

HE KŌRERO AHUREA, WAIHORA WHATA RAU

Cultural Narrative for Leeston Township Masterplan



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Oral traditions are always subject to personal interpretation. The stories told throughout this document are one version of story. Other versions exist. The stories told in this narrative are a version of story ascribed to by Te Taumutu Rūnanga and Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki ki Taumutu.

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TE MITA O NGĀI TE RUAHIKIHIKI | A Note on Dialect

Over the years, Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki have discussed the use of the ‘k’ often referred to as the Kāi Tahu or Ngāi Tahu dialect. For many years the general consensus has been to use the common dialect of te reo Māori; that is to use ‘ng’. However, this has not and does not preclude individual hapū members from using the Kāi Tahu / Ngāi Tahu dialect, which replaces the ‘ng’ with a ‘k’.

The writer of this document uses the ‘k’ so you will see this used throughout the document. Please note, all proper nouns or direct quotes are kept in their original dialect. So, at times, you may see a mixture of ‘ng’ and ‘k’. A glossary of commonly used terms can be found at the end of this document.

Prepared by Puamiria Parata-Goodall
March 2022

HE MIHI | Acknowledgement

He mihi tēnei ki kā kaituhi o mua me ō rātou rakahau, ō rātou mātauraka i whakatakotoria te tūāpapa mō tēnei kaupapa.

I acknowledge those who have laid the foundations for this document. Those who researched, interviewed, wrote, edited, reviewed and shared their knowledge to create this record of our past.

He koha mā mātou, mō tātou. A gift created by us, for everyone.

Image Front Page: Eel drying racks at Wairewa, about 1948.

Photograph by K V Bigwood, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, F-40047-1/2

Mihi Whakatuwhera | Opening words

Hoki mai koe ki te pā a Kāti Moki e
Tū ana ki te taha o te kahu tai pouri o Te Waihora moana
E rere ana ki a tātou e

Te tuna kōhaka
Whāriki o te piharau
Ripo o te inaka
Moeka o te mohoao

Tai timu tai pari
kā wai o Mahaanui ki Kā Poupou a Te Rakihouia
Te takiharuru ki te pīkao mumura o Kaitorete whenua

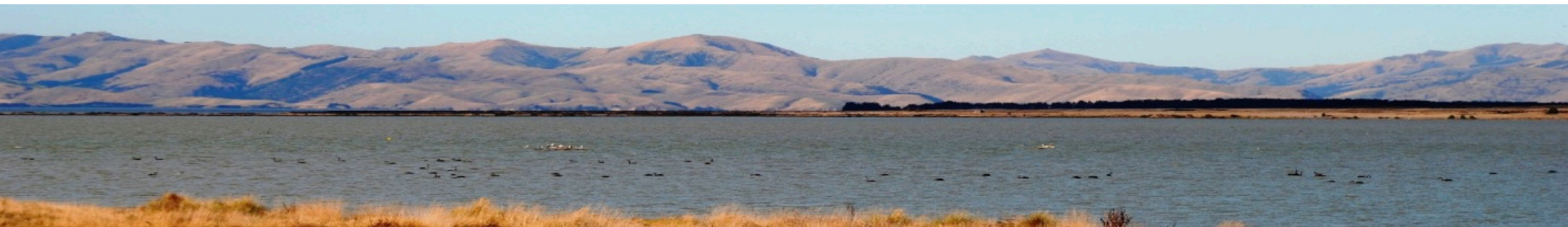
Pūpu mai kā hau o Tāwhirimātea
i whakapurea te awa huka me te whenua pākihi Waitaha e
Tihei mauri ora!

Let us return to the village of Orariki
That stands beside the darkened waters of Te Waihora
That flows to us all

Gathering place of the eel
Floormat of the lamprey
Spawning swamps of the whitebait
Sleeping ground of the black flounder

The tides of Mahaanui
Rise and fall against the great eel weir of Te Rakihouia
And the blazing sand sedge lands of Kaitorete

The winds of Tāwhirimātea blow forth
Cleansing the snow fed rivers and the great spread out lands of Waitaha
Behold the life giving forces



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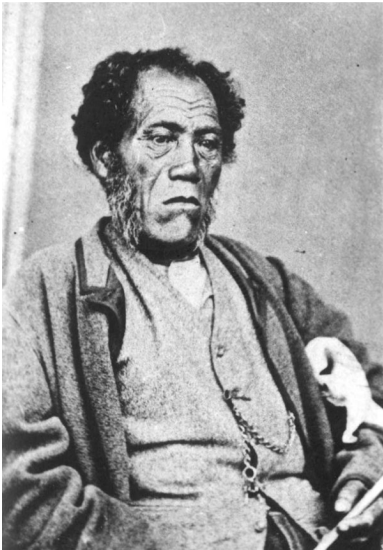
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TĀHUHU KŌRERO | Introduction

Ko taku kāika, ko Orariki.
My home will be Orariki.

This narrative weaves together the cultural values, traditions and history of Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki ki Taumutu. It recognizes the rights and guarantees provided under the Treaty of Waitangi and respects the mana of the local hapū and iwi.

In a petition to Queen Victoria in 1849, Ngāi Tahu elder Matiaha Tiramorehu stated.



“This was the command thy love laid upon these Governors. That the law be made one, that the commandments be made one; that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made just equal with the dark skin, and to lay down the love of thy graciousness to the Māori that they dwell happily and that all men might enjoy a peaceful life, and the Māori remember the power of thy name.”

Image: Matiaha Tiramorehu of Moeraki, WA Taylor Collection, Canterbury Museum, ref: 1968.213.136.

This petition was to lay the foundations for one of this nation’s enduring challenges, the settlement of the Ngāi Tahu Claim.

After nearly 150 years, in 1998, Ngāi Tahu and the Crown finally agreed to settle the long held grievances. The signing of the Deed of Settlement was to set a new course for Ngāi Tahu and the nation. Confirmation of Ngāi Tahu’s right to protect its boundaries, people and way of life became set in legislation. The work for Ngāi Tahu was far from over.

It is now the role of this generation of Ngāi Tahu to re-lay the foundations of cultural expression, to reset and reinstate the cultural template handed down to us from the ancestors. Our landscape is rich with narrative. Our whakapapa is grounded in narrative. The Ngāi Tahu world is created by narrative. Narratives of the old world, ancient knowledge and wisdom.

This cultural narrative has been prepared for the Selwyn District Council to inform the Leeston township master planning.

Cultural Narratives are devices which allow communities to provide insight into unique cultural perspectives. What one community might view as a ‘story’ is whakapapa to another. In the sharing of cultural perspectives comes the recognition that the world is viewed through multiple lens. When we allow for those perspectives to be heard and acknowledged, we grow and learn and our understanding of our world becomes that much richer.

The name of this narrative is Waitaha Whata Rau. The literal translation is Waitaha of a hundred food platforms. Waitaha is a contracted form of Kā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha, the Canterbury Plains. Whata or raised food platforms, were a common sight throughout Waitaha. They were a visual marker on the landscape for the wary traveller, an indicator of a settlement, a statement of manaakitaka. The bountiful resources found across the plains and within the water ways provided all one needed to survive and live on this landscape. Those resources, once processed, were often stored or dried on the whata. The resources included food, materials for construction, textiles and industry. The concept is discussed further in this document.

The following phrase aptly sums up the reason for this narrative and the importance of storytelling to Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki.

Mō tātou a mō kā uri a muri ake nei
For us and for our children after us
Hastings Tipa, Moeraki.

TAKU MANA MOTUHAKE | My Authority

Te Ruahikihiki, son of Manawa-i-waho, was the next to inquire, “We saw Kaitorete (the shingle spit between Te Waihora and the sea), a plain, and Te Waihora, a lake,’ replied the brothers.

‘What food can be got there?’ asked Te Ruahikihiki.

‘Pātiki (flounder) abound there, and eels, and ducks of all kinds are to be got there.’

‘That shall be my possession,’ said Te Ruahikihiki. ‘Ko taku kāika, ko Orariki.’ (Anderson, 2008, p110)

Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki is one of the two local hapū that hold mana whenua (traditional rights and responsibilities) within the Selwyn District. The takiwā or territory of Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki, represented by Te Taumutu Rūnanga, centres around Te Waihora Lake Ellesmere and extends across the central part of Kā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha the Canterbury Plains to Kā Tiritiri o Te Moana the Southern Alps to the west, the Waimakariri River to the north and to the Hakatere Ashburton River in the south. It shares interests with the hapū of Ngāi Tūāhuriri to the north and west, Ngāti Huirapa to the south and the hapū of Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū Banks Peninsula to the north east.

The people of Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki descend from the tipuna Te Ruahikihiki. Son of Manawa-i-waho and The Apai, Te Ruahikihiki was attracted southward by the promise of the abundance of food. Settling first at Whakamoa, at the head of the Akaroa Harbour, Te Ruahikihiki then relocated to the shores of Te Waihora claiming, ‘ko taku kāika, ko Orariki’, my home will be at Orariki.

Te Ruahikihiki built his pā on the site known as Orariki, which is now home to the Hone Wetere Church. The original mounded ramparts still visible at the pā, are the remains of traditional battle defences. The Hone Wetere Church opened on the pā site on 7 April 1885.

Te Ruahikihiki’s son Moki II established his pā nearby at the site now known as Ngāti Moki Marae or Te Pā o Moki. In 1891 a meeting hall named Moki was opened on that site.

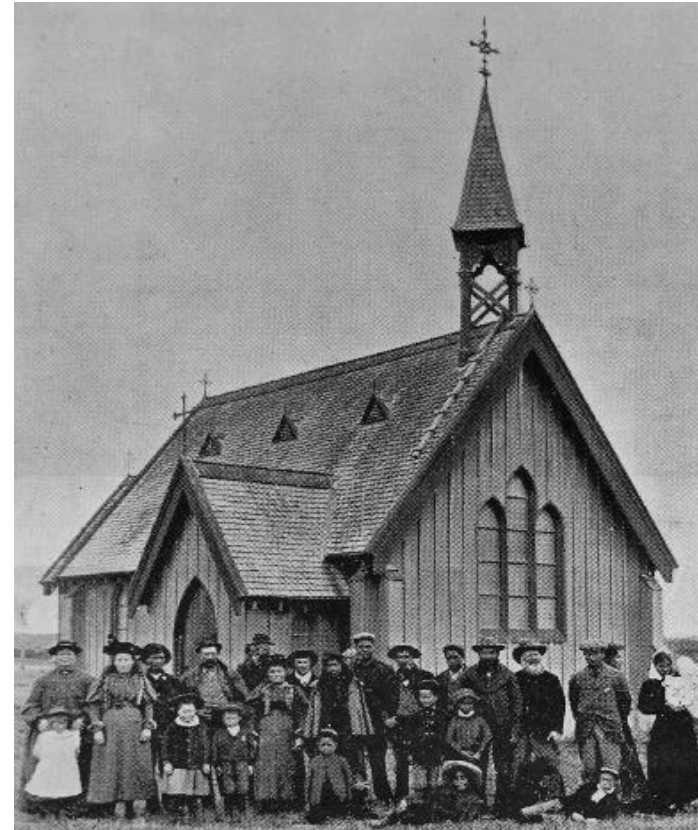


Image: The Māori Church at Taumutu, with members of the Māori and European congregation. A.C. Mills, Christchurch (photographer) The weekly press, 19 July 1899, p.51 Ref: Selwyn photograph 7030165

Alongside these two significant pā was established another, Hakitai, at the southwest end of Te Waihora. The rakatira or chief of this pā was Te Rakitāmau, son of Tūtekawa and Tūkōrero.

Today Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki operates within a legal rūnaka structure which includes an incorporated society and charitable trust. The legal entity, Te Taumutu Rūnanga looks after the business, secretariat and corporate functions. The cultural values and practices still remain the business of the collective descendants, Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki.

TAKU MANA WHENUA | My Connection to This Land

Mana whenua refers to the authority held by the indigenous people of a particular place over the resources, traditional customs and practices of that defined area. This authority is passed down through whakapapa (genealogy) and is based upon the settlement and continuous occupation of an area.

While Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki is the hapū who hold mana whenua status, Te Taumutu Rūnanga is the legal entity recognized under the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996. Te Taumutu Rūnanga is the formal entity that acts on behalf of the descendants of Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki. Today, there are over 26,000 registered Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki descendants on the Te Taumutu Rūnanga roll.

Although the hapū, Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki and the rūnaka, Te Taumutu Rūnanga are two different entities, they are most commonly referred to interchangeably as Taumutu, the rūnaka or Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki. For the purposes of this document, the term Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki will be used and should be read as being inclusive of Te Taumutu Rūnanga.

Taumutu is the home of Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki, the descendants of Te Ruahikihiki. Taumutu is located on the shores of Te Waihora Lake Ellesmere. It is the oldest settlement in the Selwyn District.

There are various speculations on the meaning of the name Taumutu. Some sources believe the name is a contraction of one of the original pā, The Pā o The Ika Mutu. Other sources suggest it means the end of a ridge or a high ridge. For the people of Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki, Taumutu simply means home.

A place of occupation for over 600 years, Taumutu has a longstanding cultural history and has been the site of much archaeological interest for this reason. Borrow pits are visible in the paddock across from Te Pā o Moki. These large depressions in the ground are the result of the removal of earth for use in what are considered to be some of the southernmost kūmara gardens in the South Island.

The 19th century saw the kāika at Taumutu embroiled in the turmoil of the Kai Huaka feud from 1825-28. The kāika was then doubly threatened by Te Rauparaha's invasion of the south and the arrival of increasing numbers of European farmers and fishermen.

European immigrants worked to harness the bounty of the lake and develop its surrounding lands into pasture. Ngāi Tahu influence in the area was rapidly eroded culminating in the 1848 Kemp Purchase that saw much of the land at Taumutu passing out of Ngāi Tahu control. Although Ngāi Tahu reserved Te Waihora from the sale, and sought the guarantee of access to mahika kai, exploitation of the lake and its resources continued and the European presence led to the population at Taumutu being in serious decline by the end of the 19th century.

Despite the decreasing population, a new meeting hall was built and officially opened on 7 May 1891. It replaced an earlier structure that had stood on the same site. The hall was named Moki after the tipuna whose original historic pā had stood on the same ground. Moki has undergone extensive modernisation and additions over the years and so bears little resemblance to its original 1891 form.



Image: Te Pā o Moki, Moki's pā, Taumutu. Photo courtesy of Puamiria Parata-Goodall

KĀ TAPUWAE O KĀ TĪPUNA | The Ancestors' Footsteps



Image: Mural, Rākaihautū, Te Pā o Moki. Photo courtesy of Te Taumutu Rūnanga

Waitaha

The first people to settle in Te Waipounamu, the South Island, came aboard the Uruao, a canoe captained by explorer, Rākaihautū.

Landing first in Whakatū in the Marlborough region, Rākaihautū and his kin divided into two groups. Aboard the Uruao waka were the people of Te Kāhui Tipua, Te Kāhui Roko and Te Kāhui Waitaha. Rākaihautū led his group by foot, traversing the landscape to Foveaux Strait. His son Te Rakihouia and his group stayed on the waka and circumnavigated the island.

Oral traditions date this first wave of migration around AD1200. Recent archaeological findings and DNA testing at Wairau Bar, in Marlborough, confirm the first settlement of the South Island occurred around AD1300¹. Previous indications placed first settlement around AD850.

Kāti Māmoe

The descendants of Whatu Māmoe from the Heretaunga (Hastings) region became known as Kāti Māmoe. In the mid sixteenth century a small section of them settled on the Cook Strait coast near Wellington, shortly afterwards moving across the Strait. This movement of people has loosely been described as the second wave of migration into Te Waipounamu.

Tūtekawa of Kāti Māmoe descent, was a warrior and man of knowledge. Following a skirmish in Wellington and the killing of his kinsman's wives, Hinekaitaki and Tuarāwhati, Tūtekawa left the North Island. Travelling south, Tūtekawa settled at Ōkohana (Church Bush, Kaiapoi). Upon hearing the abundance of the eels in Te Waihora, Tūtekawa then relocated to the shores of the lake where he built the pā, Waikākahi, near the entrances to Te Waihora and Wairewa Lake Forsyth.

Tūtekawa and Tūkōrero's son Te Rakitāmau built his pā on the southwest end of Te Waihora. The original pā has since succumbed to coastal erosion.²

Ngāi Tahu

Te Ruahikihiki journeyed to the Canterbury area with the third wave of migration, the Ngāti Kurī and Ngāi Tahu wave. From his pā in Kaikōura, Te Ruahikihiki moved first to Whakamoa and then to Taumutu.

Te Ruahikihiki fathered some of the great tribal war chiefs. His influence spread throughout the wider Canterbury region and south to Otago.

¹ Hallie R. Buckley, Nancy Tayles, Sian E. Halcrow, Kasey Robb & Roger Fyfe, 2010

² O'Regan, 2011

KO TAHU KO AU | I Am Tahu

Ngāi Tahu has its origins in three distinct waves of migration. The earliest known wave was that of Waitaha who arrived on the waka Uruao, under the leadership of Rākaihautū. Landing in Whakatū, Nelson, the three tribal groups aboard the waka, Te Kāhui Waitaha, Te Kāhui Tipua and Te Kāhui Roko, travelled south to explore. The following whakataukī celebrates the arrival of Rākaihautū and his kin.

“Ko Rākaihautū te takata nāna i tīmata te ahi ki ruka ki tēnei motu.”
Rākaihautū was the man who lit the fires of occupation on this island.³

As Rākaihautū and his kin traversed Te Waipounamu, they claimed and named the land. In Canterbury the plains were named Kā Pākihi Whakatekata o Waitaha – the seedbeds of Waitaha. Rākaihautū and the collective of iwi of Waitaha eventually settled in and around South Canterbury and North Otago.

The second wave of migration was that of Kāti Māmoe, coming south from the North Island’s east coast. With them they brought a new dialect, stories and histories. The descendants of this iwi settled in Otago and Southland.

Originally inhabitants of the east coast of the North Island, the third wave, Ngāi Tahu, made up of descendants of Ngāi Tūhaitara and Ngāti Kurī, migrated to the South Island, intermingled with Waitaha and Kāti Māmoe and took up their stronghold in Canterbury.

Over the generations, intermarriage and conquest merged the three waves of iwi to the point that it is now exceedingly difficult to determine any descendant who holds whakapapa to only one of the iwi. Today Ngāi Tahu is recognized as the main tribe for this region. The stories retold in this narrative are a mix of stories from the tribal groupings of Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu.



Image: Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rakatahi, the old net is set aside and the new net is set. Ngāi Tahu, the next generation 2019. Photo courtesy of P Parata-Goodall

³ W. Pōkuku & H. Eli, 1887

TE ROHE PŌTAE | The Tribal Homelands

The Ngāi Tahu territory extends from Te Pari-nui-o-Whiti (White Bluffs, Marlborough) on the east coast to Kahurangi Point on the west coast and takes in all of the area southwards. It includes everything coast to coast and continues to Rakiura (Stewart Island) and all of the islands to the south. The Marlborough region resides under the mana of Te Tau Ihu iwi.

Ngāi Tahu comprises of a collective of individuals who descend from five primary hapū or sub-tribes.

1. Ngāti Kuri
2. Ngāti Irakehu
3. Ngāti Huirapa
4. Ngāi Tūāhuriri
5. Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki

In 1946 the Ngāitahu Māori Trust Board was established to administer compensation from the Crown to the iwi. It was formally dissolved in 1996.

In August 1986, Henare Rakihia Tau, the then Deputy Chairman of the Ngāitahu Māori Trust Board, submitted a formal claim to the Waitangi Tribunal seeking justice for grievances arising from the massive land acquisitions of the 1800s. The historian Harry Evison stated during this period,

*‘...Ngāi Tahu had long since been rendered destitute, but not by military reprisals, nor by profligacy. The cause was the legalised seizure of their economic resources by the state. Governor Grey’s policies, as Commissioner Mantell’s reports show, were applied specifically to prevent Ngāi Tahu from becoming “landlords”’.*⁴

In October 1990, Te Rūnanganui o Tahu Incorporated came into being, a precursor to Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. Along with the Ngāitahu Māori Trust

board, Te Rūnanganui was dissolved in 1996 and all assets vested in the new entity, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

The Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990 was to once again change the iwi structure landscape. The Act provided for tribal authorities to create legally incorporated rūnanga or tribal entities to become the administrative arms of the tribe. The Act presented a framework for devolution which ‘acknowledged the enduring, traditional significance and importance of iwi.’⁵

In 1996, under Section 6 of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu became the mandated iwi authority established to protect the beneficial interests of all members of Ngāi Tahu, including the beneficial interests of the 18 papatipu rūnaka (tribal councils) of those members.

*The initial asset base of Te Rūnanga was largely derived from the assets of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board and from the settlement of Te Kerēme – The Ngāi Tahu Claim (claims against the Crown for various breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi). The financial settlement amounted to \$170m plus some interest and commercial opportunities and was received in late 1998. It also subsequently involved fisheries and aquaculture assets valued at \$71m.*⁶

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is the tribal legal entity, governed by elected representatives from each of the papatipu rūnaka. It has an administrative office as well as a number of commercial entities. It is their responsibility on behalf of its members to manage the collective iwi assets including its tribal companies.

Papatipu rūnaka are the 18 individual councils and communities formally recognised under Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. Each rūnaka holds mana over a takiwā or boundary described in the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996. The Charter that accompanies that Act sets out the principles for how the iwi authority will act and how it will continue to recognise the tino rakatirataka of each papatipu rūnaka.

⁴ Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, 1988

⁵ Hill, 2009

⁶ Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu

Definition of Membership

To be a member of Ngāi Tahu, all members must be able to prove blood descent from one of the 1848 Kaumatua listed in the 'Blue Book'. A total of 1338 kaumatua were originally recorded in that book. Of that number, some have since been removed and additional names added.

Following is an extract of the definition of membership, taken from the 1967 Blue Book publication. This was later adopted for use in the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996. It clearly sets out how membership is established.

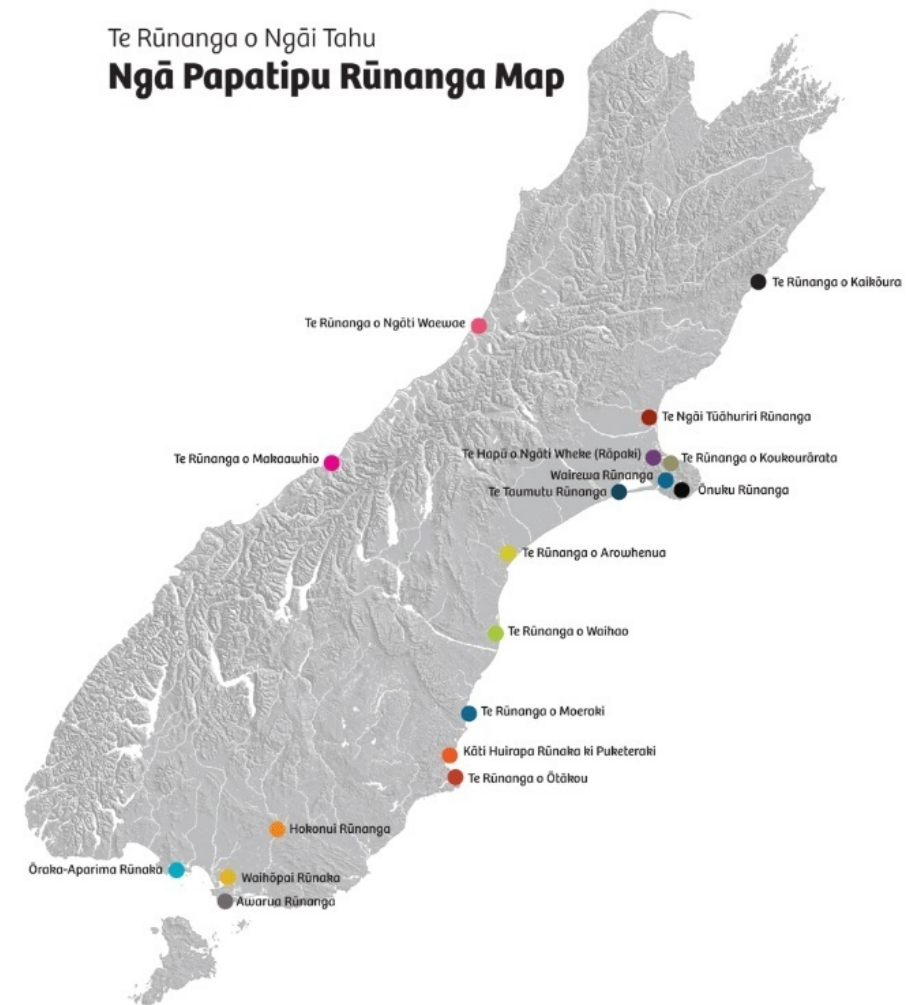
Section 7, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996

Members of Ngāi Tahu Whānui

(1) *The members of Ngāi Tahu Whānui are the descendants of –*

- (a) *The persons, being members of Ngāi Tahu iwi living in the year 1848, whose names are set out in the list appearing at pages 92 to 131 (both inclusive) of the book containing the minutes of the proceedings and findings of a committee (commonly known as the Ngāitahu Census Committee) appointed in the year 1929, the book being that lodged in the office of the Registrar of the Māori Land Court at Christchurch and marked “Ngāitahu Census Committee Minutes 1929”.*
- (b) *Any other person who may, pursuant to the provisions of subsection (4), be determined to be a member of Ngāi Tahu iwi living in the year 1848.⁷*

It should be noted that current membership to Ngāi Tahu sits at over 74,000.



⁷ New Zealand Legislation, 1996

KĀ UARA | Our Values

At the core, Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki operates on a set of values and principles passed down to us by our ancestors. The following values and principles are central to how we make collective decisions, how we interact with the world and most significantly, how we view the world.

Whakapapa in a literal sense means to connect with the earth. It represents both a genealogical people connection and a connection between people and place. Whakapapa is important to Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki. Whakapapa provides the link, memory and context for relationships and approaches.

Manaakitaka talks about our ability to care for and look after our guests, to be able to provide for them and keep them and the wider community safe. It embodies all of the responsibilities, expectations and behaviours of being a good host.

Mahika kai talks about traditional customary food gathering, encompasses the places where natural resources were obtained; the resources themselves; and the practices and principles that guided how those resources were harvested and managed.

Rakatirataka is described as self-determination and control over one's destiny. This value recognises Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki's right to determine the appropriate cultural practices and customs in this district.

Aroha ki te takata speaks to the heart of Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki and our ability to show compassion, provide guidance and nurture leadership.

Ahikāroa refers to the continuous occupation of a place by generations of the same whānau, hapū or iwi. The term itself is translated as the long burning fire. This value recognises the rights of those who have continually stoked the home fires, acknowledges those who hold the wisdom and knowledge of the generations who have worked the land, and, pays homage to the whānau's ability to sustain themselves and their communities.



Image: Four generations of Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki performing at Te Atakura 2019, Ngāi Tahu Hui ā Iwi 2019. Photo courtesy of Te Taumutu Rūnanga.

TE TAKIWĀ O NGĀI TE RUHIKIHĪKI | The Home of Ngāi Te Ruhihiki

The following extract, taken from the Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan 2013, explains the takiwā of Ngāi Te Ruhihiki and Te Taumutu Rūnanga.

The takiwā of Ngāi Te Ruhihiki centres on Te Waihora and extends west across central Canterbury to Kā Tiritiri o Te Moana (The Southern Alps). Travelling south from Taumutu you encounter Muriwai (Coopers Lagoon), another important mahinga kai site – renowned for a special variety of eel that were provided to manuhiri (guests). Further south are the ancient kāinga at the river mouth of the Rakaia River. These sites contain evidence of some of the earliest whareniui and wharekai structures in the country, but are threatened by current day hut settlements and coastal erosion. Travelling further down the coast is Hakatere (Ashburton River) and the boundary between Te Taumutu and Arowhenua people.

Turning inland, the wāhi taonga of Hinepaaka is situated near Alford. This site was the name of a sole majestic matai tree that stood as a marker and symbol for those travelling across the Plains and was named after the grandmother of Te Ruhihiki. Although the original tree was felled by wind many years ago, a new tree was planted in its place by the kaumātua of Taumutu, Arowhenua and Tuahiwi.

Entering the mountains, place names associated with Te Ruhihiki, Te Rakitāmau and their descendants can be found. Several of these occur in the Waitāwhiri (Wilberforce River) associated with the pounamu trails through to Te Tai Poutini.

Returning to the foothills, visible from The Pā o Moki, sites such as Tūtepiriraki (son of Tūtekawa and brother of Te Rakitāmau) and Nuku Mania – a maunga cited by the people of Taumutu, can be located adjacent to where the Waimakariri river emerges from the gorge.

Returning to Te Waihora, the numerous waipuna (springs) are important sites for mahinga kai and other tikanga (practices). Of particular note is Te Waiwhakaheketūpāpaku – a spring head water burial site in which many significant tūpuna are buried. Te Kūaowhiti, Waitātari, Waiwhio, Te Raki and Tūtakahikura are all important sites along the western lake edge. Waikirikiri, with its many pā tuna (eel weirs) and Ararira are two of the larger freshwater inflows to the lake. Huritini, Taitapu, Ahuriri and Motukārara provide important mahinga kai and wāhi taonga. To the far eastern end of the lake, at Kaituna, the Waikākahi Pā of Tūtekawa is situated. Tūtekawa, together with his son's pā Hakitai at Taumutu held the mana over Te Waihora until the arrival of Ngāi Tahu forces.

Between Waikākahi and Hakitai, lays Kaitorete with its many hundreds of umu and mahinga kai sites. Te Puna o Pohau indicates a junction between Wairewa and Taumutu. Travelling on toward Taumutu the habitation site of Kaikanohi can be located, before reaching Te Ararira – the lake opening site where Te Waihora is periodically opened to the sea.

Extract from Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan 2013.⁸

⁸ Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan, 2013

WAIHORA WHATA RAU | The Abundance

Waihora whata rau

The hundred platforms of Waihora

“Harvesting of seasonal abundance only made economic sense when the surplus could be stored for exchange or consumption at a later time when resources were scarce. Food preservation was accomplished by using one of two methods, drying or preserving in fat...Bales of dried fish, covered with mats, were able to be stored in the open on raised whata platforms.”⁹

The word whata means an elevated stage for storing food, a storage place. Whata are also drying racks. As a verb whata means to elevate, support, bring into prominence. Rau as a verb means to put into, gather into, place into and to catch with a net. It also means hundred. Waihora Whata Rau encapsulates all these notions.

Waihora Whata Rau speaks to the hundreds of whata which adorned our landscape, the catchment of Te Waihora Lake Ellesmere. It reinforces the role of the whata as the place where food and resources were gathered and stored. It recognizes the practice, tradition and mātauraka of mahika kai. And, it references the many storehouses, in many forms, as the landscape adapted to the settlers, their food production and storage needs.



Within te ao Māori there is proverb, ko te kai a te rakatira, he kōrero - the sustenance of chiefs is words. The proverb is most often used to refer to our chiefs and their leadership. Kai, in its broadest sense encompasses all of the things that sustain us – food, resource, knowledge, custom and practice. When the chief speaks, they bring forward the kai of mātauraka, history, whakapapa and wisdom. Whata as a symbol therefore becomes a store place for all our kai.



Rakawakaputa village near Kaiapoi, 1848. Watercolour by William Fox. Ref: Hocken Library, Dunedin, Neg. 01130

Kaihaukai, the exchanging of foods was and still is an important practice within Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki. Sometimes misunderstood as a primitive or archaic form of familial exchange, kaihaukai is a continuing embedded form of economic, political and social cohesiveness.¹⁰ Kaihaukai is the recognition of manaaki and manaakitaka, the act of showing manaaki, the act of enhancing mana.

Waihora Whata Rau is the epitome of manaaki. The traditional raised platforms could be seen at a distance on the flat landscape of Kā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha. The whata were used as markers to help guide travelers from one location to the next. They signalled pā and the likelihood of food and manaaki.

Image: Whata at Wairewa about 1848, K. V. Bigwood, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Ref: F-40047-1/2

⁹ Anderson, 1998

¹⁰ Payne, 2020

The practice of kaihaukai also meant that there would be a high possibility of local delicacies stored on the whata and within the pātaka and rua – the other storehouses and pits. To see a landscape with multiple whata dotted in the distance was a sign of abundance, industry and tenacity.

The name **Waihora Whata Rau** is the name given to the overall Leeston township project which incorporates the various facilities, landscape and reserves currently under discussion for development or renewal in Leeston.

Whata Rau

Whata Rau is the name gifted for the facility which will house the library and community activities. This name recognizes the many platforms and storage houses of knowledge and resource to be found throughout the district. It also references the significant resources of Kā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha and Te Kete Ika a Rākaihautū Lake Ellesmere.

Names for other facilities, spaces, landscape and reserves will follow on request and will build upon the theme of Waihora Whata Rau.



Above: Le Breton, Louis Auguste Marie, 1818-1866. Le Breton, Louis Auguste Marie, 1818-1866 :Mouillage d'Otago. Nouvelle Zeelande. Dessiné par L. Le Breton. Lith. par P. Blanchard. Lith. de Thierry freres, Paris. Gide Editeur. Paris, 1846.. Dumont d'Urville, Jules Sebastien Cesar, 1790-1842 :Voyage au Pole Sud et dans l'Océanie ... 1838 – 1842. Atlas pittoresque. Paris, A. Gide, 1846.. Ref: PUBL-0028-181. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

<http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23133411>

MAHIKA KAI | Resources of The Land And Water

Mahika kai, and the associated custom of kaihaukai (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 mahika 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 whanauka or relations, develop and share knowledge and provide the resources that could be used for trade.

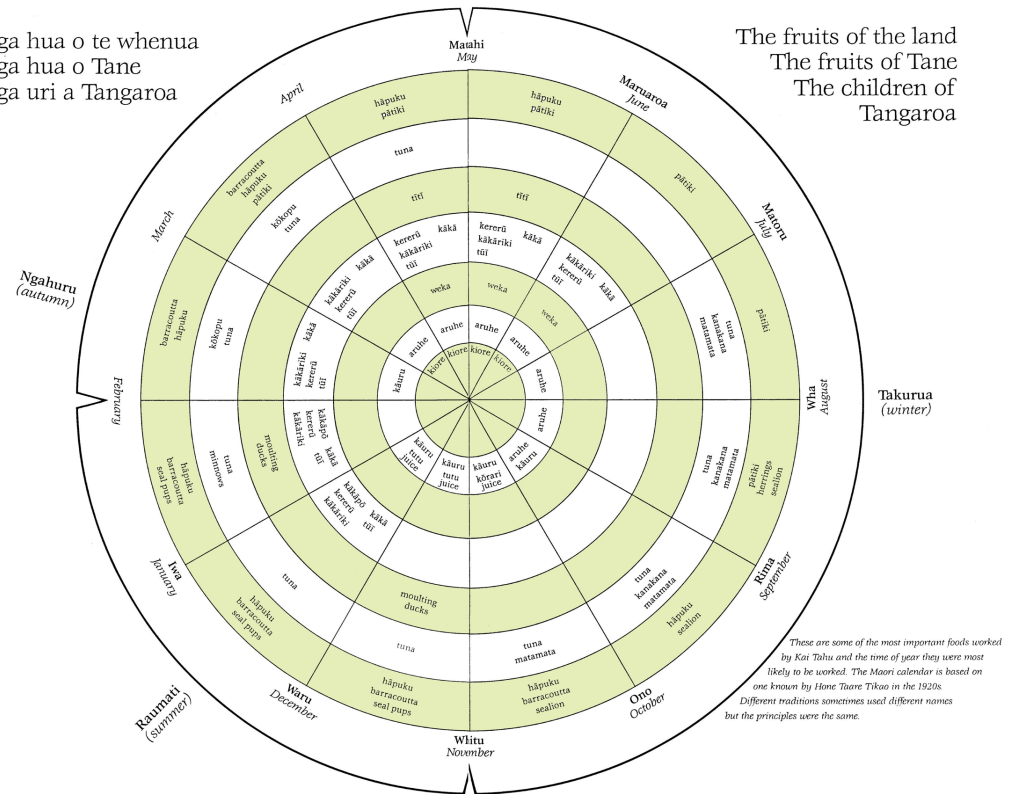
The following mahika kai chart is based on one known by Hone Taare Tikao in the 1920s and developed by Bill Daker (1990). It outlines the major foods worked by Ngāi Tahu, including tuna (eels), matamata or inaka (whitebait), tītī (muttonbirds), kererū (wood pigeon), aruhe (fernroot) and kāuru (cabbage tree root), and the time of the year they most were likely to be gathered.¹¹

Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki gathered and utilised natural resources from the network of sites across the takiwā. The resources provided food as well as material for housing, garments, adornments and tools. The following whakataukī encapsulates the significance and abundance of these resources.

Ko ngā hau ki ētahi wāhi,
Ko ngā kai kei Orariki.
*No matter which way the wind blows (season),
one can always procure food at Taumutu.*

Nga hua o te whenua
Nga hua o Tane
Nga uri a Tangaroa

The fruits of the land
The fruits of Tane
The children of
Tangaroa



¹¹ Dacker, 1990

KĀ TŪTOHU WHENUA | The Cultural Landscape

Prior to European arrival, the area surrounding Leeston was very different to the highly modified agricultural and industrial landscape that now exists.

Te Waihora was much larger than its current extent, with the lake level being much higher and its associated repo or wetlands forming an extensive buffer that reached up towards current day Lincoln and Springston. Critically it provided an abundance of native freshwater fish and waterfowl which made it one of the most significant traditional food sources within Te Waipounamu.

The Canterbury Plains or Kā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha were covered with a mixture of dryland vegetation such as tussock grasslands, mānuka, kōwhai and tī kōuka groves as well as forest patches and a network of snow, spring and rainfed rivers, wetlands and waterways. The Waimakariri was known to flood across the plains with several old river beds, channels and braids providing evidence of this. The plains were also home to several flightless native birds including the Eastern buff weka, koreke native quail as well as the kiore polynesian rat, all valuable food species, but now either locally or totally extinct.

The foothills and mountains making up part of Kā Tiritiri o Te Moana the Southern Alps and Te Pātaka o Rākahautū Banks Peninsula were extensively forested providing for an abundance of native forest birds such as kākā, kererū and kiwi, which provided both food and resources.

The landuse change which followed European settlement, largely associated with agriculture and urban settlement, along with the introduction of exotic animals and plants, altered the landscape and lifestyle that Ngāi Tahu had previously enjoyed. Most significant was the gradual draining of wetlands and the lowering of the level of Te Waihora, as well as the removal and displacement of native vegetation on the plains, foothills and the peninsula. This resulted in a degradation of both habitat and the species Ngāi Tahu relied on. Several inland wetlands, such as Tārerekautuku Yarrs Lagoon and Ahuriri were completely drained and turned into farmland. Combined with a loss of access to mahika kai sites following the 1848 Crown purchase of Canterbury, the traditional network was gradually broken down. The importance of this network and the sites within it, however, remain significant to mana whenua.

KĀ WHARE PĀ | The Traditional Villages

Hakitai

The Rakitamau established his pā Hakitai at Taumutu near the traditional lake opening. The pā has since been reclaimed by the sea.

Orariki

Following the reports from Kaiapu and Tamakino, who had journeyed south with the chief Waitai, Te Ruahikihiki claimed “ko taku kāika, ko Orariki”. The pā Orariki was established at Taumutu, where the current church, Hone Wetere now stands. A constructed wetland, Te Repo Orariki, has now been constructed between the church and sea.

Te Pā o Moki

Moki, the youngest son of Te Ruahikihiki established his pā not far from Orariki. The site is currently home to the current marae facilities. Like Orariki, the original ramparts built to the north of the pā are still visible. Waikēkēwai runs the boundary of the site, connecting it to Te Repo Orariki and Orariki itself.

It should be noted that the ancestor Moki is often referred to as Moki II, to differentiate him from his Ngāi Tūāhuriri whanau, Moki I.

Te Pā o Te Ikamutu

Much like Orariki, Te Pā o Te Ikamutu was built on the narrow section of land between the sea and the historic lake level. Its name is said to mean ‘the village of the backwash of the fish’. Te Pā o Te Ikamutu was located opposite Orariki on the coastal side of Waikēkēwai Stream.

Te Pā o Te Korua / Te Koru

This pā was located on the inland shores of the lagoon area that exists between Taumutu and Whakamātakiuru (Fisherman’s Point). It was known as Te Korua or ‘the koru’ for short. The lagoon was created by the movement of the water and shingle when the lake was opened to the sea. It forms the mouth of the Waikēkēwai Stream as it enters the lake.

KĀ KĀIKA NOHOAKA | The Settlements



Image courtesy of Waitaha Wai Water of Canterbury, Environment Canterbury

There are numerous significant sites along the edge of Te Waihora from Whakamātakiuru Fisherman's Point to the Waikirikiri Selwyn River.

- Pākoau, Kererū and Kūaowhiti (near Lakeside)
- Makahoe, Makaparuparu and Te Kaihanga O Te Piro O Kapo (islands off Timbervard Point)
- Pūraka and Tohutonu (associated with Boggy Creek)
- Taumata Kurī, a kāika near the mouth of the Waiwhio Irwell Stream
- Tūtakahikura, a kāika between Te Raki Woods Creek and Waikirikiri Selwyn River.

Kaitorete

Taumutu and Kaitorete Spit have played a significant role in the Ngāi Tahu story. Taumutu was a major centre of permanent occupation at Te Waihora, while other places around the lake tended to be seasonal resource gathering points¹². Archaeological evidence clearly demonstrate the traditional travel paths of our ancestors. Taumutu and Kaitorete were the crossroads for travellers heading north, south, east and west. It was also a trading route for the precious pounamu brought across from the West Coast.

Image: The remaining buildings at the old pā at Taumutu at the end of the century.
Image courtesy of 'The Food Basket of Rākaihautū': Taumutu

Whakamātakiuru

This was the traditional name for Fisherman's Point. Whakamātakiuru is located opposite the current lake opening. As the English name suggests, the original village was a fishing village. It is also known to be the resting place of the mauri of Tūterakiwhanoa, a kaitiaki for the lake.

Herries Beattie, in Māori Place-Names of Canterbury, suggests the name Whakamātakiuru translates as 'to have cause to gaze westward.'¹³

O Te Whata / Te Whata

This is the name recorded for the Southbridge area and associated with a mahika kai site known for the gathering of kāuru or cabbage tree root.

Karumata

Sometimes spelt Karamata, Karumata is associated with the Leeston area.

Tohutonu

Tohutonu is a name recorded in relation to the Killinchy area.

Mātao

Mātao is a name recorded for the Brookside area and associated with a mahika kai site located on the Waiwhio Irwell River.

Te Matatiki o Te Whakaaro

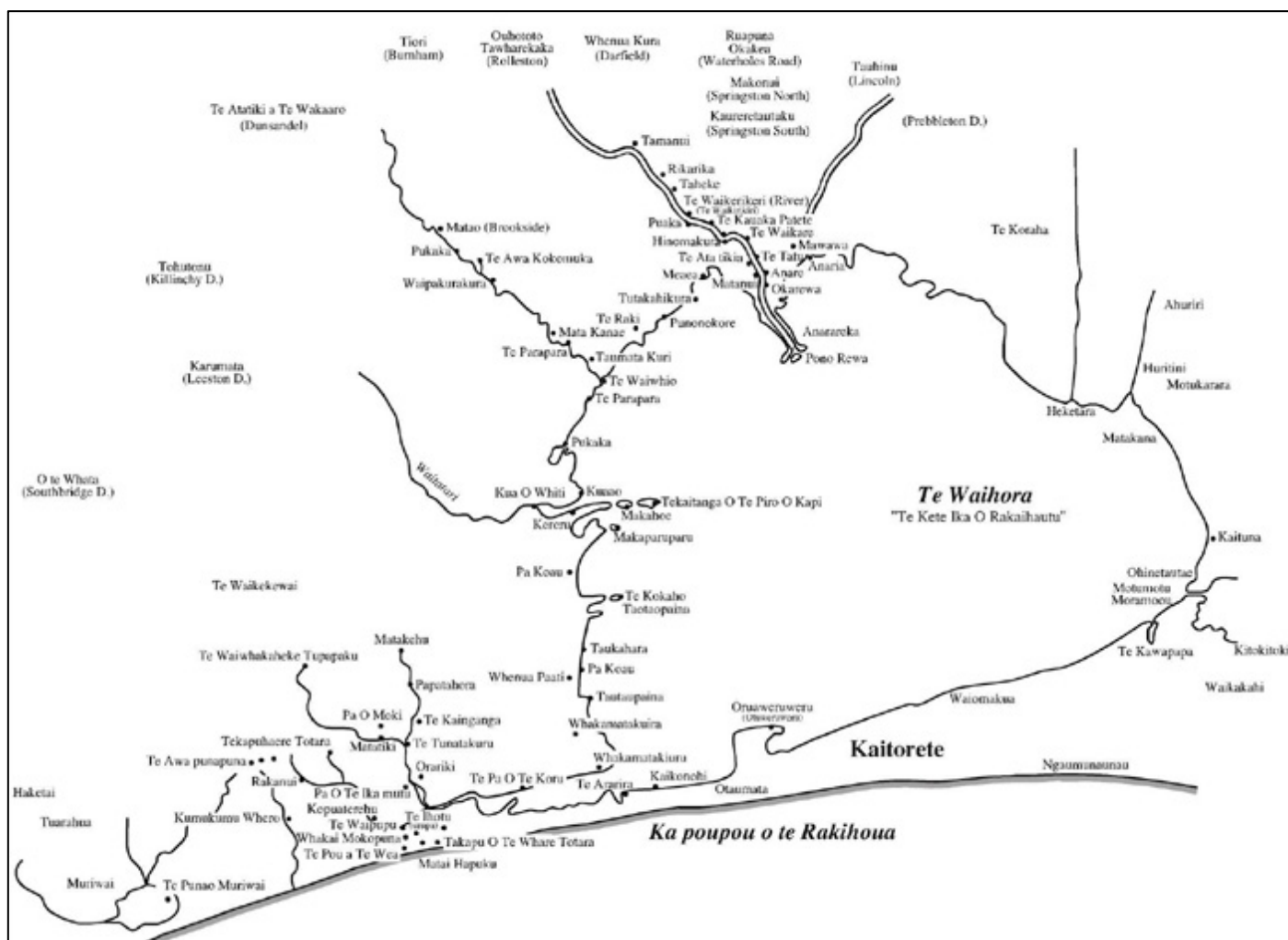
A name recorded for the Dunsandel area, Te Matatiki o Te Whakaaro is associated with a mahika kai site for tuna and aruhe as well as a place of potato cultivations. It is also recorded that a spring was present at this site.¹⁴



¹⁴ Taiaroa, 1880

¹² O'Regan, 2011

¹³ Beattie, 1995



TE WAI TUKU KIRI | The Waters of Our Ancestors



Kaitorete Spit and Te Waihora, Photo courtesy of Environment Canterbury

Under the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998, the bed of Te Waihora ceased to be a conservation area and the fee simple estate in the bed was vested in Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu¹⁵. Te Waihora operates under a Joint Management Plan developed by Ngāi Tahu and the Department of Conservation.

Taumutu Rūnanga is one of the rūnaka who care for Te Waihora on behalf of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

Te Waihora is an ecological treasure for Aotearoa. Traditionally the lake was home to an abundance of mahika kai. However the famed mahika kai was severely degraded, largely as a result of agricultural land use, lower lake levels due to drainage to the sea, and the loss of its significant wetland buffer. Significant efforts are now underway to address this.

In the past, the lake was much higher. When the lake reached the point of breaching the spit, a kōrari or the flowering stalks of harakeke was dragged across the sand to make the initial opening of the water to the sea. This management allowed for the regular passage of fish to and from the lake and maintained the abundant kai and resource.

Te Waihora | Lake Ellesmere

The lake carries several names.

Te Kete Ika a Rākaihautū

This name recognises the lake as the 'Fish basket of Rākaihautū'.

Once Rākaihautū had named and claimed the many waterways throughout the Te Waka o Aoraki, he returned to Canterbury. The last two lakes he claimed were Te Waihora and Wairewa Lake Forsyth. Upon discovering the bounty of Te Waihora, Rākaihautū named the lake Te Kete Ika a Rākaihautū.

Te Kete Ika a Tūtekawa

Tūtekawa was an ancestor of Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu and Kāti Māmoe descent. He gained notoriety in the Ngāi Tahu story for both saving the chief, Tūāhuriri and then for killing Tūāhuriri's wives Hinekaitaki and Tuarāwhati.

Having escaped Tūāhuriri's vengeance, Tūtekawa travelled to the South Island and settled at Ōkohana Church Bush, Kaiapoi. Hearing of the plentiful supply of good quality eels in Te Waihora, Tūtekawa re-established himself on the shores of the lake, building a pā, Waikākahi, on the shingle spit near the entrance of Wairewa Lake Forsyth¹⁶. During this period the lake began to be referred to as Te Kete Ika a Tūtekawa, the fish basket of Tūtekawa.

Te Waihora

This name refers to the expanse of water. The bounty of the lake, tributaries and wetlands provided for those living at Taumutu and afforded them a ready currency for bartering with other hapū.

Lake Ellesmere

The name Ellesmere comes from the Earl of Ellesmere who was a member of the Canterbury Association and promoted the early settlement of Canterbury.¹⁷

¹⁵ New Zealand Legislation, 1998

¹⁶ Te Maire Tau & Atholl Anderson, 2008

¹⁷ Waihora Ellesmere Trust, 2015

Te Waihora Key Tributaries

There are seven key tributaries to the lake. These include Kaituna, Huritini Halswell River, Ararira LII River, Waikirikiri Selwyn River, Waiwhio Irwell Stream, Waitātari Harts Creek and Waikēkēwai.

Waikirikiri

Numerous kāika and mahika kai existed along the course of Waikirikiri. This included the key settlement of Te Waikari near modern day Chamberlains Ford. The river and its surrounds were important for tuna, inaka, pūtakitaki, pāpera, pākura and aruhe.

Waiwhio and Waitātari

The swampy surrounds of Te Waihora, and the rivers and streams which were part of these wetlands, included the Waiwhio Irwell River and Waitātari Harts Creek. These areas provided the prime environment for native fish such as tuna and waterfowl such as pūtakitaki.

Waikēkēwai

Waikēkēwai originates just south of Southbridge and flows past both Te Pā o Moki and Orariki, before entering the lake at Te Koru. Waikēkēwai, like the Waiwhio and Waitātari are spring fed rivers, prized for their very clear and cool waters.

Muriwai-o-whata

Muriwai-o-whata also known as Muriwai or Coopers Lagoon is a small coastal lagoon, just south of Taumutu. The lagoon is considered a ‘mini’ Waihora, and is renowned for a special variety of eel.

As the late Cath Brown stated, “and infact, the place at which they were favoured, where they best liked catching our eels, was at Coopers Lagoon, Muriwai. And those eels had a thinner skin and better flavour. Those were the ones that the families especially liked to catch.”¹⁸

The bed of Muriwai-o-whata was also returned to Ngāi Tahu as part of its settlement, and is subject to a management plan.

Te Awa Punapuna

This is a key tributary to Muriwai, flowing from a springhead located near the end of McLachlans Road.

Rakaia

The area around the mouth of the Rakaia River, which includes the Rakaia lagoon and Rakaia Island, is part of a wider cultural landscape extending to Taumutu and Kaitorete Spit in the north. The Rakaia River possesses a range of characteristics that are considered to be outstanding for spiritual, cultural and environmental reasons and fundamental to the relationship of Ngāi Tahu to the Rakaia River. The river was also an important trail to Te Tai Poutini , the West Coast.

A considerable number of recorded Māori archaeological sites exist in this area. Once the site of extensive settlement, the Rakaia River mouth continues to be important for mahika kai, historical and cultural heritage values.

Ōtepeka, Tahuatao, Te Awa Tūmatakuru, Te Hemoka o Pakake and Te Waipōhatu are settlements, food gathering and production sites at or near the river mouth.

The area surrounding and including the Rakaia Huts settlement is recognised as one of the most important complexes of archaeological sites in the South Island and is registered as a wāhi taoka and wāhi tapu management area. The cultural significance of the area and the nature of current land use (i.e. Rakaia Huts settlement, campground and rural area) means that there is a risk to archaeological and cultural values. Coastal erosion, the changing dynamics of the hāpua and pressure from development are all threats to this area.

Tūterakiwhanoa, the atua tiaki who resides at Whakamātakiuru Fisherman’s Point also protects the Rakaia River and is said to move between the two using underground streams. Early tradition speaks of a battle between Tūterakiwhanoa and Te Mauru (the North West Wind) resulting in the creation of the Rakaia Gorge.

¹⁸ Brown, 2004

KUPUTAKA | Glossary

VOCABULARY

ahikāroa	fires of occupation	papatipu rūnaka	tribal council (dialect)
ahurea	culture	pātaka	storehouse
aroa	compassion	rakatirataka	chieftainship, sovereignty (dialect)
aruhe	fernroot	rau	hundred
atua tiaki	guardian	repo	wetland
hapū	sub-tribe	rua	pit
hīkoi	walk, journey	rūnaka	tribal council (dialect)
inaka	whitebait	rūnanga	tribal council
iwi	tribe	takata	people, person (dialect)
kai	food, resource	takiwā	district
kaihaukai	practice of trading delicacies	taku	my
kāika	home, house, village (dialect)	te reo	language
kākā	native parrot	tipuna	ancestor, grandparent
kaumatua	elder	tītī	muttonbird
kāuru	cabbage tree root	tuna	eel
kererū	wood pigeon	wāhi taoka	tribal repository (dialect)
kōrari	flowering flax stalk	wāhi tapu	sacred place
kōrero	to speak	whakapapa	genealogy
mahika kai	food and resources, practice of	whakatuwhera	opening
mana whenua	people of this land	whānau	family, kin
manaaki	host, care for, show respect	whānui	generally, extensive, breadth
manaakitaka	hospitality, kindness, care (dialect)	whata	raised platform, storehouse
matamata	whitebait		
mātauraka	knowledge, expertise		
mihi	greeting, acknowledgement		
mita	dialect		
pā	village, settlement		

KUPUTAKA | Glossary

LOCATIONS

Ahuriri	Ahuriri Lagoon	Te Pā O Te Korua	Pā at Taumutu
Hakaterere	Ashburton	Te Pari-nui-o-Whiti	White Bluffs, Marlborough
Hakitai	Pā at Taumutu	Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū	Banks Peninsula
Heretaunga	Hastings	Te Tau Ihu	Marlborough region
Kā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha	Canterbury Plains	Te Waihora	Lake Ellesmere
Kā Tiritiri O Te Moana	Southern Alps	Te Waipounamu	South Island
Kahurangi Point	Located in Kahurangi National Park.	Tohutonū	Killinchy area
Kaikōura	Kaikōura, South Island	Waihora	Lake Ellesmere
Kaitorete	Barrier between Te Waihora and the sea	Waikākahi	Pā at entrance to Kaitorete
Karumata	Leeston area	Waikēkēwai	Creek originating south of Southbridge
Mātao	Brookside area	Waikirikiri	Selwyn
Muriwai-o-whata	Coopers Lagoon	Wairau Bar	Wairau Bar, Marlborough
O Te Whata / Te Whata	Southbridge area	Wairewa	Little River
Ōkohana	Church Bush, Kaiapoi	Waitaha	Short form of Kā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha
Orariki	Te Ruahikihiki's pā at Taumutu	Waitangi	Location in Northland
Rakaia	Rakaia, Selwyn	Waitātari	Harts Creek
Rakiura	Stewart Island	Waiwhio	Irwell River
Tārerekautuku	Yarrrs Lagoon	Whakamātakiuru	Fisherman's Point
Taumutu	Taumutu, Selwyn	Whakamoa	Located at the heads of Akaroa Harbour
Te Awa Punapuna	Tributary to Muriwai-o-whata	Whakatū	Nelson, Marlborough
Te Kete Ika a Rākaihautū	Lake Ellesmere		
Te Kete ika a Tūtekawa	Lake Ellesmere		
Te Koru	Location in Taumutu		
Te Matatiki O Te Whakaaro	Dunsandel area		
Te Pā o Moki	Pā at Taumutu		
Te Pā O Te Ikamutu	Pā at Taumutu		

KUPUTAKA | Glossary

TRIBES AND SUB-TRIBES

Kāi Tahu	Ngāi Tahu (dialect)
Kāti Māmoe	
Ngāi Tahu	
Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki	
Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki ki Taumutu	
Ngāi Tūāhuriri	
Ngāi Tūhaitara	
Ngāti Huirapa	
Ngāti Irakehu	
Ngāti Kurī	
Ngāti Moki	
Te Kāhui Roko	
Te Kāhui Tipua	
Te Kāhui Waitaha	
Waitaha	

OTHER

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu	Corporate entity of Ngāi Tahu
Te Taumutu Rūnanga	Corporate entity of Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki

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