

environment, must be approached with caution for they were produced by selected individuals for representatives of a strange culture. In some of the maps the particular Eskimo may have attempted to reproduce his own environment in terms of the mode of representation suggested to him by the outsider. Certainly in terms of media, the use of pencil, charcoal, or ink upon parchment and paper was foreign to the Eskimo. But leaving this divergence aside, the line drawings which were produced, in many cases when the 'primitive' was little influenced by the collector, cannot have been so dissimilar from the line-drawings in wood, sand and snow. The only extraneous influence which may have been introduced was perhaps the promptings of the strangers toward the elaboration of particular sections of coastline, and the presence of Western charts which the Inuit were sometimes shown and asked to improve upon. The presence of published charts cannot be held to be too inhibiting, however, if the drawing of spatial representations is accepted as being a pre-existing aspect of Eskimo culture.⁴⁶

Orthodox concepts of scale cannot be applied to Maori maps. The scales are fluid because personal experience results in some areas being drawn to a larger scale, areas known by hearsay to a smaller scale, and unknown areas to a still smaller scale.

The fluidity of scales based on knowledge or lack thereof is influenced by another factor, the unit of measurement. The unit is based on the length of a day's journey: 'a result of the fusion of distance and the time taken in travelling such distances'.⁴⁷ There is then no standard unit of measurement. A day's journey can be represented as short or long depending on the terrain traversed. A short distance can mean easy terrain and a long distance difficult terrain. The 'time taken' concept is also understood and expressed by trampers in the mountains in New Zealand. They speak of the number of hours taken in travelling between two points not the actual distance between those two points. Time taken is a useful measure for estimating where the party will be at a given time and this is most useful in deciding where to camp. Trampers of course use modern maps but the concept of 'time taken' is the same.

Only the reproduction of Huruhuru's map and the map which is the frontispiece in the same work⁴⁸ show actual distances in days of travel but the principles apply to the scales of all maps drawn by Maoris.

No European has recorded the actual size of maps drawn by Maoris. The exception is of course Tuki Tahua's small scale map which has survived and measures 37 × 49 cm. It can be assumed that the maps drawn for Nicholas, Godfrey and Shortland were fairly small being limited in size by the paper on which they were drawn. The map drawn for Cook, the one drawn in chalk by Tuki Tahua, Reko's map and the one drawn for Hochstetter were drawn on media of much larger size than a sheet of paper and so would be on a larger scale.

With the exception of Tuki Tahua's map the maps that exist as a sketch and as illustrations have probably been reduced in size and