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THE PRESENCE OF DUALISM IN MAORI *MOKO*

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ABSTRACT

Among anthropologists concerned with Maori culture, dualism has been widely discussed, usually in over-arching social and religious contexts. Less attention has been paid to dualism as displayed in the visual arts, particularly in the art of *ta moko*, the characteristic Maori practice of facial tattooing/scarification. By analyzing ethnographic and ethno-historic accounts and combining them with specialized works on *ta moko*, *whakairo*, and other Maori arts, as well as comparative Polynesian anthropology, this thesis examines *moko* in the light of the overall dualistic structuring of Maori culture. Dualism in Maori culture is manifested perhaps most importantly in the basic division between *tame tane*, the male part, and *tame wahine*, the female part. This dualism is particularly prominent in *ta moko* artistry and designs, which inherently have both a male and female part. This study examines this previously underexplored aspect of this art form and illustrates the depth of dualistic thinking in traditional Maori culture.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction to Dualism and Maori Society

The two sides of your cheeks

Are tattooed

They are a net

And I am caught ...

(A Te Toenga quoted in Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 17)

Introduction

As humans, we are biologically divided into two halves: The left side of the brain controls the right side of the body and vice versa. This arrangement suggests that we are bilaterally symmetrical beings. However, this bilateral symmetry is strikingly imperfect. Nonetheless, it manifested in a wide variety of ways in many human cultures.

Structural anthropologists, including the enormously influential Claude Lévi-Strauss, attest that, cross-culturally, there is the basic distinction of the division between the right and left sides. This division is largely oppositional, in that one is viewed in a positive light and the other in a negative one. This view of two opposing aspects or ideas, which is very often literally embodied in the individuals who belong to a specific culture, is referred to as dualism. For the purpose of this paper, dualism is defined as the physical, social, and spiritual division into two opposing parts. This definition of dualism is then applied to instances in which dualism is clearly present in Maori *ta moko* (facial tattooing) practices, procedure, design and surrounding culture, paying particular attention to the evidence of the *tame tane* (male part) and the *tame wahine* (female part) in *ta moko*. In Maori culture, dualism is extremely prevalent, and this paper

examines the Maori ideas of the divisions of right and left, male and female, and of beauty and the grotesque as applied to *ta moko*. It then examines the divisions of ancient and modern, colonial and indigenous, Maori and Pakeha, and the Polynesian concept of *tapu* (sacred) and *noa* (profane), as applied to wider Maori culture in conjunction with the practice of *ta moko*.

Dualism in an Anthropological Sense

Despite their relative simplicity, the concepts of dualism and dual organization are ideas that structural anthropologists have come back to again and again in the last century. In the 1950s, structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss articulated his thoughts on dual organization by means of structural analysis. This analysis sparked what developed into a worldwide discussion on dualism and dual organization that still continues today (Almagor 1992: 31). According to the wide array of dualistic theories that emerged from Lévi-Strauss' initial analysis, one of the most basic functions of dual organization is to create order by attempting to maintain a balanced interaction of opposing principles over which people have no control (Maybury-Lewis 1992: 13).

Societies around the world recognize the opposition of the basic principles of life and death, as well as male and female. David Maybury-Lewis (1992: 13) argues that this recognition is fundamental because these oppositions are requisite conditions of human existence, and as such, are recognized in all human societies. However, he maintains that not all societies will develop or mediate these principles in the same way. The divisions found in dualism are an intrinsic aspect of any society, especially relating to social function (Sewell, Jr. 1992: 6). This dualistic structure can manifest itself in the social aspects of a society in a number of ways, the

most prevalent being between man and his relationship to the cosmos and also between man and his relationship to his own society (Eisenstadt 1989: 350). This dualistic relation between cosmology and social practice is conventionally present in societies that exhibit hierarchical and asymmetrical patterns (Maybury-Lewis 1992: 10). In both man's dualistic relationship with the cosmos and with his society, there are specific symbols involved, most notably in ritual (Eisenstadt 1989: 350–1). These symbols are arbitrary in and of themselves, but the culture of a society ascribes specific meaning to them (Graves-Brown 1995: 89). The construction of symbols is indicative of a society's collective and personal identity, which its members believe to be unique unto themselves (Eisenstadt 1989: 347).

Dualism in symbolism is prevalent within the large geographical area of Polynesia, while its social counterpart, dual organization, is a rather rare occurrence (Feinberg 1980: 361). Lévi-Strauss carefully interprets dualistic art styles, including those of the Maori, as characterized by many attributes, including extreme stylization in art forms, complex and highly elaborate symmetry (which often includes asymmetric details) and split representation (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 246). When viewed in light of the symbolic aspects of the art style in relation to man's association to society and the cosmos, Maori *moko* is not just a superficial body adornment, but an indicator of rank and social hierarchy, which also holds spiritual significance (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 257).

These ideas were not without precursors. Lévi-Strauss' analysis of dualism in Maori art was preceded in the early 1900s by the work of French sociologist Robert Hertz with his analysis of Maori culture. Hertz approaches dualism from a social standpoint, viewing it as a result of religious/spiritual practice. In Maori duality, the two basic extremes are *tame tane*, the “male side,” characterized as life, paternal descent and that which is “good,” and *tame wahine*, the

“female side,” characterized by death, maternal descent and that which is “evil” (Hertz 1960: 97). Hertz also identifies the prevalence in Maori ritual of the importance of life, represented by the right, sacred side, triumphing over death, the left, profane side (Hertz 1960: 97, 100).

A Brief Introduction to Maori Culture History

The Maori are the indigenous people of New Zealand, descended from Polynesian ancestors. The islands they inhabit make up the southernmost vertex of the Polynesian Triangle (Hawai’i, Easter Island/Rapanui, and New Zealand) in Oceania, and they are highly isolated from the nearest large landmasses. New Zealand is primarily made up of two large islands covering an area of approximately 103,000 mi² (265,146 km²). They stretch approximately 1,000 miles from north to south, occupying a latitude span, from subtropical to subarctic, of 34 degrees to 47.5 degrees south (Brooking 2004: 3, Sutton 1994: 155). New Zealand is characterized as being extremely mountainous and prone to geological upheaval. More than three-quarters of New Zealand lies above 650 feet, and there are 253 named peaks over 7,000 feet tall. It is generally a temperate region lacking seasonal extremes, with predictable weather patterns. It is also prone to episodes of geological instability including earthquakes, floods, and volcanic eruptions (Brooking 2004: 3).

Based on genetic, linguistic, and archaeological evidence, a timeline has been developed with relative certainty concerning the peopling of Oceania, an area that includes Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia (Spriggs 1995; Sutton 1994: 78). Scholars now widely agree upon a west to east migration pattern (Force, Highland, Howard, Kelly, & Sinoto 1967: 55). There were two main migrations, both stemming from the Southeast Asian mainland; migrants first peopled

Near Oceania and then Far Oceania. Migration to Near Oceania was likely island-hopping on simple rafts from which navigators could see the land they were traveling to. Remote Oceania, however, could not be seen from adjacent land, and thus required navigators to develop and perfect navigational skills and construct appropriate vessels (Perez; Sutton 1994: 19). The double-hulled canoe possessed a greater carrying capacity and stability than the simple outrigger canoe, and it was almost definitely used to make these long migratory voyages across the ocean (Force et al. 1967: 144). Polynesians first migrated from Samoa and Tonga to the Society Islands and the Marquesas around 200 AD. From there, subsequent migrations were made to Easter Island, around 300 AD; and to Hawai'i, around 400 AD. The last migrations occurred around 1000 AD to Kermadec, Mangareva, and finally New Zealand, which was the last major settlement in human history (Brooking 2004: 2; Sutton 1994: 5). Warm erosional periods, accompanied by northerly winds flowing to New Zealand, created ideal conditions for voyaging (Sutton 1994: 182). These early Polynesians, who became the ancestors of the Maori, arrived in New Zealand about 800 years ago, approximately 1180 AD. Scholars maintain these settlements were deliberate migrations, and there were multiple settlements during this period (Brooking 2004: 11).

Because of its location at lower latitudes, New Zealand's climate is significantly colder than that of the rest of Polynesia. The staple plants belonging to the warm climate of tropical Polynesian societies, including coconut, breadfruit, and bananas, are unable to grow in New Zealand's colder climate. Other staples such as taro, yams, kumara (sweet potato), and gourds can only grow in northern areas of New Zealand. However, these crops are quite difficult to grow even in the northern regions, impossible to grow in the south, and would have only made up a small portion of total caloric intake (Brooking 2004: 14; Sutton 1994: 149,155). The earliest

settlements existed in areas where there was an abundance of large and diverse sources of animal protein. Common sources of this protein included flightless marine and freshwater birds, marine mammals, and marine and freshwater fish and shellfish (Sutton 1994: 150). The collection of wild-grown food, rather than horticulture, made up the majority of Maori subsistence practices (Sutton 1994: 156). Pollen evidence indicates that the land “had already lost much of its forest in rapid burnoff ... and suggests more permanent evidence of utilization of superior soils rather than constant clearance” (Sutton 1994: 152). The pollen evidence also indicates that Maori were not able to sustain horticultural intensification practices, so they had to supplement their diet with food procured by way of digging for fernroot, gathering wild fruit, fowling, fishing, and shellfish collecting (Sutton 1994: 155–6). By 1500 AD, Maori had hunted multiple species of animals to extinction, including the large flightless moa, and had drastically reduced the numbers of other native species, including the seal and many bird species. By the time Europeans arrived in New Zealand, Maori had already placed sanctions on their environment to try to conserve the natural resources still available to them (Brooking 2004: 15–6).

One of the most significant periods in Maori culture cultural history was that of the pre-Classic Maori, the Moa-hunters. This Moa-hunter culture existed on both the North and South Islands from the first human settlement to approximately 1350 AD (Phillipps 1966: 19). Although there were definite differences in the Moa-hunters of the North and South Islands, they shared a wide variety of cultural characteristics (Duff 1956: 139). Their primary source of food and materials was that of the Moa (*Megalapteryx*), a large flightless bird that was eventually hunted to extinction (Duff 1956: 80; Phillipps 1966: 36).

In addition to using the Moa as a food source, many other items were made from parts of the bird. The skins were used for clothing and were sewn with Moa bone awls and needles (Duff

1956: 216; Phillipps 1966: 66). Moa bones, and other types of bone, were used in tattooing implements, and as decorative combs, garment pins, and ear and neck pendants (Duff 1956: 83). Early carving developed during this period resulting in notched pendants, as well as crescent-shaped pendants with human features (Phillipps 1966: 119, 141, 144). Chests carved in human form are also attributed to the Moa-hunters (Phillipps 1966: 176). The use of greenstone (nephrite) is rare, but it is attested in the early archaeological record in the form of adzes and ornamental pieces, which later developed into a quintessential Maori practice (Duff 1956: 231).

The Moa-hunters also used particular types of adzes and fishing methods. The hog-back adze was the most common type of adze, made primarily from stone. There was also evidence of greenstone adze blades and varying styles of blades (Duff 1956: 83, 142; Phillipps 1966: 93). The Moa-hunters used shell or bone trolling hooks for line fishing (Phillipps 1966: 25). They also employed three types of lures: the *kahawa* lure, barracouta lure, and minnow shank; the first two of which were used in later Maori culture (Duff 1956: 198). There is also some evidence that Moa-hunters may have used bows and arrows in their initial migrations; however, these weapons were not maintained for hunting (Phillipps 1966: 105).

In the late prehistoric settlement period of New Zealand, the total population can be estimated to have been about 115,000 people in a land area of 265,146 km² (population density of 0.4 people/km²). This population density was orders of magnitude lower than that of other Polynesian islands from the same time, such as Easter Island, with a population density of 43.7, and Hawai'i, with a population density of 12.0 (Sutton 1994: 155). There is a noticeable lack of well-preserved human remains found in the archaeological record, which makes it difficult to make any definitive conclusions about nutrition early on in Maori settlement. But if one assumes a relative abundance of food coupled with small, scattered groups of people, early populations

would have expanded at a very high rate, barring any disturbance or displacement involved in fighting over resources (Sutton 1994: 152).

Maori society was organized hierarchically, and this organizational structure stressed the importance of the group over that of the individual. One's genealogy, family clan, and tribal affiliation were strong defining factors in who a person was perceived to be. The upper tier of Maori hierarchy consisted of *ariki*, *rangatira*, and *tohunga*. At the top of the hierarchy was the chief, *ariki*, of very large tribes, or *iwi*, alliances of tribes. The *ariki* was the most direct descendant of the founding ancestor of the tribe. Because of this position, an *ariki* was allowed to be polygynous, with the privileges of his status descending to the children born of his first wife. Below *ariki* were *rangatira*, the lesser chiefs of *hapu*, clans. Women also held the rank of chief. Beneath *rangatira* were *tohunga*, a category that included specialists such as priests. The majority of Maori population was made up of *teina*, who were the commoners. At the very bottom were *taurekareka*. They were slaves, often captives of war, and only made up a very small percent of the population. Maori engaged in a very grand level of warfare when compared to their Polynesian contemporaries, and they were noted for engaging in cannibalism, eating their enemies (Brooking 2004: 16–8, Hooper and Hunstman 1985: 214–5). Maori traditionally practiced ancestor worship, facilitated by their close ties and knowledge of their genealogies (Brown 1907: 120). Maori also conspicuously lacked pottery of any kind, but they had significant art forms including a strong oral tradition of story telling, music, dancing, weaving, carving, and tattooing (Brown 1907).

Maori Cosmology and Ideology Relating to Dualism

Dualism was an ineradicable idea within Maori cosmology, ideology, and social organization; these institutions in turn affected *ta moko* practice and custom. Perhaps the best and most logical place to start to look at dualism was at the beginning, with Maori cosmology as recorded in the society's creation story. In the very beginning, the initial stage of existence was a great and vast void, *Te Kore*. *Te Kore* lasted for many eons, and in this nearly infinite span of time, the primordial matter of the universe began to come together creating the primeval couple, Ranginui and Papatuanuku. *Te Kore* was followed by the second stage of existence, *Te Po*, the darkness. In this darkness, Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatuanuku, the Earth mother, lay in a close marital embrace, which blocked all light, and during this time gave birth to their sons. After some time, their sons grew tired of living in darkness, and they decided split their parents apart in order to bring light into the world. Only Tanemahuta was able to separate Rangi and Papa, and he pushed Rangi above them and Papa beneath. This action brought light into the world, and it also brought the world into the third stage of existence, *Te Ao Marama*, the world of light in which humans live (Brown 1907:134–5; Buller 197–8; Crawford; Shortland 2008: 20, 31; Walker 2004: 12).

Within the creation story, the physical separation of Rangi and Papa provided the underlying framework for dualism in Maori culture. The most apparent example of dualism here was the basic dichotomy between men and women evidenced in the separation of the primeval parents. Rangi, as the male sky god, set the general pattern for his male descendants: Males were identified with the high position of Rangi in the heavens, with light, and with that which was

sacred (*tapu*). Women were viewed as the descendants of Papa, the female Earth mother, who was the embodiment of the perfect mother. Women were identified with her fertility and her ability not only to produce but also to sustain life, and as such, they were valued and loved. However, women were also associated with Papa's location beneath the heavens, and because of this, they were seen as inferior and awarded lower status than of men. They were also viewed as being involved in the type of work that was deemed ordinary and profane (*noa*). The dichotomy here was strengthened further when the idea of the afterlife was incorporated. Papa was further seen as inferior since within her being she contained *Te Po*, and it was to the darkness within her that her human children went when they died. Again, there was a sharp contrast with Rangi's lofty position in the sky, which was the "house of light" because those who resided there were themselves light and also immortal (Metge 1976: 62; Orbell 1995: 133, 146–7). These basic dichotomies, established in the very beginning of Maori cosmology, provided the basis for the complex and numerous examples of dualism within Maori culture.

From the aspects of dualism concerning the separation and distinction of male and female elements stemmed the more complex ideas of dualism within Maori ideology. The first was the separation between the spiritual and earthly beings and their respective realms. When Rangi and Papa were separated, humankind and their physical world came into being at the same instant (Orbell 1995: 146). The creation of humans and their world established the differentiation from the gods and their realms, though despite these innate differences, a reciprocal relationship was observed in Maori mythology. Man was essentially divided into two halves: the physical and the spiritual. His body (*tinana*) composed the physical part, and his soul (*wairua*) composed the spiritual part. This division of the physical and spiritual natures of man was also present in the gods and their realm. In the godly realm existed *Te Rangi* (the light) and *Te Po* (the darkness),

which were the two divisions of the afterlife that complemented the human realm. These parts must not be viewed in the Christian sense of one being “good” and the other “bad,” but rather they served as complements to each other. In this sense, “light cannot be comprehended except in relation to darkness, as life cannot be appreciated except in relation to death, so *Te Rangi* and *Te Po* define and complete each other” (Metge 1976: 56). The strong relationship between the physical and spiritual showed how all elements were strongly interlinked in a common cosmic system (Metge 1976: 54–58).

The concepts of *tapu* and *noa* were quite common in Polynesian societies, but nevertheless they must be understood in light of Maori culture. At the most basic level, the ideas of *tapu* and *noa* could be understood as “sacred, restricted” and “profane, unrestricted,” respectively. These concepts were invoked in religious, political, social, tribal, and domestic settings (Buller 1907: 203; Orbell 1995: 186; Shortland 2008: 35–6). Places and objects associated with the gods and spirits were the most *tapu*, and high-ranking members of society such as chiefs and priests also were very *tapu*, and they had the power to impose a state of temporary *tapu* to conserve resources. *Tapu* was also put into effect on areas where an individual died/was buried, as well as times when men performed certain activities, such as being tattooed, carving, and preparing for battle (Metge 1976: 58–9; Orbell 1995: 186–7).

A *tapu* that had been imposed could be lifted by chanting prayers, by washing with water, by a ritual treatment performed by women, or by the ritual consumption of cooked food (Metge 1976: 58–9; Shortland 2008: 35–6). The head was the most *tapu* part of the body, especially for priests and chiefs, since the higher one’s rank was, the more intense one’s level of *tapu* was. This *tapu* was extended to all of their belongings and especially to their food. The connection between *tapu* and food was quite complex. The chief’s food had to be cooked outside his house, lest it

become *tapu*. If there were any food left over, it had to be placed in the *wata* (devoted store) so that no one of low ranking and thus of weak or no *tapu* would accidentally eat it and die as a result. Those of high rank were unable to drink out of any vessels and had to have water poured directly into their mouths via the hands of their slaves. If the chief drank directly out of a vessel, that vessel could no longer be used since having the chief drink from it made it *tapu* (Buller 1907: 203–5; Orbell 1995: 186–8). It is important to remember that the ideas of *tapu* and *noa* were not negations of each other, but rather served as complements to each other. Without the existence of the other, each would hold no individual meaning (Metge 1976: 60).

Dualism was found in other Maori concepts as well. For example, the idea of *ora* generally dealt with the concept of life and well-being as applied to both the aspects of physical life in the living realm, and spiritual life in the spiritual realms (Metge 1976: 60–1). This idea was opposed by *aitua*, which essentially meant “evil fate” or “disaster,” and was often applied to death. Maori believed that the physical death was not a final end, but rather that it perpetuated new life in the spiritual world. As such, death was a necessary complement to the idea of life and health (Metge 1976: 61; Orbell 1995: 25).

The dualistic principles of *tika* and *he* were essentially the ideas of the correct and incorrect way of doing things. When one did things in a *tika* manner, one was following in the prescribed ways of the ancestors and accompanying traditions. Opposing *tika* was the idea of *he*, the incorrect manner of doing things in which a person was in a state of being “lost” and strayed from the longstanding traditions set down by the ancestors (Metge 1976: 62).

Maori Social Organization Relating to Dualism

Many of these aforementioned principles also directly influenced Maori social organization. As previously mentioned, Maori society was organized hierarchically; the *ariki* and *rangatira*, the chiefly class and the lesser chiefs, occupied the top position. The *tohunga* (priests) also occupied the highest level, but it is important to specify that their title was one that designated an important profession, and it was in this position, especially with their close proximity to the *ariki*, that they occupied the chiefly class (Brooking 2004: 16; Buller 1878: 222; Donne 1927: 98). The middle class, *teina* were the commoners, and the lowest class was made up of *taurekareka*, slaves (Brooking 2004: 16; Buller 1878: 222).

Under this organization, each tribe, *iwi*, was subject to its own *ariki* under the chief of the nation, and under normal circumstances, each *iwi* functioned as an autonomous unit. However, in times of crisis or war, multiple tribes would join together until the situation was resolved, and then they would separate into the individual units they maintained before (Buller 1878: 239). The status of an individual was ascribed based on aspects of *hapu* (sub-tribe), tribal affiliation, and especially his/her *whakapapa* (genealogy) (Brooking 2004: 16). Within this social organization, we see dualism as evidenced in the extension of *mana* and *tapu* principles, the opposition of men and women, the age differential of older and younger, and the idea of complementarity and reciprocity.

In Maori organization, *ariki* were believed to have the largest amount of *mana* and were the most *tapu*. This inherent power was believed to come from their deceased chief relatives. The spirits of these chiefs were believed to care most for the descendants of their own families; their

living descendants benefited by possessing a greater amount of power and a higher status. This instillment of *mana* and *tapu* was the main difference separating those in the chiefly class from those in the lower classes (Buller 1878: 222). Even though *ariki* were born with a large amount of *mana* and were very *tapu*, they had to earn *mana* continuously in order to maintain this high position (Brooking 2004: 16).

Perhaps the most basic fundamental example of dualism in Maori social organization was that of men and women. In Maori social organization, men and women could occupy any of the classes, even that of a chief, *mana* permitting (Brooking 2004: 16–8; Reed 1966: 207). However, there were certain activities specific to men and women, in which the other was not allowed to partake, or even be in the vicinity (Stone 2001: 158). Men and women were supposed to uphold the exemplary models of the primeval parents, Rangi and Papa, with respect to their gender (Brooking 2004: 18; Reed 1966: 208). The complementarity of men and women was extremely important, especially the idea that women were not necessarily inferior to men, but in this complementarity, it was recognized that women were necessary to procreation (Brooking 2004: 18).

Another facet of this complementarity was the distinction between the firstborn male and women/younger brothers. The social position of the firstborn male was an extremely important one, and in families of chiefly status, he became the official heir. However, if a woman were the firstborn, she might receive a special title, although in the majority of cases, she was not permitted to be ascribed to this status of heir (Stone 2001: 158). Elder brothers had seniority over their younger brothers (*teina*), and it was manifested in social organization and mythology that women and younger brothers served as complements to first-born males in that they threatened their ascribed primacy as the first-born (Stone 2001: 158–9, 168). The Polynesian trickster figure

Maui was a prime example in Maori mythology of a younger brother. He was a *teina* who, against a variety of problems and social problems, performed great feats that nonetheless resulted in his eventual death. Stone maintained that “in the lexical associations with Maui [we see] a conjunction of younger brothers, *noa*, and left-handedness, instead of the ideals of elder brothers, *tapu*, and right-sidedness that govern the cosmos and social relations” (2001: 161). The dualism and complementarity here were a striking facet to Maori social organization, in that despite the inherent primacy of the first-born male, both women and younger brothers constantly tested the boundaries of this hierarchy, forcing the first-born male to reassert his power in a dance of legitimacy and power.

Also in this system was the necessary respect for anyone and anything that was considered *tapu*. Any violation of that which was *tapu* needed retribution, even if it were only an arbitrary sentence (Buller 1878: 242). The ideas of complementarity and reciprocity resonated very strongly in Maori society, especially in conjunction with dualism (Brooking 2004: 18; Buller 1878: 223). We see these ideas especially in the dualistic principles mentioned before, as well as more broadly in the complementarity of social order and relationship to the land, of tribe and family, and of the village community and the extended family (Brown 1907: 76). We also see these principles in *ta moko*.

CHAPTER 2

Moko and Dualism

Introduction to *Ta Moko*

The origins of *ta moko* were described in the myth of Mataroa and Niwareka. The myth began when Niwareka fled from her husband, Mataroa, because he had abused her, and she went to her father Uetonga, who resided in the underworld. Mataroa followed her into the underworld, where he came across Uetonga tattooing a man. Uetonga saw the patterns painted on Mataroa's face and wiped them off, scoffing at the inability of humans to tattoo. Uetonga then tattooed Mataroa, who, in great pain, sang a song to Niwareka. She listened to the song and went to his side. Despite his bloody face, she recognized him and tended to him until his face healed. After this, Mataroa and Niwareka returned to the human world and taught the people the art of tattooing (Orbell 2007: 110–1). Within this myth, we see some basic examples of dualism, which then grew more complex within the history and process of *ta moko*. In this myth, we see the basic dualistic division of men and women, as well as the division between the spiritual and earthly realms. Perhaps the most significant division relevant to *ta moko* was the ephemeral nature of the painted design as opposed to the permanent *moko*.

This transition from temporary face and body painting to the permanent nature of tattooing spoke a great deal of the courage of those individuals who underwent the process (Brown 1907: 183). Not only was facial and bodily tattooing a means of decoration, it represented the individual's genealogy and made a statement concerning his/her prowess and potentially, achievements in battle (Brown 1907: 185, 189; Robley 2003: 23). Both men and women received facial and body tattoos, though they differed in location and pattern for the

different sexes (Best 1934: 219; Robley 2003: 43). Men usually had their entire faces tattooed, as well as their thighs and buttocks. For the most part, the chest and arms of men were left bare. Women usually had their lips and chins tattooed, and sometimes other parts of their body were adorned as well (Best 1934: 219; Robley 2003: 33). Both Best and Donne made specific reference to the peculiarity of Shortland's account on the South Island during 1843–44, in which he described a woman who had half of her face tattooed like a man and the other half like a woman (1934: 219; 1927: 141). However, this instance was quite unusual.

The adornment of *moko* was also indicative of one's attractiveness and, in the case of a woman, of her marriageability. It is in the myth of Tama-nui-a-Raki that we see the significance of the beauty of an individual's *moko* and the desirability he or she possessed thereby. In the myth, Tama-nui-a-Raki's wife ran off with another man who had been visiting them. When he asked his children why she left, they told him that the man was good-looking and Tama-nui-a-Raki was ugly. He was determined to become handsome and asked his ancestors to tattoo him. However, they only painted designs on his face, which then washed off. He then went to other ancestors who reluctantly agree to tattoo him. After enduring the agonizing pain of the process and the long healing period, he saw that he was handsome and devised a plan to see his wife. Once she recognized him in his newly tattooed beauty, she begged him to take her back, but he refused (Orbell 2007: 175–6). In Maori culture, women found full *moko* an attractive quality on males, while men admired the tattooed lips and chins of women, which marked them as beautiful and of age to marry (Donne 1927: 144; Robley 2003: 33).

The process of *ta moko* was long and very carefully rendered. The primary instrument used was an *uhi*, which was fashioned much like a miniature adze, used to cut deep fissures in the flesh. The cutting part of the *uhi* was usually made of bone, and either had a straight edge or

one with comb-like teeth (Best 1934: 222; Robley 2003: 48–9). A mallet was used to drive the *uhi* into the flesh of the individual being tattooed. With the introduction of metal instruments, finer cuts were made (Donne 1927: 49–50). The pigments used to color the deep cuts of the *moko* were primarily made of vegetable matter, very often from resinous wood or the gum of the kauri pine (Best 1934: 222). The individuals who practiced *ta moko* were professional artists who received payment for the work they performed; some *moko* artists carried impressive reputations across the whole of New Zealand (Robley 2003: 98). The process took place over an extended period of time so the swelling of the face could subside and the cuts could heal. Too much tattooing in one sitting was very dangerous to the life of the individual, especially considering the loss of blood involved (Donne 1927: 55).

The dualistic principles of *tapu* and *noa* were also prevalent in the process of *moko*. The right side was *tapu*, connected with that which was good and creative and was also associated with strength and life. The left side was *noa*, associated with death and weakness (Hertz 1960: 100–1). During the process of being tattooed, almost everyone and everything involved in the process was considered highly *tapu*, primarily because of the amount of blood shed in the process itself (Best 1934: 223). During the tattooing, the *moko* artist wiped away the blood from the area he was tattooing with a bit of natural fiber he had attached to his left hand (Donne 1927: 145). The instruments the artist used were also extremely *tapu* because of their contact with the individual's blood (Donne 1927: 142). The procedure was performed outdoors in a temporary shelter, lest the place they were tattooing become *tapu* and thus uninhabitable (Best 1934: 223). During this process, the individual being tattooed was extremely *tapu*. He/she was unable to communicate to others except those who were also undergoing *ta moko*, was not able to eat with

his/her hands directly, and could not drink directly out of any vessels. The individual was also entirely dependent on others to make and bring food to him/her (Robley 2003: 58).

Instruments of *Ta Moko*

In H.T. Whatahoro's retelling of the story of Mataroa, the relatively violent process of *ta moko* was alluded to in the simple description of the permanence of moko: "... *moko* cut in the flesh by you [deities] it is permanent and cannot be washed out." Here, no words were minced; the tools used for *moko*, while similar to the *tatau* process of the greater Pacific, very literally *cut* into the face of the individual undergoing *ta moko*, thus setting the Maori tradition apart from others in the region (Te Awekotuku 2006: 121; Te Awekotuku 2007: 14).

Not only were the designs throughout the Pacific vastly different in size, style, and placement on the body, but so were the methods and instruments used to perform the procedure. Instruments used to create permanent designs on the body had different cutting edges that produced very different marks on the body. Common in other Polynesian groups, as evidenced in the ethnographic accounts of Lieutenant Cook and Joseph Banks, was the process of *tatau* (*tattaow*), where an instrument with comb-like teeth was used to deposit pigment into the top few layers of the skin, leaving it smooth once it healed completely. These "prickers" were used for *tatau* practices in the Pacific, as well as the body tattooing of the Maori (Roth 1900: 117; Roth 1901: 37). The instrument used for *ta moko* was of a different species entirely, in form and function, having a typically flat edge for the purpose of carving into the skin and depositing pigment in deep ridges (Roth 1901: 35, 37; Roth 1900: 117).

This deep-cutting tool was called an *uhi*, and most nearly resembled a miniature adze (Roth 1900: 117; Roth 1901: 37). Many types of materials have been documented as the sharp cutting edge of the *uhi*, including the bones of birds, shark teeth, stones, wood, and metal in later times (Robley 2003: 48–9; Roth 1901: 37). The cutting edge of the *uhi* normally fell between the widths of 3–10 mm, and different widths were used depending on the intricacy of the design being applied in an area during a given session (Robley 2003: 49; Te Awekotuku 2006: 123). The function of the *uhi* was, as evident in the Mataroa story, to cut deeply into the face, leaving a “raised texture with the skin ridged and the color inserted,” and also rendered the wearer extremely appealing, especially to the opposite sex (Te Awekotuku 2006: 123). The *uhi* was used in conjunction with *he mahoe*, a “tapper” or small mallet, which was used to drive the pigmented edge into flesh with a rhythmic series of taps. Small pieces of woven organic material, such as flax, were also used to wipe away the blood effusing from the wounds of the *uhi* (Robley 2003: 49).

The pigment used for this process was produced from organic materials, most notably the *awe kapare* from the Kahikatea tree, the *awe kapia/wai kauri* from the Kapia/Kauri tree (*Agathis australis*) as well as a resin from the Koromiko tree (*Veronica salicifolia*) (Ecroyd 1982: 17; Robley 2003: 57; Roth 1901: 37; Te Awekotuku 2007: 33; Thomson 1922: 46). Robley also specifically mentioned the *aweto hotete*, or vegetable caterpillar, which was also an alternative choice for pigment base. The vegetable caterpillar burrowed itself in the ground where vegetables were growing, and in the process, a fungus spore was caught in the neck folds of the caterpillar. This infection eventually resulted in the death of the caterpillar that nourished the fungus, which produced a striking black pigment (Robley 2003: 57). Soot from the resin was collected and then mixed with sap from other plants and other botanical products. This mass of

sticky black organic material was then formed into balls, wrapped in bird or rat skins, and then buried underground to prevent drying out. These pigments were left to mature underground sometimes for entire generations. When it was needed to make ink, or *whakataerangi*, for tattooing/*moko*, the ball of resin would be removed from its subterranean location, unwrapped and mixed with water or plant liquids, creating the proper viscosity for being applied as ink (Te Awekotuku 2007: 34). This ink left a deep blue-black color in the skin, and coincidentally, the botanical ingredients that made up the ink were discovered to have antiseptic/anti-inflammatory properties, which aided in the healing process (Robley 2003: 57; Te Awekotuku 2007: 33–4).

The process itself was painful and potentially very dangerous because of the blood loss involved, and therefore, it was almost always completed in stages (Te Awekotuku 2007: 70). Although rarely addressed in ethnographic accounts or other more modern works, the design of the *moko* was drawn onto the face with the charcoal from a burnt stick or red earth (Robley 2003: 55). Then the practitioner would take up the *uhi* in his/her left hand between thumb and pointer finger, the *ha mahoe* between the third and fourth fingers on the right hand, and then a small container holding the *whakataerangi* in the thumb and pointer finger of the right hand (Robley 2003: 52; Roth 1901: 41). The blade of the *uhi* would be dipped into the pigment and placed upon the area to be incised; then the *uhi* was tapped with the *ha mahoe*, creating a deep incision (Robley 2003: 49; Roth 1901: 42; Te Awekotuku 2006: 123). With this method, the cutting of the skin and the application of the pigment were combined in one step (Robley 2003: 50; Roth 1901: 41). This process was repeated while the practitioner maintained a rhythmic tapping, which calmed the person receiving *ta moko* and often allowed him/her to maintain a dream-like state amid the pain of the process (Te Awekotuku 2006: 123; Te Awekotuku 2007: 144). If the cut made by the *uhi* were not deep enough, it would have to be redone two or three times in the

same spot before the practitioner would move onto the next area to be tattooed (Robley 2003: 53). Blood from these wounds was wiped away with woven organic material so as not to impede the process (Roth 1901: 41; Te Awekotuku 2006: 123).

The preference of material for the cutting edge of the *uhi* began with the readily available bone and stone tools, but with the advent of Europeans in Aotearoa, the medium of choice became iron, facilitating a less severe scarring process and producing a deviation from traditional results (Robley 2003: 50; Roth 1901: 37; Te Awekotuku 2007: 143).

Moko and Tatau—Face and Body Practices

At the turn of the century, H. Ling Roth divided his knowledge of “permanent artificial skin marks” into four categories based on the finished appearance of the skin with respect to the process being used (1900: 116). These categories were *tattaow* [sic.], *moko*, *cicatrix*, and *keloid*, with the order roughly ascending from least to most prominent and significantly altering to the original appearance of the skin (Roth 1900: 118). The process of *ta moko*, the second on the list, was heralded as a unique process belonging to Maori of New Zealand; it was closely related to the first and the third categories; however, the last category was not practiced by the inhabitants of New Zealand (Roth 1900: 118; Te Awekotuku 2002: 123).

Ta moko was effectively a variation of the Polynesian and Melanesian *tatau* (*tattaow* [sic.]) process, which used a variation of the *uhi* with serrated teeth (Roth 1900: 118; Te Awekotuku 2006: 121). This toothed *uhi* transmitted its pattern into the skin by tapping, leaving a small series of holes in the skin. These holes were either colored with the insertion of the pigmented *uhi*, or the color was rubbed onto the marks after the initial pricking. After the

completion of this process, the skin of the wearer healed smoothly over the designs. Clearly related was the process of *ta moko*, which used the *uhi*, similar in form to the type used for *tatau*, but with a straight edge instead of a toothed edge. It was also tapped into the skin; however, the straight edge of this instrument produced thin furrows in the skin that were deep enough to lay a pin down inside. Pigment was applied in a similar fashion to that of *tatau*, and the finished process left the skin permanently grooved. The third process was *cicatrix*, the finished product of which was closely related to *ta moko* in form, leaving extremely deep grooves. The process was different from *tatau* and *ta moko*, in that it functioned as a plain scar, pigment was only rarely used, and these grooves were not made by tapping, but instead were made essentially by making incisions into the skin (Roth 1900: 117).

Although Roth categorized *cicatrix* as its own type of permanent man-made skin alterations, it was also just a specific type of scarring. Arguably, the process of *ta moko*, especially before the advent of metal tools brought by Europeans, might have produced extremely deep pigmented grooves surrounded by raised scars, thus being more of a blend of the second and third processes (Te Awekotuku 2002: 123). Therefore, the process of *ta moko* was perhaps more accurately described as “decorative scarification,” a term that addressed the amalgamation of the two practices (Te Awekotuku 2006: 121). Early ethnographic accounts, including those by Joseph Banks, further support this interpretation by describing Maori *moko* wearers who had deep furrows of black pigment upon their faces and bodies. Banks also brought specific attention to the distinct differences between the deep grooves of Maori *moko* and the flat designs of *tatau* in other Polynesian and Melanesian cultures (Nikora, Rua and Te Awekotuku 2005: 191–2).

Both the chiseling *ta moko* and the pricking *tatau* methods were used in Maori *moko* on the face and on the body. The modifications of the body are addressed here only briefly, as the primary purpose of this paper is to address the dualism present in the facial *moko*. Both men and women had *moko* on their faces and bodies, albeit in different locations specific to gender. To be a wearer of *moko* indicated that man or woman was member of the adult community, and acquiring *moko* was a very dignified process (Buller 1997: 24).

For men, *moko* was inscribed over the entire face (Buller 1997: 24; Robley 2003: 25; Roth 1901:24; Simmons 1986: 27–8) via the standard *ta moko* practice of producing deep permanent pigmented grooves with an *uhi* (Te Awekotuku 2006: 123). The finished male facial *moko* was referred to as *pukanohi* (Nikora, et al. 2005: 197). Women also had *moko* inscribed on their faces; however, it was generally localized to the lips and chin (Buller 1997: 25; Robley 2003: 33; Roth 1901: 24; Simmons 1986: 29), and was sometimes also present to a lesser extent on other areas of the face including the nose and eyebrow areas (Robley 2003: 34; Roth 1901: 29, 33). The *moko* on the lips and chins of Maori women was referred to as *moko kauae* (Nikora, et al. 2005: 197). The *moko kauae* was a chiseled design until the advent of needle tattooing in more recent times (Simmons 1986: 119; Te Awekotuku, Waimarie. Nikora, Rua, Karapu, and Nunes 2007: 70).

Body *moko* on men was generally focused on the lower half of the body (Buller 1997: 24–5) including the buttocks, thighs, lower legs, and lower back (Robley 2003: 25–6; Roth 1901: 24, 28–9; Simmons 1986: 27–9). The most significant of these locations for the male was the buttocks on which the spiraling *te marau* design was inscribed by carving it into the flesh of the buttocks (Robley 2003: 26; Roth 1901: 135; Te Awekotuku 2006: 123). Genital marking was also performed, but it was either not as common for males or was simply not recorded as

frequently as it was for women (Te Awekotuku, et al. 2007: 84). Aside from the *moko* on the buttocks, the other areas such as “thigh designs and larger body work involved larger instruments which punctured and stamped in the pigment rather than gouging into the flesh” (Te Awekotuku 2006: 124). Luckily for those individuals, large portions of their body aside from the buttocks were adorned with *moko* via a *tattau* method using a comb-toothed *uhi*, which healed smoothly and was a much less intensive method. There were also mentions of *moko* on the chest, stomach, right arm, and outside of the leg; however, only the chest *moko* has been able to be corroborated with any certainty (Simmons 1986: 29).

Body *moko* performed on women was more widely distributed than it was on their male counterparts. There were accounts of women having body *moko* on their necks, shoulders, backs, breasts, stomach, legs, and genital area (Robley 2003: 44; Roth 1901: 30, 33; Simmons 1986: 29–30), as well as early accounts of women having small *moko* designs irregularly placed all over their bodies (Robley 2003: 38; Roth 1901: 33). French explorer Jules Sébastien César Dumont d’Urville gave an account of a woman who received a shoulder *moko* that was “incised with deeply cut designs” (Robley 2003: 39–40). However, this instance of women’s body *moko* done with deep pigmented grooves seemed to be a singular occurrence, whereas the majority of women’s body *moko* was performed in a similar matter to *tatau* (Robley 2003: 43). Genital marking done on women employed the *tatau* method as opposed to a chiseled *moko* (Te Awekotuku, et al. 2007: 84).

Dualism in *Ta Moko*

Look at the flowers—at the whole universe—and you will see everywhere the ornamental combined with the useful. Look, then, to the cut and colour of your coat, and do not laugh at the Maori of past times, who, not being ‘seized’ of a coat because he has never been able to seize one, carves and tattoos [sic.] legs, arms, and face. (Maning 2001: 98)

Phillipps described traditional Maori art forms as a type of beauty “not necessarily in accordance with our own conception ... [but] an outpouring of an inner urge along definite lines. The Maori artisan does not copy, but exercises his originality inside definite limits ...” (Phillipps 1966: 118). Despite not meeting the Western ideal of a literate society, Maori were able to express a great deal of information through their art and were not simply limited to literal representations of myths, real and mythical people, and past events.

The ties between *moko*, Maori tattooing, and *whakairo*, Maori woodcarving, were inextricable, as evidenced in the etymology of these terms. The definition of *whakairo* remained to this day very unspecific, essentially translated to mean “design.” *Whakairo* generally referred to the practice of woodcarving, but it also had strong affiliations to other art forms, and the meaning became more specific when other terms were attached. When “*tangata*” was added onto *whakairo*, the result was *whakairo tangata* meaning “designs on human flesh,” in reference to tattoo and *ta moko* practices (Neich 1993: 17; Starzecka 1998: 69). Also, in the transitive verb “*ta*,” meaning “to carve,” there was another connection between the very physical actions performed in the practices of woodcarving and *moko* (Neich 1993: 17).

In addition to design, the permanence of *whakairo* and *ta moko* was also stressed as a significant factor, as seen in the Myth of Mataroa and Niwareka. As the painting on Mataroa's face was washed away, he became a comical, laughable figure to the gods of the underworld because of the temporary nature of his painted *moko*. When compared to the art of painting, *ta moko* and *whakairo* were strict and inclusive processes. Knowledge of both was obtained by visiting the underworld and being given this knowledge by those residing in the supernatural realm. There were necessary rituals in the initiation process to perform, along with a strict training procedure and *tapu* restrictions for the individual artists, instruments, and the recipients of their work, whether in wood or flesh (Neich 1993: 21).

Maori woodcarving employed similar, designs, motifs, and methods to those seen on and the art adorning Maori architecture (Archev 1977: 20; Phillipps 1966: 126). These similarities were most notable in Maori figure carving, where the carvings also represented genealogical relationships (Archev 1977: 20; Simmons 1985: 17). *Pou-tokomanawa* figures were the most anthropomorphic style of figure carving. They represented an ancestor whose human face and body were recognizable due to his uniquely carved *moko* (New Zealand Department of Education 1961: 6). Despite the fact that the carving was on inanimate wooden figures, the artists maintained an emphasis on the representational style of their art, with particular respect to the *moko*, which made the figures even more life-like (Archev 1977: 20).

Whakairo was often, but was not always, a steppingstone for *ta moko* practitioners, as the designs, skills, and knowledge were similar in many respects, and it was no great leap for artists to transfer their skills and methods from wood to flesh (Te Awekotuku 2007: 118). After *moko* progressed from its highly variable beginning stages and had reached its mature, predictable style patterns, some of these patterns, most notably the spiral, were direct links back to *whakairo*

patterns (Thomas, Cole, and Douglas 2005: 39). Other curvilinear design elements were major features in *whakairo* and *ta moko* (Neich 1993: 17). The majority of spiral patterns in Maori art were double spirals called *koru* (Phillipps 1955: 19). However, there was also a rafter pattern called *kowhaiwhai*, which was translated into *moko* patterns as a triple spiral (Phillipps 1966: 135). This curvilinear art style, especially in tattooing practices, was largely unheard of in the Pacific with the exception of Maori practices and developed into a very prominent design (Roth 1901: 59; Starzecka 1998: 93).

H. L. Roth categorized Maori facial *moko* into seven fundamental designs (see fig. 1) (Roth 1901: 50). The first design was grouped into parallel lines of dots or short lines (Roth 1901: 54). The second pattern was the “mat- or plait-work” design, which was characterized by alternating groups of three short vertical strokes next to three short horizontal strokes, and commonly featuring a modified S-shape in the center of the forehead. This figure was an early pattern not widely used in later times (Roth 1901: 54–5). The third design was a “ladder” pattern, which featured long parallel lines with short horizontal strokes joining them together (Roth 1901: 54). This design was very commonly used as background filler for trilateral scrollwork, albeit only the rung portion was employed for this use (Roth 1901: 56). The fourth design was the chevron, which was a rare design, but sometimes used instead of the ladder for background filler (Roth 1901: 54, 56–7). The fifth design was the circinate coil, or spiral (Roth 1901: 54). *Ta moko* artists placed the spiral carefully in order best to suit the individual’s facial and bone structure (Roth 1901: 57). The sixth design was the “anchor” (Roth 1901: 54), which was a design likely representing a rudimentary face, especially in its mirrored form (Roth 1901: 59). The seventh fundamental pattern was the trilateral scroll (Roth 1901: 54). Gell further simplified Roth’s

seven-tiered paradigm into three primary shapes: straight lines (*moko kuri*), straight lines backed by lines (*puhoru*), and curved features (including curves and spirals) (1993: 250).

These seven fundamental designs were represented in their own right and in various combinations through *moko* history. The artists who accompanied early explorers, including Parkinson, the artist on Captain Cook's expedition in 1769, recorded visual representations of Maori with *moko* with whom they came in contact. These drawings contained examples of a wide array of *moko* designs and styles, establishing that there was no relative standardization of the *moko* design, patterns, or design fields at this time (Gell 1993: 249). These variations were based on the time in which they were *en vogue*, their location on the body, and the method used to apply them to the skin. As stated earlier, there were two methods of applying *moko*: One involved leaving a pigmented line as the basis for the design, and the other created its design through creation of negative space by darkening the background behind it (Simmons 1986: 24). This second design style was called *puhoro*, which was an early design, as corroborated via drawings and ethnographic accounts from early explorers. It was initially used on the face; however, as chiseled *moko* gained popularity and preeminence in the 19th century, it ceased to be a standard facial pattern and became a body design (Gell 1993: 249; Simmons 1986: 24; Thomas, Cole, and Douglas 2005: 41).

A *pukanohi*, or face with a complete *moko*, often looked to the untrained eye as a complex but symmetrical design. If divided into four primary fields, vertically from forehead to chin along the nose and horizontally from ear to ear, it may still have appeared this way (see fig. 2). However, if the face were divided into its eight secondary zones, like the *Ngakaipikirau* zone on the forehead, on each vertical half, it became apparent that the primary zones were largely symmetrical but the secondary zones were strikingly asymmetrical (Simmons 1986: 24–5; Te

Riria and Simmons 1999: 22). The junctures between design fields also contained asymmetrical designs, which were carefully chosen according to the facial structure of the individual and were used to enhance further the individual's natural features with the addition of the *moko* (Simmons 1986: 25). The face was also simply divided down the center along the nose, from hairline to chin, into right and left halves. For almost all of the tribes, the left side of the face, or *taha mauī*, pertained to the individual's father, and the right side of the face, or *taha matau*, pertained to the individual's mother (Te Arawa and Ngai Tahu have this system reversed) (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 22).

The ways in which the designs were arranged in the various design fields were as important as the designs themselves, the process, and those involved. These facets all held particular significance for the individual wearing them with respect to transformative magic tied to this entire process (Te Awēkotuku 2002: 123). Maori *moko* was more than a dangerous and painful beautification ritual; it proclaimed the wearer as an individual, but an individual with extremely close and strong ties to the group of which he/she was a member. The *moko* itself expressed the wearer as an individual, commemorating important events, roles, and relationships that he/she was a part of, as well as affirming his/her identity within his/her own group and genealogy (Nikora and Te Awēkotuku 2002: 130–1; Starzecka 1998: 21; Te Awēkotuku 2002: 126). *Moko* artists were sensitive to this view and were able to create unique designs employing the necessary motifs for an individual as dictated by genealogy, while asserting the individuality of the person within these confines (New Zealand Department of Education 1961: 2).

Moko could be read like a book, for those who knew how. Once *moko* reached its “classic” stage, the eight zones on each half of the vertical divide were named and had specific designs associated with them (see fig. 3). The triangular zones in the centre of the forehead were

called *Ngakaipikirau*; they exhibited the *titi* design and indicated the wearer's rank. The triangular zones on either side of the *Ngakaipikirau* zone above the eyebrows were called *Ngunga*; they featured the *tiwhana* and *ngunga* designs and indicated the position of the wearer. The eyes and nose were the primary features in the *Uirere* zone, which exhibited the *pongiangia* and *paepae* designs, and designated the wearer's *hapu* rank. The *Uma* zone was located on the temples; it featured the *putaringa* design and indicated relationship to a first or second marriage. The upper lip area was called the *Raurau* zone, and it presented the "signature" of the individual using the *rerepehi* design. A wearer's occupation was indicated on the cheek in the *Taiohou* zone using *putake* designs. The chin was the focus of the *Wairua* zone and indicated the individual's *mana* through *pukauwae* designs. The wearer's birth status was exhibited on the jaw via the *riparipa* design in the *Taitoto* zone (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 23). However, an individual's achieved rank was not always compatible with his/her ascribed position, and therefore, certain designs could not be used in certain areas, which then had to remain without *moko* (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 22).

This standardization of *moko* zones, patterns, and designs discussed here corresponded to the "classic" era of *moko*, and not to its early or current forms (Gell 1993: 249). The central triangular *Ngakaipikirau* zone signified the rank of *taiopuru*, *ahupiri*, *arikinui*, and *ariki*; it also indicated if an individual of lower status had been granted a position of rank (Robley 2003: 75; Simmons 1986: 25; Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 23). If the wearer did not bear any of the aforementioned ranks, from either side, or both, he/she did not have a tattoo in this zone. The designs used here were *ipurangi*, *tonokai*, and *titi*, and were arranged in the area based on the bearer's *ariki* status (Robley 2003: 70; Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 23). The patterns used in this area were symbolic of life-giving properties, including *te wairua tapu* (the heavenly waters

that bestow life), *te ira atua* (the life force belonging to the gods), and *te ira tangata* (the life force belonging to man) (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 23). On either side of the central *Ngakaipikirau* zone were the triangular *Ngunga* zones, noted for the arching *tiwhana* (rays) in this area, which indicated the position occupied by the wearer (Robley 2003: 70, 75; Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 24). This position indicated if the wearer was of the first or second lines of descent, or had been raised to the rank of *noaia*. The rays above the eyebrows were either three or four in number, and corresponded to the rank of the individual. The *Ngunga* zone represented the “the place where the baskets of knowledge are stored.” Specific designs in this area further signified the type of knowledge the wearer had been imparted (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 24).

The *Uirere* zone occupied the area of the nose over to the outer corner of the eye as far down as the bottom of the nose (Phillipps 1966: 136; Robley 2003: 68; Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 24). This area was for tribal identification, and it also identified whether the individual was the eldest son or not. The presence of *paepae* spirals indicated that the wearer was the eldest son and was to inherit the *mana* belonging to his tribe (Phillipps 1966: 136; Simmons 1986: 25; Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 24–5). The spirals on the upper cheeks corresponded to the *hapu* of the individual’s parents, with the *hapu* of the father on the left cheek and the mother on the right (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 24). Lines connecting designs on the nose indicated if an individual had rank that was inherited or achieved, and variation in cheek spirals were also indicative of that individual’s rank and line (Robley 2003: 70; Simmons 1986: 26; Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 24). The *Uma* zone was located on the outside of the *Uirere* zone in the temple area. This area represented the lineage/descent of the mother or the father, specifically indicating if the individual was from a first or second marriage (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 25). The *koroaha* and *rahauhau* patterns usually represented as *koru* in a similar fashion to *puhoru*; thus the

background was often decorated with the ladder design to highlight the foreground design (Phillipps 1966: 136; Robley 2003: 68; Simmons 1986: 26; Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 25).

The koru patterns placed here indicated any special position or rise in rank (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 25).

The *Raurau* zone was located in the upper lip area, directly under the nose to above the mouth, including the cheeks to the corners of the mouth. The *tapawaha* pattern was located on the upper lip area and served as the wearer's "signature," and also relayed if the person were "under the protection of a *taiopuru*, *ahupiri*, *arikinui*, or *ariki*" (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 25).

The rays in this zone were curved like half a circle around the mouth, exhibiting either three or four pigmented lines, which indicated a rise in rank (Phillipps 1966: 136; Robley 2003: 77; Simmons 1986: 25; Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 25). Next to the *Raurau* zone was the *Taiohou* zone located on the mid-cheek and upper jaw. The *Taiohou* zone told of the type of work the individual conducted, including such professions as gardener, *tohunga*, carver, etc. (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 26).

The *Wairua* zone was located under the lower lip and extended to the outside of the rays enclosing the mouth. This zone expressed the *mana* of the wearer, another instance of personal identification. The patterns that decorated the chin, *kauwau* and *pukauwae*, indicated if the wearer were of significant rank or the leader of a tribal area (Robley 2003: 68; Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 26). The *Taitoto* zone was located at the angle of jaw and displayed the birthright of the wearer. The lower jaw spiral indicated, based on its variations, whether the person was a successor to a *taiopuru*, an heir, or if that individual rose in rank or attained the position of chief before the age of 25 (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 26).

Facial *moko* on women was generally a less extensive process primarily confined to the lips and chin, but women were also allowed to have designs on their noses and foreheads. Some female *moko* designs had designs between the eyebrows and/or spirals on the nostrils either curving upward or downward. A woman's upper lip was also a potential design area, either featuring a design as simple as a curved line, or something very intricate and complex (Simmons 1986: 29). A woman's lip area was the most standard and common area to have *moko* applied. The lip or lips were tattooed with horizontal lines to ensure full coverage. However, there was variation as to whether both lips were done, or if just the bottom one was to be darkened with pigment (Brailsford 1981: 213; Simmons 1986: 29). The chin exhibited *waka te he* lines, and fish hook and heart-shaped designs were also common motifs (Robley 2003: 72; Simmons 1986: 29). Overall, there was a much greater level of flexibility and variability in the zones, designs, and patterns used in women's facial *moko* designs.

Ethnographic accounts gave light to an uncommon practice of Maori women who wore the full *moko* typically attributed to Maori men. Women such as Waikorapa from Pukehina had the full facial *moko* and were recognized as having inherited a position of leadership or important lineage; the full *moko* could have also proved as a testament to her impressive prowess on the battlefield. For these women, Pouroto maintained, "it wasn't so much gender as it was your position in the tribe and the responsibilities you took on with your skill" (Te Awekotuku 2007: 77). Less was known about the cultural context of Dr. Edward Shortland's ethnographic accounts of a South Island Maori woman who was reported to have one vertical half of her face exhibiting a male *moko* and the other half a female *moko* (Te Awekotuku 2007: 77). Later accounts and representations showed Maori representations of the virgin Mary as a carved figure sporting a full *moko* and holding an infant Christ (Gell 1993: 267).

CHAPTER 3

Analysis and Conclusion

Dualism, defined here as physical, social, and spiritual division into two opposing parts, was clearly evident in Maori mythology, ideology, basic dichotomies, social constructs, and in *tamoko* itself. The concept of complementarity was crucial and inseparable from that of dualism, in that both halves were necessary to complete the whole, and neither could occur without the existence of the other. The interwoven nature of all of these aspects resonated strongly with the Maori idea of putting the group above that of the individual, but that was done while still managing individual identity within the group structure. Maori mythology was inextricably linked with dualism in Maori culture, providing the base points for dichotomies surrounding *tamoko* and *moko*.

The basic dichotomies found in many other cultures were also evident within Maori culture. The universe was separated into the earthly realm, where humans lived, and the spiritual realm, the place where the gods/ancestors resided. This concept was tied in very closely with Maori creation mythology, with its separation of the primeval parents, resulting in the creation of the world of light from the darkness. The separation of light from darkness, and of Rangi and Papa, provided the model for the basic dichotomy between males and females. The male gender, exemplified by Rangi, was viewed as the right side, correct and *tapu*, while the female gender, exemplified by Papa, was viewed as the left side, incorrect and *noa* (Metge 1967: 59). Despite the defining terms associated with male and female, the idea of complementarity was important to reinforce the concept that men were neither viewed as better than women nor were women

lower than men; rather, they each were necessary for the other to function completely as designated in the separation of labor (Metge 1967: 63).

Especially important in Maori culture, as related to *moko*, were the ideas of perceived beauty and permanence. Myths were used to enforce instances of binary opposition, primarily the basic dichotomy of male and female (Mol 1982: 22). In the myths of Mataroa and Niwareka and of Tama-nui-a-Raki, the social, cosmological, and ideological constructs relating to beauty and permanence were exemplified. In the myth of Mataroa and Niwareka, the gods scoffed at the impermanence of Mataroa's painted *moko* in comparison to their permanent designs. This story recognized the inferiority of human methods prior to the intervention and teachings of the gods. In the myth of Tama-nui-a-Raki, this man's wife did not view him as an attractive male without a proper *moko*, and she left him for another man. He was determined to become attractive, so he went to various ancestors who gave him impermanent *moko* designs that washed off; eventually one ancestor carved *moko* into his face. Once he received a full *moko*, his wife begged for him to come back to her, but he refused. Without the help of the gods, humans would not have achieved the same level of cultural sophistication. In teaching other humans these methods and employing the methods themselves, they served as a conduit, which connected humans more closely to their ancestors and gods. Later, we also see how the designs of *moko* further joined these ideas together.

Social, ritual, and religious dualistic constructions were quite apparent throughout Maori society. *Tame tane* and *tame wahine* were prevalent in ritual situations. The concepts of *tapu*, sacred as well as ritually dangerous, and *noa*, profane as well as without restriction, were interwoven into nearly all facets of Maori society (Metge 1967: 58–9; Starzeca 1996: 14). This dichotomy was not a perfectly balanced opposition, but it acted as a functional opposition

nonetheless (Starzeca 1996: 27). The upholding of that which was *tapu* produced effects in both social and cosmic order. The belief among Maori was the importance of balance in all aspects of life and being, and recognizing the godliness in oneself was key to maintaining this balance. *Tapu* as well as *mana* were crucial to continuing the stasis between the spiritual and earthly realms (Starzeca 1996: 26). When *tapu* was upheld, order was maintained, human relationships with the gods were reinforced, and human relationships—intra- and inter-tribally—were also strengthened so that their communal cohesion was in juxtaposition with the disorder of other groups and the outside world (Mol 1982: 12–4). Surely it was no coincidence that because the head was the most *tapu* part of the body (Phillipps 1955: 8), it received such care and devotion in respect to *ta moko* practice.

This dualism was condensed from the community level of group identity down to that pertaining to the individual. An individual was divided into his or her physical (*tinana*) and spiritual (*wairua*) parts. His or her *mana* was also extremely important, as a person's degree of *tapu* increased as did the person's *mana* (Mol 1982: 15). Those who occupied the chiefly class had the highest amount of *mana*; the degree of *mana* that an individual possessed structured Maori social hierarchy accordingly. *Mana* was divided into supernatural and social aspects. The supernatural aspect viewed *mana* as coming from the gods, *possessing* the individual rather than being possessed *by* the individual; whereas the social view of *mana* had to do with the prestige of the individual, and his or her power to make authoritative decisions regarding his or her community (Metge 1967: 64; Starzeca 1996: 27). Those with high levels of *mana* served as a primary link back to the gods and ancestors for the benefit of their community (Mol 1982: 10). The concepts of *ora* and *aitua* echoed the division of right and left, where *ora* was life, and *aitua/mate* dealt with death and misfortune (Metge 1967: 61).

Tika and *he* were also closely related to the ideas of *ora* and *aitua*, in that they corresponded to the correct/incorrect way of doing things. When an individual did things in a *tika* manner, he or she was doing them in the way they were supposed to be done according to tradition set down by gods/ancestors; *he* served as the direct opposite and was a deviation from this tradition. When an individual deviated, that person was viewed as lost; someone who metaphorically left the group and knew neither who he or she was nor where he or she belonged (Metge 1967: 62). Thus, one was expected to uphold genealogical *moko* traditions where they were established.

The differentiation between firstborn children and their younger siblings was an important concept in Maori ideology and in social status evident in one's *moko*. Older siblings were viewed as *tapu* and did what they could to uphold order while the younger sibling did all he or she could to cause disorder. The *teina* position was occupied by the youngest brother. It was viewed as a very precarious position, as evident in the escapades of the trickster figure, Maui. Maui was a *teina* who caused havoc because of his status as a younger brother and was also tattooed by Mataroa (Metge 1967: 59; Mol 1982: 25).

The process of *ta moko* was firmly based in dualism, representing to social and genealogical symbolism by means of art. Visually, the pigmented/scarred area stood out against the unpigmented/unscarred surface. The process itself could be divided into the easily recognized dichotomies of male and female *moko*, facial and body *moko*, and *moko* and *tatau* methods. It could further be divided into the vertical division of the face into the male and female sides, which corresponded to the individual's genealogy, personal accomplishments, and *mana*.

Moko could be viewed as a "male" activity given the regularity of the lines of the finished product, while the process could be seen more of a "female" activity, given the blood, pain, and

danger involved. The practitioner would hold the *uhi* in the left hand, with some flax tied to a finger on the left hand to wipe away the excess blood. The mallet was held in the right hand while it was rhythmically tapped against the *uhi*, thus depositing the design into the skin. The ritualistic cutting of the skin and the wiping away of the blood involved was also explicitly dualistic, considering the symbolism of “right” and “left” halves. However, it was not entirely clear from ethnographic records if this practice was the universal method, or if it varied based on the practitioner’s dominant hand.

Tapu was also a very prevalent theme in *ta moko*. Both the practitioner and the individual receiving *moko* were under strict *tapu* regulations. The operation took place in an open air environment, so as not to make a building *tapu*, and thus uninhabitable. The individual having received *moko* was not allowed to have sex or feed him or herself directly, or drink from a vessel directly for a certain period of time until becoming *noa* again. A *korere* was used, similar in function to an ornately carved wooden funnel, which allowed the recipient to drink without rendering a vessel unusable because it touched his or her face (Phillipps 1966: 135; Starzeca 1996: 40).

A person’s face, adorned with *moko*, was divided using the simple separation of a vertical line down the center of the face, separating it into the right and left halves. For almost all Maori tribes, the left side of the face, or *taha mauī*, pertained to the individual’s father, and the right side of the face, or *taha matau*, pertained to the individual’s mother, but not every tribe followed this ideology (Te Riria and Simmons 1999: 22). Hertz’s association of traits belonging to the left or right hand did not directly correspond here, but it still served as a paradigm for the basic characteristics attached to this dichotomy. The asymmetrical nature of the *pukanohi* was evident in certain facial zones as well. With the head as the most *tapu* part of the body, it seemed

only relevant that it also showcased the individual's *mana*, accomplishments, and genealogy through the designs. The process itself was symbolic: The individual was wounded and weakened with the completion of the process. However, after suffering during the process and healing period, that individual was metaphorically reborn as someone of great beauty and attraction. At the same time, the individual was humbled by the experience that then brought him or her closer to the gods and the ancestors. *Moko* had to be retouched over one's lifetime—a deterioration could be seen as the left temporarily overcoming the right. In order to bring back the status quo, order had to be re-established via the retouching of the *moko*. This process further affirmed the dualistic nature of Maori culture surrounding *ta moko*.

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APPENDIX

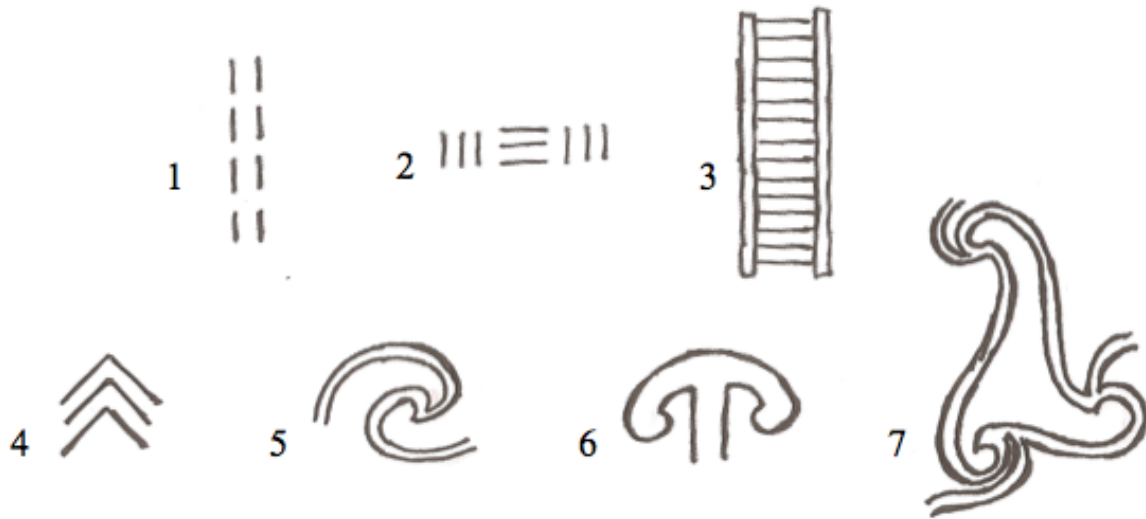


Figure 1. Seven Basic Patterns of *Moko*. After Roth 1901: 54.
1) Line of Dots or Strokes; 2) Mat- or Plait-work; 3) Ladder; 4) Chevron; 5) Circinate Coil; 6) Anchor; 7) Trilateral Scroll

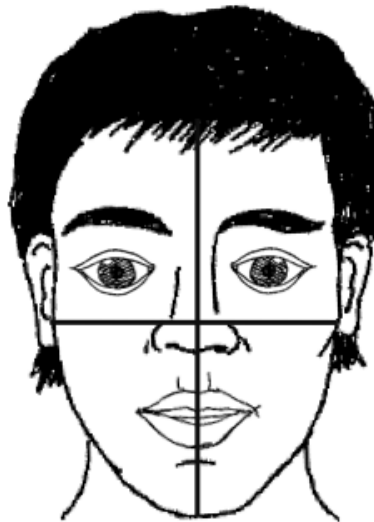


Figure 2. Four Basic Divisions of Male *Moko*. After Simmons 1986: 23.

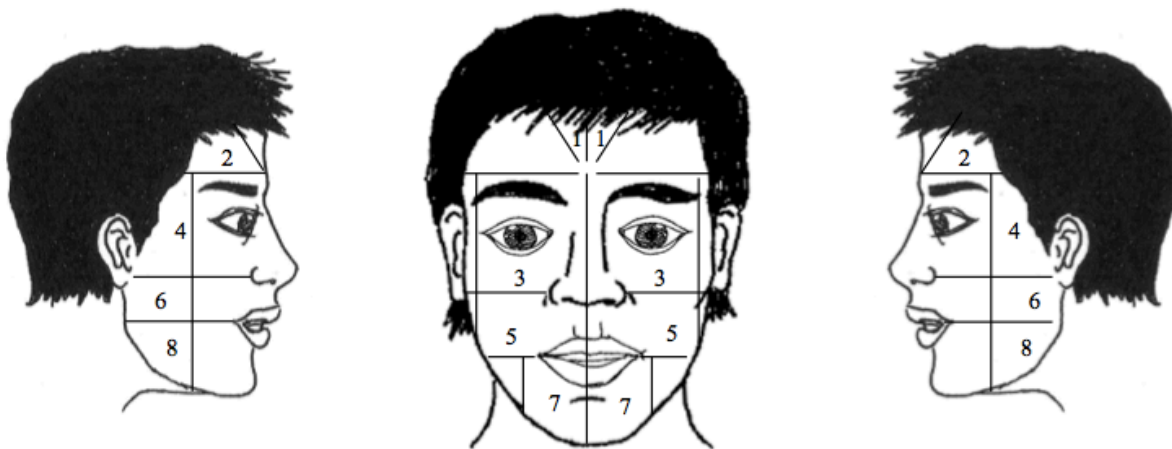


Figure 3. Eight Zones of Male *Moko*. After Simmons 1986: 23.
1) Ngakaipikirau; 2) Ngunga; 3) Uirere; 4) Uma; 5) Raurau; 6) Taiohou; 7) Wairua; 8) Taitoto

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