

Cultural Narrative for the Ng**ā** Puna Wai Sports Hub 2016

This narrative has been prepared by Matapopore.

Introduction

The proposed Ngā Puna Wai Sports Hub will accommodate a range of outdoor sports facilities, comprising track and field spaces, tennis courts, hockey and rugby league pitches, associated seating areas and a centralised hub-wide facility. The proposed development is located in the south west area within Ōtautahi/Christchurch and therefore the ancestral lands of Ngāi Tahu, and the contemporary takiwā of Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga as Mana whenua. The Ngā Puna Wai Sports Hub is located within an area which was once rich in natural resources. Although this area has been long since modified, during pre-European times, Māori would have utilised the abundance of natural resources available as this area formed part of a wider system of trails, rivers and streams which connected the head waters of the Waimōkihi and Ōpāwaho (Heathcote River) with the head waters of Knights Stream and Huritini (Halswell River). This area known as Ōwaka, was a source of mahinga kai to Ngāi Tūāhuriri /Ngāi Tahu and travel route between the Māori settlements on Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū (Banks Peninsula), Taumutu to the south and Kaiapoi Pā to the north.

This cultural narrative has been written to guide outcomes which embed cultural values and stories within the Ngā Puna Wai Sports Hub Design Brief Document. The main thread through this narrative focuses on the natural resources of this area and significance of these resources to the traditional way of life of Ngāi Tahu. Ngāi Tahu traditionally lived a highly mobile existence and traversed nearly the entire island hunting and gathering the diversity of resources this landscape provided.¹

¹ Tau, T.M., Tau, R., Goodall, A., Palmer, D. 1990. *Te Whakatau Kaupapa*, Aoraki Press, Wellington. P4.

The Waimōkihi and Ōpāwaho provided sustenence for this way of life and offered a pathway through the sometimes flooded area for Ngāi Tahu while travelling through and provided areas to gather food and other resources.

Background

Mana Whenua / Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri

Mana whenua refers to the mana or 'authority' held by an iwi, hapū or whanau over the land or territory of a particular area. This authority is passed down through whakapapa (genealogy) and is based on the settlement and occupation of, and continued use and control of natural resources within an area.

The term Mana whenua, is also used to describe the people who hold this authority, who considered themselves as ' kaitiaki '(guardian/ caregiver, steward etc.) of their particular area or takiwā.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri/ Mana Whenua

Ngāi Tūāhuriri is one of the primary hapū of Ngāi Tahu whose tribal boundaries (takiwā) centre on Tuahiwi. Tūāhuriri is our ancestor, from whom we all descend and we take our identity from him. The following is a traditional Ngāi Tūāhuriri *pepehā*, or tribal statement of identity.

Ko Maungatere te maunga

Our mountain, Maungatere (Mount Grey) stands above us;

Ko Waimakariri, ko Rakahuri ngā awa

Our rivers – the Waimakariri and Rakahuri (the Ashley) – flow below;

Ko Tūāhuriri te tangata

Tūāhuriri is our ancestor.

Tuahiwi is the home of Ngāi Tūāhuriri and has played a vital role in Ngāi Tahu history. The takiwā (district) of Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga centres on Tuahiwi and extends from the Hurunui River to the Hakatere River and inland to the Main Divide. Kaiapoi Pā was established by the first Ngāi Tahu ancestors when they settled Te Waipounamu. It became the major capital trading centre and from which further penetration of the South Island occurred making the area a genealogical centre for all Ngāi Tahu Whānui.

Kaiapoi Pā was established by Moki's elder brother Turākautahi who was the second son of Tūāhuriri hence "Ngāi Tūāhuriri" is the name of the hapū of this area.

Ngāi Tahu Whānui and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu

Ngāi Tahu whānui (descendants of Tahu Pōtiki) hold mana whenua status over the majority of land in Te Waipounamu – the South Island. Today's Ngāi Tahu whānui originates from three main tribal strands; Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu. Through intermarriage, warfare and alliances, these tribal groups migrated, settled, occupied and amalgamated and established mana whenua over their tribal area prior to European arrival.

Specific hapū or sub-tribes established control over distinct areas of the island and have maintained their mana over these territories to this day.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is the mandated iwi authority established by Ngāi Tahu Whānui under Section 6 of the Te Rūnanga o Ngai Tahu Act 1996 to protect the beneficial interests of all tribal members of Ngāi Tahu Whānui, including the beneficial interests of the Papatipu Rūnanga of those members. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is governed by elected representatives from each of the 18 Papatipu Rūnanga and has an administrative office as well as a number of commercial companies.

Papatipu Rūnanga are the administrative councils of traditional Ngāi Tahu hapū (sub-tribes) based around their respective kāinga / marae based communities and associated Māori reserves, pā, urupā and mahinga kai areas.

Matapopore Charitable Trust

The Matapopore Charitable Trust has been established by Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga to work with Ōtākaro Ltd, Regenerate Christchurch and the Christchurch City Council under the Christchurch Central Recovery Plan 2012.

The Trust's primary objective is to weave Ngāi Tūāhuriri / Ngāi Tahu values, narratives and aspirations into the fabric of anchor projects and other projects within Christchurch City.

Embedded values, stories and realising aspirations

The principal Ngāi Tūāhuriri aspiration for the Christchurch anchor projects are:

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Be kind to your people.

This founding kaupapa, proclaimed by Pita Te Hori, first Upoko Rūnanga of Ngāi Tūāhuriri in 1861, reiterates the foundations laid by Tūāhuriri, the ancestor after which the hapū of Ngāi Tūāhuriri takes its name. Ngāi Tūāhuriri today believes the anchor projects must demonstrate care for the citizens of the city and encourage warmth and a sense of welcome to all.

To guide and inform the design of anchor projects, Ngāi Tūāhuriri / Ngāi Tahu historical narratives have been written by Dr Te Maire Tau and others. The narratives provide project teams with our histories and values associated with the area.

Matapopore Urban Design Guidelines have also been developed to guide the design process and to form a bridge between the historical narratives and design outcomes. The purpose of the Matapopore Urban Design Guidelines is to support the narratives by developing a greater depth of understanding of Ngāi Tūāhuriri / Ngai Tahu values, traditions and concepts, why these are important, and how they might be expressed and embedded within a contemporary urban environment. Bringing visual indicators of Ngāi Tūāhuriri / Ngāi Tahu identity and stories to life will help to ensure our new city is easily recognisable on the world stage.

For Ngāi Tūāhuriri, this means ensuring design embraces the following kaupapa consistent with Ngāi Tūāhuriri / Ngāi Tahu historical narratives and the Matapopore Urban Design Guidelines.

- · Whakapapa: Identity and connection to place
- Manaakitanga: The extension of charity, hospitality, reciprocity and respect to others.
- Mahinga Kai: The knowledge and values associated with customary food gathering places and practices
- Mana Motuhake: Being able to act with independence and autonomy- being ourselves in our places.
- Ture Wairua: Being able to exercise faith and spirituality

Cultural Context

A trail from the settlements at Taumutu and Wairewa went through the southwestern area of Christchurch and utilised the river systems of the Huritini (Halswell River) and the Ōpāwaho. This trail then also connected with the Ōtākaro. The Ōtākaro provided access to a trail along the eastern coastline and the coastal resources of Te Ihutai, and west to an inland trail which went through the area of Papanui and Pūtaringamotu (Deans' Bush) and forest resources.

The area is characterised by a large network of waterways. The Heathcote River/Ōpāwaho originates from springs in the Wigram area, runs eastwards towards the Port Hills and along the Port Hills before finally flowing into the Avon Heathcote Estuary/Ihutai. A number of drains and waterways feed into the Heathcote River/Ōpāwaho the more significant being Cashmere Stream and Haytons Drain. The Ōpāwaho and Te Ihutai were once highly regarded as a mahinga kai by Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu. Due to ongoing environmental impacts to Ōpāwaho and Te Ihutai, the activities of sourcing food for consumption are no longer practiced by Ngāi Tahu whānui today.

Later during the Ngāi Tahu period a variety of food was gathered in the Ōpāwaho area including tuna (eels), inaka (whitebait), kokopū (native trout), koukoupara (cockabullies), pārera (grey ducks) and pūtakitaki (paradise shelducks). Ngāi Tahu did not make their homes in the area but rather travelled through the area from other settlements and gathered kai on their journey.²

² Excerpts from Harris, N.K. (2016) Ideas and considerations for detailed design and naming for Ōtautahi NorthEastern Cluster of Schools A Ngāi Tūāhuriri Perspective, An Example of Modern Māori Learning Environments and associated Cultural Identifiers, Internal report to the Ngāi Tūāhuriri Education Committee

Cultural Landscapes and Values

Cultural landscapes comprise of a diversity of both natural formation and human induced manifestations. Cultural landscapes also denote a cultural association of a people with their surroundings. These associations with the landscape are held within cultural memory as place names, sites, whakapapa and the ancestral and contemporary interactions with the area.

For Māori such interactions are iwi/hapū/whānau specific, and the culture–environment connection interlinks with the biophysical and spiritual dimensions of cultural identity. Tribal land can be viewed as an extension of a sense of self and collective being.

Ngāi Tahu used visual markers in the landscape to identify their trails, and peaks and hills were given names that remembered ancestors, which helped preserve stories and traditions down the generations. Consequently, any impact on landscape potentially impacts wāhi tapu, wāhi taonga and cultural landscapes and identity.

Cultural Landscapes and Values - Wāhi Ingoa / Place names of sites in immediate area

Māori place names on the landscape exemplify the Māori relationship with landscape. Names can occur as species indicators, tupuna commemorations, transposition of ancient Hawaiki names, commemoration of the deeds of atua, etc.

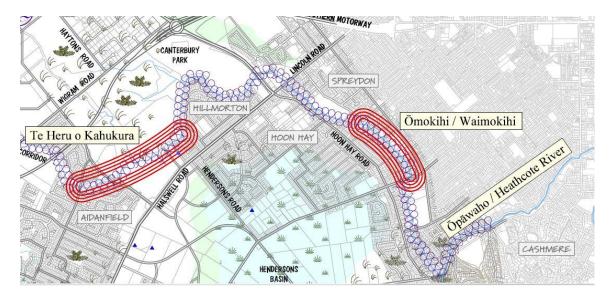
Many place names occur within the Ngāi Tahu Takiwā. The place-names associated to the area where the development (some seen in Map 2) is proposed are as follows:

Ōpāwaho – The Heathcote River, permanent settlements along the river and mahinga kai – Tuna, Kanakana, Inaka, mātā, Aruhe, Tutu.

Ōtekaite**ā**ti – A permanent settlement and mahinga kai – Ngā manu, Kiore, Koreke, Kiwi meat (preservation in fat), Aruhe and Tuna.

Te Heru o Kahukura – a stream running at the back of Addington Hospital, referring to the comb of Kahukura an important traditional figure related to the forestation and stocking of resources of the land. Is also a name for Sugarloaf, which can be seen from the junction of the Boulevard and the Avenue looking towards the Port Hills.

Waimōkihi – Spreydon stream, upper Heathcote River, around Spreydon and is also noted as a settlement and food production site for eel, freshwater crayfish, kauru, fernroot, rat and tutu. Waimōkihi refers to the area and Ōmōkihi refers to the pā site. It also denotes the probable usage of Ngāi Tahu watercraft made of intricately bound Raupo/Bullrush reeds.



Map 2 Portion from Southwest Area Plan Tangata Whenua values.

Other place names in and around the area are;

Ōtūmatua – a site of high significance. It is a prominent hillock that sits upon the spur running from Cass Peak down to the Halswell Quarry area, and dividing the Hoon Hay Valley from Kennedy's Bush Valley1. Ōtūmatua was one of the primary boundary lines of the 1848 Canterbury purchase and 1856 Akaroa purchase. The site provided a clear outlook north to Kaiapoi Pa and south to Taumutu village.

Ōwaka – The area of Owaka Road represents a fundamental link between the 'headwaters' of the Heathcote River and the Halswell River at Knights Stream, used for transporting waka between the two water bodies. That the connection may no longer be maintained in the same manner as in the past, does not detract from the cultural significance of the link.

Tau-awa-a-Maka – is a tributary of the Halswell River and a traditional mahinga kai site located along a tributary off the Halswell River and used for eel, native trout, waterfowl, fernroot, berries (tutu), and raupō.

Cultural Landscapes and Values - Tirohaka (Vista)

The natural landscape and views in the area play an important role in this area. They are a dominating aspect and an important part of this area.

Kā tiritiri o te moana – Southern Alps

Ōtūmatua

Maukatere – Mt Grey

Mahinga Kai

Mahinga kai encompasses not only the resource harvested, but also the ability to access the resource, the site where gathering occurs, the act of gathering and using the resource, and the maintenance of the good health of the resource. Mahinga kai includes food sources as well as the materials for implements required for everyday living, including stone, shells and bone used for tools, rākau, raupo and fern used for whare and mokihi (watercraft), harakeke (flax) used for nets, baskets and clothing, poha (kelp food storage bags), plant dyes, rongoā plants (medicines), weaving and art materials.

Mahinga kai is central to the Ngāi Tahu way of life and cultural wellbeing. Mahinga kai binds whānau, hapū and community together, providing a sense of identity that also serves as the vehicle for the transmission of values and knowledge and self-worth. Mahinga kai provides important indicators on the health and functioning of the environment, where all things in the natural world are connected.

Mahinga kai, its importance and its loss, was a major component of the Ngāi Tahu claim negotiations with the Crown (one of the 'Nine Tall Trees of Ngāi Tahu'). It is considered as one of the most emotionally-charged facets of Te Kerēme/the Ngāi Tahu claim and as a essential component to the tribal economy and social fabric of iwi life, in the past, present and on in to the future.

Traditional Mahinga kai known from the area include the following:

Ōpāwaho – The Heathcote River, permanent settlements along the river and mahinga kai – Tuna, Kanakana, Inaka, mātā, Aruhe, Tutu. (See maps 3 and 4 for spatial relationship of development to Ōpāwaho).

Ōtekaite**ā**ti – A permanent settlement and mahinga kai – Ngā manu, Kiore, Koreke, Kiwi meat (preservation in fat), Aruhe and Tuna.

It is also important to note that as advocates for environmental protection and enhancement Manawhenua have rights and interests in harvesting available materials in a contemporary setting and should mahinga kai species be reintroduced to levels that would be unaffected by sustainable harvest, in the future, then mahinga kai should be facilitated and practiced.

Taonga Species observed during site visit. A more comprehensive species list of taonga species known to occur may need to be developed to compliment the recommended planting species.

Birds	Plants
Putakitaki	Harakeke
Parera	Ti Kouka
Black Swan	Totara

Horoeka	
Kowhai	

Mahinga kai names and associated traditional uses – These are further identified in Table 1 below where applicable. Notwithstanding if species are not identified it does not mean they have no association or relevance to mana whenua and the wider ecological system of Ōtautahi. For this purpose we have focused on what the historical evidence states was utilised and with some further obvious inclusions.

Table 1: Mahinga kai and traditional uses of selected plants and animals associated with the area from the literature and informants³

Name	Traditional Uses	
	Plants	
	rees and Large Shrubs	
ti kõuka/cabbage tree – Cordyline australis	used for cloths, food, medicinal and weaving	
matagouri – Discaria toumatou	unknown	
mānuka/tee tree – Leptospurmum scorparium	used for building, kai preparation and weapons	
	Shrubs	
makaka/NZ broom – <i>Carmichaelia</i> appressa/"robusta"	used for building	
mikimiki & mingimingi/coprosma – Coprosma crassifolia/propinqua	poisonous and a favoured food for weka	
pohuehue/muehlenbeckia – Muehlenbeckia complexa	unknown	
tauhinu/cottonwood – Ozothamnus Ieptophyllus (Cassinia)	used for fishing, cooking	
makaka or manatū/marsh and lowland ribbonwood, - Plagianthus divaricatus	unknown	
Groundcovers and others		
sand fescue – Austrofestuca littoralis	unknown	
pohue/clematis – Clematis afoliata	possibly used for cooking treaded around tuna	
toetoe – Cortaderia richardii	stem used for kai baskets, cooking, darts, arrows, kites, foretelling (weather, fishing), building, medicinal, torches, tapu (chewing), bedding, History jottings of Puketapu.	
sand sedge – Carex pumila	unknown	
sand daphne – Pimelia arenaria	unknown	
harakeke/NZ flax – Phormium tanex	used for beliefs, clothing, fishing, medicine and boats	
Niche P	lants for Damp or Wet Areas	
rautahi-purei/cutty grass – Bolboschoenus caldwellii	unknown	
upoko-tangata/umbrella sedge – <i>Cyperus</i> ustulatus	unknown	
kāretu/holy grass – Hierochloe redolens	unknown	
wiwi/rush – Juncus pallidus	thatching, bedding, fishing/bobbing, birding/hides, spiritism,	
remu remu/a mat plant – Selliera radicans	unknown	
Animals		
Birds		
(weka and swamp hen were also taken within the area)		
kuaka/godwit	foretelling	
makomako/bellbird	kai/feathers	
ruru/owl	foretelling	

³ This is an initial list and more plants may be identified by Ngāi Tūāhuriri specialists.

piwakawaka/fantail	foretelling
pārera/grey duck	kai
pūtangitangi /paradise duck	Kai
Kererū/wood pigeon	Kai and feathers
Kotare/kingfisher	foretelling
Lizards	
mokomoko /skink or gheko	foretelling
Spiders	
katipo	waahi taonga
Fish	
mangō/shark	kai
mangō-maroke/dried shark	
taiwhatiwhati/Shellfish	kai
horihori/sole	kai
patotara/flounder	kai
Shellfish	
taiwhatiwhati/shellfish	kai

Mahinga kai - Streams, Waterways and Trails

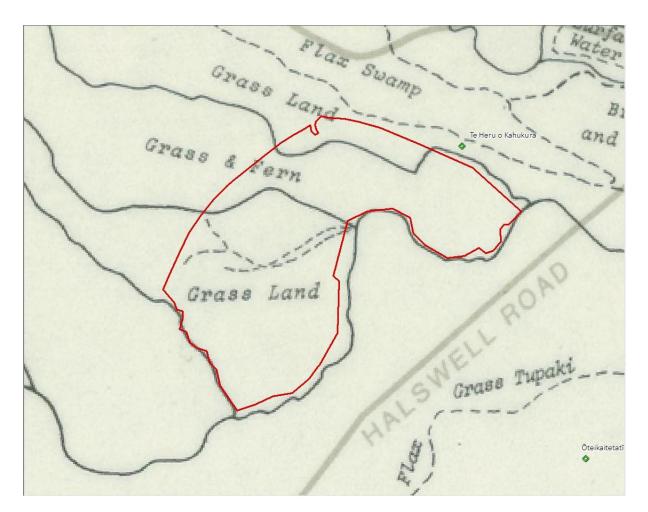
Water was essential to all traditional activity within Māori society. Over a long period of time, Ngāi Tahu gained an extensive amount of knowledge about the water within their takiwā (area) and mahinga kai (food gathering). Ngāi Tahu harvesting methods reflect a sophisticated understanding of the breeding cycles, migration time and feeding habits of all the important fresh and salt water species.

Taking part in mahinga kai is one way modern Ngāi Tahu can participate in the food practices of their tīpuna (ancestors). Water and the food that it supports remain at the forefront of Ngāi Tahu concerns today.⁴

The streams and waterways in general are of cultural importance to manawhenua with the enhancement of ecological health being of paramount importance.

The site is not too distant from the vicinity of Waimokihi the former swamp in the Spreydon area, a mahinga kai site and Ōtekaiteāti another mahinga kai site.

⁴ http://ngaitahufarming.co.nz/water-sustained/.



Map 3 Position of Ngā Puna Wai and Canterbury Agricultural Park land parcel in relation to 1853 landscape features



Map 4 Position of Ngā Puna Wai development within existing and former upper Ōpāwaho streams and tributaries.

Trails

A network of Ngāi Tahu trails are known throughout Te Wai pounamu. One of these is known to occur along the Ōpāwaho and linking up with the various streams, wetlands and mahinga kai places (See Map 5 below).



Map 5 Ōpāwaho trail (shown in yellow)

Wāhi Taonga / archaeological sites of Māori origin

As reported in Wadsworth, T. (2016), there are no archaeological sites of Māori origin recorded by the New Zealand Archaeological Association within the land parcel where the development is to take place.

A number of taonga finds, umu and middens are known from adjacent suburbs and kōiwi are known to have been buried in riverbanks closer to the mouth of the Ōpāwaho River (Press:1927) and ploughed up in Halswell (Ashburton Guardian:1913).

With this in mind earthworks where previously undisturbed earth is being interacted with cultural monitoring maybe required.

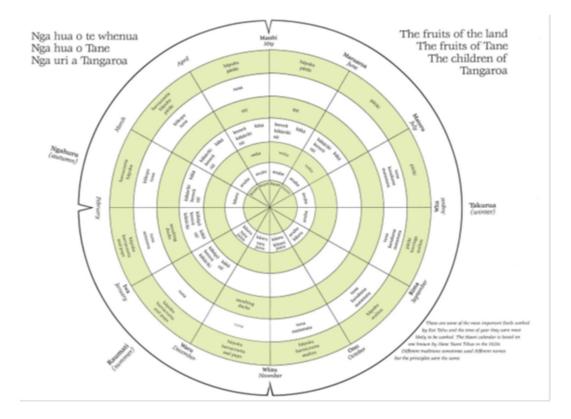
Mahinga Kai in practice

Mahinga kai, and the associated custom of kai hau kai (exchange of food/resources), is of central importance to Ngāi Tahu culture and identity. Literally meaning 'to work the food', it refers to the gathering of food and resources, the places where they are gathered and the practices used in doing so. Traditional mahinga kai practice involved the seasonal migration of people to key food gathering areas to gather and prepare food and resources to sustain them throughout the year. These hīkoi also provided opportunities to reinforce relationships with the landscape and other whanaunga (relations), develop and share knowledge and provide the resources that could be used for trade.

The mahinga kai chart shown below, based on one known by Hone Taare Tikao in the 1920s and developed by Bill Daker (1990), outlines the major foods worked by Ngāi Tahu, including tuna (eels), matamata (whitebait), tītī (muttonbirds), kererū (wood pigeon), aruhe (fernroot) and kāuru (cabbage tree root), and the time of the year they most were likely to be gathered.

From their settlements in and around the Ōpāwaho mana whenua gathered and utilised natural resources from the network of sites across their takiwā that provided food as well as material for housing, garments, adornments and tools. ⁵

⁵ Adopted and Adapted by Pauling, C., & Robilliard, B. (2015) *He Puna Kōrero mo ngā Kura*, Educational hub, Cultural narrative.



The Relationship between Maori and the Natural World

(Note, the following sections have incorporated and adapted useful information out of the Matapopore Public Realm narrative and the Matapopore Cultural Narrative for the Botanical Gardens Spatial Plan).

The natural resources of this area provided everything that was required to survive during long journeys such as food, materials for shelter, medicine, materials to catch or harvest food, water, and materials to build temporary rafts and replenish clothing and footwear. The natural resources of this area also provided what was required for permanent settlements such as building materials, tools, weapons, waka and fishing apparatus.

The depth of knowledge of the environment and natural resources that was needed to survive in this harsh landscape was extensive. Knowledge of natural resources came from detailed observation of the plants of the forest and the handing down of knowledge through the generations - through whakapapa.

The smallest details of seasonal changes, growth habits, survival mechanisms and relationship to the manu (birds) and insects taught the careful observer much about the potential qualities of plants and the ability to cater for customary rituals.

For Māori, physical and mental wellbeing are directly related to cultural identity; cultural identity is founded on whakapapa; whakapapa is embedded in the landscape and is inherent in understanding

the relationship between Māori and the natural world. For Māori, humanity arises from the natural environment and remains linked through whakapapa (genealogical ties).

Understanding the significance of whakapapa and the interconnected relationship between Māori and the environment is important because within this relationship there is much traditional knowledge that can be shared, and from this understanding there lies the possibility of creating an environment which integrates and connects with traditional landscapes, resources and ways of knowing to create spaces which not only reflect the cultures of the place but also respect and restore the environment and the traditional values systems embedded within it.

Traditional uses of Native Plants of this area

Prior to human contact and environmental change over centuries, most of the south west area of Christchurch would have been forested with kahikatea and totara forests on the wet plains and houhere forest on the dry plains which lined the Ōtākaro. Deans Bush is a surviving example of this long lost forest. ⁶

During Ngai Tahu times, this area of Christchurch was predominantly wiwi and patiti/ grasses, tutu and fern with wetland areas to the north, east and south. To harvest forest resources such as timber, manu and kiore (native rat) Ngai Tahu would have had to visit the nearby forest remnants. The area however supported numerous mahinga kai, as did the various swampy areas nearby. Foods gathered from the Waimokohī and Ōpāwaho included tuna (eel), īnaka (whitebait), kōkopu (native trout), kanakana (lamprey), waikōura (freshwater crayfish), waikākahi (freshwater mussel), tuere (blind eel) and pātiki (flounder). A variety of birds were also gathered including pūtakitaki (paradise ducks), pārera (grey duck), raipo (black teal), tatā (brown duck) and pāteke (teal). On the banks of the rivers, plants such as aruhe (fernroot) and kāuru (a section of trunk of the tī kōuka/cabbage tree) were also gathered.⁷

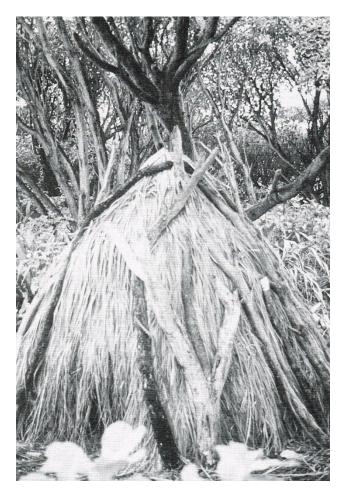
Following are some examples of how natural resources of this area were used for sustenance and survival:

Whare rau: Temporary structures were made from natural resources found in the area. A suitable site to erect a whare rau would be cleared, and where possible the structure would be nestled in a thicket of rau aruhe which provided insulation and comfort to sit or sleep on the ground floor.

Structural frames were shaped by carefully selecting the main poles and interlocking them at the centre highest point of the structure. Additional branches were then fixed on with lashing and would form the frame. The rau/fernery would then be attached and woven through the frame to insulate and keep the occupiers dry. The structure would be abandoned and often left for the next person or group to use who may be traversing through the area as well.

⁶ http://www.lucas-associates.co.nz/christchurch-banks-peninsula/framing-the-central-city-again-2/

⁷ Goodall, A., Palmer, G., Tau, T., Tau, R., *Te Whakatau Kaupapa: KāiTahu Resource Management Strategy for the Canterbury Region*, Aoraki Press, Wellington, 1990, p.22.



Example of a temporary shelter (whare rau) constructed of surrounding vegetation. "The branches are laid across the fern until they are melded together".⁸

Another temporary structure made from similar natural resources was referred to as a wharau. It was shaped like a lean too and was open on one side. The roof sloped down at the rear and it was much quicker to erect. Although considered as a temporary structure, and like the whare rau, it would often be abandoned and left for the next person or group.⁹

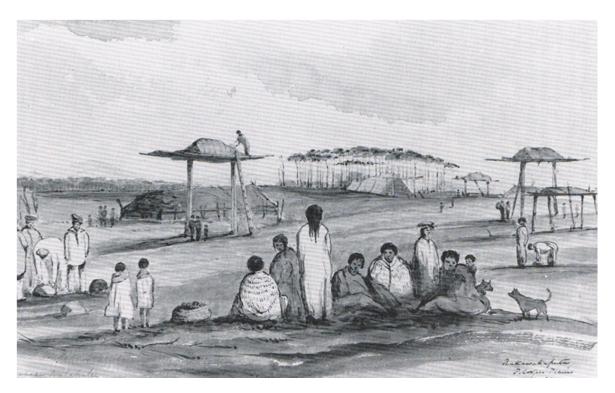
Whare wānanga: larger structures were built as meeting houses and places of learning. They were most likely to be less decorative than whare of rangatira/recognized leaders.

Whata: food storage structures were built from selected wooden branches and boughs, and they comprised of a platform and stepping podium to gain access to the dried and preserved resources.

The stored food would be placed in loosely woven harakeke/flax baskets and this would ensure air circulation preventing deterioration of the food.

⁸ Dacker, B., *The People of the Place: Mahika Kai*, p.21.

⁹ Beattie, J,H., ed Anderson, A., *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, Otago University press. 1994, re print 2009. P226



Examples of whata: William Fox's watercolour in 1848 of Rakawakaputa village near Kaiapoi.¹⁰

Waka: hollowed out trunks of totara would be sculptured to carry one or two people at a time. They were used in deeper waters and were a useful vessel for crossing rougher seas. Waka unua or doubled hulled canoes were used for larger crossings, in particular some of the first voyages to Aotearoa were on these vessels and were used to carry people, plants, animals and birds and food and water.

Mōkihi: temporary raft constructed from raupō and harakeke were constructed by lashing techniques and the materials use light weight and buoyant which enable the individual or a small group of people to carry over land when there was not enough water to float the mōkihi on, thus manoeuvring through meandering waterways of the swamps and wetlands.

Clothing and footwear: The local environment also provided the necessities for clothing, footwear. Production of clothing was an extremely intense exercise and many protocols applied to the technology and actual construction of items which were wearer specific, ie hieke/paki = raincapes, and kākahu such kaitaka, korowai and tōpuni/dog skin cloaks. Fibre from harakeke was extracted using a kuku/kutai shell and beaten with muka patu against a flat stone surface. It was bundled into a hank of fibre, washed and dried before the fibre was exposed to natural dye baths of tanekaha, hinau ash and paru/black mud from swampy areas for colour variations.

Additional materials of tikumu/ mountain daisy leaves were used to insulate and adorn the cloaks as well as various feathers collected for similar reasons.

¹⁰ Anderson, A. and Dunedin City Council (N.Z.), *The welcome of strangers: an ethnohistory of southern Māori A.D. 1650-1850.* image sourced from the Hocken Library, 1998, p.153.



Korowai, Otago Museum.¹¹ Made of muka from harakeke.

Pāraerae: Sandals were an important travel item, especially over rough, swampy or mountainous terrain. Known as paraerae, they were made of harakeke or ti kouka Traditionally, paraerae could easily be remade en route, worn and discarded once signs of wear and tear were evident. The sole would be braided and lengths of harakeke cord would be used to lace the paraerae to the wearers ankles and chins. In colder conditions, the felt from the tikumu leaves would be pealed and used stuffing fill to insulate the feet.

Additionally, taupā or chins guards were also worn with paraerae and these would be made from whītau/ prepared flax fibre and woven with whatu technique. These were made with care as they protected the chins and lower legs from being scratched or mutilated from the barbs of various sedges and grasses.

¹¹ Otago Museum, Ngāi Tahu taoka: treasures from the Otago Museum, Reed Publishing, 2006, p. .



Traditional woven sandals (pāraerae) made from harakeke¹²

Tools: were constructed by various native trees. Garden tools such as Ko/ digging sticks and Tomo/ hand held grubbers were crafted from selected tree branches and trained as they grew to create strong handles and stone adzes were lashed with flax cordage to the wooden part of the tool. Totara logs were crafted into kumete/vessels for cooking and collecting fat which was rendered off bird carcasses. They were also used for the dye baths in which heated stones were placed into a dye solution contained in the kumete. The stones were transferred from the coals of a large open fire and would be replaced to keep a consistent heat for the mordant and dye solution ensuring the best results were achieved.

Godsticks were also crafted to liken as kaitiaki/guardians and were strategically placed around the mara kai/garden to ward off any bad mauri/energy.

¹² Anderson, A. and Dunedin City Council (N.Z.), *The welcome of strangers: an ethnohistory of southern Māori A.D. 1650-1850. Dunedin, N.Z.*, University of Otago Press in association with Dunedin City Council, image sourced from the Otago Museum, Dunedin, 1998, p.124.



pou whakpakoko

Cabbage trees were also planted to mark trails, boundaries and other important sites as they are generally long-lived.

Kai: various foods were sourced from native plants such as kauru and aruhe/bracken fern. These fibrous foods were extremely hard on the digestive system and would often cause discomfort. Ti kouka would provide kauru which was high in sucrose and acted as a staple carbohydrate to the everyday diet. When this resource was scarce or out of season, the people would eat the aruhe/fern root.

Food exchange between the settlements of Taumutu, Banks Peninsula and Kaiapoi Pā was an important custom known as kaihaukai (feast giving). Respected rangatira and tohunga Teone Taare Tikao talks of the ceremony of visiting and exchanging gifts of food. He tells of the different types of food from the various areas and the importance of this exchange to provide some variation in diet. The people of Kaiapoi might bring tuna (eel), kāuru (root of the tī kōuka/cabbage tree), kiore (rat), aruhe (fernroot) and kūmara. The people from Rāpaki might bring pipi, kuku (mussels), shark and maraki (dried fish) as a return gift. The people of Taumutu would bring Aua, Pātiki and Tuna. The food would be exhibited on tall structures like an inverted V framework with a platform or stage running across to provide tiers to hold the baskets of food. The staging was called a whata or tīrewa and the various platforms, which each displayed a different type of food, were called kaho. Tikao goes on to say that the food was not eaten at this time, but rather exchanged. He also states "There

was more food down here than in the North Island, and nothing was stinted in the efforts to create a good effect".¹³

Rongoā: Ngāi Tahu were dependant on what the natural environment could provide for medicinal use to heal issues and ailments, particularly digestive concerns which were on going issue due to a diet consisting of fibrous natural materials. Ti kouka/cabbage tree provided rongoā benefits included eating of the shoots, which helped to prevent scurvy, and brewing as a hot drink to cure diarrhoea and dysentery. Harakeke/flax was also a popular and useful rongoā plant. Juices from the root were used for skin problems such as boils, the root of the flax was used for constipation, gum from flax was used for toothache and ringworm. The nectar from the flower is edible and was used as a sweetener.

Medicinal needs for travellers were also met by the vast medicine cabinet that was the vegetation around them. According to Rob McGowan, expert on rongoā Māori (traditional Māori medicine), "the first teacher of rongoā Māori is the ngahere, the Wao Nui a Tāne, the forest itself".¹⁴

The smallest details of seasonal changes, growth habits, survival mechanisms and relationship to the manu (birds) and insects taught the careful observer much about the potential medicinal qualities of plants.

Knowledge of medicinal lore was traditionally held by tohunga (expert practitioner in healing and other areas of traditional knowledge and skills). This came from detailed observation of the plants of the forest and the handing down of knowledge through the generations. During most expeditions a tohunga would have been present, however, general knowledge of rongoā Māori would have been known by the wider whānau group, and especially by those who assisted the tohunga with his work.

Wakawaka/nohoanga:

Although each hapū had their own defined area, they also had usage rights as determined by whakapapa and intermarriage to other resources outside of their main area. These areas are called wakawaka (family gathering sites) and the resources there were carefully managed by that whānau group in accordance with tikanga (right way of doing things, best practice). Wilson notes that families specialised, generation after generation, in management and harvesting of the particular resources within wakawaka, for which they were kaitiaki.¹⁵ Different whānau groups would sometimes need to travel long distances to areas to harvest seasonal delicacies such as tītī (muttonbirds) from Rakiura (Stewart Island).¹⁶

¹³ Beattie, J. H., *Tikao Talks*, p.130.

¹⁴ McGowan, R., *Rongoā Māori: A practical guide to traditional Māori Medicine.* Kale Print, Tauranga, 2009, p. 1.

¹⁵ Williams, J., *Mahika Kai: The Husbanding of Consumables by Māori in Pre-contact Te Waipounamu.* Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol 119, pages 149-180. 2010, p.170.

¹⁶ Williams, J., Mahika Kai: The Husbanding of Consumables by Māori in Pre-contact Te Waipounamu. Journal

Disclaimer and Limitations

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Further and ongoing advice should be sought from the principle group mandated to undertake such activities namely the Matapopore Charitable Trust to ensure the authenticity of the narrative's use where applicable.

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