

## 1. Description -- [ISO 639-3: mri](#)

### 1.1 Name of society, language, and language family

- Maori, Maori, East Polynesian

### 1.2 Location: New Zealand

### 1.3 Brief history: The Maori settled New Zealand between 1000-1200 years ago.

“The Maoris whom the European explorers found living in New Zealand in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century were easily identified, on physical and linguistic grounds, as Polynesians. Their oral traditions included accounts of an original homeland called Hawaiiki and of ancient quarrels which precipitated a great migration by voyaging canoes southwards across the Pacific. (p1) [...] Using genealogies to establish dates, European scholars fitted the varying tribal versions together in a scheme that brought Kupe to NZ in about AD 950, Toi in about 1150, and a final, dominant wave of immigrants in a ‘great fleet’ in about 1350. This scheme still has popular currency, but it is rejected by scientists because of unsound evidence and methodology. [...] Archaeologists have established that New Zealand was inhabited well before AD 1200, that its early inhabitants living mainly by fishing and hunting moa, and other birds now extinct, and that their culture was unmistakably of East Polynesian provenance.” (4p1-2)

“Summarizing existing knowledge in 1963, Green suggested that the first arrivals brought an early form of East Polynesian culture and by adapting it to the New Zealand environment developed a New Zealand East Polynesian culture; that the bearers of this culture spread throughout the country, passing through at least two socio-economic phases, and at some stage acquired the kumara, probably from the arrival of a single canoe; that another, distinctive culture then developed out of the earlier one in the northern part of the North Island, as a result of innovations in isolation, an ecological setting favourable to systematic kumara cultivation, and possibly the introduction of certain other trait-units by immigrants in single canoes; and that this ‘Maori culture’, which also passed through several phases, spread in certain of its regional aspects into southern areas, where it influenced or replaced later aspects of the New Zealand Polynesian culture.” (4p4)

### 1.4 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

“The first encounter between Maori and European took place in 1642, when Abel Tasman’s two ships anchored in Golden Bay, Nelson. It was brief and hardly auspicious: Maori canoes rammed a cockboat, killing four Dutchmen. Captain James Cook, who first arrived in 1769, established friendly relations only after several Maoris were killed in skirmishes. From Cook and the explorers who followed him, the Maoris obtained cloth, iron tools, pigs and potatoes, in exchange for food and craft goods. The 1790’s brought sealers and deep-sea whalers to New Zealand waters. [...] Introduced diseases and muskets took a heavy toll. Weakened and disheartened, the Maoris turned increasingly to the missionaries for help in making peace. The northern chiefs accepted Christianity, and their people followed as groups. [...] Between 1830 and 1838, the number of Europeans living permanently in New Zealand jumped from 150 to over 2,000. [...] Already important changes had been effected in Maori life and culture. Many traditional artifacts and garments had been replaced. To gather flax, hapu lived for months in temporary shelters near the swamps. Periodically they were overwhelmed by diseases against which they had no immunity, such as influenza and the measles. Acquisition of guns altered the location and defense works of *pa* [fortified villages] and greatly increased casualties in war. Conversion to Christianity undermined the power of the *tohunga* [priests] and led to the abandonment of polygamy, slavery, warfare and cannibalism.” (Mp38-40) In the following decades, Maoris were increasingly displaced (following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi) and began to enter the wage-labor market.

- New Zealand colonized by British in early 1800’s; Treaty of Waitangi was signed between Maori and British in 1840 and est. New Zealand as a British colony; Schools for Maori were originally established by missionaries, taught in Maori; government took over schooling in 1869 with Native Schools Act and were then taught in English; Maori schools re-established in late ‘80’s and language has been revitalized since then.
- Estimated population at coming of Captain Cook in 1796: 100,00 per Cook, 200-250,00 per Metge (4p5); population in 1961: 167,086 (6.9% of population) (4p52); ethnic population as of 2002: 530,000 (8)

### 1.5 Ecology:

Terrain: “The country on the whole is rugged. A main mountain chain, running parallel with the major part of the coast line, forms the backbone of both islands, attaining in the north a height of only 3,000 to 6,000 feet, but much more lofty in the south, culminating in the peak of Ao-rangi, 12,000 feet above sea level. Towards the centre of the North Island also occur a series of volcanic peaks and cones, while even the remainder of the country is broken by subsidiary ranges and hilly areas. [...] The land is well watered, streams and rivers being plentiful, and though as a rule somewhat swift, offering in their lower reaches scope for canoeing.” (7p50)

Climate: “The climate of New Zealand is temperate, but with considerable variation owing to the great range of latitude in these islands. It is almost sub-tropical in the Northern Peninsula, but grows distinctly colder as one approaches the south. In the former region, even the depth of winter sees no snow. In the latter the climate is still fairly mild, but snowfalls are comparatively frequent on the higher levels. This climatic variation had considerable effect upon the situation of the natives in corresponding areas, especially in the matter of clothing and of cultivated foods. In general there is no lack of rain, though here and again there is considerable variation [...]” (7p51)

Flora and fauna: “The flora presents a great diversity, both in number of species and variety of plant associations. The lowland and mountain forests are generally of the sub-tropical rain-forest type, dim-lit, somber, and evergreen, the giant trees rising from dense masses of undergrowth, luxuriant in ferns and mosses [...]. [...] Of animal life in pre-European days, there was a remarkable scarcity, except as regards avifauna. The only indigenous land mammal was the bat; lizards, and that hoary survivor of bygone ages, the spined tuatara represented the reptiles; the rat, which Maori claims as an immigrant in the ancestral canoes, and the dog, a domesticated type, made up the tale of animals. Of bird life, however, there was no lack.” (7p52)

## 2. Economy

“Each tribe engaged in a variety of food-getting activities, the emphasis varying with the environment: fishing (with lines, traps, and nets), fowling (with snares and spears), rat-trapping, gathering (shellfish, berries, shoots, pith and roots), and cultivation, in warmer, northern areas, of the kumara and small quantities of taro, gourds and yams. Where agriculture was difficult and in bad seasons, the uncultivated fern-root supplied a starchy basis to the diet. Little of the food thus won kept for longer than a year, making it virtually impossible to plan ahead.” (4 p13)

### 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

- sweet potato (kumara), fern root (roi), taro
- Maori brought the sweet potato, taro, yam and gourd with them to New Zealand (3 p354). The sweet potato was most important food for Maori (3 p370). The yam was important but difficult to cultivate, especially farther south and was abandoned after Europeans introduced the potato (3 p390). The taro was much more easily cultivated and grew further south than the yam (3 p390)

### 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

- Birds (pigeons, parrots, ducks, hens, quail, sea birds), fish (cod, mackerel, snapper, sharks, seals, eels, mussels, oysters), dogs, rats (1 p105), seals and lizards (2 p432); stingray, octopus, sharks, crayfish, shellfish, barracuda, eel, lamprey, flounder, and many freshwater fish (3 p415-450)

### 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns? (1 p307-317)

- Spear: short spear 4-6 ft long, made of wood; long spear 12-14 ft long, made of wood, some had barbed heads, used in war;
- Blades – daggers made of bone, 10 inches long; wooden swords; knives made of obsidian
- Club – made of greenstone, stone or bone, 12-20 inches long, used in war
- Axe – 4 ft long, made of bone or hard wood
- Bow and arrow – sometimes used in war

### 2.4 Food storage:

- highly decorated food storage houses, some just for kumara; storage pits for storing tubers (1 p381-2)
- Food stored in baskets woven out of flax or bark (2p423)

### 2.5 Sexual division of production:

- Men responsible for house building, canoe making, digging part of cultivation, sea fishing, trapping and snaring of birds, making tools, tattooing, carving (2 p400)
- Women responsible for preparing and cooking food, weaving dishes, gathering firewood, making of clothes, baskets, sleeping mats, gathering food (2 p401)
- “Men did the work that required strength and was arduous, exciting and/or *tapu*: clearing ground for cultivation, planting, climbing or felling trees, snaring birds, trapping rats, digging fern-root, fishing at sea, carving, building, making canoes, working stone, tattooing, and performing esoteric rites. Women engaged in the safer, more monotonous and less *tapu* tasks: routine work in the gardens, collecting ground products and berries, carrying home fern-root, firewood and water, gathering shellfish, preparing and preserving food, plaiting mats and kits, and weaving cloaks.” (4 p14)

### 2.6 Land tenure:

- Within tribe, some land held in common while some set aside for families; hunting and gathering territories held by families (1 p127); land passed to sons (or nephews) and kept with sons until all sons died, then passed to grandsons; sometimes sons inherited property from father’s tribe and girls inherited from mother’s tribe
- “Ownership of land could be claimed by right of discovery, conquest, ancestral inheritance, cession, and occupation. [...] Under the Maori system of land tenure, rights of occupation and usufruct were divided among sub-groups and individuals, but the right of alienation was reserved to the group. Each hapu of the tribe controlled a defined stretch of the tribal territory, which I guarded jealously. [...] Within the hapu, nuclear families and individuals held rights of occupation and use over specific resources: garden plots, fishing-stands, rat-run sections, trees attractive to birds, clumps of flax, and shellfish beds. These they could bequeath to their children.” (4 p16)

### 2.7 Ceramics:

- None according to Best (2p424)

### 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

- “In former times there was little exchange of goods between the members of the same village, and, as mentioned in an earlier chapter with this was correlated the absence of any intricate division of labor. [...] As a rule the product of communal labour was utilized by the family group, as a canoe, or if it were a catch of fish or birds, was apportioned among the workers and their dependents by a system of shares.” (7p402)

### 2.9 Food taboos:

- No taboos against specific foods, but taboos about how and when cooked/uncooked food should/should not be eaten, for example when walking through a forest, fowlers cannot carry cooked food (7p157&163)

### 2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

- Canoes (waka); double-hulled canoes for traveling with cabins or platforms; also had the outrigger canoe, dugout canoes; war canoes from 60-100+ feet in length (1p119)
- Double-hulled canoes, double canoes, and outrigger canoes; some up to 84 ft. long, 7 ft. wide, 5 ft. deep

### 3. Anthropometry

#### 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

- No height as measured, but Firth describes them as “fairly tall” (7p52) and Best as “above the average of our own folk” (2p7)

#### 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

- No weight given in numbers, but Firth describes the men as “well built” (Fp52) and Best as having a “bulkier body and bigger limbs” (2p7); Firth describes the females as “strong, deep-bosomed, and broad-hipped” (7p52)
- Best states that they are an admixture of Melanesian and Polynesian races (2 p3); Firth also describes the Maori being of two types: Melanesian and Polynesian (7p54)

### 4. Life History, mating, marriage

#### 4.1 Age at menarche (f): 11-12 years old (1p38, 2p450)

#### 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): Not found

#### 4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

- F – large families common, some bore 12-14 children (1p39)
- “Families usually comprised less than 6 children, including those that died in infancy.” (4p28)

#### 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

- Minimum of two years: Sexual intercourse was *tapu* during suckling, which lasted up to two years (4p28)

#### 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

- betrothal at young age for both sexes, especially if high ranked (1)
- Females often married young, around puberty; males married later in pre-missionary times, around 25-30 (2p450)

#### 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

- no percentage but was “easy” according to Tregear (1p297), no ceremony but a divorce-spell could be uttered
- “Divorce was simple and not uncommon. There was neither ritual to be revoked nor marriage-payment to be returned. Husband and wife could simply agree to part, or adultery or desertion would cause the kin of the injured party to take compensation from those of the guilty in a *murū* (ritual raid). This effectively dissolved the union, leaving both free to make other matches.” (4p27)

#### 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

- High ranking men allowed to take more than one wife, principal wife at least was high-born; “Among men of low rank monogamous marriage was the rule, but chiefs were accustomed to have a plurality of wives.” (7p129)
- Polygyny occurred among high ranking men only; Common for high ranking man to have two free wives and one or more slave wife (2p448)
- A few famous chiefs had 4 wives, one famous chief had 7 wives (2p448); somewhat common for a high-ranking man to marry sisters; First wife taken always ranked above the others (2p448)
- “Commoners usually had only one wife, but chiefs too up to about four” (4p27)
- “Every chief was at liberty to take as many wives as he pleased. [...] They generally had from three to six, seldom more, and in many cases only one, especially amongst the lower orders. The number of wives added to the husband’s importance, each wife having her own *mara*, or farm, and her own establishment, according to her rank, and furnished her share of the supplies for the establishment.” (5p164)
- One legendary case of polyandry (1p298) – contradicted by Best’s statement that polyandry never known among Maori (2p447)

#### 4.8 Arranged marriage, bride purchase/service, dowry:

- parents of both bride and groom exchanged presents; bride and groom did not receive gifts (1p294); marriages arranged between high-ranking children at birth, lower-classes engaged in courting
- No dowry or bride purchase (3p445); parents exchanged gifts at betrothal which were given to children upon marriage (2p458)

#### 4.9 Inheritance patterns:

- land passed to sons, then to grandsons; some tribes passed land from fathers to sons and mothers to daughters
- land held by tribes, divided by clan, and held by families (2p394); land claimed by occupation (ancestral) and conquest (2p396)
- When a man married a woman outside his tribe, he worked her land and returned to his tribe should his wife die, their children would inherit land through their mother and father (2p398, 7p125); eldest son did not always inherit land, men had more claim to land than women b/c the women tended to marry exogamously (2p399)
- Land not held by individuals, held in common by family, individuals work land for family but not private ownership (2p400)

#### 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

- “But in general, they show great affection for their offspring; indeed the children are suffered to do as they like. They sit in all their councils, they are never checked [...]. The children seem to be more precocious than those of Europeans, and however unruly in younger days, when about sixteen they become quite men, and frequently as grave and staid, except in war time; then these youths are the worst, and commit the greatest excesses.” (5p166)

#### 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: Not found

#### 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

- Generally endogamous at the tribal level, often also at the sub-tribe (clan) level; inter-tribal marriages usually only to cement a peace after a war (2p445)

- “The *hapu* was in no sense an exogamous group. Marriage, as a matter of fact, was encouraged within the *hapu* so long as the parties were not nearly related, but here again endogamy was not insisted upon.” (7p112)
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?
- No evidence of partible paternity
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)
- “the seed of life is with man, and woman is the sheltering haven that nurtures and quickens it” (2p406)
- 4.15 Is conception believed to an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? Not found
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape – nothing found specifically on rape or sexual coercion
- “The ancient and most general way of obtaining a wife was for the gentleman to summon his friends, and make a regular *taua* or fight, to carry off the lady by force, and oftentimes with great violence. Even when the girl was bestowed in marriage by her parents, frequently some distant relatives would feel aggrieved, and fancy they had a greater right to her, as a wife for one of their tribe; or, if the girl had eloped with some one on whom she had placed her affections, then her father or brothers would refuse their consent, and in either case would carry a *taua* against the husband and his friends, to regain possession of the girl, either by persuasion or force. [...] The unfortunate female thus placed between two contending parties, would soon be divested of every rag of clothing, and thus would be seized by her head, hair, or limbs [...]; in this way, the poor creature was often nearly torn to pieces. These savage contests sometimes ended in the strongest party bearing off in triumph the naked person of the bride; in some cases, after a long season of suffering, she recovered, to be given to a person for whom she had no affection [...]. [...] Even in cases when all were agreeable, it was still customary for the bridegroom to go with a party, and appear to take her away by force, her friends yielding her up after a feigned struggle.” (5p163)
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)
- None of my sources state a preferred category for spouse, but state that all marriages should be to kin related no more closely than three generations.
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?
- Premarital sex okay for lower-class girls but chief’s daughters restricted, betrothed at early age (1 & 2p450)
  - Adultery often punished by death (1p37, 2p474); males would be punished by wife’s kin for adultery, wives could be slain by husband for adultery (2p474)
  - If wife eloped with stranger, husband was punished for loss of a potential mother to future warriors (1p140, 2p360)
  - “Before marriage, most young people were allowed – indeed expected – to enjoy a series of love-affairs, provided that they managed them discreetly and did not get too deeply involved. Only girls who were already betrothed and chiefs’ daughters set apart under *tapu* were expected to remain virgins.” (4p26)
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring - None
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? I could not find a specific answer to this question, but it appears that adoption of children by relatives was very common. (7p126-127)
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females – none found
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades - None
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older) – none
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? None found
- 4.24 Joking relationships? None found
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations:
- *Whanau* (family group) usually takes name of male forbear, a prefix (meaning ‘descendants of’) added to name to make family name; clans would take name of male or female forbear, or sometimes a significant event (2p344)
  - Both lines of descent transmitted property, rank, and prestige but male was favored over female (2p361)
  - Filiation through male line most esteemed but kinship claimed through both parents; rank, chieftainship, property all inherited through male and female lines (2p477)
  - “Maoris could attach themselves to any one descent-group through either parent and to different descent-groups of the same order through both parents at once (ambilateral affiliation). As a result, Maori descent-groups were composed of persons who traced their descent back to the founding ancestor through a line of mixed male and female links (ambilineal groups), and there was some overlapping in the membership of groups of the same order.” (4p8)
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules:
- generally siblings but sometimes half-siblings married to keep land in family (T p298); could marry if at least 3 generations removed from common ancestor (2p342)
  - First cousins prohibited, second cousins prohibited unless special circumstances (2p446)
  - “Sister marriage” – marriage prohibited between a man and his sisters and female cousins; expulsion from tribe can result from violation of incest taboo (2p447)
- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?
- More formal for higher ranking individuals; no ceremony for common people (3p442); ceremony followed by ritual feasting (2p469)
  - Many rituals involved in betrothal (2p455)
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?
- Name can change after death of a relative – usually take the name of the last food consumed by the relative (2p368)

- Baby names given to infants, changed after a few years; the temporary name of high-ranking children was often *tapu*, and if so, the word could not be used except in reference to the child (2p369, 3p22)
  - If a man's elder brother died, he would sometimes marry his wife and take the name of the deceased elder brother (2p476)
  - Chiefs received three names in lifetime: name at birth from his mother, name given at naming ceremony, the last taken at the death of his father which would be his family name. (5p156)
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)
- Clan (*hapu*) was neither exogamous nor endogamous: could marry as long as couple were at least three generations removed from a common ancestor (2p342)
  - Best suggests that women tend to marry outside the community (2p399)
  - Isogamous marriage (marrying within rank) most important (2p347); would sometimes marry outside of tribe for political strategy
  - "Most marriages were not only between members of the same tribe but between members of the same *hapu*. Within hapu, there were strong sanctions against marriage between first and second cousins and between a high-ranking woman and a commoner." (4p26)

### Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: none found

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: (See below. All fighting was ingroup in the sense that Maori fought other Maori (no other peoples in proximity) but all was outgroup in the sense that usually tribes fought other tribes.)

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

- Land claims (1p328), murder, stealing/elopement of daughters to men of another tribe, revenge
  - Breach of etiquette, offense to a man's (especially high-ranking man's) *mana* (2p389)
  - "Almost anything might lead to inter-tribal fighting"; the Maori say "By women and land are men lost" but there were many other causes of war, "and none more prolific than the extreme sensitiveness of the *rangatira* class. The belittling of prestige or authority has started many intertribal wars, as also has ridicule. By war one does not here mean such warfare as occurs among races of higher culture, but a series of annual raids conducted during the slack season, that is after the crops were planted." (3p225) "Man slaying, says the Maori, is one of man's most important activities, it is the great game; better to die weapon in hand than by lingering sickness or old age." (3p226)
  - Different degrees of fighting according to Best: "Quarrels and even fighting among clans of a tribe over land disputes was a much less bitter and strenuous affair than fighting with another tribe. The term *pakanga* seems to be applied to more serious forms of fighting. The seeking of blood vengeance for tribesmen slain in a treacherous manner produced the bitterest form of fighting." (3p226) "It is doubtful if any battle of magnitude ever took place in old Maori days. The intertribal wars consisted of a series of raids. The greatest losses would occur when a fortified village was taken, and that would not be a common occurrence. When such a place was taken the result would probably be, not a fight, but a massacre." (3p231)
  - "Women occasionally took part in fighting, and also accompanied raiding parties; even children were sometimes taken on such expeditions" (3p231)
  - War dance was performed in front on village/clan women or visitors. "Any mistake was a harbinger of misfortune of some nature." (3p290)
  - Slavery was "dreaded much more than death; it was the last thing in calamity. Cases have been known wherein children have been slain by their own parents to save them from the dread doom of slavery." (3p299)
- 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):
- Least fighting in the Wellington area and the South Island (3p305)

### 5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

- "Determined by the physiographic features of the particular district which they happened to occupy. In the rugged gorges of the Urewera mountains, with a food supply drawn from the forest, the population was naturally scanty and the villages were fairly small and scattered. But on the fertile hills of the Tamaki isthmus, where climate and soil allowed of extensive cultivations and the sea was near, the population was great and the villages correspondingly large." (7p91)

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

- "Households appear to have moved several times a year between the fortified villages and hamlets close to a variety of resources, while individuals and nuclear families built temporary shelters on camping excursions." (4p11)

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

- "Leadership in Maori society was provided by hereditary chiefs, assisted and to some limited degree by a few highly trained priests and the heads of households. Each *hapu* had one chief, the most senior in the tribe (by descent) being recognized as paramount." (4p31)
- Chiefs, socially ranked with three classes: nobles, commoners, slaves (1p124, 2p345); nobles were first-born sons and daughters, those who could trace lineage back through all first-born sons were highest ranking; commoners were younger sons and daughters; slaves usually prisoners of war (2p347)
- System of primogeniture for both genders (1p125)

- Offices inherited from eldest son (father) to eldest son (1p147); highest clan chief was also priest
- Eldest son inherited position of chief from father, unless he were deemed incapable (lacking *mana*), in which case a younger son may be chosen (3p350-1); eldest daughter of chief often received title of *puhi*, in which she was revered by community (2p351)
- “The free men and women who made up the majority of the population were divided into some 50 tribes (*iwi*), independent political units which occupied separate territories, endeavored to settle internal disputes peacefully, and defended their political and territorial integrity by force of arms. The tribes varied in size from a few to many thousand members. [...] The tribe was made up of a number of tribal sections called *hapu*, each of which controlled a defined stretch of tribal territory. Like the tribe, the hapu was a descent-group defined by descent from a founding ancestor through both male and female links and distinguished by his name.” (4p5-7) “The basic unit of Maori society was the household, which usually consisted of an extended-family: a patriarch and his wife or wives, their unmarried children, some of their married children (usually the sons), and the latter’s spouses and children. Many also included slaves.” (4p7-8)

5.4 Post-marital residence:

- As a general rule, married couples lived with husband’s family but not always (2p472)
- “Usually the wife went to dwell with the husband’s people, and natives say that such is the correct thing to do. Instances sometimes occurred, however, where the marriage was matrilineal, the man residing with his wife’s kinsfolk. In such a case he would cultivate lands there, but could have no rights of ownership therein, not being a member of the hapu.” (7p125)

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

- The ownership of some lands was debatable between tribes, resulted in ‘frequent causes of war’ (1p131)

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex):

- Importance of primogeniture in kinship: eldest siblings ruled over younger, different terms for younger and elder brother/sister
- “Adult Maoris tend to separate out into at least four informal age grades: the ‘young’, the ‘middle generations’, subdivided into the ‘young-marrieds’ and the ‘middle-aged’, and the ‘old’.” (4p137) “Once courtship is over, men and women separate for many social purposes.” (4p140)

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: none found

5.8 Village and house organization:

- Houses: oblong, low side-walls, gabled-ends, one small doorway, and a window; roof of thatch, heavy timbers supported roof, ridgepole was carved, walls adorned with tall carved figures of ancestors, lattice-work panels made up walls in between ancestors, verandah; larger houses had pieces of wood to mark sleeping places which lined walls (1p277)
- Fortified villages were elaborate and “in no part of Polynesia do we find similar remains” (3p304). Two forms of villages: open and fortified. Sometimes a village would have both an open (living) location and a nearby fortified village. Fewer fortified villages on the South Island and in the Wellington area. Most elaborate fortified villages in the Taranaki, Bay of Plenty, and the far north of the North Island. “Certainly they are most numerous in districts where cultivation of food supplies was most carried on, and that means where the native population was greatest.” (3p306)
- “The domestic complex or homestead consisted of one to four houses, used mainly for sleeping, a cooking-shelter over an open fire and earth-oven, a rubbish dump, and possibly one or two roofed storage pits. These were often enclosed in a courtyard by a wall of poles. The sleeping-houses consisted of one rectangular room, with a single door and window and a stone-lined hearth.” (4p11)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses):

- council chambers, guest-houses, store-houses, ‘colleges’, temples (1p271); Whare wananga “houses of learning” (3p69); *marae* – clan/community house
- Each major community had a *marae* – a meeting, council house

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

- In houses – sleeping mats lined walls of houses, sometimes screened off for men of importance (1p277)

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

- Organized by original *waka* (canoe which ancestors immigrated to New Zealand in), tribes, clans, lineages
- “The free men and women who made up the majority of the population were divided into some 50 tribes (*iwi*), independent political units which occupied separate territories, endeavored to settle internal disputes peacefully, and defended their political and territorial integrity by force of arms. The tribes varied in size from a few to many thousand members. [...] The tribe was made up of a number of tribal sections called *hapu*, each of which controlled a defined stretch of tribal territory. Like the tribe, the hapu was a descent-group defined by descent from a founding ancestor through both male and female links and distinguished by his name.” (4p5-7) “The basic unit of Maori society was the household, which usually consisted of an extended-family: a patriarch and his wife or wives, their unmarried children, some of their married children (usually the sons), and the latter’s spouses and children. Many also included slaves.” (4p7-8; similar in 7p110-111)
- The largest, widest kinship group was the *waka*: “The *waka* in this sense signifies a group of tribes whose ancestors formed the crew of one of the famous canoes of the fourteenth century. [...] The *waka* was a loose amorphous political unit, the tribes of which fought without scruple against one another; nevertheless the sharing of the same ancestral canoe did constitute a slight bond of union.” (7p116)

5.12 Trade:

- “The Maoris had no money, nor did they engage in trade. Goods and services that were lacking or scarce were obtained by gift exchange, i.e. by giving gifts in expectation of a return. Gift-giving was an essential part of all formal meetings between groups, from intervillage marriage to the making of peace between tribes. Counter-gifts might be made immediately or delayed for months or even years. Gifts were also given in return for services: to a specialist or to workers who helped build a meeting-house or war canoe. The main items in gift exchange were foodstuffs, flax cloaks, ornaments, stone for implements, obsidian and greenstone. Coastal tribes exchanged crops and sea-foods against the products of inland forests, lakes and rivers, and there was a well-developed north-south movement of crops and craft-goods exchanged for greenstone, the major source of which was on the west coast of the South Island.” (4p19)

#### 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? complex ranking system

- Slavery – “Slaves were, as a rule, well treated, though they might at any time be knocked on the head to provide a meal. Slaves sometimes married women of their master’s tribe, and their children would be free. Occasionally a slave attained a position of some importance. Prisoners captured by a raiding force were sometimes slain by the widows of those of the victors who had fallen. In many cases a slave preferred to remain in slavery rather than return to his own people, where he could never live down the disgrace.” (3p299)
- “Among the free, social status depended upon seniority of descent within each descent-group. The elder always ranked above the younger, the descendants of the elder above those of the younger. Those how could trace their descent back to the ancestor of their hapu through older and preferably male siblings in each generation were recognized as *rangatira* (aristocrats). Those who derived from junior lines or whose forebears had lost status through failure or enslavement were reckoned as *tutua* or *ware* (commoners). Closely related to the chief, the aristocrats had more wives, more land and more slaves than commoners and were consequently wealthier. The distinction was, however, by no means clear-cut. Commoners could always claim to be aristocrats because they were related to the chief by descent from the same ancestor and often also by marriage, since aristocrats took women of lower rank as secondary wives. The third and lowest class of Maori society was made up of slaves. Mostly war captives, they were completely detribalized, standing outside all descent-groups. Though in general well-treated, they were regarded as property, allowed neither rights nor possessions. Women slaves were mostly taken as concubines by the free. The children of such unions were free, but of low rank.” (4p9-19; similar in Firthp106)

## 6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

### 6 Time allocation to RCR:

#### 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

- *Tohunga* – priests or skilled men – could be considered priest by skill in medicine, tattoo, house-building, canoe-building (1p124); *tohunga tuahu* (high-class priest), *tohunga kehua* (shaman), *tohunga makutu* (wizard), *tohunga whaihanga* (carpenter), *tohunga whakairo* (tattoo or carving artist), *tohunga taria waka* (canoe expert)

#### 6.2 Stimulants: none found

- Possessed no alcoholic beverages: “Their universal drink is water; as a matter of politeness, they may be induced to taste wine or grog, but it is with reluctance.” (6p207)

#### 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

- Puberty rites for both sexes, “hair cutting”; girls had lips tattooed before they could marry (1p38-9)
- Birth rites – cutting of umbilical cord included particular chants and taboos (1p42); naming of child ceremony by father; purifying ceremonies for mother and child one month after birth (1p45)
- Elaborate ceremonies for chiefs upon death; sometimes slaves were killed and principal wives commit suicide (1p 391-397)

#### 6.4 Other rituals:

- elaborate system of tapu, involving many taboos and rituals (2p251-262) betrothal and pregnancy were tapu states, higher status = more tapu, lower status (like slaves) = less/no tapu (2p258). People who handled bodies of dead were considered extremely *tapu* and had to go through ritual purifications (3p69).
- Religion – ancestor worship and practice of magic (by layperson and priest/shaman) (2p464)

#### 6.5 Myths (Creation):

- Descended from Rangī (Heaven) and Papa (Mother Earth); all children were descended of gods; difference between high chief and commoner is chief’s ability to trace his genealogy back through all elder sons, while commoners’ lineages were degraded by birth of younger sons (1p455); Supreme Being “Io” (3p86); very extensive mythology and folklore (2p125-232)

#### 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

- ceremonial dancing on many occasions (war, peace-making, reception of visitors, mourning the dead, greeting new moon, etc.) (2p284)
- *Whare tapere*, the House of Pleasure, refers to games useful for military training, aquatic games (surfing, swimming, canoe racing), children’s games, and games requiring agility or mental power (3p78). Games such as kite flying contests, wrestling, posture dancing (called *haka*, famous war dance being one of them), canoe racing, dart throwing, long and short distance racing, and a game called ‘knuckle bones’ (3p79). Boys were trained with military exercises, trained in various weapons (3p81). A favorite said to have been originated by god Maui was cat’s cradle (3p99). Mental games such as guessing games, riddles, play on words, story-telling (3p115).

- Music: Maori loved music and expressed thoughts and feelings through song; Best states that they had an intense love for the qualities of rhythm and euphony (3p136). They had several native instruments: pipe whistle, piccolo, flutes, wooden trumpets, shell trumpets, bullroarers, gongs, drums,
- “There was a great appreciation of carving among the Maori; even the handles of what appear to us to be quite insignificant implements were often cunningly graven, and most wooden tools were given a little touch of individuality by a scrap of carving.” Structures such as marae and storage houses were often elaborately carved. The more status the owner had, the more elaborately carved. (7p100)

#### 6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

- Women took lead in ceremonial mourning for dead, dancing for visitors (2p407)

#### 6.8 Missionary effect:

- “Not long after Cook’s visits to these isles, the first serious epidemic swept over them, when many thousands are said, in tradition, to have perished.” (3p37) Sickness also ensued from adopting Western dress (primarily because native clothing was waterproof, Western clothing was not, but men would keep their soaked Western clothing on), from moving from fortified villages on hill-tops to low-lying damp regions, and from adopting the potato and thereby abandoning their more rigorous lifestyle based on horticulture (3p38)
- After the coming of missionaries, elderly natives “were in a pathetic condition of doubt as to which gods they should appeal to” when epidemics ensued. Also, Best argues that a form of melancholy that impacted Maori health occurred after the arrival of Europeans, primarily because their arrival caused a breakdown in the *tapu* system (3p39)

#### 6.9 RCR revival:

- Resurgence in practice of *moko* in the last two decades

#### 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

- Underworld (*reinga*), spirits traveled here after death, ghosts of ancestors and friends greeted newcomer with food, souls can sometimes return to earth; souls went to different realms based on rank in life (1p 407-12); soul after death does not perish but is protected by Hine-titama in the underworld (3p118)

#### 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

- No, but some taboos around using name of chief while he is alive (1p164)

#### 6.12 Is there teknonymy? -- None

### 7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: red ochre, yellow and blue paint used on the face and body; red marked something or someone as *tapu* (Taylor p96)

7.2 Piercings: ears were pierced in both sexes and earrings worn (5p150)

7.3 Haircut: Chiefs wore hair long in times of peace, otherwise in a top-knot secured with a sacred comb (1p241); (1p243)

7.4 Scarification: Elaborate tattooing on face and historically on thighs, buttocks; both males and females tattooed

- “But the grand ornament of all was the *moko* or tattoo; this was of general use. All ranks were thus ornamented; a plain face was a term of reproach. Some were more fully tattooed than others, but all were more or less so. The grand chiefs had their faces and thighs entirely covered with this ornamental renting of the skin. The ladies had their lips and chins operated upon, with a little curl at the corner of the eye. Frequently their persons also were covered with small strokes of tattooing; these might be called beauty patches.” (5p150)
- “To have fine tattooed faces, was the great ambition of young men, both to render themselves attractive to the ladies, and conspicuous in war: for even if killed by the enemy, whilst the heads of the untattooed were treated with indignity, and kicked on one side, those which were conspicuous by their beautiful *moko* were carefully cut off, stuck on the *turuturu*, a pole with a cross on it, and then preserved; all which was highly gratifying to the survivors and the spirits of their late possessors.” (5p152)

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): shell anklets, feathers for hair adornment; earrings of greenstone, bone, shark’s tooth, or shell; feathers through nasal septum; necklaces of teeth and greenstone (*heitiki* most prized – ancestor/god carving)

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: war plume of 12 feathers; red ochre on warrior’s faces;

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Males tattooed on entire face, females mostly restricted to chin

- Males – chiefs wore aprons of dog tails;
- Females – married women wore larger apron than girls

7.8 Missionary effect: The coming of the missionaries led to the adoption of Western dress in many tribes, abandonment of male tattooing.

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: *Ta Moko* (facial tattooing) has been revitalized in the last two decades.

### 8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: Distinguished elder from younger siblings (4p24)

8.2 Sororate, levirate (1p297, 2p476);

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): Hawaiian

- “Maori kinship terminology was classificatory in type. Each individual (ego) classified his kinsmen into a limited number of classes by extending the names for parents, siblings, parents’ parents and children’s children to all relatives of the same sex and generation.” (4p21)

**9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):**

- Cannibalism – many early accounts assert very matter-of-factly that the Maori ate their enemies (1p35, 155, 356-360; 2p425)
  - “Younger women [in war] might be taken as slaves, but most of the defeated were killed and eaten. Apart from providing much needed protein, cannibalism completed the victor’s revenge, by reducing the defeated to food.” (4p35)
  - “Referring for a moment to the habit of the Maori of utilizing other people on occasions to make good any deficit in the food supply, there is no doubt that with most natives there was a distinct liking for human flesh.” (7p148)
  - “The New Zealanders were cannibals, and great ones too. Christian light and knowledge gradually opened their eyes to see how horrid and unnatural the custom was, and in 1844 the last known act of cannibalism took place.” (5p10)
  - “While she [the ship, the Coromandel] was at anchor, the natives murdered one of their prisoners, and devoured part of the body. The remainder they brought alongside, and distributed in small pieces to such persons in the ship as chose to receive them; while they, in their canoes, ate the rest. There are many soldiers, now in the 84<sup>th</sup> regiment, who were present at this horrid spectacle. They describe the flesh as being red, and not sufficiently cooked...” (6p218)
- Practice of drying and preserving human heads, usually heads of prominent enemies or close relatives. Head of a prominent man would be taken to distant relatives to mourn together over his passing. Heads were steamed, then oiled, then dried. (3p61)

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