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Crocodile and Lizard in New Zealand Myth and Material Culture

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I. MYTH

THE crocodile is not, and never has been, a member of the New Zealand fauna nor of the fauna of the rest of Polynesia. But, as shown by evidence adduced later in this paper, Maori folk-memory has preserved its characteristics in great detail and has localized it in all parts of New Zealand. *Crocodilus* is widely distributed in Indonesia and South-East Asia, from which regions Polynesian culture is largely derived. In 1947 contact was made with the late Dr S. Koperberger, lifelong student of Indonesian culture. In reply to a request for information about the impact of the crocodile on Indonesian culture, he wrote: "The crocodile is everywhere connected with the idea of transmigration of the soul. A servant of mine in Batavia, a Buginese from the southern part of Celebes, told me he often saw his grandmother in the shape of a white crocodile coming to visit him in the night time. In Banka, the tin island east of Sumatra, the crocodile is called Tuan Besar, Great Lord, the same title the tiger gets in Sumatra and Java. In central Sumatra, the Batak people treat the crocodile as a kind of totem; its meat is not eaten. In South-east Borneo, the Old Ngaju consider the crocodile to be a servant of the Jatas, well-meaning ghosts of the underworld, they are human spectres who put on a crocodile garb when they come to the earth. To the Macassans and Buginese the crocodile "with a tongue" is in fact a human being, crocodiles without a tongue are not. In the Philippines, the Tagalogs call the crocodile *nono* (grandfather) and he is venerated with offerings to prevent his anger. They believe that some of their sorcerers can change themselves into crocodiles at will. The idea is the same as that of the werwolf. In the southern islands (e.g. Timor) the accession to the throne was formerly consecrated by sacrificing a virgin to the crocodiles. Beautifully arrayed, the girl was placed in a cave near the water, where the crocodile to whom she was to be given in marriage was summoned to fetch his bride. In the Key and Aru Island, homes are decorated with the image of the crocodile. On Halmahera snakes, crocodiles, and

tortoises are sculptured on small ghost-houses, hung in front of the entrance door of dwellings. In Nias a seat of honour is always decorated at the back with the crocodile motif . . . More venerated even than the crocodile is the lizard, especially as an oracle animal. In the Batak country it is called Boraspati, the name of the archpriest of the Vedas: Brhaspati! In Bali people assimilate the lizard with Saraswati, the Hindu Goddess of Wisdom. But all this is due to the influence of Hindu mythology and is no longer Indonesian. The same can be said of the combined motive of snake and bird (garudanaga in Sanskrit), and the bird-man, a kind of Thunder God (perhaps due to Chinese influence)." Best (1924, 1:187) records that the natives of Sarawak, hunt the crocodile with vigour, and when they catch one "it is ripped open in search of human remains".

These statements are interesting for the general picture given; some of the details are of special interest because of close parallels in Oceania. For example, the association of crocodile and lizard; the hybridization of crocodile and man, with the tongue to demonstrate that the crocodilian form is in reality human; the association of crocodile with caves; the cutting open of captured crocodile in search of human remains.

When the Polynesian ancestors moved eastward and southward into Polynesia they moved out of the zoological area of distribution of the crocodile, but they carried with them in folk-memory much of its folklore. The New Zealand Polynesians had three words designating the mythical crocodile: *taniwha*, *ngarara*, and *moko*. Why there should be three synonyms is not known, nor is it known whether the use of one or other of them was regional. The greater part of Polynesian folklore has vanished unrecorded. In New Zealand the number of reporters, European and Maori, has been much greater than elsewhere in Polynesia, with the result that New Zealand folklore is recorded more fully than any other. Best is our principal New Zealand authority. In "Maori folklore", he says (Best, 1924, 1:186), "we meet with many stories concerning *taniwha*, huge monsters of mankilling tendencies that are said to have existed in these isles in past times. Most of them are described as water-dwelling monsters of saurian form . . . The man-destroying *taniwha* of native myth are often described as resembling great lizards, and indeed are often called by the same name, *moko*. This word *moko* is a name for the crocodile in Hawaii. The word *taniwha* is also the name of a species of shark."

The first ethnographer to record the Maori memory of the crocodile was James Cook. Anchored in Queen Charlotte Sound in 1777 he says (Cook, 1785, 1:142): "We had another piece of intelligence from (Taweiharoaa), more correctly given, though not confirmed by our own observations, that there are snakes and lizards there of enormous size. He described the latter as being eight feet in length, and as big round as a man's body. He said, they sometimes seize and devour men; that they burrow in the ground; and that they are killed by making fires at the mouths of the holes. We could not be mistaken as to the animal; for with his own hand, he drew a very good representation of a lizard on a piece of paper; as also of a snake, in order to show what he meant."

Nicholas, visiting the Bay of Islands region in 1815, writes (Nicholas, 1817, 2:124,126): "Observing a hole at the foot of one of these trees, which appeared to have been burrowed by some quadruped, we enquired of Gunnah what animal he supposed it was; and from his description we had reason to believe that it

must be the Guana. Wishing to know how far our surmise was correct, we desired our friend to thrust a stick into the hole. This he tried without effect. His dread of it was so great that he shrunk back with terror . . . Duaterra informed us that a most destructive animal was found in the interior of the country, which had made great havoc among the children, carrying them off and devouring them. The description he gave of it corresponded exactly with that of the alligator."

At the end of December, 1839, Dieffenbach and Heberly made the first ascent of Mount Egmont. The small group of Te Atiawa at that time based on Nga Motu, who supplied guides for the first part of the journey, tried to dissuade Dieffenbach from the attempt (Dieffenbach, 1843, 1:140), "by saying that the mountain was *tapu*, that there were *ngarara* (crocodiles) on it, which would undoubtedly eat me."

Early in January, 1842, E. J. Wakefield was crossing from Lake Taupo to the upper waters of the Wanganui. The Maori party (Wakefield, 1845, 2:121) "showed me an isolated table-land in the direction of the path (eastward to Inland Patea) which they affirmed to be inhabited by huge *ngarara* or lizards. No one, they said, had ever dared to ascend it."

Reporting Waikato folklore recorded in 1852, Lady Martin states (Martin, 1884:125): "The Maoris used to tell us marvellous stories about a great sea monster called a *Taniwha*, probably some tradition of alligators. There was a favourite hero of theirs who jumped from a rock on the West Coast to do battle with a *taniwha*. He was well armed; long and dreadful was the combat, and he was badly wounded. But he killed the monster and dragged him to the shore. When cut open twelve bodies of men, and many women and children, were found whole inside, besides mats, hatchets, ear ornaments and such like."

In June, 1860, Burnett and von Haast, working northward from the Grey to the Buller (Haast, 1948:98), "were glad to camp in a dry cave which the heathen Maori peopled with an enormous lizard that devoured all who attempted to pass."

In June, 1886, W. H. Skinner was surveying the head waters of the Waitara (Skinner, 1946:71). "I made a journey by canoe from Purangi to Tarata with Tumai as steersman. We had a small canoe just buoyant enough to carry the two of us and to lift over the snags and logs obstructing our passage. It was an interesting experience to glide past dark and forbidding waterholes that Tumai warned me were the lairs of noted *taniwha*. As we approached a deep and silent pool I was cautioned by Tumai to cease paddling and be quiet while we drifted across the shallows away from the steep bush-covered bank under which lurked the mythical water monster, to disturb which would mean disaster to the canoe and ourselves. I was in the bow and was urged to watch closely for any sign of discolouring of the water by sediment rising from the bottom: it would be a sure indication that the *taniwha* was on the prowl. In such an event the canoe was to be kept hard up against the safe bank, there to await the monster's movement. You may be sure I kept a keen eye on the surface of the *kopua* during these dramatic moments. We observed all the required precautions, and as nothing happened Tumai gave a grunt of satisfaction and exclaimed "*Haere ra*" (paddle ahead). There were several less dangerous *taniwha* pools along our course, but precautions had to be taken at each of them."

The evidence quoted shows that the Maori belief in the presence of the crocodile had been localized in all parts of New Zealand. The quotations which

follow indicate the nature of the extensive folklore centring round the *taniwha*, and the picture elaborated in Maori imagination. The crocodile was associated closely with the lizard. In recording the trapping and killing of a *taniwha* Best writes (Best, 1924:190), "So perished the monster Te Whakaruaki in the raging flames. But not the whole of him. His tail escaped; it became separated from his body, wriggled out through the wall of fire, and sought refuge in the forest. Now the tail of Te Whakaruaki was the origin of the species of lizard called *moko papa* and ever since, lizards have possessed the power of shedding their tails." Fig. 47 represents an amulet in whale bone from Wainui, North Island East Coast. Is this Te Whakaruaki with tail lost or is it merely the lizard, *moko papa*?

Sir George Grey, quoting a Maori informant, says (Grey, 1870:360): "The huge dragon, opening wide its vast mouth, hastened out of its den . . . By the power of these incantations the large-pointed spines of the crest of the dragon sank down flat again upon its back . . . It lay there, in size as large as a monstrous whale, in shape like a hideous lizard; for its huge head, its limbs, its tail, its scales, its tough skin, its sharp spines, yes, in all these it resembled a lizard. Its eyes seemed to shine with a fierce green, as if a clear green jadestone had been set for a pupil in the dark black of each of its eyes."

Tregear (Tregear, 1904:542) relates a number of *taniwha* stories. "The word is generally applied to a water-monster, amphibian, or supernatural creature. Some of the *taniwha* loom large as beings of pure myths; others are spoken of so circumstantially as being lizards that most of the early settlers in New Zealand were persuaded that some ferocious creature of the alligator kind inhabited the lakes and rivers of the Colony . . . Taniwha were not always water-dwellers, but were sometimes found on dry land. The best known of these is Hotupuku, a lizard or dragon that lived on the track between Taupo and the Rotorua lakes. For a long time its existence was unknown, until travellers who journeyed by that way were found never to arrive at their destinations. At last the reptile was seen by some who escaped. They related how, when it left its cave, and they saw its lofty crest and the dreadful spines and spars of its body, which were raised like ridges of waves at sea, they had all trembled and fled. Warriors gathered together, 170 in number, and set out to encounter the dragon. Having arrived near the den, they set to work to plait ropes—great ropes, flat, and round, and double-twisted, fine-stranded, and of many other kinds. These they made into snares and nooses set cunningly along the path, and then sent their swift-footed ones to entice the monster forth. Soon it sniffed the smell of men and came out, its awful tread resounding like thunder. Farther and farther back ran the enticing men, pursued even to the place of snares. Then cried they, "Haul away! Pull away!" and the demon was snared by its middle. The tail lashed furiously about, but nimble warriors dashed in with their spears, stabbing and piercing, while they leapt to avoid the strokes of the thrashing tail. The tail was snared and lashed to posts firmly driven in, and the terrible head received attention, a party of men on one side rushing in and pounding with axe and club, and then their friends on the other side doing likewise. The bulky creature was pounded from end to end; at last it yielded up the ghost. Its aspect was that of the "*tuatara*" lizard (*Sphenodon punctatum*), its size that of the sperm whale. When its slayers cut up the carcass with knives edged with sharks' teeth there was found therein the bodies of human

beings, mats and weapons. The fat of the carcase was melted up and used by the victors with their food."

An Otago *taniwha* story recorded by Stack (Stack, 1898:20) is as follows: "The ogre of the Molyneux (Matau) was discovered and destroyed by Te Rapuwai, who were puzzled for a long time how to account for the mysterious disappearance of small parties of their people who went up into the hills bordering on the banks of the river to hunt for wekas. The mystery was cleared up by a woman called Kaiamio, sole survivor of one of these hunting parties, who succeeded in getting back to her home after strange adventures. Her party had been met on the hills by an Ogre accompanied by a pack of two-headed dogs. The Ogre killed all her companions, and carried her off to his cave near the river where she lived with him; and in time became covered all over with scales from the Ogre's body. She was very miserable, and determined to escape; but the difficulty was how to accomplish her purpose, as the Ogre took care to fasten her by a cord which he kept jerking whenever she was out of his sight. As the cave was close to the river she crept to the entrance where raupo grew thickly, and having cut a quantity, tied it in bundles. The next day when the monster slept she crept out and formed the raupo bundles into a raft and tied the string by which she was held to some rushes, which being elastic would yield when the cord was jerked and so prevent the immediate discovery of her flight. Getting on to the raft she dropped down the river, the swift current bearing her rapidly towards her home at its mouth.

"The Ogre did not wake for a long time; when he did he called out, "Kaiamio. E! Where are you?" Not receiving an answer, he went to the entrance of the cave and searched; but not finding any footprints there, he smelt the water, and at once discovered how she had escaped. Then in his rage he swallowed the river, and dried it up from end to end, but not before Kaiamio was safely housed in her native village. After cleaning herself from the scales which covered her body, the woman told her people all she knew about the Ogre, and they resolved to put him to death. "When does he sleep?" they asked. "When the hot dry north-west wind blows," was her reply, "then he sleeps long and heavily." So they waited for the favourable wind, and then proceeded to the cave. Having collected a quantity of fern they piled it up at the entrance of the cave and then set fire to it. When the heat awoke the monster, he could think of no way of escape except through a hole in the roof; and while struggling to get through this, the people set upon him with clubs and beat him to death."

The Ogre's human attributes are so stressed that the scales with which his victim was infected and the waterside cave in which he lived are the sole indication of his crocodilian character.

Of the existence of these tales elsewhere in Polynesia we have remarkable and unexpected proof recorded by Best (Best, 1924, 1:191), who shows that one of the *taniwha* tales was brought to New Zealand from Tahiti. As the crocodile is absent from Tahiti the Tahitian account of it must be folk-memory also. It should be explained that Best's informant was a Tahitian conscript on his way to France during World War I. By the accidents of wartime shipping this Tahitian came to Wellington and visited the Dominion Museum where he was interviewed by Best, whose report runs: "In another such story contributed by Te Whetu, of the Atiawa tribe, the *taniwha* bears the name of Te Kaiwhakaruaki. This monster



Fig. 1

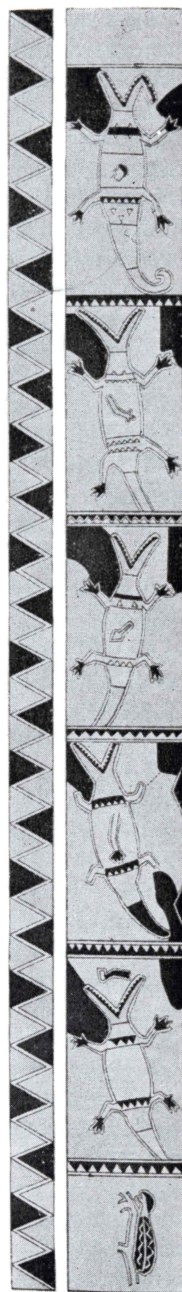


Fig. 2

Fig. 1. Carved and painted house-boards. Paired crocodiles, their tails entwined as double spirals. Kayan, Borneo. British Museum. 1910. Plate IV. Fig. 2. Crocodile swallowing and digesting man. Canoe decoration. Carolines. Kubary, J. S., 1889.

became the terror of the place by destroying travellers proceeding to Takaka and Motueka, well-known places in the Nelson district. The story was published in Vol. 3 of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (1893). It was over twenty years after collecting that myth from Te Whetu that I met a certain native of Tahaa Isle, of the Society Group of eastern Polynesia. He gave me some interesting notes concerning that isle, and told that in ancient times a man-destroying monster named Aifa'arua'i lived on a small islet called Motue'a, of Tahaa (Taha'a). In these names I at once recognised the Maori names of Kai-whakaruaki and Motueka, remembering as I did, the dropped *k* of the Taha's dialect, and the *f* as used instead of the Maori *wh*. Near the islet of Motue'a is, said my informant, another islet named Ta'a'a, and here is our Takaka of New Zealand. This story of the man-slaying monster must have been introduced here by the ancestors of our Maori folk, as also the place names connected with it, when they moved down from eastern Polynesia to New Zealand."

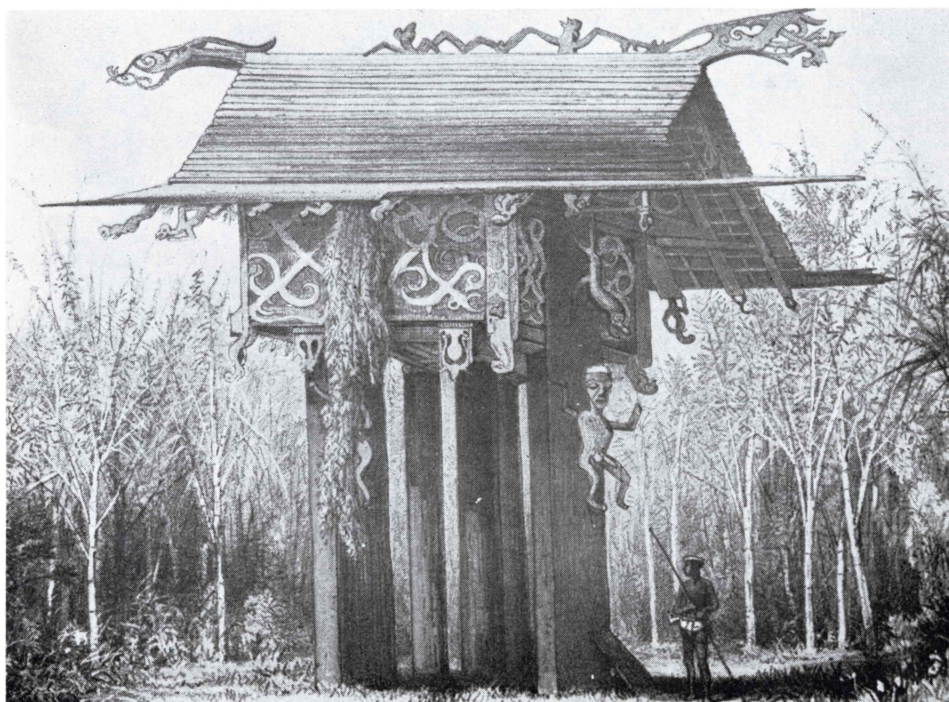


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Fig. 3. "Rajah Dindah's Family Sepulchre." Carl Bock. 1881. Plate VIII. Fig. 4. Mask made of plaited rattan, in form of crocodile. Length 88½ inches. Stated by vendor to be from Sepik River, New Guinea. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.24.1854.

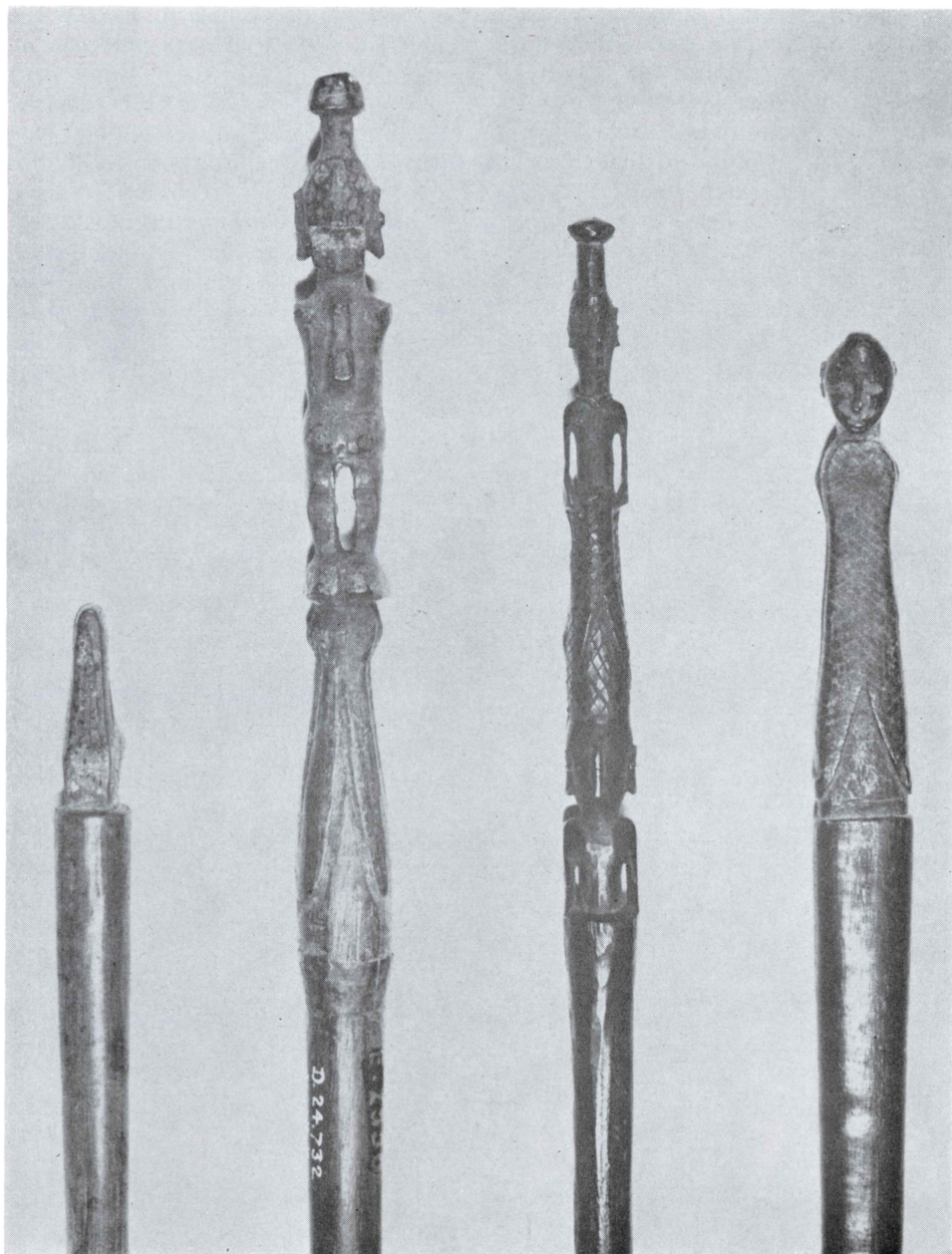


Fig. 5

Fig. 5. Terminals of lime spatulae. Men being swallowed by crocodiles. Admiralty Is. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.24.732.

II. CROCODILE AND LIZARD IN MATERIAL CULTURE

The evidence adduced demonstrates that crocodile and lizard, closely related and often interchangeable, figure prominently in New Zealand myth. That they seem less common in myth elsewhere in Oceania is probably due to myth having fewer recorders there than in New Zealand. However, in drawing, carving, and sculpture crocodile and lizard have been widely recorded in Oceania.

In Indonesian drawing and sculpture the crocodile is a common motive, sometimes rendered realistically, at other times highly stylized. In this latter case the influence of the Chinese dragon (a crocodile derivative) is often apparent, as in Figs. 1 and 3. Fig. 1, Borneo, shows pairs of stylized outward-facing crocodiles, in carved and painted woodwork. In one of the compositions a crocodile attacks a man. In two of them the tails entwine to form double spirals. Fig. 3 shows a pair of men and a pair of outward-facing crocodiles sculptured in wood on the roof combing of a carved house on piles, the tomb of a Bornean chief. Fig. 4, Sepik Valley, New Guinea, is a mask made of plaited rattan in which the crocodile is realistically and balefully rendered.

The art motive man-swallowed-by-crocodile is common in Micronesia and Melanesia. Fig. 5, Admiralty Islands, shows several stages in swallowing. Fig. 6, New Ireland, shows man enclosed in crocodile's jaws. Fig. 2, Micronesia, shows process of digestion beginning.

CROCODILE-HEAD MOTIVE IN OCEANIAN WEAPONS

The crocodile's ferocity and its success in attack doubtless explains its association with Oceanian weapons, so that a crocodile head frequently decorates them and may even determine their shapes. In Indonesia, as previously noted, the crocodile's tongue signifies the human element in the make-up of the crocodile demon.

Fig. 8, heads of Admiralty Islands spears. The war spears of that group have usually an obsidian blade. Specimen c has, carved in wood, a realistic crocodile head from the mouth of which protrudes an obsidian tongue. b has a crocodile head more stylistically rendered. In a realism is abandoned and the head becomes a study in curved lines.

Fig. 7 shows Trobriand weapons in which the crocodile-head motive has been imposed on the ancient jabbing weapon to which the Polynesian name *patu* is applied. Of these Trobriand weapons Malinowski (Malinowski, 1920:12) says: "They would be used for decoration normally, and would be noticed as such and much admired, and their use for purposes of aggression would be occasional only." While some of those here figured are designed for fighting and could be wielded with deadly effect, others have moved so far away from the primitive function as to be useless in an affray. Fig. 7, a has tongue painted red. Fig. 7, a to e have smooth-edged rounded tongues and i has sides deeply serrated to represent teeth. Fig. 7, f and g have departed from the *patu* lethal function, but stress their crocodilian nature; in each the human victim has been swallowed up to the neck. The butts of these Trobriand weapons will be discussed later when dealing with the *patu* as it occurs in New Zealand and at the Chathams.

Some of the weapons which project from below into Fig. 7 are much longer than those just discussed, the greatest length being 48½ inches. Such weapons would require two hands to wield them, and so cannot strictly be classified as *patu*.



Fig. 9, Solomon Islands weapon. Distal end carved to represent a crocodile's head. Killing-points are provided, not, as in Figs. 7 and 8, by the tongue but by the ends of the crocodile's brow-ridge. The weapon is thus a war-pick rather than a club.¹ The edges of the crocodile's tongue, which is not protruded, are notched. Part of the bow decoration of Solomon Island war canoes consists of a pair of rods to which are bound, through a hole in the apex of each, a series of small *Tridacna* shell triangles with notched or serrated bases. These serrations presumably invoke good luck.² In Fig. 9, a pattern consisting of rods and attached triangles is carved in low relief along the outer margins of the crocodile's upper jaw.

Weapons which derive their shape from a crocodile's head are not, so far as is at present known, represented elsewhere in Melanesia. But the influence of the crocodile's head is apparent in groups of weapons from most parts of Polynesia. As the area of distribution of *Crocodylus* is left further behind the human element in the motive is stressed more until the crocodilian element is entirely lost.

Fig. 10 is from the Fiji-Tongan area. The outer ends of the brow-ridge have been lost by breakage. The eyes are present in the normal position below the brow-ridge, and are echoed by a pair above it. Nostrils are represented by a pair of crescents. Teeth are carved in low relief along the outer edges of the snout. Fig. 11, from the same area, also has the ends of the brow-ridge broken off. It has eyes level with the brow-ridge, teeth carved in low relief along outer margin of upper jaw, and strongly protruded smooth-edged tongue. Figs. 10 and 11 are late examples. Fig. 12, a fine pre-

Fig. 6. Man enclosed in crocodile jaws. New Ireland. Otago Museum. D.61.1.

¹ The stone-headed war-pick was present in the Japanese Neolithic; in New Guinea and New Caledonia it persisted into the nineteenth century.

² Triangle with serrated base is discussed in J. P. S. 1960, 69:194

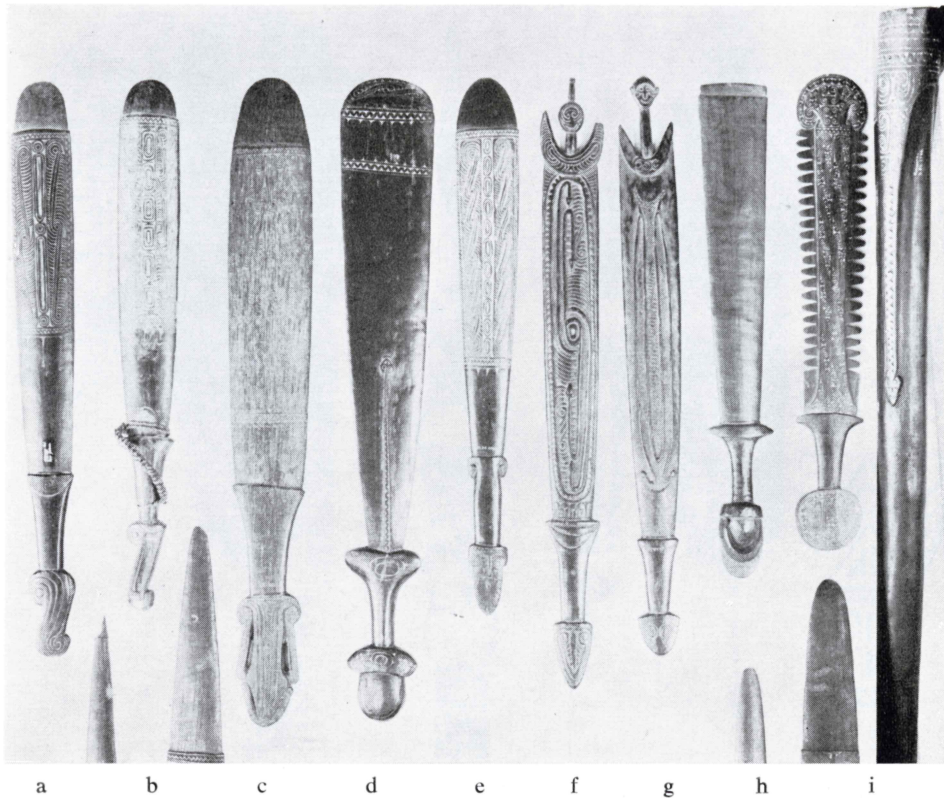


Fig. 7. Wooden *patu*. Trobriands. Otago Museum. Thomas Chalmers Gift, b, c, D.20.456, 458. Fels Fund, d, e, h, D.36.564, D.24.1983, D.61.8. Oldman Collection, a, f, g, 050.135, 133, 132.

European specimen, has the same overall proportions as Figs. 10, 11, but has preserved the full brow-ridge. Immediately below the brow-ridge the edge has serrations representing teeth. Like the two preceding specimens, Fig. 12 is too large to be efficient in combat; all three must be classified as ceremonial. Fig. 13 is a fully conventionalized pre-European version of the same motive, and is a true war-pick; the ends of the brow-ridge are designed for killing. Teeth are indicated by serrations and the tongue is smooth-edged.

Crocodilus porosus, a species of crocodile which lives in salt water as well as in fresh, reaches the limit of its geographical distribution in Fiji. A pair of its lower incisors are of greater length than the rest of the teeth on the lower jaw, and pass up through a pair of openings in the premaxilla of the upper jaw. It is presumably these two teeth that are represented by a pair of longer serrations in Figs. 12 and 13, a touch of realism not seen again as we move out of the area of distribution of *Crocodilus*. Figs. 10-13 appear to have been made by Tongans living in Fiji. In each of these weapons the proximal end has the button terminal characteristic of weapons in Melanesian Fiji, and characteristic also of the New Hebrides. Derrick (Derrick, 1957:392) gives *thulathula* as the Fijian name of this weapon. In Plate 4 he figures two, No. 5 being a fine fighting weapon with smooth-

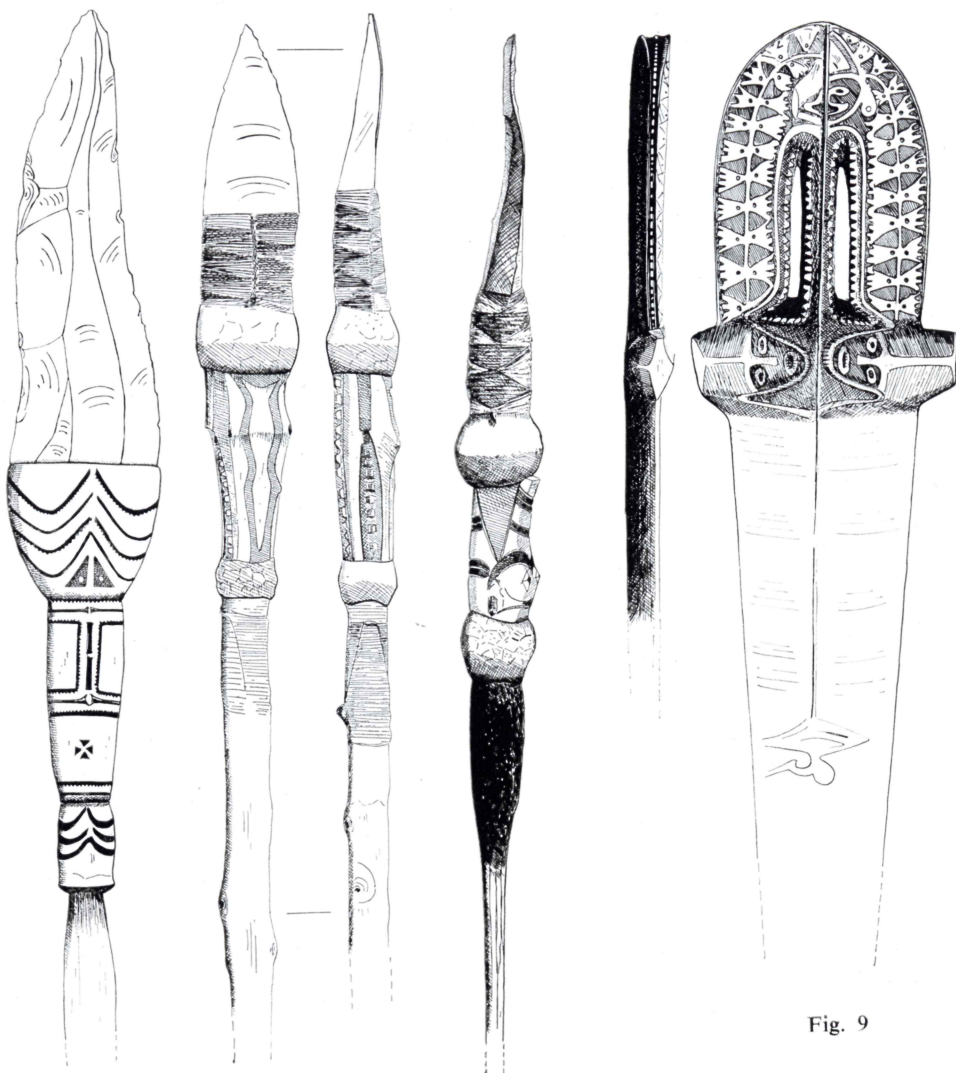


Fig. 8, a

Fig. 8, b

Fig. 8, c

Fig. 9

Figs. 8 a, b, and c. Spears. Crocodile's head, from which protrudes obsidian tongue. Admiralty Islands. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.21.272, D.61.7, D.61.2. Fig. 9. Wooden war-pick, representing crocodile's head. Overall length 43 inches. Brow-ridge to snout 7 inches. Solomons. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.45.174.

edged tongue and homodont teeth uniform in height except for the customary longer pair. His No. 3 has small smooth-edged tongue and small homodont teeth uniform in height throughout. It is thus to be classified as a member of the same variant form as Figs. 7 i, 19, 20 and 21.

The Samoan weapons whose shapes are influenced by the crocodile-head motive are stylized much more than those of Tonga-Fiji. Fig. 14 has brow-ridge, median line, and smooth-edged tongue. In Fig. 15 the sides of the tongue are

Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 10. Wooden war-pick representing crocodile's head. Overall length 47 inches. Fiji-Tonga. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.23.739. Fig. 11. Wooden war-pick representing crocodile's head. Overall length 48 inches. Fiji-Tonga. Otago Museum. Oldman Collection. 0.50.211. Fig. 12. Wooden war-pick representing crocodile's head. Overall length 47 inches. Fiji-Tonga. Otago Museum. Alex Thomson Gift. D.25.896. Fig. 13. Wooden war-pick representing crocodile's head. Overall length 42½ inches. Fiji-Tonga. Otago Museum. Fels gift. D.24.2005.

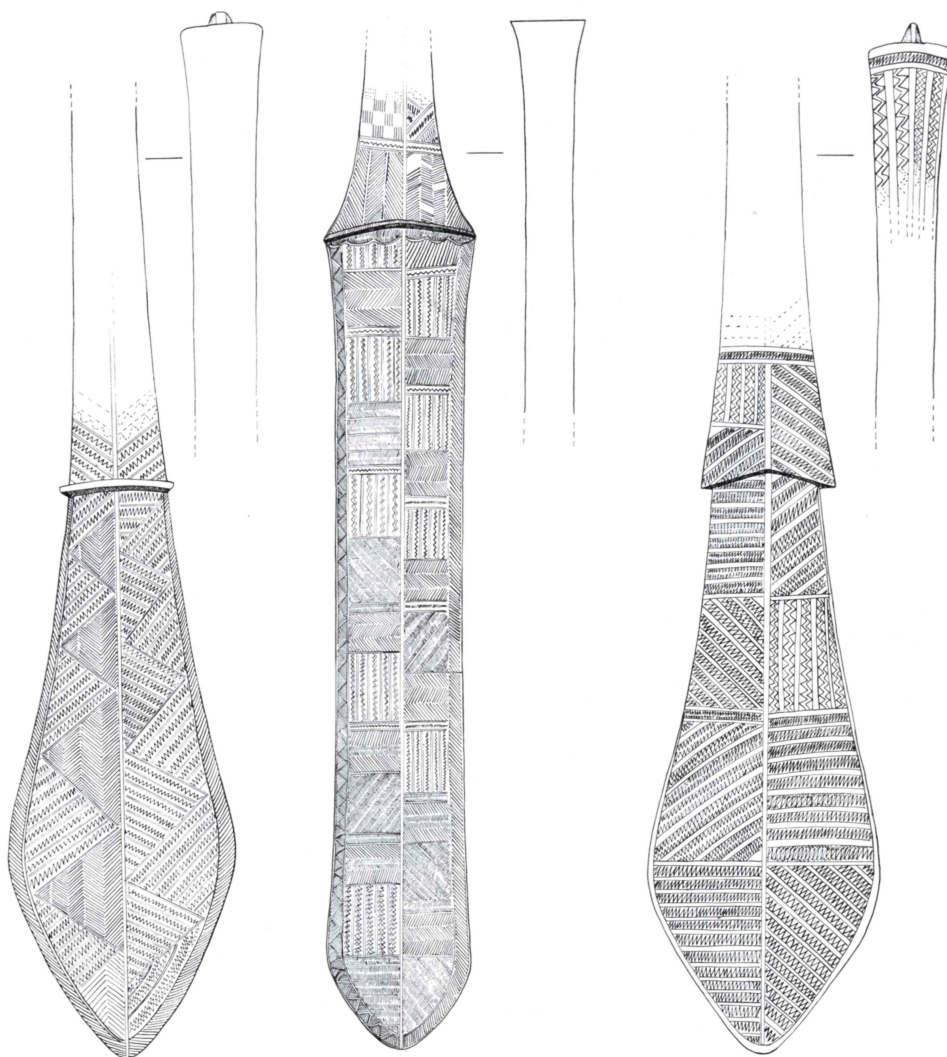


Fig. 14

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

Fig. 14. Decorated wooden club. Samoa. Brow-ridge and tongue. Overall length 37½ inches. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.61.5. Fig. 15. Decorated wooden club. Samoa. Brow-ridge and tongue. Overall length 42½ inches. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.36.821. Fig. 16. Decorated wooden club. Samoa. Brow-ridge and tongue. Overall length 41½ inches. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.23.14.

straightened. Teeth appear to be indicated by triangles incised in low relief along the left side of the tongue, which has a continuous median ridge. The first attempt at classification of the Samoan weapons represented by Figs. 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 was made in 1917 by William Churchill (Churchill, 1917:60) who designated them "paddle clubs", but admitted that "not one of these pieces is a copy of the island paddle; it is merely a paddle design which has been specialized" (? imposed) "upon the paddle base". In this erroneous taxonomy Churchill was followed by

Buck (Buck, 1930:596). But Buck's affirmation was even less confident than Churchill's. "Theoretically speaking Samoan paddle clubs should resemble Samoan paddles. However, the structure of the clubs, while following the general outline shape of the pattern motive, does not, for technical reasons, conform to it in cross-section. Thus Samoan paddle clubs have a median longitudinal edge" (? ridge) "on either side that extends for the entire length of the blade." There was in fact, no reason for Churchill or for Buck to invoke the paddle as ancestor of these weapons; the pattern motive was not paddle but crocodile head.

Fig. 19, another Samoan variant of the crocodile-head motive, is related to the Trobriand form Fig. 7 i. The tongue is small and smooth-edged. The lateral

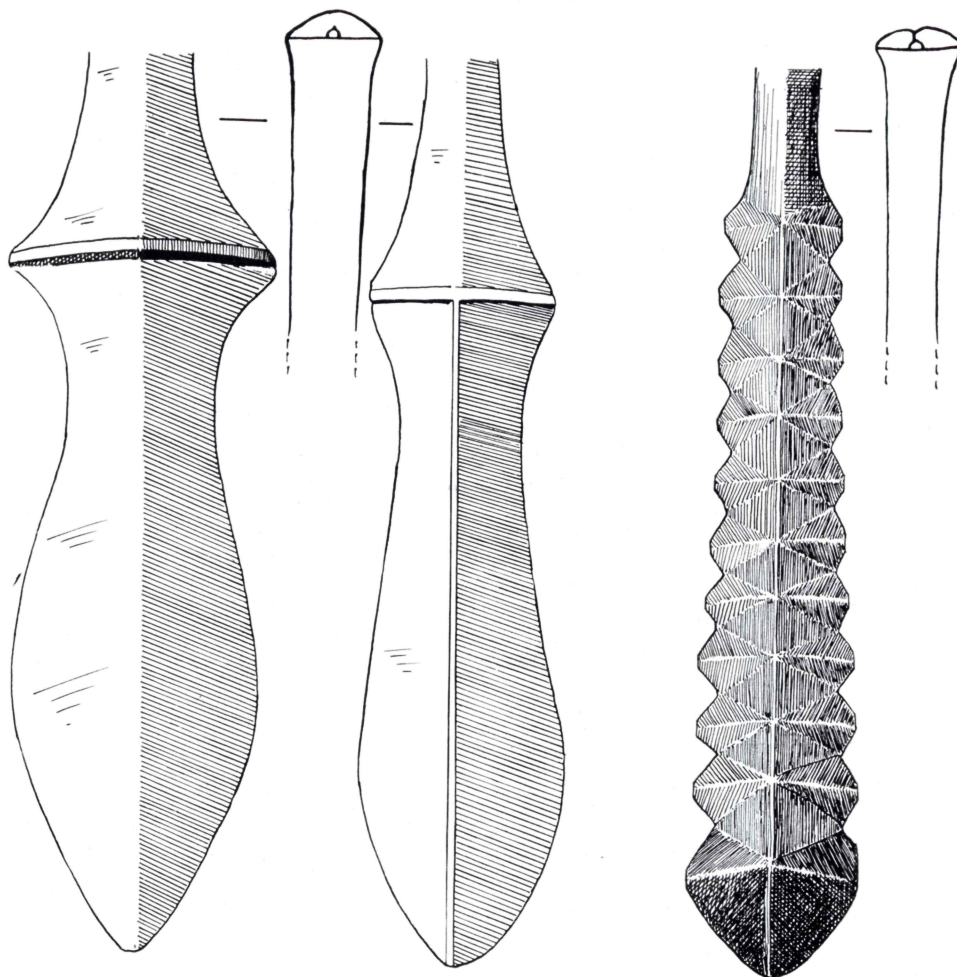


Fig. 17

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

Fig. 17. Plain wooden club. Samoa. Brow-ridge and tongue. Overall length 41½ inches. Fels Fund. D.61.6. Fig. 18. Plain wooden club. Samoa. Brow-ridge and tongue. Overall length 46½ inches. Fels Fund. D.61.5. Fig. 19. Serrated wooden club. Samoa. Smooth-edged tongue distally. Teeth as in Fig. 8 a. Overall length 45 inches. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.23.780.

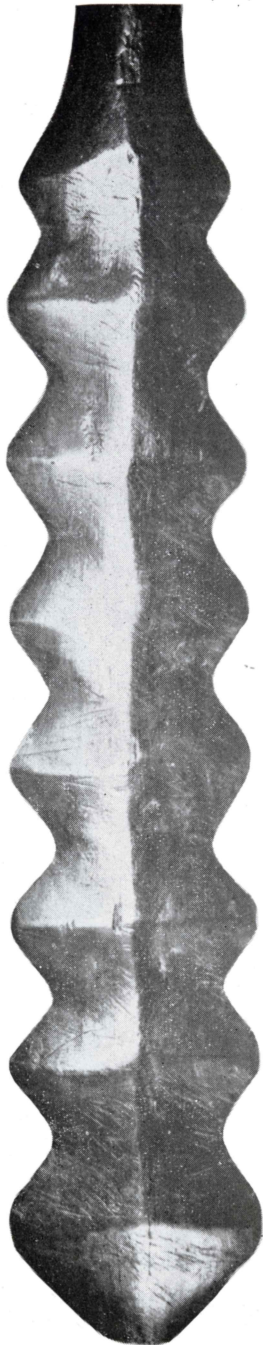


Fig. 20

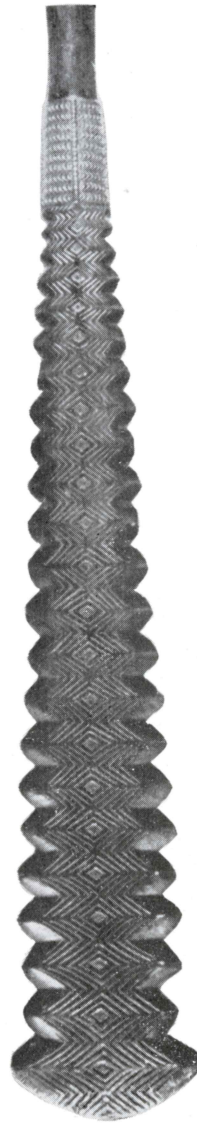


Fig. 21

Fig. 20. Serrated wooden club. Rotuma. Smooth-edged tongue distally. Teeth as in Figs. 8 a, 19. Overall length $51\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Otago Museum. Oldman Collection. Fig. 21. Serrated wooden club. Mangaia. Smooth-edged tongue distally. Teeth as in Figs. 8 a, 19, 20. Overall length $58\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Collected by Wyatt Gill. Otago Museum. Oldman Collection. 0.50.110.

rows of teeth are large and are designed as the killing points of the club. There is a continuous median ridge. It is convenient to cite here two other clubs of the same variant group as Fig. 7 i. Fig. 20 has smooth-edged tongue, teeth strongly emphasized, and median ridge, and is localized as from Rotuma. Fig. 21, an old and finely carved specimen, is stated on a label in Wyatt Gill's handwriting to have been collected by him on Mangaia. Edge of tongue is smooth. As in Figs. 7 i, 19 and 20 the lateral serrations represent teeth. The proximal end of the median ridge is continuous; for the rest of its length it is broken up by a decorative treatment echoing the decorative treatment of the weapons of Rarotonga and Atiu (Fig. 26).

Figs. 22 and 23 are the well-known Marquesan weapon *u'u*. If compared with the Solomon Island war-pick, Fig. 9, it will be seen that Marquesan and Solomon Island forms are closely related. Basically the *u'u* is a crocodile head, with brow-ridge the extremities of which are killing-points; it is thus war-pick rather than club. But from the *u'u* two crocodilian features are missing—teeth and tongue. In the motive pattern followed thus far, teeth are not fundamental. They are absent from several of the weapons already figured. The tongue is more important, and its absence makes the *u'u* virtually unique in this series. Seen from the side the rendering of the crocodilian mouth strongly suggests that the tongue has been intentionally excised. The excision is present in all the numerous figured examples of this Marquesan weapon, and must surely be related to the rigid standardization of the design of the *u'u* which is clearly evident in, for example, von den Steinen's and Oldman's illustrations. In Indonesian myth the crocodile's tongue had magical power and expressed the human side of the crocodile demon. The tongue has been present in all weapons thus far figured. It appears that the head, originally crocodilian, was, late in the history of Marquesan culture, re-interpreted as human. This re-interpretation involved the provision of a new mouth below, instead of above, the eyes and brow-ridge. The Polynesian stylized figure-of-eight mouth is suggested by a pair of eyes carved in the position appropriate for the new mouth. Or are these eyes vestigial eyes persisting from the old crocodile head motive and not a new pair? Each of these eyes is bisected by a very slight horizontal ridge. Most numerous of the small animals carved on the re-interpreted face are lizards (Fig. 23). The close relationship existing between this type of weapon in the Marquesas and in the Solomons is not a unique phenomenon but is paralleled by an equally close relationship in head ornaments. In the Western Pacific a personal ornament composed of shell backing with tortoise-shell overlay is present in New Guinea, New Britain, the Admiralties, New Ireland, the Solomons, Santa Cruz, and the New Hebrides. The term *kapkap* is now used to cover all these Melanesian varieties. In the Solomons the *kapkap* is present in its most complex form, a circular *Tridacna* disc with elaborate tortoise-shell overlay, and is used as a head-ornament. This highly specialized Solomons variety has a closely allied head-ornament in the Marquesas.

In weapons from Tahiti, the Australs, the Cooks, and New Zealand the tongue is strongly stressed, and the human element in the overall motive supersedes the crocodilian.

Fig. 24 shows spears from the Tahitian archipelago and the Australs. "The power and strength of these islands," says Cook (Cook, 1785:589), "lie entirely in their navies. I never heard of an engagement on land; and all their decisive battles are fought on water." They used spears up to thirty feet in length, long

clubs, and stones either propelled by slings or thrown by hand. Neither *patu* nor war-pick are recorded. The obvious differences between the weapons of this area and the weapons of the New Zealand Polynesians have developed because the latter fought not on canoes but on land, hand-to-hand and foot-to-foot. Tahitian clubs are described by Cook (Beaglehole's Cook, 1955, 1:132). "The Clubs are made of hard wood and are about 8 or 9 feet long, the one half is flattish with two edges and the other half is round and not thicker than to be grasped by the hand." They are thus sharp-edged, resembling generally Maori *pouwhenua* and *taiaha*, except that the Tahitian clubs were longer. They appear to have resembled, in all respects including length, the *korare* of Tongarewa.

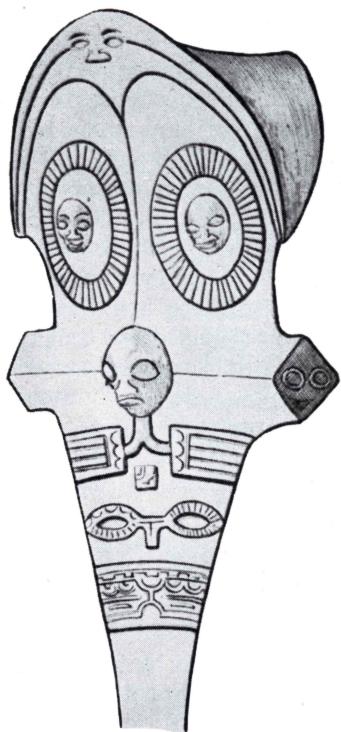


Fig. 22



Fig. 23

Fig. 22. *U'u*. Marquesas. After Porter (1813), from von den Steinen (1928) Vol. III. Fig. 23. *U'u*. Marquesas. Von den Steinen (1928) Vol. III. Note the pair of lizards.

Their length would make Tahitian clubs and spears highly effective in combat between the crews of canoes that lay close aboard or had even grappled, but had not yet boarded. I have not seen any of the Tahitian clubs described by Cook (see however footnote ⁵). The Tahitian spears, which he did not describe, are well represented in museums. Fig. 24 b, length 120 inches, is Tahitian. It seems designed to be wielded by two men against such a target as the steersman or other important person of an opposing canoe, and is quite unsuited to combat in the open field. The business end is a conventionalized human janus head with an immense sharply pointed tongue on which, as on all the rest, a median ridge is prominent. Each side of the janus head (Fig. 25) has two pairs of eyes, each pair bisected by a horizontal

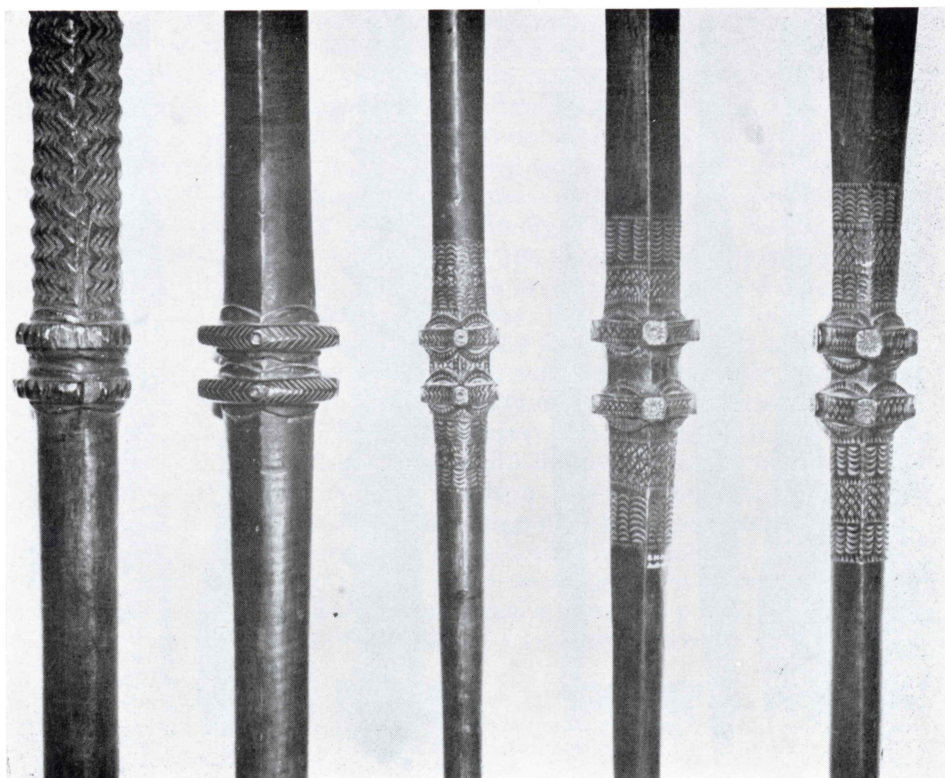


Fig. 25. The eye region in weapons of Fig. 24

line so strongly emphasized as to constitute a conspicuous pair of transverse bars or ridges. This convention of doubled pairs of eyes, each pair bisected by a horizontal ridge, is widely distributed in Polynesia. Incipient in the Marquesan rendering of single pairs of eyes (Fig. 23), it is fully developed in the double pairs of Tahiti, the Tuamotu, the Australs, and the Cooks (Fig. 26) and is vestigial in Tonga and Rotuma. Decorative design in its abstract form is absent from recorded Tahitian spears except for a series of chevrons along the median horizontal ridges bisecting the eyes. The decorative design on the lighter spears (Fig. 24, c, d, e) suggests Rai-vavai as their place of origin.³ The decorative design conspicuous on the tongue of Fig. 24, a, localizes it as from Tubuai.⁴

Fig. 26 represents four weapons with scalloped edges, all, in Buck's opinion, Rarotongan (Buck, 1944:281). This localization can be accepted for Fig. 26, b. c.

³ Localization based on identical decoration on Rai-vavai paddles, ladles and *tokotoko* in many museums. See Stolpe (1927), Fig. 13, decorated paddle collected by Beechey in Tahiti but "made by natives of Rai-vavai."

⁴ Localization depends on identical decorative pattern in Aitken (1930), Plate 8, c, d, and on a piece of house-carving in Otago Museum, D.32.1782, purchased from S. Russell who collected it on Tubuai and stated it had been recovered from a *manito* trench.

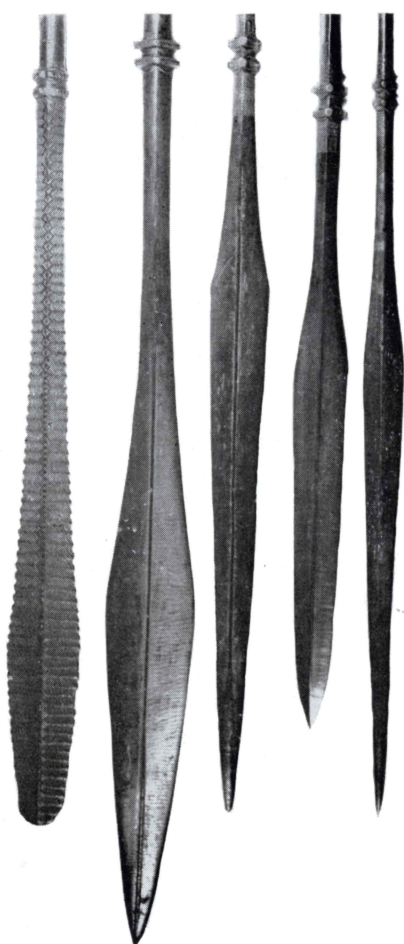


Fig. 24, a b c d e



Fig. 26, a b c d

Fig. 24. Spears. Otago Museum. a, Tubuai. Oldman 050.199. Length 118 inches. b, Tahiti. Fels Fund. Length 120 inches. D.63.819. c, Raivavai. Dr F. R. Riley gift. D.27.944. Length 104 inches. d, Raivavai. 103½ inches. Fels Fund. D.32.1595. e, Raivavai. 118 inches. Oldman 050.193. Fig. 26. Wooden weapons, the sharp edges strongly serrated. Cook Islands. Otago Museum. a, Atiu. Length 96 inches. b, length 98½ inches. c, length 105 inches. d, length 97½ inches. Oldman 050.090-093-094-092.

d. These are sharp-edged clubs; the butts are sharpened, presumably for in-fighting. Fig. 26, a, has scallops differently rendered from those on the other three, and, unlike b, c, and d, it has a flat butt strapped round with fibre and entirely unsuited to in-fighting. At Atiu, Cook (Cook, 1785, 1:196) quotes Anderson's report: "The clubs are generally about six feet long, made of a hard black wood, lance-shaped at the end but much broader with the edge nicely scalloped, and the whole neatly polished." On this evidence it seems reasonable to localize Fig. 26, a, as Atiu, a localization tentatively suggested by Buck. Of the eyes present on both varieties (Fig. 27) Buck says (Buck, 1944:288), "The shoulder ornament is based in most

forms on the eye motive. The eyeball itself is represented by an elliptical figure with curved flanges above and below that represent the eyelids. The eye motive may be repeated up to five. The commonest is two eyes with two lids. In some the eyeball is replaced by a single or double transverse bar." Figs. 25 and 27 show the transverse bars or ridges on weapons from Tahiti, Raivavai, Tubuai, Atiu, and Rarotonga. Two pairs of eyes are present on a weapon 112 inches long with scalloped edges from Ngapuka in the Tuamotu, in the Roman Catholic Missionary Museum at Braine-le-Comte, figured by Emory (Emory, 1947, Plate 2). Emory's figure is not clear, and an application to the museum for a photograph remains unanswered. As Emory notes, this weapon is closely related to the weapons from the Cooks (Figs. 26, 27). Beechey (Beechey, 1831, 1:208) describes at Vahitahi, Tuamotu, "poles" from twenty to twenty-five feet long equipped with bone heads. These weapons are undoubtedly spears, and with the one figured by Emory indicate the existence in the Tuamotu of naval warfare similar to that practised in Cook's time in Tahiti. Why the Tuamotuan weapon should differ so from the Tahitian pattern but so closely resemble the standard form of the southern Cooks remains a problem.* Weapons of the northern Cooks and Marquesas include lengthy spears and lengthy clubs, thus suggesting naval warfare. Buck failed to recognize that in all these weapons a janus head is represented of which the tongue forms the blade. Oldman (Oldman, 1943:16) cautiously suggested that the blades of both the Atiu and the Rarotongan varieties represent protruded tongues allied to the protruded tongues of Maori *taiaha*. Evidence adduced in this paper demon-

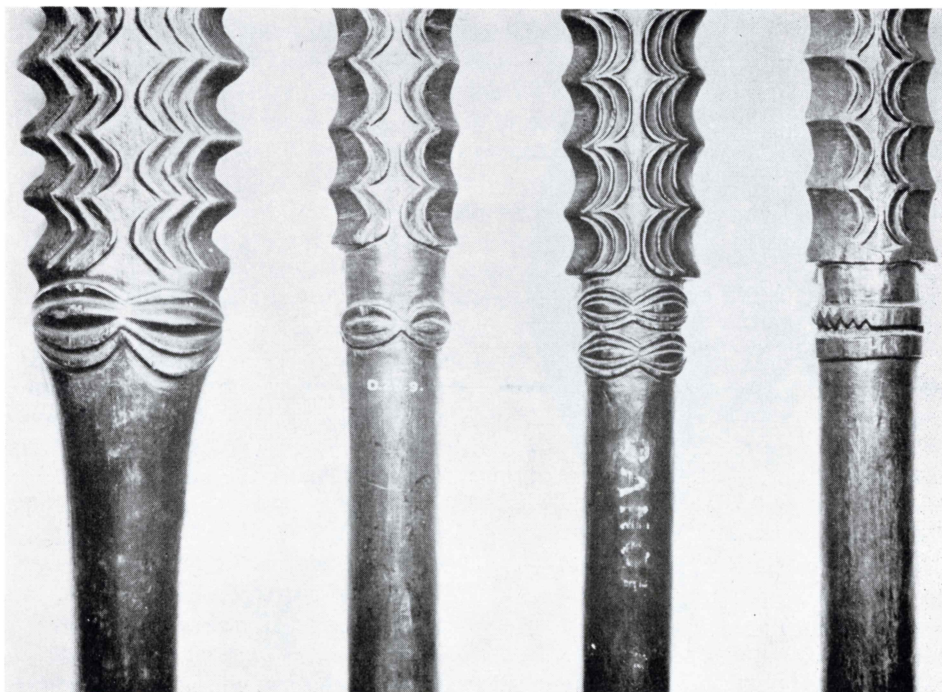


Fig. 27. The eye region in weapons from the Cook Islands

* For new data see Appendix.

strates the correctness of his suggestion. Buck recognized that the proximal striking points of Maori *pouwhenua*, *tewhatewha* and *taiaha* are tongues projecting from janus heads, but claimed mistakenly that the eyes present in Rarotonga and Atiu constitute a quite different motive. "The clubs with lozenge-shaped blades" (i.e.

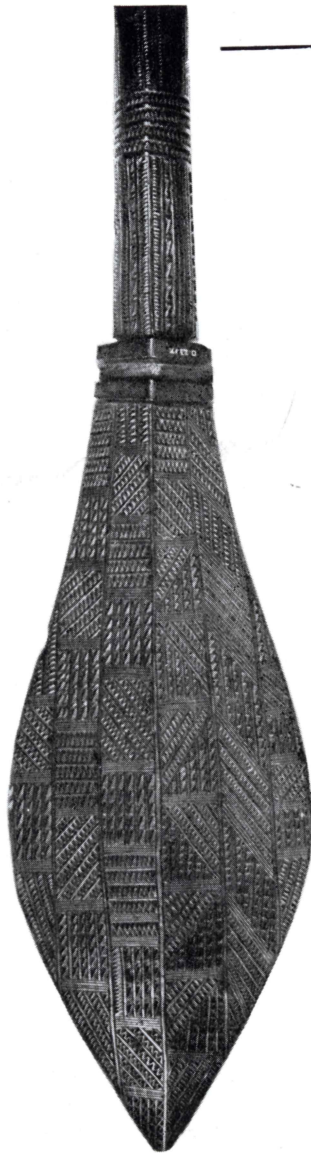


Fig. 28



Fig. 29

Fig. 28. Decorated sharp-eyed wooden club. Tonga. Smooth-edged tongue and pair of bars. Length 50 inches. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.23.17. Fig. 29. Undecorated sharp-edged wooden club. Rotuma. Smooth-edged tongue and pair of bars. Length 51 inches. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.42.625.

Fig. 24) "characteristic of the Society and Austral Islands, share another feature, all using a carved protuberance on the boundary between blade and shaft. This carved shoulder ornament does not exist elsewhere in Polynesia." (Buck, 1944: 462.) Regarding clubs with serrated margins he says (Buck, 1944:461), "No serrated clubs have been reported from the Society and Austral Islands. The nearest serrated clubs occur in Tuamotu and Samoa." But we have seen that weapons with serrated margins are present in the Trobriands, Rotuma, Samoa, Fiji-Tonga, the Cook Islands, the Australs, and the Tuamotu, and that the killing part of each represents a janus head. In western Oceania this janus head is crocodilian. In the east and south it has been humanized.

Fig. 28 (Tonga) shows the tongue and also the two transverse bars present in Figs. 24, 25, and 26, where they are closely associated with eyes. Ceremonial clubs of this type have survived in Tonga to the present day; they were the arms of the escort provided for Queen Elizabeth II on her recent Tongan visit. Fig. 29 shows the same motive-tongue and two transverse bars on a club from Rotuma. In both weapons the tongue is smooth-edged.

THE JANUS HEAD IN MORIORI AND MAORI WEAPONS

Marginal areas tend to preserve old forms. Of the regional variations of material culture in New Zealand when Europeans first made contact, that of Murihiku (Otago-Southland) stood closest to the material culture of the Morioris. In comparative studies the material culture of the Chathams and the material culture of Murihiku are therefore of special importance.

Fig. 30 shows a series of *patu* from the Chathams. Fig. 30 a and b are in whale bone. On the blade of each is a human face. The brow-ridge is emphasized, there is a straight vertical ridge for nose, and the killing-point is a protruded tongue the edges of which are serrated. Fig. 30 c is in schist rock. The human face on the blade is less clearly cut than in the two preceding *patu*. The somewhat retracted tongue has serrated edges. The butt shows a pair of human heads facing outwards. Fig. 30 d, schist, has face on blade. Brow-ridge is clearly rendered. The distal edge is perfunctorily shaped to represent a tongue with serrated edge.

Fig. 31 a, schist, lacks butt knob, and, on blade, all human features, except the distal tongue, the edge of which is serrated. Fig. 31 b, whalebone, has on butt two outward-facing conventionalized human heads. The edges of the blade are set with homodont teeth. It should be compared with Fig. 7 i (Trobriands), Fig. 19 (Samoa), Fig. 20 (Rotuma), and Fig. 21 (Mangaia). It resembles these in having lateral teeth but differs in lacking a tongue. Fig. 31 c is a duck beautifully shaped in schist, the white edges of quartz interlaminae emphasizing the pattern of wing and feathers. The butt knob is shaped as a human head, exemplifying well the tendency, widespread in Oceania, to regard human and bird heads as interchangeable. Fig. 31 d, schist, is a fine example of Chatham Island *patu* shaped like a swamp hen. On the shoulder is rendered a human brow-ridge in the manner seen in preceding figures, clear evidence that the brow-ridge of these *patu* has an importance of its own and could be transferred to a non-human background. Jack Golson has detected this brow-ridge on two New Zealand adzes, one from the Gisborne district, the other from the Bay of Plenty. It may be suggested that the brow-ridge motive derives its power from its original killing function seen best in the weapons of the Solomons, the Marquesas, and of Fiji-Tonga.

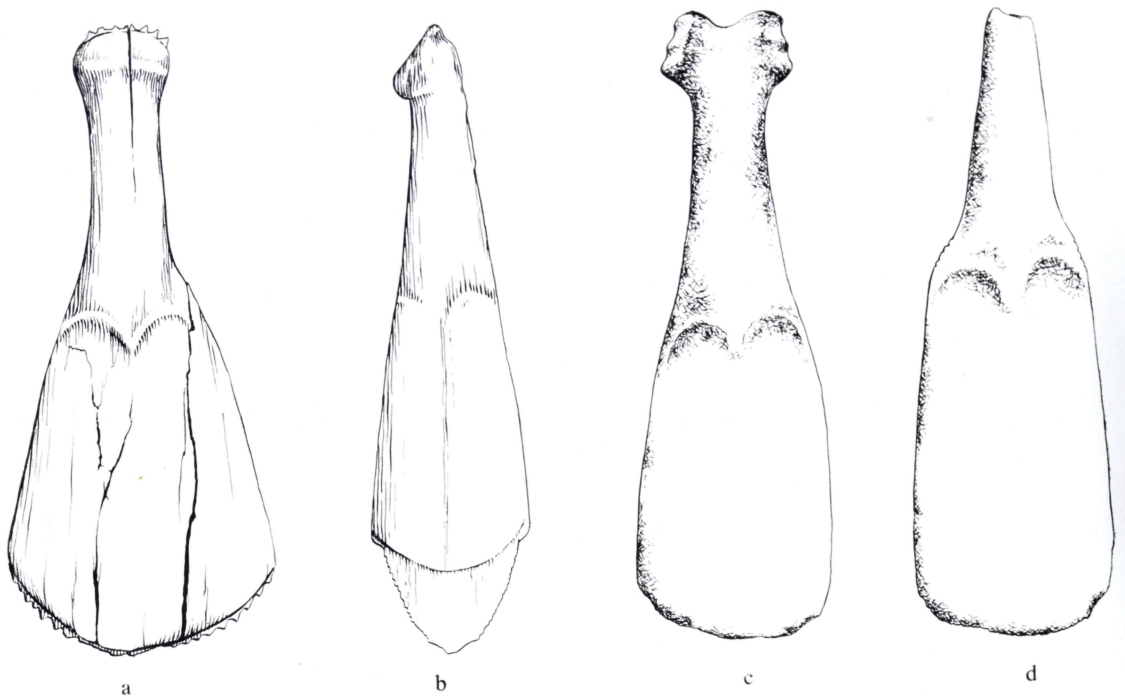


Fig. 30

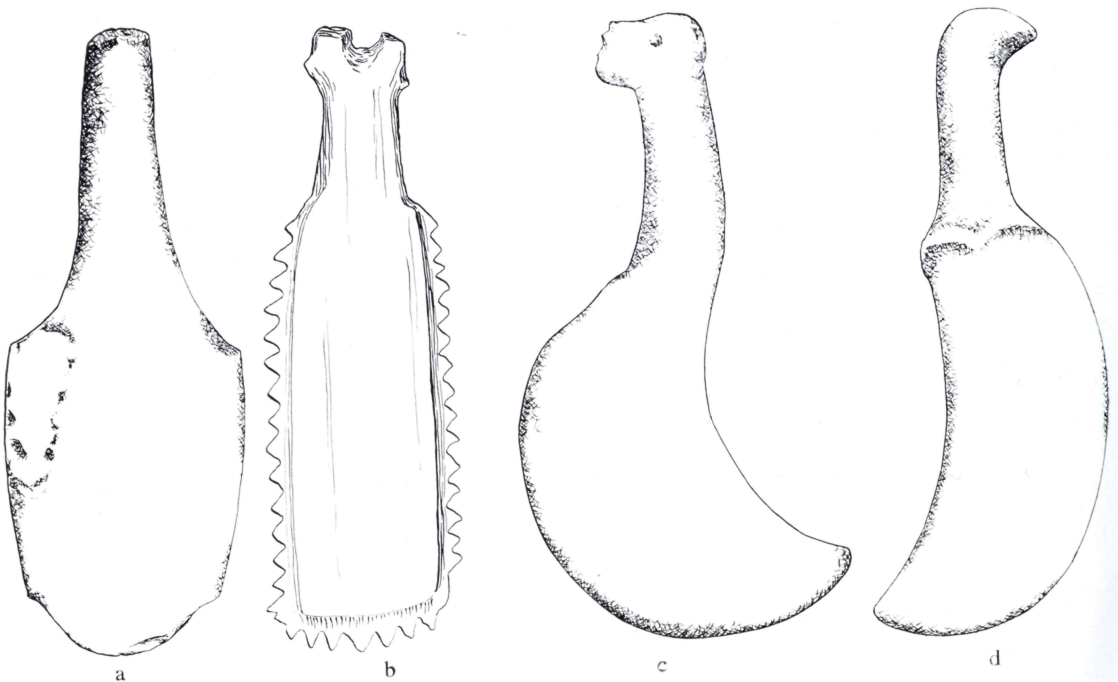


Fig. 31

Fig. 30. *Patu*. Chatham Islands. a, Napier Museum. Whalebone. Grecian Black gift. Length 13½ inches. b, Otago Museum. Whalebone. Fels Fund. Length 14¼ inches. D.25.1. c, National Museum, Washington D.C. Schist. Length 13½ inches. d, Otago Museum. Schist. Length 13½ inches. Hocken Gift. D.10.137. Fig. 31. *Patu*. Chatham Islands. a, Otago Museum. Schist. Length 14 inches. D.54.140. b, Auckland Museum. Whalebone. Length 12 inches. c, Otago Museum. Schist. Length 14½ inches. D.21.342. d, Auckland Museum. Schist. Length 14 inches.

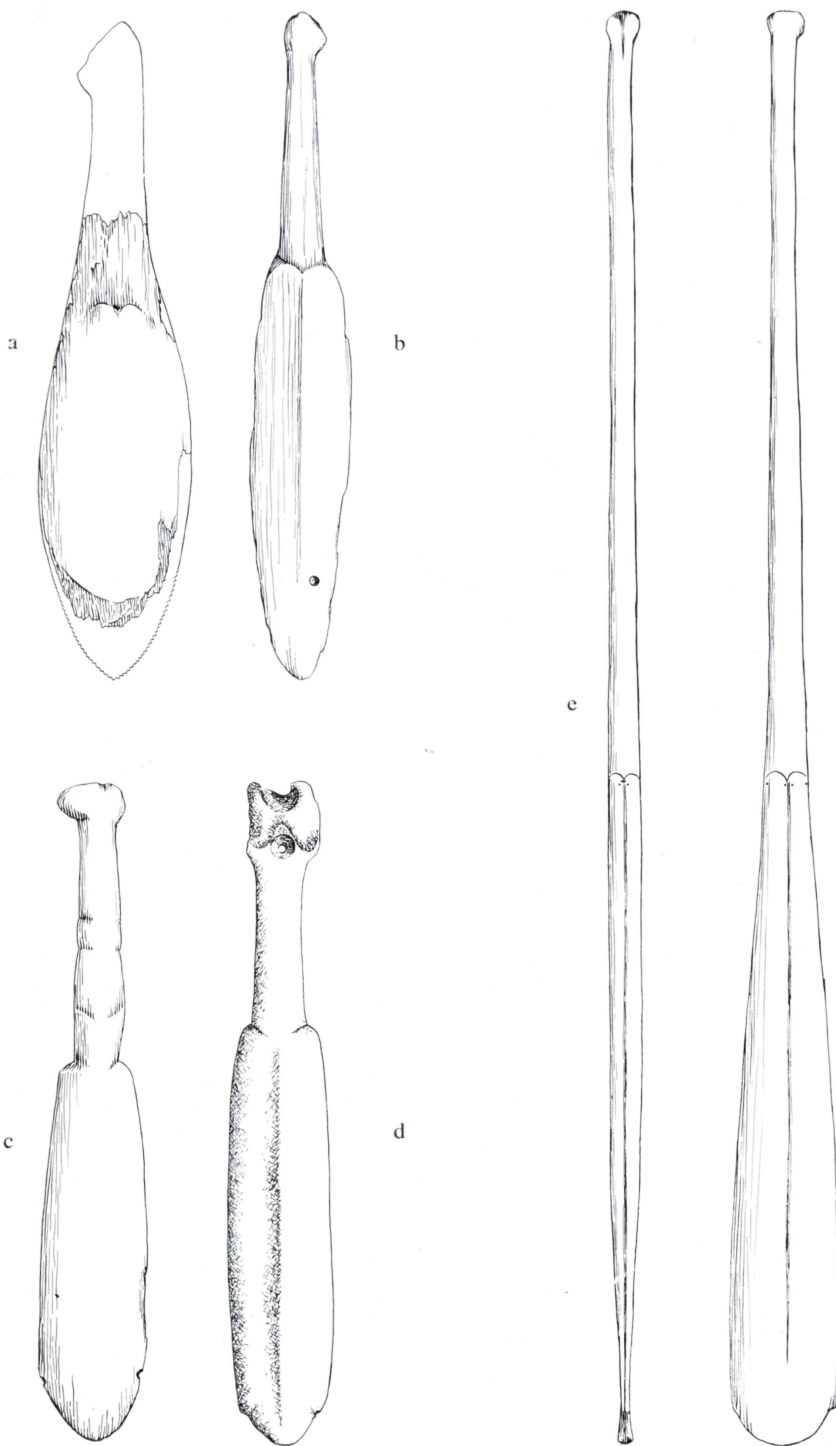


Fig. 32. Weapons from Murihiku. Otago Museum. a, Kaikai's Beach. *Patu*. Whalebone. Length $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. D.34.49. b, Rock and Pillar. ?*Miti*. Wood. Length $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches. c, Mokoreta. ?*Miti*. Whalebone. Length $29\frac{1}{4}$ inches. D.27.1335. d, Barewood Station. ?*Miti*. Schist. Length $19\frac{1}{4}$ inches. D.10.148. e, Strath-Taieri. Wood. Length 84 inches. D.10.64.

Fig. 32 illustrates the occurrence of the brow-ridge motive on a group of archaic weapons from the Murihiku region, New Zealand. Fig. 32 a, Kaikai's Beach, Otago, is a battered whalebone *patu* showing brow-ridge and serrated tongue. Length of fragment $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Fig. 32 b, a wooden *patu*, presumably the *miti* of Stack's account of the siege of Kaiapohia (Stack, 1893:39), from Rock and Pillar Range, Central Otago. Length $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Fig. 32 e, long sharp-edged wooden



Fig. 33. Stone weapons of *patu* type from Tainan (Formosa). After Tadao Kano.

weapon from same area as b, showing brow-ridge, nose and mouth. There is a thinning of the blade, followed by a thickening of the region of the lips and mouth, the whole treatment being allied to the treatment of the distal region of the Marquesan *u'u*. Length 84 inches. Fig. 32 c, whale bone *patu* (presumably *miti*), Mokoreta, Otago. Length 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The lateral boundaries of the tongue are marked by a pair of drilled holes the outer circumferences of which have been broken through, making them merely notches in the distal outline. It may be suggested that this is the initial step in the evolution of the *Kotiate*, a North Island variety of *patu* conspicuous in Classic Maori culture. Fig. 32 d, schist rock, Barewood, Central Otago, shows faint brow-ridge, nose and tongue. Length 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Presumably *miti*.

The decoration of the butts of Trobriand *patu* presents interesting parallels with the decoration of the butts of New Zealand and Chatham Island *patu*. In both areas simple ridging is sometimes used and in both the carving of a bird's head is also sometimes present. In the Trobriands a pair of birds' heads is not uncommon, shown facing each other and attacking a snake. In New Zealand two birds are sometimes carved on a *patu* butt. In both areas a single human head is occasionally present. The pair of human heads of the Chathams has not been seen in the Trobriands, though a treatment suggestive of paired conventionalized human heads is present on butts of *patu* from Tainan (Fig. 33). The crocodile head apparent on some Trobriand butts is not at present known elsewhere.

Fig. 37 represents a sharp-edged wooden club, 51 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, dredged from the Piako Swamp, Auckland Province. Too long to be wielded in one hand, it is to be classed as related to the longer Trobriand weapons of Fig. 7. The three weapons *taiaha*, *pouwhenua*, and *tewhatewha* (Figs. 34-36) are conspicuous elements of Classic Maori culture. It is probable that by the beginning of the nineteenth century all three types were in use in all parts of New Zealand. The make-weight expansion of the *tewhatewha* blade appears to be a purely New Zealand development. Each of the three was designed so that the first blow at an opponent might be struck with the distal sharp edge. The proximal end was designed to deal with the opponent who got within the sweep of the distal end; this proximal end the Maori fighting man thought the more dangerous of the two. In all three weapons the proximal end was shaped into a human janus face with tongue protruded. In *taiaha* the tongue was, in cross-section, a flattened ellipse, both the flat surfaces thus provided being decorated with elaborate double spirals. In *pouwhenua* and *tewhatewha* the tongue was circular in cross-section and was undecorated. In fully developed examples of all three there are teeth set along the margin of the upper jaw. The sharp-edged wooden club represented by these three variant forms (*taiaha*, *pouwhenua*, *tewhatewha*) is one of the most conspicuous elements of the Classic Maori cultural phase. We have seen that its decoration (head with protruded tongue) occurs in weapons of all the principal Polynesian groups and in northern Melanesia.

There remains a group of weapons (Figs. 38-40), which though they do not include a rendering of the crocodile head, are in other ways closely allied to the weapons cited. In its basic form it has a narrow flattish blade with two sharp edges. Fig. 38 is the *korare* of Tongarewa, length 73 inches (coconut wood). Fig. 39, a weapon of coconut wood, length 64 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, presumably from the Northern Cooks, was collected by Wyatt Gill. Fig. 40, length 103 inches, is made



Fig. 34

Fig. 35

Fig. 36

Fig. 37

Fig. 34. *Taiaha* (sharp-edged wooden club). Taranaki. Length 62 inches. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.43.3. Fig. 35. *Tewhatewha* (sharp-edged wooden club with make-weight flange). Taranaki (?). Length 59 inches. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.36.738. Fig. 36. *Pouwhenua* (sharp-edged wooden club). Length 79 inches. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.27.921. Purchased from W. Oldman who stated he purchased it from descendants of Vancouver who collected it during Cook's third voyage. Fig. 37. Sharp-edged wooden club. Length 51½ inches. Piako Swamp, Auckland Province. Otago Museum. D.27.61. Gift of crew of Priestman Dredge.

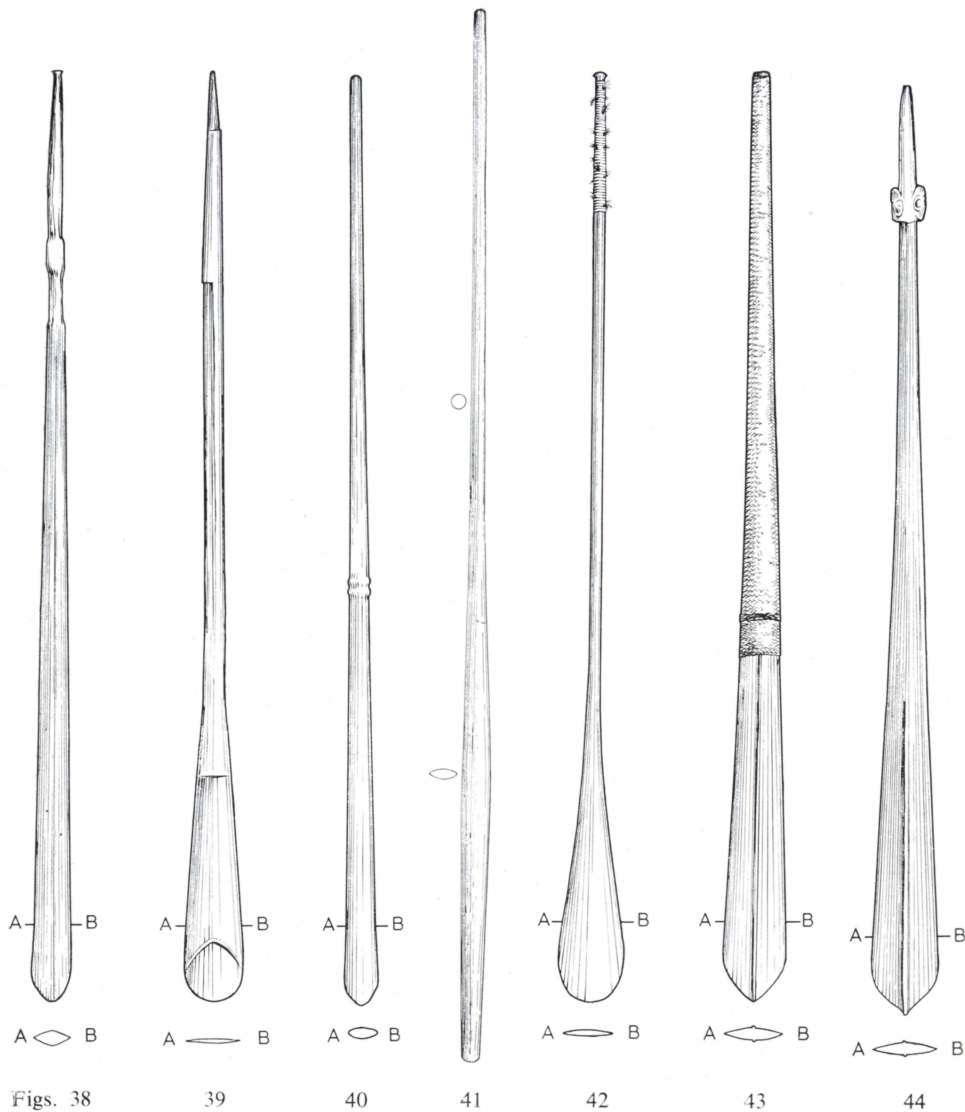


Fig. 38. *Korare* of Tongarewa. Coconut wood. Length 73 inches. Otago Museum. D.42.598. Fig. 39. Coconut wood weapon. Tongarewa. Collected by Wyatt Gill. Length 64½ inches. Otago Museum. Oldman 050.114. Fig. 40. Southern Cooks. Length 103 inches. Otago Museum. Oldman Collection. 098.412. Fig. 41. Tahitian Club as described by Cook. Ethnografiska Museum, Stockholm, by courtesy Dr Stig Ryden. Length 235 cm. Fig. 42. Marquesas. Length 98 inches. Otago Museum. D.30.976. Fig. 43. Solomons. Length 47 inches. Otago Museum. D.36.733. Fig. 44. Solomons. Length 53 inches. Otago Museum. D.23.973.

from heavy highly-polished timber and is from the Southern Cooks. Fig. 41, length 235cm., is the only known example of the Tahitian club, clearly described by Cook.⁵ In form Figs. 40 and 41 are closely related to *taiaha* and *pouwhenua*, but are more than double their average length. This increase in length is doubtless due to their employment in naval warfare. Fig. 42, Marquesan, 98 inches in length, is related to the two preceding figures, but has a more lobate blade; its length is presumably due to the requirements of canoe warfare. At the proximal end it is decorated with tassels of white hair identical with the tassels of white hair which are the normal decoration of the proximal end of the *taiaha*. Figs. 43, 44 show closely related weapons from the Solomon group, length 47 and 53 inches, the commonest club type in those islands. Fig. 9 is a hybridization of this common type with the much rarer war pick. On this hybrid form the crocodile head has been imposed.

In his bulletin on the material culture of Samoa, Buck says (Buck, 1944:510), "Diversity is also illustrated by the weapons of Polynesia . . . The clubs present a problem. Some of the Samoan and Tongan clubs are similar, and the Society and Austral Islands have a practically lozenge-bladed club."⁶ Such similarities are undoubtedly due to late diffusion between these neighbouring pairs of islands. If we group these two pairs we may say that the clubs of Samoa-Tonga, Society-Austral Islands, Hawaii, the Marquesas, Easter Island, Cook Islands, and New Zealand are entirely different, each from all the others." But the discussion of weapons in this paper, based on pieces figured, has demonstrated close relationship between the weapons of most of the groups cited by Buck as unrelated. It has demonstrated also that in taxonomic studies in Polynesia, though Polynesian material is basic, it is essential also to consider material from areas outside Polynesia.

The present discussion has shown that though the sharp-edged two-handed clubs of Classic Maori culture are decorated in highly-developed and characteristic style, yet this decoration embodies a motive present also in Moriori and Murihiku weapons, in some ancient North Island weapons recovered from swamps, and in weapons of most other Polynesian groups. The same motive is present in most of the *patu* of Oceania. *Patu* but without brow-ridge and protruded tongue, are present in archaeological deposits in Tainan (Fig. 33). *Patu* from Tainan have been discussed by Ling Shun-Sheng (Ling Shun-Sheng, 1956) who, however, fails to distinguish between stone *patu* and another stone artifact from the same deposits.⁷ The *patu* is strongly represented on the American North-West Coast.

⁵ I owe this figure to the generous action of Dr Stig Ryden who had the drawing made from the unique specimen in the Ethnografiska Museum, Stockholm, and sent it to me in time for publication in this paper. Dr Ryden states that its localization as Tahitian is due to Dr Dodge, Peabody Museum, Salem, on the basis of Webber drawings in the British Museum. It can be recognized as Tahitian on the basis, also, of Cook's verbal description already quoted. See appendix.

⁶ Buck is here referring to the weapons of Fig. 24. Of these, c, d, and e (Raivavai) are not clubs, but spears; to have swung them vertically as clubs would certainly have shattered their shafts at the first stroke. The Tubuai and the Tahitian weapons in Fig. 24, though they are perhaps massive enough to have survived occasional use as clubs, are designed as spears with a shoulder ornament.

⁷ In front view this stone artifact closely resembles *patu* in shape. But side-view discloses a kink in what should, if the artifact were a *patu*, be the straight line from butt to distal edge. Distal edge is strongly curved and is brightly polished. The artifact was probably used in agricultural work as the blade of a grubber, the high polish being due to repeated contact with hard soils.

THE CROCODILE IN NEW ZEALAND GRAPHIC ART

There are few survivors of New Zealand drawings of the *taniwha*. Best known of them is on the underface of a huge limestone mass that has fallen from the cliff cornice on to the talus below, in the Tengawai Gorge near Albury, South Canterbury. Fig. 45, which follows Elmore's copy, should be compared with the Bornean crocodiles of Fig. 1. It is related to the Bornean drawings and carvings not only in motive but also in style. In both the artist has rendered two outward-facing crocodiles, their tails coiling to form a double spiral. But in drawing the second *taniwha* the New Zealand artist has erred in making it face in the same direction as the first. As a result its head has had to be transmuted into one arm of the double spiral. The backbone and the limb bones are rendered with the most intense black of which the artist's charcoal was capable, while the softer body-parts are rendered in half-tone. An examination of this and other



Fig. 45

Fig. 46

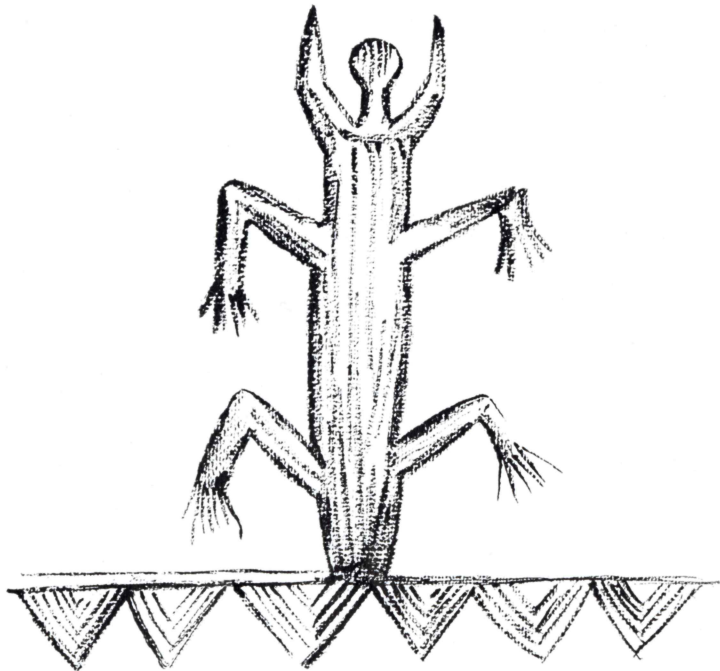


Fig. 45. Paired *taniwha*. Drawing in charcoal on roof of limestone shelter in Tengawai Gorge, South Canterbury. Length 16 feet. After Elmore. Fig. 46. *Taniwha* swallows man. Tengawai Gorge. After Hamilton. T.N.Z.I. 30, Pl.II. in red. Length 2 feet.

Canterbury and Otago rock-drawings will show that their draughtsmen were well aware of and greatly influenced by the abstract curves and spirals commonly referred to as "Maori rafter patterns".

A drawing on limestone, South Canterbury, Fig. 46, Hamilton's copy (Hamilton, 1898, Pl. II, shows man being swallowed by *taniwha*. Shark swallowing man

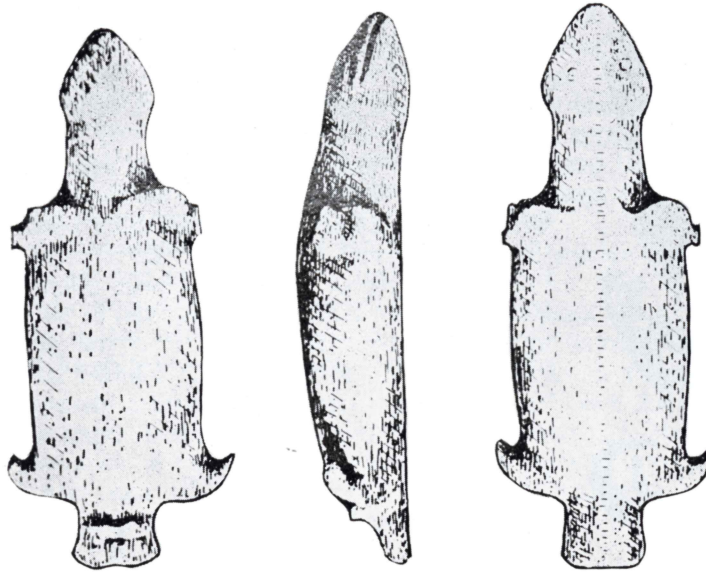


Fig. 47

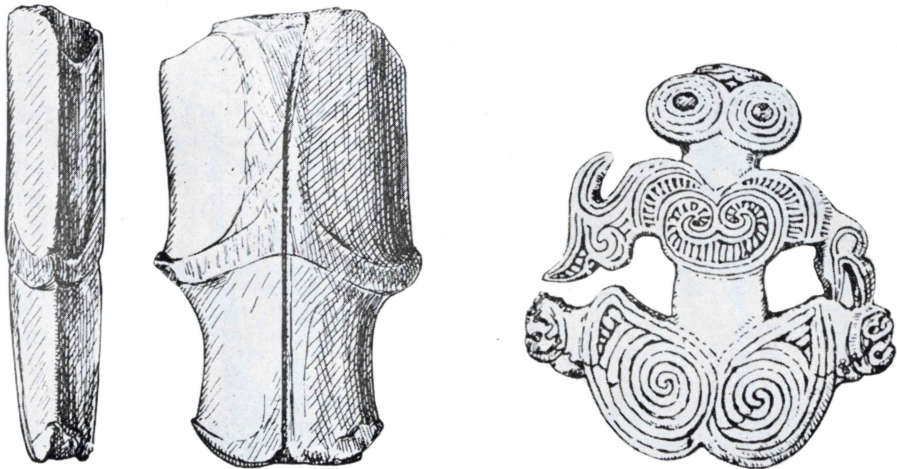


Fig. 48



Fig. 49

Fig. 47. Amulet. Whalebone. Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Wainui, east coast of Wellington Province. Dominion Museum. Fig. 48. Broken amulet. Red argillite. Waitaki mouth. Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Otago Museum. Fels Fund. D.30.575. Fig 49. Amulet. Human skull. Length $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches. British Museum. The style suggests that this piece was carved in Arawa territory.

is a motive which occurs elsewhere in South Canterbury, but in Fig. 46 the four limbs of the *taniwha* are clearly rendered. Fig. 46 should be compared with the same motive in Figs. 2 and 7.

CROCODILE AND LIZARD AS AMULETS

Evidence advanced earlier demonstrates that in New Zealand myth crocodile and lizard tend to coalesce, so that, for example, the lizard practice of casting its tail was transferred to the *taniwha*. In Fig. 47 the animal represented has cast its tail. Lacking information from its carver, we do not know whether he intended it to be lizard, or *taniwha*. Fig. 48 is a fragment in red argillite from the site on the south side of the Waitaki at its mouth, not many miles distant from the Tengawai Gorge. The missing neck and head probably resembled those of Fig. 47. Etched lines emphasize backbone and limb-bones, but the soft body-parts are left smooth. Its likeness in these respects to Fig. 45 make it reasonable to suppose that it, too, represents *taniwha*. Fig. 49 represents a reptile, humanized and highly conventionalized.⁸

CROCODILE AND LIZARD CARVED IN WOOD

Maori association of the lizard with death has been recorded by a number of observers. Cruise (Cruise, 1823:283), says: "A man who has arrived at a certain stage of an incurable illness is under the influence of the Atua; who has taken possession of him, and who, in the shape of a lizard (see Note 18) is devouring his intestines; after which no human comfort or assistance can be given to the sufferer, and he is carried out of the village to die." Cruise's Note 18 is as follows: "In the shape of a lizard. This curious hypothesis was accidentally discovered by one of the gentlemen who, having found a lizard, carried it to a native woman to ask her the name of it. She shrank from him in a state of terror that exceeded description, and conjured him not to approach her, as it was in the shape of the animal he held that the Atua was wont to take possession of the dying to devour their bowels." It is presumably, this linkage of the lizard with death that explains the appearance of a carved lizard on a wooden burial chest from Waimamaku, North Auckland (Fig. 51).

In New Zealand small houses on posts or piles were in general used as store-houses of valuable goods. As an extension of this function they were sometimes built to accommodate bodies of the dead while the flesh was decaying. Fig. 52 from Taylor (Taylor, 1870:228) shows small houses on piles for this purpose, in the village of Atene on the Wanganui River. Fig. 53 also from Taylor (on the page preceding the previous figure) is described as "the carving on a tomb, representing the lizard which causes death". It seems probable that the lizards appropriately carved in ancient times on this type of mortuary house on piles were later transferred to secular store-houses on piles. In this secular setting they are best known on the *pataka* of Te Pohiha Taranui carved by Arawa experts and originally erected at Maketu. For many years it has been on exhibition in the Auckland Museum. This ornate but secular storehouse is figured by Hamilton (*Maori Art*, Plate 14), who notes: "The ridge-boards are carved to represent *ngarara* or lizards running along the roof."

⁸ For other amulets in reptile form see Skinner, 1933:193-199.

David Simmons has drawn my attention to a reference and drawing (Fig. 50) of a mortuary house from a locality close to Kaitaia recorded by Polack (Polack, 1838:137). "We passed an extensive grove containing a Wai-tapu. In this place was deposited the bones of a male and female chief of Kaipara. The house which enclosed these remains of mortality was built of old canoes, that, having belonged to the deceased, were not allowed to be used after their death. It was much in the shape of a large watch-box, with a shelving roof, slanting like a skilling, which it resembled. It was surmounted with a *maihi*, or frontispiece, which was decorated with feathers.

The house was enclosed with a compact fence, on which was fastened, with wooden pegs, large pieces of canoe boards, with hieroglyphics denoting tattooed marks on the body of the deceased.

This was the largest Wai-tapu I had seen; the whole was painted with *kokowai*. My natives on passing this sepulchre of the departed, closed near to each other"

Polack's draughtsmanship is poor and his engraver's even poorer. However, a small house (watch-box or sentry box) can be detected, to the front of which is attached horizontally a carved slab resembling the obverse surface of a lintel.

For the three photographs of the Kaitaia carving, Fig. 56, a, b, c, I have to thank Dr Gilbert Archey. My thanks are also due to Mr T. Baylis, for detailed information. The carving was found in a channel below the surface of the Kaitaia swamp, Northland. It measures seven feet eight and a half inches from tip to tip.

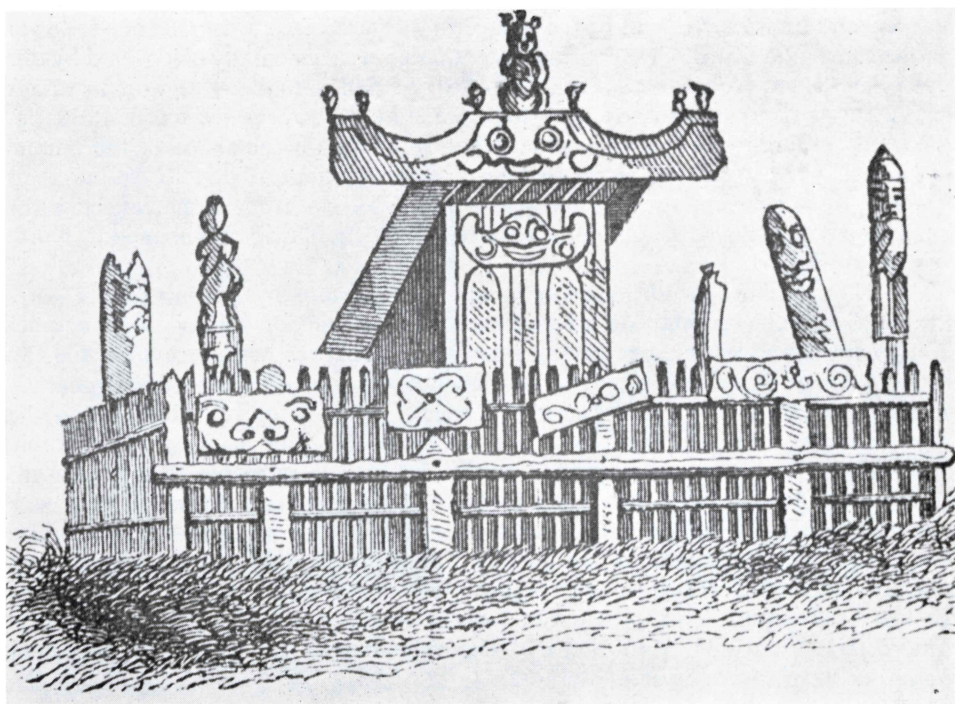


Fig. 50. Mortuary house on piles, Kaipara, Polack 1838, p.137.

its height from base to top of head of central human figure being thirteen and three-eighths inches.⁹

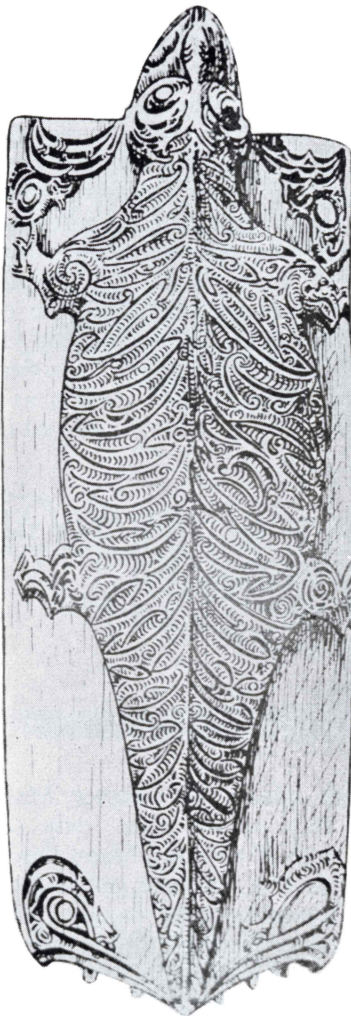


Fig. 51



Fig. 52

Fig. 51. Lizard carved on wooden burial chest from Waimamaku, Northland. Auckland Museum. Drawing by Lily Daff, J.P.S. 42 (1933) p. 198. Fig. 52. "Atene and its tombs", Taylor (1870), p. 229.

⁹ Measurements taken from the excellent drawing by District Surveyor D. M. Wilson in J.P.S., 1921, 30:1. The editor of J.P.S. had sent me this drawing, asking for a contribution on the carving. My comment was based on the drawing alone, and suggested that the carving was a lintel and that the terminal figures were versions of *manaia*. In succeeding issues of the Journal this interpretation was challenged by Fred Waite, who urged that the terminals were lizards, and by George Graham who pointed out that the reverse side was carved just as carefully as the obverse, and that the central figure's vertebral column was clearly rendered. He said that elderly Maori informants denied that the carving was a lintel, and stated that the terminals were *ngarara* not *manaia*. Mr J. Kenderdine informed me verbally that the base was deeply hollowed from end to end. In view of this evidence I changed my view that the carving was a lintel, and later (J.P.S. 33, 1924:237) suggested it was the ridge carving of a small mortuary house, and pointed to a Bornean ridge-carving (Fig. 3) as related.

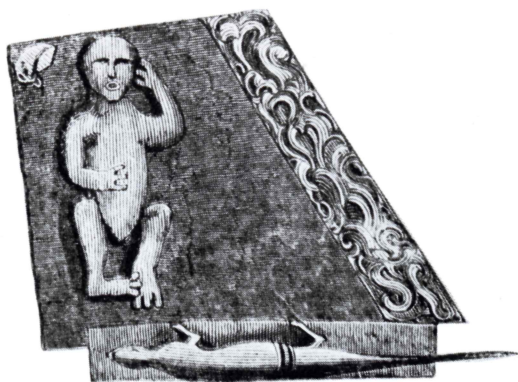


Fig. 53. "The carving on the tomb representing the lizard which causes death." Taylor (1870), p. 228.

In his recent article on the Maori lintel Dr Archey (Archey, 1960) has classified the Kaitaia carving as a lintel, and has claimed my paper of 1921 in support, though in 1924 I had already abandoned that view. The view here taken is that the Kaitaia carving is the roof carving of a small mortuary house on piles resembling the mortuary houses on piles at Atene, Wanganui River (Figs. 52, 53) and the Bornean mortuary house on piles of Fig. 2. The reasons for rejecting Dr Archey's classification of the Kaitaia carving as a lintel are: 1. It is fully carved on



Fig. 54. Pendant, Whangamumu. Auckland Museum.

both sides, hence is intended to be seen from both sides. All accepted Maori lintels are carved in obverse only, since, when they are in place, only one side is seen. 2. The base is hollow, a feature absent from all accepted Maori lintels. 3. Along the lower base margins, both obverse and reverse, are four perforations. Running downward from the four reverse holes to the lower inner margin of the base are four channels or slots designed to carry cords or lashings. It is suggested that all eight holes and the four channels were used to attach it by cords to the roof of the mortuary house. All these features are absent from accepted Maori lintels. The lower part of the obverse side of the carving is not vertical as in a lintel, but is splayed forward. On the evidence of the related Bornean forms the Kaitaia terminals may be taken to represent *taniwha*. In Oceania the water-symbol may be a series of connected chevrons (ripple), a single chevron, or a chevron with added arm. I interpret the Kaitaia chevrons as water-symbols. We have already seen that in Maori usage the word *ngarara* sometimes signifies water-monster, at other times lizard. This carved roof-combing seems designed to slip down on to a flange projecting upwards. To protect the cords passing through the four holes on the reverse side of the base of the carving from chafing against this flange four channels were gouged downwards from the holes. The four holes on the obverse side of the base would not contact the flange, so did not require channels.

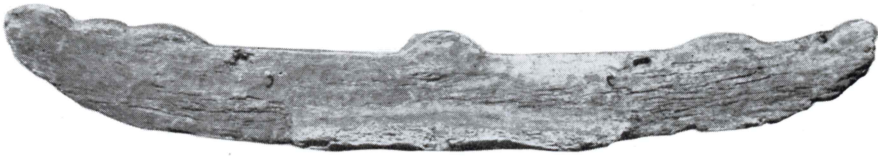


Fig. 55 a, b, c, d. Doorway lintel recovered from swamp flanking Manukorihi pa, Waitara, Taranaki. Length 50 inches.



Fig. 56 a, b, c. Kaitaia carving. Auckland Museum.

The designs of both roof-combing of mortuary house on piles and of doorway lintel of *whare puni* are set horizontally. But if the component elements present in these are transferred to pendants or amulets the design will most commonly have to be set vertically. In an opinion on the Whangamumu amulet, now in Auckland Museum, Cheeseman noted the chevrons and pointed out the relationship existing between the amulet and the Kaitaia carving (Graham, 1923:250). If the Whangamumu amulet is set horizontally in elevation, and a flange corresponding to the existing right-hand flange is added (Fig. 54) the relationship pointed out by Cheeseman is convincingly demonstrated. Central human figure, a series of chevrons, and a terminal animal head facing outward are present in both. In the chevroned amulet from Okain's Bay and in the chevroned Horowhenua amulet the terminal figure is a bird. In the Ellesmere elongated amulet the terminal head is

crocodilian, as is that, as yet unpublished, on the terminal of the splendid Molyneux amulet, Otago Museum. The terminal head of the Whangamumu amulet is certainly present but its species indeterminable.

The door lintel of Fig. 55 a, b, c, d was dug from a swamp flanking Manukorihi *pa*, on the right bank of the Waitara, in the Ati Awa homeland. For the photographs and for other help my thanks are due to Dr T. Barrow. Its total length is 50 inches. Its design differs basically from the standardized *pare* design of the East Coast and the Bay of Plenty (Hamilton, 1896, Plate facing p. 130 and Plate 16), and also from the standard Taranaki *pare* design as illustrated by Phillipps (Phillipps, 1955, Figs. 62-65). Set centrally is a human head, and this is flanked by two outward-facing *taniwha*, each holding a man in its jaws. The design is derived from the *koruru* (head) set at the apex of the *maihi* (pair of carved bargeboards) of the porch of a *whare puni* (community house). This transfer of complex porch decoration to simplified door lintel decoration results from an architectural feature not uncommon on the West Coast of the North Island. This is the placing of the doorway entrance on the long side of the house, normal practice in the rest of Polynesia, and not on the narrow end, normal practice elsewhere in New Zealand. Angas (Angas, 1847, Plate 38, reproduced as frontispiece by Phillipps, 1955) figures such a house in Raroera *pa* on the Waipa. Its porch is full sized, but its placing on the long side of the *whare puni* necessitates the heavy *maihi* being carved in one piece set horizontally, the *koruru* being in the middle of the horizontal carving and not, as normally, at the apex of the two *maihi*. The carving has thus become a horizontal porch lintel, at a guess 25 inches wide and 300 inches long, above the whole porch. The next step was to reduce the size of the porch lintel so that it might become a door lintel (Fig. 56) 50 inches long. It has a central horizontal flange 18½ inches long, projecting 5 inches backward from the base. The special interest of this Ati Awa lintel is the illustration it provides of the motive crocodile-swallows-man. In the past the double spiral terminating both *maihi* and *pare* has commonly been designated *manaia*. But the term *manaia* has never been carefully defined, and it has in consequence been used by different writers in quite different senses. Pending a full discussion of the meaning of *manaia* the term *taniwha* is here used.



Fig. 57. Carving closely allied to the carvings of Raivavai, and hence localized as from that island. Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Length 19 inches.

There remain to be cited two related Oceanic forms. In 1931 Emory (Emory, 1931, 40:253) published a piece of carving which is in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (Fig. 57). For the present photograph (Fig. 57) thanks are due to Dr G. H. S. Bushnell, who states that the carving is part of a collection of ethnographic material made by Captain James Cook during his first Pacific voyage, in H.M.S. Endeavour, between the years 1768 and 1771. In 1771 Lord Sandwich presented his part of the collection to Trinity College, Cambridge, and it was listed by Thomas Green, then Trinity College Librarian. In Green's list Fig. 57 is described as "Ornamental carving, Otahiti." Cook did not touch Raivavai on his first, or any other, voyage. The two figures are virtually identical with human figures on the decorated paddles, ladles, and *tokotoko* of Raivavai, and it was presumably on the basis of this identity that Emory suggested the carving should be localized as from the Australs, a view generally accepted. If this localization is correct the carving must have been carried by Polynesians from Raivavai to Tahiti before Cook's Endeavour made landfall there, being subsequently collected by Cook. It is, however, possible that the carving is Tahitian in origin. No systematic study of Tahitian wood carving has yet been published. I have previously assumed that sculpture and decorative work in wood once flourished in Tahiti, but by Cook's time had died out. Perhaps this assumption of

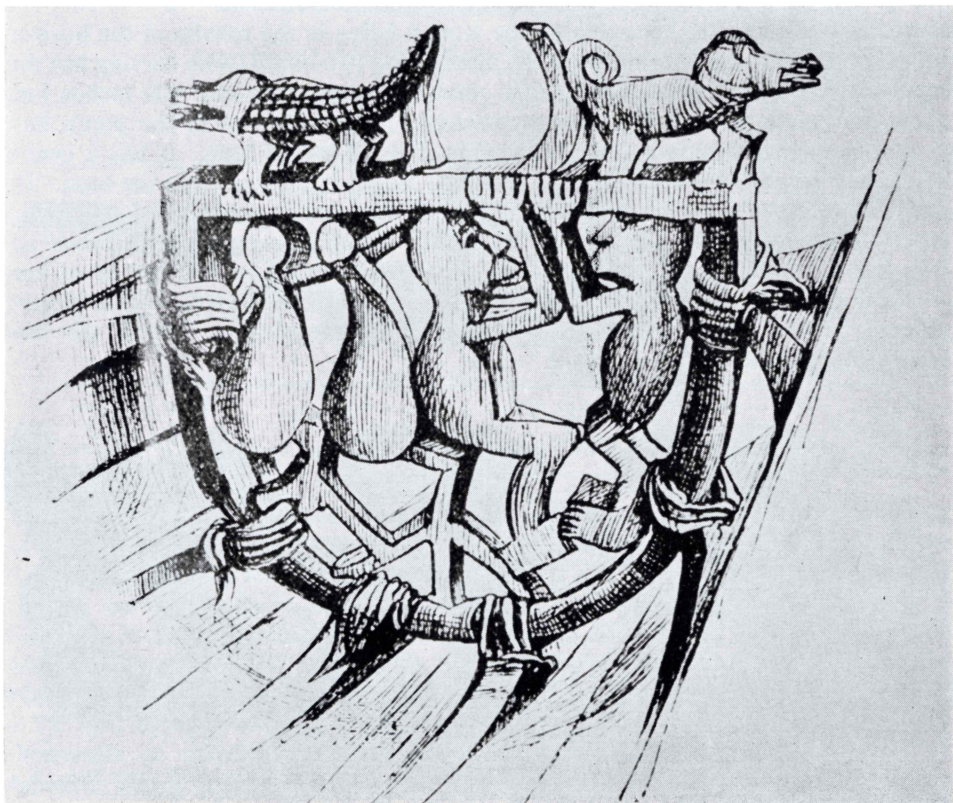
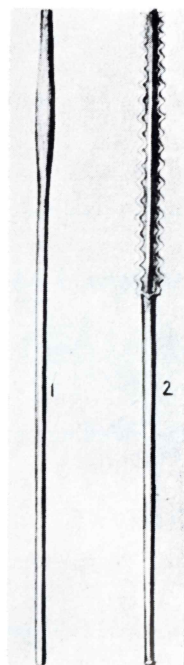


Fig. 58. Spear-rest in Florida (Solomons) canoe. Codrington (1891), p. 295.

virtual extinction is an over-statement. It is possible that some of the numerous pieces now localized as Raivavaian are in reality Tahitian. In that case, Glass's localization of Fig. 57 will prove to be correct. On the basis of a Hauahine canoe carving published by Ellis, Emory suggested that Fig. 57 was a canoe carving, in which, as Dr T. Barrow informs me, Buck appeared to concur. Dr Emory's principal motive in publishing the piece was to draw attention to the close resemblance between its pair of central human figures and the central human figure of Kaitaia. The flanking quadruped appears to be a pig, or a dog. The water-symbol, chevron with added arm, is carved on base. A motive which appears to be related to both Kaitaia and Raivava'i carvings is present in the upper carving of Fig. 58, in which Codrington illustrates "a spear-rest in a Florida canoe" (Codrington, 1891:295). In this Florida carving the central motive of human figure or figures is replaced by the two segments designed to hold the spears. The flanking quadrupeds are crocodile and pig (or dog).

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APPENDIX

After printer's proofs of this paper had reached me, I received from Dr Ryden a copy of his book: "The Banks Collection. An Episode in 18th Century Anglo-Swedish Relations". Ethnographical Museum of Sweden. Monograph Series No. 8. Figure 54 of Dr Ryden's book reproduces a drawing now in the British Museum. This drawing is by Webber: "Sundry Tahitian Objects in the Cook Collection, British Museum". Two of Webber's pieces are here reproduced. No. 1 is a long sharp-edged club closely similar to Fig. 41. No. 2 is described by Webber as "saw'd club". It is shown as the same length as No. 1, hence presumably 8-9 feet. It is of the same type as Figs. 24, a and 25, a to d. For this type of weapon, the following geographical distribution is now demonstrated: Rarotonga, Atiu, Northern Cooks, Tubuai, Tahiti, Tuamotus, Rotuma, Samoa. Allied forms occur at Chathams, New Zealand, and Trobriands.

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