



FIGURE 1. Tūhawaiki's moko from the Mitchell (left) and Turnbull (right) deeds.

All images from the Mitchell deed are reproduced by permission of the State Library of New South Wales and are from the original, *The Wentworth Indenture*, in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales (Ref: Aw51). All images from the Turnbull deed are reproduced by permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library and are from the original, *The Wentworth–Jones Deed*, in the Alexander Turnbull Library, MSO 4947.

mother Kura was the sister of Te Whakataupuka, and by no means illegitimate. Likewise, Taiaroa's Wentworth–Jones moko has no upper spiral on either cheek, yet his mother Wharerauruhe, at least, was of notable lineage. These moko indicate that Simmons's system, whatever its currency, was not practised among Ngāi Tahu.<sup>29</sup>

As to whether the Wentworth–Jones moko may have had 'meanings', we may consult Edward Shortland, who visited Otago in 1843 as Protector of Aborigines and interpreter to the Land Claims Commission after a year among North Island tribes. He met Tūhawaiki, Pōkene, and Taiaroa, and consulted Tūhawaiki and Tiramōrehu on Māori history and culture. Professor Atholl Anderson suggests that Shortland was 'the first anthropologist of the Māori', and describes his South Island journals and *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* as 'the seminal work of South Island Maori history and ethnography'.<sup>30</sup> Concerning moko, Shortland states:

The tattoo or 'moko', as it is termed in native language, is neither intended to constitute a distinctive mark between different tribes, nor to denote rank, as has been variously stated. It is, in fact, only a mark of manhood, and a fashionable mode of adornment, by which the young men seek to gain the good graces of the young women. It only so far denotes rank, that the poor man may not have the means of paying the artist, whose skill is necessary.<sup>31</sup>

Moko drawings are generally thought to present an observer's view of the face, not a mirror image. Thus, the right side of the drawing is thought to represent the left side