

Māori Goddesses in Literature

Part 2: 1900 - 1940

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Abstract

Many contemporary Māori are familiar with *atua wāhine*,¹ Māori goddesses, through accounts that have been passed on to them by word of mouth. Few, however, have had an opportunity to consult accounts of *atua wāhine* that date from the early period of Māori-Pākehā contact. Those who wish to do so may have considerable difficulty in sifting through all of the written materials for the information they seek. For this reason, this paper provides a review of the literature pertaining to *atua wāhine* from 1900 to 1940, together with a commentary on the sources to which reference is made. A review of literature on *atua wāhine* from 1880 – 1900 appeared in the first issue of this Journal. The period 1940 towards 2000 will be reviewed in the next issue.

1. Publications 1900 - 20

This section begins (1.1 below) by referring to a number of articles published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* from 1900 - 20, articles that included references to *atua wāhine*. Elsdon Best, W. E. Gudgeon, and Percy Smith were major writers, with the more prominent Māori contributors being Hare Hongi, Tīwai Paraone, Te Mātorohanga and Nēpia Pōhūhū. Whatahoro acted as scribe for Te Mātorohanga and Pōhūhū.

1.1 *Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS)*

1.1.1 Elsdon Best (*JPS*)

In close sequence, Best published a number of articles in the *JPS*: ‘Spiritual Concepts of the Māori’ (1900), ‘Maori Medical Lore’ (1904 - 05), ‘The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga’ (1905 - 07), and ‘Maori Numeration’ (1907).

In ‘Spiritual Concepts of the Maori’, Best describes Hinenuitepō as the personification of death and the goddess of Hades (1900, pp. 177 & 191). In ‘Maori Medical Lore’, he makes reference to her in connection with the *ngau paepae* rites and refers to her also in an invocation for restoring life to a dying person (*whakanoho manawa*) (1905a, pp. 2 - 4). In ‘The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga’, the term *te whare o aituā* is applied to both Hinenuitepō and Papa, and Papa is reported as having said

to Rangi: “Our offspring shall return to me in death, and I will conceal them”. Papa is also described as the personification of the female principle (Best, 1905b, p. 207).

In the same work, reference is made to Tānenuiarangi finding a woman named Kurawaka, a daughter of Tiki and his wife, Ea (who was of te Pō and was named as the first woman of the world of light (p. 207)). Kurawaka and Tāne produced Hinetiama. There are also allusions to other female entities. These include Hinepūkohurangi, described as the personification of mist (1905b, p. 209; 1977a, p. 23), and Rona and Tangaroa-a-roto,² both of whom cohabited with the moon (1905b, p. 211). Reference is also made to others in a whakapapa chart (Best 1905b, p. 210).

Hineteiwaiwa is recalled as the goddess or patroness of childbirth. In fact, Best makes reference to Tregear’s observation that a portion of Hineteiwaiwa’s name, ‘iwa’ (nine), could have particular significance in relation to the nine-month gestation period (Best, 1907a, p. 11). This appears to be an example of interpretation coming to bear on the subject, although it arose elsewhere.³

Best’s definitions of certain Māori terms are often loaded with a negative value. The word *atua*, for example, is defined as ‘demon’, the alternative meaning of ‘beneficent spirit or supreme god’ being omitted (1904, p. 216). Furthermore, although Best concedes that Papa and Rangi’s children possessed supernatural powers, he does not refer to them as *atua* or gods (1905b, p. 206). Here, Best appears to contradict references to them as *ira atua* and departmental gods in other writings (1924/1976, pp. 75 -77). There would, thus, appear to be a degree of inconsistency in some of Best’s definitions and interpretations of Māori terms relating to the deities. A positive quality of his work, however, is that at least one of his informants was female (Wharehuia Milroy pers. comm.).

1.1.2 W. E. Gudgeon (*JPS*)

Gudgeon was aware that there was a “certain amount of obscurity” in relation to the origin of women (1905a, p. 126). Nevertheless, he does make several brief references to female deities. For example, Papatūānuku is recognised as the mother of the gods in ‘Maori Religion’ (1905a), and the separation of Rangi and Papa is noted. In fact, Gudgeon reports that Papa herself caused “man to return to the dust from which he was made, in expiation of the offence of Tu and his brethren”. Allusions are also made to Hinenuitepō, Hinepūkohurangi, Whaitiri, Hinauri and Murirangawhenua. Iowahine is referred to as mating with Tiki, and Māuipōtiki is described as entering “the womb of night” (1905a, pp. 107 – 30). In ‘Maori Superstition’, Gudgeon relates an account of Hinekōrako’s union with Tānekino (1905b, pp. 187 - 88).

A document entitled ‘A Maori Cosmogony’ (1907, pp. 109 - 19) was given by Tīwai Paraone (of Marutūahu, Hauraki) to Gudgeon. It appears in the *Journal* with a translation by Hare Hongi. In that document, references to *atua wāhine* include Papatūānuku, Hinenuitepō, and Hineruakimoe. In the translator’s notes for Hinenuitepō, Hongi recognises that the law of dualism, of male and female in nature, was an integral part of Māori teaching and observes that Hine was the symbol of the

feminine. Here, Hinenuitepō is described as the female personification of primeval darkness (1907, p. 119).

1.1.3 Miscellaneous *waiata* (JPS)

Two *waiata* contain the names of *atua wāhine*. One is an *oriori* called *Pō Pō* which was composed by Enoka Te Pakaru, a *tohunga* of Te Aitanga-ā-Māhaki tribe; the other, described as a *waiata/karakia*, was composed by Tūhotoariki and concerns the birth of his grand-nephew, Tūteremoana. Hinetuahoana/ Hinetūāhōanga and Pani are mentioned in *Pō Pō* (Maronui in Best 1906, p. 185). In Tūhotoariki's composition, reference is made to the entities Pārāweranui, Hinetītama, Hinerauwhārangi, Hinekaurohia, Hinemākohurangi, Hinekōrito, Hinekōtea, Hinemākehu and Mahuika (1907, pp. 43 - 46).

1.1.4 Percy Smith (JPS)

Several articles appeared in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* under a single title: 'The Lore of the Whare-wananga'. These articles had been dictated to Whatahoro by Te Mātorohanga, Pōhūhū and another unknown source and translated by Percy Smith. They were subsequently published as *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society* (1913 - 15) and, as a result, became more widely known. It is to this version that the following page references refer. Thus, although the work is included here, it should be remembered that it actually pre-dates the beginning of the twentieth century.

Parts I and 2 of *The Lore of the Whare-wananga*, 'Te Kauae-runga' (Smith, 1913) and 'Te Kauae-raro' (Smith, 1915), are compilations of the teachings of Te Mātorohanga and Nēpia Pōhūhū. These works are important sources for a study of the feminine in Māori religion and cosmology as they provide information, in the vernacular, about many female entities in cosmology, including some detailed descriptions of their activities in the stories. Lists of *whakapapa* include prominent female names.

The presentation of Rangi and Papa's story emphasises their love for one another, their enforced separation, the establishment of Te Wharekura on Papatūānuku, and the turning of Papa so that she would no longer see Rangi (1913, pp. 31 & 53). One name used to describe Papa is Papatūānukumatuatekore (p. 56). A detailed account of the creation of Hinehauone at Kurawaka includes three *karakia* used on that occasion (1913, pp. 34 - 37). The *whakapapa* of Hinehauone and Tāne are given, followed by a substantial recording of Hinetītama's story (pp. 37 - 39). In addition to the major stories related in 'Te Kauae Runga', there are other very significant references to *atua wāhine*. These include references to Hinemoana, Parawhenuamea, Pārāweranui, Hineteiwaiwa, Hinerauwhārangi, Hinehauone, Hinetītama, Te Kūwatawata and Hinenuitepō.

'Te Kauae-raro' (Part 2) relates stories of a later era than those found in 'Te Kauae-runga' (Part 1). In the story of Manaia, Warea (his wife) is named (Te Mātorohanga

in Smith 1915, pp. 121 - 22 Māori; pp. 129 -30 English). She recites a *tau* invoking Punaweko, the 'god-progenitor' of birds (Smith 1915, 122). Other chieftainesses are also mentioned. These include Hineahu who discovered *pounamu*, one species of which she named *Kahurangi* (high born chieftainess) (1915, pp. 128 & 138). Later, in a *karakia* intoned over the *waka* Tānekaha, there are references to Hinemoana and Pārāweranui (1915, pp. 145 & 46). In the preface to further *karakia*, Hinemoana, Papatūānuku, Hinetūākirikiri and Hinetūāhōanga are mentioned (1915, p. 148 Māori; p. 158 English).

Te Mātorohanga tells of Uenukutiti, (daughter of Uenukurangi - the rainbow god - and Iwipūpū), who was recognised as being extremely *tapu* due to her parentage. Hinekōrako is also mentioned in connection with Uenukurangi, appearing at the time of the *tūā* ceremony (1915, p. 164 Māori; p. 177 English). She is described as one of the *atua* who resided in a house built specifically for Uenukutiti (1915, p. 165 Māori; p. 179 English). It is significant that mention is made here of Uenukutiti's rights as a woman of nobility in that this provides some support for the contention that *atua wāhine* and *ariki* women shared equal status with their male counterparts.

Hinetūāhōanga is alluded to with reference to the sharpening of axes prior to the hewing of the Tākitimu canoe (Smith 1915, p. 189 Māori; p. 207 English). In the *karakia* repeated over the tree, the axes and the workmen, Whaitiri is named (1915, p. 190). These references are significant in view of the importance of these activities. Thus, for example, the use of the phrase 'kumea te au o Hine-moana' (1915, p. 195) indicates that *karakia* were required in order that the canoe should reach Aotearoa safely. Furthermore, later *karakia* contain the words 'ko te tapuae o Mumuwango, ... ko tapuae o nga atua, o Kahukura, o Tama-i-waho, o Ruamano, o Hine-korako, ki te ihu whenua i Aotea-roa, i Tiri-o-te-moana' (1915, p. 196).

Another *karakia* entitled 'te karakia o Takitimu' addresses Hinekōrako and Hinemoana (1915, pp. 201 & 202). The *tipua* Hinekōrito, Hinekōtea, Hinemākehu, and Hinehuru were female entities, possibly whales, who guided the Tākitimu (1915, p. 204). Hinekōrako is again mentioned as one of the gods of the Tākitimu canoe (1915, p. 204).

A South Island (Ngāti Kuia) version of Māui's story should be related here because it is notably different from other versions. The story is provided by Pākauwera who, aged about 78 in 1894, was likely to have had little contact with missionaries. According to Pākauwera's version, Māui entered Hinenuitepō via her head and went down through her body. Taraka (his *tuakana*, who was in the form of a dog) laughed, and at that stage Hine crushed Māui (Smith, 1917, pp. 127 & 28).

A *waiata tangi*, collected and translated by Percy Smith, contains a reference to Hinenuitepō and also to Haumia, described by Smith as the goddess of the *aruhe*, the fern root (1918, p. 83).

1.1.5 Anonymous

An illustration of a *pare* (lintel) shows the central figure to be female (anon., 1919, pp. 160 - 61). In the accompanying text, the writer of which is not named, it is suggested that the central figure represents Hinenuitepō, “who presides over Hades”, and “who drags mankind down to death”. This description of Hinenuitepō and her actions was a stereotype widely adopted by writers of the time, one that was reinforced by repetition. Later in the passage, it is reported that Māui fell victim to Hinenuitepō (1919, p. 160), an interesting interpretation in view of the fact that it was Māui who attempted to overcome Hinenuitepō as she slept, quite unaware of Māui’s actions or his intent.

1.2 Johannes C. Andersen

Though born in Denmark, Johannes Andersen (1873 – 1962) grew up in New Zealand. He was to become a prolific writer and was regarded by most Pākehā of the time as a Māori scholar, though this opinion was not shared by all (Sorrenson, 1992, p. 67). Both Te Rangihīroa and Ngata were said to be critical of Andersen’s work on Māori life and customs. As Andersen never gained fluency in the Māori language, he was always dependent on the translations of others, hence his reliance on Best, Herbert Williams and other contemporaries. This inability to access primary material means that his work can be regarded as a secondary source only.

In *Maori Life in Aotea* (1907), Andersen made several references to Papa, Hineatauirā, Hinenuitepō, and other female entities while presenting his interpretation of Māori life, gained through information gathered by Pākehā ethnographers. His footnotes indicate that his principal sources were White, Best, Shortland, and Tregear. Andersen’s attitude is revealed in a letter to Best (c. 1903): “Here there is no Maori within many miles, and the nearest within a hundred miles are utter decadents who would only spoil the ideals I at present am working up to” (Gibbons, 1992, p. 72). Here, then, is another commentator who did not refer back to Māori for confirmation of whether or not these ‘ideals’ were a true reflection of Māori life and beliefs at the time. Yet Andersen’s works were widely consulted and frequently used as resource material.

1.3 James Cowan

Historian James Cowan (1870 – 1943) offers an explanation of Māori cosmogony and religion in *The Maoris of New Zealand* (Cowan, 1910, p. 102). In the course of doing so, he provides important documentation, including Ngāti Maniapoto *whakapapa* which gives the female line through Te Marama (the moon) and the male line through Te Rā (the sun), concluding with Papatūānuku and Ranginuietūnei (p. 104). He follows this with a brief discussion on the subject of Papa, Rangi, and some of the male gods (p. 105) before moving to a focus on Hineatauirā (who became Hinenuitepō), described by Cowan as “the personification of death” (1910, p. 106). In relating stories about *tipua*, Cowan mentions Hinehopu, a tall *matai* (*Podocarpus spicatus*) to whom offerings⁴ are made. The *tupuna*, Hinehopu, was a *rangatira* who

married a Te Arawa chief, Pikiāo. There is also a brief reference to Kurangaituku, the famous bird woman (pp. 112 - 13). What is particularly interesting here is the fact that Cowan devotes an entire chapter to Horoirangi, describing her as a “carved stone goddess”, a “deified ancestress of the Ngati-Uenukukopako tribe”, a “wahine-atua” (pp.135 - 40). An illustration of the stone image of Horoirangi is included (1910, p. 137).

1.4 Summary: 1900 - 20

The beginning of the twentieth century was an important period in the collection of information about *atua wāhine*. Much of the information collected before 1920 was published at a later date and was to become one of the richest written resources available to future generations. As in the case of the previous century, this was a time when a wealth of information was being recorded about Māori life and customs. Although little of this wealth of material refers directly to *atua wāhine*, and much of that is heavily interspersed with the ethnographers’ interpretative comments, the fact remains that reference to *atua wāhine* clearly indicates that knowledge of them existed during this period in spite of the fact that the impact of Pākehā ways on Māori was increasing.

2. Publications 1920 - 40

In the decades leading up to World War Two, researchers focussed principally on political, social and health issues. Improvement in social and economic conditions resulted in the stabilization of, and some increase in, the Māori population. Changes in education brought about by compulsory schooling for Māori children⁵ (in 1909) would have impacted on the time they spent with their elders; receiving instruction in a traditional Māori way was thus more limited. Since the education which children received placed greater importance on Pākehā knowledge and the Pākehā way of life, attitudes of young Māori towards traditional beliefs may well have been affected. This could explain, in part, why few Māori of this era chose to record their traditions in print. On the other hand, many literate Māori later went on to lead a revival of Māori language and culture. The significant point here is that more pressing issues than the subject of Māori spirituality were at the forefront of public concern for both Māori and Pākehā alike during the 1920 - 1940 period.

2.1 Unpublished manuscripts 1920 - 40

2.1.1 James Herries Beattie

New Zealand born Herries Beattie (1881- 1972) was responsible for the collection of information regarding tribal traditions in Te Waipounamu, a pastime he had pursued from a young age (1994, p. 11). In 1920, Beattie began a project for the Otago University Museum which involved his travelling around Māori communities, questioning informants and collecting information as well as artefacts. The local

Māori, concerned that traditions were being lost, were keen to share their knowledge (1994, p. 18).

Many of Beattie's manuscripts⁶ mention *atua wāhine*. His MS-0181 Section XXIII Canterbury - Mythology,⁷ for example, refers to a number of female entities, including Hineteiwaiwa (MS-0181, p. 2), Hekehekeipapa,⁸ Hinetītama, Hinepūnuiotonga, Hinehauone, Whaitiri and Hinenuiotetoka (MS-0181, pp. 20-28), Papa, Hinetītama, Hinenuiotepō, Tahukumea and Tahuwhakairo,⁹ Māhoranuiātea, and Hūareare (MS-0181, pp. 31-37). Another section of MS-0181, entitled 'The Great Works of Maui', names the following *atua wāhine*: Hinepūnuiotoka,¹⁰ Hinearoraki, Hinearoaropari, Hinehauone, Hineroriki, Hinerotia (MS-0181, p. 109). Later, some of these names were again mentioned, along with those of Hinetītama, Hinenuiotepō and Hinehauone (MS-0181, pp. 119-20).

Another collection, containing *waiata*, MS-0582-E-8, includes six references to *atua wāhine*. A *whakaoriori* makes reference to Hineitūrama and Hineirutua (MS-0582-E-8, p. 10), while another *waiata* composed by Te Maiaki (and dictated by Tikao in 1920) mentions Papa, Hinetūrepo and Hinetengahere (sisters of Irawaru) (MS-0582-E-8, p. 16). A song about Creation focusses on Hinetītama and Tāne (MS-0582-E-8, p. 17). Hinetihoaka (*sic*) and Mumuwango are alluded to in a *waiata* about greenstone, 'Kaore e hine e momou nga' (MS-0582-E-5, no page given). The *whakapapa* in MS-0582-E-7 presents the names of Hekehekeipapa and Papa, along with other female deities' names.

2.2 Publications 1920 - 40

2.2.1 James Herries Beattie

Although Beattie's work was published posthumously, it is treated in this section because the material was originally collected in the 1920 – 40 period.

Beattie is one of the few early ethnographers whose informants included Māori women. In *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori* (1994), he recalls an incident when one of his principal male informants had to be "pressed to speak" about childbirth¹¹ as the informant deigned it "more within woman's province", and not suitable for popular publication (Beattie 1994, p. 266), a view that may indicate why the resources available to us now make comparatively few references to women, to matters of primary concern to women and, in particular, to *atua wāhine*. Nevertheless, Beattie discusses the concepts of *atua* and *wairua*, as well as the role of *tohunga*, explaining that there were female *tohunga* who worked among their own *hapū*, but not at a tribal level. Reference is made to goddesses, including Papa, Hinehauone,¹² Hinetītama, Hinenuiotepō,¹³ Hineteiwaiwa and Hinenuiotetoka. Hinenuiotetoka is said to hold the power of the wind and, along with other wind goddesses, to disperse that force (1994, p. 400).

2.2.2 The *Journal of the Polynesian Society*

2.2.2.1 Hare Hongi aka Henry Matthew Stowell (*JPS*)

‘The Gods of Maori worship’ by Hongi (1859-1944) alludes to Hinauri (described as goddess of the waned moon) and Tinirau. Hinetītama is referred to as “the twin-goddess of Dawn and Dusk”; and Hineteiwaiwa as the moon goddess, or the maid of the nines (nine moons),¹⁴ and the goddess of parturition (1920, pp. 24 - 27). In an editorial note, Hongi quotes White’s allusion to Papa cohabiting with Takaroa (Tangaroa) and, later, becoming Rangi’s partner when Takaroa was away on a long journey (Hongi 1920, p. 24).

Only the male gods are given sub-headings in this text: the females, including Papa, are mentioned under these sub-headings, but only in relation to their male partners. Although Papa and Rangi are described as the original ancestors, and the substance of Māori worship (1920, p. 27), only Rangi (as Rangiātea) is accorded a subheading. The strong influence of European and Christian thinking on Hongi’s writing is indicated here in (a) use of terms such as ‘trinity’ to describe the unity of body, spirit and soul, (b) the description of Hineteiwaiwa as “the maid of the nines”, and (c) the use of ‘Saint’ as a title for Māui (1920, pp. 27 & 28). In view of this, it is interesting to note that an editorial note reminds readers that the authors are to be held responsible for their own statements (1920, p. 24).

2.2.2.2 Te Haupapaotāne (*JPS*)

An account of the separation of Papa and Rangi, entitled ‘Io, the Supreme God, and other Gods of the Maori’ written by Te Haupapaotāne, includes the following exchange: “Rangi called down to his wife, ‘I will send down to you the *wai-tangotango-uri* (ice and snow) as greetings to you.’ Papa replied: ‘I will send up to you the *wai-tau* (mists and fogs) of my body as greeting to you” (1920, p. 142). It is reported that the use of *horu*, *kōkōwai*, *pukepoto* and *tahurangi*¹⁵ to paint the descendants’ dwellings resulted from the severing of the parents’ limbs (1920, p. 142).

2.2.2.3 Huarau (*JPS*)

‘The Lament of Huarau of Whanganui’ (c. 1700) contains references to Hinemoana, Hinetītama, and Mumuwango (here a male) with explanatory notes providing further brief comments about them. In these notes, Hinenuitepō is described as the Great Lady of Hades, and mention is also made of Papa (Huarau, 1920, pp. 29 - 33). Although the name of the translator of the *waiata tangi* is not recorded, it is noted that T. W. Downes sent the *waiata* to the Polynesian Society.

2.2.2.4 Tikao (*JPS*)

In an article entitled ‘Mana’, Tikao (via Beattie) explains that the Hine family held the winds because of the family’s mana. However, Hinenuitepō is described as having acquired Māui’s mana as a consequence of his having died within her. Furthermore, an editorial footnote describes Hinenuitepō as the Goddess of Hades, a

concept foreign to Māori spiritual beliefs (1921, p. 16). Although Hinenuietetoka is also mentioned, there are no details about her other than the fact that her mana was similar to that of Hinenuitepō (1921, p. 17).

2.2.2.5 Anonymous (*JPS*)

Hineahuone and Hinetītama are both mentioned in a short article entitled ‘The Origin of the Stars’ (anon., 1921, pp. 259-61), which stated that Tānenuiarangi cohabited with Hinetītama after the death of Hineahuone. Although the writer is unknown, the translator (also anonymous) suggested that he may be from the Ngāti Pāka tribe (presumably, Ngāti Rākaipāka) of the Nuhaka area.

2.2.2.6 Nēpia Pōhūhū

In *The Maori Philosophy of Life and Matter* (Pōhūhū, trans. Smith, 1922, p. 45), the teachings of Nēpia Pōhūhū (d. 1882),¹⁶ a *tohunga* from Ngāti Kahungunu, are recorded as specifically indicating that the gods dwelling in the heavens included females, i.e. the *māreikura*, and their descendants. He described them all as *tipua* (supernatural beings), being able to change their semblance to perform certain functions). In a brief discussion about the search for the female principle, *te uha*, it is noted that Roiho, Roake and Haepuru called down from Ranginui to advise that the search should be made at the *mons veneris* of Papa, that is, at Kurawaka.

Percy Smith, who provided a translation of the text, added an explanatory note about Hineahuone and Hinetītama in the translation. Pōhūhū briefly mentions Hinenuitepō, naming her house as Pōtakarongorongō (1922, p. 46). However, Smith’s translation of ‘tona whare i Potaka-rongo-rongo’ as ‘her tomb at Potaka-rongo-rongo’ distorts the meaning of the original text, as does his description of Hinenuitepō as the goddess of Hades, an inference which cannot be justified on the basis of the original.

2.2.2.7 Elsdon Best (*JPS*)

Best (1856-1931) wrote a number of articles which are relevant here:

- ‘Maori Personifications’ (1923a);
- ‘The Polynesian Method of Generating Fire’ (1924b);
- ‘The Burning of Te Arawa’ (1925);
- ‘Notes on Customs, Ritual and Beliefs Pertaining to Sickness, Death, Burial and Exhumation Among the Maoris of New Zealand’ (1926a);
- ‘The Legend of Mahu and Taewha’ (1926c);
- ‘Hau and Wairaka: the Adventures of Kupe and his Relatives’ (1927a);
- ‘Irihia: the Homeland of the Polynesians’ (1927c);
- ‘Maori Agriculture: Cultivated Food-Plants of the Maori, and Native Methods of Agriculture’ (1930 - 31); and
- ‘Some Honorific and Sacerdotal Terms and Personifications, etc. Met in Maori Narratives’ (a collection of articles) (1926b –29).

Best was also responsible for translating 'Ko Wahieroa ko Rata' which appeared as the article 'Wahieroa and Rata' (1922, pp. 1 - 28). The narrative was said to have originated in the Whare Wānanga of the Tākitimu district. Hinemoana and Tuanuku (Papatūānuku) were mentioned twice. One reference is to an occasion when Whakaihurangi, Rātā's grandfather (a *tohunga*), was explaining to Rātā the whereabouts of his ancestors; the other reference is contained in a *karakia*¹⁷ used prior to the felling and fashioning of Rātā's canoe. Another *karakia* cites Hineone, Hinekirikiri and Hinekōmahi.¹⁸ Hinetūāhōanga's discussions with Whakaihurangi are alluded to in the main text of the narrative.

2.2.2.7.1 'Maori Personifications': Elsdon Best

In 'Maori Personifications' (1923a, pp. 53 – 69 & 103 - 20), Best states that there are both sacerdotal versions (restricted to the nobility and *whare wānanga*) and more common fireside versions of many Māori myths. A Tūhoe *whakapapa* is presented, showing Ea and Tiki¹⁹ as parents of Kurawaka, whose union with Tāne culminated in the birth of Hinetītama. In a Taranaki version, however, Tiki saw the image of a woman in a pool of his urine. Although he placed earth in the small pit where he had been urinating in order to confine her, she came forth and they lived together. On one occasion, while a woman (whose name is not given) was bathing, she was approached by an eel which aroused her sexually. Yet another story has Māui setting about slaying Tuna because Tuna,²⁰ the eel, had stimulated his wife, Hina.

Best refers to Hine as the personified form of the moon, the tutelary being of women, and one who presided over childbirth (pp. 53-58). In other sections of the same article, Best mentions that Hinakeha and Hinauri were said to personify certain phases of the moon (p. 68). Other female entities mentioned are Hinetūparimaunga, Parawhenuamea, Takotowai, Hineahuone, Hineone, Pani (pp. 58 - 59) and Hineteuira, Hinerepo, and Hinepūkohurangi (p. 113).

A brief account of Papa's labour in childbirth is provided (p. 63), as well as an account of the separation of Rangi and Papa. Here, it is related that Tāwhirimātea procured the perspiration and warmth of Papa²¹ and arranged it on Rangi, thus producing Te Ao tū, Te Ao hore, and other clouds. The moisture which emanated from Papa was due to her grieving for Rangi (p. 117). Pārāweranui is referred to as the south wind and offspring of Hurutearangi²² and Tonganuikaea (p. 66).

Best states that Hineteāhuru mated with Urutengangana and begat the sun and waxing moon, the offspring of Uru and Hinetūrama being the stars. In another version, however, Hineteāhuru²³ is said to have produced the sun, moon and stars (pp. 66 - 67). Hineraumati and Hinetakurua are both said to have cohabited with Rā, the sun. In Moriori myth, the sun's daughters were Hineata, Hineaotea, and Hineahiahi. A version is recounted in which Rona,²⁴ assailing and consuming the moon, causes it to seek the Waiora a Tāne in order to restore its strength (p. 105).

The search for the female element is discussed by Best and the names of several female entities are mentioned, entities with whom Tāne mated and produced plants, birds and water (pp. 110 - 11). It is significant that Uru is said to have advised Tāne not to forget the *ūkaipō* of their mother, intimating that Tāne should approach Papatūānuku to ask about the female element; the *māreikura* also bade him go to her. This Tāne did, and Hineahuone was shaped from the earth (p. 111). Hinetītama's departure to Rarohēnga, and her identity as Hinenuitepō, are also discussed. Here, she is described as awaiting the spirits of her children who had died on the earthly plane in order that she protect them from harm in the spirit world (pp. 113 - 14). Best, however, claims that this understanding was exclusive to a small circle of the community, the more common conception being of Hinenuitepō as the destroyer (as in the saying: "He ai atu tā te tangata he huna mai tā Hine-nui-te-Po").²⁵ However, this appears to be misleading: Best's translation of the word *huna* is based on a partial, and negatively biased, understanding. *Huna* can also mean 'hide', an apt translation in relation to Hine's role in protecting the dead, and one that expresses the absence of the deceased.

That Hinetītama was considered to be a great beauty is indicated in the reference to one's eyes glistening when looking at her: "Ko Hine-titama koe, matawai ana te whatu i te tirohanga" (pp. 113 - 15). Finally, Hinetītama is also mentioned in an *oriori* composed by Te Takai for his granddaughter (pp. 118 - 19).

Best writes that woman emanated from Papa, the earth; that woman was the shelterer and nurturer; and that she was a copy of the male. He also indicates that the *ira tangata* were related to the *kauae raro*, and that the *ira atua* pertained to the *kauae runga*. Thus, Hineahuone and descendants are described as being a blend of the *ira tangata* and the *ira atua* (pp. 111 - 12). He observes that the belief in the inferiority of the female sex derives from Hineahuone's earthly origin, "notwithstanding its importance in ritualistic matters, and indispensability in other ways" (p. 112). There is no indication of whether this was simply Best's own opinion, or a widely held belief among Māori.

2.2.2.7.2 'The Polynesian Method of Generating Fire': Elsdon Best (*JPS*)

In 'The Polynesian Method of Generating Fire', Best (1924b) states that Hinekaikōmako²⁶ was the fire conserver and the personification of the *kaikōmako* tree, recognised for its burning quality. In a story concerning Mahuika and Māui, Best describes Mahuika as the personification of fire. In a South Island version of this story (from Wohlers), Hina is referred to as the daughter of Mahuika, and mother of Māui; in other versions as Māui's sister, or the personification of the moon.

Hineitāpeka (*aka* Tāpeka and Uetāpeka), a sister of Mahuika, is said by Best to represent subterranean fire. A Ngāti Awa version places Mahuika and Hineitāpeka as Hinenuitepō's sisters. Mahuika cohabited with Auahitūroa (the comet) and produced five fire children. According to a Tākitimu tradition, Ruamoko remained with Papa to keep her warm. Hinetūoi, Hinetuarangaranga, Te Kuku (f?), Te Wawau (f?), and Tawaronui (f?) were also said to be connected with volcanoes. Te Hoata and Te Pupu 'represented' subterranean fires. Mahuika mated with

Murirangawhenua and bore Taranga, who in turn cohabited with Irawhāki and had the Māui brothers (pp. 89 - 97). Mahuika and Parawhenuamea (said to represent water) are given very brief mention in another portion of the text and Mahuika's name occurs in the context of a fire making ritual (pp. 151 - 61).

2.2.2.7.3 'The Burning of Te Arawa': Elsdon Best (*JPS*)

In 'The Burning of Te Arawa', Best (1925) includes the story of Ngahue and Wharematangi. Hineahuone is mentioned in a *karakia* which Wharematangi was to recite while casting his dart (1925, p. 312). Mahuika²⁷ and Hinetītama are alluded to in the love story of Ngarue and Urutekaraka: as Ngarue said goodbye to his wife, he likened their separation to that of Hinetītama and Tānenuiarangi and requested that she hold fast to the *pona* (cord/knot) of her ancestor Hine (pp. 298 & 312). Another *karakia* recorded in the article contains the words 'Hōaia te tapuwae o Hine i Whitiananau' (p. 312).

2.2.2.7.4 'Notes on Customs, Ritual and Beliefs Pertaining to Sickness, Death, Burial and Exhumation Among the Maori of New Zealand': Elsdon Best (*JPS*)

Once again, Best alludes to several *atua wāhine*. Tuanuku (Papa) and Rangi are mentioned in both the Māori and English sections of the text, but in different contexts (1926a, pp. 6 & 22). Hinenuitepō's name, however, is found only in Best's English text, along with the following comment: "Forever does trouble, misfortune, death emanate from the female element" (p. 6). As noted below, this interpretation is open to question.

The *karakia* contained in this article by Best include the names of Tuanuku and Hinekōrako (in a *karakia* conducted over a sick man), as well as Hinekūrepe, Hinetata, and Rākaiora (f?) (in a *karakia* to abolish the effect of 'black magic') (pp. 8 - 9). The names of Hinemoana and Pārāweranui also appear in a *karakia* (p. 221), with another reference to Hinemoana occurring in two *karakia* recited by Kupe during his bout with the *wheke* (p. 274).

Hinerauwhārangi is mentioned in connection with agriculture, and more specifically with the removal of certain potatoes from a *rua* (storage pit); the translation referring to "the vanished products of Hine-rau-wharangi" (p. 79). Best's notes explain that Hinerauwhārangi was one of a great many female personifications of Māori myth, that she was a daughter of Tāne and Hinetītama, the Dawn Maid, and the mother of Hinemoana. She is also described as personifying growth in the vegetable world (p. 94).

2.2.2.7.5 ‘Irihia: the Homeland of the Polynesians’: Elsdon Best (*JPS*)

In ‘Irihia: the Homeland of the Polynesians’, Elsdon Best refers to Hinemākohurangi, Hinekōrako, Hineteiwaiwa, Pārāweranui and Hinenuitepō. A connection is made between Hinekōrako²⁸ and forms of the rainbow, including lunar bows. Hineteiwaiwa is described as a personified form of the moon and, like Hinekōrako, a tutelary being of womankind who was appealed to in childbirth (1927c, pp. 333 - 34). Pārāweranui is noted as one of the winds (p. 353).

2.2.2.7.6 ‘Maori Agriculture: Cultivated Food-Plants of the Maori, and Native Methods of Agriculture’: Elsdon Best (*JPS*)

Best’s ‘Maori Agriculture’ contains a number of unusual references, such as, for example, a reference to a *karakia* to keep *pūkeko* out of a cultivated area. This *karakia* contains the name Hinewairuakōkako, said by Best to be the personification of the swamp hen (1930, p. 352). Hina and Rongo are variously described as the female and male symbolization of the earth, the two personified forms of the moon, and “the bi-sexual being” which symbolises fertility of the earth and fertility in women (p. 357). Panitinaku is referred to as the mother of the *kūmara*. In a number of versions, there is some discussion about her husband(s). In one version, she is spoken of as the mother of Tahu, the personified form of food, who was also female (pp. 359 - 60). Mention is made of Pani²⁹ being invoked in a *kūmara* ritual at the planting of the crop (p. 372), and of Hinerauwhārangi being connected with the season of prolific growth of vegetation. Mahuru, described as the personification of spring, and Hineraumati, as the Summer Maid, are also referred to (1931, p. 21).

Two stories recorded by Hēnare Pōtae and Mohi Ruatapu of the East Coast are translated by Best.³⁰ Hinematikotai features in the story of Rua and the discovery of woodcarving. Here, Hinematikotai is described as assisting Rua in destroying Tangaroa’s *whare* and in gaining the art of *whakairo* for humankind (Pōtae and Ruatapu 1928, pp. 257 - 60). The role of the *ariki* Hineteiwaiwa, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Hineawhirangi and Ruhiruhi is evident in an East Coast version of the capturing of Kae in revenge for his consuming Tutunui, the pet whale of Tinirau (pp. 261 - 70).

2.2.2.7.7 ‘Some Honorific and Sacerdotal Terms and Personifications etc. Met in Maori Narratives’ (a collection of articles): Elsdon Best (*JPS*)

A number of articles detailing sacerdotal expressions, and entitled ‘Some Honorific and Sacerdotal Terms and Personifications etc. Met in Maori Narratives’, featured in the *JPS* over a period of four years. All were written by Best. The papers’ contents included brief descriptions of the role of numerous female entities, listed below in order of appearance. With two exceptions, only those who are easily recognised as being female are included. A noticeable characteristic of these writings is the terminology used. Throughout, *atua wāhine* are described as personifications or maids of Nature. It could, however, be argued that the concept of personification is

foreign to Māori; the use of such a term provides an example of Pākehā-centred interpretation of the literature. Similarly, the use of the word 'maid', connoting virginity, represents Best's romanticising rather than the condition of the *atua wāhine*, who were very active sexually.

As these works so clearly indicate, the realm of the goddess is a rich and varied one, ranging from the celestial realm to the realms of sea and land, from the seasons to the elements and atmospheric conditions. Indeed, specific reference is made to the diversity of functions performed by the various deities.

The earth, or, according to Best, the personification of the earth is represented by each of the following: Papa, Papatūānuku, Tuanuku, Nuku and Papatūrahara. Hurutearangi, a māreikura, and her daughter, Pārāweranui, are also mentioned. From the union of Pārāweranui and Tāwhirimātea came the many wind children (1926b, pp. 38 - 42). Mahuika and Hinetāpeka³¹ (*aka* Uetāpeka) appear in connection with types of fire; ordinary and subterranean fires respectively (pp. 154-55).

Hinemoana is described as the personified form of the ocean. She is wife to Kiwa, guardian of the ocean, and daughter of Hinerauwhārangī, herself recorded as a personification of growth in the vegetable kingdom. Hineteuira is described in a brief note as the Lightning Maid, the female personification of lightning. Various names are given for the personified form of fog and mist, namely, Hinemākohurangi, Hinepūkohurangi, and Tairiākohu, the Mist Maid. Ihorangi, the sister of Hinepūkohu, is described as the personification of rain, whereas Hinewai is presented as the personification of light rain.

Hinetāpeka's name appears as a personification of the fires of the underworld. Hinekōmako is recognised as the Fire Conserver and the personified form of the *kaikōmako* tree. Hinematakirikiri, Hinetūākirikiri and Hineone are identified as personifications of sand and gravel and certain sayings pertaining to these entities are included (pp. 239-41).

Moeāhuru (*aka* Hineteāhuru) is described as the mother of the heavenly bodies, including the sun, the moon, and, according to one version, the stars. This is also credited to Hinetūrama. Hina, Hinauri, Hinakeha, Hineteiwaiwa (or Hinateiwaiwa) are all described as the personification of the moon and the tutelary being of women, thus presiding over childbirth and the weaving arts. The siblings are also mentioned: Māui, Hineteotaota, Hinemārekareka, Raukatauri and Raukatamea. Finally, there is one entry which states that Mumuwango was the female progenitor of the *tōtara* (pp. 333 - 34).

The *atua wāhine* alluded to in this article are of central significance to women's roles in traditional Māori society.

According to Ngāti Awa, the origins of various birds are attributed to certain female entities, namely, Hinepōrete for the *pōrete* (parakeet), Hinewairuakōkako for the crow and *pākura*, Hinekaroro for the seagull, Hinetara for the tern, and Matuku for

the bittern (gender unknown). Hurutearangi, earlier recognised as the forebear of the winds, is also said to be the origin of ‘tapu’ birds.

Parawhenuamea, recorded as being the daughter of Tāne and the Mountain Maid and the personification of water, produced, with Kiwa, Hinemoana. The *māreikura* are presented as the female denizens of the uppermost heaven who welcome the spirits of the deceased when they enter that realm (a Ngāti Kahungunu tradition). Hinetūāhōanga is presented as the personification of sandstone and as an enemy of greenstone, whom she fashions through a grinding action. Although some of this knowledge comes from Ngāti Kahungunu, it has been suggested that the comment about Hinetūāhōanga being the personified form of sandstone may have been introduced by the author(s) of the article. While Hinetauira is said to be the name of a particular type of stone which might be used in divination “to see which betokens ill fortune”, Hineone and Hinetūākirikiri are described as the personified forms of sand and gravel (Best 1927b, pp. 290-91).

Hinekōrito, Hinekōtea, Hinemākehu, and Hinekōrako are said to be Moon maidens, and guides or protectors of the Tākitimu canoe and there is some further elaboration of the roles of Hinekōrako. Rona is described as the guide/conductor of the moon, and one of the controllers of the tides, hence the name Ronawhakamautai. It is also noted that Rona, according to Ngāti Awa tradition, was the child of Hineteiwaiwa (or Hina) and Tangaroa, and that she mated with the moon. Hinehuru is listed as the personified form of a type of glowworm; the name Mokohuru also appears, but it is difficult to discern the gender of the bearer of that name. Hineahunga, Hinetangiwai, Hinekahurangi, Hinekawakawa, and Hineaotea are presented as personifications of various forms of greenstone, while Hinewhaitiri, Whaitiripapā, and Whaitiripakapaka are described as personifications of thunder. An entry about Hinetītama notes that she was a daughter of Hineahuone and Tāne, that she became known as Hinenuitepō, and that she personified the dawn. Hineata, Hineaotea, and Hineahiahi, daughters of Rā, the sun, are described as the Morning Maid, the Day Maid and the Evening Maid respectively. Hineraumati (the Summer Maid) and Hinetakurua (the Winter Maid) were wives of Rā, who spent half the year with each; they were also regarded as personifications of the spring, as was Mahuru. However, the gender of Mahuru is not evident. Whakaahu, a star, and a representation of summer, was the sister of the star Oipiri/Pipiri, who was said to represent winter. They were the progeny of te Ao and te Pō and both mated with Rēhua (pp. 376-78).

An entry for Hineahuone/Hinehauone shows her to be “The Earth-formed Maid”, progenitor of mortal man, and fashioned by Tāne, from whose union with Hineahuone came Hinetītama. Hineoi/Hineori, Hinetūoi, Hinepuia, Ioiowhenua, Hinetūarangaranga, Te Kuku, Te Wawau, Tawaronui,³² are listed as personifications of volcanic action, earthquakes and subterranean fire. Hinekuku is presented as the personified form of the mussel. Pipihura and Hungaterewai are identified as the parents of shellfish (Best, 1928, pp. 67 – 69 & 226 - 27).

Hineteihorangi, possibly a variant of Te Ihorangi, is said to represent rain. Hinemākohu, Hinekohu, Hinepūkohu, and Hinetākohurangi are all termed ‘The Mist Maid’, while Hinekapua is referred to as ‘Cloud Maid’, personifying clouds. Kahukurawhare, Tūāwhiorangi, and Pouteāniwaniwa are recorded as females who

constituted the lower, paler section of a rainbow. Both Ārohirohi and Parearohi, said to be the wife of Rehua, are presented as the personification of shimmering heat (Best, 1929, pp. 52 - 53).

At the very beginning of *Forest Lore of the Maori* (1942/ 1977b), Best acknowledges Papa and Rangi as the origin of all natural phenomena, and Hineahuone as having been formed from Papa. *Atua wāhine* connected with the bush also feature here. These include Hinemahanga,³³ who was skilled at enticing birds into her snares (p. 15) and Hinekōtauariki, the female personification of bracken fern, who appears in a *karakia* (pp. 74 - 75). Hinewairuakōkako is described as the origin of the *kōkako* bird (p. 323). Pani, referred to as the mother of Hinemataihi, is presented as the progenitor of the *kiore*, the Māori rat (pp. 355 - 56). Hineraumati is connected with *huahua* (preserved game) in that she is said to ripen the berries which, in turn, fatten the birds.

The sisters Hinetakurua and Hineraumati were married to Rā (the sun), each spending six months with him. Hinetakurua was charged with the role of nurturing the offspring of Tangaroa and Tinirau. She it is, therefore, who resides in the vast region of the ocean (pp. 272 - 73).

In these texts, we learn not only of the existence of the *atua wāhine*, but also of their qualities and their diversity of character. We see how the roles of the goddesses were interwoven with those of the gods at times of crisis in Māori life. The names that appear in the *karakia* demonstrate that the feminine was invoked and revered in traditional Māori society. Although the references to the *atua wāhine* could be regarded as incidental to Best's writings,³⁴ there was clearly a powerful feminine presence in Tūhoe society at the turn of the century.

Because Best has a tendency to assume that some information drawn from specific tribes (e.g. Tūhoe) was equally relevant to others, his sources are not easily identifiable. Although this presents a problem, there is an even greater problem associated with any attempt to determine how far his comments are consistent with those of his informants. Thus, for example, the translations he provides are sometimes inconsistent with the core meaning of the original Māori text. His opinion as a European male is obvious in some places; in others, this world view is more subtly woven into the accounts so that it becomes impossible to determine how far his own interpretation has clouded the original. An example of this is Best's attribution of misfortune and death to the female element (referred to earlier): this comment does not appear in the original Māori text. It was inserted in the English text as part of the introduction to a discourse in Māori about death rituals (Best, 1926a, p. 6). There is a danger that non-Māori speakers who rely on the English text may not realise that it is not a direct translation of the Māori.

2.2.2.8 Mohi Ruatapu and Hēnare Pōtae (*JPS*)

In a 1929 paper entitled ‘The Maui Myths. As narrated by Natives of Tolago Bay’ (*sic*), by Mohi Ruatapu and Hēnare Pōtae (d. 1895)³⁵ mention is made of Hina, who is said to represent the moon. According to the writers, Māuimua appeared in the story of Hina (as opposed to Hina appearing in the story of Māui), and Māuipōtiki appeared as husband, brother, son or grandson of Hina (1929, p. 1). Māui’s encounters with Mahuika, Murirangawhenua and Hinenuitepō are also related (1929, pp. 8 - 26).

2.2.3 Māori writers

A number of Māori writers contributed to the pool of information about *atua wāhine*. These writers presented the traditions of their respective *iwi*, including *waiata* and *karakia*, for the perusal of the reading public and for the use of future generations of Māori. Some of the contributions were in article form or letters to journals such as *Te Toa Takitini*, while others were addresses that were subsequently printed in Society publications, as with the *Proceedings of the Tairāwhiti Maori Association*; a few were published as books in their own right e.g. *The Old-Time Maori* (Makereti) and *The Coming of the Maori* (Te Rangihīroa).

2.2.3.1 Wirihana Aoterangi

Wirihana Aoterangi (d. 1907), chief of the Ngāti Tahinga tribe of Whaingaroa/Raglan, provided the information about *tikanga* Māori in *Fragments of Ancient Maori History* (1923). He made brief mention of Hinetūāhōanga in relation to Rātā bringing the *toki* from her, and to the preparing of food for Hinetūāhōanga, described as the chieftainess of the axes (1923, p. 4). The story of Whakaotirangi bringing *kūmara* to Aotearoa was also recounted, as were the experiences of Ngāiwi (1923, pp. 7-8 & 13-15).

2.2.3.2 Sir Apirana Ngata

Ngāti Porou’s Apirana Ngata (1874 – 1950) was a Māori leader, scholar and politician. His collection of traditional *waiata* from around the country resulted in the publication of the volumes *Nga Moteatea*, which appeared in four parts: *Nga Moteatea* Part I (M1 -90) [1928] 1972; Part II (M91-200) [1961] 1974; Part III (M201-300) 1970; Part IV (M301-93) 1990. Ngata collected, translated, edited and provided commentary for Part I; Pei Te Hurinui Jones assisted with the translation, commentary and editing process of the first three volumes. Part IV was edited by Tāmami Reedy.

Numerous *waiata* recorded in *Nga Moteatea* contain the names of *atua wāhine*. Mōteatea 46, ‘He Waiata Aroha Mo Te Toko’ mentioned Te Hoata and Te Pupu, Ngātoroirangi’s sisters, who brought fire and thermal energy to him from Hawaiiki in

order to save him from certain disaster on the snowy slopes of Tongariro. The *waiata* was composed by Rihi Puhuwahine of Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Maniapoto. In an *oriori* by Te Motu of Ngāti Kahungunu, there is a reference to Kaikōmako, i.e. Hinekaikōmako. The accompanying notes describe her as ‘te kaipupuri o te kora a Mahuika, o te ahi’ (the keeper of Mahuika’s spark, fire) (M 81).

The names of numerous *atua wāhine* are found in *Nga Moteatea*. For example, a *tangi* for Tūtohiārangi of Ngāti Porou contains a reference to *te whare pora o Hineteiwaiwa*. This was interpreted as ‘Hineteiwaiwa’s weaving house’, but could also be translated as ‘weaving guild’. The corresponding notes explain that Hineteiwaiwa could either be the goddess of that name, or the sister of Tūtohiārangi (M 94). The name of Hinekitetāpere appears in a *waiata* for Parehingaawatea by Rangiriipū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Hinekitetāpere is presented as a figurative term for young women within the ‘House of Entertainment’ (M 112). Whaitirimatakakā, Whaitiripapā, Papanuiākarioi and Hine-haehaemanga are mentioned in an *oriori* for Te Uaoterangi of Ngāti Porou. In the *waiata* notes, Whaitirimatakakā is acknowledged as the grandmother of Tāwhaki, by whom Whaitiri’s supply of *taro* was stolen (M 121).

The *oriori* Pō Pō, by Enoke Te Pakaru, a *tohunga* from Tūranga (Gisborne), alludes to the coupling of Pani and Māuiwharekino, and to Pani’s having been taken to the water of Mōnārīki. Hinetūāhōanga is cited as a daughter of Uru and Ngangana and a sister of Tangaroa. The accompanying notes gave more detail about Pani, as well as the sources of reference (M 145). A reference to Rona is found in a Ngāti Whātua *oriori* composed by Tāoho for his son Raeroa (M 158). In another *oriori*, composed by Hautū, Hinekarekare, Hineahuone, Tangaroa and his “whanau wāhine” are mentioned within the context of weaving; Parekānga, for whom the *oriori* was intended, was told to placate them as she did her weaving (M 162). The name Hinengoi appears in a *tangi* relating to the failure of crops where she is said to be the *moana*. The composer was Horomona Hāpai of Ngāti Porou (M 170). Hinenuitepō and Mahuika are mentioned in a Ngāti Haua *waiata tangi* composed by Tūtemahurangi. The note about Mahuika explains that she was the goddess of fire (M 172). Reference is made to the *uaua* (sinews) of Papatūānuku in a *waiata tangi* composed by Te Umairangi for his house (M175).

The *mōteatea* with several references to Hina was an ancient one composed by Hinauri when she realised that her brother Māui had transformed her husband (Irawaru) into a dog. The *waiata* is significant, not only for its age, but principally because the composer was Hinauri herself (M 176). Hina, Hinawhakarurutaua, and Nuku/Papa are the names which appear in the *waiata*. Finally, Pani is mentioned in a *tangi* by Te Ikaherengutu of Ngāti Ruanui (M181).

A Ngāi Tara *oriori* was composed by Tūhotoariki for Tūteremoana. It contains the names of several female entities: Te Hiringamatua, Pārāweranui, Hinetūtama, Hinerauwhārangi, Hinekauorohia, Hinemākohurangi, Hinekōrito, Hinekōtea and Hinemākehu and Mahuika (M 201). Maikukumākākā and Hāpai (here the wives of Māui) are mentioned in the *oriori Pinepine te kura*, while Pani’s name occurs in the notes. The *oriori* was composed for Te Umurangi of Ngāti Kahungunu (M 215A). Another *oriori*, by Mumura of Ngā Ariki (of the East Coast) also names

Maikukumākākā, along with Hinekukutirangi (M 219). Mumura, who was childless, composed this *oriori*, holding a *hue* (gourd) in place of a child. Although no *atua wāhine* appear in the text of another *oriori* from Ngāti Kahungunu, several names are mentioned in the explanatory notes. These include Hinehauone and Pani (M 231). In a *waiata tawhito*, by Pikihiua of Tūhoe, the name of Hinenuitepō occurs (M 232). A long list of *atua wāhine* are found in an *oriori* by Tūpai of Te Whānau-a-Kai, Tūranga. They are Parawhenuamea, Moananui, Hine-raumāukuuku, Panimatua, Papa, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, and Tongatonga /Pūhāhanakiterangi. Papa, Hinetūāhōanga and others are mentioned in the *waiata* notes. The *waiata* was composed for Te Whakatahakiterangi (M 234). A *tangi* from Whanganui for Te Kōtukuraeroa contains the names of Ātea, Atatuhi, and Raukatauri, with Hineahuone and others being mentioned in the notes (M 240).

While Papa appears in a Taranaki *tangi*, the names of Papa, Hinemoana and Pani are found in the explanatory notes (M 252). A *tangi* by Te Mamanga, from Ngāti Maru of Waitara, includes the line ‘He ao tamawahine, he ao o Whaitiri’ (M 254); Ruapūtahanga is also mentioned. From Tūranga came a *tangi ātahu* for Tūtekohi and his dog. References are made to Māukuuku and Tauwharekiokio (both being married to Rangi), as well as to Whaitiri³⁶ (M 260). The names of Hinepuia, Hineuku, Hineone, Parawhenuamea, Hinemoana and Hinetapatūrangi appear in a *tangi* from Ngāti Kahungunu, Wairarapa. Nukupewapewa composed the lament for Te Ōhangaitua and Te Rangitakuariki (M 275). A *tangi* for Tongaawhikau by Te Rangimauri contains the names of Maikukumākākā, Papa and Parawhenuamea. There is a reference to Hinetūāhōanga in the notes. This *tangi* hailed from Ngāti Ruanui of Taranaki (M 300).

A Whanganui *tangi* for Te Apapaoterangi contains the names of Hinemoana and Hinetītama (M302). Hinetūāhōanga and Mumuwango are mentioned in a *waiata karakia*. In the accompanying notes are found references to Hinetūākirikiri, Hinekawakawa, Hineakua, Hineaotea, Tuamatua, Hinewaipipi, Tūmaunga, Puwhakahara, Te Atatangirea and Tūwaerore (M329). A *waiata tautitotito* from Taranaki includes the names Whaitiri and Puiaterangi (*sic*), while the explanatory notes allude to Puiaterangi and Puia (M346). Hinetūāhōanga’s name appears in another Taranaki *tangi* (M347). Hinetītama is referred to in an *oriori* by Te Takai for his granddaughter (tribal origin unknown; M350). Hinenuitepō is mentioned in Te Kaupapa a Tarakawa (M356B). Finally, a Ngāti Kahungunu *tangi* from Wairoa refers to Raukatauri (M389).

Although most of the references to Papa and Hine are fleeting, they nevertheless confirm that these *atua wāhine* were powerful, and revered by generations of Māori. The great deeds of the ancient *atua*, as well as the more recent *tūpuna wāhine*, their joy, pain or grief are all alluded to in *waiata* and *karakia*. The fact that these names recur is a reflection of the *mana* of these *atua*, and of the status they held in Māori society.

2.2.3.3 Nēpia Pōhūhū

In the article 'Te Whare-Wananga' which appeared in *Te Wananga* (Pōhūhū, 1929-30, pp. 141 – 260 & 121 - 80), references are made to Tuanuku, Papatūānuku, Pārāweranui, Hinetītama, Hinemoana, Hineahuone,³⁷ Hurutearangi, Hineatauirā, Hineteuirā, Mihimihirangi, Hineteweherangi, Hinekapua, Hinewairito, Hinerāwhārangi, Hinetēahorangi, Hinerāuāngiangi and Hinemanuhiri. Pōhūhū also lists more recent *tūpuna* in a *whakapapa*, including Hinewairangi (who married Ngātoroirangi (1929, pp. 168 & 69). Some elaboration is given to Papa and Rangi's story; their union and separation, and the subsequent turning of Papa. Reference made to the *kauwae raro* pertains to Papa. Discussion ensues about the search for the *uha*. Relevant *whakapapa* provide further information.

2.2.3.4 Rangiuia³⁸

A *tangi* recorded in *Te Wananga* contains several names of *atua wāhine* including Hineahuone, Hinemanuhiri, Hinerāwhārangi, Hinekapuarangi, Hineatauirā, Hinematikotai, Takurua, Hineteariki, Hineuru, Hinetēiwaiwa, Hinehuhuritai, and Hinehaua (March 1930, pp. 21 - 35). The *tangi* was composed by Rangiuia (of Te Aitanga-ā-Hauiti) for his son, Tūterangiwhaitiri.

2.2.3.5 Sir Māui Pōmare

Māui Pōmare (1876 – 1930) was of the Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Toa *iwi*. He was a well-known Māori health reformer and politician. Pōmare and Cowan co-authored the *Legends of the Maori* (1930/ 1987). In the opening chapter, about the separation of Papa and Rangi, references are made to Hineahuone, and to the various names for Hineatauirā: Hinetītama and Hinenuitepō. Mahuika, Hinenuitepō, Mumuwango, and Hāpai appear in later accounts. A *mōteatea* also alludes to Hinenuitepō (1987, p. 319). Raukatauri and Raukatamea feature as the originators of entertainment and games of amusement in the recounting of the story of their search for Kae (1987:69-71). Wairaka, a heroine of the Mataatua canoe, is the subject of another chapter (1987, pp. 171 - 75).

2.2.3.6 Te Kani Te Ua

Te Kani Te Ua (1892 – 1966), a chief of the Rongowhakaata, and Te Aitanga-ā-Māhaki was noted for his knowledge pertaining to *whakapapa* and tribal traditions.³⁹ A paper, 'Spiritualism and Maori beliefs', was delivered by him in Gisborne, and printed in the *Proceedings of the Tairāwhiti Maori Association* (1932, pp. 38 - 54). Te Kani Te Ua briefly discusses the role of women of nobility in traditional Māori society, and the abolition of the traditional *whare wānanga* in the Gisborne area due to Christianity. Papa, Hineteariki, and Hinenuitepō were mentioned. Hinenuitepō is referred to as the goddess of the souls of men (1932, 51), indicating that Māori opinion of the time included the feminine in the Māori pantheon of gods.

2.2.3.7 Makereti

Makereti (1873 – 1930), *aka* Maggie Papakura, was an *aho ariki* of the Tūhourangi tribe. Brought up in a traditional Māori way by her *kaumātua* (great-aunt and great-uncle), Makereti learnt *whakapapa*, *waiata* and *tikanga*. As an adult, she became the first writer to advance Māori female scholarship.⁴⁰ In her thesis, published posthumously as *The Old-Time Maori* (1938/ 1986), Makereti discusses the roles of Māori women in traditional Māori society as well as in her own lifetime, and alludes to Hineteiwaiwa and Hinekōrako as tutelary deities for women's crafts and childbirth. Descriptions of *tūā* and *tohi* ceremonies are provided, including the *karakia* used (1986, pp. 125 - 32). Parawhenua is invoked in one *karakia*; Makereti refers to her as the personified form of water (1986, p. 127). The names of Hineteiwaiwa, Hineangiangi and Hinekorikori occur in a *karakia* used in a *tūā* ritual for female children (1986, p. 343). In the chapter on fire (1986, pp. 271 - 81), the names of Mahuika and Hineitāpeka appear. Mahuika is described as the goddess of fire and, of her sister Hineitāpeka, it was written that she takes care of the fires of the underworld. Mahuika's husband is the comet Auahitūroa. Their five children⁴¹ are also listed.

The original text of *The Old-Time Maori* was a thesis written for submission towards a B. Sc. degree in Anthropology at the University of Oxford, England. As Makereti was separated from her elders by thousands of miles, she was largely dependent on her own memories and the traditionally acquired knowledge gained as a young woman. However, there was at least one occasion⁴² when she was able to discuss her project with her elders. Physical distance prevented more regular discussions with them. Immediate access to her people would have given Makereti an opportunity to record more of their knowledge, including information about *atua wāhine*.⁴³ Before Makereti died, she asked that certain *karakia* (or other information considered too *tapu*, or inappropriate for publication) be removed from the text, and that the book be shown to the Arawa people for checking and consent before being published (Penniman in editorial note 1986).

2.2.3.8 Te Toa Takitini

Te Toa Takitini, a Māori newspaper originally published by the Bishopric of Waiapu in 1921, contains references to *atua wāhine*. In a *whakapapa* submitted by Tuhitaare Heemi of Ruatoki the following names appear: Papa, Hinewaoriki, Hinetūtama, Hinemanuhiri, Whaitiri, Hinauri, and Hinetuahoana (*sic*). Heemi included the *whakapapa* in a piece of writing entitled 'Te ingoa nei Aotearoa' (1930b, pp. 2084 - 85). Heemi also mentions Hineteiwaiwa in connection with the interior of the *wharenuī*, stating that she holds the *mauri* of the *ruahine* crossing the threshold of the *wharenuī* for the first time, and that it is she, Hineteiwaiwa, who figuratively speaking, spreads forth the ceremonial mat. Other references are made to the role of the *ruahine* at the opening ceremony for a new *wharenuī* (1930a, pp. 2054 - 55). Snippets of information were found in other *Te Toa Takitini*. For instance, one Hine, a great granddaughter of Tangaroa, is mentioned in an article entitled 'Te Whetukura a Tangaroa' by Mohi Te Atahikoia (1925:202-04).

2.2.4 Pākehā writers

Although only a few Pākehā writers published work about Māori religion and/or mythology, the evidence found in the publications is significant. Reference has already been made (see 2.2.2.4) to works by Best that were published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Here, reference is made to books published by Best along with works by Lambert, Andersen and Cowan.

2.2.4.1 Best's *Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori, Maori Religion and Mythology*, 'The Neolithic Maori' and 'The Mythopoetic Maori'

Best's *Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori* (1922/ 1973) contains the names of several *atua wāhine* and includes discussion about terminology relating to *atua*, terms such as *ariā* and *tipua*. Best observes that the *ariā* of Hineruarangi is the cormorant while the *ariā* of Hinepūkohu is the white mist (1973, p. 24). In addition, there are fleeting references to the *māreikura*, to Hineahuone and Hinetītama/Hinenuitepō, and, in the concluding lines of the text, Hinemoana is referred to as follows: “*Tangi kau ana te hau ki runga o Marae-nui o Hinemoana*” (Nought save the wailing of the wind is heard on the vast plaza of the Ocean Maid) (1973, p. 57).

In a paper entitled ‘The Neolithic Maori’, Best (1923c, p. 57) makes reference to Hinetūāhōanga. He names her ‘the Grindstone Maid’ and notes that all types of sandstone are personified in her. She was the granddaughter of Hinemaunga and Tāne, and the daughter of Tuamatua, “the origin and personification of all stone”. According to Best, Rātā was Hinetūāhōanga’s son.

Best’s most comprehensive work on Māori religious practices is *Maori Religion and Mythology* (1924/ 1976). Although the observations contained in that work are accompanied by judgements, presumptions and interpretations that are impossible to justify, the *kōrero*, *whakapapa*, and *karakia* he recorded are extremely significant. Again, the male gods are the main focus of attention. Nevertheless, there is important documentation regarding the goddesses. *Karakia*⁴⁴ recited over Hinetītama’s daughter Hinerauwhārangī, shortly after her birth, are recorded (1976:127) and one version refers to Iowahine as the first woman (1976, p. 130).

In Part III of *Maori Religion and Mythology*, a section entitled ‘Some Account of Maori Cosmogony, Theogeny, and Anthropogeny’ deals in part with the story of Papa and Rangi, the search for the *uha*, the subsequent creation of Hineahuone, the account of Hinetītama/Hinenuitepō, and the Tiki myth. References to several female entities are included in this section. In Part IV ‘Gods of the Maori’, Best groups the gods into classes. In doing so, he makes numerous allusions to goddesses including Papa, Hinerauwhārangī (1976, p. 170), Hineuku, Hineone, Hinemoana and Parawhenuamea (p. 188), Hineteuira and Whitiri (p. 198), and Hinekōrako (p. 201). Finally, Part VII, ‘Ritual Performances and Formulae’, includes examples of *tohi* rites in which Papa and Whitiri (p. 361) and Parawhenuamea and Hineahuone (p.

364) are mentioned. Reference is also made to Papa in a *whakaū* rite (p. 378), part of the *ahi pure*, the ritual feast after the exhumation of a deceased person's bones.

'The Mythopoetic Maori' is the title of a treatise by Best delivered as an address by Mr W. D. Bruce at a meeting of the *Tairāwhiti Māori Association* in 1932. Here, Best writes about Hinemoana, Hinetītama, Hinepūkohu, Hinemaunga, Parawhenua, Hineone, Hinetūākirikiri, Hineahuone, Hinewhaitiri, Hineteuira, Hinetakuria, Hinerauwhārangi, and Hinekeha (Best, 1932, pp. 69 - 73). He refers specifically to Hinetītama, the Dawn Maid, who was transformed into the "champion and protector of the spiritual life of men, under whose aegis the human soul finds peace in the spirit world" (p. 69).

2.2.4.2 Thomas Lambert

The Story of Old Wairoa contains accounts of Haumapuhia (the Waikaremoana *taniwha*) (1925, p. 97), Hinerau (also of Tūhoe) (p. 107), Rona (p. 99), and Hinekōrako, the Ngāti Hinehika *taniwha* (p. 109). Mahoranuiatū, Papa and Hinenuitepō's names are noted in a discussion about Māori cosmogony (pp. 146 - 48).

2.2.4.3 Johannes C. Andersen

Johannes C. Andersen (1873 - 1962) includes eminent female figures throughout Polynesia in *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians*, first published in 1928.⁴⁵ The most prominent Māori goddesses named are Hineahuone,⁴⁶ Hineatauirā/Hinenuitepō,⁴⁷ Hina, Hinauri, Hineteiwaiwa/Hinateiwaiwa (known to Tinirau as Hinetengarumoana). Others mentioned are Hineahupapa (according to one version, Rangi's first wife), Papa,⁴⁸ Hineateao, Hineatepō, Tangotango, Maikukumākākā, Hineitāpapauta and Hinetūwhenua (wind goddesses), Rona, Mahuika, Hineitāpeka, Hinekōmako, Hinematikotai, Hinemoana, Hinetūāhōanga, Pani, and Hinetūparimaunga.

The following are some female entities who are cited as having mated with Tāne: Hinetuamaunga, Mumuwango (from whom came the *tōtara*), Pūwhakahara (who produced the *akerautangi*, a tree), Atatangirea (who produced the *maire*), Kuraki (a *kahikatea*, white pine), Otūngairanga (who produced the *nīkau* palm), Ngāore (the *toetoe*), Pakoti (the *harakeke*, flax), Kuiuku (the *matai* tree), Tūwaerore (the *rimu* and *tānekaha* trees), Maiteata (the *mānuka* tree), Rangahore (who produced mountain stones), Haereawaawa (the *weka* bird), Urutahi (the *tūi* bird), and Papa (the *kiwi*) (1928/ 1969, pp. 406 - 07).

One story tells of Ārohirohi (mirage) being the sun's wife. Thus, Ārohirohi is said to have formed a woman, Mārikoriko, from the warmth of the sun and Paoro (Echo); Mārikoriko married Tiki and Hinekauataata was born. Andersen writes that the woman was not considered to be of divine origin because she was not formed by a god (1969, p. 415). On the other hand, a sense of supernatural power is evident in

the *karakia* used by Hina to overcome her husband's other wives when they attempted to kill her (p. 239).

Andersen's retelling⁴⁹ of Hina's *haka* movements to entice Kae into identifying himself makes no mention at all of the suggestive movements with sexual overtones related in traditional accounts. This is, of course, consistent with Andersen's own comments earlier: "There is often a difference in the rendering of a story when collected by two different people. So much depends upon the collector's standpoint. Some think the literal telling of a story may give offence; some refuse to put on record what they personally consider improper. It is therefore often a matter of difficulty, if not impossibility, to say if variants are actual variants among the people where the stories are current or if they are due to the collector" (p. 243). In explaining that some mythologies may seem simple because only one version has been collected or has survived (p. 376), Anderson raises a very important issue. Despite the acknowledged variations within the versions, however, the goddesses are present throughout.

2.2.4.4 James Cowan

James Cowan devotes a chapter of his book, *The Maori Yesterday and Today*, to a discussion about Horoirangi, the deified ancestor of Ngāti Uenukukōpako of Te Arawa, and a shrine dedicated to her (1930, pp. 222 - 29). The text provides a rare source of information about the history of the *tupuna* Horoirangi and of her stone effigy, removed to the Auckland Museum for safe-keeping. Cowan recounts the story of Hatupatu and Kurangaituku in *Fairy Folk Tales of the Maori* (1925), a title which clearly indicates the perspective he brought to bear on the work, a perspective that is also evident in *Legends of the Maori* (1930)⁵⁰ which he co-authored with Pōmare.

2.3 Summary 1920 – 40

The information found in the above literature suggests that there was a strong presence of the feminine in Māori cosmology, that the *atua wāhine* held very powerful positions, and that they influenced the traditional Māori values and way of life. The numerous stories and *waiata* in which reference is made to them, and the *karakia* which invoke them, reinforce this conclusion. The sheer number of female entities found in rituals pertaining to agriculture, canoe-making, childbirth, sickness, and weaving (to name but a few) show that the goddesses' functions were diverse.

Other features of the texts are not so positive. There is strong evidence of Eurocentric and Judaeo-Christian bias which results in negative interpretations of the nature and roles of Māori goddesses. Thus, negative qualities are sometimes accorded to such deities as Hinenuitēpō. Best, for example, provides a negative interpretation of Hinenuitēpō's role in his translation of 'huna' as 'destroys' rather than 'hide' (Best, 1926a, p. 6), and in his statement that misfortune and death emanate from the female element (something that is not present in the original text). Furthermore, the use of terms like 'Hades' and 'tomb' by Smith to describe

Hinenuitepō's dwelling place conjure up impressions which are not present in the original Māori text. Such interpretations distort the original story, changing the role of the female character. Unfortunately, it appears that this kind of intervention on the part of Pākehā writers has greatly influenced, in a negative way, modern society's attitude towards such entities as Hinenuitepō, and, by association, Māori women in general. In spite of this, references to the goddesses in the *waiata*, some of which were composed by women, provides firm evidence of their important role in Māori history. Even so, it remains the case that (a) there are comparatively few references to the female in the texts discussed above, and (b) such references as there are generally peripheral to the main body of the works.

Overall, references to the goddesses appear to be largely incidental, marginal in comparison to the attention awarded to their male counterparts. This marginalisation is attributable to (a) the bias and interpretation of the Pākehā writers,⁵¹ and (b) the perspective of the Māori (predominantly male) informants. Only by amassing the available references is an impression gained of the numbers of female entities, and their roles.

Up until 1940, texts relating to Māori cosmology were relatively numerous but thereafter fewer such publications appeared. This may be a reflection of a decline in Pākehā ethnographers' interest in the area, an acceptance that this subject area had been thoroughly investigated, or some combination of the two. Whatever the reason, the numerous *waiata* published in the 1920 – 40 period remain, and these *waiata* leave us in no doubt of the importance of *atua wāhine* in the history of Māori.

Endnotes

¹ The terms *atua wāhine* and goddesses are employed here to differentiate between female and male gods. These ancestresses of the Māori were also recognised as *wāhine whai mana*, women who possessed great authority and status.

² They were daughters of Tangaroa (their mother's name was not given).

³ Hineteiwaiwa is referred to as 'goddess or maid of the nines (nine moons)' (in Hongi, 1920, p. 27).

⁴ The offerings, generally leaves, are made to the *tapu* tree which, as a *tipua*, houses Hinehopu's spirit. The offerings are part of the *uruuruwhenua* ritual, performed when moving between tribal areas.

Hinehopu stands on the road between Rotoiti and Rotoehu (Cowan, 1910, pp. 111 & 12).

⁵ In 1877, education was made compulsory at the primary level (Dakin, 1973, p. 21). It was not until 1909, though, that this requirement was made applicable to Māori children (p. 72).

⁶ Held in Hocken library whose reference system is followed here.

⁷ The information contained in the manuscript also appeared in *Tikao Talks* (Tikao, 1990).

⁸ Hekehekepapa became Papatūānuku.

⁹ According to this South Island tradition, Tahukumea and Tahuwhakairo were daughters of Hinetītama.

¹⁰ Hinepūnuiotoka was married to Mahuika (in this version, a male, and also known as Murirakawhenua) and bore five daughters, whose names are written in the text. The eldest, Hinearoraki, was the mother of Māui. She became the goddess controlling the flight of birds (Beattie, MS 0181, p114); Hinepūnuiotetoka is the south-west wind, Hinearopari holds the echo of the cliffs, Hinehauone holds the easterly to north-easterly winds, Hineroriki the northerly winds and Hinerotia the north to westerly winds (MS 0181, pp. 119-20. Also in Beattie (1994, pp. 391 & 92).

¹¹ As Beattie does not appear to have discussed childbirth practices with any women from the district in question, there is no information regarding this subject.

¹² Beattie wrote that Hinehauone holds the sands at Pikopikoiwhiti. Rehua, the sun, rises over Hinehauone's back (Beattie, 1994, p. 399).

¹³ Hinenuitepō was a daughter of Hinetītama (1994, p. 406).

- ¹⁴ See Best (1907a, p. 11).
- ¹⁵ These were red and blue coloured clays used as paint.
- ¹⁶ An article is attributed to Pōhūhū in *Te Wananga* (1929). See the 1920 - 40 section here.
- ¹⁷ This *karakia* was one used in connection with the felling of trees to fashion canoes, carved *wharenuī* ridgepoles, carved stockade posts or for cenotaphs for nobility. Best's translation for 'tiki' was 'cenotaph' (1922, p. 9), but an alternative meaning suggested here is that the *karakia* was used when collecting *tūpāpaku* from caves.
- ¹⁸ Hinekōmahī was a woman of nobility, daughter of Tūrongoonui.
- ¹⁹ White's *Ancient History of the Maori* is also cited as mentioning Tiki and Iowahine (1923b, p. 55).
- ²⁰ Further mention of an eel is made in reference to Tāne, and Puhī the eel manipulating the female element (see Best, 1926a, p. 6).
- ²¹ In another reference to Papa after the separation, she is described as being dry and dusty from the heat of the sun (Best, 1923a, p. 69).
- ²² In a later article, Tāwhirimātea is said to be Hurutearangi's spouse (Best, 1923a, p. 103).
- ²³ Best states that Hineteāhuru was also known as Moeāhuru and Te Āhuru (1923a, p. 67).
- ²⁴ In an earlier section of the article, Best indicates that Rona was female in some versions and male in others (1923a, p. 67).
- ²⁵ Best quotes one saying used when speaking of the dead, stating that Hinenuitepō ensnares the dead: "kua mau ia i te tari a Hine-nui-te-Po" (1923a, p. 115).
- ²⁶ Ira was Hinekōmako's spouse; it is said that the couple were sometimes depicted in carvings on the lower fire stick, *te kauahi*. The generation of fire was produced by the combined effort of the female and male. Best says that Hinekōmako concealed fire, while Ira generated it and made it known to the world (1924b, p. 97).
- ²⁷ Best alludes to Mahuika (and consequently her fire) being drenched with water by her grandson Māui.
- ²⁸ Further information is given about Hinekōrako later in the article (1927c, pp. 343 & 357).
- ²⁹ Best records that the ritual alluded to above was conducted at Ahuahu when the Horouta canoe landed there. It is worthy of mention that not only the male *rangatira* of the Horouta are named, but also the female *rangatira*, Hinemanuhiri and Hinekaurangi (1930, p. 372).
- ³⁰ It would seem that Best was responsible for the translation of the original texts into English, as his initials appear in the English texts.
- ³¹ Mahuika and Hinetāpeka appear again later in the text (1926b, p. 241).
- ³² The genders of Ioiowhenua, Te Kuku, Te Wawau, and Tawaronui are not indicated.
- ³³ A saying 'Ko te pua a Hine-mahanga' is supplied, referring to Hine's fruit used in drawing the birds into the snare.
- ³⁴ It is argued that the reason for lack of information about *atua wāhine* was more reflective of Best's Victorian attitudes than the Tūhoe perceptions at the time.
- ³⁵ For biographical details about Hēnare Pōtae, see *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* 1990:351-52.
- ³⁶ Another reference to Whaitiri can be found in note 55 for M 282 (Ngata, 1970, p. 380).
- ³⁷ Hineahuone and Tānematua were given as the parents of Hinetītama, Hineatauirā, Hineteuirā, Mihimihirangi, Hineteweherangi, Hinekapua, Hinewairito, while the following were the progeny of Hinetītama and Tāne: Hinerauwhārangi, Hineteahorangi, Hinerauangiangi and Hinemanuhiri (Pōhūhū, 1929, p. 165).
- ³⁸ Rangiuia was a contemporary of Ruatapu.
- ³⁹ Whakapapa recorded by Te Ua also contained the name of Hinetūāhōanga; two references were made to her, one showing her as the great grandmother of Kiwa, the Tākitimu captain (Te Ua VF Box 572, VF Box 993, p. 1) and the other showing her relationship to Rātā as his mother (MS VF Box 993, p. 1), and Hineākīrirangi/Hinehākīrirangi, described as the priestess or sacred lady of the Tākitimu expedition (MS VF Box 99, p. 6).
- ⁴⁰ Makereti was never taken seriously by male academics in her time (Te Awekōtuku pers. comm.); the media, too, portrayed her as a glamorous guide rather than as the intellectual that she was (Te Awekōtuku 1991, pp. 144 & 148).
- ⁴¹ The five fingers of the hand bear the children's names.
- ⁴² For instance, Makereti returned to Whakarewarewa in 1926 (Te Awekōtuku 1993, p. 217) to discuss her study plans with her people, who agreed to assist her.
- ⁴³ According to T. K. Penniman, Makereti intended writing a series of books about aspects of Māori life (Makereti, 1986, p. 24). It is possible that Makereti's notebooks may hold relevant information; these are kept in the Pitt Rivers Museum Archives in Oxford, England (Te Awekōtuku, 1991, p. 127).
- ⁴⁴ Other *karakia* relating to the creation of the *ira tangata* and to conception were recorded in Best's chapter on cosmogony.

⁴⁵ *Maori Tales* (1924) was another publication, containing popularised versions of some myths and legends.

⁴⁶ Andersen believed that the variations ‘Hine-hau-one’ and ‘Hine-haone’ were from a degraded version (1969, p. 407).

⁴⁷ An English translation of Hine and Tāne’s farewell waiata to each other was given (Andersen 1969, p. 410).

⁴⁸ Rangī and Papa appeared in a ‘chant of creation’, translated into English by Hare Hongi (1969, p. 354).

⁴⁹ The story of Tinirau and his pet whale also appeared in *Maori Tales* (Andersen 1924, pp. 51 - 60).

⁵⁰ See Pōmare earlier in this section.

⁵¹ For example, female entities were not generally mentioned in title or subtitle headings.

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