining, the two went outside to pick the lice out of their clothing. Kūkuruatu was picking the lice out and eating them: a louse, and then a kūmara, a louse, and then a kūmara. Pioioi listened to the crunching of the louse — it was a small crunch as Kūkuruatu ate the louse, but a loud crunch as he ate the kūmara. Pioioi said ‘Hey, Kūkuruatu, what have you got there?’

Kūkuruatu said, ‘A louse.’

Pioioi said, ‘There’s no mistaking the crunching of a louse, it’s a small thing, a louse, but that noise was very loud.’

Kūkuruatu said, ‘Well, it really was a louse.’

Pioioi said to him again, ‘What have you got there?’

And Kūkuruatu said, ‘Well, it’s really some kūmara.’

Pioioi asked, ‘Where did you get your kūmara?’

Kūkuruatu said, ‘From the store-pit belonging to Te Ruahine-mata-māori and her grandchild.’
'Is that right, did your kūmara come from there?'

'Yes.'

So Pioioi said, 'Let's go to this store-pit together.'

Kūkuruatu said, 'All right.'

And so off they went. Then the grandchild saw them as they flew towards her — one of them was flying hunched up and one was flying stretched straight out. The grandchild cried, 'Grandmother, here come some men flying this way.'

The grandmother called, 'Watch them!'

The grandchild called, 'Here they are still flying this way, and coming close to our store-pit.'

The grandmother called, 'Watch them. If they're flying in a hunched-up position, that means they're food for you, but if they're flying stretched out, that means you're dealing with spirits.'

So the men disappeared into the store-pit. The woman and her grandchild went there, and when they came up to the entrance to the store-pit, they sat down there at the entrance. They looked down into the pit, and there were Pioioi and Kūkuruatu eating there, they were eating away: eating and defecating, eating and defecating.

Then Pioioi and Kūkuruatu glanced up, and there was Te Ruahine-mata-māori, with her long-handled net. And Pioioi and Kūkuruatu gazed up at her from inside the pit. So Kūkuruatu flew towards her, and Te Ruahine-mata-māori's net came swooping down — but by that time Kūkuruatu had escaped. Pioioi gazed up from inside the pit, and Te Ruahine-mata-māori's net came swooping down — and Pioioi was caught fast and taken to the village.

When they got to the village, they lit the oven, and the fire blazed up. They fetched greens
and pīhā and brought them to the oven, and arranged the hot stones in it. When they had finished arranging the stones they seized Píoioi and held him fast and said that they would thrust him into the oven. Píoioi said, 'Wait a bit, don't throw me into the oven yet, until I've danced my brother's and my haka.'

Te Ruahine-mata-māori said, 'Dance your haka.'

Píoioi replied, 'Yes, I'll dance my brother's and my haka:

Plenty of food, let's have plenty of food,
Move up now and say your piece:
Where's the food? — Eat your food,
And don't wipe your bum.'

Te Ruahine-mata-māori said, 'Your feet keep getting out of time.'

Píoioi said, 'That's what the haka calls for:

Plenty of food ...'

Then Píoioi grabbed Te Ruahine-mata-māori's grandchild and carried her off. Te Ruahine cried, 'Píoioi, bring my grandchild back! Píoioi, bring my grandchild back!'

But he would not bring her back. Te Ruahine-mata-māori cried, 'I won't come to you on a misty day, but on a day when the diarrhoea flows, there I'll be.'

And so they cooked Te Ruahine-mata-māori's grandchild. They put her in the oven, but she did not get cooked. They put her in again, but she did not get cooked. They put her in again, and then she did get cooked.
RONA:

AN UNFAITHFUL WIFE
AND A VENGEFUL HUSBAND
INTRODUCTION

One of the best known of all Māori folk tales is the story of Rona. There must be few people in Aotearoa who have not heard the account of how Rona stubs her toe on a root while out at night fetching water for her children, curses the moon for hiding behind a cloud, and is swept up by it into the sky, still holding her calabash and clinging to a ngaio tree which is torn up by the roots. Her searching children hear her calling, 'Here I am, up with the moon and the stars'. The markings which we now see on the moon are Rona, her calabash and the ngaio tree.¹

It is not immediately obvious that the story called 'Ko Rona' in Wohlers's collection is related to the above tale. It is the tale of a wife's adultery, her husband's revenge, and the subsequent efforts of their children to be reunited with their father and sister. Rona, who is a man in this version, does go up to the moon, but his visit seems incidental and almost accidental, as no reason is given for it, and it is tacked on to the end of the story in what seems an arbitrary fashion. It will be demonstrated however that this arbitrariness is only apparent.

A closer investigation of the story takes us into a whole complex of tales in Aotearoa and Island Polynesia. Comparison with the themes and motifs in these Polynesian stories helps to throw light on the Murihiku version of the tale.

The man or woman in the moon

The idea of a person living in the moon is found in folk tales around the world. Thompson's Index² records examples from places as far apart as England, Estonia, Armenia, China, North and South America, and Africa. The person is often said to have been thrown or sent there as a punishment for a crime such as stealing, cursing and so on. He or she usually carries up some object at the same time: a stolen bundle of thorns, a tar bucket for tarring the moon's face, a spindle, or a thresher and pile of corn. An explanation

¹See version A 2 at the conclusion of this introduction.
²Thompson, 1955-8: 151-2.
is thus provided for the markings which appear on the surface of the moon, and a link is made between our own world and this other one which appears and disappears in our sky.

In most areas of Polynesia a similar tale is told. The person connected with the moon is a woman named Hina (or a variant of this: Ina, Sina). Accounts vary as to how she arrives in the moon: she may be swept up there as the result of a curse, or desired by the moon and taken up to be his wife, or she may travel there of her own accord. Hina usually takes her domestic implements with her: the calabash she uses for collecting water, or her mallet and board for beating out tapa cloth. A tree is also present, usually a banyan, breadfruit or paper mulberry to supply the bark for her cloth.

The story from Aotearoa which is quoted at the beginning of this chapter is very similar to these tales from Island Polynesia, though the names and minor details are different. In Aotearoa the person whose name is linked with the moon is not Hina but Rona, and this figure is not always female. In versions recorded from both the far north and the Wanganui area, Rona’s anger arises not only from the moon’s withdrawal of light but also because he, a man, is alone and so forced to go and fetch water for himself.

Rona

The Rona of the northern tale is a shadowy figure, an ordinary human being, male or female, who foolishly challenges the might of the moon and suffers the consequences. In the Māori story, however, Rona is a powerful male figure, a being who can move

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3 Samoan: Turner, 1884: 203. Compare the Northland version, which is quoted at the beginning of this chapter.
4 Cooks: Gill, 1876: 45.
5 Tahitian: Henry, 1928: 459-64. In this case she has first explored the earth with her brother Ru. Appropriately, the male figure, Ru, takes charge of the earth/day while his sister retains the moon/night.
6 Kirtley, 1971: 51-2 (motifs A751.8 ff.). An overview of some of the Hina myths is given in Tregear, 1891 (under Hina); Tregear, 1886: 486-504; and Beckwith, 1970: 214-25 and 241-4. Because Hina is thought to beat out her tapa cloth in the moon, she is seen as the protectress of tapa beaters, her aid being invoked during this activity. She is also associated with childbirth, ovens and firewalking, for cooking, weaving and fertility are all the domain of women (Beckwith, 1970: 223).
7 White glosses Hina as ‘the moon’ in two almost identical accounts from the far north (White, 1887, II: 87 and 90). The Māori versions of these stories do not make this connection, however, and it is obvious that the Hina of these stories is much more closely allied with Hine-nui-te-pō. The word māhina, meaning ‘moon’ or ‘moonlight’, which is found in some Island Polynesian dialects, is now, according to Williams, obsolete in Māori and found only in ancient waītanga.
8 Nicolas, 1817: 60; Taylor, 1870: 209; White, 1940: 199-201. White also has a male Rona in a Ngāti Hau version in 1887, II: 21 (English), but in the corresponding Māori section (20) there is nothing to indicate whether this tupuna is male or female.
among the heavenly bodies. Unlike the Rona of the northern tale, the Murihiku Rona is not simply seized and swept up to the moon, but travels there deliberately and unaided. His supernatural powers are displayed in his conquest of Hoka, himself a powerful adversary (as will be demonstrated later). Hoka describes Rona as an *ataua*, a ‘god’ or ‘spirit’.

Apparently in some North Island traditions there is also a powerful figure named Rona who is sometimes regarded as one of the earliest beings. He or she is a sibling of the sun, moon and stars, and is the controller of the tides, known as *Rona-whakamau-tai*, ‘Rona the Tide Controller’. He or she is also said to be ‘an *ataua whiro* (an evil supernatural being), who attacks the moon because it destroys food supplies’.⁹ But information on this Rona is restricted to these few comments.

So in the stories from Aotearoa what has occurred is that the figure called Hina, found associated with the moon in almost all areas of Island Polynesia, has been replaced by a figure called Rona. The switch in name is in some cases accompanied by a switch in gender, although in the versions told in the north this does not seem to have significantly affected the story. But the powerful, vengeful Rona of the southern versions is different, and we must therefore look for other antecedents in Island Polynesia.

**A vengeful Rona**

In Tahiti and the Tuamotus there is a figure called Rona or Nona, who is a woman. She has no direct connection with the moon, but she has a daughter, Hina, a name which, as we have already shown, is associated with the moon in Polynesian stories. Rona (Nona) is a cannibal or becomes one as a result of being deserted by her husband.¹⁰ She becomes

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⁹Elsdon Best, who records this information, gives very few details, and fails to state the name or tribal affiliation of his informant, saying only that his source is ‘a good native authority’ (Best, 1923: 67; see also 1978: 24-5). Since Best does not elaborate on this theme, it is impossible to tell whether there is a link between this destructive moon and the destruction of all Rona’s property which occurs in the Murihiku version.

In the Māori world the moon is used as an indicator in the planting of food crops, certain nights being regarded as propitious and others not. In some of its phases it must therefore be thought of as conferring fertility. It may well be that this Rona has links with Rongo, the supernatural being who looks after cultivated foods.

¹⁰See summary B 1 at the end of this chapter. As noted above, the figure associated with the moon in most Polynesian traditions is Hina (Ina, Sina). The first half of this story also has motifs in common with the Murihiku version: the mother is given a leaking calabash to delay her return; and the son escapes in a magic boat.
known as Nona-nihoniho-roroa, ‘Nona-of-the-long-teeth’, a dangerous cannibal ogress who devours all the inhabitants of the land where she lives, and eventually pursues and tries to kill her own daughter.

This figure must be cognate with the one in our story, for the names and also some of the motifs are related. In Murihiku, however, the story has taken two different courses. In the version recorded by Wohlers, Rona, since he is a male, does not take on the characteristics of the female ogress of the Tahitian and Tuamotuan tales, but his jealous response is parallel to the fury of the mother who finds out about her daughter’s deception. Rona is described by Hoka as he atua hae, ‘a jealous god’. It is Rona’s jealous suspicions of his wife which lead him to spy on her and discover her adulterous liaison, and a jealous rage which drives him to take a terrible revenge (he mutilates Hoka and casts his wife out of their home).

In other versions of the story from the Murihiku region, it is Rona’s wife who takes on the role of the ogress of the Eastern Polynesian tales. She is a dangerous, vengeful female, relentlessly pursuing her prey, and ready to kill even her children in her mad rage.\textsuperscript{11} There are striking similarities between some of the dialogues in the Murihiku and Tahitian versions.\textsuperscript{12}

So the episode of the wife’s adultery in Wohlers’s story can be seen to be associated with the episode, in the stories from Eastern Polynesia, in which Hina wishes to take a lover. The other southern versions retain the motif of the woman as the jealous, pursuing figure.

**Hoka**

Hoka, the lover of Rona’s wife Urupa-hikahika, figures largely in the first half of the

\textsuperscript{11} Summaries A 1 (a) and (b).
\textsuperscript{12} Although the circumstances are different in each case, in the stories from both areas the lover is terrified of Rona but is soothed by the woman’s reassurances. The formula uttered by the female lover in Beattie’s version (A 1 (b)) bears a remarkable resemblance to Hina’s words in the Tahitian version (B 1). These formulae act as a kind of password between the lovers, and are repeated word for word at each meeting. In both versions of the story Rona uses a trick to overhear the conversation, tricks the lover by using the words previously overheard, and mutilates or kills him. The words uttered by the lovers in Wohlers’s story do not correspond quite so closely to those in the Tahitian version, but they too are a formulaic exchange used by the lovers each time they meet, and express the same sentiments of desire, fear and reassurance.
Murihiku story, but his identity is a mystery. As far as has been established, he does not appear in any other Māori traditions. He is apparently some sort of supernatural being, for he lives in the sky, and comes down to earth with such force that houses and fences are knocked flat. It is Hoka’s head which does the damage, which perhaps suggests that he is some kind of personification of the sun or moon.\textsuperscript{13} This would provide one explanation for Rona’s later visit to the sun and the moon, and would draw a parallel with the more usual version, in which the moon is a forceful being who can tear a tree up by its roots.\textsuperscript{14}

A striking parallel to the Hoka incident occurs in a story from Tuvalu (see summary B 2). Here, there is no question of illicit relations between Alona’s\textsuperscript{15} wife and a lover; indeed, the wife is not even mentioned. Instead, Alona’s daughter invites another girl, Sina-fofo-langi, down from the sky to play with her. While the fashion for providing meteorological explanations for all figures in folk tales has now had its day, one is justified in this case in seeing Sina-fofo-langi as a figure representing the moon. Her parents are La and Langi, the sun and sky, and she lives with them up in the sky (her name too indicates this connection). She is eaten up by Alona and disappears from view, but is eventually vomited up again, coming to life only gradually over a number of days. The bowl of sea water into which she is vomited is given a certain prominence, and may have the same sort of significance as the Māori \textit{wai ora a Tāne}, ‘life-giving water of Tāne’, in which the moon is sometimes said to bathe before coming to life again.\textsuperscript{16}

In addition to the name of the principal character and the probable involvement of the moon, what makes it quite clear that this story and the Murihiku version are in some way related is the exchange of words between the two girls. When the earth-bound Sina-fakalua tries to entice her friend down, Sina-fofo-langi replies, ‘I am not coming down, because Alona is a man-eating god.’\textsuperscript{17} Sina-fakalua reassures her friend, ‘Alona is away gathering

\textsuperscript{13}Hoka is the sun, if Rona is felt to represent the moon and if the story is seen as an example of their opposition to one another. He is the moon, if he is seen as the destroyer of Rona’s property (see Best’s remark about the moon as the destroyer of food crops, quoted above).

\textsuperscript{14}This tree is usually said to be a ngaio, a tree which grows on the coasts and is well known for its ability to withstand the fiercest of storms.

\textsuperscript{15}The name is cognate with Rona.

\textsuperscript{16}Best, 1923: 105-6.

\textsuperscript{17}The original is not given, but it must be something like \textit{he atua kaitangata}. Because the theme in this story is cannibalism the epithet chosen to describe Alona is ‘man-eating’, while in the Māori story the dominant
fish and firewood for us.' The girls then proceed to the taro field where their breaking of twigs and flowers, while not on the same scale as Hoka’s smashing of houses and fences, is nevertheless destructive enough to be noticed by Alona.

Another natural force which is associated with Hoka in the Murihiku story is the wind. The wife explains away Hoka’s destructive visits by saying that Rona’s property has been knocked down by tremendous gusts of wind. A lover who is identified with the wind and who shares some of Hoka’s characteristics appears in a tale from the far North. Hau-ā-uru, West Wind, comes down from the sky to Tamatea’s wife while Tamatea is away, and lashes the sea and land with storms. Hoka may be another such wind lover.

Hoka, then, is an unexplained figure who may represent the sun, the moon, or possibly the wind. But even if he has the powers possessed by the moon in the familiar North Island version, the Murihiku Rona he is pitted against is, as has been noted, different from the weaker, human figure of the northern tale. Hoka fears Rona so much that at first he refuses to accept Urupa-hikahika’s invitation.

When at last he does come down, the event is described in the words, ‘Hoka went to bed with the woman — there in the daylight’. This statement can be explained first of all in terms of plot: the lovers meet in daylight because that is when Rona is absent. But there may be more implied than this, for the syntax of the sentence throws the phrase ‘there in the daylight’ into focus. Other evidence suggests that in traditional Māori society there was a belief that sexual activity ought to be confined to the appropriate time and place, namely, at night and in a house. If this is the case, then Urupa-hikahika’s fault is compounded by her flagrant disregard for the conventions for correct behaviour.

Hoka’s terror of Rona proves to be well founded, for Rona, once his suspicions are confirmed, has no difficulty in defeating Hoka and avenging himself by castrating him, a

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theme of jealousy calls forth the epithet hae.

18See summary C 2 at the end of this chapter.

19Smith, 1896: 22; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 40-1 (and footnote). Banks reports a that a woman informed one of the sailors (who was trying to form a liaison with the daughter of a chief) that he’ must come and sleep with us ashore, for daylight should by no means be a witness of such proceedings’ (Banks, 1958: 130). Related incidents may be found in White, 1887, I: 129; Ruatapu, 1928b: 362.
revenge taken by other aggrieved husbands in Māori tradition, and felt to be an appropriate punishment for both the wife and the lover. In the case under consideration, it is not clear whether the wife does actually eat her lover’s testicles, but Rona makes it clear that if she returns home, he will make her do so.

Urupa-hikahika

The method chosen by Rona to send Urupa-hikahika away from his village is one which is familiar to us from other stories, both in this collection and elsewhere. It is evident that Rona is chanting a karakia to make the water dry up as his wife approaches it, so that she goes from stream to stream, moving further away as she does so. In ‘Ko Paowa’ the witch is described as climbing and descending range after range of hills in the same vain pursuit. In the present story, this idea is expressed in one sentence, ‘When at length they turned round, there were mountain ranges all around.’ Although the episode is narrated in few words, it would have been perfectly understood by the narrator’s audience.

Urupa-hikahika’s journey takes her to another village, where she settles down with the children who have accompanied her. From this point on, the story resembles closely a tale concerning an ‘ogre wife’, which has been recorded in many areas of Polynesia. In tales of this type, an ogre woman emerges from the sea to take the place of a human wife, who is left to drown. The true wife is washed ashore in a deserted place and gives birth to twin sons, who later go in search of their father.

In the three versions of the Rona tale from the far south, the two women of the ‘ogre wife’ tale have been replaced by a single figure. But this figure takes two different forms. In the story recorded by Wohlers, the wife, Urupa-hikahika, resembles the true, human wife of

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20Kelly, 1949: 235; Best, 1925: 394; compare also Henry, 1928: 590. In the second of these examples the adulterous wife is offered a choice: ‘You can either eat that piece of your friend [his penis], or die here at once’. This passage makes it clear that the wife’s knowledge of what she is eating is a large part of the punishment, so that White’s statement that Rona feeds the testicles to her wife ‘under the name of some other food’ is incorrect.

21As the meaning of this word is not known, no hyphens or macrons have been added. It is not found elsewhere. Many of the wives in the ‘ogre wife’ stories have names which include the word rei, one meaning of which is ‘jewel, ornament’.


23See summaries D 1-2, E 1-7 at the end of this introduction.
the ogre stories. She lives apart with her sons, teaches them a song, and helps them to build a canoe in which they can search for their father. In the versions recorded by Creed and Beattie, however, the woman has the role of the ogre wife.24 In Creed’s version the very name of the woman, Hine-horo-mātai, ‘Woman-who-swallows-sea-food’, suggests a connection with the fish-stealing ogre wives.

In many of the versions listed at the end of this chapter the word horo, ‘swallow’, makes up one element of this monster’s name.25 The figures in the ogre wife story usually swallow rocks, trees, and other objects to simulate a pregnancy (the punga of the name has a basic meaning of ‘coral’). But the figure also has a more general association with food and swallowing. A Māori proverb is Ka mahi Tuhoropunga ki tona mahi, translated by Grey as ‘The fellow’s always eating everything by himself, — the selfish glutton. Tuhoropunga is at her work again.’26 And in the Tuamotus there is a male figure of this name who is known as ‘a prodigious eater’, and who steals large stocks of food for his evil master.27

While the more obvious reference in these examples is to the theft of food, the idea of swallowing has strong overtones of sexual destructiveness as well. There are parallels here with other evil, devouring females such as Te Ngārara-hua-rau and Houmea, as discussed elsewhere.28

The sons’ search for their father

The son’s search for his absent father is one of the basic themes of Polynesian stories, either as a tale in its own right or as one single episode in a longer tale.29 Because of the

24See versions A 1(a) and (b) at the end of this chapter.
25Versions A 1(a), E 4, E 5, E 6(a). Other versions of the name are probably reinterpretations in terms of folk etymology. A footnote in version E 2 says that the name means ‘Tu-who-carries-about-lime-coral’, or ‘Tu-enceinte-with-coral’ (Huarei a Raka, 1936: 608), and version E 3 has the translation ‘La-femme-qui-hante-la-pierre-a-chaux’ (‘The-woman-who-inhabits-limestone’). There is probably also a local explanation for the name in version E 6(b).
26Grey, 1857: 40. Grey has made the subject of this proverb both male and female, perhaps deliberately. There are examples of both male and female figures of this name, and example E 6(a) specifically states that the spirit can assume either form.
28See the discussions in the introductions to ‘Ruru-teina: victory for the youngest son’ and ‘Paowa: an encounter with a witch’.
29See for example Orbell, 1968: 46-51; Grey, 1956: 193; Best, 1925a: 715; White, 1887, IV: 174-5. If the father is already dead, the son sets out to avenge him and to bring back his remains.
prevalence of this theme, one can say with certainty that although their sex is not specifically stated, the two children who go in search of their father in the Murihiku tale are boys.

In most of the 'ogre wife' tales the wife is pregnant when her husband abandons her, and her twin sons are born later. However, in Wohlers's version, as in the Chatham Islands version (E 1), the two children who accompany her are already born. Most of the other versions also mention other children, whose names appear in the song sung by the boys. Often it is daughter, an elder sister to the two boys, who takes her father the message about the strangers' song. This is the case in the Murihiku story.

In the story of the son's quest to find his father, interest often focusses on the vessel used for the journey. This may have magical qualities, or its very construction, from the moment of felling the tree, may have been attended by special circumstances. Thus in the Te Āti Awa version (D 2) the tree is set upright again after each felling and must be wrested from its guardian spirits before it can be worked into a canoe (an episode reminiscent of the story of Rata). In another version (D 1), the boys can turn the canoe into a log of wood to disguise it and later change it back into a canoe again. Elsewhere a supposed canoe turns out to be a bowl when it is eventually seen at close quarters (E 6(a)).

The canoe used by the boys in Wohlers's story is the centre of an extended and lively scene. This vessel is a log of wood, or at least has the appearance of one.30 It must also be endowed with certain magical properties to allow it to make the journey to Rona's home village. Once there, the boys need to ensure that their log is taken on board the right canoe, so each time they approach a canoe, they make the log light with the aid of a karakia. As the people hasten to load it on board, their speech reveals their identity to the boys, who immediately chant another karakia to make the log so heavy that it has to be dropped. It is only when they feel themselves to be near their father's canoe that they allow the log to

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30See textual note 12. Later in the story, the people see and eventually bring to shore a poro rākau, a 'log of wood', which is the word used in other stories in which this is the means of transport used ('Ko Rongo-i-tua' and 'Ko Paowa'). However, in those cases the log seems to be magic because of the people who travel in it. The pīka is said to be whāhangatia, 'made' in some way so that the children can hide inside it. Perhaps this is because, in the other versions of the 'ogre wife' story, the children set to work to build themselves a canoe.
become light enough to be taken on board.

The reunion between the sons and their father has to be accomplished in an indirect way. In Polynesian society the solitary stranger or small party was always in danger of attack from the larger group, until it had been proved beyond all doubt that ties of kinship or common interests bound the two groups. This real life situation is exploited in many stories. Dramatic interest is evoked by the method chosen to disclose identity.31 Because the approach is not straightforward and there are many points at which the plan can fail, tension is maintained to the end: the point at which the father at last recognises and acknowledges his son.

In all the 'ogre wife' stories, once the boys arrive in the village they are in a highly perilous situation. In some versions they climb on to a food storage platform, or else they are captured and secured so that they can be eaten the next day. The fact that in all these stories the boys are destined for the oven probably explains why in Wohlers's story too the log of wood (with the children inside) is placed on the food storage platform. In everyday life this would be a highly unusual storage place for such an item.

The two children begin to sing their song. However, they are not immediately rescued. For some time listeners to or readers of the tale are kept in suspense: will it be overheard by the right person, the one who will be able to interpret their words correctly, or will they go to their deaths unrecognised?

In most cases the words of the song are relayed to the father through an intermediary (usually a daughter, as we have already noted). Though the words of the song vary from version to version, there are elements which are common to many of them. Often, as in the Murihiku version, there is a reference to the moon. The most persistent feature, and in fact the whole point of the songs, is the recital of a list of names. It is by naming members of the family that the children can tell their father and sister who they are. The song sung by

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31 Some of these methods include: catching two birds and teaching them to talk to attract the father’s attention (Tautini-a-whitia in Orbell, 1968: 46-51); making a loud statement about one’s family connections which is intended to be overheard (Tuahu-ri in Stack, 1898: 34); adopting the guise of a pigeon and gradually revealing one’s identity (see episode 8 in 'Ko Māui').
Rona's sons also points out the enormity of the action the father is about to perform.

Once their identity is revealed, the children can be welcomed back and made part of the family again. In the 'ogre wife' stories, once the father has been reunited with his sons there remains the task of disposing of the evil wife. She suffers the fate usually meted out to monsters in stories: she is burnt to death, and in proof of her monster nature, her stomach is said to burst. The burning scene forms a fitting climax to the story, satisfying both the demands of the plot and the human need for justice to be done. The false wife is removed from the scene so that the family can be restored to its proper and natural form once again, and an evil monster is punished for her misdeeds.

In Wohlers's version of the story, however, there is no 'ogre wife' set up in opposition to a human wife. There is only one wife, who with her sons has acted out the second part of the 'ogre wife' story, right up to the moment when the sons are recognised and accepted back into the family. At this point, a mysterious fire breaks out and all Rona's possessions are destroyed.

Wohlers himself seems to have found this puzzling: 'Now it happened that a fire broke out — if by accident, or wilfully by Rona, I do not know — and everything was burnt up.'

There seems to be no logical reason for a fire to occur. In the ogre wife stories, on the other hand, the monster must be destroyed, and so she is burnt before the true wife is brought back into the family. In the Murihiku version, the wife does not come back into the story, and the ogre wife does not exist. Having built up to the grand climax in which the ogress is burnt, it would seem that the narrative now has an empty slot into which this episode usually fits. The fire therefore has its place, even if it can no longer be satisfactorily explained in terms of plot.

That this is the point in the tale at which the wife is usually burnt seems to be confirmed by Creed's version of the tale. Here, Rona is the one who is always running away, remorselessly pursued by his vengeful wife. After he has beaten Hoka, it is he who goes off

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32 Wohlers, 1875: 119.
33 Summary A 1(a). In editing this passage, White has twisted the story almost beyond recognition; see 1887, II: 21-2.
to fetch water, with his wife still in pursuit. As in the Beattie version, his visit to the
moon is an attempt to escape from her. Since she shares many of the characteristics of the
other ogresses, one would expect her to suffer the same sort of fate, and indeed in the
Creed version it seems that this is exactly what happens. Rona sets fire to his home and his
wife burns to death. That he has lit the fire with the express intention of killing his wife is
not spelt out in so many words, but there is a parallel between this death and the burning of
the ogress in the ‘ogre wife’ tales.

Rona in the moon

Like the episode of the mysterious fire, the final episode in which Rona visits and eats the
moon is expressed in such a condensed manner that it is not immediately evident what is
taking place: ‘he started eating the moon. For a long time the moon was large, and then he
ate it until it was small. And then the moon died’. The incident is obviously meant to serve
as an explanation for the moon’s waxing and waning, but in the account as it stands only
half of the process is accounted for. In his 1875 version Wohlers fills in more of the
picture: ‘When he has eaten her up, then he waits till she is full grown again, and then he
eats her up again.’ Creed’s account is perhaps more comprehensible, in that the moon’s
waxing and waning is seen as a process of reciprocal eating: ‘Rona eats the moon until it is
quite gone, and then the moon eats Rona until he is quite gone.’ The moon’s substance
which has disappeared as Rona eats it is presumably thought to reappear as the moon wins
it back by eating Rona.

Just as the burning episode, which forms such a satisfying climax in some versions of the
tale, has now become an unrelated and unexplained incident, so too is Rona’s visit to the

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34 Summary A 1(b). It will be noticed that in both this and Creed’s version the calabash (which is used for
fetching water and is later thrown at or taken to the moon, where it can still be seen) provides a link with the
better-known version (summary A 2). Though Creed’s version does not spell it out, it would seem that Rona
throws the calabash at the moon because he is angry at it, perhaps for withholding its light at the very
moment when he needs it to help him escape from his vengeful wife.

35 In Creed’s version (A 1(a)), the fact that Rona is said to ‘bemoan the woman’ afterwards may suggest that
her death has been merely an unfortunate accident, but according to Māori custom one’s relatives must
always be mourned, no matter how evil they have been.

36 The motif of two beings who constantly consume each other also occurs in a South Island story about Maui
related by a French visitor, Foley, in the early 1840’s. This is set in a fictional context, so may be invented.
However, the realistic geographical details and the tale’s resemblance to other local stories suggest that it is
genuine. See summary C 1.
moon less satisfactory in this version. It can no longer be explained as his flight from his furious and vengeful wife. The story therefore ends on a somewhat ambiguous note. However, the original audience, who were familiar with the whole context of beliefs about the world of which this tale is a part, would no doubt have found the conclusion a satisfying one.

Conclusion

The narrative discussed above shares some features of the better known tale of Rona and the moon: the name of the protagonist, the trip to the moon, and the explanation of natural characteristics of the moon. It has, however, themes which link it to other tales in both Aotearoa and the wider Pacific. Actions such as the placing of the log on the storage platform and episodes such as the mysterious fire and Rona’s visit to the moon, which are hard to understand in the story as it stands, can often be elucidated by a close reading of these other versions. But the story is a unique Murihiku version, with its own blend of motifs.

OTHER VERSIONS

Other versions of the Rona story and of ogre wife tales are listed separately:

RONA

A. Aotearoa

1. Kāi Tahu/Kāti Māmoe

a. Creed

As Creed’s manuscript has previously been published only in White’s badly edited version, it is given here in full, in its curious mixture of Māori and English. In order to make it easier to follow, I have included a summary.

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37 Creed, in Polynesian Society Papers, MS Papers 1187/202, WTu. Creed’s manuscript has two half pages of jottings about the moon, written in a mixture of Māori and English. These concern the argument between the moon and the sun about when they should appear in the sky (reproduced in White, 1887, II: 79), and the small passage about Rona reproduced above (and in White, 1887, II: 21-2).
'Ko Rona te ariki o te rā, o te marama. Na Rona e k[i]i te marama — ma te marama a Rona [e kai]. Na Turaki te moon.

He tangata oma a Rona, whai[ar] ana e te wahine kia patua ia. Ka hori a Rona ki te moana. Ka tukua a Hoka i te rangi ki te wahine, Hine-horo-mātai. Tukituki i ngā ari [? ārai]. A day after, the woman and children went to sea, when Rona called in feigned manner and got down Koka [i.e. Hoka] from heaven and killed him. When they returned from the sea he then went out for water and dried it up as he went.

He came to the moon. He threw one tahā, tūmāw tonu atu ki te moon, the other he threw down. The woman then followed him. He fled to the sun but was driven back by its burning rays. He fled to the moon and at length he returned to place, set it on fire and the woman burnt, and so sought his children and after having bemoaned the woman, he went and was tūmā with the moon.

Rona eats the moon until it is quite gone, and then the moon eats Rona until he is quite gone.'

Summary: Rona is the lord of the sun and the moon. The moon is the child of Turaki. Rona was a man who ran away, pursued by his wife, Hine-horo-matai, who wished to kill him. Whenever Rona went off fishing, Hoka came down from the sky to the woman, and broke down the fences. One day, while the woman was away, Rona called Hoka down and killed him.

He then went to get water, which dried up as he came near. He threw one calabash up to the moon, and threw the other down on the ground. When the woman pursued him, he took refuge first in the sun and then in the moon. He came back down to earth and killed his wife by burning her. He mourned her, and then took his children up to the moon, where he remained permanently.

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38 White has this as he whai (aru) i tana wahine kia patua eia, but in view of what happens later (twisted round by White to fit in with his own interpretation of events), it seems much more likely that e te wahine is correct and that whai should have a passive ending (omitted because of the following a in ana).
Rona, a man, is married to Hine-araro-te-pari. As in Wohlers’s version, he finds his fences blown down whenever he returns from his fishing trips, but his wife blames this on the wind. One day he remains at home, and his children tell him about their mother’s lover from the skies. When she invites the lover down, he replies, ‘No! I will not come as Rona is a devil (atuahae).’ Her answer is, ‘Rona is away fishing out on the sea, the foam of which you can see where it is breaking here and there.’

Rona takes a matā (flint), calls Hoka down using his wife’s words, and kills him. He sends the children to fetch water in a tahā (drinking vessel), and cooks parts of Hoka to give to his wife to eat. When his wife has eaten some of the flesh he follows the children, shouting back to tell her what she is eating. She rushes after them, and Rona hides the children in a cliff. Finding nowhere to hide himself, he takes refuge in the moon, where he can still be seen sitting with the tahā in front of him. His children become spirits in the cliffs. Ka-tamariki-a-Hine-araro-te-pari (‘the children of Hine-araro-te-pari’) has become a proverbial expression for echoes, and is the name by which echoes are known in Murihiku.

2. Ngā Puhi

This version is summarised in the first paragraph of this chapter.

In Northland, the story seems to have become localised in a specific area. In one of White’s novels, the position of Rona’s house, the spring from which he fetched water and other landmarks are all pointed out as the story is told to younger members of the tribe. Elsewhere, too, there is evidence that the story was linked with a well in Kaipara, Northland.

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39Beattie, 1918: 161.
40There is a parallel here with Houmea, who also has designs on her own children.
41Davis, 1855: 165-7; White, 1887, II: 26 (English); 25 (Māori). White has two other versions which closely resemble this one: 1887, II: 20-1 (English); 19-20 (Māori). See note 8 for other similar versions.
42White, 1940: 199-201.
43Smith, 1895: 41.
3. *Ngāti Hau*\(^{44}\)

These versions are similar to those of Ngā Puhi.

**B. Island Polynesia**

1. *Tahiti/Tuamotu* \(^{45}\)

Part 1. Ro’o-nui comes from the underworld and marries Haumea, but abandons her after their child, Tuture, is born. Haumea becomes a cannibal, eating her own food raw but cooking her son’s. Tuture, afraid of being eaten, makes holes in the bottom of calabashes, sends his mother off to get water in them, and puts out to sea. When Haumea swims after him, he feeds her with hot stones and coconut milk, and she sinks to the bottom of the ocean. Her head strikes against a branch of coral, and two long teeth grow. She comes back to shore again as Nona-nihoniho-roroa, Nona-of-the-long-teeth.

Part 2. Nona now sets about eating all the inhabitants of the land. She goes fishing to feed her daughter, Hina. During her absence, Hina takes food to her lover, Monoi-here, one of the few survivors of Nona’s cannibal raids. On Hina’s arrival, the two exchange a formulaic greeting which is both a password to identify themselves and a spell to open the cave where Monoi-here lives:

- Hina: Monoi-here is the man, and Hina the woman.
- Monoi-here: Thou art not Hina but Nona-long-teeth, art thou not?
- Hina: Nona is gone to the long reef, to the short reef, to fish by torchlight for us, O my darling. Thou root of the rock, split open!

Nona eventually becomes suspicious, follows her daughter and learns the spell. Later she

\(^{44}\)Taylor, 1870: 209; White, 1887, II: 21.

\(^{45}\)Leverd, 1912: 1-5. Part two of the story is also found in Henry, 1928: 552-5, and a Tuamotuan version in Te Aipitarioi-a-nui-a-parara, 1910: 173-5. In the latter version, the woman is called Rona. In all versions, Hina and Noa have a son called Hema, whose sons are Karihi and Tāwhaki. Rona/Nona therefore occupies the same genealogical slot as the cannibal Whaitiri in the Murihiku version of the Tāwhaki saga. As noted by Orbell (1968: xvi), in one version of the Houmea story, Houmea’s sons are Nini and Nana. These names would also seem to be associated with the name Nona assumed by Haumea when she comes back to life after chasing her son Tuture.
returns to open the cave and eat the young man. When the girl discovers what has
happened, she puts a banana tree and a coconut on her bed to deceive her mother, and runs
away. The mother finds out and follows her, intending to eat her. Hina takes refuge with a
man called Noa-huruuru, who kills the mother and marries Hina.

2. Tuvalu (Ellice Islands) 46

Sina-fakalua is the child of Alona and Sina. She calls up to the sky to Sina-fofo-langi, the
daughter of La and Langi, to come down and play with her, but Sina-fofo-langi replies, 'I
am not coming down, because Alona is a man-eating god.'

Sina-fakalua tells her, 'Alona has gone. He has gone to gather food and firewood.'

The two girls pick flowers in the bush and play in the talo gardens. After Sina-fofo-langi
has left, Alona returns and threatens to eat anyone caught playing in the talo gardens. On
Sina-fofo-langi's third visit Alona pretends to go off fishing, hides in a hut and watches the
girls breaking twigs and picking flowers in the talo gardens. He catches and eats Sina-fofo-
langi.

Sina-fakalua becomes ill with grief, so Alona takes a bowl of sea-water and vomits up the
body of Sina-fofo-langi, part of it healthy and part rotten. He tells his daughter that in two
days her friend will be breathing, and on the third day she will be alive again, but she must
be detained on earth and not allowed to fly back to her parents in the sky. During his
absence on a fishing trip, Sina-fofo-langi, now resuscitated, is carried away by a passing
flock of frigate birds.

C. Related Material

1. Kāi Tahu \(^{47}\)

Māui and the moon:

Māui lives on Banks Peninsula. A giant who covets Māui’s wife comes to attack him, but is conquered by Māui and cast to the bottom of the sea. Māui piles mountains on top of him, but the giant manages to break free, his struggles forming first Akaroa harbour, then Pigeon Bay and Lake Forsyth. When Māui dies his soul fishes up the moon and lives there, but the giant’s soul comes to attack him again. Māui, repeating the actions performed during his lifetime, conquers the giant and buries him under the moon. The giant eats the moon, but is in such pain that he is eventually forced to vomit it up again. The alternate eating and vomiting up by the giant is said to account for the waxing and waning of the moon.

2. Waitakere Ranges \(^{48}\)

Sky lover:

Hau-ā-uru, the West Wind, comes to Wairaka during her husband Tamatea’s absence. On Tamatea’s return, Hau-ā-uru lashes the sea and the land with a severe storm. Eventually he abducts Wairaka (the rest of the story concerns Tamatea’s search for his wife; see the summaries at the end of ‘Tama: the origin of tattooing’).

See also the summaries of the story of Houmea at the end of ‘Paowa: an encounter with a witch’. Motifs in common are: a woman who swallows fish (compare Hine-horo-mātai in version A 1(a) above); the pursuit of the hero of the tale; the canoe which becomes heavy or light to achieve its ends.

\(^{47}\)Foley, 1874: 127-9, translated in P. Tremewan, 1986: 6-7. Although the name of the third cleft to be formed is given in lower case, ‘le petit lac’ (‘the little lake’), this is in fact the French name for Lake Forsyth, Lake Eliesmere being ‘le grand lac’ (‘the big lake’).

\(^{48}\)Diamond, 1979: 32.
THE Ogre Wife

This story is so widespread in Polynesia that individual summaries are not given here. Instead, there is first a general outline, and then a list of versions. Included in the latter are the names of the three main characters, and any points which add something significant to the main outline. Other names, such as those of the children and the land to which the human wife travels, are often given in the story but are not included here. The ogre wife is described in different ways. In the list which follows, quotation marks are placed around descriptive words which are taken directly from the relevant text.

Outline of the ‘ogre wife’ tale

A husband and wife are out fishing. While the wife dives down to free the anchor, an ogress boards the canoe and persuades the husband that she is his wife. They paddle off, leaving the real wife in the sea.

The real wife is carried ashore at a deserted place by a wave, a big fish, or a taniwha. She makes a house, gives birth to twin boys, and brings them up (in stories from Aotearoa, she cultivates the kūmara washed up on the beach or growing wild in the land). When her children grow up, she teaches them a song or a karakia, and helps them make a canoe. The canoe usually has magical properties.

The children go in search of their father. When they arrive at his village, they climb into a storehouse or are tied up as food. They sing a song which is heard by their father, or reported to him by their sister or someone else. He recognises them as his sons, and his people burn the ogre woman in her own house, or throw her into the oven which has been prepared to cook the boys. Her stomach bursts in the heat, usually revealing the stones, trees and other things which she has swallowed to feign pregnancy. The husband’s gullibility in living for so long with a ‘wife’ who fails to give birth is sometimes

49 Even when the song is set out as ordinary direct speech, its form and its resemblance to the songs sung by the children in the other versions make it clear that it is in fact a song. As in the Munihiku version, it is usually sung twice. Usually there is an allusion to the rising moon and to the names of members of the family.
humourously treated: ‘How is it that you didn’t notice that ten years passed without her
giving birth? It takes nine moons to make a child!’ says the wife in version E 4.

There is sometimes, though not always, a reconciliation with the first wife.

The numbering here continues the sequence established above.

D. Aotearoa

1. Kāi Tahu/Kāti Māmoe 50

Husband: Kamure; wife: Kupe; ‘spirit woman’: Hine-wairua.

The latter pursues the couple in the form of a shag. The boys’ canoe can be pulled into the
shape of a log to disguise it, then pulled back into a canoe shape.

2. Te Āti Awa 51

Husband: Kame-tara; wife and ‘ogre woman’ (wahine tipua) unnamed.

The ogre woman steals fish and eats them raw, and she also exerts control over the fish
(they close their mouths and refuse to bite at her command).52 The canoe-building episode
closely resembles the one in the story of Rata. The boys’ sister and tribe recognise them by
their song and accompany them back to their mother. The boys never see Kame-tara, who
is visiting his ogre wife in another village.

50Beattie, 1920: 136-8. Another story related by Beattie (1920: 138) has some similar features (the
abandoned wife, the song sung to the child), but other motifs differ from those in ogre wife stories: the child
does not go in search of its father and the song plays no part in a recognition scene. Instead, the brother seeks
his sister, brings her back, and kills his brother-in-law. The fate of the ogre wife (here called a mermaid) is
not mentioned.

51Te Whetū, 1897: 97-106. Shand’s short summary of another Te Āti Awa version (1911: 152-3) is
essentially the same, except for the names: the husband is Kamura, the wife Kome-tara, and the ogre wife is
called a Ngārara-woman.

52Compare Whaitiri’s actions in the section ‘Whaitiri and Houmea the shag woman’ in the introduction to
‘Whaitiri and Tāwhaki: the woman from the skies and her chiefly grandson’.
E. Island Polynesia

1. *Chatham Islands* 53

Husband: Tchu (Tu); wife: Reiapanga; ‘monster woman’: Rei-kuru-pakupaku.

The monster eats Tchu’s fish raw and dives like a shag.

2. *Manihiki* 54

Husband: Tu; wife: Rei; ‘female demon’ (*vaerua-kino*): Tu-here-punga.

The twin boys are given the names their father chose for them on learning that his wife was pregnant. Later, when Tu hears their names, he remembers the instructions he gave to his wife. The canoe is made with the help of various species of crabs. The boys turn themselves into crabs when they reach Tu’s village. The ogre wife is exposed when she is unable to repeat the house karakia (the boys have learnt it from their mother).

3. *Tahiti* 55

Husband: Tu; wife: Kuhikiave (in another version, Roi); ogre wife: Kio or Mohine-tihoro-puga.

The husband discovers the identity of the ogress when his sons complain that she feeds them on urine and excrement.

4. *Marquesas* 56

Husband: Tu-te-anuanua; wife: Mai-o-te-ra; ogre wife: Kopu-horo-to’e.

When the ogre wife’s identity is revealed, Tu kicks her in the stomach and she flees to the sea, where she gives birth to various sea creatures.

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55Huarei a Raka, 1936: 674-80.
56Lavondes, 1964: 26-33. (The second half of the story relates the adventures of the son.)
5. Mangareva 57

Husband: Garagi; wife: Vai-hunarei-tinaku; ‘female cannibal’: Tu-horo-puga.

Garagi drifts to Tu-horo-puga’s land, and his wife is left behind. Her twins build a canoe of reeds and travel to the island.

6. Tuvalu (Ellice Islands)

(a) 58 Husband: Toka-lalanga; wife: Tapu-lei; ‘cannibal spirit’: Atua-solo-punga.

The cannibal spirit can assume the shape of a man or a woman. It sends Tapu-lei away in a bowl. Toka-lalanga’s people eventually catch a wooden bowl at sea, with two boys inside. Toka-lalanga recognises this as his own bowl. When Atua-solo-punga is thrown into the oven her stomach bursts, scattering stones, rubbish and coconut trees.

(b) 59 Wife: Sina; ogre wife: Atua-fili-punga.

The name Tapu-lei which occurs in the children’s lament is said to belong to the grandmother.

7. Bellona/Rennell 60


A second version gives no names, but according to the song Sina-ngei-tataki is the wife. The names are cognate with those in version E 6(a) above; ngei is the dialectal equivalent of rei.

8. Tonga 61

Husband: Sinilau; wife: Sina; ‘demon’: unnamed.

57 Hiroa, 1938: 378-80.
59 Kennedy, 1930: 176-80.
The demon wife wraps Sina up in a bundle and gives it to Sinilau to drop far out at sea. She makes herself resemble Sina, and swallows a stone and a lump of wood to make her look pregnant. She eventually gives birth to twin boys (they are identical to the twin boys to whom Sina gives birth, but are monsters and are eventually killed, along with their mother).
KO RONA


Ka karanga iho a Hoka, ‘E kore au e tae atu; he atua hae, ko Rona. Ka riro a Rona ki tai o te moana, hū ana i konā.’

Ā, ka tuku iho a Hoka. I tawhiti anō te pane o Hoka, pae rawa ngā takitaki, pae rawa ngā whare, pae rawa ngā kāinga. Ka moe ki te wahine — i te awatea. Ā, ka hoki a Hoka.

Ā ... ka ū mai te waka i te moana, ka whakarei ngā ika, ka pū ki uta. Haere atu te hunga wahine ki tātahi. Ka pīkaungia mai ngā ika ki te whata. Whakairiiria. Ka haere a Rona ki te kāinga. I tawhiti anō a Rona, ka titiro atu, kua pae ngā takitaki me ngā whare. Ka mahara a Rona, ‘Na te aha i pae ai ngā takitaki me ngā whare?’

Ka tae atu te wahine, ka kī atu a Rona, ‘I pae ngā takitaki nei i te aha?’

Ka kī mai te wahine, ‘I pae i te hau — na te hau i tukituki.’

Ka kī atu a Rona, ‘I whea tēnei hau e tangi nei?’

Ka kī atu te wahine, ‘Ē — ko tū-ā-hau ake!’

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1White 1887, II: 22-6 (English); 21-4 (Maori).
2The form of these names is slightly different later in this passage.
3The only example Williams gives of this word is this particular one. In modern usage it means ‘sport’.
4The meaning of hā, like that of hākinakina, has to be derived from the context: both words must be similar in meaning. Williams gives hā (iv): ‘desire’.
5The manuscript has rāwe here.
6This is Wohlers’s original punctuation for these two sentences. When rewriting the passage for later publication he suppressed Ka moe ki te wahine and corrected the rest to what at first sight looks like a logical rendering: I te awatea anō ka hoki atu a Hoka. However, the remark about the daylight is in fact highlighted in the original version: the two lovers are making the most of the time in which Rona is absent (see a further discussion in the introduction to this story). Although it is not stated in so many words, Rona must be following the usual pattern and returning at the end of the day with his catch.
7When rewriting the story, Wohlers considerably condensed these passages in which incidents and
Ka kī atu te wha o Rona, ‘Kāhore ra he hau o waho o te moana.’

Ka kī atu te wahine, ‘E — kia aha tēnei hau!’


‘E kore au e tae atu, he atua haec ko Rona. Ka riro [a] Rona ki tai o te moana, hī ana i konā.’

Ka tuku iho a Hoka. I tawhiti anō te pane o Hoka, tā mai, pae rawa ngā takitaki, pae rawa ngā whare. Ka tae mai ki te wahine, ka moe rāua. Ka hoki a Hoka.

Ā, ka ū mai ngā waka, ka pakaina mai ngā ika ki uta. Whana atu ngā wāhine. Ka hari mai ki uta. Ā, whakairia ki te tiro.8 Ā, ka haere mai ngā tāngata ki te kāinga. I tawhiti anō, ka tītiro anō a Rona, kua pae ngā takitaki, kua pae hoki ngā whare. ‘Na te aha ra i tukituki?’

Ka tae mai te wahine, ka kī atu tērā ki te wahine, ‘Na te aha i pae ai ngā takitaki me ngā whare?’

Ka kī atu te waha o te wahine, ‘Na te hau.’

Ka kī atu te waha o te tāne, ‘I uta anake pea tēnei hau e tangi nei.’

Ka kī atu te waha o te wahine, ‘E — ko tū-ā-hau ake!’

Ā, ka noho rāua ko te wahine. Ka pō te rā, ka moe rāua.

Ka [a]o ake i te ata, ka takoto te āio. Ā, ka mānū ngā waka ki te moana. Ā, ka whakataruna a Rona, ka whakamate pateia i a ia. Ka takoto ia. Ā, ka haere te wahine ki waho. Kei rō o te

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8 *Tiro* is not given in this sense in Williams, but from the context (here and in other stories) it seems to be a synonym for *whata*. See the section 'The Language of the South', subsection C 3, for a further discussion.
whare anō tērā e takoto ana. Ka hua te wahine kei te moe tērā — kāhore, kei te takoto anō.
Na, whakarongo tērā e karanga ana te wahine, ‘E Hoka, tukua iho, ūaua nei, ki raro nei, hākinakina!’

‘E kore au e tae atu, he atua hae, ko Rona. Ka riro a Rona ki tai o te moana, hū ana i konā.’

Ka whakarongo ake tērā, ‘Ē, koia a Hoka anō e tukituki nei i aku takitaki me tuku whare.
Kei te haere mai ia ki te wahine.’

I tawhiti anō te pane o Hoka, tukituki mai ki ngā takitaki. Ka whakatika ake tērā, a Rona,
whai atu ki a Hoka, te raho o Hoka; hae[a] ake te raho o Hoka,10 tukua atu a Hoka kia
haere; ko te raho i mauria mai. Ka taona te raho, ka hoatu kia kai te wahine. Ka noho te
wahine. Ā, ka tona a atu te wahine kia haere ki te wai. Ā, whai atu tou ngā tamariki. Ā,
haere tou atu, me te pākīhi haere te wai. Ā, tahuri tou, he pae maunga. Na, ka karanga atu e
Rona, ‘Haere ra na: ka kore,11 ka kai koe i te raho o tōu tāne.’

Ā, ka ngaro atu te wahine. Ka noho anō tērā i te kāinga, me te tamāhine. Ā, ka haere a
Rona ki te moana. Ā, ka ū mai ki uta. Ka whana atu ngā tāngata me te hunga wāhine ki
tātahi. Ka hari mai ngā makā ki te whata, whakairia ai. Ka haere ki te kāinga, noho ai —
tahu umu makā. Ā, ka moe, ka [a]o ake i te ata, ka haere ki te moana. Ka ū mai ki uta.
Whana atu te hunga wāhine, tari mai ki te tiro, whakairia. Ka haere mai ngā tāngata ki te

Tērā te hākui te kī atu ki ngā tamariki, ‘Nau mai haere ki tō kōrua hākoro. E kore hoki, e
kōrua, e ngaro tō kōrua hākoro.’

(Kua tae mai te wahine me ngā tamariki ki te kāinga kē.) Ka tona mai aua tamariki. Ka

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9 In his c.1850 version, Wohlers has this sentence as part of the narrative. In the 1874 version it forms part
of the direct speech. The latter interpretation seems more likely. In the previous incidents, Hoka’s arrival has
been introduced by ka: ka tuku iho a Hoka.

10 There is a slight confusion here: there is a line through Hoka, but o remains, with a comma after it.
Wohlers was perhaps trying to eliminate the repetition of the word Hoka.

11 The manuscript has kahore here, but kāhore is not used with ka to make a negative. Wohlers has corrected
it to ka kore in his later manuscript, translating as ‘If you come back you shall eat it’, and this would seem to
be the sense required. It is not specifically stated that the wife does not eat the raho, but the use of Ka noho te
wahine recalls incidents in the stories of Tāne and Ruru-teina, in which similar terms are used to express the
fact that the food is left untouched.
whaihangatia mai ki te päka.\textsuperscript{12} Ka tomo aua tamariki nei ki roto. Ka körero atu te hākui, ‘Haere kōrua, ka tae, he pā, whakarongo ai. Ka kore\textsuperscript{13} e kōrua, ka haere. Ka tae, he kāinga, ka whakarongo. Ka kore e kōrua, ka haere.’

Ā, ka tukua mai aua tamariki. Ka tae, he kāinga, ka ū ki uta, ka whakarongo; kāhore, ka haere. Ka tae, he kāinga, ka whakarongo: kāhore; ka haere. Ā, ka haere aua tamariki, ka tae ki tēnā kāinga, ka whakarongo; ā, kāhore i tēnā kāinga, ka haere. Ā, ka haere aua tamariki. Ā, ka tae ki ngā waka, e tau ana ngā waka i te moana, e patu maŋa ana. Ā, ka tae ki tēnā waka, ka karanga ngā tāngata o runga o te waka, ‘Tā tātou nei poro rākau.’

Ā, ka kī ake taua rākau (aua tamariki o roto), ‘Kia taumaha.’

Ā, takoto tou. Ā, ka tere taua poro rākau. Ka tae ki tēnā waka. Ka whāwhai mai tēnā waka, kia utaina ai ki runga o te waka. Ka mea ake aua tamariki nei, ‘Kia māmā, kia māmā.’

Ka whāwhai iho ai ngā ringaringa o te tangata. Ka mea ake aua tamariki nei, ‘Kia māmā, kia māmā.’

Ka karanga ake te tangata, ‘Māmā taku rehe\textsuperscript{14} tēnei poro rākau.’

Ka mea ake ngā tamariki nei, ‘Kia taumaha, kia taumaha.’

Ka tukua atu ki rō o te wai. Ka tere taua poro rākau, ka tae ki te waka o te hākoro. Ā, ka karanga ake te waka, ‘Tā tātou nei poro rākau!’

Ā, whāwhai iho te kauhoe. Karanga ake te kauhoe, ‘Taumaha rokuroku\textsuperscript{15} ia.’

Ā, ka tukua atu ia ki rō o te wai. Ā, ka tere haere taua poro rākau. Ā, ka rite ki te hākoro.

\textsuperscript{12}None of the meanings given in Williams for pāka seems to fit the context here. It is either a transliteration of the English word ‘box’, or a dialectal word. Tiramōrehu uses the same word in a similar story (White, 1887, I: 154-5). See a further discussion in the introduction to this story.

\textsuperscript{13}A passive verb is understood here, rongona or possibly kitea.

\textsuperscript{14}Rehe is given in Williams as an ‘adverb intensive used with certain adjectives’, but it is hard to see what function taku has here. It may be a colloquial idiom, in which taku has no grammatical function in the sentence but merely indicates the speaker’s interest in the question, ‘I say, isn’t this log light!’ or ‘My goodness, isn’t it light!’

\textsuperscript{15}Although this looks like rakukan in the manuscript, rokuroku seems more likely. According to Williams, roku androroku mean ‘bend, be weighed down’, so that rokuroku here may be acting as an intensive after taumaha.
Ka mea ake taua poro rākau nei, ‘Kia māmā, kia māmā.’

Ka whāia atu e te hākoro. Takoto anō i runga i te waka, i roto i te taumanu o te hākoro. Ā, ka patu maŋa te hākoro i runga i taua poro rākau. Ā ... anō ka tomo te waka, ka hoe ki uta. Ka ĭ ki uta. Ka haere mai te hunga wāhine, ka tae mai, ka pīkau atu ngā maŋa. Ka hari atu ki uta. Ā, ka tae mai te tamāhine a taua tangata nei, a Rona, ka ki atu a Rona, ‘Na, ūau na poro rākau.’

Mauria ki runga o te w[h]ata, iria. Ā, ka pīkau[a] atu ngā maŋa, ka w[h]akairia ki te tiro.

Ka haere ki te kāinga ngā tāngata, ka tae, ka noho i te kāinga. Noho nei te tamāhine a Rona, ki atu ki te hākoro, ‘Ka haere au ki wahoi, whatu ai i aku pātītī16 hei uwhi.’ Ā, haere mai nei te tamāhine, ka noho, whatu ai. Whakarongo anō e tangi mai ana aua tamariki i roto i taua poro rākau:

Te marama, ĭ, tārie, kia puta mai koe i te pae,
Āpōpō ia māua nei, ki te ata,
Patua ai e tō māua nei matua tāne ra,
I a Urupa-hikahika, i a Tū-te-kororī,
I a Tū-te-kororā, Pipī, ē, Koru, ē, Wai-kura.
Te marama, ĭ, tārie, kia puta mai koe i te pae ra,
Āpōpō ia māua nei, i te ata,
Patua ai e tō māua nei matua wahine ra,
I a Urupa-hikahika, i a Tū-te-kororī,
I a Tū-te-kororā, Pipī, ē, Koru, ē, Wai-kura.

Ā, haere atu taua tamāhine, kōrero ki te hākoro. Ā, ka haere mai te hākoro, rokokina mai ana tamariki e tangi mai nei i roto i taua poro rākau. Ā, ka wethea, ka tukua ki raro.

Ka whara ngā tiro, ka tahuna ki te ahi. Mahiti katoa ngā kai. Kākore hoki he kai takoto a ētahi tāngata rawa, a ētahi tāngata rawa. Mahiti katoa i te ahi.


16Williams gives pātītī as ‘Microlaena stipoides, a grass’. Wohlers translates it as ‘a coarse grass-mat’. As the daughter is weaving it hei uwhi, ‘as a covering’, it must be some sort of cloak or cape, perhaps one of the coarse sort used as protection from the rain.
Karakia hī tuna, hī ika hoki

Taku aho nei, ka tangi wiwini.
Taku aho nei, ka tangi wawana.
Taku aho nei, ka hinga, ka mate ra.
Kai mai, kai mai, e te kōkopu,
Ki taku nei mōunu nei.
Tara wiwini, tara wawana,
Kia ai he whakataunga māu
Ki te uru ūti, ki te makau.
Tara wiwini, tara wawana,
E tuapeka ki Wai-kōrire.

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17 The heading was added by White, but there is nothing in the text to suggest that the karakia could be used for eelting as well as fishing. However, both kōkopu (Galaxias fasciatus) and tuna live in fresh water, and Best records a karakia which mentions both, so it is possible that they were sometimes linked in this way (Best, 1977: 130).

The karakia may be meant to accompany 'Ko Rona', which it follows in the manuscript, or may be an example of one which was used on Ruapuke Island at the time when Wohlers lived there. On the whole its meaning is clear, though there are some words which are ambiguous. This ambiguity may be partly deliberate (to deceive the listening fish).

There are published versions of karakia which are similar to this one (Best, 1977: 62-3; 130-1; 219). The fishing line (aho) is addressed, and sent down into the water. The words wiwini and wawana are typical of matching pairs of words often found in karakia. In the karakia recorded by Best, uru ūti and uru ūtā are a similar pair (uru may mean 'point'; see uru (ii) 3 in Williams). Both wiwini and wawana convey the idea of dread: the fish are being threatened, but at the same time they are being enticed to come and take the bait (kai mai, kai mai).

Makau may be matau or maka, both meaning 'fish-hook'. Makau, tara and uru are apparently synonyms here. When the fish come to the hook they are tuapeka, 'deceived': caught by the power of this karakia.

18 There is probably some mythical allusion in the name in the last line. One would expect it to be the name of a stream which is connected with some archetypal event (such as Māui's killing of Tuna). This would give extra mana to the karakia. I have been unable to trace the allusion. However, the name is used in one context which suggests a parallel. In a lament for a Bay of Plenty chief there is a reference to ships anchoring at Wai-kōrire, which is said to be an inlet in the Tauranga river where a severe defeat was suffered by Ngāi-te-rangi (Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: song 220, line 39). In waiata names are often mentioned because of their symbolic significance, so although this waiata commemorates a recent event, it is possible that the name Wai-kōrire is used because it has other overtones.
TRANSLATION

Rona married Urupa-hikahika, and their children were born: Tū-tō-te-korarī, Tū-tō-te-kororā, Pipi, Kařure and Wai-kura.

One day Rona went off out to sea. When he had gone, Urupa-hikakika called, ‘Hoka, come down here, and we’ll enjoy ourselves down here, the two of us.’

Hoka called down to her, ‘No, I won’t come to you, for Rona is a jealous god. When Rona has gone far away out to sea, then we’ll take our pleasure down there.’

So then Hoka came down. When Hoka’s head was still a long way off, the fences toppled down, the houses toppled down, the villages toppled down. Hoka went to bed with the woman — there in the daylight. Then he went away again.

After a long time the canoe came back from the sea, and the men unloaded the fish, piling them up on the shore. The party of women went down to the beach to carry the fish back to the storage platform, where they hung them up. Rona went home. While he was still a long way off he saw that the fences and houses were all in ruins. Rona thought to himself, ‘Whatever was it that smashed down the fences and the houses?’

When his wife came to him, he said to her, ‘What was it that smashed down the fences?’

His wife said, ‘They were destroyed by the wind — it was the wind that knocked them all down.’

Rona said, ‘Wherever did this wind that was blowing here come from?’

His wife answered, ‘Oh well, it was quite a wind!’

Rona said, ‘But there wasn’t a wind out at sea.’

His wife said, ‘What a wind it was here!’

Rona and his wife stayed at home and went to sleep. When dawn came, the sea was calm, and Rona set off out to sea. When he had gone off, his wife called, ‘Hoka, come down
here, and we’ll enjoy ourselves down here, the two of us.’

‘No, I won’t come to you, for Rona is a jealous god. When Rona has gone far away out to
sea, then we’ll take our pleasure down there.’

Hoka came down. When Hoka’s head was still a long way off he thrust it forward and the
fences and the houses all toppled down. He came to the woman and they slept together.
Then Hoka went away again.

Some time later the canoes came back to land, and the men unloaded the fish on to the
shore. The women came down and carried them ashore. Then they hung them up in the
storehouse. The people came back to the village. While Rona was still some distance away,
he saw once again that the fences had all toppled down, and the houses too had all toppled
down. ‘Whatever knocked these over?’

When his wife came up, he said to her, ‘What was it that smashed down the fences and the
houses?’

The woman said, ‘It was the wind.’

Her husband replied, ‘Well, it seems this wind was only blowing on shore.’

She replied, ‘Oh yes, it was quite a wind.’

And so he and his wife stayed at home. When the sun went down, they went to sleep.

The next morning, the sea was calm, so the canoes put out to sea. But Rona pretended he
was not feeling well, and remained lying down. So his wife went outside. He remained
lying down inside the house. His wife believed he was asleep — but no, he was just lying
there. And so he listened to his wife calling out, ‘Hoka, come down here, and we’ll enjoy
ourselves down here, the two of us!’

‘No, I won’t come to you, for Rona is a jealous god. When Rona has gone far away out to
sea, then we’ll take our pleasure down there.’
But Rona was listening: ‘Aha, so it’s Hoka is it, who’s knocking down my fences and my house. He’s coming to see my wife.’

When Hoka’s head was still a long way off, it knocked the fences down. Rona got up and seized Hoka, seized him by the testicles, and cut off Hoka’s testicles. He then let Hoka go, but he kept the testicles. He cooked the testicles, and gave them to his wife. But she just sat there.

So he sent his wife off to get some water. Her children followed on after her. They all kept on going, with the water drying up as they went. When at length they turned round, there were mountain ranges all round.

Now Rona called out to her, ‘Off you go, then — if you don’t, you’ll have to eat your lover’s testicles!’

So the woman disappeared.

Rona went on living in the village with his daughter. Rona would go off out to sea, and when at length he came back to shore the men and women would go down to the beach. They would carry the barracouta to the storage platform and hang them up. They would go to the village to stay, and to light their barracouta oven. Then they would go to bed, and when dawn broke, go off out to sea again. When they got back to shore, the group of women would go down and carry the catch back to the storage platform and hang it up. The people would come back to the village. Then they would light their barracouta oven, and eat their meal. When the next day came, they would go off out to sea again.

As for the mother, she said to her children, ‘Off you go to find your father. Your father certainly won’t be hard to find.’

(The woman and her children had come to another village.)

She sent her children off. She made them a box and they got into it. Their mother told them, ‘Off you go, you two, and when you get to a place where there is a pā, you must
listen. If you can’t hear anything, then go on. When you get to somewhere where there is a village, listen. If you can’t hear anything, then go on.’

So she sent the children off. They came to a place where there was a village, and came ashore and listened, but there was nothing to be heard, so they went on. They came to another village and listened: still nothing, so they went on. So these children continued on their way, and at each village they listened, and then when there was nothing at that village, they went on, and on again. And then at last they came to some canoes, and these canoes were riding at anchor out at sea, while the people fished for barracouta. So as the children came up to one canoe, the people on the canoe cried, ‘That’s our log of wood!’

Then that log of wood (the children inside it) said, ‘Let it be heavy!’

So it was just left there. And then the log of wood floated off and came to another canoe. That canoe hurried forward so as to load the log on to the canoe. The children said, ‘Let it be light, let it be light!’

The people stretched their hands down to grab it. The children said, ‘Let it be light, let it be light!’

The people called, ‘How light this log of wood is!’

The children said, ‘Let it be heavy, let it be heavy!’

They let the log of wood drop back into the water, and it floated off, and came to their father’s canoe. The people in the canoe cried, ‘That’s our log of wood!’

So the paddlers rushed forward. The paddlers cried, ‘It’s terribly heavy!’

So they let the log of wood drop back into the water, and it went floating off. At length it came level with their father, and the log of wood said, ‘Let it be light, let it be light!’

The father caught it up, and laid it in the boat in the middle of the thwarts of his canoe. And so their father killed his barracouta on top of that log of wood. And after a long time when the canoe was full they paddled back to shore. When they landed the group of women
came and met them and carried off the barracouta. They carried everything ashore. And Rona’s daughter came up, and Rona told her, ‘There you are, that’s your log of wood.’

So she put it on the storage platform and left it hanging there. The barracouta were brought back and hung in the storehouse. The people went off to the village, and when they got there, they stayed there at the village. Rona’s daughter was there too, and she said to her father, ‘I’m going outside to weave this grass into a cloak.’

So the daughter went off and sat down to weave her cloak. She listened to the children singing their lament inside the log of wood:

O moon, I, wait for a while before rising over the hills,
For tomorrow at dawn we two here
Shall be killed by our father there,
Along with Urupa-hikahika, Tū-te-kororī,
Tū-te-kororā, Pipi, ē, Koru, ē, and Wai-kura.
O moon, I, wait for a while before rising over the hills,
For tomorrow at dawn we two here
Shall be killed by our mother there,
Along with Urupa-hikahika, Tū-te-kororī,
Tū-te-korarā, Pipi, ē, Koru, ē, and Wai-kura.

So the daughter went off to tell her father, and her father came and found the children singing their lament there in the log of wood. And so he unfastened it and brought it down.

Then the storehouses were knocked down and burnt in a fire. All the food was destroyed. There was no food laid by for anyone at all — for anyone at all. It was all destroyed by the fire.

So Rona lived on there. And then, after many days had passed, he went off and landed on the sun. But the sun kept blazing down, and so he could not come close to the sun. So he went to join the moon. He managed to get close to the moon, and then he started eating it. For a long time the moon was large, and then he ate it until it was small. And then the moon died.
Karakia used in catching eels or fish

My fishing line here, its cry is awesome.
My fishing line here, its cry is dreadful.
My fishing line here, it is dropped, it sinks there.
Bite here, bite here, O you kōkopu,
Bite here at my bait.
Awesome point, dreadful point,
That allows you to be landed
By the sharp point, by the hook.
Awesome point, dreadful point,
Which will deceive at Wai-kōrire.
13

TAMA:

THE ORIGIN OF TATTOOING
INTRODUCTION

There are several features of this narrative which make it a distinctively South Island one. To begin with, the story in this form has been recorded only in the south.\(^1\) Secondly, the central figure, Tama, is spoken of in other accounts in connection with the exploration of Te Wai Pounamu and with the origins of pounamu, greenstone.

Tama’s adventures in this narrative concern his runaway wife and his various journeys, first to have himself tattooed in order to become handsome, and next to bring back his wife. An unusual feature of the story is that it gives realistic details about the tattooing operation and the subsequent process of healing.

Summary of ‘Ko Tama’:

1. **The runaway wife.** While entertaining the visiting Tū-te-koropanga and his family, Tama is overcome with shame because his own family only have dogskin kilts to perform in, whereas the visitors’ kilts are made of red feathers. He hides away, and Tū-te-koropanga seduces and runs away with Rukutia, Tama’s wife.

2. **A moko which washes off.** Tama leaves home, turns himself into a heron and catches fish by the sea. He is recognised by means of a charm and taken to a village where he sees the tattooing on his ancestors’ faces. At his request they reproduce it on his own face, but when he washes himself it rubs off. To acquire a permanent tattoo he must visit four of his other ancestors.

3. **A permanent moko.** Tama asks these four ancestors if they will tattoo him. They warn him that the operation is very painful, but he persists. When they have finished and after his scars have healed, he finds that this time the moko will not wash off. He returns to his children.

4. **Tama’s search for his wife.** Taking the treasures given to him by his ancestors, Tama sets off to regain his wife. He breaks through the obstacles placed by Tū-te-koropanga

\(^1\)See the summaries at the end of this chapter.
round his village. He disguises himself as a slave, enters the meeting house, and chants a karakia which prevents Rukutia from dancing and causes her angry husband to beat her. After the people have retired to bed, Tama lures Rukutia out of the house by means of his perfumes and a karakia. She recognises him and begs to be taken away from her cruel husband, but Tama says she is to stay there till he comes back.

5. Tama carries off his wife. This time Tama comes by sea, and breaks through the obstacles placed there. The women see him and call out to Tū-te-koropanga, who stays in his house and refuses to believe that Tama has arrived. Tama calls to Rukutia to swim out to him. When she reaches the side of the canoe he seizes her head and severs it from her body, telling Tū-te-koropanga that the head is for him (Tama), and the hips are for Tū. Tama returns home and grieves for his wife, whose head is buried in a feather-box beside the house. In summer a blowfly indicates that Rukutia is alive; on opening the box, Tama finds her smiling at him.

Although the story of Tama and Rukutia is not told in the North Island, there is a Ngāti Kahungunu story which contains several similar motifs. 2 Firstly, in both stories there is a man who is not tattooed and who feels ashamed about this. Next, the moko which he acquires is of two kinds, the first an impermanent one which is simply drawn on the face and which washes off in water, and the second a permanent one which is cut into the skin. Thirdly, a love song is sung during the painful operation. Lastly, there is the idea that knowledge comes from the world below. Both Tama and Mata-ora gain their moko there, and in the Ngāti Kahunūnu version the underworld is also the source of the art of weaving.

In the Murihiku story Tama is not said to possess the art of tattooing or to tattoo others. His name has not come to be associated with the art of tattooing in the way that Mata-ora’s has. 3

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2 See summary number A 2 at the end of the chapter.
3 'Mata-ora’s tattooing chisel’ is referred to in, for example, Ngata, 1959: song 80, line 15; Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: songs 259, line 12 and 296, line 9. References to Tama in a karakia are discussed later, see note 8.
The names and their associations

There are several other personal names in the South Island with which the name Tama is probably associated. Tama may be a shortened form of a longer name such as Tama-tea, Tama-āhua or Tama-rereti, for the figure in our story shares certain characteristics with these figures. Tamatea is a voyager and explorer who is said to have been responsible for early fires in the land, and several place names reflect this. One of these is Te Karehu-o-te-ahi-a-Tamatea, ‘The Ashes-of-Tamatea’s fire’. However, it is significant that a similar name given by Beattie also contains the word karehu, which Beattie translates this time as ‘tattooing ink’ (Taka-o-te-karehu-o-Tamatea, ‘where Tamatea’s tattooing ink fell overboard’). The latter suggests a connection with our story, as does the name given to the distinctive form of tattooing found in the south, te moko a Tamatea. Both Tamatea and Tama-āhua are said to have pursued their fleeing wives to the West Coast of the South Island, sometimes with the aid of a magic dart. This recalls Tama’s pursuit of his wife Rukutia in our story.

Tama-rereti, another figure who may be associated with the Tama of our story, is a less well-documented figure, but he too seems to be known as a voyager. In the end he steered his canoe, Uruao, up to the skies, where it became the constellation known as Te Waka-o-Tama-rereti (the tail of Scorpio). In a karakia recited at the tattooing of the daughter of a chief, Tama-rereti’s name is linked with those of Rukutia and Ue-tonga, two other figures in our story.

Although the only narratives about Rukutia come from the south, her name is known in

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4Stack, 1879: 162; Beattie, 1915: 110-1.
5Cowan, 1910: 192-3. As Cowan’s sketches show, this style of tattooing was plain in the extreme, and it is hard to imagine that Tama would have put himself to so much trouble to acquire a few straight lines on his face. It must, however, have been considered attractive, as it is reported elsewhere as being the southern style (see a similar style pictured in White, frontispiece to 1887, I).
6Martin, 1901: 166-7; Hongi, 1906: 233-6. The latter speaks of Poutini (a name for greenstone and also for the West Coast) as the canoe which carries off Tama’s wives. Hare Hongi’s narrative is followed by an account from the West Coast in which Tama follows his sister Poutini to Arahura.
8Grey, 1853: 58-60. The relevant lines read: Ka taia, / Tamarereti, / Uetonga. There is ambiguity here. If both names are the subject of the verb tiia, then the two are being seen as archetypal tattooers. However, since ellipsis is common in waiata and karakia, the e agent particle may have been suppressed and the meaning may be ‘Tama-rereti was tattooed by Ue-tonga’.
other areas of Aotearoa. She is mentioned in waiata, usually in connection with weaving.9 The word rukutia means ‘bind’, and rukutia is also the name given to a fine variety of flax used in weaving. The karakia mentioned above also links Rukutia with the tattooing of women. And in the Murihiku story, she is an accomplished dancer. These accomplishments mark her out as a figure who is the pattern or archetype for women’s pursuits and women’s role in life.

Elsewhere in Polynesia, in both Tahiti and Hawai’i, her name occurs, linked with that of Tū-te-koropanga (who in these versions is her husband).10 In Tahiti we are told only that these two were the heads of a chiefly dynasty. But in the Hawai’ian stories several themes provide a link with the Murihiku story. Firstly, the pair are said to be responsible for introducing the art of tattooing to Hawai’i. Secondly, Lu’ukia (the Hawai’ian form of the name) is known as the founder of weaving.11 And thirdly, the theme of the isolating wall (built around Lu’ukia at the time of her menstruation, and said to be the origin of the tapu surrounding menstruating women) resembles the barrier of obstructing plants with which Tū-te-koropanga surrounds Rukutia in the Murihiku story.12

The episodes which go to make up this story will now be analysed in detail.

1. The runaway wife

In traditional Māori society, men’s and women’s roles in life and their relationships within marriage were strictly delineated. The ideal husband was one who was a good provider and who treated his wife kindly. A good wife was obedient and hard working, and able to entertain visitors in a way which reflected credit on her husband. Physical attractiveness

9Grey, 1853: 272; 1857b: 18; Ngata, 1959: song 65, lines 12-13. In the last-named waiata (from Ngāti Maniapoto) a man falls in love with a woman as she twists her flax threads on her thigh: Miria mai, e, / Te miri o Rukutia, ‘Twist for me, e, / The thread of Rukutia’. This association with weaving provides a link with Niwa-reka in the Ngāti Kahungunu story.

10They are called Ru’utia and Oropa’a in Tahiti; Lu’ukia and Olopana in Hawai’i (Fornander, 1916: 112-4; 154-8; 170-2; 382; Beckwith, 1970: 352-62; Henry, 1928: 266, 567-9. These names are genetically related to the Māori names). The name Koropaga is also known in Mangareva (Hiroa, 1938: 332). Smith obtained from two knowledgeable South Island informants, Tare Wetere Te Kahu and Paora Taki, a whakapapa linking the pair (who were said to be Waitaha people) with the ancestor Whiro (1898: 59-60).

11Beckwith says that in Hawai’i she is known as the inventor of a particular type of waist mat (1970: 357). See note 44 for a further reference on this theme (the binding of Rukutia’s thighs).

12This motif also recurs in a later episode in the Hawai’ian epic, in which the lover must force his way into a palace which has its doors fastened and which is overgrown with weeds. The lover then stays in the house, while Lu’ukia seeks him out.
was naturally a major asset for both sexes. A husband’s or wife’s failure to live up to the standards expected of him or her provides the point of departure for many Māori stories.

Tama does not fulfil his obligations as a husband. When visitors are to be entertained, he does not supply his family with the fine garments which will allow them to put on an impressive display. The dogskin kilts which they wear compare unfavourably with the red feather garments worn by the visitors. This is a severe blow to Tama’s mana.

It is not stated at this point, but later in the story it is revealed that Tama is also lacking in personal attractiveness, for he is not tattooed and is therefore ugly in comparison with his tattooed guest. It is therefore not surprising that Rukutia should succumb to her handsome guest’s attractions.

Rukutia’s remark to Tū-te-koropanga on the subject of her own charms is, like so many other remarks of a similar nature in Māori stories, ambiguous. One would judge the tone to be ironical: she describes her genitals in disparaging terms because this is the way her husband feels about her (she may be implying that Tama has been neglecting her). What she is really saying is that here is another man, much more handsome than her husband, who, far from finding her ‘ugly and stinking’, makes love to her and wants to take her away with him.¹³

His family’s poor showing in comparison with the visitors’ haka group has caused Tama to retire in shame, and while hiding himself away he learns that his wife has run off with the visiting chief. His questions to his son show that he assumes that Rukutia has left because of something the children have done, but he is told in no uncertain terms that it is his own ugliness which has driven his wife away.

Before he leaves, Tū-te-koropanga gives Tama’s son a message for his father. He speaks of two sets of obstructions which he will raise to prevent Tama from reaching him. One set will be found on land: four plants which are all equipped with thorns, spines or poisonous

¹³In Creed’s version a similar disparaging remark (I noho koe i te kiri haaka [haunga], i te kiri kino, ‘You are living with [a person who has] stinking and ugly skin’) is given a different twist, for here it is a reference by Tū-te-koropanga to Tama’s ugliness (see A 1(a) in the versions at the end of this chapter).
hairs.\textsuperscript{14} Out at sea, there are four monsters to bar Tama’s passage.\textsuperscript{15}

References in waiata or proverbs to difficulties to be overcome, whether physical or mental, sometimes use the name of Tū-te-koropanga, because of these obstructions.\textsuperscript{16} A name with similar associations which is often used in the North Island is that of Kupe, whose actions at this point are very similar to Tū-te-koropanga’s. He too steals another man’s wife and, to avoid capture, sets up the high seas and the obstructing plants which are still to be found in the West Coast of the North Island today.\textsuperscript{17}

The significance of Tama’s first karakia, which he recites as he hides away in his house, is not altogether clear. He has been shamed by his guests, so the karakia may be intended to ward off further disaster, or to work some form of revenge on his rival. The formula used (which is repeated at the end of the second karakia) is similar to that used to end many other karakia.\textsuperscript{18}

When Tama receives the news about Rukutia’s flight, he recites a longer karakia in which he speaks of his wife and her activities. The imagery used refers to the dance (she ‘has gone away to perform the haka’, and will ‘tie the knot on the necklace’, presumably to make herself look beautiful for the dance),\textsuperscript{19} but the reference is to her sexual activities with her new lover. While she is involved in these activities, Tama will be left to sleep alone.

His son’s words show Tama that there is action to be taken. Rukutia has left him because

\textsuperscript{14}The fine hairs of \textit{ongaonga} (\textit{Urtica ferox}, the tree nettle) inflict a particularly painful rash on anyone brushing against them.

\textsuperscript{15}As has already been mentioned, the Murihiku story is given no precise locality. Stories which relate Tama-tea’s (or Tama-ihua’s) search for his runaway wives are usually set in the West Coast of Te Wai Pounamu, which is noted for its rough seas and thick, often almost impenetrable vegetation. These stories account for the presence of these features in this area. Some versions also explain the presence of useful plants, for we are told that as Tama rushed up and down searching for his wives he tore his clothing, and the shreds of this formed tussock, flax and \textit{kiekie} — all plants used in the making of garments (Tikao, 1939: 63; White, 1887, II: 37).

There are eight obstructions in all. For the number eight, see note 23.

\textsuperscript{16}See, for example, Grey, 1853: 272; Grey, 1857a: 5; 77.

\textsuperscript{17}They are called by a similar name, \textit{ngå tæro} (or \textit{taïro}) a \textit{Kupe}, ‘the obstructions of Kupe’ (Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961: song 175, line 25; 1980: song 215, line 10). Note also that Turi, whose name is often mentioned in association with that of Kupe, was also said to have surrounded his wife with a hedge of thorns during his absence from home (Smith, 1898: 47-8).

\textsuperscript{18}See for example Cowan, 1910: 176-8.

\textsuperscript{19}It is also possible that this reference to the ‘knot’ has some association with the various methods of cording attributed to Lu’ukia in Hawai’i (Fornander, 1916: 112 note 3).
he is so ugly; he must therefore set off in search of a moko to make himself handsome.

2. A moko which washes off

Later commentators, including Wohlers in his published version, usually assume that Tama visits the underworld. In fact this is not made explicit in the c.1850 text. However, there are indications in our story that this is Tama’s most likely destination.

The form taken by Tama on leaving his home and children is that of a kōtuku or white heron, a chiefly bird (kōtuku tail plumes were worn by chiefs), but more importantly, a bird which was associated with the spirit world. This fact, along with the description of the people whom Tama visits as his tūpuna, ‘ancestors’, and the analogy of stories such as that of Niwa-reka and Mata-ora, lend credence to the theory that the action takes place, as Wohlers says it does, in the underworld.

Tama’s actions are described as being those of a heron (‘moving along the sea shore, stretching its neck to take its food’), but in spite of this there is evidently something unusual about this bird which makes the people notice it. It may be because this heron shows no fear of the signs of human habitation, the frames on which the nets are being dried. More especially it is the fact that, unlike ordinary herons which have about three bends in their necks, this heron has eight. This reveals that the heron is no ordinary bird but a man, and what is more, a man of mana and a relation.

The method used to restore Tama to human form is apparently some sort of charm. Unfortunately no details about such charms have been recorded. Wohlers says that what Te Kohi-wai makes to catch Tama is ‘a charm called a tamatane, used to find out the identity

20In his 1875 version, Wohlers speaks of Tama’s visit to ‘the nether world’ and to ‘the bank of the lake in Te Reinga’, and gives a lengthy description of southern Māori beliefs about the after-life (1875: 111-2). But this is not included in the story as originally recorded.
22The word tūpuna is used of both a living grandparent and a dead ancestor. However, the use of the plural form suggests that Tama is in the realms of the dead, among his ancestors.
23Eight was a formulative number among the Polynesians, a sign that special powers were at work. There were a number of formulative numbers, but eight was perhaps the most important. See Kirtley, 1971: 481-2, in particular Z71.16.1. So there is no need to take too seriously Wohlers’s remark that, since Māori often counted in pairs, this possibly meant that the bird had sixteen bends in its neck.
24See summary B 2 at the end of this chapter for a story which links the motif of the kōtuku with the name Tī-te-koropanga.
of a person'. It is not clear whether Wohlers knew of any other examples of the use of the charm, or whether he was extrapolating from this one story.

The context shows that the charm used by Te Kohi-wai has both a verbal and a material form. The words of the karakia are given, but the physical form the charm takes is not clear from the story. Tama is said to 'eat' the charm, which is then 'caught in his throat'. Mention is made of two fish, and the fact that the charm has two parts, a tama-tāne or 'male' side and a tama-wahine or 'female' side.

According to Best, tama-tāne magic was magic used in attacking an enemy, while tama-wahine magic was defensive magic, employed to ward off spells directed against a person. It is possible that Te Kohi-wai first uses the attacking magic to secure Tama, and then the female, defensive magic to protect herself against any counter-magic from Tama or adverse effects of her own charm. The fact that the second karakia chanted by Te Kohi-wai is a kai-ure karakia lends credence to this theory.27

Little information is available on the three people visited by Tama in this episode of the

251875: 112.
26Best, 1901b: 72. The two fish mentioned in the story are a hinarei and an araua (see textual notes on these names). The context suggests that one of these may be thought of as the 'female' fish and one as the 'male' one. In the version recorded by Creed we are told that 'When Tama was eating the awa he got a bone in his throat. He karakia’d and the bone was expelled.' Although this seems to take place after Tama has been tattooed, it is also possible (given the fragmentary nature of Creed's text) that it is related to the swallowing of the araua in Wohlers' version. A proverb about one of the other Tama figures may have some connection with our story: He paku te ika i rōoa a Tama-reteri, 'The fish which choked Tama-reteri was a small one' (and variants; Grove, 1984: 39, no. 808, 163, no. 183a). In Kohere (1951: 38) this fish is identified as an aua, herring. If, as seems possible, the araua of our passage is a variant of aua (also given by Williams as a figurative name for a chief), one might postulate that this is the tama-tāne or male portion of the charm. It catches Tama because he is a male and a chief. Certain words in a spell which was chanted when a person was choking on a fish bone or other food may also be relevant here. The words Na tō kai tama-wahine, 'There's your tama-wahine food' (Grey, 1853: 98) may mean the food which 'went down the wrong way', the destructive food which should not have been eaten. The physical form of the tāpae may be some sort of object twisted or plaited out of flax. Williams's glosses for tāpae show that it is an extension of the word pae, which can have such meanings as 'circumference' (noun) and 'surround with a border' (verb), as in pae umu and kōpae pae: 'plaited circular band for lining an oven'.
27The kai-ure ritual is better documented. See for example Best, 1976d: 353; Johansen, 1954: 232-3. The adept must recite the kai-ure karakia in a secret place while holding his penis. One of Best's informants had 'known his own mother to rely on a similar action in order to avert or escape an impending calamity'. Unfortunately Best does not record the karakia used upon this occasion; as the mother must have been touching her hika, did she recite a kai-hika rather than a kai-ure karakia? In the karakia recorded by Wohlers Te Kohi-wai is a woman, so the kai hika in the last line is appropriate. However, on this analogy Tītī-maunga would be a man (kai ure Tītī-maunga), and we have already been told that she is a woman. It is not clear why Tākaroa is referred to here. Tākaroa is often seen as the enemy of Tāne; since Te Kohi-wai has been using Tākaroa's creatures, fish, against a bird (a creature under Tāne's protection) she may be calling on Tākaroa's aid.
story. They are said to be women, and Te Kohi-wai is called here both a ‘daughter’ and a
‘sister’.28

These ancestors, though obviously skilled in the use of charms, cannot tattoo Tama in the
correct way, for the tattoo which they give him simply washes off in water. Since their own
tattoos are permanent Tama asks them what he must do to acquire a lasting one for himself.
They send him off to another group of ancestors.

3. A permanent moko

Once again, the direction in which Tama travels is not stated. However, there are further
elements in the Murihiku story which suggest that he is in the underworld. In the first
place, there are names of his ancestors. The significance of Hā is not known, but the others
are mentioned elsewhere in connection with the underworld. The name Toka is probably a
variant of Tonga or Ue-tonga, the name of the tattooer in the underworld in the story of
Niwa-reka and Mata-ora.29 As for Tua-piko and Tawaitiri, they are explained by Wohlers
in his later, published version as being the guardians of the underworld who are positioned
on either side of a passage leading below, and who allow the souls of the dead to pass into
that realm.30

Another reason for thinking that Tama visits the underworld is that, as we have seen, this is
the place traditionally associated with the knowledge of crafts such as tattooing, carving
and weaving. In this story Tama brings back his beautiful tattoo, and also other gifts: a
cloak and some calabashes containing perfume.31 Perfume, while made and used in the

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28 In another story the name Te Kohi-wai is given to one of Tama’s runaway wives (Stack, 1879: 162). It is
possible that Tu-maunga is connected with the figure of the same name said elsewhere to be the mother of
Hine-tua-hīanga and other women who are guardians of different types of stones (Smith, 1913: 43 and 159).
In an unsourced comment following Hare Hongi’s account we are told that ‘Tama-āhua belonged to the
Kāhui-maunga [‘Race of Mountains’], viz., to those people who, it is claimed, came to Aotea-roa by way of
land. They walked here...’ (Hongi, 1906: 235). All the accounts in which Tama figures, except the Murihiku
account, are concerned with stones, chiefly the greenstone into which the wives are transformed but also
rocks and mountains which are formed from the body of a slave or from Tama himself.

29 Grey also has a proverb Ko te uhi a Tonga, ‘Why, it is the chisel of Tonga (said to an expert carver)’ (1857:
61). This may be our Toka, or it may refer to a wood carver. Moko was regarded as a form of carving.

30 Wohlers, 1875: 111-2. In the c.1850 version these two are merely included in the list of Tama’s ancestors,
so it is clear that Wohlers received the other information about them on a separate occasion. He gives it in a
summary of Māori beliefs about the afterlife in another publication (Wohlers, 1895: 126).

31 See textual note 28.
Māori world, was sometimes particularly associated with visitors from other worlds.\textsuperscript{32}

The cloak in this version of the story is brought back to the world above from the underworld, just as it is in the story of Mata-ora (where it becomes the pattern for women to use when weaving fine cloaks). In the Murihiku story the cloak is said to be a pōkeka-kiekie, a rough cape made of unprepared leaves, and so an unusual type of present for the hero to receive. But in other versions of the story of Tama, his cloak is torn as he pursues his wife, and it is because of this that the kiekie and other plants used in garment-making find their way into this world. Later in the story he is said to make a fine show at Tū-tekoropanga’s village in his kura; the implication is that these are treasures he has brought with him from the underworld. In this case they would be fine cloaks, probably made of red feathers.

When Tama arrives at the village of his four ancestors, they try to dissuade him from his purpose by telling him what a painful operation tattooing is. He counters their arguments by pointing out that they have survived the process, however great the pain. Once they start performing on Tama, he discovers that the operation is indeed so painful as to cause him to faint, and as he regains consciousness each time he groans out his complaints. The others reply in formulaic language (that is, in the form of a chant or waiata), disclaiming responsibility for the pain they are causing but assuring Tama that they are sharing it with him.\textsuperscript{33}

As he lies there in pain, Tama also sings a couplet which appears to be part of a waiata. The words of this are somewhat obscure, but the implication is, ‘I’m doing all this for love’. It can therefore be compared with the waiata sung by Mata-ora while he is being tattooed,\textsuperscript{34} but with one major difference. As Mata-ora is in his wife’s village and wants

\begin{footnotesize}
32Fairy lovers, who may come from either the upper or the lower world, are often said to be recognisable by their sweet smell (McGregor, 1893: 24; Best, 1925a: 907). On the making of perfumes, see Taylor, 1870: 702; Shortland, 1851: 217. The latter speaks of taramea and tīmatakuru growing in association on the plains just north of the Waitaki River; these are two of the obstructing plants spoken of in the story. Mokimoki is Phymatodes scandens, a fern.
33Songs were sung to cheer the victim of the operation and to provide a distraction from the pain (Taylor, 1870: 321-2). Tama’s ancestors are more sympathetic in their sentiments than are the singers in the examples provided by Taylor. Taylor remarks that women often did the singing, so as to shame the men into putting on a brave face.
34Smith, 1913: 71; 187.
\end{footnotesize}
her to know of his presence, he constantly calls on her name in his waiata. In Tama’s case, however, his wife is not at hand to hear, so the waiata does not mention Rukutia’s name.\textsuperscript{35}

Tama’s tattoo is done all at once, rather than over a period of time as in real life.\textsuperscript{36} That is, it is a magical operation. The reference to the three types of plants which are used to aid healing is of interest, for no other writer on moko mentions this part of the process. The first plant is \textit{tūtē-kīore}, New Zealand eyebright (also called \textit{tūtumako}), a relative of the eyebright used in herbal medicine in Europe. It is said that this latter ‘inhibits inflammation of mucous membranes, particularly of the eyes’.\textsuperscript{37} The only other reference to the use of this herb in medicine seems to be a note by Best on its use in expelling a demon from a sick person.\textsuperscript{38} Our example would suggest that it was probably also used as a dressing for wounds. It seems that the plant may have had some positive benefits.

The second dressing used is \textit{nehu}, translated by Williams as ‘pollen of \textit{Typha angustifolia} [raupō]’. It is known that the down or pappus of the raupō or bullrush, which covers the seed heads, ‘was applied to wounds and old ulcerated sores as a protection against dust’, a practice followed among other peoples as well.\textsuperscript{39} But our passage seems to suggest that the pollen, too, was used to heal wounds.\textsuperscript{40}

The third plant is called only \textit{ota}, a word which is used (usually in its reduplicated form, \textit{otaota}) to refer to small weeds or grasses in general. It is therefore impossible to say which plant the word represents here.

It seems that once these plant dressings drop off, the wounds are considered to be healed.

The length of time mentioned (three days until he starts to recover) accords in a general way with what has been said by other writers about the healing process.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{35} The names in songs in these stories often serve the purpose of alerting the hearer to the singer’s identity. Compare the songs sung by Rona’s children, by Tāne to Rehua and by Māui to his father.

\textsuperscript{36} ‘It is said the only person known to have been fully tattooed at one sitting died as the last lines were finished’ (White, 1885: 129; see also Taylor, 1870: 321).

\textsuperscript{37} Brooker, Cambie and Cooper, 1987: 220.

\textsuperscript{38} Brooker, Cambie and Cooper, 1987: 220.

\textsuperscript{39} Brooker, Cambie and Cooper, 1987: 229.

\textsuperscript{40} It was apparently used for this purpose in China; Brooker, Cambie and Cooper, 1987: 229.

\textsuperscript{41} Robley quotes Wakefield as saying, ‘I rarely saw a case in which the scars were not well in a week’ (1986: 51). Rutherford mentions three days as the length of time it took him to recover his sight and find his feet (Robley, 1986: 63).
4. Tama’s search for his wife

Tama returns home, then sets off again to find his wife. He takes with him the treasures given by the ancestors, and two weapons: a māipi or taiaha (a long wooden spear) and a flint knife. He is also armed with a powerful karakia, in which he compares the plants which are blocking his path to a mountain which will stand aside at his approach. He breaks through the barriers by using the taiaha to move the obstructing foliage aside, and his knife to cut it. Once he has broken through, he comes to the clear space surrounding the village.

The next episode is one which occurs frequently in these stories: the hero disguises himself (by covering his face with dirt, as we discover later), attaches himself to a group of people who are gathering wood, and is taken back to the village as their slave. In this instance he begs not to be loaded up with wood and his request is granted, for reasons which are not explained. Perhaps it is because the people are in a particularly generous mood, for they are gathering wood to light up the house for the night’s festivities, during which Rukutia is to dance for them.

Tama then uses three karakia to draw Rukutia back to him. The first one serves to disgrace Rukutia in the eyes of her new husband. As mentioned earlier, one of a wife’s main duties was to entertain her husband’s visitors fittingly and thus enhance his mana. When Rukutia cannot perform she becomes the subject of gossip, which reflects badly on her husband as well as herself. Thus provoked, Tū-te-koropanga beats her.

The second and third karakia are chanted with the object of drawing Rukutia outside to Tama. First Tama gives a subtle sign of his presence by opening his calabash of perfume. This at once makes his wife think nostalgically of him. The three calabashes contain contrasting scents, the fragrant ones which the wife associates with Tama, and the disgusting smell of excrement, which the wife immediately connects with the house in which she is sleeping (and by implication its male occupant) rather than recognising it as
coming from elsewhere. The perfume and the ‘look in the eyes’ of the stranger together have prepared Rukutia for the appearance of her former husband.

As happens in the other stories in which the disguise motif occurs, the hero wipes off the dirt which has disfigured him and dresses himself in his finery (here, the gifts of his ancestors) to reveal himself in all his chiefly glory. Rukutia appears, forced out of the house by the karakia, and she recognises her now handsome husband. Tama refuses her pleas to be taken away with him: she has chosen wrongly, and must stay with her present husband. This is Tama’s revenge on his unfaithful wife.

However, Tama’s revenge is not complete. His mana has been damaged in the eyes of Tū-te-koropanga and all his people. He must therefore obtain satisfaction for this and restore himself to his former position. He ensures that everybody will be there to watch as he takes his revenge on the man who has wronged him by instructing his wife to keep a watch for his coming (from an elevated food storage platform), and to announce his arrival.

5. Tama carries off his wife

The motif in which an adventurer distracts a pursuing enemy by throwing down objects to distract him or her occurs in European folk tales and in the wider Oceanic area, but is rarely found in Polynesia. Tama’s first encounter with Tū-te-koropanga’s obstacles has been a battle against passive forces, plants which can be pushed aside and hacked away. This second encounter involves hostile beings which must be overcome by a ruse: Tama throws ashes and planks of wood to the monsters of the sea, then escapes when they stop to eat them.

As Tama approaches Tū-te-koropanga’s village, all the people come out to watch. One after another the men of Tama’s family stand up in the canoe, and are viewed with admiration by the women in the village. They are all exceedingly handsome, but none is as

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42 This episode, including Tama’s opening of the calabash containing the foul-smelling substance, is reminiscent of the story of Kahungunu’s ruse to gain Rongo-mai-wahine as his wife (White, 1887, III: 80-3 and 51-7).

43See Kirtley, motif no. R. 231: ‘Obstacle flight. Atalanta type’. Lessa (1961: 403-6) has a useful analysis of this motif, in which he points out many of the possible variations. However, he has missed the present story, which is a good example of the motif (it has the classic threefold structure).
handsome as Tama, who finally makes his appearance. Tū-te-koropanga is now called a
tangata kino, an ‘ugly man’. A reversal of the situation in the first episode has taken place.

Tama chants his final karakia to draw Rukutia to his side of the canoe. He then cuts off her
head, with the words, ‘The hips of our wife are for you and the head is for me’. The
implication is clear. Rukutia has committed adultery, and therefore the lower part of her
body is now sullied. That part, with all its associations, can be left to Tū-te-koropanga,
while Tama will take the part which is innocent of any offence, her head.44

The ending of the story is unexpected. In other stories about Tama, the wife or wives die
and are turned into greenstone. In one of them, Tama tries to bring his wives to life again
but is thwarted by the impious actions of his slave.45 Usually, however, it is accepted that
what has happened to the wives is irreversible. It is an inevitable consequence of their
having deserted Tama. At the same time it provides an explanation for a precious natural
resource: it is something which must have happened, since the resource is there to prove it.

In the Murihiku story Rukutia’s death is, in terms of traditional Māori thought, a just if
severe punishment for her infidelity. In the sight of all, Tama forces her to make her
choice. Once he has shown all Tū-te-koropanga’s people that she has rejected her lover and
gone back to her husband, he takes his revenge by killing her and casting back the part
which Tū-te-koropanga has soiled.46

44 The explanation in parenthesis, ki te kauhoe, ‘[Tama said] to the crew’, must have been inserted by
Wohlers, perhaps because he misunderstood the implications of this episode. If one were considering Tama’s
statement on a factual level, one might think that he was disposing of the two halves of the body, one half to
be taken back by himself and the other half by the crew. But the symbolic force of the statement is what is
important here. The symbolic division of a woman into two halves, the lower part associated with sexual
matters and the upper part free of this, occurs elsewhere in Māori thought. As one informant told Best, when
explaining the term unu kōtore for the marriage ceremony for high-born couples, ‘[it] is because the
woman’s kōtore [lower part] married the husband, it was not her head that married (slept or cohabited) with
him’ (Best, 1902: 44). Elsewhere, a woman accused of having an illicit love affair composed a waiaata in
which she told her accuser, ‘You say, Raho, that only my upper part is virgin!’ (Orbell, 1982: 87-8). From
Hawai’i comes the powerful image of Lu’ukia ‘corded from her waist to the middle of her thighs’, either on
her own initiative or by order of her jealous husband, against the sexual approaches of her lover (Fornander,
1916:112; 172).

45 He prepares an offering of food to the gods, but during the cooking process the slave burns his fingers and
puts them in his mouth, thus desecrating the sacred food (Hongi, 1896: 233-5).

46 Compare a similar incident, in which there is also a tender reunion between husband and wife, the
humiliation of the lover, and the handing over of the wife, alive in this instance, to the lover as ‘payment’ for
the humiliation he has suffered (Grey, 1956: 117-9). This is not the romantic denouement which a European
reader would expect.
What is unexpected in this episode is that the wife comes to life again. Tama buries her head and waits, seemingly in the knowledge that she will revive. The burial in a *papa rau*, a box used to hold precious feathers for adorning the head, is strongly reminiscent of the Polynesian motif of the life-giving bowl, a motif not found in stories from Aotearoa.\(^{47}\)

On the other hand, the motif of the blowfly messenger is one which occurs frequently in stories about death, especially death by treachery. The blowfly is thought of as coming from the spirit world, and its hovering and buzzing reveal the presence of the body.\(^{48}\) Here the first word of the blowfly’s message appears to be onomatopoeic, imitating the buzzing or humming sound made by the insect.\(^{49}\) In the 1875 version it is rendered as ‘U-m-u’, which may be an attempt to find significance in a natural sound, as often happens in the case of bird cries.\(^{50}\) *Umu* means ‘oven’, and so perhaps it is thought that the blowfly is indicating the grave in which the woman lies (an oven in Māori terms being a pit dug in the ground).

The blowfly’s next words are indeed a message. Although Rukutia’s head has been cut off, all, it seems, is now well. Tama finds that his wife is fully alive again, and smiling at him. This puzzling conclusion to the story is perhaps meant to signify that Rukutia now finds her husband attractive (see the discussion, in an earlier story, on laughter as a sexual response).\(^{51}\)

The structure of the narrative

This narrative has an unusually complex structure, in which several narrative devices are used to great effect.

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\(^{47}\)The magic bowl or calabash which brings the dead to life is found in many Island Polynesian stories, particularly in Western Polynesia; see for example Brown, 1917: 96 (Samoa); Gifford, 1924: 150; 185; Collocott, 1928: 31 (Tonga); Roberts, 1957: 371-3 (Tuvalu); Te Arika-tara-are, 1921: 3-4 (Rarotonga, Eastern Polynesia).


\(^{49}\)In the story of Hatupatu, the fly which brings the hero back to life after his brothers have killed him is an ancestor called Tamumu-ki-te-rangi, ‘He-that-buzzes-in-the-skies’ (Grey, 1956: 145). The first part of this name can be seen to be similarly onomatopoeic.

\(^{50}\)See the introduction to ‘Papit and Dotterel: two thieving bird brothers’, note 18.

\(^{51}\)In note 72 in the introduction to ‘Māui: trickster and innovator’. 
Certain motifs recur in the story and help to structure it. Tū-te-koropanga’s words, spoken three times, have passed into the language as a whakataukī or proverb. The statement provides one structuring motif for the story, and some moments of ironic humour. In the first episode it is Tama who hides himself away in the house. Tū-te-koropanga’s message, conveyed by Tama’s son, has a supremely confident ring: ‘He won’t be able to come, because of my obstructions’. These obstructions are then listed as ample evidence of Tū-te-koropanga’s power: four impenetrable plants on the land, and four fierce monsters at sea.

But by the time that Rukutia has disgraced Tū-te-koropanga by not being able to perform her dance, his mana is beginning to decline and his rejoinder to his wife, when told her suspicions about the visiting stranger, sounds less confident. He still denies that Tama will be able to break through his obstructions, but the force of the sentence is weakened because it is cast in the form of a question, ‘Surely he won’t be able to come here, through Tū-te-koropanga’s obstructions?’

Still later, when Tama, having forced his way past the monsters which bar his route at sea, comes sailing triumphantly up to the village, the situation in the first scene is reversed. Tū-te-koropanga’s question now has the ring of despair, for it is he who sits skulking in his house, while others convey the very message which he once sent to Tama: the rival, a very handsome man, is making off with the woman.

Other words which occur at regular intervals throughout the story are those of the karakia. Tama recites six different karakia, some repeated more than once, Te Kohi-wai recites two, and the ancestors recite another (repeated twice) as they tattoo Tama. The formulaic language of these utterances heightens the moments of drama in the story.

Another recurring motif is that of treasures. The first treasures mentioned are the red

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52 Like many other proverbs, it occurs in stories about other figures (often in a slightly different form). When Uenuku warns Whena that he plans to take revenge because the latter has murdered his children, Whena retorts, Ma te aha koe e kawe ake ki reira, ki te kāinga o te wīwī, o te wīwī, o te iimatakuru, o te ongaonga? (‘What will bring you there, to the home of the rushes, the fences, the matagouri and the nettles?’) It should be noted that Whena, too, is a loser, despite his proud boast: Uenuku comes by sea to his pā and takes his revenge (White, 1887, III: 7-9).

53 The concept of treasures is expressed in the passage by the words kura and taonga. Both words may be used of any sort of precious item, from a material object to treasured tribal knowledge. Kura is also applied as
feather kilts worn by Tū-te-koropanga and his people, which allow Tū-te-koropanga to achieve mastery over his rival. Tama then goes off to acquire some treasures of his own, first of all in the form of a beautiful tattoo, and secondly in the form of cloaks and perfumes given to him by the ancestors. These treasures allow Tama to win back his wife, and to display himself fittingly to the people of Tū-te-koropanga’s village. Lastly, there are the treasured red feather cloaks which are used to wrap Rukutia’s severed head. This makes such a striking picture as Tama paddles away that the canoe is named after the event.

The theme of handsomeness versus ugliness also shapes the story. Tama’s whole family is affected by his ugliness: his dancers in their dogskin kilts make a poor showing, Rukutia speaks of her ‘ugly and stinking’ genitals, and even Tama’s son contrasts the visitor’s handsomeness with Tama’s ugliness. By the end of the story, as Tama draws near Tū-te-koropanga’s village, the tension is built up as one after another of Tama’s relations stands up and is inspected by the women, who gasp with admiration, ‘How handsome he is!’ Each time they are told that this is not Tama. By the time Tama makes his appearance we are prepared for the sight of this chief adorned with a fine tattoo and wearing his most splendid garments. Tama’s rival is now the ‘ugly man’ and Tama’s revenge is complete.

The story also contains passages which are have more in common with the longer Polynesian romances than the usual Māori narratives, which tend to be terse in style. The episodes in which Tama cuts through the obstructions encircling Tū-te-koropanga’s house and distracts the monsters by throwing them ashes and planks have the repetition and rhythms which one associates with the narrative technique of these romances.

The story of Tama also contains details of everyday life which are not part of narrative technique but which heighten the interest of the story for a modern reader. The information that dogskin maro were held in lesser esteem than those made of red feathers is, for example, a point of great interest to the student of Māori costume and its social context.

The details of Tama’s recovery from his tattooing operation are, as far as I am aware,
found nowhere else. Other details, such as the information that scents were stored in calabashes, confirm what is recorded elsewhere.

As a myth, the narrative tells of the origin of an important social custom, the *moko* or tattoo which was the mark of a truly handsome and warrior-like man. It provides an explanation for certain plants and physical features found on the West Coast of Te Wai Pounamu. It contains important karakia, and information about ritual. All these elements are conveyed in a satisfying story of love and revenge.

**OTHER VERSIONS**

**A. Aotearoa**

1. *Kāi Tahu/Kāti Māmoe/Waitaha*

   a. Creed\(^{54}\)

   This version of the story combines motifs from different stories: a) Wohlers’s version, b) version 2 below (in that Tama is said to go to Mata-ora), and c) stories about the discovery of greenstone, which are usually told about associated figures.

   Tū-te-koropāka comes to Tama-nui-a-raki’s wife Rukutia and tells her, ‘You are living with a person who has a stinking and ugly body’. She runs away with him. Tama follows, and stays out at sea. Rukutia swims out to him ten times, but he drives her back with his karakia. Finally she reaches him and he cuts her in half, taking the head and breast for himself and leaving the hips and legs to Tū-te-koropāka.

   Tama buries the head, and at planting time hears it calling *U ... upoko-mutu*. Then he sees Rukutia sitting up.

   He goes down below to Mata-ora to be tattooed. The first moko washes off, but the second is permanent. When he reaches his home, no-one recognises him. He eats an *aua* fish and gets a bone stuck in his throat; the karakia which he recites reveals his identity to his

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\(^{54}\)White, 1887, II: 35-7 (English); 35-7 (Māori). This version was originally written in a mixture of Māori and English, and is found in the papers of the Polynesian Society, MS Papers 1187: folders 201-2, WTu.
family.

Tama goes overland to Poutiri [Poutini, the West Coast], which is why kiekie grows on the mountains [this is not explained, but as we know from other sources, it comes from Tama’s cloaks]. His slave Timuaki cooks food and is turned by Tama into a mountain. Tama bakes greenstone, which bursts in the heat and scatters to the various places where it is now found.

b. West Coast\textsuperscript{55}

This version is similar to the one recorded by Wohlers. It is told in English.

c. Canterbury\textsuperscript{56}

This is a shorter version, also recorded in English.

2. \textit{Ngāti Kahungūnu} \textsuperscript{57}

Niwa-reka, the daughter of the fairy chief Ue-tonga, comes from Rarohenga, the world below, and takes Mata-ora as her husband. When Mata-ora beats her, Niwa-reka returns to her former home. Mata-ora follows her and sees Ue-tonga engaged in tattooing. He criticises Ue-tonga’s method of tattooing because it causes blood to flow, unlike the method used in the upper world. But Ue-tonga wipes off Mata-ora’s moko, which is only ‘drawn’ rather than ‘carved’ on his face, and the people laugh at him. As Ue-tonga tattoos him, Mata-ora sings a song calling on Niwa-reka’s name; Niwa-reka hears about this and is reunited with Mata-ora. They return to the upper world bearing a precious cloak as a present, but are forced to leave it at the door of the house because they wrongly tried to conceal it. The road to the underworld is now closed to the living, but the cloak becomes a pattern for all women to use in their weaving. In the world of human beings, Mata-ora proceeds to teach the art of tattooing.

\textsuperscript{55}Andersen, MS Papers 148, Folder 112: 134-6, WTu.
\textsuperscript{56}Tikao: 1939: 60-3.
\textsuperscript{57}Smith, 1913: 182-3; White, 1887, II: 4-6. The story comes from Te Whatahoro.
3. Tūhoe 58

Māui goes to court Niniwa, but loses her favours when his tattoo wipes off in the heat. He seeks a proper tattoo from Tangaroa. The operation is performed by Mata-ora.

References to related figures (Tama-āhua, Tamatea) are found in the notes to the present chapter.

B. Island Polynesia

1. Tattooing

In spite of the prevalence of the custom of tattooing and its social importance in Polynesia, stories about its origin are not as common as one might think. The art is usually said to have been introduced from some far off place (see for example Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 71, note 14). In Samoa, two goddesses were said to have swum from Fiji chanting the instructions ‘Tattoo the women, but not the men’. During their journey they muddled the order of the two phrases, and so tattooing is practised on men rather than women (Turner, 1884: 55-6). They then proceeded to teach the art to others (Abercromby, 1891: 455-67). In the Cook Islands Māui is said to have been responsible for the art of tattooing (Te Arike-tara-are, 1899: 74). In one episode in the Marquesan story of Kena, the trickster hero manages to get himself tattooed in the place of another; many details of the procedure are included (Von den Steinen, 1988: 136-9).


Detailed references to Hawai’ian and Tahitian stories about Tū-te-koropanga and Rukutia are in footnote 10.

2. The legend of Paihe-’otu’u 59

This Tahitian legend, which comes from notes written in 1837 by the Rev. J.M. Orsmund,

58Best, 1925a: 938-9.
59Orsmund, 1933: 172-3.
must have some connection with our story, for it concerns two kōtuku or white herons, one of which, a giant called 'Otu’u-nanamu, has stolen the wife of Tu-'oropa’a. Paihe-'otu’u, the small heron, flies into 'Otu’u-nanamu’s stomach and pecks at his entrails. Once he has vanquished the larger bird, Paihe-'otu’u is made king.

This would seem to be a reworking, on the level of a popular tale, of the story of the founding of the Oropa’a dynasty.
TEXT

KO TAMA¹

Ka noho a Tama i tōna kāinga me tana wahine, ko Rukutia. Ka hapū te wahine, ka puta ki waho tana tama, ko Tuta-hemahema, ka puta ki waho ngā tamāhine, ko Merau, ko Kīkuru-manuweke, ko Kīkuru-peti.² Ka noho a Tama i tōna kāinga rātou ko tana whānau.


Na, ka haere a Tama ki roto ki te whare uikura.³ Ka hori a Tama ki roto ki te whare uikura, ka tangohia te wahine, a Rukutia, e Tū-te-koropanga. Ka karikari⁴ atu ki te wahine. Ka mahara te wahine, 'Koia anō! Na taku tāne⁵ i karikari mai, he tara kino, tara haungu au!'

Na, ka anga te wahine ki a Tū-te-koropanga. Ka noho i a ia. Na, ka kōrero atu a Tū-te-koropanga ki ngā tamariki a Tama, 'Ki konei ra, ko tō koutou hākoro. E kore ia e tae ake, i aku tairo; i te tātarahaheke, i te papai,⁶ i te tūmatakurā, i te okaoka. Ka whana ake ki waho o te moana — ko ērā tairo hoki, ko te Tūtū, ko te Parata, ko te Rātāmoko, ko te Taniwha.'⁷

¹White 1887, II: 37-47 (English); 37-45 (Maori).
²At this point the manuscript has a comma and two small dashes, perhaps to indicate that there are more names which are not being included.
³It is not clear whether uikura is the name of a particular house (and therefore should be Uikura), or whether it is a generic term like whare maire or whare tītai. Wohlers treats it as an ordinary adjective, both here and in his later rewritten version, where he translates it as 'his ornamented private house' (1875: 110). It is possible that the term is a variant of whare kura, the house where sacred lore was taught. White may be correct in interpreting it as hui.
⁴Although Williams does not give 'copulate' as a meaning for karikari, the action of digging is sometimes used as a simile for sexual intercourse; compare two similar words which are to be found in Williams, karihika, 'copulation', and taukari, 'digging stick' or 'penis'.
⁵The word tāne has been crossed out. Wohlers may have misunderstood the sentence, since what he has left does not make sense. Either the word tāne should be restored, or the sentence should read Koia anō tōku i karikari mai: 'So it’s mine that is being “dug” ', (tōku referring to her vagina). I have chosen the first option, and repunctuated the sentence accordingly.
⁶Papai is 'spear-grass' (Williams, pai (ii)). In his later version Wohlers changes it to papae, and translates it as 'ravines of the forest'. On Ruapuke, spear-grass may have been known by its alternative name, taramea, a word found later in the story.
⁷Taniwha is a well-known term for a water dragon, and Parata is another monster of the deep, probably best known from the story of the migration to Aotearoa of the Arawa canoe (Grey, 1971: 61-3). This monster was thought to cause the tides by breathing in and out. The other two names also refer to some sort of sea monster. Tūtū (or tuti) in this sense is not given in Williams, but as one of the meanings of the word is 'piled

Na, ka haere a Tutahemahema, ka tae ki te whare i a Tama. Ka tāpapa atu ki runga ki te mataao o te whare. Ka ara ake ngā kanohi o te hākoro, ka titiro atu ki te tama, e tāpapa ana ki runga i te mataao. Ka karanga atu tērā, te hākoro,

Tapati, tapatā,
Hui, ē, tai, ē, rona,
Haere mai, toki, hauma.

Ka karangatia mai e te tama, 'Tō mātau hākui kua riro i a Tū-te-koropanga!'

Na, ka karanga atu te hākoro,

Ka riro a Rukutia ki te whakatū haka.
E tae ianei te ōpona ki te hei no runga!
He moe noa nāhaku,
I őtōitoi anō au ōku nei ure.
Tapati, tapatā,
Hui, ē, tai, ē, rona, ana,
Haere mai, toki, haumā!

Ka puta i te whare uikura a Tama ki waho. Ka haere ia ki te kāinga i ana tamariki. Ā, ka tangi ki ana tamariki. Ka mutu, ka kī atu tērā, '[H]e aha koutu i whakarērea ai e tō kōrua hākui?'

Ka kiia atu e te whānau, 'He kino nōhou; na konei koe i whakarere aia; i mate ia ki a Tū-te-koropanga, ki te tangata ātaahua.'

Ka kī atu te waha o Tama ki ana tamariki, 'Nē?'

'Āe, na konei i whakarere ai, he kino nōu.'

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up' it may refer to a mountainous wave — in the form of a monster, however, since later we find it 'eating' the ashes thrown to it. Williams has only this one example of Rātāmoko, glossed as 'some sea monster'. The second element in its name, moko, suggests a ngārara of some sort.

8These words, or a variation of them, are used in a great many karakia. Sometimes these are known as 'binding karakia', as they are used in ceremonies such as the opening of a new house to 'bind' and strengthen both the timbers of the house and the links between the people at the ceremony. The words hui (‘gather together’) and rona (‘bind’) could be interpreted in this light. However, the meanings of tai and ana are uncertain. In 'Ko Rata’ Wohlers has rona and hana, both capitalised as proper nouns.
Ka kī atu a Tama ki ana tamariki, ‘Noho mārie, koutou ko tōu tungiāne.’

Ā, ka haere a Tama. Ā ... ka tae a Tama — rokohina atu te kōtuku. Ka whakatau a Tama ki reira — tau rawa ki te kōtuku: kua rite ki te kōtuku. Na, ka rere taua kōtuku nei. Ka tau ki runga ki te hāpua wai. Na, rokohina atu te paenga kaka, takoto ana — na Te Kohi-wai, na Tū-whenua, na Tū-maunga. Ā, torohi haere te kōtuku ki te takutai, kai haere te kakī o te manu. Ka kite i te kōkopu e takoto ana i runga i ngā paenga kaka, ka kaiinga. Ka titiro mai te tāngata o te kāinga, ka kī atu, ‘Tēnei ra te mea kei tā tātou paenga kaka nei! Kei konei e kai ana! Kātahi anō tēnei mea, he mea hou!’

Ā, ka kī atu tētahi tangata, ‘Tirohia atu! Na ra e kai mai nei! E wharu ngā toke o te kakī nei!’

Na, ka mahara ngā wāhine, a Tū-whenua, a Tū-maunga. Ka mahara anō, ‘Ko Tama.’

Ka kī atu ki a Te Kohi-wai, ki te tamāhine, ‘Tunua tētahi o ngā ika nei.’


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9The manuscript has tungange. Wohlers seems to be having trouble with his possessive pronouns here. The context suggests that Tama has one son and three daughters, so that the correct form is iō koutou tungāne. See also note 29.

10At this point Wohlers has a marginal note, no te rau, which may mean either ‘belonging to the many’ (i.e. the people in the village) or ‘for the nets’. It is not clear what a paenga kaka is; it may be a heap of clothes (White’s interpretation) or perhaps some sort of frame over which nets were hung. Since the object is found at the edge of the lake, and the heron picks fish off it, the latter is perhaps the more likely interpretation.

11Wohlers frequently spells wharu as wharau.

12These two people would seem to be the parents of Te Kohi-wai, and yet they are ‘the women’. See also the karakia below.

13The names of the two fish pose problems. The second is perhaps either arawa, a species of shark, or aua, a herring, but the first name bears no resemblance to any fish name in Williams or in other lists consulted. A possibility is that it is a transliteration of the English ‘sting-ray’ or ‘stingaree’. Wohlers has few examples of transliterations in his texts, either because he, like Grey, consciously avoided them, or because they were used less frequently on Ruapuke. However, the Māori of this area had frequent contact with whalers and worked on whaling ships, and this is the sort of word which may have been used there. It is also a sufficiently uncommon word for Wohlers to have failed to recognise it as being English in origin.

14Williams glosses tāpae as ‘present’, but some sort of charm must be meant (Wohlers, 1875: 112, ‘a charm called a tamaratane’). See the introduction to this story for a discussion of this passage.
Ka panga atu i^{15} te tāpae tama-tāne. Ka kainga e te kōtuku. Na, ka whakahīa atu e Te Kohi-wai,

Ka whakatūtū, ka whakarakara,
Tāpiki, tāmaw, kūī.
Ka mau i te kākī.\[16\]

Ka pangaina atu te tāpae tama-wahine. Na, ka karanga atu e tērā,

Kai ure Takaroa i uta.
Kai ure Takaroa i tāi.
Kai ure Tū-maunga.
Kai hika koe i Te Kohi-wai.\[17\]

Ā, takoto anō i waho, kua mama. Na, ka whai atu a Te Kohi-wai, ka ārahi ki te kāinga i ngā tūpuna; kua whakatangata anō — ko Tama. Ka tae ki te kāinga noho ai.

Ka noho a Tama i te kāinga o ngā tūpuna. Ka titiro tērā, a Tama, ki ngā tūpuna e noho ana, ki ngā moko. Ka kiia atu e ngā tūpuna, ‘Na te aha koe i hōmai?’

Ka kī atu a Tama, ‘Na ngā taonga i mau mai i a koutou, nāna ahau i haere mai.’


Ka kī atu ngā tūpuna, ‘Nau mai haere ki ērā tūpuna ōu, ki a Toka,\[18\] ki a Hā, ki a Tua-piko, ki a Tawaitiri. I reira te kārehu.’

Ka kī atu a Tama, ‘Kei reira?’

‘Āe. Nau mai haere, e whai [i] ōu tūpuna — kei reira.’

\[15\]Wohlers seems to have added i at a later date. The sentence makes grammatical sense without it if pangā, the passive form, is read.

\[16\]Since Wohlers has omitted the closing quotation marks, it is not clear at what point this karakia ends. The last line may be part of the narrative.

\[17\]This line is difficult to read, but it seems that Wohlers first wrote hinga, that is, hika. See the introduction to this story for a discussion of this term.

\[18\]I am treating this name as the equivalent of the North Island Tonga. See the introduction to this story for a discussion of the possible significance of the name.
Ā, ka haere tērā, a Tama, ka tae i a Tua-piko. Ka noho ki reira, Ka titiro tērā ki ngā tūpuna, ki ngā moko. Ka ui mai ngā tūpuna ki tērā, ‘Na te aha koe i hōmai?’

Ka kī atu a Tama, ‘Na ngā taonga i mau mai i a kōrua.’

Ka kī atu ngā tūpuna, ‘He mate rawa (mamae).’

Ka kī atu a Tama, ‘Aua ra kōrua i ora ai.’

Ka kī atu te wha o ngā tūpuna, ‘He ora anō.’

Kī atu a Tama, ‘Me mate anō kōrua, mate rawa anō, kei te ora anō.’

Ka kī mai te wha o ngā tūpuna, ‘He tāngata mate rawa.’

Na, ka roroia ngā uwhi. Ka [a]o ake i te ata, ka tāia. Ka takoto tērā, ka moe, ā ... ka hoki ake te kauwhou, ‘E Toka, e Hā, Tua-piko, Tawahiti, ka kino au.’

Ka kī iho ngā tūpuna:

Ehara i [a] au, na te uwhi, na te parapara, na te whakarau, na te whakarau, na te parapara,
Pōuri ana mai, pōtāko ana mai,
Tāna ka hiwa, ka hiwa hoki au.

Na, ka moe hoki tērā, a Tama. Ka hoki ake te kauwhou, ‘E Toka, e Hā, ka kino au!’

Ka kī iho ngā tūpuna:

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19 The bracketed word is no doubt a remark by Wohlers, who is aware that mate rawa usually means ‘death’, but that here it means ‘extreme pain’.

20 Wohlers corrects this to oroia, ‘sharpened’, in his later version. However, the word is perhaps a variant of roiroi, ‘tie up’. The chisels had to be bound to wooden handles before use (see Robley, 1986: 48-9).

21 The meanings given in Williams for parapara are not very illuminating in this context, but entry no. 4, whitauparapara, ‘flax died in mud impregnated with iron’, suggests a possible parallel: the parapara here referred to may be the dye or soot elsewhere called kārehu. The word has some significant connection with tattooing, since elsewhere it is used in the expression for the sacred oven used in ceremonies concerned with tattooing, the ahi parapara.

22 Whakarehua (whakarehu below) may be derived from kārehu (see note 20) or from rehu (iii), ‘flint’. Robley (1986: 49) states that stone chisels were used as well as bone ones, though Best (1941: 553) queries this.
Ehara i [a] au, na te uwhi, na te parapara, na te whakarehua,
Pōuri ana mai, pōtako ana mai,
Tāna ka hiwa, ka hiwa hoki au.
Kai wai ra koia.

Ka kaukau$^{23}$ a Tama ki te wai,

He tangata mate oriori ki te ipo taki,
Kurua mai te aroha.

Ka ara ake tērā ki runga. Piha rawa. Ka hurihia te tangata, te aroaro ki raro, te tuarā ki runga. Ka pēhia, ka puta te tawarea ki waho. Ka puta te toto ki waho. Ka tāia ki te taurā.$^{24}$


Ka pō tahi, ka pō rua, pō toru, kua titiro ngā kanohi. Ka makere te tītai kiore. Ka makere te nehū, ka makere te toa.$^{25}$

Ka tū te tangata ki runga, ka haere. Ka ora hoki te tangata, ka haere. Ka haere a Tama ki te wai, ruku ai. Koia te terehu.$^{26}$

Ka haere mai ki te kāinga noho ai. Ka noho tērā i konā, ka kī atu tērā, 'Ka haere au ki aku tamariki.'

Ka kī mai ngā tūpuna, 'Nē, ka haere koe?'

'Ā, ka haere au ki aku tamariki.'

Na, ka haere mai tērā. Ka riro mai i a Tama te tahā rotu, ka riro mai i a Tama te$^{27}$ tahā puairuru, ka riro mai i a Tama te pōkeka-kiekie.$^{28}$

Ka haere mai tērā, ka tae mai ki te

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$^{23}$The normal meaning of kaukau is ‘to bathe’, but the context suggests that Boulbee’s coucou ‘to drink’ is the sense here (Harlow, 1987: 32). Tama’s next words are enigmatic, but are probably a quote from a waiata. Otori may be from ori (i) 4, ‘copulate’, or (ii) 2, ‘prey of disease’.

$^{24}$Wohlers has probably transposed two letters and written taura for tuarā. As the people have just turned Tama over, it seems likely that they are continuing the tattooing process on his back. The lower part of the back was tattooed, along with the buttocks and thighs (see the reproductions in Simmons, 1986: 38).

$^{25}$These three expressions may refer to dressings made of plants that were put over the wounds, and which fell off naturally as the wounds healed. See the discussion of this topic in the introduction to this story, under ‘A permanent moko’.

$^{26}$A beautiful tattoo was usually compared to the markings on a mackerel (for example, in Ngata, 1959: song 32, line 10), but since mackerel are fish which inhabit North Island waters, the southerners had perhaps chosen a local animal on which to base their simile. According to Williams, terehu is the cowfish or bottlenose dolphin. Its bluish-grey colouring may have been thought to resemble the colour of the tattooing pigment. Although it lacks natural markings, it is often scarred (Baker, 1990: 108).

$^{27}$Te is repeated in the manuscript here.

$^{28}$In his 1875 version Wohlers leaves all three of these words in Māori (1875: 113). The first two items are contained in tahā, calabashes. Wohlers’s explanation that ‘the rotu is described as a flower, or the extract of a flower, of great virtue’, probably came from his Māori informant, though the comment about the lotus flower must be his own. As can be seen later in the story, the rotu has a sweet smell. One of the properties of this
kāinga i ana tamariki. Ā, ka [a]ko ake i te ato, ka kī atu ki ana tamariki, 'Noho mārie koutou, kia haere au, kia whakamātau ki tō kōrua29 hākui.'

Ka haere tērā, a Tama, ka mau i ōna taonga. Ka whakakino i a ia. Ka mau,30 he māipi tona rākau; ka mau, he matā. Ka haere tērā, a Tama. Ka karakia,

Epa, epa maunga, e tū mai ra,
Tū ki tahaki, kia ātea au te whana atu.
Tumaioretoro,31 kia ātea au te whana atu.
Tumaioretoro, te ārai i a wai ra?
'Toro, te ārai i a Tama,
Tumaioretoro.

Ka haere tērā, ka whana atu. Ka tae ki te tātaraheke, ka kapea ki te māipi,32 ka topea ki te matā. Ka haere mai te mata o te tūmatakura ki a ia, ka kapea ki te māipi, ka topea ki te matā. Ki konā pū ai ngā topenga. Tapahi tou mai te taramea, ka kapea ki te māipi, ka topea ki te matā. Ka tae ia ki te wāhi e ātaahua ana. Ka tūtaki ki te kaiwhie e haere mai ia. Ka kite mai i a ia, ka karanga mai te kaiwhie, 'Tā ātou nei tia!'

Ka mea ake tērā, 'Kauranga, kauranga.’

Ka karanga mai te kaiwhie, 'Kātī nei, e tama, waiho tā ātou nei tia i konei haere ai.
Kauranga hoki he wahie e hoatu.’

Ka kōrero rātou, 'I haere mai mātou nei ki te wahie kia mārama ai te wahine a Tū-te-koropanga, te kākahu33 — ko te wahine a Tama, na Tū-te-koropanga i kāhaki mai. Mo reira ā mātou wahie e mahi nei, kia mārama ai te haka, te kākahu.’

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29 flower or substance may be the power of putting people into a deep sleep (see Williams’s gloss for the noun rotu). The meaning of puairuru is not known, but it would seem to have an evil smell. It will be seen that Tama later opens three calabashes, two of which contain perfumes (rotu and mokimoki) and the third a substance which produces the foul stench complained of by Rukutia. The last-named item in the list of gifts given to Tama is a rough cape made of kiekie (Freycinetia banksii) leaves.
30 This is another confusion over possessive pronouns; see note 9.
31 Wohlers has mai in his manuscript.
32 The meaning of this word is unknown. It is also found in 'Ko Tāne', in the karakia sung by Tāne and Paia as they lift Raiki up.
33 In the c.1850 manuscript, Wohlers wrote maeipi here and in the next two examples of the word. The intrusive e is perhaps produced by the combination of long a and following i.
33 Although at first glance this would seem to be the word kākahu, which would fit the context reasonably well (White interprets it this way), it is obvious from Wohlers’s later version (1875: 114) that ngangahu, ‘distort the features’, is meant. It is when Rukutia begins to roll her eyes ready for the dance that they start flowing with water.

Noho tou ki raro a Rukutia, horoia ngā wai o ngā kanohi. Ka tū hoki ki runga, ka kaarahu. Ka mea atu a Tama, ‘Kia matawai, kia matawai.’

Noho tonu ki raro, ka horoi i ngā wai o ngā kanohi. Ka karanga atu te hunga wahine, ‘Kātahi nei hoki, e Rukutia, ka horoi tou i ngā wai o ngā kanohi!’

Ka patu te tāne, a Tū-te-koropanga, i a Rukutia. Ka tangi te wahine. Ka mate hoki te ahi. Ka ukua ngā tāngata, ka haere ki ō rātou nei whare. Ā, ka rehua e Tama ngā tāngata (o te whare), ka warea ngā tāngata i te moe. Ka whakapuakina e Tama ōna taonga i roto i ngā kēkē. Ka whakapuakina e Tama, ka karanga mai e taua wahine, e Rukutia, kua hoki ake tōna kauwhou, ‘Ai, te kakara o te rotu, i haere mai ra koe i a Tama taku tāne!’

Ka kutia e Tama. Ka whakapuakina e Tama te tahā tūtai. Ka karanga mai te wha o taua wahine, ‘He haunga tūtai! Kei te haunga tō tātou whare i te tūtai.’

Ka kutia. Ka whakapuakina e Tama te tahā mokimoki. Ka karanga mai e Rukutia, ‘Ai, te kakara o te mokimoki! I haere mai ra koe i a Tama, taku tāne!’

Ka kī ake a Tū-te-koropanga, ‘Na, tē tae mai rāia i ngā tairo o Tū-te-koropanga?’

Ka karanga anō a Rukutia, ‘Ki taku titiro, ki te haenga o ngā pā o ngā kōnōhi — ko Tama

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34Kēra in the original.
35The word is not in Williams. Wohlers has ‘dispersed’.
36The manuscript has ka here.
37Wohlers has punctuated these sentences as exclamations, but they could be questions.
38Williams has ‘Phymatodes scandens, a plant used for scenting oil.’ This is a species of fern.
39Pī means ‘the corner of the eye’, and is also used in the expression titiro pī, ‘look askance’. It may be that Rukutia recognises her husband’s expression, but there may be more to it than this. He may be looking out of the corner of his eye because he is plotting his revenge.
taku tāne.'


Ka haere mai te wahine, ka tukua te upoko ki waho. Ka whāia atu e Tama ki te wero wero. Ka tahriri ake te wahine — e noho ana a Tama. Ka kī atu te wahine, kia haere rāua. Ka kī atu a Tama, 'E noho koe ki tōu tāne.'

Ka kī atu te wahine, 'He tāne patu ra kino tēnei tāne, e kore au e noho i tēnei tāne, e kore hoki au e ora i tēnei tāne. Me haere anō tāua.'

Ka kī atu a Tama, 'E noho koe ki tōu tāne. Na [a]ku rongo kino koe40 i noho ai koe i a Tū-te-koropanga. Koia hoki, e koe, e puta ngā ihi o te rā, ka piki ake koe ki runga o te w[h]ata, ka karanga,

Whana ake runga te ihi o te rā,
O te atarau, o te waka —
Ko Tama taku tāne!


Na, ka hoe rātou. Ka tata ki te kāinga o Tū-te-koropanga. Ka puta ngā ihi o te rā. Ka piki taua wahine ki runga o te w[h]ata, ka karanga,

Whana ki runga, whana ki raro.
Ko te atarau o te waka —
Ko Tama, taku tāne!

40The koe here is redundant, a feature of conversational style.
Ka karangatia a Tū-te-koropanga e te hunga wāhine, ‘Me noho noa koe na i rō o te whare, tē haere mai ia ki konei, titiro ki a Tama, te tangata ātaahua?’

Ka kī ake a Tū-te-koropanga, ‘Na, tē tae mai rāia i ngā tairo o Tū-te-koropanga?’

Ka tae mai te waka ki raro ia. Ka tū te kauhoe ki runga. Ka kī atu te hunga wāhine, ‘Tāu tāne tērā, na pea tāu tāne?’

Ka kī atu a Rukutia, ‘He tungāne tērā nōku.’

Ka kī atu te hunga wāhine, ‘Na pea tāu tāne ra?’

‘He hākoro tērā nōku.’

‘Aua ra te ātaahua!’

Ka kī atu te hunga wāhine ra, ‘Na pea tāu tāne ra?’

‘He hākoro kēkē tērā nōku.’

Ka mea mai a Tama, ‘Kia kau mai, kia kau mai!’

Ka karangatia e te hunga wāhine, ‘Me noho noa koe, e Tū-te-koropanga, ka riro a Rukutia ki a Tama, ki te tangata ātaahua!’

Ka mea mai a Tama, ‘Kia kau mai, kia kau mai.’

Ā, ka urungatia e ngā kaumātua i te tā,41 kia pono ki ērā. Ka mea mai a Tama, ‘Kia tika mai, kia tika mai!’

Ā, ka tika tou te wahine. Ka tātata ki te waka. Ka tū a Tama ki runga — rere ana te nehu42 o te kura ki rō o te wai. Ka karangatia a Tū-te-koropanga e te hunga wāhine, ‘Me noho noa

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41White adds o te waka at this point, translating, ‘The old men who occupied the centre of the canoe’, this presumably being the spot for the bailers. Urungatia may mean a special kind of paddle stroke used to bring the canoe sweeping round so that Rukutia is now in line with the old men and not with Tama.

42The ordinary meaning of nehu, ‘fine powder, dust’ does not fit here. The word rehu, which covers a similar range of meanings, can also mean ‘dimly seen’. It would seem from the context that it is the reflection of Tama’s fine clothes that is seen on the surface of the water.
koe ki rō o te whare, tangata kino, tē haere mai ki te mātakitaki ki a Tama, te tangata ātaahua!

Ka tae a Rukutia ki te waka. Ka whāia e Tama te upoko o te wahine. Ka pangā ki te toki. Ka karanga a Tama (ki te kauhoe), Ko te hope māu o [tā] tātou wahine, ko te upoko māku.

Ka karanga anō tērā, a Tama, ki te kauhoe o te waka, ‘Uruniakia.’


Ā, ka tae ki te raumati, ka puta te koata o te tutu. Ka whakarongoa atu e hamumu ana, he rako tōna putanga, e mea mai ana, ‘Um ... Au[a] atu tōku upoko mutu.’

Tikina atu, huraina — kua ora. Oreore ana ngā paparinga ki te kata.

Tēnei anō te tangi a Tama i a ia anō e noho ana i roto i te whare pōtae:46

Pā mai ōna rongo, he rongo pāmama[o].
Ka whiti tōku mori, ka whano.
Noho mōuri, mōrearea.
Ka whano ko au, kori te rangi.
Tōrohe tukua atu te rūpeni,
Kia tangi ai i te whare o Tutakahikura.
[H]e rangi toro, ei.
Kaitoa koe kia mate.

43I have omitted this phrase in parenthesis from the translation, since it is surely an addition by Wohlers. Tama must be addressing Tū-te-koropanga (and the possessive pronoun which follows should be tū tāua). See the discussion in the introduction to this story.
44This is written as two words, takai in.
45In his later version, Wohlers makes the blowfly say, ‘U-m-u’ (1875: 115). The word may be purely onomatopoeic, or it may be felt to have some connection with umu, an earth oven (and perhaps, by analogy, a grave). The words Au[a] atu are written as one word in the manuscript: Auatu.
46This sentence is added in brackets at the end of the story. The song could be inserted at the appropriate point in the story, as White has done, but it is just as likely that Wohlers’s informant sang it at the end, as a fitting climax to his narrative. The reading of the waiata given here is uncertain, since Wohlers may not have taken down the words accurately in the first place. Without the music of the waiata, one can only guess the line divisions.
Te karaputanga mai o te wai o tōku hoa,
Na tōku hinengaro ka kino.
Ko Merau,47 ka oti koia,
Waiho te tangi nui mo Rakai-whanake-panga,48
I ara ki te rau o te tupu nei.
Tangi nui taku tangi,
Tangi whakaharu ana au te u[h]a tahi.
Ma Poutū i te ahiahi
Ka49 tangi nai te ara
I ātaahua āu rere noa anō ana.
Auē, kāore, ko au, ko Rangi, ko Papa.
Ka patu ake te tai,
Ka wehea te whakauru aroha.

47Merau is the name of one of Tama’s children. It is possible that it is being used as a personification here.
48I have made this group of words into a proper name, since this satisfies the requirements of syntax. It may be a personification.
49Ka is repeated here.
TRANSLATION

Tama lived in his village with his wife, who was called Rukutia. The woman became pregnant and her son, Tuta-hemahema, was born, and then her daughters, Merau, Kīkuru-manuweke and Kīkuru-peti were born. Tama lived in his village with his family.

Now one day Tū-te-koropanga arrived on a visit with his family. They arrived at Tama’s village and stayed there. The next day they chanted a haka. Tama’s family performed their haka; the kilts they wore were dogskin kilts. Tū-te-koropanga’s family performed their haka; their kilts were red-feather kilts. Tama was overcome with shame.

So Tama went off into the house of learning. And when Tama had gone away into the house of learning, Tū-te-koropanga laid hands on his wife, Rukutia, and slept with her. The woman thought to herself, ‘So this is it! When it was my husband who was digging me out, my vulva was ugly and stinking!’

Now the woman turned her affections to Tū-te-koropanga, and slept with him. And Tū-te-koropanga said to Tama’s children, ‘Goodbye, stay there with your father. He won’t be able to get to me, because of my obstructions: bush-lawyer, spear-grass, matagouri and stinging-nettles. And if he comes over on the sea — there are obstructions there too: the Heaped-up-wave, the Parata, the Rātāmoko, and the Taniwha.’

Tū-te-koropanga and Rukutia went away to Tū-te-koropanga’s village.

So Tuta-hemahema went off and came to Tama’s house. He leant over the window ledge. His father raised his eyes and saw his son leaning over the window ledge. The father cried,

\[Tapatī, tapatā,\]
\[Hui, ē, tai, ē, rona,\]
\[Haere mai, toki, hauma.\]

His son cried, ‘It’s our mother, she’s been taken away by Tū-te-koropanga!’

So his father cried,
Rukutia has gone away to perform the haka.
The knot on the necklace from on high is now untied!
I will be sleeping all alone,
Fondling my own penis here.
_Tapati, tapati,_
_Hui, ē, tai, ē, rona, ana,_
_Haere mai, toki, hauma._

Tama came out of the house of learning. He went off to the village with his children, and wept over them. When he had finished weeping, he said, ‘Why has your mother abandoned you?’

His family told him, ‘It was because of your ugliness, that’s why she abandoned you. She fell in love with Tū-te-koropanga, the handsome man.’

Tama exclaimed, ‘Is that right?’

‘Yes, that’s why she abandoned you, you’re so ugly.’

Tama said to his children, ‘You girls stay here quietly with your brother.’

So off went Tama. After a long time, he came to a place where there was a white heron.

Tama put on a disguise at that point — he turned himself right into a heron, he made himself exactly like a white heron. And so this white heron flew off, and alighted on a pool of water. He came upon a frame for drying fishing nets standing there — it belonged to Te Kohi-wai, Tū-whenua and Tū-maunga. The heron went along by the shore, stretching his neck out to eat as he went along. He saw a _kōkopu_ fish lying on the net-drying frames, and ate that. The people in the village looked at him and said to each other, ‘Just look at that thing that’s near our net-drying frames! Here it is, eating away! That’s the first time it’s come here, it’s something quite new!’

And one of the people cried, ‘Just look at it! There it is, eating away! See, it has eight bends in its neck!’

Now the women, Tū-whenua and Tū-maunga, pondered this and then thought to themselves, ‘It’s Tama!’
So they said to their daughter, Te Kohi-wai, 'Cook one of these fish.'

The fish were cooked, two of them — one was a hinarei and the other an araua. Te Kohi-wai was told, 'Make a snaring charm, and let there be one of each. Let there be one male charm, and one female charm.'

And that one said to her, 'Off you go, and when you get there throw the male charm at it: if it catches in his throat, then you will know and you will drag it ashore, for it will be your brother.'

So she threw the male charm. The bird swallowed it and was dragged ashore by Te Kohi-wai, who chanted,

I set it up, I stretch it out,
Bind it up, tie it round, be weakened.
It catches in his throat.

She threw the female charm at it, and chanted,

Attack the penis of Takaroa ashore.
Attack the penis of Takaroa at sea.
Attack the penis of Tī-maunga.
You attack the vulva belonging to Te Kohi-wai.'

So now he was out from the water and there before her, freed from tapu. Te Kohi-wai took him and led him to his ancestors' village; for he had become a man again — he was Tama. He came to the village to live.

Tama lived there in his ancestors' village. Tama gazed at the ancestors who were living there, at their tattoos. His ancestors asked him, 'What brought you here?'

Tama answered, 'It was because of those treasures which are fixed to you, that's why I came.'

So they drew lines all over him, until he was covered with tattooing. Then he went to a stream and dived in — and he was clean again. He went back to them and they drew the
lines all over again. He went back to the stream and dived in, and he was clean again. He asked them, 'Why does your tattooing stick to you? When you wash, it doesn't come off. Mine does.'

His ancestors said, 'Well, you go off to those other ancestors of yours, to Toķa, Hā, Tua-piko and Tawaitiri. That's where the soot is for tattooing.'

Tama asked them, 'Is that where it is?'

'Yes. Off you go and look for your ancestors — that's where it is.'

So Tama went off and came to where Tua-piko was. He stayed there. He gazed at the ancestors, at their tattoos. The ancestors asked him, 'What brought you here?'

Tama said, 'It was the treasures which are fixed to you.'

The ancestors said to him, 'It's extremely painful.'

Tama said to them, 'And yet you survived it.'

The ancestors exclaimed, 'Yes, we did survive it.'

Tama said, 'Even if you did suffer great pain and nearly die, you're still alive now.'

The ancestors exclaimed, 'There are some people who do die.'

But then they bound up their chisels. The next day they tattooed him. As he lay there he fainted, and after a while, when speech returned to him, he said, 'O Toķa, O Hā, Tua-piko, Tawaitiri, I feel so bad!'

The ancestors said to him,

   It's not my fault, it's the chisel, the pigment, the flint,
   All is dark here, all is black here,
   He is unhappy, and I am unhappy with him.

Then Tama fainted again, and when speech returned to him he said, 'O Toķa, O Hā, I feel so bad!'
And his ancestors said to him,

It's not my fault, it's the chisel, the pigment, the flint,
All is dark here, all is black here,
He is unhappy, and I am unhappy with him.
Drink some water, that's it.

Tama drank some water, saying,

A lovesick man laments his beloved,
He is bruised by love.

He sat up. He was patterned all over with tattooing. They turned him over, with the front of his body downwards and his back uppermost. They pressed down on him, and forced out the fluid and the blood. Then they tattooed his back. Then he was carried back on a litter to lie in the village. They lit fires and laid him down beside them, and he lay there.

One day passed, then a second, then a third, and now he could open his eyes. The small plant dressings fell off, and the raupō pollen and herb dressings. He stood up on his feet and walked. He was now well again, so he walked away, went off to a stream, and dived in. He was just like a terehu. He went back to live at the village. And when he had been there for some time, he said, 'I'm going back to my children.'

The ancestors asked him, 'Are you really going, then?'

'Yes, I'm going back to my children.'

And so he set off. Tama took away a calabash of rotu, and he took away a calabash of puairuru, and he took away a cloak made of kiekie. Then he set off and came back to the village where his children were. The next day, he said to his children, 'Stay here quietly, all of you, while I go off to try and find your mother.'

So Tama set off, taking his treasures with him. He made himself look ugly. He carried a taiaha as his weapon, and he carried a flint knife. Off went Tama, chanting this karakia:
Obstruction, mountain obstruction, standing before me there,
Stand on one side, let my way be clear.
Tumairetoro, let my way be clear.
Tumairetoro, whose path are you blocking?
'Toro, you are blocking Tama’s path —
Tumairetoro!

He went on, he moved forward. When he came to the bush-lawyer, he pushed it aside with his taiaha, he cut it with his flint. When the thorns of the matagouri threatened him, he pushed them aside with his taiaha, he cut them with his flint. And soon a great pile of cuttings lay there. The spear-grass sliced at him, so he pushed it aside with his taiaha, he cut it with his flint. Then he came to a place that was free of obstructions, and met up with some firewood gatherers who were coming towards him. When they saw him, the wood gatherers cried, ‘This is our slave!’

But he said to them, ‘Don’t, don’t!’

So the wood gatherers said, ‘That’s enough, then, just leave our slave here and let him come along. Don’t let’s give him any wood to carry.’ And they told him, ‘We’ve come to collect wood so that it will be light for Tū-te-koropanga’s wife, when she does her haka — she’s Tama’s wife, Tū-te-koropanga carried her off and brought her here. That’s why we’re collecting wood, so as to provide light for the haka, the posturing.’

So Tama went off, and came to Tū-te-koropanga’s village. He went into the meeting house, and sat down by the centre post of the house. The wood gatherers arrived. Tama waited there. When the sun went down, the fires were lit, and the meeting house filled with light. The people who were sitting in the meeting house called to Rukutia to dance a haka. Tū-te-koropanga gave her a waist mat. So Rukutia stood up to do her haka. She rolled her eyes. Then Tama spoke up, ‘May your eyes water, may your eyes water.’

Rukutia sat down at once, rubbing the water from her eyes. Then she stood up again, and rolled her eyes. Tama spoke up, ‘May your eyes water, may your eyes water.’

She sat down at once, rubbing the water from her eyes. The crowd of women called, ‘Well,
Rukutia, this is the first time we’ve seen you having to keep rubbing the water out of your eyes!

Her husband, Tū-te-koropanga, beat Rukutia, and she wept. Then the fire died down. The people went off into their own houses. Then Tama charmed the people (who were in the meeting house) to sleep, and sleep overcame them. Tama took his treasures out from his armpits. When he had taken them out, his wife, Rukutia, cried out as she woke up, ‘Oh, what a sweet smell of rotu flower, you come here from Tama, my husband!’

Tama shut the calabash. The he opened up the calabash containing dung. The woman exclaimed, ‘What a stink of dung! Our whole house stinks of dung!’

He closed it up. Then he opened up the calabash containing mokimoki fern. Rukutia cried out, ‘Oh, what a sweet smell of mokimoki! You come here from Tama, my husband!’

Tū-te-koropanga said, ‘Now, how can he possibly come here, through Tū-te-koropanga’s obstructions?’

Rukutia cried, ‘From what I saw, that look in the eyes of that man — it was Tama, my husband.’

She finished speaking, and sleep came over them. Tama went outside. He went to a stream and washed himself. His skin was once again washed clean of the dirt that was on the outside — the skin that was underneath was now revealed. He did his hair up in a topknot, looking at his reflection in the water. When he had done his topknot beautifully, he clothed himself in his treasures. And then he went to sit in the porch at the front of the house. He said, ‘May you want to urinate, may you want to urinate.’

The woman came and put her head outside. Tama reached out and seized her clothing. The woman turned round — and there was Tama, sitting there. The woman told him that they should go away together. Tama told her, ‘You stay with your husband.’

The woman said, ‘That man’s a cruel man who beats me. I won’t live with him, and I won’t be happy with him. Please let’s go!’
Tama said to her, 'You stay with your husband. It was because of my reputation for ugliness that you went off to marry Tū-te-koropanga. But see, when the rays of the sun come up, you climb up on to a storage platform and call out,

Moving upwards are the rays of the sun,
Of the moon, of the canoe —
It is Tama, my husband.'

Tama went off and came back to his village. He took on board a crew, he took on board some ashes, he took on board some wooden planks. Tama took his red feather cloaks, and then off he sailed out to sea. When he came upon the Heaped-up-wave he poured out the ashes, and it was distracted and stayed there to gobble up the ashes. When he came upon the Parata he threw a wooden plank at it and it turned its attention to eating that. And when he came upon the Taniwha swimming along he threw a wooden plank at it, and it stayed there eating that.

Now they paddled on, and came near Tū-te-koropanga’s village. When the rays of the sun appeared, the woman climbed up on top of a storage platform, and called out,

Move up above, move down below.
It is the beam of light from the canoe —
It is Tama, my husband.

The group of women called out to Tū-te-koropanga, 'Are you going to just sit there inside your house, instead of coming out here to look at Tama, the handsome man?'

And Tū-te-koropanga said to them, 'Now, how could he possibly come here, through all Tū-te-koropanga’s obstructions?'

The canoe arrived below him. A paddler stood up. The crowd of women said, 'Is that your husband — maybe your husband is that one there?'

Rukutia said, 'That's a brother of mine.'

The crowd of women said, 'Maybe that one's your husband?'
‘That’s a male relation of mine.’

‘Goodness, how handsome he is!’

The crowd of women said, ‘Maybe that one’s your husband?’

‘That’s an uncle of mine.’

Then Tama spoke up and said, ‘Swim over here, swim over here.’

The crowd of women said, ‘Are you going to just sit there, Tū-te-koropanga, while Rukutia is being carried off by Tama, the handsome man!’

Tama said, ‘Swim over here, swim over here.’

Then the old men brought the boat round with one stroke, so that she would come straight to them, but Tama called to her, ‘Come straight here, come straight here.’

So the woman came straight towards him. She came up close to the canoe. Tama stood up — the reflection of his red feather cloak rippled on the water. The crowd of women called out to Tū-te-koropanga, ‘Are you going to just sit there inside your house, you ugly man, instead of coming to look at Tama, that handsome man!’

Rukutia came to the canoe. Tama seized her head, and cut it off with his adze. Tama called out, ‘Our wife’s hips are for you, and her head is for me.’

Then Tama called out to the crew, ‘Paddle away.’

When the canoe had been turned round, it was given a new name for that occasion: Whakateretere-te-uru-rangi [Bear-away-the-chiefly-head]. This was the name of the canoe, because of the woman’s eyes as they were borne away on the canoe. He wrapped the head up in the red feather cloaks. Then they paddled off. When they reached their village, he put the head inside a feather-box and buried it at the side wall of the house. Then Tama stayed inside the house of mourning, all alone. He stayed there and mourned for his wife.
Then when summer came, and new shoots appeared on the tutu bushes, a humming noise was heard. It was a blowfly coming out and buzzing, 'Um ... It doesn’t matter that my head has been cut off.'

He went to see, and uncovered the place where she was — she was alive. Her cheeks were creased in a smile.

Here is Tama’s lament, sung while he was staying in the house of mourning:

Her fame reaches me, a fame from afar.
The one I caressed has crossed over, has moved away.
I sit here, sad and lonely.
I shall move off, turn to the heavens.
*Térohe tukua atu te rūpeni,*
Let me weep in the house of Tutakahikura.
A sky spread out, *ei.*
It serves you right that you were killed.
Water is flowing down for my wife,
Because my heart has become bitter.
It is Merau, all is finished indeed,
Leave the loud lament for Rakai-whanake-panga,
Who rose as the leaves were sprouting.
My lament is a loud lament,
I mourn loudly the one woman.
Poutu in the evening
Will mourn now the pathway
On which you with your beauty drifted heedlessly away.
Oh indeed it was I, it was Rangi, it was Papa.
The seas come beating here,
And our joint love is forced apart.
HINE-I-TE-PUWHA AND TAUTINI:

THE TALE OF A FISH-HOOK
INTRODUCTION

This story concerns a fish-hook of great mana, passed down as an heirloom within a family until it is stolen by someone who has married into the family. The consequence of this loss is disaster and death for many, until the hook eventually finds its rightful owner and the normal order of things is restored.

The story is known elsewhere in Aotearoa, although it has not been well recorded. Three other versions are known: one by Matiaha Tiramōrehu, also from the far south, and two from Māori newspapers published on the East Coast of the North Island at the beginning of this century. Another story which does not concern a fish-hook, and in which the names of the central figures differ, has so many other points of resemblance that it must be considered to be a cognate story.

Although there are apparently no Eastern Polynesian examples of this tale, it is known in Western Polynesia. Examples are found in Samoa, the Tokelaus and Tuvalu, where episodes and even personal names are cognate with those in our story. Since Samoa is now thought to be the place from which the Polynesians began their migration eastwards into their many island homes, in its origins the story must be at least two thousand years old.

There is a remarkable consistency about the names in all versions of the story: the trio Hine, Rā-kura and Tautini (or their variants) are almost always to be found. The relationships between the characters are similarly consistent. Hine and Rā-kura are married, and Tautini is usually either a son or a grandson.

The version of the story recorded by Wohlers will be first summarised and then examined in more detail. Summaries of other versions from Aotearoa and Western Polynesia will be found at the end of this chapter.
Summary of the story

Rangi gives his precious fish-hook to his sister Hine-i-te-puwha, who passes it on to her son Tari-makao-roa. Hine’s husband Rā-kura steals the hook, but vehemently denies that he has it. The family put out to sea, where all drown except the mother and son. As he sinks Rā-kura spits out the hook. Hine and her son swim ashore. Kumikumi-maroro finds them and takes Hine as one of his wives.

When the other wives and children bully Tari-makao-roa and refuse to share their fish with him, Hine makes him a fishing net. At first he pulls up nothing but a stone, and returns home in disgust. Hine tells him that he must bring back the stone. He does so, and uses it in making fish-hooks with which he makes a huge catch of fish. After this, he and his mother depart for the village of a man named Tautini.

Tari-makao-roa gives Tautini a fish-hook. Tautini makes himself a canoe and puts out to sea, where he meets a man called Tītipa, who wishes to exchange his raft for Tautini’s canoe. Tautini is reluctant, but eventually agrees to allow Tītipa to try out the canoe. Tītipa then paddles off, leaving Tautini unable to follow on the slow-moving raft. Tautini goes home and finds his ancestor, on whom he can travel to Tītipa’s village.

His intention is to regain his canoe. He lives with two women, then sends them off to get water, which recedes as they approach. He takes back his canoe and escapes, chanting a karakia as he paddles away.

Analysis in detail

A magical fish-hook

The description of the fish-hook in the Murihiku story seems to have its origins in the Western Polynesian stories. In these, the hook is a bonito lure (a pā, as it is also called in

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1Since the second story continues straight on from the first I am dealing with the two stories as if they were one, even though Wohlers separates them. Only one manuscript version of this story exists, and Wohlers did not publish it.
2The form his ancestor takes is discussed later in this chapter.
the versions from Aotearoa). This type of lure was made from a piece of pearl shell, with a point of bone or tortoiseshell fixed to one end. The other end was attached to a rod by means of a length of line. The hook was not baited, but attracted the fish by its shining surface and by being moved about vigorously through the shoal of fish.3

This type of lure was evidently brought to Aotearoa by the earliest Māori settlers and, since the bonito did not exist in this region, adapted to local requirements. In the North Island it became the kahawai lure, made of wood and lined with pāua shell.4 In the south it was used to catch the large and voracious barracouta, and so had to be of sufficient size and strength to hold this fish. The shank on to which the point was lashed was therefore often made of stone and, according to one authority, measured up to 15 centimetres long. No form of shiny decoration was applied, for the vigorous twirling and threshing motion was sufficient to attract the fish.5

In Western Polynesian versions of the story the shining appearance of the hook is given great importance. In some cases the bearer of the hook is given explicit instructions about carrying it in such a way as to avoid dazzling the sun.6 In Aotearoa the story tellers, whose hooks were sometimes non-shiny, did not retain this episode of the story. However, the idea of a shining hook remains, and finds its way into the story in a different form. When Rā-kura is suspected of having stolen the hook, divination rituals reveal it ‘gleaming’ inside his body.

In all versions from Island Polynesia the fish-hook has magical qualities. Usually it is handed on by a person of great mana, such as the sun. This means that it is exceptionally effective in catching fish. Either it is one of a pair, one of which will bring good luck and

3Pratt’s description of the Samoan bonito lure is as follows: ‘These hooks are made out of pearl shell, cut in the shape of a small fish. To this was lashed, through small drilled holes, an unbarbed hook made from tortoised shell, and small feathers were added to imitate fins’ (Pratt, 1888: 447). The hooks were very valuable, as a great deal of time and care were devoted to their making; see a detailed description in Te Rangi Hiwi, 1930: 497-508.

4Pāua shell is a blue-green colour, and not as dazzling as pearl shell.

5Best, 1977a: 51-5; 239-41 (much of his information comes from Tikao, and is therefore important for describing southern practices); Duff, 1977: 198-211. The lure was often shaped like a small fish, but this was no doubt for aesthetic reasons rather than as a serious attempt to deceive the barracouta. The point of the hook for both bonito and barracouta lures was unbarbed, to allow the fish to be swung on to the canoe and detached, and the rod to be swung out again almost instantly.

the other ill luck, or it shines so much that the sun itself is blinded. In versions from Aotearoa it is given by Tangaroa, or (in Tiramōrehu’s version) ‘has the mana of the god upon it’. In Wohlers’s version, the first fish-hook is not described in any way, although its Polynesian origins may be glimpsed from the statement that it ‘gleams’ in Rā-kura’s body when he has stolen it. One assumes therefore that it is a magical hook.

In the story recorded by Wohlers the first hook is simply there, to be passed on, used, stolen and restored. When it comes to the second hook or hooks, however, the listener or reader is there at their genesis, which is described in some detail. Some of the words used are obscure, but the actions performed by Tari-makao-roa fit descriptions of the making of barracouta lures recorded elsewhere. After he has brought home his magical stone, Tari-makao-roa goes into the forest to find the tree that his mother has selected as suitable for making the rod. He heats the stick over the fire to make it curved. He splits the stone into two and sets the point of the hook in place on the shank. He then binds the completed hook on to the rod. The account seems to imply that he makes two hooks. A pair of hooks are mentioned in several of the other versions.

These fish-hooks (if indeed there are two) are remarkably effective. Tari-makao-roa is now able to display his superior powers as a fisherman to those who had previously mocked him. He catches so many fish that the village storage platforms are loaded with them. This is evidence that he is aided by supernatural powers.

In other versions of the story the hook, or a piece of it, is handed down to the son to use in making his own hook, and this may be the implication here, even though the possible link between the original hook and the ones made by Tari-makao-roa is not made clear. If his hook does contain a piece of the original one, Tari-makao-roa may be answering the taunts about his lack of a father by actions which say, ‘See how my dead father helps me catch

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7 Since Tangaroa is the god of the sea and is in charge of fish, it comes as no surprise to find his name associated with this story. The ‘Rangi’ who first owns the hook in Wohlers’s version is not explained. In Polynesian versions the hook is usually given by the sun, Rā, who lives in the sky, so there may be a link here. If it is seen as coming from the sky, this is evidence of its mana.

8 We are told that Tari-makao-roa splits the stone, and the words ngatau (‘right-hand’) and later te pā tama-wahine (‘the left-hand fish-hook’) are used. But only one hook is passed on to Tautini.

9 The koinga found by Kumikumi-mororo and the kauiti fastened on to the hook by Tari-makao-roa may be the same ‘point’, and may come from the original hook; see the discussion later in this chapter.
fish!’

Rā-kura the thief

The first fish-hook is stolen, regained and passed from person to person. The person who steals it is Rā-kura, or a cognate of this name, and he is nearly always a relation by marriage, that is, an outsider. In Samoan versions he is also an outsider, though in a different way.

The use of magic to catch the thief plays a large part in all versions of the story. In the Samoan versions, the Tui Fiti watches bonito jumping and divines the whereabouts of the hook from the direction the bonito are facing as they jump. In some other versions, each fish is asked in turn until finally one reveals the name of the thief. Tiramōrehu simply states that ‘he [Tari] asked the god to reveal it to him’.

In Wohlers’s version, the significance of the words ka whakatū is unclear, but in view of the magical acts performed in all other versions, it would appear that the expression indicates some kind of divinatory ritual. It perhaps refers to the setting up (whakatū) of the small sticks often used in such rituals. The next sentence appears to confirm this interpretation, as the hiding place is indeed revealed: the hook is seen ‘gleaming inside’ Rā-kura (Tiramōrehu specifies that it is in his scrotum; this is no doubt the implication in the other versions from Aotearoa, which do not state the fact explicitly).

The discovery of the theft fills Rā-kura with shame, and he at once puts out to sea. It is not made clear whether suicide is his intention. Tiramōrehu states that he intends to commit suicide, while in several of the other versions he is merely running away with the hook, and drowns in the process. He takes his family along with him, and perhaps all his accusers as

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10Lakulu, La’ulu; Rahuru in version 3. Wohlers calls him Rā-kura, which may be his own version of the name or a later adaptation by the people who told the story to him (kura, ‘treasure’, is an element in many Māori names, while kuru is rare). This may be one more example of the difficulty Wohlers experienced in determining final vowels. In version A 4 at the end of this section, the thief is named Kaurepa.

11In one case he brings his family over from Samoa to teach the King of Fiji how to lash the hook correctly. In Samoan versions the name Sina (Hina or Hine) is given to two women in the story, the daughter of the Tui Fiti and La’ulu’s sister or daughter (Pratt, 1888: 447-54; Fraser, 1896: 243-9).

12Details of such rituals are hard to come by. The one described in Pomare and Cowan, 1930: 85-8, although told in relation to a more recent incident, may be adapted from a traditional ceremony. See also Shortland, 1881: 34-5; McDonnell, 1888-9: 280-4.
well (*peti katoa* suggests a large gathering). Once they are out at sea his wife accuses him bitterly. In the Ngāti Kahungunu version it is made clear that she sees Rā-kuru’s actions as having doomed them all to death, perhaps because the gods will punish the whole group for his sin.

**Tari-makao-roa and Tautini**

Tari-makao-roa, Hine’s son in Wohlers’s version, is her brother in most of the other versions from Aotearoa.\(^{13}\) This is what one would expect, since in Māori narratives a major preoccupation is the tension which arises between brothers-in-law.\(^{14}\) This figure is not present in the versions from Island Polynesia, where the fish-hook is passed on by the father and not the brother.

Tari-makao-roa’s behaviour in Wohlers’s version is more typical of a brother-in-law than a son: he accuses Rā-kura of theft, performs an act of divination to discover the hook, and takes Rā-kura off to drown. His later role as the bullied young son of a slave wife hardly seems consistent with these actions. This, along with the fact that in the other versions Tari is the brother-in-law of Rā-kuru, lead one to suspect that this version has undergone some changes in the telling.

The position of another person in the story, Tautini, is also affected by Tari-makao-roa’s different status in this version. Tautini or Tautunu, the person who finally inherits the fish-hook, is nearly always a son or grandson of Hine (in Tiramōrehu’s version from the far south, for example, he is the son). It comes as a surprise, therefore, to find that in Wohlers’s Murihiku version he has no obvious blood tie to the other people in the story. In the other versions the hook is carefully kept within the family, as would have happened in real life.

**Hine**

The fish-hook is a prized family heirloom, and one of the key figures in the story is a

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\(^{13}\)In version A 1 he is called Tari, in versions A 2 and 3, Whakatari; see the summaries at the end of this chapter.

\(^{14}\)See the discussion of this motif in the section ‘The first dog’, in ‘Māui: trickster and innovator’. 
female who is the guardian of the hook and of the knowledge of its use. Her name is Hine or Sina, a key figure in Polynesian narratives. In one episode in the Ngāti Kahungūnu/Ngāi Tahu version of the story (version A 2), Hine can be seen to be associated with the Hina or Sina who becomes the wife of Tinirau.\(^{15}\)

In the version recorded by Wohlers the full name of the woman is Hine-i-te-puwha. The epithet may be a reflection either of her swimming prowess (‘blowing’ like a whale), or perhaps of her taking charge of the hook which has been ‘spat out’ by her husband.\(^{16}\) In Tiramōrehu’s version she is Hine-taitai, a name which indicates a connection with the sea. In Māori myth and legend, a number of female figures are said to survive a long swimming voyage. Like these women Hine survives, while her husband and others drown.

Hine commits an error of judgment by letting the family heirloom out of her hands and into those of her husband.\(^{17}\) However, she is not punished with death for this fault. In all versions of this story the woman is the one to survive, for she is the one who will hand on the hook and the knowledge that goes with it. Sometimes she takes a younger brother or brothers to shore with her, and in the Murihiku version she is accompanied by her son.

Usually, though, the son who enters the story at this point is fathered by her new husband, and has his father’s help in building his canoe and going fishing.

In this next episode, Hine is found on the beach and taken to wife by a man named Kumikumi-maroro.\(^{18}\) Since in the version of the story which we are discussing Hine’s son comes from a former marriage, he is a social outcast. Hine is only a slave wife, a piece of

\(^{15}\)Hine tramples on fish and gives them their various characteristics. In stories from all areas of Polynesia Hine (or one of the cognates of this name) is said to be responsible for the attributes of the various fishes: their colours, shapes, or distinctive smell. See Kirtley, 1971: A2305.1 (and further subsections); A2412.4; A2416.8. Tinirau is usually seen as the guardian of fish.

\(^{16}\)Puwha, ‘spit out’; pupuha, ‘blow, spout (as a whale)’. Another possibility is that the last part of her name should be plwñh (‘sow thistle’), but if this is the case the name has no connection with the story.

\(^{17}\)In version A 4 of the story one can see an association between the daughters and the Sina or Ina who loses her family treasures through the wiles of a trickster thief (see for example Gill, 1876: 88-92).

\(^{18}\)If the name has any significance at all, it may be a compound of the names of two fish (kumukumu, a variant of the fish name kumukumu which appears in the Whānau-a-Apanui version, and maroro, ‘flying fish’). It may be that an episode from another version, in which the fish are asked in turn for information, has carried over into the name, although the episode itself is missing. In version A 2 Hine also marries a sea creature, Whēke (his fishy nature becomes apparent when we are told that she tramples on him, along with all the other fish). If in the second part of the name the vowels are pronounced long (mārōrō) the meaning will be something like ‘Stiff-beard’; compare the corresponding figure in the Ngāti Kahungūnu version, Tū-huruhuru, ‘Hairy Tu’ (a figure who is usually found in stories about Tinirau).
jetsam washed up on the shore, and can do little to protect her son when he is bullied by the senior wives and the children. The story introduces the common Polynesian motif of the fatherless boy who is taunted as a bastard by the other children.

The fate of the original fish-hook is not made clear. There is some evidence that it may be brought or washed ashore, as it is in some other versions. Kumikumi-maroro finds on the shore a ‘point’, which may be the sharpened point of the fish lure. In some of the versions from Island Polynesia the mother saves part of the fish-hook for her (unborn) son, so it may be that Tari-makao-roa uses the point found by Kumikumi-maroro on one of the hooks which he makes. But this is not stated explicitly.

The link between the stories of Hine-i-te-puwha and Tautini is the fish-hook. The first hook and its successors formed the central motif of the first story, and a hook is now passed on by Tari-makao-roa to an apparently unrelated figure, Tautini. The second story is concerned not with a fish-hook, however, but with a canoe. Once again, it is a story of loss and recovery.

**Tautini and his canoe**

We are not told Tautini’s reasons for making himself a canoe. He may be intending to take his new hook on a fishing trip, or to return to the village where the original hook was made (and where his relations came from, if he is in fact related to Hine).

In this part of the tale the narrative element is subordinated to the five karakia which the hero recites as he performs various actions. These karakia are the focal point of the story, and were no doubt the reason why it continued to be passed on. It is probable that Tautini is an archetypal figure connected with canoe-making. The many karakia suggest this, as does the fact that his name is found elsewhere in a story which concerns a special sort of canoe.

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19 The *kauiti* which Tari-makao-roa fastens to the shank may be the *koinga* found by Kumikumi-maroro; see note 9.
20 See the earlier discussion of this figure.
21 See note 45.
The karakia are difficult to translate, for they must be ancient, and they contain obscure words which may not even have been well understood by the person who narrated the story to Wohlers. The theme and purpose of each karakia is clear, however.

a. Karakia for the canoe

The first karakia is the one Tautini uses at the completion of his canoe. Its purpose must be to lift the tapu which surrounded the canoe during its making, and which still adheres to it. Comparison with similar karakia reveals that this is a typical example of these chants, even if some of the words are obscure.22

Tautini does not have his canoe for long, for it is stolen from him by a trickster thief. The name of this person, Ttipa, literally means ‘deceitful’, and this must be directly associated with the role he plays in the story.23 He exchanges his flimsy raft for Tautini’s canoe by pretending that he merely wishes to try out the canoe. Once he has it in his possession, he paddles off as fast as he can go. This episode is probably an invention of the southern storytellers, for it features in neither the Ngāti Kahungunu nor the Polynesian versions. It is a motif which is also found in the southern version of the story of Tinirau.24

Tautini cannot use the raft to search for his canoe, for it is too slow. He must therefore find some other means of transport. He sets off in his strange craft, some kind of sea creature which is his ancestor. It is not clear what this creature is. Wohlers translates the expression whare reperepe as ‘nautilus’, a translation also adopted by White.25 However, no other

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22See, for example, the karakia used in the dedication of Tākitimu and Tainui (Smith, 1913: 220-2; Kelly, 1949: 15-17; 36-42).
23A story from the East Coast of the North Island has a figure called Ttipa who also gains property by trickery: he tricks the fairies out of a fishing net (Rimini, 1901: 183-8). The name Ttipa also appears in the Ngāti Kahungunu/ Ngāti Tahu version (version A 2), but as the name of one of Tautini’s fish-hooks; see note 44.
24Tinirau is looking for a way to follow his wife and child, and calls on his ancestor Tutu-nui, a whale, to carry him. The trickster on the raft is Kae, and the name of his raft is Ōtīta, ‘Belonging to Ttipa’ (Wohlers, 1874: 27; 51; Kae’s raft is found only in the version from the far south). After the exchange is made, Kae paddles off on Tutu-nui whom he later kills (as he does in other versions of this story). So there is once again an association between this story and that of Tinirau, which finds expression both in the motif and in one of the names.
25Wohlers did not translate the story of Tautini. But in a similar incident in another story (about Tinirau) he speaks of Tautini’s ‘tame nautilus’ (Wohlers, 1874: 51; Williams glosses this as ‘oyster shell’, ignoring Wohlers’s translation). White’s translation of the word (1887, II: 158, 159, 160) may be based on his reading of Wohlers’s 1874 passage.
confirmation of this meaning has been found. The paper nautilus is sometimes found washed up on beaches in New Zealand, but only in the far north. This does not mean that the concept could not find its way into the story, but unless examples of this meaning can be found elsewhere, it seems more likely that Wohlers was using an idea from his European heritage.

The word has been recorded in association with several other creatures. Williams gives ‘elephant fish’ as one of his glosses. Taylor has two examples of reperepe with different glosses (he seems to have types of squid in mind). However, these are probably northern usages, and would not apply in the far south.

An example of a southern use of the word comes from Herries Beattie. It is significant that his entry actually combines the word reperepe with the name Tautini: he has reperepe-tautini, ‘jellyfish’. It is difficult, however, to reconcile this with the word whare used in Wohlers’s version of the story. Whare, literally ‘house’, is often used of spiders’ webs, shells and so on, so one would expect our example to mean ‘a [?] shell’, with the word reperepe being used adjectivally.

Another southern usage is found in Tiramōrehu, but in his version the reference is not to the vessel itself. Tiramōrehu says that the reperepe is ‘painted’ or ‘smeared’ on to the outside of the box in which Tautini travels. White glosses reperepe in this passage as ‘a red colour obtained from certain sea-shells’. Although White is a careless editor, on matters of Māori lore he is often sound, so that his suggestion of a red dye obtained from shellfish ought not to be dismissed lightly. Investigations have so far yielded no information about such a dye, and perhaps the word ‘dye’ is itself misleading. In another passage recorded by Wohlers, Hine-te-iwaiwa makes her way along the beach, giving the fish she meets their various characteristics. First the shark and others are dealt with, and then comes the repe: ‘when she saw a repe (a sea-shell from which a sacred dye is obtained) lying on the beach

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26 Compare the many stories about the kūmara, a plant which could not be cultivated in the far south.
27 Repe repe is ‘the squill or sea pen’ in Taylor, 1870b: 26, and ‘reperepe: Callorynchus australis’ in Taylor, 1855: 429 (the subtitle to a picture). The same picture is entitled ‘Loligo vulgaris’ in 1870a: 668. No Māori name is given in the last example.
28 Beattie papers, MS 182, DUHo.
29 See version A 1 in the summaries at the end of this chapter.
she placed her maro (apron) on the point of the shell ...’ (the translation is again White’s). Hine-te-iwaiwa’s associations with childbirth suggest that the red may be blood, and that she is using her maro to impart this colour to the repe. An associated idea may be present in the Hawai’ian expression lepe-(or lepelepe)-o-Hina, ‘a red seaweed’. Whether the term whare reperepe refers to a particular sea creature or to a colour obtained from such a creature cannot, then, be established with any certainty.

The box used in Tiramōrehu’s version is another southern motif, as we have already seen in the stories of Rongo-i-tua and Rona (it occurs again in the story of Paowa). The motif in which the hero, in the course of a voyage, stops repeatedly, listens, and then moves on to the next village, also seems to be a southern speciality, for it occurs in the stories of Rona and Tinirau (the latter borrows a means of transport from Tautini himself). In Wohlers’s version of the story of Tautini, his pet birds accompany him, calling as they go. By listening to these calls, Tautini will discover where his canoe is.

b. and c. Karakia to make the water dry up, and to speed the canoe

When he has discovered the whereabouts of his canoe, Tautini lives in the village with two women, Ti-mua and Ti-roto. Titiopa is not mentioned again, so the women are in a sense standing in for him. Tautini wishes to escape in his canoe, so he sends the women away to fetch water, meanwhile reciting karakia to make the streams dry up as they approach, so that they move further and further away. This motif is also found in other stories recorded by Wohlers.

The two karakia are similar in that both refer to two events, the water drying up and the canoe moving over the water. It seems therefore that they serve a dual purpose, to dry the water up and to speed Tautini on his way. In the second karakia the water is said to dry up because Takaroa is licking it up. Takaroa no doubt lends his aid because the canoe, through

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30 White, 1887, II: 134. This is the passage used in Williams’s gloss for repe 2.
33 White, 1887, I: 136-7 (this comes from Wohlers); Wohlers, 1874: 27; 51.
34 The initial element, Ti, is the same in all three names. The women may be Titiopa’s wives or daughters.
35 ‘Ko Rona’ and ‘Ko Paowa’. 
its association with the sea, is under his protection. In the last line of the second karakia the lever is mentioned, for this will be needed to thrust the canoe into the water so that Tautini can make his escape.

d. Karakia to the lever

The lever, which has been named in the last line of karakia c, is now the subject of its own karakia. The purpose of the karakia is no doubt to endow the lever with strength to allow it to perform its work swiftly and well. It is not known who Te Rakanuku is.

e. Karakia for Tautini’s paddle

The last karakia is a long one which begins by speaking of Tautini’s paddle. This, like the lever and like so many other similarly useful articles in the Māori world, is named. The lever which has been named the gods, this time to give power to his paddle. He also mentions winds which come from specific directions, perhaps the ones which will be the most useful to his progress. The winds are said to be ‘bound in a basket’. This must refer to the belief that the winds could be confined in a kit or calabash and released by the tohunga at the appropriate time. The proper names mentioned in the karakia have not been traced, but they may be gods who have a particular association with these winds.

These karakia give the story a significance which outweighs its seemingly everyday subject matter, the loss and retrieval of a fish-hook and a canoe. The karakia appear to have an important function, and were perhaps still in use at the time the story was told. Setting them in the context of the story would have aided their oral transmission, and indeed the karakia may well have been one reason why the story continued to be told in the south.

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36 In the karakia used as Tainui made the crossing to Aotearoa the paddles are also named (Kelly, 1949: 46-7).
37 The winds were thought to be kept in a ‘wind calabash’, and a karakia called puru rangi, ‘to plug the sky’, was used to prevent storms rising during a voyage (Best, 1925a: 886-99). A figure named Raka-maomaia is sometimes mentioned in waiata and traditions in connection with control over the winds; this figure is known in Island Polynesia also. In a Mangaian myth Raka (‘Trouble’) is given a basket of winds by his mother. His children 'are the numerous winds and storms which distress mankind. To each child is allotted a hole at the edge of the horizon, through which he blows at pleasure' (Gill, 1876: 5). Several Hawai’ian myths speak of a magic gourd in which the winds are confined, and from which they can be released as necessary (Thrum, 1923: 63; Rice, 1923: 73-4; Westervelt, 1915: 115; compare this last with the similar Māui story in White, 1887, II: 89). In the Chatham Islands, karakia were recited to force the winds into a basket called Ro Kete-o-Whai-Tokorau, and also to 'roast the crown of heaven' to produce a calm (Shand, 1911: 197-201).
OTHER VERSIONS

A. Aotearoa

1. *Kāi Tahu/Kāti Māmoe* 38

The fish-hook belongs to Tari, whose sister Hine-taitai is married to Rā-kuru. Rā-kuru steals the hook. Tari asks the god to reveal it to him, and sees it hidden (apparently, shining) in Rā-kuru’s scrotum. When Tari tells the people about this, Rā-kuru in shame decides to commit suicide. As he drowns, he admits his fault to his wife and gives her the hook, which she puts in her mouth. She swims ashore, where Kumikumi-maroro takes her as his wife. The two have no clothes, food, water or house, but these are supplied by supernatural means.

Their son Tautini is born, and later has his canoe stolen by Tītipa. He builds a special kind of box in which to search for Tītipa. After two months at sea he arrives at Tītipa’s village, where he sees his own canoe out fishing. The fishermen see the box and take it on board their canoe, exclaiming over its beauty. Though it is light when they take it ashore, once they land it is as heavy as the earth, and so they are forced to leave it on the beach.

The next day a house stands there, with a storage platform stocked with food and garments. Tautini is joined by two women, Tī-mua and Tī-roto, who are attracted by his wealth and wish to live with him. He gets his fish-hook back but continues to live there for some years, supplied with all his needs by the god, until he eventually decides to return home.

2. *Ngāti Kahungunu/Ngāi Tahu* 39

The story of the magic fish-hook follows a narrative concerning Rangi, Papa and other figures of myth.

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38Tīramōrehu in White, 1887, I: 170-2 (English); 153-5 (Māori).
39Te Mātūhi, 1904: 5-8. A whakapapa at the end of this passage ends with the name E.R. Te Tau, who is therefore probably its author. I am grateful to my colleague, Lyndsay Head, for bringing this story to my notice.
Tangaroa and Houmea-kiko-taratara\textsuperscript{40} have a son, Whakatari, and a daughter, Hine, who is married to Rā-kuru. When fishing, Whakatari makes huge catches with his two special fish-hooks (given to him by his father). His unsuccessful brother-in-law borrows the hooks, but tells Whakatari that they have been carried off by a fish.

Whakatari asks all the fish in turn if they have taken his hook. Finally the shark tells him that his brother-in-law has it.\textsuperscript{41} Whakatari sees the hook gleaming between Rā-kuru’s thighs. Rā-kuru, overcome with shame, takes his wife and family out to sea, where the canoe overturns and all are drowned except Hine. She goes below, marries Whake (‘Octopus’) and gives birth to a number of children.\textsuperscript{42}

One day Hine runs away, trampling on various fish, including Whake, as she does so.\textsuperscript{43} She swims ashore and is found by Tū-huruhuru. Their son Tuhai-rangi is born.

When Tuhai-rangi grows up his mother makes him a hand net for catching fish. At first he catches only a stone, but when he follows his mother’s instructions he nets fish, and also his uncle Whakatari’s lost fish-hooks.\textsuperscript{44} His father helps him build a canoe, and he makes a huge catch of fish. The unsuccessful fishermen drown him and take his canoe and fish-hooks.

Tuhai-rangi is not dead, but swims ashore along the sea bed. He lives with a woman there and when she is pregnant and wishes for birds, he tells her to ask her father for his spear. With this they kill a pigeon and cook it for her, and decide that her unborn child is to be called Tautunu-kererū (‘Roast-pigeon’). When later she craves fish, he tells her to get his stolen hooks and canoe for him. He pulls her on board the canoe and heads for home.

\textsuperscript{40}See the introduction to ‘Paowa: an encounter with a witch’ for comments on this figure.
\textsuperscript{41}The shark’s words are that the hook is ‘at Raro-timu, at Raro-take’. The significance of this is not known, but it may be an elaborate way of referring to the scrotum.
\textsuperscript{42}Their names all begin with the word au, possibly meaning ‘current’. La’ulu’s sons or brothers have similar names in Samoan versions of the story.
\textsuperscript{43}This must be thought to account for the flattened appearance of fish such as the sting-ray and the flounder.
\textsuperscript{44}He has had to call on his elder brothers to acquire these. The implication is that Hine took the hooks down to the bottom of the sea with her when she married Whake, and that her sons down there (Tuhai-rangi’s half-brothers) guarded them for her. One of the hooks is called Tūtipa — the name of the trickster in the southern stories.
where his mother has had a dream foretelling his arrival.45

3. Ngāti Kahungunu46

This version closely resembles version A 2 above, except that the thief’s name is Rauru or Rahuru, and there are two other figures on the whakapapa between Tangaroa and Whakatari. When Rahuru steals the hook, Whakatari makes all the fish open their mouths. He then sends two taniwha, Ruamano and Tutara-kauika, to look at the bottom of the sea. The hook is finally found gleaming between the thighs of Rahuru.

As in the other versions, Rahuru takes his family out to sea, and once there, confesses his sin and hands Hine the hook. She puts it into her koukou47 and swims ashore, where she marries and gives birth to a son, Tahu-wai-rangi.

When he grows up, Tahu-wai-rangi throws his net out three times, but catches a stone each time. His mother tells him to bring the stones home, for they are his elder brothers who were drowned at sea. The stones are wrapped and placed at the sacred place.

Tahu-wai-rangi builds a canoe and goes fishing with his uncle’s fish-hook, now named Te Whetu-kura-a-Tangaroa.48 The other fishermen, envious of his great success, seize his hook and attempt to drown him, but he is carried safely ashore [perhaps by one of his elder brothers].

Tahu-wai-rangi marries the daughter of the man who has his fish-hook. He asks to borrow the hook, and takes his wife out to sea (where she becomes a rock). He then sails home, where his mother is watching for him. He marries another wife, and as in story A 2, catches

45 Another story which may be cognate with versions A 2 and 3 is the story of Tautini-awhitia (Orbell, 1968: 46-51). The name is similar, as is the motif of the wife’s pregnant cravings for birds. A magic boat also plays its part. The boy is abandoned by his father, and suffers the same sort of jibes as Tari-makao-roa suffers in the Murihiku story. The magic fish-hook motif and the other names are absent, however, and the tale chiefly concerns the son’s search for his father.
47 This word often means ‘topknot’, but since women did not wear their hair in this style, it may mean ‘clitoris’ here. This is not as unlikely as it at first may seem, for we have already encountered the idea that the genitals of a woman are a pattern for fish-hooks (‘Ko Māui’ and ‘Ko Waitiri’). The motif may also be connected with the idea that Rā-kuru hides the hook in his scrotum.
48 This expression is a variant of the more usual whatu-kura-a-Tangaroa ‘Tangaroa’s red [or precious] stone’ (version A 4). It may mean ‘Tangaroa’s red [or precious] star’, but may be simply a different form of the word.
and cooks pigeons, and names his son after this incident.

4. Whānau-a-Apanui 49

In Hawaiki, Hine sends her daughters Hine-tītama and Hine-ahu-one off to net fish. After fishing up and throwing back the same red stone several times, they return empty-handed to their mother, who tells them that the stone is their ancestor and should be brought back home. They carve the stone into a phallic shape, the Whatu-kura-a-Tangaroa, say invocations to Tangaroa, and net 3,000 fish.

A man named Kaurepa arrives and tricks the girls into showing him the stone, which he then steals. Hine asks the fish who the thief is. The gurnard does not know, but the kahawai informs her that the stone is concealed about the person of Kaurepa. The latter denies this, but when the kahawai indicates the place where it is hidden, he is forced to give it back.

This story differs from the others in that it is concerned not with a fish-hook but with a *mauri*, the stone embodiment of the fish resource. Furthermore, this *mauri* is red, not shining. Several motifs link it with the other versions, however: the netting and discarding of the stone, the huge catch of fish which leads to the theft of the magic object, the questions to the fish, and the revelation of the hiding place. The name of the *mauri* links it to the previous version, where it is the name of the fish-hook.

B. Island Polynesia

1. Samoa 50

'Alo-'alo is about to marry Sina, the daughter of the Tui Fiti (the king of Fiji), and seeks a wedding gift from his father the sun. He is given a magic fish-hook, but defies an injunction not to look at it and is drowned.

The hook is discovered by the Tui Fiti, and is handed to a fisherman called La’ulu to be repaired.51 La’ulu’s children try in turn to lash the hook to the line. The two elder sons tie

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49Gudgeon, 1906: 33-5. This story is narrated in English only.
50Fraser, 1896: 243-9.
51La’ulu’s wife is called Faumea, a name cognate with the Houmea found in East Coast (New Zealand)
the hook on incorrectly. Rats take this news to the fish and the fishing trips are unsuccessful. The daughter cannot tie the hook because she is a woman, but the youngest son follows the correct procedure and catches a huge haul. La’ulu steals the hook and swims back to Samoa with his family. When they near Samoa the parents are exhausted and sink to the bottom to become fishing reefs, while Sina and the two younger brothers swim to land with the hook.

Sina becomes the wife of the local chief and gives birth to a daughter, who in her turn marries and bears a son named Tautunu. Tautunu is brought up apart from his family, but is eventually reunited with them and inherits the hook, with which he is highly successful.

Another Samoan version\textsuperscript{52} relates essentially the same story. Both versions contain many embellishments and extended episodes, and it is obvious that the story can be broken off or added to at will.\textsuperscript{53}

2. \textit{Tuvalu} \textsuperscript{54}

When Kalokalo-la’s wife Sina is about to give birth, he goes to his father, Te La (The Sun), to ask for gifts for the child. He is given pearl shells, but warned that as he travels he must turn the shining surface downwards, lest it blind the sun. He disobeys the instructions and the sun, blinded and angry, allows fish to overwhelm the canoe. Kalokalo-la dies and the fish eat the pearl off the shell, which is eventually cast up on the beach.

Sina finds the base of the shell and buries it, realising that her husband is now dead. Her child Tautunu is born. When he grows up he wishes to net fish, but his mother cannot make him a net, as she is a woman. She finds one on the sea shore. Tautunu takes it fishing, and has a huge catch. He asks his mother for a lure to go bonito fishing, but once again she

\textsuperscript{52}Pratt, 1888: 447-54.

\textsuperscript{53}The commentator explains that stories about the hook ‘admit of great expansion and have numerous “recensions”, long and short’ (Fraser, 1896: 251).

There are also Tongan ‘Son of the Sun’ tales which must be cognate with the above stories, even though the fish-hook motif is absent. They involve the boy’s miraculous conception (through his mother’s exposing herself to the sun) and the sun’s gift of two parcels which must not be opened. When the son disobeys, hurricanes and other evils are unleashed into the world (Gifford, 1924: 111-5).

\textsuperscript{54}Kennedy, 1929: 232-5.
cannot supply it. Tautunu reminds her of the words he heard her speak as she found the pearl shell, while he was still in her womb. He digs up the shell, grinds it into shape, makes a line, and finds a rod lying on the beach. With this equipment he catches a huge haul of bonito, but takes home only one.

His mother refuses to prepare an oven for a single fish, but Tautunu insists. He calls on the sea to break its way up to their house, so that he can stand at the edge of the new inlet catching bonito with his line and landing them straight into the oven. This happens every day.

Eventually he goes off to Samoa, where the fighting captains are unable to defeat him.

A variant of this story is similar, but shorter. It is said to explain the source of certain local skills: ‘And the skill at binding shell trolling-hooks and making other things which came from Tautunu the Samoan, remains on Vaitapu to the present day’.

3. Tokelau

Magamagai Matua has a child to the sun and calls him Kalokalo-o-le-La. When the child grows up, he climbs up a tree, braving many dangers, to seek his father. The sun gives him a gift which he must not unwrap until he is married. He unwraps it on the way home, and the sun is dazzled by the beautiful pearl shell. Sharks eat Kalokalo-o-le-La and one piece of his pearl shell falls into the fish trap belonging to the Tui Fiti, who recognises it as a portion of his daughter Sina’s wedding present. He makes a spoon bait out of it and lends it to his daughter’s new husband, Lakulu, who steals it.

As Lakulu swims away with his family, a storm blows up. The hook is passed from one family member to another as each one sinks and drowns. Finally Sina is the only one left alive. She swims ashore and gives birth to a son named Tautunu.

When Tautunu grows up he ties his hook to a line the wrong way. A lizard informs the fish

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of this, and Tautunu catches nothing.\(^{57}\) His mother tells him the correct way to do it, the lizard tells the fish, and this time the fishing trip is successful. But Tautunu leaves his rod on the beach and it is stolen: the line and shell by the crab, the feathers by the lobster and the hook by a fish which now has a hook under its chin. The rod drifts out to sea, followed by the bonito (which are now found a long way out from shore).\(^{58}\)

C. Related material

1. Ngāti Ruanui

Rā-kuru and Tautini, in the form Tautini-ariki, are also named in a waiata which was composed by Tū-raukawa, a rangatira of Ngāti Ruanui in southern Taranaki:

Takoto kau Rā-kuru ki te ihu o te waka.
Nāna i kaia, kāore i whāki ra.
Rangona ki te tangi a Tautini-ariki.

Rā-kuru lay idly there in the bow of the canoe.
He was the one who stole it and did not admit it.
It became known through Tautini-ariki’s lamentations.

The paddle, bailer, rod, line and point of the fish-hook are also named.\(^{59}\)

2. Ngāti Koata

In a story told by Te Whetū of Ngāti Koata, a tohunga named Raukura has his famous magic fish-hook stolen.\(^{60}\) This may seem unrelated, but the occurrence of a similar name together with a magic fish-hook is suggestive.

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\(^{57}\)This episode is found in other stories in Oceania; for example, it is one of Māui’s adventures in a story from Bellona (Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 136).

\(^{58}\)The magic fish-hook is thus seen to be responsible for the special characteristics shown by all these creatures.

\(^{59}\)Grey, 1853: 322.

\(^{60}\)Grace, 1907: 211.

Ka kī mai a Rā-kura, ‘Kāhore i [a] au.’

Ka kī atu a Tari-makao-roa, ‘Kei a koe.’

Ka kī atu a Rā-kura, ‘Kāhore kei [a] au.’


Ka kī atu a Rā-kura, ‘Kāhore kei [a] au.’

Ka kī atu a Tari-makao-roa, ‘Kei te uira mai i roto i a koe.’

Ka kī atu a Rā-kura, ‘Kāhore i [a] au.’

Na, ka kī atu te waha o Tari-makao-roa, ‘Kei a koe anō.’


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1White 1887, II: 155-7 (English); 151-3 (Maori).
2The original word looks very like taina (‘younger sister’), and is so interpreted by White. However, Hine is later called Tari-makao-roa’s hākui (‘mother’), and he is te tama nei (‘this son’).
3See the introduction to this story, note 10, for a discussion of this name.
4According to normal syntactical rules one would expect i a au after the negative kāhore. It is possible that this should be Kāhore ke i a au, with ke functioning as an intensifying adverb.
5What he ‘sets up’ is possibly a tīra, used to discover a thief. See the introduction to this story, under ‘Rā-kura the thief’, for a discussion of this rite.
waho o te moana, whāki[na] e koe. Ka mate nei ngā tāngata, whākina e koe.\(^6\)

Ā, ka kau rāua ko te hākui ki uta. Ā, ka ū rāua ki uta — kau\(^7\) rāua ki uta. Ka tae rāua ki uta noho ai.

Ka haere mai a Kumikumi-maroro ra te one. Rokohina mai te koinga\(^8\) e takoto ana. Ka whakahaeckia. Ā, ka tae ki uta, ā, ka pono atu e noho ana. Ā, ka mau ia, a Kumikumi-maroro, ki te wahine, ki a Hine-i-te-puwha. Ka arahia ki te kāinga, ka tae [ki] tōna kāinga, ka noho rātou. Ka pō te rā, ka haere mai a Kumikumi-maroro ki taua wahine, moe ai.

Ka [a]o ake i te ata, ka haere ki te moana. Ka ū mai i te moana, ka whakaaki atu a Tari-makao-roa. Ka mau ia ki te ika. Ka karanga atu ngā tamariki o Kumikumi-maroro, ‘Na māua anō ēnī ika, na tā māua nei hākoro.’


Ka kī atu te hākui, ‘Whakahokia atu.’

Ka whakahokia tana ika ra. Ka noho rātou. Ka meatia he kai ma rātou. Ā, ka [a]o te ra, ka kī atu tērā ki te tama, ‘Haere, tikina he harareke.’

Ā, ka tae, he harareke. Ā, ka tāia te tātā. Ka oti, ka kautututia ō runga. Ka kī atu tērā ki te

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\(^6\)Wohlers punctuates this differently, putting a question mark after i uta ra and making separate sentences out of the two whākina e koe. It may be that this passage was handed down as a proverb or traditional saying, and that this led to a more declamatory style of delivery. It could be set out in lines.

\(^7\)The manuscript has what looks like kaic, which cannot be correct. It appears that Wohlers at first wrote kau, and then added a loop to the end of the i and a dot at the end of the first part. It is possible that he meant to change it to koia, but added e by mistake (?Koia rāua ki uta, ‘And so they were on shore’). Kaic, ‘waded’, makes sense in the context, however.

\(^8\)Kumikumi-maroro finds something which he takes away with him, but the meaning of koinga is unclear. Of the three meanings given by Williams, two (‘squalus lebruni, shark’ and ‘sharp bend in a stream’) do not fit this context. The context, and comparison with other versions of the story, suggest that the word is a verbal noun form from koia meaning ‘spike, sharp splinter’ (koia, i, 3). It may be a local word for the point of a fishhook (perhaps a synonym for kauti, see note 13, or for mākoi, Best, 1977a: 36).
tama, ‘[H]e pākuru⁹ — koia anō tēnā.’


Ka kī atu te hākui, ‘Ā, koia anō tēnā. [H]e aha koe i whakarere ai? Anō ka kai mai, koia anō tēnā.’


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⁹ See ‘Whaitiri and Tāwhaki: the woman from the skies and her chiefly grandson’, note 23, for a discussion of this word.

¹⁰ Hutua for hutia. See ‘The Language of the South’, subsection A 2(b), for a discussion of this dialectal feature.

¹¹ The manuscript has what looks to be pakaru. This must be an error, since the word pākuru has appeared several times in this episode.

¹² Kāli (spelt kai by Wohlers) is podocarpus spicatus, mataī or black pine, according to Williams. However, since mataī has spiky leaves and the mother specifically mentions that the tree has smooth leaves, perhaps the name was applied to a different tree in the far south. Best’s Kāli Tahu informant, Hone Tārea Tiko, does not specify what sort of wood was used for the rod (Best, 1977a: 54 and 240).

¹³ Kauiti for kawiti, given in Williams as ‘the hook of bone or wood attached to a piece of pāua shell for catching kahawai’.

¹⁴ The context suggests that what must be being referred to here is some part of the fish-hook. Later the narrator speaks of casting out a second hook, a tama-wahine hook, so it seems that Tari-makao-roa has split the stone in two and is making hooks from the two halves. Ngatai may be katau, the right or right hand, that is, the right-hand portion of the stone which is made into the fish-hook.


KO TAUTINI17

Ka haere a Tautini ki te tārai waka. Tārai a Tautini i te waka. Å, ka oti, ka tōia mai [ki]18 te kāinga. Å, ka whaihangatia.19 Ka oti. Å, ka kawaina.20 Ko tēnei te kawa:

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15 This phrase is difficult to interpret. White's free translation is: '[he] cast the lines with the barbed hooks into the water ... '. He may be interpreting makā as māka, 'fish-hook', and tarata as tarata, 'barbed'. The syntax seems odd: the context seems to require something like me te kai tonu ngā ika. It is possible that what Wohlers heard as tarata is in fact te rata — rata being used in a verbal sense. The phrase in this case would mean 'as the barracouta were subdued'. However, this interpretation seems unlikely in the third example of the phrase, which is kei te tarata te makā.
16 The manuscript has auinaka here.
17 White 1887, II: 157-62 (English); 153-7 (Maori). White continues the story without a break.
18 The original has te here.
19 This refers to the finishing of the canoe (the lashing on of the top-strakes and the caulking of the joins)
Ka kapu te kawa nei.
Ka kapu ki Whiti te kawa nei.
Ka kapu taka\(^{21}\) te kawa nei.
Ka utaina tāngata,
Kai aha, te nukuroa i Whiti-marere.
Ko Tama ki te kirikiri ruia,
Te rewanga mai o tōna ika nei.
Ko Matuku-takotako — kawa te mahi aitu.
Kawa te mahi a Takaroa.
Kawa Tūtipa, rarapa,\(^{22}\)
Ka tau mai i mua waka,
Ka tau mai i roto waka,
I ngutu, whatuwa, hiku o ika.\(^{23}\)
Ka tau i te kawa ki Whiti.
Ka tau i te kawa, ka tau ki Toka.
Pāpā mai tōu tua.
Haere a Nuku-mata-whirohiro te kawa.
Hōmai ngā waka wai utu.
Ko te kawa i kawaina.
Ko te kawa o Paoa, ko te kawa o Paowa.'\(^ {24}\)

Ā, ka haere a Tautini ki te moana. Ka ū mai ki uta, ka pīkaungia ngā ika ki te w[hit]ata. Ka auināke, ka haere ki te moana. Ā, ka tuūtaki i a Tūtipa e haere mai ana ko tōna mōkī.\(^{25}\) Ka tuūtaki i a Tautini. Ā, ka tata mai a Tūtipa, ka tata mai ki te waka. Ka kī atu a Tūtipa ki a Tautini, 'Hōmai kia piki atu au ki runga ki tōu waka.'

Ka kī atu a Tautini, 'Na wai [i] kī, hei runga anō hei taku waka — hei runga anō hei tōu mōkīhi.'

Ka kī atu a Tūtipa, 'Aua ra; hōmai kia piki atu au ki tōu waka, kia whakamātau au ki tōu

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\(^{20}\)Kawa is the ceremony for a new house or canoe, and also the karakia used in that ceremony.

\(^{21}\)It is possible that this should be Toka, since Whiti and Toka (Tonga) form a pair in many karakia (see also eleven lines further down).

\(^{22}\)Tūtipa may be a name (that of the character who steals Tautini’s canoe), or it may be a common noun chosen because of its resemblance to that name. Rarapa may be a reduplicated form of rapa, ‘stem-post of a canoe’; other possible meanings seem less likely in this context.

\(^{23}\)Here, the canoe seems to be being compared to a fish. The mouth and tail are mentioned, but the meaning of whatuwa is unclear. It may be connected with the various compounds of whatu which refer to internal portions of a body: whatuara, ‘belly fat of fish’; whatumanawa, ‘kidney’; whatutoito, ‘red heartwood of tōtara or matai’.

\(^{24}\)It is not clear whether these are two different names or two variants of the same name.

\(^{25}\)Williams gives both mōkī and mōkīhi. Clearly both forms would sound much alike in South Island pronunciation (see subsection A 1(b) in the language section of the general introduction). Many early Pākehā explorers heard the word as ‘moggy’.
waka.'

Ka kī atu a Tautini, 'E tere ana tōku; e kore tōu e tere.'

Ka kī atu a Titipa, 'Hōmai kia whakamātau ahau.'

Ā, ka kī atu a Tautini, 'Tēnā, nau mai.'

Ā, ka kī mai hoki a Titipa, 'Nau mai hoki koe ki runga ki tōku.'

Ka whiti atu a Titipa ki runga ki te waka o Tautini. Ka pangā iho te hoe e Titipa, oma26 atu ana. Karanga noa atu a Tautini, 'Titipa, whakahokia mai tōku mea.'

Kāhore hoki a Titipa kia whakahoki mai. Whai noa atu a Tautini: kāhore kia tere atu — he mōkihi tō Tautini — ko tō Titipa tōna waka, he mōkihi. Ka riro a Titipa, ka oma. Ā, ka hoki mai a Tautini.

Ka noho a Tautini. Ka whakamahara ki te tupuna. Kāhore hoki he ara tahi. Ā, ka noho tou tērā.

Ā, ka whakamahara anō he ara. Ā, ko te tupuna o te whare o Tautini, te whare reperere.27 Ā, ka tomo a Tautini ki roto. Ko ngā mōkaikai haere ra uta, hei whakarongo.

Ā, ka haere tērā, a Tautini, ki te moana. Ka whakarongo ki ngā mōkaikai e tangi haere ana. Ā, ka tērā, a Tautini, ki uta. Whakarongo tērā ki ngā tangi o ngā manu, tangi haere tonu. Kāhore anō kia tūmāu. Ā, ka mānu hoki a Tautini i uta ki waho o te moana. Ka haere, ka whakarongo ki te tangi o ngā manu. Ā, ka tae ki taua kāinga, ka tūmāu te tangi. Ā, ka mahara tērā, 'Ko te kāinga tēnei.'

Ā, ka ī a Tautini ki uta. Ka kiia e te tupuna28 (te whare reperere), 'Nau mai ra haere. E ora ana anō au ka hoki mai. Kauranga he i tuku kia mate au.'

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26 The word oma sounds unusual in this context, but Williams gives an example of a similar usage: Ka oma a Pa'ikea ... (where Pa'ikea is swimming away from Ruatapu).

27 Whare reperere is spelt as one word by Wohlers. The expression is discussed in the introduction to this story, under 'Karakia for the canoe'.

28 The manuscript has ka ki a te te tupuna here.
Ā, ka haere a Tautini. Ka tae ki te kāinga o Titipa. Ka noho i ngā wāhine, i a Tī-roto, ka Tī-mua. Ka noho aua wāhine i a Tautini. Ā, ka noho tonu a Tautini i taua kāinga, ā ... pō maha noa atu. Ā, ka kī atu a Tautini ki ngā wāhine, kia haere ki te wai. Ā, ka haere. Ka karakia a Tautini:

Kāhore, ko te wai ka mimiti,
Na Tautini taurua ai, e Tū-pō-ake. 31
Utuhiia mai tōku tatā.
Monoa tōku hiaitu,
Wareware tōku hinengaro.
Ka tū Tautini,
Hoe mai te waka ki Mori, ki Morea,
Kia heke atu au ki runga.
Ki konei koe tū mai at.
Tū ki te pua, 32 tū ki tawhito.
Nau mai, te ariki.
Ka wawao ake tōna heimi
Koiri, kare to, ei, ei.


Ka hori atu ngā wāhine, ka haere a Tautini ki te waka. Ka karakia a Tautini:

He waka mai, he mātaki,
Hekeheke iho i runga,
Pokowhārua te pō.
Kariorio, 34 hōmai tō ri.
Ka tātata, e Tū, ka mitimiti,
Ka āta whatu, hau tākare waka,
Te mitimiti a Ta'karoa,

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29 The manuscript has Tīuroto at this point, but later the woman is called Tīroto, which makes a better pair with Tīmua. Tiramōrehu also calls her Tīroto.
30 This sentence has a faint line through it, perhaps because Wohlers read through the story later and realised that the women are said to depart after Tautini has recited his karakia. Such repetitions are, however, a common feature of Maori narrative style.
31 This line may well be a play on words, as tautini and taurua both mean 'for a long time', while the name Tī-pō-ake is possibly a personified form of the same idea.
32 Karakia often make use of pairs of words such as tipua (or tupua) and tawhito. Te pua may be Wohlers's mishearing of the words, or they may have been changed slightly by his informant, the meaning being obscure. The last two lines of the karakia are also obscure.
33 The original has whakapakihia.
34 Wohlers first wrote ka-rioria here, but his correction, kariorio, seems equally difficult to interpret.
Hei utautanga waka wāhine,
He kawakawa wāhine.
Ka puwhake i raro i te kauwhaka.
Hōmai hua,35 hōmai ra ko Ihatinaku.

Ka mānu te waka ki rō o te wai. Ka karakia a Tautini. Ka panā te hua:

Ka morangi te hua e Te Rakanuku, ai,
Ka morangi te hua tī e Te Rakanuku, ai,
Ka morangi te hua piko e Te Rakanuku, ai,
Na te Rakanuku36 tou, ei.

Na, ka kitea mai e ngā wāhine, "Tautini — ē!"


Na Tautini hoki tēnei karakia, he karakia hoe:

Te hoe o Tautini, whakarere ki moana pakupaku,
Ko Meraka tōna hoe, ko Meraka, ē.
Te hoe o Tautini, whakarere ki moana,
Ko Merake,37 Merake tōna hoe.
Ko Merake te hoe o Tautini,
Whakarere ki moana pakupaku,
Ko Meraka, Meraka tōna hoe, ko Meraka, ē.

E ruru kā hau, e ruru kā ori,
E ruru kā mataki, e ruru ki te kete.
Auē i taku kete nei, ko Roko-mai-hē,
Auē i taku kete nei, ko Roko-mai-tarata.
E ruru, e ruru ngā hau, e ruru kā ori,
E ruru kā mataki, e ruru ki te kete.
Auē i taku kete nei, ko te kawenga o te rangi,38
Auē i taku kete nei, ko Roko-mai-ihe.

35Of the several meanings of hua, ‘lever’ is the most likely here, since Tautini is in the process of hauling his canoe to the water. Ihatinaku seems to be the name given by Tautini to his lever, in the same way that his paddle has a special name.
36This is written as three words by Wohlers, but it seems to be the proper name used in the previous three lines.
37Wohlers spells this name Meraka and Merake. This may be because he has difficulty in distinguishing the final vowel sound (see the introductory language section, subsection A 2(c), for a discussion of this). On the other hand, it may be that two similarly-named paddles are involved. Compare the two paddles Manini-tua and Manini-aro named in a Tainui paddling karakia (Kelly, 1949: 46-7).
38This phrase may be a proper name, the name of the basket. If so, it should have initial capitals. Several other groups of syllables in these karakia could also be interpreted as proper names.
E ruru, auē i taketake nei, ko Rōko-ma-taratara.  
E ruru ki te hau, e ruru ki te ori,  
E ruru ki ngā pā i taha.  
Tēnei tōu umu. E tāwai koe,  
Ko te umu o Tāne-ruanuku tou.  
Tēnei tōu umu. E tāwai koe,  
Ko te umu o Tāne-ruanuku tou, to e.  
Ki oki te riokoki, ki te whakatamatama o Kiho,  
Pērā hoki ra, ko Mū, ko Weka.  
Ko koe, kei wetewetekina e koe.  
Ka ngau āu tāngata kia māweteweta,  
Kia matamatara, ki te whāia te ao mārama.  
Taka hira mai hoki te tapu a Tēki,  
Puatēki, takoto i runga.  
E Tama-ruanuku, takoto i raro.  
Ki te awheka nui, ka tae, ka kei,  
Ka tae, ka rokohina.

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39 These names vary slightly from the similar pair above.
40 None of the meanings of pā as a noun (‘fortified place; flock; fish-hook’ etc.) is suitable here. The context seems to require a word meaning ‘wind’. Although pā meaning ‘to blow’ is listed by Williams only as a verb, I am assuming that it can also be used as a noun.
41 This seems to be another meaningless group of syllables (see note 34). White has managed to make the last syllable of the previous line into lo, though it is more likely to be a drag syllable.
42 Māweteweta is presumably meant for māwetewete. The ngau was originally written as kau by Wohlers, and subsequently changed.
43 This may be meant for mātarata, ‘intensely, piercingly cold’.
44 These two names were written this way by Wohlers, with macrons (presumably to indicate length). The second name picks up the last syllables of the previous phrase, (tajpu a Tēki, and may be meant as a repetition, misheard by Wohlers.
TRANSLATION

Rangi owned a fish-hook, which he left with his sister, Hine-i-te-puwha. Then she gave it to her son Tari-makao-roa, and it was stolen by Rā-kura. Tari-makao-roa asked Rā-kura, 'Have you got my fish-hook?'

Rā-kura said, 'I didn't take it.'

Tari-makao-roa said, 'You've got it.'

Rā-kura said, 'I haven't got it.'

Tari-makao-roa went off to a stream. He set up [? the twigs for divining the stolen object]. The hook glowed inside Rā-kura. Tari-makao-roa said, 'Yes, you have got it.'

Rā-kura said, 'I haven't got it.'

Tari-makao-roa said, 'It's gleaming away there inside you.'

Rā-kura said, 'I didn't take it.'

Tari-makao-roa exclaimed, 'But you really have got it.'

So Tari-makao-roa said that they should all put out to sea. So they all set off. They were all together on the canoe. When they came out into the open sea, they all perished in the water. Only Hine-i-te-puwha and Tari-makao-roa survived. As Rā-kura sank, he spat out the fish-hook. So Hine-i-te-puwha seized it and said, 'When we were on shore, did you show it to us? You carefully waited till we had got right out to sea, and then you showed it. After all the people had died, then you showed it.'

So the mother and son swam to the shore. They landed there, and they waded ashore. Once they had reached the shore, they waited there.

Kumikumi-maroro was coming along the beach. He came upon a koinga lying there, and took it with him. When he reached the shore, he found [the mother and son] sitting there.
And so Kumikumi-maroro took the woman, Hine-i-te-puwha, and brought her back to his village, and when they got there, they all lived together. When the sun went down, Kumikumi-maroro came to the woman and slept with her.

When morning came, he went off out to sea, and when he came back home again Tari-makao-roa sprang forward and seized a fish. Kumikumi-maroro’s children cried, ‘Those fish belong to us, they were caught by our father.’

The other child, Tari-makao-roa, took them. Then Kumikumi-maroro’s wives came along and prepared those fish as food for themselves. When they had had their meal, they went to bed. The next day, the people went off to sea again, and let out their nets in the sea. When evening came, they came back to shore. Then Tari-makao-roa sprang forward again, and seized a fish. Kumikumi-maroro’s children cried, ‘Our father’s fish belong to us. Where’s your father, then?’

His mother said, ‘Give it back.’

So he gave his fish back. They all sat down, and food was prepared for them.

Then when day came the mother said to her son, ‘Go and fetch some flax.’

So he came back with the flax. She made a small bag net, finishing it off by drawing the leaves in at the top. She said to her son, ‘A knocking sound — that’s what it will be.’

And so he let the net down into the water, where there was a stone. There was a knocking sound, so he drew it up — it was a stone. It made a knocking sound again and he let it come up — it was a stone. He let it down again, and it made another knocking sound, so he drew it up — it was a stone. So he left it there. He went back to the village, and his mother asked, ‘Didn’t you get a bite?’

Her son said, ‘Yes, I did get a bite. I hauled it up — it was just a stone. And so I left it behind.’

His mother said, ‘Yes, but that’s what it is. Why did you leave it behind? When it bites
again, that’s it.’

And so he went off again. When he got back to his net, he let it down into the water. When it made a knocking sound, he hauled it up — it was a stone. He took it and came back to the village, and told his mother, ‘Here it is.’

His mother said, ‘Yes, that’s it.’ And his mother said, ‘When day comes, you can go and make a fishing rod.’ And she said, ‘You won’t be able to miss it; it’s a tree that has smooth leaves, it’s a kārī tree.’

So her son came back with his fishing rod. He heated it on the fire and bent it over. When he had finished bending it, he set it up and left it standing there. He split his stone so that it made two fish-hook shanks. He set a point in them. Then he lashed a right hand shank on to the lure, and bound that on to the rod.

Then he went back to the village and stayed there. Food was cooked for everyone, and they all remained there. Night fell, and then it was day again. The canoe was dragged down to the water. Then Tari-makao-roa set out to sea (along with Kumikumi-maroro and all the others). When they got far out to sea, Tari-makao-roa chanted a karakia. As soon as he had finished it, he recited an incantation over the fish-hook. He threw it into the water — and how the barracouta seized it! When he pulled the fish-hook in again, how it gleamed there! How the barracouta seized it — they were all caught fast by his hook. They lay right there in the canoe. He chanted his incantation over the tama-wahine fish-hook, and threw that into the water, and there were the barracouta seizing it again, and there they lay in the canoe. The canoe was pounded by the barracouta.

When the canoe was full up, they paddled back to shore. When they got there they threw the barracouta ashore, and then hung them up on the drying racks. Some of the barracouta were cooked for them to eat, and then they went to sleep.

The next day they went off out to sea again and fished for barracouta. When the canoes were full, they paddled back to shore. They threw the fish ashore, and the women carried them back inland. They gutted the fish and threw away the gills. Then they strung them up
and hung them on the storage platform. Then they cooked food for everybody.

The next day Tari-makao-roa and his mother set off, leaving that village and Hine-i-te-puwha’s husband. They came to Tautini’s village. Tari-makao-roa gave his fish-hook to Tautini.

**TAUTINI**

Tautini went off to adze out a canoe. He adzed out his canoe, and when it was finished, he dragged it back to the village. He lashed it together, and when it was finished, he performed the *kawa* ceremony. This was the *kawa* incantation:

> I sprinkle in this *kawa* ceremony.
> I sprinkle at Whiti in this *kawa* ceremony.
> I sprinkle right round in this *kawa* ceremony.
> Men are taken on board,
> *Kai aha*, the far distance at Whiti-marere.
> *Ko Tama ki te kirikiri ruia*,
> As his fish comes floating this way.
> It is Matuku-takotako — the *kawa* of misfortune.
> Perform the *kawa* for Takaroa’s deeds.
> *Kawa Titipa, rarapa*,
> Let it settle in front of the canoe,
> Let it settle inside the canoe,
> In the mouth, the middle, and the tail of the fish.
> Let it settle because of the *kawa* at Whiti.
> Let it settle because of the *kawa*, settle at Toqa.
> Bend your back here.
> Nuku-mata-whirowhiro goes, the *kawa*.
> Bring here the vessels of water, dipped up.
> It is the *kawa* which is being performed.
> It is the *kawa* of Paoa, the *kawa* of Paowa.

And so Tautini went off out to sea. When he got back to shore, the fish were carried to the storage platform.

The next day, he went off out to sea. Then he met Titipa, who was coming towards him on his raft. Titipa met Tautini. As Titipa drew nearer and nearer to the canoe, he said to Tautini, ‘Let me come up on to your canoe.’

Tautini said to him, ‘No indeed, I’m going to stay on my own canoe, and you’re going to
stay on your own raft.’

Titipa said to him, ‘No, let me come up on to your canoe, so that I can try out your canoe.’

Tautini said to him, ‘My one goes very fast, but yours doesn’t.’

Titipa said to him, ‘Let me try yours out.’

And so then Tautini said to him, ‘All right, come here.’

And so Titipa said to him, ‘And you come on board mine.’

So Titipa crossed over on to Tautini’s canoe. Titipa plied his paddle and made off at once.
Tautini called out, ‘Titipa, bring my property back!’

But all to no avail. For Titipa would not bring it back. Tautini chased after him, but he could not go fast enough: Tautini had the raft, it was Titipa’s craft, a raft. Titipa had taken off, he had hurried away. And so Tautini went back home.

Tautini stayed at home, and he thought of his ancestor. But he had no way of getting there.
And so he just stayed on there.

And then he did think of a way. Now, the ancestor of Tautini’s house was a whare reperepe. So Tautini got inside it. His pets went along on shore, listening.

And so Tautini went along over the sea. He listened to his pets calling as they went along.
And then at last Tautini landed on shore, and he listened to the calling of the birds, for they still kept calling as they went along. They had not yet settled down anywhere. And so Tautini left the shore again and put out to sea. He went off, listening to the calling of the birds. And at length he came to a certain village where they called from the same place all the time. So he thought, ‘This is the village.’

So Tautini came ashore. His ancestor (the whare reperepe) said, ‘Now then, off you go. I shall still be alive when you come back. Don’t let me die.’

And so Tautini went off. He came to Titipa’s village, and he lived with Ti-roto and Ti-mua,
and the women lived with him. And so Tautini continued to live at that village for a very long time. Then Tautini told the women to go and fetch some water. So they went off.

Tautini chanted a karakia:

   Indeed, the water will dry up,
   Tautini will leave it for a long time, O Tū-pō-ake,
   Dipped up with my bailer.
   Monoa tōku hiaitu,
   My heart is forgetful.
   Tautini stands,
   Paddle the canoe here to Mori, to Morea,
   That I may alight there.
   You will stand here.
   Stand at the sacred place, at the ancient place.
   Welcome, O chief.
   Ka wawao ake tōna heimi
   Koiri, kare to, ei, ei.

So the women, Tī-mua and Tī-roto, set off, and the water dried up. They went forward, and it dried up, and they went forward again, and it dried up; until at last they came to a place far away, with the water still drying up as they went. But the women did not come back — they just continued to go on and on.

When the women had gone away, Tautini went to the canoe. Tautini chanted a karakia:

   A canoe here, something seen,
   Come down from above,
   To the depths of the night.
   Kariorio, give me your hold.
   You approach, O Tū, and lick the water up.
   Ka āta whatu, the canoe is eager to be off.
   Takaroa licks up the water
   So that the women's canoe can be loaded up,
   The women's kawa ceremony.
   It wells up from the depths of the open spaces.
   Bring me the lever, yes, bring me Ihatinaku.

He launched the canoe out into the water. Tautini chanted a karakia as he thrust the lever into the ground:
The lever is raised high, O Te Rakanuku, ai.
The straight lever is raised high, O Te Rakanuku, ai.
The curved lever is raised high, O Te Rakanuku, ai,
It belongs to Te Rakanuku himself, ei.

Then the women saw him: ‘Hey, Tautini!’

Tautini went off. He got back to his whare reperepe, but found that it had dried out and was dead. So Tautini went on. Tautini sailed on until he came to his village. The name of Tautini’s village was Maranga-hika-tāne.

Tautini also chanted this karakia, which was a karakia for his paddle:

Tautini’s paddle, wield it on the shallow sea,
Meraka is his paddle, Meraka, ē.
Tautini’s paddle, wield it on the sea,
Merake, Merake is his paddle.
Merake is Tautini’s paddle,
Wield it on the shallow sea,
Meraka, Meraka is his paddle, Meraka, ē.

Bind the winds, bind the stormy winds,
Bind the breezes, bind them in a basket.
Indeed, in my basket here, Roko-mai-he,
Indeed, in my basket here, Roko-mai-tarata.
Bind, bind the winds, bind the stormy winds,
Bind the breezes, bind them in a basket.
Indeed in my basket here, the carrier of the sky,
Indeed, in my basket here, Roko-mai-ihe.
Bind them indeed in my basket here, Roko-ma-tarata.
Bind them with the wind, bind them with the stormy wind,
Bind them with the blowing winds which passed by.
Here is your oven. You will be deceived,
It is the oven of Tāne-ruanuku himself.
Here is your oven. You will be deceived,
It is the oven of Tāne-ruanuku himself, to ei.
Ki oki te riokioki, to the proud strutting of Kiho,
And Mū and Weka do the same.
As for you, take care not to unfasten it.
Your people clamour to be unleashed,
To be matamata, to follow on to the light of day.
Taka hira mai hoki te tapu a Tēki,
Puatēki, lying on high.
O Tama-ruanuku, lying below.
On the great journey, you arrive, ka kei,
You arrive and discover it.
WHIRO AND TURA:

A VOYAGE TO DEATH
AND A VOYAGE TO LIFE
INTRODUCTION

The adventures of two contrasting figures are narrated in this story. Both go on a journey, but for one it is a journey down to death, while the other visits a land where he becomes responsible for the creation of life itself.

The first part of the narrative is dominated by the figure of Whiro, whose evil deeds set the plot in motion. Whiro (Hiro, Iro) is known in many areas of Polynesia as a great voyager, and sometimes also as a thief and murderer.\(^1\) In Aotearoa too he is known as a voyager, but his voyage is always associated with death. In *waiata tangi* (laments for the dead) from many areas of Aotearoa Whiro’s name is used as a powerful symbol for death, and Whiro is blamed for bearing off the dead person in his canoe.\(^2\)

The Murihiku narrative begins and ends with Tura, the bringer of life, and the greater part of it relates his adventures. Because of Whiro’s evil deeds, Tura is carried away from his life with his human wife and son (who will play an important role at the end of the story). Threatened with death, he survives and lands on a strange island of women, where he initiates human practices and at the same time introduces human weaknesses. Tura is regarded as the figure responsible for introducing fire, cooked food, and the practice of natural, human childbirth. In *waiata* he is famous for his firestick.\(^3\)

The two parts of the story present a contrasting pair of figures and opposing themes such as death/life, murder/childbirth. But one of the themes which is intrinsic to the first section of the story carries over into the later section, which is concerned with Tura. Whiro’s actions condemn him to seek death. But in initiating human birth, Tura also sets in motion amongst

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\(^1\) Iro or Hiro is well known as a voyager in versions from the Cook Islands and Tahiti: see ‘Other versions’ at the end of this chapter. It is because the two aspects of Whiro’s character appear to be so different that Smith and others assert that there are ‘two Whiros’, one a mythical figure known for his evil ways and the other a historical voyager who discovered and explored islands in the Pacific Ocean and was associated with other well-known voyagers. However, while the Polynesian versions may have a historical basis, in these stories too Whiro steals (karakia; food; trees for making his canoe), and murders (his wife, who is trapped and killed by the same method used to murder Kai-kapo in the Murihiku version). There is no need for ‘two Whiros’.

\(^2\) Canoes played a large part in ceremonies for the dead. A canoe might be set up as a receptacle for the bones of the dead, and a small effigy of a canoe was often left in a burial cave.

human beings the inevitable process of decay and death. So he is also known through a much quoted proverb, *ngā taru o Tura*, ‘the weeds of Tura’, that is, grey hairs.

The story will now be examined in more detail.

**Whiro**

Whiro has two outstanding characteristics in this narrative: first, he commits evil deeds which make him a pariah in his society, and second, he is a canoe builder and voyager. However, the second of these attributes is a direct result the first, for Whiro’s voyage takes him away from his life among his people and down to death. The Murihiku version of the story shows the two aspects of Whiro’s character perfectly integrated into the one figure. It is because he is an adulterer and a murderer that Whiro must become a voyager.

Whiro’s evil characteristics include incest, theft and murder. Because of this, in Wohlers’s words, ‘Whiro was once, before the old Māori religion was understood, through a mistaken identity, nearly being taken for the devil by Europeans.’ This European interpretation is, however, only taking to extremes the characteristics inherent in this figure as he is seen in the myth. Traditional Māori waiata and karakia, too, show Whiro as an archetypal destroyer, using his snare to trap human beings as once he trapped Kai-kapo, and bearing them off to death in his canoe. In rituals directed against enemy warriors in the Hokianga region, an effigy of Whiro was used to draw the enemy warriors to itself and drag them down to his home in the underworld. And, according to Williams, the word *whiro* is used to mean ‘evil, bad’.

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4 In some versions, he steals his brother’s canoe (White, 1887, II: 15; Best, 1922b: 111-21). Two other types of theft are also present in the Murihiku version: Whiro steals another man’s wife, and carries people off to death (as Hongi points out (1911: 64): ‘he is charged with having *robbed us of our dear ones*, and so of being the worst of robbers’).

5 Wohlers, 1875: 121. For a long description of Whiro’s attributes, which appears to owe more to the missional view of the devil than to the traditional Māori stories about Whiro, see Yate, 1970: 140; 145-6. In the teachings of the Ngāti Kahungunu Whare Wānanga, Whiro is a Lucifer-like figure, a child of Rangi and Papa, who through his sins is cast down into the darkness of the lower world. He is the evil brother, opposed to Tāne the good (Smith, 1913: 124-37; 149-52). This is transitional material, which was probably influenced by Christian teachings.

6 McGregor, 1905: 57-8; 81-2; Orbell, 1978a: 24-5; Davis, 1885: 196; Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961, song 93 (this speaks of Whiro’s canoe, not named in the Murihiku version); 1980, songs 226, 242 and 298; and many others besides. Whiro’s name is used in karakia recited to murder rivals (Taylor, 1870: 237) and to catch thieves (Shortland, 1882: 34-5).

7 White, 1885: 154-6.

8 See Williams’s dictionary under *whiro*. As a verb, the word means ‘sweep away’, but it is significant that
Whiro commits incest

The episode which leads to Whiro’s downfall begins in a light-hearted manner. Whiro is given his baby great-nephew to hold, and the child soils his great-uncle’s lap. Although in traditional society Māori men were happy to look after babies, urine and excrement had to be handled with particular care. These waste products of the human body held special tapu-reducing properties. It was, for example, considered weakening for a warrior to have his knees wet by a baby’s urine. This may explain Whiro’s horrified reaction to what would seem to be an everyday accident.

When Whiro’s penis is soiled, he calls to his daughter-in-law to clean him. The woman laughs as she hastens to obey. The connection between laughter and sexual response has already been discussed, and in this instance the sexual connotations are obvious. It is probably the unusual tattooing on Whiro’s penis which excites the woman, for male nakedness was not unusual in the Māori world. It is significant that Whiro is said to have ngārara, ‘lizards’, tattooed on his penis, for lizards were seen as the embodiment of death and disease, and were greatly feared. This must therefore be an example of Whiro’s power, and of his willingness to flout the usual religious and social restrictions. Such evidence of personal mana, combined with the intimate act of cleaning, no doubt acted as a powerful sexual stimulant. Even the choice of words to describe the woman’s response (‘she split herself laughing’) may well be an intentional echoing of the sexual theme.

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the examples given refer to being swept away in a current. This suggests an association with Whiro’s canoe, which was swept down to oblivion.

Whiro is also said to have practiced cannibalism in its worst form: the eating of relations (White, 1887, II: 17).

Earle says of the Māori male, ‘all the little offices of a nurse are performed by him with the tenderest care and good humour’ (1966: 186); this must involve changing the pad of moss which served the baby as a napkin.

Gudgeon, 1893b: 113. This may be a general Polynesian belief; in Bellona ‘it is believed that parents’ bodies are weakened by contact with infants’ urine’ (Elbert and Monberg, 1965: 150).

See the introduction to ‘Māui: trickster and innovator’, note 72.

Best notes: ‘The expression ura taia (‘tattooed penis’) does not betoken a native custom, but there is some evidence to show that, like the tara whakairo [female genital tattoo], it was an occasional usage ... A Ngāti Porou veteran informed me that the ura taia was an occasional usage in his district, and gave me the name of a man who was so decorated. The design resembled the markings on the caterpillar called anuhe’ (Best, 1925a: 350).

Orbell, 1985b: 157-63. See also Johansen, 1958: 105 (footnote 3) for a discussion of the association between ngārara and death.

In the c.1850 version the fact that the two sleep together is explicitly stated. However, in the 1875 version Wohlers weakens the force of this incident by stating that the woman cleaned ‘his knees’ and laughed, and
As in the story of Hine-atauira, the discovery of the incestuous relationship induces a feeling of such shame that the character determines to leave family and friends and go on a journey. Hine’s journey takes her to Night, the world of the dead. Whiro goes to te wawau, ‘oblivion, nothingness’.¹⁵

His companions for the journey include Tura, who knows nothing of Whiro’s intentions. Tura thinks that it is an ordinary journey, but the reader or listener is informed otherwise. Right from the start it is made clear that this is an ill-fated voyage.¹⁶

Whiro commits murder

In this narrative, as in several other stories about the construction of a canoe, a person is murdered as the canoe is completed.¹⁷ In the Murihiku story Whiro is given no motive for murdering his victim. However, it is perhaps significant that the victim’s name is Kai-kapo, ‘Snatched-food’. For in other versions of the story the murder is often performed in revenge for the stealing of food.¹⁸

The murder provides one more reason for people to gossip and express their disgust at Whiro’s actions, and it thus becomes even more necessary for Whiro to build his canoe and take his departure.

Whiro’s journey

As Whiro and Tura sail off on their voyage, they meet up with Tū-tata-hau and Roko[Rongo]-taka-whiu. From their actions in this story it is clear that these two are

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¹⁵ Wawau is often given an initial capital letter and is said to be an island or island group visited by the ancestors of the Māori on their way to Aotearoa. Many of the Island Polynesian versions of this and related myths mention an island called Vavau. In the Murihiku story the context shows that it is not thought of as a specific location but as an undefined place of death and destruction.

¹⁶ In his later, published version Wohlers tidied up the chronology of the passage, moving the remark about going down to oblivion to a later position in the narrative. But by referring to the outcome so early in the story, the narrator foreshadows the murder and intensifies the horror of the situation.

¹⁷ This motif is discussed in the introduction to 'Rata: canoe builder and avenger', note 31.

¹⁸ See for example Hongi, 1898: 36-7. The name of the victim is different here, but his offence is to have stolen food, ‘ka kapo i te kai’. (The waiata from which these words come is given in full in Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: song 298, lines 12-13.)
supernatural beings.\textsuperscript{19} It seems that, by claiming that they have a ‘Canoe of gods’, Whiro’s companions are committing some kind of sacrilege. Each time this response is made, another man dies.

Once again, therefore, Whiro is associated with death. This time he is not directly responsible for the murders, but by taking his followers on this journey he leads them into the situation which brings about their death. All those on Whiro’s canoe, with the exception of Tura, will in one way or another be Whiro’s victims.

The formulaic phrase used by the two beings who call to Whiro appears to be a kind of karakia, and the same formula is used in the replies made by two of the men on the canoe and by Tura. In his karakia, Tura first names Whiro, who is the owner of the canoe. As we have already noted several times in discussing these stories, personal names are of prime importance in karakia, for by stating his name the hero reveals his identity and establishes a relationship with the person he is addressing.\textsuperscript{20} In this case Tura is revealing not his own name but that of the owner of the canoe. Whiro is said to be \textit{me te tipua}, ‘like a demon’ (in waiata and narratives he is often known as Whiro-te-tipua, ‘Whiro-the-demon’). He is thus set apart from both the human figures in his own canoe and the \textit{atua} or supernatural figures in the other.

The rest of the karakia has puzzled commentators, among them Wohlers himself.\textsuperscript{21} But the words used suggest that it may well be the ritual known as ‘Rongo-taka-whiu’, which was performed when protection from an enemy war party was sought. The ritual involved tracing a line on the ground or at sea while chanting a karakia, the last words of which were similar to the words used here. After this, the enemy war party was said to be unable to advance in pursuit, for they could not cross the line.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{19}This is confirmed by information from other areas. Best lists Rongo-taka-whiu along with local war gods (1902-3: 64), and Tī-tata-hau must be connected with the god of war, Tītī. Elsewhere, Rongo-taka-whiu is the supernatural being who, most appropriately, raises the great avenging warrior Whakatau (Grey, 1956: 91-2).
\textsuperscript{20}Note other karakia in for example ‘Ko Mīui’ and ‘Ko Tama’; and also Tura’s name-revealing karakia later on in this story.
\textsuperscript{21}He comments, ‘The meaning of [this] I do not understand, nor could the old men explain’ (Wohlers, 1875: 122).
\textsuperscript{22}Best, 1902-3: 47-8. The formula \textit{ka ripiripia, ka toetoea} is found in karakia used in other situations as well, but the combination of this formula with the name Roķo-taka-whiu seems to point to this ritual.
It is only when Tura, the representative of life, reveals in his karakia the true nature of the canoe that it can pass unharmed. We are not told whether Tura also draws an imaginary line on the water as he chants his karakia. Nevertheless his actions have evidently deprived these two supernatural beings of the power to pursue the canoe, which can continue safely on its way.

Tura

In spite of this escape, Tura realises that the canoe is doomed, and that he will survive only if he can abandon it. When they pass an island and Whiro gives no sign that he intends to put in there, Tura seizes some bushes, hauls himself ashore, and sets off to find out about the land in which he finds himself. As for Whiro, his canoe continues its voyage down to death. His role in the story is over.

Tura and the island of women

The location of the land of Ōtea, on which Tura has landed, is not made clear. The name may be a variant of Aotea, which is sometimes associated, in waiata and traditions, with the mythical land of Hawaiki. From Tura’s subsequent adventures, it is obvious that he is in a non-human land, distant from the human world in its customs as well as spatially.

The first person Tura comes upon in this new land is a woman. Tura wishes to copulate with her but the woman repulses him, for as her name (Te Ruahine, ‘The Old Woman’) indicates, she is old and therefore past the age of childbearing. Since the section of the story which relates Tura’s adventures is concerned primarily with childbearing and its effects, this fact is of prime importance.

Te Ruahine describes herself as ‘the guardian of the tribe’, that is, she is the guardian of its human resources, its fertility. She finds Tura a wife (Turaki-hau) who is much more suitable, and whom she describes as ‘your sister’ (or ‘cousin’). Since Tura comes from

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23See for example Colenso’s entry, ‘Aoteahawai: Name of a mythical legendary island, where the inhabitants lived on uncooked food’ (Colenso, 1898: 52). See also his entry for Aotea-utanga-nui, no. 2. The name Aotea is sometimes also used of the North Island of New Zealand.
another land and before his marriage to Turaki-hau has had no connection with these people (whose strangeness and lack of human qualities is stressed throughout the story), this term must indicate that the young woman belongs to the correct generation. It also suggests that Tura is being accepted into the kin group of these people.

When the people who inhabit this land are described, the link between this narrative and the many Polynesian stories which relate the arrival of the hero on an island inhabited only by women becomes clear. The hero in these stories is usually borne away from his homeland in the belly of a whale or shark, and cast up on the shores of the strange land. In Island Polynesia he is called by many different names: Tangaroa, Kae, Kena, Pau and others (but never Tura). When the chief woman of the island takes the hero as her husband and hides him, the other women do not at first realise what has happened, for men are unknown to them. Instead, according to some versions, they copulate with pandanus roots.

The people among whom Tura finds himself are the Nuku-mai-tore, a kind of fairy people. They are said to be ‘chest people’ who have ‘only chests, no heads’, and ‘only hips’. This is an indication of their non-human nature, but it also emphasises their sexuality — a quality which is also evident in the fact that they are said to copulate with kiekie flowers, making murmuring noises (perhaps expressive of pleasure) as they do so.

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24 Kirtley, 1971: motif no. F112. See also Beckwith, 1970: 498-505. The myth has cognates in the Samoan and Tongan stories of a trip to the mysterious island of Bulotu (Brown, 1917: 94-9; Gifford, 1924: 139-52). See also ‘Ko Pungarehu rāua ko Kōkōmuka-haunē’ in this collection.

25 As these names suggest, the story has links with other myths which are well known in Aotearoa, for example that of Kae and his killing of the whale, and of Pou-ranga-hua and his trip to Hawaiki on the back of a taniwha or whale.

26 Lavondes, 1964: 57-64; Handy, 1930: 56-60; 119; Caillot, 1914: 69-74; Searat, 1905: 43-5. In one Tuamotuan version they have rori, sea-slugs, as their husbands (Audran, 1929: 319-21). In Sikaiana in the Solomons there is a story about a land called Penuhala (‘Land of the Pandanus’), which ‘is said to have no sand beaches, and to be inhabited only by women, who reproduced the species by the aid of the banana fruit’ (Ray, 1917: 171). In a version from Epi, a small island in the outlier Polynesian group of Vanuatu, the women are said to take flying foxes as their husbands (Riddle, 1915: 156-7).

27 Usually fairy people are said to resemble human beings, but Cowan has a story in which they are described in a similar way to this (1925: 52). And a story from Tuvalu, while unrelated to the ‘island of women’ theme, describes islands in which spirits with large limbs and genitals live. It is from these islands that disease and death are brought back into the world, just as Tura brings grey hairs and death back to the human world (Roberts, 1957: 368-9).

Wohlers must have objected to the idea of headless people having noses, as he changes ngā ihu o taura kaiūma ra (‘the noses of those chest people’) in the c.1850 version to ngā ihu o ngā tāngata i oma ra (‘the noses of the people who ran away’) in the 1875 version.

28 See the discussion of the association of the lower half of the female body with sexuality in the introduction to ‘Tama: the origin of tattooing’.
As a precaution against the strange beings amongst whom he finds himself, Tura must hide his name. He takes instead the name Te Wairangi, ‘The Madman’. No doubt the women in this new land find the name appropriate, since they have never seen a male being before.29 But there is irony in the name, since Tura is the one who is human and normal, while the women among whom he finds himself are the oddities.

**Tura introduces fire**

The first thing that Tura discovers is that his wife’s people have no knowledge of fire, and therefore do not eat cooked food. Tura realises that they must be atua, ‘spirits’, for firemaking and cooking are exclusively human activities.30 He sets about showing the unwilling and frightened women how to prepare and eat cooked food. The details of this process are related, not because the narrator wishes to inform his listeners about an activity with which they are already familiar, but because this is an event of supreme importance. This is the first time that fire has been generated in this land. Each step of the generating process is therefore significant.

Once the women are given cooked food, they are delighted with its taste. Tura tells them that they are not human beings but spirits.31

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*Kiekie* is an epiphytic plant with a flower bract which rises up from its circle of leaves, and which is known by the suggestive name *ureure* (ure, ‘penis’). In Hawai‘i, this name (*uleule*) is apparently applied to the aerial roots of the pandanus plant (Pukui and Elbert, 1965: *hala*). These facts, and the parallel with the much more explicit Tuamotuan and Marquesan versions, have lead me to interpret *oni* as ‘copulate’ rather than ‘dance’. Several of the Polynesian versions referred to above also mention the fact that the women copulate noisily with the pandanus roots, and that they notice that the sounds made by the woman with her newly found human husband are different.

29The sentence *Ka noho a Tura i a Turakihau; ka noho i a Te Wairangi* is ambiguous. It is possible that the second name refers to the old woman, and that Tura now lives with both of them. However, since *noho* is being used here in the sense of *moe*, ‘sleep with’, and since Tura’s advances have already been rejected by the old woman, it seems more likely that the meaning here is ‘Tura lived with Turakihau, and Turakihau lived with Tura’. Furthermore, in a later episode, when Tura’s wife is about to give birth to their son, Tura gives her a karakia containing his own name to recite. A remark in parenthesis adds, ‘From this it was learned that this man was Tura’. This implies that up to this time the people have been ignorant of his true name. Creed’s version, too, gives Te Wairangi-haere as Tura’s other name (White, 1887, II: 12; wrongly attributed to Ngāti Porou).

30Fairies and other non-human beings are often said to be afraid of fire; see for example Cowan, 1925: 10; 35; 162-3.

31This same phrase is also found in the story of Pungarehu.
Tura introduces natural childbirth

The connection between firemaking and sexual activity has already been discussed. Tura is known in waiata for his firestick, and also for his role as a procreator (he is a founding ancestor to the East Coast tribes). The sexual sense of the word ‘firestick’ is no doubt often in people’s minds when it is used of Tura’s activities. So Tura’s wife now becomes pregnant.

When the time comes for Tura’s wife to give birth, a group of women arrive bearing flint knives and pieces of flax tow. Tura learns to his surprise that they are about to cut open his wife’s womb and take out the child. This will result in Turaki-hau’s death.

There is an inexorable logic about this myth. If the women do not know how to light fires, that is, if they do not know that a man must wield the firestick while the woman holds down the slab of wood which will receive the fire, they will not know that it takes a man and a woman to make a child, and that children will be born in a natural manner through the birth canal. When fire-making and cooking are introduced, the next step will be the introduction of human procreation and natural methods of childbirth.

Owing less to logic and more to Polynesian views on the nature of the world is the fact that it is a man who is responsible for introducing these human methods of childbirth. In a domain which in real life belongs entirely to the female, he is seen to initiate not only the technology (the supporting posts, the birth house) and rituals, but also the actual process itself, the birth of the child through the vagina. In almost all versions of the story from Island Polynesia, the knowledge of natural childbirth is introduced by a man.

32 See the introduction to ‘Māui: trickster and innovator’, notes 44 and 45.
33 Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: song 215, lines 27-30; see McLean and Orbell, 1975: 312-3 for a different interpretation of Tura’s firestick (the idea of witchcraft may be associated with the fact that Tura is sometimes said to have snatched up Whiro’s firesticks as he left the canoe; White, 1887, II: 17-18). Version 215a, lines 51-3 of this oriori seem to imply the two senses of hikahika.
For Tura as an East Coast ancestor, see Gudgeon, 1894-7, passim.
34 There appear to be only three versions in which a woman has this knowledge: one from the Marquesas (Handy, 1930: 128), one from the Tuamotus (Caillot, 1914: 57-60) and one from Niue (Smith, 1903: 100-2). In the first two the women are taken or sent to their destination by men, but in the Niuean version all the usual adventures (being swallowed by the whale, cutting a way out, and so on) are undertaken by the heroine. In a Cook Islands version, although a woman takes the practice of childbirth back to her people in the world below, she has been taught it by her human husband (Gill, 1875: 265-7).
So Tura must instruct his wife in all the correct procedures. First of all he has to construct a birth house, for the birth must not take place in a house which is used for everyday living. He must then erect two posts, one at the back, a tama-tāne or ‘male’ post which will be for support (the ‘strong’ post) and one at the front, the tama-wahine, ‘female’ post which will be for easing the pain (the ‘nurturing’ post). 35

Next Tura gives his wife a karakia to chant if the birth should happen to be difficult. In traditional Māori society it was felt that the child would come into the world when its lineage was recited. Sometimes the recital of the father’s lineage did not produce the desired effect, and it was discovered that the wife had been unfaithful. 36 In this story the wife’s fidelity is not in question, but a discovery of a different sort is made: the whakapapa reveals Tura’s real name.

After the child is born, Tura proceeds to perform all the necessary practical and religious activities connected with the birth of the child. He removes the afterbirth and disposes of it with the correct ceremonial, cuts the navel string and wraps the child up. He then brings him back to a house a short distance away from the village, so that he can be gradually integrated into the community as the various rituals of tapu-removal are performed. He performs these ceremonies and gives the child a name. 37

It is not stated specifically, but Tura is no doubt thought to be responsible for initiating all these activities, practical and ritual, concerning the birth. One would expect this to be the

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35 See the discussion of these concepts in the section ‘A moko which washes off’ in ‘Tama: the origin of tattooing’. While Best discusses the ‘male’ right-hand side of the body and the ‘female’ left-hand side (1898: 312-3), he makes no mention of the front and back of the body. It seems, however, that these too may have been thought of in female and male terms. The fernroot (food connected with warriors on the war path) was said to have come from Rangi the sky father’s back, while a woman named Pani gave birth to the kūmara (food eaten in times of peace) from her aroaro or ‘front’.

36 For example, Whakae found out about his wife’s adultery when her son Tu-tāne-kai was not born when his own (Whakae’s) whakapapa was recited (Grey, 1971: 106-8). According to Best, the mother’s whakapapa was recited first, and if this was unsuccessful, the father’s would be tried (Best, 1905-7: 20). In Tura’s karakia, the first three names link the child to the beginning of the world and are probably part of Tura’s own whakapapa; when his correct name is recited, his son is born.

37 These procedures are described in Best, 1905-7, particularly Parts II and III. Four ovens are mentioned, one each for the priest, the warriors, the ruahine (women taking part in the rites), and for the people in general. White (1885: 121) refers to three ovens, one containing food for the priest, one food for the mother, and one food for the gods. The number of ovens used and their names no doubt differed from area to area. Best also notes that the 108 rite was a ceremony specifically for taking the birth tapu off the child and not a naming ceremony as such, though a name was usually given at the same time (Best, 1905-7: 148).
case, as this is the first time a natural birth has occurred, and therefore the first time the correct ceremonies can be performed. It is also significant that this child, the first fully ‘human’ person in that land, should be a boy.

Tura introduces decay and death

The episode which follows marks the next step in the logic of this myth. If a man introduces the human way of childbirth into the world, it follows that he will also introduce the gradual, human way of death, death by old age and decay. In Turaki-hau’s world grey hairs are unknown, for death is only experienced at childbirth, when the mother is cut open to release the child. When Turaki-hau sees Tura’s grey hairs she does not know what they are. Tura explains that they are the signs of death, and that man must indeed experience two ‘deaths’.

The ‘two deaths’ are not explained, and there are several different ways in which this statement could be interpreted. Turakihau may be referring to the sickness and aging which Tura is now experiencing, as opposed to the death which she discovers is in store for him. Or the opposition may be between the suffered of childbirth and that of death. A further possible interpretation is that the two deaths are the temporary death experienced by the women of the island and permanent, human death.

In other versions of this myth, the hero is not necessarily the first to show signs of decay. In Marquesan versions the wife too grows old, but she can restore her youth by bathing, while her human husband is doomed to remain old. This bathing incident is obviously connected with the idea, found in several versions including one from the far south, that after their death in childbirth women can be brought to life by being washed in the ‘Wai-ora-o-Tāne’, the ‘Life-giving-waters-of-Tāne’.

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38Childbirth and death are linked through the figure of Hine-nui-te-pō as well as through Tura.
39In another version from Aotearoa the degeneration of age is already present on the island, for it is the old woman, Tura’s mother-in-law, who first shows signs of age and introduces all the afflictions of mankind, ‘grey hairs ... warts, boils and sore eyes’ to Tura (White, 1887, II: 18). In the Tuvaluan version quoted above (see note 26) it is the spirit people who have the diseases.
It is significant that in all versions of this myth there is some kind of separation. Usually it is the husband who leaves his wife to go back to his former home. Occasionally the wife takes the initiative, and returns to her own fairy people. Because this is a tale of natural aging and death, the hero must be separated from these unnatural people and be amongst his own kind to die.

Tura is said to be ‘overcome by shame’. This may be seen as shame that he has shown evidence of mortal weakness, and that his wife has seen this weakness. On the other hand, it could be seen simply as a formulaic phrase, an excuse for setting Tura on his journey once again. He farewells his child with what amounts to an ohākti, a farewell message left by those who are dying. For Tura is going off to die.

**Tura travels back**

Tura’s journey away from the land of the Nuku-mai-tore follows a similar pattern to his journey towards it. He travels and then stops, and travels on again. But this time he is old and frail, and cannot complete the journey. A stranded whale gives him the excuse for stopping, and is probably also seen as a supernatural sign, as it is in other stories.

While he still has strength left, Tura builds himself a house and two storage platforms. As he begins to lose strength, his thoughts turn to his son, whom he can no longer reach. This is the son whom he has left behind in the world of human beings, his first son and in Māori terms the most important. Ira-tū-roto’s presence is essential in the story at this point, for he must take on the duties of an eldest son, and lay out his father’s body. Tura’s call to his son is conveyed by supernatural means: Ira-tū-roto has a dream in which he hears his father’s voice speaking to him. He takes oil for anointing both his own and his father’s body, and

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41 Compare Whiro, Rongo-i-tua, Rona and Hine-atauira, who are all ‘overcome by shame’ before setting off on their various journeys.
42 In stories of the arrival in Aotearoa, the place where a whale is stranded is often seen as the appointed place for the new settlement. In the stories about a voyage to the island of women, the whale often plays some important part. It may swallow the hero to take him to the island, or return him to his former home. In the Samoan and Tongan versions, the hero lives on whale meat while waiting to escape from the island where he has been cast up (see summaries of these stories in Pungarehu and Kōkōmuka-haunei: a journey to a strange land). The whale episode in the Murihiku version may be a vestige of this motif.
sets off on the long road to find his father.

In rewriting the story later for publication, Wohlers stated that when Ira-tū-roto found his father he ‘nursed him until he was better’. This may have been one way in which the story was sometimes told. For in another version from the south, which Wohlers may have known, Tura’s son attempts to revive Tura by washing him.\(^{43}\) In this other version however the son is his second son, the one born on the island of women. He may have been thought to have inherited magic powers from his mother, who is one of the women who can be brought to life after their death in childbirth by being washed in the ‘Life-giving-waters-of-Tāne’. But since Tura is fully human, the son’s attempts are in vain, and Tura remains dead.

In the version as it was originally recorded by Wohlers, all the indications are that when Ira-tū-roto arrives, Tura is already dead. The fact that he is said to be lying in his own excrement is an indication of this. Ira-tū-roto’s preparations, too, suggest the laying out of the body.\(^{44}\) He washes and anoints his father, and makes a kind of wooden coffin in which to transport him back home.

This is an appropriate ending. For Tura has introduced the knowledge of human death into this world, and now must suffer it along with all humankind.

OTHER VERSIONS

Because the myth is so widespread in Polynesia, summaries of versions cannot be given here. The following list gives some idea of their number and distribution, without being in any way exhaustive.

A. Aotearoa

References to White are for the English versions only.

The longest Māori versions of the story come from the East Coast of the North Island and

\(^{43}\)White, 1887, II: 13.
\(^{44}\)Compare the actions of Kahu after the death of his father Tuhoro (Shortland, 1881: 53–7). The wisp of grass used for wiping the excrement from the corpse had a special name and received special treatment.
from Te Wai Pounamu. Shorter versions are recorded from Taranaki.

1. *Kāi Tahu/Kāti Māmoe*

Creed: White, 1887, II: 11-13 (wrongly attributed to Ngāti Porou); Cowan, 1905d: 47 (notes from Herewini of Moeraki).

2. *Ngāti Kuia*

Pakauwera, 1894: 99-104.45

3. *Ngāti Kahungūau*

White, 1887, II: 13-19 (Te Whatahoro Jury; attributed to Ngāti Porou); Smith, 1913: 124-37; 149-52; Davies, 1912: 110-6;46 Ngata and Te Hurinui, song 242, headnote.

4. *Ngāti Hau/Ngā Rauru*

Hongi, 1898: 36-7; Best, 1922b: 111-21.47

5. *Ngāti Paoa? (Hauraki district)*


B. Island Polynesia

1. *Cook Islands*


2. *Taḥiti*

Henry, 1928: 537-52.

45This story also has the 'giant bird' motif; see 'Pungarchu and Kōkōmuka-haunei: a journey to a strange land'.

46The whakapapa on page 113 gives the source of this.

47This is not attributed to any specific tribal area, but the whakapapa and notes on page 116 show it to come from the Taranaki/Wanganui region.
3. 

**Tuamotus**

Caillot, 1914: 57-60; 69-74 (see also 149, where the caesarian practice is described as if it were factual); Seurat, 1905: 43-5; Audran, 1929: 319-21.

4. 

**Marquesas**

Lavondes, 1964: 57-64; Handy, 1930: 56-60; 119; 128; Von den Steinen, 1988: 75-93.

5. 

**Mangareva**

Te Rangi Hiroa, 1938: 111.

6. 

**Hawai‘i**

Beckwith, 1970: 498-505 (includes a general discussion of the motif, and summaries of other versions).

7. 

**Samoa**


8. 

**Tuvalu**


9. **Outlier Polynesia**

Ray, 1917: 171 (Sikaiana, Solomons); Riddle, 1915: 156-7 (Epi, Vanuatu).

10. **Tonga**

Gifford, 1924: 139-52.

11. **Niue**

Smith, 1903: 100-2.


KA NOHO A TURA I TE WAHINE, I A RUKURA-MATUA.

KA PUTA KI WAHO TANA TAMAI, KO IRA-TIHI-ROTO.

KA NOHO TETAHI TAMAITI KEKE O WHIRO I TE WAHINE, I A HÄ-RAKIRAKI.

KA PUTA KI WAHO TANA TAMAITI. Ä, KA HÖMAI KI RUNGA KI A WHIRO, KI TE MATUA HÖNGOI.

KA HIATIKO TE TAMAITI, KA TIKONA TE URE O WHIRO. Ä, KA KARANGA AKE A WHIRO KI TAUWA WAHINE, KIA HAERE MAI, KIA HOROIA TE TÖTÖI O TE TAMAITI. Ä, KA TAE MAI TAUWA WAHINE; WHÄWHAI TE WAHINE KI TANA TAMAITI. KA TITIRO HOKI I TE URE O WHIRO, KI NGÄ NGÄRARA E MAU ANÄ (HE WHAKAIRO).

KA HAE TE WAHINE I TE KATA. Ä, KA HOROIA TE TÖTÖI; Ä, KA PÖ TE RÄ, KA HAERE ATU TAUW WAHINE NEI KI A WHIRO, KA MOE RÄUA.

KA [A]O AKE I TE ATA, KA RONGONA. KA WHAIELERTIA E NGÄ TÄNGATA, 'KÄTAHI ANÄ TE HÄNGONGA I

TÄHURI AKE AI KI TANA MATUA HÖNGOI.'

Ä, KA MATE TE HÖNGOI I TE WHAKAMÄ. KO TE TAKE TÈNEI I HUAINA AI TE WHARAUANGA A WHIRO RÄUA

KO TURA. KA HUA A TURA HE WAKA HOKI MAI; KÄORE, HE WAKA HEKE RAWA KI TE WAWAU.4

Ä, KA WHAIHANGATIA TE WAKA E WHIRO. KA OTI, KA AUKAHATIA. KA KÌ ATU A WHIRO KI TAUWA

tangata nei, 'Komotia mai te kaha.'

KA WHÄWHAI ATU A WHIRO, KA KUKUME MAI. KA KOMOTIA ATU. KA KÌ ATU KI TAUWA TANGATA NA (KI

A KAI-KAPO), 'RUTAUTIA MAI TÖU KÄ'KÌ.5

KA KUME E WHIRO, KA MATE TAUWA TANGATA. KA TÄPUKETIA KI ROTO KI NGÄ MARAMARA O TE

tärainga. KA PÖRANGITIA, KA RAHAKHUA; KÄHORE HOKI KIA KITEA. Ä, KÄ ANÄ NGÄ TÄNGATA, KA

1White 1887, II: 7-11 (English); 8-12 (Maori). The first paragraph in White’s version does not in fact come

from Wohlers, but from some notes in Creed’s papers.

2The word is transcribed by White as manana, whose meaning (‘bent’ or ‘wag, wave about’) would fit the

context here. However, Wohlers has scored a line through the middle of the word to separate it into two, and

has it as maau anä in his later version, so this is probably the correct form.

3Williams’s only example of this word is from Wohlers. Hängoi and hinaonga, literally ‘father-in-law’ and

‘daughter-in-law’, have an extended meaning here, just as maau means ‘uncle’ as well as ‘father’.

4See the discussion of this sentence in the introduction to this story, under the heading, ‘Whiro commits

incest’.

5No gloss for ratautia is given by Williams. White translates it as ‘Put the noose of the rope over your head’.

In other versions this is what happens at this point. Expressions such as pötraetaia and ma muri i tō porokaki

are used (Davies, 1912: 110-6; Best, 1922b: 111-21).

6White’s ka aue makes sense in the context but is an unlikely reading.
tangi. Ā, ngaro rawa, kāhore hoki kia kitea.

Ka oti te waka, ka tūia. Ka takahia e ngā waewae o ngā tāngata ngā maramara; ā, ka puta te tūpāpaku. Ā, ka kīia, ‘Na Whiro i patu.’

Ā, ka mānu te waka o Whiro rāua ko Tura. Ā, ka rere, ā, ka tūtaki ki a Tū-tata-hau rāua ko Rōko-taka-whiu (Tanoī rāua ko Tatea). Ka karanga a Tū-tata-hau, ‘Waka, waka o wai?’

Ka karanga atu tētahi tangata o Whiro, ‘Waka o atua.’

Ka mate te tangata, patua e Tū-tata-hau. Ka karangatia mai e Tū-tata-hau, ‘Waka o tāngata?’

Ka karangatia atu e te tangata o runga o te waka, ‘Waka o atua.’

Ka patua tētahi o runga o te waka o Tura rāua ko Whiro, ka mate. Ka karangatia mai hoki e Tū-tata-hau, ‘Waka, waka o wai?’

Ka karangatia atu e Tura,

Waka o Whiro, me te tipua;
Ka riperipia, ka toetoea.
Ka tau mai, he waka.

Ā ka ora.

Ka tau ki Ōtea te waka. Ā, ka rere te waka. Nāwai ra a Tura i whakaaro me te rere te waka. Ā ... ka heke tou; ka mea kia heke ki te wawau. Ka mahara a Tura, ‘He heke tonu ki

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7Wohlers has no speech marks round this sentence, but has it separated as if it were direct speech. Either direct or indirect speech is possible.
8These two names are in brackets in the original. They would seem to be alternative names for the two just mentioned, but the first two names are much better known. The names and the significance of the conversation are discussed in the introduction to this story, under the heading, ‘Whiro’s journey’.
9Wohlers writes these questions and the answers to them in one word, as if they were chanted as a kind of karakia. The fact that they have no definite articles suggests that they are formulaic phrases of the kind found in waiata or karakia.
10The significance of this karakia is dicussed in the introduction to this story, under the heading, ‘Whiro commits incest’.
11See the discussion of this name in the introduction to this story, under the heading, ‘Tura and the island of women’. 
te mate.'

Ka hara ngā pukakaukore, ka tūtata ki te taha o te waka e rere ana, ka whāi [a] ake e Tura, ka mau ngā ringaringa o Tura [ki] te pūouhou. Ā, ka tukua atu a Whiro. Ka heke ia a Whiro ki te wawau, ki te oti atu.


Ā, ka tae ki te kāinga i Te Ruahine. Ka noho. Ka hiahia a Tura ki taua tāua nei, māna. Ka kī atu te tāua, a Te Ruahine, 'He tara kaihau tōku tara, he tiaki ahu no te pūtoī.' Ka kī atu taua tāua, 'Na te wahine māu, ko [t]ōu tuahine.'

Ā, ka haere mai, he hoa wahine.

Na, ka whakarongo ki te haunere o taua kaiuma ra, o te Aitanga o Nuku-mai-tore, i rokokina atu ra e Tura, e oni ana i runga i te tāwhara o te kiekie. Ko te uma anake, kāhore hoki he upoko, kāhore hoki he tāngata; ko te hope anake.

Ka noho a Tura i a Turakihau; ka noho i a Te Wairangi. Ā, ka meatia he kai ma rātou. He ota te kai. Ka hōmai he kai kia kai a Tura. Kāhore hoki a Tura kia kai, tā te mea he ota tou te kai. Ka mahara a Tura, 'Ehara tēnei i te tāngata, he atua; he kai ota tana kai, e noho nei.'


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12 Williams gives no help for pukakaukore. It is possible that it is connected with the word pūkahu, which means 'any matted fibrous formation' (perhaps a plant like the mangrove is meant). Puouhou, in the same paragraph, is probably a variant of pūhou. Williams gives pūhou as 'Coriaria arborea, a shrub'.

13 The manuscript has a second te here.

14 Wohlers makes this correction in his later version.

15 This may be either haunere, as White interprets it, or hāunere, which is the correction Wohlers makes in his later version. For a discussion of the activities of the Nuku-mai-tore people in this passage, see the introduction to this story, under the heading, 'Tura and the island of women'.

16 Wohlers has chare in his manuscript. His substitution of e for a is discussed in the section 'The Language of the South', subsection A 2(a). The sentence may be either singular or plural, but it obviously refers to the people as a whole rather than to his wife alone. See also note 19.
puritia e te weruweru. Ā, ka puritia te wahine, ā, ka noho.


Ā, ka whakamātau, ā, e reka ana. ‘Ā, tēnei anō te reka o te kai!’

Ka kī atu te waha o Tura, ‘Ehara koe i te tangata; he atua koe; he kai ota anake tā u kai.’


Ka rongo mai e ngā iwi. Ka haere mai ngā tāngata, he wāhine tonu — ngā whanaunga hoki. Tana matā, tana hukahuka. Haere mai tēnā wahine, tana matā, tana hukahuka. Ā, ka noho ngā tāngata i whakapeti ai ki te tamaiti, ki te hapū. Ka kī atu te waha o te tāne ki te wahine, ‘He aha tēnei? Haere mai ki te aha ra?’

Kī atu te waha o te wahine, ‘Haere mai ki tuku tamaiti, kia haea tōku kōpū. Ko tuku tamaiti te tango atu, ko au ia kia mate.’

Ka kī atu te tāne, ‘Nē? Kei te pēnei te tikanga?’

‘Āe.’

Ka haere te tāne ki te whaihanga whare. Ā, ka whaihanga i te whare. Haere mai te tāne,

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17 Tāpura is the more usual word. Tāpura is either an error or a Murihiku variant of the word.
18 Wohlers has inserted ana in the margin at this point, but the construction with me does not require ana.
19 Tura may be addressing this to his wife (koe), but referring to the people in general. See also note 16.
20 Best (1975:14) says that pākinikini ‘seems to denote a numb feeling in the small of the back’ at the onset of labour. If kikinia means the same, te tamaiti cannot be the subject of the sentence. I have added a comma after kikinia to make a sentence parallel in construction to the one a little later: Ka whakamamae te wahine, te tamaiti. Te wahine or ia would now be the unexpressed subject of kikinia.
21 It is possible that this is a different house (Best for example mentions two houses, one for the actual birth, whare kahu, and another, whare kohanga, where the mother and child live apart from the community until the tapu-removing ceremonies have been performed; 1906:16-17). However, it may well be the house already
ka kī atu ki te wahine, ‘Kei te aha koe?’

Ka kī mai te wahine, ‘Kua makere te ara o taku tamaiti.’

Whāwhai atu te tāne ki ngā poupou. Ka poua ngā poupou e rua. Ka poupou te poupou tama-wahine (ki te aroaro), ka poupou te pou o te tama-tāne ki te tuarā. Ka kī atu tērā ki te wahine, ‘Na, ko te poupou tuarā, he whakawhirinakitanga mōu; ko te poupou ki tōu aroaro, he whakamahurutanga mo te māmāe.’

Ā, ka noho te tāne. Ka kī atu ki te wahine, ‘E mea koe, e kore e puta te tama ki waho, ka tapapapa22 e koe:

Kia kotahi ki [a] Ao-nui,
Kia kotahi ki [a] Ao-roa,
Kia kotahi ki [a] Ao-tauira.

Kāhore koe e puta, karanga ki taku ingoa,

Kia kotahi ki a Tura.’

(Na reira ka mātauria, ko Tura tēnei tangata.)


Ka tūātia. Ka oti te tūā, ka whakamine ngā tāngata, te kaitūā. Ka maoka te umu o te tūātanga o te pito o te tamaiti. Ka waia te umu mo ngā tohi, mo ngā hiwa, mo te umu

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22This is either a mistake or a dialectal variant of tapatapa.
23Best (1906: 156) queries Williams’s gloss for popoki (‘caul, or some part of the placenta’), since later in this passage the whenua (‘afterbirth’) is said to be buried, while the popoki is carried to the sacred place. Best gives popoki as ‘the sacred food procured for this rite ... the first food procured ...’ (1906: 147). However, it seems possible that the two different rituals (laying on the sacred place and burying) involved different parts of the afterbirth, which is perhaps what Williams is implying. In Creed’s manuscript version of this story a note in brackets after the word popoki glosses ‘placenta’.
24Williams gives this as an alternative form of mahu, ‘healed’. Best gives the word māhu for the drying up and dropping off of the umbilical cord: Na te māhu i whakataka mai (1906: 22; the macron is in Best’s original).
tukuwēwē. Ka hoatu ma te matua tāne e kai. Ka kainga e te matua tāne, ka mutu, ka tukua he kai ma te kaiwhakapeti.

Ā, ka matua te tamaiti, ka oma te tamaiti. Ka kiia atu e Tura ki te wahine, 'Hākurea tōku upoko.'

Ā, ka hākurekia e Turaki-hau te upoko o Tura. Ka whakarongo ake a Tura, e kī (mū rānei) ana a Turaki-hau. Ka kī iho te wahine, 'E Tura, [h]e aha nei e mā nei i roto i te huru pango?'

Ka kī atu te waha o Tura, 'He aha?'

'Aua ra te mea mā i roto i te huru pango.'

Ka kī atu te waha o Tura, 'He hina, he hina mate.'

'He hina mate rawa?'

'Āe.'

Ka kī atu te waha o te wahine, 'E Tura, e rua hoki matenga o te tāngata?'

'Āe.'

Ka mate a Tura i te whakamā. Ā, ka tangi a Tura ki te pōtiki, ki a Tauira-āhua. Ā, e rua ngā rangi i tangi ki te tamaiti; e rua hoki ngā rangi a te wahine i tangi ki te tāne. Ka kī atu te hākoro ki te pōtiki, 'Ki konei ra, kia āta noho koe. Kauranga e noho kino.'

Ā, ka haere a Tura. Ā ... ka pō te rā, ka moe. Ka [a]o ake i te ata, ka haere. Ā, ka ahiahi te rā, ka moe. Ka [a]o ake i te ata, ka haere. He roa no te whenua te haerenga.

25 No specific reference to these ovens has been found. According to Williams, tohi and hiwa are both used of ceremonies performed over a child. Tukuwēwē possibly has a similar significance (it may be derived from wē, 'squeal, cry', referring to the first cry of the new-born baby?) See in the introduction to this story, under the heading 'Tura introduces natural childbirth', for a discussion of these ceremonies.
26The word in brackets is added by Wohlers, who must have thought that kī was a word which needed explaining. Both kī and mī indicate a soft, murmuring sound, in this case one of surprise.
27Wohlers writes two very distinct a's in the middle of this name. Creed however gives the name as Tauriohua.


Ā, ka mate, ā, ka piri tērā ki te whenua. Ā, ka tiko tou tērā ki rō o te whare. Ka pō te rā. Ka karanga tērā, ‘E Ira-tū-roto, e Ira-tū-roto!’

Ka moe tērā, ka hokia te kauwhau,29 ka karanga tērā, ‘E Ira-tū-roto, e Ira-tū-roto!’


Ka ahiahi te rā, ka moe a Tura. Ka hoki mai te kauwhau, ka karanga, ‘E Ira-tū-roto, e Ira-tū-roto!’

Ka moe. Ka karanga.


28The manuscript has ma, but the sense is past rather than future. No would be more usual here.
29It would seem that the same thing is happening here as in the case of Tama: Tura is fainting and reviving. See a discussion of the word in ‘Ko Pungarehu rāua ko Kōkōmuka-haunei’, note 20.
30[Öh]o ake may be meant here.
Tura married a woman called Rukura-matua, and his son Ira-tū-roto was born.

One of Whiro's nephews married a woman called Hā-rakiraki, and his son was born. [The mother] gave the child to Whiro, her father-in-law, to nurse. The child needed to empty its bowels, and dirtied Whiro's penis. Then Whiro called out to the woman to come and clean up the child's mess. So the woman came, and seized her child. Then she saw Whiro's penis, with the lizards on it (his tattooing), and she split herself laughing. Then she cleaned up the mess, and when the sun went down she went off to Whiro and they slept together. The next day people heard about it and said disgustedly, 'This is the first time a daughter-in-law has turned to her father-in-law.'

Then the father-in-law was filled with shame. This was the reason that Whiro and Tura's voyage was decided upon. Tura thought that it was a canoe that was going to return; but no, it was a canoe which would go right on down to oblivion.

So Whiro made his canoe, and when he had finished it, he lashed on the top-strakes. Whiro said to a man who was there, 'Put the rope in here.'

Whiro reached forward and pulled it through to his side and threaded it back in again. He said to the man (whose name was Kai-kapo), 'Put it round your neck.'

Whiro pulled it tight, and the man was killed. Whiro buried him among the pile of shavings from the adzing of the canoe. People looked for the man, they searched everywhere, but they could not find him. And so the people stopped working and mourned for him. For he had completely disappeared and could not be found.

When the canoe was completed it was dragged to the sea. As the people trampled the shavings underfoot, the body appeared. And so people said, 'It was Whiro who killed him.'

Then Whiro and Tura's canoe put out to sea. As it sailed along they met Tū-tata-hau and Rongo-taka-whiu (Tanoi and Tatea). Tū-tata-hau called, 'Canoe, whose canoe?'
One of Whiro’s men called, ‘Canoe of supernatural beings.’

The man died, killed by Tū-tata-hau. Tū-tata-hau called, ‘Canoe of men?’

A man on board the canoe called back, ‘Canoe of supernatural beings.’

Another person on board Tura and Whiro’s canoe was struck dead. Again Tū-tata-hau called, ‘Canoe, whose canoe?’

Tura called to him,

Canoe of Whiro, like a demon;
It is cut to shreds, it is split up.
It floats here, a canoe.

And so they stayed alive.

The canoe came to anchor at Ōtea, and then sailed on. For a long time Tura wondered, as the canoe sailed along. For some time they kept descending, and Tura realised that they were going down to oblivion. He thought to himself, ‘This is a descent right down to death.’

Some pukakaukore were there, close by the side of the canoe as it sailed along, and Tura reached forward and grabbed the pukakaukore with his hands. Tura made his way up on land, standing on the bushes. He left Whiro to go on. And Whiro went on down to oblivion, down to nothingness.

So Tura travelled on until he reached a certain place, where he stopped. The next day, he went on. When evening fell, he came to another place and stopped there, and at night he slept. When day broke, he went on again.

At length he came to Te Ruahine’s village, and stayed there. Tura desired this old woman, and wanted her for a wife. The old woman, Te Ruahine, told him, ‘My vulva is worn out, I’m a guardian of the tribe.’ And then the old woman said, ‘There’s a wife for you, she’s your cousin.’
So then a wife came to be his companion.

And now he heard the loud murmurings of those people with chests, the Descendants of Nuku-mai-tore, whom Tura found copulating on the flower bracts of the kiekie. They only had chests, they had no heads, for they were not people, but only hips.

Tura lived with Turaki-hau, and she lived with Te Wairangi. Food was prepared for them, but it was raw food. Tura was given food to eat, but he could not eat it, because the food was quite raw. Tura thought to himself, ‘These are not people, they are spirits; their food is raw food, those who are living here.’

However, Tura had a firestick inside his clothing. He took it out, and rubbed it, and a flame rose up. The noses of those people with chests smelt the food. When the scent of the food reached their nostrils, they ran off into the bush. Tura’s wife also stood up ready to go off, to run away. But her husband reached out and caught hold of her clothing. He held her fast, and so she had to stay.

The two of them sat there, while the flame rose up. When it was alight, he whirlied it about, and then he lit the oven. Then he put the food in and covered the oven. He went to one side to wait. After some time, he went to it and uncovered it. When the food baskets were unfastened, the appetizing smell reached the group of women who had run away. So they turned round and came back to the village. They found the food set down there and they said, ‘Give it to us, give it to us, so that we can try out how nice it is.’

So they tried it out, and yes, it was very nice. They said, ‘Oh, how nice this food is!’

Tura exclaimed, ‘You’re not a person, you’re a spirit; you only eat raw stuff as your food.’

So he continued to live there with his wife. Then she felt a pain in the small of her back, because of the child, and then it began to affect her greatly, and she knew that it was about to be born. Tura constructed a house. The woman’s labour pains began: it was the child.

When the people heard about it they came, just the women, for they were members of her
family. Each one had a flint and a piece of flax tow. Each woman came up with her flint and her piece of tow. Then all the people who had gathered to be with the child and with the pregnant woman sat down. The man exclaimed to his wife, 'What's all this? Whatever are they coming to do?'

The woman exclaimed, 'They are coming for my child, to cut open my womb. My child will be taken out, but I will die.'

Her husband said to her, 'Really? Is this the custom?'

'Yes.'

The husband went off to build a house. And when he had built the house, he came back and said to his wife, 'Where are you up to now?'

His wife said, 'My waters, the pathway for the child, have broken.'

Her husband took some posts. He planted the two posts in the ground. He planted the female post at the front, and he planted the male post at the back. Then he said to his wife, 'Now, the post at the back, that one is for you to lean against for support, and the post at the front of you is to ease your pain.'

So the man waited. He said to the woman, 'If you think that your son isn't coming into the world, you must recite this incantation:

Let there be one for Ao-nui,
Let there be one for Ao-roa,
Let there be one for Ao-taurira.

And if you still can't give birth, call out my name,

Let there be one for Tura.'

(It was then that it became known that he was called Tura.)

So then her son was born, and lay there in the outside world. The afterbirth was taken off to the sacred place. When he had finished taking it there, he came back and cut the child's
umbilical cord. He buried the afterbirth. Then he wrapped the child up and carried him back to the village, to a separate place some distance off. The child stayed there, and after a short while his navel string dried up and fell off.

His tapu-removal ceremony was then held, and when the ceremony was over the people, those who were involved in the ceremony, all gathered together. Food was cooked in a special oven on the occasion of the tapu-removal ceremony after the child’s navel string had dropped off. Water was poured over the oven for the tohi, the hiwa and the tukuwēwē rites. Then food was given to the father to eat, and when he had eaten it, food was given to all the people there.

Then the child grew older and began to run around. Tura said to his wife, ‘Clean the lice from my head.’

So Turaki-hau cleaned the lice from Tura’s head. Tura heard her making a low cry of surprise. His wife asked him, ‘Tura, what are these things that are white, here among the black hairs?’

Tura asked, ‘What things?’

‘I don’t know, they’re white things among the black hairs.’

Tura exclaimed, ‘They are grey hairs, grey hairs of death.’

‘Grey hairs of real death?’

‘Yes.’

The woman exclaimed, ‘Tura, are there really two deaths that people suffer?’

‘Yes.’

Tura was overcome by shame. So he wept over his young son, Tauira-āhua. For two days he wept over his son; and for two days his wife wept over her husband. Then the father said to his young son, ‘Farewell. Live peacefully here, and do not lead an evil life.’
So then Tura set off. After some time, night fell and he slept. When dawn broke, he moved on again. When evening came, he went to sleep. When dawn broke the next day, he moved on. He kept travelling because it was such a great distance.

After a long time he reached a place where he found a whale — it had been stranded. He cut the whale up and piled it all in a heap. Then he built a high food platform, and loaded that up until it was completely full. That food platform, the high one, was for the time when he was well. Then he built a low storage platform — and that was for when he was losing his strength. He loaded that one up.

When the food platform was full up he built a house, and there it stood, a very large house. The name of the house was Hau-turu-nuku. When he had quite finished it, he lived there in his house. When night fell he slept, and when day broke he stayed there. When night fell he slept, and when day broke he stayed there. And all the time he was thinking to himself that he would remain well for some considerable time.

But at last he grew feeble, and was bowed down to the ground. And then he defecated continually inside his house. When night fell he called, ‘Ira-tū-roto, Ira-tū-roto!’

Then he fainted, and when he came to he called, ‘Ira-tū-roto, Ira-tū-roto!’

Now when Ira-tū-roto woke up in the morning, he said to the people, ‘I had a dream. There was Tura, calling out to me, “Ira-tū-roto, Ira-tū-roto!” ’

When evening fell, Tura passed out again. And when he came to he called, ‘Ira-tū-roto, Ira-tū-roto!’

He went on fainting and calling.

Now Ira-tū-roto was dreaming. And when dawn broke, he told the people his dream. Then he said to his mother, ‘Give me some oil.’

He anointed himself. Then he set off. And when evening came, he went to sleep, and when dawn broke he moved on, for the distance was very great. When he got to that land, he
slept, and when he woke up the next morning, he went on. Soon he was nearby, and then he reached his father. He found him lying in his own excrement, and washed him clean. He made a box and laid him in it, and carried him to his mother's village.
RURU-TEINA:

VICTORY FOR THE YOUNGEST SON
INTRODUCTION

Like so many of the stories in this collection, this is a tale told in two parts. The hero encounters two women, one human, high born and very desirable as a wife, the other a dangerous monster. The main story has as its subject the quest for a beautiful wife, with all the elements of such stories all around the world: overbearing and arrogant elder brothers and a younger brother who is made to do all the menial work while the others concentrate on enjoying themselves and winning the hand of the famous beauty. Despite all set-backs, the hero wins the woman, and eventually is able to present her to his parents and confound his brothers.

Before this happens, however, the hero falls into the clutches of an evil female monster, and his adventures as he eludes and finally destroys her form a sub-plot which contrasts with the main story. The dramatic tension is built up again just at the point at which it seems that all has been resolved.

The hero: Ruru-teina

The name Ruru means ‘Owl’, but there seems to be no suggestion here that the hero of the story is a bird. Rather, the name is a standard one for the protagonist in monster stories, at least in the South Island. For this is the name of the hero in the Canterbury version of the Pouākai story, and of the heroine in ngārara stories set on the West Coast and in the Nelson district. In our story, the name Ruru is often accompanied by the epithet teina, ‘younger brother’, to distinguish the youngest son, while the elder sons are generally referred to simply as ngā tuākana, ‘the elder brothers’. Even when they are given proper names, Ruru-tuākana and Ruru-mātua, these names are given collectively to the brothers; they are not differentiated from each other. The opposition is between elder (as a group) and younger.

1 Other stories have Ruru figures who may be birds. In the story of Tinirau there are two servants, Ruru-mahara and Ruru-wareware, who may be either birds or people (Wohlers, 1875: 15). Elsewhere two beings with similar names are specifically said to be Uenuku’s pet birds (White, 1887, II: 5), and the Ruru-atamai in Taylor’s version of Tinirau sits in a high tree to guard Tinirau’s pools (Taylor, 1870: 236).
3 The manuscript is not altogether clear at this point (see textual notes 1 and 3), but enough text remains to make this the most likely reading.
The actual number of elder brothers is likewise not stated. There are probably three, since we are told three times that a woman claims to be the beautiful Te Roonga-rahia (the woman they have come to woo), and three times that a brother takes a wife on board the canoe.

Ruru’s extreme lowliness is emphasised: he is the humble servant of his brothers, and is forced to do all the cooking and even to sleep on their heap of food supplies. But it is the very lowliness of Ruru-teina’s position that allows him to gain the necessary knowledge to outwit his brothers. While they can go off immediately to enjoy themselves, Ruru must stay behind to unload their possessions and make ready the house where they are all to live. It is he therefore who asks directions from the children and finds out where the real Te Roonga-rahia lives, while his elder brothers, each conceitedly thinking that only he is a fit husband for the famous beauty, are beguiled by imposters. Māori listeners must have enjoyed the irony of the situation in which the hero spends his nights in the company of his high-born wife, and hurries home at daybreak to take his place on the food supplies ready to spend his day as his brothers’ servant.

Now the brothers set off for home, and Ruru successfully hides his new wife and her servant on the canoe. However, at the very moment when Ruru seems to have succeeded in outwitting his brothers and gaining the hand of the heroine, a twist of fortune puts all in jeopardy.

On the way home, the party puts in to land in unknown territory, and Ruru-the-youngest is once again forced to do his brothers’ bidding, this time by venturing alone into the home of a monster. The dramatic tension increases as the listeners are left in suspense: will the brothers look in Ruru’s cabin, see the girl, and seize her for themselves? Will Ruru be captured by the monster, and either be killed or forced against his will to stay with her as her husband? Will any of them get back home safely?

Ngārara and taniwha

The monster met by Ruru on his way home is called a ngārara, a word used of lizards in
general. Lizards were regarded with awe and even terror in traditional Maori society, as they were regarded as marginal creatures, closely related to fish and yet living on land. It is easy to imagine how this terror could have been magnified into the creation of an imaginary lizard of enormous size, able to prey on humankind. Ngārara are sometimes pictured as loners, lying in wait to catch and eat parties of human travellers, whose friends and family eventually take revenge and kill the monster. More often, however, while ngārara kill and eat men, their aggressiveness towards women takes a different form, for they carry them off to their lairs as wives. The sexual nature of this sort of contact is often made quite specific: a child may result from the union, and the woman is often said to be covered all over with the ngārara’s scales (this is obviously similar to the slime which clings to Māui’s wife after Tuna’s attentions).

Taniwha, which are also sometimes said to be lizard-like in form, differ from ngārara in that they may appear on whakapapa and have human descendants. They are sometimes said to be kept as pets by chiefs, and to be given offerings of food. Most noticeably, they have a reciprocal arrangement with one particular tribe, punishing its enemies and expecting to be avenged if harmed by an enemy tribe. Their names are as numerous and varied as human names: Hotupuku, Pekehua, Kataore, Moko-hiku-waru, and many, many others. Ngārara, on the other hand, have a more limited number of names, the most

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4 Although the brown gecko could be referred to as ngārara pāpā, in general specific types of lizards were referred to as moko plus some epithet: moko-piri-rākau, moko kākariki and so on. The word ngārara or kārara is sometimes also used of insects (Beattie, 1920b: 55).
6 Examples of this type of ngārara story are: ‘Ko Te Patunga o Te Kāiwhakarauki’, Te Whetū, 1894: 16-19; ‘Te Patunga o Mokomui’, Te Aro, 1893: 165-7 (this may in fact be a taniwha; see discussion below, note 9); ‘He Korero mo Ngārara-hua-rau’, Tū-mui-a-rangi, 1905: 200-4.
7 Te Whetū, 1893: 219, Grace, 1907: 220.
9 For example, the taniwha Hotupuku: te pane, nga peke, te hiku, nga unahi, te peha, nga tuatarā, i ahua ngārara katoa ehei (Greym, 1971:128). Taniwha can however take many different forms, animate, inanimate and even non-material; see Graham, 1946: 26-39; Cowan, 1910: 210-6. Sometimes a creature described as a ngārara will seem to belong in the taniwha category (and vice versa), and occasionally the words ngārara and taniwha are both used to describe the same creature (Te Aro, 1893: 165-7; Grey, 1971: 136). In general, however, the two creatures exhibit the different characteristics outlined above.
13 For a long list of taniwha names, see Best, 1925a: 964-7.
common being Te Ngārara-hua-rau, ‘Lizard-of-numerous-progeny’.¹⁴

Ngārara have a particular reason for taking human women: they have a strong desire to become part of the human family. In one case at least the ngārara is even said to be specially equipped for his entry into the human family: he is said to have ‘two ure, one for a karara and one for a woman’.¹⁵ No matter how jealous and suspicious the ngārara is, by mentioning ō taokete, ‘your brothers-in-law’, and ō mātua hūngoi, ‘your parents-in-law’, the human wife can always lull his suspicions and lure him to her village. The fine new house which his wife’s relations have prepared (in reality, as a trap) and the sounds of preparation for a feast are also accepted by the ngārara as his due and as signs of his acceptance into the family.

His desire to be human also no doubt explains his dislike of being addressed as ‘Te Ngārara-hua-rau’ or ‘Te ika’ (‘the fish’) as he approaches his new family. He must be welcomed correctly as ‘Te manuhiri tūārangī’ (‘the visitor from afar’), although sometimes, being only a monster, he gets this a little muddled and asks to be addressed as ‘Te Wairangi’, ‘The Madman’, instead.¹⁶ A great deal of comedy arises from the juxtaposition of the ngārara’s beastliness and his attempts to act like a human being.¹⁷ However, all his efforts are in the end doomed to fail. He is treated as monsters always are, by being burnt to death. Strenuous efforts are made to destroy all his scales, while if the temporary union has resulted in a child, the child too is a monster and dies.¹⁸

Te Ngārara-hua-rau

Te Ngārara-hua-rau in Wohlers’s story is the type of ngārara who seeks human contact, but, unlike the ngārara mentioned so far, she is a female.¹⁹ This gender difference brings

¹⁴Ngārara draws attention to their form, while hua means ‘egg’ or any sort of progeny. This may be a reference to the fact that lizards lay eggs, or perhaps to the scales which are shed in many of the stories, and which then become fish or lizards. Rau means ‘one hundred’, or, by extension, ‘many’.
¹⁸See note 7.
¹⁹There are other stories about female ngārara, but they bear no resemblance to our story. Cowan (1910: 215-6) tells of a female ngārara who is the mōkai or pet of a chief and who takes revenge for some insult by killing the chief’s wife. Her actions, however, resemble those of a taniwha, and her name, Koro-whakatupua, suggests a male. Best (1925a: 714-6) relates the story of a female ngārara who bears a son to a human chief,
about major changes in the whole tenor of the story. To begin with, the incident in which Ruru meets the ngārara is set up as a contrast to the main story. Ruru has met and won the good, human woman who will make him a suitable wife. He now has to face this dangerous monster who tries to entrap him.

Although it is not made explicit in the story, Te Ngārara-hua-rau may perhaps have the ability to change shape and appear as a human being, for it seems that at first Ruru does not recognise her for what she is. He calls her ‘this woman’, and has to have her real nature explained to him by her two attendants. This ability to change shape is certainly not present in any of the other ngārara stories (the women trapped by ngārara are never under any illusion as to the true nature of their monstrous husbands), but the motif does seem to be present in other parts of Polynesia. In Hawai‘i, a female mo‘o (lizard) deceives a human man into thinking that she is a beautiful human woman, and it is only when others explain her true nature to him that he realises his mistake. This idea may lie behind Ruru’s confusion, without ever being fully developed in the Murihiku story.

Te Ngārara-hua-rau’s sexual aggressiveness is made apparent from the beginning: she at once encircles the hero with her tail, so that he cannot escape. Male ngārara also act in this way, as does Tuna towards Māui’s wife. However, the result is not quite the same. While female victims are often said to be covered with slime after their encounter with the ngārara, it would not be thought appropriate for a human male to have to submit to such a fate. Ruru remains unsullied, and the idea is transferred to a more fitting subject: it is the food which is here said to be dirtied with the ngārara’s scales. Unlike the unfortunate wives captured by ngārara, Ruru does not have to endure Te Ngārara-hua-rau’s embraces, either on his first meeting or later when he has lured her into the house built to trap her.

As Ruru runs away, Te Ngārara-hua-rau shouts after him that she cannot catch him at the

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but casts doubt on the authenticity of the tradition. Colenso mentions a ngārara called Hine-hua-rau (evidently a female, from the name), but gives no details (Colenso, 1878: 85).

20Beckwith, 1970: 194; compare also the shape-changing dragons in Westervelt, 1973: 165-9; 256-9. In the long Hawai‘ian romances, the hero or heroine is constantly diverted from the path of true love by some device such as this.

21Te Whetū, 1893: 217; ‘Ko Māui’ in the present collection.

It may be significant that the reason for Ruru’s visit to the ngārara is to find fire. The association of fire with dangerous female sexuality has already been discussed (see ‘Māui: trickster and innovator’, episode 9).
moment, but that she will come after him on a misty day. There is a parallel here with ideas about *patupaiarehe* or fairies, who were thought to shun sunlight and to move about in dark or misty conditions.\(^{22}\)

When the expected misty day comes, the people announce the arrival of Te Ngārara-huarau with a greeting which may be the equivalent of the words of welcome called to other ngārara, as previously discussed. The words used are unusual, and are perhaps names of sea monsters.\(^{23}\) In this case the ngārara does not seem to mind being taken for a sea monster.

As in other ngārara stories which concern a human spouse, a special house is built and the ngārara is enticed inside.\(^{24}\) It is at this point however that our story differs markedly from the usual, in that a long scene of quite specific sexual content, as well as of great humour, is introduced. The reversal of gender roles allows the narrator to elaborate on Ruru’s precautions to deceive the ngārara (the setting up of a carved wooden image of himself, which can speak),\(^{25}\) and on the comedy of her reactions.

The humour of this scene derives from the juxtaposition of the ngārara’s words, as she passionately embraces the wooden image, with those of Ruru, who is commenting from the back wall of the house. Te Ngārara is deceived by the naturally hard penis of the wooden image. Ruru, however, is not in the least physically aroused by the lecherous monster, and his ironical comments (‘It only looks that way!’) would have been highly appreciated by those listening to the story.

While this particular incident would seem to be unique in Maori stories, the rest of the tale

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\(^{22}\) See a discussion of this in ‘Pipit and Dotterel: two thieving bird brothers’, in the section ‘The old woman’s threat’.

\(^{23}\) The words *titit* and *parata* are the names of the obstructing monsters left in the sea by Tīt-te-koropanga in the story ‘Ko Tama’. The significance of *takauparerimu* is not known. *Uare* is likely to be *whare*. The expression *whare rimu*, ‘seaweed house’, is found occasionally in waiata, and is connected with the undersea world which is usually hostile to human beings (Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980: song 252, line 3; see other examples in the footnote to this line). All these names would be appropriate to describe a creature who was felt to resemble a fish.

\(^{24}\) Sometimes the monster is merely burnt in his cave, as he lies in a torpid state because of the nor’wester.

\(^{25}\) Whether Ruru is thought actually to turn himself into the wooden figure (as seems to be suggested by the sentence *Ā, haere ana a Ruru, he tangata ia, kua mahue te ūrākau*, ‘So Ruru went off, a man again, for he had left the wooden post behind’) is not particularly significant. In a story about monsters, any sort of magical happenings are possible.
is predictable. The noise of the people piling up wood against the outside of the house is as usual explained to the ngārara as the preparation for a feast. The wood is set alight, Ruru makes his escape through the window, and Te Ngārara-hua-rau is burnt to death. Her scales now take on a life of their own, attempting to escape from the fire but being scooped back and burnt — all but two, which make their way to a hill and sing a song.26

Ruru is now free to make his way back home, having gained mana and confidence from his defeat of his dangerous foe. Humankind has as usual won a victory over a monster. In this case it is also a triumph of the male over the female. Ruru has not had to submit to the ngārara’s embraces, but has chosen freely the woman who will be his wife.

Kiore-tī and Kiore-tā

Te Ngārara-hua-rau’s two servants should not be forgotten, since they play their part in warning Ruru and helping him to escape. The first part of their names, kiore, means ‘rat’. As in the case of other figures with animal names whom we have already encountered in these stories, it is not made clear whether these two are human or animal. They speak like human beings and obviously ally themselves with Ruru rather than Te Ngārara, but when one of them is chased and takes refuge in a stone his cries or squeaks certainly suggest that he is more rat-like than human. The name Kiore-tī must also refer to his squeaking cry. Non-human enemies in other accounts are sometimes accompanied by animal helpers, which side with their master or mistress against the hero or heroine.27 If the servant is human, then he or she helps the hero to escape and take vengeance.28 So this suggests that these two are human.

26 This too is typical of other versions; see for example Orbell, 1968: 40-1; Beattie, 1920: 136. There is also a version of the song in J. C. Andersen’s papers, MS Papers 148, WTu. Sometimes the scales are said to become some particular type of lizard or fish found in that locality, see Te Maihāroa, 1957: 11; Makitanara, 1983: 7.
27 Köpīl-wai has his dogs (Te Maihāroa, 1957: 6-12; Stack, 1877: 60-1), as has Te Ruahine-mata-māori in the next story (‘Ko Paowa’); Kura-ngaituku has a riroriro bird (Grey, 1956: 146-8); compare also Kiore-roa and Kiore-poto who are associated with the monster Matuku in the story of Rata (note 34).
28 Compare Tama-uriuri in the story of Rata in these texts, Hine-matiko-tai in Stack, 1875: 12, and the wives of ogres in many Polynesian stories.
Ruru’s triumphant return

After such an exciting and humorous adventure, the account of Ruru’s homecoming risks being an anti-climax. The narrator therefore heightens the dramatic tension by having Ruru pretend to his parents that he alone out of all his brothers has returned without a wife. The structure follows a two-fold pattern: Ruru’s mother cannot at first succeed in visiting Ruru’s cabin, but her second attempt, at Ruru’s urging, is successful. The first time she is driven back in fear when the young woman within is said to ‘flash lightning’ at her. This expression is not easy to interpret, but there are probably two ideas involved here. The first is that Te Roonga-rahia is an extremely tapu person, for lightning is always associated with those of noble birth. And secondly, she is taking an active role towards her mother-in-law. The ‘lightning flash’ is not simply a glow which surrounds her, but a piercing, lightning-like gaze, which she directs at her terrified mother-in-law.29

The young woman’s eyes are, however, things of great beauty as well as terror. In a variant of the more usual proverb used to describe feminine beauty, her eyes are said to be kei te Ēhaua, ‘like the full moon’.30 Her beauty is visible to all, and her nobility is evident in the way she has left her own portion of food untouched, while her less well-bred servant has eaten all the rest. A chiefly person is known by his or her delicate handling of food, as proverbs and traditions testify.31

The ending, in which the elder brothers realise that they have been tricked and that their

29The meaning of the word kohara is not immediately clear. Apart from one example which refers to the splitting of fish, Williams’s examples are all drawn from Wohlers’s texts, two from this passage and one from the story of Tinirau. Williams interprets the word as ‘gleam, shine’ for Te Roonga-rahia’s actions towards her mother-in-law, and ‘be enraptured, feel passion for’ for Hine-te-iwaiwa and Tinirau. Neither of these seems particularly appropriate here. Kohara must be allied to other similar words: kōhā, kōwhāi, kowhera, all of which have to do with lightning flashing. (Compare huki and rāpa which share the same range of meanings, and can also be used to mean ‘look’ or ‘glance’).

In a similar way, the gleaming pāua shell eyes on carved figures on the gable of meeting houses were meant to strike fear into any approaching enemy as well as be decorative; they could be said to look challengingly at the earth (Riaria kina ra te tahuhi o to whare, e tāwhai ki te mata-a-ruru hei pukana ki te whenua, see Williams under under tīwha 6). Tinirau’s and Hine-te-iwaiwa’s glances are no less actively projected, but convey sexual desire and invitation, not hostility (Wohlers, 1874: 49).

30See textual note 26 for the usual variant of the proverb.

Another example of the way in which the same (or a similar) word can be used of both a beautiful and a baleful look is the description of the taniwha whose eyes are ano ... he marama e ka rere ake i te pae (Grey, 1971: 134).

31See the discussion of Pāoa’s actions in ‘Hāpopo: an archetypal victim’, note 26.
despised younger brother has triumphed, is typical of this sort of tale, and is all the more satisfying for being expected. The mother, instructed by Ruru, makes a public declaration of the failure of her elder sons and the success of the younger. From now on, it would seem, Ruru-teina will be the brother of standing in the family. The deceiving wives are left to bear the brunt of the brothers’ disillusionment and jealous rage.

Conclusion

Although this story is in many ways a conventional one and shares many elements with other traditions of this type, the way in which it is cast (with the two stories set up in contrast to each other) gives it a distinctive character. In particular the gender reversal, in which the usual monster-husband/human-wife pattern is turned on its head, allows the narrator to introduce a scene of high comedy. At the same time, it throws light on the way male and female roles were perceived in traditional Maori society. And finally, by introducing the ngārara episode before the first part of the story is fully resolved, the narrator has heightened the tension and added interest and drama to his concluding scene.

Some other ngārara stories

There are so many ngārara stories that summaries cannot be given. The list below is a representative sample, but there are many more. Many of the stories in which the monster acts like a ngārara but is called a taniwha could be included here, for as we have already mentioned, the line between the two categories is often blurred.


A story which has a similarly aggressive female monster (a bird-woman) is in Grey, 1956: 145-8.

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32 The story is told only in English, and Kōpū-wai is called an 'ogre'. However, the story has all the characteristics of a ngārara tale.

33 Here the monster is called a nanakia.
KO RURU-TEINA


Ā, ka [a]o ake i te ata, [ka] mānū, ka hoe. Ka tae ki te kainga i a Te Roonga-rahia. Ka tōia te waka ki uta. Ka haere ngā tāngata ki te kainga i a Te Roonga-rahia. Ka rokohina atu te hunga tamariki e ū pōtaka ana. Ka ui atu a Ruru-teina, 'Kei whea te huanui?'

Ka kī mai te hunga tamariki, 'Whana atu na te roro o te whare o Te Roonga-rahia.'

Ka kī atu te waha o Ruru, 'Ko te huanui tērā?'

Ka kī mai taua hunga tamariki, 'Āe.'


Ka noho tējrā, a Ruru. [Ka haere atu a Ru]ru-tuākana5 me ngā tāngata. Ka tae ki ngā whare

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1White 1887, II: 26-30 (English); 25-30 (Maori).
2This booklet of the manuscript has the top torn away, leaving a gap here and over the page. The words or parts of words in square brackets represent a reconstruction, based on Wohlers's 1875 version, of the missing portion. The unbracketed words are what remains at the side of the page. It is obvious that the tear must have occurred before White received the manuscript and that he too must have reconstructed two portions, though what he has written could not possibly have fitted into the very small gap.
3It is far from clear what the heroine's name is. White has transcribed it as Roonga-rahi, while Wohlers later changed it to Te Rorongaraha (1875: 115-8). The original, however, looks more like Roonga-rahi (although there is the usual difficulty in deciding whether Wohlers has written a or o). It is sometimes possible to choose one form of a name rather than another because its meaning fits the theme of the story better, but in this case there are several different ways in which the syllables of the name could be grouped, none of which has any special significance.
4Once again, the words in square brackets represent my reconstruction, this time of the passage on the other side of the manuscript page. See note 2.
5It seems that all the brothers are being spoken of together here under one name, just as they are later by their mother (see note 25).

No te horinga atu o ngā tuākana, ka haere a Ruru-teina ki te whare, ki a Te Roonga-rahia. Rokohina atu e noho ana a Te Roonga-rahia rāua ko tōna tia.6 Ka tae atu a Ruru, ka mau ki te wahine. Ka kī atu a Te Roonga-rahia ki tōna tia, 'Haere koe ki waho nei hei titiro i te aweata. He aweata, ka karanga mai."

Ka moe rāua ko te wahine. Ka karangatia mai e tērā whare, 'Ko wai tou i tō kōrua whare e pāpā ana?'

Ka karanga atu tōna tia, 'Ko au nei anō e haere ana ki te māanga!'

(Ko Hīne-te-rangi-ātaahua te ingoa o te tia).

Ka moe rāua ko te wahine. Ā ... ka mārama, ka karangatia mai e te pāihi, 'He aweata ia!'

Ā, ka puta te tāne, ka haere, ka tae ki roto ki tō rātou whare; tika atu anō i runga i ā rātou kai takoto ai. Ā, ka tae atu ngā tuākana, ka kī atu ki a7 tērā, 'Kua noho mātou nei i a Te Roonga-rahia.' Kī atu ana, 'Kāhore he wāhine māu.'


Ka noho tērā (a Ruru-teina), ā, ka haere ki tana wahine. Ka tae atu, ka moe rāua. Ka kainamu ki te ata, ka kī atu tērā ki te wahine, ki te tia hoki, kia haere rāua ki runga o te

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6 As Wohlers's texts show, tia means 'slave' in the south, although in the north it can apparently mean 'mother' as well. Watkin gives tia as 'slave' only (Harlow, 1987: 79).
7 The use of the personal article before a definite seems to be an error.
8 See previous note.


Ā, ka mea a Ruru-teina kia noho ki tōna pakokori; koi haere, tākiritia e ngā tuākana, kitea tōna wahine. Ā, tonoa atu kia haere. Ā, haere tou a Ruru. Anō ka tae ki te kāinga i a Te Ngārara-hua-rau — rokokina atu e noho ana ko Kiore-fi, ko Kiore-tā. Na, ka rongotia\(^10\) mai e Te Ngārara-hua-rau, ‘Kiore, ko wai tēnei?’

Karangatia e Kiore, ‘Ko Ruru.’

‘Haere mai ki te aha?’

‘Ki te tiki ahi mai.’

Haere mai tou a Te Ngārara-hua-rau. Mea rawa ake a Ruru kia haere; ka tae mai a Te Ngārara-hua-rau, karapotia ai te hiku o te waero. Ka mau a Ruru, kāhore hoki kia haere. Ka noho i [a] Te lārara-hua-ra[u].\(^11\)

Ka taona he umu kai ma rātou. Ka maoka mai te umu. Ka tī ki te aroarō o Ruru; paru rawa ki te inohi o Te Ngārara-hua-rau. Ā, ka noho rātou, ka kai rātou. Ka hori a Te Ngārara-hua-

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\(^9\)Pakokori is given as ‘deckhouse’ in Williams. Wohlers translates as ‘his private cabin’. Best’s account of Maori canoes does not mention anything as elaborate as this, but since this tale is a folk tale describing a special sort of expedition, the narrator may be taking poetic licence.

\(^10\)The usual passive form is rongoa or rongoa.

\(^11\)Wohlers’ informants presumably called her Te Kārara-hua-rau, which Wohlers usually corrects to Te Ngārara-hua-rau. In this case though he has let one example of the original pronunciation slip through, and has left off the final \(u\) of the name (as he has further on in the story, where the name begins with the more usual \(ng\).
rau, ka kī atu a Ruru ki a Kiore-ti, ki a Kiore-tā, 'Ko tōna tohu anō tēnei o tēnei wahine?'

Ka kī mai a Kiore-ti, 'Āe, ko tōna tohu anō tēnei.'

Ka kī atu te waha o Ruru, 'Tanumia rawatia ngā kai ma tātou ki te inohi!'

Ka kī atu te waha o Kiore-ti rāua ko Kiore-tā, 'E kī ana koia koe, he tangata tēnei wahine? Ā, he atua ia.'

Ka rongona mai e Te Ngārara-hua-rau. Ka karanga12 mai e tērā, 'Ākuanei rawa koe nei mate rawa.'

Ka kī atu te waha o Kiore-ti rāua ko Kiore-tā (ki a Ruru), 'Haere koe.'

Karangatia mai e taua wahine ra, e Te Ngārara-hua-rau (ki a Kiore), 'Ākuanei koe mate rawa.'

Ka tū tou mai ki runga a Te Ngārara-hua-rau, kia haere mai ki a Kiore-ti rāua ko Kiore-tā. Ka rere a Kiore-ti ki roto ki te pōhatu, ngaro rawa atu; ka rere a Kiore-tā ki te koukouoro13, ka ngaro atu. Ka tae a Te Ngārara-hua-rau ki te pōhatu i ngaro ai a Kiore-ti, rakuraku atu ai — e tūi ana mai i roto i te pōhatu. Ka whai a Te Ngārara-hua-rau i a Ruru, ka karanga atu, 'E Ruru, hoki mai! E Ruru, hoki mai!'

Ka karanga atu a Te Ngārara-hua-rau, 'E kore au e tae atu — hei te rangi pūko[h]ukohu, ko au tēnā.'14

Ka tae a Ruru ki te kāinga,15 ka whaihangatia he whare. Kotahi te mataao. Ka whakatūria a Ruru ki te rākau, ka whakakōrerookia, ka whakatangatakia, ka whakaurea māna.16 Ka oti,

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12Karanga is often used as though it were a passive form, in this text and in others. See a discussion of this in the language section of the General Introduction, subsection B 3.

13Williams glosses this word as 'dense, dark bush'. Although his only example is the one under discussion, his remark 'it is printed koukouoro' suggests that he is familiar with the word from other sources; it may be an expanded form of the word oro, 'clump of trees, copse'. What White has transcribed as an a could just as easily be an o.

14See a discussion of the word pūko[h]ukohu in 'Ko Pitoio'.

15The brothers are in fact in a temporary camp, set up on their way home.

16The base words kōrero, tangata and ure are all made into verbal forms in the passive voice here: this is what is done to the carving. The fact that it is able to speak plays an important part in the plan to deceive the ngārara, so the word whakakōrerookia, 'made it able to speak', is repeated in the next sentence.
ka whakakōrerokia. Ā, ka mutu ngā kōrero, ka whakatūria. Kōrero ana mai i roto i te rākau.

Ka tae ki te rangi pūko[h]ukohu, ka karangatia, ‘He tūtū ... he parata ... he takauarerimu ...ko Te Ngārara-hua-ra[u]!’

Ka tata mai Te Ngārara-hua-rau, ka karanga mai, ‘E Ruru! Kei whea koe?’

Ka karanga atu a Ruru i runga i te tuarongo o te whare, ‘Tēnei anō au.’

Ka karanga mai e Te Ngārara-hua-rau, ‘E Ruru, kei whea koe?’

Ka karanga atu a Ruru, ‘Tēnei anō au.’

Ka karanga atu a Te Ngārara-hua-rau, ‘Hua koe, i oma mai ai, e kore au e tae mai?’


Ka kī atu te wha o Ruru, ‘Ko tōna āhua anō tēnei.’

Ka kī atu te wha o Te Ngārara-hua-rau, ‘E ngāwari anō tōu ure, e Ruru, i a tāua nei?’ Kātahi nai marohitanga.

Ka whakarongo a Te Ngārara-hua-rau ki waho e haruru ana. Ka kī atu a Te Ngārara-hua-rau, ‘E Ruru, he aha tēnei?’

Ka kī atu a Ruru, ‘Ko āu taokete tēnei e taka kai mai ana ma tāua.’

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17 Wohlers has this sentence in direct speech, so that *he takauarerimu* must have some meaning similar to that of the other words of the sentence. See the discussion in the introduction to this story.

18 Wohlers corrects this to *taha* in his later version, but since the back wall (tuarongo) of the house is also being mentioned, the narrator may be indicating just how big this monster is — she reaches right out to the side walls (tara) of the house. Wohlers understandably omitted from his later version the whole of the incident which follows.

19 The original is punctuated with a full stop. However, this is an ironical statement, which might be either a question or an exclamation.
Ka whakarongo anō tērā, a Te Ngārara-hua-rau, e haruru ana. Ka kī atu a Ruru, ‘Ko āu mātua hūŋgoi e taka kai ana mai ma tāua.’

Kāore, ko ngā tāngata e tōhīhi²⁰ wahie ana ki ngā tara o te whare.

Ā, ka tāhuna ki te ahi, ka tūngia ki te ahi. Ka kā tēnei wāhi, ka kā tēnā wāhi. Anō, ka puta ki te roro, ka uhia e te au o te ahi, te whare kāhore kia kitea; pōuri kerekere i te au o te ahi. Ka puta i te mataao o te whare, ka puta a Ruru ki waho. Ka tūkia mai te mataao o te whare ki te ahi. Ka auē anō a Te Ngārara-hua-rau i roto i te whare, i te ahi. Ka horo te whare, ka auē a Te Ngārara-hua-rau, ‘E Ruru! Whakawareware i te mura o te ahi, autaukiri!’²¹


Auē, Puke-rau-aruhē, e kino au e te tabu.
E kino, e wareware i te mura o te ahi.
Auē, taukiri!

(Na te inohi tēnā tangi).

Ā, ka mate a Te Ngārara-hua-rau. Ka mutu ngā mea i ora, ko aua inohi e rua.

Ā, haere ana a Ruru, he tangata ia, kua mahue te rākau. Ka haere a Ruru ki te kāinga i te hākui, i te hākoro, i ngā tuākana. Ā, ka meatia he kai ma rātou. Ā, noho rātou. Ka ahiahi.
Ka kī atu te hākui rāua ko te hākoro ki a Ruru, ‘Nai ngā wāhine, ko ngā wāhine o ōu tuākana. Ko koe anake anō, kāhore anō āu wāhine.’

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²⁰This example only is given in Williams. However, since he also records the form tōhī, the word is probably more generally known.
²¹Whakawareware is given by Williams as ‘deceive, outwit’, with only this example. However, whakaware also appears, meaning ‘impose upon, beguile’. Wohlers translates as ‘you are forgetting me’, but no doubt the idea of deceit is contained in the word as well. The exclamation which Wohlers renders here as autaukiri is found in many different forms: ai, taikiri; auē, taukuri etc.
²²the words in parenthesis after kōr apa, here and a little further on, must be glosses by Wohlers. Poti means ‘basket, and perhaps karapotia also has this meaning in this context (it is usually a verb meaning ‘surround’). These words have been omitted from the translation, as they are confusing.
Ka kī atu a Ruru, ‘Āe, kāhore aku nei wāhine.’

Ka kī atu anō te waha o Ruru ki te hākui, ‘Kāhore anō he tāngata e tae ki taku pakokori?’

Ka kī atu te hākui, ‘Kāhore. Ko wai koia ki tōu pakokori?’

Ka kī atu te waha o te tama, ‘Koia, kāhore he tāngata kia tae ki taku pakakori?’

Ka kī mai te hākui, ‘Kāhore anō.’

‘E kore koia koe e haere?’


Ka kī atu te waha o te tāne, ‘Aua.’

‘He wahine nui puku.’

Ā, ka haere mai ki te pōtiki. Ka kī atu te pōtiki, ‘Kāhore koe kia tae?’

Ka kī atu te hākui, ‘Kāhore ra au kia tae. Whana atu tou au, koharakia mai, mataku noa mai au, haere mai tonu nei ahau.’

Ka kī atu te waha o te pōtiki, ‘Aua ra, ka kohara mai, whana atu tou.’


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23 The passive ending must be an error here. See the correct form Ka kohara mai taua wahine ra, several paragraphs below.

24 This sentence would seem to imply that the calabash just stood in its place, unopened (cf. Tāne’s untasted calabash of tūi in ‘KoTāne’).
Ā, ka arahia mai te wahine i te pō, rāua ko te tia. Ā, ka tae mai ki te kāinga, ki te tāne, ki a Ruru, ka noho, ka moe rāua. Ā, ka [a]o te rā, ka kī atu a Ruru-teina ki te hākui, ‘Ākuanei ka whana atu ki korā, ka karangatia e koe, “Hua atu ai i [a] au, kei a Ruru-mātua25 āku; kāhore rāia; ka noho te tino Te Roonga-rahia i taku pōtiki.” ’


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25See note 5.
26This must be similar to the proverb quoted by Grey, ‘Me te Oturu. Her eyes are as large and brilliant as the full moon’ (Grey, 1857: 71). Oturu is the moon on the sixteenth day and Ōhua the moon on the fourteenth, that is, both describe the full moon.
TRANSLATION

There was once a very beautiful woman, and her name was Te Roonga-rahia. The younger brother, Ruru, heard all about her. The other people also heard about her, and decided to go to her. They loaded up a canoe. Ruru also went, as their servant.

So when dawn broke, they launched the canoe and paddled off. When they came to Te Roonga-rahia’s village, they dragged the canoe ashore. As they went off to Te Roonga-rahia’s village, they came upon a group of children whipping their tops. Ruru-teina said to them, ‘Which way do we go?’

The group of children said, ‘Go along past the front of Te Roonga-rahia’s house.’

Ruru exclaimed, ‘Is that the way?’

The group of children said, ‘Yes’.

And so Ruru went on, and they all went inside the house. They sat down, and food was prepared for them. When the sun went down, Ruru-teina’s elder brothers said to him, ‘Stay here and light the fire. Go to our canoe, and bring back our luggage; look after the house.’

So Ruru stayed there, and the elder Ruru brothers went off with the other people. When they got to the meeting house one brother took a woman, and the woman told him, ‘I’m the one, I’m Te Roonga-rahia’, and another brother took a woman, and she told him ‘I’m the one, I’m Te Roonga-rahia’. Each woman said that she was Te Roonga-rahia. But no, no, they were all just giving themselves airs. So they slept with the men.

When his elder brothers had gone away, Ruru-teina went to Te Roonga-rahia’s house. He found Te Roonga-rahia and her servant sitting there. When Ruru got there, he took the woman for himself. Te Roonga-rahia said to her servant, ‘Go outside and keep a watch out for daylight. When day comes, call out to us.’

He and the woman slept together. Someone called out from one of the houses, ‘Whoever is banging about in your house?’
Te Roonga-rahia’s servant called out ‘It’s only me going to the toilet!’

(The name of the servant was Hine-te-rangi-ātaahua.)

Ruru slept with the woman. Some time later, when it began to be light, the servant called out, ‘It’s daylight now!’

So the man left and went back into his and his brothers’ house; he went straight off to lie right on top of their food supplies. So when his elder brothers came back they told him, ‘We’ve slept with Te Roonga-rahia.’ And they said, ‘There’s no woman for you.’

So the elder brothers stayed there until night fell, when they went off to their women. Ruru again stayed behind. Once they had gone, he went off again to his woman. When he got to her, they slept together. Then when dawn broke he was once again back inside their house. By the time his elder brothers came back he was lying on top of their food. They all stayed there and had food prepared for them. In the evening, they discussed setting off in their canoes. Later in the evening, they went off to their women.

Ruru-teina stayed behind and then went off to his woman. When he got there, they slept together. Just before dawn, he told the woman and her servant to go on board the canoe. He led them on board, took them into his cabin, and hid them there. He left the woman and her servant behind in the cabin. Ruru, the younger brother, came back into their house. As soon as Ruru lay down, the brothers appeared. They said that they were going to put to sea. They went off to drag their canoes to the water. Then they launched their canoes into the sea, one man and his woman, and another man and his woman, and another man and his woman. When they were all aboard, they paddled off.

When they came to land, they dragged the canoe ashore, and went to look for fire. They searched in vain, but could not find anything. Then they saw Te Ngārara-hua-raud’s fire, blazing away. The elder brothers said to Ruru-teina, ‘Go on, you go and fetch some fire for us.’

Ruru-teina thought he ought to stay by his cabin in case the brothers went and opened it up
and saw his woman. But they insisted on his going. And so Ruru set off straight away, and came to Te Ngārara-hua-rau's house, and found Kiore-tī and Kiore-tā living there. Now Te Ngārara-hua-rau heard him and called, 'Kiore, who's that?'

Kiore called, 'It's Ruru.'

'What has he come for?'

'To get fire from you.'

Te Ngārara-hua-rau came in straight away. By the time Ruru had decided he ought to get away, Te Ngārara-hua-rau had come up and encircled him with her tail. Ruru was caught fast and could not get away. He stayed there with Te Ngārara-hua-rau.

Food was cooked for all of them in an earth-oven. When the food in the oven was cooked and was set in front of Ruru, it was all dirty with Te Ngārara-hua-rau's scales. So they all sat down and had their meal. When Te Ngārara-hua-rau had gone off, Ruru said to Kiore-tī and Kiore-tā, 'Is this really what this woman leaves as her special mark?'

Kiore-tī said, 'Yes, this is her special mark.'

Ruru exclaimed, 'But our food was quite buried under her scales!'

Kiore-tī and Kiore-tā exclaimed, 'Do you really think that this woman is a human being! Well, she's actually a spirit-being.'

Te Ngārara-hua-rau heard this and called out to them, 'I'm going to kill you this very minute!'

Kiore-tī and Kiore-tā exclaimed to Ruru, 'Run for it!'

That woman, Te Ngārara-hua-rau, called out to Kiore, 'Now you're going to be killed!'.

Te Ngārara-hua-rau stood up to go towards Kiore-tī and Kiore-tā. Kiore-tī ran into a stone, and disappeared completely from sight; Kiore-tā ran into the bushes and disappeared. Te Ngārara-hua-rau came up to the stone in which Kiore-tī had hidden and scratched on it,
while he squeaked away inside the stone. Te Ngārara-hua-rau then ran after Ruru, calling, ‘Ruru, come back! Ruru, come back!‘

Te Ngārara-hua-rau called to him, ‘I can’t reach you now, but on a misty day, there I’ll be!‘

When Ruru reached the camp, they built a house. It had one window in it. Ruru set up a post, and made it able to talk, and made it look like a man, and made a penis for it. When it was finished, he gave it the power of speech. And when he had finished talking to it, he set it upright. The voice came from inside the wooden post.

When a misty day came, the cry rang out, ‘It’s a tidal wave ... a monster from the deep ... a takauarerimu ... it’s Te Ngārara-hua-rau!‘

As Te Ngārara-hua-rau advanced she called out, ‘Ruru! Where are you?‘

Ruru called out from the back wall of the house, ‘Here I am!‘

Te Ngārara-hua-rau called out, ‘Ruru, where are you?‘

Ruru called back, ‘Here I am!‘

Te Ngārara-hua-rau called out, ‘Did you think that by running away I wouldn’t be able to get you?‘

So then Te Ngārara-hua-rau went inside the house. She entered by coming in along the side wall of the house. When she got to the back wall of the house, to where Ruru was, she wound her tail round by one side of the house and brought her head round to meet it, so that Ruru was caught in the middle. Te Ngārara-hua-rau ardentely desired Ruru, and so they copulated. Te Ngārara-hua-rau exclaimed, ‘Ruru, your penis is erect, what a very hard penis you’ve got!‘

Ruru exclaimed, ‘It only looks that way!‘

Te Ngārara-hua-rau exclaimed, ‘Would your penis really be limp, with the two of us
together? How hard it is now!"

Te Ngārara-hua-rau heard a great commotion outside. She asked, ‘Ruru, what’s all that?’

Ruru told her, ‘It’s your brothers-in-law getting food ready for us.’

Te Ngārara-hua-rau listened to the great commotion. Ruru told her, ‘It’s your parents-in-law, getting food ready for us.’

But no, it was the people piling wood up against the side walls of the house!

So then it was set on fire, and the fire took hold. It blazed up here, and it blazed up there. And then at last it reached the front of the house, which was shrouded in smoke from the fire. The house was not to be seen, it was pitch black from the smoke of the fire. When the smoke reached the window, Ruru clambered outside. Then the window of the house burst into flame. Te Ngārara-hua-rau began to wail inside the house, because of the fire. The house crashed down, while Te Ngārara-hua-rau wailed, ‘Ruru! You’ve tricked me, here in the blaze of the fire, oh how terrible!’

The people were standing there outside, with long-handled nets to catch Te Ngārara-hua-rau’s scales so that they could not fly away. When a scale flew away, it was thrown back on to the fire. There went a flying scale — down came the net — on to the fire it went. Now those scales were nearly all destroyed in the fire. Two of the scales flew off, one to the top of Puke-rau-aruhe, and the other flew to Poro-rimu.

    Alas, Puke-rau-aruhe, I suffer, for I am being burnt!  
    I suffer, abandoned here in the blaze of the fire!  
    Alas, oh woe is me!

This lament was sung by the scales.

And so Te Ngārara-hua-rau died. And that was all that remained alive, just those two scales.

So Ruru went off, a man again, for he had left the wooden post behind. And off he went to his village, to his mother, father and elder brothers. Then food was prepared for them. They
waited there, and when night came, Ruru’s mother and father said to him, ‘Here are the women, they’re your elder brothers’ women. But as for you, you’re the only one who hasn’t got a woman.’

Ruru said, ‘Yes indeed, I haven’t got a woman.’ Then Ruru spoke again and asked his mother, ‘Has anyone been to my cabin yet?’

His mother answered, ‘No. Whoever would go to your cabin?’

Her son exclaimed, ‘So nobody’s been to my cabin, then?’

His mother answered, ‘Certainly not.’

‘Well then, won’t you go there?’

So his mother went. When she got there, the woman darted a flash of lightning at her. The mother was frightened, and went straight back, without being able to reach her. So when the mother got back she said to her husband, ‘Do you think that the woman our youngest son has got is really his very own woman?’

Her husband exclaimed, ‘I don’t know!’

‘She’s a very distinguished lady.’

So they went to ask their youngest son. Their youngest son said, ‘Didn’t you get there?’

His mother said, ‘I didn’t get there. Just as I was approaching, lightning flashed out at me, so I was afraid and came straight back here.’

Her youngest son instructed her, ‘Never mind, when lightning flashes at you, just keep on going.’

So the mother went off, and as she came near, the young woman darted a flash of lightning at her. But she was not afraid. She kept on going. As soon as she got up to the cabin, she opened it up, and there was the young woman, sitting with her servant. Tears ran down Te Roonga-rahia’s face. The servant was sitting there too; she was the one who had eaten up
the preserved tūi. The mistress had not eaten any. One calabash-full had been eaten up, but one just lay there. The calabash of tūi was standing there untouched.

So the mother brought the young woman and her servant to the village, to her husband and Ruru, and she stayed there, and they slept together. And when dawn broke Ruru-teina said to his mother, ‘Now we’ll go over there and you can call out, “I thought that she belonged to those Ruru-the-oldest sons of mine, but no not at all, the real Te Roonga-rahia has married my youngest son.”’

Now the elder brothers heard this, and so they went to look at this woman. There she was, sitting there. Her eyes were just like the full moon. So the elder brothers were furious. They went off to their women and they beat them all, every one.
PAOWA:

AN ENCOUNTER WITH A WITCH
INTRODUCTION

Here is yet another tale in which the hero is pursued by a powerful female. Although this time she is human in form, she has even more dangerous powers than the ngārara in the previous story: she is a wahine whaiwhaiā or, as Wohlers has it in his 1875 version, a witch.

Summary of the story

Paowa and his companions visit Te Ruahine-mata-māori, a witch who knows kīmara karakia. Paowa sends her off to fetch water, chanting a karakia to make the water dry up as she approaches. He then sets fire to the witch’s home, and sails off in his canoe.

The witch sets off in pursuit, diving and surfacing as she swims. Paowa sends the canoe on its way, swims ashore alone and takes refuge in a cave. Te Ruahine-mata-māori scratches vainly on the rock at the entrance to the cave. Paowa first cooks food for her, and then feeds her with hot stones which cause her stomach to burst. Having seized the treasures from her armpits, he uses the magic to enable him to travel home in a log.

Believing Paowa to be dead, the people are preparing for his tangi. Paowa disguises himself and begs for food, and for clothing, feathers and oil with which to adorn himself. Eventually he dons all his finery, including the witch’s treasures, and reveals himself to his amazed people. He takes a wife, and tapu-removing ceremonies are recited over him.

Analysis of the story

The story will now be analysed in detail. A summary of a cognate story will be found at the end of this chapter.

The hero: Paowa

We have already encountered a figure called Paowa (with the spelling Paoa) in the story of Hāpopo. In the introduction to that story it was argued that Paoa is an archetypal figure, representing a powerful chief and tohunga, who by his actions allows his allies to recover
from their defeat at the hands of Hāpopo and emerge victorious in many battles.\(^1\)

Although the narrative we have before us at present is completely different in tone ('a cruel witch story' Wohlers calls it,\(^2\) no doubt mentally comparing it with European folk tales in the Brothers Grimm style), the Paowa who is the hero of this tale still shares many of the characteristics of the Paoa discussed earlier, and his name evokes the same kind of response. This Paowa too is a chief and a tohunga. He also has a connection with the kāmara which was not evident in the former story, but which is present in some of the Paoa stories from the North Island.

**Paowa as chief**

The first and most obvious indication of Paowa's chieftiness is that he is the leader of his band. He leads his men to Te Ruahine-mata-māori's land, initiates the strategies used to outwit her, and finally, when all are in danger of being destroyed by the witch, orders the others to flee to safety while he faces her alone. In the second part of the story, his chieftiness is acknowledged in the elaborate funeral which is being prepared in his honour. Later, when he has decked himself out in all his finery before finally revealing his identity, his handsomeness and noble bearing mark him out as a man of chiefly rank, just as they do in other Paowa stories which have been discussed.

The second part of the story has many parallels with the story of Tāwhaki as told in the North Island by the Arawa and other tribes.\(^3\) Paowa like Tāwhaki is handsome and irresistible to women (when he reappears, all the women try to secure him as a husband for their daughters). Paowa appears to die and come to life again, just as Tāwhaki does after he has been killed by jealous rivals. Both men disguise themselves as slaves and, unrecognised, are scoffed at and scolded for pushing themselves forward and performing actions which would be appropriate for a chief but quite out of place in a slave. In Paowa's case, it is his demands for special food and clothing which give offence; in Tāwhaki's, it is his sitting on his wife's tapu seat. Both men eventually make themselves known in all their

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\(^1\)See 'Hāpopo: an archetypal victim'.

\(^2\)Wohlers, 1875: 119.

\(^3\)Grey, 1956: 60-1.
chiefly splendour. Sometimes Tāwhaki’s great mana is said to be revealed by the lightning flashing from his armpits. In the Paowa story, it is the witch who has lightning flashing from her armpits, but Paowa inherits her *kura* and with it her powers.

In the Murihiku traditions, Tāwhaki’s main role is that of an avenger. When he travels to the sky it is to gain the karakia which will allow him to avenge his father’s death. It is Paowa, not Tāwhaki, who comes back from the dead, disguises himself, and gains a wife.

**Paowa as tohunga**

Whereas in ‘Ko Hāpopo’ Paowa’s skill as a tohunga is important to the action of the story, we must look more closely to recognise this theme in the present story. Certainly in the later part of the story Paowa has magic powers, but has he gained these only after seizing them from the witch?

It is evident that Paowa does indeed possess certain magic skills right at the start. For he is able to match the witch’s arts with his own: he sends her off to fetch water, and then through witchcraft causes the streams to dry up as she approaches them. Having set fire to her home and successfully eluded capture, Paowa is also able to kill the witch through a combination of quick-wittedness and physical strength as well as magical powers.

Paowa escapes from his island inside a log ‘blown by the wind’. This may sound like an ordinary descriptive phrase (with no canoe and no companions to help him build one, the winds and waves are the only resources left to him), but we have already noted that in the Hāpopo story Paa’s magical skills allow him to call up a wind to defeat his enemies. It seems highly likely that the wind in this story which takes Paowa safely back to his home is raised by the hero himself. So it is Paowa’s magic and not just the wind which is propelling the log.

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4We are told *Na Paowa i whakapakihi atu*, ‘It was Paowa who made it dry up’. In the manuscript Māori version for the 1875 *Transactions* (which was not in fact printed), Wohlers has *Ka waiwaitia [whaiwaitia] e Paowa*, ‘It was bewitched by Paowa’. It is possible that the karakia chanted by Paowa on this occasion is similar to the one used in the Houmea version (see the summary at the end of this chapter). Wohlers may well have been given the words, but have failed to write them down.
The Paowa who comes back from the dead

Paowa is presumed dead, and accordingly when he returns home funeral ceremonies are under way: a sacred marae has been prepared, women are wailing, special food has been cooked, and garments, oil and feathers have been distributed to the mourners. When Paowa eventually reveals his identity, the people make the situation clear: ‘It’s Paowa, it’s the one who was dead, or who was supposed to be dead, but he’s not, here he is, still alive.’

This motif is one which is found outside this particular story. It is related that in Samoa a certain Pava (a name cognate with Paowa or Pawa), after being believed to be dead, came back many years later in the company of the son of the king of Fiji. The motif does not appear to be widespread, but it is important in the Murihiku story, and may in fact be present in other areas of Polynesia as well as in Samoa.

The tūpāpaku, the dead body, is mentioned, and yet in this particular case there is no body, since Paowa’s presumed death has taken place far away from his home. However, Paowa has in a way been killed, even though he is in reality still alive. He must therefore set about recreating himself, by acquiring first the basic necessities of life, food and clothing, and then the special insignia to mark him out as a chief: oil and a feather for adorning his hair. Having remade himself to his own satisfaction, he next presents himself to his people, is acknowledged by them, and gains a wife.

The final act, performed at the sacred place, involves the removal of tapu (whakahoro 7 in Williams). Paowa is doubly tapu. His involvement with the wahine whaiwhaiā and her kura have evidently put him into spiritual danger, and this dangerous tapu must be ritually removed. He has also acquired tapu through the funeral ceremonies, even though these have not been completed. The ritual used in this case is not explained, but like many

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5Turner, 1884: 43.
6The comment ‘the grand-daughter of the kind woman’ is written in the margin of the manuscript. This is likely to be Wohlers’s own comment, for it is typical of the endings to European folk-tales, where virtue is rewarded and evil punished. The focus in Māori stories is different, as evidenced in the stories in this collection.
7Compare the case in which an unsuspecting family’s intention of killing and eating their relation, Teahu-riri, had to be rectified by a ceremony at the sacred place, even though the identity of the visitor was revealed in time to prevent the actual deed taking place. The fact that it had been contemplated was quite enough (Stack,
others it clearly involves the use of a bird.8

Te Ruahine-mata-māori

The name Te Ruahine-mata-māori appears to be a variant of the more usual Ruahine-matamorari or Ruahine-mata-kerepō, the old blind grandmother found in other stories.9 However, since the old woman in our story is certainly not blind, the element in her name which indicates her blindness, mata-morari, seems to have been reinterpreted. Mata-māori apparently means ‘with a human face’, and may be intended to express a subtle irony: the woman may look like a human being, but she is actually a monster.10

We have already encountered Te Ruahine-mata-māori in the story of Pioioi. Her role in that story may help to explain Paowa’s visit here. For it seems clear that Paowa does not simply arrive in Te Ruahine-mata-māori’s country by accident. Nothing is said about his being blown off-course by the wind, or landing on the island on his way elsewhere, as is the case with other heroes (Pungarehu, Tura, Ruru-teina) who arrive in lands inhabited by strange and dangerous beings.

The Pioioi story tells us that Te Ruahine-mata-māori is known as the guardian of the kūmara, which the heroes of the story go to rob. In the Paowa story, too, her connection with the kūmara is made quite specific: her other name is Te Ruahine-kai-pīhā (pīhā is ‘a small variety of kūmara’, so her name means ‘The-old-woman-who-eats-kūmara’), and she cooks kūmara for her guests. But this Ruahine is more than simply the guardian of the kūmara, for she also possesses powerful rituals: she is said to be a tāua whaiwhaiā, ‘an old witch woman’, and a wahine karakia kūmara, ‘a woman who knew the kūmara karakia’. So the implication is surely that Paowa visits her for much the same reason that Pioioi does: he wishes to secure these kūmara, or in this case perhaps the ritual which will allow their

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8 Manu. The meaning of the word tuhi is unclear, but it may be explained by an entry in Williams (tuhi iii, 2), where it is glossed as ‘a class of karakia for nullifying mākutu, and for other purposes’. In the example quoted from Grey under the verbal form of tuhi, the word is equivalent to mataki-te, a divination ceremony.

9 See the discussion of this figure in ‘Whaitiri and Tāwhaki: the woman from the skies and her chiefly grandson’, under the heading ‘Whaitiri, the blind grandmother’.

10 In Te Whettt’s version of the ‘ogre wife’ story (see the summaries at the end of ‘Rona: an unfaithful wife and a vengeful husband’) the human wife is called tōna hoa māori, the ‘normal’ or ‘human’ companion of the ‘ogre’ wife.
successful cultivation.

Te Ruahine-mata-māori’s resemblance to Houmea is clear. Although there is no fish-swallowing incident and her swimming is not said specifically to resemble that of a shag, the description of her constant diving and surfacing as she chases Paowa leave the listener or reader in no doubt that the narrator has this shag woman in mind. Other incidents in the story also bring the Houmea story to mind: the account of the hero’s spell which dries up the water as the woman advances, and her death by means of the hot stone. A further parallel occurs in incidents which may at first sight seem to have little in common. Paowa burns the witch’s home, whereas Uta instructs the various portions of his home to reply to Houmea’s calls. Both incidents are, however, stratagems to delay the ogress while the hero makes his escape. Even more striking is the fact that in both versions an almost identical bulletin of objects is recited. Uta speaks to ‘the buildings, the clumps of trees, the privy and the lookout place on top of the hill’,11 while Te Ruahine-mata-māori speaks of her ‘house, sacred place, garden and privy’ being burnt.

The Murihiku version in fact contains two lists, one of property which Te Ruahine-mata-māori sees burning, and one of possessions which she wishes to retain if all else is burnt. Is there a pattern which distinguishes the different types of possessions on each list?

In the first list, the house, sacred place, garden and latrine may seen as the basic elements of the human home. These are, as has already been stated, practically identical to the ones listed in the Houmea story. Of the list of items which Te Ruahine-mata-māori wishes to protect, three are resources: the storage platform and pit where the kūmara are stored, and the dogs, which assist the witch in her magic (by pointing the way to the escaping enemy).12 The fourth item on the list is takitaki. These must be the fences erected round a kūmara garden to protect the crop from the wind,13 and so they belong in the same category as storage pits. It may be that the witch, because she is non-human, is desperately trying to

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11Orbell, 1968: 69. The word taumata, ‘lookout’, in the Ngāti Porou version is similar to the taumatau, ‘sacred place’, of the Murihiku version; while the uru rīkau, the ‘grove of trees’, equates roughly with the māra, ‘garden’.
12See ‘Ruru-teina: victory for the youngest son’, note 27, on similar figures in other stories who have animal helpers.
rescue the less important items by means of her karakia, whereas a human being would try to protect his basic home. But it is impossible to be sure about this.

Te Ruahine’s guardianship of the kūmara resource and of the karakia which will ensure its successful growth\(^{14}\) links her with the positive aspects of the Houmea figure which are found in Hawai’ian versions.\(^{15}\) She also shares the sexuality of this figure. There is sexuality as well as terror in the account of her pursuit of the hero,\(^{16}\) which has parallels in Te Ngārara-huarau’s lecherous pursuit of Ruru-teina and in Kura-ngaituku’s relations with Hatupatu.\(^{17}\) Like them, Te Ruahine uses her fingernails to scratch on the rock behind which her prey is hiding, a highly suggestive action in view of the fact that traditionally it is the woman in Māori society who makes advances to the man, often inviting his attentions by a light scratch or pinch of his hand.\(^{18}\)

**Te Ruahine's kura**

Usually in stories of this sort the monster dies instantly when his or her stomach bursts from the heat of the stone offered as food by the hero.\(^{19}\) But here the stone makes the witch scream, while a flashing is seen coming from within her armpits. It is only when Paowa has taken the *kura* from both armpits that Te Ruahine is said to be dead.

What exactly are these *kura*? They must have a physical form as well as spiritual powers, since they can be hidden under the armpits, removed and carried away, and then hidden again in the bushes before Paowa goes to the village. The word *kura* has a whole range of meanings: ‘knowledge of karakia and other valuable lore’, ‘chief’, ‘treasure, valued

\(^{14}\)Although in real life a male tohunga directed the religious ceremonies concerned with planting and harvesting the kūmara and women were forbidden to take part in many activities connected with this plant, the kūmara was felt to have a direct association with women. A woman, Pani, was said to have given birth to the tubers, and ‘from Pani came the several sacred words (nga karakia) used ceremonially by the wise men (tohungas) at planting and harvesting the kūmara’ (Colenso, 1878-81, 14: 37).

\(^{15}\)See the summaries at the end of this chapter.

\(^{16}\)The fact that Paowa’s refers to her as tūua, ‘old woman’ or ‘grandmother’, and she calls him mokopuna, ‘grandchild’, probably reflects the relationship of other figures of the same type: Māui and Mahuika, Tāwhaki and Whaitiri and so on. Many of the old women in these stories have a daughter or a grand-daughter (see the discussion of this subject in “Pipit and Dotterel: two thieving bird brothers’); perhaps the absence of this figure in our present story means that the old woman must play the sexual role as well.


\(^{18}\)See note 44 in ‘Māui: trickster and innovator’.

\(^{19}\)The motif of killing a monster by throwing a hot stone down its throat is a common one in Polynesian stories; see Dixon, 1916: 61, 63, 69, 86, 133, n.6; Orbell, 1968: 71; White, 1887, I: 92-3; III: 3-4.
possession’ and so on. It is often used of objects prized for their red colour: red kūmara or red feathers, for example. It is probable that the use of a word with such a wide range of meanings evoked many of these concepts in the hearer’s mind, giving the story a richness which is lost in translation, where only one alternative can be chosen.

Wohlers in his English version begins by using the Maori word: ‘some kura, which contained great power of witchcraft’, and later talks of a ‘charm’.20 He remarks that it is the kura under her armpits that allows Te Ruahine to ‘shoot along under the water to a great distance with great speed’, and later has Paowa mixing the kura with oil and anointing himself with it, to be ‘transformed into a most handsome Maori gentleman, yet so, through the virtue of the charm, that he could not be recognised by the people’.21

One common meaning for kura is ‘red feathers’, especially in the form of a red feather cloak, highly prized and worn only by chiefs. It is possible that the kura in this story may be a cloak or cloaks. Support for this idea is found in the passage in which Paowa is transforming himself into a chief once again. Two parallel phrases state that he ‘put the cloaks on’ (these are the garments he has received through begging) and ‘put the kura on’.22 This seems to suggest that he is putting on two similar types of garments.

It is obvious, however, that whatever the outward form of the kura may be, they confer added magical powers on Paowa. This apparently simple, inconsequential story may in fact be explaining the origin of Paowa’s special powers, and why he is such a formidable figure in the many stories in which he appears.

The ‘magic log’

The motif in which the hero magically enters a log and uses it to travel to his destination is found elsewhere in Murihiku stories, for example in the story of Rona.23 There, the

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20 Wohlers, 1875: 120-1.
21 Wohlers may have in mind red ochre (Williams, kura 6). This would obviously suit the context here: perhaps not ordinary red ochre, but a special sort with magical properties.
22 The word kākahu is used in both cases.
In a similar story the hero, Hatupatu, wanders round the witch’s lair, looking at all her treasures, her kākahu kura, whero, puahi, kaitaka, which are various types of precious cloaks.
23 See also ‘Ko Rongo-i-tua’. 
children are able not only to take the log to its chosen destination, but to make it heavy or light depending on which person is about to pick it up.

Something of the same sort must be happening here, though it is not made so specific. We are told that as the wood gatherers set off ‘that log rolled over and over’. In his 1875 version, Wohlers has the wood gatherers discovering the log, rolling it up the beach, and then leaving it there, but this is a rationalisation of the original. The log is turning over, seemingly of its own accord, but in reality by the aid of Paowa’s karakia, an idea which accords well with the rest of the story and with the episode in the Rona story. Similarly, the wood gatherers are said to decide to leave the log behind because it is so heavy and wet. Although natural causes could be seen to account for the log’s condition, once again magical forces are also at work. Paowa needs to be left alone at this point rather than be taken back to the village, and by exerting his magical powers to make the log heavy, he can gain his wish. A parallel incident exists in one of the versions of the story of Houmea. After her children have killed her, Houmea comes to life again in the form of a canoe, which becomes heavy and impossible to move if people try to drag it ashore, but light and manageable when dragged seawards.24

Conclusion

The story of Paowa is one of a body of tales in which the hero visits a strange land and meets a dangerous being or beings. This particular tale is made up of conventional elements: the sending away of the woman and the drying up of the water, the killing of the monster by means of a hot stone, and the disguise of the hero, but the narrator organises these motifs and relates each incident in a way that is fresh and lively.

OTHER VERSIONS

Many of the stories summarised in earlier chapters of this thesis have motifs which also occur in this one.25 The story with the most striking similarities is the story of Houmea.

24Ruutapu and P8tae, MS Papers 189/53, WTu.
25See for example the ‘ogre wife’ stories in ‘Rona: an unfaithful wife and a vengeful husband’.
A. Aotearoa

Ngāti Porou

a. White, Orbell.26

Houmea is an evil woman, a thief and a glutton, who gulps down all her husband’s catch of fish and then pretends it has been stolen by a war party. When her children spy on her and find out the truth, she swallows them too, but vomits them up again when her husband (Uta) chants a spell. Fearing for the safety of himself and his children, Uta sends Houmea to fetch water, but chants another spell to cause the water to dry up as she approaches, so that she is gradually drawn further and further away. Telling the buildings, the clumps of trees, the latrine and the lookout place to answer Houmea when she returns, Uta takes his children aboard their canoe and paddles away.

Houmea is not delayed long by these measures and is soon in hot pursuit, taking the form of a shag to swim after them. The children hide their father and proceed to heat a large stone, which they throw down their mother’s throat. Her stomach bursts, and she dies. We are told that she is now to be seen in the form of a shag (her voraciousness, vomiting and swimming have already revealed her resemblance to this bird), while her evil deeds live on in ugly and thieving women.

b. Ruatapu and Potae27

Houmea is married to Tangaroa. The events of the story follow much the same pattern as those in the first version, although the emphases are different: very realistic details are given about the way Houmea gulps down the fish and her children, and it is made clear that her husband’s instructions to the buildings to reply to Houmea are a delaying tactic, for Houmea wastes time running from one to the other when they answer her.

26 Published versions of this story are from Ngāti Porou (White, 1887, II: 167-72 (in English only; acknowledged in White’s preface as being from Colesno); Orbell, 1968: 64-71. Houmea’s name and that of her husband Uta appear on Ngā Pūhi whakapapa (Simmons, 1976: 216; 299).
27 Ruatapu and Potae, MS Papers 189/53, WTu.
There is one totally new episode. After her death Houamea turns into a man-destroying canoe, which has the power to make itself heavy when people are attempting to drag it ashore but light when it is dragged seawards. Once it has been launched, it overturns and drowns its occupants.

B. Island Polynesia

In Hawai’i too Houamea (or Haumea as she is called) is said to be married to Tangaroa (Kanaloa). Beckwith summarises and analyses a number of stories in which Haumea’s key characteristics are that she is ‘concerned with food supply for the life of man and marriage and birth for the increase of family stock’. Thus she has a magic branch which attracts fish in great numbers, and has the power to be reborn in successive generations, marrying her children and grandchildren to ensure the fruitfulness of her line. But at the same time she has a destructive aspect, being connected with the fire goddess Pele. This connection with the gods and fertility, combined with an ability to take on another form and turn to destruction, is also found in the Tahitian story of Haumea (the fertility figure here is Ro’o-nui or Rongo).

In all these stories, the figure of Houamea is interpreted in different ways. The Hawai’ian stories emphasise the positive aspects of her nature: her role as patroness of childbirth and supplier of fish. The East Coast stories have kept her name and her connection with fish, but emphasise the destructive side of her nature: her gluttony, thefts, cannibalism and lust for vengeance. In the Tahitian version, she is an ogre: she grows long teeth and becomes Nona-nihoniho-roaroa, who preys on human beings.

29See version B 1 in the summaries at the end of ‘Rona: an unfaithful wife and a vengeful husband’.
He tangata e haere ki te kāinga o Te Ruahine-mata-māori — ko te rua ia o ana ingoa, ko Te Ruahine-kai-pīhā.\(^2\) (He tāua w[h]aiw[h]aiā tēnā wahine.)

Ā, ka ū te waka o Paowa ki te kāinga o Te Ruahine-kai-pīhā. Ā, ka noho i reira. He wahine karakia kūmara. Ā, ka noho rātou\(^3\) i reira. Ka taona mai he kūmara ma rātou. Ka kai rātou, ā, ka noho rātou. Ka mate rātou i te wai. Ka kī atu rātou, ‘Kei whea te wai o tōu kāinga?’

Ka kī mai taua tāua, ‘Na anō te wai.’


Ka tahuri mai ngā kanohi o taua tāua ki tōna kāinga — e kā ana i te ahi. Ka karanga mai taua tāua,

Kia wera ra taku whare, ko taku w[h]ata ka waiho.
Kia wera ra taku taumatua, ko taku rua ra ka waiho.
Kia wera ra taku māra, ko aku takitaki ka waiho.
Kia wera ra ia aku paepae tūtai, ko aku kurī ka waiho.

Ā, ka tae mai taua tāua ki tōna kāinga, e kā ia ana\(^4\) tōna kāinga i te ahi. Ka tirotiro taua tāua

\(^1\)White 1887, II: 55-9 (English); 50-3 (Maori).
\(^2\)Pīhā is ‘a small variety of kūmara’. The name means ‘The-old-woman-who-eats-kūmara’. If this is the correct form of the name, it relates to the fact that she is he wahine karakia kūmara. However, piha (with the vowels pronounced short) means ‘gills’, and would also be appropriate in the context, since the old woman is also associated with the fish-eating shag (see the discussion in the introduction to this story, under “Te Ruahine-mata-māori”).
\(^3\)It is taken for granted in Maori stories that the hero is travelling with other people. White makes it explicit by inserting Paowa mā, ‘Paowa and his companions’, from time to time. The original Māori version simply speaks of Paowa and rātou.
\(^4\)Ana here looks more like ano, but since this is also the case in the first sentence, where ano is clearly an impossible reading (ana ingoa), one must assume that Wohlers is simply writing the letter a carelessly, as he so often does.
anō ki te haerenga o te waka. Ka tirotiro, ka haere atu ki tātahi, titiro ai. Ka hoki mai ki uta, ka tonoa atu ana kuri. Ka haere ki tātahi ana kuri, ka whakamono ana ki rō o te wai, ka hokihoki. Ka mahara taua tāua anō, 'Na anō te huanui i haere ai.'

Ka mea taua tāua kia haere. Ka rukuruku taua tāua ra i tōna manawa ki te tātua, ā, ka hingga taua tāua nei ki ngā kura. Ka whaoa ki roto ki ōna kēkē. Ā, ka makere ki rō o te wai, ka kau, ka ruku.

Ā ... roa noa atu te wā i ruku ai, ka korowhiti ake, ka titiro, ā, kāhore anō. Ā, ka ruku, ā ... roa noa atu, ka korowhiti ake, ka titiro: kāhore anō kia tātata. Ka ruku, ā ... roa noa atu — korowhiti ake, ka titiro: ā, ka kitea te waka o Paowa e hoe ana. Ā, ka ruku taua tāua anō.


Kei rō o te ana a Paowa e noho ana. Ka tae atu taua tāua anō ki waho o te ana. Ka rakuraku atu ngā ringaringa — kua oti te pā mai. Rakuraku noa atu ki waho. Ā, ka kā te ahi a Paowa. Pangaina ngā pōhatu ki runga ki te ahi. Ka kā ngā pōhatu. Ā, ka karanga mai a Paowa ki taua tāua, 'Tāua, kei te aha koe?'

Karanga atu taua tāua, 'Tēnei anō ahau.'

'Na tāu kai.'

Whāwhai atu taua tāua, ka kainga. Ka karanga atu taua tāua, 'Te reka o te kai o tuku mokopunet!'\(^5\)

Ka karanga mai a Paowa, 'Hāmama tōu waha, e moe ōu kanohi.'

Ka hāma[ma] te waha o taua tāua anō, ka pangaina mai te pōhatu. Ka auē taua tāua anō. Ka

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\(^5\)For these forms which end in a in standard North Island Maori, see a discussion in the section 'The Language of the South', subsection A 2(c).

Ka noho a Paowa. Ā ... pō maha noa atu; kāhore hoki he ara mo Paowa ki uta. Kua riro tō rātou waka ko te kauhoe.

Ka tae atu te kauhoe ki te kāinga, ka kī atu, ‘Kua mate a Paowa.’

Ka nōhia he marae mo te tūpāpaku. Ka takaina he kai mo te marae. Ka haere mai ngā wāhine, ka tangi ki te tūpāpaku. Ka takaina he kai ma te mate. Ka tukua; tahutia. Ā ... ka tī ngā wāhine me ngā tamariki. Ka pīkaungia ki ō rātou nei kāinga.


Ā ... ka paea ki uta. Ka haere atu te kaiwahie o te kāinga (o Paowa). Ka hurihuri taua poro. Ka kite te kaiwahie i taua poro rākau. Ka karanga atu tētahi wahine ki te wahine nāna i kite taua poro rākau, ‘Tā tātou nei wahie!’

Karanga atu te wahine nāna i kite, ‘E taumaha ana, e mākū ana.’

Ka whakarere a e te kaiwahie. Ka haere te kaiwahie ki te kāinga. Ka tae atu ki te kāinga, ka kī atu, ‘Na na tō mātou wahie kei tātahi; kāhore kia mauria mai, he taumaha, he mākū.’

Ka hori atu taua kaiwahie, ka puta a Paowa ki waho i taua poro rākau. Ka puta ki waho, ka haere a Paowa. Ka tae ki tētahi wāhi, ka waiho ōna kura. Ā, ka whakakinonga a Paowa i a ia, ka whakatamariki,7 ka whakatia rawa.

Ā, ka haere a Paowa, ka tae ki te kāinga. Rokohina atu ngā umu, ma te marae. Ka maoka, kohia ana ki roto ki ngā rourou. Ka mahiti ngā rourou i te kohi, ka inoi atu a Paowa kia

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6This should probably be in the singular, tētahi.
7It may seem surprising that Wohlers should translate this word, which literally means 'made himself into a child', as 'he disguised himself, so that he looked like a mean old man' (Wohlers, 1875: 120). The emphasis must be on the lowliness and insignificance of the person rather than on his youth.
hōmai māna ētahi pakapaka (he kai ma ngā tāngata e tangi ana mo te mate o Paowa).  

Ka kī mai ngā tāngata, 'Tāu inoi mai nei kia hoatu ētahi pakapanga māna!'  

Ka kī mai ētahi tāngata, 'Aua, e tā, e inoi mai nei kia hoatu he kai māna.'  

Ka inoi atu a Paowa kia hōmai he kai māna. 'Māu rāia ngā kai no te marae o ātā tangata, he tangata mōna!'  

Na, ka kī atu tērā, 'Mōku ētahi hinu.'  

Ka kīia mai e ngā tāngata, 'Tāu e tae mai nei te hinu! E ui nei he hinu hoki! Kua mahiti ra hoki mo te marae o te tangata.'  

Ā, ka kī atu ētahi wāhine, 'Kāti koia ūā āna, tikina mōna ētahi hinu.'  

Ā, ka tikina, ka hōmai mōna. Ka kī atu hoki a Paoa, 'Tikina mai mōku nei ētahi weruweru.'  

Ka kī atu ngā tāngata, 'Kei whea hoki tēnā weruweru? Kāhore hoki he weruweru.'  

Ka kī atu tērā wahine, 'Ā ūā āna,  

Ka tae mai te weruweru. Ka kī atu tērā, 'Mōku ētahi piki hoki.'  

Ka kōrero ngā tāngata, 'Kei te kī piki mai hoki! Kāhore he piki tahi.'  

Ka kī atu ētahi wāhine, 'Tikina ūā āna tētahi piki mōna.'  


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8The remark placed in parenthesis here is a marginal note in the manuscript. If, as seems possible, Wohlers intended it as a gloss to explain an unusual word, it suggests that the word was used in a very specialised way in the Murihiku dialect, to mean 'food set apart for a funeral'. However, Wohlers may simply be pointing out that what Paowa is asking for is the food which has been prepared for the tangi. Pakapaka is given in Williams as 'scraps'.  

9Since vowel length is almost never marked in these texts, it is impossible to know whether this phrase should be written as it is here, or as Aua ana. Both phrases would seem to be suited to the general expository nature of the conversation, and the phrase ūā āna is used several times in the passage.
weruweru. Ka oti te kākahu ngā weruweru,¹⁰ ka kākahuria ngā kura o taua tāua ra.

Ā, ka haere mai a Paowa, ka haere ki te kāinga. Ā ... ka tata ki te kāinga, ka karangatia (e ngā tāngata), 'Tēnei rāia te tangata, te tangata āhua puku, te haere mai nei.'

Ka whana atu he tangata, ka tītiro atu, 'Tēnei te haere mai nei, te tangata nei, tangata ātaahua puku, te haere mai nei.'

Ka karanga tēnā wahine, 'Ma taku tamāhine anō!'

Ka karanga hoki tēnā wahine: ma tāna tamāhine. Ka whakaakī tēnā wahine: ma tāna tamāhine. Ā, ka noho i tētahi tamāhine (he mokopune na te wahine atawhai).¹¹

Ka arahia ki rō o te whare. Ka tirohia ki ngā kanohi. Ka ui ia, 'Ko wai koe?'

Ka kī mai a Paowa, 'Ko au, ko Paowa.'

Kātahi anō ngā tāngata ka mahara, 'Ko Paowa, ko te tangata i mate nei, i kiia ra ka mate, kāore, kei te ora anō.'


¹⁰This would normally be written Ka oti nga weruweru te kākahu. The word order often seems a little odd in these texts.
¹¹This is another marginal note by Wohlers. It seems likely that it is his own interpretation of events: see the discussion in the introduction to this chapter, under 'The Paowa who comes back from the dead'.
TRANSLATION

He was a man who went to Te Ruahine-mata-māori’s village. Another of her names was Te Ruahine-kai-pīhā. This woman was an old witch.

Well then, Paowa’s canoe landed at Te Ruahine-kai-pīhā’s village, and he stayed there. She was a woman who knew the kūmara karakia. So he and his companions stayed there, and had kūmara cooked for them. They ate their meal, and stayed on there. As they felt thirsty, they asked, ‘Whereabouts is the water in your village?’

The old lady answered, ‘It’s over there.’

So she went towards the water, and as she went it dried up. It was Paowa who made it dry up. So she went on, and when at last she got near it, she found herself right in the middle of a mountain range. Still the old woman kept on going, climbing up to the top of one mountain peak, and going right down to the bottom. She went on, she climbed up, right up to the top of a mountain peak, and then right down again.

When she turned round to look at her home — there it was all on fire. The old woman cried out,

Let my house be burnt, but let my storehouse remain. Let my sacred place be burnt, but let my store pit remain. Let my garden be burnt, but let my fences remain. Let my latrine be burnt, but let my dogs remain.

Now when she got back to her home, she found that it was in flames. She looked around to see which way the canoe had gone. She looked around, and then she went off to the shore to look for them. She came back inland again and sent her dogs off. The dogs went down to the shore, and sniffed about in the water, and sniffed around. The old woman thought, ‘Yes, that’s the way they’ve gone.’

Then the old woman decided to set off after them, so she bound up her breath in a belt, and turned to her treasures, which she put under her armpits. Then she jumped into the water and swam off, and then she dived down.
For a long, long time she dived down, and then she bobbed up, and looked about, but she was not there yet. So she dived down, and stayed down for a very long time, and when she came up again she looked around, but she was not yet anywhere near. She dived down, and stayed down for a very long time — up she bobbed, and looked around, and then she saw Paowa’s canoe paddling along. So the old woman dived down once again.

Paowa bent over his paddle. When the old woman bobbed up the next time, she was right near him. Then she dived down again. Paowa bent over his paddle. He paddled on, and the old woman dived again, and then up she came again. Now they were close to the shore. Paowa jumped ashore and ran into a cave. He let the canoe go off with the rest of the crew.

Paowa stayed there inside the cave. When the old woman got right up to the cave, she scratched on it with her fingers — he had managed to block it up. So she just scratched in vain on the outside.

Now Paowa lit a fire, and threw stones on to it. When the stones were hot, Paowa called to the old woman, ‘Old woman, what are you doing?’

The old woman called, ‘I’m right here.’

‘Here’s some food for you.’

The old woman seized the food and ate it. She cried, ‘How good my grandson’s food is!’

Paowa cried, ‘Open your mouth and shut your eyes!’

The old woman opened her mouth again, and he threw a stone into it. The old woman gave a loud scream. Lightning flashed from her armpits. Paowa seized and took away her treasures. Lightning flashed from the other armpit, and Paowa seized and took away those treasures too. Then the old woman died.

Paowa stayed on there for a very long time, for he had no way of getting back to shore. His canoe and the crew had gone away.
When the crew got back to the village, they said, ‘Paowa is dead.’

A marae was arranged for the dead man, and food was prepared for the marae. Women came to weep for the dead man. Food was prepared for the dead man; it was put in the oven and cooked. After some time the women and children came and carried it back to their village.

Paowa was still far away, and wondering what to do, for he had no way of reaching land. He went to a hollow log, and got into it. Then he pushed off out to sea, and was blown along by the wind.

After a long time the log was cast ashore. Some people from Paowa’s village went out to collect firewood. The log of wood rolled over and over. The firewood collectors found the log, and one woman called out to the one who had found it first, ‘That’s our firewood!’

The woman who had found it called back, ‘It’s heavy and wet.’

So the firewood collectors left it, and went back to the village. When they reached the village they said, ‘See, over there on the shore, there’s some firewood for us, but we didn’t bring it because it’s heavy and wet.’

When the firewood collectors had gone away, Paowa came out of his log. Once he was out he set off, and came to a place where he could leave his treasures. Then he made himself look dirty and insignificant, just like a slave.

So then he went off, and when he reached the village he found the ovens that were for the marae. The food had been cooked and was being put into small baskets. When all the baskets had been filled, Paowa begged to be given some of the dried fish (food for the people who were mourning Paowa’s death). The people said, ‘So you come begging here, he wants us to give him some food, does he?’

Some people said, ‘Come on, friends, he’s only asking us for food.’

Paowa asked again for some food. ‘You’ll get the food from your master’s marae all right,
you’ll be his man!’

So then he said, ‘Give me some oil.’

The people said to him, ‘So you want to get some oil, do you! You’re asking for some oil as well! The oil has all been used up on your master’s marae.’

But some women said, ‘Oh never mind, just go and get him some oil.’

So they brought some oil and gave it to him. And then Paowa said, ‘Go and fetch me a cloak too.’

And the people said, ‘Wherever do we get this cloak from? We haven’t got a cloak!’

But the woman said, ‘Oh, go on, fetch him a cloak.’

They brought him a cloak, and then he said, ‘Give me a feather, too.’

The people said to each other, ‘Now he’s talking about feathers too! We haven’t got a single feather left!’

And some women said, ‘Oh, do go and get him a feather.’

And so they brought him one. Paowa left and went to his hiding-place. As soon as he got there he anointed himself with the oil, and when he had finished that he tied his hair up in a topknot. When he had finished tying up his hair, he stuck the feathers into it. He draped himself in the cloaks. When he had finished putting the cloaks on, he put on the treasures belonging to the old woman.

And then off went Paowa, back to the village. And as he drew near the village, the people cried, ‘See, there’s a man, a very handsome man, coming in this direction!’

People came up and looked at him and said, ‘See this man coming, such a very handsome man coming this way!’

And one woman called, ‘Yes, he’s for my daughter!’
And another woman called out that he was for her daughter, and another woman insisted that he was for her daughter. But he chose another young woman (the grand-daughter of the kind woman).

They took him into the meeting house. They examined him closely and asked, ‘Who are you?’

Paowa said, ‘It’s me, Paowa!’

Then the people thought to themselves, ‘It’s Paowa, it’s the one who was dead, or who was supposed to be dead, but he’s not, here he is, still alive.’

So then they realised that it really was Paowa. They took him to the sacred place. There the tapu was lifted from him with tuhi and manu ceremonies.
GLOSSARY

AND

BIBLIOGRAPHY
GLOSSARY

Māori words which are commonly used in English, and which are not translated in the analysis of the narratives.

haka posture dance, accompanied by a song
hapū section of a tribe, clan
hongi press noses in greeting
iwi tribe, people
kahawai a type of fish
karakia charm, incantation
kuia old woman, grandmother
kūmara sweet potato
mana influence, prestige, power, psychic force
marae open space in front of a meeting house
mihi greeting, to greet (often with tears)
moko tattooing, to tattoo
noa free from tapu
ngārara monster, reptile
oriori chant, song, lullaby
Pākehā person of European descent
patupaiarehe fairy
pāua shellfish, with iridescent blue-green shell
pūhā sow-thistle
rangatira chief, well-born person
raupō bulrush
taiaha wooden spear-like weapon
taniwha water dragon
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tangi</td>
<td>to weep, mourn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangihanga</td>
<td>funeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapu</td>
<td>under religious restriction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohunga</td>
<td>expert, priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tītī</td>
<td>a type of bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiata</td>
<td>song</td>
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<tr>
<td>waiata tangi</td>
<td>lament</td>
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<tr>
<td>whakapapa</td>
<td>genealogy</td>
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</table>
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Abbreviations

AP      Auckland Public Library
DUHo    Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin
JPS     Journal of the Polynesian Society
TPNZI   Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute
WARc    National Archives, Wellington
WMu     Museum of New Zealand, Wellington
WTu     Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

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