Tikanga Maori Cultural, Spiritual and Historical Values of the Waiau River

A Report for the Iwi Task Group
of the Waiau River Working Party

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Ma te whakaatu, ka mohio
Ma te mohio, ka marama
Ma te marama, ka matua
Ma te matua, ka ora

By discussion cometh understanding
By understanding cometh light
By light cometh wisdom
By wisdom cometh life everlasting

Pa Henare Tate 1990 (Barlow 1991).

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INTRODUCTION

The Waiau Working Party was established in 1990 to provide a forum for discussion and consultation on issues relating to the management of the Waiau River catchment. Part of the mission statement for the Working Party is:

"to identify the values in the Waiau catchment and to prepare guiding principles and actions to protect these values in resource allocation decisions".

Within the context of this statement, this report focuses upon and seeks to identify the tikanga Maori values for the Waiau River region. This will help to ensure that these values are properly accounted for in the decision making process in the management of the water resources of the Waiau catchment. The brief for this report is as follows:

"Document the past tikanga Maori cultural and spiritual significance and values of the Waiau rivers, its lakes and tributaries and the present tikanga Maori cultural and spiritual significance and values, drawing off documented and personal information."

Of the many differing views and opinions relevant to the Waiau River, those of the tangata whenua (Maori people) are of paramount importance and should take priority.[1] [2] This is out of respect for the tangata whenua as inhabitants of long-standing and in appreciation of the value of their inherited experience in using the natural resources over scores of generations. The right to be included in decision making throughout New Zealand is established under the Treaty of Waitangi, in Appeal Court decisions, and in legally binding Acts of the Crown. (Tau et.al. 1990).

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[1] As this is a report about Maori values, preference has been given to the use of Maori words with the English meaning initially placed in brackets alongside. An alphabetical list of all the Maori words used in the text is included in Appendix One at the end of this report.

[2] The South Island Maori dialect was quite different to that of the North Island. One difference, still apparent today, is the replacement of the 'ng' with a 'k'. However, for ease of reading for those unfamiliar with these dialect differences, we have elected to use the more conventional 'ng' throughout this report.

The 'Resource Management Act 1991' is the primary legal document that governs the water resource management decisions of the Southland Regional Council.

Under this act the Regional Council has an obligatory duty to:

1) recognise and provide for the relationship of Maori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahitapu and other taonga (s.6e).

2) have particular regard to kaitiakitanga (s.7a).

3) take into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi) (s.8).

These legal obligations highlight the need to ensure that the values and opinions of the tangata whenua are included in all resource management decision. For the Waiau River this report is only the first part of the process. The aim is merely to provide the documented evidence of the tikanga cultural and spiritual values of the tangata whenua and to verbalise their concerns relevant to the greater Waiau River catchment region.

This report has been divided into four broad sections. Section One details the spiritual values of the Maori in relation to the environment and water. Section Two documents the historical evidence of Maori occupation and long-standing use of the Waiau River and catchment. Section Three identifies the cultural values related to mahinga kai and other resources in the region. The final section provides a concluding summary and a list of concerns and recommendations for the future discussion and management of the Waiau River.

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SPIRITUAL VALUES OF THE MAORI

An essential aspect of Maoritanga (Maori culture) are those values often defined as spiritual. However, when documenting spiritual values it is important to be aware of what is being discussed.

Firstly, it is not possible to define, categorise or understand spirituality in isolation. Each individual's spirituality is an inherent part of their social and cultural background. It helps form their personal value system and beliefs.

Secondly, spirituality is something that is felt rather than defined. All people, whether they care to call it spiritual or not, have some dimension of spirituality. Within the 1988 'Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy' this factor was identified as the S-factor.

"The S-factor then encompasses spirit, spirituality and the Spirit, be this monotheistic or polytheistic. Or you could simply accept that the S-factor is the Something factor: something representing that which defies being placed into the categories of ethics, psychology, medicine and sociology" (Benland 1988:455).

Catherine Benland then goes on to say:
"Many members of society in New Zealand, both non-Maori and Maori, regard spirituality or the taha wairua, as a major dimension of social wellbeing, which cannot ever be fully defined, and which resists measurement-biased evaluation by social scientists". (Ibid:459).

Thirdly, the rituals and symbolism associated with spiritual values are only an outward characteristic of an inner and wider belief system.

Having said this however, the following discussion on some of the important 'spiritual' values provides a useful starting point for this report. It helps the reader gain an insight into the important role this dimension plays in the way the Maori relate to their environment, and the Waiau River in particular.

1.1 Introduction:

Maori believe that through their whakapapa (genealogy), humans are descended directly from the atua (gods). Their kin therefore include all the other children of the atua. These children of the atua represent all the life-forms and physical features of the natural world. Everything stems from the same source.

Everything is living, in its own right, and has a mauri (life-force) and wairua (spirit). This includes the birds, fish, trees, plants and all the geographical features of the environment. It can also include items which the non-Maori might consider to be inanimate objects, such as the marae (meeting-ground), waka (canoe) or te reo (language).

All things are related and all things have a life-force! These two principles govern the way the Maori perceive, feel and act in their surrounding environment. From these guiding principles, the spiritual values of the Waiau River can be highlighted.

1.2 The Whakapapa of Creation:

Io is the supreme god. In the beginning, Io moved upon the elements of chaos (Kore) and from chaos came the eons of darkness (te Po), from which light was emitted. From these forms of energy, light and darkness, evolved Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatuanuku (Earth Mother) (Barlow 1991).

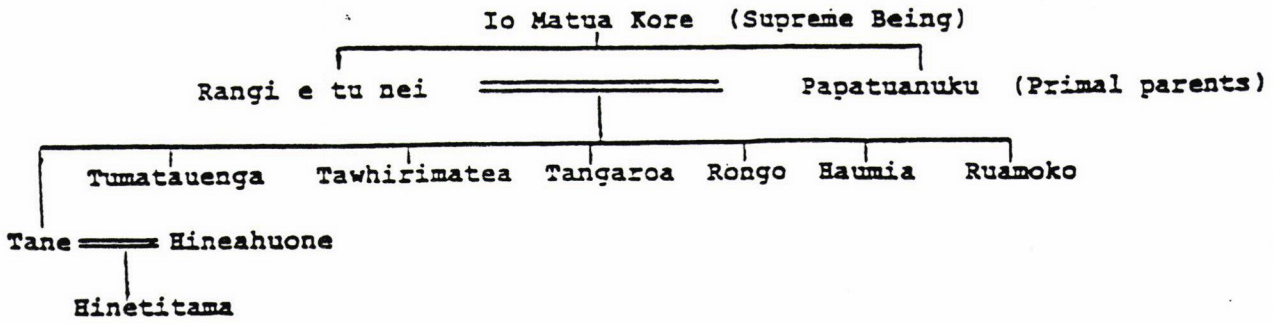
Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatuanuku, the earth mother, are the primal parents of creation. Their many children are atua (gods). Seven of these are widely known and reign over different aspects of the natural environment.

Tane-Mahuta,	God of the forests and all things within;
Tu-Matauenga,	God of humans and war;
Rongo-Matane,	God of sweet potatoes and cultivated food;
Haumia-Tiketike,	God of fernroot and wild foods;
Tangaroa,	God of the oceans, fish and reptiles;
Tawhiri-Matea,	God of the wind and storms; and
Whiro,	God of evil, disease and pestilence.

Figure 1:

Genealogical chart depicting whanaungatanga and whakapapa

(Ref: Gray, et.al, 1988)



The Maori story of creation tells how Ranginui and Papatuanuku were locked in a close embrace and their children lived cramped in a world of darkness. The children agreed to separate their parents to bring light into the world. This was achieved by Tane, who placing his head upon the breast of Papatuanuku, and his feet against Ranginui thrust the two apart. Even now Tane, the tall trees of the forest, can be seen stretching between the two.

The first woman, Hine-ahuone was formed by Tane from the soils of Papatuanuku and the mauri (life essence) was breathed into her. Humanity is therefore born of Tane (God of the forests) and Hine-ahuone (the first woman). In this way the Maori are descended from the atua and are closely related to all the natural elements. Tane and his brothers bore many children who covered and populated the world. These are the natural fauna and flora of the earth, oceans and sky.

As Tane is the father of the forests and also of humanity, so the Maori, the forests, and the creatures within are related. Similarly, Tangaroa must be an 'uncle' so his children of the oceans are also related to the Maori. In this way, the whakapapa (genealogy) of creation - of nature and of humanity - describes the whanaungatanga (relationships) between humanity and the environment. It forms the basis of Maori understanding and prescribes their actions towards and in the natural world. (Patterson 1992).

"Like other Maori Tribes, Ngai Tahu claim the same whakapapa through Ranginui and Papatuanuku....Whakapapa then, binds Ngai Tahu to the mountains, forests and waters, and the life supported by them. In this way, all things are considered to have a mauri (life force) and to be living, and to have a genealogical relationship with each other. People are therefore related to the natural world. This shared whakapapa, uniting all things, reinforces the tribal philosophy that all things are from the same origin and that the welfare of any part of the environment determines the welfare of the people" (Tau et.al.1990:3-4).

1.3 Whaikorero and Whakapapa:

On the marae the creation whakapapa is referred to in the introductory whaikorero (speech).

Ko Takitimu te Maunga
Ko Waiau te Awa
Ko Murihiku te Whenua
Ko Ngai Tahu te Iwi (Ngati Mamoe, Waitaha)

Takitimu is my mountain
Waiau is my river
Murihiku is my land
Ngai Tahu is my tribe

"The link...[is]... to the land and to the region, especially to the major geographic features of a place: the mountain, the river, the coast. These are the landmarks associated by tradition with ancestry and tribe. We frequently do not name an individual on the marae but refer instead to his or her mountain or coast or tribe. These things are part of the person in Maori terms ... They are the symbols of the group and therefore of kinship and self-view. The tie is whakapapa".(O'Reagan, in Wilson 1987:23).

The whaikorero establishes the speakers spiritual and cultural links with the land of the area; their turangawaewae[3]. For the mana whenua (local Maori people), the Takitimu mountains and the Waiau river are central to their sense of turangawaewae. Therefore the welfare of the Waiau River, its mauri, is highly significant to the tangata whenua.

1.4 The Personification of Nature:

Associated with the concept of nature being a living ancestor is the use of personification; describing the natural elements in human characteristics and emotions. Papatuanuku is a mother, a nourisher and the protector of her children on earth. Early morning dew and mists are her tears of longing at her separation from Ranginui.

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[3] Turangawaewae: a person's right to stand on a particular piece of land, or in a certain place and to speak and be heard on matters affecting them and their relationship to that land and its resources. (Tau et.al. 1990:7-12).

In the personification of Papatuanuku the rivers and waters that cross her body are the veins and arteries carrying the life blood, the life force. The waters and rivers are part of the body of earth. The water has no beginning or end but is continuously recycled through nature. Rivers are a body of water, journeying from the mountains to the sea. The waters and rivers of Papatuanuku are therefore of crucial importance to the values and beliefs of the Maori.

"In the old schools of thought the water systems are considered similar to veins and arteries which carry the life juices that replenish Papatuanuku our Earth Mother". (Tau:9).

In a graphic description of what this means, Alia Taylor at the TCC Tribunal hearing for NZ Synthetic fuels application stated:

"When water is taken from the river it is like removing a hand from the human body, and the more water taken, the more dismembered becomes the body. If everything is taken from the river, it is the same as the removal of the innards" (Taylor, in Patrick 1987:27).

1.5 Mauri and Wairua:

"As all things are descended from common ancestors, so all elements of the natural world possessed life, a universal living spirit. Preservation of the mauri was all important".(Grey et.al. 1988:30).

The concepts of mauri and wairua are central to the way Maori perceive their environment. However, trying to define their meaning is difficult.

Mauri is the power of the gods, the essence of being, the life-force, the breath of life, or the life principle. It is not only humans but all things that have a unique mauri.

"Everything has a mauri, including people, fish, animals, birds, forests, land, seas, and rivers; the mauri is that power which permits these living things to exist within their own realm and sphere" (Barlow 1991:83).

When talking about the mauri of a person, Teone Taare Tikao states:

"You who are Pakeha might call it spiritual knowledge, the intellectual faculty or the accumulated mental experience which comes from observation and instruction. It was an invisible essence in the composition of the spirit or soul, and if it departed or was taken away, the person died". (Beattie 1990:76).

The wairua is the spirit that resides within the physical body.

"The Maori believe that all things have a spirit as well as a physical body; even the earth has a spirit, and so do the animals, birds and fish; mankind(sic) also has a spirit" (Barlow 1991:152).

In simple terms, everything is comprised of a physical body, and a spirit, the wairua. These spiritual and physical bodies are joined together as one by the mauri. The mauri is given by the power of the gods, Io. This belief that all things have a living spirit, governs the way Maori relate to their environment. If a tree is a living entity then it is important to treat it with care and respect.

"...everything has a mauri which must be respected. If the mauri of a forest or river is not respect it will not flourish, it will lose its vitality and fruitfulness" (Patterson 1992:23).

For rivers, the mauri can be depicted in terms of its working ability: its size, quantity, quality, force, volume and flow; its value as a provider of food resources and habitats; and its uses in activities such as burials and purifying rituals.

As one local Kaumatua said:
"the life-force is the wai [water]. Because from the water sprung everything that lived, plants, fish, forests needed water for everything. It is everything! ...the mauri of the river is the volume of water that comes down it" (George Te Au, pers comm).

1.6 Human Use of the Environment:

Through the creation whakapapa the environment is portrayed as a family, with humans and nature being born of a common source. In this way, the Maori perceive themselves as being related to the natural elements of the environment, including the waters and the rivers. However, the role of humans in this environmental family is not one of domination.

"One important concept reflected in the Maori myth is that humanity is born equal with the other creatures in nature. Humanity is one of the many brothers of the environmental family and is an integral part of nature". (Yoon 1986:33).

The Maori believe that humans do not have authority over nature but they do have a right of use, as use of natural resources is a prerequisite in a culture that relies so totally on the environment to survive. Following the separation of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, their children fought. During these fights the strong and weak relationships were defined. Tu-matuaunga (God of humans and war) defeated Tane (God of the forests) in battle. From this victory, humans acquired a right to use nature. This is however sanctioned use and must be accompanied with respectfulness. (Patterson 1992:18).

Due to this close reliance upon the environment, the idea that there is a natural balance in nature is instinctive in the Maori way of thinking. From this idea of balance comes the belief that you should not interfere with nature and 'how nature put things together'. It is possible to interfere too much and this could result in adverse effects on the environment (Bob Whaitiri, pers comm).

"The life of the forest or river must not constantly be dominated by that of man (sic). The natural, healthy and proper state is one of dynamic balance" (Patterson 1992:23).

This traditional concept of balance parallels the scientific notion of an ecosystem in which all things are interrelated. In the same way, the modern theory of sustainability is an echo of traditional Maori practices. The practices of kaitiakitanga, rahui and tapu, and karakia are the primary ways in which the natural resources are protected for the present and into the future.

1.7 Care and Respect for the Environment:

1.7.1 *Kaitiakitanga:*

Kaitiakitanga, the principle of guardianship, involves the care and protection of local resources. The kaitiaki are the keepers and caretakers of the knowledge for the protection of the resources. This knowledge is handed down to selected individuals through the generations.

"It was the kaitiaki who applied the management requirements for taking, when to take, when to stop taking and how to take" (Ngai Tahu Trust Board).

The kaitiaki was often an ariki (chief) or tohunga (priest). In more recent times this responsibility is often invested in kaumatua (elders) or a council of respected persons.

Another related meaning is that the kaitiaki are guardian spirits left behind by deceased ancestors to watch over their descendants and to protect sacred places. They are commonly represented as animals, birds, reptiles or fish. (Barlow 1991:34).

1.7.2 *Rahui and Tapu:*

The lore of rahui and tapu are the principle methods by which protection of resources is achieved by the kaitiaki. A rahui (ban; no trespass; reservation) is usually placed seasonally to protect certain stages in a species life-cycle (eg. breeding season), or it could be used to relieve pressure if an area was suffering from over-use. The placing of a tapu (sacred; forbidden) over an area is a similar but much stronger and longer lasting act. Rahui and tapu are still acknowledged and in use today.

"Birds, rats and fish were protected for much of the year by a rahui or ban, which ensured that they were not disturbed when breeding, that their numbers were not unduly depleted and that they were taken only in the best of condition" (Orbell & Moon 1985:26).

A rahui is also imposed on the occasion of a drowning or other accidental death, around the place where the death occurred. This is to pay respect to the persons memory, and as a way of conveying to the family support and sympathy. The rahui also allows time for the tapu associated with the death to be dispersed naturally by the cleansing powers of the natural elements of the air, sun and rain (Marsden 1988:26).

1.7.3 *Karakia:*

Karakia (prayer-chant; incantation) is a vital part of the relationship Maori have with all the atua.

"The relationship between mankind(sic) and the ancestors and gods is a two-way process. On their part they sustain and protect us and other beings of this world. On our part the links must be constantly kept alive by means of ritual". (Patterson 1992:21).

Karakia was the means by which this ritual was carried out and was the specific function of the ariki or tohunga. It was used for many reasons: for protection and guidance in the environment; for permission to use the resources of the respective atua; and as thanks for the fulfilment of these wishes and needs. The karakia acted to give spiritual protection in a world that was full of unknown potential danger.

When venturing upon a sea journey Tangaroa (God of the oceans) and Tawhirimatea (God of the winds) were called on before departure. Alternatively, before making use of any of the resources of the forests Tane would first be asked. Karakia was also held first thing in the morning to ask for guidance through the day and again at sundown in thanks (Bob Whaitiri, pers comm). In a similar vein, when fishing, or any other activity, the 'first' fish was given as an offering to Tangaroa and a karakia recited (Syd Cormack, pers comm). If the correct ritual and karakia was not said or it was performed improperly then some misfortune was likely to occur.

1.8 The Mauri of the Waiau River:

This first section of the report has shown that the Waiau River is much more than just a physical body of water. Rather, it has a dimension that is difficult to define, but which can simplistically be described as 'spiritual'. This dimension includes aspects of wairua, mauri, and turangawaewae. These are central to the beliefs of the tangata whenua. The Waiau River is a living river, it has a mauri, a life essence or living component. Because of this, it is essential that the river is treated with respect to ensure that its mauri remains healthy. The best way to do this is to not interfere with its natural processes.

The Waiau River was once a "mighty" river. It had mana. However, since the Manapouri Power Scheme, built in the early 1970's, this has changed. The river has lost its mana (power; prestige) and is now but a shadow of its former glory. Some say that the mauri of the river is slumbering, others believe that the mauri is dying. (Bob Whaitiri, Syd Cormack pers comm)

With its reduced flow the Waiau River can no longer do the job it was 'naturally' supposed to do. The artery has been clamped, at both weir sites. A large proportion of its lifeblood has been lost, diverted to where nature never intended it to go.

The decline in water quantity and quality has diminished the mauri of the river. It has also negatively affected the cultural values and uses of the river, particularly mahinga kai resources. In Maori terms all these problems are attributable to the diminishing mauri. For the tangata whenua, the Waiau River is not a healthy river.

In a similar situation, Patterson succinctly summarises the essence of the problem, and its remedy, when he states:

"...when the mauri of the Whanganui is threatened by a power scheme that diverts its headwaters, the remedy is entirely practical - return the diverted waters to the Whanganui, or at least find an appropriate balance between the mauri of the Whanganui and the mauri of the national electricity grid" (Patterson 1992:39).

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HISTORICAL RECORDS OF MAORI OCCUPATION IN MURIHIKU

The Waiau River catchment and surrounds has a full and interesting human history. Most of this is pre-European, and has been passed down orally amongst the Maori people, especially by the mana whenua (local Maori). Much of this history has been lost as the kaumatua (elders) die, resulting in a patchy or incomplete history. However, a considerable amount has also been retained, and for this we have to thank the present day kaumatua and other people who have listened to the elders of the past. This history remains in an oral form, and has also been transferred to the written word.

Herries Beattie (1881 - 1972) deserves note, as one who has recorded thoroughly the information he was given through the trust of the kaumatua (elders) of his time. His work has been extremely helpful, as he has concentrated on South Island history, which has often been ignored or subsumed into North Island accounts by other early authors. This, in conjunction with the oral histories of mana whenua, particularly Syd Cormack, a noted Maori historian and expert of whakapapa (genealogy) provides most of the information for the historical part of the report.

Murihiku (Southland) has been occupied since at least the 9th century. The evidence of this occupation is documented in four ways.

1) In the oral whakapapa that tells of the different iwi that lived in Te Waipounamu (South Island)
2) In the place names associated with the whakapapa and the environment in which they dwelt
3) In archaeological findings
4) In the written accounts of early Europeans

2.1 The People of Te Waipounamu:

"The events in our histories can only by understood by reference to whakapapa because that explains the relationships between people: the 'what' of Maori tradition cannot be comprehended without a grasp of the 'who'. Thus our histories are structured and expressed in the form of whakapapa. It provides an acceptable chronology for Maori, and its sets the people of the past and their activities in a comprehensive order".(O'Reagan, in Wilson 1987:23)

2.1.1 *Waitaha:*

The first Maori tribe to occupy Te Waipounamu (South Island)[4] was the Ngati Waitaha or Waitaha people. They are said to have come from the land named Patu-nui-o-aio, in the Uruao waka (canoe), about the years 825 - 850 AD. The chief of this iwi was Rakaihautu (sometimes spelt Rakaihaitu) (Beattie 1954:81). Ngati Waitaha first settled in the Nelson region, at Whakatu.

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[4] As well as being known as Te Waipounamu, the South Island has at least two other known names: Te Waka o Maui and Te Waka o Aoraki.

From Nelson, Rakaihautu went with some of his people to explore the interior regions. It is said that Rakaihautu stuck his ko (digging stick) in the ground at various places, thus creating the interior lakes. In other words he was the first to discover all the South Island lakes (except those at Banks Peninsula) (O'Reagan, in Ngai Tahu Claim). Rakaihautu and his party explored the west coast via Lake McKerrow and continued south via Te Anau, Manapouri and the Waiau River. He was the one who gave Lake Manapouri its first name - Rotu-ua (Rainy Lake) (Hall-Jones 145:62). It is very likely that the Waiau River was also named on this journey, but there is no record of this name. Rakaihautu and his party then travelled around the coast and up to Banks Peninsula. A couple, Noti and Nota, stayed behind and settled in the Foveaux Strait area (Hall Jones 1945:62). These people's descendants must be the Waitaha who were living in the Waiau region when the Takitimu canoe grounded in Te Waewae Bay about 1400 AD (Syd Cormack, pers comm 1993).

While Rakaihautu was exploring the interior of the South Island, his son, Rakihouia, travelled through Cook Strait, down the east coast to Kaikoura and then on to Akaroa, Horomaka (Banks Peninsula). From there he went by land southwards, meeting his father's party, and they all settled together at Akaroa (O'Reagan, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

The term, Waitaha is also used to describe collectively all the ancient peoples that occupied Te Waipounamu prior to the southern migration of Ngati Mamoe in the early/mid 16th century (Tau, in Ngai Tahu Claim). Anthropologists sometimes refer to these early inhabitants as the 'Moa-hunters' (Anderson 1983).

One iwi associated with this collective term Waitaha is Kahui Tipua, who came with Rakaihautu in the Uruao canoe, and settled in the limestone district of South Canterbury. This district is called Te Whenua-o-Kahuitipua. These people may be the earliest executers of the cave drawings in that area. This iwi gradually blended into Waitaha and lost their tribal identity (Beattie 1954:81).

In about 900-1000 AD, two separate groups, both descended from Teni a Toi, arrived in Te Waipounamu. One group, from the east coast of the North Island, settled briefly in Canterbury before going on to the Chatham Islands [later they were called Moriori, the Chathams equivalent of 'maori', meaning ordinary (King 1989:18)]. However, not all of them went to the Chatham Islands, and those that remained, intermarried and were absorbed by Waitaha. It is said that some also migrated down to Murihiku (Beattie 1954:81). Beattie notes that some of his friends from Murihiku said that they were related to the Chatham Islanders (Ibid:81), and linguistic and skeletal analysis show that the Moriori is closer in affinity to the Maori in Murihiku, than any other Maori tribe (King 1989:22).

The other group that came to Te Waipounamu were from Taranaki. They settled in Nelson, and later moved south to settle by the lakes in the interior. These people were called Rapuwai, after their noisy way of swimming. They intermarried with the Waitaha but also retained their separate villages. The Rapuwai were a much smaller tribe than the Waitaha, and were said to be less cultured. Very few genealogies refer to them (Hall Jones 1945:64).

The Waitaha people are described as peaceful and industrious, and it appears that the mixing of the different groups was through inter-marriage, not conquest (Beattie 1954:81).

2.1.2 *Ngati Mamoe:*

After Waitaha the next major tribe to settle in Te Waipounamu were the Ngati Mamoe. They were also of Te Teni o Toi extraction. Ngati Mamoe united as a tribe in the Ahuriri (Hawkes Bay) region (O'Reagan, in Ngai Tahu Claim). Later migrants who arrived in Aotearoa (New Zealand) as part of the Great Fleet[5] (about the 14th century) pushed Ngati Mamoe out of Hawkes Bay. By the late 16th, early 17th century a small group of Ngati Mamoe had settled at the Raukawamoana coast (Cook Strait). While at Raukawamoana they received a gift of kai (food) from some Waitaha people living across the Strait around Wairau. Seeing that Wairau was a place of rich resources Ngati Mamoe crossed the strait and also settled there (O'Reagan, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

The Waitaha people, having lived for several centuries in peace and prosperity, did not fight or resist the new Ngati Mamoe people (Hall-Jones 1945:64). The result was that Ngati Mamoe came to dominate, and in time the mana (power; authority) of Ngati Waitaha was subsumed into that of Ngati Mamoe (O'Reagan, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

Although a lot of intermarriage between Ngati Mamoe and Waitaha occurred, there still remained Waitaha settlements in the south. One hapu (sub-tribe) of Waitaha, Hawea, deliberately kept themselves apart from the Ngati Mamoe (Hall-Jones 1945:64). Small groups of Ngati Mamoe moved southward later but the main concentration of Ngati Mamoe remained north of Kaikoura. This was the situation until other hapu (sub tribe),[6] now known collectively as Ngai Tahu arrived in Te Waipounamu in the mid/late 17th century (O'Reagan, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

2.1.3 *Ngai Tahu:*

Ngai Tahu were a Hawke's Bay tribe of aristocratic lineage, descendants from those that arrived in Aotearoa as part of the Great Fleet (Beattie 1954:82). They migrated in hapu and whanau (family) groups to Te Waipounamu over a period of time in the mid to late 17th century (O'Reagan, in Ngai Tahu Claim). They are regarded as the last comers to the South Island.

Their relationship with Ngati Mamoe was one of war and intermarriage (Ibid). Both Ngai Tahu and Ngati Mamoe were divided into many different hapu and whanau groups. There was much fighting between them, and also within the Ngai Tahu hapu groups. Ngai Tahu gained dominance both through war and marriage, and retained a stronghold at Kaiapoi in Canterbury. (Ibid). At this time Ngai Tahu had settled as far south as Banks Peninsula from where raids were made into the southern region (Syd Cormack, pers comm).

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[5] The 'Great Fleet' or 'Great Migration' refers to the last period of migration of Maori from Hawaiiki to Aotearoa. The people that arrived on these waka called those already settled in Aotearoa, tangata whenua or people of the land. (Hall Jones 1945:62).

[6] With each generation the biological whanau (family) increases in number to form an expanded group of hapu, with the blood tie of common ancestry (Begg & Begg 1979:173).

By about 1760 the Ngati Mamoe as far south as North Otago had been defeated through warfare with various Ngai Tahu hapu. In response to this Rakiihia, a Ngati Mamoe chief from Warepa, near Balclutha, went up to Kaiapoi, the pa of Ngai Tahu chief, Te Hau Tapanui o Tu, to arrange a peace settlement between the remaining Ngati Mamoe and Ngai Tahu (Hall Jones 1945:65). This alliance was formed through an arranged marriage between Kohuwai (the granddaughter of Rakiihia) and Honekai (the son of Te Hau). Te Rakiihia also married a local Ngai Tahu woman, Hinehakiri (O'Reagan, in Ngai Tahu Claim). This happened near Kaiapoi at Rangiora. Rangiora means the bringing of people together in their quest for peace (Tau, in Ngai Tahu Claim). As a result of this alliance, Clinton (South Otago) was fixed as a boundary below which Ngai Tahu had no territorial rights. A post found on the hill called Popotunoa (popo = marker) marked this boundary (Hall Jones 1945:66).

Despite this alliance, or rather because of it, there were about five fights around Murihiku just prior to 1800 AD. These armed conflicts were between the allied Ngai Tahu/Ngati Mamoe, and the 'rebel' Ngati Mamoe. The 'rebels' were led by Rakiihia's brothers - Rakai Mamoma, Taihua and Pukutahi, who were dissatisfied with the peace between the two tribes and the dominance of Ngai Tahu (Syd Cormack, pers comm). Fights occurred at Motu in the Lilburn Valley, at Preservation Inlet, and at the southern end of Lake Te Anau. Some rebels managed to escape into Fiordland, and were known as the Mohokaherehere (moho is a remnant or fugitive; herehere is a prison or some place of confinement. This aptly describes the many who lived in the vastness of the forests, in fear of being traced). The Mohokaherehere are most likely to be the people romanticised as the "Lost Tribe", that were sighted at various times throughout the 1800's (Syd Cormack, Southland Times 25/6/88).

After the alliance between Ngai Tahu and Ngati Mamoe in the late 1700's, Ngai Tahu gradually moved south mixing and intermarrying with the Ngati Mamoe, and Ngati Mamoe, like the Waitaha before them, were subsumed into Ngai Tahu. They have however retained their tribal links through whakapapa.

In the past it has been said that Waitaha, Hawea and Ngati Mamoe have died out. This has been rebuked from several quarters. Beattie sheds some light on why this myth prevailed:

"...the appointment of Mantell in 1848 as Commissioner for Extinguishment of Native Titles in the South Island put in a man who was a Ngaitahu partisan, hence the fable that the Ngatimamoe were extinct flourished unchecked" (Beattie 1954:83).

Another quote in Herries Beattie, from a Ngai Tahu man, adds to the explanation:

" Most of the present natives are descended from the Waitaha, Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu, and are very mixed. A peace came about through intermarriages. The reason that speakers stress the Kai Tahu side is that they concentrate on the stronger side, and omit the weaker side for Native Land Court purposes" (Beattie 1954:84).

Beattie adds that this person who strongly contended as Ngai Tahu in one official document, put his tribe down as Waitaha, and his opponent called himself Ngati Mamoe (Beattie 1954:85).

It was only in the south, where Ngati Mamoe were not totally defeated by Ngai Tahu, that the traditions of Ngati Mamoe (and thus also Waitaha and Rapuwai) were preserved (Hall Jones 1945:65). For example, the southern dialect, partially recorded by John Boultbee in the late 1820's, was said to be so different from other parts of New Zealand, that the official interpreter helping obtain signatures for the Treaty of Waitangi, could not make himself understood (Beattie 1954:87) [See Appendix Two].

" No tribe who came to the South Island died out. They are still alive in the people living south of the Waitaki" (pers.comm Syd Cormack 1993).

This chronology of occupation in Te Waipounamu, of the Waitaha, Ngati Mamoe and finally Ngai Tahu, is important for an understanding of the Maori of Murihiku. It proves that they have long established bonds with the region - it is their turangawaewae, their home.

2.2 The Takitimu Canoe:

Of the canoes that came to Aotearoa as part of the Great Fleet from Hawaiiki, the Takitimu was the most sacred, the most tapu. Captained by Tamatea-nui-ariki the Takitimu carried the highest chiefs and tohunga. It carried the most sacred lore and knowledge. It was protected in its journey by the taniwha of the sea, and guided by karakia (incantations) and ritual, so that its journey would be swift and safe.

As the Takitimu travelled along the shores of Aotearoa, the chiefs and tohunga departed the waka, settling throughout the North Island, spreading the knowledge and lore they held. Rounding Foveaux Strait the Takitimu was wrecked in Te Waewae Bay, near the mouth of the Waiau River (Beattie 1939:111-112).

And so the Waiau was named! Tamatea and his crew came ashore at the river, naming it Waiau, meaning swirling waters. This name could be either in relation to the swirling current as the river meets the sea, or the way the water forms swirling patterns further up stream (Syd Cormack, pers comm). Despite the fact that none of the South Island iwi claim descent from the Takitimu, the history of this event remains; passed down from the Waitaha people who were living there at the time, to the present day mana whenua.

As a mark of the importance of this event, many place names remain to tell the story. The Takitimu Mountains symbolise the resting place of the sacred waka. Te Puka-o-Tamatea (Monkey Island) is the anchor of Takitimu. Ka-karehu-o-Tamatea (the charcoal of Tamatea's fire) can be seen as black stones in the riverbed near Tuatapere. Ka-taumanu-o-Takitimu (the seats of the canoe Takitimu) is a spot up the river on the cliffs. The canoe bailers are the hills at Mandeville called Kurahaoa and one near West Dome (Beattie 1954:104). Otukaramea (Blackmount Hill) is the longboat to Takitimu (Beattie 1947:28). The Waimea Plains are the sail (Paddy Gilroy, pers.comm 1993), and Te Kakahu-o-Tamatea (the cloak of Tamatea) is the name for Chalky Island (Hall Jones 1968:22).

Tamatea and his crew set out to explore the Waiau River valley. They followed the Waiau River inland, and arrived at Clifden, a prominent meeting point for travellers as many tracks converged here. Clifden has many limestone caves and shelters. It is here that Tamatea stored the information carried in the Takitimu canoe, in the form of rock drawings. The cave (rock shelter) was named Te Ana Whakairo (the cave of carvings) (Syd Cormack, pers comm). These rock drawings were still visible until recently, but the smoke of fires and natural processes has worn them away. On arrival at Lake Manapouri they made a camp called Whitiaka-te-ra (the shining of the sun). When they moved on to Te Anau the same name was given to their main camp there (Beattie 1955:13).

Eventually they moved north via the Waimea Plains (Hall Jones 1976:32). Tamatea's presence at Oamaru was evident by the underground fires or smoke coming from the ground. The party's fire coals had been dropped, and somehow sank into the ground. The fire burnt a lot of stone and this turned into white ash, became solid, and is now the well known Oamaru building stone (Tikao in Beattie 1939:112).[7]

From this point, we have two different accounts of Tamatea's journey north. One story is that from Oamaru, Tamatea continued north by land, to Banks Peninsula. Here they regained the fire before travelling on to Nelson and across the Strait. Evidence of this journey can be found in place names around the region (Tikao, in Beattie 1939:113). Another version is that Tamatea and his party returned the way they came, and collected a waka (canoe) that the Waitaha people around the mouth of the Waiau River had made for them. The waka was named Karaerae after a canoe that was lost in the journey to New Zealand. Tamatea and his crew then continued their seaward journey north around the west coast (Syd Cormack, pers comm).

Either way, Tamatea and the Takitimu's importance to the Waiau River area, signified in the names that commemorate the visit, is not diminished. They are an integral part of the history of the local Maori. It forms part of their turangawaewae and sense of place in the whanaungatanga (relationships) of life.

2.3 The Significance of Maori Place-Names

Maori place names portray a number of things. A name may be given to a place after a noted tupuna (ancestor), or to recollect an important event in history, such as a significant battle. These types of place names are an aid in the passing down of the whakapapa and history, because the accompanying story makes it more interesting and thus easier to remember. Place names were also sources of descriptive information about the natural phenomenon of the area, the weather, or resources found at that location.

The Maori place names in the Waiau catchment are no exception. For example, Te Waewae Bay is named after the chief of the village at the mouth of the Waiau River in the early 1800's. Whitiaka te Ra, at Lake Te Anau, brings to mind the story of the journey of Tamatea up the Waiau River over 600 years ago [see above]. The Waiau (swirling waters) is self evident to all who have observed the river. And the place names in the Waiau catchment signifying good mahinga kai sites are numerous. The Wai harakeke (Dean Burn) contained a large harakeke (flax) resource, Papatotara was a major source of Totara trees in the Foveaux Strait area, Kirirua is the name of the type of eel that lives in this swamp...and the list goes on!

"Because Kai Tahu moved throughout Te Waipounamu, their knowledge of the land was intimate and detailed. This knowledge was preserved in the naming of places. Indeed, the stories of the ancestors' journeys of exploration and the creation and shaping of the land also acted as "oral maps", with place names and meanings woven carefully into them. So the places and their names were part of a memory system in which religious belief, history, and geography were combined." (Dackers 1990:17).

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[7] O = a place; Amaru = to shelter from the burning stone, or to cover a fire down (Tikao in Beattie 1939:113).

The following map (Figure 2) and corresponding index (Appendix Three) indicates the whereabouts and the meanings of only a few of the Maori names that would have existed in the area. This is due to space restrictions in the report, and to the fact that many Maori names have been subsumed by regular usage of the current English name.

2.4 Archaeological Evidence of Maori Occupation:

Substantial evidence of Maori occupation exists in the Waiau catchment. This is clear from archaeological remains. These sites contain artifacts dating from earliest habitation to post-European contact[8]. However difficulty in dating archaeological sites means that dates are often speculative, rather than specific. Archaeological records of the Waiau River area can be found in the Southland Museum. These are recorded in Figure 3 with a corresponding index in Appendix Four[9]. The sheer number of these archaeological sites should leave no doubt in the readers mind that the Waiau River and surrounds have played a major part in the history of the mana whenua.

2.5 Early European Records of the Waiau Region:

Evidence of post-European occupation and use of the Waiau catchment by the Maori can be found in the early records of the first Europeans to come to this area. The time line given in Figure 4 shows the order of these visitors to the area, and places this in context of wider Maori occupation.

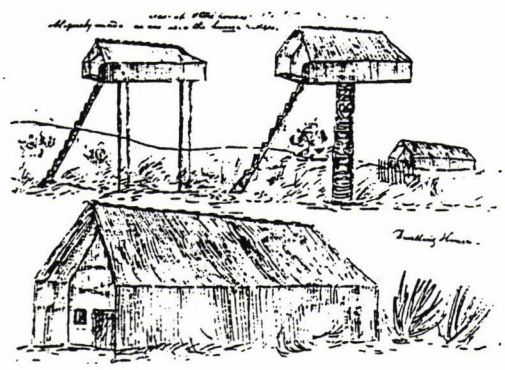
2.5.1 *John Boultbee:*

John Boultbee, a sealer, gives us the first written evidence of Maori occupation in the Waiau River area (The World of John Boultbee by Begg & Begg 1979:169-202).

Boultbee lived in the Foveaux Strait area from 1826-1828. He stayed in the Maori kainga (settlement) at Pahi. Pahi is so called after the chief of that name. He describes a large old village consisting of 40-50 whare (houses), some of which were 30 foot long (see Figure 5). Considering the fact that a whare usually housed two or three families, we can assume a large population lived here. By this time the people were actively trading in flax and potatoes with Sydney, in exchange for muskets, powder and other European articles.

Figure 5:

(Ref: Begg & Begg, 1979)



111. Maori houses and storehouses in Pahi's village, sketched by John Boultbee.

[8] All sites older than one hundred years are protected under the Historic Places Act (Karl Gillies, pers.comm).

[9] See also the report by Rathke and Cave (1977) for archaeological descriptions of the coastal sites along the coastline from Pahia to Sand Hill Point.

Figure 2:

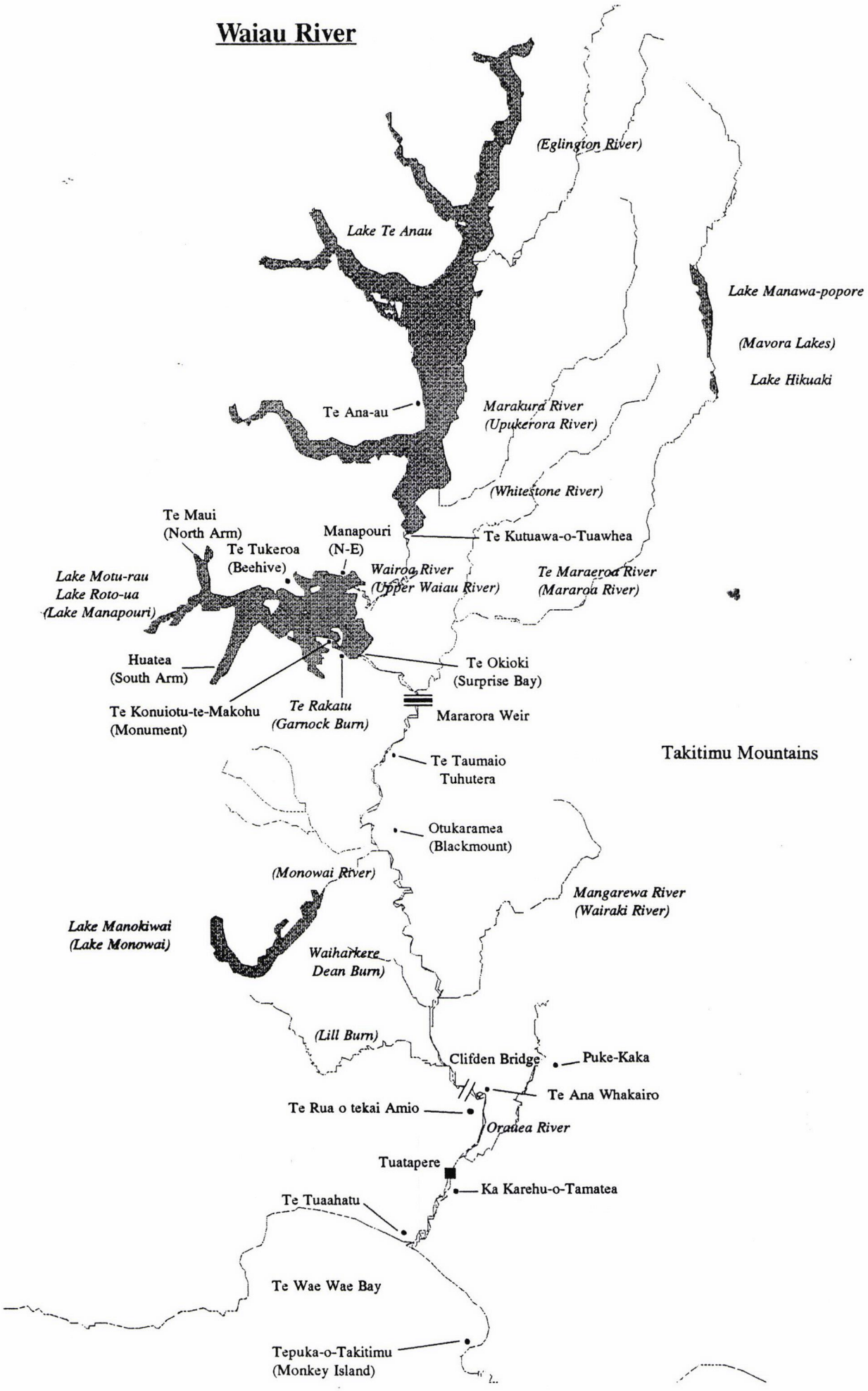

Waiau River
(Eglington River)
Lake Te Anau
Lake Manawa-popore
(Mavora Lakes)
Lake Hikuaki
Te Ana-au
Marakura River
(Upukerora River)
(Whitestone River)
Te Maui
(North Arm)
Manapouri
(N-E)
Te Kutuawa-o-Tuawhea
Te Tukeroa
(Beehive)
Lake Motu-rau
Lake Roto-ua
(Lake Manapouri)
Wairoa River
(Upper Waiau River)
Te Maraeroa River
(Mararoa River)
Huatea
(South Arm)
Te Okioki
(Surprise Bay)
Te Konuiotu-te-Makohu
(Monument)
Te Rakatu
(Garnock Burn)
Mararora Weir
Takitimu Mountains
Te Taumaio
Tuhutera
Otukaramea
(Blackmount)
(Monowai River)
Mangarewa River
(Wairaki River)
Lake Manokiwai
(Lake Monowai)
Waiharkere
Dean Burn)
(Lill Burn)
Clifden Bridge
Puke-Kaka
Te Ana Whakairo
Te Rua o tekai Amio
Oraiea River
Tuatapere
Ka Karehu-o-Tamatea
Te Tuaahatu
Te Wae Wae Bay
Tepuka-o-Takitimu
(Monkey Island)

Figure 3:

Archaeological Sites in the Waiau River Area

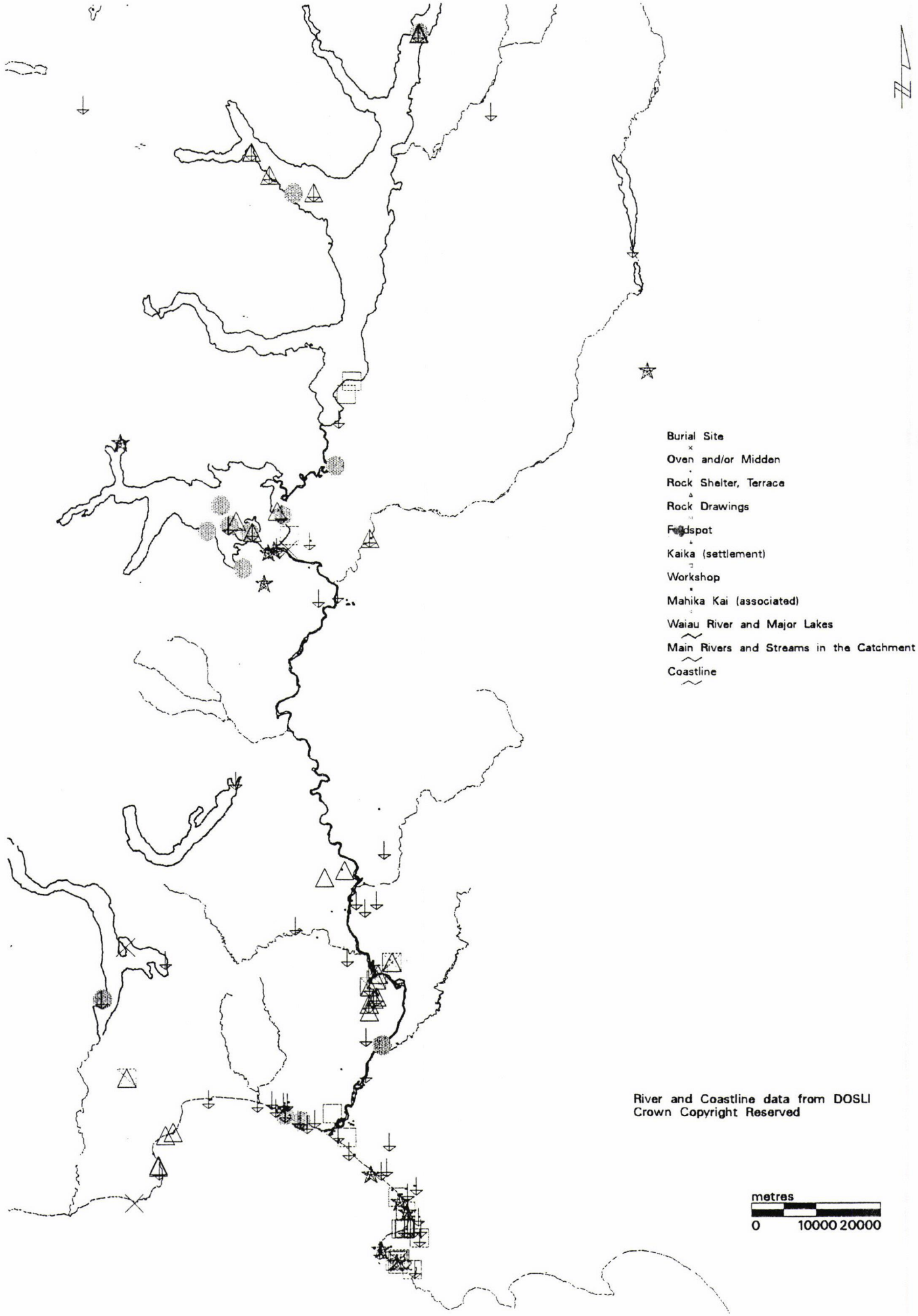
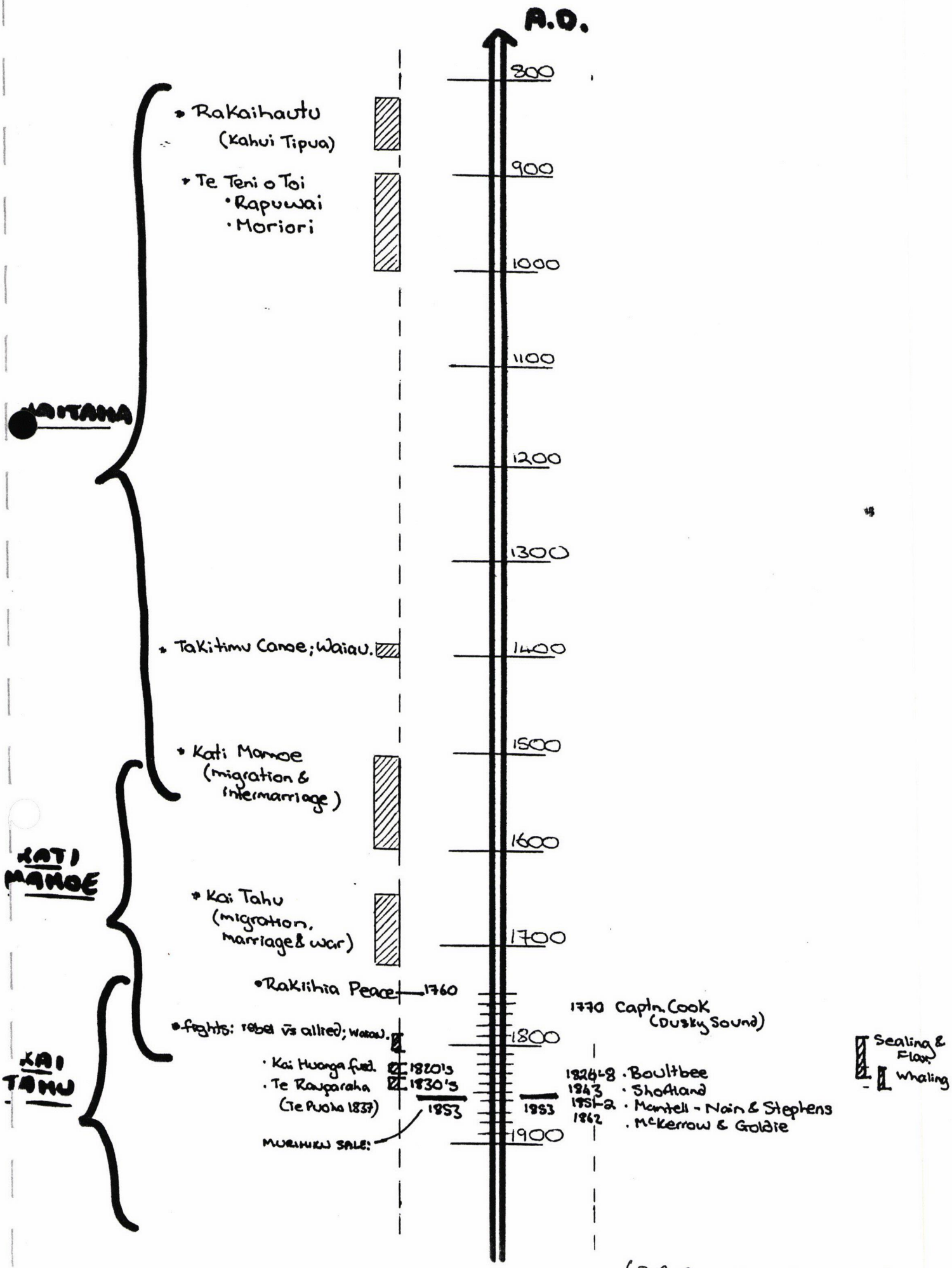


FIG. 4 : Stylised Time-line of Historical Dates Mentioned in Text.



(Ref: Corry & Puertener, 1993)

At the time of Boultbee's arrival, the kainga was fairly empty, as most of the men were away fighting in Akaroa, Banks Peninsula[10]. The low numbers at the kainga can also be attributed to the death of approximately forty men, including the chief, Pahi, when two waka sank in Foveaux Strait in June 1823 (Anderson 1986, Doc.13 in WAI 27).

The warriors returned from Akaroa in early 1827, but on their journey home, "Towiwi" (Te Waewae) died. Te Waewae was the chief of the nearby kainga located on the west side of the Waiau River mouth. When the party accompanying the dead chief returned to Pahi, Boultbee went with them to take Te Waewae's body back to his home and family at the Waiau River mouth. He describes the kainga there as "small and old". Boultbee estimated the journey to the Waiau to be 20 miles and considered the walk to be "anything but tedious" due to the varied scenery on the way. The group crossed the Waimeamea River in a canoe that was kept there for travellers.

They then continued on to the Waiau River...

" When we arrived opposite the settlement, we shouted for a canoe to convey us across the river, the stream being very rapid, the man who came to ferry us over, walked upwards of 200 yards on the opposite side above where we stood, having a rope in his hand and towing the canoe along after him, and after paddling quick, he reached the place we were waiting at. The river is about 500 yards across, and at the entrance of it is a bar. We knelt down, resting our elbows on the gunnel, and were obliged to keep very steady to avoid being upset" (Ibid:191).

After an account of the hospitality shown to them at Te Waewae's kainga, he goes on to describe the surrounds...

"The River 'Wi iaw' [Waiau] is very spacious in places, a distance up, and abounds in fish, eels and wild ducks of 3 or 4 different kinds. The land is excellent, and well adapted for cultivation being easily cleared. An extensive prospect presents itself from this place, of hills ranging along tier above tier, till they are succeeded by distant high mountains; the vales of flax between these hills and the seaside setting off the whole to advantage" (Ibid:191).

Boultbee's journal, as well as being the first detailed European account of the Waiau and settlements along the coast, also describes the individuals he met there. This has been very useful confirming the whakapapa that has been passed down orally and adds to the tribal history of the area. He also described the local Maori culture of which more will be said in the Mahinga kai section of this report.

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[10] This warfare of the mid 1820's came to be called the Kai Huanga feud (Eat-Relations feud). The Foveaux Strait Maori were closely related with their Ngai Tahu opponents at Banks Peninsula. The Kai Huanga feud started because a woman put on the cloak of a high chief, a grave insult. The feud continued until 1828, when the threat from Te Rauparaha and Ngatitoa caused the various hapu of Ngai Tahu to unite to fight this mutual enemy. Te Rauparaha was defeated in his attempt to conquer the southern part of the island and was pushed back across Cook Strait (Begg & Begg 1979:173,188). A retaliatory raid by Te Puoho and Ngati Tama occurred at the kainga Tuturau, near the Mataura River in 1837, and was also unsuccessful (Anderson 1986). This raid was the last act of warfare in the southern regions.

2.5.2 *Early Explorers and Surveyors:*

More extensive European exploration occurred about 20 years after Boultbee's departure. From the late 1820's to the 1840's there is little written record of the life of the Maori in the area. This was due to the collapse in the sealing industry, resulting in a lack of interest in the area by Europeans. Thus, many major changes in Maori population and traditions that occurred during this time have gone unrecorded (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

After the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 the Government was interested in securing land for European settlement. To do this the land had to be explored or "discovered" to find out what opportunities existed for settlement. There was no shortage of European men to do this adventurous task, and their names are associated with mountains, valleys and passes today. It is often forgotten that these explorers were nearly always accompanied by Maori guides - the people who had lived and used the area for centuries. It was their information that helped the explorers 'discover' the interior lakes and passes.

For example, in 1843 Edward Shortland, Protector of Aborigines, was told of Lakes Wakitipu, Wanaka, Hawea, and Te Anau (Beattie 1947:24). His book, "The Southern Districts of New Zealand" 1851, contains one of the first European maps of the area. This is shown in Figure 6. The details of the interior were, however supplied from a sketch and description by Huruhuru, a Kaitoaka chief (Begg & Begg 1979:138).

Then from Colac Bay in 1844 a Mr Tuckett writes:

" I was informed that there is one river between this and Preservation Bay, with a bar entrance not accessible to boats; its source said to be an immense lake, from the head of which one may walk to Jackson's Bay in two days" (Beattie 1947:24).

In 1851 Walter Mantell, the Commissioner for the Extinguishment of Native Affairs, was also given information from the local Maori inhabitants, of the Lakes Monowai and Hauroko (Ibid:24).

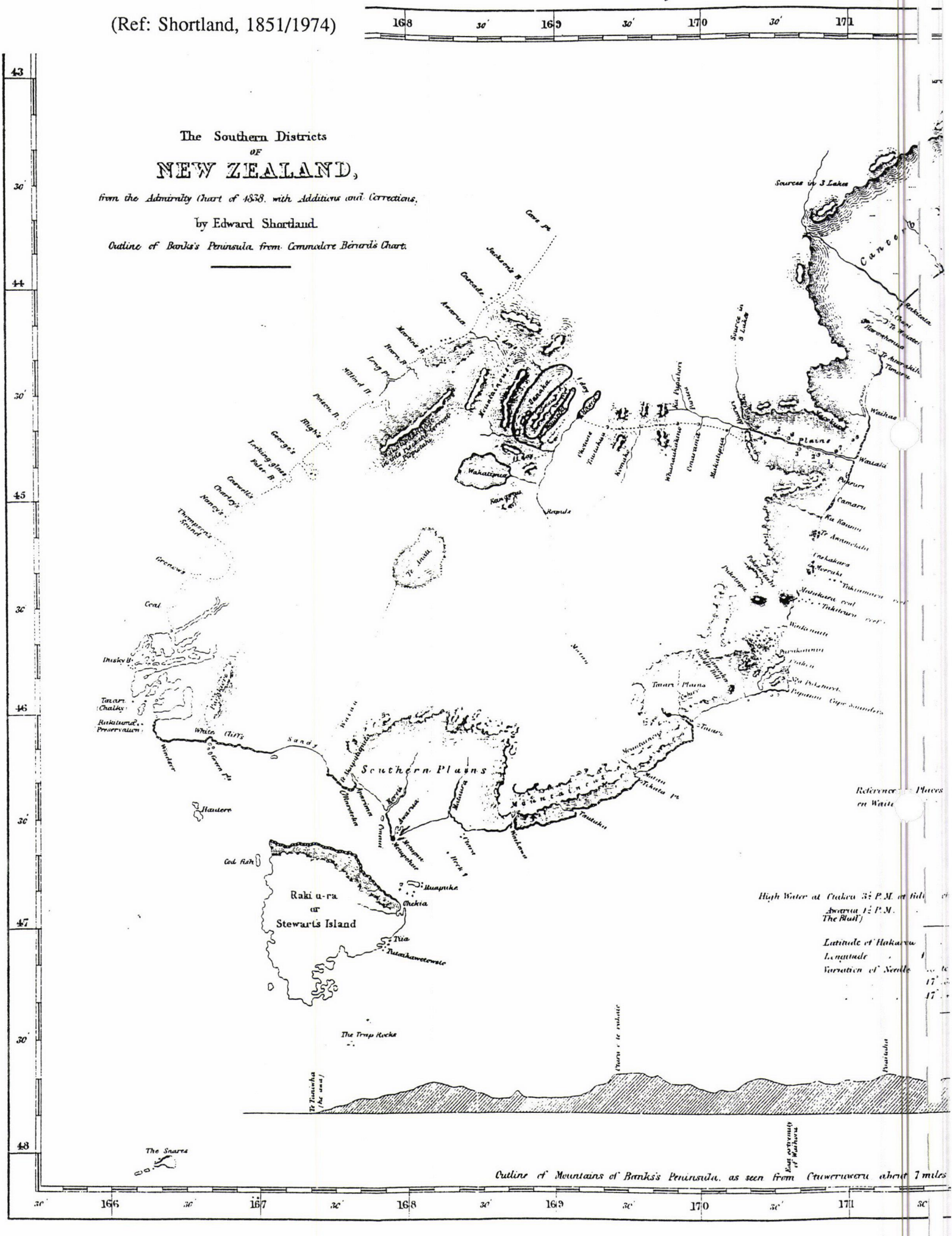
It is therefore safe to assume that the journeys described in the explorer's journals were well known and traversed routes of the Maori. The Waiau River and its catchment played an important role as a pathway to the interior lakes for the Maori explorer and resident. This is evident by Shortland's map (see Figure 6), and the Maori routes the Europeans described in their journals. These were only some of the travelling routes used by the Maori prior to European settlement[11].

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[11] Figure 10 also shows a range of other routes that were used as part of the pounamu (greenstone) trading circuit.

Figure 6:

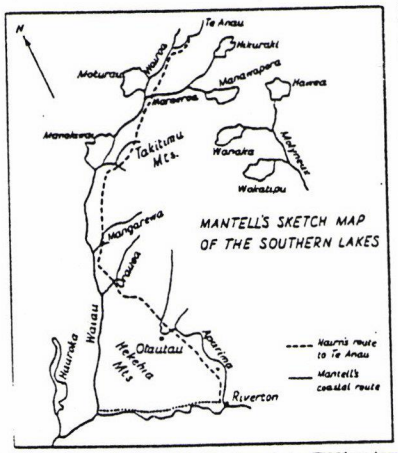
(Ref: Shortland, 1851/1974)



In 1852, Nairn and Stephen, early explorers, set off for Lake Te Anau with their guides Rawiri Te Awha (David Sandfly), from Te Anau, and George Wera (Beattie 1947:121)[12] They went inland from Riverton to Te Anau, via Otautau over Raymond's gap (Scotts Gap?) and into the Waiau Valley (Hall Jones 1945:109). Mantell sketched their route and included the correct Maori names of the lakes. (Hall Jones 1990:33). The map of their route is shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7:

(Ref: Hall-Jones, 1976)



Mantell's sketch map of the Southern Lakes showing the correct Maori name for Lake Manapouri (Moturau) and Nairn's route to the lakes. *Alexander Turnbull Library*

(Ref: Hall-Jones, 1976)

Close to Lake Te Anau, in the upper stretches of the Waiau River (Wairoa), they found several eelspears "the first signs of former inhabitants". Here, the Maori guides caught a number of large eels (Beattie 1947:29). The often used phrase "natives off eeling" in the journals of Nairn and other explorers, shows that eels were an important source of food in the Waiau.

Not only is the Waiau River recorded as a source of food for the Maori by Nairn and Stephen, but also as a travel route. Where the Makarewa River (Wairaki) meets the Waiau they report a dispute between them and the guides about travelling down the river on moki (rafts). The guides had gathered the korari (flaxstalks) for the moki on the ascending journey, leaving the mokis there for use on return. Generally, the Maori preferred to travel by moki on the river whenever possible, being very competent in this mode of travel. However, Nairn and Stephen however refused to go by moki, and they all ended up walking, "Natives ... complaining very much" (Beattie 1947:29).

James McKerrow, the chief surveyor, with John Goldie, covered a lot of ground in the Waiau Region during 1862 and 1863, much of it recorded in Goldie's letters to Scotland, and now found in Beattie's book "The Pioneers Explore Otago" (1947). They were the first Europeans to come down the Wairoa River (upper Waiau), among the first to visit the Clifden Caves, 'found' Lake Hauroko, and were the first to go overland on the west side of the Waiau River to its mouth.

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[12] Mantell paid Rawiri Te Awha's fee for guiding them to the lake, because Mantell had an interest in finding a Notornis (Takahe), which Rawiri, as a local of Te Anau, was sure to know about (Hall Jones 1979:96).

Goldie gives long almost poetic descriptions of the Waiau catchment which present us with a view into its past splendours. Upon reaching the mouth on the 15th October 1863 Goldie writes...

" The Waiau, for one or two miles inland from the coast line, is parted off into a number of branches forming a number of small islands, but ere it falls into the sea, it again unites and breaks through the surf upon the beach with a strength of current that enabled us to trace its waters; for a considerable distance seaward, there is a large amount of debris apparently having been carried down the river, forming a large bank for some miles each side of its mouth" (Beattie 1947:137).

McKerrow and Goldie surveyed Lakes Hauroko and Monowai. Eight days were spent mapping Lake Manapouri and a longer time was devoted to Te Anau. It is from McKerrow that some of the local Maori names are sadly distorted. For example Motorau (the lake of many isles), became Manapouri. These mistakes are partially explained by the fact that his Maori guide was not well acquainted with the district (Hall Jones 1945:173), which is just a small example of how important the Maori were in forming the local history.

2.5.3 *Mantell's Observations:*

Walter Mantell was the Commissioner for the Extinguishment of Native Claims. On Mantell's journey from Bluff to the west bank of the Waiau River in late 1851, early 1852, we learn more about the coastal settlements in the area. He was sent from Dunedin by the authorities to inspect Murihiku (Southland) and report on its appropriateness for European settlement. He was to arrange with the Maori people living there, for its purchase, and to set aside reserves for them. At each kainga he visited he also undertook a census. Mantell's journal of this trip is recorded in Beattie's " The Pioneers Explore Otago" (1947).

Like all the early European explorers Mantell employed Maori guides to travel with him. Mantell records in his diary that he and Mr Stephens were accompanied by John Topi, Jacky Poko, Eli, Kaikai, and Tia. Kaikai, an old Ngati Mamoe man was the chief guide and namer of places (Beattie 1947:112). Jacky Poko (Pokomatewai) and Te Au, whom they met up with later, were both sons of Te Waewae, the late chief of the Waiau kainga (pers.comm Syd Cormack 1993). The party travelled through Riverton, Oraka (Colac Bay) and Kawakaputaputa (Wakapatu), to Pahi (Pahia) and then on to the Waiau River.

The Waiau River and Te Waewae's kainga on the left bank were the end of the journey for Mantell. The Waiau River, due to its size and the dense forest that lay beyond it, was perceived as a boundary to the Europeans. It was not until the explorations of Goldie and McKerrow in 1863 that Europeans ventured much beyond the River mouth. On coming to the river Mantell notes that they were,

"halted by the lagoon [Matataraware], a string of them in the old course of Waiau...boys eeling and bathing...Te Au and John away on moki eeling. 3 mokis hauled up here...they returned with 20, [eels] dined" (Beattie 1947:123).

He also remarks on the mountain, Haukore as:

"the great weather mark of the natives here - when it is capped a gale is sure to blow from SW or W." (Ibid:123)[13].

An involved description of the crossing of the Waiau River on a moki (raft) to the west bank, ("no one crossing Waiau except on business") follows. On reaching the west bank Mantell states that they found only three inhabitants left at the kainga, two woman and a boy. Their names were Heko and Popokore (Beattie 1947:124). Heko was the wife of the deceased chief Te Waewae, Popokore was her friend, and the boy was the grandson of Heko (pers.comm Syd Cormack 1993). Their relatives had been trying to get them to move to the east side of the river, but they were reluctant to leave their old home. However they consented to go and Mantell promised them five acres for their houses and gardens, on the east side of the river as a life reserve for them.

Mantell, like Boultbee and Goldie, recorded his impression of the Waiau River and surrounds...

" At Waiau commences the grand southern forest....The Waiau River flows through a wooded valley about six miles wide, the bounding slopes of which are also, in the natives' opinion, very good land....The river is about 200 yards wide and very rapid; its upper course is said to be embarrassed with rocks and rapids as its lower is with snags. Formerly it was frequently descended by the natives in moki, but the journey was considered perilous..." (Beattie 1947:23-24).

Before leaving the Waiau, Mantell recorded the names of the mountains told to him by Te Au, Te Waewae's son (Beattie 1947:124).

After Mantell's return to Dunedin two and a half months later, Kettle was sent out to survey the seven Native reserves that Mantell had noted. These were at Tuturau on the Mataura, Omaui and Oue on the New River (Invercargill), Aparima (Riverton), Colac Bay, Wakapatu and Pahia (Hall Jones 1945:91). After the Maori reserves had been surveyed, everything was ready for the purchase by the Government of Murihiku. Eventually, after much delay from Wellington concerning payment, the deed of sale for the Murihiku block was signed on the 17th August 1853 for 2600 pounds (Ibid:91). Disputes relating to this sale form part of the Ngai Tahu Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

2.6 Population Changes:

Mantell's census and observations on his trip around the coast show a much reduced population around the Waiau region than twenty five years previously, at the time of John Boultbee. Kawakaputaputa (Wakapatu) and Oraka (Colac Bay) both had 33 residents. At Kawakaputaputa Mantell notes the extensive old cultivations "abandoned from absence of Europeans to trade for produce" (Beattie 1947:121). As for the large settlement of Pahi documented by Boultbee, Mantell found it completely empty. However, Mantell did set out a reserve there. At the Waiau River there was only the three aforementioned people.

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[13] Beattie notes that this hill was familiarly known as the Maori barometer in Western Southland, as fog on it was a sure sign of recognised weather changes. Hau-kore means without wind. Today it is commonly called Helmet Hill (Beattie 1949:61).

There are a few reasons for this decline in population, the major cause being death through sickness and disease. It is well known that the European brought diseases to New Zealand that had previously not been experienced here. For the Maori population who were not immune to these fairly common European illnesses, it often meant death. Throughout the 1800's there were various epidemics, the particularly bad ones wiping out entire families and settlements. One such epidemic was in the early 1830's, and is said to have reduced the southern Maori population to a fourth of its former size (Hall Jones 1945:57).

For example, the Maori kainga at the mouth of the Clutha River, had a population of about 300 in 1830. By 1834 nine people were left alive. The summer of 1833-34 was the time of the fight against the northern foe Te Rauparaha. With travel and contact the epidemic spread and many people died. One of these was the chief Te Whakataupuka (Taboca), who Boultbee described as "bold and active, hospitable to whites" (Begg & Begg 1979:272). He died of measles in 1835, aged about 43 years (Hall Jones 1979:25). In 1874, it was observed that:

"The Maori population at Colag's Bay and Wakapatu are fast dying off. Out of about 60 or 70 in the last three years, there has been some 30 deaths.." (McIntosh 1980:8).

As well as disease and death resulting in lower population numbers around the Waiau, we have the death of a couple of prominent chiefs. Pahi and his crew, drowned in 1823, and in 1827, the death of Te Waewae. Especially in the case of Pahi, this ill fortune would be perceived by the Maori residents as a sign that their atua (gods) had abandoned them. This would be a prime reason for moving on (Syd Cormack, pers comm 1993).

Another cause for the declining population at Pahi and Waiau was due to the relocation of settlements closer to European trading and whaling stations. The people of Pahi had been involved in trading flax and potatoes earlier, as Boultbee recorded, but Pahi was not a safe port, especially for trading ships. The closest whaling stations were at Preservation and Aparima (Riverton) (Shortland 1851:300). In search of better trading and employment opportunities, many of these traditional kainga sites of occupation were largely abandoned.

It should also be noted that it was hard to keep an accurate record of population numbers in the area due to the unusual mobility of the Murihiku Maori. Food gathering, visiting relations, and general affairs such as land sale matters, meant that it was rare to have everyone together in the kainga at any one time. Thus, census figures are not an entirely reliable record of population numbers in Murihiku (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

2.7 Summary of Historical Evidence:

The various European accounts of the Waiau region and its people can be looked upon as a 'peephole' into the Maori way of life in the 19th century. This history, is only a fraction of Maori history in the area, considering that the first settlers, Ngati Waitaha, arrived about ten centuries earlier. For this ancient history we return to the knowledge passed down orally by the Maori, from generation to generation. This is then "fleshed out" by archeological evidence, that tells us more about where the people preferred to live, what they ate and so on.

In the Waiau River area we have proof from archeological sites, and oral history, that this has been an area under constant use by the Maori.[14] The low population numbers in the mid 1800's does not mean that this area was any less utilised than previously. The Maori of Murihiku have always been seasonal hunters and gatherers and as the Waiau area is a natural food bowl it is logical that they continued to use it. It was not until the restraints of private property rights, and destruction of mahinga kai sites, that the Waiau River was visited less frequently (this is examined later in the report).

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[14] After a large forest burn around the Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau area an old track was exposed. It was 16-18 inches wide and about 4 inches deep. It ran about half a mile west of Mt York and had apparently been worn by generations of Maori feet (Beattie 1955:16).

CULTURAL USES: THE WAIAU AS A SOURCE OF MAHINGA KAI

3.1 Mahinga kai; a taonga of the people

Mahinga kai is extremely important to the Maori, linking the physical environment, and all it contains, with the cultural and social systems of the Maori. The existence of mahinga kai (food and material resources) is the determining element of survival. As a society that worked within the limits of the physical environment, it is not surprising that the cultural and social systems evolved according to these limits. Thus we have the creation stories which tell us that all is connected through whakapapa (genealogy), to respect the life or mauri in everything because we are dependent on these things, and the concepts of rahui and tapu that protect the mauri of the resource.

Toituu te marae o Taane
Toituu te marae o Tangaroa
Toituu te iwi.

If the world of Tane survives
If the world of Tangaroa survives
The people live on.

(quoted in "A Kai Tahu Perspective on Water" by Rakiihia Tau).

Mahinga kai constitutes all the physical resources that the Maori used for survival. It is more than just the sources of food that nourished the people, as it includes the materials necessary for everyday living. Thus, the stones, shells and bone used for tools, the raupo and ferns for thatching the whare (houses), the harakeke (flax) used for fishing nets, baskets and clothing, the poha (kelp bags), the plant dyes, as well as many other resources, all are included in the term mahinga kai.

These resources are defined as waahi taonga by Ngai Tahu. The term waahi taonga includes all resources that sustain life and are culturally and historically important to the iwi (Ref: Ngai Tahu Trust Board, Appendix Five).[15]

3.2 Murihiku; a mobile population

The Maori living in Te Waipounamu (South Island) were a highly mobile population. They travelled great distances across the land, and also by sea. Mobility was a necessary way of life. Unlike the Maori living in the North Island, the people in the southern regions could not rely on cultivations as a stable source of food. This was due to the colder, more inhospitable climate of the south. This was especially true of those people living in Murihiku, as kumera would not grow south of Banks Peninsula. Thus, prior to the arrival of the European who brought potatoes and wheat, there was no horticulture practiced in the southern parts of Te Waipounamu. The result was that the Murihiku Maori had to rely on the atua Tangaroa (God of the sea) and Tane (God of the land) for all their needs. The anthropological term for this lifestyle is "hunters and gatherers".

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[15] The term, waahi taonga, used by the Ngai Tahu Trust Board conveys the same meaning and intent of the term waahi tapu. Waahi tapu is referred to in the Resource Management Act in section 6(e), 58(b) and in Part 11 clause 2(c) of the second schedule.

This lifestyle was difficult in the Murihiku region due to the scarcity of high yielding tubers or nuts and berries that could be gathered with a low cost of time and energy. There was also an absence of large terrestial mammals to eat, beyond the Polynesian dog and rat[16], and the harsh, highly seasonal climate contributed to the difficult conditions in which the people lived. Due to the constraints of their environment, the Murihiku Maori approached the limits of their economic capacity within a few centuries of arrival (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

"The basis of the culture was a broad-spectrum hunting and gathering economy, the resources exploited being remakably similar from the earliest known sites until the advent of the Europeans" (Higham 1976, Doc.24 in WAI 27).

3.3 The abundance of mahinga kai in the Waiau region:

Although the environment was harsher than in the northern regions of Aotearoa, there was an abundance of resources, some of which were unique to Murihiku. Within the Waiau region the coastal areas supplied fish and shellfish, sea birds, seaweed, and sea mammals (kai moana). The forests which covered a vast part of the land particularly west of the Waiau River, contained all kinds of plant food and materials, and a wide range of birdlife (kai roto). The Waiau River, its tributaries, the Lakes, swamps and the lagoon at the Waiau River mouth provided a constant source of tuna (eels) and other fish life, as well as several species of duck and other birds (kai awa). The offshore islands were the source of titi (muttonbirds), as well as many other resources already mentioned.

A local kaumatua explained the importance of the Waiau River and surrounding Fiordland...

"...that is where their food basket was. All the fish life, bird life, plant life, you name it, it was there in abundance. It would be like me wanting to sell my refrigerator there full of food. It would be unthought of!" (Bob Whaitiri, pers.comm).

3.4 Seasonal patterns of use:

The use of resources by the mana whenua followed established annual patterns. These patterns however, were flexible since the abundance of natural foods was unpredictable (Coutts 1969, Doc.48 in WAI 27). The exploitation of the resources in the different parts of the region generally followed a seasonal pattern. Broadly speaking, the warmer part of the year was spent travelling widely collecting a range of resources, both from the interior regions and the coastal and sea zones. The mahinga kai collected was then stored for use in the winter months when food was more scarce.

The mahinga kai was gathered at the most appropriate time of the year. This usually meant when the resource was in prime condition and/or could be procured easily (Sutton & Marshall, Doc 23 in WAI 27). For example, catching ducks was undertaken in moulting season when they were flightless, the best time for fishing eels was at tunaheke, when many migrated to the sea, and forest birds were taken during or soon after periods in which their foods were most plentiful (Ibid).

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[16] The kuri (Maori dog) and kiore (Maori rat) are not native to New Zealand but were introduced by the Maori.

The seasonal patterns of the Murihiku Maori therefore required foresight and planning, so that they would be able to make the best possible use of the available resources.

"...the social adjustment to such an economic base appear to have involved the dispersal of small mobile groups over a large annual territory and their coalescing during the difficult winter months" (Higham 1976, Doc. 24 in WAI 27).

A simple example of the seasonal movements of people in Murihiku is given below, as told by a kaumatua to Taare Hikurangi Bradshaw.

"January to February - get ready poha [kelp bags], March to May - Titi moutere [Muttonbird Islands], July - weka, September - kanakana [lamprey], November - eels, December - preserving and kete [basket making]". (Tommy Spencer in Bradshaw, Ngai Tahu Claim).

Figure 8 gives more examples of the seasonal calendar of certain resources. The journal of John Boultbee in the late 1820's gives ample evidence of a strongly seasonal pattern of mahinga kai gathering. In summer the main foods at Pahi and Waiau were fernroot, fish, eels, shellfish and tutu juice. In Autumn he notes that the people at Aparima (Riverton) had returned from a summer spent eeling. For the people at Pahi, Autumn had mainly been spent barracouta fishing and preserving the catch. In winter the stored food was consumed. In spring lamprey were a source of food, and in early summer sea-lion hunting at Stewart Island was undertaken (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim). There is little historical evidence of food gathering patterns in the interior districts of Murihiku, but Herries Beattie notes that the main seasonal attraction appears to have been weka, which was taken between May and June (Ibid). Takahe, in the Lake Te Anau region, is said to have been taken during the winter months when the bird came down from the mountainous regions.

There were set routes within which these seasonal forays took place. From the southern coast there were three main destinations. Out to the southern islands for titi (mutoonbirds), also fishing and sealing; along the coast as far as Fiordland for kaimoana - sea birds, fish, shellfish, and into Fiordland for seals; and inland, to the Waiau River and the lakes for eels, freshwater fish, birds and the resources of the forests and land.

3.5 The importance of preserving food:

These seasonal movements were not only for consumption of distant resources, but were more importantly undertaken to take advantage of the resources that were 'in season'. These resources could then be preserved for future use, enabling the people to reside in the permanent settlements over the harsher months (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim). Due to this lifestyle, the art of food preservation was perfected (Bob Whaitiri, pers.comm).

One of the most important methods of food preservation, evident as early as the 13th century, was the use of fat to preserve meat in poha (kelp bags). Birds, such as titi (muttonbirds), seal flesh, fish and shellfish were cooked and packed in fat. The kelp bag was sealed airtight and protected with a wrapping of totara bark and put in a kete (flax basket). This storage vessel was called a poha and food preserved in it could keep for a year or more (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

Figure 8: Expanded Seasonal Calendar of Selected Food Resources

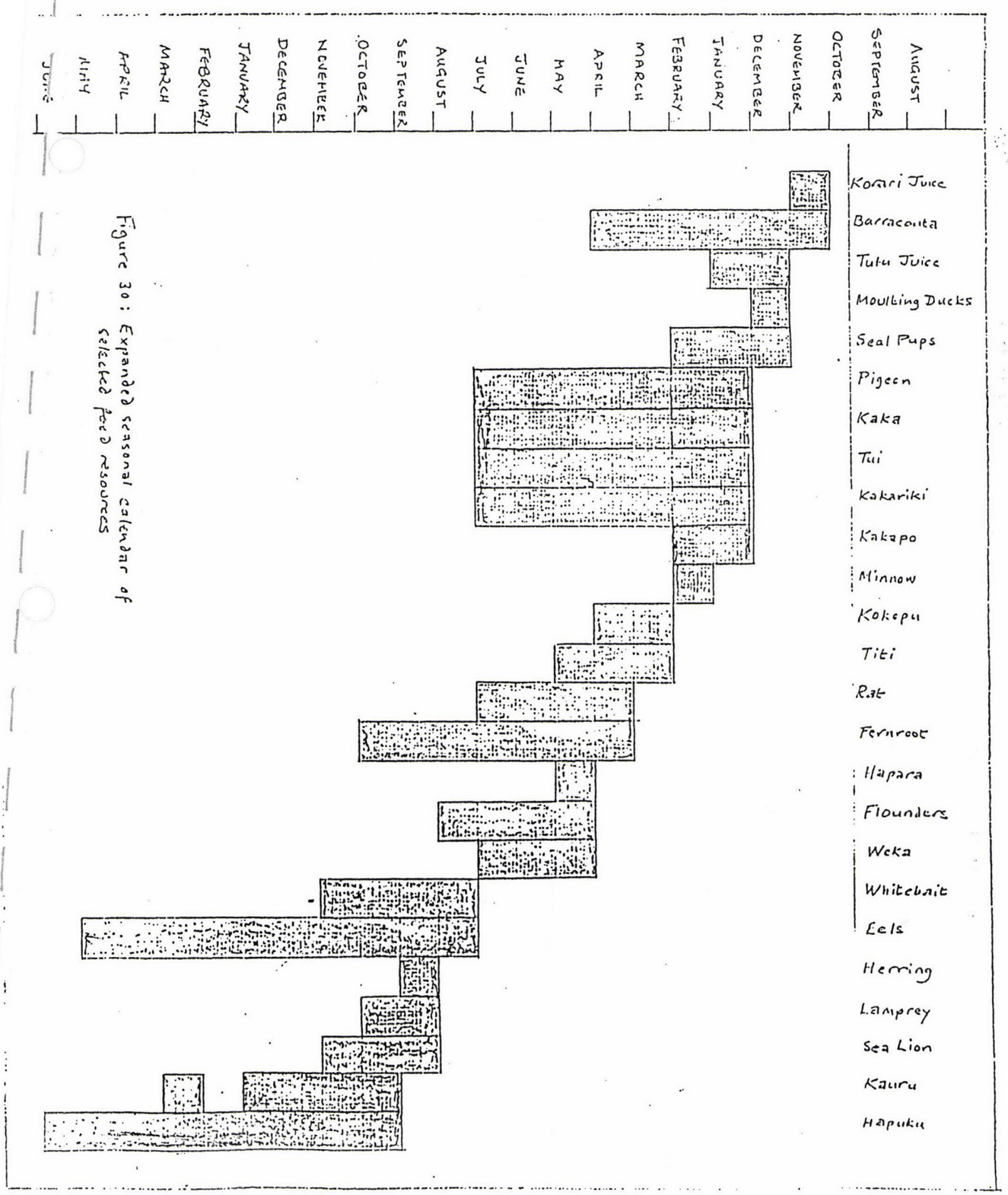


Figure 30: Expanded seasonal calendar of selected food resources

The most common method for preserving eels, fish and shellfish was the pawhera method (drying). Sometimes the fish was smoked before it was dried. The fish were usually cleaned first and then hung up on frames to dry. Another method, used in relation to barracouta which was the most common marine fish in the diet, was the paku method. Here the fish were filleted, cooked and the bodies dried, while the fillets were packed into kelp bags. The moi method placed the catch under fresh running water for four days, then the fish was cleaned and dried. This type of preserving also meant the fish could be stored for up to a year, although usually it was consumed in the winter months (Anderson, Doc 16 in WAI 27). Most of the food was stored in whata (a storehouse on a platform). The whata was high enough to stop the flies and other pests from interfering with the food, while also keeping the food dry (see figure 5).

The surplus food that was preserved not only tided the people over to the more abundent months, it was also an important source for gift exchange and trading (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

3.6 Settlement patterns:

Kainga (villages) were traditionally sited beside waterways, whether coastal or freshwater, because of the waters value as a source of food and drink, and as a course-way. Water was the centre of the way of life (Palmer & Goodall 1988:4).

The patterns of settlement in Murihiku were largely related to the seasonal calandar of mahinga kai resources. This settlement has changed over time, in response to changes in the environment. Prior to European arrival archeologists recognise three broad phases of change in the southern regions. In the first phase, 900 - 1350 AD, moas and seals were the main components of the Maori diet. Settlement at this time was in large villages both inland and along the coast. The second phase, 1350 - 1550 AD, coincides with the retreat of the forests, the near extinction of the moa and the demise of the seal population. Settlements became smaller, and from this period onwards, the Maori were more mobile in the search for food. The relative importance of fishing and birding grew as part of the seasonal pattern. The latter phase, 1550 - 1800 AD, shows an increase in fishing and birding, and a return to larger permanent villages, principally along the coast again (Anderson 1983).

Not surprisingly most information we have today is from early written records and oral accounts. The focus of these tends to be on the recent past, or the latter 'Classic' phase. What follows is therefore more specific to this latter phase of settlement patterns.

Generally permanent settlements in Murihiku were along the coastline. The historical observations of Boultbee and Mantell give us fairly detailed accounts of these settlements, during the 1800's. In the Waiau region the main kainga (villages) were Te Tua a Hatu at the mouth of the Waiau River, Pahi, Kawakaputaputa (Wakapatu), Oraka (Colac Bay), and Aparima (Riverton) (see Figure 9). There were of course exceptions to this such as the kainga, Marakura, on the shore of Lake Te Anau. The general lack of numbers in the interior at this time is not, however, a fair reflection of its place in settlement and subsistance patterns (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

Figure 9: Settlements and Population, Foveaux Strait

(Ref: Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim)

"Field surveys in these areas [Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri] reveal the presence of sites over a wide area, including some on islands in the lakes indicating that canoes or rafts were used locally. The remains of large eel channels have been located, which give some insight into Maori economy and the supportive social organisation. The presence of debarked trees around the lakes points to the manufacture of bark bags for preserving birds and eels. Large ovens are located in the grassland areas and many others have been observed by locals, suggesting that Maoris at one time caught birds, probably moa, or dug up cabbage tree roots which they cooked locally. Duff's work in the Takahe Valley indicates that Maori penetrated the mountains from this area to hunt takahe and the small bush moa" (Coutts 1982, Doc.31 in WAI 27).

Within the foci of the coastal settlements there were also temporary settlements located at often used sites of mahinga kai. For example, at the eel weir or fern root site (Ibid).

Throughout Murihiku there were many sites of occupation related to the seasonal mobility of the people. Most of these were temporary dwellings, used on transit to the mahinga kai site, or at the work site (Ibid).

Semi circular huts (whare-rau), caves and rock shelters were used as dwelling places during the required time (Coutts, Doc 31 in WAI 27). Whare-rau were quick to assemble houses, perfect for a temporary dwelling place. Forked bent brances were spaced around a circular area and locked together at the top, forming a sturdy beehive shape structure. Thinner sticks were then laced through the frame horizontally, and then over this frame fern leaves or bundles of flax were laid until the whole thing was covered. If the whare was to be used as a dwelling house then a hole was left open at the top for the smoke to get out, but if it was a workhouse this was not necessary (Harold Ashwell, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

Archeological evidence identifies some of these temporary settlements and resting places, in the uncovering of middens (rubbish piles consisting of bones, shells etc), and umu (ovens). Figure 3 gives us an idea of the settlements and movements of the early Maori in the Waiau River area.

3.7 Access rights to mahinga kai:

Access to mahinga kai resources was held at a hapu (sub tribe) level. Settlements in Murihiku were comprised of many different hapu groups, so the community as a whole could not claim exclusive rights to the resources in their local area.[17] This is probably the reason why there are few references to territorial boundaries compared with frequent insistance upon hapu ownership of mahinga kai sites (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

Each hapu had specific areas or boundaries within certain mahinga kai sites. In Murihiku (Southland) these areas were described as rauiri (reserve). A rauiri applied to eel reserves (rauiri-tuna), and to specific resources of the land (rauiri whenua) such as fernroot, ti (cabbage tree) and birding areas (Ibid). As for titi (muttonbirds) the different islands marked the hapu reserves. Each hapu knew which islands they had rights to, and these areas are still recognised by the birders today (Harold Ashwell, pers comm).

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[17] In the mid 19th century Mantell recorded more than 100 hapu, ranging in number from 2 - 200 members, with the average number per hapu being ten (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

"People from one hapu never go to gather eels from the places of another hapu....The rivers have been handed down through successive generations to the present" (Taiaroa, Doc.34 in WAI27).

These rights to specific mahinga kai sites were "kept warm" by being used. This is called ahika or literally, keeping your home fires burning (Dacker 1990:16). In this way the concept of 'absentee landowner', that prevailed in European society, did not exist. If you did not exercise your rights of use to a particular mahinga kai site, then your rights withered away or became mataotao (cold), the fires died (Ibid:16).

"Today many Kai Tahu people go to their mahika kai each season not so much because they are dependent on those traditional foods but because they wish to maintain their ahika. The foods are symbols of their continuing relationship with the traditions and history " (Dacker 1990:16).

Not all sources of mahinga kai were divided into rauiri. Mahinga kai areas that were not intensively used did not need to be so strictly defined. For example, weka hunting which required ranging over a large area of land, had more general hapu boundaries (Dacker 1990:16).

3.8 Trade and exchange of mahinga kai:

Bradshaw explains that the various Ngai Tahu hapu gathered together in June, assembling the kai (food) that had been gathered during the abundant warm season. This was called 'Kaihaukai', a food feast, and took place at Kaiapoi in the earlier days, but later the hui (gathering) became firmly established at Ruapuke Island (Bradshaw, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

"The most sought after local delicacy, was titi [muttonbird] and it was through this medium that the pawhara tuna and kumera found its way south to this area" (Ibid).

This trading and exchanging network was a major part of the Maori culture. By this practise of trade the Maori had access to resources that they could not acquire in their own hapu or iwi rohe (district). The various mahinga kai resources had different trading value or prestige attached to them. The titi (muttonbird) was a widely sought after delicacy, attracting trade from as far away as the North Island. Titi therefore became the most important trading item in Murihiku, and gave mana (power; prestige) to the Maori in this area. Metaquartzite which was found along Orepuki beach and used for hammerstones, oven stones and sinkers was also a fairly important mahinga kai site in the area (Karl Gillies, pers comm; Coutts, Doc.31 in WAI 27).

The extensive trading network that existed in Aotearoa, reaching right down to the southern regions of the Waiau and Foveaux Strait is evident in the excavation of an ancient site at Sandhill Point in Te Waewae Bay. Here were found flakes made from North Island obsidian, tools made from West Coast pounamu (nephrite;greenstone), and argillite from Riverton (Coutts, Doc 31 in WAI 27).

The Waiau River valley played an important role in this inter-hapu, inter-iwi trade relationship. The Waiau River and its valley was a major travelling route, connecting the West Coast to Murihiku and Foveaux Strait. In the trading of pounamu, what is now known as MacKinnon Pass, connected Anita Bay with Lake Te Anau (Anita Bay in Milford Sound was the southern source of tangiwai, a variety of pounamu) (Brailsford 1984:171).

The pounamu, after being carried over to Lake Te Anau was then loaded onto moki rafts and taken down the Waiau River. However, in the late 1830's an accident occurred on one of these moki trips and several women and children were drowned, and the cargo of pounamu lost. These trips down the Waiau River were then discontinued (Beattie 1949:62).

Another well known Maori route connecting the West and Southern coast was up the Waiau River valley to Lake Te Anau, and then up the Eglinton Valley to Lake McKellar and Martin's Bay (Beattie 1945:71). This is now known as the Hollyford Track. These routes and others have been mapped by Brailsford 1984 (see figure 10).

Archeological sites along the Waiau River Valley confirm that it was indeed a major route between the coast and the interior (see previous Figure 3).

3.9 Some Examples of mahinga kai:

He hua hua te kai?
E, he wai te kai!

Are birds the best food?
No.. Water is!

(Traditional Maori Proverb)

The Maori of the Murihiku region, prior to European arrival, were exploiting some 200 different species of plants and animals (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim). Herries Beattie recorded many Maori names of fish, shellfish, birds and plants in 1920. Anderson (in Ngai Tahu Claim) has compiled a relatively small number of these, supplying a corresponding European name, with brief notes on when and/or how the resource was obtained (see Appendix Five). This list however, shows only a fraction of the mahinga kai available and used by the mana whenua. Much of the mahinga kai knowledge has been lost due to the change in lifestyle of the Maori people, and the fact that the information was not considered seriously enough by the European population to warrant study or records.

"I think that the Maori named nearly every plant and if the Pakeha had asked early enough he would have been told the names" (Herries Beattie 1954:56).

Due to space and time restrictions what follows is only a very brief account of some of the more frequently referred to mahinga kai resources.

The vast amount of mahinga kai available in the environment from the gods Tane and Tangaroa can be categorised under various names.

Kai awa	=	from the rivers, lakes and streams
Kai moana	=	from the sea; fish, shellfish and mammals
Kai roto	=	from the forests and the plains

3.9.1 *Kai Awa:*

Mahinga ika o te awa (the fisheries of the river) were a large and choice part of the staple diet especially when living inland or travelling across the country. They were always readily accessible and "had a very significant part in our lifestyle and sustenance" (Whaitiri, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

A Poutini Coastal Trail
B Poutini Canoe Route
C Kawatiri Trail (Buller River)
D Cannibal Gorge (Lewis Pass)
E Kaikoura Coastal Trail
F Taramakau-Hurunui Trail (Harper Pass)
G Upper Arahura Trail (Browning Pass)
H Murihiku Coastal Trail
I Milford Trail (Mackinnon Pass)
J Tangiwai Canoe Route
K Murihiku Canoe Route
L Waitaki River Trail
M Clutha River Trail
N Oreti River Trail
O Waiau River Trail

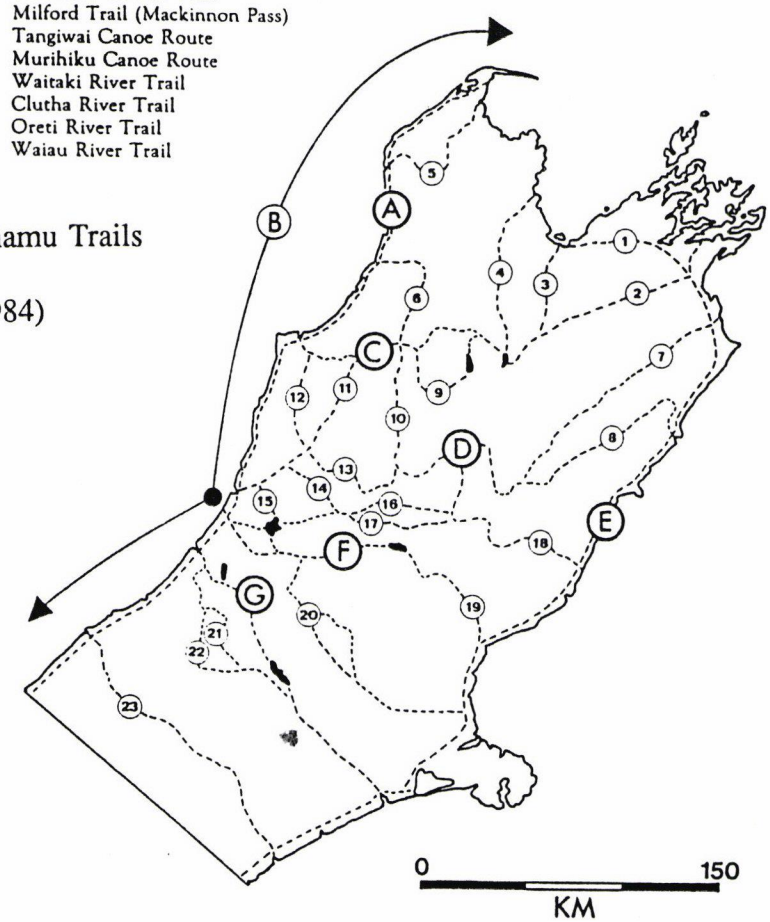
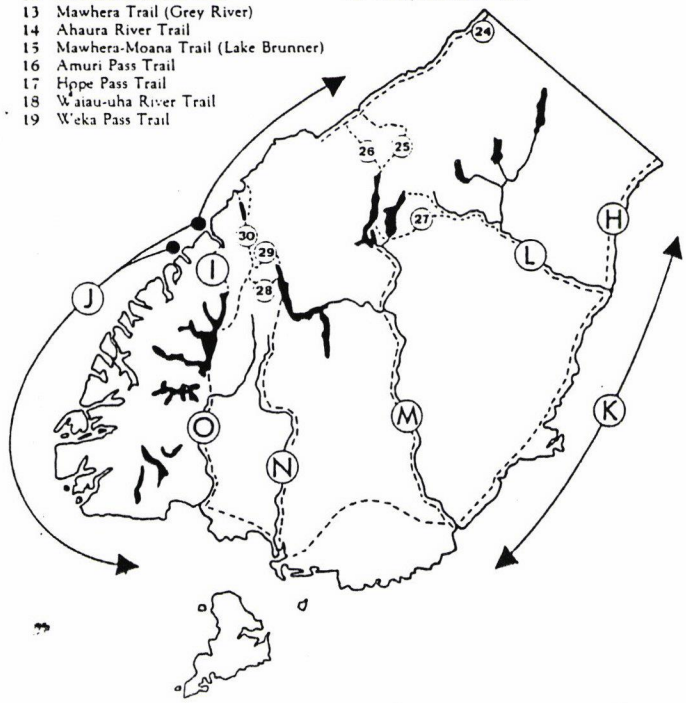


Figure 10: Pounamu Trails

(Ref: Brailsford, 1984)

Subsidiary Trails

1 Wakapuaka-Wairau River Trail
2 Wairau Valley Trail
3 Wairoa-Wairau Trail
4 Motueka-Lake Rotoiti Trail
5 Aorere-Heaphy River Trail
6 Matiri River Trail
7 Awatere River Trail
8 Waiau-toa River Trail
9 Tiraumea River Trail
10 Maruia River Trail
11 Inangahua River Trail
12 Otututu-Ohikanui Trail
13 Mawhera Trail (Grey River)
14 Ahaura River Trail
15 Mawhera-Moana Trail (Lake Brunner)
16 Amuri Pass Trail
17 Hope Pass Trail
18 Waiau-uha River Trail
19 Weka Pass Trail
20 Otira-Waimakariri Trail (Arthurs Pass)
21 Upper Hokitika River-Rakaia Trail (Mathias Pass)
22 Whitcombe River-Rakaia Trail
23 Sealy Pass Trail
24 Poutini Coast Trail
25 Haast Pass Trail
26 Maori Saddle Trail
27 Lindis Pass Trail
28 Greenstone Valley Trail
29 Routeburn Trail (Harris Saddle)
30 Hollyford River Trail



(Ref: Brailsford 1984)

The vast majority of the native fish found in the rivers, lakes, estuaries and swamps are migratory.

" Me Wai Tangaroa i whano a ki uta"

By means of water does Tangaroa live inland

(Taare Hikurangi Bradshaw, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

Tuna (eels):
The most important of these fish was the tuna (eel). In the historical written accounts of the Waiau region in the 1800's, fishing for tuna is the most frequently referred to practice in terms of mahika kai. Eel spears and eel weirs are also common acheolgical sites in the area.

According to the "Review of Fish Distribution in the Waiau River Catchment", a report prepared for the Waiau River Working Party (Hayes 1992) there are two species of eel found in the Waiau River. The longfin eel is found in all types of waters but its main habitat is rivers and inland lakes. The shortfin eel lives in the lagoons, old river beds and swamps.

The Maori however, distinguished about sixteen different kinds of tuna (Beattie 1954:60). Beattie records their names: Arokehe; hao, said to be the best eating one; kotokoto; horihoriwai, one with a white belly; horepara, a big black and round shaped one; kokekehe; kirirua, big black with a very thick skin; kouka, said to be the largest; kotokoto, small and good eating; matamoi, a grey kind; manawa, a flat eel with a fine skin; riko; tunarakau has hard flesh; tunatai, a yellowish eel, and the winiwini-hao (Ibid:64).

Tuna migrate back to the sea to spawn when they are about three years of age. This is called tunaheke by the Maori, and marks the best time to gather the tuna, as they are full of fat. The new eels come back to the river at the same time as whitebait, as glass eels, turning brown soon after entering the fresh water. Although the best time to take tuna is at tunaheke, tuna can be gathered throughout the year (Syd Cormack, pers comm). This is probably why tuna formed such an important part of the southern diet.

There are several different ways of procuring eels, which are used at various times of the year. Generally, one method was carried out for about two to three months, before changing to a more suitable one (Taiaroa, Doc.34 in WAI 27).

A well used method, capable of catching hundreds of tuna at once was the tuna weir traps (rauiri). Rauiri were made in creeks and rivers, and the device channelled the eels into the trap at the end. The big weir traps could be ten feet long with three to four foot openings within, catching hundreds of eels in one night. When the traps were full several people were needed to roll them ashore (Taiaroa, Doc.34 in WAI 27).

Another simpler method was to pull the tuna out of the holes in the river bank where they dwelt during the day. The fingers were inserted into the gills of the eel and it was pulled out. Up to twenty eels could be found in one hole (Ibid).

Spearing eels was a method used during the night, with the aid of rama (torches). Nets were also used to gather the tuna. Eel pots (kaitara) contained bait and a stone sinker, and were placed in the river or lake bed, attached to a cord. They were set in the evening and lifted the next morning (Ibid). The pots to catch eels in the river were single ended, while those

set in lakes were double ended (Orbell & Moon 1985:147).
Another method, was by using bait, called bobbing. This did not produce much of a catch, but was still used when appropriate. It involved threading worms onto a flax string, to form a ball shape. The size of the bob determined the size of the catch. Once the eel got the bait the flax became tangled in its teeth and it could be pulled out of the river (Syd Cormack, pers.comm).

As eels were caught in very large quantities it becomes obvious why preserving was such an important part of the gathering of mahinga kai. This job of preserving was done by the women. In the case of tuna it involved gutting, smoking and drying. These were stored hanging from the drying racks until ready for use (Taiaroa, Doc.34 in WAI 27).

Kanakana (lamprey):
While the tuna makes it way down to the sea to spawn, the kanakana goes upstream to do so. Kanakana means to dart about, which it does if it is disturbed. It suckers on to rocks with its mouth and travels at night. Kanakana are present in most rivers, and are caught where there is any type of fall. The Mataura Falls were the most famous site in the South Island for this. The Falls were divided into sections for each hapu group and passed down through the generations (Beattie 1954:61).

Mata (whitebait):
Whitebait were caught using the kaka method. This involved the digging of a small channel into the side of the river bank, which was blocked by a kaka or purse shaped net. Mata were also caught using nets, like they are today. Once caught the kaka were laid out on a specially woven frame for drying. They were then left to dry for a least a week and then placed in kits and stored (Taiaroa in Doc. 34 in WAI).

Other small fish taken from the rivers included the inaka (minnow), kokopara (cockabully is the transliteration of the southern pronunciation kokobala), kokopu (native trout), pipiki (smelt), paraki (silvies), waharoa (big kind of paraki silvery), and panako (rock trout) (Beattie 1954:62).

Also to be found in the rivers were koura waimaori (freshwater crayfish) and rakatu or kakahi (fresh water mussel).

Alongside the river and waterway system is the swamp and wetland areas. Here, wild ducks and birds such as the pukeko (swamp hen) were taken for food and also as a source of feathers. Ducks were caught when they were moulting in about December to February. These included the Putakitaki (Paradise Duck), Parera (Grey Duck), Hoho (Brown Duck), Pateke (Teal), and Whio (Blue Duck). They were driven upwind on the water and then captured by hand or by dogs. Pukeko were caught in December and January, using snares (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

3.9.2 *Kai Moana:*

Resources form the sea were an extremely important source of mahinga kai for the Murihiku Maori. Most of the settlements were along the coast, ensuring an almost constant supply of food and materials. Women were the gatherers of most kinds of kai moana along the shoreline; they wove the nets for fishing, and cleaned and preserved the fish on shore. The mens' main job was the sea fishing.

Shellfish were abundant and included paua, kuku (mussels), tuaki (cockle), and tupehokura (toheroa). These could be collected throughout the year, and the best time was at the full moon when the kai (food) within was greatest (Hana Morgan, pers comm). There was a saying that 'when the tide was out the table was laid' that refers to the constant supply of food that shellfish provided (Harold Ashwell, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

Other marine fauna included kina (sea egg), and koura waitai (marine crayfish). Karengo was one of the many types of seaweed that was included in the diet.

Kelp played an important role for the Murihiku Maori as a storage vessel. Cutting the kelp for the poha (kelp bags) was similar to pruning a tree, promoting new and healthy growth.

Mahinga ika o te moana (sea fishing), both inshore and deep sea, was a relatively efficient means of procuring a large amount of kai (food). Makaa (barracouta) was the principle object of marine fisheries and constituted a large part of the diet.

Makaa were important to the southern economies due to the abundance and ease in which they were caught, but also because they came at the opportune time in the seasonal calendar. Traditionally the season ran from about November to April with March being the best time on the southern coast (Anderson, Doc 16 in WAI 27). It was said that when the flax flowers or kowhai flowers were out, the makaa had arrived back. They were mainly caught in the morning when they schooled at the surface for feeding (Syd Cormack, pers comm).

The makaa were caught with a rod using a jigger. The rod was plunged into the water and moved quickly about. The jigger (a flat piece of wood with a hook in it) moved about and the brightness of the hook was mistaken by the makaa for a shoal of small fish.

"as fast as the fisherman throws in his fish, he continues working his rod and line about, as long as a fish is to be caught; sometimes they will load a canoe in two hours with fish. The women are kept busily employed at this season, drying the Baracoota which are cut open and hung in racks made for the purpose " (Boultbee in Begg & Begg 1979:192).

Other fish caught include rawaru (blue cod), moeanu (rock cod), hoka (red cod), rari (ling), horihori (soles), takakaha (butterfish), and tarakihi (white fish) (Beattie, Doc.6 in WAI 27).

Sea mammals were also hunted seasonally and included pakake (seals), kekeno (fur seals), terenu (porpoise), rapoka (sea leopard), and whakahau (sea lion). Kewa (whales) were also used if they were found stranded (Ibid).

Sea birds and their eggs were also a source of kai (food).

3.9.3 *Kai Roto:*

Kai roto supplied a vast range of mahinga kai to the tangata whenua. The forests supplied mahinga aruhe (fernroot) which was the major source of starch in the southern regions, and the fernroot fronds (pikopiko) collected in spring provided an asparagus type vegetable (Hana Morgan, pers comm). The various tree species provided berries, timber for whares (houses), waka (canoes) and weapons.

The totara tree, of which there were many along the west bank of the Waiau River (NB.Papatotara), had many uses and was the most valued tree in the forest. It was used for waka, and whare. Its bark was used in big strips to protect the kelp bags used in food preservation. Its wood was also used for making (ipu) wooden bowls, and also puna, where the whole log was gourged out and the hollow filled with water (Beattie 1954:52).

Mako was a tree that was reputed to make excellent light and tough boats, ideal for the Waiau River (Ibid:55). The bark of the manuka was used for making rama (torches), and also to protect the kelp bags (Ibid:55). Manuka and other plants were used as brushes to paint canoes and rock drawings (Ibid:48). A blue dye called pukepito could be got from the towai (birch) tree, and the wood was used to make fishing jiggers. The forest also supplied many important medicines such as the leaves of the korimiko, manuka, kokomuka, and the bark of the kowhai (Bradshaw, in Ngai Tahu Claim). Edible fungi (whareatua) was also taken (Ibid).

Mahinga manu ngaherehere (birds of the forest) included kereru (pigeons), kaka, tui, and bellbird. In January and February they were caught using snares set at water troughs, and in the berry season (April to June) the birds were clubbed or shaken out of wet foliage when their feathers were soaked (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim). As well as providing food, the forest birds were important for their feathers which were used in the adornment of korowai (cloaks), as well as personal adornment (Bradshaw, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

Other kai roto materials were used to make tikumu clothing, lace bark tapa cloth, scent from gums, tutu juice, and dog and birdskin garments (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

An extremely important resource throughout Aotearoa, found in abundance in the Waiau River valley, was harakeke (flax). There were many different types of flax, each was used according to its special trait. The women were the kaitiaki of the flax, performing the proper karakia while cutting it, returning the toreka (refuse) to the base of the plant to nourish it, and many other associated protocol. The flax was stripped with a mussel shell in one continuous hand movement, then the whitau (fibre) was anchored by the toes as it was woven. Women were proficient in the use of harakeke weaving, making kete (baskets), fishing nets, garments, and other articles important for daily survival (Hana Morgan, pers comm; Beattie 1954:16).

The muka (fibre) of the flax was made into ropes (Bradshaw,in Ngai Tahu Claim) and the flax stalks were used in the construction of moki (rafts) which were often used on the Waiau River. Pia harakeke (flax gum) was used for healing cuts (Harold Ashwell, in Ngai Tahu Claim), and flax stem juice (korari), collected in November, was a wonderful sweetner (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

The cabbage tree (ti) also had a wide variety of uses including using its leaves for weaving raincapes and making sandals, extracting starch from its roots, eating the young shoots of the upper limbs as vegetables and as an important source of sweetner (Bradshaw, in Ngai tahu Claim).

Summarized above are just a few of the mahinga kai resources that were in use in the Waiau River catchment in the past. Many of these practices, such as eeling, whitebaiting, gathering shellfish, fishing and flax weaving still play an important role in the lives of the tangata whenua.

3.10 The effects of post-European changes on mahinga kai:

The arrival of Captain James Cook in the 1770's, followed soon after by the sealers and later the whalers, had a major impact on the culture of the Murihiku Maori. Seemingly minor additions to the local economy, such as the introduction of potatoes, pigs, iron and steel, contributed greatly to a change in the traditional mahinga kai patterns.

In many ways these introduced products were beneficial to the cultural practices centred around mahinga kai. Iron tools were more durable and efficient than stone ones, whaleboats were more seaworthy than the traditional waka, and the introduction of potatoes shifted the horticultural frontier south to Foveaux Strait (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

However, overall, the new technologies served to undermine the traditional mahinga kai patterns. With the advent of iron and steel, the value of pounamu (greenstone) dropped and consequently the trips into the interior to the West Coast virtually ceased (Coutts, Doc 31 in WAI 27). Potato cultivation also influenced the mobility patterns of the Murihiku Maori. Initially the people located the potato gardens at places where they could be tended to as part of their normal seasonal migration patterns. However, because the new material goods from the Europeans had to be paid for at a very high price, the Maori people were forced to make potato and wheat cultivations their main occupation and thus their lifestyle became less transitory.

At the same time, the Maori kainga around the west of Foveaux Strait disbanded, with the population centralising in the middle of Foveaux Strait around the whaling stations at Aparima (Riverton), Omaui (New River), and Awarua (Bluff). The trading opportunities were greater adjacent to these European settlements, and there was work opportunities there on the whaling boats or in the flax industry. The attraction of these European settlements on the coast, created a move away from the interior settlements and the kainga at Te Anau was finally abandoned in the 1850's (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

The result of this move to the centre of Foveaux Strait, and also to Stewart Island, was a decline in mahinga kai expeditions into the interior. (The exception to this was an annual expedition to Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri during winter, to catch takahe, up until the 1880's). The population drift away from the Waiau River in the west and the Mataura River in the east, both which had provided the best access routes to the interior, influenced this change. A loss of labour power due to the diminishing population around the Waiau Region, was also a factor in the falling off of mahinga kai trips into the interior, as many of the traditional activities required group cooperation (Ibid).

As well as the physical changes mentioned above, the European ideological system also played a significant part in extinguishing traditional mahinga kai patterns.

"The market economy created standards of wealth, a broadening in the perception of tenure, and individualisation of ownership. All these [were] adverse conditions to the survival of the indigenous system" (Ibid).

After the sale of Murihiku to the Crown in 1853, and the subsequent breaking up and privatisation of land in the region, the difficulties faced by the system of mahinga kai in the dominant European economic and social system became obvious. MacKay, a Government Commissioner reported in 1874:

"Every year as the settlement of the country progresses the Natives are necessarily restricted to narrower and narrower limits, until they no longer possess the freedom adapted to their mode of life. The settlers hunt down, for pastime or other purposes, the birds which constituted their food, or for purposes of improvement, drain the swamps and watercourses from which they obtained their supplies of fish; their ordinary subsistence failing them, and lacking the energy or ability to supplement their means of livelihood by labour, they lead a life of misery and semi-starvation". (MacKay 1874 "Further Reports From Officers in the Southern Districts" in Ngai Tahu Claim).

Later in various Government commissions on native claims the Maori people of Murihiku continually complained that they were denied access to riverine fisheries and to their weka hunting grounds, and that fernroot and kauru (sweet speciality made from the cabbage tree) reserves had been destroyed (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

Over the years these complaints have increased. Mahinga kai sites have been degraded or completely destroyed throughout the region in land clearance, draining of the wetlands, milling, rabbit poisoning programmes, farm runoff, overfishing, and the introduction and subsequent protection of exotic competitor species.

Furthermore, the construction of the Manapouri Power Scheme and its associated weirs have affected the remaining mahinga kai resources of the Waiau River. Adverse impacts have been observed in the kai awa (food in the river) and throughout the entire catchment system. The details of this loss of mahinga kai resources and the related concerns of the mana whenua are documented in the final section of this report.

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CONCLUDING STATEMENTS:

4.1 The Spiritual, Historical and Cultural Significance of the Waiau River to the Mana Whenua Today:

What do all these identified values mean to the mana whenua with regard to their present concerns and the future managment of the Waiau River catchment area? One way to answer this question is to illustrate how the spiritual, historical and cultural values documented in this report are closely interconnected.

The Maori view of the environment and rivers is a holistic and complete view. A river is viewed as a whole, from the mountains to the sea. The natural form and character of a river (eg. gravels and water flows) is not divorced from the life which flows from the water (eg. fish). Nor is the river at its source in the mountain and lakes seen in isolation from the river as it enters the sea. All dimensions of a river as seen as one life-force.

A river is like a person, it has many parts to its body. With a person, when one part of the body is injured so the whole person hurts. So it is with the river. In a similar manner, the river is an artery, a life-line connecting the body (Papatuanuku) together.

Water is life! Without water there is no life. This is the mauri and wairua of the river - the quantity and quality of the water and its ability to sustain life. The life of the river itself, and the cultural mahinga kai resources it supports are the most important concerns for the mana whenua.

"Mahinga kai is the biggest thing for our people. The first thing people think about is the food. That's just Maori thinking. That's a priority" (Hana Morgan pers comm).

The blockage of the water at the Te Anau and Mararoa control structures is draining away the life-force of the Waiau river. At times the river bed below the Mararoa Weir has been completely dry as the gates have been closed with no water passing through. No longer is the Waiau river a complete, uninterrupted, body of water doing the job it was initially intended to do. The manipulated decrease, stoppage, and fluctuation of the present water flows have upset the natural balance of the Waiau river that existed prior to the Manapouri Power Scheme. The effects of this imbalance are being felt throughout the whole river system, and beyond, into Te Waewae Bay.

"The water has been removed for other purposes. At the same time it has meant the loss of the life of the river. It therefore impacts and affects the uses that were customary practice, the food chain becomes destroyed....That then impacts because it is unbalanced and what was there previously may not now be available there. So all these things impact when you have major change....That would be the major concern of our people. To have a river with nothing in it, one may as well not have a river...they are looking at the survival of the river" (Rick Tau pers comm).

4.2 The Concerns of the Mana Whenua Regarding the Waiau River:

The concerns of the mana whenua (local Maori people) regarding the Waiau River are intrinsically connected. Central to the concerns of the mana whenua is the preservation of the mauri and wairua of the Waiau River. The preservation of the mauri and wairua requires the treatment of the cause of the problem (ie. water quantity and quality) as well as the symptoms (eg. sedimentation and fish passes). Due to manipulated water flows and land management practices, vast changes to the river environment have occurred. These changes and their associated affects has given rise to a range of concerns. The most important of these concerns for the mana whenua is the adverse affects the changes are having on the culturally important mahinga kai resources. The concerns of the mana whenua are listed below.

1) The Waiau River is of great spiritual, historical and cultural importance to the mana whenua. Thus there is a need to ensure that the values and opinions of the mana whenua are acknowledged and accounted for in decisions concerning the Waiau river. The mana whenua believe they should have an on-going and effective input and active participation into all resource management decisions relating to the Waiau River catchment. This input is required at the district level, including the kaitiaki of the river, and at the regional level involving the iwi of Murihiku.

2) The mauri, the essence of life of the Waiau River exists only as long as the water flows. It is a grave concern when there is not a continuous flow of water in the Waiau River. Water is essential to ensure the ongoing preservation of the mauri of the river.

3) The mauri of the Waiau River is partly a function of water quantity, quality and the water's ability to be used in various practices. There is concern that the river flow should not be stopped or decreased to the extent that the water quality deteriorates and can no longer support life.

The changes in the nature of the river environment caused by low flows, variable flows, and land management practices and the effects of these changes have given rise to a number of interrelated concerns:

4) Low flows in the Waiau River caused by the Manapouri Power Scheme have altered the gravel and silt composition of the river. This has caused siltation of the lagoon at the river mouth and further affects the flora and fauna habitats and species of the lagoon.

5) Widely fluctuating flows throughout the length of the river affects bird and fisheries habitats along the river's edges (eg. low flows mean the river edge habitats are stranded above water level, followed by flooding and high flows). This particularly affects those flora and fauna species that use this area as a breeding and nesting habitat.

6) Changes in the water quantity and gravel composition of the river as it enters the coastal environment appear to have altered the trans-coastal movement of gravels and sand. One observed result of this is that gravels are being deposited on sandy beaches. This change is also thought to have contributed to the loss of traditional toheroa beds along the coast of Te Waewae Bay, as toheroa can not survive on gravel beaches.

7) As the river enters the sea, the changed gravel/sediment and nutrient composition of the river, due to lower water quantity, affects the flora and fauna habitats of the marine environment in Te Waewae Bay.

8) The Waiau River traditionally has a high lime content. As the Te Anau and Mararoa weirs decrease the amount of water in the river chanel this *in-situ* lime content is not as effectively transported by the river as in the past. The effect of this is a lower nutrient content in the water of the river to fertislise the down-stream habitats of both the river and coastal environments. It is speculated that this may have some relationship in causing a weaker shell structure in shellfish species.

9) Conversely, lower water quantity has meant an increased concentration of the agricultual and industrial fertilisers, leachates and wastes in the river. This pollution has detrimental affects on the river habitats and mahinga kai resources. This pollution is not only a cultural problem through its affects on the mahinga kai, but is also spiritually offensive as poor water quality negatively affects the mauri and wairua of the river. An increase in dairy farming with its associated run-offs could worsen the situation.

10) Low flows and land management practices have drained many of the natural wetland habitats along the river. Wetlands are a particularly rich source of mahinga kai. The loss of these habitats has therefore resulted in the loss of large amounts of mahinga kai.

Most native fish in New Zealand are migratory, moving between the inland lakes, rivers and the ocean. It is therefore important that the successful passage of native fish, in both directions, occurs to ensure the species ongoing survival:

11) During low flows the mouth of the Waiau River sometimes becomes blocked. This barrier causes major difficulties for native fish migration to and from the sea.

12) The Mararoa and Te Anau weirs are potential barriers to native fish migration. The native fish pass at the Mararoa weir is currently blocked with gravels and is impassable. There is no fish pass at the Te Anau weir. These barriers both create problems for native fish up-stream migration.

13) The Mararoa weir causes the flow of water above the weir to be reversed back up towards Lake Manapouri. This causes problems in navigation of the native fish. For example, as eels travel up-stream they navigate by swimming against the flow. Having negotiated their way up above the weir they will however not enter the Waiau river as it appears to be flowing in the wrong direction. There is therefore a concern about the fact that less native fish stocks are present in Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau.

14) The downward migration of native fish species is also problematic as neither the Maroroa nor Te Anau weirs provide downstream fish passes at present (NB: downstream passes are constructed differently to upstream passes).

15) When tuna (eels) migrate to the sea they tend to follow the strongest downstream current. At Lake Manapouri the dominant current is towards the Manapouri Power Station at the south arm of the lake rather than down the Waiau River. Any eels entering the tail race are subsequently killed in the processes of the power scheme. It would therefore appear that few tuna are sucessfully migrating down the Waiau to reach the sea.

16) There is concern about the predominance of introduced fish (eg. trout and salmon) in the Waiau River and Lakes. Not only are the introduced species seen as a threat to the native fish species, but they are also given priority in decision making at the expense of the native fish species. The mana whenua believe that the native fish species should be given priority and protected first and foremost.

17) Current legislation does not, in general, allow Maori access to traditional mahinga kai sites. This is true of Crown owned land, such as Fiordland National Park, and private land. There is a need for the issue of allowing Maori access to traditional mahinga kai sites on Crown land to be addressed.

18) The disruption of waahi taonga sites by 'keepsakers/looters'is of grave concern to the mana whenua.

4.3 Recommendations

As a result of discussions with the mana whenua and the Iwi Task Group of the Waiau River Working Party, the following list of recommendations has been formulated. These recommendations are endorsed by the Iwi Task Group. They should be seen in light of the information presented in this report and the concerns expressed in the section above.

1) There must be active and ongoing participation of mana whenua and iwi in all resource management decision making processes. This should occur within the Waiau River Working Party, within all levels of regional and district planning, in statutory considerations, and throughout policy formulation and implementation.

2) To ensure the preservation of the mauri and wairua of the Waiau river, there must be a continuous flow of water throughout the entire length of the Waiau River at all times.

3) The quality of the water flowing in the river should at all times be capable of sustaining life - fish life, bird life, plant life, and human life [NB: drinkable quality/wai-maori (fresh water)].

4) All issues of concern to the mana whenua raised in this report, and any further concerns that may be brought to light in the future, must be taken into account and given effect by all other task groups within the Waiau River Working Party.

5) The results of the ECNZ mahinga kai inventory investigation (by Charles Mitchell) are to be given to the Iwi Task Group for their future use and information.

6) Access to traditional mahinga kai sites and resources should be available to the mana whenua.

7) The National/Legal Issues Task Group needs to specifically address and report upon the issue of Maori access to mahinga kai sites. This should be undertaken following completion of the legal hierachy report currently being prepared.

8) The wetlands associated with the Waiau River should be maintained and/or restored where possible. This is due to the significant mahinga kai resources they support. Wetlands are also recognised as sites of national importance due to their unique ecology. All task group studies on wetlands (swamps and estuaries) should recognise the significance of these areas to the mana whenua.

9) The Coastal Task Group is required to address the concerns of the mana whenua in relation to the changing coastal environment and the possible effects on kai moana that these changes may have. This concern is closely linked with the results of the Coastal Processes Study currently being undertaken by Kirk and Schulmeister.

10) It is essential that the survival of native fish species be given priority over introduced species. This needs to occur in all resource management decisions relating to fisheries and aquaculture throughout the Waiau River, the catchment and the coastal environment.

11) Action must be taken to provide for and ensure that the successful upsteam and downsteam migration of native fish species can and does occur.

12) An investigation is required to be undertaken to determine the effect of the Manapouri Power Station on the downstream migration of eels. The iwi should be involved in this process and in establishing options for the improvement of the current situation.

13 No commercial fishing should be allowed in the Waiau River and adjoining lakes. This is in order to protect the mahinga kai resources from commercial exploitation.

14) No resource management decisions relating to the Waiau River catchment should disturb any waahi taonga sites. Any such decisions should directly involve the iwi.

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APPENDIX ONE:

Glossary of Maori Terms used in the Text of this Report:

Ahika	occupation rights; keeping the fires burning through use
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Atua	gods
Awa	river
Hapu	sub-tribe
Harakeke	flax
Hui	gathering of people
Iwi	tribe, people
Kai	food
Kainga	village, settlement
Kaitiaki	protector, caretaker, trustee
Kaitiakitanga	the act of protection
Kanakana	lamprey
Karakia	prayer-chant
Ko	digging stick
Kaumatua	elder
Mahinga kai	food and material resources
Mana Whenua	local Maori people of the land: in this report the Maori people from the Waiau region
Manu	bird
Marae	meeting-ground
Mataa	barracoutta
Maoritanga	Maori culture
Mauri	life-principle, special character
Moana	sea
Mohokaherehere	remants/fugitives of the western forests
Mokihi/Moki	raft
Murihiku	Southland
Ngaherehere	forest
Poha	kelp bag
Pounamu	greenstone
Rahui	ban; reservation (temporary)
Rauiri	reserve
Reo	voice, language
Rohe	district
Roto	interior: towards the source of a river
Taniwha	water creature
Taonga	treasure
Tapu	sacred; forbidden
Te Waipounamu	South Island
Tikanga	custom, principles, rules (ie culture).
Tangata Whenua	Maori people of the land
Tuna	eels
Tohunga	priest; specialist;
Tupuna	ancestor
Turangawaewae	domicile; place of standing
Umu	oven

Utu	revenge, pay for, price, value, costs
Waahi taonga	of cultural and historical importance
Wai	water
Wairua	spirit
waka	canoe, vehicle
Whaikorero	to make a speech
Whakapapa	genealogical table, cultural identity
Whanau	family, (be born, give birth)
Whanaungatanga	relationship
Whare	house
Whare-rau	circular house (impermanent)
Whata	store-house, on a platform

(Most of the above definitions are derived from 'The Revised Dictionary of Modern Maori' by P.M.Ryan).

APPENDIX TWO:

SOUTHERN DIALECT DIFFERENCES

*Extract from Boutbee's Journal (1826-28). (Ref: Begg & Begg 1979:279-286).

The sound of the Southern dialect has disappeared not only through disuse but also because those educated in the Maori language, both oral and written, adopted, spoke, and taught the northern tongue as the approved version. The two were however very different.

"When I was a boy Stewart Island was called Lakiula. Later the people began saying Rakiula, and now they are calling it Rakiura, the same as the Pakeha"

The predominant use of the northern dialect has 'restricted growth in what might have been a living evolving language'. For example it has reduced the number of consonants used.

Some of these differences are noted below.

Northern	Southern	Example
k	g	Otakou = Otargo
ng	k	paparinga = pahparika
r	l	marama = mallama
r	d	korero = kodero
p	b	tapu = taboo
t	d	tuakana = dooakana

the dropping of final vowel manuka = manook

The following list of names should therefore be read phonetically and where a - exists above the word it is a long syllable, also noted by writing two vowels together.

****

'Vocabulary

Brother, dooākana [tuakana]
sister, dooawahēēne [tuawahine]
cousin, (m) tugarnee [tungane], (f) tuīnow [tuahine]
father, madōōa tāhnee [matua tane]
mother, madōōa wahēēne [matua wahine]

man, tōngata [tangata]
woman, wāheene [wahine]
boy, tamārique [tamariki, child]
child, tamāit [tamaiti, children]
husband, tāhnee [tane]
pull, tōya [toia]
who says so?, nah wāi kee mai?
knife, miggara [maripi]
I don't know, āūannoa
perhaps, hāhpaa [pea]
stranger, tōngata kē [tauhou]
thread, mīro mīro [miro]
white man, tōngata bulla (Bay of Islands—tōngata pāhkihow)
New Zealander, tōngata māūree [tangata maori, man or human being]
fool, kāi attōōa (literally—devil's meat)
quiet, māh how [wahangu]
make haste, oōree pōnimai
what's this? a hāh tēnni
long since, ēētoomatta
no, aāgah [ake], & ekōla [kore]
fond, erōa [aroha]
tongue, ahālloro [arero]
drink, cōucou [inu]
swim, ekōū [kau]
the wood with which they make a light, cōwatt [kauati], & totālla [totara]
basket, kētta [kete]
rope, toūra [taura]
sandflies, nāmmoo [namu]
play, pālli [purei]
woodhen, wek [weka]
green-bird, kōkabboo [kakapo]
shag, kāh [koau]
gum, tālla māer [taramea]
island, mōētērree [moutere]
crooked, pigo [piko]
go for some water, iaree gita wai
sour, kiwah [kawa]
flat fish, battik [patiki]
1, āttai [tahi]
2, ārooa [rua]
3, atōōroo [toru]
4, āhwah [wha]
5, arīmma [rima]
6, aōēno [ono]
7, aoēta [whitu]
cockles, tōōakki [tuangi]
hold or seize, māoo [mau]

thing, māēr [mea]
deaf, tāttika tōōree [turi]
sleep, mōe mōē [moe]
he is asleep, kāīta moe rahee
he is crying, kāīta tākki rāhee
he is laughing, kāīta ekātta rāhee
he is frightened, kāīta mahtākka rāhee
cassada [cassava], kartoto [katote] & māmmok [mamaku]
tea tree bush, mānnook [manuka]
rat, kiōree [kiore]
whale, kehwah [kewa]
blackfish, paika [paikea]
mutton fish, pāhuoah [paua]
outside, kēwah [waho]
throw it away, pārra iwah [panga ia]
tired, mōūheevee [mauiui]
I am tired, iaw mouheeuee
look!, titirroo [titiro]
to gaze, māhtakki tākki [matakitaki]
sit, ēnnoa [noho]
sit down, ēnnoa gerārro
up, gīrook [ki runga]
beach, tāwiakka [whanga]
wind, hāu [hau]
North, wāhwah [raro]
East, wekarōa
Southwest, toki [tonga]
oak, ēnak [inaka or grass tree]
Ironwood, lāhtah [rata]
heart, mānnooa [manawa]
nonsense!, kōēya nōēya (or nāhto ho!)
urine, mimmi [mimi]
dung, tōōtai [tutae]
bush, cahrāree [ngahere]
oven, ōōhmoo [umu]
hot, māhnanna [puhahana]
warm, wērroowerroo [werawera]
cold, macrīddi [makariri] (applied to water or the state of the air māhtahda)
stingy, kai pūnnoo [kaiponu]
vomit, rhūak [ruaki]
a corpse, tōōpārbuk [tupapaku]
long, rōroa [roroa]
tall, gōtūk [titikē]
tattoo, ēmook [moko]
sew, tōōee tōōee [tuitui]
clothes, pōkaka [pokeka]
hat, pōtai [potae]

shoes, pāhrarra [paraerae]
cask, tāhhah [taha]
skin, kīlli [kiri]
guts, pēērau [whekau]
club, māip [maipi]
shut, pāiat [paia]
open, ooākana [huakanga]
steal, ūnnoo ūnnoo [unuunu]
angry, rēdi [riri], or cārditti
ripe, māuk [maoka]
are you not ashamed?, ekōla wōkomau?
I am not, ēkola rāhee
forbidden, tāboo [tapu]
red, fāro [whero]
sand, ōnee [one]
a lie, piōu [parau], pāhpak & angarāka
plenty, nue [nui]
heavy, toūmahai [taimaha]
house, wērri [whare]
hungry, ēnmokai [hemokai] (want meat)
water, wāi [wai]
fire, āhee [ahi]
wood, rākkoo [rakau]
dog, gōōree [kuri]
fish, ēka [ika]
ship, bulla [puke] (B. of Islands--kaibukka[kaipuke])
boat, wōuka [waka]
potatoe, māīattau
land, fēnwa [whenua]
come here!, ērromai [haere mai]
go, iāree [haere]
give, ōmai [homai]
I say!, a tāi!
kill, bāttoo [patu]
dead, mātta moe [mate]
how do you do?, tanna rākkookōee
good, pāi [pai], or māi tāi
bad, kēēno [kino]
face, pahpārika [paparinga]
eye, ekōnnohee [kanohi]
eye brows, toōgamātta [tukemata]
teeth, nēihhoo [niho]
nose, tēīhhoo [ihu]
ears, tāttika [taringa]
mouth, wāhhau [waha]
feet, wāi wai [waewae]
ōora

light of foo llah
light (as to weight), māhmah [mama]
a light, tōōlamma [turama]
thunder, wāīterra [whaitiri]
rain, hāihwah [ua]
cry, takki [tangi]
laugh, ekātta [kata]
lazy, tarrika [tukeke]
fight, kōkārree [kakari]
tell, kēēmai
talk, kōdero [korero]
bread, pahbah [paraoa]
lean, māika [maiaka]
fat (sub), ēēnoo [hinu]
fat (adj), mōmmeno [momona]
seal, kēkkano [kekeno]
hair seal, pāhkak [pakake]
bird, mānnoo [manu]
know, māhtow [matau]
understand, taringa
not, kāi voree [kahore]
soon, taī shōa [tata] (or agūnnee [akuanei])
a chief, rangatāara [rangatira]
razor, wōkaterree [whakatori]
musket, wōkatakki [whakatangi]
hair, ōōroo ōōroo [huru]
beard, bāhhow [pahau]
stink, pēro [piro] & houk [haunga]
mutton bird, tēē tēē [titi]
egg, ōōa [hua]
bosom, ōō [u]
this, tēnni [tenei]
a spirit, āttooa [atua]
devil, tāīpo [taipo]
dark, poāree [pouri]
moon, māllama [marama]
stars, fēttoo [whetu]
flax, fēētou [whitau]
fish hook, māhk [matau]
strong, mahroro [marore] & wēhwah nue
weak, tōōkekki
blood, tōto [toto]
kelp, limmoo [rimu]
salt, tooāttara
sea, mōna [moana]
large eels, tōōna [tuna]
small eels, kūnna kūnna

cod-fish, rāooroo [rawara]
trumpeter fish, gōōee gōōee
baracoota, mōkka [manga]
settlement, kāika [kaika]
eat, kai kai [kai]
greens, pūlla [puha]
iron, pāhpah
stone, boātta [kohatu]
bone, hēēvee [iwi]
shoulder, pōkaheevee [peke]
back, tooālla [tuara]
belly, buk [puku]
lāhhah
head, hibbuk [upoko]
yonder, kōōta & kāigo
outside, kēwah [ki waho]
inside, kettōōa [kitua, beyond]
blubber, mōōtoo
sick, māmmoe [mamae]
finished, or done, kārmoot [mutu]
flee, tōōeehou [tuiau]
louse, kōōta [kutu]'

APPENDIX THREE:

Maori Place-Names Along the Waiau River, Lakes and Coastline:

A cautionary word of advice on interpreting maori place names, both for the writer and the reader, is given to us by Teone Tikao:

"... it is not possible to give the real meaning of the name of a place unless one knows how the name was given to it in the first place...I often find it hard to express the right meaning of Maori in English, and many intelligent English people quite misunderstand Maori terms" (Beattie 1939:104).

The following list of place-names is to be read in conjunction with Figure.2 which identifies the location of some of these on a map of the Waiau Catchement region.

NAME LOCATION & MEANING

From Te Waewae mouth to Lake Manapouri:

Te WaeWae Bay Named after the chief of that name who lived at the Pa at the Waiau mouth.

Te Tua a Hatu The name of Te Waewae's kainga located on the west bank of the Waiau river mouth. Means, behind the eyes. (tua=on other side(of solid); whatu=eye). (Cormack pers com)

Te Puka o Takitimu (Monkey Is.) The anchor of the Takitimu waka (Beattie 1954)

Puke Kaka (A hill near Orawia) A place where Kaka birds were snared on the hill. (puke=hill). (Beattie 1954)

Haukore (Helmet Hill) Means without wind; calm. This hill was known as the Maori barometer in western Southland. (Beattie 1949:61).

Ka Kerehu o Tamatea Black rocks near old Tuatapere ferry site. The charcoal of Tamatea's fire. (Beattie 1954)

Ka Taumanu o Takitimu The seats of the Takitimu waka. Seen in the cliff strata along Waiau River.(Beattie 1954)

Te Ana Whakairo Rock shelter at Clifden with Maori drawings. (Ana=cave; whakairo=carve). (Dackers 1990:18).

Te Rua o te Kai Amio Rock shelter at Clifden that was the 'designated meeting place' for the local Maori, similar to a marae. (Cormack pers com)

Waiharakere (Dean Burn) Named after the large amounts of flax (harakere=flax, wai=water). (Cormack pers com)

Makarewa (Wairaki Rv.) The meaning seems to be lost.

Manokiwai/Monoao (L.Monowai) The first relates to the white worm that was used for bobbing for eels here. (Cormack pers com). The second to the dracaphyllum grass tree that grew here. (Hall-Jones 1990).

Otukaramea (Blackmount Hill) The tender/longboat of the Takitimu waka.(Beattie 1954)

Marae-roa (Mararoa Rv.) This means a long (roa=long) courtyard (marae=meeting ground), because the river valley is so flat and long.

Manawapouri/Manawa-popore (L.North Mavora) Means anxious heart (manawa=heart; manawa-pa=anxious; pouri=sad) by Maori who fled from fighting and rested here. (Beattie 1954:66)

Takitimu Mountains Named as the resting place of the Takitimu waka after it was wrecked at the Waiau mouth.

Hikuraki (L.South Mavora) This is an ancient name from Hawaiiki but its relevance here is not known (Hiku=tail; raki=sky)

Tu Tiri Roa (Mts. east of Mavora) Means ended long journey named by a group who passed by en-route from wars. (tira=group of travellers; row(line), roa=long)

Te Tuamanio Tuhutera The thwart of the waka of Tuhutera. Trees overhanging the Waiau gorge. (Beattie 1954)

Rere Means to flow and go swiftly. This is the point Where the river enters L.Manapouri. (Beattie 1955)

Lake Manapouri:

Roto-ua This means Rainy Lake. (Roto=lake, ua=rain). This is the first name given to the lake by Rakaihautu about 825-850 AD when he explored this area and dug out many of the lakes throughout the interior of the South Island. (Beattie 1955)

Motu-rau This name means many islands (motu=island, rau=a crowd;hundred), or it could be given after a girl of that name. This second name was given later.(Beattie 1955)

L. Manapouri This is the third name and that of current useage. It was named this by a survey team in mistake for Manawa-pouri (L. Mavora), or from the name given to the north-west corner of the lake. (Beattie 1955)

Te Okioki (Surprise Cove) Oki means to rest. This name was given when a chief suffering from an illness came here to rest and recouperate till he was fit again. (Beattie 1955).

Te Rakatu (Garnock Burn) Named after fresh water limpet of that name and was also given to the Maori village located here.(Beattie 1955)

Te Konui o Tu-te-Makahu (The Monument) Konui=thumb. The thumb of Tu Te Makohu. Tu-te-Makahu fled here after being anihalated at West Dome. (Beattie 1955).

Whitiaka te Ra It means the shining of the sun. (Whiti=shine, Ra=sun). This was the name given by Tamatea to the Pa site at this location.

Te Maui (North Arm) This is the name of Chief Te Maui who fled from Otago about 1785 & lived here till things quietened down before returning. (Beattie 1955)

Huatea (South Arm) The Chief Huatea who also fled with Te Maui and occupied this area at the same time. (Beattie 1955)

Manapouri (N.E.corner of Lake Manapouri) When the tohunga Te Tukeroa arrived in this area it was covered by the power of darkness. (mana=power;influence, Po=night). (Beattie 1955)

Wai Waiata (Iris Burn) The singing water. When Tukeroa lifted the darkness the stream nearby burst into song. (Wai=water, Waiata=song). (Beattie 1955)

Te Tukeroa (Beehive) Te Tukeroa a great tohunga lived here. (Beattie 1955).

Above Lake Manapouri:

Wairoa (Upper Waiau) The Maori called this section of the river between the lakes Wairoa, meaning long river due to its many bends.(Wai=water, roa=long).

Te Kutuawa o Tuawhea The drowning of Chief Tuawhea. At the outlet of L. Te Anau.

Te Anau Te Anau is the grand-daughter of Hekeia, one of the ancient explorers.

Te Ana-au (glow worm caves) means current of water in a cave. The ancient name however is Te Ana-hinatore (phospherscent cave) (Hall Jones 1979).

Marakura (Upokeroa Rv.) Means red waters. The clay found in this area was used as a natural dye. (Cormack pers comm).

Upokeroa Rv. Named after the grayling fish. 'Quite rare now in this river' (Beattie 1949:66).

Te Rua o te Moko A place near Te Anau where Tamatea prepared pigment for tatooing.

THE COAST NAMES

Ma te Aweawe (Riverton Beach) White spindrift/froth about

Ekia/Hekia (Longwood Range) Named after Chief Hekeia, an ancient discoverer.

Pokepoke (tree near creek at Colac Bay) Clawed out. The way to catch the minnow/inaka here.

Araka/Oraka (Colac Bay) Means the down of an albatross, not female tui as commonly supposed. (Cormack pers com)

Kawakaputaputa (Kawakaputa/Wakapatu) Is thought to mean push out, as this is the closest point towards centre island (Cormack pers com).

Pahi (Pahia) Named after the chief of the Pa at this site

Aropak (Orepuki) The exclamation made as some Maori broke through the bush above the beach.(Aro=look; Paki=a good day)

Papakihau (cliffs at Aropaki/Orepuki) Slapped by wind.

Noke Waiu (near Orepuki cemetry) A kind of worm.

Waiau Swirling waters

Kirirua (swamp on Waiau below Tuatapere) A kind of eel found here.

Tara Kohai (Junction of Camp Creek & Waiau) Tara=spur, Kohai=type of tree

Te Awa o te Nui (1st cliff at Bluecliff) Gathering of people

Pipi Tuaraki (mouth of Waikoua Rv.) Mussels exposed to the sun

Te Rerka o Whaturoa (near Mussel beach) 'The leap of Whaturoa'. As he lept high and escaped from the fighting.

Te Whata (the bay inside Port Craig) Whata=storehouse, due to the large amounts of kai moana found here.

Tuahu (stream near Port Craig) To 'crouch' as the canoe enters the stream mouth.

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APPENDIX FOUR:

Documented Archaeological Sites:

MAP S130	STUART
S130/1	Adze cache
S130/4	Rock Shelter, Findspot
MAP S131	EGLINGTON:
S131/2	Adze findspot
S131/3	Shelter and Drying Rack
S131/4	Shelter and Midden
S131/5	Shelter and Totara Bowl
S131/6	Shelter and Midden
MAP S140	TE ANAU:
S140/1	Settlement
S140/2	Rock shelters with drawings
S140/3	Upukerora River mouth Village
S140/4	Findspot
S140/5	Barked totara
S140/6	Rockshelter, Findspot
MAP S141	MAVORA:
S141/1	Nephrite adze. Findspot
S141/2	Argillite Quarry, Flaking floor
MAP S149	MANAPOURI:
S149/1	Workshop
S149/2	Eel Weir
S149/3	Workshop
S149/4	Kaik, Village
S149/5	Eel Trench on island penninsula
S149/6	Adze findspot, Flakes, Dry Rockshelter
S149/7	Findspot, Eelspear
S149/8	Workshop
S149/9	Findspot, Greenstone
S149/10	Chippings and Oven
S149/11	Eel weir

S149/12	Debarked Redpine (Rimu)
S149/13	Ovens
S149/14	Ovens
S149/15	Burial
S149/16	Ovens, Patu Findspot
S149/17	Cave with Midden
S149/18	Ovens
S149/19	Occupation, Flakes, Ovens
S149/20	Adze Findspot
S149/21	Worked Jade
S149/22	Findspot Adze
S149/25	Findspot, Roughout
S149/26	Oven
S149/27	Oven Cluster
S149/28	Oven
S149/29	Oven
S149/30	Oven
S149/31	Oven
S149/32	Findspot, Flakes
S149/33	Findspot
MAP S158	MONOWAI:
S158/1	Ovens
S151/2	Findspot, Chert blade
S151/4	Findspot, Adze
MAP S167	TUATAPERE:
S167/1	Burial Cave, Mary Island, L.Hauroko
S167/2	Pit, House Terraces
S167/3	Ovens
S167/4	Findspot
S167/5	Terrace
S167/6	Ovens
S167/7	Findspot
S167/8	Archaic Site
S167/9	Findspot, Adzes

S167/10	Occupation Site
S167/11	Occupation Site
S167/12	Rock Shelter, Paintings
S167/13	Occupation Site
S167/14	"
S167/15	Limestone cave, Paintings
S167/16	Limestone Shelter, Paintings
S167/17	Rock Shelter, Paintings
S167/18	Oven
S167/19	Ovens
S167/20	Ovens
S167/21	Findspot, Pigeon trough
S167/22	Ovens
S167/23	Fish talisman
S167/24	Hehuta, small falls to collect Kanakana
S167/25	Findspot, Adzes
S167/26	Cave, Rockshelter, Paintings
S167/28	Adze, Findspot
MAP S175	OREPUKI:
S175/1	Pa
S175/2	Occupation, Working Floor
S175/3	Late Occupation Site
S175/4	Contact Period Site
S175/5	Dune Site
S175/6	Moa Hunter Oven
S175/7	Contact Village
S175/8	Classic Maori Occupation Site
S175/9	" "
S175/10	Burial
S175/11	Midden
S175/12	Midden
S175/13	Midden
S175/14	Working Floor
S175/15	Kaik, Artifacts, Midden, Ovens

S175/16	Oven
S175/17	"
S175/18	"
S175/19	Oven, Midden
S175/20	Oven
S175/21	"
S175/22	"
S175/23	"
S175/24	"
S175/25	"
S175/26	Kaik, Artifacts, Oven, Middens
S175/27	Findspot, Adze
S175/29	Hydro grossular pebble source, (Hammer stones) Orepuki Beach.
S175/30	Ovens
S175/31	"
S175/32	"
S175/33	Grindstone source
S175/34	Ovens
S175/35	Findspot, Greenstone Adze
S175/36	Findspot, Adze
S175/37	Artifacts
S175/38	Ovens
S175/39	Findspot, Adze
S175/40	Findspot, Adze
S175/41	Findspot, Nephrite Adze
S175/42	Occupation
S175/43	Findspot, Adze
S175/44	Oven
S175/45	Midden
S175/46	Oven, Midden
S175/47	Findspot, Adze
S175/48	Oven, Findspot, Adze
S175/49	Ovens, Findspot
S175/50	Findspots
S175/51	Mahinga kai site

S175/55	Midden
S175/56	"
S175/57	Findspot, Adze
S175/58	"
S175/59	Findspot, Argillite Adze
S175/60	Oven, Findspot, Adze
S175/61	Ovens
S175/62	Findspots
S175/63	Pendant ?
S175/64	Oven
S175/65	Oven
S175/66	Midden
S175/67	"
S175/68	Midden , Shelter
S175/69	Rockshelter with Midden
S175/70	Midden
S175/71	Cave with Occupation
S175/72	Midden and Cave Shelter
S175/73	" "
S175/74	Midden
S175/75	Whata storehouse
S175/80	Ovens
S175/83	Maori canoe ?
S175/85	Ovens
S175/87	"
S175/88	"
S175/89	"
S175/98	Occupation
S175/99	Occupation, Artifacts
S175/100	" "
S175/101	Midden
S175/102	Ovens
S175/103	Occupation
S175/104	Midden
S175/105	Findspot, Adzes

S175/108	Midden
S175/109	Findspot
S175/110	Findspot
S175/111	"
S175/112	"
S175/113	Findspot, Oven
S175/114	Burial
S175/115	Findspot, Adze.

New Zealand Archaeological Association Site Recording Scheme:

Southland Filekeeper (Karl Gillies)

The Southland File of recorded archaeological sites is held within the Southland Museum & Art Gallery, Queens Park, P O Box 1012, Invercargill (ph/fax 03-218-9753).

All archaeological sites (Maori/Chinese/European etc.) over 100 years old (whether recorded or unrecorded) are protected against any disturbance under the Historic Places Act 1980.

Specific information on the nature and location of archaeological sites within Southland can be obtained on request from the Southland Filekeeper. Information regarding burials or sites containing human remains is restricted, and is available only on a "no media access" basis.

APPENDIX FIVE:

Waahi Taonga codes of Ngai Tahu:

WAAHI TAONGA AND WAAHI TAPU

The term waahi tapu is referred to in the Resource Management Act in sections 6(e) and 58(b). It is also referred to in Part 11 clause 2(c) of the second schedule. The eighth schedule amendment to the Maori Affairs Act regarding subdivision of Maori land also refers to waahi tapu. However the Act leaves waahi tapu undefined. A major reason for not defining waahi tapu is that subtle differences to its meaning occur between the various hapu and tribes that make up the Maori world. **Waahi taonga** is the word that Ngai Tahu shall substitute to convey the meaning and intent of waahi tapu.

Waahi taonga is defined as all those resources that sustain life, that are culturally and historically important to Ngai Tahu. Waahi taonga is the term that Ngai Tahu use to identify those resources that shall require consultation.

Waahi taonga are categorised and coded into sections for identification and administration purposes.

WAAHI TAONGA CODES

	STATUS	DESCRIPTION	CODE
1.	Waahi Taapuketia	Buried Taonga	TB
2.	Waahi Ana	Important cave areas	TC
3.	Tuhituhi Nehera	Rock drawing sites	TD
4.	Waahi Tohu	Locators and their names within the landscapes	TE
5.	Mahinga kai	Those places where food was produced or procured	TF
6.	Waahi Paripari	Cliff areas	TG
7.	Kaianga Nohonga	Occupation and residential sites	TH
8.	Tuahu	Sites of importance to identity	TI
9.	Waahi Raranga	Sources of weaving material	TK
10.	Tauraka waka	Canoe landing sites	TL
11.	Maunga	Mountains	TM
12.	Waahi rua	Food storage areas	TP
13.	Waahi kai Tiaki		TR
14.	Waahi Kohatu	Rock formations	TS
15.	Waahi Rakau	Areas of important trees	TT
16.	Uru Pa	Human burial sites	WB
17.	Pa Tawhito	Ancient Pa sites	TW
18.	Wai Whakaheketupapaku	Water burial sites	WB
19.	Wai Tohi	Areas of pure water	WC
20.	Wai Mataitai	Important Estuarine Waters	WE
21.	Wai Maori	Important fresh water areas	WF
22.	Wairewa	Hot water for healing purposes and recreation	WG
23.	Waiora	Area of water used for healing	WH
24.	Wai puna	Important springs	WP

APPENDIX SIX:

Mahinga Kai Resources:

Beattie 1920 ms 181. (Anderson, in Ngai Tahu Claim).

MAORI NAME	ENGLISH NAME	METHOD OF CATCH
EDIBLE SHELLFISH etc:		
Koura waiti	Marine Crayfish	hand, trap
Koura waimaori	Freshwater Crayfish	hand
Kakahi	Freshwater mussel	hand
Kina	Sea eggs	"
Paua		"
Kuku	Mussel	"
Tuaki	Cockle	"
Pupu	Cats eye	"
Kopa kopa	Fanshell	"
Taiwhatiwhati	Small Toheroa	"
Rori	Scutus sp.	"
Kakihi	Limpet	"
Tio	Sand Oyster	"
Koeo	Silver Paua	"
Mariri	Small Paua	"
Tahoehoe		"
Tupehokura	Toheroa	"
Whakaiotama	Mactra sp.	"
Kaio	Sea nut	"
Miscellaneous:		
Kuri	Dog	trap
Kiore	Rat	trap
Pakake	Seal	club
Tukarakau	Huhu grub	hand
	Beached whales	

Food Fish: Marine :		
Makaa	Barracoutta	Pa and Matere; March
Hapuku	Groper	Manuka hook; Winter
Kahawai	Arripis sp.	Kaka net, Kahawai hook
Whai	Ray /skate	
Rari	Ling	
Patiki	Flounder	Kaka net, spear ; May/August
Poroporo	Small Flounder	"
Raututu	Yellow bellied Flounder	"
Huarau	Spiny Dogfish	Kupeka net
Tupa	? White pointer	"
Mako	Blue Shark	"
Repe	Elephant Fish	
Wheke	Octopus	
Food Fish: Estuarine and Riverine:		
Paraki	Smelt	Kaka net
Marakuha	? Sprat ? sp.	"
Koroamo	"	"
Neinei	"	"
Waharoa	"	"
Inaka	Minnow	Kaka net, Awa; Sep-Feb
Patotara	? Yellow bellied Flounder	Kaka net, Awa; May-Aug
Mohoao	Black Flounder	" "
Upokororo	Grayling	"
Panako	Kokopu sp.	" ; Autumn
Kokobala	"	"
Kokopula	"	"
Mata	Whitebait	" ; Aug-Dec
Kanakana	Lamprey	hand, pakanakana; Spring
Tuna	Eels	hand, bob, spear, Awa and Kohao net, Kaitara, Patuna, and Hinaki

Food Plants:		
Tutu	Coriaria sp.	Berries
Matai	Black Pine	"
Tataraheka	Coprosma sp.	"
Tataramua	Bush Lawyer	"
Pikiraki	Mistletoe	"
Kotukutuku	Fuschia	"
Kareao	Supple Jack	"
Mako (mako)	Wineberry	"
Miki (miki)	Mingimingi	"
Rehua	?	"
Patotara	Cyathades sp.	"
Tapuku	Snow berry	"
Takapo	"	"
Kakahu	? Aslelia sp.	"
Kokihi	Beach Spinach	"
Poroporo	Bulli-bulli	"
Kahika	Kahikatea/ White pine	"
Totara	Podocarpus sp.	"
Buha	Puha	Leaves, Gum
Naupiro	Anise	"
Pora	Wild Cabbage	"
Kawakawa	Wild Turnip	"
Punui	Maquarie Is. Cabbage	"
Papaii	Speargrass	Stem
Pitau	Raupo stem	Shoots
Purau	Purua grass	Root
Koareare	Raupo Root	Root
Pukapuka	Raupo Flower	Pollen
Kauheke	Ribbonwood	Inner bark (Flour)
Kiekie	Freycinetia sp.	Flower, Fruit
Aruhe	Bracken fern	Root

Rata	Rata flower	Honey
Korari	Flax Flower	Honey
Piupiu	Maidenhair fern	Shoots
Katote	Cyathea sp.	Pith
Kauru	Cabbage tree	Stem, Root
Kaleko	Karengo	Leaves
Rimurimu	Carrageew	"
Rimupuka	Kelp	Stem
Poketara	Puffball	All
Weho	Tree fungus	"
Birds:		
Takahe	Notornis sp.	Dogs
Kotuku	White Heron	Snares
Kamana/Koukou	Crested Grebe	Snares
Kakapo	Ground Parrot	Dogs
Kiwi	Apteryx sp.	"
Koau	Shag	Hand, Snares
Tawaki	Penguin ? sp.	Hand
Tokoroki	Penguin ? sp.	"
Penu	Penguin ? sp.	"
Korora	Little Blue Penguin	"
Karoio	Black backed Gull	Snares
Tarapuke	Small Gull	"
Kaka	Brown Parrot	Spear, Club (Winter), Snared in various ways (summer).
Kereru	Pigeon	" "
Tui	Parson bird	" "
Kakariki	Parakeets	" "
Pioioi	Ground Lark	
Koreke	Native Quail	
Pukekho	Swamp Hen	

Putakitaki	Paradise Duck	Driven on water into yards when moulting; Driven upwind and caught by dogs; Snared. Dec-March
Parera	Gray Duck	" "
Kukupako	Black Teal	" "
Tata	Shoveller	" "
Pateke	Teal	" "
Whio	Blue Duck	Snared
Matuku	Bittern	"
Weka	Woodhen	Whakapipi (lure & Noose), Snared, Dogs,
Toroa	Albatross	Snared, Hooked
Hoho	Brown Duck	Snared
Kurupatu	? Rail	
Koparapara	Bellbird	Snared
Toitoi	Fern Bird	
Whekau	Laughing Owl	