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MAORI NAMING IN TRANSITION:

How Maori have named from earliest times, through
colonisation and missionisation, to the present day.

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ABSTRACT

Both the type of personal names carried by Maori, and the ceremonies attached to their bestowal, have undergone some momentous changes since contact.

This study attempts to trace the customary concepts that surrounded naming when Maori alone inhabited these islands. It does so by examining the oral traditions from earliest times: through the mythologies, the whakapapa, the moteatea and other now-recorded literary forms. Establishing the nature of names and naming in 'the beginning' makes for more accurate observation of the changes that have since occurred.

That colonisation by another culture, accompanied by the evangelising activities of Christian missionaries had the consequence of virtually overturning the centuries-old naming practices of the Maori people, is the theory that has fuelled this study.

Establishing what was this other culture's background in naming its members, and what was the religious perception of naming held by those Christian missionaries, adds to an understanding of why Maori naming has been so affected by missionising activities. The processes themselves which brought about changes in Maori naming are examined.

Lastly, turning to how Maori themselves have continued to name innovatively despite these changes to what were traditional practices, observations of what appears to have been retained are made. What might have been lost is suggested, and what is now being retrieved is applauded.

PREFACE

This thesis is concerned primarily with naming, the various customs surrounding it, their application, and the consequences of changes imposed on them.

Perhaps as the writer, it would be appropriate for me to reveal something of my own attitudes to the subject.

There is a connection between my own background and the writing. It is, in the words of another, partly an elucidation of my past and, although I have resisted focussing on that past, I expect that my experiences have provided insights for my research into the experiences of others 1.

Throughout this project, I have been conscious of an empathy with persons in some of the situations I have described. This has been particularly when these parallel my own experiences as a child, a young person and an adult.

In the British Isles and Ireland, where my origins most strongly lie, many names can be traced back to the eleventh century census known as the Domesday Book. Their presence in this register demonstrates their antiquity.

My own name, thought up for me by my parents before my birth, is such a one: Gerald, though amended to its feminine form when the girl who arrived instead of the expected son had to be accommodated.

Whether from disappointment or for more pragmatic reasons my father permanently absented himself. Whether from a broken heart or perversity, my mother decided I should not bear his family name. We lived in difficult circumstances, and with some shame, under a false name for the early period of our lives together.

Fortunately, my maternal grandmother, of the Irish Fitzgeralds, became aware of the situation and took us under her protective, if somewhat formidable wing. It was the power of my given name working on her rather than any sympathy for my mother, that was held responsible for this improved situation. Distance now effectively removed us from any further contact with my paternal links. For the next twenty years, until marriage again changed my name, I bore hers.

Meanwhile, though few in utterances, my infant person named her Margot, a name she preferred to her given one and by which she became widely known; the name I much later gave my eldest child.

Many years passed. My focus as an adult widened. Along with my Gaelic connections, Maori ones became important. In time, Maori honoured me with a name from their culture: the name Irirangi, by which I am known among them.

Together with the language, whakapapa became for me an absorbing interest. I have been privileged to listen to the classic recitation of these genealogies, some tracing their ancestry to the mythical figures of the past, to marvel at both the content and the expertise of the reciters. In this context alone, I have been aware of the importance of naming to the Maori people. Names were taonga to Maori of the past. They are still taonga today.

I have empathy with the Maori viewpoint.

Throughout this writing, I am constantly mindful that every individual from the past I discuss is someone else's revered tupuna; that every interpretation I make, regardless of what

empathy I might feel, represents an outsider's judgement. I am ever aware that, in speaking of just one among many of Maori society's customary concepts, the naming of its members, I have necessarily neglected others; in speaking of an area where the missionaries blundered, I have overlooked how much many were loved by the people.

Therefore, with respect, I bid farewell to and thank all who have gone on ahead, especially Tamihana Tukapua.

I greet the living who must carry forward the culture into a new age.

I thank all my friends who have shared their knowledge and personal stories with me, especially the kaumatua of my 'home' marae and families of the Ngati Hine hapu on whose patient understanding and support I so strongly rely.

No reira, ki oku hoa Maori, ki nga kaitiaki o nga tino taonga o mua, tena koutou, tena koutou, tena tatou katoa.

As my supervisors in this study, I thank Dr Peter Donovan who, from the very first, realised the importance of names, and Dr Bronwyn Elsmore who, throughout the writing, was able to temper my somewhat emotional response to the subject.

NOTE:

- 1 Beaglehole, A., Facing the Past, 1990:xvi, xviii.
whakapapa: Maori genealogies, part of the oral literature.
taonga: treasured possessions.



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INTRODUCTION:

My research has revealed that there are two distinct types of historical change that occur in personal naming practices:

a. Those changes that occur by a natural evolution. For example, population growth can necessitate more explicit forms of naming; people within their own cultures can make innovative changes to their naming systems.

b. Those changes that are imposed from the outside; invasion or colonisation by another culture can occur. When this other culture sees its own world view and its particular religious beliefs as absolute, it tends to place no value on those it encounters in the people of the land. Traditional naming can easily be overturned when religious specialists of the proselytising culture, in their enthusiasm, do not pause to consider that their target people might already possess their own deep beliefs, expressed in rituals which the strangers cannot correctly interpret.

Often, in an attempt to replace such rituals with those that have evolved within their own religions, they bring about changes that perhaps might never have occurred in their absence. It is this sort of behaviour that can alter long-established traditional practices, such as naming.

Even before this country became a colony, missionaries came to its shores. They brought with them their western variety of Christian religion and their intention was to convert the New Zealand Maori to its beliefs and practices. This process of conversion, and the attitudes that underpin it, I have called missionisation.

New Zealand Maori named in many ways, and their traditional methods and practices of naming were profoundly affected by both the colonisation and missionisation of the nineteenth century. However, it was the latter, missionisation, that had the more serious consequences for Maori customary naming. Although Maori naming practices were subjected, from very first contact, to many new influences, the following research has made it clear that the most significant of these were the activities of the Christian missionaries.

For this reason, I consider the careful examination of naming practices, both of Maori themselves, and of those tauiwi who wrought the changes, together with the registers which record them, to form a vital part of this research project.

Whatever the intentions of the namers, the outcome of naming Maori in this new way, within the rite of Christian baptism, was to eventually dismiss one of the customary rites of the Maori people: that of naming within their own, ancient ceremonies.

In addition, the Christian names that missionaries gave Maori, replaced those with meaning within Maori society.

Likewise, missionaries introduced, if unintentionally, a completely foreign concept, one modelled on their own, cultures' patriarchal ideas. It was that of the surname which persists to this day, at times even written into the laws concerning birth registration 1.

As a consequence of these foreign introductions, the traditional naming ceremonies of the Maori people soon

became lost to them, as were many of the names themselves 2.

Although Maori have continued to name innovatively, as will be seen throughout this writing, to meet the expectations of both Church and bureaucracy, they have had little choice but to adopt, at least superficially, the naming norms of what was to fast become a dominant culture.

For these reasons alone, at a time when Maori are reclaiming their past heritage in so many areas, it is appropriate to ask when investigating naming traditions,

- In what ways was traditional naming first interrupted, then ultimately disrupted, by those tauiwi from afar?

- Did the missionaries not question the ethics of their actions simply because they saw them as legitimised by their own cultural and religious practices?

Already there is evidence that some Maori people are returning to a more traditional choice of names when naming their young. This extends even to the avoidance of the previously accepted, European-style surname 3. I believe that each such retrieval of taonga of the past can be seen as a positive re-evaluation of the present.

Review of sources used in the writing:

To test the claim that it was mainly early Christian missionaries who brought changes to the customary methods of naming that existed in Maori society, it is appropriate to inquire as to the nature of those changes, how and

when they might have taken place. Therefore, it follows that there is a need to define, in some detail, what is meant by customary naming in Maori society and, also, what was the perception of naming held by those who brought about the changes.

Part one:

My research questions, in some detail, the importance of naming to the Maori, how names were selected and by what ceremonies, if any, they were bestowed in mythological and historical times. What early precedents existed for those customs surrounding naming that survived contact, for those that were lost through it?

Was there any notion of the family or surname in pre-contact times and, if not, was it a modern innovation on the part of Maori, simply a means of conforming to the patterns set by tauiwi, or an imposed requirement?

Attempting to answer these and other questions, I examine a selection of what I consider to be among the most significant stories in the Mythological Cycles. Preferring versions of these stories given by Maori themselves, wherever possible, I have chosen to use the writings of Wi Maihi Te Rangikaheke and others. Governor George Grey, in 1854, published the book, Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna or The Deeds of the Ancestors. In this classical collection, although Grey failed to acknowledge them, several Maori informants had recorded their oral traditions. Some two fifths of the material used by Grey was taken from the writings of Te Rangikaheke of Te Arawa and others. This fact alone makes the contents of this work particularly valuable, for

most of the stories were collected before the mid-1840s, when Maori could read and write, but were not yet too influenced by the new religion for knowledge of their own rich traditions to have become blurred 4.

Although Grey's considerable editing serves to tone down any elements considered too 'earthy' for the readers of his day, he deliberately withholds the fact that his Maori informants were familiar with British culture and Christian teachings. Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna still has much to offer. However, with these and other criticisms in mind, for greater clarity, I do refer to other informed writers if their versions have particular relevancy to the topic.

Where useful and appropriate, I also select a few songs from Nga Moteatea song-poetry collected by Grey, followed by Apirana Ngata and his successor in this huge undertaking, Pei Te Hurinui. These songs are faithfully recorded and many provide accurate genealogies as well as being rich in archetypal figures of another age. This is, of course, also true of the Mythologies, if in a less historical sense.

Illustrating traditional naming, but nearer the period under study, I quote articles in periodicals published in the Journals of the Polynesian Society, for these are known for their learned articles by both Maori and Pakeha. Many of the latter were from missionary families. Such writers had been raised with Maori, spoke the language, and were aware of the old religious traditions. Some Maori of that time were literate in both their own tongue and English, as well as being well-versed in their tribal lore. That both races recorded such valuable old material, and

in such prolific quantities can be seen as unique. It is thought that few, if any, comparable peoples have produced as many early works, comments a scholar of this century 5.

These investigations of the earliest literature serve to demonstrate how Maori naming practices functioned in a more classical period of the culture. Also, keeping in mind that 'the people descended from various canoes probably carried on cultural differences that were brought from various islands in Central Polynesia (and) as they developed local traditions, they cut off forever the sea roads to Hawaiki...',

and having considered the implications this must have for any differences or developments observed by tauwiwi, I also select examples from the Maori series of the New Zealand Biography, in the first two volumes, The People of Many Peaks and The Turbulent Years, together with the later publications in Maori, Nga Tangata Taumata Rau. These give biographies of well-known Maori born in pre-contact times, so include much valuable information on naming customs. The sequential nature of the biographies show both the way Maori chose and bestowed names, or suffered names to be chosen and bestowed, over several generations.

Likewise, the research and publications of Margaret Orbell have provided a broad spectrum of useful material, from song-poetry to the korero-purakau 7.

Similarly, tribal ethnographies, even when written quite recently, hark back to an orally transmitted past, so incorporating the knowledge of whakapapa and traditions of another age. To balance these, are the relevant articles

or books written by contemporary Maori scholars, such as Ranginui Walker and Hirini Moko Mead. Likewise, there are some perceptive analyses of naming within a culture other than one's own, as earlier produced by Richard Taylor, missionary, in his Journals, or in his later publication, Te Ika a Maui, and the many writings of the ethnologist, Elsdon Best.

Part two:

After describing how the Maori named in traditional times and questioning how changes in those naming practices might have taken place after contact, I research something of the history and experience of naming in the places of origin of those who instigated the changes.

With this in mind, the second part of the writing briefly explores the history of naming in Britain, Ireland and part of the European Continent: those countries which provided the Christian missionaries who came to convert the Maori. Here I discuss the development of naming from the eleventh century, the time of the census in England known as the Domesday Book, until the days of missionary expansion to the Pacific. The purpose of this section of my research is to better understand how these tauiwi or foreigners perceived the significance of naming generally, or within the beliefs and baptismal ceremonies of both the Protestant and Roman Catholic persuasions of the time.

Understanding of their perception of naming within baptism should clarify whether it was necessary under church law to give Maori a name with Christian significance or if this was simply a customary protocol on the part of those baptising: the missionising churches.

In order to more accurately pinpoint changes in naming customs and when these began to occur, I searchingly study some of the early baptismal registers kept by the missionaries of both the Anglican and Roman Catholic stations in the lower North Island. These, if taken from their first entries, give a fairly accurate picture of Maori names before Christian names began to replace them. They also give some indication of when and how the European-style 'surname' began to be used by Maori people. In this respect likewise, Government legislation and copies of relevant Acts prove useful in demonstrating to what extent the laws of the land affected Maori naming.

Obviously, the former exercise has required some personal interpretation. Although a knowledge of the language has been of great assistance, my findings can only be informed guesses at times. This is especially so when information is scanty or as, in the case of the French missionaries' entries, one is grappling with names twice transliterated. Where available, I make use of early parish documents and publications as supporting evidence.

My study of baptismal registers and other writings, often by the missionaries themselves, centres on the Church Missionary Society's station at Putiki and the greater Whanganui river area during the time when Richard Taylor was stationed there. These records are held in the archives of the Whanganui museum. Catholic Marists' missions to the Maori in Whanganui itself and the river villages, and the more southern station of Pukekaraka, at Otaki, both have detailed records held in the Marist Archives in Wellington. General information on early missionary activity in this

country, has been obtained from a variety of sources, all listed in my bibliography.

Part three:

Supposing that from traditional times to modern, Maori naming customs have passed through periods of change, both self-initiated and imposed, the third part of this writing includes a brief survey of the customs relating to group, as opposed to individual naming. As I believe such naming to have been affected less by the external influences that personal naming suffered, I have looked for reasons why the group names escaped interference and remained so stable.

I also ask how much has been retained of the old ways of naming, how much has been lost, and, importantly, is there occurring, as with the language itself, a revival in traditional naming of children? If so, how closely is this following traditional practices? Is the practice of passing names from an older generation to a younger one truly reflecting ancient patterns in naming, or is this a custom that was not common among Maori in former times, but is perhaps becoming so?

While whakapapa have shed light on these queries, as have records of the Maori Land Courts, autobiographies, biographies and, in recent times, birth notices and certain Maori television programmes, other stories must be more anecdotal; tales from the mouths or pens of older Maori who well understand the many aspects of naming; who know of names that were lost, names that were changed, names that were given for explicit reasons or purposes, names that challenged their bearers, others that shamed them; names occasionally put on a person of the other culture; names thoughtfully chosen for new family members. All such namings have a place in this study.

NOTES:

Introduction

- 1 Manukau City Council publication, 1996:3, "Ko te Whiritanga o te Ingoa Maori mo tau Kohungahunga Hou"; traditionally, Maori began life with a single given name, but they could, and often did, accumulate additional names as they went through life; sometimes this happened in interesting ways as will be seen in later examples.
- 2 Births and Deaths Registration Act 1951, Form i:1,2, required that a child be registered under a surname as well as under its given name(s). The Act of 1995, however, allowed for some exceptions in the case of surnames.
- 3 Marae, "Te Rau o te Ture", Channel One, T.V.N.Z., Oct.11, 1998.

Review

- 4 Alpers, A., Maori Myths and Tribal Legends, 1964:232. Appendix, "The sources and the Background".
- 5 Orbell M., Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend, 1995:18-19.
- 6 Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck), Vikings of the Sunrise, 1964:290.
- 7 korero purakau: legendary, mythical, or any incredible stories.

SECTION ONE

CLASSICAL NAMING

- a) mythology and moteatea
- b) naming from the inside

MYTHOLOGY AND MOTEATEA

in the beginning:

"Even as the moon dies, and then,
having bathed in the waters of life,
returns to this world once more
young and beautiful,
so let man die and revive"...

"Not so.

Rather let man die and
return to Mother Earth,
even that he may be
mourned and wept for"...1

Mythological

All types of naming traditionally employed by the Maori find their precedents in the richness of Maori mythology and story.

The Maori did not appear to make any distinction between mythological and historical time. All tales were korero 2. If any distinction should now be made, we would see the earlier stories, occurring as they do in mythical time, as being more tapu, especially in factors surrounding their recitation 3. Springing as they do from an oral tradition, these stories have been tenaciously retained by the people who own them, regarded by them as the earliest records of their ancestors' deeds.

In the great Mythological Cycles of Maori oral literature can be found many instances of naming, beginning with the largely descriptive forms 4.

These are well illustrated in the first of the myth complexes called Nga Tama a Rangi or the Sons of Heaven: the stories of the separation of the primal parents, the ordering of the universe and the assuming of roles. The majority of the figures are given names that show they have originated as personifications: Rangi is from 'sky' or 'heavens', Papa from 'earth' or 'foundation', Tane from 'male', and Tu from 'upright' 5.

A contemporary Maori scholar writes,

We know that these stories are not merely fairytales; there are lessons in them, explanations and customs for us to think about 6.

Dr Hirini Mead continues, illustrating how one such custom is naming. . Using the Tawhaki cycle of Maori mythology, he

shows how, at the Tawhaki stage, Maori naming was becoming prescriptive as well as descriptive.

But earlier than the Tawhaki cycle in mythological time, there are the stories referred to above, Nga Tama a Rangi, which describe how Earth and Sky embraced too closely for their children's comfort.

Next, follow the exploits of Maui, the culture hero or trickster figure of the Maori; a rascal well acquainted with the power latent in a name.

Finally, in my selection, we come to Tawhaki, considered to be both man and god, so sometimes called the Christ-figure of the Maori Mythologies 7.

According to Maori tradition, Rangi and Papa were the primal parents from whom all living creatures, including humankind, descended. But their children, tired of living in perpetual darkness locked between their parents, longed to emerge. Therefore, Rangi and Papa had to undergo an 'opening up' process 8.

In the Maori account, Tumatauenga, the most warlike (and manlike) of all the children, was for killing their parents. The figure, Tu, as he is usually called, is a personification associated with assertive, aggressive action, since the word, 'tu' means 'to stand', 'standing upright'. In the name, Tu, we have one who stands warlike, but turns on others and attacks even his own brothers. Of his parents he was able to say, -It is well, let us slay them.

In contrast was Tane, the male or male element. Less aggressive than his brother, Tu, he decides to forcibly separate Rangi and Papa, saying to the others:

Nay, not so.

It is better to rend them apart, and let the heavens stand far above us, and the earth lie under our feet. Let the sky become a stranger to us, but the earth remain close to us as our nursing mother 9.

Thus Rangi and Papa are forever divorced. Their offspring then discover, in eventually seeing each other, the difference between light and darkness 10. It is at this moment, Tawhirimatea, named as the one who whirls around, became angered at the tearing away of Rangi from Papa and expressed his rage. By following his father to those regions above Mother Earth, Tawhirimatea is able to sweep down upon her, on her forests (as personified in Tane), on her seas (Tangaroa), and on all humankind, as represented by Tumatauenga 11.

It is in his actions that we hear those apt names given by the Maori in personifying such forces of nature. Names describe their violent actions: they are called Terrible-Rain, Long-continued-Rain, Fierce-Hailstorms and their progeny. All these conspire to submerge the earth until only a portion of her remains visible 12.

Next to appear in the cycle is Maui, trickster and hero. Maui appears in time to make his mark on the environment as we left it in the hands of the children of Rangi and Papa. Maui corrects faults he sees but, despite his magical powers (he is a demi-god), he shows himself to be very human 13. While achieving his ends by trickery time and again, he is eventually overcome by a force more powerful than himself: death.

Maui and his brothers were all named descriptively:

Maui-taha, Maui-Roto, Maui-Waho and Maui-Pae and, lastly, Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, named for the top-knot of his mother, Taranga, in which she enveloped him before tossing him into the sea, a sad little abortion of a human 14.

The name Maui has a special significance: the word maui expresses the non-tapu or left-hand side. Like many mythological figures, Maui's name is suggestive of his nature: a nature that defies conventions and lacks respect for tapu things 15. In the case of little Maui, so great was his final act of defiance, it caused his early demise.

As the story of Maui is generally told 16, this tiny, undeveloped Maui is tossed into the sea by his mother, but the waves return him to shore where he is rescued by his ancestor, Tama-nui-i-te-Rangi, the sun or the great male element of the heavens 17, who teaches the small monstrosity his genealogy and other cultural skills, all of which are to stand Maui in good stead.

But, as in so many cases, when Maui begins to grow up it becomes imperative to him to discover the whereabouts of his true parents, particularly his mother. Equipped with the knowledge passed on to him by his foster parent, the sun, he locates Taranga and follows her to her abode where he confronts her with his identity: that of the youngest child whom she discarded. Once convinced, it is by name that Taranga claims him, crying out,

You dear little child,
you are indeed my last-born, the son of my old age,
therefore I now tell you your name shall be
Maui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga! 18

But for Maui's father, Makea-Tutara, warning bells sound. He is greatly alarmed when Maui turns up for he remembers that during Maui's tohi ceremony, within which Maui was named, he, Makea-Tutara, skipped over some of the vital karakia 19. This omission or hapa on his part has already sealed Maui's fate in the Maori mind. There will be a punishment by the gods for this omission: Maui will die in his attempt to overcome death for the rest of humankind 20.

Meanwhile, however, Maui's exploits were many and provided benefits to the human race. One such was the snaring of the sun, Tama-nui a Rangi, in order that he might pass more slowly over the sky, so increasing the hours of daylight. It was on this occasion that the sun's alternative name became known for he screamed aloud at Maui's assault, crying,

-Why should you wish to kill Tama-nui-te-Ra? 21

Again, when Maui was obtaining fire for the world, he himself was almost consumed by flames. He rushed along ahead of them, but the fire came closer and closer. Master of transformations, Maui changed into an eagle's form, but still the fire followed. Then resorting to an ancient custom, Maui called on his ancestors by name 22. Both Tawhirimatea and Whatirimatakataka came to his rescue with their thunder and torrential rain. Through their combined forces, Maui survived.

Yet name invoking could not save Maui from the jaws of death, vagina dentata, the final story of Maui which Grey tends to gloss over but which the missionary, Richard Taylor has recorded more accurately 23. Nor did his power to transform help him, though for this escapade he turned

himself into a small lizard. By attempting to enter and crawl through the reclining body of Hine-nui-te-Po, Maui had believed he could emerge into the world of life and so conquer death for all time.

But the little birds laughed to see such fun, causing Hine-nui-te-Po to stir and clamp her thighs together. Maui was crushed to death in this action. Maui died and, as a result, so do we all. The attempted violation of the Great Woman of the Underworld had its consequences, for Maui and for all humankind 24.

Previously named Hine-Titama, the Dawn maiden and daughter of Tane and Hine-ahu-one, this guardian figure of the realms of darkness was once shamed into flight when she discovered her lover, Tane, was also her father. By changing her name to Hine-nui-te-Po (Great Woman of the Night) 25, Hine set a precedent for name-changing in desperate circumstances, a custom that still survives and which will be discussed below.

As for Maui, it could be said that in him the most contradictory aspects of creation itself combine. He is described as, 'at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator; he who dupes others and who is always duped himself' 26.

Before leaving the Maui stories, there are several points that require noting.

Grey's main source for his Maui Cycle was again Te Rangikaheke, though he also employed other Maori men of standing, namely Te Whiwhi and Wi Tako Ngatata 27. Also, Grey's arrangement is disjointed. Maui is left trying to fulfil the prophecy of Taranga, who had instructed him,

You shall climb the threshold of the house of your

great ancestor, Hine-nui-te-Po, and death shall henceforth have no power over man 28.

It appears misplacement occurred in the Maui stories. I insert the misplaced section of Grey here, before rather than after the Tawhaki events. This particular story concerns the sister of the Maui brothers, Hinauri, and is important for its naming:

Hinauri had attempted to drown herself after her youngest brother, Maui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga, had turned her husband into a dog. But she was rescued from the sea by two men, brothers, who both took her to wife. In all this, Hinauri chose not to reveal her name. Instead, in her humiliation, she took a new name: Ihu-Ngaru-Paea, which described her washed-up, near-drowned condition when found 29.

Eventually, one of her brothers (referred to here as Maui-Mua but probably Maui-Potiki) transformed himself into a pigeon with magical powers and discovered, in this new form, her whereabouts. By this time, Hinauri had a new husband and was pregnant to him. He and his people tried to kill this intrusive bird until Hinauri protested, claiming it was none other than her beloved brother. The husband asked,

- What is his name?

- It is my brother Rupe, Hinauri replied and, that very day, her child was born.

Then Rupe, the pigeon, called to his sister, cooing gently a name-affirming ritual,

- Hinauri, Hinauri is the sister
and Rupe is her brother...

to which Hinauri replied,

- Rupe is the brother
and Hina is his young sister...

At this moment, Rupe suddenly swooped down, caught up his sister, the new-born babe and the placenta and carried all off with him 30.

The name Rupe was, of course, the name taken by Maui on the occasions when he assumed the form of a pigeon. Constantly, throughout the mythologies, the later legends and even into the times of the more historical explorer, Kupe, the name, Rupe, continues to be used for the large pigeon in allusion to Rupe, the personification of this bird 31.

In the first two cycles of these myths, there have appeared ample precedents for naming in a descriptive manner, that is, naming the primal parents, naming the forces of nature, naming people. In the Maui Cycle there was a case of a woman changing her name in new circumstances and resuming it when she resumed her previous life; of one of the Maui brothers taking a different name when he transformed to a different species. Now, in the third of the cycles, names are seen to develop into being prescriptive rather than descriptive.

This is well illustrated in the Tawhaki Cycle stories: Tawhaki's place in the genealogies comes quite soon after that of the world-shaping figures. His myth is widely known (in its varying versions) in many other islands of Polynesia as well as in these 32.

As Grey does not use Te Rangikaheke as a source in his Tawhaki Cycle, for the purpose of illustrating naming practices, I have chosen a recent version of the old story, told by Hirini Mead of Ngati Awa, using Grey only where appropriate.

Accordingly, Tawhaki is described as the son of Hema and

Urutonga, the grandson of Whaitiri and Kaitangata, two very well-known names in the Maori world 33.

The karakia that Tawhaki's parents made for him is based on an ohaki, or parting message of the ancestors before they left this world. It is in this recitation that Tawhaki's role is prescribed:

Your first-born child is to be called Tawhaki.
Bring him up with great care because there are
important tasks for him to do. He is to climb
the lonely heavens to visit his ancestors
and he must fetch for the benefit of humankind
knowledge and the prayers and incantations which
will make light the heavy burdens they suffer
and to free the pathways before them in all the
work they do 34.

Turning to another contemporary Maori scholar, Ranginui Walker, Tawhaki's story takes up again in his young adult life.

After being beaten almost to death by the brothers of his wife, Hinepiripiri, Tawhaki is found in a shallow grave by her and carried to safety. Because Hinepiripiri uses a whole log of wood upon the fire to warm and so restore him, Tawhaki instructs her to put the name Wahieroa on their son, naming him for that long log she so mightily hauled.

This was done so that the duty of avenging his father's wrong might often be recalled to the boy's mind. In this way, not only was it certain that the event would be remembered, but that 'a moral directive to future action' given to the child. Walker says of the story just told, 'the most pointed functional use of a personal name in mythology occurs in the Tawhaki myth' 35.

So important is Tawhaki's name, even to this day it is frequently invoked by tohunga performing certain ceremonies 36.

Tawhaki, the grown man is described by Mead as a person of extraordinary attributes and powers. Mead recounts how, in pursuit of his sky-creature wife, Tangotango (sometimes called Hapai), and their newly-born daughter Arahuta who Tangotango had snatched and taken heavens-ward and whose name subsequently became Arawhita-i-te-Rangi or sacred-pathway-from-heaven, Tawhaki eventually overtook the two. When he held out his arms to take his little daughter, in proof that he was not a mortal, lightning flashed forth from his armpits 37.

It is in this Tawhaki story we again encounter the tohi ceremony first met in the Maui story above. The tohi was the customary dedication of a high-born child to a particular god or gods and, as such, will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

In the case of Arahuta, her sky-being name, Arawhita-i-te-Rangi, actually refers to her role in Maori mythology, for she is the 'sacred pathway from heaven'; as guardian of the children, she is one who loves them ; one who ensures the tohi ritual, within which the child will be given its name, is maintained in accordance with the model she brought to Earth 38.

In the dedication of the child, Arahuta, first stating his intention of performing the tohi ritual over his daughter, Tawhaki carries her into the deeper part of the sacred running waters. He then recites the correct karakia over her, reciting these words,

Let the evil influences be cleared
 from the river flowing here
 from the large courtyards
 from the long courtyards
 from the daughter's courtyards,
 Arahuta is dedicated with her water,
 with the sacred water.
 It is Arahuta shining upon the world.
 It moves slowly and ever closer.
 I dedicate you with a name
 you are named
 you are named,
 Arahuta. 39.

Naming in the moteatea:

As Apirana Ngata himself remarked, 'The higher literature of any people will be found in their poetry' 40.

The moteatea is the classical song-poetry collection of the Maori people, without which this writing would not be complete. Although much is lost in translation, the many references do demonstrate those things which were important to the Maori, among them naming.

While recognising that such scant attention does the songs no justice, I use this little-known genre of Maori literature, valuing both the antiquity of its contents and its contribution to a study of this kind.

As will be seen, the moteatea also form something of a

bridge between early classical naming, as seen in the myths recounted, and the other varieties encountered later in this writing.

Oriori

Early examples of the importance of the name put on a child come from two oriori. Oriori are considered to be a type of lullaby in that they were composed for children. However, they are quite unlike the usual perception of a lullaby in their content. Usually the child's name is announced in the opening lines and, following this, come the instructions of the composer(s) or an ancestor.

In the song for the infant, Wharau-Rangi 41, composed by her father, Rangi-Takoru, of Ngati Apa of the Whangaehu-Rangitikei district, the composer begins,

Taaku Pootiki, e, ko Wharau-Rangi, e...
My little child, Wharau-Rangi...

The instructions of the female tupuna, Whaitiri, to her own children, are recalled:

When your father comes, you are to show him the beam as being for him, your name is to be the anchor of the canoe for your father. This is to be the name for the eldest one, that is, the Anchor; for the second one the name is to be the Sinkers of the net of your father; and my last child is to be left with the name of my shame because of the word of your father about your excreta.

In this way Wharau-Rangi learns that the children of Whaitiri were named: Punga, Karihi and Hema 42.

In the second song, composed by Te Hakeke, also of Ngati Apa, for his son Rara-o-te-Rangi 43, who was a little slow to leave the womb, naming is also emphasised,

Kaati, e Tama, te noho i to whare...

Enough, Son, of living within your house!

Then, in the fourth line:

Kia uiui mai, -Ko wai to ingoa?

And if you be asked, -What is your name?

Mau e ki atu, -Ko Te Rara-o-te-Rangi,

You will reply and say, -'Tis Te Rara-o-te-Rangi,

Kei ki mai, -Te Wareware.

Otherwise it might be said, -Ah, a lowborn one.

In oriori, the child is told how to answer questions that could be put to it:

-To whom might this child belong?
and the reply,

- I am of Te Au-o-Mawake.

Such an answer will cause females present to lament.

Another question asked who the child could be,

- Whose child might this be?
and here the reply,

- Of Mahaki-a-Iranui 44.

Following these important preliminaries, the genealogical lines will be explored, battles recounted, places named. In the case of sons, mention may be made of men's activities, arts of war, the use of weapons. For female children, the

composers speak of the plaiting of mats, the weaving of fine cloaks 45.

Once the child's name and lineage are made clear, (s)he is informed of where he has turangawaewae (rights to stand) and, throughout the oriori, (s)he is taken on an imaginary journey, learning genealogical-geographical history, tracing back to the far legendary Hawaiki 46.

Waiata tangi

However, not all songs composed harked back to the distant homeland. Some spoke of more modern times and new sorrows. The group called waiata tangi or songs of grief and lamentation, far outnumbers any other in its contents.

Members of the Te Heuheu family, who have often been described as outstanding personalities, are known for such compositions. For the purpose of this study on Maori naming, I have chosen this Tuwharetoa family, believing that the name, Te Heuheu, and those associated with it, illustrate many facets of both traditional and more modern-day naming.

The first song to be discussed is the lament written by Mananui or Te Heuheu 11 for his young brother, Papaka, who was killed in a battle at Haowhenua, near Otaki, in 1834 47.

As with other songs in the collections, this features references to places, to names of ancestors and to battles. There is a wealth of meaning embedded in these allusions. For example, in the song for his fallen brother, Papaka, Mananui speaks of Papaka as the son who has fulfilled his destiny in 'the sacred waters of Tumatauenga'.

From the mythologies discussed we know that Tumatauenga is

the god of war, so understand the scene is one of death. To a trained ear the following lines clearly refer to the two Te Ati Awa chiefs with whom Papaka became engaged in battle:

'Twas with the winds contending in the south;
With Te Tupe-o-Tu and Te Hau-te-Horo,
A brave was borne on high!

This toa or 'brave' was, of course, Papaka, the younger brother of the composer. Ngata tells us that when Ngati Tuwharetoa counter-attacked, the two Te Ati Awa chiefs to whom the lines refer were both killed 48.

The second song is that thought to have been composed by Iwikau, or Te Heuheu 111, for his older brother, Mananui. Mananui was, in Iwikau's words, 'horoa i te whenua' or 'swept away by the earth', a death less noble than that resulting from battle, and more to be mourned. Iwikau uses archaic words taken from a ritual so powerful it was believed that, had it been recited by Te Heuheu on the day of the fatal landslide, he would not have been overcome by the disaster 49.

No more to intone, 'Hiramai-te-uru',
Nevermore recite, 'Hiramai-te-whatu-moana',
or chant, 'Te paepae-o-te-kotore'
of thy ancestor Rongomaihuia,
for the eternal night has come upon you 50.

These lines well illustrate the power believed to lie in the name, for this is a recitation of names of an esoteric kind.

In Mananui's lament for his father Te Heuheu 1, or Herea, his choice of words clearly show that the Maori's preference

was to die in the excitement of battle. Translated more freely, Mananui addresses Te Heuheu Herea:

I would not have paid tribute or lamented
for you if you had been killed in a battle
fought in the light of day...51.

In the original Maori, the language used is, of course, of a sacerdotal nature, as befitted its priestly composers 52.

These three songs I have discussed are considered to be of a very high order, although there are others equally moving and instructive among such Maori poetic compositions. For example, that containing the words,

Peace will not come with
the white clematis or
the young tutu shoots or
the kowhai flowers 53.

NOTES:

- 1 Part of a conversation between Tane and Hine-nui-te-Po, Best and Cowan, Maori Eschatology, Paper dated Dec.6, 1905:147-148.
- 2 Orbell, M., Hawaiki: a New Approach, 1985:11.
- 3 Johansen, J. Prytz, Studies in Maori Rites and Myths, 1958:7.
- 4 Walker, R.J., J.P.S. 78, 1969:405, "Proper Names in Maori Myth and Tradition".
- 5 Orbell, M., Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend, 1995:10, 222.
- 6 Mead, Hirini Moko, Ko Tawhaki Nui a Hema, 1996:74-79, in English translation, 1996:7.
- 7 Broughton, Ruka, oral communication, VUW, Oct.,1994.
- 8 MacLagan, D., Creation Myths, 1977:16, "The conjugation of opposites".
- 9 Grey, George, Polynesian Mythology,1855, 1969:47ff.
- 10 MacLagan, 1997:16.
- 11 Grey, 1969:5.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Orbell,M., 1995:114.
- 14 Grey G., 1969:13.
- 15 Orbell, 1995:115.
- 16 Grey, 1969:13.
- 17 Biggs, Hohepa and Mead(ed), Selected Readings in Maori, 1967:13, "Ka kimi a Maui i ona Matua".
- 18 Ibid,15.
- 19 Broughton and Mead(ed), Customary Concepts of the Maori, 1995:19, describe 'hapa' as a slip or omission that in the recitation of karakia may have serious consequences, as it did for Maui.
- 20 Grey, 1969:23.
- 21 Ibid, 28.
- 22 Grey, 1969:36-38.
- 23 Alpers, A., Maori Myths, 1964:234.
- 24 Orbell M., 1995:57-58.
- 25 In an attempt to alter this perception of Hine-nui-te-Po as a dark goddess of death figure, the Meeting House at Pukekaraka Mission Station was named Hine-nui-o-te-Ao-Katoa: Mary, great woman of the whole world; woman of **light**. This building was erected in 1905. Taken from Haere mai ki Pukekaraka, 1992, "The Marae", published on the opening of the new church at Pukekaraka marae, Otaki.
- 26 MacLagan, D., 1977:19.
- 27 Simmons, D.R., The Great New Zealand Myth, 1976:369, also Simmons, D.R., in J.P.S.75, 1965:177-181, "The Sources of Sir George Grey's Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna".

- 28 Grey, 1969:23; moving to the Tawhaki stories, Grey loses vital links; he uses a variety of sources but no longer Te Rangikaheke; the remainder of the Maui Cycle is not completed; for the purpose of this study, the important development of naming is out of sequence. A patchwork effect results, possibly from Grey's taking his informants from several diverse tribal areas. This fault is still perpetuated in the 1969 edition of Polynesian Mythology. Simmons, D.R., 1976:369, provides further details of Grey's informants.
 - 29 Alpers, 1964:233-234.
 - 30 Grey, 1969:62-67; some other writers say the pigeon was Maui-Potiki, and this does seem more likely, for such transformations were one of Maui-Potiki's particular accomplishments: Biggs, Hohepa and Mead(ed), 1967:14.
 - 31 Williams Dictionary of the Maori Language, 1985:253, defines this bird as *Hemiphaga novaeseelandiae*; Hina is a shortened form of Hinauri; by pronouncing the bird's name, Hina identified Maui as her brother.
 - 32 Orbell, 1995:193, 195.
 - 33 Whaitiri, Whatitirimatakataka or Whaitiri-matakataka: a powerful woman of the sky, the personification of thunder; Kaitangata: lit., a cannibal, but in truth he was a peaceful fisherman, while Whaitiri ate men.
 - 34 Mead, H.M., 1996:19.
 - 35 Walker, R.J., 1969:406.
 - 36 Orbell, 1995:194.
 - 37 Mead, 1996:71.
 - 38 Ibid 1996:83.
 - 39 Ibid, 1996:76.
- Nga moteatea
- 40 Ramsden, Eric, Sir Apirana Ngata and Maori Culture, 1948:107.
 - 41 Ngata, A.T., Nga Moteatea, Pt.3, 1970:376-381, Song 282, "he oriori mo Wharau-rangi".
 - 42 Ibid, 1970:381, note 58 explains that Kaitangata, husband of Whaitiri, shamed her by his undisguised disgust at the children's excreta; she reacted by naming the youngest for her feelings of shame.
 - 43 Ibid, Pt.2, 1961:260-1, Song 185, "He waiata oriori mo Te Rara-i-te-Rangi".
 - 44 Ibid, Pt.2, 1961:xiii (preface, 1929).
 - 45 Ngata, Nga Moteatea, Pt.2, 1961:xv (preface, 1929).
 - 46 Hawaiki: the legendary distant homeland of the Maori.
 - 47 Ngata, Nga Moteatea, Pt.1, 1959:210-215, Song 63, "A lament for Papaka Te Naeroa".

- 48 Because these two men were chiefs of Te Atiawa, Papaka
had died in good company: a noble death.
- 49 Ngata, Pt.1, 1959:195, note 26-27, Song 60.
- 50 These are the powerful figures invoked in the ritual
that might have saved Mananui, had he recited it.
- 51 Ngata, Pt.1, 1959:vi.
- 52 Ngata, Pt.2, 1961:xxxi.
- 53 Ngata, Pt.2, 1961:xxi.

NAMING FROM THE INSIDE

Taria kia ahuatia to ingoa,
 Ko wai to ingoa?
 Ko rongo to ingoa,
 Tenei to ingoa:
 Wai-kui-maneane.

The tohunga, as he pronounces the name of the child, sprinkles it with water from a small branch of karamu or koromiko saying,

Wait until your name takes form,
 What is your name?
 Your name is heard,
 This is your name,
 Wai-kui-maneane 1.

The appellations for divinity and humankind alike among non-literate peoples are often extremely varied and complex. Names and naming are frequently surrounded by taboos and employed only with specified ritual procedures, including considerations of status, relationship, season, age, place and power 2.

Denny tells us that human names and naming practices are often as important as those connected with deities. This, he says, is particularly true of the ancient world, but also applies to Africa and Oceania where the ideas are similar and only the specific rites and behaviour patterns differ 3.

Having considered classical naming in both the mythology and song-poetry, it is time to discuss later, but still traditional namings, some set in the time of the first migrations from the distant homeland of Hawaiki; others in this country. All should be helpful in demonstrating various aspects of naming and some of the rituals which traditionally have accompanied the process.

In the areas where Richard Taylor worked as a missionary for the Church Missionary Society last century, he observed that the names of future chiefs were selected with great thought and care from a waka paparanga, or genealogical table of the tribal ancestors. Taylor describes this as a genealogical tree, comprising some twenty or thirty generations, in which the 'high' families would trace their descent to the very beginning of things: to beyond creation to what they referred to as Te Kore or The Nothingness. From there they would introduce name after name until, finally, the name of the speaker terminated the list. In tangible form was the waka paparanga rakau: a marked board used to teach the children their whakapapa or genealogy. Taylor describes this as 'a curiously carved board...made a bit like a saw, with each tooth representing a name.' If a 'tooth' should be missing, this implied that the male line had failed and that the descent had continued by way of a female member of the group 4.

Taylor also writes of how Maori chose names then, in the 1840s. He says that naming followed a pattern, high-born children usually receiving three names in the course of their lifetimes. Shortly after birth, the child might be given an affectionate or 'pet' name by the mother: a name,

for example, like Tangi-kai(crying-for-food), Poaka(piggy)), Mokai(pet), and others 5. Then, following the dropping of the iho (navel cord), the child was taken to the tohunga or priestly expert. The iho would be buried in a sacred place 6 over which might be planted a young tree, usually a ngaio, a karaka, or a kahikatea. This grew as a sign of life for the child. After further preliminaries which aided in choosing this formal name, there would be the ceremonial bestowing of this name. Taylor called this the tuatanga rite, but was careful to explain that the ceremony he described could vary in other parts of the country and often included a dedication rite. The actual naming was often referred to as the panapananga. Where a female child might be exhorted to fetch firewood, find and prepare food, or weave, a male child was frequently dedicated to Tu, being seen as a future warrior. A ritual feast completed this ceremonial occasion 7.

Using Richard Taylor's accounts of those ceremonies can, at best, give a picture of these rites as a European person observed and recorded them. There are, of course, no Maori accounts written in the same period. For a Maori perception of the tohi or tuatanga rite one must turn to stories by those who witnessed these rituals or to their interpretation by a present-day Maori, such as Maori Marsden, a Christian minister.

Maori Marsden describes the tohi rite as a dedicatory act which placed a person or thing under tapu. In other words, a consecratory procedure by which the person or thing was endowed with mana. He describes this consecration of a person

as being accompanied by a sacramental act. He defines a sacrament as meaning, to the Maori, 'the means by which mana is transmitted to humans'. This could be by means of water or perhaps by tactile transmission from one already endued with the spirit of the gods 8.

Marsden further explains that alternative names for 'baptism' with water are iriiri, rumaki and uhi 9 and how, during the ceremony, the child would be held over the flowing water or the sea symbolising living waters. Various gods would be petitioned to provide whichever qualities were desired for that child. The tohunga officiating would dedicate the child to each named god, the choice being decided by the child's response to the recited names. The tohunga would then sprinkle it with water from a dipped branch or immerse it 10.

This account and explanation of the tohi rite by Marsden is very much in line with the description given above of the dedication of Arahuta, the daughter of Tawhaki and Hinepiripiri 11.

Filled with the spirits of these gods, children became incorporated into them. It therefore followed that, as proteges, they would be assigned their guardian spirits. This gift enabled them to invoke the gods' names in times of crisis, the name(s) being an extension of the personality. Thus, the aid desired would come with the cry, Nau Mai! 12. This is, of course, reminiscent of the story of Maui calling on Tawhirimatea and Whatitirimatakataka while being pursued by fire 13.

On the other hand, Best, who lived for many years among the Tuhoe people, observing customs before they were too

influenced by tauiwi ones, distinguishes between the tohi ceremony and what he calls the pure rite, performed by the tohunga on the high-born child to render permanent the sacred and spiritual mana. He explains that this ritual was not to remove or lift tapu, but affirm and enhance it.

Best describes the tohi ritual so: the infant is called on by the tohunga to enter the tapu sphere, whereupon he immerses both it and himself into water reaching to the child's neck. This done, the child is returned to its mother and a pole plunged into the ground and the iho or umbilical cord deposited there 14.

Best's distinction becomes clearer when Matorohanga, tohunga of the East Coast, explains that the tohi and the pure rites are sometimes performed separately. This could be at the wai-tohi or sacred waters, says Matorohanga, or at the tuahu or altar-type structure. The example is given of Uenuku Titi who was subjected to the pure but when it was suggested she then undergo the tohi, the response from Tamatea was:

Kaore, kua oti tona ingoa to tohi e tona matua
ki Tauhiwi nui o Hinemoana.

In other words, Uenuku Titi's naming had been completed by her father in the realm of Hine-moana 15.

The reason Tamatea objected to the ritual being repeated was that Uenuku-Titi was the semi-human daughter of her mother, Ihuparapara, and Uenuku-Rangi. Tamatea was the earthly husband of Ihuparapara, not the child's father. The girl, now grown, underwent the pure rite, but had not previously been seen by either her mother or by Tamatea. As Best comments, 'celestial visitors and marvellous

conception form a feature of Maori myth'16. Of course, the tapu of this high-born girl was partly the result of her having been 'baptised' at that sacred place, that is, in the realm of Hine-Moana. In the future she would be known for that place and so given a position of honour.

While Best describes the tohi rite and Taylor the tuatanga, another scholar, J.Prytz Johansen, tends to speak of the tua rite which appears to be the same ceremony. He concludes that this particular initiation exchanged the sacredness of birth for ordinary kinship 17

Father Servant, Catholic missionary in the Hokianga area from 1838 to 1842, also observed these traditional ceremonies within which the child was named: he tells us that, after five to eight days (from the birth), the tohunga would perform a ritual for the child at the edge of a stream. At the end of this ceremony, the infant would be plunged into the water or, alternatively, sprinkled with water. He would recite karakia over the child during the naming ritual, then pronounce the name; but, says Servant, 'woe betide the child if he has been given the sacred name of some great person! The child's life must be redeemed with presents, otherwise the child would be killed and eaten. But, if the child's name does not offend anyone, they make merry'18.

Here, while Servant's description is interesting, his interpretation needs to be treated with caution. Like many other early observers he saw a parallel between the Maori tohi and Christian baptism. Both included recited words, the use of water, and often a naming. But this does not

imply that these customs were post-contact; the Tawhaki tohi ceremony, as found in the mythologies, had revealed how truly ancient was this custom. Perhaps the fact that, in the course of naming the child, water from a sacred stream was sprinkled by using a small karamu or koromiko branch and karakia were recited 19, non-Maori observers and missionaries alike interpreted this ancient ceremony as akin to Christian baptism. However, despite the apparent parallels they saw, or wished to see, the essential intentions were never the same.

As for 'making merry', Servant could be alluding to the hakari (feast) which would follow and complete the ceremony. The hakari was important not only as marking the completion of the tohi rite, but also because the entire ceremony would show that child to be one of higher birth and, therefore, of future rangatira or chiefly status.

Delayed tohi rites

Traditionally, when a visiting chief of importance was given a female companion for the night, and a pregnancy resulted from the union, he was the person who named the child for his own group. Later, by this name (which could also relate to facts about the child's conception), the chief could recognise and so lay claim to his offspring. First he would relate the circumstances and the significance of the naming, then he would perform the tohi rite on the grown child, so legitimising it and enhancing its mana 20.

Such a case was that of Rangiwahakaekeau who left a woman, Uenukukuaauri, with child, instructing how the infant was to be named: if a boy, it was to be called, in its father's

words, 'after this cloud drifting by'. Born a male, the child was duly named Rangiteaorere as Rangihakaekau had instructed.

As a man, Rangiteaorere decided to set out in search of his father. Within the older man's hearing, the younger began to sing an oriori (instructive song) that he had been taught. In it, the name Rangiteaorere was heard. The old chief, Rangihakaekau, recognised it as his son's at once, and thereupon performed the tohi rite, legitimising his relationship with Rangiteaorere 21.

The second story is about Tama-inu-po, an ancestor of the Tainui tribes. To some extent, it parallels that of Rangiteaorere, but it does not end with Kokako performing the tohi ceremony over his son, Tama-inu-po.

On one of his journeys to Kawhia, the Waikato chief, Kokako, waylaid a local chieftainess, Whaeatapoko, and took her by force. He concluded this episode by then instructing her on how she should name a possible child: a son was to be called Tama-inu-po (son of a thirst in the night), if a girl, she was to be named Pare-inu-po 22.

By a quirk of fate, when the resultant son, Tama-inu-po, grew to warrior status, he married into the family of Maahanga who was at war with Kokako. Maahanga made Tama-inu-po leader of his forces. Thus, the son was put in a position where he was able to save the life of Kokako, his own father 23; the circumstances would have been right for Kokako to perform the tohi rite on Tama-inu-po. Whether he did or not we have to conclude for ourselves.

Family and surnames

In Taylor's writings on naming in Maori society, as he experienced it, he says that the third naming came when the father died and the son took on his name 24. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether Taylor means the already-named son simply took his late father's name as a means of acquiring for himself the mana it held, or if this name became a family name for him, perhaps a forerunner to a surname.

It is also possible that Taylor was describing practices he observed in Maori influenced by the customs of Europeans. He wrote of situations occurring as early as 1840, as late as 1870, perhaps. In this period Whanganui became a growing settlement, with its own garrison; its own land disputes.

Also, it seems unlikely that Taylor intended to confine the number of names taken during a lifetime by Maori to three (as his discussion suggests), for of all observers he was particularly aware that **many** namings took place. His writings are rich with examples of these: 'pet' names, names won for noble deeds, 'death' names, nicknames 25.

Taylor continues, giving some examples of how this custom of handing down names worked. His first example concerns one Pehi. Pehi died, so Pakoro, his eldest son, took the name Pehi, while Te Hiko, the second son, took Pehi's other name, Turoa 26.

Likewise, says Taylor, when Te Heuheu 11 perished in the landslide at Te Rapa, his younger brother took over his name 27. This would bear out the idea that it was the mana of the name that made it desirable, rather than any taking of a brother's name for more sentimental reasons

or the intention of using the name as a future surname. This Te Heuheu nomenclature is described in some detail, for it has an interesting history and, as well as being rather unusual in its beginnings, it illustrates several different ideas in Maori naming customs.

Through their whakapapa, Te Heuheu family members are able to trace to the early mythological figures. In the case of Te Heuheu Tukino, paramount chief of the Tuwharetoa tribe, the genealogical line reaches back to Puhaorangi, using only the male line of descent, aho-tane katoa. Study of this whakapapa 28 is worthwhile, for it clearly shows that none of the names, from Puhaorangi down through the males of each generation, repeat until **after contact**. From Puhaorangi down to Tukino (covering twenty-four generations), there is no repetition until Tukino's son becomes the first Te Heuheu. From then on, this assumed name, Te Heuheu, repeats itself in the male line, up to the present day 29.

Likewise, the whakapapa of Tuwharetoa himself, from whom the tribe takes its name, reaches back to Ranginui, Great Heavens or Sky Father. It descends to Tuwharetoa by twenty-five generations of males, again not repeating its names, except that some derive from others in their form. For example, in translation, Great Heavens begets Long Heavens who begets Dark Sky who begets Starry Sky, and so on 30.

However, almost to confuse the issue, it seems, in another whakapapa table, that of Mananui Te Heuheu 31, Mananui is given the name of one of his Mataatua ancestors. The explanation given for this apparent departure from avoiding name repetition is as follows: Hinemihi, the boy's grandmother came from Whakatane (part of the Mataatua area).

She urged her son to name his child for one of her tupuna of that line. The name chosen was Mananui-a-Ruakapanga, who himself had been named for a mythical bird on whose back another famous ancestor is said to have arrived in New Zealand, settling in Taranaki after passing over the East Coast mountain, Hikurangi 32. Here an exception appears to be allowable if both sides of an individual's ancestry are to be recognised.

In respect of whakapapa where the table does **not** record repeated naming, other examples are those genealogies of his people, Nga Rauru, included by Ruka Broughton in his thesis, The Origins of Nga Rauru Kitahi. Here, it is clearly shown that, in a total of twenty-eight tribal whakapapa or genealogies, neither male nor female names are repeated among those tabulated. Here, in Ruka's lower Taranaki area, the male line is called tamatane, and the female line, tamawahine; but, as in the Tuwharetoa area discussed above, there are links between some names as they descend. For example, Rongotea-nuku begets Rongotea-rangi; Te Tama-karae begets Te Karae-nui who begets Te Karae-roa who begets Te Karae-toka who begets Karae-whaakia 33.

Makereti or Maggie Papakura a thesis student at Oxford in 1930, tells us that it was rare for a son to be given his father's name unless the father had died. Even after a father's death, it would be the exception rather than the rule for a son to take on his father's name. Here, we are not clear if Makereti was speaking of precontact or her own times, but the names she quotes are old ones.

Makereti gives the following example to illustrate this

claim. A man named Umukaria had a son named Wahiao. All descendants of this father and son had their own, individual names, never those of the original pair until, many generations later, the names could appear again in the genealogies. They were, by that time, ancestor names 34.

The reason for this apparent reluctance among Maori of the past to put even tupuna names on their society's new members could be possibly linked with the fear that arose at the power recognised in the name of a person who had perhaps been considered to be tapu in life. The literature and whakapapa bear out such a theory.

Certainly, most traditional societies saw the use of a name while its bearer was still living as inappropriate, a disturbing factor being the risk of drawing the life force from the older person 35.

There are very few stories that tell of even a dead father's name being put on a child, or of an adult son adopting it as his own, even in post-contact times, where any evidence of a living father's personal name being taken by a son is very difficult to discover. This of course, suggests that when such namings did take place, it was a European practice rather than a traditional Maori one that was being followed.

One post-contact son who did not take his father's name is Te Rangikaheke, mentioned above as George Grey's main informant. He was born in the Rotorua district, to his father, Te Rangikaheke of Ngati Rangiwewehi of Te Arawa, who died prior to 1835, and to his mother, Kaihau. Kaihau was of noble descent but she, too, was killed in battle in

1836. It is doubtful if either embraced Christianity, for the local mission was not set up in their area until 1835. However, it seems that Te Rangikaheke 11 was baptised an Anglican at that time, when perhaps about twenty years of age. At his Christian baptism, he was given the name William Marsh (Wiremu or Wi Maihi). He received his Pakeha education at the Church Missionary Society's mission school and he remained in the Anglican faith.

Wiremu was not known by the same name as his father before the latter died, that name being in reserve. But, in 1849 he began to work closely with Grey, and by then he had taken up his father's name, Te Rangikaheke 1. As in the case of Titokowaru of Taranaki, Te Rangikaheke 11 refrained from using that name while his father still lived lived 36.

Taking us into post-Treaty times is another but equally well-known figure whose story James Belich tells. Belich relates, in his work on the life of Titokowaru, the famous Taranaki chief, how the father of this man had become a Christian in 1845 or thereabouts. After converting to Christianity, Titokowaru 1 appears on Richard Taylor's list of 1845 as the leading chief of Ngati Ruanui 37. Both Anglicans and Wesleyans baptised him; by the former he was given the name of Teira, after the missionary himself, Taylor, while the Methodists christened him George King or, in its transliterated form, Hori Kingi 38.

His son, who was named Joseph Orton, at about twenty-two years of age, accompanied the Methodist minister to Auckland for the District Synod. Joseph was then called Riwha, not Titokowaru. It was the Methodist missions who had named him Joseph Orton (Hohepa Otene) at his baptism in 1842. He was

only some twenty years at that time, but had dubbed the Church of England 'the Church of outward shows' 39.

It is believed that until about the time of his baptism, the younger Titokowaru was known as Riwha, not by his father's name. His Methodism seems to have been sincere; he used his baptismal name, Hohepa Orton (Orton was the Wesleyan mission's superintendent in New South Wales), knew his Bible well, and also served as an assistant teacher for the mission. However, claims Belich, the life of Titokowaru 11 was always a dialectic between peace and war 40.

Born near Opiki in the same decade of the nineteenth century as Te Rangikaheke, Te Rangihwinui was also known as Taitoko. His father was Mahuera Paki Tanguru-o-te-Rangi, a leader of Mua-Upoko; his mother was Rere-o-Maki of Whanganui river, one of the few women to sign the Treaty. Baptised Rawinia, unfortunately her baptismal record is unknown 41.

It is thought that Te Rangihwinui Taitoko was baptised at Putiki, the C.M.S. mission at Whanganui 42. Again, no details are known, except that he was given the name Te Keepa or Kemp. This was more than likely a naming for the missionary, James Kemp, a common custom among missionaries.

Keepa Te Rangihwinui Taitoko was, however, more famous for his fighting qualities than for his piety. In his military career, fighting on the side of the British, he was widely known as Major Kemp. He did not take up the name of his father, Tanguru, nor pass on his own name. On his child, Wikitoria (Victoria), he put part of his name, Taitoko, and the task of leadership. This name he had intended for the township of Levin but, despite this being a condition of his selling the land, the promise was never honoured 43.

A street in the Weraroa area of the town recalls the name Keepa; another at the beach village, Hokio, the name Kemp. As for Taitoko, a school on the south-eastern boundary of Levin is a more recent reminder of Keepa Te Rangihwinui Taitoko. Of Tanguru, apart from the figure crouched, taiaha in hand, on the back of the old one shilling piece, there are no visible reminders 44. His name lives on only in the recitals of those who share his whakapapa.

NOTES:

- 1 Taylor, Rev. R., Te Ika-a-Maui, 1870:184-185, but the translation of the tohunga's chant used here is my own.
- 2 Denny, F.M., in Eliade, (ed), An Encyclopedia of Religion, Vol. 10, 1987:303, "Names and Naming".
- 3 Ibid, 304.
- 4 Taylor, Te Ika a Maui, 1870:325.
- 5 Ibid, 326.
- 6 Ibid, 184; when grown, this tree was referred to as 'he tohu orange', and the place would be thereafter known as 'te iho o ...', serving to settle any subsequent disputes over land boundaries, showing who had the mana over land. Best, E., 1929:31, footnote.
A similar ceremony took place on January 30, 1999, when the parents, grandparents and great-grandparents of newborn Te Pou-whenua-i-te-Rangi, travelled from Horowhenua to Waikaremoana to return his whenua (placenta) to the whenua (land); the iho or cord would be returned later, dried.
- 7 Taylor, 1870:185.
- 8 Marsden, Rev Maori, in King, M., Te Ao Hurihuri, 1975:201-2, "A Maori View of the Universe".
- 9 Ibid, 202; iriiri: to place upon, to endow; uhiuhi: to sprinkle; rumaki: to dip into (or immerse).
- 10 Ibid, 202; see story of Arahuta's tohi rite in chapter on Mythologies. Although Arahuta is plunged into the water on this occasion, sprinkling appears to have been more common; in fact, Elsdon Best suggests that such sprinkling might have been the 'real baptism', not the immersion, saying a Kahungunu version of the tohi rite appeared to include a divinatory performance, followed by an immersion. For further descriptions of this see Best, Elsdon, The Whare Kohanga and its Lore, 1975:30-43.
- 11 Arahuta's tohi rite can be seen as a prototype for future ceremonies. Although, chronologically speaking, that of Maui is earlier, and that of Hine-rawharangi, daughter of Tane, even more so, we know little of the form these tohi took. See Section One (a), 11-12.
- 12 Marsden in King, 1975:204.
- 13 Grey, 1969:36-8.
- 14 Best, E., The Whare Kohanga and its Lore, 1975:38, 31-32; Here we can again compare the naming of Arahuta by Tawhaki in the story related above. Having named Arahuta, Tawhaki **plunged** her into the waters; see note 10.
- 15 Ibid, 1975:33.
- 16 Ibid, 1975:34.
- 17 Johansen, J.P., The Maori and his Religion in its Non-Ritualistic Aspects, 1954:128.
- 18 Servant, Fr C., Customs and Habits of the New Zealanders, 1838-1842, 1973:25-6.
- 19 Taylor, 1870:184.

- 20 Walker, J.P.S. 78, 1969:410, "Proper Names in Maori Myth and Tradition". By bestowing the name suggested by the genitor, the mother cleared the way for possible future legitimisation of the child by its father.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Here it is not quite clear whether his thirst was for water or the woman, for Kokako was on his way to a spring.
- 23 Walker, 1969:411.
- 24 Taylor, 1870:326.
- 25 As seen in Taylor's Te Ika a Maui, 1870, from which I have used many examples in this writing.
- 26 Taylor, 1870:326.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Pomare, Sir Maui and Cowan, J., Legends of the Maori, 1987:27, "Gods and Mortals": genealogy of Te Heuheu Tukino.
- 29 Ibid, 1987:21, 27; Puhaorangi was a celestial being who took an earthly wife; Ohomairangi was their semi-divine child; these are the first two names in the whakapapa. the authors' comment that the names in this list do not repeat until after contact is interesting and bears out others' opinions.
- 30 Grace, John Te Herekieke, Tuwharetoa, 1966:543, Table 6.
- 31 Another account of Mananui receiving his name is found in Section Three (a), note 11 on Mananui.
- 32 Grace, 1966:545, Table 8.
- 33 Broughton, Ruka, Nga Rauru Kitahi, 1979:53-62; examples given taken from Genealogy 26 and Genealogy 5.
- 34 Papakura, Maggie, Makereti, 1986:136.
- 35 Andrews, Ted, The Sacred Power in Your Name, 1972:6.
- 36 Curnow, J., in The People of Many Peaks, 1991:252-4. Biog.119, "Te Rangikaheke, Wiremu".
- 37 Belich, J., in The People of Many Peaks, Biography 145 "Titokowaru"1991:320-322.
- 38 Belich, J., I Shall Not Die, 1989:1-3.
- 39 Ibid, 1989:3.
- 40 Belich, J., 1991:320-321.
- 41 Wilkie, Ruth, in The People of Many Peaks, Biography 57, "Rere-o-Maki", 1991:116.
- 42 Dreaver, A.J., Ibid, Biography 117, "Te Rangihwinui", 1991:247.
- 43 Wikitoria Taitoko and her Whanganui people attended a hui at Pukekaraka mission station on June sixth, 1909; this is recorded in Issue One of Whare Kura, a publication in Maori, written from the Pukekaraka Mission, Otaki. The comment suggests Wiki Taitoko continued to hold status in the Whanganui area after her father, Te Rangihwinui, died.
- 44 The Mua-Upoko people claim this to be none other than their ancestor, Tanguru, Te Rangihwinui's father.

REFLECTION

The extracts which I have chosen to illustrate naming in the earliest times are but a few selected samples from a wealth of material available.

In no way could a project such as this, which is designed primarily to investigate naming practices, encompass the beauty and breadth of the Maori Mythological Cycles, where stories of unions between celestial beings themselves and between celestial beings and humans are numerous 1.

Such stories as these, though set in a mythical past, successfully express what their tellers hold to be timeless truths about the nature of the world and human society, showing how all living beings are intimately related to and responsible for each other. They also justify patterns of behaviour for the present and future 2.

The Maori did not question the validity of these mythological stories until contact with Christianity displaced them with the mythology of the new culture 3. Maori were already very familiar with celestial beings who chose earthly maidens to bring their pre-named progeny into the world. Many wondrous qualities and powers belonged to the offspring of such unions 4.

In a closed system, myths are self-validating: the story-teller, by reciting his genealogy to the canoe ancestors and beyond to the Hawaiki homeland, can finally link himself to the legendary heroes and gods. Many speakers are still able, through their whakapapa, to trace their origins by naming such beings 5.

Recital of whakapapa, tracing the reciter to deities of old, may not be practised by all speakers today, but in traditional Maori society, each related group is able, through its particular genealogies, to recount the names that lead back to a revered eponymous ancestor. This is the person (usually but not always male) who founded the descent group, defended its lands, avenged defeats and remembered insults, or made politically-significant marriages that assured the people's well-being 6.

Family groups are still the basic social units of Maori society. They have kept alive the memory of past events and the names of their ancestors who participated in them. This they have achieved by constant recounting in several literary forms. In song and chant, allusions to such names and deeds pass so swiftly that only the informed ear can possibly follow the recitals. This song-poetry is still widely sung, not just by older Maori, but by young children who, taught within the Kohanga and Kura Kaupapa 7 of modern times, are now growing up with knowledge of many of these names.

Most of the personal names I have discussed to date in this writing have been described as more than just names, being for the Maori people, 'the signposts of a tradition and of history, the immutable, tangible markers' 8.

Some names are personifications or describe historical occurrences that were very important to people. Others place a responsibility on their bearers to perform some specific task. More often than not this involves the customary concept of utu or revenge on behalf of a wronged relative of an earlier generation.

However, when one draws on the earliest tales of Maori naming, one needs to be aware that there are tribal variations of these ancient stories and, therefore, not a 'correct' or 'incorrect' version. Likewise there are some differences in the attributes of, and the tasks assigned to the children of Rangi and Papa, just as there are in the characters and details of later stories. Even the more recent songs, and many of the stories related here, with their settings in more recent times, though they contain a great deal of information that is known to be historically accurate, vary somewhat in their telling from area to area. Names related are those of actual persons. They are names which, at the time they were given were deeply significant. They still are, to many Maori.

The meanings and the origins of Maori names have not been obscured by time or language change, as have those of tauiwi. An individual could be more conscious of the latent power in the name, and of its availability to those who chose to summon it 9. Throughout the classical literature and stories set in later, remembered times, there are many instances of individuals invoking the power in a name, just as Maui did when performing great deeds, or when he called on the name(s) of superior forces when himself in mortal danger 10.

In ritual situations today 11, these forces are still invoked. Names recited could be those of tupuna but, more commonly, they will be the archetypal figures of the past, those who were renowned in their areas of expertise: Tumatauenga, the archetypal warrior; Whakatu, the archetypal avenger; Apakura, the archetypal lamenter who, as well as giving vent to her grief, calls up vengeance 12. It is the

exploits of these widely-known figures of the past which set a pattern for their modern-day descendants 13.

The suggestiveness of names is strong. Whether they are bestowed on an infants or given later in life, names can have mysterious quality.

There is a power in names because they both participate in the reality named and give definition and identity to that reality 14.

Reasons for the loss of traditional naming rites and many of the names bestowed within them are not too difficult to discover.

Although Governor Grey contributed to the preservation of Maori oral literature by his collection and subsequent publication of volumes of the mythologies and song-poetry, the same Grey saw his own society as the only one of real worth. He was an enigma to the Maori people, for despite his apparent interest in their traditions, 'his society, together with the teachings of Christianity, became the model that he was intent upon imposing on the Maori population' 15.

Grey encouraged missionary activity in the field and, moreover, subsidised mission schools teaching in the medium of English language 16.

As for the ancestors and their deeds, the majority of the missionaries held a far less sympathetic attitude than the Governor. Generally, they saw the atua or god-like figures who featured in the myths as the vivifying power of tapu; and tapu, they believed, underlay and permeated Maori religious thought. Hoping to introduce what they saw as a

superior code of morality, they decided that this tapu system must be undermined or destroyed 17.

If Maori religious beliefs and Maori customary concepts were held in such low regard, it would seem unlikely that Maori naming ceremonies, or even the names themselves, would be understood or respected.

NOTES:

- 1 Maui Pomare and Cowan, James, Legends of the Maori, 1987:21, "Gods and Mortals".
- 2 Metge, Joan, New Growth from Old, 1995:83
- 3 Walker, R.J., in King, M.(ed), Tihe Mauri Ora!, 1978:19, "The Relevance of Maori Myth and Tradition"
- 4 Mead, H.M., Tawhaki, 1996:19
- 5 Broughton, Ruka, The Origins of Nga Rauru Kiitahi, 1979, Chapter Two; Ruka himself was one such expert.
- 6 Orbell, M., Encyclopedia, 1985:12.
- 7 The Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori are educational initiatives where Maori is the medium of teaching,
- 8 Walker, R.J., J.P.S.78, 1969:405, "Proper Names in Maori Myth and Tradition".
- 9 Marsden, Maori, in King, M.,(ed), Te Ao Hurihuri, "God, Man and the Universe: a Maori View", 1975:203-4.
- 10 Johansen, J.P., Maori Religion in its Non-Ritualistic Aspects, 1954:125.
- 11 This practice of calling on names of past figures still occurs at important tangihanga and other occasions thought to merit such auspicious references.
- 12 Orbell, M., Encyclopedia, 1995:29, 221-2, 244-5; also Johansen, J.P., 1954:159-161.
- 13 Orbell, M., Hawaiki: a New Perspective, 1985:33.
- 14 Denny, F.M., in Eliade, (ed), Encyclopedia of Religion, Vol.10, 1967:300, "Names and Naming".
- 15 Mead, H.M., in Introduction to Grey, G., Christianity and Maori Mythology, 1988.
- 16 Ward, Alan, A Show of Justice, 1973:86.
- 17 Mead, H.M., Introduction to Grey, 1988.

SECTION TWO

NAMING FROM THE OUTSIDE

- a) baptismal or font names
- b) names written into books

BAPTISMAL OR FONT NAMES

'Then shall the Priest take each person to be baptised by the right hand, and placing him conveniently by the Font, according to his discretion, shall ask the Godfathers and the Godmothers the Name; and then shall dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying...'

".....,
I baptise thee
in the Name of the Father
and of the Son
and of the Holy Ghost" 1.

Baptismal or font names

Although written of an earlier period of history in another land, the following words aptly describe what occurred in these islands last century:

The control of the ancient ceremony of name-giving was appropriated by the Christian church and rules and laws relating to the bestowal of font names are to be found among the canons and ordinances made by ecclesiastical authority 2.

These names, variously known as baptismal, 'christened' or 'font' names, were given to Maori in the first baptisms by

the Church Missionary Society. The ceremonies were performed by the missionary, Thomas Kendall, in the northern stations. Among them was the naming of Maria Ringa, in March, 1823, before her marriage to the Danish mariner, Phillip Tapsell. This baptism was later questioned by another missionary who doubted Maria's true conversion-despite her new name. In November of the same year, Kendall also baptised the child of a Pakeha father and a Maori mother. Again, in 1825, his baptism of Christian Rangi was seen as a 'breakthrough in evangelisation' 3.

The names Maria and Christian are much less common than many others given by the Anglican missionaries, and are a departure from the usual biblical names, names of fellow missionaries, or even those of the royal family in England, put on Maori by the church.

Christian background to naming

Nineteenth century missionaries put recognisable 'Christian' names on Maori at baptism. What early precedents, if any, were there for doing so?

There is no evidence that the primitive or early Christians changed their names on receiving baptism. On the contrary, in the New Testament there are many names of converts to Christianity that derive from those of the pagan gods or Greco-Roman cults. Likewise, on inscriptions found in the catacombs and cemeteries of Rome and elsewhere, or amongst martyrs, confessors or bishops mentioned in early Church history until the fourth or fifth centuries. Erroneous also is the claim of Pope Damascus I (366-384), on an epigram, that the Apostle to the Gentiles changed his name from Saul

to Paul at baptism 4.

The Church Fathers of the third century do speak of bishops confessors adopting the names Peter, Paul, Moses and, particularly, John. But, while it is true that some pagan names were rejected by their now Christian owners and the names of admired Christians taken, it does not appear to have been a general practice. Even the record of the martyr, Saint Balsamus, changing his name to Peter (as found in the Arabic Canon 30 of the Council of Nicea 325), is now considered to be a much later falsification 5.

Neither is it known when Christian parents, encouraged by fourth century Church leaders, put the names of illustrious men and women 'who had earned credit with God' on their infants. We do know, however, that the names Peter and Paul were widely used after the third century and Joseph and John (especially in Italy) after the fourth 6.

It does appear that, at the outset, Christians saw no reason to differ from their neighbours in naming than in any other social manner. This remained true of the names they conferred and bore: often names that recalled pagan deities continued to be favoured. The generic name, 'Christian', was apparently all that they required to distinguish themselves from others 7.

Likewise, worth noting is that, in lists of bishops who attended the early Church Councils and Synods, there are both specifically Christian names and pagan ones, even those of the pagan gods, represented 8.

The rise of a distinctive nomenclature really arose only when Christians began to follow two paths in naming: by using Old Testament names, or by adopting the names of

apostolic saints. The former saw the rise of names like Jacob, Israel, Jeremiah, Isaiah and Daniel, and was the result of fierce persecutions; the latter names arose not from protest, but more spontaneously, perhaps from hero-worship, when children were named for Paul or Peter. Hastings believes that it was infant baptism that brought about the rise of definitely Christian names. Christians adopted or adapted names, making them appropriate to their faith 9.

Later, in the tenth century, the use of Old Testament names diminished as anti-semitism increased. They did not regain their popularity until when, at the time of the Reformation, Protestants began to use them for their children (to distinguish them from Catholics) and, in Britain itself, at a time closer to the missionaries who came to evangelise the Maori, the essential idea was that a name should be biblical. In France, conversely, the Revolution had produced an antipathy to biblical or ecclesiastical names 10.

Puritanism in England had also been driven by anti-ecclesiastical antipathies, with the result that even New Testament names had become associated with Church; but, as Hastings comments, this cloud passed and, in England particularly, the dominance of the Bible continued to affect Christian naming long after Puritan influences had ceased 11.

Therefore, all things considered, it would seem that in those countries of origin of the missionaries, there had been no uniformity among Christians in name-taking practice or tradition over the centuries. If this is correct, the missionaries had no religious precedent for naming Maori with other than their own, traditional-type

names. However, there was probably the thought that these 'Christian' names would provide suitable role models for their Maori recipients. Also, that by the adoption of naming practices so familiar to them in their own society which they regarded as civilised and unquestionably superior to that of the Maori, they were bringing yet another aspect of that 'civilisation' to the Maori people.

As the Christian rite of baptism suggests, a name or a calling comes at the beginning, and it is this calling or naming that ultimately separates what is from what is not. Calling is both to summon and identify 12.

Reviewing once more the attitudes of the Church taken over time: in naming, it is clear that from the earliest centuries of Christianity, some adults changed their names in honour of the apostles or other New Testament figures when they were baptised and that some parents gave their offspring the names of martyrs or even of Christian virtues on baptism, but a Christian name was not mandatory until the fourteenth century. Even then, it was only at the Councils and Rituals of that time that a variety of Old Testament, New Testament and saints' names came into favour. So, by the fifteenth century, in Northern Europe, the names of Joseph and Mary were in common use, and in Spain and Greece, both the names Jesus and Christ were being bestowed. However, it is interesting to note that, during the European Renaissance, there was a marked return to pagan names and a similar phenomenon occurred in the Byzantine world 13.

Similarly, in Anglo-Saxon England, under their ancient system of naming each individual uniquely, the old names

prevailed until after the Norman Conquest of the eleventh century, but this was more a political than a religious issue and in Ireland, few foreign names came in with Christianity, the bulk of those presently in use arriving with the Anglo-Norman invaders and almost entirely supplanting the old Gaelic names 14.

It was the Council of Trent that placed such emphasis on the giving of Christian names, insisting on the orthodoxy of the veneration of the saints against all Protestant denial and, by 1614, the Roman catechism and Roman ritual asked priests not to permit parents to bestow other than saintly names on their children. In fact, if they declined to do so, the officiating priest was obliged to add a saint's name in the baptismal register, although this rubric was not a rigorous precept but designed to direct the priest to see that 'obscene, fabulous and ridiculous names, or those of heathen gods or infidel men be not imposed' 15.

In England, even after Puritan power had ceased, the dominance of the Bible continued to affect naming, but it is doubtful if any law controlled the giving of names. If there were objections to certain names, they came from the baptising minister, not expressly from the rubrics 16.

Thus it can be seen that the conferring of a personal name was associated with baptism, baptism at any time during life. This name is not, strictly speaking, merely the forename distinctive to the individual, but the name given to that person at his or her 'christening', that is, during baptism. To 'christen' is therefore to 'baptise', and Christian name means 'baptismal' name 17.

Among such names Christian missionaries favoured were

those apparently suggested by Christian dogmas (Anastasia), from festivals or rites (Natalie), from Christian virtues (Prudence), or from pious sentiment (Ambrose). Others were born from veneration of the martyrs who first bore them, others from the characters of the Bible, although it was never certain if these latter were an intentional reference to that Old or New Testament person 18. However, it is quite possible that a role model for the baptised individual was intended.

Concerning the English Protestant missionaries, Owens writes that 'the declared missionary objectives were many: to bring Christianity, to civilize, to undermine heathen ways and beliefs, to promote British economic interests, settlement and political control' 19. 'Though there were some in this period who believed in the theory of 'the noble savage', most Europeans would have assumed that the need to 'civilize' all peoples was a self-evident truth 20.

Could it be that the missionaries who came to these islands from what they considered to be the civilised world, saw the bestowing of their own cultures' names on Maori as bringing the people a step closer to this desired state?

This would suggest that Maori names were thought to be undesirable from a Christian or moral point of view, but perhaps it was also a case of those missionaries being accustomed to conferring quite different names: names that prevailed last century in their own countries of origin. These names were familiar to them, unlike those of their converts, but were they not challenged to think how strangely such new names sat on their Maori baptismal candidates?

Hastings believes it is doubtful if there were any English laws controlling the giving of names, but he points out that although the clergy were unlikely to have the power to change unsuitable names, an English clergyman, though required to baptise a child by any name selected by the parent or godparent, may 'object to any name on moral or religious grounds although the rubrics do not expressly say so' 21.

The passing of the decades brought more missionaries, among them the Roman Catholic Marists from France, with their own ideas on the choosing of 'Christian' names, their own ideas on evangelising. So contrary were the latter to those of the Protestants that much dissension resulted 22. Did this rivalry between the missions possibly accelerate the number of baptisms performed? If so, the number of non-Maori names bestowed would have proliferated. One scholar has spoken of the activity of Catholic missionaries in the Pacific, saying 'confident in their sacramental vision ...they could count their baptisms of dying infants and they had an arithmetic of salvation' 23.

James Irwin believes that this divided voice of the European preachers could have fed into a less desirable feature of Maori life, where ancient hostilities and disunity between the tribes was part of life 24. Did similar dissension and denominational rivalries prevent the new religion from creating a unifying base for Maori? 25.

NOTES:

- 1 The Book of Common Prayer, p194, "Baptism to such that are of riper years", Church of England.
- 2 Ewen, C.L'Estrange, A History of Surnames of the British Isles, 1968:414.
- 3 Davidson, Allan, Christianity in Aotearoa, 1991:11.
- 4 New Catholic Encyclopedia(N.C.E.), 1967:201, "Early Christian Names".
- 5 Ibid
- 6 Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol.11, 1907:674, "Names".
- 7 Hastings, James(ed), The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol.9, 1917:145.
- 8 Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol.11, 1907:674, "Names".
- 9 Hastings, James(ed), 1917:147.
- 10 Ibid, 150.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Young, Dudley, Origins of the Sacred, 1991:391.
- 13 N.C.E, 1967:202, "Names, Christian".
- 14 Slevin, Gerard, Introduction in Woulfe, P., Irish Names for Children, 1979:viii.
- 15 Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol.11, 1907:273, "Baptismal Names".
- 16 Hastings, James(ed), 1917:149-151.
- 17 Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 11, 1907:273, "Names, Christian".
- 18 Ibid, 674.
- 19 Owens, J., in Veitch and Nichol, Religion in New Zealand, 1980:20, "The Unexpected Impact: Missionaries and Society in Early 19th Century New Zealand".
- 20 Ibid, 1980:22.
- 21 Hastings, James(ed), 1917:151; Hastings adds that legal authorities seem divided on whether such a change of name was permissible. Nearer the present day, the 1991 edition of the Catholic Encyclopedia tells us that the current code states that 'parents, sponsors and the pastor are to see that a name foreign to a Christian mentality' is not given at baptism (Canon 855) but, outside Christian territories, they may choose a Christian name **or** one in use in that part of the world, so long as it has a Christian meaning; Catholic Encyclopedia, O.S.V., 1991:115, 669.
- 22 Williams, Rt. Rev., Christianity Among the New Zealanders 1867:253.
- 23 Dening, Greg, Islands and Beaches, 1980:165.
- 24 Irwin, James, in Veitch and Nichol, 1980:64, "Some Maori Responses to the Western Form of Christianity".
- 25 Ibid; for more explicit detail of this behaviour, see Fouchant, Fr J.A.M., A Marist Missionary in New Zealand, 1843-6, Chapter 5, 1985:54-67; also Laracy, H.M., in New Zealand Heritage, Part 12:327-33.

NAMES WRITTEN INTO BOOKS:

Maori people were often treated distinctively in law and this had a direct effect on the types of records that were created. For example, although the civil registration of marriages in New Zealand dates from 1848, this was not compulsory for Maori until 1911 1.

Similarly, it appears, with births and deaths; this non-compulsory registration has made the task of defining when Maori of last century began to use surnames rather a difficult one.

Compared with records concerning Europeans, those for Maori are few in number. The reason for this discrepancy appears to be that the business of government simply never touched some areas of Maori life and, added to this, the fire in Parliament Buildings in 1907 destroyed most of the pre-1891 Native Department correspondence 2.

There were, of course, other agencies that held information on matters particularly affecting Maori people. The Maori Lands Courts have been a major source and, where practicable, I have made use of these 3, though for the most part, it seems that it was not until 1893 that the Justice Department took over control of the affairs of Maori, and Justice indexes and registers became relevant. It was the Justice Department that then administered matters previously dealt with by the Native Department 4.

But most relevant to this study are the Acts concerning the registration of births, marriages and deaths among Maori. The 1908 Act, under 'miscellaneous provisions' 50, stated,

Nothing herein shall apply to the registration of

births or deaths of Maoris, provided that this Act shall come into operation in respect of births and deaths of Maoris in such districts and at such times as the Governor by Proclamation appoints: provided also that half-castes and other people of mixed race, living as members of any Maori tribe, shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be Maoris 5.

When, from 1913, the registration of Maori births was made compulsory 6, new bilingual forms made provision for entering the date of birth, the place, the Christian or first name of child, the sex, the name, residence, hapu, and description of both parents as well as the name, residence, occupation and degree of relationship to the child of the informant of the birth, the date of registration and the registrar's signature 7. Maori people were now truly part of bureaucracy.

By the 1924 Act, under Registration of Births and Deaths of Natives, 60 (1) stated,

The Governor General may from time to time, by Order in Council, make such regulations as he thinks fit providing for the registration of births and deaths of Natives 8.

With Maori required by law to declare and register its society's new members by name, it would appear relatively simple to decide when changes in naming customs began to take place. However, the requirement to register a birth had not become mandatory until 1913.

Because, well into this century, the use of a family name was not seen as compulsory, such registers are of little help in addressing the problem of when or how, last century, the European concept of a surname was adopted or evolved.

However, the 1951 Act required, in its first schedule, that the tribe of the father and mother be entered and also that the degree of Maori blood, if any, of both parents to be shown 9.

The Act further required (as set out on form one for the registration of births) that the name and surname of both parents of the child be entered 10. The fact that no specific mention of Maori is made in this regard (as was with the degree of Maori blood), leads to the conclusion that Maori people, too, were now compelled to enter a surname when registering a birth.

Thus, with a European interpretation of 'correct' naming now locked into place by an Act of Parliament, it would be fair to claim that, however tardily, colonisation had set naming boundaries for the colonised 11.

Yet, long before the Act of 1951, Maori were using family or surnames. This was common practice in the school and in the workplace. Maori people entering hospital or visiting any health professional for that matter, were expected to be known by a family or surname. Others, well-known sports figures of their times, had surnames. So how is the presence of such names, long before the law required them, to be accounted for?

To discover this, it is necessary to turn to the early baptismal registers of the missionaries, recognising that it was in the hands of ecclesiastical authorities rather than the colonial government of the time to record and preserve such details regarding their Maori converts. That they did both so faithfully is commendable, for these registers now provide a window through which a seldom explored segment of the past may be viewed.

The Pukekaraka registers

The first baptism recorded in the French missionaries' register at the Marist Mission of Pukekaraka, Otaki, in May, 1844, is that of Hoani or John 12. Hoani was then one year, son of Te Ra and Rangirukea. Of the seventeen Maori baptised by Fr Comte in that year, most were children 13. Names given were 'Christian' ones, albeit in a Maori form: Timoti (Timothy), Maria, Petera, Repeka (Rebekah), Katarina, Peata (Beatrice), and Apera (probably Albert) were some 14. Without exception, all the parents had single Maori names.

Similarly, in 1845, when young adults, all born prior to any missionary contact in the area, were baptised. An eighteen-years-old son of Tipao and Utu-kawa was named Werohiko, the missionary's adaptation of Francis, while Te Tuere and Waipare had a son of twenty-five who was named Heremia or Zachary. This Heremia also bore the name Te Kahotura, almost certainly his previous given name. In the case of Werohiko, the priest recorded that he did not know this young man's previous name. The names of Werohiko's parents are recorded, which suggests that the Maori name of Heremia, Te Kahotura, had been Heremia's given name until the time of his Christian baptism 15. Other young adults baptised at this time were given similar names: Mikaere (Michael) Te Reti, Kaperiere (Gabriel) Paihoki, Matorena (Madelina) Moturau 16. In all cases, the Maori name appears to have been the individual's given name and bears no relationship to either of the parents' names 17.

In the year 1845, infant baptisms and those of children continue. A thirteen-years-old boy, son of Rimuroa and Parekino, was baptised Perenara, a transliteration of Bernard 18. In the area there are to this day Maori families who use Perenara as a surname. This begs the

question: did some of these early, given names evolve into surnames? I shall look for further evidence of this below.

Towards the end of the same year, the baptism occurred of a female infant, Mariu-Matarena, daughter of Ngamangu and Aruke. The god-mother's name was Matarena (Madeline) 19, obviously a baptismal name which, in turn, was to form part of the little girl's name. There is still no evidence of a parent's single name being used as a child's surname in the first part of the decade.

But, in 1848, one sees a change taking place. When twenty young people, all over eighteen years of age, were baptised at Otaki, the register show that the baptisms are recorded with the individual's christened name, followed by the Maori father's given one. For example, the adult son of Te Waha and Momo is baptised Atarea Te Waha, the son of Te Tuere and Waipare is Rawiri(David) Te Tuere, and the son of Taukino nd Rangiwatea is given the name of Hipirini Taukino 20. All these baptismal candidates were in their twenties, all were given the names of their male parents as an apparent surname. One could well ask if the baptising priest chose to use the fathers' names simply because, in his country of origin, it was customary to pass on the male parent's name from father to son. If these latter examples are a true indication of the naming that occurred at this mission station, then a surname for Maori was being created for Maori by attaching the given name of the individual's male parent to the chosen baptismal or 'Christian' name. This would, of course, explain how the name Perenara(Bernard), which began life as a baptismal name, eventually became a surname used by Perenara's descendants, in line with the European custom as illustrated in the examples that follow.

In 1848, on February 16 at Otaki, the baptisms of

five-years-old Thomas and his three-years-old sister, Mary occurred. These children were the son and daughter of one G. Corly, and a Maori women called Paku, writes the priest. From this entry it appears that if the parent bore a surname, it was entered; Corly did, Paku did not. This name, Corly, is repeated on January 25, 1852, when the baptism of John Corly is recorded, son of Te Tohu Corly 21 and, again, simply Paku.

Another baptism and naming of interest is that performed by Fr Jean-Baptiste Petit-Jean on November 26, 1856. It was the baptism of a Pakeha child, daughter of the first white settlers in the area, Hector MacDonald and his wife, Mary Carmont. As in the Corly entries, the father's name is recorded and, as one would expect with a Scottish family, becomes the child's surname.

In 1860, Fr Petit-Jean writes, 'at approximately twenty-seven years, Waretini, a young man from the aborigenes, previously named Ko 22 Te Tahuri, was baptised Valentine'(Waretini). Here again, this illustrates a baptismal name, in its Maori transliteration, becoming a family surname for later generations. Just as with the name Perenara, Waretini is a still used surname in the area and, rather than Valentine being its English version, it is re-transliterated to Warren. Likewise, still in use is the surname, Raureti, from the baptismal name of Lawrence given to a tupuna.

Another name that shows how a surname may come into being is that of 'a Maori known by the name of Pura, of twenty-nine years, of the tribe of Ngati Raukawa'. Pura was christened Poniwahio (Boniface) Pura on March 31, 1861. Likewise, on that same day, 'a Maori aged forty-three years,

and previously called Pokai', was baptised Hoani-Papita (John the Baptist or Jean-Batiste) Pokai. In August of that year, a Maori woman of some thirty-eight years was named Mary Maria, and then known as Maria Tawaeuru, Tawaeuru apparently being her original Maori name. This indicates that, by the 1860s, surnames were evolving.

In 1862, a child, Kiriona Eria, received his baptismal name from his father's name, Kiriona, taking his godfather's Christian name, Eria (Elias) for a surname (showing that there were always exceptions in the developing pattern, with Maori naming remaining innovative. Other entries in this year suggest that the child's parents had only recently become Christians and so received their new baptismal names. This is indicated when the child is young but already bears a name of his or her culture, rather than a 'font' name. Some had no names at all, as in 1867, when a child was baptised 'almost secretly...I did not put any name on him' 23.

Many Catholic baptisms of this period were entered with the words 'under condition' where Maori were older, as in the case of Maria Rangiaemata of Porotawhao who had always been simply Rangiaemata previously. One Marika (described as 'an aboriginal woman previously named Marika, wife of Tamati'), had her name changed to Merira or Maria, and seventy-year old Witikana was baptised John Witikana. Also baptised at Katihiku, Otaki was 'an old Maori female, called Kapu' who was renamed, Mere Oriwia (Mary Olivia) Kapu, her given name becoming her surname. In all cases of such 'conditional' baptisms, where the ceremony was performed 'after the abjuration from Protestantism', the name of the person appears to have been changed 24.

Moving into the 1880s, the practice of bestowing more than one Christian name can be seen developing (though by no means universally). Names like Anabel and Simon (in their transliterated forms) were becoming as popular as John and Mary. Then the names Albert, George and William come into favour, bearing out the theory that 'royal' names were popular because they were seen as names bearing mana 25.

Meanwhile, the pattern of naming continuing to emerge affirms the idea that the practice of an adult taking his or her given Maori name as a surname, or that of the priest bestowing the father's given Maori or new Christian name on the child as a surname was becoming increasingly popular. In 1887, an infant born to Nga Ihu and Mereama Okeroa (here Mereama's baptismal name precedes her former one) was christened Hunia Okeroa at Porotawhao, while the son of Waretini (Valentine) Hukiki and Ripera, born at Muhunoa, was named Hohepa (Joseph) Waretini 26. In the first case the child's surname has been derived from a parent's original given Maori name; in the second, a given baptismal name can be seen, in just a few decades, to have evolved into a surname for future generations.

By leaving the registers and leaping some twenty years ahead to a powhiri notice issued from Pukekaraka, Otaki on November fifth, 1904, one can see, in the names of those Maori issuing the invitation, a pattern which is becoming familiar; for all of the Maori signatories have two names. But what stands out is the fact that, where some of the second names (early surnames?) are those still well-known in the area today, other now well-known surnames **precede** names that have since been lost. That is, early first or Christian names have, since 1904, evolved into what are

today considered to be Maori surnames 27.

As for the Pukekaraka registers, I leave them there, in the 1880s. Taking examples from times nearer our own, could risk breaking confidentiality with the people of the land who have living memories of the tupuna of whom the books speak.

Taylor's Whanganui Journals

When the Church Missionary Society missionary, Richard Taylor, began his work in the Whanganui district, the area had been under some Christian influence for a few years. It is thought that about ten per cent of the Maori people had professed to be converted and received a Christian name; but the remainder still bore their native names 28.

The Journals of the Rev Richard Taylor cover some three decades. However, for the purposes of this writing, I have used, in particular, those which record Taylor's mission work and experiences during his first few years in the Whanganui River area. These are the most relevant to a study on naming, for Taylor meticulously recorded the given names of Maori people dwelling in villages along the banks of the long, winding Whanganui, in places where only hundreds or none live now.

According to his second Journal, covering the period from January first, 1838, to July seventh, 1844, Taylor made the then long journey from Wellington to Whanganui, travelling up the coast, stopping over at Otaki to meet Hadfield and Te Rauparaha on his way. Reaching the Manawatu at sunset on April 19, 1843, the Whanganui was not far distant 29.

In his work for the Church Missionary Society, Richard Taylor covered an extensive area. His first journey up the river, recorded as commencing on November first, 1841, is entered in Journal 2, which covers the period from January, 1838, to July, 1844. In his records are criticisms of other missionaries, the Wesleyans and Catholics, for their apparent over-eagerness to baptise. Taylor accuses them of aiming at numbers and with slight Christian knowledge 30.

While Taylor himself did baptise many Maori over a period of time, there were many he examined and then turned away, as his records show. On one occasion when some eighty-three adults and twenty children were baptised, the first couple were named for Taylor and his wife 31.

But whatever Taylor's shortcomings in religious tolerance, he kept the most detailed records of the names of the Maori living in the river villages, the catechists among them, the baptismal candidates (both on the river and in the township) listing those he passed and those he failed, marking the former 'do'. In these lists of names, the majority are single ones. Where there are two names, the first appears as a Maori transliteration of a 'Christian' one. This upholds my observations regarding the names listed in the baptismal registers of the French priests at Pukekaraka, Otaki. It is also interesting to note that, as Taylor moves further up the river (into territory with less European influence?), the names listed are all single ones, and the people are defined as 'not baptised' 32. Even the children have 'old' names, except in the occasional village (Operiki, for example) where 'Christian' names are in use: Haimona (Simon), Matiu (Matthew), Maria and Riria (Lydia). In his careful records of the dead, the unbaptised have single,

Maori names: Poipoi. Piki, Kauki, Puku, and others 33.

Where the baptised dead are listed, they have, for the most part, a transliterated Christian name followed by a Maori name. Mete Kingi Neu, a chief, appears to be an exception, but catechists, without exception, have Christian names preceding their Maori ones 34.

Taylor listed his names in groups: baptised men, baptised women, unbaptised men, unbaptised women, boys, girls 35.

I have observed that Taylor was scathing in his comments about other missions; he was to be equally harsh in his judgement of his own converts. At Patiarero (opposite Pukeika), he took a census, placing a cross against all names of those guilty of adultery or theft. Adulterers and other offenders were banished to the 'koraha' 36 for as long as two or three years, not 'suffered to enter their pa' 37. In addition, their baptismal names **were taken from them** 38.

While acknowledging Richard Taylor as both observer and painstaking recorder of Maori names and customs during his long stay in the Whanganui area, the same missionary is said to have baptised more candidates than any other in the country. This has been presented as a commendable feat, yet the same source 39 tells of Bishop Williams' disapproval when Rev. Robert Cole, in the Wairarapa, baptised great numbers of Maori contrary to the advice of his Maori catechist. As many of their candidates had come from the Wesleyan mission, this could suggest some over-zealousness on the part of both Cole and Taylor. This was the behaviour that Taylor had so condemned in the Wesleyans and Catholics 40.

Catholics on the Whanganui

The Marist Mission had by now, set up a mission station in the Whanganui River area. Fr Pesant was the first priest to enter items in the baptismal register, heading his entries under the name of Petre, the first name given to the town but officially changed to 'Wanganui' in 1854 41.

The records begin on February first, 1852, some nine years after Taylor began to write in his Journal. At first there are no Maori baptisms recorded, only those of European children, and Irish names dominate the entries; they are referred to as 'some children of the Cavalry people'.

Then, on July seventeenth, the priest baptised Te Wano (Stephen?) Te Whakarau, infant son of Akutina (Augustine) and Huhana (Suzanne) Taturua, of Te Waiariki, Taupo. This name appears to have no connection with that of either of the child's parents, or with that of his godfather, a Marist named Anthony Chabary or Brother Euloget 42.

Likewise with Erina (Ellen) Tarehu, daughter of Eruera Moanawhiri, and of Ateraiti Taeroa. Here again, there appears no naming link between parents and child. But, unlike the adult Maori encountered in the Pukekaraka records, these parents have baptismal names. Were they from an earlier missionised area, or were they already Christians, but converts to Catholicism? Perhaps the latter, for the next entry records Pirihita (Brigitte) Te Upokowhiu, daughter of Te Upokowhiu and Hinekoru (traditionally named), from Kaipo, who was 'formerly baptised by a Protestant minister (but) now baptised by me under condition 43.

This sounds more familiar; and the little girl had her baptismal name followed by her father's given Maori one.

No further baptisms are entered in the register until, in 1857, the priest baptised Maria Wairuatoa, aged eighteen, of Waitotara. Maria was the daughter of Ihara and Hoheu, and wife of Te Ahuru. She was baptised 'under condition' having been formerly baptised a Protestant. No Christian godparents were available, and there is nothing to suggest Maria bore a surname 44.

Listed as baptism number fourteen for 1857, is Wiremu or William Coffe, infant son of William, a settler, and Te Moe. William's naming follows the European custom, his father's surname being recorded.

Next to be entered are at least forty-four Maori baptisms. These are interesting entries in that not only are they performed on people in a wide age range, but the celebrant is the Bishop of Wellington, Philip Viard. Viard had travelled to Waitotara for this occasion, strengthening the theory that Fr Pesant had indeed been absent from Whanganui, perhaps busy preparing the many candidates who lived in the numerous river villages. The fact that the majority of these candidates had 'abjured from Protestantism', makes more understandable the bitter resentment of Rev Taylor, encountered above 45.

Entry number fifty among the baptisms on this day, July twentieth, 1857, is the name Takuira Te Mokainga, aged seventeen years, son of Te Matuia and of Itirau. The name Takuira means 'Tranquility', a departure from the saintly names bestowed on the other baptismal candidates 46. It survives in the present-day Maori Catholic bishop, the Most Rev Max Takuira Mariu, S.M. 47, but, unfortunately, none of the names provide answers to the question of when surnames among Maori came into prominence in the Whanganui area.

Two years later, the six-weeks-old daughter of Paurini Karamu and Katarina Puanga of Taupo, was baptised at Korero-mai-i-waho, in the Rangitikei area, and given her father's name, Karamu, as a surname. Here one sees a female child being given a patrilineal surname, as were the three young men at Pukekaraka earlier. The baptism took place at 'Captain Trafford's place'. Was it the greater European influence in this district or the priest's expectations that caused the father's name to be inevitably chosen, the patrilineal surname to be an accepted practice to Maori? 48. A pattern does seem to emerge for, in the same year, 1859, the infant daughter of Rawiri(David) and Patea and Ruta Te Whao, is named Ripeka (Rebekah) Patea, and Keremete Te Wera has a father called Te Wano Te Wera 49.

Moving into the 1860s, it is still not clear if a father's name is being put on children as a surname. Aterea, a five-months boy is named for his father, Aterea, but no second name is given. Two other entries nearby give the children Christian names while parents all appear to have single, Maori names. The godparents are Maori catechists, all bearing Christian names 50.

Then, towards the end of 1860, the baptism of Penetito (Benedict) Rangitikei is performed: Penetito is the infant son of Waretini(Valentine) Rangitikei and his wife, of Te Korito(Corinth) on the lower river. Likewise, Ruhia(Ruth) Te Huri, with a father named Te Huri but perhaps not a baptised Maori as in the case of Waretini or Valentine 51.

These names are found among Fr Pesant's final entries for that year for, in 1861, he is replaced by Fr Pertius, S.M. Twice in the year, the children he baptises are given their

fathers' Maori names but again, in both cases, the father himself also bears a Christian one (entries twenty-two and forty-six). Entries for 1862 occasionally repeat this pattern when Anataria Te Waraki is given her father's name, Te Waraki. But another naming breaks any fragile pattern when Poniwahio's infant boy is named after his father, also taking the name Boniface, but **not** his father's Maori name. This family came from Atene (Athens), a village of the upper river 52. This irregularity causes one to question if the habit of adopting European-like surnames was perhaps very much a random one and was dependent on the degree of contact between tauiwi and those Maori converting to Christianity. Feastdays, when multiple baptisms often took place 53, were always carefully recorded, but there is little to indicate a pattern where naming is concerned.

In 1863 and 1864, Fr Pesant was performing baptisms again, but the scene had little changed. Only occasionally is there an instance of the father's name being used as the child's surname. When this does occur, there are two distinct forms: when the father's given Maori name follows his Christian one, the child takes that Maori name, using it as a surname; but, when the father has only a single Maori name, that becomes the surname of the child 54.

In 1865 and 1866, no Maori baptisms of any sort are recorded. Is this a reflection of the Land Wars, an indication that Maori refrained from converting to Christianity in these troubled times? Most of the baptisms entered during this period were those of the children of soldiers or settlers. Were the priests being kept busy elsewhere, perhaps by the many Irish Catholics

among the soldiers and settlers who were now in the area? Even in 1867 the sole entry for a Maori baptism is dated July nineteenth, when Maria-Ana, aged thirty-two years, was baptised by Fr Pesant in the upper Turakina Valley 55. Maria-Ana's godparents are listed as Jeremiah O'Callaghan and Annie Cameron, farmers. Is it possible that these two were employing Maria-Ana on their farm?

According to the Marist records 56, baptisms in the Whanganui area, between the years 1855 and 1867, totalled two hundred and one. In this period, I could find scarcely more than twenty entries where there were clear naming links (suggesting emerging surnames) between children and their parents. And, among these few examples, there was not necessarily any conformity or set pattern to be observed. When one further entry occurs on September ninth, 1868, it is for a daughter born to Hohepa Parama and Terehuia. The little girl was baptised with the name Wikitoria, that is, Victoria, no doubt for the British monarch 57.

NOTES:

- 1 He Pukaki Maori: A guide to Maori Sources at the National Archives 1995:Introduction.
- 2 Family History in the National Archives Wellington, 1990:16, 19
- 3 Horowhenua Commission 1896, Minutes from; in which Maori of various hapu or whanau within a tribe were vying for recognition of ownership in certain blocks of land in the area. Names were of primary importance in these court hearings as individuals were obliged to prove their rights under Maori customary concepts (that is, under Maori lore).
- 4 Family History..., 1990:21
- 5 Births and Deaths Registration Act 1908, No.16
- 6 Taken from Form RG91, "Guide to Information recorded on Births and Deaths Entries": Whanautanga 1913-1930
- 7 Births and Deaths Registration Act 1924, No.13
- 8 Births and Deaths Registration Act 1951, Form No.1:4
- 9 Ibid, 1951, Form No.1:1,2.
- 10 Only in the 1995 Act was the surname exempted from entry 'if the religious or philosophical beliefs, or cultural traditions of a parent (whether living or dead) or living guardian of the child require the child to bear only one name'.
- 11 Births deaths and Marriages Registration Act 1995, No.16:19b.
- 12 These records are held in the Marist Archives, Hobson Street, Wellington; this section taken from Book No.1, 1844-1859.
- 13 Fr Comte, S.M., was known to move slowly in the matter of Maori baptisms. Taken from Otaki Parish and Convent School Jubilee: 1974:23, "Fr Comte,S.M."
- 14 It will be noticed that many of the transliterated names in their Maori form vary from those given by English-speaking missionaries; for example, the French version Petera had its Protestant equivalent in Pita.
- 15 Entry 21, Zachary or Heremia, was born in 1820; This man lived to participate in the Golden Jubilee of the Pukekaraka mission.
- 16 I have been told by a reliable source that some of the French fathers named their converts after their own family members, through nostalgia. Some have been difficult to find an English equivalent for; others which are obvious, e.g. Maria, I have left untranslated.
- 17 Book 1, 1844-59; entries dated 1845.
- 18 Among the French priests who recorded baptisms, there was a Fr Bernard, S.M. who served at Pukekaraka, Otaki.
- 19 Very often an adult convert, frequently a catechist, stood as god-parent for several baptismal candidates.

- 20 The name Hipirini comes from the French, Phillippe. Here again, some of these baptismal names, transliterated from French to Maori language are difficult to recognise; where possible they have been checked against other records but, where uncertain, they have been left as they appear in their handwritten forms.
- 21 Corly in one instance used his Maori, in the other his Pakeha name; he appears to have been a half-caste.
- 22 The specific particle 'ko', used before proper names in Maori, was often mistaken by Europeans as part of the name. As with young Temetera or Demetrius, son of Menereira (Menelaus) and Pirihiri (Brigitte), who was previously named (Ko) Pango.
- 23 These examples taken from Book No. 2, 1859-1865.
- 24 'Under Condition': 'If it be uncertain whether the convert's baptism was valid or not, then he is to be baptised conditionally. In such cases the ritual is: "If thou art not yet baptised, then I baptise thee in the name..." etc. The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol.11, 1907:264, "Baptism".
- 25 See Manukau City Council publication, 1996:2; see also Taylor, Rev R., Te Ika-a-Maui, 1870:328.
- 26 Pukekaraka baptismal registers; names taken from Register dated 1885-9.
- 27 Names such as Karauti and Perenara, now surnames in the Kuku area appear on this notice from Pa Werohiko (Francis), Pukekaraka, while the names Wehipeihana and Ranapiri (Ransfield) had obviously already become family names.
- 28 Mead, A.D., J.P.S. 67, 1958:58, "Personal Maori Names as Recorded by Richard Taylor".
- 29 Taylor, Rev R., Journal Two, 1838-1844:337.
- 30 Ibid, 76.
- 31 Ibid, 181
I have found Taylor's Journals more valuable for his comprehensive lists of names than for his comments.
- 32 Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials of Rev R. Taylor, 1842-1843:23-25, 28.
- 33 Ibid, 27.
- 34 The name Metekingi is still one with mana. Is it possible that a chief bearing that name last century would not have wished to change it in any way?
- 35 Register, etc., 32-33
- 36 koraha: here equivalent to the biblical 'desert'.
- 37 pa: here meaning a Maori village.
This need not have been a peculiarly missionary idea of punishment; the practice of expulsion from the community for unacceptable behaviour also existed in pre-contact Maori society where it was for the community to both expel or restore its members; taken from a talk by Dr Hirini Moko Mead, Te Ao o te Tiriti Conf., 14 April, 1999.

- 38 Taylor, Rev R., Journal and Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1842-3:38; emphasis mine; the culprit was considered to have 'shamed' the Mission by such behaviour, proving her/himself unworthy of the baptismal name; that is, the biblical namesake; (s)he, then, would be overcome by whakama(abased) at this isolating punishment.
- 39 Butt, Peter, The Cross and the Stars, 1993:23, 29
- 40 Taylor, Journal Two, 1859:76
- 41 This name, 'Petre', appears on the heading of Father Pesant's Whanganui River Mission Baptisms, dated Feb.1, 1852 to July 12, 1869.
- 42 Entries Nos.9, 13, 14,1855; Brother Euloget or Anthony Charbary, stood as godparent on these occasions.
- 43 Entry No.16, 1855.
- 44 Entry No.11, 1857.
- 45 Entries Nos. 24-58, 1857.
- 46 Entry No.50, 1857.
- 47 Simon, M.(ed), Hui Aranga, "Te Aranga Ake", 1996:Introduction, by Takuira Mariu, S.M.
- 48 Entry No.61, 1859.
- 49 Entries Nos. 73, 75, 1859.
- 50 Entries Nos. 24, 28, 29, 1860.
- 51 Entries Nos. 36, 41, 1860.
- 52 Entries Nos. 40, 47, 1862; New Testament place names were common on the river.
- 53 Feastdays such as Pentecost or Corpus Christi were popular occasions of celebration when mass rites would be performed.
- 54 Compare this with the whakapapa of Wiremu Rikihana, born into the northern tribe of Te Rarawa, in 1851. Wiremu's father had the single Maori name, Rikihana, which became a surname for Wiremu(William); this whakapapa by Fr H. Tate, appears in Nga Tangata Taumata Rau, 1996:168.
- 55 Entry No. 46, 1867.
- 56 Roman Catholic Baptisms, Whanganui Environs, 1855-1867.
- 57 Entry, Sept. 9, 1868; Wikitoria or Victoria: because the Treaty of Waitangi was seen as between the Maori of New Zealand and the English queen, her name had become a favourite one, a name of obvious mana even in those troubled times when Maori were divided in their loyalties.

REFLECTION

One way in which Maori society stated its perception of personhood was in its choice of names. This is clearly demonstrated in the census compiled by Richard Taylor, missionary for the Church Missionary Society in the Whanganui area in 1843. In this census are recorded the names of those Maori who occupied the many river villages as well as those living in the nascent town of Whanganui.

Taylor's lists clearly show how different from those known to the Christian missionaries were Maori names. For example, in a list of 2,041 Maori names, the number of totally **distinctive** names comes to 1,743 1. How great is this diversity when one examines a similar list of 'Christian' names belonging to tauwi of the same period?

Although some slight foreign influence can be seen in Maori names transliterated from the English, this merely reflects the contact with European visitors who had been calling at the mouth of the Whanganui several years prior to the date of Taylor's census 2.

Taylor's lists of personal names obviously influenced by tauwi and their language include Paoro(Paul), Riria(Lydia) and Hoepa(Joseph), and others not mentioned by Mead though obviously coined from the 'new' words Maori people were becoming acquainted with as tauwi arrived in their area: Poti(boat), Pouaka(box), Naihi(knife) and so on 3.

This was almost certainly typical of the stage that naming in Maori society had reached when Christian missionaries from their varying backgrounds began to arrive on the scene.

We can only speculate how, left to their own initiatives, Maori would have developed and perhaps changed some naming practices for, when the missionaries arrived, they brought their own ideas and their particular cultural formations with them. As they gradually made converts to Christianity among the Maori, they baptised, in their customary manner.

Whether an adult or an infant, the individual came to be 'christened' within the Christian ceremony of baptism, not in any past traditional or customary manner. Missionaries did not name their candidates within a Maori perception of naming. Neither were they comfortable about baptising with the type of names traditionally used by Maori, but found it both desirable and necessary to name for biblical or saintly characters, the choice being determined by their particular Christian persuasion.

Not all Maori were, of course, baptised Christians and, in all cases of missionary naming, Maori were free to alternate between the Maori and English (or French) versions of their names 4. They frequently did so, to the confusion of tauiwi. However, the uniqueness of the Maori given name, with each individual bearing a name which was usually unique from all others 5, had begun to disappear.

A contemporary historian has described missionaries,

The agents of religious change are men sent out -missioned- by their institutions and driven by their own convictions that there is but one god and they know his name...men, so self-assured in their vision of how their and other worlds should be 6.

When missionaries came to these islands, they came with the intention of converting the Maori people to their own

Christian beliefs. To achieve this task was no easy matter, for they had to dismiss the old beliefs, the old symbols. Moulded by their various cultural and religious formations, some more than others saw this as imperative. Such men were able to see no parity between the Judeo-Christian scriptures and the myths of the people of the land 7.

Proselytising activities from people of backgrounds very different from the Maori appear to have made it inevitable that many traditional customs would, in time, be replaced by those of tauiwi.

One such casualty was Maori naming. A customary right to name, by those elders with an understanding of the traditions surrounding the giving of names, was removed.

Baptism in the Christian sense, soon replaced the tohi or tuatanga ceremony discussed above 8. Although this would have affected only those more chiefly families whose children underwent this ritual soon after birth, the overall effect was to completely dismiss one of the ancient rites of the Maori people.

As far as the names themselves were concerned, the missionary habit of bestowing names foreign to the Maori could be seen, superficially, as having little significance. How, the reader might question, could a naming at baptism so overturn a traditional system of naming?

It is my contention that it could and did happen, and quite simply.

We have seen that, after Christian baptism, an adult Maori retained his or her original name either wholly or

in part 9, usually attaching it to the new, baptismal name, and also how, with infants, the father's given Maori name usually followed the child's christened one. The early baptismal records that I have examined witness to this practice. They clearly show how, over a few decades, these practices were beginning to take place; how the father's given Maori name, so retained, became a family name: the forerunner of a customary surname, European-style 10.

They also show that there appear to be no records kept of the name of the **group(s)** to whom the Maori individual would have affiliated. This would suggest that the names of hapu (larger grouping of whanau) were not seen by tauwiwi to be of any great significance in the naming of persons, despite the close links between individuals and that ancestor from whom the group usually took its name 11.

In traditional Maori society surnames, European-style, were unknown 12. Maori family members, in pre-contact times, linked themselves by a group or common family name somewhat comparable to the clan naming in the Scottish Highlands 13. Surnames that Maori use today only gradually came into common use and Maori, over many decades, only slowly fell into line with the imported system.

Yet the introduction of surnames cannot be attributed to governmental legislation. Although, with the passage of time, various parliamentary acts did contribute to a final overturning of customary naming practices 14, it appears it was missionary activity as described above, that began the process. One or more names would be given at Christian baptism, names favoured by Christians. These, as have

described, would be followed by what evolved from a Maori given name into a surname proper 15.

In the surname-bearing cultures in which the missionaries and, indeed, most of the colonists had their roots, family names were usually hereditary, passed down the male line from century to century. Last century (and indeed, even today), Western convention accepted as a minimum a forename or 'Christian' name plus a 'surname' or family name, the former being private, the latter public property 16. Was there a realisation that this had not always been so?

The history of surnaming is an elusive one for, the more generations one goes back in attempting to trace these names, the more difficult the exercise becomes. Eventually the family or surname simply disappears from any records and only single names can be found 17.

In France, surnames appeared on documents at the close of the tenth century, but they were by no means constant. The name 'par excellence' of the individual continued to be his or her baptismal name 18. There, surnames came into being only as a means of distinguishing individuals of the same given name. The simplest device was to add one's father's name to one's own 19.

For example, the name Gerald (meaning to rule by the spear), appears in the Domesday lists in the form Robertus filius Gerald, that is Robert son of Gerald. In its Norman form, Robert Fitzgerald, it went to England with Norman invaders, then to Ireland with the Anglo-Normans 20. Such names, which supplanted both Anglo-Saxon and Celtic ones, were already drawn from many languages 21.

In the eleventh century, when King William's Norman forces invaded England, the king began to compile a census (known as the Domesday Book), which listed all his subjects with a taxable income. Although these names were virtually all Norman, as the skills of the invaders spread among the invaded, the English, too, gradually entered into the same categories, adopting the Norman binominal naming system. This is how the surname was born among those who had previously possessed unique, given names: names that a millennium ago were considered to belong only to the persons who bore them, names that even no ancestor had used. By 1350, nearly everyone in Britain possessed these surnames, although to do so was never compulsory by law 22. Individuals now became named for their trades (by far the largest category), their callings, their places of origin, their new places of residence, or even for their appearance. This system, of course, led to easy classification, quite unlike the early Anglo-Saxon names 23.

Likewise, in Ireland, ancient Irish names were single ones. The surname, as we know it, did not arise in Ireland until the seventeenth century and came into being by the patronymic 'O' or 'Mac' being prefixed to the single name of the male line, until it eventually became an hereditary name. Clearly it was initially handed down simply to perpetuate the name of a great ancestor of whom his descendants were justifiably proud 24.

The surname had arrived slowly in the cultures in which tauiwi who came to these islands of Aotearoa-New Zealand had their roots. Only in the late seventeenth century had

their alphabetical lists comprised surnames rather than 'Christian' ones. Before that, people's names, whenever listed in alphabetical order, were done so by those names bestowed at baptism 25.

As the majority of those who brought new names and a new naming system to the Maori came from the British Isles, the familiar system of binominal naming which they began using for Maori was not perhaps as ancient as they imagined, but one that had more recently come into being. It was the system which had earlier been introduced by the Norman invaders and written down in an eleventh-century book.

A final reflection on the subject of names written into books: it concerns the convention adopted by many publications, including the The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, which I have used in this writing. Here the method of listing compound Maori personal names tends to encourage the dominance of the received surname. For example, in The People of Many Peaks, the Maori name Rewi Manga Maniapoto is indexed as Maniapoto, Rewi Manga. It also appears in this form in the body of the volume, which is less easy to justify. John Te Herekiele Grace explains that individual Maori names should be indexed 'according to Maori usage': that is, without the usual division into surname followed by first name(s). Grace writes that the form should be Rewi Maniapoto in full, never Maniapoto, Rewi, as is the European custom 26.

The same practice is adopted in Nga Tangata Taumata Rau, the Maori volumes except that, in some names, the alternative order is also given. Interestingly, in

the Maori versions, the index also contains listings under Auntie..., and Granny..., as the case may be, with the fuller name following. Is this a tentative acknowledgement that Maori still think in broader terms than the present-day dominant surname?

NOTES:

- 1 Mead, A.H., in J.P.S. 67, 1958:59, "Personal Maori Names recorded by Richard Taylor"
- 2 Ibid, 60
- 3 Ibid, 63-4; names taken from Taylor's lists.
- 4 Manukau City Council publication, 1996:3
- 5 Mead, A.D., J.P.S. 67, 1958:59
- 6 Denning, G., Islands and Beaches, 1980:170
- 7 Ibid, 1980:166
- 8 See Section One (b), "Naming from the Inside".
- 9 Manukau City Council publication, (M.C.C.), 1996:2, "Ko te Whiriwhiritanga o te Ingoa Maori mo tau Kohunga-hunga Hou".
- 10 As illustrated in the baptismal registers studied in Section Two (b), "Names Written into Books".
- 11 See Section Three (a), "Nine Glimpses into Naming: the Group".
- 12 Papakura, Maggie, Makereti, 1986:136.
- 13 Maui Pomare and Cowan, James, Legends of the Maori, 1987:56-62; in chapter 10, the authors make specific comment on the marked resemblance between Maori and Celt, not only in tribal beliefs and concepts, but in social and political organisation.
- 14 Government legislation affected customary Maori naming in that it effectively wrote into law a change in naming that had been occurring for many decades; where missionaries no doubt acted as catalysts in the coming of the surname, the 1951 Act requiring parents to register a child under both a surname and given name(s), made the surname obligatory for Maori. See Section Two, "Names Written into Books".
- 15 Again, see "Names Written into Books".
- 16 Room, Adrian, Naming Names, 1991:1.
- 17 Dolan, J.R., English Ancestral Names, 1972:1
- 18 New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967:204.
- 19 Room, 1991:4-5.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Slevin, G., Intro. in Woulfe, P., Irish Names for Children, 1979:iv-viii.
- 22 Dolan, 1972:2-3.
- 23 Ibid, 1972:7-9.
- 24 MacNamee, J.J., in Pamphlet 472:1-3, "Irish Names, Family and Personal" (undated).
- 25 Ewen, C.L'Estrange, A History of Surnames in the British Isles, 1968:352, 388-9.
- 26 John Te Herekiele Grace, Tuwharetoa, 1966:409

SECTION THREE

THE MANY AND VARIED ASPECTS OF NAMING

- a) nine glimpses into naming
- b) names that change

NINE GLIMPSES INTO NAMING

The sanctity of the name

It is not meet that you should kill your elder brother's name, for he, Kahutiarangi, is my ornament but you are only my child by a slave-woman 1.

Names were held in such high regard by Maori, that any insult to the name was considered to insult its owner. Here, the metaphorical use of the name 2, Kahutiarangi, by Uenuku, gives an insight into the significance the name had for Maori. Ruatapu was being chastised by his father for wearing a valuable whalebone comb reserved by Uenuku for his elder son, Kahutiarangi

This is a very old story which, although presented here in its New Zealand Maori version, has its setting in distant, mythical Hawaiki 3.

Johansen believes that ingoa(name), is very similar to rongo(renown); but whereas ingoa incorporates any fame **in** the individual's life, rongo merely describes fame as something heard **of** the person. Hence, ambitious persons set their hearts on special names for themselves and are jealous of the reputation of such names. The name is not, therefore, only for identification purposes, but has a 'dimension of content' 4.

Herbert Williams similarly defines 'ingoa'. As well as having the meaning of 'name' or 'namesake', used as a verb, 'ingoa' means 'to acquire distinction' 5.

In Maori, the importance of the name is embedded in the very grammar of the language. For example, the question is

never asked, -What is his name?
but rather,

-Who is his name? 6.

-Ko wai tona ingoa?

'Wai?', used interrogatively, as it is here, asks, -Who? However, it also has an indefinite meaning employed 'when the speaker cannot, or cares not, to give the name(s) 7.

This, perhaps, explains why Maori have never considered it good form to directly enquire a person's name. It is thought to be bad manners to do so. The implication here is that, if the name is not already known, then the person who bears it is of little importance.

For this reason, it is often necessary to approach the task of learning a name with great tact. Prominent Maori may be asked their names to their embarrassment and seem to act evasively. The situation can be saved if a third person is able to give the name.

The strength of pride associated with the name is of so intimate a kind that he feels a shyness and modesty before stating it 8.

Richard Taylor also observed this reticence to disclose names directly, saying it would be rude to ask a chief his name as this would imply that, without his name being widely known, he was of little consequence. Taylor suggested a manner of conveying one's ignorance of the chiefly name by stating: 'If I had partaken of the feast given when you were named, then indeed I should have known you' 9.

Such a manner of framing the question suggests that the person whose name is required is of great standing. Why else would his naming ceremony have been followed by a feast

or hakari but to feed the crowd there assembled?

Unfortunately, subtle references would be lost today, more than a hundred and fifty years after Taylor's time.

So much importance attached to the name can have negative consequences at times, especially when it is held that the individual is his name and an insult to that name is also an insult to its owner. Johansen explains that, it is in this way that name and mana can be paralleled. He gives the following example of the value placed on the given name of a person, relating how a mother 'precipitated a conflict' when told, in these words, of what she considered to be a grievous insult perpetrated on her son, Pepe:

The name of your son Pepe has been killed by
Toenga, and I saw him and his wife Potae make
a fire and eat part of it! 10.

The problem here was that Pepe's name had been put on a pig by this couple who subsequently killed and ate it.

Michael King enlarges on this story, telling how Toenga Te Poki became jealous of one Matioro's power. He and his wife, Potae, killed and ate one of Matioro's pet pigs, a pig named for his son, Pepe. King explains that this whole incident was deliberately contrived by Toenga to make Matioro attack him so that he, Toenga, could fight back 11.

A modern example of such inappropriate naming was seen very recently with the placing of the tupuna or ancestral name of Tukoroirangi Morgan on a monkey. This insulted not only the individual but, even more importantly, the ancestor who had borne that name. When this provoked the customary

indignant response, the nature of the slight was understood by few non-Maori.

Another such slight is the ignoring of a person's name. Johansen also tells the story of Ruataupare, The first wife of Tuwhakairiora: her grievance was that neither her children nor those of another wife of Tuwhakairiora were ever referred to as their mothers' children; they were always the children of Tuwhakairiora, while her name was never mentioned. This resentment in Ruataupare festered away until she finally fled her husband's area and returned to her own kinship group. Her intention was to make her name known and so proclaim her individual mana. Soon Ruataupare persuaded her kin to recapture a piece of land on which she had claim by right of her whakapapa. This was achieved, 'and the name of Ruataupare was now loudly proclaimed and feared throughout the whole district of Tokomaru'. Her feeling of personal worth restored, Ruataupare was able to live in peace 12.

There is yet another way in which an individual, through the use of a name, could be insulted.

When a person was vanquished, his name was also captured, for Maori saw the life as being in the name. Therefore, when a conqueror took possession of the land of his enemy, on which the victim had been killed, that dead chief could be even further insulted by having, for example, a kumara field planted and named after him. When harvest-time arrived, the late enemy would be 'eaten' as the conquerors partook of a feast of kumara 13.

Names that speak of revenge

Frequently, the object of naming an infant or an older child in a certain way, would have the purpose of reminding that young person as she grew up, that there had been an insult to a member of the group or even a death which had not yet been avenged. This name would then carry with it the responsibility of utu or revenge. The expectation being that the bearer of the name would, in time, carry out utu.

A sister whose brother had fallen in the battle of Te Karetu, gave up her old name and named herself Te Karetu 14.

However, such a name need not be a permanent one. In contrast to the example given above, the name Pirongia, given to Rata, and also reminiscent of an insult, was able to be dropped once utu had been accomplished. Rata once again could assume his original name. Johansen believes that the new name, like a 'baptismal name' may keep alive the memory of an insult 15.

For Waharoa, the name was more permanent 16. His story is an ancient one and well describes this type of naming. Waharoa was named for his dead father, Tai Porutu, who had been principal chief of Ngati Haua of Matamata.

During a war with Ngati Tama, Tai Porutu was killed or wounded. According to Smith 17, his body was carried up to Kawau Pa where it was suspended head downwards in the gateway of that pa. When the word reached Tai Porutu's wife, comprehending the circumstances of her husband's demise, she put the name Waharoa on their newborn son. Once Waharoa reached manhood, he waged war on Ngati Tama at every opportunity 18.

Hirini Moko Mead believes that there still exists the obligation for a son to avenge a wrong done to his father, but he says that nowadays 'a son is sorely troubled and confused because he does not know which disasters to avenge and he does not know how to seek revenge in this modern world, which has different laws. Nowadays we think that sons should complete tasks not finished by their fathers during their lifetimes; it is also up to sons to correct things that were wrong' 19.

Mead illustrates this claim with the story of Tawhaki, telling how Tawhaki and Hinepiripiri named their son Wahieroa 20 so that the marvellous event, when Tawhaki was revived after the treacherous treatment dealt out by his brothers-in-law 21, would never be forgotten.

At a deeper level, the name Wahieroa not only recorded the wrong done to Tawhaki, it also acted as a constant reminder that the insult remained unavenged 22.

In the song-poetry of the Maori, to which I have already referred, oriori are very often composed in order to avenge just such an insult. This can, in effect, become a double revenge. For, not only does the song insult the offender, it seeks to inform the listener of the circumstances of the insult, so placing the responsibility. Likewise, the infant for whom it is composed is challenged to take revenge. Best comments that if, by the time the child grows up, the known perpetrator of the deed is already dead, that is no worry; plenty of his descendants will do instead 23.

Throughout the songs examined, there are many examples of a slain person's honour being upheld and his people's desire for retribution satisfied when an attack is made on the

enemy's descendants, but there were other ways, too, of dealing with insults by humiliating the offender(s).

Tamahau of Ngati Hikawera of the Wairarapa composed an oriori in retaliation for some offensive remarks made by one Toko-pounamu. As this oriori became known, it annoyed Toko-pounamu. In it Tamahau alludes to the belittling comments made of himself by Toko-pounamu, and calls on the infant son to seek revenge 24.

Another such composition is that by Rangikawea which again involved a person being insulted by the slurring comments of another. The oriori keeps the memory green, for it tells the chief of the insult and, more importantly, how to answer it, as it recounts to him his ancestors' mighty exploits 25.

In similar vein to these names that call up feelings of utu, are names given in defiance or by way of reproach. These can be used to curse, as in the case of the woman who made up a song about Poto, the great chief:

Taku kuru-kanga ko koe, e Poto,
te kai mo roto ko te Rangi-Wakarurua!

or, as Taylor translates it:

You, Poto, are the pounder of my rotten corn,
the food for my stomach is Rangi-Wakarua,
your father!

This was such a great curse that Poto took the name of Kuru-kanga, and his friend, Tauī, to show empathy for Poto, also took a new name, Te Kai-o-roto 26.

Another act of defiance illustrated in naming was that of a woman named Huia. Huia was the great Pomare's daughter who

gave the name, Nota, or North Star, to her infant. This was after the vessel on which Pomare had been imprisoned in defiance of a flag of truce 27.

Similarly, the widow of Matene Ruta 28, whose husband was taken prisoner at Porirua and cruelly hanged, commemorated his death by naming her later-born infant, Repeka 29. Though sometimes a transliteration of Rebekah, Repeka (more commonly spelled Ripeka) here refers to the 'cross' on which the child's father was put to death.

Of the Ngati Toa warrior, Te Rauparaha, one writer says the name comes from the edible leaves of the convolvulus plant, that the murderer of Te Rauparaha's father (or relative) declared that, if he caught the boy alive, he would be a relish for that vegetable 30. Another agrees, but adds it was a Waikato warrior who had enjoyed the meal and then threatened to eat the child as well, suitably roasted with rauparaha leaves. This was a name given in defiance of that threat 31.

When Te Wakaahu of Whanganui slew the chief, Tuwhare, of Ngati Whatua of Kaipara, Tuwhare did not die immediately, but lingered long enough to mock his conqueror, telling him, Te Wakaahu, that he was no warrior or he would have killed him outright. He called Te Whakaahu 'he ringaringa-mahi-kai', a husbandman without the hands of a man accustomed to fighting. Not only did Te Whakaahu have to bear this name for his lifetime, but his son after him was also mocked by it. Similarly, a Maniapoto chief, Tumuwakairia, when he was taken prisoner was threatened with being hanged from the knot or tumu in a tree. After being rescued from this fate by

another chief, he acquired the name Tumu-w(h)aka-iria which describes his intended fate 32.

The challenge of new names

Not all names favoured were chosen from within the Maori's own culture. After contact, when it was realised that other parts of the world had individuals and institutions with great mana, Maori people looked beyond these islands and their own past experiences to find suitably impressive names as the following examples show:

Everything had its name. Hori Kingi 33 had a new house which he named Ingarani, to show his friendship to the king of England... Natives adopted English names if any honour was seen in them 34.

Taylor reports the case of a chief who asked if Earl Grey or Governor Grey had the higher title. He then named his child Takerei, choosing the name with the greater mana 35.

Choice of names was governed by what position of power the namesake held continued well into this century. Tom Smiler, elder of Te Aitanga a Mahaki and Rongowhakaata was born in 1915, in the Waituhi valley. He tells of how he was given the name Te Ha o Ruhia as an infant, explaining that it was at a time when Maori people were becoming more knowledgeable about Russia. His brothers always called him 'Czar' for short 36. This name did not concern the boy, for he had relatives with equally portentous names: Caesar, Mafeking, Tunisia, Tripoli and Egypt 37.

Not all nineteenth century experiences were positive, as is also reflected in the naming. With tauiwi and their new material goods came ideas for a host of new names. According to Taylor, some suggested a love of warfare: Pu(gun), some an attachment to domesticity: Tikera(tea-kettle). Others had a more macabre twist. For example, Kawhena(coffin) became a favourite appellation in his time 38.

In the same manner, grateful for recovery from a dangerous disease, a person might take the name Tumahu, meaning a convalescent or, as Taylor himself experienced, a mother bringing her child for baptism might have given it a Maori name meaning 'the spreading disease' or Matehaere, the measles epidemic of 1854 39.

Thomas Samuel Grace was ordained a deacon of the Prebyterian church in Derbyshire, England, in 1846, then sailed to Auckland, New Zealand in 1850. In 1855 he and his family journeyed by sea, river, and overland, for remote Pukawa, by Taupo. There he was welcomed by eleven canoes and a mighty reception. The Maori of the area were eager for their own pastor, we are told, although many of Te Heuheu's people had embraced Catholicism.

Among the Grace family assets which had to be transported to Pukawa, was a large bell, presented to Grace by women of a parish in Scotland. It hung by the chapel at Pukawa and, on account of its loud and frequently heard voice, the Maori named it Rawiri(David).

Local legend has it that four chiefs, who were the keepers of the bell, took the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Each Sunday, in top hat, morning coat, and striped trousers (given by friends in Auckland), they arrived for church.

John always carried the Bible, while Matthew wore the long coat, Mark the top hat, and Luke the trousers 40.

Names to be used with caution

Equally complex are some of the prohibitions in naming. Best recorded that, at any time, a word in vernacular speech might become tapu (in the sense of being prohibited from use), if it happened to form the name of an important chief or even a **part** of his name. This would mean that if the word was used in an everyday or profane way, a grave insult to the bearer of the name would have been perpetrated; perhaps so great that only the death of the speaker would suffice as payment. Such a name would therefore call for vocabulary changes in the area the important person occupied. The now prohibited word would have to be replaced with one that could cause no offence; that is, a new word would be coined to solve the problem 41. While this was a practical solution for short-term situations, it could cause vocabulary changes in the area if adopted for a long term, as Best shows in this example:

There was a tapu Tuhoe child who was given the name, Ahiahi(evening) 42. Therefore the Tuhoe people of the area adopted the word 'maruke' to denote that time of the day 43.

In my own area, a Tuhoe child's parents wished to name her for the lake called Waikaremoana. However, the grandparents who believed the concept behind this name was too 'heavy' for her, stepped in and modified the name to Karemoana, meaning a sea of ripples.

The girl's cousin who was born elsewhere, was named Matewai

by her parents. Her great-aunt is concerned at the weight of this name for a young girl, but no elders were present to intervene at the time of this second naming 44.

Karemoana's younger sister has the name Materoa, but this is her second, not her commonly used name. This name, which has the meaning of a long illness or death, does not seem to be regarded as so 'heavy'. Matewai, however, implies death by water, or drowning, something a young girl could not 'carry'. Therefore, it is the weighty component of 'wai' or water that makes elders avoid such a naming. 'Tangiwai', weeping or wailing waters is another 'heavy' name, but Materoa does not engender the same fear. It was a name carried by the younger sister's paternal great-grandmother and is also the name of another woman in a more distant branch of the whanau, so appears to be more freely used.

When I questioned the kuia concerned as to why she herself had no Maori forenames, she explained that her granny had wished to avoid a curse placed on all the female members of her family long before she, as the youngest child, was born. By this precaution of being given no Maori names and the fact that both her names are those of 'powerful Catholic saints', she believes that she alone among the females of her family has been spared.

The same kuia believes it is very important to exercise great care in choosing traditional Maori names for her great-grandchildren, or mokopuna tuarua, as she calls them. In this area, she draws on the expertise and wisdom of her Tuhoe husband.

Te Rangi Hiroa, better known perhaps as Peter Henry Buck

carried the childhood name of Te Mate Rori, meaning 'death on the road'. This name was put on the child when his mother's brother, Te Rangihiroa 45, himself named for a famous ancestor, had died on the road at the time of Peter's birth. When the boy reached his teenage years, tribal elders revived the ancestral name of Te Rangihiroa and bestowed it upon him. This name is derived from Te Rangi Ihiroa (the heavens streaked with the long rays of the sun) 46. The spelling was modified, it has been suggested, to facilitate the difficult pronunciation for non-Maori.

This is a case where the boy was given a very heavy name to carry; fortunately, growing up with parents of both races, he was known by his Pakeha name, Peter, as a child. He did, however, in later life, justify his elders' choice of name, for Te Rangi (I)Hiroa was, in his research, to send many illuminating rays of light 47.

The Maori prophet, known to most New Zealanders as Te Kooti, had his birth predicted by the tohunga, Toiroa of Nukutaurua 48. Te Toiroa Ikariki foresaw the coming of this child with an unusual future, and he uttered these prophetic words, predicting the birth under the name, Arikirangi:

My child is within you,
lightning in hell,
lightning in heaven;
the Lord of heaven is the man!

Following the infant's birth, Te Toiroa performed on him the ancient naming ceremony, called him Arikirangi. It is said that the name Rikirangi was a form of this, but shortened by Europeans. This is likely true, but because the dropping of the 'A' has the effect of removing the tapu

aspects of the name, and because only the followers of the prophet, and never the man himself, used the full name 50, Arikirangi, the writer suggests that this was a very heavy name to carry. The adoption of the alternative, Rikirangi, made both the name, and the responsibilities that went with it, a little lighter to bear.

Names their bearers forsook

As has already been said, the 1860s were a time of disruption and disillusionment for Maori people. Land wars fought against both tauiwi and their own, were occurring. Apart from their negative influences on both Maori life and Christian missionary activity, they were difficult times for many Maori leaders, especially those who had embraced the new religion.

Among such leaders was the Maori visionary, Te Whiti, who still remembered for his patient endurance and the passive resistance stance he initiated in Taranaki 51. Both the message and influence of Te Whiti-o-Rongomai went well beyond the Maori village of Parihaka at the foot of the mountain of Taranaki, Pukehaupapa.

Te Whiti rejected most forms of European influence, including the customs. In so doing, like many other baptised Maori of his time, he discarded his baptismal name, Edward, or Eruera, using only his given Maori name. This name, Te Whiti-o-Rongomai, has the meaning, 'the celestial flight of the shining one resting at Puke Te Whiti' 52. This remarkable prophet of the Maori people saw the coming of tauiwi as 'interrupting the Maori's spiritual journey to the

afterlife' 53.

Alan Ward, historian, writes of this sad period,

The causes of the disillusionment went far beyond the involvement of the churches with the government and army in the 1860s; 'loyal' tribes as well as 'rebels' were turning away because of the Christian churches' apparent inability to assist them to overcome the problems resulting from cultural contact 54.

Ward tells how, in 1864, Matutaera and the kingite leaders, 'adopted the Pai Marire form of worship and **exchanged their baptismal names for non-Christian ones**' 55. Matutaera 56 became Tawhiao 57 from henceforth and sealed all his correspondence with the seal given to him by TeUa, the prophet of the Pai Marire religion 58. As disillusionment with the Christian missions continued to grow among Maori, Tawhiao himself became increasingly regarded as an atua 59.

The prophet known to most as Te Kooti, is another who preferred to use only his Maori name although, in his case, there are many varying explanations as to why.

Some claim that the name, Te Kooti, is a transliteration of Coates, the name of a former lay secretary of the Church Missionary Society; that the missionary, Grace, counted this man among his most promising pupils at the mission's school 60. Grace records that Te Kooti was originally called (A)rikirangi, but baptised Te Kooti, for Coates 61.

However, according to the prophet himself, Coates was simply a name he came across on a vessel he saw while in Auckland 62. Could this statement, contradicting that of the missionary, be interpreted as a rejection of the

baptismal name?

Other scholars have preferred to see the name 'Te Kooti' as a transliteration of 'the Court'. This idea is based on the story told by those of his followers who claimed the name Te Kooti dated from an early court appearance while he was still in the Poverty Bay area. It is also thought that it originated from his own claim, while on the Chatham Islands, that **he** was the Court 63. If either of these latter explanations is correct, then Te Kooti was more in the nature of a nickname, and the name (A)rikirangi his true one.

It is known that Te Kooti signed himself, Te Kooti Turuki, choosing to use the name of the relative who had adopted him as a young child 64. If this is the case, perhaps we could look upon the name Turuki as a family name the prophet liked to use. This is, in turn, would be suggestive of an early surname.

Ingoa tapiri or the nickname

In Maori society, as in others, the 'nickname' existed and was known as 'ingoa tapiri' 65, tapiri meaning to join, add, append or supplement 66. This is not unlike the meaning of the English word which is said to have come from the now rare 'eke', meaning, 'also'; this later became 'ickname' 67. Just as many present-day English surnames were derived from the nicknames of old 68, so too with the Maori ingoa tapiri.

However, it appears that here the similarity ends: in Britain, Ireland and France, individuals were often differentiated from one another by the dubbing of an appendage onto

the name. This was because, at least in the villages of those countries, the variety of names was very limited. This made nicknames important: they made for clarity. At times even church registers have recorded them 69, and also in the Domesday Book, individuals with the same name are distinguished by these epithets which have come to be called nicknames 70.

In Maori society there was no such paucity of names, and the **reasons** for bestowing nicknames on individuals were usually quite different from those of tauivi in their places of origin. There was simply no need to modify Maori names to distinguish one individual from another, for each name was virtually unique 71.

So, why and how did the traditional Maori give 'nicknames'?

Taylor has described the 'pet' names put on infants by the mother, but these soon became replaced by the given name. Names that 'stuck' were likely to be those of another type, as with those describing an occupation. A slave who dug out and carried gravel for the kumara and taro grounds could be referred to as Rua-kirikiri, meaning 'gravel-pit' 72.

A nickname of praise or derision (according to the giver's viewpoint), could be put on a chiefly warrior, describing his peculiar way of fighting. This was so in the case of one chief called Mawai, or 'the creeping plant', because he crept, cucumber-like, climbing over the pa fortifications of his enemies; his crafty way of surprising a pa, according to Taylor. Or, there was Tinirau, whose name suggests that he slew hundreds with his own hand 73, or Rangi-iri-hau, so named to advertise he was too great to be moved by any outbreaks on the part of his enemies 74.

A Te Rarawa chief earned the name, Pana-kareao, when he became entangled among supplejacks while fleeing from the battlefield where his men were routed. He was captured by a female and, though later restored to liberty, he forever bore the name, tells Taylor 75. A modern-day scholar translates Pana-kareao as 'spurned by the supplejack', but gives a somewhat different story: Pana-kareao, in her version, had a father called Te Kaka who was involved in intertribal wars in the north. In this story, it is the father who becomes entwined in the supplejack and who, in commemoration of his escape, gives his son called Tuwhare (or possibly Ngakuku) the name, Panakareao. As an adult, this Pana-kareao became a Christian, being baptised in Kaitaia in 1836. He was known to the Pakeha as Nopera(Noble), and became one of the signatories of the Treaty of 1840. Ballara states also that the missionary, Taylor, and Pana-kareao were acquainted, having had land dealings with each other prior to the 1840 Treaty 76. As for the name, Noble, perhaps, given the popularity of 'quality' names last century, Nopera could have been just such a one, bestowed on Pana-kareao at his baptism.

The name of the warrior, Te Rauparaha, according to some writers, was one given in defiance when he was young. Others, however, see it more as a nickname that persisted. When younger, Te Rauparaha had been known as Maui Potiki 77, because he was so mischievous, we are told, while yet another explanation occurs in Taylor's Journal: he tells of actually meeting Te Rauparaha at Otaki in April of 1844, and of being informed at that time that the warrior was so named because, instead of having the usual five toes on each foot, he had six 78, resembling the edible but not particularly relished creeper or rauparaha plant.

The naming of the group

One area of naming that has not yet been explored in this writing, is the naming of the group. Yet, in many ways, this is perhaps the most important of all, following as it does the general principles seen in personal naming.

Although, in traditional Maori society, no surnames were used, there did exist a way of naming family groups. This group naming still persists, and in no manner has the post-contact introduction of the surname replaced such 'extended family' nomenclature.

Maori groups are essentially family groups and, just as with personal naming, this rather more collective type of naming has had its history of change, its innovations.

Where group names and naming have differed substantially from personal names and naming, is that any evolution, any development, that has occurred since contact, has always remained within the control of the culture to which the traditions belong.

Te Rangi Hiroa 79 explains that the expanded family groups of the first migrations were named after ancestors, with the prefix 'tini'. One such was Te Tini o Maruiwi 80. As time passed, descriptive names were given to these groups; for example, Purukupenga 81 or Waiohau 82; later still, the term, kahui, meaning a flock, was prefixed to the descriptive term as in Kahui-maunga 83.

In what Te Rangi Hiroa calls the third settlement period, the prefix was used once again with an ancestor's name: This form has largely been retained and is familiar in such names

as those prefixed by Ati-, Nga-, Ngai-, and Ngati-. All have the meaning of descendants of..., and, in the case of Ati-, we are looking at a very old form which occurs in Maori legends relating to the distant 'Hawaiki'. In these islands it has mostly gone from use, but is heard in the name of the tribe, Te Atiawa. Likewise, an East Coast people are known as Te Aitanga a Hauiti 84, while a Bay of Plenty tribe call themselves Te Whanau a Apanui 85. Both these terms stress the biological connection with the tupuna or ancestors from whom these people take their names 86.

Because Maori people link into not one but often several group names, the association is not necessarily confined to male parent or ancestor. The right to belong to the group by name is just as strongly asserted on the matriarchal side and female as well as male tupuna are recalled in group names 87.

As with personal names, an event may be commemorated by the adoption of a particular name: Te Aupouri of North Auckland remember a time when dark smoke covered their area while Rarawa, also of that district, take their name from the expression, kai-Rarawa, eating the flesh of an exhumed enemy 88.

Again, as with personal names, group names are sometimes changed or reorganised. For instance, in Rarawa, when a direct descendant claimed that other Rarawa were not directly from the tupuna, they reacted by taking the ancestral name, Kahu, and became Ngati Kahu 89.

Other tribal groups may name themselves for an ancestor with no prefix at all before his or her name 90, or name

for a region, as with Mua-Upoko: the front of the head 91.

The birth of new names and the demise of old ones were usually the result of growth in population and internal reorganisation rather than change caused by outside influences, as occurred in an individual's naming. An expanding family, for example, would have adopted the name of their group's founding ancestor, more often than not the first leader, to whom they claimed descent through both male and female links 92.

Eventually this family would grow to hapu size and, when it grew too large for effective functioning, a family group might break away under junior leadership and re-establish themselves independently, perhaps on part of the original territory, perhaps on other land acquired by conquest or occupation 93.

As time passed and this group grew in numbers to become a hapu or subtribe, it would be known under the name of its younger leader, but the original group would still be under the first leader's name. This could be a male or female, but always a person of note 94.

The senior group's name would become a general name to which any junior hapu related. An example of this practice is Ngati Awa of the Bay of Plenty, who have a number of hapu, while the group who reside in Whakatane, that is, the original group, retain Ngati Awa as their group name.

Likewise with Te Arawa federation of tribes which extends from Rotorua (lake) to Maketu, claiming descent from members of the Arawa's crew; or there are the descendants of the tohunga of that same canoe, Ngatoroirangi, who merge into

the Tuwharetoa of the Taupo area and remain independent of the Arawa federation. Again, there are the tribes of the Whanganui river who group under a territorial name: Te Atihau-o-Paparangi or Whanganui 95.

Other tribes, especially those who are geographically split by past migrations, may refer to the the migrants by the general group name, with a suffix to indicate their position in relation to the original 'home' members 96.

As with individuals, old names were dropped and new ones created. When Turi sailed in on the Aotea canoe, he belonged to Ngati Rongotea of 'Hawaiki'. However, Turi's descendants in this country adopted the name of his daughter, Ruanui, becoming Ngati Ruanui of Taranaki. According to Te Rangi Hiroa, Turi's descendants through his son, Turanga-i-mua, assumed the name Nga Rauru, from one of Turi's ancestors 97. However, another scholar and member of the Nga Rauru, doubted that his people descended exclusively from Turi, and suggested that the name might indicate other origins: for example, an ancestor from Rauru who visited and died there, in Taranaki 98. This would indicate that even tribal names are not all they might seem.

Just as with personal names, group names are open to change. A story told by a kuia of Poverty Bay, serves to illustrate how this practice has continued on into the twentieth century. Brought up by her grandmother who had been married to the elder brother of the prophet, Te Kooti, all Heeni's family were of the Ringatu faith, and living at Manutuke. On one occasion that stands forever in their memories, some of their group were killed by others at

Oweta. The victims' bodies were later gathered up by their relatives and carried back to Manutuke for burial. As a result of this incident, these people changed their tribal name from Ngaitawhiri to Ngai Te Kete, in memory of the Oweta tragedy when the dead were 'gathered up in a kit' and taken home 99.

Both the above and the story that follows show how the old custom of renaming in dramatic circumstances (so ensuring that such historical events are kept alive) was practised at group as well as at personal level.

The next story, which I give in more detail when relating name changing, is that of the tragedy that occurred only in 1900, resulted in much renaming among local and related people. To mark the event of mass drownings in the Motu river, as well as changing their personal names, many local hapu changed their group name. In Omaio itself hapu of Te Whanau-a-Apanui renamed themselves Ngati Horomoana (swallowed by the sea) and Ngati Horowai (swallowed by the water), while in Whitianga, another hapu became Ngati Paeakau (cast up along the shore) 100.

In this brief description of group naming over a very long period of time, is it not possible to glimpse a parallel to Maori personal naming? The descriptive names, names that indicate a group's relation to the land, its naming for an eponymous ancestor or a significant event, its renaming in particularly dramatic circumstances, are all familiar practices. All these forms have been met above.

The fact that there **are** group names, not subject to change from the outside as occurred with personal names, perhaps

indicates that, without conditions imposed by both the missionary churches and bureaucratic government, Maori individual naming might have also changed little over the centuries.

The power in the name

Both at group and at personal level, Maori society named its members with a carefulness and thoroughness, never naming merely at whim or random, but always with the group in mind 101. Neither the meaning nor the origin of the name was obscured by time and language change, as in the case of tauiwi. Individuals were therefore more conscious of the latent power in the name, of the strength its bearer could summon from the pronouncement of it 102. Throughout classical literature that had been briefly explored in this study, there are many instances of the main character invoking the power in the name. Maui did so when performing great deeds, or called on the name of superior forces when himself in mortal danger 103.

On the summit of Tongariro, Ngatoroirangi, tohunga of Te Arawa, nearly frozen, invoked his powerful sisters, Kuiwai and Haungaroa of Hawaiki by name, demanding they send fire to warm him,

Kuiwai e! Haungaroa e!
ka riro au i te tonga,
tukuna mai te ahi.

With the assistance of the fire gods, fire was dispatched from Hawaiki and settled in several areas of this northern island, bursting violently forth from the volcanic craters, including that where he had thrown his slave Ngauruhoe as a sacrifice to accompany his request 104.

In ritual situations today, forces are still called upon. Names invoked could be those of tupuna but, more commonly, they will be the archetypal figures of the past: those who were renowned for their special expertise; Tumatauenga, the archetypal warrior, Whakatu, the archetypal avenger, Apakura, the archetypal lamenter who, as well as giving vent to her grief, calls up vengeance 105.

According to Margaret Orbell, these are the archetypal, widely-known figures of the past whose remembered actions set a pattern for their modern-day descendants to follow 106.

The memory of important events and the names of those who participated in them have been kept alive in the legends, as well as in other literary forms. Some have already been discussed in this writing. Even the more modern poetic compositions and stories refer to individuals whose names, at the time they were bestowed, were deeply significant to their group.

A name with power

To conclude this chapter on the many and varied aspects of Maori names, I can do no better than to turn once again to the Te Heuheu family's history of naming. Contained in it are examples of almost all the types of naming discussed above.

Tukino was the leader of the Ngati Turumakina section of Ngati Tuwharetoa, formerly known as Ngati Pehi hapu. He is thought to have been born in about the middle of the seventeenth century 107. His name, Tukino, the family have continued to use as part of their title, but it is the name that evolved from the maheuheu that became the hereditary.

Te Heuheu 108. This Tukino was the father of Herea with whom this story begins.

The origin of the name, Te Heuheu, comes from a moss known as maheuheu which could be found outside a cave at Kaiwha, where the body of one Te Rangipumamao had been temporarily interred 109. When, many years later, Herea returned to this cave to retrieve the bones of Te Rangipumamao, the moss or maheuheu had grown over its entrance. **To mark this event**, Herea put the name on his son, Mananui. It was this name that became the hereditary Te Heuheu title, while Herea himself, the first to hold it, was called Rangimaheuheu 110. From his time down, the name Te Heuheu has been given to the eldest in the family's male line in each generation 111.

Herea, who is known as Te Heuheu Tukino 1, was born about 1790; of his three sons by his first wife, Rangiaho, Mananui was the eldest. Mananui 112 succeeded to the title, Te Heuheu Tukino 11, when Herea died in 1820. When Mananui perished (with his second son, all his wives, and fifty-four others) in the Te Rapa landslide in 1846 113, his younger brother, Iwikau, the second son of Herea, was chosen to succeed him, so becoming Te Heuheu Tukino 111 114.

Patatai, son of Mananui, was considered too inexperienced for the position, but **in his grief** at his father's death, he changed his name to Horonuku, **to forever recall** the collapse of the Kakaramea mountainside 115. A further consequence of the disaster was the death of Mananui's grandson, Wi Tamaiwhana who, in 1910, within a few days of shifting the mortal remains of his grandfather from a burial cave in Tongariro to the mausoleum on the hill at the southern end of Waihi village, himself perished in another landslide in

the very place that Mananui had died. Wi Tamaiwhana's death was attributed to a violation of tapu: he had handled the body, then passed a hangi which still had scraps of food in it 116.

Patatai, who changed his name to Horonuku, later succeeded his uncle, Iwikau, as paramount chief of Tuwharetoa, Te Heuheu IV, dying in 1862. He was, in turn, succeeded by his son, Tureiti, in 1888 117.

Tureiti's name has interesting beginnings: his older sibling, a girl, had the family trumpet or conch horn mistakenly blown to announce her birth. When the desired son eventually arrived, it was considered too late to repeat that particular honour. An elder who was present, made this comment in English, and the child was named Tureiti, **recalling his birth** had been 'too late'. Tureiti grew and later became the Honourable Te Heuheu Tukino, an outstanding and influential man. On his death, in 1921, he was succeeded by Hoani Te Heuheu, succeeded by the late Sir Hepi Te Heuheu 118. The present chief is Tumu Te Heuheu.

Was the adopted name, Te Heuheu, a title that, from Herea's death in 1820, continued to be passed down the generations in true hereditary style? Certainly the original naming of Herea's son, Mananui, at the cave site, was a customary naming, as was the taking of the name Rangimaheuheu by Herea himself. However, it appears that the name that evolved to become a family 'surname' was Tukino, rather than Te Heuheu.

In 1820, when the title was first inherited, contact with other cultures had already occurred and some of the 'royal' naming practices could have been discussed. We can only speculate if this dynasty named itself as a response to that knowledge, or if such naming was an original innovation.

NOTES:

The sanctity of the name

- 1 Johansen, J.P., Maori Religion in its non-Ritualistic Aspects, 1954:120
- 2 There are still many occasions when the Maori makes such use of metaphor, especially in the marae situation. A person, particularly during a tangihanga, may be named as 'Te Totara-o-te-Wao-nui-o-Tane' (the totara of the great forest of Tane), 'Te Pou-tokomanawa-o-te-Whare' (the pole that holds the house aloft), 'Te Kaitiaki-o-te-Maunga' (the mountain's guardian), and so on.
- 3 Te Rangi Hiroa, The Coming of the Maori, 1966:284-5
- 4 Johansen, 1954:121-2; 'dimension of content' is Johansen's term for the 'greatness or 'smallness that the name embraces.
- 5 Williams, H.W., A Dictionary of the Maori Language, (1844), 1985:78
- 6 'Name' takes the same interrogative as that used for a human person; that is, the name is personified, a Maori custom which also applies to the names of waka (canoes) and assembly houses.
- 7 Williams, 1985:474; Williams' explanation suggests that, at times, this withholding of names is deliberate.
- 8 Johansen, 1954:126
- 9 Taylor, Rev R., Te Ika a Maui, 1870:325-6
- 10 Johansen, J.P., Maori Religion in its Non-ritualistic Aspects, 1954:120
- 11 King, M., Moriore, 1989:83-84, 88; according to King, Moriore did not rise to the bait, and the story becomes very complex, with feelings between the two deteriorating. Toenga settled in the Chathams where he became a constable. Moriore also returned there, in 1856.
- 12 Johansen, 1954:121
- 13 Ibid, 127

Names that speak of revenge

- 14 Johansen, 1954:129
- 15 Ibid
- 16 Waharoa: lit., the gateway to a fortified pa; this name is still widely known and displayed in the Katikati area.
- 17 Smith, Percy, The History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast, 1910:256
- 18 Walker, Ranginui, in King, M., (ed), Tihe Mauri Ora!, 1978:27
- 19 Mead, Hirini Moko, Tawhaki, 1996:8, 27-28.
- 20 Wahieroa so named for long log of wood which Hinepiripiri fetched and kept burning to warm and revive her husband.
- 21 Treachery among brothers-in-law was also common in the Mythologies; compare that of the Maui brothers which resulted in suicide attempt by Hinauri.
- 22 Walker in King, 1978:27

- 23 Best, Elsdon, The Whare Kohanga and its Lore, 1929:52
 24 Ibid, 51-2
 25 Ibid, 54
 26 Taylor, Rev R., Te Ika a Maui, 1870:327
 In this instance, the woman acts in defiance of the chiefs contaminating their tapu persons by associating them with food which is considered to negate that state.
 27 Ibid.
 28 Ibid, Matene Ruta: Martin Luther
 29 Ibid.
 30 Taylor, 1870:327
 31 Manukau City Council publication, 1996:1-2; according to Riley, Murdoch, Maori Healing and Herbal, 1995:352, one Maori name for the convolvulus plant is rauparaha; as this plant with its many creeping roots was often compared to the deviousness of an enemy whose thoughts spread underground like its runners, the warrior could have been named for the plant or vice versa.
 32 Taylor, 1870:326; I have classed these two namings under 'revenge'; in the first case revenge belonged to the dying chief who belittled his killer; in the second, though the victim escaped, the enemy still mocked him with a renaming.

The challenge of new names

- 33 Hori Kingi: George King, or Titokowaru 1.
 34 Taylor, Rev R., Te Ika a Maui, 1870:328
 35 Ibid.
 36 Te Ta o Ruhia: The Czar of Russia.
 37 Witi Ihimaera (ed), Growing up Maori, 1998:64.
 "Eldest Son" by Tom Smiler
 These latter three names were all popular in wartime; for this reason, they come into more than one category.
 38 Taylor, 1870:329
 39 Ibid.
 40 Grace, J.Te Herekiele, Tuwharetoa, 1966:400, 409.

Names to be used with caution

- 41 Best explains that a special tapu name was sometimes assigned to the child of a leading person, but that this name could be abandoned after a certain time.
 42 Best, Elsdon, Maori Religion and Mythology, Part 2, 1982:25-26.
 43 Williams, H.W., A Dictionary of the Maori Language, 1985:185; maruke: probably a local temporary use while the word 'ahiahi' was tapu at Ruatahuna.
 Best believes this could have been a specially coined word although he explains that the term maru-ahiahi also denotes evening or the shades of evening.

- 44 This had the immediate effect of removing the weight of the word 'waters'(wai) from the name and making it possible for the girl to carry it through life.
- 45 Condliffe, J.B., Te Rangi Hiroa, 1971:20
- 46 The original name was not separated into its component parts; however, this does not affect the name's meaning.
- 47 Condliffe, 1971:20; both this biography of Te Rangi Hiroa and the three-volume publication of correspondence between himself and his old school friend, Apirana T. Ngata, titled Na To Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend, 1925-50, edited by M.P.K. Sorenson, 1986, 1987, 1988, give insights into this.
- 48 Binney, J., 1991:195
- 49 Wi Tarei, in King, M., Tihe Mauri Ora!, 1978:62, "A Church Called Ringatu".
- 50 Ibid.

Names their bearers forsook

- 51 For further reading on te Whiti and his stand against a colonial government's aggression, a very useful source is Scott, Dick, Ask that Mountain, 1975.
- 52 Keenan, D., in The Turbulent Years, Biography No.70, 1994:193
- 53 Ibid, 190
- 54 Ward, Alan, A Show of Justice, 1973:268
- 55 Ibid, 168
- 56 Matutaera: transliteration of Methuselah
- 57 Tawhiao: in 1860, Tawhiao succeeded Potatau as Maori king
- 58 Ward, 1973:168
- 59 Ibid, 273; atua: a god-figure
- 60 Grace, John Te Herekiele, Tuwharetoa, 1959:401
- 61 Ibid, 275
- 62 Binney, J., in The People of Many Peaks, Biography No. 98, 1991:195
- 63 Elsmore, B., Mana from Heaven, 1989:235
- 64 Binney, J., 1991:195

Ingoa tapiri or nicknames

- 65 Ngata, H.M., English-Maori Dictionary, 1993:297
- 66 Williams, H.W., A Dictionary of the Maori Language, 1975:384
- 67 Room, A., Naming Names, 1981:5
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Hoskings, Carol, Names, 1987:3
- 70 Finn, R.W., Domesday Book: a Guide, 1973:41, xi.
- 71 Mead, A.D., J.P.S. 67, 1958:58-69.
- 72 Taylor, Rev R., Te Ika a Maui, 1870:327
- 73 Tinirau: lit., the many hundreds.
- 74 Taylor, 1870:327; Rangi-iri-hau: the heavens lifted up above the winds.

- 75 Taylor, 1870:326
 76 Ballara, A., in The People of Many Peaks, 1991:84-5, Biog. No.42
 77 Manukau City Council publication, 1996:1-2.
 78 Taylor's Second Journal, 1844:19; for a fuller explanation see also note 31.

The naming of the group

- 79 Otherwise known as Sir Peter Buck
 80 tini: the many; for example, the many of Maruiwi(the ancestor)
 81 puru: to plug; kupenga: a net, nets.
 82 waiohua: fruitful waters
 83 Te Rangi Hiroa, The Coming of the Maori, 1950:334
 kahui: flock; maunga: mountain
 Today, a tribe living under the shadow of Ruapehu, refer to themselves and are referred to as 'the mountain people'.
 84 aitanga: a verbal noun from the verb 'ai', to copulate.
 85 whanau: extended family, that is, Apanui's family group.
 86 Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950:334
 87 Hineparepare and Pariri are such female ancestors.
 88 Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950:335.
 89 Ibid.
 90 As in the case of Tuhoe's name.
 91 This refers to the 'fish ' of Maui: the North Island; this now numerically small tribe's home is in the Horowhenua area district whereas, only last century, they occupied a far more extensive territory.
 92 Metge, J., The Maoris of New Zealand, 1971:7
 93 Ibid
 94 Firth, Raymond, Economics of the New Zealand Maori, 1973:112; Firth names Hineparepare as one such female leader and, in my own area, there is the Mua-Upoko hapu called Ngati Pariri, Pariri being the youngest of three important sisters in their hapu genealogy.
 95 Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950:335
 96 For example, Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga: to the south.
 97 Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950:336
 98 Broughton, Ruka, MATHesis, The Origins of Ngaa Rauru Kiitahi, 1979:3
 99 Binney, J., Nga Morehu, 1986:117, Heeni Sutherland's story
 100 Binney, J., 1986:58-62

The power in the name

- 101 Taylor, Rev R., Te Ika a Maui, 1870:325.
- 102 Marsden, Maori, in King, M., Te Ao Hurihuri, 1975:203-4.
- 103 Johansen, J.P., Maori Religion in its non-Ritualistic Aspects, 1954:125.
- 104 Grace, John Te Herekietie, Tuwharetoa, 1966:63-64; here, the link between personal and geographic naming can be clearly seen.
- 105 Orbell, M., Encyclopedia, 1995:29, 221-2, 244-5; also see Johansen, 1954:159-161;
This practice of calling on names of figures of the past still takes place at important tangihanga and other occasions deemed to merit such auspicious references.
- 106 Orbell, M., Hawaiki: a New Perspective, 1985:33.

A name with power

- 107 Hura, E., in The People of Many Peaks, 1991:165, Biog.83
- 108 Ibid, 1991:167.
- 109 Ngata, A.T., Nga Moteatea, Part 1, 1959:191, Song 60, "A Lament for Te Heuheu".
- 110 Ibid, 1959:208-9.
- 111 Hura, E., 1991:165; also see genealogy of Te Heuheu in Pomare and Cowan, 1987:27.
- 112 Mananui: great mana; some say he received this name from the ailing tohunga, Taipahau. This account is given in Hura, E., 1991:167, Biography 84; ngau taringa is an ancient ceremony where the younger man bites the ear of the older one to facilitate the transfer of sacred wisdom and magical powers.
- 113 Hura, E., 1991:168.
- 114 Ibid, 1991:169.
- 115 Horonuku; horo: to swallow or to be engulfed; nuku: earth, possibly from Papatuanuku, Mother Earth.
- 116 Hura, E., 1991:168; here the infringement was the contact with cooked food, a whakanoa or tapu-negating agent.
- 117 Ibid, The Turbulent Years, 1994:155-7, Biog. 55.
- 118 Grace, John Te Herekietie, Tuwharetoa, 1966:461-2;
This custom of blowing the conch horn to announce the birth of an heir was not unusual in important families. In the case of this one, it dates back many generations to the birth of Rakeipoho, son of Tuwharetoa himself.

NAMES THAT CHANGE

In earliest memory

One naming custom of the Maori appears to have altered little from pre-historical to modern times: this is the custom of taking new names to mark significant or fateful events.

Perhaps the earliest example (in collectively remembered times), of acquiring a new name occurs in the stories surrounding Toi-te-Huatahi, an early explorer.

According to the most common version, Toi had set out from distant Hawaiki in search of his grandson, Whatonga, who had become lost, or so Toi thought, during a great tribal regatta. Sailing ever on, Toi reached many of the well-known islands of the Pacific, eventually arriving at these.

Meanwhile, Whatonga had found his way back to Hawaiki, only to find his grandfather missing. He, in turn, set out to find Toi, at last discovering him in what is now called the Whakatane area.

Generations later, when other visitors found their way to this place, they were welcomed and fed by their hosts who served them a variety of foods, including the haumia or fernroot, and mamuku tips 1.

This was new food to the visitors or manuhiri, and not greatly to their liking. They were rude enough to comment to this effect and compared the texture to that of wood.

To this criticism the tangata whenua, their hosts replied, explaining that these were the foods left to them by their ancestor, Toi.

The manuhiri churlishly responded,

- Well, your ancestor ate wood!

Hence Toi, post-humously, had a new name bestowed upon him. To this day, he is also known as Toi-kai-rakau or, Toi-who-ate-wood 2.

Yet another story of Toi tells of him placing part of this name on a young female he had taken as a prisoner when the girl's father, Pohukura, approached him, pleading her release.

She has my leave. When you take her

to your home, let her be named Kairakau 3.

This is clearly an example of a name change by Toi (very much alive and already known as Toi-kai-rakau) which also illustrates a chief's power to place his name on a young woman with the idea of claiming her at a later date, perhaps for a son or grandson, if not for himself.

In later days:

Passing over many, many generations until early in this twentieth century, when the ethnographer, Elsdon Best, was living among the Tuhoe people of the Urewera, we again find several instances of this custom of name changing. The first story concerns an elderly rather than a young person. This man was given the name Kuku when his grand-daughter died. This was because mussels (kuku) were the last food the dead child had consumed. For this reason they were regarded as 'death-journey' food of the dead. Hence the name and its significance.

In another similar case, the last food the dying relative took was an orange. Therefore a child in the family was renamed Te O-Arani.

Again, on her father's death, a woman received the new name of Pua-Wananga. The man, in his last hours, had been

given a medicine made from the roots of Clematis Indivisa or the Pua-Wananga plant, to give it its Maori name.

On the East Coast (Tai Rawhiti), after an operation for appendicitis had been performed on a member of the family (one supposes unsuccessfully), a child was given the name Apenehaiti Apereihana 4, calling to mind Humpty Dumpty's comment when Alice had asked,

Must a name mean something? 5.

Makereti, or Maggie Papakura as she became to be known, changed her own name, apparently for less traditional reasons. Makereti's mother was Pia Ngarotu Te Rihi of Te Arawa who took on the name Ngarotu after her uncle's death, to signify that the old man 'passed understanding'. Makereti's father was an Englishman, William Arthur Thom, but Makereti was raised by her mother's paternal aunt and uncle. As an adult she returned to the old couple, living in Whakarewarewa and becoming a very popular guide in the thermal area, and bearing a son whom she named Aonui.

Makereti herself relates how she impulsively decided on a new name in the presence of some tourists, taking her name from a geyser called Papakura. Eventually Maggie Papakura, otherwise known as Makereti, is said to have renamed her whole family. When Makereti married a titled Englishman, she returned to England with him to live on his estate, Oddington Grange, studying at nearby Oxford. Makereti died in 1930, while writing her thesis on Maori society 6.

On death, particularly death by tragedy, names were

frequently changed; living relatives who in some way had been associated with the calamity, had their previously given names replaced with new ones that held a particular significance for both giver and recipient. These practices have survived into this century.

In the year 1900, a fearful tragedy occurred at Omaio in the Bay of Plenty. This was almost certainly caused by a flash-flood or a freshet in the Motu river. Children, expected at school, failed to arrive. The teacher of the day organised a search only to find that two adults and sixteen children had been drowned. So great was the grief in the small community that whole families changed their names, renamed themselves for the traumatic event 7.

One young man who was named Henare was renamed Hurinui to show that the whole group had been literally 'turned over in the river'. Hurinui's wife, Taimana, changed her name to Whakararo for her small son who had been found drifting downwards at Whale Island. His grandmother's name was changed to Irihaere because they had to place the child's body in a basket that had hung from the mast of a searching ship. Because they had carried the boy home 'hanging up', his other grandmother became Ketewaro after the basket which had previously been used for coal.

A child of the time, Mere Pita, who had gone ahead of the doomed group, was renamed Matemoana, Death-at-Sea, for all of those who were drowned. An aunt became Titari, reminder of how the bodies were cast away, scattered.

Names given for the tragedy continued into the next generation: a child was called Tini, short for 'Te-Tini-onga-Tamariki', the many, many children lost to the people. Moeawa ('asleep' in the river) was yet another name given;

and there were so many more.

Not only were individual names altered. Local hapu changed their sub-tribal names in commemoration 8, while a Meeting House, built five years later, was named Te Iwawaru, for '1900', the year of the disaster 9.

While relaxing around the kitchen table at the marae, one of the family recalled a great-grandmother whom he had always believed to be called Materoa (the name he had given his second daughter). However, at a hui he recently attended, he heard this lady referred to as Hukarere. He listened keenly to the talk, and was rewarded by learning that when Materoa had travelled across a snow-capped range and moved into another district, she became known as Hukarere, the Maori word for snow.

In response to this story, another woman told how, despite having been entrusted with the whakapapa of her branch of her tribe, she had 'given up on studying it further' after discovering that some of her tupuna went by as many as four different names.

This appears to have been more of a post-contact habit, as earlier lists show only single names. However, it also suggests that individuals accumulated extra names not always shown as compound Maori names, but appearing separately.

When the talk turned to tupuna of the marae, a kuia of eighty related how, as a young girl, the marae's foundress, Weuweu, loved to run along the Hokio sands with her sister when visiting the beach. the people affectionately named the pair, Kahukore(without garments) and Kirikau(only bare skin).

Perhaps the reasons for such namings, related generations after they took place, should be accepted with some caution for, what appears to be a name change or an ingoa tapiri (nickname), could be a name given earlier for an event to be remembered always.

A personal renaming

Sometimes, within a Maori family group, a person of another culture is renamed. Over thirty years ago, the writer was so privileged.

This renaming occurred after I had been studying the language for several years, participating in the activities of a local branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League which had strong tribal links, attending monthly services at one of the tribe's two marae, and, perhaps most significantly, forming close friendships with members of the particular hapu, some of whom had known me for most of my life.

It was three aging kuia, two marae-based, who made the decision to rename me. My first knowledge of this was when one of the three called Nora, and always the spokesperson for the group in matters of importance, contacted me.

-Aunty Lizzie and Ada and I have had a meeting.

We are giving you a Maori name. We're calling you Irirangi.

No explanations went with the name. That was it: Irirangi.

Word spread quickly. Almost overnight, Maori people I had known since early childhood, sat with in school, simply

dropped the familiar Geraldine, using Irirangi as a new name. It was if they were not aware I had another. I thought how difficult a person of my culture would find it to achieve this sudden switch. On reelection, and with an improved knowledge of Maori naming customs, I now wonder if generations of such name-changing have not given the Maori a greater facility to accommodate these code-switches.

Dictionary meanings of Irirangi were easy to find; the reasons for the change were less so, but I was pleased to discover that, unlike my birth-name which has warring connotations, Irirangi was indeed an other-worldly name, with spiritual overtones.

Last year, at an assembly of the Mareikura or Maramatanga in Huia-Raukura, one of the male leaders rose on my behalf to question the hui about this name, Irirangi, bestowed so long ago by their now departed kuia, Lizzie, Ada and Nora. His own belief was that some significant event, the memory of which had gone with the name-givers, must surely have occurred at or near the time of the naming. This, of course, concurred with my own research into the giving of names in traditional Maori society.

The speaker's wife, now a kuia herself, recalled having once been given a karanga which included the name, Irirangi. This was taught to her by the kuia of the time, and to her the name meant 'something hung up in the heavens', the spiritual world.

Other kaumatua rose to speak. One chose the analogy of 'spiritual wave lengths' to explain the name; or, as he described it, wave-lengths able to keep in touch with

distant realms. He reminded the assembly of a place called Irirangi: the 'only place in the past which could make contact with anywhere in the world'.

Possible explanations for the giving of the name continued as the afternoon passed into evening, then the talk became more general, concerning itself with the naming customs known to the members of the group. Kaumatua pondered the 'heavy' spiritual names put on some people 10. Did such names place unrealistic expectations on those individuals who bore them? Were they directives? Cases were considered. It was concluded that such names are intended to be symbolic rather than prophetic. They were bestowed to keep alive particular concepts, concepts considered by the group's members to be momentous. For example, in the early days of the Maramatanga, four children were named for the four gospel writers. These individuals carried 'heavy' symbolic Maori names, the four pou or posts of the then new Movement: Ringa Poto, Whakarongo, Kawai Tika and Tika Raina, the final name being carried by Ada's late husband 11.

As is always the custom on such occasions, the talk shifted to the faces looking down from photographs on the walls of Huia-Raukura, especially that of Weuweu, one-time kuia of the marae. Te Weuweu was the grandmother of the few remaining kaumatua, all now in their seventies, the younger siblings of Nora Matewai. Weuweu had been born in Jerusalem, on the River, had married Taupo Hurinui Tukapua Turoa who farmed in the area, had later returned with him to his Mua-upoko links in the Horowhenua. There they had lived at Kawiū, grandparents of the today's kaumatua who, together with their parents, grew up under Weuweu's caring

and watchful eye in the family home (situated beside the present-day marae complex). The house carried the name, Te Pou-here-o-te-Maramatanga. This name signified that home and woman comprised the pillar or post to which the Mareikura Movement was secured. While only the portrait of Weuweu now looks down on the assembled in Huia-Raukura, her name remains in the hearts and on the lips of her many descendants. Such was the strength of her faith and leadership, I am frequently told 12.

The word, weuweu, has an interesting and unusual meaning: 'weu' is a feather taken from the first bird caught. This first feather was used in a rite believed to ensure success in a bird-hunting expedition. As the Maori says, 'so that by it, many others may be caught' 13.

In the case of the lady of whom so many still speak, she married into the family, carrying the strong faith of the Movement with her. In adopted surroundings, she exerted a powerful influence on all who came in contact with her, and especially on her family. Perhaps her name was indeed a prescriptive one for, as that 'first feather', Weuweu did cause many others to be caught. Her descendants, now into the sixth generation, are many, and the fires of faith she lighted are not yet extinguished.

Te Weuweu Kahukore Hurinui Tukapua had a second given name to which I have referred in the previous pages.

Above the entrance to the dining hall, Te Takeretanga-o-te-Rangimarie, is a plaque which dedicates the building to this lady, Te Weuweu Kahukore Hurinui Tukapua.

NOTES:

Names that change

- 1 haumia: *Asplenium bulbiferum*; the Maori name comes from Haumiatiketike: the god of uncultivated foods; mamuku: *Cyathea medullaris* or Black Tree Fern.
- 2 Mitchell, J.H., Takitimu, 1973:19,28; Toi-te-huatahi: Toi, the single fruit(only child), but this sometimes can mean the firstborn(matamua).
- 3 Johansen, J.P., 1954:124; here the inconsistency in the time factor of the two stories could be explained by the later one being a confirmation of Toi's appetite for fernroot giving rise to his name.
- 4 Best, E., The Maori as He Was, 1924:114
- 5 Carroll, Lewis, Alice (1872), 1985:232; 'With a name like yours you might be any shape, almost'.
- 6 Ngahuia Te Awakotuku, in Introduction, Papakura, M., Makereti, 1986:v-ix.
- 7 Binney, J., Nga Morehu, 1986:57,59.
- 8 Ibid, 60
- 9 Ibid, 62.

A personal renaming

- 10 These 'heavy' names are discussed under "names to be used with caution", Section Three.
- 11 These names have esoteric meanings for the group, so are best left untranslated.
- 12 This information was gathered from discussions at the movement's Ra, family hui, and frequent korero with my close friend, the late Tamihana Tukapua, and his sister, Teresa Mary.
- 13 Williams, H.W., A Dictionary of the Maori Language, 1975:483

REFLECTION

In the chapters above, I have chosen examples to illustrate names that stand apart from the obviously 'Christian' ones that were given to Maori by others.

Their histories give some idea of both the complexities of Maori naming, and of the difficulties encountered in tracing the origins of the names. One recorder gives one account; another gives an entirely different version, complicating the task of categorising such names. Many of the examples of ingoa tapiri cited sound very like the familiar nickname, but some could equally well fit into other categories.

Few of these names were given ceremoniously after birth in a tohi rite, nor were they hereditary names, but they were ingoa, names, and they all bore the potential to evolve and become hereditary surnames, even those given in defiance or with the intention of shaming the one so named. It is interesting that such naming, especially that designed to repay an insult, is well-known throughout Polynesia.

For example, in Atiu, in the Cook group, an elder may take on an insulting name that has been placed on a child and so reverse the insult, bringing shame on the donor. In Atiu, people adopting such names do so with vindictive intent 1.

Likewise, in time-distanced Samoa, 'derogatory' names are deliberately given to put shame on another person when relationships have become irreconcilable. Betty Duncan, in her thesis on Samoan customs, explains that in these bitter cases, children are given names intended to insult others,

even to the extent of adults placing a 'swear' name on a child, just for the purpose of 'getting back at each other'. Duncan says that some such names still survive from pre-Christian times and now serve as surnames although, she adds, many people bearing these names often change them as they grow older 2.

The names that Maori people gave, often illustrate their innovativeness, especially in post-contact times. Though not traditional in the usual sense, they still conform to a traditional pattern in that they serve as 'time-markers' for new concepts and events. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there were many changes and eventful happenings for Maori. Land wars as well as inter-tribal conflicts occurred; Maori were, for the first time, involved in wars on a world-sized scale. Out of all these dramatic disturbances, events and people were remembered in the names subsequently bestowed.

Walker believes that there is a unity in the application of proper names as reference points throughout Maori myth and tradition, saying, 'It is a principle which is still meaningful in Maori life and gives testimony to a unity and conservative process in Maori culture which ensures its continuity through time from a remote past to a rapidly changing present'. Just as names for geographic features acted as the 'boundary pegs by which territorial rights were demarcated', personal names marked historical events 3.

Again, in Polynesia generally, such 'time-marking' has long been a tradition. For example, in Atiu, the giving of birth names to mark historical events was common practice until, in

1958, the Cook Islands' Christian Church decided to modify this and other naming practices 4.

Similarly, in Samoa, name-giving for events has been a long-standing tradition. Betty Duncan, in the section on naming in her work on Samoan symbolism, has written that, in oral cultures, names, as chronological markers and mnemonic devices, are important. Pacific people often think of history, not in broad terms, but centring on a particular person or event. This is why an historical question might be answered with, -When So-and-So was born. Such an answer demonstrates how a whole portion of history can be focussed on a name, says Duncan. The function of the name is to keep history alive 5.

NOTES

- 1 Crocombe, R.G., and Vaine, Rere, J.P.S. 68, 1959:183 "Naming in Atiu".
- 2 Duncan, Betty, A Hierarchy of Symbols, PhD Thesis, 1994:320-321.
- 3 Walker, R.J., J.P.S. 78, 1969:415, "Proper Names in Maori Myth and Tradition".
- 4 Crocombe and Vaine, 1959:180, 187.
- 5 Duncan, 1994:314-6.

SECTION FOUR

NAMING IN MODERN TIMES

NAMING IN MODERN TIMES

From missionary times to modern, Maori naming customs have passed through many phases: where children are no longer named for supernatural beings who mated with their earthly ancestors, they have been named for modern 'super-beings' - from cowboy heroes to glamorous female stars, from royalty to semi-precious gemstones and introduced flora.

These seemingly frivolous types of naming still abound; their bearers often translate or transliterate them into a Maori form because, as the language and naming practices continue to return in their traditional modes, such names are not only culturally alienated, they are alienating.

A similar situation existed with Maori names snatched from children when they reached school age. In many cases, new or modified versions were substituted by outsiders. Names which had been carefully chosen by family elders even before the birth of these children, were anglicised, or an English name, unrelated in meaning but alike in sound, was put on the child. This obviously facilitated pronunciation for those in charge; but many such children developed a feeling of shame for what they began to regard as undesirable, even 'dumb' Maori names, soon equating the name with their person. Only as adults and in an era of cultural renaissance can they now begin to appreciate the beauty and significance of their given Maori names. They revert to using such names as they gain confidence.

Examples of this practice of name changing by tauiwi,

simply for their convenience, come from my own and from my Maori friends' schooldays.

The name Te Kahau was adapted to 'Hodie', and Marata to 'Rita'. The lovely sounding Uru-o-rangi became 'Dudu' and Hine-ngaro a doubtful 'Hubba'. Could any of these clumsy attempts at renaming be regarded as honouring an ancestor, recalling a momentous event or inspiring the bearer to live life in a prescribed way? Yet, without exception, each of these children had been the possessor of a name chosen by those who had special knowledge of hapu ancestors and of significant events that had befallen them. Certainly a name, under the customs of the people, could be changed during the individual's lifetime, but it was the prerogative of those inside the culture, not outsiders, to do so.

Today, with the language officially acknowledged as a taonga of the Maori people and its recognition at primary through secondary and tertiary levels of education, and Maori families better able to articulate their grievances, such cases as illustrated above, would be very rare.

And what of the surnames that Maori carry today?

The surnames New Zealand Maori carry today are from an introduced rather than an evolved system, and so disappear when one attempts to trace them back over the generations, just as we have seen happen with those of tauiwi.

However, for the Maori, where the process of change to another system of naming has been both more recent and more accelerated, the situation is greatly exaggerated, for research has shown that, after little more than a century,

such 'surnames' are no longer to be found, but what are recorded are the single, given names from which they were usually derived 1.

Could it be suggested that, in some cases, these same 'surnames', comparatively recently acquired, are showing signs of being rejected, or at least modified in their forms. In the previous chapter we saw some have taken both a Maori and an English language shape. We also saw that some parents are preferring to create new versions of their own names for their children to use as family or surnames.

Maori have always been innovative in their naming. Could it be that for a younger and more assertive generation, the surname in its male-dominated, hereditary form, will not continue to be favoured?

Today there is a tendency for younger couples to take the surname of each parent and use this combined version as a family name for their children. This applies when both parents are Maori or the couple are of mixed race, and is illustrated in the following few examples.

One couple, Danny and Maru, have joined their individual surnames to form a compound one. This is the 'surname' which completes their children's traditional given names. Greg and Debbie have done the same, likewise giving their children a family surname 2. Other examples of this growing custom are Atua Makaiera Okawhenuaroa, the infant son of Rochelle Whenuaroa and Danny Tangiatemohi Oka, born only this year, and Anahera Wikitoria Putu Puhipuhi, the infant daughter of Natalie Putu and James Puhipuhi 3.

Taking the rejection of the conventional European-style

surname a step further, on the eleventh of October, 1998, Richard and Manawai asked Moana (Te Rau o te Ture programme) if, within the present law, it was possible **not** to register their child, Te Maunga Haruru, under a surname. This provision now exists, they were informed 4.

In order to more accurately test if these attitudes to naming prevailed among only those of the new generation of Maori or if they already existed, albeit in a more gently expressed form, in the previous one, I spoke with a group of women from various areas. All these women are mothers and grandmothers.

We began by discussing the choice of names for children in the second part of this twentieth century from a Maori point of view. Of the five women with whom I spoke, only one, now a widow, had married into a traditional Maori family. Only she was born and grew up locally, taking a husband from the tangata whenua.

The remainders' spouses were either Welsh or Scottish, or Pakeha New Zealanders. Each woman chosen has different tribal affiliations, and the children of the four, ranging in age from eleven to fifty years, totalled nineteen. Of these nineteen children, all except one, Hemi (a transliteration of James), were given or are known by names quite foreign to the Maori culture. One grandchild, a nephew of Hemi, has as a second given name, Ropata (transliteration of Robert). Hemi and Ropata are the son and grandson of a woman who, though no longer living in her own hapu area, has remained strong in her Maoritanga and is a teacher of the language. Her children all express interest in their Maori

heritage. All five women had chosen their own children's names with their respective husbands, 'Pakeha-style', they said. None had Maori 'pet' names for them, used at home.

Three of the women who had married non-Maori have both Maori and European names. The teacher prefers to be known by her Maori name except when with her husband's family. Neither he nor her 'in-laws' ever call her by her Maori name. Only one woman was given no Maori name, but had been named after a gemstone, while her many siblings had been given 'lovely Maori names'. This she could not understand. She asked the group if others had heard of this sort of thing happening 'as long back as seventy years ago'. Not having been given a Maori name is obviously a source of discontent for her.

The kuia of seventy who married a Maori man with a traditional name (the long-diving shag), has a large family. Her children are in an age-range from about fifty down to mid-twenties. She herself bears a beautiful-sounding name meaning 'to-enter-into-the-heavens'. Her older children's names were all chosen by the kaumatua of the whanau, after much deliberation. This, she explained, was mainly because they were then living as an extended family group. When housing became available, they gradually divided and lived in their separate generations, more 'Pakeha-style'.

Once this happened, the elders, being further away, were less consulted or tended to have little say in the matter. Almost all her children are known by European names; Tama (boy), is the exception. However, this is not considered to be a formal Maori name. Interesting is that the same kuia, when it came to the birth of her latest grandchild, son of her youngest daughter still living in the family home

with her mother, decided she would name the child. Tracy had already chosen a somewhat exotic name for the little boy when Uru-o-rangi stepped in, wishing to name him for her own maternal grandfather, Kita. Although the mother agreed, it was still necessary to consult with the extended whanau before conferring this tupuna name on her grandson. After Uru-o-rangi had done this, it was decided that the child could be properly named for his great-great-grandfather, Kita. His mother amended her own choice of name to Tamatoa or Warrior-boy, which was given as a second name. Kita was baptised by the Catholic catechist at one of the family marae, inside the meeting house. There was no pressure to give him another more 'Christian' name.

The reason Kita was not given his recently deceased maternal grandfather's name was that this name was reserved. According to Uru-o-rangi, her late husband's name, Te Kawau-ruku-roa, is carried by one son, Bryce. Only he, of all her children, has the right to pass that name on to another generation.

While most of the women who contributed to the discussion believed they had little knowledge of the subject, in actual fact, they all had useful personal experiences to share 5.

Another elderly couple, both Maori, but only the wife from the tangata whenua of the area, are in the seventy to eighty age group. The husband has had a very traditional Maori upbringing in his own district and is extremely well-versed in the language as well as in all aspects of tribal lore. He is also prominent in the greater mixed community.

This couple have two adopted sons. The four are known by their non-Maori Christian names, and all but one son

use the European version of their family or 'surname'. This is, interestingly, not a direct transliteration of their Maori name, but an Old Testament name. This is possibly because part of the family has strong Ringatu links.

The elderly couple have always followed Maori practices and have handed down values to their sons in their day-to-day lives and they, likewise, have raised their families according to Maori custom.

The younger son now lives overseas, with his non-Maori wife and children, while the elder son has remained near the parents' home. His wife identifies as Maori.

Three of their four children are known by Maori names, and follow their tikanga 2. One son has a biblical name.

When the eldest, a girl, took a partner and had a child, the little girl was given a Maori name. She is now seven and, since the age of four, has had all her schooling in the medium of the Maori language, at a kura kainga 3 based at the great-grandmother's marae, taught by the same lady's nephew.

The older son's child, a boy, is just one year. When he was born, his paternal great-grandfather gave him the name, Te Hautaruke Rerekura. This name reflects the ancestry of the child's father's and mother's families, as well as proclaiming his geographic rights: his turangawaewae 4.

Very recently, a male child was born to the second grandson of the elderly couple, the boy with a biblical rather than a Maori name. This infant was immediately named by his paternal grandfather, who has given him the name, Te Pou-Whenua-o-te-Rangi 5. Although this child's father had not always seemed greatly interested in his Maori heritage, within days of the birth, three generations of his family

returned the whenua (placenta) to their ancestral lands (whenua) at Waikaremoana, a considerable distance from their homes. There it was ceremoniously buried, as of old, and a tree planted above, with which the child will identify, as he will also with the land it grows in. When, on this memorable occasion, the infant's father expressed some regret that he possessed no Maori name, he was given one. There, on the shores of Waikaremoana, he was named by his grandfather for the mountain that can be seen from the lake. This naming would appear to be closer to the practice of giving a name to mark an important event.

Since the naming, the young man, with his partner and new baby, has begun to attend hapu meetings and is beginning to learn the people's ancient chants and songs, encouraged by his elders.

Uncertain still if modern 'traditional' names truly reflect the names of the past, I spoke to a middle-aged Maori man who has both an interest and an involvement in such namings. He, too, doubted if, in traditional times, it was customary to bestow tupuna names on children. He felt sure, from his own reading and study of whakapapa, that individuals were usually named to commemorate events rather than for ancestors.

This idea, of course, concurred with my research into the many aspects of Maori naming, and also with information gleaned from the whakapapa I had examined over the last year, where, from mythical times until last century, when the influence of tauiwi customs began to bring changes, names were not seen to be passed down from earlier generations.

All the elders present agreed this was probably so, that

names, in the past, were given to mark events that occurred. One woman gave her own name as an example: she had been, on birth, given the name Hinga-taiepa. Growing up she came in for a great deal of teasing from other Maori children, being laughingly called 'falling over in the paddock'.

-I hated my ugly name..., she told us.

-Then I found out I had been given that name because, just before I was born, my grandfather went out in the paddock and fell over dead!

This story tells us that such naming was still practised as late as the 1930s 6.

Scanning birth notices over a few months has produced several more 'traditional' namings of Maori infants.

In July, 1998, Karere Whio Karipa Kerehoma was born. His name is interesting, mainly because his three siblings had been named, in their turn, Chanelle, Chavez and Crystal 7.

On November 16, 1998, the Henare family announced the naming of Kani Te Aomarere Atutahi 8, while in the same month, Natalie Putu and James Puhipuhi named their first child, Anahera Wikitoria Putu Puhipuhi 9.

Finally, at the 1999 celebratory hui of the Mareikura Movement referred to above 10, a baby girl of the whanau was baptised with the traditional name of Rangimarie, or Peace. This was again a name chosen for her by the elders rather than by her young mother. Rangimarie had been the name of an older female relative, a respected member of the

Mareikura, who had lived near the marae. It had not been used since her death some thirty years ago. Several elders and younger members of the tribe, as well as a kaumatua from the visiting groups, participated in the ceremony which was performed by two Catholic priests, one a very elderly Maori who was the age of the Movement itself. This baptism was held in the tribal meeting house, just prior to a morning of prayer and healing 11. This same name is also commemorated in the new dining hall of the marae, Te Takeretanga o te Rangimarie, or the sheltering hull of peace.

Although these examples are by no means typical of present day naming of all Maori children, the tendency to name in a more traditional way does appear to be gradually reviving in many areas. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this naming does not appear to include names given to mark events but this does not, of course, preclude that possibility.

The interest in, and the desire to name in a traditional manner would seem to have grown since the establishment of Maori language nests(Kohanga Reo), primary schools teaching in the medium of Maori(Kura Kaupapa Maori), home-schooling in Maori(Kura Kainga), and Maori tertiary institutions. This suggests that a renaissance in language and tikanga has opened the chest of treasures of another era. A growing interest by young Maori people in whakapapa, their tribal histories and waiata, when accompanied by encouragement and advice from knowledgeable elders, is facilitating the return of past naming customs. As customary names and their bestowal become more meaningful, the desire grows to return to many of those practices. The next decades could well show naming for events included in such customary namings.

REFLECTION

To be human is to name, and to be named,
and thereby to possess full being and
the ability to relate to the world in
meaningful ways 16.

In earliest times, names honoured the ancestors, made
unforgettable the event, defined the roles of their bearers;
they harked back to the distant homeland, pledged the future
of an unborn child.

After conversion, names spoke of cultural manipulation
when they were bestowed to recall a biblical prophet, a
priest, a disciple, a martyr, or a saint of the new religion.

After wars fought at the side of tauiwi, names of foreign
battlefields remembered young Maori who had died in distant
places. Lives lost on deserts, hills and shores were forever
recalled in the naming of kin 17.

Whether names spring from the deep roots of their bearers'
ancestry, are imported or invented, they remain part of the
individual for they hold a mana of their own. They hold
their owners' lives.

NOTES

- 1 See Section Two (b), "Names Written into Books".
- 2 These families are personally known to the writer; Danny is of Maori-Chinese descent, and Maru is Maori; both parents have adopted the combined name. Greg is of Dalmatian descent and Debbie is Maori; in both cases, in the compound surname, the mother's name **precedes** that of the father.
- 3 Kapiti-Horowhenua News, Feb.3, 1999, and Jan.20, 1999.
- 4 "Marae" programme, Channel One, T.V.N.Z., Oct.11, 1998. The current position on Maori taking surnames: under the Registration of Births Marriages and Deaths Act 1995, Section 18b allows that a surname for a child may be excluded for religious, philosophical or cultural reasons if the parents so desire.
- 5 This information was gathered from a women's group called Te Kowhai on July 6, 1998. Kita was then aged two years.
- 6 tikanga: what is correct, according to Maori custom.
- 7 kura kainga: home-school, forerunner of the Kura Kaupapa.
- 8 turangawaewae: a place to stand (by right of ancestry and land occupation); this information was given by Rerekura's paternal great-grandparents, on January 02, 1999.
- 9 This information given by Te Pou-Whenua-o-te-Rangi's grand father on January 29, 1999.
- 10 These ideas were shared and discussed by fellow kaumatua following their monthly marae-based hui; Feb.,1999.
- 11 Horowhenua-Kapiti Weekly News, December 12, 1998; Kerehoma is often a transliteration of Graham.
- 12 Atutahi was for the child's young uncle of that name.
- 13 Horowhenua-Kapiti Weekly News, January 20, 1999; Anahera Wikitoria is the Maori form of Angel(a) Victoria.
- 14 See Section 3b, "Names that Change: a personal renaming".
- 15 The baptism and naming of Rangimarie took place on March 18, 1999, on the occasion of the people's annual Ra.
- 16 Denny, F.M., in Eliade, M., The Encyclopedia of Religion, Vol.10, 1967:300, "Naming Names".
- 17 Walker, Ranginui, J.P.S. 78, 1969:405, tells how the old practice of commemorative naming continued into modern times in names for kin killed in World Wars. Tunisia, Egypt, Alamein, Alexandria, Anzac and Gallipoli are all such names.

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