Māori Goddesses in Literature
Part 1: Pre-1880 - 1900

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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 pre-1880 to 1900, together with a commentary on the sources to which reference is made. A review of literature on atua wāhine which appeared after 1900 will appear in the second volume of this journal.

1. Introduction

This review of written literature, moving from the period of early contact between Māori and Pākehā (pre-1880s) through to 1900, includes a survey of primary and secondary sources. The original material comprises whakapapa, karakia, stories from history and waiata, the last of these appearing in unpublished manuscripts as well as in such texts as *Nga Moteatea* (Ngata and Te Hurinui 1959-90). Waiata and karakia are reliable indicators of traditional concepts as they rarely change, hence the reason for including waiata and karakia as well as whakapapa. Using both published sources and unpublished manuscripts provides a broader data base for future researchers than would otherwise be the case. Published texts, however, are more readily accessible for the general reader.

The commentary on the sources to which reference is made here will provide some insight into the nature of the Māori and English texts, as well as the authors' perspectives. Although the original material was written in Māori by Māori, or recorded by Pākehā males from Māori informants, the wealth of publication was by Pākehā men whose writings, particularly in the first eighty years, posed two major problems: interpretation and censorship severely distorted the picture presented of goddesses. Hence early Pākehā comments about the feminine in religion, perpetuated by later writers, had an adverse influence on attitudes held by some Māori and Pākehā towards the role of women in traditional Māori society.

Māori women had little input into the pool of information available today, even though waiata were composed by women. Of all the early ethnographers, only Best, Beattie and Shortland are recorded as having female informants. To what degree the emphasis on the male, and consequently the marginalisation of the feminine, was a

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result of Pākehā men's questions and/or Māori men's perspectives, is difficult to determine but, clearly, knowledge held by Māori women at the time was generally not recorded.

2. Pre-1880

In the early years of Māori and Pākehā encounter, Māori keepers of celestial lore possessed a wealth of knowledge which still formed a solid foundation for a Māori way of life. Had a major study of Māori goddesses been made at that time, a vast amount of information could have been gathered. The reality, however, was that the early Pākehā visitors [2] and settlers in this country had other more pressing interests; the explorers were intent on recording their observations regarding geographical features of the country, and the general life style of the Māori people encountered on their journeys. The language barrier, too, would have prevented closer examination of specific aspects of Māori culture. Although the early missionaries studied the language, they were intent on replacing the current religious beliefs of the Māori with their own Christian doctrine (see Binney 1968, 13).[3] To have spent time and energy investigating Māori religious beliefs might have validated the very belief system they were attempting to supersede. It is ironic that the very group of people who, on a philosophical level, might have been most able to investigate this area did not do so. Consequently, the missionaries' early writings focussed principally on converting the Māori to Christianity. Indeed, most early Māori writings were translations of hymns, prayers, the scriptures and other matters pertaining to the Church. This is confirmed by a survey of published literature and *The Early Journals of Henry Williams* (Williams 1961). There were, of course, exceptions: Wohlers (1874-75) and Taylor (1855) did record information about customs and traditions.

3. Pre-1880s. Unpublished manuscripts

The earliest known writings about Māori spirituality appear to have been by Te Rangikāheke (between 1846-49) and Tiramōrehu (in 1849). These works are considered particularly valuable as they were recorded by two chiefs who received a traditional form of education in the era prior to Christian contact. Possibly both Tiramōrehu and Te Rangikāheke were not entirely without Christian influence, being converts to that faith. However, their Christian beliefs do not seem to have influenced their presentation of material in any significant way.

3.1 Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke (c. 1815-96)

Te Rangikāheke (*aka* Wiremu Maihi/William Marsh) was a chief of the Ngāti Rangiwewehi tribe of Te Arawa and a son of a notable tohunga. Born c. 1815 (Curnow 1983, 10), Te Rangikāheke possessed knowledge of the pre-Christian era although he became a Christian in his adult years.[4] By 1843 he was literate,[5] and had started writing for Sir George Grey between 1846 and 1849, continuing in this fashion for about eight years (Curnow 1985, 99, 101).

Te Rangikāheke himself adapted his style to the Pākehā literary palate; these accounts were more concise and the order of events chronological (Thornton 1987, 73), as opposed to the complex and non-chronological sequences characteristic of the traditional oral narrative which were employed for his Māori audience (Thornton

1987, 75). This change in narrative style affected both the presentation and detail of the material. As Thornton pointed out, some of the mythical elements in Māori stories, considered 'fabulous and highly extravagant' by Grey (1854, introd.) were downplayed or completely removed from the published accounts, some being changed so drastically that very different stories resulted, stories which are now regarded by many as authentic. Given the subsequent alteration and frequent distortion of the accounts, it is important that Te Rangikāheke's original Māori manuscripts are still available today to provide evidence of traditional Māori style, and of the stories as they were told by him.

Te Rangikāheke wrote about Papatūānuku and many other female deities. The manuscript 'Religious Beliefs and Traditions' (GNZ MMSS 81) containing descriptions of, and incantations belonging to, ceremonies surrounding childbirth alluded to Hineteiwaiwa, Hinerauwārangi (*sic*) and other Hine.[6] Written sources with references to atua wāhine and childbirth practices are extremely rare, rendering this document significant indeed. In another manuscript entitled 'Tupuna' (GNZ MMSS 44),[7] Te Rangikāheke recited the many Pō, Rangi, Papa, and Ao. Reference was made to some of Rangi and Papa's sons. An oriori referring to Papatūānuku, reputed to have been written by Te Rangikāheke, is to be found in the Turnbull library (Grey MSY-2097, 31). The relevant lines of the waiata follow:

> E Hine i kimihia ki raro ki a Papatuanuku
> Ki te kore te whiwhia ki te kore te rawea …

Reference to Papa's separation from Rangi was found in the manuscript texts Grey MSY-2097, 86 and GNZ MMSS 116, 1, 54.[8] Another of Te Rangikāheke's manuscripts, 'Commentary on Maori Poems and Mythology' (MS-0158), contained references to Hineteiwaiwa, Hinerauwārangi (*sic*) and Rukutia.

Te Rangikāheke admitted that the information he gave was a mere snippet of the total knowledge which existed, suggesting that even in his day much precious knowledge had already been lost. He commented: 'Kua ngaro etahi e kitea ana etahi ko te nuinga kua ngaro me te mana nui o nga korero o nga tupuna o nga atua hoki. Kua mahue. He korero taki tahi e mau nei. He mana iti no nga tapu e mau nei no nga Atua hoki' (Grey MSY-2076, 90).

3.2 Dr Edward Shortland (1812-93)

Medical practitioner, former Police Magistrate and Sub-protector of Aborigines based at Maketū in the Eastern district of the North Island 1842-44, Shortland also worked as interpreter and native adviser in the South Island for a time during 1843-44 (*DNZB* 1990, 394-97). While travelling around the country, he collected information about local Māori history and genealogy (*DNZB* 1990, 394-95). Parts of Shortland's manuscript material formed the basis for his published works discussed later in this section.

Shortland's MSS no. 1 (A) 'Mythology and Traditions' (catalogued as MS-0001), recorded whakapapa which mentioned atua wāhine, an account (later published in Shortland 1882) of Tāne shaping Hineahuone, and the story of Whakatau and

Hineteiwaiwa, and Hinetekakara (written down by Tamihana Te Rauparaha). MS-0002 Maori Manuscript no. 2, 'Tradition-Superstition' included the story of Rātā and Hinetūāhōanga (narrated by Ngapora in 1854), as well as information and karakia relating to tūā rituals (p. 48), and childbirth (pp. 52-56); one of the latter karakia being 'te tuku o Hineteiwaiwa', recorded by Te Hinepōuri. MS-0011 (also known as MS (K) no. 11) was entitled 'Primitive Religion and Mythology - Aryans and Polynesians' - 'Maori Tenure of Land'; it included brief references to Papa and some personifications in Māori cosmogony. In MS-0015, 'Maori Notes, Genealogies, Karakia, Customs, etc.', a whakapapa beginning with the words 'Ko Te Po' listed the names of several atua wāhine, including Hineruakimoe, Māhorahoranuiarangi, Papa, Hineahupapa, Hineatauira, Hinetītamauri, Hinauri and Hinetūāhōanga. Hinenuitepō's name occurs in the karakia 'he matamata rākau' as well as in a karakia for the tūā ceremony. Hineteiwaiwa and Hinerauwhārangi are mentioned in the karakia 'Te Tuku o Hineteiwaiwa'.

3.3 Hikawera Wiremu Mahupuku (pre-1835-91)

Mahupuku was born and bred in the Wairarapa district and belonged to Ngāti Kahungunu, and Ngāi Tara tribes. Mahupuku was instrumental in the move to record tribal knowledge in manuscript form in his region.[9] His manuscript, 'Whakapapa tupuna', believed to have been written between 1860 and 1870, is held in the Hikutai Resource Room, Māori Studies Department, Auckland University. In the very first paragraph of the manuscript, Mahupuku explained that his writings are the teachings of his old people, who, fearful lest they be 'cast out into the bush' by the Christian clergy, had not passed all that they knew on to him, but had secretly informed him of certain matters in the dead of night. Such was the fear of the kaumātua that they did not teach Mahupuku ancient karakia. In fact, as Mahupuku related, those who possessed knowledge about the ancestral lines of descent of the firmament and the earth had all died (n.d., 1).

Mahupuku's manuscript contained a description of the separation of Papa and Rangi. Several other female entities were named including Moanawheuriuri (who mated with Tangaroa), Hinemaunga, Parawhenuamea, Hineraukiokio and others. The forming of Hineahuone at Kurawaka, Hine's mating with Tāne, and the subsequent birth of Hinetītama was the subject of another section of the manuscript. A brief account was given of Hinetītama's enquiry into the identity of her father, and of her flight to Te Rēinga, her change of name to Hinenuitepō and of her union with Tūteamoamo (their progeny were listed). Of note is the fact that in this version Hinerauwārangi was born after Hinetītama became Hinenuitepō; on hearing Tāne lament the loss of his wife, Ioa (*sic*) told him to go to Hinehauone and to name their yet unborn daughter, Hinerauwārangi. Finally, Mahupuku recorded a whakapapa beginning with Papa and Rangi which presented them as the parents of Pōurikerekere, Pō tangotango and other Pō (n.d., 46), unlike other whakapapa which showed Rangi and Papa as descendants of te Pō, te Kore etc. Elsewhere in the text, Whaitiri was described as a descendant of the kāhui ariki mentioned and listed in the whakapapa (n.d., 54).

Mahupuku's manuscript provides evidence of the position of feminine entities in his tribal whakapapa. His comments relating to the loss of knowledge, his people's concerns and their attempts to retain elements of that knowledge indicate that Māori

at the time were well aware of the problems facing them and were proactive in finding remedies.

3.4 Some South Island Traditions recorded by Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers; collected by Christine Tremewan

Wohlers was a German missionary who lived from 1844 to 1885 in the South Island, especially on Ruapuke Island, during which time he recorded the myths and traditions of local iwi. Christine Tremewan used Wohlers' manuscript material as her source for editing and translating some southern myths in 'Myths from Murihiku' (Tremewan 1992). Tremewan provided the different tribal versions of some myths, naming the tribe, and informant or author. The material is examined here as it is in this period that the information was first collected. In the story about Tāne, brief mention was made of the creation of Hinehāone (Hineahuone), and the birth of Hineatauira/Hinetītama. Hine's farewell words to Tāne, along with waiata reputedly sung by Hineatauira and Tāne to each other, were recorded (1992, 132-50). In Māui's story, his mother was named as Hine. The text did not indicate the gender of Mahuika (Hine's parent), or Murirangawhenua. The account about Māui's wife, also named Hine, and Tuna was related, as was Māui's encounter with Hinenuitepō (1992, 205-52). In one version it was said that Hinenuitepō received humankind back into her womb through her vagina (1992, 131). Whaitiri's powerful mana was evident in the story of Whaitiri and Tāwhaki (1992, 285-331). Hinetūāhōanga's name appeared in the story of Rātā (1992, 333-60). Rona, in the version related here, was male (1992, 402-36). A lesser known account of Hineitepūwha and Tautini was provided (1992, 482-516). Finally, Te Ruahinematamāori's pursuit of Paowa was described. Te Ruahinematamāori, also known as Te Ruahinekaipīhā, was described as a witch by Wohlers because she was noted for her knowledge of whaiwhaiā, witchcraft. Her name suggests that she was a ruahine, with a diverse range of skills; one mentioned in the story was her knowledge of kūmara karakia (1992, 573-93).

4. Pre-1880s. Publications

4.1 Shortland ([1856] 1980)

In his *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* ([1856] 1980), Shortland provided brief references to Papa and Rangi, and Hinenuiatepō (whom he described as having the reputation of being a 'terrible person'). In this version, Māuimua was intending to steal kūmara from Hinenuiatepō's store when he was killed between Hinenui's thighs. Two other allusions were made to atua wāhine: Mahuika was mentioned in 'he whai mō te wera' (a karakia for a burn) (Shortland 1980, 134), and Hinetūāhōanga's name occurred in a waiata [karakia] composed by Rātā at the launching of the Tainui canoe (1980, 165).

4.2 Matiaha Tiramōrehu (c. 1800-81)

Matiaha Tiramōrehu, a chief and tohunga of Kāitahu (Ngāi Tahu), recorded some South Island traditions in *Te Waiatatanga Mai o te Atua* (1987), a work which is significant not only as one of the earliest pieces of evidence, but also because of the nature of the evidence, which provides some insight into the cosmological beliefs of the South Island Māori.

Tiramōrehu's work opened with a whakapapa going back to te Pō, and moved through to some discussion about Raki (Rangi), his wives Hekehekeipapa, Hotupapa, Māukuuku, Papa and their progeny, as well as the separation of Papa and Rangi.

The story of Hineatauira/Hineteuira was narrated,[10] ending with her flight to te Pō when she met Hineateao, Hineatepō, Hineruakimoe. An explicit description of the journey and the final exchange between Hine and Tāne was given. Other Hine were mentioned in the relating of the above stories. Two other female entities were named: Whaitiri in connection with her genealogical line, and Hinetūāhōanga in relation to toki (axes), although no indication was given of who she was.

As well as providing information about female entities who were absent in other versions of Māori cosmology, Tiramōrehu provided evidence of the roles played by atua wāhine in southern Māori traditions. In this way, too, his work established a base for comparative studies to be made between southern and northern Māori traditions. Tiramōrehu reflected on the abandonment of Māori rituals for Christianity and on the impossibility of collecting all the tribal knowledge regarding the old beliefs because of the sheer volume involved (1987, 11).

4.3 Sir George Grey (1812-98)

During Grey's term of office as Governor-in-chief of New Zealand, he pioneered the collecting of Māori waiata and legends. Grey not only had his Māori male interpreters and acquaintances write down mōteatea for him as he visited the various tribal regions, he also commissioned Māori men to record their tribal stories. These contributions were compiled and resulted in the collections, *Ko nga Moteatea, me nga Hakirara o nga Maori* (Grey 1853), *Ko Nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna Maori* (1854), the English version of *Nga Mahinga*, the *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race* (1885),[11] and *Ko nga Waiata Maori* (1857).

The names of numerous atua wāhine occurred in the karakia and waiata found in *Ko nga Moteatea* (Grey 1853).[12] Parawhenuamea was mentioned in a waiata by Nukupewapewa (p. 8); Mahuika in a pōpō tamariki (p. 46); and Hinetāpeka in a tangi (p. 25).[13] References to Whaitirimātakataka, Whatitiri/ Whaitiri were found in several waiata, karakia and haka (p. 32) composed by the following: Te Ngahue (p. 117), Takina (p. 181), Hoki (p. 192, p. 211), Te Hawe (p. 235, p. 409), and Te Aratukutuku (p. 412, p. 421). Papatūānuku and other names by which she was known were present: Papa/Nuku in a tā kōpito (p. 44), in a pōpō tamariki from Taupō (p. 46), a waiata from Ngāti Kahungunu (p. 187), a ngeri (p. 81), a maro tauā (p. 221), a tau (p. 370), tau waka (p. 90, p. 224), a pātere (p. 247), in tangi (Te Uamairangi p. 105, p. 134), a waiata (Te Heuheu p. 243), in a mākutu (p. 409), a karakia to separate a woman and a man (p. 296), one to render the hands noa (p. 359), and other karakia (pp. 60, 136, 274, 304, 307, 356, 377, 414, 418, 420-23).[14] Other forms of the name occurred in two tangi: Papateraharaha, Papahurikēkē (p. 163), Papatūkiterangi (Tāoho p. 350); in a waiata (p. 389), and a karakia: Papanui, Paparoa, Papaitukia, Papaimātoe, Papaiwawahia (p. 380). The latter was used at the completion of the kūmara harvest.

Hineatetuhi was alluded to in a tangi (Motuhia 1850, 50), Hinekaitangi in a waiata (Te Rāwhiti p. 96), and Rukutia in a waiata (p. 102). Rukutia appeared in a waiata karakia whakawai, used during the lip tattooing process, along with Hinerauwhārangi, Hineteiwaiwa and Papa (pp. 58-60). Hinetinaku and Hinemataiti were named in a karakia[15] recited over Tūtānekai (p. 166). Uenukutiti appeared in an oriori (p. 186); Hāpai, Tangotango, Hinepuanganuiarangi and Hinematua were mentioned in a haka (Hoki p. 192); and Kurawaka, Hinengamatamea, Hinemapuhia, Hinewairangi, Rākautekura, Hinengapuhia in a whakaoriori tamariki (pp. 218-20). Pani was alluded to in a waiata (p. 226), Hine in an apakura (p. 229) and a karakia to Maru (p. 262), and Hinepito with Hineaupounamu in a pana (Raro p. 410-11). Hineteiwaiwa's name appeared in a haka (Hoki p. 298) and in a tūā pana tamariki wāhine, along with Hineangiangi, Hinekorikori, Hinerauwhārangi, and Ruanuku (pp. 353-54).

References to Hine, Hinenui, Hineroa, Hineteweriweri, and Hineruakimate were found in a karakia (pp. 305-07); Hinenuitepō's name occurred in a tangi (p. 329), Hineteko and Hinehore were mentioned in a waiata from Ngāti Kahungunu (p. 352), Hinetūāhōanga in a tau waka (p. 355), and Hineruakimoe, Hinemanini, and Hinemanana in a tau to burn down te Tatau o te Pō, the house of Miru (pp. 370-71). Of special significance here is a waiata karakia, composed by Te Aratukutuku, who was acknowledged as a 'wahine ariki'; Maikukumākākā was referred to in the waiata as 'te whakatapairu-ariki', a term which revealed her elevation to a great status. Whatitirimātakataka, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Māitiiti, Mārekareka, Ruatamahine, Hineruarangi, and Papatūānuku were other atua mentioned (pp. 411-15). The historical accounts in the appendices contained references to many of the above-named atua. Hinemoa's story was also recounted earlier in the book (pp. 52-57).

Several karakia and waiata in *Ko nga Waiata Maori* (1857) also contained references to atua wāhine. A tangi by Kōhurehure mentioned Para-whenuamea, Whaitirikapapā, Papatūānuku, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Itiiti, Rekareka, and Ruatamawahine (pp. 3-8). A waiata, composed by a woman for her pet kurī, recorded the names of Hinetukia and Hinemarie (p. 15), while another tangi alluded to Hinereireia (p. 41). Papatūānuku (*aka* Nuku, Papatahuaroa) appeared in tangi (p. 24, p. 31, p. 37), the last of which also alluded to Whaitirimātakataka.

In *Ko Nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna* (Grey 1854),[16] references were made to Papatūānuku, in a brief account of her separation from Rangi, and Murirangawhenua,[17] Mahuika, Hinenuitepō, in relation to Māui's actions. The story of Hinauri and Rupe (Māui transformed into a pigeon) was told; the tangi sung by Rupe during his search for Hinauri (Hina) was included, along with her song of reply. The term 'Ko Te Pou o Whatitiri' was found in this account (pp. 31-35). Hineteiwaiwa's[18] expedition to find Kae was related (pp. 36-38); Hine's companions were listed as Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Itiiti, Rekareka, and Ruahauatangaroa. The names of Hinepiripiri, Tangotango, Whaitirimātakataka, occurred in the story of Tāwhaki (pp. 45-53) and Hineteiwaiwa, Hinetinaku and Hinemataiti in an account about Wahieroa, Rātā and Whakatau (pp. 54-58). A karakia used at the birth of Hineteiwaiwa's child referred to Hinetinaku and Hinemataiti. The story of Hineteiwaiwa and Whakataupōtiki was recounted (pp. 59-62). Hinetūāhōanga's arrival in Aotearoa was mentioned (p. 69), as well as that of Whakaotirangi and

Kearoa (pp. 70-71). Kuiwai featured in the chapter about Manaia and Ngātoroirangi (pp. 83-93), while in another chapter Kurangaituku's capturing of Hatupatu was sketched (p. 95). The famous story of Hinemoa was related; a variation of the karakia recorded earlier in the book (pp. 57-58) was provided (p. 129), being the karakia used at Tūtānekai's birth. Accounts about Te Kahureremoa (pp. 141-48), Te Huhuti (pp. 164-65), Puhihuia (pp. 166-71), and Raumahora (pp. 182-83) were also narrated.

In amassing, editing and translating the manuscripts for the purpose of publication, Grey altered much of the original style by removing what he thought would be considered monotonous repetition for a Pākehā audience. He reconstructed the stories by creating a new chronological sequence, thus removing the true essence of oral Māori literature,[19] and often combined material[20] from different sources (Williams in Grey 1971, vii) which resulted in a compilation of separate versions and ultimately a new account. In some instances, he removed sections of the original story which he considered might not appeal to the European's sensitivities or were superfluous in a European context. For instance, Grey excluded the details of Māui entering Hinenuitepō's body, as well as some of the karakia (e.g. the karakia to induce the birth of Hineteiwaiwa's child (Grey 1854, 57-58). However, Grey's translation of *Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna* was fairly accurate. Despite the few references to atua wāhine, his work, particularly his collection of material in Māori, remains one of the most extensive[21] and authoritative, having been written mainly between 1845 and 1854, and by the hand of Māori themselves.

4.4 Rev. Richard Taylor (1805-73)

The recording of Māori traditions might have appeared an unusual pastime for a cleric. However, acutely aware of the loss of knowledge among the Māori of their traditions and religion, Rev. Richard Taylor was keen to "rescue from that oblivion into which they were fast hastening the Manners, Customs, Traditions and Religion of a primitive race" (Taylor [1855] 1974, vi). *Te Ika a Maui*, first published in 1855, included a whakapapa relating to Atatuhi and Te Werowero's union with Ranginuietūnei, a description of Papa's appearance before she bore her children, and references to Waitiri (*sic*), Kurangaituku and Hineteiwaiwa. Hinenuitepō was given brief mention in connection with one of 'the two grand orders of gods', the gods of the night, of whom she is the 'great mother' and the 'grandparent' (1974, 16). Taylor later referred to Hinenuitepō's womb as Hades (1974, 31) when telling the story of Māui's attempt to enter Hinenuitepō.

4.5 Mohi Ruatapu (n.d.)

Mohi Ruatapu was a leading tohunga of Ngāti Porou, and one of the last tohunga and instructors at Te Rāwheoro, the Whare Wānanga at Ūawa (Tolaga Bay). Though the date of Ruatapu's birth and death are unknown, it is assumed that he was an old man in the 1870s.[22] The two manuscripts 'He pukapuka whakapapa no ngā tūpuna Māori' (dated 1871) and 'Ko Rangi e tū nei, ko Papa e takoto nei' (dated 1875), written by Ruatapu, were translated, edited and annotated by Anaru Reedy (1993), resulting in the publication *Ngā Kōrero a Mohi Ruatapu tohunga rongonui o Ngāti Porou*. The 1871 document is held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, and the 1875 manuscript in the Hocken Library, Dunedin.

The first manuscript 'He pukapuka whakapapa no ngā tūpuna Māori' (1993, 17-66) contained several references to atua wāhine, in the whakapapa themselves as well as in the stories recounted by Ruatapu. The names included Papa, Hineahuone, Hinemanuhiri, and Hinetītama. Occurring in the story of Māui were Taranga (Māui's mother), Hinauru (*sic*) (his sister), Hineraumāukuuku (his wife), Murirangawhenua, Mahuika and Hinenuitepō (his kuia). Hineiaiere was named in Māui's karakia to change Irawaru into a dog. In the account about Tāwhaki, Whaitiri was a prominent figure, demonstrating her knowledge of karakia. Te Ruahinematamorari and Hineatekawa were also mentioned.

A whakapapa stemming from Wahieroa and Hinetuahōhanga (*sic*) was provided, followed by the story of Hinetuahōhanga and Ngahue. Hinetuahōhanga appeared again in the section on Rātā. Another whakapapa began with Hinemanuhiri and included Hinekapuarangi, Hinerauwhārangi, and Hineatauira. Whakaotirangi was mentioned in a migration story. An account about Houmea was related; Houmea was Hineruakimoe's daughter and Tangaroa's wife. Hinematikotai's name occurred in the myth about Ruatepupuke. Further whakapapa referred to Hinetītama, Hineruakimoe, Hinetūturi, Hinenuitepō and Whaitiri.

The second manuscript 'Ko Rangi e tū nei, ko Papa e takoto nei' (1993, 69-114) embodied further whakapapa, kōrero and karakia. The various whakapapa found in this section of the book included the following atua wāhine: Taranga, Whaitiri, Papa, Hineahuone, Hinemanuhiri, Te Kahurangi (f?), Hinekapuarangi, Hinerauwhārangi, Hineatauwira *(sic)*, Hinetītama, and Murirangawhenua. One whakapapa was preceded by an account about Papa and Rangi.

Two karakia contained references to goddesses: one alluded to Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Itiiti, Mārekareka, and Pani, while another invoked Hine to heal a broken back:

> … Haruru tapuwae no Hine,
> Ngātoro tapuae no Hine.
> Pērā hoki rā ko Hine, tūtakina ngā iwi,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina te tuanga hiwi roa,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina ngā kaokao,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina te poho,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina ngā papa-
> Ko Hine, tūta[ki]na ka w[h]iw[h]i,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina ka mau,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina … (1993, 73-74).

As an introduction to a karakia kūmara, the story of Pani was briefly related, describing Pani's custom of producing her children, the kūmara, in the waters of Moanaariki. Murirangawhenua, Hinemakaiere, Mahuika and Hinenuitepō were referred to again in connection with Māui. Finally, an account about Houmea was also related.

4.6 Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers (1811-85)

Wohlers' work has already been examined in its manuscript form earlier in this section. His published paper 'The Mythology and Traditions of the Maori in New Zealand' (*Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* 1874-75) included much of the same material, therefore further discussion is not necessary other than to note that references were made to the following atua wāhine: Papatūānuku, Hinehāone, Hineatauira, Hinekitaharangi, Hina, Mahuika, Whaitiri, Hinenuiotekawa, Hinetūāōaka (Hinetūāhōanga), Hineteiwaiwa (Hinetangarumoana) (1874, 3-53), Rukutia, and Te RuahinemataMāori/ Ruahinekaipīhā (1875, 108-23). Three observations are made here: though the atua were mentioned in both unpublished and published versions, Hine (Māui's mother) appeared as Hina in the *Transactions* as opposed to Hine in the manuscript, Mahuika's gender was not identified in the manuscript but was said to be female in the *Transactions*; and Hinetuaoaka, though named in the published Māori text remained anonymous in the accompanying English translation. Wohlers wrongly translated the phrase 'o tou tupuna, ko Hinetuaoaka' (of your ancestor Hinetuaoaka) as 'of your ancestors', thereby completely changing the meaning, and removing any reference to Hinetuaoaka from the English text (1874, 21 English, 46 Māori).

4.7 Other published sources

Some writers devoted sections of their works to the mythology, 'superstitions', and religious beliefs of the Māori. The accounts were generally written for a Pākehā audience. In 1851, Wesleyan minister Rev. Thomas Buddle delivered two lectures entitled *The Aborigines of New Zealand* at the Auckland Mechanics' Institute. His version of how death came into the Māori world is very unusual: Hinenuitepō, from a union with Tiki, was giving birth to her first-born when a little bird flying past laughed. Ashamed or offended, Hinenuitepō strangled the child in the birth process (1851, 14). As Buddle does not give his source, it is difficult to ascertain the origin of this version but it could well have arisen from Buddle's misunderstanding of the account when he first heard it.

Arthur Thomson's chapter on Mythology and Superstitions, in *The Story of New Zealand* (1859), briefly summarised the separation of Rangi and Papa, and Māui entering Hinenuitepō. Thomson's sources were Shortland (1856) and Grey's *Ko Nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna Maori* (1854). Clearly Pākehā comments about, and interpretations of, Māori life and traditions were being reiterated by other Pākehā writers at a very early stage.

William Yate (1835) had only one reference to Hina, given as Mawe's (Māui) wife. Thomas Kendall[23] regarded Hine (or Hina) as the mother goddess, the 'First Mother, globular and white, or a virgin', and as 'Queen of the Host of Heaven'[24] (in Binney 1968, 152). Kendall's description of Hine presented her in a very Christian, European, and very un-Māori way; Hine was not white, nor was she a virgin.

5. Summary of published sources: pre-1880

This period of first encounter is clearly significant in that the literature written about atua wāhine during this time is the earliest documented record available today. A

considerable degree of consistency exists between accounts (Buddle excepted). Although the references to atua wāhine lacked detail and depth, a mark of the marginalisation of the feminine, the female presence was evident. Clearly female entities were regarded as atua in the original Māori manuscripts. Equally obvious in the English texts was the superimposing of European concepts onto the accounts, for instance the flair for romanticism: Taylor's description of Hinenuitepō's womb as Hades (1974, 31) and Kendall's interpretation of Hine as 'white', 'virginal' or a 'Queen of the Host of Heaven'. This form of writing was to pervade the literature for many decades to come. Although perhaps irritating and distracting to a modern reader, the European imprint was insignificant in comparison to the wealth of knowledge being recorded.

6. Commentary on published sources: 1800 - 1900

The period from 1880 to 1900 saw more investigations being made into the traditions and life style of the Māori. Extinction of the Māori was predicted so there was a race against time to record as much of their knowledge as possible. Best, for instance, regarded the Pākehā race as having a duty to preserve a permanent record of the customs of the people it displaced (Craig 1964, 23). This was one of the fundamental reasons for the establishment of the Polynesian Society and its *Journal* (Sorrenson 1992, 21, 24).

The studies made of the Māori included investigations into the cosmogonic beginnings but focussed predominantly on the male component. The researchers were amateur ethnographers, all Pākehā and male, who, in the course of collecting information, interviewed mostly Māori men (Te Awekōtuku 1991, 73). Only Best, Beattie and Shortland were recorded as having female informants: Best corresponded with Makurata; Beattie interviewed several Māori women; Te Hinepōuri presented one of the karakia in Shortland's collection. It is difficult to assess the degree to which the emphasis on the male, and consequently the marginalisation of the female, was the result both of Pākehā men's questions and/or of Māori men's perspectives. However one thing is evident, the knowledge of atua wāhine held by Māori women at the time was not recorded by European observers.[25]

To understand why the women's domain of knowledge might have been overlooked, or ignored, one must consider the historical context in which the information was being sought. A sense of cultural superiority over the Māori race pervaded Pākehā philosophy at the turn of the century, with the main intent being to eradicate some of the more 'savage' ways of the Māori, and to civilise the people as good Christians (Sorrenson 1979, 69). John White,[26] for instance, was of the opinion that Māori were held in 'servile bondage' to 'satanic' superstitions and he supported missionary efforts to suppress them (Reilly 1989, 162). The male ethnographers were products of the Victorian era, with its stress on male chauvinism and the servile role of women (Scutt 1983, 11). Although some modification of women's subordinate function may have occurred within colonial society, given the essential partnership that evolved among the settlers, the general concept appears to have remained strongly intact.

In the Victorian era, men were more formally educated than women; very rarely did women gain tertiary education. Therefore, it is possible that the Pākehā

ethnographers, in examining aspects of the Māori world, wrongly concluded that men alone were the repositories of knowledge: outsiders, observing that Māori men delivered whaikōrero in most tribal areas, and that men attended the whare wānanga,[27] might easily have assumed that women held inferior positions in Māori society. After all, these newcomers, having no equivalent model with which to compare the Māori women's ritual function as the hunga karanga and hunga waiata, had no comprehension of the significance of these roles within the Māori context. It is unlikely that the researchers were ever in a situation where they could discuss such issues as childbirth or atua wāhine with Māori women, or could witness women's rituals. Presumably the cultural and gender barriers between Victorian ethnographers and Māori women would have been too great, had the researchers been interested in investigating the world of Māori women.

The absence of women in the literature we are considering could have led to assumptions being made, and conclusions being drawn, about the role of women in certain institutions, and in the wider society. In fact, this appears to have been what actually happened.

In committing to paper their findings, many of the ethnographers added their own perspective, interpreting and selecting the material from within the framework of their own cultural context. Distortion and reconstruction could easily result, making it difficult to decipher which were the original threads of a story and which were superimposed perceptions. Beattie stands out as one who strove not to introduce his opinion when recording information. All the writers did have one thing in common: total dedication to the cause, which meant hours and hours of data collection, the collation of notes, as well as the writing and printing of texts. Several of these writers gained the reputation of being leading scholars in the area of Māori language and/or culture. Once their ideas were down in print they were commonly accepted by the Pākehā of the time and, a generation or so later, by a substantial section of the general Māori populace, dependent on the written word for accessing tikanga information, as being correct and representative of the Māori society being described by them.

Māori themselves were becoming heavily involved in the main Christian churches or the developing Māori sects. It is evident that some of the old Māori were concerned about the loss of traditional knowledge and were keen to have some of the ancient lore recorded for future generations. Whether this desire was also strengthened because of the predicted extinction of the Māori race is impossible to say. However, the wish to retain the knowledge led to the writing down of information hitherto considered too tapu to be shared with the society at large. Few Māori wrote about traditional Māori religious beliefs. Those works which remain in unpublished form or are now published are valuable sources of information, providing rare pieces of primary material. One or two of the Māori scribes were also known to have altered texts. There was some concern about the extent to which Te Whatahoro altered the texts he was transcribing for Te Mātorohanga and Pōhūhū (Simmons 1994, 121). Hare Hongi was also said to have used his own dialect instead of the dialect of the speaker when transcribing texts (Simmons 1976, 372). Nevertheless, the writers' commitment to recording the information was clearly outstanding. Without their efforts the evidence would not be available today.

7. Unpublished manuscripts 1880-1900
7.1 Moihi Te Mātorohanga (c. 1800-76)[28]

Moihi Te Mātorohanga belonged to the Ngāti Kahungunu, Rangitāne, and Ngāi Tahu ki Wairarapa tribes. He was a graduate from various renowned whare wānanga of his area and spent much time giving instruction at the Rāwheoro Whare Wānanga at Ūawa/Tolaga Bay (Simmons 1994, 115).

The MS-Papers-0189-B020[29] proved to be one of the few documents which held significant information about Papatūānuku and other Māori goddesses. In this manuscript, Te Mātorohanga described some of the activities of Rangi and Papa's family, prior to, and immediately after, the separation of Rangi and Papa, providing many lists of whakapapa. There were scant references to both Papa and Rangi, who appeared to be marginalised, set in a relatively passive state while their children separated them. The principal focus was on the sons and their designs. Nevertheless, this work is significant in that it did mention Papa, describing her and Rangi's relationship with each other and with their children.

One reference to Papa concerned the gestation period of six nights before her children were born (MS-0189-B020, 7). This bears a strong resemblance to the Bible story where heaven and earth were created in six days. Possibly the six day duration is simply co-incidental and the version was not affected by Christian influence; on the other hand, Te Mātorohanga, or Te Whatahoro, might have sought to bring the parameters of the story in line with the Book of Genesis of the Old Testament (see Te Rangihīroa 1974, 526). A committee of Māori elders set up to judge the accuracy or otherwise of the writings,[30] accepted the version given as being correct. Although the elders could have been correct, their decision may have reflected their lack of knowledge of the finer details of Māori cosmology, and/or the impact that Christianity had already made on the philosophy of the Māori.

Material extracted from the NZ Māori Purposes Fund Board Manuscript Papers-0189-B115, dated 1892,[31] proved to be another useful source. Presumably, the writer was Whatahoro and the informant Te Mātorohanga.[32] Implicit in the manuscript's opening line, 'He pukapuka no nga atua' (a book about/from the gods), is that the book's contents are about atua, although Te Mātorohanga did not specifically refer to Rangi and Papa as gods. The statement, too, that the females in Rangi and Papa's family were all 'wahine atua' (female gods) (MS-0189-B115, 28), is further confirmation that Te Mātorohanga considered them atua. Because of the godly nature of these females the resulting offspring were also goddesses. Hence, when he stated that there were no women among Rangi and Papa's children or grandchildren, the narrator was saying that there were no women who held the seed of human life. The existing goddesses were unable to produce the human life principle, te ira tangata. The uha, the female element to create humankind, was missing. That these 'women' were referred to as goddesses by Te Mātorohanga is crucial to our understanding of this source.

One reference made to Papatūānuku focussed on the severing of Ranginui and Papatūānuku's limbs. Later, Te Mātorohanga alluded again to the separation of Rangi and Papa, this time with respect to their grieving for each other. A better understanding can be gained of the great trauma being experienced by Papa and

Rangi at the time of their enforced separation. In the manuscript references were also made to Pārāweranui, Hineteuira, Hinemoana, Parawhenuamea, Hinehauone, Hinenuitepō, Hinemākohurangi, Hinewhaitiri, Papatūānuku/ Papamatuatekore, Mahuika, Hinetāpapa, Hineahuone, Hine-tītama, Hinetamara, and Hinerauwhārangi (MS-0189-B115).

Te Mātorohanga's material on Rangi and Papa was quite detailed in comparison with Te Rangikāheke's. Both shared common threads of the cosmogonic stories but each focussed on different stages of those accounts. As can be expected from graduates from the same school of learning, consistencies can be found between Te Mātorohanga and Pōhūhū's teachings. Some of the material given in 'He pukapuka no nga atua' was phrased in a similar way to that found in *The Lore of the Whare-wananga* (Smith 1913).[33] In fact, the passage in the publication clarified the manuscript excerpt.

7.2 Hetaraka (Kapua) Tautahi (1835-1908)

Hetaraka Tautahi was a tohunga of ariki lineage of the Ngā Rauru tribe in South Taranaki. In October 1897, he dictated to his son-in-law the contents of the manuscript entitled, 'Ko Te Wananga o Nga Korero a nga Tupuna'.[34] The 'karaipiture' (scripture) as Tautahi termed the work, was a detailed whakapapa of Ngā Rauru relating to their cosmological origins.[35] In the manuscript several female deities were named, including Rikoriko, Te Atatuhi, Hinewhakatihi, Hineteiwaiwa, Tarahanga (Taranga), Whaitiri, Hineiteata, Hinehungamea, Hineiāngina, and Hinewairangi. Of Rangi and Papa's twelve children, two were presented as female, namely the eighth child, called Hunga, and the ninth child, Ari (Rapley 1988, 4). In this version, Rangi cohabited with Rikoriko and Te Atatuhi after being separated from Papa.

Tautahi's manuscript provides an early record of a Taranaki version of cosmology. The names of female entities were listed in Tautahi's whakapapa charts, but details about those atua were not given. Nevertheless, the manuscript is important both as a source identifying atua wāhine and as a catalyst for his people to begin writing down their whakapapa and traditions.

8. Publications 1880-1900

The publications produced between 1880 and the turn of the century contained important records of Māori traditions. Many of these records are extremely significant. Shortland, Best, White, Smith and Tregear were prominent writers, with a sole female author, Kate McCosh Clark, contributing her *Maori Tales and Legends* (1896), a popularised version of some myths. A composite edition of *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race* and *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna* by Grey was published in 1885.

8.1 Dr Edward Shortland

In 1882 Shortland published *Maori Religion and Mythology* based on the accounts he had recorded in manuscript form three decades earlier.[36] Brief accounts were given of Papa[37] and Rangi's separation and the creation of Hineahuone. In this version it

was Papa who sent Tāne to his various kuia to find the uha, finally sending him to Kurawaka. The story was related of Hineatauira's departure for te Pō where she became Hinenuitepō; included was the dialogue between Hineatauira/Hinenuitepō and Tāne before he returned to te Aotūroa. In the chapters on 'Religious Rites of the Maori' were found the karakia of Hineteiwaiwa 'Te tuku o Hineteiwaiwa',[38] and karakia used in tūā rituals ([1882] 1977, 40-43). Chapter Five contained karakia from the pure ceremony for Ihenga; the karakia referred to Hinenuitepō, Whatiurimatakakā, and Kearoa. Both 'Te tuku o Hineteiwaiwa'[39] and the pure karakia are significant as examples of invocations to atua wāhine, for use for women and men alike. Kearoa and Whakaotirangi were recognised as sacred female ancestors and as representing ruāhine (1977, 60-61).

8.2 John McGregor (1832-1925)

John McGregor was responsible for collecting waiata from the Waikato area and publishing them in *Popular Maori Songs* (1893). He wrote that the waiata were written down by Waikato Māori between December 1863 and February 1864, making the collection one of the earliest of its kind. The recorders were prisoners of war, having surrendered at Rangiriri, and McGregor was one of their guards; he was interested in viewing some waiata in written form and asked one of the prisoners to write down a few. Other prisoners also contributed, with the understanding that McGregor would endeavour to publish the waiata at the conclusion of the war.

The names of Maikukumākākā and Hineraka appeared in 'Pinepine te kura hau' (anon. in McGregor 1893, 9-10).[40] In a waiata by Tāwhaki when he sought his wife, Whaitiri, reference was made to 'te mata o Whaitiri' (1893, 34). Three more waiata tangi, found in the Supplements to *Popular Maori Songs*, also referred to Whaitiri (1898, 26; 1905, 83). Other atua wāhine included in waiata were: Nuku, in a waiata sung by Tāwhaki; Parawhenua (anon.); Hinemapuhia, Hinewairangi, Hinengaapuhia (anon.); and Hinematioro (Mero) (McGregor 1893, 34-61). A story about Hinekōrangi was related, along with the waiata composed by her father for her (1893, 24-28). A ngeri mentioned Papa (anon.), and a tauparapara from the time of the migration of Tainui included the name of Hinetūāhōanga (anon.) (1893, 114-15).

More names of atua wāhine were found in the four Supplements to *Popular Maori Songs*. Rona was noted in a waiata (Tāoho in McGregor 1898, 16). Several were mentioned in relation to tangi: Hinenuitepō, in a Ngāti Whātua tangi tawhito composed by Waiahina for Tarahawaiki (1905, 78); and in one from Taranaki (anon.) (1908, 106); Hinepeke, Hinekōtuku (anon.) (1905, 81); and Hinemākinokino and Whatitiri in a Whanganui waiata tangi (anon.) (1908, 97-98) for a kūmara cultivation. Papa was mentioned in a karakia recited by Rātā (1908, 109).

8.3 Edward Tregear (1846-1931)

Tregear, one of the most prominent Pākehā intellectuals of his time, was a founding member of the Polynesian Society, and a principal contributor to the *Journal* in its early years of publication, writing about philological and linguistic issues pertaining to Polynesian languages and Polynesian origins. What was perhaps his greatest work, *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (1891), proved to be a useful

source for identifying many of the atua wāhine. An extensive list of female entities can be found in the Dictionary. Apart from the more commonly known goddesses already noted, less familiar deities recorded were Hineahua, Hineahupapa, Hineapohia, Hineaterepo, Hineheheirangi, and Hinematikotai (1891, 71). People and works Tregear had consulted were listed in the book's preface, acknowledging the wide range of oral and written sources used and the people who had sought information on his behalf (1891, x-xii).

8.4 John White (1826-91)

John White arrived in Aotearoa in 1834, spending his working life employed as a Māori land purchasing officer, government interpreter and Resident Magistrate (Reilly 1989). In his time he was at the forefront of collecting information from Māori for publication. A government-initiated project, begun in 1879, culminated in the publication of White's *Ancient History of the Maori* (1887-90), a six volume collection which White hoped to add to. He died in 1891 before he was able to fulfil his wish.

The *Ancient History of the Maori* included creation stories from several tribes in Māori and English. Volume I chapter 2 had whakapapa noting the offspring of Pokohāruatepō, Hekehekeipapa, Hotupapa, Māukuuku, Tauharekiokio, and Papatūānuku, all of whom coupled with Rangi (Ngāi Tahu).[41] Other atua wāhine mentioned were: Hinetūāhōanga, Hinateiwaiwa, Hineteotaota, Itiiti, Mārekareka, Raukatauri, and Raukatamea. Of note is a Ngāti Kahungunu tradition which described Papa as the daughter of Matuatekore, and Rangi as the son of Ranginuiatamaku and Kewa (1887 I, 160). Versions of Papa and Rangi's separation were recounted, including one which stated that the last born, a daughter named Paia,[42] was responsible for suggesting that Rangi be raised up above (1887 I, 137).

Several 'readings', as White termed these accounts, focussed on Tāne's search for the female element and on the ultimate forming of the female, named Hinehauone[43] (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu), Hinemanuhiri (Ngāti Porou), Hinehāone and Iowahine (Ngāi Tahu). Tāne's karakia to enable him to create a female was provided (1887 I, 155-58 English; 139-41 Māori). A Ngāti Kahungunu tradition located the formation of Hinehauone at the pubes of Papa (1887 I, 162 English; 146 Māori). In a Ngāti Porou version of woman's creation, Tānenuiarangi went to a sandy beach at Tapatairoa, in Hawaiki, mixed sand with mud and formed woman. She had two names, Hinehauone and Hinemanuhiri (1887 I, 158-59 English; 142-43 Māori).

A similar version, from the Urewera (1887 I, 159-60 English; 143-44 Māori), stated that Tāne went to Hawaiki and asked the goddesses there where the female element was. He was shown the river of Hawaiki and was told that the water of the river itself was female and that the child would come from it. Tāne formed a woman from the river mud. In the karakia which Tāne recited, the woman's name was Hinemanahiri (*sic*). The Ngāi Tahu tradition related that Tāne wished to have children by his mother. However, she explained that this was not possible and instructed him to form a female's body from earth (1887 I, 134 English; 120 Māori). A Ngāti Hau account named Mārikoriko as the first woman in this world: she gave birth to Hinekauataata, whose father was Tiki (1887 I, 151-52 English; 136-37 Māori). Other tribal versions of Tāne's subsequent search for his wife were related.

In addition, many other female deities' names were given, including Hineatauira, Hinenuitepō, Hinepupukemaunga, Hineraukiokio, Whaitiri, Iowahine and Hineahua to name a few.

Volume II included references to Mataora, Niwareka, Mahuika, Hinauri, Hineteiwaiwa, and Hineitepūwha. Volumes III-VI contained stories of migration and more recent history which alluded to prominent female leaders of the time. A whakapapa of Rangi and Papa and other atua was found in Volume VI.

White's six volume text is a testimony to his dedication to the huge task of collecting and collating the masses of material which make up the *Ancient History of the Maori*. Tribal derivations were the only sources given for the material, apart from White's acknowledgement of certain informants in the preface of Volume I.[44] It is known that White did not agree to showing whakapapa in his possession to Māori whakapapa experts lest they corrupt his texts (Reilly 1995, 28) so few checks were made by knowledgeable Māori of the material prior to its publication.

In his article entitled 'Seeking the Elusive Mōhio: White and his Māori Informants', Reilly (1990) examined the relationship of White and these people. Reilly explored the informant's role in gathering data; he noted that they sometimes received payment for their services (1990, 45). For some, one could say, there were serious consequences. For example, Te Takurua the tohunga was believed to have breached the law of tapu by 'giving away the secrets of mākutu to a "common man"' (1990, 47). When Te Takurua and his son died suddenly, White appeared to show no signs of remorse, though the deaths were ascribed to their having given information to White (1990, 47).

8.5 The Journal of the Polynesian Society

A fundamental reason for establishing the Polynesian Society and its *Journal* was to preserve a record of Māori life and traditions (Sorrenson 1992, 21, 24), since the decline of the people and their culture was anticipated (Sissons 1991, 3). The *JPS* contains a range of articles by a number of Pākehā contributors, recording traditions of the Māori. The most prolific writers on the subject of Māori were Percy Smith, Elsdon Best, Walter Gudgeon, Edward Tregear, Johannes Andersen, and Henry Skinner. Although Māori would have provided information indirectly for the *Journal*, relatively few contributed directly, making their papers all the more important as primary sources.

In the very first volume of the *Journal*, Percy Smith alluded to Hinetūāhōanga, describing her as 'the goddess or deified ancestress, who is always connected in some form with the production of stone axes' (Smith 1892, 82). Other early submissions to the *Journal* included 'Te tangi a te Rangi-mauri mo Tonga-awhikau', a lament alluding to Rangi embracing Papa, and to te aitanga o Parawhenuamea (Te Rangi-mauri 1896, 112-14),[45] and 'Omens and Superstitious Beliefs of the Maori' by Best, which referred to Miru as the 'Goddess of Hades' (Best 1898, 9). 'Notes on Mythology' contained the names of Kurawaka, Hineahuone, Papa, Huna, Hinerauamoa, Tāwharanui, Panitinaku, among others (Best 1899, 116). In a later article, Best acknowledged Hinenuitepō as the personification of death and the

goddess of Hades (1900, 177). Shand wrote about the Moriori tradition of Rangi and Papa (1895, 33), providing a whakapapa beginning with the two primal parents (1895, 42-43).

8.6 Kate McCosh Clark (1847-1926)

English born Kate McCosh Clark was a community leader, artist and writer of children's books (*DNZB* II, 87-88). She wrote *Maori Tales and Legends* (1896) to record interesting, informative Māori stories for young people. The publication was unusual in the nineteenth century, given that published works about Māori subjects by women writers were extremely rare. The stories of Rangi and Papatua (shortened from Papatūānuku), Pare and Hutu, Hinemoa, Niwareka, Marama and Ina, and lastly Waitiri and Tāwhaki were related in a popular style. Hina, Hinenuitepō, 'The Whetstone Maid' (presumably Hinetūāhōanga, although she was not named), Hinemati,[46] and Hāpai also featured. The authenticity of some details in the stories is dubious, although references provided at the rear of the book indicated that Grey and White were two major sources, Clark knowing Grey personally; in the preface she also stated that King Tāwhiao was one of her informants (1896, ix). The outstanding characteristic of Clark's work, though, is the attention she gave the feminine in the stories and her recognition of the power of atua wāhine in Māori cosmology.

9. Summary 1880-1900

As with the pre-1880 section, the data collected in the final quarter of the nineteenth century provides an important source for subsequent research into Māori traditions, and way of life in general. Of particular significance is the primary material collected and written during this time; generally the information contained therein was provided by Māori who had received a traditional Māori education, although Christian influences may still have come to bear on some of the informants' delivery of their material.

Pākehā attitudes of cultural superiority still predominated at the beginning of the twentieth century. Best, Andersen and their peers were writing prolifically but there were few Māori contributions to the written record. Although information regarding Māori goddesses may still have been relatively accessible in the first decades of the twentieth century, only the following works include atua wāhine to a significant extent: some of Best's writings and Smith's *Lore of the Whare-wananga*, a compilation of the teachings of Te Mātorohanga and Pōhūhū, and the text translation by Smith. Apart from these, only smatterings of information were to be found in unpublished and published works. Goddesses were generally acknowledged by brief mention, with little elaboration. Yet even this cursory treatment suggests that knowledge of atua wāhine was still extant.

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] Many visitors didn't stay long enough to study Māori life and customs at a profound level.

[3] Indeed, Binney referred to the missionaries Kendall, Hall, and King as being determined to destroy the heathen's culture while saving the heathen's soul (Binney 1968, 13).
[4] This occurred after the arrival of Rev. Thomas Chapman in the Rotorua area in 1835. Te Rangikāheke was christened William Maihi (Marsh) and attended the local mission school.
[5] Curnow suggests that because Te Rangikāheke is inconsistent in his use of 'wh', he most probably learned to write before that consonant was first printed in 1844 (1985, 99).
[6] See also Te Rangikāheke's MS-0158, 83 for a reference to Hinerauwhārangi, Rukutia, and Hineteiwaiwa.
[7] The equivalent manuscript found in Turnbull appears to be 'Origins of mankind' (Grey MSY-2091).
[8] Further references can be found in Grey MSY-2076 and MSY-2089 (about four pages after p. 729. The paging of this manuscript is inconsistent).
[9] Mahupuku was the 'Prime Minister' of the Pāpāwai gathering in the Wairarapa where Mātorohanga and Pōhūhū presented their seminars (Simmons 1994, 159).
[10] It appears that Hineteuira/Hineatauira is the South Island equivalent of Hinetītama in the North.
[11] Grey's collection of manuscripts was used as sources for *Nga Mahinga*. Some manuscripts are held at the Turnbull Library: MSY-2055 contained references to Māui, Mahuika, Hinenuitepō, and Hinetītama; MSY-2076 alluded to the separation of Papa and Rangi, and MSY-2091 referred to Hinetūāhōanga.
[12] Only one reference will be made to the year of publication in the next five paragraphs to allow for easier reading of the text.
[13] The composers of these waiata were generally not given, but where mentioned the names will appear in brackets along with the page number where the waiata or karakia is found.
[14] The names used included Puaki-Nuku, Ru-Nuku, Ru-Papa, Aio-Nuku, Wai-o-Nuku. The karakia was a mauri, recited at the end of the purenga ritual (See Grey 1853, 420 note).
[15] The karakia was described as 'Te tukutuku o Hineteiwaiwa.'
[16] In 1928, an expanded version of the book was retitled *Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna*. Of the 198 pages of *Nga Mahi*, at least 50 pages were authored by Te Rangikāheke (Simmons 1966, 179). Also note that no further reference will be made to the year of publication in this paragraph to allow for easier reading of the text.
[17] Although Murirangawhenua's gender is not given, the name is included here as the term tūpuna is used to describe both Murirangawhenua and Hinenuitepō (Grey 1854, 17).
[18] A karakia used at the birth of Hineteiwaiwa's child was recounted (Grey 1854, 57-58).
[19] Thornton 1987, 66. Characteristic of traditional Māori oral narrative, this type of sequence is termed the appositional style (Thornton 1987). It is a style in which an important event in the narrative, though not necessarily first chronologically, is taken as the starting point. The narrative then goes back in time to provide background, eventually returning to the starting point before proceeding further. Stories may contain several such cycles.
[20] Although Simmons has succeeded in unscrambling some of these stories (see 'The Sources of Sir George Grey's *Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna'* 1966), the books themselves remain in the original format.
[21] Grey's extensive collection of unpublished material (some 9,800 pages or more) is held in the Auckland Public Library.
[22] Editor Anaru Reedy in Ruatapu 1993, 11.
[23] Kendall to Pratt, 27 July 1824 (as recorded by Binney 1968, 152 n 129).
[24] Kendall to F. Hall, 31 July 1822 (as recorded by Binney 1968, 152 n 130).
[25] Bernard noted that women 'increasingly fault history … for its neglect of women, so that what history we have is almost exclusively a history of men. Male biases determine not only what is selected for study but also how it is interpreted' (1973, 780).
[26] The comments were made in a lecture entitled 'Māori Superstitions', conducted by White in 1856.
[27] The existence of schools other than the whare wānanga was not considered. That Māori women might have had alternative avenues of instruction was not even discussed in the general case. An exception here is Best's treatment of the Whare Kōhanga.

[28] It is estimated that Te Mātorohanga was born in the late 18th century, or early 19th century as he was an old man when he died (*DNZB* 1993, 519).
[29] Mentioned in Simmons 1994,164. These papers were produced as a result of Ngāti Kahungunu's attempt to collect tribal lore (Simmons 1976, 371-72).
[30] This was called Te Komiti a Tūpai and was a subcommittee of Te Komiti a Tānenuiarangi, set up to oversee a collection of traditional Māori knowledge, and to check that the writings were accurate records. The establishment of the committees was a direct result of the Māori elders' concern about the steady disappearance of Māori traditions expressed at a meeting in Wairarapa in 1899 (Simmons 1994, 117).
[31] See Simmons 1994, 156.
[32] The following extract indicates that Moihi Torohanga (*aka* Te Mātorohanga) was the informant: 'Na ka mea a Moihi Torohanga ki a maua …' (MS-0189-B115, 14). Note that, in referring to page numbers for MS-0189-B115, the page numbers from the original book will be quoted, that is, those which are listed at the side of the typescript and not those given at the top of the foolscap pages.
[33] I refer to a passage about Papa's son, Uepoto (Te Mātorohanga MS-0189-B020, 5).
[34] A loose translation for this title would be 'The Lore of the Ancestors'. In his M.A. thesis, Broughton (1979, 52) cites the manuscript as Ngaa Koorero a Tautahi ki a Rima Wakarua moo Aotea. (Rima is Tautahi's son-in-law who lived from 1877-1936).
[35] The manuscript used for the purposes of this study was part of Marie Rapley's master's thesis (1988): 'The Early Ancestors of Nga Rauru from an Account by Hetaraka Tautahi'.
[36] See the pre-1880s section (unpublished manuscripts) for the names of atua wāhine mentioned therein.
[37] According to this version, Rangipōtiki had three wives Hineahupapa, Papatūānuku, and Papa. Papa had been living with Tangaroa.
[38] Shortland 1977, 28-30 English with notes; 109-10 Māori.
[39] Shortland notes that this karakia was still in use by Te Arawa at the time (1977, 30).
[40] A second version of 'Pinepine te kura' is recorded immediately after the first, also bearing the same goddesses' names.
[41] Tiramōrehu was the source for this material. See Tiramōrehu 1987.
[42] According to this Ngāti Kahungunu version, Paia and Tānenuiarangi were the only ones who could stand erect. It was Paia who said that Rangi should be raised up above.
[43] Variously known as Hineahuone and Hinehāone.
[44] White lists Māori who might have given him information and acknowledges Rev. C. Creed, Rev. R. Taylor, and Rev. J. Wohlers (1887, vi-vii).
[45] The translation provided by Hare Hongi is: '(They burst forth), like the overwhelming deluge' (1896, 115).
[46] Her full name is Hinematikotai. Some of the names, no doubt shortened for the European reader, were wrongly abbreviated; Papatua, Hinemati and Hine-a-te (for Hineaterepo) are irregular forms.

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