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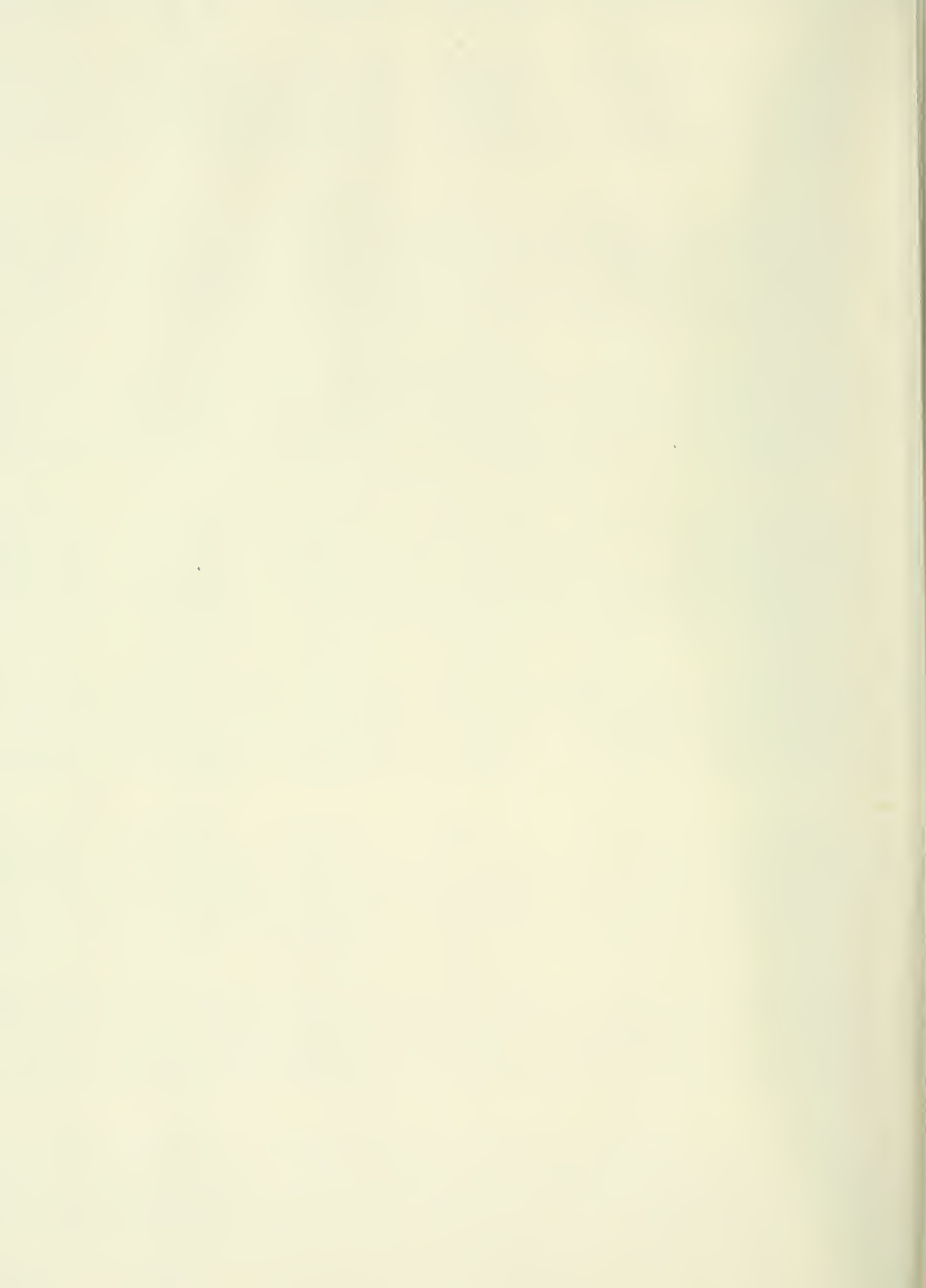


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POUNAMU.

NOTES ON NEW ZEALAND GREENSTONE.



POUNAMU

NOTES ON NEW ZEALAND GREENSTONE

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL H. G. ROBLEY

Author of MOKO or Maori Tattooing,

AND OF

History of the 1st Battalion Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, 1794-1887.

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To
MRS. DOUGLAS McLEAN
THIS LITTLE BOOK ON
MAORI GREENSTONE
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY
THE AUTHOR.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS little book is an endeavour to set down the results of careful investigations extending over many years on the subject of *pounamu* or New Zealand greenstone, and the special uses to which it was applied by the Maori. For savage art, rude though it be, and doomed to extinction as civilization advances, has an individuality of its own which makes it of importance to the ethnologist and of interest to the student; and it is the duty, no less than the pleasure, of those who have studied it to place on record what they have been able to learn of its achievements.

Ever since the *Pakeha*, the first European visitors to New Zealand, regained their ship there has been much carrying away of examples of old Maori craftsmanship, and those in greenstone have always had a special attraction for collectors. So many specimens of worked *pounamu*, indeed, have been brought to the British Isles since Captain Cook's return to England in 1771, that the silver streak might almost be called *te wai pounamu*. The old worked greenstone now sees no more wars, but it is still the object of the rivalry of collectors, who value it, as its former possessors had done, for its beauty and rarity, and for the strange and interesting forms into which it has been wrought.

A glossary of Maori words and phrases used in this book is given on page 79. It will, perhaps, be of use to those readers who are not acquainted with the native tongue.

In the hope that these notes on *pounamu*, and the drawings which have been made by the Author to illustrate them, may prove of interest to the general reader and of use to the student, they are offered, as the Maori says, *Mo a muri mo a nehe*—for the days that follow after.

Reader, I salute you.

THE AUTHOR.



CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING *POUNAMU*.

THE ordinary words used by the Maori to express the colour green are *kakariki* and *pounamu*. *Kakariki* is the native name of the small green paroquet as well as of the green lizard, and it is considered by some students that this word is thence applied to their colour. But it appears more probable that *kakariki* is an ancient word for "green," and that it was given to the two creatures by the ancestors of the Maori who, centuries ago, invaded the islands which now we call New Zealand, and found the green bird and the green reptile there.

The history of the word *pounamu* would seem to be somewhat less involved. Its last two syllables, *namu*, are a pure Tahitian word meaning "green," and they with the affix *pou*, make up the Maori word applied both to the colour and the precious greenstone or jade.

Jade, as is pointed out by Mr. G. F. Smith in his *Gem Stones*, is a general term that includes properly two distinct mineral species, nephrite or New Zealand greenstone, which is the commoner of the two, and jadeite. They are very similar in appearance, both being tough and fibrous silicates of ferrous oxide and calcium more or less greenish in colour, the variations of colour from grey to deep green depending on the relative amount of iron in the

composition, while the brown markings which are sometimes seen in the stone are due to oxide of iron. Nephrite is about as hard as glass, and is found principally in New Zealand, Turkestan, China and Siberia. With the rarer jadeite, the choicest gem of the Chinese, our notes are not concerned; it must suffice to say that it is harder than nephrite; its green is more brilliant in hue; and that the finest specimens are found in Burma.

The word "jade" has a curious etymology. The Spaniards early discovered that eastern peoples held this stone in high regard on account of its hardness and beautiful colour no less than for its supposed magical and medicinal qualities. The Indians, the Chinese and the Japanese alike believed that worn as amulets or fashioned into drinking cups it was a bringer of good fortune, a prolonger of life, a guardian against the bite of venomous reptiles, a specific for internal illnesses; while by the Mexicans it was considered to be a protection against disease of the kidneys. It was on account of this superstition that the name *pedra de ijada*, of which our word "jade" is a corruption, or more correctly a contraction, was given by the early Spanish discoverers to this beautiful and remarkable mineral.

The word *pounamu* represented to the Maori everything that is precious. The figurative expression *tatau pounamu*, meaning literally "greenstone door," was used, as Mr. Elsdon Best remarks in his *Notes on the Art of War*, as a picturesque synonym for the making of peace, a happy and precious closing of the door on war and strife. An ambassador conducting peace negotiations would use some such formula as *Karanga! karanga! tenei te haere nei*, "Welcome us! welcome us! here we come," and naming some well known hill would add *te tatau pounamu ko mea maunga*, "Our greenstone door (that is, our place of peace) is such a hill."

After the war between the tribes of Tuhoe and Ngati Tuwharetoa the *tatau pounamu* was "erected," as the saying is, at Opepe. Again, when peace followed the long feud between Tuhoe and Ngati Awa, Hatua of Awa said to Te Ika Poto of Tuhoe, "See the clump of bush at Ohui that has been so reduced by fire. No fire shall be kindled there in the days to come. It is our 'greenstone door.' It shall be as a sanctuary, that even the women and the children may come there and no harm shall befall them." And the *tatau pounamu* was erected duly at Ohui where it still stands. "It has not fallen even to this day," say the Maori, meaning thereby that the peace then made has never been broken.

Again, when Tuhoe and the tribes of Waikare-moana and the coast, weary of their bloody and protracted war, resolved to make peace Hipara, chief of the Waikare, said, "I will give my daughter Hine-ki-runga in wife to Tuhoe for the ending of the war." But Nga-rangi-mataeo, to make the pact more sure replied, "Let us raise a *tatau pounamu* that peace may never be broken." So the hill Kuha-tarewa was named as a wife, and another hill, Tuhi-o-kahu, as a husband, and by the mystic union of the two, *tatau pounamu* was erected and unbroken peace reigned thenceforward between the war-weary peoples. "Have a care," says the Maori warning, "lest you forget the precepts of your fathers and the support of the door of jade be broken in the after days."

The only locality known to the ancient Maori where greenstone was to be found was on the west coast of the South Island of New Zealand. It could therefore be obtained by the tribes of the North only by barter or as booty after a successful war.

Canon Stack, in his *South Island Maoris*, tells how a woman named Raureka, wandering from her home, went up the bed of

the Hokitika river, and in the neighbourhood of Horowhenua came upon some men engaged in shaping a canoe. She remarked on the bluntness of their tools, and being asked if she knew of any better she took from her bosom a little package which, when carefully unwrapped, disclosed a sharp fragment of greenstone. This was the first specimen that the natives of those parts had ever seen; and they were so delighted with the discovery that without delay they sent a party over to the ranges to fetch more of the precious mineral. From that time greenstone gradually came into general use for edged tools and weapons, those made of inferior materials being discarded. If, as is believed, she was a contemporary of Moki, Raureka must have arrived at Hokitika about the year 1700. But this does not necessarily imply that greenstone and its value and uses were unknown to the Maori living at that period in other parts of New Zealand.

The natives of Hawaiki undoubtedly knew of its existence in the South Island long before they came to live in the country, having heard of it from the celebrated navigator Ngahue, who, about the year 1400 of our era, discovered New Zealand. Driven from his own land, so the story goes, by the enmity of a powerful and vindictive woman named Hine Tuao Hoanga whose ill will he had incurred, he escaped on the back of a *poutini* or sea-god.* He first sighted Tuhua, now called Mayor Island, in the Bay of Plenty, and then Aotearoa, the mainland of the North Island; but, knowing that his enemy was still

* Ngahue's sea god must have been simply a *proa* or canoe. Sea-going vessels were always regarded with great reverence by the Maori; they even deified the first European ships that visited the country, calling them *atuas* or gods. Greenstone was regarded with such reverence by the Maoris that it, too, was deified as a *poutini*, a son of Tangaroa, no doubt from the fact that it had been discovered by the sea shore. Under this aspect it was often called *whatu-o-poutini*, and represented symbolically by a star. So high a value attached to it that in old days, when the greenstone was very hard to get, an artist would not hesitate to spend much time and labour on a piece of indifferent quality.

pursuing him, he continued his voyage till he reached the mouth of the Arahura river, where he settled and found the greenstone.

Ngahue was so convinced of its value that he ventured to return to Hawaiki with a cargo of the stone, confident that the service which he was doing his fellow countrymen by bringing so useful a material to their knowledge would ensure their favour and protection. It is said that it was with tools made of Ngahue's greenstone that the canoes were shaped which carried the first immigrants to New Zealand.

"Every tribe of Maoridom," says Canon Stack, "valued this jade above everything else, and strove to acquire it. The locality in which it was found was known by report to all, and the popular imagination pictured unknown wealth to the explorer of that region. But the difficulties which beset the journey to this Maori Eldorado were practically unsurmountable, and frustrated the efforts of those who attempted to reach it. The stormy straits of Raukawa (Cook's) had first to be crossed, and then a land journey of great length and difficulty undertaken over rugged and lofty mountain ranges, so steep in places that the travellers were obliged to use ladders formed of supplejack, or other tough woodbines, to enable them to get past. Pathless and seemingly interminable forests had to be traversed, whose dark shades were made still more gloomy by the incessant rainfall which kept the thick undergrowth of moss and ferns always dripping wet. Deep and rapid rivers had to be crossed either on rafts of dry flax stalks or on foot, the waders being only able to avoid being swept away by the swift current by a number of them entering the water together, and holding on tightly to a pole which they bore across the river in their hands. The scarcity of food throughout

the region to be traversed by the searchers after greenstone added to the dangers of the task, for beyond the small quantity they were able to carry with them, travellers were entirely dependent for their food upon the *wekas* and eels, which they were able to catch as they went along. Besides all these difficulties they were in constant danger of encountering hostile bands of men bound on the same errand as themselves. But when even the journey was so far successful that the treasure sought after was found, its great weight made it impossible for the discoverers to carry back more than a few fragments, and these were obtained by breaking them off with stone hammers. In spite of the longing desire of the northern Maori to enrich themselves with the treasures of greenstone which existed on the west coast of the South Island, the serious obstacles which beset the approach to that region deterred them from making the attempt to get there, and they had to content themselves with what they were able to acquire from their fellow countrymen in the south, in exchange for mats and canoes and such other manufactures as their southern neighbours were willing to accept. The constant and bloody wars in the history of the South Island were caused by many pretexts, but behind all was the covetous desire to possess the land of *wai pounamu*, the valuable greenstone."

These picturesque passages well describe at once the difficulties of the acquisition of greenstone and the constant efforts that were made to obtain the coveted mineral. But they do not exhaust the means, fair and foul, by which the Maori obtained possession of it. Ornaments and weapons, as well as rough unworked blocks of the stone were given as presents. They were paid as *utu*, that is, compensation for injury inflicted or wrong committed;

they were taken as booty after a victorious war, and, as sometimes occurred, were handed over to cement a peace.

“We are told,” wrote Captain Cook in his *Voyages*, “a hundred fabulous stories about this stone, not one of which carried with it the least probability of truth, though some of their most sensible men would have us believe them.”

“According to an ancient legend,” says Canon Stack, “the reason why greenstone is found in such an inaccessible region is that the locality was chosen by the three wives of Tamatea, the circumnavigator, when they deserted him, as the hiding place most likely to escape discovery. Tamatea’s search along the east coast was unsuccessful; and after passing Foveaux Straits he continued to skirt the shore, listening at the entrance of every inlet for any sound that might indicate the whereabouts of the runaways. But it was not till he arrived off the mouth of the Arahura river that he heard voices. There he landed, but failed to find his wives, being unable to recognize them in the enchanted blocks of greenstone over which the water murmured incessantly. He did not know that the canoe in which his wives escaped from him had been capsized at Arahura, and that its occupants had been changed into stone, and so he passed them by and continued his fruitless search.”

Mr. J. Cowan in his book, *Maoris of New Zealand*, relates the legend as he heard it from the South Island people. They added the detail that Tamatea went as far down as Milford Sound where he found one of his missing wives transformed into greenstone. As he wept over her, Tama’s tears flowed so copiously that they penetrated the rock, and that is why the clear kind of bowenite found on the slopes and beaches of Milford Peak in that great sound, is called *tangiwai*, or tear water.

Another tradition tells how Tamatea pokai-whenua (fair son), accompanied by a slave went inland to Mount Kanieri, and on the way stopped to cook some birds that he had killed. The slave accidentally burnt his finger while preparing the meal and thoughtlessly touched it with the tip of his tongue. For this impious act he was punished by being transformed into a mountain, ever since known by his name Tumu-aki. Another consequence of his breach of the *tapu* was that Tamatea never found his wives, and, so the story goes, the best parts of the enchanted greenstone into which they were changed is often found to be spoilt by flaws known as *tutae koka*, the dung of the bird which the slave was cooking when he licked his burnt finger.

From Haimona Tuakau, a very intelligent native of the North Island who spent many years at Arahura, Hohonu and other places on the west coast of the South Island, and knew a great deal about greenstone, Canon Stack ascertained the following particulars respecting the native names of various kinds of *pounamu* and their respective colours. *Kahotea* is stone of a dark vivid green and is distinguished by the spots of black and brown which diversify its colour. *Kawakawa* is stone of a pure rich green colour, and is not spotted or veined with dark or light markings. *Auhunga* is slightly paler than *kawakawa*. *Inanga* has a colour paler still, so that in parts it approaches grey or creamy white. *Aotea*, as its name implies, is of a cloudy white.

All of these are semi-opaque. Of a different quality, but most valuable of all kinds of *pounamu*, is *kahurangi*, a translucent stone of pale green. Of this there are two kinds, one entirely devoid of markings, the other known by the whiteish streaks of the colour of *inanga* which run through it. *Kokotangiwai* is a transparent greenstone, soft and brittle, with characteristic markings having the

appearance of drops of water enclosed within it.* These are the principal varieties; but the natives, with a keen eye for subtleties of colour and quality, have invented names, such as *tongarewa*, *totoeka*, *korito*, *kutukutu*, *tuapaka* and many others for the different shades that are met with. *Kohuwai*, the name of a moss-like water plant, is a term that is applied to nephrite in which similar markings appear.

* See page 15 for the legend connected with this variety.



CHAPTER II.

WORKING *POUNAMU*.

ROCKS have been discovered in various localities in New Zealand whose surfaces are scored with deep grooves.

There the men of old were wont to perform the grinding and rubbing processes whereby greenstone implements were smoothed and made symmetrical. It is astonishing how well formed and true in outline are these stone implements of the Maori. The labour involved in their manufacture was enormous.

Weapons, tools and ornaments formed from rough pieces of greenstone by appliances of the most primitive character, were brought to a very high degree of finish by grinding them by hand with pieces of rough sandstone, the work being expedited by the use of sand-grit and water. The stone was sawn by rubbing the edge of one slab with another, water being allowed to drip continuously but slowly from a calabash hung above the stone, a constant supply of the finest quartz sand being meanwhile dropped into the groove by the workman.

The only mechanical appliance of which we have any knowledge, that can safely be described as the invention of these workers of stone, is the *tuwiri*, an implement used for boring holes. Of this ingenious drill, with which the Maori were very expert, a

specimen may be seen in the museum at Auckland. It consists, as our illustration shews, of four parts. The

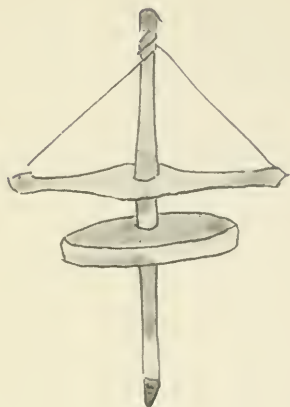


Figure 2.

first is a rod of wood called the *pou*, about two feet in length and three-quarters of an inch in thickness, shewn upright in the accompanying illustration. To the lower end of the *pou* is fastened the boring point of *mata* (obsidian), *kiripāpa* (flint), or some other hard stone, chipped to a rough point. The *pou* passes through a hole in the middle of the *porotiti*, a disk of heavy wood (*maire* is that most often used) which is firmly fastened to the *pou* at about one-third of its height, and serves the purpose of increasing by its weight the momentum of the implement. The *kuruḗae*, that is, the cross-piece shewn in Figure 2, is a shaped piece of wood, twenty inches long and two inches wide in the middle, where there is a hole through which the *pou* passes, fitting loosely. The *aho* is a cord of plaited fibre fastened to the top of the *pou* and having its two ends tied to either extremity of the *kuruḗae*, which thus is held at right angles to the *pou*.

The method of operating the drill is as follows:—the boring point at the lower end of the rod being placed upon the spot where a hole is to be made, the cross-piece is twirled round until the cord, now twisted about the upper part of the upright rod, raises the cross-piece up the rod, up which it slides easily. A downward pressure of the operator's hand upon the cross-piece now causes it to slide back down the rod, unwinding the cord as it descends. The rotation thus given, which is both increased and controlled by the heavy disk, causes the cord

to wind round the rod in the opposite direction and again to raise the horizontal cross-piece. The operator's hand constantly resting upon the cross-piece, exercises pressure only in a downward direction. Sand and water are employed to increase the cutting power of the boring point, which needs frequent renewal or rechipping, and the boring is done from alternate sides of the stone operated upon until a hole is pierced.

In light work, such for instance as grooving an eardrop, only one hand would be placed upon the *kurupae*, but in the heavier work required for boring a *patu* or stone club, pressure is exercised by both hands in order to give additional force to the boring point.

Another and more primitive drill consisted of a wooden rod pointed with a small piece of basalt or obsidian and weighted with two heavy stones lashed to opposite sides of it. A string attached to the other end of the rod caused it to revolve, and a piece of perforated wood placed upon the object kept the point of the instrument continually in the same spot.

Canon Stack, in 1879, obtained from Henare Tawha, a Ngaitahu chief who lived at Wairewa, some interesting particulars about the working of greenstone, and the other tools used by the native craftsmen. The father of the chief was Te Pi, a skilful maker of weapons, tools and ornaments of *pounamu*, who lived at Taumutu, where a great many people were employed in this manufacture. The stone was brought on men's backs from the west coast over the ranges by way of the Kaniere pass. The tools employed by these workers were as follows:—

Kuru was a hammer of greenstone, rather larger than a man's head, with which great blocks of *pounamu* were broken up, grooves being first made in the blocks by friction with *kiripaka*

or mica schist in order to control the direction of the fractures. *Hoanga* was the stone used for cutting and polishing. *Parihi kohatu* was a sharp fragment of *kara*, which seems to be a generic term for trap or any other hard stone. *Pirori* was the name given by Mr. Stack's informant to the drill.

Many of the Maori weapons were made by old men who were past the age for serving as warriors. The war-adze, however, which, as will be seen later, was a special emblem of chieftainship, was made by no one but chiefs, who, being themselves *tapu* conferred a certain sacredness on this particular weapon.

CHAPTER III.

GREENSTONE IMPLEMENTS.

THE principal mechanical tools of the Maori of the old days were *toki* or stone adzes (Figure 3), of which the most highly prized were made of greenstone. It is convenient to describe these tools as adzes inasmuch as they were helved in the same way as our adzes; but with the important distinction that the Maori never inserted the handle in the stone head, but always lashed the head to the helve. *Toki* were of various kinds and sizes, each being known by its own particular name. Mr. Elsdon Best enumerates four kinds:—*ngao pae*, the large heavy tool for roughing out work; *ngao tu*, an adze of medium size; *ngao matariki*, a small finishing tool; and *toki whakarau*, the smallest of the set, used for giving the final smoothness to the surface.

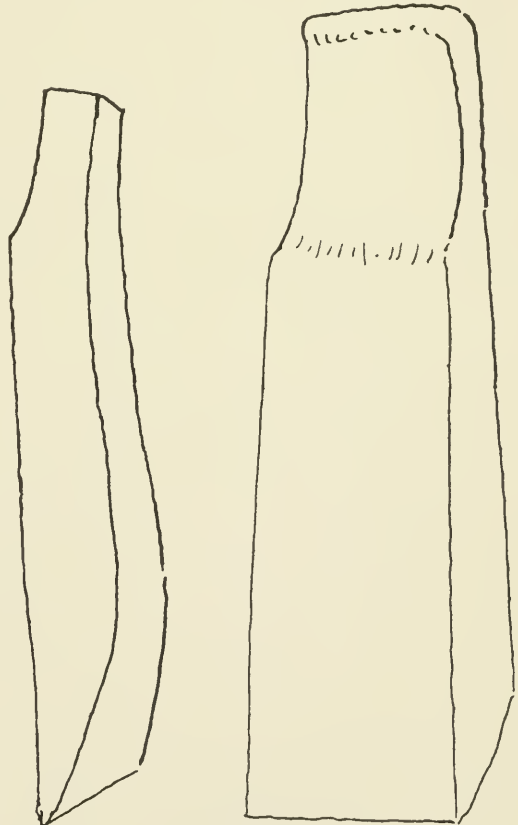


Figure 3.

With the largest *toki* trees of great size were felled, but the process was naturally tedious and lengthy. Maning, writing in *Old New Zealand*, says: "With rude and blunt stones they felled the giant *kauri*—toughest of pines; and from it, in process of time, at an expense of labour, perseverance, and ingenuity, perfectly astounding to those who knew what it really was—produced, carved, painted, and inlaid, a masterpiece of art, and an object of beauty—the war canoe, capable of carrying a hundred men on a distant expedition, through the boisterous seas surrounding their island."

Spells (*karakia*) were pronounced over the larger *toki* which were used for felling and working timber intended for the making of canoes or the timbers of an important house, in order that they might do the work effectually and that no harm might happen to the work, the workers or the material. In a somewhat similar way a workman when beginning to *whakarau* or smooth the surface of a canoe would cast a small stone into it to save his knowledge of the art of timber-working from being lost.

Many of the *toki* of the old Maori had special names given to them and are famous in song and legend. In at least one case a noted weapon changed hands to mark the transfer of land. When in 1856 the land hitherto in the possession of the Maori was sold at Waikawa, to European settlers, the chief, Ropoama Te One, addressed the commissioners in these words as he struck into the ground at their feet a greenstone adze:—"Now that we have for ever launched this land into the sea, we hereby make over to you this axe, Pae whenua, always highly prized because we regained it in battle after it had been used to kill two of our most famous chiefs. Money vanishes and is lost, but this greenstone shall endure as a lasting witness of our act that the

land itself which now is ours has been on this day transferred to you for ever."

Mr. James Cowan has preserved a tradition of a famous adze which was regarded as the abiding place of a spirit and possessing a special *mana* of its own. This implement, named Papataunaki, was the property of one Rua three centuries ago.

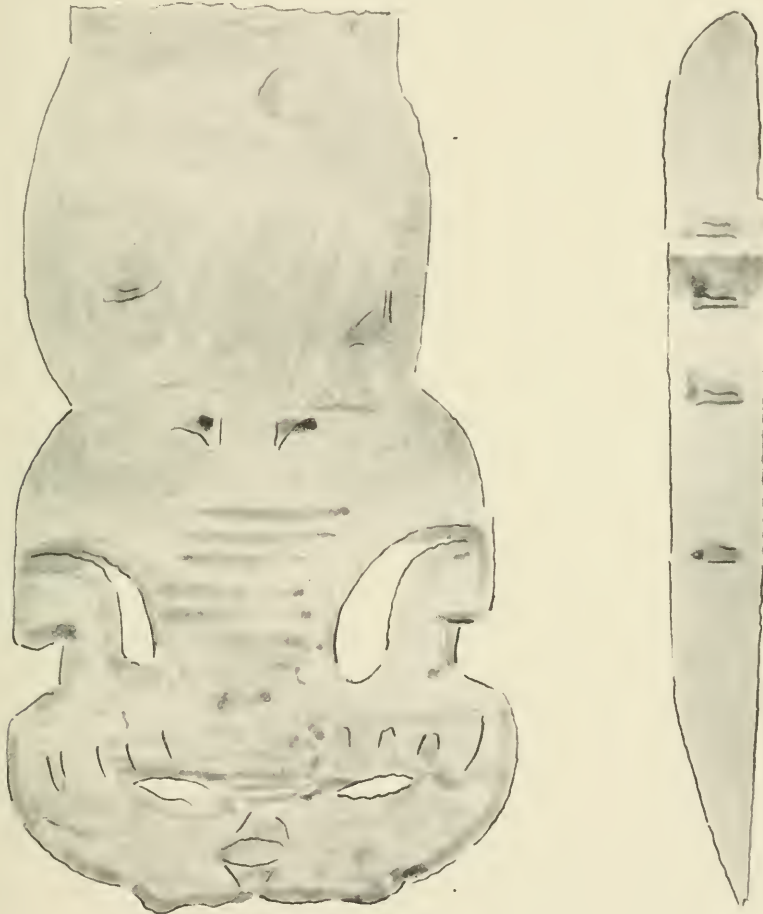


Figure 4.

A very curious adze-head (Figure 4) was exhibited in London in 1910. It was formed from a *tiki**, the head of which had

* See Chapter VI.

been ground flat and sharpened to a cutting edge. The rest of the ornament had been but little interfered with, and still shewed the form of the body, arms and legs. It was evident that the owner or captor of the *tiki* had had more need for a cutting tool than for an ornament, while the piercings of the *tiki* thus altered would conveniently serve to aid the lashing of the tool to its helve. There is strong presumption that *toki* of the ordinary form were sometimes pierced with a view to facilitate the lashing of them to their helves.

Another kind of greenstone *toki*, of small size and thin in section, was the war-adze (Figure 5) to which the names *toki pou tangata*, *toki honu pou* and *toki wha-whao pou* were given. It is said that this tool was sometimes used for fine wood-carving; but its normal use was ceremonial. It was carried by chiefs as a token of chieftainship either in the belt or in the hand when speech-making; sometimes it was used in battle as a convenient weapon to dispatch a fallen foe. Its handle was less than two feet in length, and was adorned with elaborate carving at both ends, the flax cord lashing of the blade being often ornamented with brightly coloured feathers or dog's hair. A loop of cord which went through a hole at the butt end of the handle was passed round the wrist of

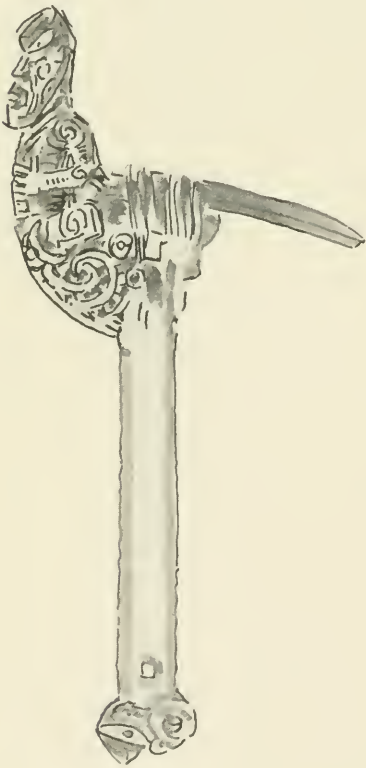


Figure 5.

the holder to save him from losing the precious token.

Mr. Polack, writing in 1835, speaks of the war-adze as an uncommon weapon, and tells of the difficulty that he had found in getting a specimen from an aged *tohunga*, or priest.

John Rutherford, a sailor who had been for nearly ten years

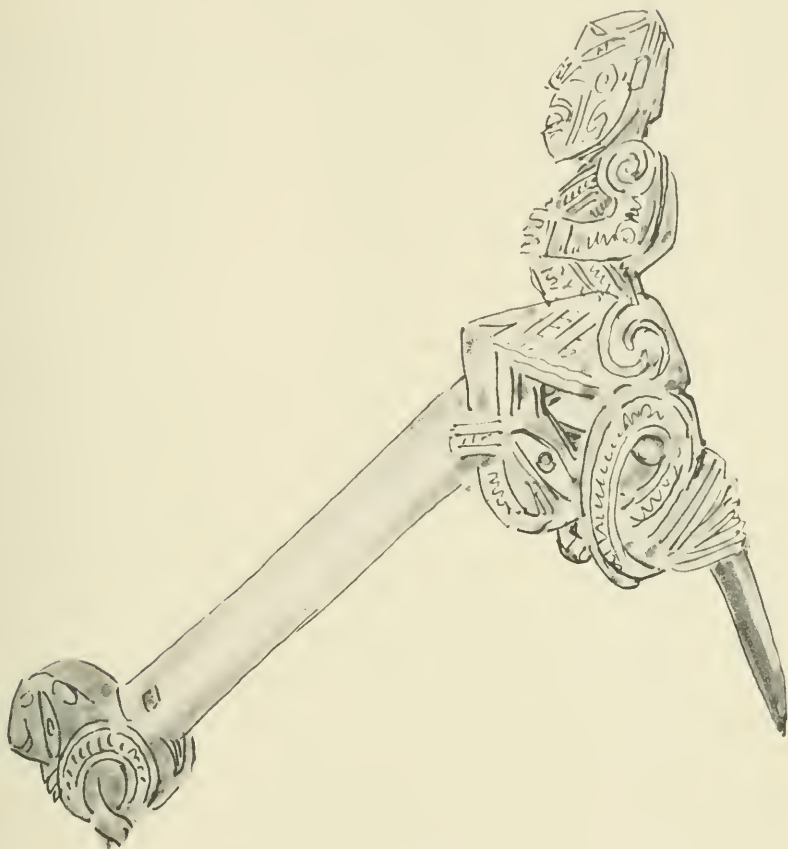


Figure 6.

a captive in the hands of the Maori, was sent by the natives, 9th January, 1826, to decoy an English ship to land in order that they might plunder it. "I was then dressed," he says, "in a feathered cloak, belt and turban, and armed with a battle-axe, the head of which was formed of a stone which resembled green glass, but was so hard as to turn the heaviest blow of the hardest

steel. The handle was of dark black wood, handsomely carved and adorned with feathers." Rutherford failed his hosts in every particular. He not only warned the English sailors of their danger, but being taken off by the ship, a free man but no longer a Maori chief, he made a present of the ceremonial dress

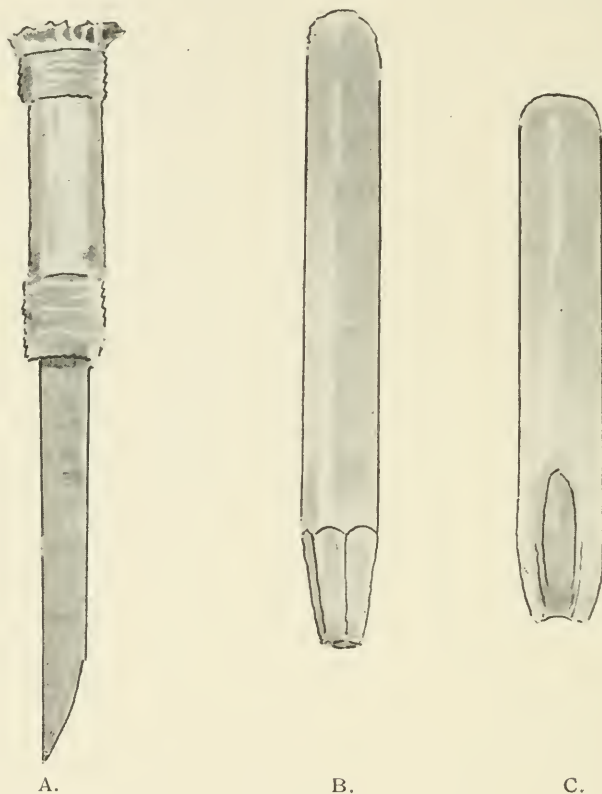


Figure 7.

and the war-adze to Captain Johnson, the commander of the ship which took him back to freedom and civilization.

A war-adze, similar, no doubt, to that which was entrusted to Rutherford, is illustrated in Figure 6 from a drawing by the Author.

It was only rarely that the Maori used tools or weapons shaped like our axes, and the reason is obvious. The greenstone never being drilled or cut to receive the tool handle, an axe with

its edge parallel with the line of the handle was an impossibility, and an axe-like tool made by lashing the stone head to the side of the handle would be clumsy and ineffective.

Captain Cook remarking that "without the use of any metal tools they make everything," mentions "the chisel and gouge of green serpent stone or jasper." These were set in handles of hard wood to which they were attached with flax cord. The illustration (Figure 7) on page 28 shews at A. a chisel (*purupuru*) now in the British Museum. A greenstone drill with a faceted point, used for making the holes by which the top strakes of war canoes were lashed, is shewn at B. A gouge is represented at C. in the same drawing.

Chisel work and extraordinary skill with it produced those masterpieces of wood carving of the Maori which are to be seen in their houses and gates, their war canoes and their monuments. Sir George Grey gave a remarkable instance of the



Figure 8.

pride of the native wood-carvers when he told how chiefs who had been late for an appointment with him, though he was the *kawana*, that is, the governor, excused themselves by explaining that they had been engrossed with their chisels.

Barbs made of greenstone and lashed to curved pieces of wood to serve as fish hooks are not common; two specimens, now in the British Museum, are illustrated in Figure 8. They were hard to make and easy to lose, and the material was too valuable to risk when bone, wood and shell answered as well for the purpose.

Mr. Elsdon Best, speaking in his *Forest Lore* of bird-spears, says "seldom were greenstone points used, they were very rare."

Figure 9 shews an implement which is possibly the point of a bird-spear.

There is a tradition of one that belonged to Tamatea-kai-taharua, who flourished about 250 years ago. It is said that one day when hunting he speared a pigeon, and the point becoming detached from his weapon the bird flew away with it sticking in its body. The agile hunter is said to have followed the wounded pigeon for fifty miles before he recovered his *tara pounamu*; and men still point to Tara Pounamu hill, so named in memory of the event, as proof of the truth of the tale.

Other implements such as wedges, cutting tools, circular knives, rasps with worn edges, burnishers and even needles, are to be seen in museums among collections of articles made of this wonderful stone.

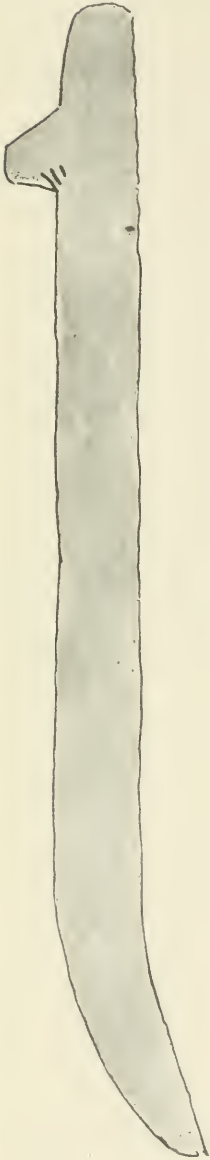


Figure 9.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING WAR-CLUBS.

DEAR to the heart of the Neolithic Maori was the *mere*, or as it is sometimes called, *patu pounamu*, the war-club of greenstone which was the principal emblem of chieftainship, and the most valuable of all objects made of the New Zealand nephrite. It took so many years of careful and patient toil to bring a war-club to the desired condition of finish, that it became an heirloom, and it was considered to hold the luck of the tribe. Tales bordering on the supernatural gathered about famous *mere*. Chiefs were incited to acts of reckless bravery, young warriors were roused to deeds of valour by those memorials of past struggles; and European observers have ever been impressed by the extraordinary influence which appeared to reside in these prized weapons. The Rev. W. Yate, one of the early missionaries to New Zealand, told that "the *mere* was made of green talc in the shape of a beaver's tail. This is the only native weapon which has not been laid aside by the chiefs; it was a mark of distinction (carried) under their outer garment or suspended to their girdle. The finest of these beautiful specimens of native workmanship descend from father to son, and for scarcely any consideration are they ever parted with. Pieces of *pounamu* suitable for a chief's *mere* were of a value which can hardly be realized by us in the present time. No weapon of warfare was

more affectionately regarded than these legacies of ancestors, and to take one in battle was like capturing a colour with us."

The conventional shape of this weapon, which never varied, is shown in Figure 10.

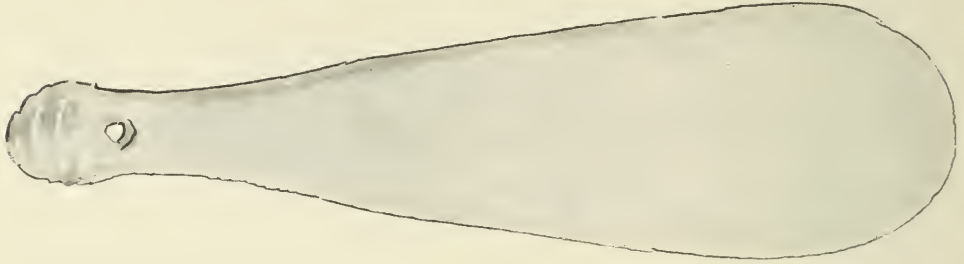


Figure 10.

The *mere* is an oval-bladed weapon, in length from about 14 to 16 inches, flattened on both sides and having a double edge to the blade, which diminishes with two subtle curves to end in almost imperceptible shoulders at the handle, as is shewn in greater detail in Figure 11.

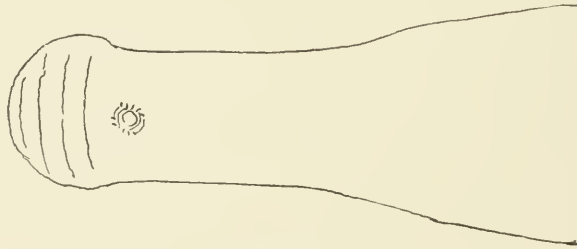


Figure 11.

This swells out again to the butt or pommel, called *reke*, which has some simple decoration such as the concentric grooves shewn in the example illustrated above.

One of the *mere* in the British Museum collection has the butt carved with the partially finished head of a *manaia*,* but

* See Chapter V. page 42.

it was not usual for the maker to put anything more than the simplest ornament on these weapons, nor at any part of it except the *reke*.

Between the butt and the handle is a hole for the thong, or loop of strong cord. The hand was passed through the loop; a few turns of the club caused the cord to close upon the holder's wrist, and the *mere* being grasped just forward of the *reke* the warrior was ready for battle or palaver. That was theoretically its use; but more often the thumb or fingers only were inserted in the loop of the thong, so that the wielder of the club might be in less danger of being dragged off his balance by an enemy who could successfully grasp the blade of it.

The *mere*, being a short weapon, was usually carried thrust in the belt. In time of war weapons shared in the *tapu* with which the warriors were imbued, and *mere*, being thus themselves *tapu*, were always carefully guarded.

Though *mere* are commonly spoken of as "war-clubs," they are actually stabbing and cutting weapons, and the only blows given with them were thrusts and sweeping cuts. If the blow was a forward stab in an enemy's face or ribs, it was called *tipi*; a back-handed lunge was named *ripi*. With this weapon prisoners were slain by the chief before their bodies went into the oven. The thrust was given into the temple of the doomed men, and with a sharp turn of the wrist the top of the head was jerked open. It was with a *patu* that, after one of his victories, Te Wherowhero, father of the chief Potatau, who was proclaimed king of the Maori nation in 1858, slew two hundred and fifty prisoners of war. Hochstetter describes this weapon, made from a piece of beautiful transparent nephrite which was shewn to him by the chief's successor, and tells that a notch in the edge was

caused by the last fatal blow struck at a hard skull. Another renowned greenstone weapon, known as Hau Kapua, was surrendered to the Government of New Zealand at the end of the late war.

Enormous care was taken to preserve famous *mere* from loss or accidental damage. Hamilton, in his *Maori Art*, gives illustrations of two wooden boxes, 22 and 25 inches in length respectively, covered with carving of the most elaborate and intricate designs of mythological figures and distorted monsters, which he pronounced to have been used as receptacles for noble weapons.

If by chance a *mere* should be broken the precious fragments were carefully preserved in order that they might be made into tools, implements or ornaments according to their size. Figure 12 shews an adze-head made from a broken *mere*.



Figure 12.

Much might be written about famous *mere* and the mark that they made in Maori history; and books on New Zealand and the native race will be found to contain many tales about these weapons and their owners.

The famous chief Te Heuheu was overwhelmed with all his people, save one man, on 7th May, 1846. His *mere* was one of the most celebrated in New Zealand. Years afterwards a hundred men were employed to dig at the place of the catastrophe, and they worked with such diligence and care that the *mere* was eventually found, and is still in the possession of the tribe.

War-clubs were generally buried with the chiefs, but were seldom allowed to remain permanently in the grave. Other articles of value might be allowed to stay in the earth; but the *mere*, being the principal badge of leadership, was recovered when the dead chief's bones were taken up for the second burial. It is well known that many *mere* have been hidden in the North Island, and in some cases subsequent mortality in the tribe has obliterated all knowledge of the hiding places.

Occasionally *mere* that had been lost were found and recognized to the great joy of the tribe. In 1864, just after the Gate Pa affair, a soldier of the 68th Light Infantry, one of a burial party at the cemetery at Te Papa, near Tauranga, came across a long buried greenstone *mere*, which he shewed to a party of Maori passing the spot in a canoe. They at once landed and claimed it at headquarters, on the ground that it had belonged to one of their famous chiefs interred at that place; and the English commander gave it up without demur, as was *tika* or correct.

A Maori warrior, faced with violent death, would elect to be killed by a *patu rangatira*, a chief's *patu*, and would calmly await the death stroke, content to be despatched to *reinga*, the next world, even with his own good *mere*, comforted by the knowledge that it was no mean weapon that touched his proud head. Mr. Elsdon Best, in *Notes on the Art of War*, tells how a chief named Potiki pursued his enemy Kahu and ran down the fugitive, who was burdened by the weight of his child. But when Potiki raised his hatchet to slay his enemy, Kahu cried "Let me not be slain with a one-edged hatchet," and drawing his own good greenstone *mere*, Te Heketua, from his belt he surrendered it to Potiki, saying, "Here is the weapon to slay me with. Let me

feel the softness of its stroke." And the chivalrous chief, not to be outdone in courtesy, forebore to kill him, and giving his own *patiti* to the conquered foe, bade him take it and go in peace with his child.

During the intertribal wars a leader of the Ngai Tai was slain by the Whakatohea who cut up the body, the head falling to the share of the Ngati Rua tribe. At a later time the Ngai Tai redeemed the head, giving a *mere* named Wawahi Rangi in exchange for it.

The longest *mere* in the British Museum belonged to Te Hiko-o-te-rangi, son of the chief Te Pehi, who visited England in 1826. The name of this weapon is Tuhi-wai. Another historic *mere* in the same collection is Papa-tahi, which was once in the possession of Rauparaha. Both were presented by Sir George Grey. Unfortunately they were injured in a fire that occurred at Government House, Auckland, while he owned them.

Another famous *patu* was Piwari, formerly the property of Ripa, one of the chiefs of the Bay of Islands. In Canon Stack's *Kaiapohia* mention is made of Te Kaoreore, the greenstone *patu* of a chief named Te Aratangata, who in a very fierce fight against a hostile tribe did great execution with it till it broke, leaving only the handle in his hand. Seven other northern chiefs who had been driving bargains in greenstone fell on that day in the same *pa*.

There is something of simple and touching dignity in the story of the first presentation of a *mere* by a Maori chief to the King of England. H.M.S. Buffalo, Captain Sadler, came to New Zealand in 1834 to buy *kauri* spars for the British Navy. When the English officer had accomplished his mission,

Titore, chief of the Ngapuhi, sent a message to King William IV. of which the following is a translation:—

“King William. Here am I, the friend of Captain Sadler. The ship is full and is now about to sail. I have heard that you aforetime were the captain of a ship. Do you therefore examine the spars, whether they are good, or whether they are bad. Should you and the French quarrel here are some trees for your warships. I am now beginning to think about a ship for myself. A native canoe is my vessel, and I have nothing else. The native canoes upset when they are filled with potatoes and other matters for your people. I have put on board the ‘Buffalo’ a greenstone war-club and two garments. These are all the things which New Zealanders possess. If I had anything better I would give it to Captain Sadler for you. This is all mine to you—mine—Titore to William, King of England.”

In due course a letter of thanks was sent to Titore by the Earl of Aberdeen, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, together with a present from the king, “a suit of armour, such as was worn in former times by his warriors, but which is now only used by his own bodyguard.” This armour is now in the Dominion Museum at Wellington.

“A good *mere pounamu*,” says Maning in his *Old New Zealand*, “would be a temptation. I had once a *mere*, a present from a Maori friend, the most beautiful thing of the kind ever seen. It was nearly as transparent as glass; in it there were beautiful marks like fern-leaves, trees, fishes, and—I would not give much for a person who could not see almost *anything* in it. Never shall I cease to regret having parted with it. The Emperor of Brazil, I think, has it now; but he does not know the proper

use of it. It went to the Minister long ago. I did not sell it; I would have scorned to do that; but I did expect to be made knight of the golden pig knife, or elephant and watch box, or something of that nature."

CHAPTER V.

GREENSTONE ORNAMENTS.

THE Maori possessed a remarkable variety of ornaments, of great diversity of form, motif and size; for in spite of the dangers and the difficulties which attended the acquisition of greenstone, there were very few natives of either island who did not possess something made of it. All such ornaments were worn by men and women alike, suspended from a cord which passed through a hole bored through the stone at the top, either at the neck, or hanging from the lobes of the ears, or as long pendants to adorn the cloak.

The most common ornaments were the straight cylindrical ear-pendants called *kuru*, and straight flat pieces of stone, to which the name *whakakai* was given. But simple pendants of this kind were of all sorts of shapes, the form depending on the size and shape of the fragment of stone at the artist's disposal. Ornaments of this simple type were noticed by Captain Cook, who remarks that "in the ears both of men and women, which are pierced or rather slit, are hung small pieces of jasper." The great variety of their shapes, which is shewn in Figure 13, is no doubt due to the fact that the greenstone was so highly prized that any small fragment of it which could not be utilised in any

other way would be treasured and adapted, no matter what its shape might be.

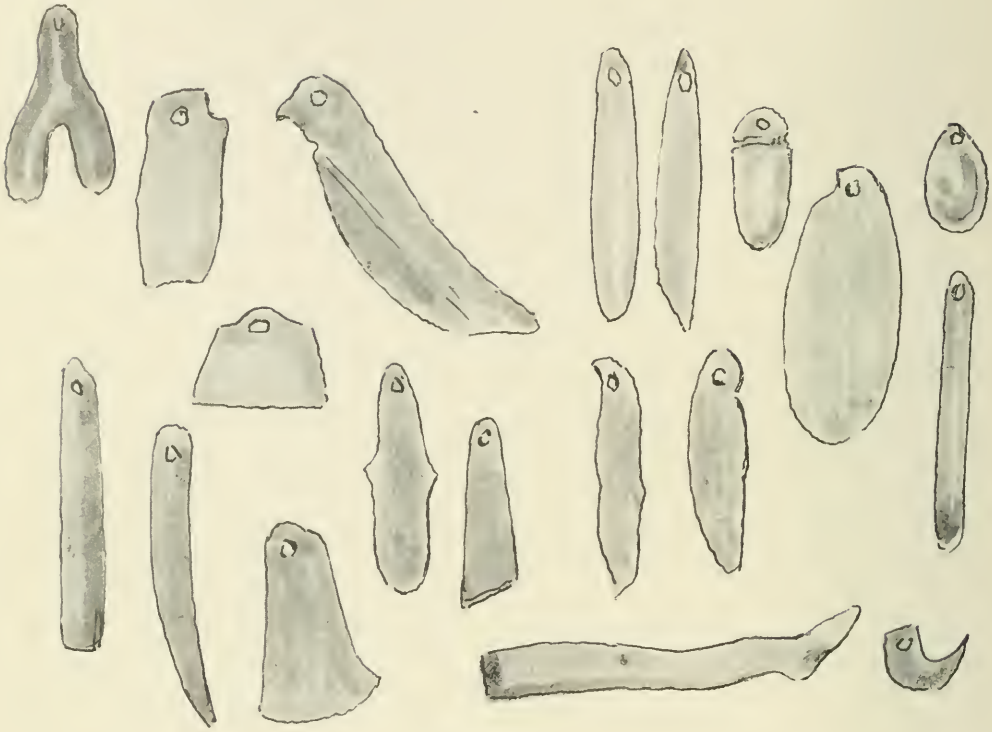


Figure 13.

But many of the Maori ornaments were of far more elaborate character. The most important of the ear-ornaments was

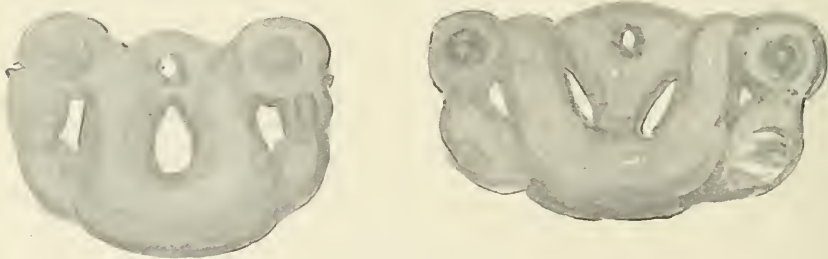


Figure 14.

the *pekapeka* (Figure 14), or bat, so called from its fancied resemblance to that animal. It was worked, with the figures rounded

on both sides, into a conventional representation of two bird-headed snakes, the mythological *manaia**, placed back to back.



Figure 15.

Figure 15 is an illustration of a carved piece of greenstone now preserved in the University Museum at Cambridge, which will be seen to have a great likeness to the *pekapeka* shewn in Figure 14. It is, however, obviously a representation of a single *manaia*.



Figure 16.

The remarkable pendant illustrated in Figure 16 is worked on both sides in the form of a bird-headed monster, the leg having

*The esoteric meaning of this symbol is lost, and will probably never be discovered. It is suggested, however, that it may perhaps have some connection with the ancient religion of India. It is at least a coincidence that the Maori symbolical group of two *manaia*s pecking at a god is paralleled by Vishnu pecked by his sacred bird Garuda. Ari was one name of Vishnu, and the *ariori* mummery of Tahiti bears a strong resemblance to a degraded form of Vishnu worship. It is remarkable, too, that the eleventh day of the moon was in India sacred to Ari, while the Maori name for the eleventh night of the moon is *ari*.

two claws. It is clearly a variant of the same type of ornament; but it presents a daring departure from the usual form, very uncommon in the work of the Maori, who were slaves to traditional conventions.

The single *manaia* was usually fashioned in the spiral form illustrated from two actual examples in Figure 17.

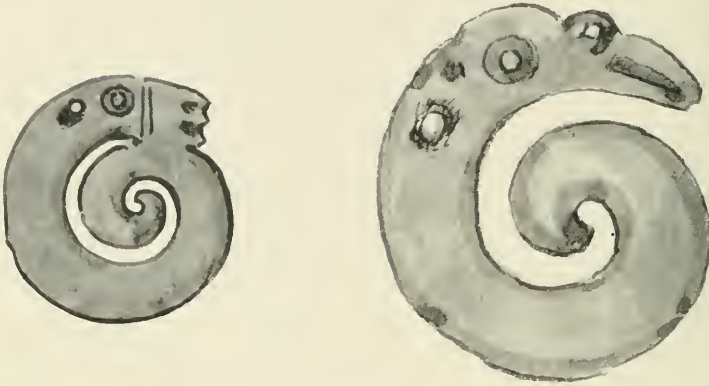


Figure 17.

This malignant spirit, which figures in so many ancient carvings of the Maori, is commonly shewn attacking man and viciously biting his ear or body. A small carved pendant (Figure 18) in the British Museum represents the head of a *manaia*.

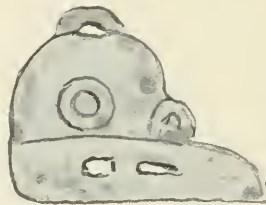


Figure 18.

In Figure 19 is shewn the *mako*, which was a very popular ornament, highly valued as a keepsake. It is a representation

of a shark's tooth with its root, the graceful curves of the original being faithfully copied. When correctly worn



Figure 19.

it hung from the ear with the point to the front. The natural white tooth of the shark was also much prized as an ornament, but its inferiority to a jewel of *kahurangi*, jade of the finest quality, is recognised in a

native poem which has been translated as follows:—

That is worthless,
That is the bone of a fish ;
But if it were the little pounamu,
That ancient source of evil,
The fame whereof reaches
Beyond the limits of the sky—eh!

The *poria* (Figure 20), otherwise called *moria*, was a small double ring of round or oval section, made for the leg of a decoy or the large russet brown parrots (*nestor meridionalis*) called *kaka*, which were kept as pets by the Maori. Through the smaller ring shewn here figured, was passed the cord by which the bird was secured to its perch.

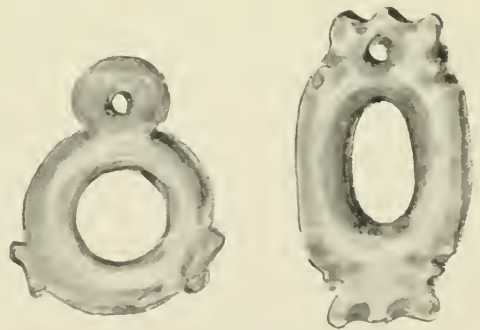


Figure 20.

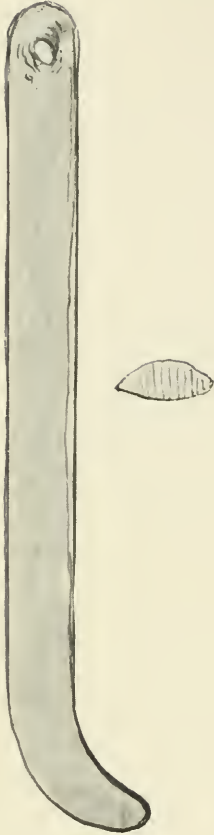


Figure 21.

The *kapeu* or *tautau* (Figure 21) was a long eardrop of oval section, straight for the greater part of its length, but having a slight curve at its lower end. The difficulty of cutting this ornament was much increased by its peculiar shape, which is believed to be suggested by that of a face-strigil. An unusually long and very valuable specimen, called by the ancient name of Tikirau, was given to the Hon. Victor Alexander Herbert Huia Onslow, the second son of the fifth Earl of Onslow, on the occasion of his presentation to the Ngatihuia tribe at Otaki, 12th September, 1891, Huia's father being at that time Governor of New Zealand.

Some years ago a very ancient greenstone ear-drop came into the possession of the Author. This ornament, which is of considerable value on account of its age and beautiful workmanship, was sent to him from New Zealand by an aged chief against whom

he had fought in the Maori wars. The touching letter that accompanied the gift, with its pathetic mingling of the musical native language and prosaic matter-of-fact English phrasing, shewed that with the lapse of years the old antagonism had completely passed away, and the gallant and honourable foe of the old days had become a loyal citizen of the Empire. We make no apology for printing this interesting communication in full.

TAURANGÁ, NEW ZEALAND,

30 Nov., 1901.

*Te Teniere Ropere.**E hoa, tena koe,*

Kia ora koe. Ma te atua koe e tiaki. Heoi te mihi. I have received your letter of 12th October, and my heart is exceedingly glad. Of all your old friends mentioned in your letter I alone am left; all are gone. When the Duke of Cornwall came to Rotorua I was presented to him, and as the chief of the Bay of Plenty tribes received a medal in honor of his visit, and, on behalf of the natives generally, would now like to express their extreme pleasure at the royal visit. I am now an old man and am unable to say all I would wish to say to you; but I am sending you by this mail a *pounamu whakakai e mau ana ki te taringa o te tangata*, and I hope that you will wear it in remembrance of the old days when we fought together side by side.

*Heoi ano**Na tau hoa aroha**Na*

HORI NGATAI.

The *hei* matau* (Figure 22) is a neck ornament with the

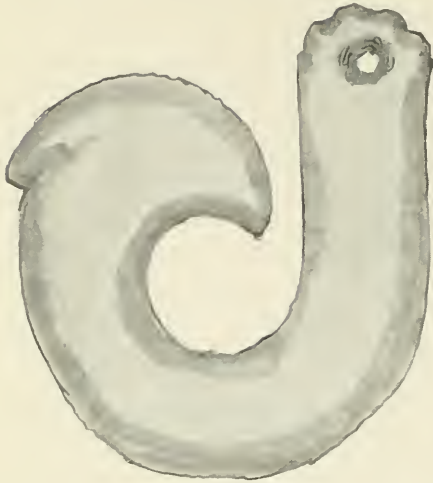


Figure 22.

general shape of a fish-hook, but made in a large variety of shapes and sizes. Spells were recited over them, and they seem to have been regarded as charms to ensure success in sea-

fishing. It has been suggested that the hook form commemorates

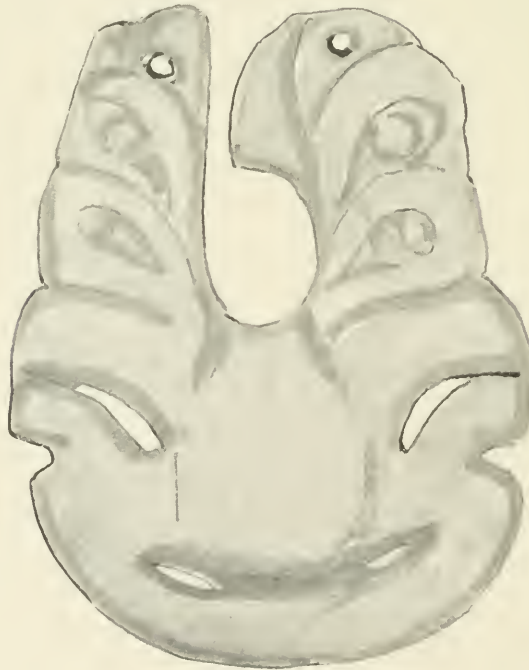


Figure 23.

* For the significance of the word *hei* thus prefixed to a Maori word see page 55

the drawing up of the North Island from the depths of Wainui, the mother of waters, by the demi-god Maui, a legend that is current also among the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific.

A very curious *matau* is shewn in Figure 23, which illustrates one in the British Museum. It is evident that it was the first intention of the carver to make a *tiki* (see Chapter VI.) of

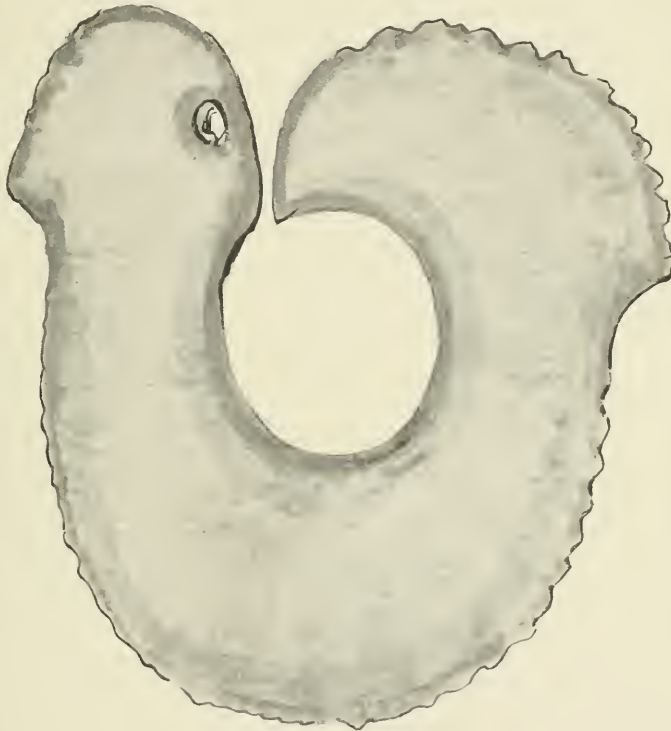


Figure 24.

the piece of stone from which it is fashioned; the artist, however, changed his mind before he got to work on the upper part.

The oldest *matau*, of which a typical example, preserved in the University Museum at Cambridge, is shewn in Figure 24, are to be recognized by their rude workmanship and coarse form, as well as by the rough edges, which indicate an early period when the native lapidaries had not attained to the high

pitch of excellence in the art of cutting and grinding greenstone which they afterwards reached.

Mention may also be made here of two curious pendants of eel-like form (Figure 25), now in the Dominion Museum of New Zealand. Possibly they were charms for eel-fishing. They are made of different qualities of greenstone. That to the right of the illustration, which is bored, is of fine translucent *kahurangi*.

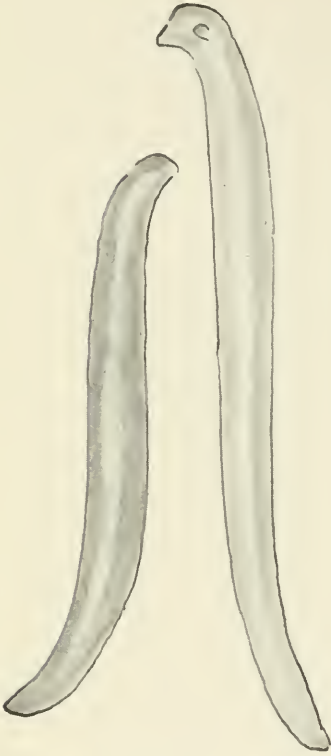


Figure 25.

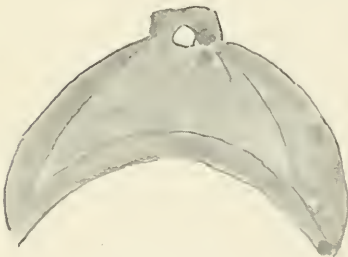


Figure 26.

This list only gives the most important of these trinkets, which were so highly prized that, as Mr. Elsdon Best records, during the wars of Ruatoki a man's life was redeemed by the gift to his captor of a greenstone ear-ornament. It would be difficult to describe and to figure the many curious shapes into which pieces of stone were ground and fashioned. Figure 26 shews one of crescent form. It is perhaps an amulet, although its inner edge, which is sharpened, suggests a scraper or a cutting tool; but the little pierced projection on its upper side shews that it was designed to be worn as a pendant. Figure 27 shews another of somewhat similar form from the Island of Ruapuke

in Foveaux Straits, made of a fine fragment of translucent stone. Some ornaments shaped as the barbs of fish-hooks have been

found; an example is illustrated in Figure 13. It may be stated as a general rule that the larger ornaments were hung from the neck, while those of smaller size were used as ear-drops.

Favourite pendants, like famous implements and weapons, were distinguished by having names given to them, and some, of course, are very ancient. One mentioned by Mr. James Cowan



Figure 27.

is said to have been fashioned from a piece of the greenstone taken by Ngahue to Hawaiki and brought back to New Zealand in the Arawa canoe when the islands were settled at the immigration. It was jealously preserved until quite recent times when it was unfortunately lost by its wearer, a woman of the Heuheu family, in the waters of Lake Taupo. Its name was Kaukaumatua.

Now and again worked pieces of greenstone, ancient work of the Maori, are discovered. Polack's prediction, made over half

a century ago, that in future years many aboriginal curiosities would be discovered by European colonists, has been fully realised. It is at the Maori burying places that the most important finds have been made; for, as we have already seen, it has always been the custom of this people to bury with their dead the favourite weapons, ornaments and tools which their chiefs had held in high esteem.

CHAPTER VI.

HEI-TIKI.

THERE is one special class of ornaments which, from their remarkable form, the extreme care lavished upon their production and preservation, and the feeling almost approaching veneration with which the Maori regarded them, demand detailed notice. These are the *hei-tiki*, neck-ornaments, grotesquely shaped as male or female human figures, which were worn by the Maori as memorials of specially dear relatives or venerated ancestors. The illustration (Figure 28) given on the next page is a full-sized drawing of a typical *hei-tiki*, shewing the front and back of the ornament.

The wearing of *tiki* by the Maori was as common as that of lockets among Europeans, and they were freely parted with as gifts or in exchange unless the value of an individual specimen consisted in the fact that it had been worn and handled by dead relations. If that were the case, reverence for the ancestor attached, as it were, to the ornament, which thereby became an object to be treasured as *oha* or an heirloom.

Canon Stack considers that the custom of carving and wearing *hei-tiki* was brought to their new home in New Zealand

by the immigrants from Hawaiki. He notes how Maori art deteriorated after the white man came to the country. He could remember large *tiki* being worn by old Maori between 1840 and 1850; after the latter year they practically disappeared. Possibly



Figure 28.

the adoption by the natives of European clothing partly accounts for the disuse of native ornaments. Certainly the acquisitiveness of curio hunters hastened their disappearance. Anyhow the best expression of Maori art is a thing of the past; and though countless copies and replicas have been made by lapidaries and jewellers they lack the characteristic touch and skill of the old workers and can never deceive a connoisseur.

A curious instance of the native reverence for their ornaments and their customs is recorded by Angus, who relates that

he saw a *tiki* on a child's grave which the *tapu* made absolutely safe, although it would naturally be an object of envy and a prize easily to be secured by anyone who passed the spot.

It is agreed by all students of Maori art that *tiki* were not representations of deities. As early as 1830 Mr. Yate, the missionary, who was an industrious collector of native lore, had come to this conclusion; and Canon Stack, whose earliest recollections of New Zealand date from the year 1840, maintains that the *tiki* "did not represent a god, but the spirit of a deceased relative. It was worn," he says, "to keep in memory some beloved one, for the same reason that our ladies wear lockets containing the likenesses of those who had passed into the other world."

The same authority considers that all *tiki*, whether of wood or stone, were purposely made grotesque, because the artist wished to show that these objects of his skill were not representations of living human beings but symbolical memorials of the dead. The Maori never attempted to copy the human form and features exactly; perhaps they had not the requisite artistic skill to enable them to do so; nor did they ever make statues or other representations of living men. Their carved figures were made to preserve the memory of deceased relatives or in honour of some god; not that they worshipped the effigy, even if it were that of a god; it was merely a symbol of the unseen. They seem to have believed, however, that a spiritual being could, when rightly invoked, enter into the image made to represent it and in some way manifest its presence to the person invoking it.

The Maori themselves declare that these figures were deliberately made imperfect, and are not to be regarded as likenesses of ancestors. Any harm, therefore, which might happen

to the figure or any insult offered to it, could not harm the spirit of the deceased. Mr. Polack says "The most valued ornament that has stood the test of many generations is the *tiki*, made of the *pounamu* or green serpent-stone in the form of a distorted monster. There is no reason given for the *outré* shape in which this figure is invariably made. Gods or lares are not in this land; and they are equally unlike departed friends, for the resemblance is neither like anything above the earth or perhaps beneath the waters. These ornaments stand paramount in public estimation; the original cause of their manufacture is forgotten."

The Maori themselves have lost any traditional knowledge that they may once have possessed of the origin of these remarkable objects; and it is unfortunate that the old priests who knew the symbolic meaning of these figures have all passed away. The Maori who now pose as authorities are untrustworthy. They are at best theorists and less likely to theorize correctly than Europeans, because of their limited knowledge. For while the knowledge of the white man ranges over the whole race, that of the native New Zealander is confined to customs and practices of the particular family or tribe to which he belongs.

Perhaps in its origin the *tiki* was a symbol of an ancient creed or a representation of a being worshipped in some long forgotten religion, and its persistent retention of its archaic form would seem to lend support to this theory. Some students, observing the superstitious dread which the Maori have of the spirits of unborn children, consider that the doubled-up attitude of the *tiki* is suggested by that of the human foetus, and that the ornament, in its original intention, was a talisman to guard the wearer against the maleficent influence of those spirits. Others believe it to be possible that the curious compressed appearance which

the *tiki* presents may be remotely connected with the custom of doubling up the corpse which obtained in many ancient burial customs.* However that may be the *tiki* had among the Maori no religious significance. Mr. Yate refers to this theory only to demolish it. It was held, he acknowledges, by the earliest European settlers, who observed that when a few Maori friends met together they were accustomed to lay a *hei-tiki* ceremoniously on a leaf or tuft of grass in the middle of the assembled people while they wept and sang dirges over it. It was addressed by the name of its late possessor, those present weeping and caressing it with loving gestures, and cutting themselves deeply and severely in token of the regard which they bore to the deceased. But this, he declares, was only done to bring more vividly to mind the dead person to whom the *hei-tiki* had once belonged. These ornaments, he states emphatically, were preserved and worn in remembrance of the dead, not only of the ancestors who last wore them, but of all those in whose possession they had been.

The noun *hei* means neck ; but when conjoined with another noun it has an adjectival force as is shewn in the native lullaby :—

Taku hei piri-piri—my necklace of scented moss ;

Taku hei mokimoki—my necklace of fragrant fern ;

Taku hei tawhiri—my necklace of odorous shrubs ;

Taku kati taramea—my sweet locket of taramea.

Tiki are cut from a single piece of greenstone, and vary in length from two to eight inches. They are carved on the front side with rude representations of the face, neck, arms, body and legs. The back is usually plain (see Figure 28), shewing only the piercings which shape the limbs and the reverse side of the

* cf. Hewitt. *Primitive Traditional History*, pp. 216-218, 377-389.

hole bored in the upper part of the figure for the purpose of suspension. *Tiki* worked on the back as well as the front are very rare. One of these is in the Ethnological Collection at the British Museum, where it is exhibited on a raised stand placed above a mirror, to shew the carving on its back.

The face of the figure is consistently of conventional form, with a curious raised band or ridge down the forehead, branching to the eyes and continued as the nose, where it again branches into strongly marked and acutely arched nostrils. The eyes are shewn as little circular shallow pits under heavy overhanging brows. In the more ancient *tiki*, as was noticed by Captain Cook, the whites of the eyes (Figure 30) were repre-

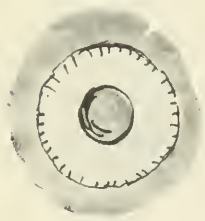


Figure 30.

sented by pierced disks of the irridiscent *paua* shell, which are sometimes marked with serrated edges, apparently to represent eyelashes. When in the middle of the nineteenth century objects of European manufacture began to be introduced by traders it was found that red sealing wax* had a peculiar fascination for the Maori, who often used it to fill the eyes of *tiki* and for the adornment of other greenstone articles.

The curious heart-shaped mouth is always shewn open, with coarse, thick lips, and the prominence given to the tongue is thought to suggest the grimace of Maori defiance. No marks representing tattoo are ever found on the faces of greenstone *tiki*. The arms are carefully cut out, and the hands are placed in various positions according to the type to which

* Red was the colour of mourning among the Maori, and stains of red ochre may still be seen on ornaments which have been buried with the dead, or whose wearers had daubed themselves with it.

the ornament belongs. The thumbs are always shewn, but never more than three fingers appear.

This fashion of carving the hand has puzzled many students of the ancient New Zealand art. The Maori have the ingenious, but perhaps hardly credible, explanation of this phenomenon, that the first man to carve and decorate was an ancestor who had himself only three fingers on each hand. Whether this is true or not the fashion has been rigidly followed since the legendary Nuku-mai-teko, the skilful worker, deceived Tangaroa with his art. This representation of three-fingered hands is not, however, peculiar to the Maori. Hands of this rude form have been noted in ancient Chinese ideographs and in other Eastern sculptures, in the relics of the Peruvian Incas and in other forms of primitive art, as is remarked by Mr. Cowan in his *Maoris of New Zealand*.

From this general description it will be seen that *tiki* conform to a certain conventional shape, which is that which was handed down from generation to generation; for the Maori considered that it was *aitua*, an ill omen, to depart from the lines laid down by their forefathers. Some of these little effigies are squat and others more elongated, a result no doubt due to the dimensions of the piece of stone at the artist's disposal. They vary in form, as our illustrations shew, but a close inspection shews that they fall into two main types, in both of which the head is inclined to right or left, and in many cases resting, as it were, upon the shoulders.

In both types the legs are shewn with the knees bent, and the feet, with what appear to be sometimes two and sometimes three pairs of toes, gathered under the body. But these limbs are really an attempt to represent the motif of the *manaia*

(see page 41) pecking the body. Figure 29 is an illustration of a wooden *tiki* which shews these fabulous monsters very clearly. *Tiki* made of bone* have also been preserved which distinctly shew that the parts, which in greenstone *tiki* degenerated into a rude likeness to the legs of the figure, are in their origin not legs but *manaia*.



Figure 29.

Type A, of which Figure 28 at the beginning of this chapter is a well marked example, shews the arms akimbo with the outspread hands resting upon the thighs. It has four teeth in the mouth, indicated by knobs at the middle and ends of the lips, beyond which the tongue does not extend.

* In the British Museum there are two specimens of *hei-tiki* made from pieces of human skull.

Figures 31-37 shew these various points in more or less detail. In Figures 31 and 32 we give examples of *tiki* that have cut-out necks. The former of these is a full-sized representation of the

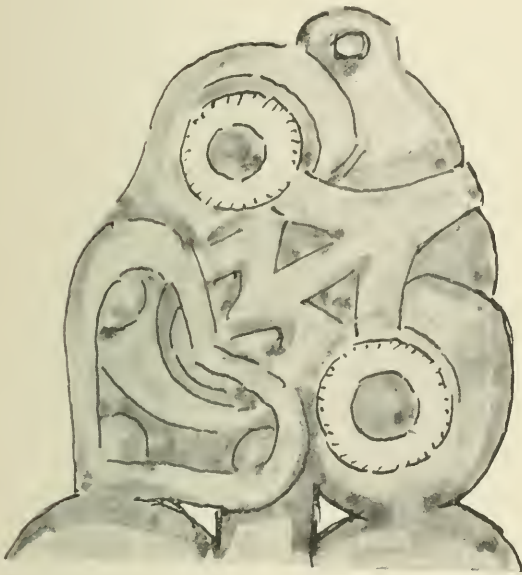


Figure 31.



Figure 32.

head of the figure only. It will be observed that it has the eyes of shell, and the additional peculiarity of a projection at the top of the head pierced for the cord by which it was suspended.

Another method of suspension is shewn in Figure 33. Here it will be seen that the cord by which the figure was hung at the wearer's neck was tied round a knob at the top of its head.



Figure 33.



Figure 34.

Figure 34 is an illustration of a very ancient *tiki* brought from New Zealand by Midshipman Burr, who sailed with Captain Cook on his last voyage. In this case the boring is through the right eye.

In the *tiki* illustrated in Figure 35, the boring is through the right ear, while that in Figure 36 was suspended by the hole at the left elbow, where the wearing of the hard greenstone by the friction of the suspending cord is plainly visible.



Figure 35.



Figure 36.

A comparison of this ornament with those illustrated on pages 72 and 76 shews that *hei-tiki* suspended by the elbow naturally hang in a horizontal, instead of an upright, position. In Figure 37 overleaf the cutting out of the neck is shewn only on the right side.

It will be observed that the *tiki* illustrated in Figures 33, 34 and 35, have the necks not cut out; the heads rest solidly upon the

shoulders. The ornament shewn in Figure 36 has, on the other hand, its head quite clear of the body.

✓ In *tiki* of the A type the ribs, either one or two pairs, are indicated by raised ridges forked at their lower ends, where in some cases (see Figs. 28, 33 and 34) the navel is shown.



Figure 37.

A historic *tiki* of the A type, over six inches in height and of very fine workmanship, was brought to England in 1820 by the chief Hongi and presented by him to the Rev. Basil Wood, a life governor of the Church Missionary Society, who received him and his companion, the chief Waikato. After many vicissitudes this ornament is now preserved in the Dominion Museum at Wellington, having been secured for that national institution by Mr. T. E. Donne.

In the Tourist Department at Wellington is an oil painting by J. Barry, presented by the Church Missionary Society, through Mr. Donne's instrumentality shewing Hongi wearing a *tiki* and a feather cloak, and accompanied by Waikato and Kendall the missionary.



Figure 38.

In *tiki* of the B type, of which Figure 38 is a good example, the design varies from those of the A type in several important particulars. The head is generally cut free of the shoulders and not resting upon them, the ears are usually shewn, and the neck is thicker. One hand with its outspread fingers and thumb is placed on the breast. The other hand, which is always that

on the side towards which the chin points, rests on the thigh. The eyes in this type are smaller in proportion to the size of the head than those of type A. As a rule it

has no ribs. Its tongue, called *arero rua*, is forked and its teeth are two or three in number. In some cases the navel is shewn. Figures 38-44 illustrate this type. Figure 38 is an example shewing in admirable detail all the characteristics just enumerated.

Figure 39 shews a *tiki* of B type, now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge, with the characteristic double tongue which, however, is of unusual form, being given in relief by the holes at either



Figure 39.

side of it and going to the chin instead of to the side of the mouth. The little *tiki* illustrated in Figure 40 is exceptional in having three ribs on the right side.

The *tiki* shewn in Figure 41 indicates a change of motif on the part of the



Figure 40

artist during the process of manufacture. It is evident that the right hand of the figure was at first designed to rest on the thigh. But this hand was awkwardly changed to the B



Figure 41.

position on the breast, and thus a *tiki* begun in the style of type A was changed to the conventional rendering of type B, to which also the double tongue belongs.

A comparison of this very remarkable *tiki* with the illustration of the three pieces of jade in Figure 42 shews quite plainly that the original intention to make it of the A type. For the illustration of the partially formed ornaments proves that the first cuts in the greenstone were those that outlined

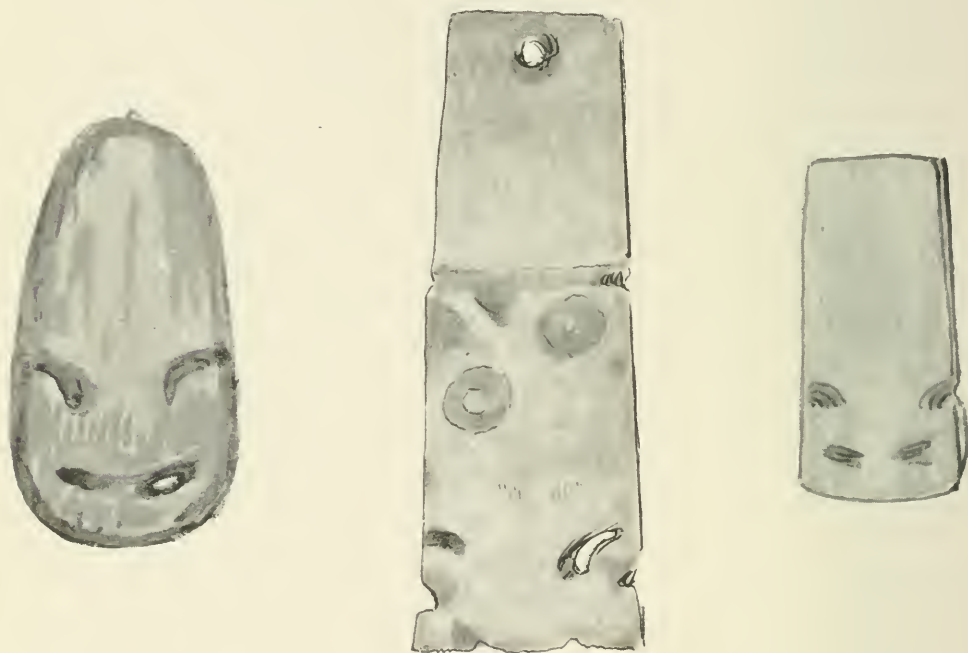


Figure 42.

the legs and arms. This point appears to be emphasised by the drawing in the middle of Figure 42, where the beginnings of the work upon the head prove that though the Maori artists were not always particular to finish the lower part of their figures first, they began work on the limbs with a clear intention as to the type to which the figure was to belong.

A *tiki*, now in the Salford Museum, illustrated in Figure 43, is noteworthy in having little cuts on its hands, as if to denote the joints of the fingers and thumbs. It is drawn here in



Figure 43.

outline to make this peculiarity more clearly visible. The *tiki* shewn in Figure 44 is an admirable example of the B type. It was presented to Colonel Mundy, the author of *Our Antipodes*,

by Tamihana, son of the notorious chief Rauparaha, who about the year 1828 devastated the South Island in his relentless greed for greenstone. Less than two decades later Tamihana,



Figure 44.

helped by his cousin Matene-te-whiwhi, nobly atoned for his father's cruelty by winning the Southern Islanders to Christianity.

A greenstone neck-ornament of rare form (Figure 45), now at Dresden and known as Heke's *tiki*, has great affinity with the B type, but is exceptional in having both hands placed upon the breast. This attitude is very unusual in figures made of jade;

it is, however, common in wood carvings. Mr. Elsdon Best, in a recent letter to the Author, speaks of a very fine *hei-tiki* belonging to Mr. John Baillie, which is said to have been

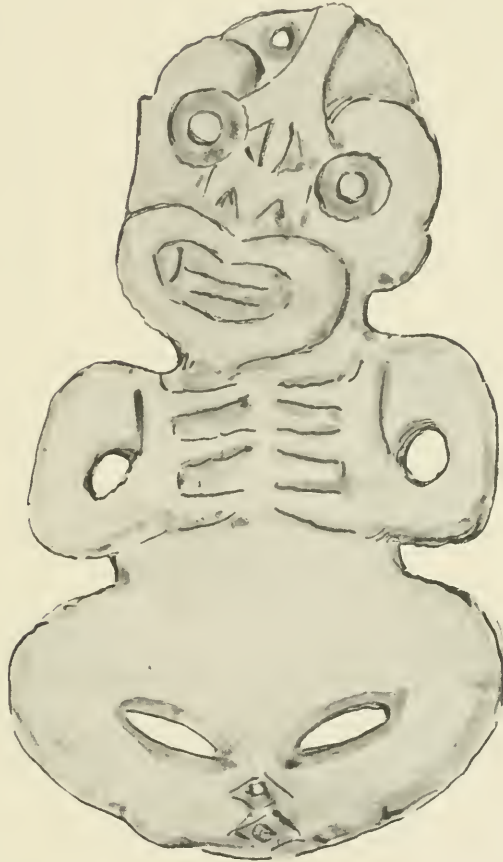


Figure 45.

taken home by the mate of the "Endeavour." Its length is $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches and its width $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. This ornament is remarkable in having both the arms extending downwards with the hands clasping the thighs, an attitude also found in some *tiki* of bone. The *tiki* shewn in Figure 46 also resembles those of the B type, but departs from the regular design in the upright

position of the head. The support under the figure's left arm is also unusual. This ornament shews signs of long use. Its

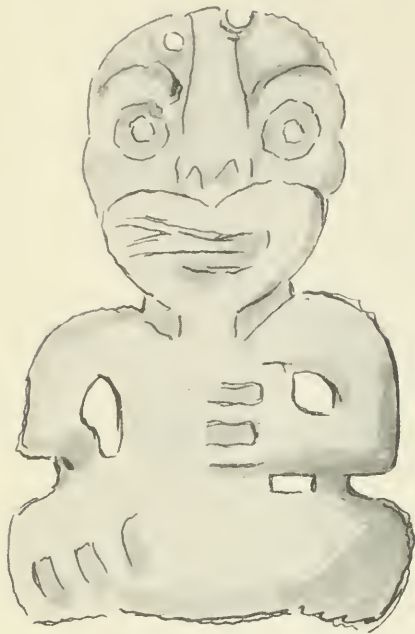


Figure 46.

surface is greatly worn; the legs are broken off; and the original hole has been broken or worn through and a fresh hole has been bored on the other side of the nose ridge.

The British Museum possesses two curious little greenstone figures of *tiki* form, shewn in Figure 47, which have the right arms raised to the head. They have the appearance of great age, and are

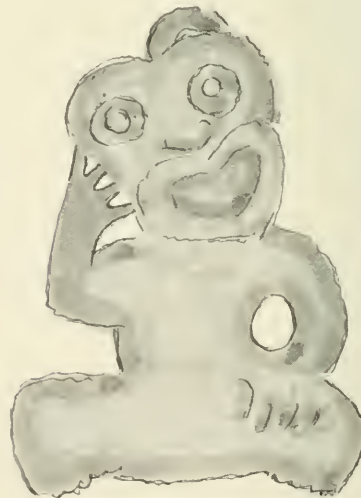


Figure 47.

perhaps relics of a time before the form of these ornaments had settled down into the two normal types. It will be

observed that the *tiki* illustrated at the right of Figure 47 has the fingers of the raised hand carefully worked with perforations

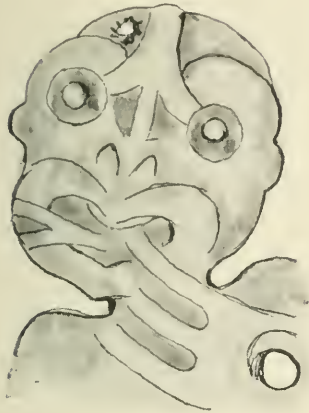


Figure 48.

between the fingers. This figure has lost its legs. Figure 48 shews part of another remarkable *tiki* with the upright head that has already been remarked as a departure from the usual form, and with the fingers of the left hand raised to its mouth. It is possible that this attitude is a memorial of the legend of Tamatea's slave who was punished for breaking *tapu*.

Hei-tiki were difficult to make, and only the most skilful *tohungas* who were experts in the arts of carving and tattooing undertook their manufacture. A pointed stick, sand and water were the simple tools that they employed, together with the shell of the *pipi* or common cockle, which was used as a ready-made tool by the Maori craftsmen.

After the stone had been polished, the last operation was the boring of the hole for suspension, a piece of work requiring great care.

The hole, like all other holes pierced in greenstone was, as is mentioned above, made by boring from both sides of the stone, and being usually bored at the top of the head of the effigy, the *tiki* was normally worn so that it hung upright. But if it so pleased the wearer, the ornament might be worn hanging from that arm which allowed the face to look downward. The chin always pointed downward; that rule was invariable.

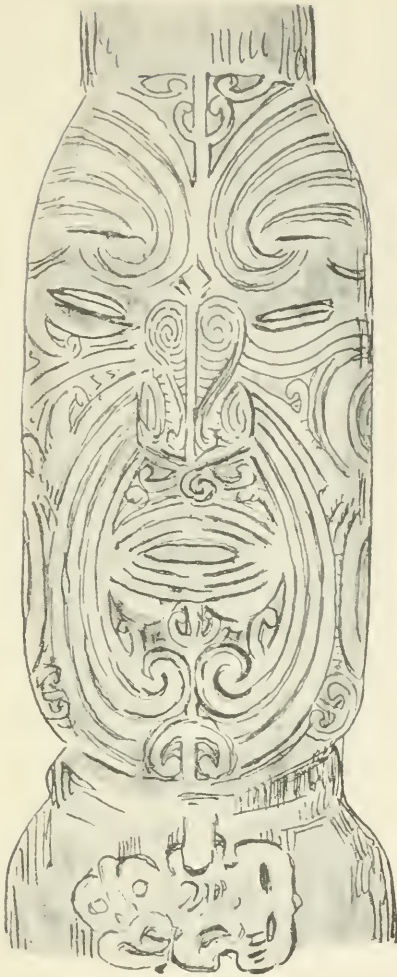


Figure 49.

Figure 49, which is a drawing of part of an ancient wooden monument raised to a Maori chief, shews in careful detail the tattoo marks on his face. For our present purpose it is of special interest as shewing that he wore a *tiki* of the B type suspended, in the same way as is shewn in Figure 36, by the left arm.

The left-hand drawing in Figure 42 shews a *tiki* in process of formation from a water-worn piece of greenstone, which is now in the British Museum. The work, as has already been noted, began with the fashioning of the limbs. The same illustration shews two adze-blades of greenstone on which are the beginnings of the perforations, which prove that it was also intended to make

tiki of them. When iron axes supplanted the native adzes many *tiki* and other ornaments were made out of the discarded blades of greenstone. *Tiki* made from these blades can be readily recognised, because the adzes being thin in section the ornaments made from them are not so plump as those more ancient specimens that were cut from rough blocks or water-worn fragments of nephrite.

Famous *tiki* were named in the same way as famous weapons. The largest in the British Museum collection, which was given

to Sir George Grey in 1848 by Hone Heke, had the title *Ko wakatere kohu kohu*. Another noted *hei-tiki* is mentioned by Canon Stack, who describes how he made the acquaintance at Grahamstown, near Auckland, of a native clergyman named Hohepa Paraone. This man showed the Canon a highly prized *tiki* called *Mihi rawhiti*, that is, 'object of lament and greeting in the East,' which was an heirloom in the two branches of the family into which Maru Tuahu's descendants had split, being held alternately by the one which lived at the Thames and by the other which had settled at Taranaki. The ornament was always buried with the person who happened to be wearing it at the time of his death. When his bones were taken up in due time to be placed in the tribal sepulchre, the ceremony of the second burial was performed by members of the other branch of the family, who returning to their own home took back with them the family heirloom. They then kept it until it passed once more into the hands of the other branch who in their turn performed the funeral rites of the last wearer of it.

There is a tradition that this venerable and crudely formed ornament was worn by Maru Tuahu when he arrived in New Zealand; and Canon Stack, who had an opportunity of examining it, was confirmed in his belief that finely wrought specimens were not produced till the art of working greenstone had been practised for many generations after the coming of the first canoes.

One of the three *tiki* deposited in the Auckland Museum by Mr. Arthur Eady, has the name of Maungarongo, that is, the peacemaker. It belonged at one time to Rangi Purewa, a priest of the Wairau Valley, who allowed Te Rauparaha to see and handle the precious trinket. It chanced that that chief had a feud with a man named Pukekohatu, and seized and imprisoned

a kinsman of his enemy. Whereupon Pukekohatu, in fear for his relative's life, asked the aid of the priest Purewa, who lent him his *tiki*, saying "Here is a *tiki* that will make peace. Put it round the neck of your wife's slave girl and offer both as payment; and your wish that your kinsman may be restored will be granted." And so it fell out. But some time afterwards one of Rauparaha's relations became ill, and the priest was accused of having bewitched the man. Purewa maintained that the patient was ill because he had broken *tapu* in wearing the sacred *tiki*, and would surely die if it were not returned to its rightful owner; which being done the sick man was restored to health. Afterwards the *tiki* had many owners till at length it passed into the possession of Europeans and eventually found a resting place in the Auckland Museum.

Henare Tawha, a Maori chief whose remarks on the working of *pounamu* are quoted in Chapter II., once told Canon Stack that very few people know how to make *hei-tiki*, the natives of the North Island being more skillful in their manufacture than those of the South. It did not require, he said, very great skill to make weapons and tools and the simpler ornaments, but only very clever workers could make *tiki*.

Hakopa-te-atu-o-tu, a noted chief of the Ngai Tahu, who won great fame for his defence of Kaiapoi against Rauparaha's besieging army, wrote, in July 1882 when he was upwards of eighty years of age, a letter to Canon Stack, which is so striking a confirmation of much that has been said above that we are glad to have the opportunity of reproducing it here.

"Friend, greeting. I never saw the making of a *hei-tiki* in my childhood. The North Island natives were the people who made *hei-tiki*. The tools used to perforate the greenstone when

forming it into ornaments were not chisels, but pieces of obsidian and flint with which drills were pointed. The shaping of the holes when made was done by rubbing with gritty stone. Maoris never worshipped the *hei-tiki*. It was only an *oha tupuna*, *he tohu ki ona uri*, a relic of an ancestor, a sign to his descendants. The names of the different kinds of greenstone were *hauhunga*, *kawakawa*, *inanga*, *kahurangi*, *tangiwai*, *matakirikiri*, *aotea*,

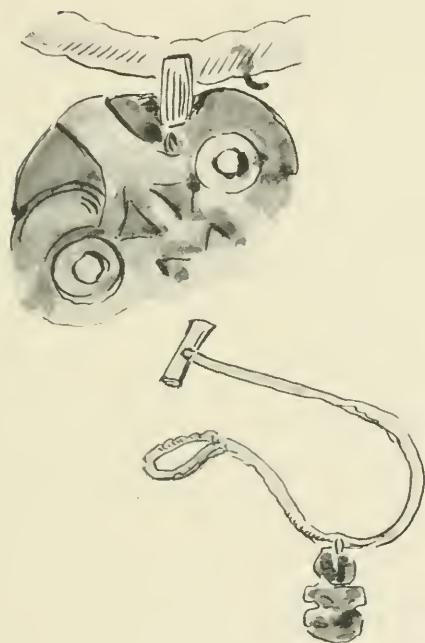


Figure 50.

kahotea. The places where greenstone was formerly found were Arahura, Waininihi, Hohonu (*i.e.*, Taramakau) and Pio pio tahi (*i.e.*, Milford Sound). Some *pounamu* was so hard that it could only be broken by using hammers of greenstone.”

The detail drawing (Figure 50) illustrates the method of fastening the ornament to the *kauī-tiki*, the cord which went

round the wearer's neck. The *tiki* was firmly fixed to the *kau* by its own separate fastening, which was a loop passing through the suspension hole and made of the wiry fibre of the *toi* or mountain palm (*cordyline indivisa*), a material of very great strength obtained from the outer part of the mid-rib (*tuaka*)



Figure 51.

of the palm leaf. This fastening fairly filled the perforation, to prevent, as far as possible, friction of the stone. The *kau* with the *tiki* so attached by its fibrous fastening had at one end a small loop, and at the other a toggle about two inches long, called *puau* if made of wood, or *poro toroa* if of albatross bone. The cord being now clasped by toggle and loop about the wearer's neck the *hei-tiki* lay suspended as is shewn in Figure 51.

Our last illustration (Figure 52) of these singular and characteristic ornaments represents a beautiful little greenstone *tiki* of the A type. Although, no doubt, it was originally a *hei-tiki*, it was not so used by its last Maori possessor. It was worn as an ear-pendant by a Ngatipikiao warrior, and was taken from him in battle on 21st June, 1864. It is here shewn in its exact size, as indeed are all the *tiki* illustrated in this chapter.



Figure 52.

A striking contrast to this diminutive piece is exhibited by the remarkable *hei-tiki* of *kawakawa* in the Museum of Geology, in Jermyn Street, London. It is an unusually large figure of the A type, having eyes of irridiscent shell, and is quite 8 inches high with a width of nearly 5 inches from knee to knee. This ornament shows signs of a great age. Its surface is in parts worn almost smooth by constant wear, and it has had no less than three suspension holes bored through the upper part of the head, two of which are broken through.

Nowadays old and good specimens of *tiki* and other ornaments and implements of the native greenstone are rare in New Zealand. Very many have left the country; and those that remain in private hands are for the most part in the possession of rich natives, who are keenly alive to their value, and can rarely be induced to part with those treasured memorials of their ancestors.

When, however, in the course of their memorable journey to the Dominions beyond the seas, their present Majesties visited New Zealand, in 1901, the Maori chiefs loyally presented to the royal visitors many valuable heirlooms and works of art, which are now exhibited in the British Museum by command the King.

GLOSSARY.

Aho, the cord of a drill.
aitua, an ill omen.
aotea, clouded white jade.
Aotearoa, "the Long White Cloud."
arero rua, the forked tongue of a *tiki*.
atua, a guardian deity.
auhunga, light green jade.

E hoa, O friend
e mau ana ki te taringa a te tangata,
which is fixed to the ear of a man.

Hei, neck.
hei-tiki, neck ornaments of grotesque
human form.
heoi te mihi, that is all the greeting.
hoanga, stone for cutting and polish-
ing greenstone.

Inanga, grey jade.

Kahotea, dark spotted greenstone.
kahurangi, translucent greenstone.
kaka, the large russet parrot.
kapeu, see *tautau*.
kara, hard stone other than greenstone.
kavakia, spells.
kakariki, the colour green, also a small
green parrot and a green lizard.
karanga, welcome!
kau, the neck cord of the *hei-tiki*.
kauri, a New Zealand pine.
kawakawa, dark jade without spots.
kia ora koe, may you be well!
kiripaka, flint.
kohuwai, jade with moss-like marks.
kuru, a greenstone hammer, also a cylin-
drical ear-pendant.
kurupae, the cross-piece of a drill.

Mako, an ornament like a shark's tooth.
mana, supernatural excellence.
manaia, a malignant spirit.
ma te atua koe e tiaki, may God keep
you!
mata, the obsidian point of a drill.
matau, a hook-shaped neck ornament.
mere, the war-club.
moria, see *poria*.

Na tau hoa aroha, by your loving friend.
ngao matariki, the small finishing adze.
ngao pae, the largest adze.
ngao tu, the medium sized adze.

Oha, an heirloom.
ona, his.

Pa, a Maori fort.
pakeha, a white foreigner.
parihi pohatu, a sharp fragment of hard
stone.
patiti, a hatchet.
patu, the war-club.
pekapeka, an ornament shaped like a bat.
pivori, see *tuiri*.
poria, a parrot ring.
porotiti, disk of a drilling machine.
poro toroa, a toggle of albatross bone.
pou, the rod of a drill.
pounamu, greenstone, also the colour
green.
puau, a wooden toggle.

Rangatira, a chief.
reinga, the next world.
reke, the butt or pommel of a war-club.
ripi, a backward thrust with a war-club.

Tapu, a prohibition forbidding contact
with persons or things considered
sacred.
tautau, a long eardrop.
tena koe, there you are.
tika, correct.
tiki, see *hei-tiki*.
tipi, a forward thrust with a war-club.
tohu, a sign.
tohunga, a priest.
toi, the mountain palm.
toki, the greenstone adze.
toki whakarau, the smoothing adze.
tuaka, the mid rib of a palm-leaf.
tupuna, an ancestor.
tuwiri, a drill for boring holes in jade.

Uri, descendants.
utu, compensation for injury.

Whakakai, a flat ear-pendant.

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