

*Early Māori Literature**The Writing of Hakaraia Kiharoa**Arini Loader*

Rārangi maunga tū te ao, tū te pō, rārangi tangata ka ngaro, ka ngaro.<sup>1</sup>

Over the course of the long nineteenth century, Māori produced thousands of pages of written work, a large selection of which lies on shelves in libraries and other archival institutions in Aotearoa-New Zealand and around the world. Genres include correspondence, whakataukī (proverbs), biography, historical accounts, travel journals, and descriptions of customs, religious beliefs, and more. This collective body of work is written almost exclusively in te reo Māori, the Māori language, and scholarly work has tended to focus on its translation into English. The emphasis on translation is not surprising given the sustained and systematic violence wreaked upon Māori by European colonisation, and later perpetuated by assimilatory ideology and government policy that severely undermined the health of the Māori language. Despite efforts to revitalise the Māori language, it remains today in a critically endangered state. Translations are, however, products of their own time, place, and context. Reading the texts in the language in which they were first written, in their own idiom, and with their own turns of phrase, tone, meter, and style enables unparalleled access to the first literature of Aotearoa-New Zealand – to Māori literature. Due to the ruptures caused by ongoing colonial processes, reading early Māori literature often involves intensive upskilling in language proficiency as well as detective work as we follow leads, peel back layers, explore, search, and rediscover that which has sometimes been right in front of us the whole time.

In June 1852 Hakaraia Kiharoa wrote down the words of some sixty-nine waiata (songs) filling eighty-five pages of manuscript.<sup>2</sup> Written into the age-worn pages are examples of all the major types: waiata tangi (laments), waiata aroha (love songs), and oriori or pōpō (lullabies); waiata that form a class of their own such as ‘tangi tamaiti’ (laments for children), as well as waiata that defy classification altogether. The waiata refer to ancient

conflicts, contemporary events, and religious beliefs. They explore the lacerating grief of love lost, and mourn the passing of great rangatira (chiefs). Line upon line spill over the pages in a continuous stream of imagery, metaphor, simile, and all other manner of Māori poetic ornament. Kiharoa writes in clear, slanted, thin, carefully formed and flourished letters of black ink. The visual symmetry of the text is a striking testament to the talent and skill of but one of te ao Māori's nineteenth-century writers.<sup>3</sup> Truly, the waiata in Kiharoa's manuscript exemplify what Apirana Ngata referred to as, 'Te tohungatanga o nga tautitotito', 'The poetic genius of the composers'.<sup>4</sup>

Yet the historical record contains little on Hakaraia Kiharoa and even less on his work as a writer. He was the eldest child of Kiharoa and Parerape, his siblings were Moroati and Ria, and he also had a brother, Wiperehama Te Mahauariki, through his father's union with Te Kuraturoto.<sup>5</sup> Kiharoa married Katerina Te Kaiwakarato in 1843 and they had one surviving child, a daughter, Mere.<sup>6</sup>

There are few memorials to Kiharoa. One is his barely readable headstone in the grounds of Rangiātea churchyard, which reads:

E tapu ana tenei hei whakamaharatanga ki a Hakaraia Kiharoa te kai whakaako o Otaki.

I mate i te 4 o nga ra o Hune i te tau 1852.

H[K]a hari nga tupapaku e mate i roto i te Ariki.<sup>7</sup>

Another memorial to Kiharoa is his manuscript of waiata. A smudged note on the inside cover page, written in the distinctive hand of Governor George Grey, provides some useful clues:

Written by Te Uramutu, or Zachariah Kiharoa a young chief of the Ngatiraukawa [*sic*] tribe at Otaki, in the early part of 1852, he died in the month of June – a few weeks after he had finished this manuscript. GGrey June 20th 1852. Wellington.

Grey's note records the range of names by which Kiharoa was known. 'Kiharoa' is taken from his father, the rangatira, warrior, and contemporary of Te Rauparaha and Hongi Hika.<sup>8</sup> Kiharoa (Snr) was born at Maungatautari in the Waikato region, the territorial stronghold of the iwi (tribe) Ngāti Raukawa, who descend from the Tainui waka, one of the major migratory waka (canoes) upon which Māori arrived from islands further out in Te Moananui-a-Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean) to settle in Aotearoa-New Zealand. He was one of the rangatira who led Ngāti Raukawa on the major migrations of the early nineteenth century, travelling down from Waikato to the southern parts of Te Ika a Māui, the North Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand. Kiharoa (Snr) signed the Treaty

of Waitangi and is also interred at Rangiātea. The name of his father roots Hakaraia Kiharoa in the upper echelons of Ngāti Raukawa whakapapa and affirms his position as a rangatira of substantial rank and influence.

'Zachariah' was Kiharoa's baptismal name and is transliterated into te reo Māori as 'Hakaraia'. He may have been known as 'Zachariah' to non-Māori and 'Hakaraia' to Māori.<sup>9</sup> That he has a baptismal name, and one so obviously biblical, announces his conversion to Christianity. The significance of 'Te Uramutu' is unknown and he may also have been known as 'Te Reinga'.<sup>10</sup> Names are deeply important to Māori, particularly in terms of the strong oral dimension of Māori history, traditions, and customs. As McKinnon notes, 'In the oral tradition everyone who is to be remembered is named. No name, no memory'.<sup>11</sup> It is notable that Grey records two different names or sets of names by which Hakaraia Kiharoa was known, 'Te Uramutu' and 'Hakaraia Kiharoa', the former name perhaps being older and predating Kiharoa's baptism. Moreover, Kiharoa might have been known as 'Te Uramutu' to particular individuals or groups and as 'Hakaraia Kiharoa' to others. It is also possible that the name or names by which he was known depended on the situation or context at hand.

Grey also records Hakaraia Kiharoa's iwi, Ngāti Raukawa, and the geographic location of its community at Ōtaki, on the southwest coast of Te Ika a Māui. He gives the date that the manuscript was written as June 1852. In a final, rather understated, comment, Grey writes that the 'young chief' died just a few weeks after completing the manuscript. The timing is compelling – Kiharoa may well have been very ill when he was writing the manuscript; indeed, so ill that he died shortly after completing it. Although Kiharoa has been in many ways hard to find, the written taonga he left in and of his manuscript has proven a lasting tribute to his memory.

This textual memorial has been kept safe all these years among Sir George Grey's collection of Māori manuscripts. A highly controversial nineteenth-century colonial governor, Grey was an insatiable collector who built up several collections of rare artefacts, books, and manuscripts including Māori-language texts.<sup>12</sup>

By his own admission, Grey collected these Māori-language materials in order to learn the language and to know more about Māori customs and practices – part of the imperial project of building archives of knowledge about (and over) those peoples Britain ruled. In 1851 Grey part-published a collection of song texts, *Ko nga Moteatea, me nga Hakirara a nga Maori*, and the complete book was published two years later in 1853. This work was the precursor to Apirana Ngata's classic four-volume *Nga Moteatea* series. Of the 533 waiata in Grey's *Nga Moteatea*, thirty-nine were taken

from Kiharoa's manuscript. Grey held Kiharoa in such high esteem that he dedicated Henry Tacy Kemp's 1854 Māori-language translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* to Kiharoa, whom he remembers as:

He rangatira no 'Ngatiraukawa', he hoa aroha tahi no nga Pakeha, no nga Maori, he kaiwhakaako i te rongopai o te karaiti, a, mau tonu te pai ki a ia.<sup>13</sup>

A chief of the 'Ngatiraukawa' tribe, a warm friend alike of the European and Maori race, a Christian teacher and an excellent man.<sup>14</sup>

This dedication echoes and expands upon the (now illegible) words inscribed on Hakaraia Kiharoa's gravestone. That Grey considered Kiharoa 'friendly' to both Pākehā (Europeans) and Māori, combined with his high status and role as a Christian teacher, positions him as a valuable friend and ally in Grey's mission to govern both Māori and Pākehā. Grey's description of Kiharoa as 'an excellent man' emphasises that he thought highly of him and suggests a warm friendship had developed between them.

Just as Kiharoa's gravestone states that it was erected in his memory ('hei whakamaharatanga ki a Hakaraia Kiharoa') so too is the translation work dedicated to his memory, 'hei whakamaharatanga ake ki a Hakaraia Kiharoa'. However, while on the gravestone Kiharoa's role as 'te kai whakaako o Otaki', 'teacher of Otaki', is the single defining feature of his life, Grey's dedication adds more. Spatial constraints would have played a part in both cases, especially on the gravestone. Even so, it was Ngāti Raukawa who subscribed the fifteen pounds required for Kiharoa's gravestone and therefore presumably decided on the wording.<sup>15</sup> The iwi chose to set Kiharoa apart for his work among them as a teacher, remembering his instrumental role in bringing and disseminating 'The Word' to his people' – both the Christian message and literacy.

Grey's dedication, however, connects Hakaraia Kiharoa to a hugely important text in both the English literary tradition and the Christian faith – a text that was, at the time, second only in popularity (at least in the Christian world) to the Bible. The dedication thus connects Kiharoa to the wider Christian world and its literature, and to the broader English literary tradition. This is, of course, no mere accident or coincidence. In affixing Kiharoa's name to the text, Grey reinforces the messages he wants *The Pilgrim's Progress* to convey to Māori; Kiharoa is, in short, recast as an exemplary Māori pilgrim, one who has successfully completed the journey from 'the first conviction of sin' to 'the entrance to the Celestial Kingdom'.<sup>16</sup> Kiharoa is transformed from an important Ngāti Raukawa rangatira to 'Christian', a Māori literary hero embedded in the most well-known Christian allegory of all time.

Like the character of Christian in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Kiharoa was guided and taught by people along his journey to Christian enlightenment; someone had first to teach the teacher. The man most responsible for Kiharoa's work as a Christian teacher was the venerable Christian Missionary Society missionary Octavius Hadfield. Hadfield arrived on the Kapiti Coast in 1839 after Tāmihana Te Rauparaha and Mātene Te Whiwhi travelled to Te Waimate in the Bay of Islands to request a missionary for their region. Hadfield answered the call and rose to meet the challenges of being responsible for the religious health of a large Māori and increasing white settler population. His people were spread out over an extensive geographic region, taking in Ōtaki and Waikanae and extending out into the Manawatū and Rangitikei areas, as well as Tōtaranui (Queen Charlotte Sound) at Te Tau Ihu, the top of Te Waipounamu (the South Island). Hadfield's lifelong energy, dedication, and passion for his work set him apart from many other missionaries. His opinions on matters concerning Māori, and on the governance of New Zealand, favoured Māori; he publically and vehemently chastised the government's stance on, and involvement in, the Taranaki war, making him for some time 'the most unpopular man in the colony'.<sup>17</sup> Hadfield baptised Kiharoa in 1840, a year after arriving on the Kapiti Coast, subsequently appointing him head teacher at Ōtaki with his Ngāti Raukawa people; Rīwai Te Ahu was Kiharoa's counterpart at Waikanae with Te Āti Awa.

Kiharoa served his people well and his untimely death had a major impact on Hadfield's mission. In his 1852 report to the Christian Missionary Society, after observing the generally steady improvement of Māori engagement with the mission and its message, Hadfield notes 'I can hardly pass over the news of Hakaraia Kiharoa's death', thus conveying a sense of the enormity of this event. He then writes what can only be described as a eulogy, recalling, among other things, Kiharoa's early interest in Christianity:

He was a sincere, humble, unostentatious Christian, who said but little.<sup>18</sup>

Hadfield mentions Kiharoa's tombstone, as well as George Grey's intention to dedicate the translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* to him. Interestingly, Hadfield also records something of Kiharoa's writing activities, noting:

During my long illness he kept up a constant correspondence with me on all matters connected with the welfare of his tribe, and conveyed to me, during the war, information that was frequently of much use to the government.<sup>19</sup>

The illness that Hadfield refers to was serious enough to keep him confined for almost five years (from late October 1844 to October 1849) to the home of his friend, the Wellington magistrate Henry St. Hill. Frustratingly, however, I have been unable to locate any of the letters to Hadfield that Kiharoa is said to have written.<sup>20</sup> Family tradition has it that Hadfield burnt a great deal of his papers, perhaps with the aim of avoiding future libel cases against his family.<sup>21</sup> Hadfield's comment that Kiharoa wrote information 'of much use to the government' also suggests that these letters might raise ill-will towards Kiharoa from Māori who opposed the colonial government. A major point of difference between Grey and Hadfield is illuminated here. Grey was a voracious collector who appears to have kept everything, including material that does not paint him in a good light; Hadfield, it seems, burnt texts to prevent their being used against his descendants. Although Grey has been roundly criticised for his 'heavy-handed' editing of the Māori manuscripts, his glaring lack of acknowledgement of Māori sources, and his 'cut and paste' knitting-together of disparate versions of Māori history and traditions to form one unified narrative, he at least kept the manuscripts.

Grey, Hadfield, and the iwi tell us about Kiharoa in different ways, utilising different forms and taking different approaches. It is to Grey's collection of Māori manuscripts I now turn, and specifically the manuscript that Hakaraia Kiharoa wrote.

The first waiata in Kiharoa's manuscript is an apakura, a specific form of waiata tangi composed by women in the wharemate (resting place for a body) during the tangihanga as part of the grieving process:

- 1       Ma wai e ranga to mate i te ao,  
           Ka nawaia na koe ra i,  
           Ma koutou e, ma te reinga e,  
           Taku tiro tiro noa i waenga i te hono tatai,  
 5       Ka ngaro te whanaunga e-i,  
           Ka ngaro te whanaunga,  
           Haea mai ra, to hei kakapiripiri,  
           Ki a tau atu ia, ki runga te puiti,  
           Hikakatia ra, te more o to iho,  
 10       To ihu ki a hara taumata e-i,  
           Ki a hara taumata, ka taka pu mai, te wai o Hikihiki,  
           Raparapateuira,  
           Hokaia Tinirau,  
           Tē moana ka tere, i raua ai koe ra-i,  
 15       Kihai koe i raua i te whanga paraoa,  
           No Whakamoetoka,

Ka pau te tipona,  
 Ki te harakeke mata,  
 Tau atu ko te urunga e-i,  
 20 Tau atu ko te urunga, E Pou a Hine,  
 I poua iho ra, te pou ki Rarotonga,  
 Kia tina, kia whena,  
 Ka tere te papa, ki Nukume Hawaiki e-i.<sup>22</sup>

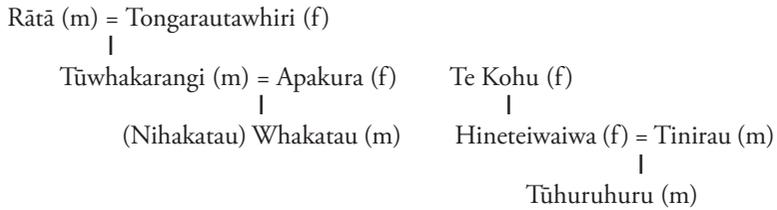
That Kiharoa chose to record an apakura first in the manuscript attests to the predominance of tangi as a class of waiata, at least among the song texts that have survived to the present day.<sup>23</sup> A concise comment that begins the manuscript, however, suggests another reason why this type of waiata appears first in the manuscript:

Ko te timatanga tenei o nga waiata katoa he apakura.

Kiharoa's comment can be simply interpreted: 'The opening waiata in this manuscript is an apakura'. But an alternative interpretation is that in a whakapapa (genealogy) of waiata, apakura occupy the first position; that is, apakura are the waiata from which all other waiata descend.<sup>24</sup> Whakapapa order the universe, demonstrating and reinforcing relationships, and explaining how phenomena belong in the world in relation to other phenomena. A parallel example in a manuscript written by Mātene Te Whiwhi begins, 'Ko te timatanga tenei o nga whakapapa ki nga tupuna' (This is the beginning of the genealogies of the ancestors).<sup>25</sup> What follows is a whakapapa that begins with Te Pō Tuatahi (The First Night) and moves through epochs of time, cycling through to Hoturoa – the kaihautū (commander) of Tainui waka – and onwards through a constellation of prominent ancestors to arrive at several contemporary Ngāti Raukawa / Ngāti Toa Rangatira, including Te Rauparaha, his son Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, Mātene Te Whiwhi, and Hakaraia Kiharoa. This whakapapa fills eight pages of the manuscript, five of which feature two columns of names per page. However, as Te Whiwhi writes at the very beginning of the text, everything begins with Te Pō; Te Whiwhi's opening comment, 'Ko te timatanga tenei o nga whakapapa ki nga tupuna' refers not only to the beginning of the manuscript but to the beginning of all time.

To return to Kiharoa's manuscript, as well as referring to a specific type of waiata composed by women, apakura is also the name of a famous tupuna wahine (female ancestor). According to the narrative recorded in another manuscript written by Mātene Te Whiwhi, Apakura was the wife of Tūwhakarangi whose parents were Rata and Tongarautawhiri. Apakura

and Tūwhakarangi were the parents of the tipua (hero) Whakatau.<sup>26</sup> Apakura's sister, Te Kohu, begat Hineteiwaiwa:



In the story of Tinirau, Tutunui, and Kae (Ngae, in northern dialects) related by Te Whiwhi, Hineteiwaiwa, Tinirau's wife, and a group of women including Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Itiiti, Rekareka, and Ruahautangaroa travel to the island home of the tohunga (ritual expert) Kae. They intend to kidnap him by stealth and return him to their home with Tinirau to face punishment for killing and eating Tūhuruhuru's pet whale, Tutunui.<sup>27</sup> The women perform waiata and other entertainments for Kae and his people in order to make him laugh, allowing them to identify him by his misshapen teeth. After some time, Kae can no longer contain his mirth: he opens his mouth and laughs, revealing his teeth with bits of whale meat still stuck between them. Eventually, the people retire for the night and when everyone is sound asleep, the women carry off the sleeping Kae to meet his fate. The women who performed this deed have been referred to as the earliest kapa haka, a group or groups of performers who stand in rows to perform Māori song, haka, and dance.<sup>28</sup> If not the first, they are certainly one of the earliest remembered examples of a group of musical performers. By way of genealogical and narrative whakapapa, Apakura is thus linked to the first kapa haka troop.

The connection to Apakura is reiterated in the final two sections of the waiata that begins Kiharoa's manuscript. The waiata can be divided into four main sections, the divisions marked by the 'e-i' at the end of lines 5, 10, and 23, the final line of the waiata. These repeated vowel sounds give a helpful clue as to where the waiata pauses or comes to a natural resting point. This would, of course, be even more evident in the oral context where the 'mita' (literally 'meter') of the waiata would be more apparent. The repetition of key phrases at lines 5 and 6 ('Ka ngaro te whanaunga'), 10 and 11 ('Ki a hara taumata'), and 19 and 20 ('Tau atu ko te urunga') likewise signals natural resting points. The pattern identified here also corresponds to significant shifts in the waiata's content, the images it invokes, and the emotions it expresses. The overall impression is of a journey; for the composer and singers, it is a journey through the stages of grief that

accompanies the death of a loved one. For the dearly departed, the journey is both physical and spiritual; as the physical body, the *tūpāpaku*, begins to decay, the *wairua* (spirit) begins its journey 'home' to *Hawaiki*.

Accordingly, the first section of the *waiata* expresses the initial shock felt at the loss of a loved one. This is evident in the opening line, 'Ma wai e ranga to mate i te ao' which can be interpreted as, 'Who will avenge your departure from this life?'<sup>29</sup> An underlying question, however, asks what kind of death the recently lost one suffered: the manner in which one dies made (and makes) a great difference in how the death is mourned.<sup>30</sup> The poet ends this section, 'Taku tiroiro noa i waenga i te hono tatai / Ka ngaro te whanaunga e-i', 'Though I look about in vain here amongst the living / My dear one is gone'. Here, the reality of the situation is brought home with resounding finality.

The *waiata's* second section moves further into the depths of grief and refers to its physical expression. The first line, for example, 'Haea mai ra, to hei kakapiripiri', refers to the slashing ('hae (-a)') of one's skin with sharpened shells or obsidian out of anguish at the death of a loved one. This could also be a play on words, whereby the slashing of human skin echoes the process used to extract scent from the 'kaka piripiri', the stalks of *Hymenophyllum demissum*, a fern. Māori commonly used scented oils to help mask the odour of the *tūpāpaku*. The nose, 'ihu', is mentioned at line 10 and appears to acknowledge the *tūpāpaku's* high-born status; in Williams's dictionary, 'hikaka te ihu' means 'to show scorn'.<sup>31</sup> In the final phrase in this section, 'Ki a hara taumata', the composer urges the deceased to turn up their nose in scorn, perhaps at the living world, as befits both their high status and their removal to an alternative realm.

The third section of the *waiata* marks a significant shift, and is in fact the beginning of the work's second major part. Whereas the first was taken up with the grief of those left behind and related from their perspective, this second part concerns the deceased's impending spiritual journey. At line 11, the beginning of section three in my four-section scheme, *karakia* (incantation) is invoked in the phrase, 'te wai o Hikihiki'. One explanation of 'hiki' is 'a charm for raising anything from the water'<sup>32</sup> and the phrase also explicitly names water ('wai'): a literal translation is thus 'the waters of Hikihiki'. 'Hikihiki' could be a place, the name of an ancestor, the personification of a place, something else, or any or all of the above. Whatever the referent, the complete phrase, 'Ka taka pu mai, te wai o Hikihiki' suggests a radical change in the sentiment and direction of the *waiata* at this point, with the 'crashing down' ('Ka taka pu mai') of 'te wai o Hikihiki'. Water, specifically the ocean, becomes crucial from this point onwards.

The invocation of *karakia* precipitates a *tohu* or sign in the sky, as ‘Raparapateuira’ (line 12) or lightning flashes. Tinirau is then named (line 13), thereby summoning the story of Tinirau, his pet whale Tutunui, and the *tohunga* Kae into the context of the *waiata*. This story is very ancient and is known throughout many islands of the Pacific. Its oceanic location is reinforced here by the earlier mention of ‘te wai o Hikihiki’, as well as the drifting ocean waters at line 14. Similarly, ‘Whanga paraoa’ is named on line 15, which is a play on words; ‘whanga’ means bay, harbour, and ‘any stretch of water’<sup>33</sup> while ‘parāoa’ is the Māori name for *Physeter macrocephalus*, more commonly known as the sperm whale.<sup>34</sup> ‘Parāoa’ here again recalls the story of Tinirau and Kae by making reference to the whale Tutunui. Whangaparāoa Bay, in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, is also the place where, after their long journey from Hawaiki, both the Tainui and Te Arawa waka made landfall in Aotearoa. The *waiata*’s reference to ‘whanga paraoa’ is thus rich in significance, particularly to Ngāti Raukawa who trace descent from Tainui waka. This third section of the *waiata* ends with the figurative waka coming to rest, having completed its journey across the oceans, ‘Tau atu ko te urunga e-i’ (line 19).

‘Te pou ki Rarotonga’ at line 21 – literally ‘The post at Rarotonga’ – echoes ‘[T]e Pou a Hine’ (The Post of Hine) one line earlier. ‘Hine’ is a generic term for ‘woman / female’ and features in Māori cosmology in names such as ‘Hinetitama’, ‘Hineahuone’, and ‘Hinenuitepō’. One possibility is that ‘E Pou a Hine’ is more strictly grammatically rendered ‘Te Pou a Hine’, and that this relates again to the story of Tinirau. Hineteiwaiwa and Tinirau are the parents of Tūhuru and, following a difficult birth, the *tohunga* Kae is fetched to perform the *tohi*, or baptismal rites, for the baby: so begins the story of Kae’s relationship with Tinirau and Hineteiwaiwa.

Hineteiwaiwa, Tinirau’s wife, is furthermore the *atua* (deity) of childbirth and *te whare pora*, weaving, and female arts. In one tradition, Tura, an ancestor connected to childbirth practices, built a special house for his wife to give birth in so she would not perish as commonly occurred. Inside this house Tura placed two *pou* (poles): the first, the ‘*pou-tama-wahine*’, was for her to hold on to and the second, the ‘*pou-tama-tāne*’, was for her to lean against. Once their child Tairaahua was born, Tura cut the umbilical cord and offered the *whenua* (placenta) to the *atua* Mua. Tairaahua then underwent the *tohi* rite.<sup>35</sup> ‘[T]e Pou a Hine’ could refer to ‘te *pou-tama-wahine*’, referencing as it does the female element juxtaposed with the male element invoked in te ‘*pou-tama-tāne*’. Within the context of the *waiata* ‘[T]e Pou a Hine’ also gestures more broadly to

whakapapa, to genealogical connections (both conceptual and historical) between Māori who settled in Aotearoa and Māori elsewhere in the Pacific. This connection is made quite explicit in the phrases ‘[T]e Pou a Hine’ and ‘Te Pou ki Rarotonga’. Links across time and place – arising from the whakapapa, ocean, imagery, traditions, and history shared between Māori who settled in Aotearoa and Māori who still live in Rarotonga – are remembered.

The references to a time and place before Māori arrived in Aotearoa come to a resounding conclusion in the final line of the waiata:

Ka tere te papa, ki Nukume Hawaiki e-i.

The figurative waka makes landfall and rests here where the ‘post of Hine’, as well as that at Rarotonga, might be fixed into the earth. A further purpose of these posts was ‘securing’ the waka, anchoring it literally in the land and fastening it to ‘papa’ (a shortened version of the earth mother’s full name, Papatūānuku), here reinforced with the phrase, ‘ki Nuku’, another contraction of ‘Papatūānuku’.

This reading of just one of the sixty-nine waiata recorded by Kiharoa in his manuscript is neither conclusive nor comprehensive, but is rather offered as a something of a beginning or conversation starter. These and many other early Māori manuscript texts combine to form a substantial body of rich material that remains largely unexplored, yet has so much to contribute within the broader frame of the literary history of these islands.

### Notes

- 1 ‘A range of mountains stands but a line of people is lost’. One interpretation of this whakataukī (proverb) proffered by Hirini Mead is, ‘The art of the ancestors remains while the people, the artists have disappeared forever from this world of light’. *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections* (Auckland: New York: Heinemann; American Federation of Arts, 1984), 20.
- 2 A note on orthography: in direct quotes, I have used macrons only if they appear in the original. Otherwise I follow current orthographic preferences, adding macrons over long vowels in the Māori language.
- 3 E kore e mutu aku mihi ki taku hoa tungāne a Michael Ross. I would like to acknowledge the generous assistance of Michael Ross whose expertise in the realm of Māori literature has strengthened this work exponentially.
- 4 A. T. Ngata, *Nga Moteatea Part I* (Wellington: Reed, 1972), ix, xv.
- 5 Hemi Nikora, ‘Connections’, *Otaki Historical Society Journal* 11 (1988), 90–2: 91.
- 6 Barbara Swabey and Helen Dempsey, ‘The Historic Graves of Rangiatea’, *Otaki Historical Society Journal* 2 (1979), 33.

- 7 'In sacred memory to Hakaraia Kiharoa, teacher of Otaki / Died on the 4 of June in the year 1852 / There is joy to those who die in the Lord' (ibid.). Note that the gravestone records Kiharoa's age as thirty years, which positions him as one of the 'younger' chiefs of Ōtaki – a contemporary of such men as Tāmihana Te Rauparaha and Mātene Te Whiwhi.
- 8 A. T. Ngata, *Nga Moteatea* (Hastings: E. S. Cliff and Co., 1928), 45.
- 9 E.g., Mātene Te Whiwhi was known as 'Martyr' to non-Māori and Tāmihana Te Rauparaha was known as 'Thompson'.
- 10 Swabey and Dempsey, 'The Historic Graves of Rangiatea', 33. Variations in orthography include 'Te Uremutu' and 'Te Urumutu'. See David Simmons and Merimeri Penfold, *Ngā Tau Rere: An Anthology of Ancient Māori Poetry* (Auckland: Reed, 2003), 104.
- 11 'Te Ao Māori; Whakapapa, Archaeology, Contact', in *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas: Ko Papatuanuku E Takoto Nei*, ed. Malcolm McKinnon (Auckland: Bateman in association with Department of Internal Affairs, Historical Branch, 1997), Plate 9.
- 12 Grey's collecting and bookish activities are the subject of Donald Jackson Kerr's *Amassing Treasures for All Times: Sir George Grey, Colonial Bookman and Collector* (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press; Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006).
- 13 John Bunyan, *He momoea, otira ko nga korero o te huarahi e rere atu nei te tangata i tenei ao a, tapoko noa ano ki tera ao atu (Pilgrim's Progress)*, trans. Henry Tacy Kemp (Poneke: Te Toki, 1854).
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Church Missionary Society, *The Missionary Register* 42 (London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1854), III.
- 16 'The Pilgrim's Progress', *Christian Book Summaries* 3, 42 (October 2007), <http://www.christianbooksummaries.com/library/v3/cbs0342.pdf> (accessed 16 September 2016).
- 17 June Starke, 'Hadfield, Octavius', in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h2/hadfield-octavius> (accessed 16 September 2016).
- 18 Church Missionary Society, *The Missionary Register*, III.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 I have also been unsuccessful in locating the manuscript text Kiharoa and Hadfield worked on which formed the basis of a school primer later brought to print by Henry Tacy Kemp and George Grey (see Shef Rogers, 'Crusoe among the Maori: Translation and Colonial Acculturation in Victorian New Zealand', *Book History* 1 (1998): 188).
- 21 June Starke, 'Octavius Hadfield', *Otaki Historical Society Journal* 3 (1980), 13.
- 22 For ease of reading I have followed the line length and other minor editorial changes made by George Grey in his *Ko nga Moteatea me nga Hakirara a nga Maori* (Wellington: Robert Stokes, 1853), 229.
- 23 Ngata, *Nga Moteatea Part I*, xvi.
- 24 I am indebted to Michael Ross who pointed this out to me.

- 25 Matene Te Whiwhi, GNZMMSS 77, 1851 (Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Public Library), 2.
- 26 'Ka moe a Tongarautawhiri i a Rata, Ka puta ki waho ko Tuwhaka-rangi, ka moe i a Apakura, Ka puta ki waho ko Nihakatau, Ehara i te mea i whanau tangata mai, engari he maro, No te haerenga o Apakura ki tatahi ka whiua tona maro ki te moana, ka ahuahungua mai e Rongotakawiu, ka tupu ko Whakatau ... te tuakana o Apakura ko te Kohu, ta te Kohu ko Hineteiwaiwa, ka moe i a Tinirau ka hapu te tamaiti, ka whakamamae kaore e puta ki waho, Katahi ka whakahuatia te karakia ... Katahi ano Tuhuruhuru ka puta ki waho', Matene Te Whiwhi. GNZMMSS 46, 1852 (Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Public Library), 28–31.
- 27 'Katahi ka utaina te waka o Hineteiwaiwa, rupeke ake ki runga ki taua waka nei hokorua Ko Hineteiwaiwa/Ko Raukatauri/Ko Raukatamea/Ko Itiiti/Ko Rekareka/Ko Ruahauatangaroa ... Ka hoe ratou ka tae ki te kainga o Kae, Ka hui tera iwi ki te matakitaiki ... Ka whakakitea nga mahi a Raukatauri i reira, te haka, te waiata, te putorino, te koauau, te tokere, te ringaringa, te ti rakau, te pakuru, te papaki, te porotiti ... katahi ano a Kae ka kata ka kitea nga kikokiko a Tutunui e mau ana i nga niho, he niho tapiki hoki tona niho ... te kitenga ano e nga wahine ra i nga kiko o Tutunui e mau ana i te niho o Kae, Ka tineia te ahi ... ka rotua te whare e nga wahine ra, Ka whakamoemoea, kia tupuatua a Kae e ratou, Ka warea te whare katoa e te moe, me Kae hoki ... katahi nga wahine ra ka whakararangitia, puta noa ki to ratou waka, matatira tonu te tokorua nga mea nana i tiki atu a Kae, hapainga tonutia, i roto ano i ona takapau, ka hoatu ki te whatitoka, ka kapohia atu etehi, ka peratia tonutia, tae atu ana ki nga mea i runga i te waka, ka ata whakamoemoea ki runga ki te waka, haere atu ana a Kae i a Hineteiwaiwa raua ko Raukatauri, Ka tae ki to raua nei kainga, ka kawea a Kae ka whakataria ki te poutokomanawa o te whare o Tinirau'. *Ibid.*, 28–35.
- 28 Valance Smith, 'Kapa haka – Māori performing arts – What is kapa haka?', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/kapa-haka-maori-performing-arts/> (accessed 16 September 2016).
- 29 H. W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language* (Wellington: GP Publication, 1975), 323.
- 30 Ngata alludes to this in Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones's *Nga Moteatea: He Maramara Rere No Nga Waka Maha*, Part II (Wellington: Reed, 1974), xvi–xxxv, where he identifies seven different types of death and the features of tangi appropriate to each.
- 31 Williams, *Dictionary*, 49.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 *Ibid.*, 487.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 264.
- 35 Hope Tupara, 'Te whānau tamariki – pregnancy and birth – Birth in Māori tradition', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-whanau-tamariki-pregnancy-and-birth/page-1> (accessed 16 September 2016).