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Cover image: Mary Kawena Pukui performing “Mukiki Wai” (in a film); Hawaii, c. 1930. Still photo by Tiki George, from a film by Vivienne Mader. Photograph courtesy of Bishop Museum. Mader collection.

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Inquiries should be made to:

Hon. Secretary
af-jps@auckland.ac.nz.
The Polynesian Society
c/- Māori Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019, Auckland

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AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

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Contributors to This Issue

Adrienne L. Kaeppler is Curator of Oceanic Ethnology at the National Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. She has carried out extended fieldwork in Oceania and extensive research in museums, especially on collections from the voyages of Captain Cook. She has published widely on museum collections and on the visual and performing arts of Oceania. Her research focusses on the interrelationships between social structure and the arts, especially dance, music and the visual arts. In the July 2015 Tongan Coronation Honours, Adrienne was invested as a "Commander of the Tongan Royal Household Order"

Michael Reilly is a Professor in Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at Otago University, New Zealand. A graduate in Māori Studies and Pacific Islands history, he researches traditional histories of eastern Polynesian societies, notably Aotearoa and Mangaia.

Jeffrey Sissons is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He is the author of five books and over 30 articles on Māori and Polynesian societies. His most recent book, *The Polynesian Iconoclasm: Religious Revolution and the Seasonality of Power* (Berghahn Books), draws on the thoughts of Sahlins and Bourdieu to analyse the rapid conversions to Christianity in early 19th century Polynesia.

Frantisek (Frank) Lichtenberk 1945-2015: A Note from Andrew Pawley

Frank was among the most accomplished linguists to work on Pacific Island languages. During a career of 40 years he made outstanding contributions to descriptive and comparative-historical research on Oceanic languages and to linguistic theory.

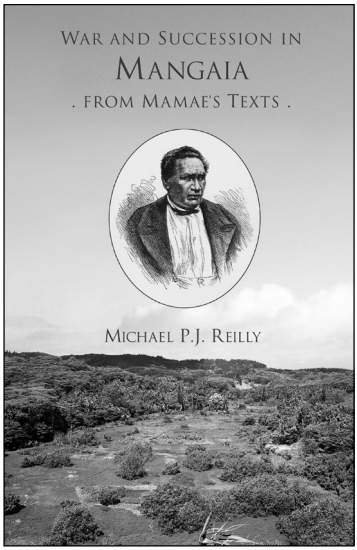
Frank grew up in Czechoslovakia, but after the Soviet invasion of 1968 made his way as a refugee to Canada. There he obtained a BA and an MA in linguistics from the University of Toronto and gained a PhD at the University of Hawai'i in 1980. His PhD field research resulted in a 647 page grammar of Manam, a language of Papua New Guinea. In 1981 he joined the linguistic staff of the University of Auckland where he remained for the rest of his career.

In 1982 he began a two decade project on To'aba'ita, a language of Malaita, Solomon Islands, from which came a monumental grammar of 1375 pages, among the most comprehensive of any language, and a 400 page dictionary. He was also an excellent theoretician and gained a world reputation for his writings on grammatical typology and language change, which drew heavily on examples from Oceanic languages.

Among his publications were two articles in the *JPS*, both on culture history: "Leadership in Proto-Oceanic society: Linguistic evidence" (vol. 95 (3), 1986) and "Did speakers of Proto Oceanic chew betel?" (vol. 107 (4), 1998), and for a couple of years in the late 1990s he assisted with the editing of the *Journal.* Frank was a congenial colleague, and a fine teacher and mentor to generations of students.

War and Succession in Mangaia

from mamae's texts



Michael P.J. Reilly

War and Succession in Mangaia is a political history of an island in the southern Cook Islands, from its social foundations until the advent of Christianity in the 1820s, as described by the 19th century tribal historian Mamae. Mangaian society was dominated by powerful warrior chiefs who warred with one another for political, social and economic dominance over the island's productive lands and its people. The successful contestant became the holder of the *mangaia* title and reigned supreme until challenged by another warrior chief who believed he had sufficient supporters to bring about a regime change. The stories of these chiefly battles for supreme power form the basis of this work. Mamae's original manuscripts are reproduced, along with translations, and a commentary discussing the events surrounding each contest for power. The introduction explains the nature of pre-Christian Mangaian society, the various ethnographies written about it, and the form and content of Mamae's narratives of war and political succession. The study concludes with general remarks on the chronology of Mangaian society, and a discussion of local cultural themes found in Mamae's texts: the formation and differentiation of tribes through genealogy and origins, the role of the *mangaia* titleholders, the respective roles of women and priests, the use of exile from the community as a form of social control, and the nature of Mangaian warfare.

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PERSONHOOD AS HISTORY: MĀORI CONVERSION IN LIGHT OF THE POLYNESIAN ICONOCLASM

JEFFREY SISSONS
Victoria University, Wellington

Reflected light enhances both ethnographic and historical visibility. In this article I seek to illuminate processes of Māori conversion to Christianity in the late 1830s and early 1840s using as my comparative mirror an event that I have termed "The Polynesian Iconoclasm" (Sissons 2014). The Polynesian Iconoclasm was, I have argued, a complex regional event that occurred between 1815 and 1828 involving the peoples of the Society Islands, Austral Islands, Cook Islands and Hawaiian Islands. Beginning in Mo'orea, Tahiti's near neighbour, priests and high chiefs across the region destroyed or defiled their god-images and defied eating taboos by participating in feasts at which men and women, chiefs and commoners ate the same food together. Although they were reported by missionaries, the Europeans did not directly initiate the iconoclastic episodes and most were not witnessed by them. This regional event was also a seasonal one, with most of the destructive episodes taking place during the season when life was traditionally regenerated—the *makahiki* season in Hawai'i or its equivalents elsewhere.

In conceptualising The Polynesian Iconoclasm as a single regional event I excluded from my comparative frame Māori conversions to Christianity; in New Zealand the process of rapid, mass conversion began in the late 1830s and was clearly not widely preceded by episodes in which god-images and temples were aggressively destroyed. I knew that in both Island Polynesia and New Zealand mass conversions took the form of a rapid burst or pulse, but I assumed that the ways in which the pulses were triggered and the subsequent unfolding of events were very different. However, a historical note written by a former Māori priest, Hamiora Tumutara Pio, has led me to reconsider the relationship between the two conversion events, that is, to rethink Māori conversion in light of the Polynesian Iconoclasm and, to a lesser extent, vice-versa.

Born, according to his own account, in 1814, the year that the Church Missionary Society began evangelising in New Zealand, Tumutara Pio belonged to a generation of young *tohunga* 'priests/shamans' whose training was interrupted by Christian conversion in the late 1830s and 1840s. After his baptism into the Catholic Church, at which time he took the name Hamiora (Samuel), he became a travelling catechist, one of a number of young, chiefly men who were largely responsible for the very rapid spread of Christianity

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south of the Bay of Islands in the 1840s (Mead 1981: 1-12). Among the fruits of this evangelisation in the Bay of Plenty, where Tumutara and his Ngāti Awa people lived, were 11 Catholic chapels constructed during the late 1830s and early 1840s (Belich 1996: 217-19, Thompson 1859: 313).

However, as colonial pressures, epidemics and fraudulent land dealings increased during the 1850s, erupting into the colonial wars of the 1860s and 1870s, Tumutara became disillusioned with Christianity, coming to regard it as a destructive, foreign religion. The only hope for Māori people, he wrote, was to return to their former gods and religious practices. His biographer, Hirini Mead, a latter day Ngāti Awa leader, described Tumutara as having "lived uncomfortably" between pre-Christian and Christian worlds and this was generally true, but by the 1880s Tumutara had very clearly rejected his former Christian beliefs. The ethnographer, Elsdon Best, reported, for example, the following conversation:

> Pio once remarked that a priest came to him and said, 'O Pio! Return to the Catholic faith'. But Pio answered: 'I have an ancestor of my own. You keep your ancestor and I will keep mine'. 'Who is your ancestor?' asked the other. 'Rangi [sky] is my ancestor, the origin of the Maori people. Your ancestor is money'. (Best 1925: 1032)

There is indeed a sense of discomfort and bitterness evident in the notes and commentaries that Tumutara sent to John White, author of *Ancient History of the Maori* (1897), and to the ethnographer Elsdon Best in the 1880s. These texts, for which Tumutara was paid, now fill more than 30 notebooks and comprise a valuable collection of historical narratives, proverbs, genealogies, ritual chants and personal commentaries. In some of his last commentaries written for Best in 1887, Tumutara drew a stark contrast between a lost world that had been animated by his ancestor-gods and a present world animated by money. The regeneration of Māori life required, he insisted, a rediscovery of Māori ancestry and a restoration of *tapu* 'ancestrally derived sacredness' so that the *mauri* 'life principle, life force' of his people could regain its former strength. Tumutara lamented the condition of his people's *mauri* but he did not entirely blame a European presence for this. Instead, he told Best: "The *mauri* (life principle) of the Maori has become polluted [*noa*], that is what is destroying the Maori people.… I say to you that the Maori is at fault: He has deserted his ancestral rites, customs and beliefs and now they [the ancestor-gods] have turned on him and are destroying him" (Best 1904: 221).

The separation of people from the *tapu* of their ancestors had, Tumutara wrote, been deliberately produced through rites of pollution performed at the time of conversion to Christianity (Mead 1981: 25-26). Basing his account on Tumutara's text, Best wrote:

> … they proceeded to *whakanoa* or make themselves common or free from *tapu* that they might be able to accept the new religion. For the *tapu* was of the Maori gods and hence must be got rid of, or reduced, so to speak, before the new God was accepted. This was done, in most cases, by washing the head with water heated in a vessel in which food had been cooked.… It was enough to cause the whole horde of gods in the Maori pantheon to turn on the race and destroy it. The most sacred part of sacred man to be brought into contact with cooked food! (Best 1904: 221)

Below is Tumutara's original text, upon which Best's was based, followed by my translation:

> *Ka whanau au (i te tau) 1814. Ka rongo au ko te karakia Mihinare. Ka nui haere te matemate ki tenei motu. To mua mate, he iti nei. Nui rawa aka to te whakapono. Katahi ka tino motu te urupa nui o te hunga e whakapono ana, no te mea kua ruku te Māori ki roto I te wai kohua, i te wai wera, no te mea ko tona mauri kua noa. Koia nei e patu nei te Māori.* (Mead 1981: 25-26)

> I was born in the year 1814. I heard about the Missionary Church. A great number of epidemics came to this island. Earlier sickness was on a small scale. There was great desire for the Christian faith. But then many cemeteries appeared like many islands of fallen believers. This was because Māori believers had performed ritual ablutions using cooking water, hot water, it was because their sacred life force had been desecrated [become *noa*]. This is how the Māori was struck down.

When I first read this text, soon after completing *The Polynesian Iconoclasm*, it was as if the words had leapt off the page at me. Could Tumutara have been referring to a ritual event that paralleled the Polynesian Iconoclasm, I wondered? Could he, perhaps, have been describing a widespread process of personal transformation in New Zealand that preceded baptism and mass participation in Christian practices?

In the first part of this article I tentatively answer these questions in the affirmative, presenting and discussing documentary evidence for pre-conversion *whakanoa* rites in New Zealand. Furthermore, I argue that, like the destructive episodes of the Polynesian Iconoclasm, these *whakanoa* rites were improvisations upon ritual precedents and hence can also be understood, like those elsewhere in Polynesia, as forms of "rituopraxis"—improvised ritual acts intended to produce revolutionary change.

Whereas in the societies of the Polynesian Iconoclasm the rites were directed against both images and chiefly bodies, in New Zealand they were most commonly directed solely against the latter. In a concluding discussion I argue that a Deleuzian-inspired understanding of social life, one grounded

in an ontology with which Tumutara would have felt a strong affinity, helps us to conceptualise the similarities and differences between the two conversion events. Developing an idea introduced in an earlier article in this journal (Sissons 2013), I propose that we view *hapū* and the more highly centralised Polynesian chiefdoms as "assemblages" consolidated around intense centres. Transformative ritual action upon these centres by priests (the mode of historical action that I term "rituopraxis") has the potential to produce revolutionary social change. In making this argument I also seek to build on the pioneering writings of Marshall Sahlins on the relationship between chiefly personhood and historical agency in Polynesia.

TE WHAKANOA MĀORI: A MĀORI CONVERSION EVENT

Māori interest in Christianity exploded in the late 1830s and early 1840s. In 1844, for example, the Anglican *Missionary Register* recorded an increase in church attendance from 2000 in 1840 to 35,000 in 1844. A year later, the chief protector of aborigines, George Clarke, estimated a total of 64,000 people of all denominations professing Christianity (Yates 2013: 127). While the accuracy of these figures is open to question (e.g., Belich 1996: 217-18), an astonishing rise in the number of people becoming baptised or preparing for Christian baptism is, I think, beyond dispute. In her forceful reply to Owens (1968), Judith Binney provided additional figures in support of this view and explicitly compared the eventual rapidity of Māori conversions to those of island Polynesia:

> … in the history of the nineteenth century missions in the South Pacific there appears a common pattern. First, there is a long period in which the words of the missionaries seem to make little impact.… This period is followed by a relatively sudden breakthrough.… (Binney 1969: 143-44)

Binney proceeded to identify and discuss what she saw as the main causes of this "breakthrough", stressing missionary agency rather than the power of the missionaries' ideas as Owens had done. She considered that one of the principal reasons for the dramatic increase in Māori interest in Christianity was a change in the way missionaries engaged with Māori culture and society. The Mission, under the leadership of Henry Williams, shifted its emphasis from "civilisation" to "Christianisation", putting more emphasis on learning the Māori language than had been the case previously. Secondly, missionaries were increasingly called upon to mediate inter-tribal disputes in a climate in which there was a new desire for peace. Thirdly, missionaries deliberately sought to "undermine belief in certain aspects of Maori culture as a pre-condition of being accepted as a Christian" (Binney 1969: 151). Among these "aspects of Māori culture" were beliefs and practices associated with *tapu*.

Binney rightly dismissed as exaggerated missionary claims, made in 1836, that their own efforts had caused practices of "*tapuing*" to become "nearly extinct" in the North. She did, however, credit the Mission with significant agency in relation to the changing significance of *tapu* and an associated undermining of chiefly authority:

> It is to be expected that early converts would include chiefs.… And if, as Yate believed, serious inroads were being made on the efficacy of *tapu*, then those whose prestige, personal sanctity and political powers depended on *tapu* must seek an alternative or supplementary protective force to sustain their authority. (Binney 1969: 156)

In identifying a temporal parallel between Polynesian and Māori conversions and taking seriously the issue of chiefly *tapu*, Binney perceptively anticipated the argument that I am making here. The critical difference between us is that for her the chiefly search for a new "protective force" was in reaction to missionary "interference" whereas in my view Māori chiefs and priests, like those in Polynesia, actively polluted their own *tapu* in order to realise a new political and personal vision. Missionaries did not direct this practice in Polynesia—indeed there was no missionary presence in Hawai'i at the time of the iconoclasm there in 1819—and nor did they do so in New Zealand.

It is clear, as Binney noted, that by the late 1830s there was a widespread desire among Māori leaders for more peaceful relations among themselves following the unprecedented inter-tribal wars of the 1820s and 1830s (Troughton 2014). This fighting had caused massive social disruption as whole communities migrated to new lands or were forcefully displaced. In addition, of course, there had been many thousands of people killed (at least 20,000 in conservative estimates) and as many enslaved. Summing up the impact of the wars, Anderson has recently noted that if the comparatively low figure of 20,000 deaths is accepted it meant "about 700 additional deaths per year between 1810 and 1840 due to warfare. At a tribal or community level, it hardly needs emphasising, the impact would have been devastating" (Anderson *et al*. 2014: 186).

By 1840, inter-tribal fighting had begun to subside significantly and many communities were returning to their ancestral lands. It is surely no coincidence that precisely at this time Māori leaders began to explore more seriously than before the personal and political possibilities of Christianity. These possibilities, discussed and debated by chiefs and priests in the early 1840s, would become powerfully realised some two decades later in the King Movement. Lindsay Head has convincingly argued that Christianity was fundamental to the political vision of Wiremu Tamihana, the driving force behind *mahi kingi* 'king work'

(Head 2005: 65-71). But, as I have said, the conversion event was both political and personal and, if Tumitara Pio was correct, it coincided with radical transformations of chiefly and priestly personhood.

Let us now turn to a fuller consideration of Tumutara's claim that Christian conversion in New Zealand had been widely preceded by *whakanoa* rites and examine the evidence for it. We can assume, I think, that Tumutara based his historical claim upon his experiences as a Christian teacher who had spent most of his life in the eastern Bay of Plenty and Taupo (Mead 1981: 1-12). Given that most of the early work of conversion was carried out by catechists such as Tumutara (Yates 2013: 110), it is perhaps not surprising that the *whakanoa* rites to which he refers are not described in the missionary journals for his region. The only documentary evidence appears to be a suggestive comment by the CMS missionary Thomas Chapman. Chapman, who established a mission station at Rotorua in 1835, noted in November of that year that the people of Ohinemutu, under the leadership of the great war chief Korokai, had become "believers", having "done with their native *karakia* [rite]". There is a suggestion by Chapman that when Korokai told him of his people's new status he had also claimed to have become *noa*. Chapman was dismissive of this possibility, suggesting that Korokai had instead become "doubly *tapu*":

> Our principal old chief, Korokai, remarked after service that they had now done with their native karakia (praying) and were become believers—poor old man! It is more than likely that he is doubly tapu'd at this time in consequence of some 'rite' or other. (Chapman 1830–1845: 29 November 1835)

But if there is only this scant, ambiguous documentary evidence in support of Tumutara's claim for the Bay of Plenty/Rotorua region, his own written account together with others from Northland, Waikato and Wanganui suggest that there was indeed a wide geographic spread of pre-conversion *whakanoa* rites across the North Island during the decade 1835–1845. It is to these latter accounts that I now turn, beginning in Northland, as did the missionaries, and moving south.

The Weslyan missionary James Buller lived for three years in Hokianga from 1836 to 1839. During this period he baptised the influential Waima chief, Mohi (Moses) Tawhai, together with a large group of 116 people, probably most of his *hapū*. Buller noted the difficulty that the chief had experienced in transitioning from polygyny to monogamy (1878: 35), but he did not record the more significant change to his chiefly personhood—the removal of his *tapu*. Fortunately, however, a description of this latter transformation was collected by Tumutara's correspondent, John White. In his 1861 lectures, "Maori Customs and Superstitions", White said of Mohi Tawhai:

> Doubting the power of his gods, he resolved to test it; and knowing that it was not lawful for cooked food to be near his head and that he must not sit within a cooking house or even enter into it, he notwithstanding bade one of his slaves take a pot and cook food in it; then filling the pot with water he washed his head with it and sitting down he waited the result. (White 1885: 164-65)

White added that, no harm having come to him, Mohi Tawahai decided to become Christian. White interpreted this episode as testing of the power of *atua* 'god', but it was equally an ending of the relationship with his *atua* and the power that it conferred through the pollution of both his body and the body of his *atua*.

In addition to this anecdote, White provides a second, more detailed account of an act of self-defilement that appears to have occurred in Northland at about the same time. This *whakanoa* rite was performed by a *tohunga* who was said to be still alive at the time of the 1861 lectures. Here, it is clearer that that the *tohunga*, who would take the Christian name Zaccheus, was not merely testing his *atua* but that he was polluting his body in order to become *noa* before his baptism. Intending to become Christian, Zaccheus summoned three people to his settlement and "… having had a quantity of kumara [sweet potato] cooked, and put into three baskets, he bade them place these upon the most hallowed part of his person—the shoulders and head—while the three ate from them" (White 1885: 164). White provides no identifying information about the three assistants but it is very likely that one or more of them were *ruahine*, old women who were expert in removing *tapu*.

The use of cooked food, particularly kumara and fern-root, was common to many *whakanoa* rites, particularly those associated with birth, warfare and death (Smith 1974: 9-20). Cooking made food (including human victims) *noa*, draining it of its life-giving connection with the gods and, as Smith notes, "the eating of cooked food completed the process" (1974: 28). The use of cooking water by Mohi Tawhai may not have had a direct precedent in other *whakanoa* rites but as an improvised prelude to baptism it would have been seen as a particularly effective way of bringing the extreme *noa* of cooked food into polluting contact with the most *tapu* part of the chief's body—his hair.

The use of fern-root in a *tua* rite to remove the *tapu* of birth from a child was recorded by Shortland, a fluent Māori speaker and scholar. During this rite a *ruahine* touched the child's body with cooked food in a way similar to that of the *ruahine* in the Zaccheus example above:

> [She] took the child in her arms, waved over it the fernroot which had been cooked in her fire, then touched the different parts of the child's body with it. She was then said to eat this fernroot, but she actually spat on it and threw it

> on the sacred place [where the shrine was located]. The child was then free from *tapu*. (Shortland 1882: 42)

After battles, *ruahine* were called upon to remove the *tapu* of the war god, Tū, from warriors by eating a kumara roasted by a *tohunga* on his ritual fire (Best 1897: 49). They were also employed after people had finished cleaning and reburying the bones of their deceased relatives to remove the *tapu* from their hands:

> A fire would be specifically kindled, at which a small portion of food would be roasted, and this food was applied to the hands and then eaten by the female member of the family who acted as a *ruahine* in ceremonial performances. Such a woman is sometimes the oldest female of a family and she takes part in most *tapu* removing rites. (Best 1924: 261)

The old women who assisted Zaccheus were, therefore, probably his elderly relatives who acted as his *ruahine* in a rite that was an improvised variation of those described by Shortland and Best above.

We now travel south from Northland to Waikato where *whakanoa* performances were recorded by three Anglican missionaries, James Hamlin, Robert Maunsell and Benjamin Ashwell, during the period 1836 to 1842.

In mid-1836, about a year after he and James Stack had established a mission station on the Waipa River at Mangapouri, Hamlin recorded that a gathering of chiefs had participated in a *whakanoa* ceremony. The principal chiefs on this occasion were named Rewetahi and Mangai, the latter taking the Christian name of Ihaia (Isaiah). We learn that these two men called a large meeting to discuss Christianity and subsequently invited a *ruahine* to perform a *whakanoa* ceremony:

> The two men before mentioned and their tribe were engaged during the week in making themselves *noa* or free and the ceremony was as follows. It commenced by the priestess [*ruahine*] cutting off some of the hair of the head of each of the chiefs and throwing it into the [cooking] fire which [the hair] was so sacred in the native determination that it is nothing more or less than death to a chief to basen [*sic*] a bit of their hair. The next thing they did was to cook some potatoes in the native oven [its stones heated by the above fire] and when they were dressed some of them were put by the priestess upon the head of each of the persons made *noa* and then eaten, which takes away the sacredness of the head.… After this the priestess repeated some words, at the same time biting the hair of each person's head, or at least of the chiefs.… The system of merely taking off the sacredness is different from this. (Hamlin 1826–1837: 21 June 1836)

This ceremony appears to have creatively combined two distinct *whakanoa* processes: the placing of cooked food on the head and the "cooking" and "eating" of the chiefs' hair. Together they were said to have constituted a rite more powerful than those for "merely taking off sacredness".

Hair was the most *tapu* part of a chief's body and was, as Salmond has noted (1989: 74), "conceived of as a pathway for the gods to pass into the body". Haircutting was, therefore, "*tapu* to a degree that varied with the intensity of an individual's communication with the gods". Human hair had an equivalent significance elsewhere in Polynesia, where it was sometimes incorporated into god-images and headdresses (Sissons 2014: 122). By throwing chiefly hair into a cooking fire and biting the hair on the chiefs' heads, the *ruahine* was not only polluting the chiefs' *tapu* but was also decisively cutting off communication between the chiefs and their *atua*.

The parallel with the destruction of Polynesian images, also a means a communication with *atua*, is clear. At Mo'orea, for example, at the beginning of the iconoclasm there in 1815, wooden altars from *marae* 'sacred spaces' were used to fuel cooking fires for feasts at which men and women, chiefs and commoners, ate together (Sissons 2014: 42). In Rarotonga, eight years later, a local priest signalled the beginning of an island-wide iconoclasm by cutting up and throwing his god-image into a fire. Bananas were then baked in the ashes and eaten (Sissons 2014: 74).

In our second Waikato example only the hair-cooking component of the first rite was described. The report is by Benjamin Ashwell who drew upon a lengthy conversation with the Waikato chief, William Tawaitai, following a Sunday service in 1842. Tawaitai, who had recently been baptised into the Weslyan Church, told Ashwell that he had only become Christian after a protracted struggle: "As a decisive step, he cut off his hair, which was sacred, and threw it into the fire which was cooking food for his slaves. The chiefs of Waikato, hearing of this profane act, brought a fight [raiding party] to kill his slaves.… (*Missionary Register* 1844: 203-4).

The party of angry Waikato chiefs remained in Tawaitai's settlement for several weeks debating his actions but were unable persuade him to abandon his plan to join the Christians. They left without killing his slaves. Tawaitai was a renowned and highly respected Waikato leader—he was involved, for example, in brokering peace between the tribes of Rotorua and Tauranga the following year—and so it is quite possible that his actions encouraged others to follow his example (Ballara 1976: 499).

The third Waikato *whakanoa* episode for which I have documentary evidence also included burning, but in this instance it was chiefly clothing rather than chiefly hair that was thrown into the flames. The account is by

Robert Maunsell who, in November 1839, was stationed at Maraetai, Port Waikato. The leader of the Ngāti Tipa community in which Maunsell was living was Kukutai, a warrior of great *mana*; the episode in question concerned his grandson, Ngataru, also a man of great *mana* and described by Maunsell as an *ariki* 'highly sacred, paramount chief'.

Ngataru was dying of consumption and had moved to the mission settlement in the hope that it would aid his recovery. This move and the *ariki's* expressed wish to be baptised drew determined opposition from his grandfather. Maunsell wrote that "Kukutai had sent word that he would not consent to his—Ngatara's—becoming *noa* (common) while he retained his garments"—two blankets and a woven outer cape (*Church Missionary Record* 1840: 282). The difficulty that Kukutai had raised was that, while Ngataru could undergo a *whakanoa* rite to remove the *tapu* from his body, his clothing would retain its *tapu* and so could no longer be worn by Ngataru in a state of *noa*. Ngataru suggested to his wife that a *tohunga* be employed to remove the *tapu* from his garments, but she pointed out that it would not remove the awe with which they were viewed by people and hence they would still retain a semblance of *tapu*-ness. In the end it was agreed therefore that the best course of action would be to burn the garments. Maunsell wrote (*Church Missionary Record* 1840: 284): "The next morning, Lord's Day, I was called out before six o'clock to witness the smoke of the burning garments. That same day Ngataru, his wife and his two children were admitted into the fold of Christ before a crowded and overflowing congregation." Ngataru took the Christian name of Edward and his wife was baptised as Mary.

There would, of course, have been no point in burning Ngataru's clothing had his body not been previously rendered *noa*. We can assume, therefore, that the rites for the latter had been performed before Maunsell was "called out" and so he would not have witnessed them. Kukutai must have understood the event as a *whakanoa* ceremony because when he arrived later that day he wept over his grandson who had lost his *tapu* connection with his gods, and hence with himself (*Church Missionary Record* 1840: 284).

We next travel further south to Wanganui where during a visit in December 1839, a month after Ngataru's baptism, the CMS missionary Henry Williams learned of a performance of a rite very similar to that of Mohi Tawhai in Hokianga. Williams wrote that the rite was termed "*kokiro*" a word that William Williams' (1971) dictionary translates as 'set free from tapu'. It was, in other words, a *whakanoa* rite. Here is Williams' account:

> Heard much of a baptism which had been introduced by this man, Neira, which I condemned in toto. His ceremony appears to be washing the head, which has always been considered sacred by the New Zealanders, in warm water out of an iron pot, the person, at the same time confessing sins, vainly

> imaging that thereby his sins will be pardoned, a washing away of sin and a release of tapu very much according to native custom. (Williams 1827–1840: 12 December 1839)

"This man Neira" was, however, far from vain or misguided. He was, in fact, a Waikato chief of great *mana* who had become the region's greatest evangelist. Baptised into the Wesleyan Church under the name William Naylor (Wiremu Neera), he had been preaching to almost all the *hapū* of south Taranaki and had taught classes for two years preparing candidates for Christian baptism (Yates 2013: 111). It is highly improbable that Neera regarded his *kokiro* rite as replacing baptism into the Christian Church or that it was intended to remove Christian sins. It is more likely that it was a necessary part of the preparation for baptism, removing connections with *atua*. Bronwyn Elsmore was surely right to conclude that Williams "totally misinterpreted Neera's ministrations" (Elsmore 1989: 128).

Some six years after Williams visited Wanganui a further probable *whakanoa* rite was recorded there. Tragically, as in the Waikato, it again involved the conversion of a dying *ariki*. The account is by the CMS missionary and fluent Māori speaker, Richard Taylor, who moved to Putiki in 1843. In September 1845, Taylor recorded that when he visited the dying *ariki*, Turoa, he was surprised by the latter's "declaration that he had renounced heathenism and from this time he should *remove the tapu from his body* and karakia to God" (Taylor, 4 September 1845, emphasis added).

Taylor did not record the performance of the *whakanoa* rite for Turoa but the *ariki* attended church for the first time three days after Taylor's visit. At his service he was baptised with the name Kingi Hori (King George). Taylor continued:

> Immediately the service was over and he had openly renounced the faith of his ancestors in which he had obstinately lived during the whole period of a long life, his people cried and set up a loud wail. This I fancy is done because his tapu as an 'Ariki' or chief priest is broken.… This lamentation only takes place when principal chiefs are baptised. I have noticed it on two or three previous occasions. (Taylor, 7 September 1845)

It is unlikely that those who wept believed that Taylor's baptism alone had "broken" the *ariki*'s *tapu*. Rather, a prior *whakanoa* rite, not witnessed by Taylor, must have been performed to "remove the tapu from his body". Sadly, Hori Kingi lived for only three days after his baptism.

There are, again, clear parallels here with events of the Polynesian Iconoclasm. In Aitutaki, in 1822, for example, the rejection of his gods by the *ariki* and his refusal to participate in annual rites for the re-establishment of hierarchy prompted women to weep and cut themselves, spreading the

resulting blood over their bodies. In neighbouring Rarotonga, women responded in an identical way when the *ariki* burned his *marae* a year later (Sissons 2014: 71, 74). In all of these episodes from New Zealand and elsewhere in Polynesia it was as if the *ariki* had died, which indeed was true in that he had broken his links with the sources of his and his people's life.

Our final example is from Patea, a little north of Wanganui, where, perhaps, the nearest equivalent to episodes of the Polynesian Iconoclasm may have occurred. Writing in 1899, the Rev. T. G. Hammond recorded that on several occasions within the memory of his then living informants, *whakanoa* rites were performed on god-images (Hammond 1899: 89-92). These rites are not dated, but they probably occurred after 1830 and before the people became Christian, that is around the time of conversions to Christianity. The *hapū* of Wanganui and the surrounding region appear to have been distinctive in New Zealand in their use of carved and bound god-images (*whakapakoko rakau*) for communication with *atua* (Barrow 1959). Richard Taylor, who was given 13 such images that had, at the time of conversion, been concealed in clefts and hollow trees wrote: "The natives of Wanganui had many gods, and likewise images of them, the principal ones were Maru, Kahukura, Reua [Rehua] Korongomai [Rongomai]. In the Northern part of the Island I never met with any of these images" (Taylor 1840–1844: 360).

While these images had been concealed around the time of conversion in the early 1840s, Hammond's informants witnessed—possibly at about the same time—images being "cooked" in fires.

> If it was found that any particular *atua* or image was doing injury to the people this would necessitate the destruction which would be accomplished by cooking some food, and putting the *atua* in the fire while the food was being cooked. Each member of the tribe would partake of a portion of the food, the *ariki* having repeated the necessary incantations. (Hammond 1899: 92)

The parallel between this rite and the way that god-images were "cooked" and "eaten" in the societies of the Polynesian Iconoclasm is striking.

If, as Tumutara claimed in his historical commentary, the performances of *whakanoa* rites before Christian conversion were widely practiced within Māori society, then the above examples from Northland, Waikato and Wanganui probably represent the tip of an iceberg. Many more such episodes must have gone unrecorded by missionaries as they struggled to understand the whirlwind of confusing events happening around their newly established southern stations. Māori evangelists, such as Tumutara in the Bay of Plenty and Taupo and Wiremu Neera in Wanganui, are more likely to have witnessed these rites than the Europeans whose presence would have been

regarded as intrusive and whose criticism, like that of Williams, would have been unwelcome. Indeed, Tumutara, a former *tohunga*, may have himself undergone and/or performed the rites that he would only describe in later life.

INTENSE CENTRES AND PRIESTLY HISTORY

In all but one of our documented examples the *whakanoa* rites were performed on highly *tapu* individuals—chiefs, *tohunga* and *ariki*. Wiremu Neera may have included men of lesser *mana*, but he probably would not have extended his performances to women or slaves who were already *noa*. In general, then, the *whakanoa* event appears to have been focussed on the pollution of highly *tapu*, chiefly bodies (images possibly featuring only in and around Patea). In concluding this article I address the following question: if these ritual acts of pollution triggered or impelled mass conversion in New Zealand in a way that was analogous to the Polynesian Iconoclasm, how might we account for this?

In an earlier article (Sissons 2013) I proposed that in order to understand the radical changes that Māori *hapū* underwent during the second half of the 19th century, it is useful to view them, in Deleuzian terms, as "assemblages" (Deleuze and Guatarri 1987). As an assemblage, a kin-group such as the Māori *hapū* includes people and ancestors, some of whom are present in the landscape as springs, rivers, mountains, flora and fauna, while others are rendered present in objects such as carved meeting houses. Assemblages become "territorialised" or consolidated around "intense centres", which hold them together as effectively as relations of hierarchical control. In the case of *hapū*, I have demonstrated how these assemblages were reterritorialised around a succession of *tapu* ritual centres during the 19th century—shrines (pre-1840), churches (1840-1860) and meeting houses (from about 1875). I also suggested, but did not develop the idea, that certain chiefs and priests were themselves intense *tapu* centres of their *hapū* and were closely identified with their shrines, churches and meeting houses (Sissons 2013: 378, 384). I would now like to take this idea further and argue that if, as *tapu* centres, chiefs, *ariki* and *tohunga* consolidated *hapū* and *hapū* alliances around their personhood, their pollution was a pre-requisite, hence "trigger", for reterritorialising Christianising kin-groups around churches as new sacred centres.

The understanding of social life as consolidated around intense centres is as much a general Polynesian one as it is Deleuzian. Across 19th century Polynesia, variations in the degree of hierarchy corresponded to variations in the levels of intensity of the *tapu* centres. In the Society Islands, Hawai'i and Mangaia, where hierarchy and the intensity of *tapu* were most extreme, the personhood of high chiefs was founded on their socially totalising embodiment of the gods, 'Oro, Kū and Rongo respectively. In Rarotonga and Aitutaki the *tapu* personhood of *ariki* was associated with district gods.

In all cases the intense *tapu* of chieftainship was distributed throughout the societies in the form of images kept within the god-houses of temples. Iconoclasms in these places were focussed, therefore, on both the pollution of the bodies of the kings, chiefs and priests through collective feasts and the destruction or defilement of their images and temples bringing about the transformation of whole societies.

In a brilliant comparison between annual Makahiki rites in Hawai‘i and annual kumara rites in New Zealand, Sahlins (1985a) has shown these to be structural transformations of each other. In the former, Kū (embodied as an intensely *tapu* high chief) defeats Lono (in the form of an image), while in the latter, Tū (represented by humanity in general) triumphs over Rongo (embodied as kumara that is harvested and eaten). Correspondingly, the pollution of the intensely *tapu* centre in Hawai‘i (Kū) and the destruction of his temples and images initiated a transformation of the whole society, while in New Zealand, the pollution of less *tapu* high chiefs (who embodied local *atua* while sharing in a generalised embodiment of Tū) initiated the transformation of whole *hapū*. The difference in outcome was proportional to the difference in *tapu* intensity—hence consolidating power—of the centres but the process was essentially the same.

Sahlins has coined the term “heroic history” to describe a Polynesian mode of social change centred upon chiefs. History was, he proposed, embodied in the divine personhood of chiefs: “Embodying and making history, ruling chiefs thus practice socially the capacities that they are given cosmologically” (Sahlins 2000: 324-25). Sahlins further argued that, in enacting their cosmological capacities and putting their cosmological schemes into practice, Polynesian chiefs were engaging in a distinctive form of historical agency that he termed “mythopraxis” (Sahlins 1985b: 54-72). I have suggested, however, that in many contexts we might substitute the terms “priestly history” and “rituopraxis” for “heroic history” and “mythopraxis” (Sissons 2014: 7). It was the primary responsibility of priests to reproduce society or, in the case of rituopraxis, to bring about radical change through ritual actions upon *tapu* centres. Irrespective of whether this praxis was aimed at images—wrapping, feeding or parading them—or whether it was aimed at the bodies of the *tapu* chiefs themselves, in all cases historical change was equated with transformations of divine personhood. If chiefs embodied cosmological order, priestly actions upon their bodies produced history. Such was the case for the Polynesian Iconoclasm and also, I suggest, for the Māori *whakanoa* event. And it was not only the *tapu* of others that was of concern to priests who initiated iconoclasms and *tohunga* in New Zealand—the *tapu* nature of their own personhood also needed to be addressed. In New Zealand, as we have seen, at least one *tohunga* organised his own bodily pollution.

In the immediate aftermath of iconoclasms in the Society Islands, Austral Islands and Southern Cook Islands the people of these places embarked upon projects of chapel construction. More than one hundred small chapels were built in Tahiti and Mo'orea in 1816, for example, and in Rarotonga Christians gathered together to begin work on a massive church intended to be 600 feet in length (Sissons 2014: 85, 94). In New Zealand, as in Tahiti, *whakanoa* rites were accompanied by the construction of many small churches in Christian settlements across the country, these becoming the focal points for a reformation of kin-group identity. By the 1860s, however, as disillusionment with Christianity became widespread in New Zealand, most of these churches had been abandoned and left to decay. In the Bay of Plenty, Waikato and elsewhere a new form of *whare karakia*, the carved meeting house, replaced the chapel as a re-established centre of intense *tapu* (Sissons 2010, 2013).

One such early meeting house was Te-Whai-a-te-Motu 'The Pursuit through the Island', built at Ruatāhuna to commemorate the pursuit of Te Kooti Arikirangi by government forces through Te Urewera. At the opening of this house in February 1891 its *tapu* nature was a matter of great public concern. While most people wanted the building to remain intensely *tapu*, Te Kooti, who attended the opening, opposed this view and with 20 *tohunga* removed the *tapu* from the meeting house (Binney 1995: 471). At least one of Elsdon Best's informants—and possibly Tumutara Pio himself—believed that this *whakanoa* rite, like those that accompanied conversion, had had tragic consequences: "When an epidemic swept off their children by scores during the latter part of 1897, that was punishment for the tribe having taken the *tapu* off the big carved house, Te Whai-a-te-Motu at Mata-atua [Ruataahuna]" (Best 1898: 235).

Deleuzian and Polynesian ontologies are in agreement that *tapu* is not simply one half of a binary relationship: *tapu*-*noa*. Rather, *tapu* is an immanent plane of intensive differences—it infuses and animates the entire Māori universe—out of which social difference is actualised through priestly practice. As Deleuze put it, more generally, in his brilliant book, *Difference and Repetition*:

> Difference is not diversity. Diversity is given [or actual] but difference is that by which the given is given [i.e., virtual]. Every phenomenon refers to an inequality by which it is conditioned.… Everything which happens and everything which appears is correlated with orders of differences: differences of level, temperature, pressure, tension, potential, differences of intensity. (Deleuze 1994: 293)

Tumutara Pio would probably have agreed, adding "differences of *tapu*" to the differences of intensity listed by Deleuze.

For Deleuze, life was about repeating well, that is, repeating as an on-going, creative emergence or "becoming" driven by intensive difference. For Deleuze, as it was for Tumutara, intensive differences produce life, are life (Deleuze 1994: 23). And so when Tumutara wrote that the pollution of people's *tapu* was responsible for Māori decline he was not only pointing us towards an alternative historical understanding, but also towards an alternative ontology in which personhood, grounded in intensive difference, gains and loses historical force. Tumutara would have termed this force "*mauri*".

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ABSTRACT

In *The Polynesian Iconoclasm: Religious Revolution and the Seasonality of Power* (Berghann Books 2014) I described the desecration of god-images and temples during the period 1825–1828. I excluded Māori society from the analysis because there images were not as central to religious life and mass conversions to Christianity occurred in the 1840s. In this article I propose that the later mass conversion in event in New Zealand shared significant features with the Polynesian Iconoclasm. In both instances priests directed their ritual practice towards intense *tapu* centres, polluting chiefly bodies and triggering radical collective change.

Keywords: Mass conversion, ritual pollution, chiefly personhood, New Zealand Māori, Polynesian Iconoclasm

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[1] Corresponding author: School of Social and Cultural Studies,Victoria University of Wellington, PO Box 600, Wellington 6140, New Zealand.
E-mail: jeff.sissons@vuw.ac.nz

NGARU: A CULTURE HERO OF MANGAIA

MICHAEL P.J. REILLY
University of Otago

The hero, Ngaru, appears in a cluster of oral traditions recorded during the mid 19th century in Mangaia, the southernmost island of the Cook Islands. These traditions take the form of a sequence of stories, with accompanying chants and songs. They retell Ngaru's struggles and triumphs against a series of human and non-human adversaries. In this sense they resemble a hero-cycle: "an oral account of the biography of a hero" told in prose form, and interspersed with various chants as well as songs (Luomala 1940: 367, 1971: 22).

The prototypical hero (from the Ancient Greek *hērōs*, or plural, *hērōes*) for most human societies is the culture hero (Bravo 2009: 13, Meadows 1945: 241). These culture heroes appeared at or near the beginning of the world, usually after the initial creation period (Bacwaden 1997: 329, 333, Cunningham 1997: 164, Du Toit 1964: 315, Gay 1983: 373, 377, Jones 1995: 130). For early Greeks and other peoples, such heroes possessed an "extrahuman status", being frequently descended from a union between a human and a god, which enabled them to undertake feats of superhuman strength and courage. The dual descent from divinities and humans is the distinguishing mark of a culture hero, making them a kind of "demigod" (e.g., Bacwaden 1997: 340-41, Bravo 2009: 13-15, Ekroth 2007: 101, Gay 1983: 377, 384, Kirk 1974: 26). These heroes existed in an era when human beings might still lack certain physical features, and were a small population who lived in a confined or inappropriate place, making do with an incomplete set of key cultural elements (e.g., Bacwaden 1997: 330, Du Toit 1964: 315, Scott 1964: 93). They remained a work-in-progress, awaiting someone capable enough to make the final important changes. In the following Ngaru cycle, for example, the hero seems to live in a human-like world but one strongly dominated by the spirit powers, where the human dimension has still not been fully formed or developed as a cultural and social reality. As a result, people remain very vulnerable, unable to assert themselves in the face of those powerful creative forces that had so recently brought the world into being.

Into this volatile world, the culture hero appears, as a "benefactor" who will strengthen the human dimension, at the expense of the sacred (Klapp 1949: 21). The hero for many societies is "the bringer of culture and the source of uniquely human institutions", such as agriculture, fire and language (Gay 1983: 373; also Bacwaden 1997: 332, Jones 1995: 129). Like the great Polynesian culture hero, Māui-pōtiki, he is "a transformer who changed the facilities of the world which others had already created" (Luomala 1971: 29).

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The following presentation of the Ngaru cycle reproduces a 19th-century Mangaian prose narrative about this hero (Mamae n.d.a). A comparison of handwriting confirms that the author of the prose text is the scholar and churchman Mamae of Ngāti Vara (c. 1810–1889), who most likely wrote it for his colleague, William Wyatt Gill (1828–1896) of the London Missionary Society. During Gill's service on the island, between 1852 and 1872, the two men not only worked together as ministers, but also collaborated to record and publish songs and stories about the ancient world of Mangaia before the arrival and acceptance of Christianity in 1824. In addition to Mamae's narrative about Ngaru, Gill himself wrote an English version of the story. In places that text clearly shows he had access to other versions in addition to Mamae's. These were most likely told to him as oral traditions which he then retold in English for publication. For the story of Ngaru he presumably brought together all the story elements he heard at different times into a composite account. Arguably therefore, Gill's story is just as important a part of any ancestral inheritance as Mamae's since it contains knowledge told by various anonymous Mangaians and bequeathed to Gill to write down for posterity. He did, however, add some minor textual elements, not found in Mamae's version, intended to suit the cultural values and reader expectations of his English audience. Although Gill states elsewhere that he retells stories "without improvement or elimination", he does modify them to exclude mention of sex or excretion, to refashion the depiction of women, and to limit the occurrence of Mangaian names (Gill 1984: 8, Reilly 2003: 14, 2009: 33, 39-40). Similar kinds of modifications were made by 19th century Pākehā editors of Māori stories (Reilly 2004: 29-30).

The following presentation reproduces Mamae's manuscript, along with a translation. The text is divided into a series of episodes or stories within the cycle. Each episode is followed by a discussion of Gill's version of the same account and an explanation of any obscure references.

Before providing the text and translation a few observations about Mamae's language seem warranted. His narrative style tends to run verbs together by omitting many pronouns and conjunctions, thus giving his writing a dynamic, action-oriented tone. The economical approach to language means that in many places his text is quite cryptic, with content barely alluded to. For an outsider, it is hard to understand what is going on. Such linguistic liberties suggest that Mamae confidently assumed his audience, including Gill, possessed sufficient prior knowledge to fill in the blanks. These qualities of his prose writing reflect the origins of this story in the oral tradition that lies beneath this version, including the short, almost abrupt turns of phrase, the allusive tone, the fast-paced drama and the profusion of direct quotations. Such elements of this narrative resemble the kind of language used in

Mangaia's song poetry. This may not be altogether a coincidence since Mamae himself acquired his own extensive knowledge of Mangaian history from the lips of his grandfather Koroa, who was an acknowledged master in the composition of songs (e.g., Gill 1876a: 270).

Mamae's extensive body of writing suggests he wanted to show others, like Gill, and perhaps a younger Mangaian generation, exactly what the old pagan world was like. Gill himself was keen to correctly record such knowledge, partly for its own sake, and in part to highlight just how changed the people were in his day (e.g., Gill 1876b: 36, 1984: 8-9). The words Mamae chose, however, reveal how much his generation already spoke and wrote using a mixture of languages. Words from *te reo Rarotonga* 'the Rarotongan language', like *kāpiki* 'call' or *pikika'a* 'lie', appear in place of their equivalents, *tūoro* and *'amo*, in *te tara Mangaia* 'the Mangaian language' (Kōpū Rouvi pers. comm. 10 February 2015). Such new linguistic forms followed on from the acceptance of Christianity which had brought in its wake access to other Polynesian languages and a Bible translated by Rarotonga-based missionaries.

Some changes have been made to Mamae's account in order to bring it into line with contemporary expectations about the presentation of an indigenous text, including the division of words and the insertion of punctuation, capitals and appropriate accents, such as marking of long vowels with macrons [e.g., ā] and of the glottal stop with a hamzah ['']. Mamae himself included certain accents; for example, he marked the presence of some glottal stops with macrons over the following vowel. In other cases his macrons appear to indicate word stresses, particularly in chants and associated songs. The last examples have been retained (marked by a circumflex [e.g., â]) as they provide readers with a guide to how these works should be sounded. Further editorial changes include the organisation of the text into paragraphs. Perhaps the most noticeable liberty has been the insertion of episode titles into the body of Mamae's story in order to highlight the distinctive stories within a story that is a feature of this fairly long example of Mangaian writing.

The translation does not attempt to emulate Mamae's own particular style; instead, it presents a more literal interpretation of what he wrote. While the more pedestrian prose of the translation admittedly lacks the pace and excitement of Mamae's original, the aim has been to provide the reader with a greater clarity and understanding of what is happening to the different characters in the stories. To aid the reader, especially those not familiar with the Mangaian language, the translation spells out content that is only implied or barely touched on in Mamae's passages. Endnotes are also used in places to explain at greater length what is going on.

A challenge faced by a translator of older Mangaian language texts is to try and find a satisfactory interpretation for the various words and phrases

that have escaped the notice of the limited range of dictionaries available for this part of the Pacific. Some words and phrases have fallen out of use and even older native speakers have found the content archaic. Ngariki Orani explained that it was akin to a modern English speaker reading the King James Bible (pers. comm. 2015). In the absence of any other information Gill's own version of this story became an anchor, by helping make sense of many obscure passages. His deep understanding of the narrative was doubtless based upon many conversations with Mamae, and perhaps other Mangaians, about the meaning of the text. Unfortunately, in places Gill chose renderings that were particularly vague or not clearly related to passages in Mamae's own account. In the last case, he may have been relying on other versions of the story. Alternatively, he might not have been able to obtain greater clarity simply because some words or phrases in the oral tradition were already unknown to his 19th-century Mangaian advisers. Where the translation is conjectured an endnote has been inserted explaining how the provisional interpretation was arrived at.

TEXT, TRANSLATION AND DISCUSSION

Episode 1: Introduction

'E Tara iā Ngaru

'E tamaiti a Ngaru nā Vaiare. 'E mokopuna aia nā Moko. 'O Tongatea tā Ngaru va'ine. I tēta'i rā, kua 'aere aia e ui i te kōrero i tōna tupuna rā iā Moko. (Tērā pa'a tō rātou 'enua, 'o Marua.) 'E tamaiti tā'emo arakata a Ngaru. Nā Moko i 'ōmai tōna mana.

Stories about Ngaru

Ngaru was Vaiare's son. He was a grandson of Moko. Tongatea was Ngaru's wife. One day, he went to ask for the traditional knowledge from his grandfather, Moko. (Their land was Marua.) As a child Ngaru possessed a competitive temperament.[1] Moko handed over his *mana*.

In his own opening to this story, Gill understood that Marua, which he translated as 'Shady-Land', was a location in the spirit world, 'Avaiki, where Ngaru and his family lived. According to Gill, the light-coloured Tongatea, "fair Tongan", was Marua's most beautiful woman. A lighter skin tone seems to have been associated with beauty in many Polynesian islands like Mangaia. Up until the early 19th century young Mangaian women of rank were raised in seclusion to ensure they possessed a lighter coloured skin.[2] Gill explained that Moko ("Great Lizard") was "the king of all lizards"

while Ngaru himself thirsted for distinction by testing his strength against various "monsters and evil spirits". In other words, he sought to enhance his personal *mana* through competitive feats that involved not just strength, but the qualities of a young hero, such as courage and daring in the face of great odds. This differs from Mamae's account where a young Ngaru requests the transfer of his grandfather's knowledge, and therefore his *mana*, presumably in order to obtain the skills and attributes needed for the forthcoming contests.

Episode 2: Ngaru's contest with Tikokura and Tumutearetoka

> *E tae akēra i tēta'i rā, kua 'aere atūra aia e kokoti i tēta'i rākau, 'e puka, ē kua tarai e oti akēra. 'Aere atūra aia i tai, e tae atūra i te tapa 'utu. 'Ua tau atūra ia Tikokura. Tērā a Tikokura, 'e ngaru, nō te mea tei reira tēta'i tā'ae, 'e mangō kai tangata, 'o Tumutearetoka tōna ingoa. 'Ua ngaru 'iōra te tai. 'Aere atūra te ngaru i te piri mato i te tapa 'utu. Tē tū 'ua ra a Ngaru i rotopū i te naupata. Ē 'ia 'oki mai te ngaru mei uta mai, ka 'oki i te moana, tuku 'iōra i tōna papa i raro i tōna kōpū, kake atūra aia ki runga, tere atūra i te moana i runga i te tua o te ngaru. 'Ua kimi 'iōra taua mangō rā iāia e 'āpuku. Kāre rā aia e rauka i taua mangō rā, nō te mea tei uta tōna tupuna tē tarotaro ra iāia 'ia ora. Tērā tāna tarotaro: "'Ei nunga e Ngaru! 'Ei raro e Ngaru!" Tei nunga a Ngaru i te tua o te ngaru, tei raro ake te mangō. 'Ia kake te mangō i nunga i te tua o te ngaru, tei raro ake a Ngaru. Pērā 'ua atūra rāi e tae atu i pō varu.*[3] *'Ō atūra a Ngaru i tōna papa 'ei kai nā te mangō. 'Oro atūra a Ngaru ki uta kāre i mate. (Tērā te ingoa i tōna papa, 'Orua.)*

> Another day arrived, he went off to cut down a tree. It was a *puka*, 'lantern tree' *Hernandia nymphaefolia*, and he shaped it till it was finished. He went towards the sea, arriving at the border of *'utu*, 'fish-poison tree' *Barringtonia asiatica*. Tikokura reached there. That Tikokura was an ocean swell, because that was the location of another fear-inspiring spirit being [*tā'ae*]; a man-eating shark named Tumutearetoka. The sea was rough just then. The wave came up to the strip of land below the seaward-facing cliff [*piri mato*] at the edge of the *'utu* trees. Ngaru was standing in the middle of the land between the cliffs and the reef.[4] When the waves returned from inland and went back to the sea, he placed his surfboard under his stomach, climbing up on top and sailing out to sea upon the crest of the wave. Just then that shark looked about in order to swallow him. But that shark did not get hold of him because his grandfather on shore was reciting a chant for him to live. This was his chant: "Be above o Ngaru! Be below o Ngaru!" When Ngaru was on the crest of the wave, the shark was below. When the shark got above the crest of the wave, Ngaru was below. That is how things went until the eighth night. Ngaru gave away his board as food for the shark. Ngaru ran inland and did not die. ('Orua is the name of his surfboard.)

In Gill's account, Moko tells Ngaru about two "fierce enemies of mankind" which dwelt together in the sea—Tikokura "the storm-wave" and Tumuitearetoka "a vast shark"—who ate people. Gill slightly varied the last creature's spelling from Mamae's, perhaps suggesting access to another oral version. Gill described the two beings as "evil spirits", probably a translation of *tā'ae*. Before taking them on Ngaru first provided himself with a surfboard which he named, 'Orua 'the two'—an allusion, according to Gill, to the two "sea-gods". Ngaru carried his surfboard to the inner edge of the reef where the wide area of coral was dry before heading out to the outer edge of the reef, where the surf beat against the land. In Gill's version, Moko sits upon a projecting crag of rock where he can watch over his grandson and ensure he comes to no harm. The careful scene-setting found in this episode may come from other versions or, and what is more likely, reflects Gill's own addition intended to provide a non-Mangaian reader with a word picture of the scene in which the actions took place.

In a variation from Mamae's text, Gill stated that Ngaru then "cursed these sea-monsters by name". This is the decisive act. Cursing someone is a verbal attack on their *mana* and inevitably results in effective countermeasures, such as a violent retaliation.[5] In Gill's story, Tikokura and Tumuitearetoka are provoked into anger and decide to seek revenge. Immediately afterwards, the sea comes surging inland, reaching to the roots of the *'utu* trees. Ngaru floats out on the retreating waves into the sea where he begins his eight days and nights of struggle with Tumuitearetoka, the "shark-god". Unlike Mamae, Gill did not suggest that Moko recites protective chants, only that he shouts timely warnings ("The shark is under you"). Gill described how an exhausted Ngaru ends the struggle by throwing his board to these "sea-monsters", who then return to their home in the sea. Moko and the people were delighted at Ngaru's exploit for he was the first to challenge the "sea-gods" in their domain and live.

Mamae's story assumes some knowledge concerning the flora of Mangaia's coastal region. The *puka* tree is commonly found on the seashore. It has a very soft wood that makes it easy to work with: the straight trunk is ideal for constructing canoe hulls, or, as in this story, a surfboard. Unfortunately, the wood's softness means a short life span of no more than two years (Shibata 1999: 229-30). For Ngaru, the *puka* would have been ideal for the purpose of a surfboard constructed for a specific event. The *'utu* tree grows in abundance on the coast, especially below the seaward facing *makatea* 'uplifted coral' cliffs, where it often forms a monodominant forest (Whistler 2009: 43). Tumutearetoka, one of the creatures Ngaru struggles with, is described by Mamae as a *tā'ae*, a particularly fear-inspiring category of spirit being that included sharks since these in real life were among the most feared of sea

creatures (Reilly 2009: 55-58, 60). At the end of the contest, Ngaru's departure inland ("*ki uta*") from the coast indicates that Marua resembled Mangaia in having its centres of population in the interior valleys and not on the coastlines vulnerable, as this story shows, to storm surges. The presentation of the surfboard as a food offering to the sea creatures suggests that both parties to the contest had reached an impasse with neither party able to defeat the other. Ngaru's curse in Gill's episode might suggest that the board served as a compensatory payment to the spirit beings. Nonetheless, Ngaru had managed to challenge two powerful spirit beings and live to tell the tale; his *mana* would have grown as a consequence.

Episode 3: Ngaru's contest with his wife, Tongatea

'Aere atūra aia i te kāinga, ē 'ārāvei atūra aia i tāna va'ine ia Tongatea. Tāpae atūra rāua i tēta'i ngā'i 'e vai tei reira. 'Ua taumārō 'iōra rāua. E keta te tāne o te va'ine, tē 'eke ana i raro i te vai, e keta te va'ine o te tāne. 'Eke atūra te tāne, e ruku atūra i raro i te vai, mei te popongi mai e a'ia'i 'ua atu. Kua tū mai ki runga ē inā! 'ua oro tāna va'ine nō te mea 'ua akava'ava'a iāia 'ua tako i te tai. 'Aere atūra aia i tō rātou kāinga. 'Ua ui maīra tōna tupuna iāia ē, "tē'ea tō va'ine?" 'Ua karanga atūra aia, "'ua oro i Teautapu, i te ngā'i pa'a o tōna 'ai metua." 'Ua nākō maīra tōna tupuna iāia ē, "'O tāku 'oki ia i karanga atu ana iā'au rā ē, 'āore i anga e ta'u moko, e anga turoko." 'Ua kō 'iōra rātou i tēta'i va'arua 'ei tanu iā Ngaru 'ia para. 'Ua tanu 'iōra rātou iāia, i 'āriki'ia i te rau ngāngā'ere. E tae atu i te pō varu, tērā tei tupu iā Ngaru, 'e uira tei pana mai nō raro mai i tōna va'arua. Nā te uira i 'uke i te one, ē te ngāngā'ere i tāpoki'ia iāia. 'O te mana ia nō Ngaru, 'e uira, 'o tōna para ia. 'Iti atūra te uira e tae atūra i te 'enua i no'o'ia e tāna va'ine e Tongatea. Riro atūra te rongo o Ngaru i reira. 'Ua karanga 'iōra te tangata ē, "Tēnā te kiri o Ngaru!" 'Ua nākō maīra tāna va'ine a Tongatea, "Ā, 'e Ngaru kē tāku i kite ra, 'e Ngaru kē 'oki tēnā?" 'Ua nākō maīra rātou iāia, "'O Ngaru, 'o tō tāne rā." 'Ua nākō atūra aia, "kāre īa."

Inā rā tei reira tēta'i kapa va'ine. 'Ua 'aere atūra Ngaru ē tōna vaka tangata e tirae (e mātakitaki) i taua kapa rā.[6] Inā! tē va'a 'ua ra tō Tongatea tūranga. 'Ua ui atu a Ngaru, "nō 'ai te va'a, e va'a?" 'Ua nākō maīra rātou, "nō Tongatea." 'Ua nākō atu a Ngaru, "tātua'ia." Pērā 'ua rāi e 'akaui akēra te kapa. 'Oki atūra Ngaru i tōna 'enua mā tōna rau tangata. 'Ua tueru 'aere atūra Tongatea iā Ngaru mā tē kāpiki atu ē, "'oki maīra e Ngaru 'ia moe ana tāua!" 'Ua nākō maīra Ngaru, "'Āore oa au e 'oki atu, 'ua pou au iā'au." 'Ia kite a Tongatea ē, kāre rāi a Ngaru e 'oki mai, tāpae akēra aia, kakati atūra i te kōki'i kura, mate atūra.

He went away towards the homestead, and he met his wife, Tongatea. They turned off at a place where there was a fresh water pool. They then argued. The husband of the wife and the wife of the husband were each determined

> to get into the water. The husband got in, diving into the water, from the early morning until the evening. He stood up, and lo and behold his wife ran off because she disliked his blackening from the sea. He went on to their homestead. His grandfather asked him, "Where is your wife?" He responded, "She has run away to Teautapu, probably to the place of her parents." His grandfather said to him, "I will say this to you, nothing changes, o my grandson, till we change your colour."[7] Right then they dug a hole to bury Ngaru in order to ripen him. They buried him with a covering of weeds. On the eighth night, lightning started to flash from under Ngaru's hole.[8] The lightning opened up the earth and the weeds covering him. The lightning was Ngaru's *mana*; that he was ripened. The lightning shone as far as the land lived in by his wife, Tongatea. News of Ngaru was taken there. Then the people cried out, "That is the skin of Ngaru!" His wife, Tongatea, said, "Well, the Ngaru I know is different, is that Ngaru different?" They said to her, "It is Ngaru, it is your husband." She replied, "That cannot be."
>
> All the same, there was a women's dance festival. Ngaru and his group of men [*vaka tangata*] went to watch that dance festival. Lo and behold, Tongatea stood to throw a javelin. Ngaru asked, "Who is the thrower throwing a javelin?"[9] They replied, "Tongatea." Ngaru said, "Fasten up your *maro*."[10] That is how the dance festival really ended. Ngaru and his people returned to his land. Tongatea went chasing after Ngaru, calling out, "Come back here, o Ngaru, so that we can sleep together." Ngaru replied, "I will not return. I have finished with you." When Tongatea knew that Ngaru would definitely not come back, she stopped off, ate the *kōki'i kura*,[11] and died.

Gill opened his account by explaining that Ngaru's skin had been badly scraped by coral during his contest with the sea creatures. After this insertion his version follows Mamae's account pretty closely. Ngaru and Tongatea met on the road, and went to bathe, where they argued over who was to go first, before Ngaru won the contest and stayed in the water until sunset. When he got out, Tongatea was "horrified" that Ngaru's skin had turned black from exposure to salt-water during his struggle with the "monsters of the deep". Disliking the colour she ran off to Teautapu, where she stayed with friends, not her parents as in Mamae's account. When Ngaru got home, Moko asked him where his wife was, and Ngaru told him what had happened. Gill inserted two statements, made by Moko, which either come from another version or were Gill's interpretation of Mamae's own cryptic statement. The first utterance is: "Nothing blackens the skin so soon as the sea and the sun." According to Gill, Ngaru then asked Moko how he might whiten his skin. Moko replied: "The only way to blanch your skin is to treat you as green bananas are treated when they are to be ripened." This last statement is almost certainly Gill's own addition, intended to explain the next sequence of actions. In a note he explained that the process of blanching or ripening a green banana, so that

it turned yellow, was known as *tāpara* (from *para* 'ripen, yellow, blanch'). Ngaru consented to the process, which required them to dig a deep hole, line it with layers of sweet smelling fern, and put Ngaru into it, before covering him with leaves and a thin layer of earth. Eight days later flashes of lightning started coming from Ngaru's burial place, destroying the layers of earth and leaves, and allowing Ngaru to emerge. These flashes of lightning came from "the dazzling fairness of his skin".

At this point Gill added a new story element not in Mamae's text. The steam from the blanching oven had rendered Ngaru entirely bald, so that Moko instructed Vaiare, Ngaru's mother, to obtain new hair from Tangaroa. However, Moko rejected the first hair because it was too frizzly. Vaiare returned to Tangaroa for more. Tangaroa then gave her some fair coloured hair. As Gill explained in a note, this is the colouring of Tangaroa's own hair but such a yellow colour is detested by Mangaians. Not surprisingly, Moko rejected this hair, and Vaiare returned to Tangaroa for more. Finally, in order to escape from Moko's "importunity" Tangaroa gave her a large amount of black hair which Moko was very pleased with and attached to Ngaru's head.

Gill's story returns to Mamae's version. The flashes of light from Ngaru's face and body were seen in Teautapu where people said, "Behold the dazzling fairness of Ngaru!" But Tongatea was cautious: "This Ngaru you praise must be a different individual from the Ngaru I know." Although everyone argued that it was her husband she did not believe them.

Following Mamae, Gill continued on to the final part of this episode, where Tongatea organised a women's reed-throwing match to which the men were invited. Gill inserted additional material describing the dress and scented garlands worn by the women players standing ready to pitch their reeds with their right arms. As the event's organiser, Tongatea was about to cast the first reed when she saw Ngaru arrive. Gill described her emotional response: she is too overcome to continue with the game; her body trembles so much she struggles to keep her clothes on. The frequent attention to women's appearance and their vulnerability in this part of the story makes me suspect this was Gill's own addition; a distinctively Eurocentric reading of Pacific women as the weaker sex. The final section of this text follows Mamae very closely. The game ended in confusion and Ngaru departed, along with the other visitors, but Tongatea ran after him, begging him to come back to her. Ngaru, however, remembering her rejection of him when his skin had turned black, responded: "Never will I return to thee." On hearing this Tongatea went away, found the poisonous plant (*kōki'i kura*) to chew and died.

The various departures from Mamae's story in this episode point to Gill using two other sources of information. The first is the addition of elements from other versions told to Gill by Mangaian experts; a good example being

the search for an appropriate hair covering. The second are minor explanatory insertions, not found in Mamae's version, such as descriptions of landscape, women's appearance, and people's emotional responses. These additions fill out the terser, more cryptic oral traditions about Ngaru suggesting that these kinds of insertions were made by Gill and were intended to make the story more acceptable to an English-reading audience.

In this more extended episode, Mamae and Gill provided insight into Mangaia's ancient cultural world. Ngaru's bathing in fresh water after his long immersion in salt water reflects a common practice. His contest with Tongatea over who would be first in became a serious struggle for precedence between persons of *mana*. To win, as Ngaru did, reinforced his *mana* further, and confirmed his earlier success against the two sea creatures. Tongatea's subsequent abandonment of her husband because of his blackened skin may also have been a response to her earlier loss in the bathing pool competition. Someone who was beaten or socially humiliated might move elsewhere to avoid a sense of shame arising from the diminishing of their *mana*.[12] Tongatea's negative response to Ngaru's black skin reveals how skin colouring possessed a social significance. In this story, beauty and high status—expressions of *mana*—are associated with a lighter colour. Thus, Tongatea is beautiful because she possesses a pale or fair skin (*tea* means 'white, pale, clear'). Ngaru agrees to be put through a food ripening process, involving burial for eight days and nights, just to regain his lighter complexion. As a result, his skin is so bright to behold it is described as lightning; the element that reveals his *mana*.

The search for replacement hair introduces the *atua* 'spirit power', Tangaroa, best known in Mangaia as the absent *tuakana* 'elder brother' of the island's pre-eminent spirit power, Rongo. The desire to obtain the best sort of hair may suggest that Ngaru personifies a Mangaian male ideal with a lighter coloured body topped off with a lot of long black hair, doubtless tied up in a topknot. The three attempts echo other mythological stories in Polynesia where a hero goes back again and again to a revered ancestor or god until finally, almost in exasperation, they are given what they were always seeking.[13] Given that Rongo defeated his brother, and thereby brought him under his authority, it is likely that in spite of his resistance Tangaroa is ultimately not able to resist these requests.

The women's dance festival included a game of *teka* played by the performers. In this game, competitors took a short run and threw their *tao* 'spear, javelin' at a point on a prepared strip of ground, so that these javelins then ricocheted into the air. The winner was the one whose *tao* flew the farthest (Hiroa 1971: 49-51).[14] Mataora Harry pointed out to me that in Mangaia the *tao* was much longer than the one used in the Rarotonga version of this game

(pers. comm. Māngere, Auckland, 24 July 2014). Evidently, the person of *mana* who sponsored the festival received the honour of opening the *teka* competition. The audience at a women's dance festival comprised only men which explains why Ngaru instructed them to do up their *maro* 'loin cloth' (Hiroa 1971: 143, 149-51). These *teka* playing arenas were cleared areas on the flat, overlooked by hills where the audience would sit and watch (e.g., Gill 1876a: 243).

Ngaru's rejection of Tongatea's pleas to get back together again, no doubt uttered in front of many other people, only confirmed his wife's utter humiliation as a social person. This is really what this particular story is all about: a contest between husband and wife that results in her loss of *mana*. When a man or woman of rank experienced such a form of social death, they had various options available to them, including suicide. The severity of her experience of shame prompted Tongatea to choose the final option. By this act, she was able to reassert her autonomy and therefore her *mana*. That she chose poison underscores how severe had been her loss of status since she adopted a method that virtually guaranteed death. By contrast, an upset or angry young man might opt to sail out to sea. But before doing so he would announce his intentions to friends and family, thereby allowing opportunities for others to intervene and prevent it.[15] As an aside, Tongatea's use of a poisonous plant points to the extensive knowledge people possessed of both the beneficial and toxic effects of the local flora.

Episode 4: Ngaru's contest with Miru

'E tae akēra i tēta'i tuātau, 'ua aere maīra ngā tamā'ine a Miru, 'o Kumutonga ē Karaia, e tiki iā Ngaru, 'ei kai nā Miru. I pikika'a mai ē 'ei tāne nā rāua. 'Ua va'ī 'iōra i tā rāua tāne i te parai, 'ua 'anati i te amo takitaki atūra.[16] *'E tae atūra i tēta'i maunga, 'o Erangi te ingoa. 'Ua kake atūra rātou. 'Ia kite rā a Ngaru ē, 'ua teitei tēta'i tānga i te amo, 'ua 'aka'aka tēta'i, 'ua kite aia ē, tē kake nei rātou i runga i taua maunga rā. 'Ua tarotaro akēra aia i roto i te parai. Tērā te tarotaro:*[17]

Ōi au tîriâ, tîriâ,
Ōi au târâ, târâ,
Târâ'ia akēra 'ia kite au i teia maunga,
'O te maunga poro oa teia
A ta'u tupuna a Mokoroa, ta'u metua a Vaiare, ta'u va'ine a Tongatea.

'Ua nākō maīra a Kumutonga ē Karaia:

Kiritia kai e kinana,
Tō koîvi! Vaio i Erangi maunga,
Tō vaerûa, e kave i te pō nā tō māua metua nā Miru!"

'Ua nākō maīra a Ngaru, "Ā, 'ua tōkā kōrua iāku!"[18] *'Ua va'ī 'akaoru rāua i tā rāua tāne. 'Ua takitaki e tae atu i tēta'i ngā'i kakekake. 'Ua tarotaro a Ngaru:*[19]

Ōi au tîria, tîria.
Ōi au târâ, târâ,
Târâ'ia akerâ 'ia kite au i teia maunga
'O te maunga poro oa teia
A ta'u tupuna a Mokoroa, a ta'u metua 'o Vaiare, ta'u va'ine 'o Tongatea.
'Ua nākō mai rāua:
Kiritia kai e kinana,
Tō koîvi, vaio i Erangi maunga!
To vaerûa! e kave i te pō nā tō māua metua nā Miru!
'Ua nākō mai a Ngaru, "Ā, 'ua tōkā kōrua iāku." 'Ua va'ī rāua 'ua takitaki, e tae atūra rātou i tēta'i ngā'i marumaru. 'E pū rākau tō reira, 'e i'i te rākau. 'Ua tuku 'iōra iā Ngaru 'ua tatara. 'Ua tiki atūra rāua i tēta'i pae i te kava, 'ua vā'i mai 'ua ngau. Tērā te ingoa i taua pū kava rā, 'o Tevo'o, 'o tēta'i ia mana o Miru, 'e umu te rua. 'Ua inu 'iōra a Ngaru i taua kava rā, ē kāre aia i kona. Tē kāpiki 'ua maīra te tangata nākō maīra i te kāpiki'anga, "Kumutonga-i-te-rangi, Karaia-i-te-ata ōi, 'ōmai rā tā kōrua tāne. 'Ua roa oa te umu a Miru!" 'Ua ume 'iōra a Ngaru i tōna maro, ē oti akēra, 'aere atūra aia e tae atūra i taua umu rā. 'Ua oti i te uru, 'ua ui atūra aia, "'e umu a'a tēnā e Miru?" 'Ua nākō maīra aia, "'e umu tao iā'au!" 'Ua nākō atūra a Ngaru, "'Āore a Moko i tū ake e Miru o, 'e umu tangata tāna, i tū ake a Moko o, pāpā paka o, 'ā inu i te vai o, tuku atu 'ia 'aere, parau o 'e umu tangata tā'au!"[20] *'Ua tātā'i te rangi i reira. 'Ua taka'i atūra tēta'i vaevae o Ngaru i raro i taua umu rā. 'Ua topa pū 'ua maīra te ua, kī akēra taua 'enua rā i te roto. Tere atūra te tangata ravarāi o taua 'enua rā i miri ia Tumuteanaoa rā.*[21] *Ora maīra a Ngaru, kāre i mate i mau aia i tēta'i pū rākau. E roa akēra, 'ua tae maīra ngā manu 'e rua, 'e karakerake te ingoa. Nā Moko i tono mai, rere maīra, e tau maīra i runga i te 'uru.*[22] *'Ua tarotaro atūra a Ngaru. Tērā te tarotaro:*[23]

Karakerakê ê, tukua 'iorâ te taûra!
'O te taura oa tēnā i tukua'i 'o māua Ariki
'O Râkâmaumau ê, tukûa, tukua rā i kôna!

'Ua topa ngā taura 'e rua, 'ota'i a tēta'i, 'ota'i 'oki a tēta'i. Kua pīpiki a Ngaru. 'Ua 'uti rāua e tae atu ki runga. 'Ua 'apai rāua iā Ngaru e tae atu iā Moko rā.

Ka 'ā arakata i rauka iā Ngaru, 'e ngaru, 'e mangō, 'e kava, 'e umu.

Another time came, and the two daughters of Miru, Kumutonga and Karaia, went off to fetch Ngaru as food for Miru. He was deceived so as to be a husband for them. Right then they wrapped their husband up in a high quality *tapa* cloth called *parai*, secured him with cords to the pole and carried him away on their shoulders.[24] They reached a mountain named Erangi. They climbed up. When Ngaru saw one end of the pole was raised, and another lowered, he knew they were climbing up that mountain. He recited an incantation from within the *parai*. This is the chant:

Hey, throw me down, throw me down
Hey, untie me, untie me
Untie me, so that I can see this mountain,
Farewell this one and only mountain
Of my ancestor, Mokoroa, my mother, Vaiare, my wife, Tongatea.

Kumutonga and Karaia responded:

Drawn out, you will be devoured forthwith o *kinana*,[25]
Your bones! Left on Erangi mountain,
Your spirit, taken to Te Pō for our mother, Miru!

Ngaru replied, "Well, you two have spurned me!" They wrapped and tied their husband up again. They carried him till reaching another uphill place.[26] Ngaru chanted:

Hey, throw me down, throw me down
Hey, untie me, untie me
Untie me, so that I can see this mountain,
Farewell this one and only mountain
Of my ancestor, Mokoroa, of my mother, Vaiare, my wife, Tongatea.

They responded:

Drawn out, you will be devoured forthwith, o *kinana*
Your bones, left on Erangi mountain!
Your spirit! Taken to Te Pō for our mother, Miru!

Ngaru replied, "Well, you two have spurned me!" They wrapped and carried him till all three of them reached another shady place to which belonged a tree, an *i'i*, 'Tahitian chestnut' *Inocarpus fagifer*. They put him down right on that spot and untied him. They went and got some *kava*, *Piper methysticum*, broke it up and chewed it. The name of that *kava* plant was Tevo'o: that is a *mana* of Miru, an earth oven is a second. Ngaru right then drank that *kava*, and he was not intoxicated. The person called out, saying: "Kumutonga-i-te-rangi, Karaia-i-te-ata, hey, hand over your husband. The earth oven of Miru has been waiting a long time!" Ngaru thereupon put on his *maro*, and when finished, he walked off till reaching that earth oven. When he had entered, he asked, "What is this earth oven for, o Miru?" She replied, "An earth oven to cook you!" Ngaru responded, "Moko did not establish there an earth oven to cook people, o Miru, his was an earth oven for people, that Moko set up on the other side, with chopped *māmio* tops to eat, water to drink, allowing people to leave; your earth oven for people is false!" The sky then clouded over.[27] One of Ngaru's legs trod down on that earth oven. The rain quite suddenly fell, filling that land till it became a lake. Every single person of that land swam away behind Tumuteanaoa. Ngaru survived; he held onto a tree and did not die.

Some time later, two birds arrived, named *karakerake*. Moko had sent them; they flew here and landed on the *'uru* [Breadfruit, *Artocarpus altilis*] tree.[28] Ngaru chanted. This is the chant:

O *karakerake*, release the rope!
This is the right rope released by our *ariki*

> Rākāmaumau, release, release here to me.[29]
> The two ropes dropped down, one from each bird. Ngaru clung on. They hauled him up. They carried Ngaru till they reached Moko.
>
> Ngaru received four attributes: a wave, a shark, *kava*, and an earth oven.

Gill told a far more elaborate tale than Mamae does. He first foregrounded the motivations and actions of "a fierce she-demon", Miru, who also lived in ʻAvaiki. He explained that she was envious of Ngaru's fame, and decided to kill him in "her fearful, ever-blazing oven". To achieve this, she hatched a plan of deception involving her two daughters, Kumutonga-i-te-pō ("Kumutonga-of-the-night") and Karaia-i-te-ata ("Karaia-the-shadowy"). They are described as being "tapairu" or "peerless women" whose beauty is far superior to "the daughters of mortals". The *tapairu* was a category of spirit being, usually females, known for their alluring beauty, and hence a temptation for men. They would often come up from ʻAvaiki to Mangaia through the underground passages which discharged water out to sea (ʻAerepō n.d., Reilly 2009: 58-60). Miru directed her daughters to ascend to Ngaru's world and get him to marry them. They were then to convince him to come down to Miru's domain.

In Gill's version, the two *tapairu* visit the house belonging to Moko, where Ngaru and other family members resided. During this visit Ngaru pretended to be asleep, so that the two women talked with Moko, who tried to find out their real intentions for visiting. They insisted they had only come to escort Ngaru to Miru's land so that he could be married to them. To buy more time, Moko made sure to play the role of a very attentive host, ensuring the daughters really enjoyed themselves. Meanwhile, Moko secretly sent small lizards down to Miru's domain to find out as much as they could about her. They observed her stock of *kava* used, so Gill explained, "exclusively for the purpose of stupefying her intended victims". Victims were then cooked in Miru's oven and eaten by her family and followers. Moko warned Ngaru of what had been discovered and told him to be careful.

That evening, Ngaru set off on his journey. Gill made sure to relate Ngaru's "peculiar" form of transport, just as it is described by Mamae, and doubtless in other Mangaian versions, although he is clearly bemused by it. He described how Ngaru is wrapped and tied up with cords in "rolls of finest tapa", then slung on a long pole, and carried "in triumph" by the two *tapairu* down to Miru's domain. Just as in Mamae's version, Gill twice quoted all the chants and responses uttered by both Ngaru and the *tapairu*, first when they ascended the mountain, Erangi ("The-heavenly"), and then when they reached a spur. Gill's narrative continues to follow Mamae's pretty closely as it describes how Ngaru is dropped off under "a shady grove of chestnut

trees" while the *tapairu* went off to prepare the *kava*. However, Gill left out mention of the *kava* plant's name or its link to Miru's *mana*, perhaps to make the story easier and more acceptable to an English readership. He did however note that Ngaru, unlike other victims, is not overcome by the *kava*. He also closely followed Mamae's phrasing of Miru's call to her daughters to bring their husband to her oven, although he added negative colouring by describing her as "the pitiless Miru".

Gill more or less followed Mamae in retelling the episode of the earth oven, but he added some elements to it. Gill noted that the "girdle" Ngaru puts on was given to him by Moko. Gill then described how "the dauntless visitor" went to find "the hag Miru and her dread oven". At this point, Gill drew on another version that relates how Ngaru heard the warning voice of "the anxious Moko": "Return, Ngaru—yonder is the oven in which she means to cook you." Ngaru, however, paid no attention and instead went on and found "the red-hot stones of the oven raked ready for the victim". He asked Miru ("the horrid mistress of the invisible world") what it was for. At this point, Gill quoted the dialogue between them, following Mamae, although Ngaru's reproach is somewhat differently phrased: "Ah, Miru! my grandfather Moko did not prepare an oven for your daughters; but gave them food to eat, cocoa-nut water to drink, and sent them away in peace! You cook and devour your visitors!" With those words, and in similar detail to Mamae, Gill then described how the skies, which had become cloudier and darker while Ngaru was in Miru's land, now deluged the land with water, just as Ngaru put one foot on the hot oven stones.

Gill's story departs from Mamae at this point, again suggesting he was drawing from another version. Miru and everyone else were swept away. Ngaru held on to the tenacious roots of the *nono* (*Morinda citrifolia*) plant and saved himself while each of the two daughters held on to one of his legs, and alone of all their family, survived. They then taught him the art of ball-throwing. Eventually, he tired of these two *tapairu*, and journeyed through "a dark, winding passage" to another land, Taumāreva ("Expanse") described as full of fruits, flowers, and where the people constantly made music using a three-hole bamboo flute blown through the nose. Ngaru married a girl being kept inside a house so as to whiten her skin.

The story returns to Mamae's version, although with several additions. Two "pretty little birds", the *karakerake*, landed on rocks near Ngaru, who learned they had come from Moko. Ngaru, weeping for joy, recited the chant quoted by Mamae. Two cords fell down, one from each of the bird, to which Ngaru attached himself. He gave a signal to the birds and they pulled him up. He failed to farewell either his wife or "her musical countrymen". He was brought to Moko, who had become ill with longing for Ngaru's return. There

is no mention of Mamae's concluding comment about the four attributes.

Gill's version of this episode reveals the ways in which he retold this story for his English readers. Like his translations of Mangaian song poetry his version of Ngaru's story could be quite free in places. His intention was not to mislead; rather, like any storyteller, he modified and adapted what he had heard and read for his particular audience. In this episode he again included brief descriptive passages referring to the landscape and, more importantly, related elements not found in Mamae's version, which he must have been told by other Mangaian storytellers. He occasionally excluded some of Mamae's story elements; for example, he did not mention the name of the *kava* plant. Various allusions to the spiritual dimensions of this tradition seem to be reworked, so that they are less explicit than in Mamae's text.

Gill made even more significant modifications in this episode. The most obvious is his negative depiction of Miru as a witch or a demon and of her oven as some sort of diabolical inferno. As Gill himself recognised, Miru was in fact the female spirit being who presided over Te Pō. People who died a natural death were understood to end up being cooked in her oven and consumed by Miru and her family (Gill 1876a: 236-37). No doubt Mangaians were always ambivalent about Miru and her oven. Christian Mangaians may well have thought of her as equivalent to the devil, although Mamae at least does not develop such an interpretation in his more matter-of-fact retelling of this episode. On the evidence of this story, it is Gill who played up the negative aspect of Miru's role; in effect, he created Te Pō as an equivalent to hell, with Miru as the presiding female devil. Te Rangi Hiroa suggested that Gill was influenced in his interpretation by a "European concept of Hades" as a place of punishment for sins committed while living on earth (Hiroa 1971: 203).

The destruction of Miru's world is also differently handled in these two accounts. Mamae described everyone swimming behind Tumuteanaoa, whereas Gill simply wrote they were all swept away. Tumuteanaoa was a major spirit being considered a guardian of the land of Mangaia. She lived in a land called Te Parae-tea in ʻAvaiki. She is also associated with the caves and rocks of the *makatea* (Hiroa 1971: 9-15, Reilly 2009: Ch. 1). Significantly for the Miru episode, this location continues to serve as a refuge when Mangaia is assailed by storm surges on the coast or flooding in the interior valleys. Presumably, the inhabitants of ʻAvaiki made their way to Te Parae-tea which, like the *makatea*, provided a refuge from the waters. If that is so, then the floods disrupted but did not destroy Miru and her world as Gill suggested. Given Miru's role in the Mangaian afterlife this seems a more appropriate reading. Nonetheless, her defeat signalled a weakening of her own *mana* at the hands of Ngaru. This may explain why the dead who most resemble the hero—warriors killed in battle—did not end up in her oven but rather dwelt

in a far pleasanter spirit place, Tia'iri (Hiroa 1971: 205-6). She no longer had dominion over them. This may explain why Mamae wrote that Ngaru acquires the attributes of *kava* and earth oven; he was saying that Ngaru had obtained authority over Miru. In that sense, Ngaru secured at the very least a partial victory over death's total annihilation of self. Gill of course believed that Christianity could promise its Mangaian believers an even better end-of-life deal (see Gill 1876a: 237).

In his reflections on the Ngaru story, Gill interpreted this journey to 'Avaiki as a "vivid representation" of the burial of someone who has died a natural death. Like Ngaru, they were wrapped up in *tapa*, secured with cords, and carried by two people down into a burial cave, located in the bowels of the *makatea*, a resting place equivalent to Miru's "deep cavernous domain". In Gill's translation of Ngaru's chant, this cave was called Orākā which Gill believed was an alternative name for the famous 'Auraka burial cave, located in Kei'ā district. The ropes that brought Ngaru back from 'Avaiki alluded to the ropes used to let a body down into burial caves (Gill 1876a: 236, 1984: 168).

This is Ngaru's most challenging contest so far. He allows himself to be taken by two of Miru's beautiful *tapairu* daughters to the domain of death, where he defeats its presiding spirit being, and subsequently, returns to the world of the living again, all with the assistance of his ever protective spirit helper, his grandfather Moko and his spirit creatures—lizards and the small *karakerake* birds. Gill appreciated the thematic connection between Ngaru's triumph and that of his own hero, Jesus Christ, but he understandably affirmed the latter as the only true one.

Despite such professional allegiances, Gill took great care in retelling the details of Ngaru's journey, especially his repeated unwrapping and rewrapping by his two *tapairu* wives. The repetition only underscores the significance of these actions as dramatic high points of this story. When the *tapairu* first wrapped Ngaru he was being treated as if a corpse. He was already naked. His whole body was tightly restricted within the *tapa*, so much so that he had very limited capacity to sense what was going on outside his confinement. It was as if he had already been removed from the world around him. Only when he sensed that he was being carried uphill, did he call upon his wives to stop and unwrap him. By doing so, they released him from his imitation of death, and returned him temporarily to life, in order that he could look at the mountain belonging to his grandfather, mother and his wife, and farewell them. Such farewells indicate that he accepted that he was going on a journey from which he might not return. Rewrapping him returned him to a death state.

When he reached 'Avaiki he was finally released from his shroud. But this was not a return to life; rather, it was a preparation for his final destruction,

as his wives prepared to stupefy him with Miru's *kava*, a form of her *mana*, before he was consigned to her earth oven, the second form of her *mana*. When the *kava* had no effect on him, he began to reveal that he was more than an ordinary person. He fully returned to a living state when he put on his *maro* and walked to confront Miru at her oven. There he told her off for her deceit and her lack of hospitality. She clearly did not conform to the standards expected of human beings, as exemplified by the actions of Moko himself when he used his oven in an appropriate way so as to look after people. Miru is not part of a world that operates according to human norms. The destruction of her domain and Ngaru's survival enable him to defeat her. Moko's intervention completes the circle, by finally returning Ngaru to the world of the living which is located in an upper realm. His acquisition, in Mamae's text, of Miru's *mana* in the form of the *kava* and the oven, only affirms his enhanced *mana*.

In Gill's version, Ngaru's survival is underscored by his emergence through an apparent birth canal leading from Miru's land, Te Pō, to Taumāreva. The two lands are intentionally contrasted, one filled with deceit, violence and death, and the other abundant with food and the practice of peaceful arts like music. Ngaru's return to a new life is further marked by his taking of a new wife who like him had deliberately sought a lighter skin, a sign of their beauty and therefore of their *mana*. In this worldview, beauty signifies the possession of *mana*: ugliness marks the commoner, the person without *mana*. When Ngaru ascended to Moko's homeland he abandoned his unnamed spouse. In this he resembles the heroes of other Polynesian oral traditions, such as Kahungunu in Aotearoa, who entered into sexual relationships with a series of important women, each one belonging to a different kin group occupying their own lands (Mitira 1972: Ch. 10).

Episode 5: Ngaru's contest with ʻApaiterangi

> *E tae akēra i tētaʻi rā, ʻaere atūra aia e kākaro i te kaʻu, nā ʻApaiterangi. Kāre ʻe tangata e ora i taua kaʻu rā, mē piki tētaʻi tangata ki runga. ʻUa ʻuti a ʻApaiterangi ki runga ē ʻia vaitata iāia rā, ʻua tāpatu, ʻua mate, ʻua kai paʻa. Inārā ʻia kite a Ngaru ʻua ʻoki aia ʻua tiki i tētaʻi nōʻona mana iā Moko rā. ʻUa ʻōmai rā a Moko i tōna mana, ʻe moko ʻe rua, ʻua mōmono i roto i tōna kēkē, ʻaere atūra. E tae atūra i taua ngāʻi i te kaʻu rā, ʻua kake aia ki runga. ʻUa ʻuti a ʻApaiterangi e vaitata atu iāia rā. ʻUa kave a Ngaru i tōna ririnui e tae mai ki raro i te ʻenua. Pērā ʻua rāi rāua, ʻe ʻā taenga i runga, ʻe ʻā ʻeke ʻanga i raro, ka varu. Kake atūra aia i te iva. ʻUa ʻakavaitata atūra a Ngaru. ʻUa rave akēra a ʻApai[terangi] i tāna tāpatu i ōna rima ʻe rua. ʻUa tāmauʻia te taura i raro ake i tōna ʻūʻā.*[30] *ʻUa tāki akēra ki runga i ōna rima. ʻIa teitei te tāpatu, ʻia ririnui ʻiē topa i runga i a Ngaru, ʻua ʻeʻeu*

akēra a Ngaru i ōna kēkē. ʻUa rere atūra ngā moko ʻe rua i roto i ngā kēkē o ʻApaiterangi. ʻUa topa te tāpatu i tōna rima, nō te mea ʻua māene tōna kēkē. Reki atūra a Ngaru, tau atūra i tōna ngāʻi rā (kāre i taka iāku ē, i tā āina aia ia ʻApaiterangi).

Kāreka ʻo tāna i kite i taua ʻenua rā, ʻe ʻare vaʻine tapairu. Tērā tā rātou ʻangaʻanga, e pēʻi.

Another day came, he went to look at ʻApaiterangi's container.[31] No person survived from that container, if a person ascended upwards. ʻApaiterangi hoisted them up, and when they drew close to him, he struck them, they died, perhaps eaten. In spite of that, when Ngaru saw the container he went back to fetch one of his *mana* from Moko. Moko gave his *mana*, two lizards, which were placed within Ngaru's armpit; he went away. He reached the place where the container was located, and climbed up into it. ʻApaiterangi hoisted it near to him. Exerting all his strength, Ngaru conveyed it back down to earth. They really went on like that: four ascents, four descents; in total, eight. The ninth time he climbed up. Ngaru drew closer. ʻApaiterangi took hold of his striker in his two hands.[32] The rope was held under his thigh. His hands were raised up. When the striker was aloft, to drop down forcefully upon Ngaru, Ngaru opened his armpits. The two lizards raced away into the armpits of ʻApaiterangi. The striker fell from his hands, because his armpit was tickling. Ngaru leaped away, landing on his place (I do not know whether he might not have killed ʻApaiterangi).

But he did observe in that land there was a house of female *tapairu*. Their occupation was to throw balls.

Gill prefaced this final contest by summarising the previous episodes, highlighting Ngaru's victories. Although Gill's version of this episode is more or less in line with Mamae's text, the story clearly shows how the English missionary drew on alternative sources of tribal knowledge that were available to him. He described how people were amazed when they saw a large, attractively decorated basket descend to earth. He added that some said it was an enormous fish hook. People who climbed on were drawn up to the sky and were never seen again which soon made everyone suspicious. As in his Miru story Gill gave more prominence to the "sky-demon" who invented this conveyance in order to be able to eat human beings. In both cases, he was obviously interested in creating a stronger set of story characters for his English reading audience.

Gill called this being ʻĀmai-te-rangi 'Carry-up-to-heaven'. He later explained that the Ngāti ʻĀmai people of Mangaia considered him to be their ancestor. Gill added that this ancestral being was also known as ʻApai-te-rangi, the name Mamae uses. The preference for the form ʻĀmai-te-rangi may suggest that Gill obtained his variant story episode from expert sources

within the Ngāti ʻĀmai. Perhaps they were also responsible for at least some of the additional details found elsewhere in Gill's retelling of the Ngaru story.

As the story unfolds Gill added further new elements not found in Mamae's version. ʻĀmai-te-rangi heard about Ngaru's prowess and decided to try and catch and eat him. He dropped down his basket near to Moko's house. Although Ngaru was keen to go and do battle, Moko counselled caution. Instead, he sent a host of lizards that were taken up to the sky in the container. There they observed *tapairu* throwing balls in a game requiring seven or even eight balls to be kept up in the air at any one time. The lizards also noticed a chisel and mallet, and plenty of human bones. All this they reported back to Moko after returning to earth.

Gill's version then more or less returns to what Mamae wrote. Ngaru ascended in the basket up to ʻĀmai-te-rangi, but before he could slay him Ngaru jerked the basket down to earth. ʻĀmai-te-rangi pulled him back up, only for Ngaru to jerk the basket earthwards again. ʻĀmai-te-rangi hauled the basket up eight times, until he was exhausted, before Ngaru finally emerged to confront him. ʻĀmai-te-rangi lifted up his chisel to strike the fatal blow. At this point Gill incorporated additional details. Moko had forseen this action, and had sent lizards up to the sky with the basket every time it was pulled up from the earth. When ʻĀmai-te-rangi raised his arms to strike, these lizards raced up his body and tickled him in the armpits, preventing him from killing Ngaru. Multiple times he tried to brush them off and strike Ngaru, but the lizards kept tickling him until, eventually, he dropped the chisel and mallet. Ngaru then killed ʻĀmai-te-rangi with his own weapons, and then returned to earth, with the lizards and the chisel and mallet. Gill's version adds that before Ngaru left he beat the *tapairu*, ʻIna and Matonga, in their ball-throwing game, and subsequently introduced this game to earth.

In reflecting on the story of Ngaru, Gill remarked that Miru and ʻĀmai-te-rangi were counterparts. Miru was a female spirit power with authority over the lower world; the domain of dark caves where the dead were consigned. ʻĀmai-te-rangi, or ʻApai-te-rangi, was a male spirit power who ruled over the upper world of the skies. Between the two lay the lands where Moko, Ngaru and human beings lived. Moko had authority over creatures—the lizards and the *karakerake* bird—that were linked with the domains of Miru and ʻĀmai-te-rangi. The lizard families, the *mō-tukutuku* 'skinks' and the *moko kārara* 'geckos', are frequently found in the rocks and caves of the *makatea*, believed to be the entry points to Miru's Te Pō (Clerk 1981: 51-52, 514, Gill 1876a: 152-53). These connections to the upper and lower worlds explain how Moko acquired his knowledge of these places. It also makes him an excellent spirit guide and protector. Appropriately for a culture hero, Ngaru himself is affiliated to both the spiritual and human worlds; he is described as "a man

of divine descent" (Gill 1876a: 237). He is well placed to achieve changes in the world that will benefit humanity. Mamae and Gill both showed how Ngaru bests Miru and sets limits to her power over the dead. Less clear is the link to ʻApai-te-rangi. However, the *rangi* 'sky, heavens' is the location of the warrior's posthumous resting place, Tiaʻiri (Gill 1876a: 153, Hiroa 1971: 205). By defeating ʻApai-te-rangi and the associated *tapairu*, Ngaru also gained authority over this upper domain and its spirit powers. His victory established the final destinations for Mangaia's dead, and suggests that in ritual terms Mangaians gained the power to communicate with and to control the spirit powers in both the lower and upper realms of the universe.

At the end of his Ngaru story Gill (1876a: 236) described him as a "Polynesian Hercules"—a culture hero better known to the Greeks as Heracles. The parallels are striking. For example, Heracles too descended from the gods, in his case, the father of gods, Zeus. Like Ngaru, he was also precocious as a child (a mark of divine origins). Heracles famously performed 12 labours which included defeating an assortment of dangerous creatures and, more importantly, entering the underworld to harass and injure Hades, god of the underworld. To ancient Greeks, Heracles became known as the "Harrower of Hell" and "the terror and controller of the ghost-world". In all these works, he was often aided by various gods and and goddesses (Farnell 1921: 149-50, Kirk 1974: 183-93, 197). Both Mangaians and Greeks could celebrate the attainments of their respective culture heroes, especially their victories over the presiding god of the world of death.

SONGS

Gill concluded his Ngaru narrative with two long song texts that refer to elements of the story. A note at the front of Gill's manuscript song collection identifies the writer of most of these texts as Mamae (Gill n.d.a). By ending with these two creative works Gill imitated the practice of his Mangaian colleagues, such as Mamae, who would often end a story by quoting a related song, presumably a reflection of the ancient oral art of Polynesian rhetoric still found in related societies such as Aotearoa New Zealand, where speakers complete their oration with an appropriate song (Higgins and Moorfield 2004: 80, Reilly 2009: 33, 64-6, 180-86,). In the Cook Islands the performance of complex songs filled with traditional allusions was not only a speech's "pièce de résistance" but also "conclusive proof" of an orator's knowledge and performance abilities (Savage 1980: 244). Following Gill and generations of Polynesian orators, it only seems appropriate to conclude this paper with these two significant song poems.

Before examining these songs, a few preliminary comments are needed. Because of their length, only material that refers specifically to elements of the

Ngaru story is included. Line divisions generally follow either Gill's published version or the divisions he pencilled in Mamae's manuscript. Editing and translation principles follow those outlined above for the Ngaru hero cycle, with the following additions. First, Mamae's original manuscript is followed in cases where Gill altered that text, such as instances where he corrected verbal particles *'ua* or *'ia* to *kua* and *kia*.[33] Second, the translation draws on various English annotations found in the manuscripts which presumably were made by Gill after consulting with Mamae about the meanings of some of the more obscure Mangaian terms.

The first of these songs is called a *ve'e*, perhaps alluding to the various parts of the Ngaru story which are referred to in this work (Mamae n.d.b). Mamae himself sat in the male audience who watched it being performed by an all female group at a women's *teka* competition (*te tekanga*) sponsored by the woman of rank, Patikiporo, in about 1815. This dramatic interpretation of the Ngaru story took place on a level area below Vivitaunoa Hill in the district of Tamarua. The composer, Tukā, is most likely the senior Ngāti Vara ancestor who was then medium of the spirit being, Te A'io. He was a contemporary of Mamae's father, Ta'uapepe; both men fell at the Ara'eva battle fought about 1821 (Gill n.d.b, 1876a: 243-44, Reilly 2003: 83-84).

'Aki'akiâ tute te manava ia Tevo'o'i	Pick the root of Tevo'o
'Ei mana pa'a nō Ngaru, 'Avaiki	Perhaps as *mana* for Ngaru, 'Avaiki
Koia i pau tā'ae!	He defeated dangerous spirit beings
Teipoi arire nā Moko rā,	Beloved grandson of Moko,
Nā Vari-mātetakere ê!	Descended from Vari-mā-te-takere![34]

In these opening lines of the song the listener is reminded of Ngaru's important attribute, that he defeated the various *tā'ae* 'spirit beings', which had threatened humanity in various ways. His ability to do this was based on his own descent from the spirit world, through his grandfather, Moko, and an even more important Mangaian spirit power, Vari-mā-te-takere 'the-mud/menses-and-the-bottom', who was the source of human life as the parent of Avatea, from whom Mangaia's people descend (Reilly 2009: 34, Hiroa 1971: 9-10).

Te ta'a o te rangi	The people of the sky
A tuku te 'ata 'apai Ngaru ē	Let down the staging to carry Ngaru
I te kakenga'tu rava.	Who ascended up.
Kake atu Ngaru	Ngaru ascended
I te tautua i te tau aro 'o te moko kura i tau ē,	The red lizards settle at the front and back,
'A pare nei kia 'Apaiterangi ê!	Baffling 'Apaiterangi![35]

After establishing Ngaru's genealogical credentials the song then alludes to elements of the contest with 'Apaiterangi. Ngāti Vara sources clearly preferred this version of the name. The song describes the container used to draw up Ngaru to the sky as a stage or platform (*'ata*). Appropriately the song associates Moko's lizards with the sacred red colour (*te moko kura*), indicative of their links to the spirit world. The last two lines appear to refer to the lizards crawling over 'Apaiterangi's front and back in order to distract him from his attempts to kill Ngaru.

'Ua kino Ngaru ē	Ngaru was ugly-looking
I te tā'eke aê!	From the surfboard riding!
'Ua kino Ngaru rā i te tā'eke	Ngaru was ugly-looking from the surfboard riding.
E anga turoko ka oro ai Tongatea ê,	Blackened in appearance Tongatea ran away,
Tei Itikau te rôki.	Itikau is the place of rest.[36]
Tei Itikau te roki ê!	Itikau is the place of rest!

These lines highlight the dramatic incident when Ngaru's surfboarding darkens his skin, prompting a horrified Tongatea to run away. The blackened skin is described as ugly (*kino*), an aesthetic judgement that hints at the associations of skin colour with rank and beauty. Interestingly, the phrase "*e anga turoko*" also appears in Mamae's account, suggesting how key words and phrases repeatedly appear in different versions of the oral tradition. In his translation Gill described Itikau as Tongatea's "loved resort". Perhaps the place known by this name in Mangaia remembers this placename in the spiritual world. Gill thought the Mangaian location "a famous resort for lovers" (Gill 1876a: 240 fn.1). Another song suggests it was a place where youth gathered to entertain themselves with music (e.g., Gill 1984: 281).

Pāpāpaka 'ā inu rā i te vai o Marua	Chopped *māmio* leaves as food, drink from the water of Marua,
'E rua 'enua i pê'i ai te pê'i.	Two lands played the ball-game.

These two lines end the first section of the song. The first line echoes Ngaru's statement, in Mamae's version, about Moko's earth oven: "*pāpā paka o, 'ā inu i te vai o, tuku atu 'ia 'aere*". This partial quotation reveals how Mamae creatively draws from the older song text when writing his own account. According to Te Rangi Hiroa, the full statement became a proverbial saying about hospitality: "*Papa paka a inu i te vai o Marua / Tukua kia 'aere* 'A baked taro, a draught of the water of Marua / And freedom to depart'" (Hiroa

1971: 138). The lines referred to the simplest meal prepared in Mangaia, comprised of *pāpā paka* 'taro baked in the embers of an oven' and some fresh water (Hiroa 1971: 137). The second line confirms Gill's version that both the *tapairu* in 'Avaiki and in the skies played ball games with Ngaru, something Mamae only touched on briefly at the end of his story.

'Unu I. Pē'i 'iki'iki nā Ngaru ê!	Part I. The ball-throwing skill of Ngaru.
Tērā rava te karanga,	There is the call,
E karanga iā Ngaru,	Calling to Ngaru,
'Iti mai rapa te uira,	The lightning flash arises,
E uira tū 'akarere,	Flashes all around,
Nā mana o Ngarutai,	Of Ngarutai's *mana*,
Nō'ea tō'ou mana,	Where is your *mana* from,
Nō raro i 'Avaiki,	From 'Avaiki below
Nō Vari-mātetakere,	From Vari-mā-te-takere,
Nā 'o'oki atu nā,	Who sends him back,
Tēnā ia ia kava,	That is that *kava*,
E tere 'a'a rā e Miru,	What do you travel for Miru,
E tere kai tangata!	I travel to eat people!
Tākina rā 'Avaiki e Miru ê!	'Avaiki is brought up by Miru!
'Ei rapanga uira i tāne.	As the husband's [Ngaru's] flashing lightning.
Tāne oro ki Iti!	The husband at Iti [Itikau]!
Aê Ngarutai.	Yes, Ngarutai.[37]

Ngaru's full name, Ngarutai, is revealed in this part of the song. Like his wife, Tongatea, he is associated with the spirit place Itikau. The source of his *mana* is confirmed as Vari-mā-te-takere, who dwells like other spirit beings, including Miru, in 'Avaiki. As in Mamae's story, Ngaru's *mana* is revealed as the white flash of lightning. The reference to Miru's travels up to the human world to eat people suggests how much of an existential threat she was perceived to be by pre-Christian Mangaians. Ngaru's defeat of her was therefore an important victory for human beings.

'Unu II, 'O Marua tai ō 'are ê!	Part II. Marua-tai is your home!
Tākina 'o Ngarutai,	Lift up Ngarutai,
Nā Kumutonga i 'apai	Carried by Kumutonga
E 'apai ki 'Avaiki,	Carried to 'Avaiki,
'Ei kai nā Miru kura	As food for Miru kura
'Ei tāne Ngarutai,	As a husband, Ngarutai
'Aki'akiâ tute, 'aki'akiâ kava,	Pick the *kava*,
Te manava ia Tevo'o,	The root of Tevo'o

Tâtâia e ʻIva, pōrutuâ te rangi rā,	Clouds darkened by ʻIva, the sky pours torrents of rain,
Kakea rā e Ngaru, te ʻenua Tau māreva,	Ngaru climbs up to the land, Taumāreva
Te ʻenua ʻiri kura e,	The land of red garments (?),
Nā te taʻa o te rangi,	At the edge of the sky,
E tere aʻa rā e Miru,	What do you travel for Miru,
E tere kai tangata.	I travel to eat people![38]

Much of the rest of the song alludes to elements of the story regarding Ngaru's contest with Miru. The second part of this song identifies the formal name of Marua as Marua-tai, the home of Ngaru, or Ngaru-tai, and his family. Miru's own full name is also revealed as Miru-kura. Te Rangi Hiroa thought "*kura*" a reference to Miru's reddened face burned by the heat from the oven (Hiroa 1971: 202). The song confirms a number of the incidents mentioned at greater length in the prose versions by Mamae and Gill. First, Kumutonga, Miru's daughter, carries Ngaru from Marua-tai down to ʻAvaiki, where he is to be eaten by Miru. *Kava* is then made from the plant named Tevoʻo. The cloudburst that inundates ʻAvaiki is caused by an otherwise unknown spirit being called ʻIva. Ngaru then travels to another land, Taumāreva. The song line, "*Te ʻenua ʻiri kura*", which refers to this place, suggests an association with Te ʻEnua-kura, a spirit land, an interpretation strengthened at the end of the song (see below). Differing accounts link this land either to Tango, a son of Vari-mā-te-takere, or to Timate-kore and Tamaiti-ngavarivari, the parents of Avatea's wife, Papa-raʻiraʻi (Gill 1876a: 5, Hiroa 1971: 14, 15). The song maps out the places and their spirit beings which make up Mangaia's spiritual domain, ʻAvaiki.

Ōi au tīriâ, tīriâ,	Hey, throw me down, throw me down,
Ōi au târâ, târâ,	Hey, untie me, untie me,
Tāraia akēra	Untie me
ʻIa kite au i teia maunga,	So that I can see this mountain,
ʻO te maunga poro oa teia	Farewell this one and only mountain
A taʻu tupuna a Mokoroa,	Of my ancestor, Mokoroa,
Taʻu metua ʻo Vaiare,	My mother, Vaiare,
Taʻu vaine ʻo Tongatea,	My wife, Tongatea.
Kiritia kai e kinako.	Drawn out, you will be devoured forthwith, o *kinako*
Tō koivi, vaio i Erangi maunga,	Your bones, left on Erangi mountain,
Tō vaerûa e kave i te pō	Your spirit taken to Te Pō
Nā tā māua metua nā Miru	For our mother, Miru!

All these lines appear in Mamae's story, showing how far he drew on the older song especially for important spoken passages: the chant by Ngaru as he is carried up the Erangi mountain, and the shorter response by his two wives, Kumutonga and Karaia, the daughters of Miru. Since poems are fixed texts these elements of the Ngaru story are potentially very old.

Kumutonga-karaia i te ata ôi,	Hey, Kumutonga, Karaia-i-te-ata
Tukua maīra tā kōrua tāne	Bring your husband
'Ua roa oa te umu a Miru!	The earth oven of Miru has been waiting a long time!

Despite various modifications Mamae's own version of this call by Miru to her daughters is clearly drawn in part from the song: "*Kumutonga-i-te-rangi, Karaia-i-te-ata ôi, 'ōmai ra tā kōrua tāne. 'Ua roa oa te umu a Miru*". This example, along with the various other ones found in this song, show how the core spoken or chanted passages in Mamae's version are derived directly from this older song text, with some adaptations.

'Āore au e pâ atu i ta'u moko	I will not allow my grandchild to be struck
E tapu te tikinga va'ine a Ngaru.	The wives' fetching of Ngaru is *tapu.*[39]

These lines must be uttered by Moko and explain the intervention below. The reference to *tapu* seems to confirm Gill's idea that the carrying of Ngaru by his wives down to 'Avaiki imitated the taking of a body for final burial. Both acts were surrounded by the *tapu* restrictions associated with death, as the body was returned to the spirit world.

Tuku atu te taura i 'Enua kura,	Drop the rope down to 'Enua-kura
'E taura viri viri,	A many stranded rope,
'E taura varavara,	A strong rope (?),
Ruia e te matangi,	Waved about by the wind,
Kakea e Ngaru,	Climbed by Ngaru,
Kakea e te rangi tautua,	Climbed by the first *rangi* (?),
Kakea e te rangi tuamano,	Climbed by the many *rangi* (?),
Ê tuku te taura i 'Enua kura ê Maurîa!	Drop the rope down to 'Enua-kura Hold fast!
Mauria e Ruate'ātonga	Hold fast o Ruate'ātonga
Te pitonga i te taura	The end of the rope
I tukua'i ō māua Ariki,	Drop down for our *Ariki*
'O Râkā maumau ê,	Rākā maumau,
Tukûa, tukua rā i kôna,	Drop down, drop down there,[40]
'Oki mai e Ngâru	Return, o Ngaru
Tērā'tu te umu tao iā'au.	Yonder is the earth oven to cook you.

These final lines of the song refer to the return of Ngaru by means of a rope to the upper world from Miru's earth oven. The mention of ʻEnua-kura confirms an earlier connection between this spirit land and Taumāreva, where Ngaru dwelt for a time after leaving Miru's domain. Gill translated Ruateʻātonga as "Spirit of the shades", suggesting a being associated with ʻAvaiki. He interpreted Rākā maumau as an allusion to the burial cave, ʻAuraka, but it seems more likely to be another spirit being. The ascent skywards was not an easy one as Ngaru's rope was buffeted by winds as he climbed through a series of *rangi*, presumably forming parts of the sky domain. Once more a line from this part of the song is incorporated into Mamae's story as part of Ngaru's chant to raise himself up from Te Pō: "*ʻO Râkāmaumau ē, tukûa, tukua rā i kôna*!". The final two lines echo almost word for word Moko's utterance as reported by Gill: "Return, Ngaru—Yonder is the oven in which she means to cook you." This suggests that Gill's quotations are fair approximations of their Mangaian originals. Part of the last line also appears in a statement by Miru to Ngaru in episode four of Mamae's story (*ʻe umu tao iāʻau*).

The second song is a *pēʻi* 'ball-throwing song' apparently a type of *peʻe* 'historical chant' (Mamae n.d.c). It was performed at a dance festival (*kapa*) in the reign of the Ngāti Vara Mangaia 'High chief' Pōtiki, Mamae's great-grandfather. Gill estimated the date as about 1790. This is the oldest text we possess alluding to the oral tradition about Ngaru. Such *pēʻi* were chanted during the actual performance of the ball-throwing or juggling game (*pēʻipēʻi*), presumably to help the players keep time as they tossed the balls into the air (Savage 1980: 245).[41] Gill explained that during the *kapa* the women performing the *pēʻi* "imitated the movements of the ball-throwers", but without actually throwing the balls (Gill 1876a: 250).

Karanga	*Call*
Pēʻi ʻiki ʻiki tei tō rima ʻe rua toe,	Throw balls around, two are left in your hand,
Tei ʻIva â taʻi râ koê	In ʻIva you have one
Rorongo	*Solo*
Taipo ê!	Go on!
ʻE pūē	*Chorus*
Bēʻi (ā ʻea) ngā tapairu nō ʻAvaiki	The two *tapairu* of ʻAvaiki throw balls
Nō nunga paʻa i te rangi ē	Perhaps up in the sky
Roro	*Solo*
Āe ê!	Yes!
Pūē	*Chorus*
Pēʻi (ā ʻea) i te pēʻi ʻitu i te pēʻi varu e ʻIna e	Seven balls, eight balls are thrown by ʻIna
Ka rē koia ʻo Matonga iti kau rêrê	She wins, Matonga-iti gets no balls[42]

Roro	*Solo*
Ka rē ʻoki e Matonga e i te pēʻi,	Matonga is also victorious at throwing balls,
Ka topa i tō rima â taʻi ô!	One ball has fallen from your hand!
Roro ʻUnu I	*Solo Part I*
Tīria mai tāku pêʻi	Throw my ball here.

This section of the song describes the ball-playing game of the *tapairu*. The spirit being, ʻIva, who caused the cloud burst that saved Ngaru is mentioned, but the principal focus is on the two *tapairu* located in the *rangi*, ʻIna and Matonga-iti, who lost this game against Ngaru. He then introduced this ball game to the human world (Gill 1876a: 236-37). Judging from the description in this first part of the song, the game consisted of each player throwing up as many as seven or eight balls into the air. Clearly, the aim was not to drop any on the ground, but to keep as many as possible in one's hands. Unlike these spirit women, expert human players could normally throw only four or more balls at any one time (Savage 1980: 245). Naturally, the *tapairu* were able to juggle almost double that. Ngaru's heroic status is further demonstrated by his display of skill in keeping even more balls in his hands than they could.

Pūē	*Chorus*
ʻE pēʻi ka topa i te rima o ngā tūpunaʻtu,	A ball has fallen from the hand of the ancestors
Nā Te Iʻiri, nā Teraranga,	Te Iʻiri and Teraranga,
Tāku rima tāku ʻei kapara tūrina	My hand, my necklace of *tūrina* seeds
ʻUa tôro pati kura konikoni,	Selected from round red fruits (?),
Nō nunga nō te ʻakingâ pēʻi	Concerning the gathering of balls.[43]

The first two lines refer to the two *tūpuna* 'ancestors', Te Iʻiri and Teraranga. Gill described them as the two gods who preside over the ball-throwing game. They were responsible for devising and teaching it (Gill 1876a: 245, fn.1). The seeds of the *tūrina*, 'mountain lantern-tree' *Hernandia moerenhoutiana*, were a less preferred material for making *ʻei* 'necklaces' (Buse with Taringa 1995: 369, 530, Shibata 1999: 352). The last two lines describe the picking of fruit from trees to serve as the balls for the game. Savage explains that the hard seeds of different trees were used, such as the *tuitui* 'candlenut tree' *Aleurites moluccana*, or the *tamanu*, 'island mahogany' 'Alexandrian laurel' *Calophyllum inophyllum* (Savage 1980: 245). The *tuitui*'s seed is described as walnut-sized (Whistler 2009: 30), giving a sense of the dimensions of the seed balls used in this juggling game.

ʻO ngā tapairu, tū taʻi e, kirirua e,	The two *tapairu*, stand as one, two skins (?),

Paiereiere, ʻikitia i raro o Kaputai.	Come from under to perform the war-dance at Kaputai.
Ā taʻi nei vaʻine i ngiringini ai,	Of these women the most strangely fascinating
I tôro pā tîtî, tôro pā tâtâ,	And proficient at our game,
ʻO te pua i mata reka,	The sweet-smelling *pua*
ʻO te ʻakatū ngā ʻare	The erected houses
I ʻikitia i marama nui ê	Chosen for Marama Nui
Era koe e ʻIna!	You are beaten, o ʻIna
Roro	*Solo*
Taipo ê!	Go on![44]

This part of the song refers to the *tapairu*, ʻIna, who is beaten by Ngaru. The composer depicts the *tapairu* coming up from ʻAvaiki to perform at Kaputai, located on the western coast, near the *marae*, Ōrongo, and historically the place where the *ariki pā tai* resided (Gill 1876a: 245, fn.2). ʻIna is likened to the highly valued and sweet scented flower of the *pua* (*Fagraea berteroana*) particularly favoured for *ʻei* ʻnecklaces' (Whistler 2009: 114). She is identified as the wife of Marama Nui, the moon. Originally, the sun and the moon were two halves of a child of the foundational married pair, Avatea and Papa-raʻiraʻi. Both parts were squeezed into balls and tossed into the skies to their present positions (Gill 1876a: 44-45). This origin may explain why Marama Nui is associated with the ball-throwing ʻIna.

The four parts of this song alternate between Ngaru defeating the *tapairu* ʻIna and Matonga. In between the first three parts Gill repeated the opening *karanga* ʻcall' of the song.[45] These later song parts are not quoted as they are somewhat obscure, even in Gill's translation, and do not seem to add anything further to this discussion. The final relevant part of this song is its concluding section.

ʻE Mautu teia nō taua peʻe nei	This is a conclusion for that historical chant
Karanga	*Call*
ʻE ara pēʻi nā Kumutonga,	A ball-throwing game with Kumutonga,
Nā Karaia-i-te-ata e, ā kâke ê	With Karaia-i-te-ata, who climbed up
Rorongo	*Solo*
Taipo ê!	Go on!
Pūē	*Chorus*
Tē pēʻi maīra te pêʻinga i te ata	Playing the juggling game in the shadows
Roro	*Solo*
Ae ê!	Yes!

Pūē	*Chorus*
Tē rere maīra te manu pêpê kura	The red-feathered bird is flying
Roro	*Solo*
'E ara pē'i 'oki rā nā Karaia ae ē!	Also a ball-throwing game with Karaia!
Pūē	*Chorus*
'E ara pê'i nā Kumutonga,	A ball-throwing game with Kumutonga,
Nā Karaia-i-te-ata	Karaia-i-te-ata
'Āore pa'a e kitea te ikônga i te rima.	Perhaps the hand movements are not seen.[46]

In this finale, Ngaru defeats the two *tapairu* of 'Avaiki, Kumutonga and Karaia-i-te-ata. Just as Miru and 'Apai-te-rangi are complementary pairs, this song suggests that so too are the two pairs of *tapairu* found in the upper and lower realms. The last line suggests the speed and dexterity required to play this ball-game. Ngaru demonstrates his own *mana* by successively beating these *tapairu* at a game in which they excelled. Games in Polynesia were never just forms of exercise or entertainment but a field on which players realised an ambition to enhance their *mana* at the expense of others.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The oral traditions about Ngaru introduce a number of ideas and themes that give an insight into the ancient Mangaian world. The human beings who inhabit Mangaia exist within a world invested with various kinds of threatening spirit forces. Encircling Mangaia, above and below it, is another world filled with particular lands, each occupied by particular spiritual beings. Only a hero like Ngaru, himself descended from spirit powers, is able to grant a degree of security to humanity by bringing the different spirit beings under his authority with the aid of his guide, Moko. One of the key themes of this tradition must surely be how Ngaru defeats the great woman of Te Pō, Miru-kura, and so ensures a better afterlife for people, particularly those most resembling himself, the warriors and leaders of Mangaia.

In retelling Ngaru's struggles the tradition categorises the kinds of spirits he must contend with, such as the fierce, human-eating *tā'ae*, especially personified in the shark, and the seductively beautiful *tapairu*, skilled in the various arts, but complicit with the dangerous ruling powers of the spirit world, Miru-kura, and her counterpart, 'Apaiterangi. As in the human world, the spirit forces are part of a genealogical network filled with social obligations, thus the *tapairu* daughters of Miru obediently carry out their mother's instructions. When Ngaru is carried to Te Pō by his *tapairu* wives or ascends through the *rangi*, the oral tradition presents a map of the spirit world's topography, listing the different domains and the spirit beings that dwell there. These places are still remembered for they appear in the landscape of Mangaia itself.

The other world is a distorting mirror that only superficially resembles Mangaia: spirit lands lie under the authority of leaders and are populated by families who appear to behave in similar ways to human ones. At a deeper level, however, the tradition highlights disturbing differences between both worlds. As Ngaru points out to Miru, whereas her daughters were entertained by Moko with food cooked in his oven, she fools her guests, by cooking them in her oven so as to become food for her family in ʻAvaiki. To be truly human is to show hospitality to strangers: this is a core cultural trait, showing how a person's *mana* is revealed "by giving rather than receiving" (Johansen 1954: 63, also see Shirres 1997: 55). Unlike Moko, spirit beings play false; their inhospitable behaviour marks them out as non-human. By crossing over into that other world, Ngaru reveals his heroic status, confirmed when he is not overcome by Miru's *kava*. That he dresses as a man, by wearing a *maro*, confirms his affiliation to the human world. By contrast, the spiritual domain is an inverted place, filled with duplicity, cruelty and incivility, and an improper desire to eat human beings.

The relationship between the older songs which Mamae recorded and his own story about Ngaru reveals something of the nature of Mangaia's oral tradition. The free text of Mamae's narrative elaborates on elements touched on in the fixed song texts. Gill's version too, derived from other oral versions of the Ngaru tradition, relates story elements not mentioned by Mamae, although some are referred to in the songs. Mamae clearly drew on the fixed song texts he had learned from his grandfather, Koroa, especially for key quotations of chants and sayings. These must have been important elements of the oral tradition since both Gill and Mamae took great care to reproduce them. Around these fixed sections, story tellers obviously could take greater liberties, adding or excluding elements depending on the situation of their performance. Mamae presents a compact story, reflective of its oral origins. Gill adapted his version to the reading tastes of a European book culture, with greater expansion of characters, scene-setting and gender specific behaviour. When brought together these various texts reveal the full range of episodes that comprised Mangaia's tradition about their important culture hero, Ngaru.

The several references to eight in the Ngaru cycle confirm the particular prominence of this number in various Mangaian stories (Biggs 1990: 35). Eight was also a "favourite number" in Polynesian accounts about resurrections and visits to the spirit world (Biggs 1990: 35). In many Eastern Oceanic societies, "the number eight expresses the extraordinary, the powerful, the potent, the miraculous" (Biggs 1990: 33). There are four instances of the number eight in this cycle: Tumutearetoka struggled to defeat Ngaru for eight nights (Mangaians reckoning the passage of time by nights rather than days), Ngaru was buried in the ground for eight nights,

'Apaiterangi and Ngaru raised and lowered the container eight times and 'Ina juggled eight balls. The last two examples confirm eight's association with "totality, the lot" (Biggs 1990: 34).

The most striking theme found in this tradition is its evidence for Mangaian usages of that profound and pervasive Polynesian concept, *mana*. As in other eastern Polynesian societies, such as Aotearoa New Zealand, the spirit powers were the immediate source of someone's *mana* (Shirres 1982: 39, 1997: 57). In Ngaru's case, he derived his *mana* from his ancestral spiritual beings, Moko and Vari-mā-te-takere. Clearly, *mana* could be passed down from one holder to another through a number of generations without losing any potency.

Inherited *mana* could also be shared between two holders at the same time. To safeguard Ngaru, his grandfather, Moko, twice gave his *mana* to his *mokopuna* 'grandchild'. The relationship between a grandparent and their grandchild is normally a very strong and happy one, marked by a kindly indulgence and love of the young child, so it is not surprising that Moko willingly gave his *mana* to Ngaru in order to protect him from harm. There is no suggestion that Moko's *mana* was lessened in any way by this act of love.

Mangaians did not distinguish between *mana* as it existed in a spirit being or person and in any thing that belonged to them. Mamae's version describes how Moko's *mana* is traditional knowledge and two lizards ("*moko kura*" 'sacred, red lizards', according to the first song). Similarly, Mamae refers to two *mana* of Miru: the first is the *kava* plant, Tevo'o, and the second one is her oven. In all these examples, the thing is as much a part of the *mana* as the person. It is intrinsic to both. The Danish scholar of New Zealand Māori traditions, J. Prytz Johansen (1954: 105), observed something similar: "the Maori in general possesses the *mana* of his possessions".

Mana, however, is not inert. In the words of the Māori scholar, Hirini Mead (2003: 51), it is a "creative and dynamic force that motivates the individual to do better than others". The *mana* of a human person or a spirit being could be affected by the actions of another holder of *mana*. Mamae explains that after Ngaru defeated his various spirit enemies, he acquired their forms (as a wave, shark, *kava* or oven). By doing so, he also acquired the *mana* of those beings. Similarly, when Tongatea lost the argument with Ngaru about who would take a swim first, she lost *mana* to him. His cursing of the sea creatures, Tikokura and Tumuitearetoka, would have been understood as an attack on their *mana*. They had to fight him. Their defeat ensured he acquired their *mana* too. Ngaru's steadily growing *mana* confirms his heroic role; only such a figure could succeed time and again against such beings of *mana*. As for those who lost to him, their feelings are perhaps best revealed by Tongatea's decision to commit suicide. For her, only such an extreme action could restore any sense of equilibrium. To lose one's *mana* was to

lose the very thing that defined you as a person; that gave you the capacity to live life fully and with dignity.

People of *mana*, like Ngaru or Tongatea, were also marked off from others by certain physical attributes, including a lightness of skin. This was an outward sign of someone's inner *mana*. A lighter skin was also thought to be a mark of great physical beauty, another manifestation of the *mana* that lay within a person.[47] By contrast, it was thought that an ugly person possessed a darker skin. They were not persons of *mana*. That is why Tongatea was so horrified by Ngaru's change of skin colour. His own feelings are clear from the extreme efforts he took to transform himself back again.

The intensity and power of someone's *mana* is demonstrated in Mamae's story when Ngaru's *mana* is described as lightning that shone forth from his body. It was so bright in Ngaru's case that people in other lands could clearly see it. For a hero like Ngaru, or indeed for a human person such as a chief, *mana* was not hidden away. It was not discrete. It shone out over the landscape so that people could not help but notice it. No one who looked upon it could be mistaken about its source. The person or being invested by *mana* stood out among others. Everyone knew who they were. Everyone understood that they were a vessel for the *mana* from the spirit powers. The cycle of Ngaru explains why people listened to their leaders. They could see that ancestral *mana* shining out from within them like lightning. When Ngaru told his men to leave Tongatea's *kapa*, they followed his instructions without hesitation or question. *Mana* is what made people pay attention to their leader's words. Without *mana*, they would simply become an ordinary person, like everyone else.

Ngaru is not Mangaia's only culture hero since like many Polynesian societies, people there delighted in telling stories about Māui too. Like that far better known character, Ngaru is both a benefactor and transformer of human society. Unlike Māui's trickster personality, Ngaru acts like a warrior and leader of others. He makes life pleasanter by introducing a new ball-throwing game. He makes the place safer when he is able to show people how to surf over dangerous seas and to beat the man-eating shark. He is able to reorder the afterlife, particularly for warriors, by beating major spirit powers and bringing them under his authority. He becomes the ideal model of beauty for Mangaian men. He reveals the logic of *mana*; its successful acquisition results in the defeat or denigration of others. He is the warrior archetype, unmoved by danger, prepared to go even to the deepest recesses of the spirit world and take on death itself. He reveals to human beings their potential for growth and success, even against the universe's greatest spiritual forces.

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This paper is dedicated to Mataora Harry, *Kavana* of Kei'ā, who died suddenly in Auckland on 22 April 2015. Since 1997 we have worked together on Mangaia's ancient history, and this paper was the last one he was able to provide assistance on. Mataora was a passionate advocate for Mangaia's economic and cultural development who believed that learning about the ancestral world would benefit his community. "*Vāia te rua e, i te tokerau ē!/ I te tokerau, e ngaa mai ki tai./ Iki ki te iku parapu—ki te iku parapu*", 'Rush forth, O north-west wind!/ Bear him gently on his way./ Awake, O south-west—O south-west' (Gill 1876a: 190-91). Also special thanks to Kōpū Rouvi (Dunedin) and Ngariki Orani (Auckland) who commented on earlier drafts of this paper. Any remaining errors are entirely my own responsibility. Particular thanks to Iain Sharp, Manuscript Librarian, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Central City Library, for giving permission to quote the manuscripts, and to my Research Assistant, Erica Newman, for her help.

NOTES

1. 'Temperament' is my conjectured gloss for *arakata* which seems to mean some quality attaching to the person. It might also be translated something like 'disposition' or 'attribute'. The word does not appear in any of the standard dictionaries.
2. This practice is mentioned in Gill 1876a: 233, also see Reilly 2009: 278 and Shibata 1999: 218.
3. The phrase "*i pō varu*" is written thus in the manuscript.
4. This is my conjecture for *naupata*, a word which does not appear in any dictionaries. I am assuming it is a synonym for *patapata*. This is the name of a zone of land between the *pi'aki*, the boundary between sea and land, and the strip of land under the *makatea* cliff, also known as *rapeuru*. Various plants grow in the *patapata*, including the *'utu* and *puka* trees. See Mark 1976: 61, 63-64.
5. See the useful summary of the concept of *kanga* 'verbal abuse, curse someone', as it was understood by New Zealand Māori, in Benton *et al.* 2013: 115-23. Thanks to Poia Rewi for bringing this book to my attention.
6. In this sentence, Mamae first writes *tirae*, a word not found in contemporary dictionaries, and then in brackets explains its meaning for the benefit of his audience. Presumably, *tirae* was the word used in the version of the tradition transmitted to Mamae. Such care in retaining and explaining the ancestral language paints a picture of Mamae's scholarly diligence in passing on not just stories but the very words of earlier generations of Mangaia's people.
7. "Nothing changes... your colour" is my rather free translation of the statement: "*'Āore i anga e ta'u moko, e anga turoko*." This rather cryptic utterance is hard to translate accurately, but the context indicates that Moko is proposing to Ngaru that they change his skin colour which had been darkened through exposure to the elements.

8. This sentence more literally reads: "When it reached the eighth night, there developed from Ngaru, lightning that flashed from under his hole."
9. The previous two sentences translate the Mangaian text: "*Inā! tē va'a 'ua ra tō Tongatea tūranga. 'Ua ui atu a Ngaru, nō 'ai te va'a, e va'a?*" This particular use of *va'a* is not found in dictionaries, but following Gill's version, and information from Mataora Harry, Kavana of Kei'ā, I have interpreted the word, *va'a*, as 'to throw the javelin (in a *teka* competition)'. The person launching the javelin is also called a *va'a*. The word, *va'a*, describes someone raising their right arm and then throwing the javelin towards a point on the ground from where it launches off into space (Mataora Harry, pers. comm. Māngere, Auckland, 24 July 2014).
10. This instruction suggests that the men may have loosened their *maro* 'loin cloth' for comfort. Ngaru's instruction indicates that they were about to walk out of the performance. Before doing so, they had to tighten up their *maro* and make sure they were presentably dressed.
11. The *kōki'i kura* is identified as a poisonous weed, with red berries, used to commit suicide in the pre-Christian era (Savage 198: 110). The *kōki'i*, 'yellow wood sorrel' *Oxalis corniculata*, was used in herbal medicine (Buse with Taringa 1995: 185, Shibata 1999: 100).
12. The classic example in Mangaian history is the departure of Tangaroa from Mangaia following his encompassment by his *teina* 'younger brother', Rongo, and his subsequent settlement in other lands. See versions in Reilly 2009: 143-56.
13. A Mangaian example concerns the hero, Māui, who returns three times to Ma'uike and requests a firebrand from him. The two then fight as Ma'uike seeks to defeat "this insolent intruder". When Māui triumphs Ma'uike, now under his power, has to reveal the desired secrets of fire-making. See Gill 1876a: 54-55.
14. Stories of champion players whose *teka* 'darts' flew long distances occur in various Polynesian traditions, including the Aotearoa New Zealand story about Hutu and Pare (Orbell 1968: 2-7). Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for this example. A comparison of similar Māori and Hawaiian stories is discussed by Thornton 1987: 13-22.
15. This summary is based on the Mangaian example of Paoa (see Gill 1984: 275-77). Doubtless it points to a well known method of seeking death. Firth (1967) describes interesting Tikopia parallels in his essay "Suicide and Risk-taking".
16. In the manuscript *'anati* is written *ānati*, but I am assuming that, as elsewhere in his writings, Mamae uses the macron to mark a glottal stop. The word does not appear in any modern dictionaries.
17. The following chants have been presented in verse form, whereas in the original manuscript they are written in prose. In accordance with poetical conventions, words have also been capitalised at the start of lines. Vowels marked by the circumflex indicate macrons inserted by Mamae probably to reflect stresses in the actual chanting of the words. Contemporary spelling of affected words are *tīria*, *tāra*, *koivi*, *vaerua*. Note that in Ngaru's chant Gill changed the Mangaian dialect form *'ia* to *kia* in his published version; a practice he consistently followed in all his quotations of Mangaian poetry.
18. In the manuscript *tōkā* is written *tokā*. I conjectured *tōkā* 'despise, spurn' (Buse with Taringa 1995: 505). Gill translated this passage, "Tis thus you treat your

intended husband!" Kōpū Rouvi assumed the word should be *tākā*, suggesting the phrase put colloquially meant, "I'll get you" (pers. comm. 10 February 2015).

19. There are some minor variants in the second versions of both these chants. In Ngaru's there is some different placing of macrons, e.g., *tîria*, *akerâ*, as well as an additional preposed possessive particle, *a*, and focus particles, *'o*, in the last line. In the women's chant, exclamation marks are inserted in different places.
20. Mamae writes *o* as a separate word throughout this quotation. These may be examples of the directional particle *a'o*. As used here it appears to refer to Moko's earth oven located on the far side from Miru's oven where Ngaru was then standing (see Buse with Taringa 1995: 62). In the manuscript, *Moko o* is spelt *Moko ō*, and *paka* is spelt *pākā*. Te Rangi Hiroa (1971: 137-38) quotes another version of this passage.
21. In the preceding passage of the manuscript, *tātā 'i* is written *tātāi*; this is also the spelling in the accompanying song, see below. The locative, *miri*, is the Mangaian variant of *muri* (Shibata 1999: 142).
22. This seems to be a variant of *kuru*, although not one recorded in any dictionary. Nonetheless, some Mangaian words do replace *k* with a glottal stop.
23. Again, this text is rearranged in a poetical form rather than in the prose presentation of the original. Many of Mamae's macrons (represented as circumflexes) indicate apparent stresses in the chanting of this work, e.g., *'iorâ* (cf. *'iōra*), *taûra* (cf. *taura*), *tukûa* (cf. *tukua*), *kôna* (cf. *kona*), rather than the standard spelling provided in brackets. The additional *i* with an apostrophe (in "*tukua 'i*") stands for the postposed particle *ai* so that this reads *tukua [a]i*. I have retained Mamae's usage here as this abbreviation is frequently found in older Cook Islands Māori texts although others prefer to spell out both words fully (Buse with Taringa 1995: 9, 95).
24. See Gill 1876a: 230 and Shibata 1999: 200. Following Gill, I have conjectured 'secured with cords' for the verb *'anati*. This term does not appear in any dictionaries.
25. The word "*Kiritia*" suggests that Ngaru has been drawn out of his bundle of *tapa* cloth and released, only it seems to be eaten, or threatened with being eaten: "*kai*". I have interpreted "*e kinana*" as a term of address for Ngaru. It is not clear whether Gill captured that part of the line in his rendering either, despite his access to Mamae and other knowledgeable Mangaians. Gill tended towards looser verse translations rather than literal renderings of Mangaian poetry.
26. Following Gill I have conjectured *'akaoru* as 'tie up (again)'. The word does not appear in any dictionaries. Gill (1876a: 231) translated 'another uphill place' as "another spur of the same mountain range".
27. In order to make Ngaru's response perfectly clear, I have added quite a bit into the English translation. The *paka* refers to the leaf of the *māmio*, *Colocasia esculenta* '*taro*', which was prepared as a meal in Mangaia (Shibata 1999: 191). I have translated *parau* as 'false', based on a New Zealand Māori meaning, because that seems to fit Ngaru's point: whereas Moko's oven fed people, Miru's oven cooks them and therefore she practises a deception upon visitors such as himself. It may be that an older meaning has disappeared from current Cook Islands speech but been retained in a cognate language. I should note that 19th-century Mangaian

texts contain a number of words which elude recent dictionaries, many of which are primarily based on Rarotongan Māori. 'The sky then clouded over' is my very loose reading of *tātā'i*, but it makes sense of what follows. Gill (1876a: 232) describes the heavens becoming "intensely black".

28. *Karakerake* does not correspond with any bird currently found in Mangaia or elsewhere in the Cook Islands. Gill (1876a: 233) describes these birds alighting upon "the ledge of a pile of rocks" rather than a breadfruit tree.
29. Gill (1876a: 233 and fn.2) interpreted this text differently. He wrote, "... *o maua ariki*/*O Rākā maumau ē*", and translates this as 'the imperious/Orākā, the all-devouring'. He explained that Orākā is a variant for 'Auraka, the burial cave in Kei'ā formerly used by Ngāriki people.
30. Mamae indicates a glottal stop in *ka'u* by adding a macron, variously written *kaū* or *kāu* in this text. In the manuscript *tāpatu* is written *tapātu*. In the manuscript 'Apaiterangi is written "Apai -", with the dash representing the rest of the name. Given the different possible meanings available for *'ū'ā*, Mamae inserted macrons ("*ūā*") presumably to indicate glottal stops.
31. The word 'container' is my conjecture for *ka'u*. Gill referred to "a large basket" (Gill 1876a: 234). Today, *ka'u* refers to 'the membrane enclosing the foetus, protective covering of a plant or fruit' (Buse with Taringa 1995: 164, Savage 1980: 91). Perhaps, some earlier meanings for *ka'u* have been lost. Tregear, for example, glossed 'clothes, garments' for the Mangaian word, *kaka'u*, a partial reduplication of *ka'u* (Tregear 2001: 113).
32. Gill described 'Apaiterangi as holding "a huge chisel and mallet" in his hands (Gill 1876a: 234).
33. In the first song text Gill made 19 minor changes to the manuscript version. Seven of them involved the insertion of the *k* in the verbal particles, *'a*, *'ua* and *'ia*. He was not consistent however; for example, he retained the Mangaian form of the focus particle, *'o* [*ko*].
34. A note by Gill explains that *manava* refers to the root of the *kava* plant named Tevo'o; Savage (1980: 137) defined the phrase *manava-a-kava*. "fully-matured root of the *kava* plant, and the spiritual essence of the root". An apostrophe followed by *i* is a 19th-century representation of the particle *ei* (*ai* after word ending in *a*). See Buse with Taringa 1995: 95. I have chosen to retain the older form here and elsewhere in these songs. Gill (1876a: 238) transcribed "*Tepoi*" instead of "*Teipoi*", presumably a typographical error.
35. A marginal note by Gill explained that *ta'a* refers to 'people'. In the manuscript *'ata* is written *Ātā*. In writing "*kakenga'tu*" Mamae used the 19th century convention whereby an apostrophe replaces *a* when it follows on a word ending in *a*; thus, *kakenga [a]tu*. Gill annotated "*tautua*" as 'front' and "*tau aro*" as 'back'. He translated "*te moko kura*" as "the golden lizards". The line beginning "Baffling ..." is Gill's translation.
36. My interpretation of "*tā'eke*" as 'surfboard riding' is based on an old word *tā'eke'eke-tai*, 'to indulge in sport of surf-riding, to ride shoreward on crest of breakers' (see Savage 1980: 328). Gill annotated "*anga turoko*" as 'black', referring to the change in Ngaru's skin colour.

37. Gill annotated 'bring up' for "*Tākina*", 'Ngaru' for "*tāne*" and 'Itikau' for "*Iti*". The next portion of the song repeats the first 19 lines, from "*'Aki'akiâ … i pê'i ai te pê'i*", before commencing Part II.
38. Gill annotated "*tātāia*" as 'dark clouds'. 'The land of red garments' is derived from Gill's rendering: "The land of scarlet garments". Following "*E tere kai tangata*" there is a sequence of repeated lines: first, a repetition of the song lines from "*Tākina rā 'Avaiki ... Aê Ngarutai*", followed by a further repetition of the first three lines of the song: "*'Aki'akiâ … pau tā'ae*".
39. This line can be interpreted in various ways. Gill interpreted it "Tis thus ye fairies treat Ngaru". Alternatively, it might read 'Ngaru's fetching of wives is *tapu*'. However, the line surely alludes to the two wives of Ngaru carrying him to Te Pō. Gill clearly assumed this is what the line referred to.
40. The interpretation ("A strong rope") is based on Gill's own rendering: "Ropes of many strands and of great strength". In his marginalia Gill noted that "*ruia*" means 'waved'. Gill translated "*rangi tautua*" as "the heaven-climber" and "*rangi tuamano*" as "all nature". Gill translated the line referring to Rākāmaumau: "From all devouring 'Auraka [a reference to the Kei'ā burial cave]".
41. Buse with Taringa (1995: 337) records the phrase "*pēpē'i tamanu*, to juggle with *tamanu* seeds". Shibata (1999: 211) records another throwing game called *peipei* (or *pēipēi* [*pē'ipē'i*?]) where players toss a pebble from the right hand and catch it on the back of the hand. The winner is the player who can keep tossing the stone the longest.
42. Gill translated 'In 'Iva you have one' as "In all spirit-land thou hast no equal", suggesting that he interpreted 'Iva as a spirit place. The parenthetical word "*ā 'ea*" found in several lines of this song is a pencil addition made to the original manuscript, presumably by Gill. Gill annotated "*kau rêrê*" as "*ngere*" meaning to 'lack, be short of, do without, get none (of fishing)' (Shibata 1999: 172). Matonga presumably lacks any of the balls which are in 'Ina's possession.
43. Mamae consistently inserted a macron in *toro* 'stretch out', although recent dictionaries do not.
44. Gill annotated "*paiereiere*" as 'war dance'; unfortunately, the word does not appear in dictionaries. The lines "Of these women... our game" are difficult to interpret, and the translations are modified from those of Gill. The section following "*Taipo ê*" repeats lines 4-10 above: "*Bē'i (ā 'ea) ngā Tapairu ... tō rima â ta'i ô!*" before beginning *'Unu* II or Part II.
45. Note that in his published version Gill departed from Mamae's by inserting an extra repetition, the "third call", following the fourth verse; this is not found in the original.
46. Mamae inserted macrons in "*pêpê*" whereas Gill did not. He translated the line 'The red-feathered bird is flying', as "A bird of gay plumage is watching you". I have assumed that *pepe/pēpē* is a poetical word for feathers or perhaps even wing (*pē'au*, *pererau*). The translation, 'Perhaps the hand movements are not seen', follows Gill's with some modifications: "The quick movements of the fingers are invisible".
47. A similar observation is made by Douglas Oliver for ancient Tahitian society (Oliver 1974: 159, 473).

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the story of Ngaru, a famous culture hero from Mangaia, as recorded in several 19th-century prose and song texts by a local scholar, Mamae, and his colleague, the missionary, William Wyatt Gill. Important themes are revealed, including Mangaian understandings of the concept, *mana*; the form and content of oral tradition; the important Polynesian number, eight; and, the parallels between Ngaru and the Greek hero, Heracles, who both beat the presiding spirit powers in the world of the dead.

Keywords: Ngaru, culture hero, *mana*, Mangaian oral traditions

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[1] Corresponding author: Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies, University of Otago, New Zealand. E-mail: michael.reilly@otago.ac.nz

TWO HAWAIIAN DANCERS AND THEIR DAUGHTERS

ADRIENNE L. KAEPPLER
Smithsonian Institution

Women have always been important in Hawaiian society in societal arenas ranging from politics to entertainment. Female chiefs were sought after for their exalted blood lines traced back to the gods and for passing on this blood within the royal lineages. High-ranking women composed and performed poetry that was sung and danced in honour of the gods and chiefs. With the coming of Europeans and Christianity, the political involvement of women changed, but in many ways it did not diminish. Women retained, and even enhanced, their importance by becoming more and more involved in the retention of traditions. This article centres on Mary Kawena Pukui and Kauʻi Zuttermeister, two women born in the years that the 19th century turned into the 20th century, who became custodians of knowledge for much of the 20th century. This knowledge lives on in the daughters of these two remarkable women, Patience Namaka Bacon and Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis.

KAWENA (1895–1986) AND PATIENCE

Mary Abigail-Kawena-ʻula-o-ka-lani-a-Hiʻiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele-ka-wahine-ʻai-honua ʻlit.the rosy glow in the sky made by Hiʻiaka in the bosom of Pele the earth consuming woman' Wiggin (usually known simply as "Kawena") (Fig. 1) was born at Hāniumalu, Kaʻū, Hawaiʻi island 21 April 1895. She was the daughter of a Hawaiian woman, Mary Keliʻipaʻahana Hiʻileilani Hiʻiakaikawaiola Kanakaʻole (usually known as Paʻahana, who was born c.1867), and an American, Henry Nathaniel Wiggin (1866–1910). Kawena's mother descended from a line of medical and canoe-building specialists (*kāhuna*). They were also religious practitioners dedicated to the fire goddess Pele and traced their family god (*ʻaumakua*) connections to the *pueo* ʻowl' and *moʻo* ʻlizard'. Kawena's father was born in Salem, Massachusetts, and of English heritage. He migrated to Hawaiʻi in 1892. He held important positions at Hutchinson's Sugar Plantation in Kaʻū, including head *luna* ʻoverseer' of the plantation.

Kawena was given as an infant to her maternal grandmother, Naliʻipoʻaimoku (1830–1901), to be reared in the Hawaiian way. Naliʻipoʻaimoku had been a Court dancer for Queen Emma (wife of Kamehameha IV) and often travelled with her. Kawena's early training with her grandmother in Hawaiian traditions was to shape her life. At age six Kawena's grandmother died and her mother continued her Hawaiian education. She was also encouraged by her father to

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Figure 1. Mary Kawena Pukui performing "Mukiki Wai" (in a film); Hawaii, c. 1930. Still photo by Tiki George, from a film by Vivienne Mader. Photograph courtesy of Bishop Museum. Mader collection.

both learn about the European side of her ancestry and to write down what she had learned from her mother, grandmother and others.

Kawena attended grade schools in Kaʻū and Hilo and then moved to Honolulu where she attended Central Grammar School and Kawaiahaʻo Seminary. The family lived in the Liliha area of Honolulu and Kawena spent much time looking after her father's invalid brother so was not able to finish high school. Later, the family moved to Birch Street, which remained the family home until 1966. At age 18, Kawena was married to Napoleon Kaloliʻi Kapukui (1874–1943), a Kona-family Hawaiian who had grown up in a Mormon community in Skull Valley, Utah. A fluent speaker of Hawaiian, Kaloliʻi had a variety of occupations which made use of this knowledge, such as title searches.

The marriage was not a happy or prosperous one, and when in 1920 Kaloliʻi refused to adopt a two-month-old child of Japanese descent from Kauaʻi who had been orphaned by the influenza epidemic, Kawena asked her father to legally adopt this child as Kawena's 'sister' and then give her to Kawena to raise. Thus began the long and important *hānai* 'adoptive' relationship between Kawena and Patience Namakauahoa-o-kawenaʻula-o-kalani-ikiiki-kalaninui, 'lit. the haughty eyes of Kawena of the rosy skies in the intense head of the heavens', Wiggin (usually known as Patience or Pat). Though

adopted as Kawena's sister, she was raised as her daughter. Patience grew up in a totally Hawaiian household where children were to be "seen and not heard". In Hawaiian households, children did not ask questions, which was thought to be *nīele* 'nosy', but Patience listened and learned. Today, she is one of the few totally fluent Hawaiian speakers who learned Hawaiian as a child.

In 1921 a second child, Faith Charlotte Kalama 1915–2007 of Hawaiian-Japanese ancestry), was awarded by the court to Kawena's parents at Kawena's request, again to be brought up by Kawena. On 27 February 1931, Asenath Henrietta Pelehonuamea Napuaala-o-Nu'uanu, known as Pele (1931–1979), was born to Kawena and Kaloli'i.

As a married woman, during the 1920s, Kawena attended high school at the Hawaiian Mission Academy and graduated in 1925. It was also during the 1920s that she began to teach Hawaiian language classes at the YWCA on Richards Street, taking young Patience with her as they walked back and forth to their home on Birch Street.

A variety of religious influences on Kawena's life, coupled with strong feelings of loyalty and conviction, led to both religious vacillation and inclusive religious beliefs. From her mother's side came non-Christian elements, from her father's side came Protestantism and from her husband and on her grandmother's side came Mormonism. At one time she was a member of the prominent Kawaiaha'o Church, but she was excommunicated because of an internal conflict over the minister. Patience attended all of these religious rituals with the old folks and also incorporates all of them in her cultural traditions.

Kawena had early training in *hula* from her grandmother, her mother and her aunties, as well as from the well-known *hula* dancer Emma Fern. In 1934 the noted Kaua'i *hula* dancer, Keahi Luahine (1877–1937), had a dream in which her deceased teacher told her she must teach Kawena the *hula* tradition of Keahi's ancestral line from Kaua'i so it would not be lost. Kawena was a perfect choice because of her knowledge of language, tradition, music and dance. Patience at age 13 was summoned by Keahi to concentrate on the *'olapa* 'dancing part of the tradition' while Kawena at age 39 concentrated on the *ho'opa'a* 'playing the musical instruments and singing/chanting' part of the tradition, but each learned the other part as well.

On the first day of this new *hula* relationship, a one-day *kuahu* 'altar' was set up and Kawena and Pat were in *kapu* 'taboo' status from sunrise until sunset. This was done at the Pukui's Birch Street residence in Honolulu. The usual greens of the *kuahu* were supplemented by *koa* (*Acacia koa*), added specifically for Pat in order to overcome her shyness. During the day Keahi chanted and small skirts of *kapa* 'barkcloth' and other *hula* accoutrements were made and placed on the altar. They were under the usual *kapu* dealing with kissing, funerals, gossip, food and excrement. At sundown the ritual

eating (*ʻailolo*) focussed on mullet (sea hog) which had to be eaten from head to the tail. The remains of the ritual eating were placed in *ti* (a woody plant, *Cordyline terminalis*, also known as *kī*) leaves and white cloth. After dark the remains, weighted with a rock, were disposed of in the ocean by Mr Pukui.

For about two years, Kawena and Pat studied with Keahi two afternoons a week at Keahi's Kakaʻako (Oʻahu) residence. For 20 minutes at the beginning of each session they learned *hula* movements that centred on lower body motifs accompanied by the *ipu* 'gourd idiophone'. Pat had learned some *hula* previously in primary school and informally from Kawena, but her movements did not please Keahi who said she jerked like a monkey on a string. Keahi had another dream about solving this problem by using a form of *hakihaki* 'limbering exercise'. Accordingly, Keahi carried out this ritual on Pat. It consisted of Keahi chanting special incantations while she held Pat's shoulders and Pat revolved her hips as Keahi pushed her lower and lower. The *hakihaki* worked and from that day Pat danced so beautifully and gracefully that even Keahi was pleased. Keahi was also pleased that Pat had a phenomenal movement memory and would be the perfect carrier of the dance tradition until Keahi's grandniece, ʻIolani Luahine, would be ready to learn more seriously than she had up to that time.

For much of the first year Kawena and Pat learned *hula pā ipu* 'dances accompanied with a gourd idiophone'. Keahi had a long thin bamboo pole with which she swatted Pat's ankles if she did not dance well. Later they learned *hula pahu* 'dances with a sharkskin-covered drum' and *hula* with *kā lāʻau* 'rhythm sticks' and *papahehi* 'treadleboard'—all associated with Keahi's Kauaʻi traditions. In 1936 Keahi considered Kawena and Pat to be qualified *poʻe hula* 'knowledgeable individuals' of her tradition and a *huʻelepo* 'graduation ceremony' was held. *Huʻelepo* is held at 12 noon with the sun directly overhead so no shadows are cast. Kawena and Pat performed the entire repertoire as learned from Keahi, then Keahi chanted and taro leaves and mullet were ritually eaten. Keahi then chanted the special *noa* '*kapu* freeing' chant thereby releasing them from her power, meaning that they were free to go to another teacher if they wished. Keahi, however, placed a restriction on her teachings. These were family *hula* and they were to teach no one except Keahi's niece ʻIolani and Kawena's daughter Pele when she was old enough. Anyone else that they might wish to teach in the future had to be acceptable to all three—ʻIolani, Pat and Kawena. In 1936 and thereafter, Kawena and Keahi gave a number of public lecture demonstrations.[1]

Keahi sent Kawena and Pat to her cousin Kapua, also from Kauaʻi, with whom they studied for about a year. At this time Kawena's daughter Pele was about five years old and sometimes danced with them. In this class there were Pat and several other female dancers, as well as Kawena and a

man who studied the *ho'opa'a* part. All of Kapua's dances were also from Kaua'i. Kawena and Pat's next teacher was Joseph Kealiiakamoku 'Ilala'ole-o-Kamehameha (1873–1965) who was both a cousin and uncle of Kawena. 'Ilala'ole was born in Puna, Hawai'i, and was said to be the great-great-great-grandson of Alapa'inui, the ruler of the island of Hawai'i in the early 18th century. In the 1930s, 'Ilala'ole was living in Honolulu and served as a custodian at Ka'ahumanu School, where he also produced Hawaiian pageants. 'Ilala'ole was 62 years old when Kawena and Pat began to study with him, studies they continued for three years. During this time they were expected to respect selected *hula kapu*, especially those dealing with sex and the dead. During each lesson Kawena and Pat were placed in a *kapu* state by 'Ilala'ole chanting appropriate texts, and at the end of each class they were again made *noa*. 'Ilala'ole's *hula*, all of the Hawai'i Island tradition, were much more dynamic and colourful than the more elegant but sombre Kaua'i dances of Keahi's tradition. *Hula pahu* '*hula* with sharkskin drum accompaniment' were not part of 'Ilala'ole's repertoire and in later years he often suggested to individuals who wanted to learn *hula pahu* (such as Emma Sharpe) that they ask Kawena or Pat for instruction. The last major teacher of Kawena and Pat was Hattie McFarland, who in the 1940s taught them *hula pahu* of yet another tradition.

In 1943, after they had been training and performing for about ten years, U.S. Army photographer George Bacon filmed performances of Kawena and Patience (Fig. 2) as a favour to Bernice P. Bishop Museum anthropologist Kenneth P. Emory to thank him for his help in making a film on survival techniques useful on Pacific Islands for an official U.S. Army film. Although the *hula* film contains no sound and all repetitions of dance movement sequences were not filmed in order to conserve film (which had not been detailed by the army for this purpose), the dances can be reconstructed from the film—if one knows the tradition and how to perform it. The films were never shown (except for the initial check) and were deposited in the Bishop Museum with the restriction that no one could view or use them without permission from Patience Wiggin. They have now become treasures that preserve many dances of a tradition for which most exponents have now passed away.[2]

A well known performer from this tradition was Kawena's daughter, Pele Pukui (Suganuma) (1931–1978). As noted above, Pele at age five followed along when Kawena and Pat learned from Kapua, but was only three and four years old when they learned from Keahi. Although Pele did learn some of Keahi's traditions from Kawena and Pat, Pele's learning was much more pragmatic; most of her learning experience was aimed at specific performances. So, as Keahi's dances could not be passed into public domain, she did not emphasise this part of the repertoire in her learning. Pele did,

Figure 2. Kawena Pukui and Patience Wiggin perform a movement from "*Eia ʻo Kalani Kamanomano*". Photograph from a 1943 film by George Bacon, re-photographed from a video copy by Vic Krantz, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 3. At a performance at Bishop Museum, Kawena Pukui (left) orally translates a Hawaiian text into English, while her daughter Pele dances and Kaʻupena Wong (right) chants and plays the *ʻipu heke*, 19 December 1955. Photograph courtesy of Bishop Museum.

however, learn the *hula* forms that were not restricted and passed these on to selected students. Pele often danced with Kaʻupena Wong as *hoʻopaʻa*. He had also learned from Kawena (Fig. 3). Tragically, Pele suffered a massive heart attack and died while chanting to introduce Edith Kanakaʻole during a ceremony at the Hawaiʻi State Capital—following in the tradition of Pele's teacher, Malia Kau, who died chanting at the Kamehameha statue for a ceremony on Kamehameha Day.

Pat was very shy and did not often perform, especially after her younger Hawaiian sister, Pele, was taught many of the dances by Pat and Kawena. While Pele performed, Pat became a repository of knowledge about the choreography and a preserver of Keahi Luahine's tradition. Meanwhile, Keahi's niece, ʻIolani Luahine, did become more interested in traditional Hawaiian dance and, as the dream of Keahi had prophesied, ʻIolani could go to Kawena and Pat in order to relearn the dances of her ancestral line.

Kawena and Patience learned from Keahi Luahine and ʻIlalaʻole in the most traditional way, that is, with an altar to the *hula* gods and with certain *kapu* or restrictions imposed by their instructors. These teachers and teachers' teachers placed a high value on exact reproduction of the dances and insisted that changes should not be introduced. Dances were to be performed exactly as taught. Keahi learned them in 1889 from an aged kinsman who probably learned them before 1850, and his teacher may have gone back to pre-Christian times. Thus, it is likely that the tradition as perpetuated by Patience is only three generations away from the religious rituals performed in the temples before 1820, and that changes in the choreography are minimal (Kaeppler 1993).

As part of the war effort from 1941–1943, Kawena served as forelady of a camouflage unit in Waikīkī, under the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, working with the *lei* 'garland' makers, whose job was to weave burlap strips into chicken wire for moveable covers for coast artillery, airplanes and trucks. Kawena's job was primarily counselling and peacekeeping among the some 100 employees and management staff. Also during the war, Kawena put together a dance group of nearly 50 people who entertained Army, Navy and U.S.O. groups.[3] Patience was one of the dancers that held this group together. In the 1930s both Kawena and Pat started their careers at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu. Kawena had previously worked with folklorist Martha Beckwith and then became an assistant to anthropologist E.S.C. Handy. Until 1962, when Kawena retired, she carried out ethnographic research and assisted others, often as an interviewer of other Hawaiians, especially in her home area of Kaʻū. As her own wealth of information about traditional and modern life in Hawaiʻi continued to grow, she became a primary resource to countless researchers. At the Bishop Museum she also served as official translator and left a rich legacy of English translations

from various sources, now known as the "Hawaiian Ethnological Notes". During this time, Kawena tape-recorded many Hawaiian elders from all the Hawaiian Islands about their lives and traditions. (The recordings are now deposited in the Bishop Museum.)

Patience was employed at the Bishop Museum from 1939 to 1946 as a receptionist, telephone operator and typist for Directors Herbert Gregory and Peter Buck. For a few years she stayed at home as a housewife and mother, but then in 1959 she returned to the Bishop Museum where she assisted Ynez Gibson in the bookshop until 1965. She then served as administrative assistant in the Anthropology Department, where she was also the primary knowledgeable person on Hawaiian culture and protocol, as well as performing her elegant Hawaiian *hula* when called upon for important museum functions. In 1992 she found her perfect niche in the Bishop Museum Archives where she was engaged in translating tape recordings from Hawaiian to English, working with Kawena's tapes and ethnological notes, and extracting Hawaiian chant and song texts from the archives that are now accessible on the internet. Pat compiled 80 of the texts into a book, *Nā Mele Welo* (1995). As a native speaker of old Hawaiian, Pat is one of the few living people who can understand these speakers of yesteryear; the younger speakers of modern Hawaiian have difficulty with the elder's pronunciation, grammar and use of metaphor. Essentially, Kawena and Pat have transformed oral tradition to cyberspace.

Kawena taught Hawaiian culture at Punahou School and the Kamehameha Preparatory School. She also taught Hawaiian language and culture to professional linguists and anthropologists, notably Samuel Elbert, Kenneth P. Emory and Edwin Burrows. Encouraged by Elbert, Kawena began to organise the research she had begun when she was a young girl, that of writing down Hawaiian words and their various meanings, and their uses in proverbs and traditional sayings. Out of this work grew the *Hawaiian-English Dictionary* (Pukui and Elbert 1957 and subsequent editions) and *'Olelo No'eau* (Pukui 1983). She wrote or contributed to more than 50 academic works and composed some 150 songs. The academic works of E.S.C. Handy and Martha Beckwith depended largely on the work of Kawena. She was also a primary source for the works of Dorothy Barrère, Kenneth Emory, Adrienne Kaeppler, Alphonse Korn, Margaret Titcomb and many others. After her retirement from the Bishop Museum in 1962, Kawena volunteered at Lili'uokalani Children's Center where she was a consultant in Hawaiian culture to the social workers and popularised the Hawaiian concept of *ho'oponopono* 'to do properly/ correctly'. Two books based on this work were published in the 1970s (Pukui *et al.* 1972, 1979).

Kawena, as a woman of Hawaiian ancestry was awarded many honours. These include two honorary doctorates: from the University of Hawai'i (1960) and from Brigham Young University (1974). She was awarded the 1974

"Governor's Award of the Order of Distinction for Cultural Leadership" from the State Council on Hawaiian Heritage, and named "A Living Treasure of Hawai'i" by the Honpa Hongwanji Mission and an "Outstanding Hawaiian" by the Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs in 1969. She was given the David Malo Award from the Rotary Club in 1957 and named one of five *Loea Hula* 'highest *hula* authority' in a report by the Bishop Museum to the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts (Kaeppler 1970). In 1963 she received the Roseland Award for Outstanding Contributions to the Field of Arts and Letters from the Honolulu Chapter of the National Society of Arts and Letters and in 1981 she was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Patience has emphasised the language and *hula* segments of this varied background in Hawaiian culture. Although neither Kawena nor Pat established formal *hula* schools, they have taught selected students. Their most notable students of Hawaiian music and dance, besides daughter Pele, were 'Iolani Luahine (the grandniece of their teacher Keahi Luahine), Lokalia Montgomery and Ka'upena Wong. Kawena became a resource on all things Hawaiian and eagerly shared her knowledge with non-Hawaiians as well as Hawaiians. This enlightened attitude, which is also shared by Patience, has been responsible for the preservation and continuation of much Hawaiian knowledge to the present day—much of it in written form.

Pat taught numerous workshops at home and abroad, including an annual event in Mexico for several years. She often served as a judge for *hula* competitions as part of the Merrie Monarch Festival, the King Kamehameha Chant and Hula Competition, Keiki Hula and High School Competitions sponsored by the Kalihi Palama Culture and Arts Association, and several *hula* competitions in Mexico.

The *hula* tradition of Kawena and Pat is a composite from a variety of esteemed teachers and also includes many pieces composed by Kawena. Although Pat learned from Kawena, she also learned at the same time as Kawena—from *hula* masters now long passed on. As the present keeper of these dance traditions that come from a variety of sources, Pat has an extensive and varied repertoire much of which was learned more than 80 years ago and she has passed some of this knowledge to Pele's granddaughter Kuhi Suganuma (the daughter of Pele's son La'akea) and her other grandnieces. Although Patience generously shares much of her knowledge with a wide variety of people, she only shares her esoteric *hula* knowledge with those she respects and especially only with those that she trusts to perform exactly as she taught them.

The late 19th-century Kawena and her 20th-century *hānai* 'adoptive' extension Patience have spanned more than a century of Hawaiian knowledge and tradition—bequeathing a treasure trove of Hawaiian language and dance to the 21st-century renaissance of Hawaiian culture.

KAUʻI (1909–1994) AND NOENOELANI

Emily Kauʻi-o-Makaweli-o-na-lani-o-kauai-o-ka-lani-po, ʻlit. Emily Heavenly child of Makaweli, Kauaʻi, realm of the gods', known as Aunty Kauʻi (Fig. 4), was born 8 March 1909 in Haʻikū, Heʻeia, Koʻolaupoko, Oʻahu. Kauʻi's natal parents were Gabriel Kukahiwa and Elizabeth Kaili Kukahiwa, but she was taken as a *hānai* 'adopted' daughter by William Kamahumahu Kalani (1850–1953) and Virginia Aʻahulole Kalani (1859–1957). Kauʻi's natal parents had other children so, in the Hawaiian way, Kauʻi was given as a *punahele* 'favoured child' to a couple who had no children, but she was always in contact with both sets of parents. About 1915 the Kukahiwa '*ohana* 'family' moved to Pākalā Plantation, Kauaʻi, where Gabriel was a steward for the senior Robinsons (of the island of Niʻihau).

Kauʻi attended St Ann's School and Benjamin Parker School on Oʻahu and Waimea High School on Kauaʻi, and had little interest in Hawaiian dance as a child. From ʻAʻahulole and William, Kauʻi learned the traditions of Hawaiʻi by living them. William raised Hawaiian food and caught Hawaiian fish and ʻAʻahulole cooked them in Hawaiian style. From her adoptive father, Kauʻi

Figure 4. Kauʻi Zuttermeister chants and plays the *ipu* for daughters Noenoelani and Kuʻuipo at Club Jetty in Nawiliwili, Kauaʻi 1950s. Photograph Manila Art Studio, Hanapepe, Kauaʻi. Photograph courtesy of Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis.

learned about nature—different kinds of winds, phases of the moon, planting, the importance of balance and the Hawaiian language. From her adoptive mother, she learned the arts and crafts of Hawaiian women, especially *lauhala* ‘pandanus fibre’ plaiting, *lei* making and quilting. Kauʻi excelled at all of these; her works were exhibited and won blue ribbons in State Fairs and other craft competitions. Her quilts were made in the old Hawaiian style of starting at the centre, known as the *piko* ‘navel’, and quilting outward in complete circles following the pattern. This quilting process captures the *mana* or sacred power of the quilter and the resulting quilt is considered to have life. The quilt then becomes the top layer of bedding and should not be sat upon. Kauʻi’s quilts have now become treasures of her children.

As a young woman, Kauʻi married Patrick J. McCabe. They had two children, Justina (1928–1987) and Patrick Jr (1929–2012). The match was not a happy one and divorce soon followed. For some years Kauʻi was a telephone operator at the State Hospital in Kāneʻohe and then became an assistant to the chef at the hospital. On 13 October 1934, Kauʻi married Carl Henry Zuttermeister Sr, an American of German descent. This match was a happy one and Zuttermeister formally adopted the two children, even changing the name to Patrick McCabe Jr to Carl Henry Zuttermeister, Jr. Kauʻi’s new husband was a radioman first class in the U.S. Navy, stationed in Heʻeia, and it was he who urged Kauʻi to learn *hula*.

At age 24, Kauʻi had the opportunity to join the class of Samuel Pua Haʻaheo (1885–1952), the husband of her mother’s cousin, Ahmoe. Each evening the whole family drove to Kahana where Uncle Pua taught his class in a fishing and net-making shack in Kahana Bay. While Kauʻi learned, Zuttermeister and the children visited Aunt Ahmoe—and Carl Jr could long recall the “spooky sounds” that would emanate from the dark enclosed shack.

Although not interested at first, after six months of lessons Kauʻi’s interest developed and she continued to study with Pua until the formal graduation (*ʻūniki*) of the class in 1935. During these years Kauʻi participated in various *hōʻike* ‘performances’ and a *huʻelepo* ‘the performance of the dances learned and a feast’. By the time of the 1935 *ʻūniki*, Kauʻi was considered by Pua to be a qualified teacher of his tradition.

Pua Haʻaheo began to teach in the 1930s at the request of the Mormon Church through the Mutual Improvement Association (MIA). This was in keeping with the Mormon view that traditional dance was an appropriate activity as long as it was not associated with religious rituals. At this time Pua was 45 years old, a policeman, keeper of Huilua fishpond at Kahana, a well-known *kilo iʻa* ‘fish spotter’, and an elder of the Mormon Church. Pua agreed to teach *hula* only, but not the *kuahu* rituals ‘rituals held at the altar of the *hula* gods’ which apparently he felt did not fit with his Mormon beliefs.

He felt, however, that *hula* itself was not antagonistic to his Christianity. After class he occasionally talked to his Mormon students about the *kuahu* rituals, but felt that these rituals were unnecessary for learning *hula* and that it was inappropriate to perpetuate them in a class sponsored by the Mormon Church. Classes took place at Pua's home on the shore of the mouth of the river that ran into Kahana Bay. Before and during class the windows were closed and the students chanted for admittance. Pua chanted in answer if they were permitted to enter. Classes were held each evening (except Sunday) from 6:00 to 9:30 or later. Pua's daughter Mamo and Kau'i remained for discussion or to perfect the learning of some of the chants. Pua taught *hula* in a secular form, which no longer had associations with religion, on the grounds that *hula* was important as part of Hawaiian tradition.

All the students were Mormon except Kauʻi (who was Roman Catholic) and, except for Mamo, the students were adult women, most of whom were married. Although a dancer since he was a child, it is likely that Pua had not taught *hula* before this time. One may well wonder why, after not teaching the *hula* traditions that he had learned as a child and young man, Pua decided to do so in the 1930s. In addition to acceding to the request of MIA, Pua was probably inspired by the 1931 *ʻūniki* 'graduation' of a Hawaiian dancer, Eleanor Hiram, who had learned from some of his Mormon friends. After the official graduation performance where Eleanor performed her repertoire, Pua performed in her honour. On this occasion he must have noted that his knowledge included a number of *hula* that were not performed—including several *hula pahu* 'with skin-covered drums' and *hula ʻālaʻapapa* 'with gourd idiophones', as well as a *hula kā lāʻau* 'with notched rhythm sticks', a form not widely known or performed.

Pua was interested in *hula* as a dance tradition, rather than the associated *kuahu* 'altar' rituals. There is little doubt that Pua knew about the rituals, but being a man of the modern world, he realised that although the days of *hula kapu* 'sacred *hula*' were over, the dances themselves should live. Like Kamehameha I and King Kalākaua, Pua helped in the process of modifying traditional forms in ways that would make them appropriate in the modern world. That the dances have lived through Kauʻi Zuttermeister and her daughter shows the wisdom of his choice of the importance of dance over *kapu*. After the *ʻūniki* of this class in 1935, Pua taught classes at Kalihi Gymnasium, assisted by Kauʻi and Mamo.

During these years, Kauʻi purchased a parcel of land on Wailele Road from the Castle family. She sub-divided the land into seven lots and built several houses—including one for her parents. She became a business entrepreneur, renting some of the houses until they were sold in the 1950s; the others have been inherited by her descendants. She gave up working for the State Hospital

and opened a sweet shop/soda fountain called "Z's Coffee Shop" in Kāneʻohe. She also ran a small business from her home, where she and her children made cellophane *hula* skirts and musical instruments for sale to other dancers and musicians. At that time, she was one of the few female members of the Kaneʻohe Business and Professional Association. She also taught *hula* at the Kāneʻohe Community Center and at military bases including Kāneʻohe Naval Air Station, Pearl Harbor and Barber's Point, and she was the only woman among the five founders of the Koʻolaupoko Hawaiian Civic Club.

After 36 years of active duty, Kauʻi's husband Carl Zuttermeister retired from the Navy but remained in the active reserve as an electronics mechanic. During the military build-up to the Second World War, the family moved to Kāneʻohe Naval Air Station. Then, on Sunday, 7 December 1941, while (Lutheran) Zuttermeister was at home, the rest of the family was at Catholic mass in Kailua. When they arrived at the gate on the way home, Japanese Zeros were bombing. Zuttermeister was activated as a Chief Petty Officer radioman and Kauʻi took up her old profession as a telephone operator at Fort Hase Army Base. Zuttermeister carried out top secret work during the rest of the War.

From the mid-1930s Kauʻi taught *hula*. In the 1930s and 1940s, she taught *hapa haole* 'modern *hula*' to military wives and dependents, as well as members of the Women's Army Corp (WAC) and Women's Navy Corp (WAVE).

Hula ʻauana, as it is now known, has always been an important part of Kauʻi's teaching and is still taught and performed in the Zuttermeister Hula Studio (originally known as ʻIlima Hula Hale). Kauʻi was also the composer of several well-known *hula* songs. Her most popular song, "*Nā Pua Lei ʻIlima*", was set to music by Alice Kalahui and copyrighted on 14 January 1965. It has been recorded by many artists, and serves as a signature piece for the Zuttermeister family. During the late 1930s, Kauʻi replaced her teacher, Pua Haʻaheo, as the chanter/musician (*hoʻopaʻa)* for Lei Conn, a dancer at famous Waikīkī nightclubs—Don the Beachcomber, Hawaiian Village, Niumalu Night Club and the Queen's Surf.

Only a few people have learned from Kauʻi the old chants and dances, for which her tradition has now become famous. During the 1930s Kauʻi, wanting her daughter Justina to learn the old traditions, taught her and a group of her friends the traditional dances of Pua Haʻaheo. This group had a small *hōʻike* 'graduation', which consisted of a performance and dinner at "The House in the Garden", in Nuʻuanu, on 22 May l937, and a performance at the Civic Auditorium. Justina, however, did not carry on the tradition. After graduating from Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, Maryland, she became a radiologist at Fronk Clinic in Honolulu and later a medical technician in Saigon, Vietnam. She passed away in 1987.

The focus of Kauʻi's teaching turned to her two Zuttermeister daughters, Kuʻuipo (b. 1944) and Noenoelani (b. 1945). The sisters performed with Kauʻi during the l950s at public and private events (see Fig. 4). Noenoelani had started learning *hula* from her sister Justina when she was three years old and from Kauʻi when she was five years old. She continued to learn both traditional and modern *hula*, and during the 1970s and 1980s performed as the soloist with Chuck Machado's Waikīkī Luau and as a choreographer for the dancers. Noenoelani was the most serious of Kauʻi's dancing daughters and was Kauʻi's *alakaʻi* 'lead dancer' and principal teacher for many years. With the passing of Kauʻi in 1994, Noenoelani took over the Zuttermeister studio. Noenoelani's daughter Hauʻolionalani (b. l966) has learned *hula* from Noenoelani and Kauʻi since she was three years old and has also become a repository of the tradition of Sam Pua Haʻaheo. Hauʻolionalani's daughter Kahulaauliʻikalaʻimaikalani (known as Kahula) has also been groomed to carry on the tradition (Fig. 5). Three of Kauʻi's other granddaughters—Ululani Zuttermeister (daughter of Carl Jr), Kauʻilani Kekuaokalani and Noenoelani Kekuaokalani (daughters of Kuʻuipo)—have also learned dances of this tradition, and Ululani assists Noenoe and has been teaching on her own. For the present generation, however, daughter Noenoelani is the keeper of the dance tradition of Kauʻi Zuttermeister and her mentor Sam Pua Haʻaheo.

Figure 5. Four generations of Zuttermeister dancers, 1989: Kauʻi Zuttermeister (left), granddaughter Hauʻolionālani Lewis (top), great-granddaughter Kahulaauliʻikalaʻimaikalani (Lewis) Guinn (bottom) and daughter Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis (right). Photograph courtesy of Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis.

Figure 6. Kau‘i Zuttermeister and Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis perform for the American Dance Festival, Durham, North Carolina, July 1987. Photograph courtesy of Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis.

During the 1980s, Kau‘i and the Zuttermeister dancers began receiving increased national attention. In 1984 Kau‘i, along with her daughter and granddaughter, became part of “The Grand Generation” programme at the Festival of American Folklife at the Smithsonian Institution, and in 1984 Kau’i became the first Hawaiian to receive a “National Heritage Fellowship” from the National Endowment of the Arts in Washington, D.C. In 1987, the three generations performed at the special Hawaiian programme at the American Dance Festival in Durham, North Carolina (Fig. 6). And, in 1989, four generations of Zuttermeisters became part of the Hawai‘i State Program at the Festival of American Folklife at the Smithsonian. During the year of 1989–1990, the Zuttermeister family undertook the immense task of presenting the family *hula* tradition during the exhibition evening of the Merrie Monarch Festival on Wednesday, 19 April 1990, which included all family members even if they had not danced before. This year of practice

and family gatherings was documented by Hawai‘i Public Television and presented in 1990 as “*No na Mamo*”, ‘lit. For the Descendants’. In 1996, the Zuttermeisters were called back to the Smithsonian to perform at the Smithsonian’s 150th Anniversary celebration.

As one of the most respected *hula* teachers of the 20th century, Kau‘i left a *hula* legacy of grand proportion. She was honoured numerous times by the Hawaiian community: in 1971 she received the “*Nā Makua I Mahalo ‘Ia*” ‘Appreciated Elders’ award for perpetuating Hawaiian culture from Brigham Young University, Hawai‘i; she was designated as a Living Treasure in 1982 by the Honpa Hongwanji Mission; and she was named as one of five *loea hula* ‘highest *hula* authorities’ in a report by the Bishop Museum (Kaeppler 1970) to the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts. She took a leading part in many special Hawaiian events, such as the opening ceremonies for the Nu‘uanu Pali tunnels; she was a chanter for the crowning of the Lei Day Queens for 18 years; and she organised pageants for special Hawaiian occasions and holidays, such as the 1954 pageant on the life of Kamehameha and the 1974 pageant honouring Hawaiian Queens. She was a judge for more than 20 years for the *hula* competitions of the Merrie Monarch Festivals, the Kamehameha Day Chant and Hula Competitions, and Intermediate and High School *hula* competitions, as well as competitions held in San Jose, California.

Over the years Kau‘i had many students. However, except for her daughter Noenoelani, Kau‘i did not feel that any of them had acquired enough knowledge about the traditional chants and *hula* of Sam Pua Ha‘aheo to be considered a *po‘e hula* ‘knowledgeable *hula* person’ of his tradition. Many students were interested in learning a few chants and dances to expand their own repertoire of traditional dances and pass them on to their own students. Kau’i was repeatedly upset when changes were made in dances that came from her repertoire, either by her students or by people who had seen her dances and borrowed movements from them. For several years during the 1970s and 1980s, Kau‘i taught advanced lessons in traditional *hula* and chant which consisted of two 10-session classes. Many of the students in these classes were *hula* teachers who had studied with other teachers. Kau‘i did not have formal graduations. Kau‘i and Noenoe hope that their students will perform and teach exactly as they were taught; their students are never given permission to make any changes in the dances.

Noenoelani has gone on to become a noted dancer, teacher, judge and mentor in her own right. Since 1989 she has taught Hawaiian dance and chant in the Music Department of the University of Hawai‘i and has performed at the highest level University events. In 1990, her University students performed in Hong Kong for the World Dance Alliance. A student from Japan, Ku‘uleinani Hashimoto, has taken private lessons from Noenoelani since 1992 and continues to study with her. Ku‘uleinani’s *hula* school, Halau Hula ‘O Mehanaokalā, has

won awards in both *hula kahiko* ‘traditional *hula*’ and *hula auana* ‘modern *hula*’. In 2004 Noenoelani and her daughter, Hauʻolionalani, performed at the opening of the Hawaiian Treasures exhibit “Nā Mea Makamae” at the Smithsonian Institution, and in 2009 Noenoelani and her granddaughter, niece and grandniece performed at the Cook-voyage exhibit at the Bonn Kunsthalle, Germany. Noenoelani has served as a judge for *hula* competitions in Honolulu, Las Vegas, Tokyo, Canada and other places. She has also judged at the prestigious Merrie Monarch Festival in Hilo, Hawaiʻi, for many years.

KAWENA AND KAU’I; PATIENCE AND NOENOELANI

Kawena and Kauʻi came from quite different backgrounds. They had different teachers from different *hula* traditions. They started dancing at different times of their lives and used their dance traditions in quite different ways. Nonetheless, they had great respect for each other and their respective dance traditions. Like a few other dance families in Hawaiʻi (such as the Kanakaʻole family of Hilo) they have preserved the knowledge inherited within their family lines by passing it on to their daughters. They exemplify a Hawaiian proverb: *ʻAʻole i pau ka ʻike i ka hālau hoʻokahi* ‘All knowledge is not taught in one school’. Patience and Noenoelani have accepted the responsibility of keeping these traditions alive by preserving and passing on their knowledge (Fig. 7).

Figure 7. The descendants: Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis and Pat Namaka Bacon, June 2015. Photograph Dodie Browne.

Through these four women we can celebrate 200 years of Hawaiian dance.
E ola mau. May it live forever.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Kawena Pukui and Pat Bacon, who began my *hula* instruction in the late 1960s. I would also like to thank Kau‘i Zutterrmeister and Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis, from whom I learned *hula* in their ten-session classes (mentioned above) and beyond. These four *hula* masters are teachers who became friends and friends who became teachers, and we have continued to interact to the present day. We all worked together on my Hula Pahu book, because they wanted this material to be preserved as they taught it, along with their insights. This article is an offshoot of our work together, and was read and approved by Pat Bacon and Noenoelani Zuttermeister. I also want to thank the late Carl Zuttermeister Jr and Pat Couvillon for helpful comments on the manuscript.

NOTES

1. One of these lecture-demonstrations, at the Kaua‘i Historical Society, was published in 1936 (Pukui 1980).
2. Copies of these films are now in the Bishop Museum and the Smithsonian Institution’s National Anthropological Archive. Patience Wiggin married the film-maker George Bacon in 1945, they had one daughter, Dodie, born 1952.
3. This acronym stands for United Service Organizations Inc., a nonprofit organisation that provides programmes, services and live entertainment to United States troops and their families. Established in 1941, during the Second World War, the USO became the U.S. service men’s “home away from home”, beginning a tradition of entertaining the troops that continues today.

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ABSTRACT

Two Hawaiian women, born around the turn of the 19th century into the 20th, became students, performers and finally acknowledged repositories of *hula* and its associated knowledge. They passed on their expertise and knowledge in many ways to many others, and especially to one daughter each, who has passed it on yet again. This narrative of aspects of these women's lives focusses on their learning and teaching, and contributes to a deeper understanding of the *hula* tradition in Hawai'i and the significant role of women in maintaining and enhancing it.

Keywords: Hawaiian dance, hula, biography Mary Kawena Pukui, biography Kau'i Zuttermeister, Bishop Museum, Second World War.

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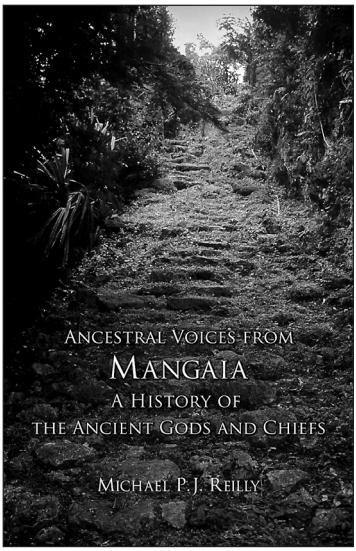
[1] Corresponding author: Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 10th and Constitution Avenue NW, Washington D.C. 20506. E-mail: kaepplea@si.edu

Ancestral Voices of Mangaia

A History of the Ancient Gods and Chiefs



Michael P.J. Reilly

Ancestral Voices discusses the stories told about the Island's ancient gods and ruling chiefs from its creation origins up to the early mission period in the 19th century. The stories of the gods describe encounters with the domain of *tuārangi* 'spirit beings', among whom are included the Island's principal gods, visitors from other Pacific Islands and European explorers such as James Cook. The Island's ruling chiefs controlled access to the economic and spiritual resources of Mangaia. Their stories relate the struggles for dominance over the lands and peoples, and the ritual sacrifices that were performed to ensure recognition of that chiefly rule by the gods.

Ancestral Voices transcribes and interprets a series of indigenous historical texts, including proverbs, songs and narratives, as told by generations of Mangaian scholars, notably the tribal historian, Mamae, and by outsider scholars, particularly, the missionary, William Wyatt Gill, and Te Rangi Hiroa.

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REVIEWS

Mallon, Sean, Kolokesa Mahina-Tuai and Damon Salesa (eds): *Tangata o le Moana: New Zealand and the People of the Pacific.* Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2012. 392 pp., biblio., illustrations, index., photos. NZ$79.99 (softcover). IBSN: 978-1-87785-72-8.

MICHELLE SCHAAF
University of Otago

Despite Pacific peoples' lengthy association with New Zealand, their social histories, local knowledge and knowledge vital to their "identity" exist on the margins of wider New Zealand society and as a mere footnote in academia. *Tangata o le Moana* gives voice to and validates the experiences of our Pacific communities and their contribution to the society of New Zealand, which has seldom been acknowledged.

Edited by Sean Mallon, Kolokesa Mahina-Tuai and Damon Salesa, this publication is the outcome of a four year research programme for the "Tangata o le Moana" exhibition which opened at Te Papa in 2007. There has been no one publication that has woven together multiple strands of the Pacific story in New Zealand; this is the first type of book to do so.

What caught my initial attention, as *Tangata o le Moana* was reviewed, was the vivid aesthetics of the book cover and how it would fit nicely among the books on the coffee tables of any New Zealand home. While reading this book, I did so as a member of a peripheral Pacific community in the South Island, and this review is written from this perspective.

The text features 15 essays on the history of Pacific peoples' interaction with New Zealand and the impact it has had on its Pacific neighbours. A major appeal for this vibrantly illustrated historical publication is that it incorporates archival records and oral histories, and numerous historical and contemporary photos. These complement 50 years of individual and academic-based research by leading New Zealand academics.

Most importantly, the book presents uniquely Pacific perspectives which validate the voices of Pacific peoples who have contributed to the fabric of New Zealand society. Key events and occurrences that have influenced the shape of Pacific life and identity in New Zealand are examined. These events point to a number of Pacific peoples who have made significant contributions to New Zealand over the past century, and who have rarely been documented or acknowledged.

The collection of essays provide a chronology of themes, moments, people and events that centres Pacific people as active agents in their histories with New Zealand. The chapters present, trace and highlight specific areas of achievement (politics, business, arts and sports) and of concern (health, unemployment and education). While this publication mentions individuals, "community", which is a central feature of Pacific cultures, cannot be overlooked.

A prominent theme discussed in detail is Pacific people's inter-twined and shared past with Māori. The origins of today's indigenous Pacific peoples and their connections as ancestors of Māori is established through voyaging and discovery accounts, oral history and archaeology.

Then the epic story of Polynesian voyaging is conveyed through a Māori lens and through Tupaia who led James Cook's expedition, piloted the *Endeavour* and was the first Pacific Islander on record to visit New Zealand. Both Māori and Pacific communities share similar experiences of colonisation. New Zealand's colonial aspirations ignored Pacific peoples' contribution to the New Zealand's war effort. Cook Islanders and Niueans were committed to the war effort. They were dedicated members of the New Zealand (Māori) Pioneer Battalion.

Both peoples formed New Zealand's Pacific peripheral domain, as part of the postwar boom. They lived in poorer areas of New Zealand cities and worked in the least desirable and low paying jobs. This proximity nurtured public and private bonds, which have been maintained in sports clubs and political arenas, and in the creative arts of music, literature and art.

A Pacific brotherhood in the form of the Polynesian Panthers was supported by CARE and Ngā Tamatoa as part of the protest movements during the 1970s. It was a politically volatile era of the dawn raids, as a result of New Zealand's foreign policy in the Pacific during that era.

A primary focus of *Tangata o le Moana* is on Pacific success and the influence in all areas of New Zealand society, including sport, politics and broadcasting, and in the creative and performing arts. While particular individuals were mentioned, the driving force of Pacific community spirit was central to shaping the Pacific presence in New Zealand. That story echoes the experiences of the first Pacific voyagers to settle in New Zealand and their struggle to adapt to a new land. The 20th century has been one of overcoming hardship and trials for Pacific migrants to New Zealand to establish their own unique culture in New Zealand.

This book briefly comments on the debate surrounding explanations for Pacific peoples' sporting success, in particular, the representation of Pacific peoples as sporting heroes and the impact on Pacific peoples in general. Whether viewed negatively or positively, sport has provided a cultural bridge for Pacific peoples' inclusion in New Zealand society. More than any other institution, sport has brought Pacific peoples to public attention and within the "national" frame. In doing so, sport has created many Pacific role models necessary for New Zealanders to overcome their own prejudices evidenced during the "dawn raids", and for Pacific peoples to be able to see their own succeed on the national and international stage. Since the 1970s, Pacific peoples have, disproportionate to their overall population, achieved remarkable sporting success and contributions.

The discussion of Pacific art making is comprehensive and informative. The pervasive issue of identity and sense of place continues to be prominent in the lives of Pacific peoples. This issue has also influenced the works of Pacific artists, writers, film makers and musicians. Pacific artistic pioneers created their work within Western constraints and genres. The Pacific artists from the 1990s were less likely to follow traditional conventions. Contemporary writers, performers and artists are

no longer constrained by Western conventions. They exhibit, dance, paint, act when and where they please.

In addressing and challenging the troubled histories of Pacific peoples in relation to New Zealand, *Tangata o le Moana* not only fulfils its purpose, it also acts as a vehicle that contains invaluable images, histories, memories, artefacts and knowledge for future generations, in particular Pacific peoples.

Shore, Cris and Susanna Trnka (eds): *Up Close and Personal: On Peripheral Perspectives and the Production of Anthropological Knowledge.* New York: Berghahn, 2013. 271 pp., index, photos. US$120 (hard cover), $34.95 (soft cover).

RICHARD HANDLER
University of Virginia

According to Cris Shore and Susanna Trnka, anthropology is "arguably the most reflexive (some would say neurotically so) discipline in the social sciences" (p. 14). They might have added that anthropological reflexivity is closely related to anthropologists' interest in their discipline's history. Indeed, anthropology is also, "arguably", the only one of the social sciences (history included!) that takes its disciplinary history seriously as a source of critical perspective on current theoretical and methodological issues. And an important source for the history of anthropology is, it goes without saying, interviews with the elders. Interviewing the elders is something about which anthropologists are *not* particularly neurotic; to the contrary, we rather enjoy it. One certainly has the sense that Shore and Trnka enjoyed bringing into being the 12 interviews collected in this volume, material that will be a boon for future historians of anthropology.

The interviewees (some less elder than others) were Gillian Cowlishaw, Nelson Graburn, Michael Jackson, Joan Metge, Howard Morphy, Nicolas Peterson, Christopher Pinney, Nigel Rapport, Anne Salmond, Marilyn Strathern, David Trigger and Susan Wright. Because the editors were looking for more than "unmediated autobiographical musings", they led these subjects "through a set of semi-structured questions… to tease out the connections between personal history, intellectual influences and disciplinary formation" (p. 3). While the questions for each interview are not identical—the interviewers followed the contour of each particular conversation—Shore and Trnka asked everyone (among other questions) how they discovered anthropology, how their writings have grown out of various kinds of fieldwork encounters and how their professional work led them to involvement in wider social issues. Their ultimate "rationale" they tell us, was "to examine the relationship between knowledge production and anthropological location", with particular attention to the question of how the anthropology produced in the peripheral nation-states of Australia and New Zealand "differs from its counterparts in Britain's mainstream metropolitan centres" (p. 4). The resultant interviews are wonderfully lucid and informative, though it is not clear that one can produce a general answer to such a question from the stories collected here.

For one thing, this is hardly a "peripheral" group of scholars; most anthropologists, wherever located, will know the work of at least some of these people. For another thing, these anthropologists, like many of us, work in multiple settings and countries, as, indeed, Shore and Trnka note. Thus it is not clear, perhaps, how to connect the "knowledge production" of any one of these practitioners, or of anthropologists generally, with singular places in our biographies. Still, the obvious starting point (as the editors and many interviewees note) is the place of indigenous peoples in post-colonial settler societies and, in particular, the difference—to anthropology, to global human rights—that the past half century of struggles over land claims and cultural appropriations in Australia and New Zealand has made. As Shore and Trnka note in their concluding remarks, compared to Canada and the United States, these "peripheral" nation-states have taken major strides "towards recognition of the responsibilities of contemporary governments for the damage and suffering inflicted by the laws and policies of their predecessors" (p. 249). And many of the interviewees have interesting stories to tell about their participation in this world-historical process.

Some of those stories concern working with indigenous people to gather materials they can use both for legal claims and for community education; others concern particular individuals and incidents. One instructive type of story tells of anthropologists' critics and even enemies in the communities where they were working. In some of these stories, community members defended the anthropologists; in others, the latter had to retreat or make do as best they could, having learned something, along the way, about how arguments are conducted in the worlds they were studying. Another type of story that several interviewees tell concerns how to work with bureaucratic organisations like courts of law, museums, government commissions and, of course, universities. Here the peripheral locations of some of the interviewees (during some phases of their careers) shed light on "the increasingly intrusive… normative ordering associated with neoliberal forms of governance" (p. 248). As some of these interviews remind us, the working conditions of anthropologists both inside and beyond the academy are changing rapidly, and we need all the guidance we can get as to how to survive and prosper.

There is much guidance, amusement and pleasure to be had from these dozen interviews. Each of them is, in its own way, a "good read". As I think the editors must have hoped for at the outset, the results of their project have transcended the conceptual framework (about knowledge production) the volume as a whole seeks to articulate, while nonetheless speaking tellingly to the editors' central concerns.

Twenty five years ago, I undertook an interview with David Schneider, with the intention of publishing it as an article in a scholarly journal. Four years and more than a dozen interviews later, the project appeared as a book, *Schneider on Schneider: The Conversion of the Jews and Other Anthropological Stories* (Schneider 1995, transcribed, edited and with an introduction by R. Handler). Many of Schneider's students have since told me they not only hear their teacher's voice in the interviews, they also find them to be among his most illuminating writings. Enterprising young anthropologists take note: the interviews published in *Up Close and Personal* are only the beginning; follow-up interviews are in order.

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March to June 2015

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Sorrenson, M. P. K.: *Ko Te Whenua Te Utu Land is the Price: Essays on Māori History, Land and Politics*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2014. 338 pp., index, notes. NZ$49.99 (softcover).

* The inclusion of a publication in this list neither assumes nor precludes its subsequent review.

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The publications listed below are available to members of the Polynesian Society (at a 20 percent discount, plus postage and packing), and to non-members (at the prices listed, plus postage and packing) from the Society's office: Department of Māori Studies, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92012, Auckland. All prices are in NZ$.

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1. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 1). New Edition of 1958 edition, 2004. xxxviii + 464 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2004. Price $69.99 (hardback).
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52. REILLY, Michael P.J., *War and Succession in Mangaia—from Mamae's Texts.* 112pp., geneaologies and maps. 2003. Price $20.00.

53. BIGGS, Bruce Grandison, *Kimihia te Mea Ngaro: Seek That Which is Lost.* 80pp. figs. 2006. Price $30.00.

54. REILLY, Michael P.J., *Ancestral Voices from Mangaia: A History of the Ancient Gods and Chiefs*. xiv + 330 pp., maps, drawings, genealogies, index. 2009. Price $40.00.

55. TE HURINUI, Pei, *King Pōtatau: An Account of the Life of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero the First Māori King*. 303 + xiv pp., figs, genealogies, indexes, maps. 2010. (Available to members of the Society only at $40.00.)

56. McRAE, Jane, *Ngā Mōteatea: An Introduction / He Kupu Arataki*. Māori translation by Hēni Jacobs. 158 pp., biblio., figs, notes, song texts. 2011. (Available to members of the Society only at $28.00.)

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

TOKELAU DICTIONARY. lii + 503 pp. Price: $35.00.

INCEST PROHIBITIONS IN MICRONESIA AND POLYNESIA: Special Issue, June 1976. 155pp. Price $12.00.

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BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE PACIFIC: Special Issue, March 1994. 108pp. Price $12.50.

KIE HINGOA *'NAMED MATS'*, 'IE TŌGA *'FINE MATS' AND OTHER TREASURED TEXTILES OF SAMOA & TONGA: Special Issue*, June 1999. 120pp. Price $15.00.

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