GRAND NARRATIVES

Crown Copyright © This work is licensed
under the Creative Commons Attribution 3.0
New Zealand Licence

ISBN 978-0-908343-17-1

Published in 2016
Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority
Private Bag 4999, Christchurch 8140

Set in Calluna 11/13.2pt

Design and Layout
Paul Shackleton, Eminence Design Limited

CONTENTS

DISCLAIMER....2

MIHI....3

THE GRAND NARRATIVE....5

THE VALUES AND HISTORY OF THE ŌTĀKARO AND NORTH AND EAST FRAMES....41

THE JUSTICE AND EMERGENCY SERVICES PRECINCT NARRATIVE....71

THE CONVENTION CENTRE NARRATIVE....161

THE SQUARE NARRATIVE: WHITI-REIA....183

THE STADIUM NARRATIVE: TAIWHANGA HĀKINAKINA....197

CANTERBURY EARTHQUAKE MEMORIAL: TE PUNA MAUMAHARA....211

THE PUBLIC REALM OF CENTRAL CHRISTCHURCH NARRATIVE....223

THE METRO SPORTS FACILITY NARRATIVE....243

CHRISTCHURCH BUS INTERCHANGE NARRATIVE: HINE PAAKA TIME FOR A CHANGE....265

THE PERFORMING ARTS NARRATIVE....289

THE RETAIL PRECINCT NARRATIVE....331

DISCLAIMER

This document has been prepared for the exclusive use and benefit of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA). In preparing this document the authors have relied upon public information and information provided by the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority and others, the accuracy or completeness of which cannot be fully verified. While all due care has been taken in the preparation of this document, no warranty or indemnity, express or implied, is given by the authors or their related institutions, to any party, as to the accuracy or completeness of this document, and no liability is accepted by the authors or their related institutions for any losses or damages incurred by any party relying on this document. The views expressed in this document should not be taken to represent those of the institutions to which the authors are affiliated, or of any clients for whom they have acted or are currently acting.

CONFIDENTIALITY

This document has been prepared for the sole purpose of informing the Christchurch Central Development Unit's delivery teams responsible for design of the relevant anchor projects. The Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority has agreed that this document is to be treated as confidential information and that neither this document nor any excerpts of this document will be published without the express consent of the contracting party.

MIHI

Associate Professor Te Maire Tau,
Ngāi Tūāhuriri Historian and Deputy Chair Matapopore,
Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre

Tēnā koutou katoa

Following the devastating earthquakes in Christchurch in 2010 and 2011 the city commenced one of the greatest and most significant rebuilds of an urban area in post–war history.

From the devastation, opportunities emerged. Central government, local government, Māori and community leaders recognised the opportunity to create a new city using a partnership approach, informed and shaped by public consultation and participation. It was an opportunity to recognise, embrace and acknowledge our shared history and a shared future.

From that recognition has emerged a new narrative for Christchurch, one that recognises the heritage of settler culture, and the mana whenua of Ngāi Tahu hapū, Ngāi Tūāhuriri.

The following pages record the process of uncovering and revealing our stories and how we intend to weave them into the fabric of our new city.

These gathered stories of Christchurch are a gift for future generations to discover, interpret and enjoy.

GRAND NARRATIVE FOR CHRISTCHURCH

Written by Associate Professor Te Maire Tau, Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, University of Canterbury,
includes the essay ‘Principles of Partnership’ by Freelance Writer Jane England

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861

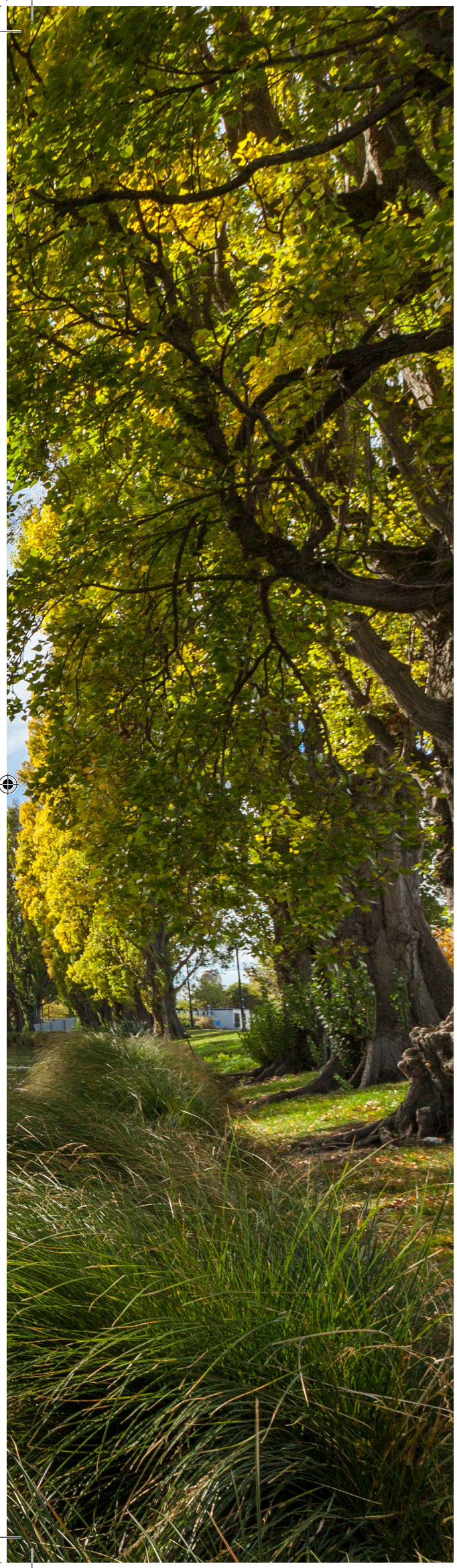


Image Credit: Damon McPhail

> Ka tahuri te riu o Te Waka a Māui ki raro. Ka mate, ka hika a Kaiapoi, ka mate kā rakatira kaumātua, kā rakatira taitamariki, me kā tohuka mōhio nui ki te kōrero whakapapa, i kā take mai o te takata.
>
> The South Island – the Canoe of Māui – was conquered and its destruction was complete. Kaiapoi had fallen and the elders, leading chiefs and their sons along with the High Priests who knew the traditions and the genealogies and tales of creation – all were killed.
>
> Natanahira Waruwarutu – Ngāi Tūāhuriri

INTRODUCTION

If there is one horror that our ancestors knew and understood well enough, it was the destruction of the very world they lived in and the death of loved family and friends. The fall, capture and burning of Kaiapoi Pā was an event that utterly changed the world of the people who lived in it and the world their descendants would inhabit. The idea that their known world had come to an end was captured in the proverb from the tohunga, Natanahira Waruwarutu:

> Ka tahuri te riu o te waka a Māui ki raro - the canoe of Maui was capsized and cast asunder.

Kaiapoi Pā fell after the defenders had held their ground during a siege that lasted four to five months. The leading chiefs from Kaiapoi were taken as captives to Kapiti Island, leaving the survivors to seek refuge with their relations to the south. The destruction of this pā site was recalled in an old Ngāi Tahu saying:

> Kāore nā hoki Kaiapoi, Te Tuahiwi tō kīkī no . . . Ko te wai anake o Whakahume to au ana.
>
> Kaiapoi is no more, Tuahiwi is silent . . . It is only the Whaka-hume that moves.[1]

This saying tells us that the only thing that moved upon the land was the Whakahume River (the Cam River), which ran through Tuahiwi. The Whakahume was a specific reference to the hapū Ngāti Rakiamoa, to whom the Cam River belonged and whose ancestors were buried along this river. Ngāti Rakiamoa had been the leading family of Ngāi Tahu; however, with the deaths of Te Maiharaui, Tawaka, the capture of Iwikau, Momo and Paora Tau at Kaiapoi, the river like the pā was silent.

For the next decade Ngāi Tahu engaged in a series of hard-won battles against Ngāti Toa based at the top of the South Island. Traditionally Ngāi Tahu had been a collective of hapū, tribal groups whose relationships with each other ran hot and cold, depending on the leaders. It was the Ngāti Toa attempt to invade the South Island that consolidated the tribe into a functioning iwi group. From this period, individuals such as Tūhawaiki, Karetai and Taiaroa emerged as iwi leaders rather than local war chiefs.

At the same time, southern Ngāi Tahu had been arming themselves during their trade in Port Jackson, New South Wales, and as a result were able to provide the vanguard against Ngāti Toa during battles in the Marlborough Sounds. It was these battles that stopped any further North Island raids into the South Island. Ngāti Toa were forced behind the tribal borders and a peace settlement followed.

While historians concern themselves with outlining explanations about why the wars occurred, of more concern to Ngāi Tahu and to our elders are the lessons that we can learn from the past and the values that are important to the community as we move forward.

During his later years, the Kaiapoi elder, Natanahira Waruwarutu, looked back at the tragedy of Kaiapoi Pā, the flight of the survivors to their southern relations and eventually their victory to secure their homelands. He shared his memories and involvement in the story with his student, Thomas Eustace Green. That story was published in 2011.

Halfway through the account the old man brought the story to a halt as he was talking of how one of their own villages had been less than charitable to their kin who had arrived seeking aid. The event was highlighted because the offending village was now requesting help from Waruwarutu and his people.

The event was a breach of tradition and it clearly affected the old man, who paused and delivered this message:

> E hoa mā, e kā uri whakatipu i muri nei . . . atawhaitia kā oraka mai o ētahi kāika, whakaputa mai ana kia koutou, koi pēnei ki a koutou; ahakoa pākehatia koutou, kia rakatira e whakahaere mā koutou.
>
> My friends and my descendants who follow after me... Always care for those who come to you from their villages seeking your charity lest this happen to you; even though you may become the same as the Pākehā, always conduct yourselves as rangatira, with grace and charity.

Waruwarutu is simply telling his descendants that the measure of 'rangatira' is their capacity to show kindness and charity to one another. Hospitality, the provision of food, shelter and care, is a mark of leadership.[1]

Waruwarutu narrated this story as an old man in the 1880s. He had seen his world turned upside down and transformed. His family and people were facing absolute poverty. Māori were seen as a dying people with those in power believing that all they could do was to "smooth the pillow of a dying race". This circumstance was outlined to a Royal Commission held in 1879, with the details of the devastation that Ngāi Tahu was forced to endure being quite breathtaking.

The Kaiapoi elder, Hoani Uru, told that same Commission:

> All the people who have families have a great struggle to maintain them. Better be dead and out of the way, as there did not appear to be any place for them in the future.[2]

It was not just Ngāi Tahu people that were suffering but also their lands and natural habitat. Their old eeling lagoons, the places where they took whitebait, the flounder beds and estuaries were all subject to the demands of the colonising culture and drained. Tikao Wira from Te Muka spoke about the destruction of their mahinga kai:

> All the old mahinga kai are gone, and owing to trout having been put in all the rivers we are unable to catch flounders, inanga, or eels without risking the chance of being fined or imprisoned. Some of us were nearly put in gaol for catching wekas on some of the runs. Donald McFarlane, of Hakateramea, and Mr. Hoare, of Station Peak, turned us off while catching wekas. Put a notice in a newspaper that Natives would not be allowed to catch wekas on their runs; wanted to preserve wekas for game, and to kill the rabbits; but afterwards the wekas were killed on these runs by dogs and poison. Have seen the wekas lying dead on the runs in numbers, but the station-owners would not allow the Natives to kill or catch them; they threatened to shoot us if we went on their land.

1. *T.M. Tau, 'I Whanau au ki Kaiapoi: The Story of Natanahira Waruwarutu', as recorded by Thomas Green, University of Otago Press (2011).*
2. *A. Mackay, 'Middle Island Native Claims, Report by Commissioner A. Mackay of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Condition of the South Island Māori', AJHR 1891 G7, p 58.*

Image Credit: Damon McPhail

> All our old mahinga kai are destroyed, and we are left without the means of obtaining the food we used formerly to depend on.[3]

Pita Mutu gave a similar scenario:

> We cannot obtain eels from these easements now; formerly we use to get them in quantities. Waimakariri is the only river that fish can be got in, and we are now barred from going there.[4]

It is this historical devastation that has given Ngāi Tahu an understanding of the concern that New Zealanders now have for their environment. For Māori, the 'hau' (energy and life) had left the land. The proverb for this destruction is "Haha whenua, haha tangata – desolate land desolate people". The land had lost its breath and the social consequences were devastating.

Not only were Ngāi Tahu facing the environmental destruction of their traditional lands but they were also facing poverty brought about by land purchases and settlements.

While Ngāi Tahu received an average of 10 acres per head, the Canterbury Lands Act 1851 stipulated that a minimum allocation for Pākehā was to be 50 acres per head.[5] In practice, it was closer to 100 acres. The outcome was wholly predictable. For Ngāi Tahu, without enough land to cultivate and farm, and facing the drainage of customary fishing grounds, and the clearance of the bush and grasslands where forest fowl and weka could be taken, poverty followed.

Another Ngāi Tahu contributor to the Commission, Hoani Maaka, spoke about his family members, who survived by fishing, "but many get afflicted with illness through exposure to the wet and cold".[6] Women who were not allocated land were "helpless… as they had no one to support them, and were dependent on the goodwill of their relatives".[7]

3. *Ibid, p 51.*
4. *Ibid, p 56.*
5. *H. Evison, Ngāi Tahu Land Rights and the Crown Pastoral Lease Lands in the South Island of New Zealand, Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board 1987, p 32.*
6. *A. Mackay, 'Middle Island Native Claims, Report by Commissioner A. Mackay of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Condition of the South Island Māori', AJHR 1891 G7, p 58.*
7. *Ibid, p 51.*

Those who opted out and subsisted on the remaining fishing grounds were forced to "eke out a living by getting fish, but illness is often contracted through being exposed to the weather".

The tragedy of this was that leaders of the day such as Hoani Uru and H.K. Taiaroa actually felt that it was better 'to be dead and out of the way 'because they could not see a future for themselves'. It was against these odds that, Māori survived.

What was it that sustained our tribe through their 'mamae'? Historians will talk about intermarriage, the improving economy and the assimilation of Māori into wider New Zealand society. Those explanations are external and peripheral to the explanation our own people have. Hoani Matiu, the elder who gave us the pepeha, "Kurakura Ngāi Tahu", explained the situation when he said:

> Do not know how a great many of the old people live, except by the hospitality of others (te aroha o te Māori).

In short, Ngāi Tahu survived because of their basic values of manaaki and atawhai – "aroha ki te tangata". These values are important not just to Ngāi Tahu but also to the wider community and they must be reflected by the design teams. The architectural design of the buildings and landscape setting are important, but only if they reflect values that our ancestors held to be important.

Those values are reflected in the warning given to us by Waruwarutu and by the first Upoko Rūnanga of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Pita Te Hori, in 1861.

> Ko taku ture i ahu mai i toku tupuna i a Tūāhuriri nana i mea, "Kia atawhai ki te Pākehā". Muri iho, ka pērā ano hoki te kupu a Tūrākautahi.
>
> My laws commenced with my ancestor, Tūāhuriri, who said, "Care for your people".

Image Credit: Damon McPhail

This pepeha is a statement of mana. By 1861, Christchurch was dominated by the values and drivers of the Canterbury Association. Ngāi Tahu were marginalised and impoverished. Yet when Pita Te Hori and his people met with the city leaders in Christchurch, he had the courage to deliver strong words about his and his ancestors' values. Pita Te Hori declared his mana-motuhake (independence and autonomy) and signalled the authority Tūāhuriri held.

The values contained in this pepeha must be considered by the design teams that are visioning our new future:

- whakapapa: identity
- mana-motuhake: independence and autonomy
- manaakitanga: charity
- ture-wairua: faith.

INITIAL OBSERVATIONS

This document is a narrative of Ngāi Tahu values, customs and traditions. It is not a design manual. The expectation is that the values and principles within the narrative will be converted into design guidelines. There are, however, a number of observations that need to be made.

While Ngāi Tahu have a solid understanding of western/New Zealand identity, heritage, values and customs and how these ideas have been configured into Christchurch, it is apparent that the design teams have very little understanding of things Māori. It also appears that the designers have little knowledge of Christchurch's European heritage or culture and this does concern us – as we wonder how the design teams will incorporate and interpret European history, let alone Ngāi Tahu history.

The design teams must have Ngāi Tahu involved in all aspects of the design – to ensure that they accurately represent the values outlined.

As a result of this perception, Matapopore has been reluctant to give definitive statements on future city aesthetics and design. We want to encourage city planners, designers and artists to engage in dialogue and undertake research into areas that we highlight in our documents. It is only by doing this that we will end up with a result that truly incorporates Ngāi Tahu culture, history and aesthetics.

Matapopore may also need to be more hands on and prescriptive over design matters to ensure Ngāi Tahu heritage, identity and values are recognised.

PRINCIPLES

COMMUNITY

Future design for Christchurch must demonstrate concern with community. This is an absolute priority.

HISTORY

When the Crown set aside our reserves in 1848, it had very little problem in directing our people about what to incorporate and how to design our village. In the establishment of our Rūnanga,

Walter Buller, the Native Commissioner for the Canterbury Purchase, took a role that exceeded his powers and encouraged the Rūnanga to adopt the following rules for its land and reserve.

1. That the primary sub-division and apportionment of the land should be arranged by them in Rūnanga.
2. That as a fundamental condition of the proposed grants, the estates and interests created thereby should be entailed, so as to make them inalienable to persons of other than the Māori race.
3. That the power of leasing, if allowed, should be modified by certain conditions or limitations.
4. That the whole of the attendant expenses should be borne by the Natives themselves—a sufficient portion of the land being set apart for that purpose.
5. That suitable endowments should be made for the several objects of churches, school, and hospitals.
6. That the arrangements contemplated in the two foregoing clauses should be carried out prior to the apportionment of the land (i.e. whilst it is common property).[8]
7. Rūnanga were essentially local councils for Māori. They were to have their own authority within their villages. The Rūnanga were, in Buller's eyes, "... a general meeting of shareholders, met for a common object, all enjoying the same privileges, and amendable alike to rules of discipline".[9]

The first principle that the land was to be individualised and apportioned by the Rūnanga was an expectation from the people of Ngāi Tūāhuriri.

The second principle that no land was to be 'alienated' outside of the tribe was contrary to the subsequent Native Land Court legislation of 1862 that permitted land to be sold to Pākehā.

The critical point here, and one that must be understood by all local authorities within the Canterbury region, is that the Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga was the tribal entity that held management rights over reserve land and that the land owners gathered as shareholders to make decisions as a collective.

The rules that followed essentially required our people to set aside lands for a church, schools and hospitals. Our people did just this with the expectation that the Crown would provide the institutions. The Crown did not keep its end of the bargain.[10] As a result, throughout our villages, Ngāi Tahu built their own schools and tribal members paid for the churches. The Crown did not provide hospitals.

As stated at the start of this section, the first principle is that a community is designed. Just as the Crown saw it fit to advise Ngāi Tahu how to develop a community, Matapopore thinks it appropriate to do the same. Tuahiwi is not just a community because it set aside areas for the school, church and hospital. It also has:

(i) . . . people

(ii) . . . urupā

(iii) . . . a wharenui

8. *A. Mackay, A Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island. Volume Two. (1879), pp 96–98.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Waitangi Tribunal, Ngāi Tahu Report, 1991, Vol. 1, pp 171–172.*

(iv) . . . a marae

(v) . . . designated areas of mahinga kai

(vi) . . . an area where tribal members can place their whenua

(vii) . . . places that are recognised as wāhi-tapu

The church and school have been important institutions that have added and contributed to the community. However, the most important place within the community is the marae and its wharenui, Maahunui. All formal events occur at the Tuahiwi marae. It is the focal point for communal activity.

The Christchurch design must incorporate a similar community centre. Matapopore does not expect a wharenui and a marae because the view of the Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga is that there are enough marae and whare in Christchurch and that nothing should undermine the role of Tuahiwi marae as the principal marae.

However, there has been no attempt to incorporate the aesthetics, values and purpose of a marae and wharenui into something that speaks to contemporary New Zealand and also holds to the traditions and heritage of Christchurch. The design teams need to start with a community centre – a gathering place for civic functions and events that merges both European and Māori traditions. This will be a combination of wharenui and great hall that incorporates the traditions of both communities.

It is necessary to spend some time considering the heritage of both cultures so that a synthesis of values creates a communal focal point. Drawing an empty space and calling it a "square/plaza/marae" is not enough. It needs to incorporate the values of a marae rather than the design principles of a marae.

The marae is where the community gathers to celebrate, mourn and host. It is where manuhiri gather. Today, manuhiri are defined as 'visitors'. However, an equally appropriate term is 'strangers'. It is easy for us to welcome people we know and understand – people with the same cultural identity. This is a relatively easy form of hospitality. It is entertaining our guests. The challenge is to show the same charity to those whom we do not know – those who are unknown: strangers. In a modern context this can mean migrants from cultures that are alien and challenging to us.

The moral duty to welcome visitors from afar is also balanced by the need to offer charity and hospitality to those within our own communities who we also treat as 'strangers'. The custom among Ngāi Tahu is that the community eats in common inside the whare-kai (dining room). To this end, proper hospitality should not be confused with entertainment. In the Christian tradition, the homeless and vulnerable should all receive hospitality and care because they are "the least".[11]

Extending hospitality and kindness to those other than our family and friends is a challenge and can create tensions but the design teams must take this principle into consideration when developing concepts.

It is a concept that is well reflected in this statement by Waruwarutu:

> E hoa, mā, e kā uri whakatipu i muri nei . . . atawhaitia kā oraka mai o ētahi kāika, whakaputa mai ana kia koutou, koi pēnei ki a koutou; ahakoa pākehatia koutou, kia rakatira e whakahaere mā koutou.

11. *Matthew 25:40; Luke 14:13-14*

> My friends and my descendants who follow after me… Always care for those who come to you from their villages seeking your charity lest this happen to you; even though you may become the same as the Pākehā, always conduct yourselves as rangatira, with grace and charity.[12]

Following the fall of Kaiapoi Pā, Waruwarutu and the Kaiapoi people journeyed to their relations at Te-wai-a-te-rua-a-ti, Te Muka, where their kin, Ngāti Huirapa, resided. The wharenui where they found sanctuary was called Te Huatake. Ngāti Huirapa then built a larger whare called Kohikohi to hold our people. The names of the whare are valued today amongst our people because they represent the hospitality from Ngāti Huirapa.

All our wharenui in Ngāi Tahu act as the gathering places for the people.

The question that we ask of the design teams is – where is the centre for Christchurch? Is there a place of sanctuary, hospitality and celebration that truly reflects these principles?

WHAKAPAPA: OUR IDENTITY

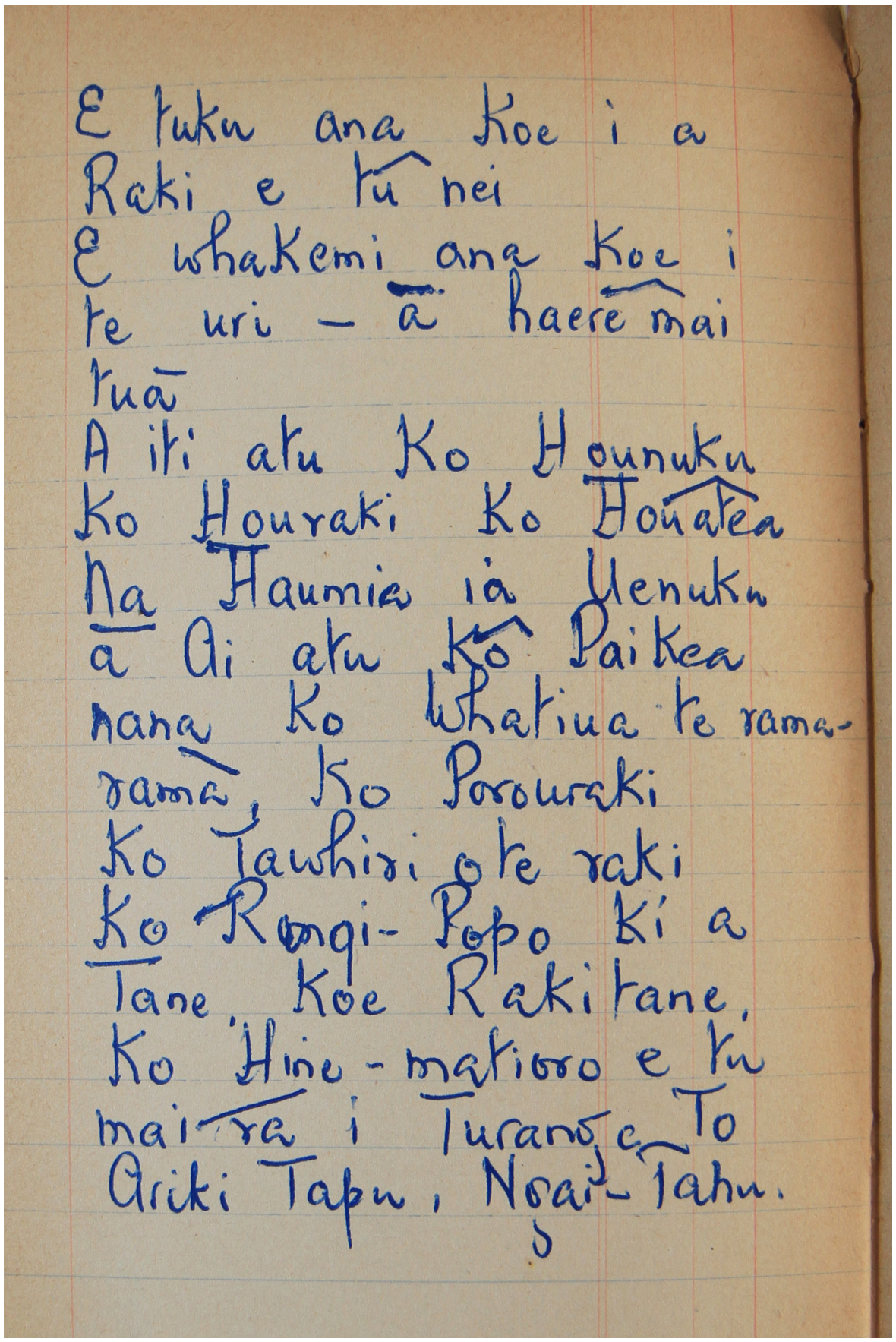
Ko te maunga tapu o Ngāi Tahu, ko Te Kani-o-Takirau

WHAKAPAPA

The single most important custom or value that has kept Ngāi Tahu together is our whakapapa. Whakapapa means the laying of one generation upon another. Others understand whakapapa as genealogy. Without whakapapa it is doubtful that Ngāi Tahu would still exist as a people. Whakapapa establishes Ngāi Tahu identity. Our genealogy can be traced from our descent from the atua and ancestors or can be traced across the tribe where we can identify brothers and sisters, first and second cousins or more distant relations.

This basic point is important for Pākehā to understand because Ngāi Tahu does not define itself on the basis of race, ethnicity or religion but on whakapapa.

12. *T. M. Tau, 'I Whanau au ki Kaiapoi: The Story of Natanahira Waruwarutu', as recorded by Thomas Green, University of Otago Press (2011), p 22.*



I give to you the Heavens above

That draws within you the descent lines of those who come from afar

Followed the deities

Hounuku

Houraki

Houatea

Haumia

Uenuku, whose child was

Paikea, the whale rider who journeyed to Te Ika a Māui and begat

Whatiua Te Ramarama, the father of Porou raki of Ngāti Porou

From Ngāti Porou we have the son, Tawhiri-ki-te-raki

and then, Raki popo ki a Tāne

followed by Rakaitane

and finally Hine mati oro, our ancestress,

who stood at Turaki on the East Coast as the

'ariki tapu' of Ngāi Tahu.

Identity is one of the most basic questions we can ask of a person. It is a question that most communities understood and were able to answer until relatively recently. New Zealanders went to the Great War because their families lived in the United Kingdom and were spread throughout the Empire.

When Māori seek to know someone, they ask, "No whea koe – where do you come from?". In this sense, Māori are asking what mountain, river and land does one hail from because these land features are all ancestral and the answer will reflect identity.

Today, Ngāi Tahu say their mountain is Aoraki and their river Waitaki. Yet this is a very modern response. A century ago, Ngāi Tahu would have referred to their mountains along the Torlesse Range or to those further inland. Descendants of Tūrākautahi would have claimed Kura-tāwhiti (Castle Hill), while the descendants of his brother Tāne Tiki would have turned to Whata-a-rama (Torlesse Range). Likewise, the descendants of Moki would have claimed Tawera (Mt Thomas). In citing their mountain, the community knew their descent lines and the connection to the land.

When Paora Tau claimed the inland area from Maungatere to Maunga atua, in negotiating the 1848 Canterbury Purchase with Henry Tacy Kemp, he did so because these mountains were his ancestors. For Paora Tau, his ancestors could not be sold and he made this clear when he established the tribal boundary at Te Parinui-o-whiti.

This concept is important in the context of design principles for Christchurch.

Landmarks act as identity markers for Māori. In Christchurch, the Kaiapoi hapū and whānau understood where their ancestral connections were and, accordingly, their responsibilities. As early as 1848, Ngāi Tahu elders such as Wiremu Te Uki and Te Muru, from Kaiapoi, were explaining their people's rights to Christchurch and its waterways along the Ōtākaro/Avon River outwards to the New Brighton–Sumner estuary to Godley Head.

> August 9 1849
>
> Hei Onepoto timata ai tēnei pukapuka, te heti paina o Tumataroa, Ohikaparuparu, Te Ana-korora, Opatuhaere, Ohikaparuparu, Tuawera, Otuhinapo, Ohineteraki, Omanuhiri, Te Awa-mokihi, Moanui, Otuhapai, Manukaitakotako, hei kōnei tū ai i toku rohe . . .
>
> This document starts from One-poto, heading out to the head point O-tu-mataroa, O-hika-paruparu, Te Ana-korora, O-patu-haere, O-hika-paruparu, Tuawera, O-tu-hina-po, O-hine-te-raki, O-manuhiri, Te Awa-mokihi, Moanui, O-tu-hapai, Manu-kai-takotako. This is my area, my land.[14]

When Te Uki said that the Ōtākaro/Avon River was his, he was not just making a claim, but also declaring his identity. When Māori ask, "Ko wai koe – who are you?" they do not expect a business card reply. They expect a reference to a mountain or a statement that connects to the land.

For Ngāi Tahu, a simple answer to the question of identity is best captured in a waiata taught by my great grandmother, Manakore Pitama, to her children. The song is known among the people of Tuahiwi as 'E Tuku Ana' and it is possibly the most important chant that Ngāi Tahu has. 'E Tuku Ana' was sung to a child so that, once learnt, the child could respond to the basic question, "Who am I?" and in the opening lines the mother says to the child:

> I give to you, the Heavens that stand above…

The mother then recites the descent lines from Raki, the Sky itself, and the descent lines that follow down to Paikea. Most New Zealanders will know Paikea as the whale rider from the movie of the same name. The chant finishes by tracing the descent lines from Paikea down to the famous ancestress on the East Coast, Hine-mati-oro, who stood at Turaki as the 'ariki-tapu' (supreme leader) of Ngāi Tahu.

Extract from Waitangi Tribunal[13]

8.5.19 The claimants strenuously and consistently maintained that, notwithstanding the evidence of the deed and the attached map, the western boundary of the Kemp purchase ran from Maungatere (Mount Grey) in the north, then along the foothills to Maungaatua and Kaihiku in the south. Mr Evison, for the claimants, relied on the evidence of the following witnesses in relation to the inland boundary of the Kemp purchase

Natanahira Waruwarutu, who states that Paora Tau, after some argument said:

This is what I agree to; the boundary is from Kaiapoi to Purehurehu, the inland boundary from Maungatere to Maungaatua. The Māoris agreed to this…

Matiaha Tiramōrehu:

Paora spoke again. He said "Let the boundary be from Maungatere to Maungaatua". That gave rise to a long discussion… It was the Māoris who proposed there should be a boundary between Maungatere and Maungaatua.

13. *Waitangi Tribunal, Ngāi Tahu Report, 1991, para, 8.5.19.*

14. *W.B.D. Mantell, Notebook 15, Alexander Turnbull Library, Class 091 [1530].*

This waiata is an absolute gem and one that our people enjoy singing to a more modern tune taken from 'The Impossible Dream'. The traditional chant has been forgotten simply because the Tuahiwi people enjoy the more modern chant and its additional lines, which are sung to the tune of 'Bali Ha'i' from *South Pacific*.

What this chant establishes is the tāhuhu of Ngāi Tahu identity. Tāhuhu means the backbone, but the word is also used to describe the main ridgepole of the meeting house from which the tribe traces its main descent lines. The rafters (heke) spreading downwards are seen as the ribcage leading to the different ancestors that stand along the walls of the meeting house. These ancestors signal the hapū and whānau that stem out from the tāhuhu of the iwi.

The critical point here is that the song explains to the child the principal descents between itself, their ancestors and eventually their atua. It gives the child meaning by declaring its identity. 'E Tuku Ana' runs from Paikea down to Hine-mati-oro who we refer to as the supreme head (ariki-tapu) of Ngāi Tahu. Hine-mati-oro was a chieftainess who lived among the East Coast tribes and who we refer to today as Ngāti Porou, although in the past the tribal distinctions were not that significant.

The whakapapa of this song is outlined on the left.

As stated above, Paikea is the key ancestor because the second child was Tahu Pōtiki, the brother to Whatiua-te-ramarama. Ngāi Tahu takes its name from Tahu Pōtiki. From Tahu Pōtiki the descent line goes directly to Tūāhuriri, the ancestor for Ngāi Tūāhuriri. Because this whakapapa deals with the mainline, it traces the lines from Whatiua Te Ramarama down to Hine-mati-oro. Porou-raki is the son to Whatiua Te Ramarama and is known as the founding ancestor for the East Coast tribe, Ngāti

Porou. Of all the tribes in the North Island, Ngāi Tahu shares a deep relationship with Ngāti Porou.

Often outsiders to our whakapapa refer to the earlier tribe, Ngāti Māmoe, as being in the South Island before Ngāi Tahu. As a result, we have uninformed views that Ngāi Tahu were simply a conquering tribe. However, whenever our people spoke about Ngāti Māmoe, they were essentially speaking about their kin from Porou-raki who had migrated into the South Island a generation earlier. We shall discuss these connecting lines later in this chapter.

The only way to understand our traditions is by way of whakapapa. The key ancestors to consider for any design concerning heritage and identity are:

- Paikea and his son, Tahu Pōtiki
- Tūhaitara
- Tūāhuriri.

A brief biography of each follows.

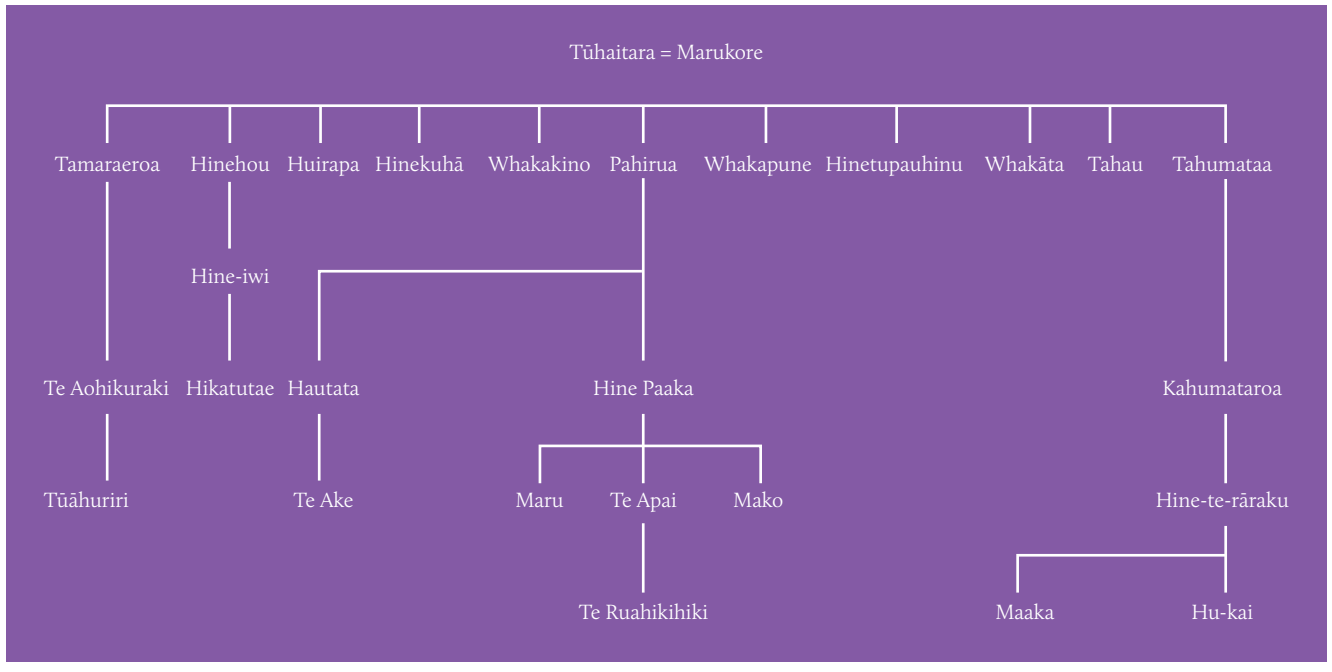
PAIKEA

A good place to start with the origins of Ngāi Tahu is with the story of Paikea, his half-brother Ruatapu and their father Uenuku. The story starts in Hawaiki, which Māori consider as their primal homeland in the Pacific, and with Uenuku, who possessed a hairpiece that was sacred to him and used in important tribal rituals.

All within the village were aware that for anyone other than Uenuku to use it would cause offence. However, Uenuku's oldest son, Ruatapu, believed he was senior enough to wear the hairpiece so took the ornament and wore it before his people. His father saw the actions of his son and humiliated him in public with the words, "Kāore e tika māhau mā te tama memehea moenga hau moenga rau-kawakawa nei." This insult implied that while Ruatapu was the oldest son, he was not from a union approved by the people and that his younger brother, Paikea, was senior because of his mother's lines.

Shamed in public, Ruatapu planned the deaths of all his siblings. We are told that Ruatapu prepared a large canoe that would hold 140 of the leading sons within the village. When Ruatapu announced the launch of his canoe, all the leading aristocrats set off with Ruatapu on the canoe. Once out to sea, Ruatapu slew each leader with a spear. The only leader that escaped was Paikea, who then took to the sea. After chanting his incantations to the gods, Paikea was saved by a whale who brought the young chief to New Zealand upon his back. Paikea settled with the local people at Whangara on the East Coast of New Zealand and the house that he established was named Whiti-reia. It is from this ancestor that the two tribes, Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Porou, stem. Tahu Pōtiki was the son of Paikea.

- The story of Paikea is about identity and good relationships.



TŪHAITARA

Tūhaitara was the ancestress for the hapū Ngāi Tūhaitara that led the Ngāi Tahu conquest of Canterbury. Tūhaitara lived and died on the East Coast of the North Island. Her main descent line traced down to Tūāhuriri and her sons, Tāne Tiki, Tūrākautahi and Moki. Tūhaitara was half Ngāti Māmoe and half Ngāi Tahu, and her husband Marukore was properly part of the Ngāti Māmoe collection of tribes along the East Coast.

The importance of Tūhaitara is that all the hapū and rūnanga from Canterbury and Banks Peninsula claim descent from her. In the whakapapa on the left, Tūāhuriri features from the first line of Tamaraeroa. Ngāti Huirapa of Te Muka and South Canterbury features as the third child of Tūhaitara. Pahirua is shown as the ancestor of Hine Paaka from which Te Ruahikihiki of Taumutu and Mako of Wairewa claim descent. Finally, we have the line of Huikai of Port Levy descending from Tahumataa. Another important name is Te Ake, who settled Sumner and Akaroa. Likewise, Maaka, the brother of Huikai is referred as he was the captain of the canoe, Makawhiua that brought Ngāi Tūhaitara to Canterbury.

- The story of Tūhaitara is about family – whanaungatanga

TŪĀHURIRI:

An important chapter in Ngāi Tahu's history began when Tūāhuriri and his brother-in-law Tūtekawa fell into disagreement, with Tūtekawa killing two of Tūāhuriri's wives. Fearing reprisal, Tūtekawa escaped south to settle amongst the Ngāti Māmoe who lived at Waikakahi, near Wairewa (Little River).

As part of a larger wave of Ngāi Tahu migrating south, Tūāhuriri's sons Tāne Tiki, Tūrākautahi and Moki crossed Cook Strait. This migration was known as

'Te Tauatuawhitu'. It was during this crossing that Tūāhuriri died along with his eldest son Hamua. It was then left to the middle son Tūrākautahi and the youngest Moki to take utu (revenge) for their father's wives' deaths. While the toa or warrior role would usually have fallen to Tūrākautahi, he was waewae-hape (afflicted with a club foot) and Moki became the warrior. Moki led his people of Ngāi Tūhaitara in their campaign southward; with himself in the famous war canoe *Makawhiu*. The migration rested at Kahutara south of Kaikōura and Moki led a tauā (war party) down to Waikakahi, where Tūtekawa was eventually killed.

It was during this period of the campaign that Ngāi Tūhaitara leaders claimed the mountain regions, inland from Canterbury. This event is one of the more well-known events in our traditions recalled in story and pepeha as each chief claimed a mountain famed for the Kākāpō, whose feathers were used to make maro – a kilt or loincloth worn by the leading daughters. According to tradition, Tūrākautahi, his brothers Tāne Tiki and Moki and elder cousin Hikatutae claimed the mountains along the Torlesse Range. The pepeha we use to recall this event stems from Tūrākautahi who claimed the mountain Kuratāwhiti for his daughter and is as follows:

> Ko Kuratāwhiti, te maunga, ko au te takata – Kuratāwhiti is the mountain and I am its claimant.

Likewise Tāne Tiki claimed the mountain Whataarama, declaring:

> Mōku tēnā maunga, kia maro ai a Hinemihi rāua ko Hutika i te maro-kākāpō – Whataa-rama is to be mine, to clothe my daughters Hine-mihi and Hutika in kilts made from Kākāpō.

Pepeha and narratives such as this are indicators of customary claims and rights to regions, mountains, valleys and waterways. Following the claim to the inland area, Moki and his warriors quickly set about conquering Banks Peninsula in their war canoe, *Makawhiua*. Their last battle was at Waikakahi, where Tūtekawa was eventually slain and the children, Te Atawhiua, Tutepiriraki and Te Rakitamau, ordered to work the gardens at Tuahiwi and to prepare a new fortified village that was to become Kaiapoi Pā.

Tūāhuriri's sons who led the campaign were:

- Tāne Tiki
- Hamua
- Tūrākautahi
- Moki.

- This story tells us about mana-tipuna

This chapter shares our whakapapa and talks of our key ancestors. The question it raises is, how will the designers incorporate Ngāi Tahu identity to sit alongside the European historical identity that is reflected in statues like Godley and Fitzgerald and buildings like the Cathedral and the Bridge of Remembrance. These are all statements of the city's identity and heritage that should be retained and celebrated just as those of Ngāi Tahu should be.

WHAKAMANUHIRITANGA

> Mā te manaaki ki te tangata, ka mōhio koutou, he iwi.
>
> You may know a people by the hospitality they provide for others.
>
> Te Aritaua Pitama

Most New Zealanders will be aware of the word 'pōwhiri' and many will have participated in a pōwhiri. Today they are relatively common affairs, particularly among government departments. Most observers of pōwhiri are aware that a 'karanga' is given by a female elder who leads the dignitaries to their seats to be welcomed. A series of speeches by the tribal leaders follows: eventually a line is formed where the hongi takes place and the event concludes with a meal. The whole affair is understood as ritual transplanted from the marae to our modern culture. There is, however, a difference between what actually happens upon the marae and what happens outside, whether it be at schools or governments departments. On the tangata whenua side, areas are marked for the host people as well as an area for the leading speakers, kai-karanga and accompanying ope.

The term used by Ngāi Tahu for this ritual is 'whakamanuhiri'. Whakamanuhiri concentrates on the ideas of welcoming and hospitality. There is a possibility that there is too much emphasis on the ritual rather than the purpose of the ritual. The purpose is to ensure the visitors are welcomed, that courtesies are extended and, most importantly, that the guests are provided with a formal meal.

Whether the rituals are simple 'meet and greet occasions', elaborate and formal hui on marae or ministerial functions, the occasion stands and falls upon the food provided.

Food is important because tribal groups are often identified by the foods that come from their land. The people of Rāpaki are known for their 'pioke', a dried shark that they take in early February. The Ngāti Irakehu of Wairewa were famous for their eel, as were the Ngāti Ruahikihiki of Taumutu.

The Waitangi Tribunal commented on the relationship between food and hospitality in its Manukau Report:

> The Harbour [Manukau] is a major source of seafood for the Waikato people. Seafood is gathered from the Harbour to supply Waikato Maraes from the Mangare Marae on the northern boundary to Ngaruawahia, the Marae of the Māori monarch. Many visiting dignitaries are welcomed here, and are offered the food of the Manukau as part of the traditional hospitality. Contributions of seafood at the same time symbolise loyalty to the Māori Queen. The mana (prestige) of the Māori is based, in part, on this ability to contribute the share.[15]

A similar statement that links identity, prestige and mana to food was explained by Ngāi Tahu elder Wiremu Te Uki, in 1879, when he said:

> We use to get food from all over our Island; it was all mahinga kai. And we considered our island as in a far superior position to any other, because it is called Waipounamu, the greenstone island; the fame thereof reaches all lands.[16]

The problem with emphasising the pōwhiri and the rituals that occur on the front of the marae is that they overshadow the equally important aspect of manaaki. Too much emphasis is focused on ritual and not enough on the provision of hospitality and care. To reflect this appropriately in modern design is to ensure provision of adequate facilities for the provision of hospitality by way of the marae, the wharenui and the whare-kai. Too often the whare-kai is mistakenly left out of the design

15. *Manakau Report, p 55.*

16. *W. Te Uki NA /MA/ 67/4: 295*

phase, compromising the critical ability to enable 'manaaki', which is the provision of food and the requirement that visitors and hosts eat in common. This is where the manuhiri enter the realm of 'noa' and, in modern terms, where they are able to relax into the community.

The largest part of the marae complex at Tuahiwi is, in fact, the whare-kai. This is an indicator of the importance of hospitality to Ngāi Tahu. Likewise, the area known as the marae is much smaller than the area where the cooking by the women and food preparation by the men are overseen.

Māori would tend to see New Zealand hospitality as too informal and casual. 'Helping yourself' is lazy hosting. Failing to bless food and simply saying, "Dig in" is unacceptable. For Māori, the basic formalities of greeting a visitor, providing food and saying grace before a meal are important.

We hope this chapter provides the design teams with a sense of the importance of manaaki. It is essential. The challenge for the design teams is to understand hospitality within their own cultural backgrounds and how to express that as a modern concept.

QUESTIONS FOR THE DESIGN TEAMS

- Where are the entry points for manuhiri and what are the semiotics that indicate the relationship between visitor and host?
- Where does the Christchurch community collectively share a meal?
- Where do the Christchurch community and its people collectively gather to cook, host and entertain?
- Where does the Christchurch community collectively gather to welcome its dignitaries and how does this incorporate Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu?
- How does the design of the city take into account the city entrances, gateways and village complex that Māori instinctively know from their own communities?

HOW CAN DESIGN RESPOND TO THESE QUESTIONS?

- The critical point to acknowledge is that formal rituals are led by the 'tangata whenua', the people of the home community, with ahi-kaa and mana whenua to the land. The Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga represents the tangata whenua and home people of that community. Formal ceremonies of welcome should always be held upon the Tuahiwi marae rather than in the city precinct itself. In fact, until the 1980s most formal welcoming ceremonies for dignitaries visiting Christchurch occurred at Tuahiwi – and this was a matter generally understood by the Christchurch City Council and other councils surrounding Christchurch. The list of visiting dignitaries to Tuahiwi is significant. The more important point, however, is that they were welcomed to Tuahiwi first.
- The way in which this matter is resolved is through design and the use of semiotics. Marae are designed in a way that enables rituals to be undertaken. The most basic distinction between manuhiri and tangata whenua concerns the areas defined as tapu and noa. The tangata whenua sit in the area marked as noa and manuhiri locate themselves in the tapu area – hence the term, waewae-tapu (newcomer) for manuhiri.

NGĀI TŪĀHURIRI HAVE AUTHORITY FOR PŌWHIRI

Whakamanuhiri is the Ngāi Tahu word to explain the ritual of welcoming and greeting visitors. 'Pōwhiri' is used more often today; however, the Ngāi Tahu term resonates more strongly with Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu values. Today the process of welcoming and hosting visitors, guests and dignitaries has become an elaborate affair that event planners love coordinating. Modern exponents of pōwhiri believe there needs to be a karanga that becomes an official address and lengthy rows of orators invoke a myriad of gods and spirits to watch over the proceedings. The ritual is hardly considered complete without a wero, and the laying of koha upon the marae has become an art-form.

Virtually none of this has anything to do with how Ngāi Tahu and how Ngāi Tūāhuriri welcome their visitors. What we do is manaaki – whakamanuhiri.

MANA-MOTUHAKE

No, sir, the object which the colonists of New Zealand have given their energies to obtain, and which they will obtain, if they be true to themselves, is . . . political power; the power of virtually administering their own affairs, appointing their own officers, disposing of their own revenues, and governing their own country.

By means of the municipal institutions lately granted to New Zealand, the colonists will have the power of managing their own local affairs without interference. (Canterbury Association, 'Canterbury Papers', Association for Founding the Settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand by John W. Parker, 1850, p 7)

There is another King of this island, he is Tū-āhu-riri. Although he is dead his authority remains with us, his descendants. We have great mountains on this island, Tapuae-o-Uenuku, Kai-taurau, Maunga-tere, Ahu-patiki, Tarahoua, Mihi-waka and Rakiura. (Pita Te Hori, first Upoko Rūnanga of the Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga)

He Kīngi anō ō tēnei motu, ko Tū-āhu-riri, ahakoa kua mate ia, kei te mau anō tōna mana, i runga i a mātou, ā, ē mōhio nei anō ōna uri. He maunga nunui ana ō tēnei motu, ko Tapuaenuku, ko Kaitaurau ko Maungatere, ko Te Ahupatiki, ko Turahaua, ko Mihiwaka, ko Rakiura.

Mana-motuhake has been the responsibility of every Upoko Rūnanga of Ngāi Tūāhuriri and is the single political kaupapa that unites Māori. The importance should not be underestimated. Mana-motuhake means the right of tribal groups to maintain their chieftainship, authority and independence over their resources. It is not incompatible with the western notion of sovereignty. The Treaty of Waitangi confirms the sovereignty of the Crown on the condition that the mana of Māori is confirmed over their "lands, estates and fisheries" – taonga.

When the Pākehā settlers arrived in Canterbury, self-government and independence were their goals. John Robert Godley's writings make it clear that he wanted New Zealand to be the first colony with its own sovereignty. He had little time for representative arguments, which he saw as little more than provincial debating clubs. He also found it "ridiculous and inexplicable" that New Zealand could not pass legislation that England found "repugnant" to the laws of England. Yet Godley was conflicted. He also saw New Zealand as part of the British Empire, and in fact a colony. His view was that New Zealand was to be "pre-eminent and alone among the colonies". Much of Godley's reasoning was a reaction against Sir George Grey's role as Governor. However, despite Godley's demand for self-government, he was less capable of applying his argument to Māori, who he saw as having little role in any representative government. On that matter Godley's politics were as despotic as his antagonists. Godley wrote:

> As the case now stands, I regard by no means without uneasiness the possibility of the constituencies being utterly "swamped" by Māoris. I do not know exactly how the law may come to be worked, but if it be worked fairly and impartially, I foresee that in the Northern Island almost any amount of Māori votes may be created among a population wholly incapable of understanding the simplest rudiments of the questions on which their votes will be brought to bear.[17]

For Māori, the visions of Godley and Grey were much the same. Their settlement was, in this context, rooted deep in the swamp of double standards.

On the other hand, Māori simply understood the need to regulate and have authority over their lands and world, while also fitting within the larger imperial world. This was the point, after all, to the Flag of the United Tribes and the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori would manage and run their own trade while fitting within international law.

Our ancestors understood mana-motuhake as a political matter and as an economic issue.

For Māori, less government has always been represented in the Treaty of Waitangi, wherein the Crown's right to govern was qualified by its right to protect not just the property of Māori but also their 'tino rangatiratanga', best summarised as their chieftainship. At any basic glance, the Treaty of Waitangi is a perfect statement of liberal policy.

The notion of a people free to trade with a government whose role is to protect those rights and to maintain the basic institutions required for a civilised society reflects Māori aspirations. What Māori would never have imagined is some sort of state ownership of all assets, where national wealth is distributed equally, among all citizens who held no 'take' or rights to the resource or property.

The idea of a centralised, all-powerful government whose sovereignty superseded their customary chieftainship was beyond their imagining. In fact, the complete lack of understanding of a centralised government holding sovereignty was best represented by Nopera Panakareao, the Te Rarawa chief who signed the Treaty and declared, "Only the shadow of the land passes to the Queen. The substance stays with us, the Māori people".[18] When Panakareao said that the "shadow" of the land would pass to the Queen, he was reaching for a metaphor to explain a concept that had an abstract, undefined quality about it. For Panakareao, sovereignty was a shadow: an undefined idea without substance. For Māori, substance remained with the land, their fisheries, forests, estates and other 'taonga'.

17. *J. E. Fitzgerald, A selection from the writings of John Robert Godley, Press Office, 1863, pp 160.*

18. *A. Ballara, 'Pana-kareao, Nopera', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, October 2012.*

The role of the Queen and her Government was to protect these rights. And when one reads Lord Normanby's instructions to Hobson you would find it hard to see it as anything but classic liberal humanitarian policy. As Peter Adams outlined in *Fatal Necessity*, British policy towards New Zealand and Māori was underpinned by a strong liberal tradition. Despite Captain Cook's proclamation of sovereignty, the proclamation ran counter to his instructions and was never confirmed by the British Government nor followed through with occupation. Adams explains how Britain's policy and statutes tended to confirm New Zealand as an independent county and that Māori were the legitimate owners of New Zealand soil.

The question that must be asked is: how is the concept of mana-motuhake given place in Christchurch and Canterbury?

This is a joint partnership document and, just as Christchurch is the centre for Canterbury, so our marae and Rūnanga are the centre points for our hapū. Legislation by the Crown and policy among the regional councils is required to recognise our mana-motuhake upon our own lands and reserves that the Crown allocated to us last century.

Our marae have suffered a loss of community because of council decision-making. From the 1960s through to the present, the councils of Christchurch, Banks Peninsula, Selwyn and Waimakariri have all passed policies that stopped our people from building upon their tribal lands. They have all used the Town and Country Planning Act 1958 and the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 to rezone our traditional marae and reserves as rural land – and these policies stopped our people from living upon their land. Our marae did not suffer because of urbanisation. They suffered because of council policy.

What council staff and Pākehā bureaucracy fail to understand is how decision-making has impacted Māori. They would never imagine the possibility of rezoning Christchurch as rural land and they would not consider the notion of converting land with fewer than three owners on the title into Māori land. Yet this is exactly what they did to Ngāi Tahu land – as recently as 2006.

Between 1969 and 1971 Ngāi Tahu land owners in Canterbury, where there were fewer than three co-owners, were all informed that their land was no longer in Māori title, but was instead held in general title. The conversion of title was allowed under the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967, which was designed to allow rural farmers easier access to purchasing Māori land. The authoritarian nature of this legislation is breath-taking. The idea of converting Pākehā owners' land into Māori land would simply be unacceptable among New Zealanders. The rezoning of Māori villages as rural land so as to prohibit Māori from building upon their family lands was managed by the councils through the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1969 and the Town and Country Planning Act 1958.

Our villages and marae currently lack strength as a result of Pākehā planners' and councils' decision-making. Ngāi Tahu do not live at Ōnuku, Opukutahi, Rāpaki, Wairewa and other reserves because they are prohibited from building there. Yet this runs directly against the 1848 Canterbury Purchase, which declared that the reserves would be set aside for the people to live upon.

Māori understand the sovereignty of the Crown. The Crown has yet to understand the mana-motuhake of Māori.

The design teams can make representative decisions that demonstrate an understanding of these concepts and support for redress by incorporating symbols in the structure – the Flag of the United Tribes.

THE NGĀI TAHU FLAG OF INDEPENDENCE AND ITS POSITION AMONG CIVIL AUTHORITIES

To put the debate about the flag in context, it is important to first of all remove peripheral discussion about republicanism and post-colonial rhetoric.

Usually the week leading up to Waitangi Day is preceded by a fairly aimless debate about the future of the New Zealand Flag. However, any discussion about a flag is hindered by two side issues: the republican debate and the idea that New Zealand is a post-colonial country.

The debate over the flag should not be confused with any debate about New Zealand being a republic, at least from the position of Ngāi Tahu. Ngāi Tahu's commitment to the monarchy runs deep, not because of the monarchy but because our ancestors made a commitment. Taiaroa, Tūhawaiki, Iwikau, Tikao and the other signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi all committed to the Queen and the Treaty of Waitangi. The monarchy has never been a threat to Ngāi Tahu.

The settler government and its nation state have always been far more dangerous. If the Treaty had never been signed, the tools of the settler state would have been used far more ruthlessly and without any regard for Māori. The Aboriginal people of Australia were colonised by the same settler nation and suffered much more because they did not have a relationship with the Crown. The settler state has always resented those rights and have always seen tribes as a threat to their sovereignty. To this day, the Canterbury councils, including the Christchurch City Council, continues to prohibit tribal members from living on the land that was originally set aside for them to live upon in the 1840s.

Likewise, there is also far too much discussion about post-colonial New Zealand. Post-colonial countries and nations are those places where the British Empire and the settler government departed and left the original people in charge of their nation. India is the most obvious example. New Zealand is not post-colonial because the colonisers (Pākehā) and the colonised (Māori) remain in this country.

So, with the republic and post-colonial rhetoric off the table, the debate about the flag becomes clearer.

New Zealanders took our current flag into the Great War and the wars that followed. The Māori Battalion marched under the flag and our sports heroes have draped it over their shoulders. The Union Jack signifies New Zealand's colonial history, its ties with the mother country and the people whom Māori signed a Treaty with. For these reasons it is not something to be discarded lightly, and Māori tend to look with suspicion on people who do just that.

However, if the decision is made to replace our current flag, then Ngāi Tūāhuiri have an opinion on that – and a flag.

Ngāi Tahu has had its own flag for some time. That flag is the Flag of the United Tribes, first gifted to Māori in 1834. It is the flag New Zealand flew before it became a colony. From recollection, each Ngāi Tahu hapū had the flag and simply had their hapū name sewn across it. There have been Ngāti Irakehu, Ngāti Rakitamau, Ngāti Rakiamoa and Ngāti Ruahikihiki flags flown on all our marae.

19. *Hawera & Normanby Star, Volume LXXII, 21 April 1917, p 2 (Papers Past, www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz).*

EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS.

The following greetings have passed between the Maoris of Tuahiwi and Viscount Jellicoe, Admiral of the Fleet:—

To Admiral Lord Jellicoe, H.M.S. New Zealand.—The Maoris of Tuahiwi and Kaiapoi, from whence sprung the greatest warriors of old, welcome your Lordship, Lady Jellicoe, officers, men, and ship to the shores of our ancient forefathers. We have noted with pride that in the Jutland Battle the flag presented by the Maoris of Tuahiwi was flown at your masthead. May your sojourn amongst us be full of happiness. Haere Mai, Haere Mai, Haere Mai—Te Hau, of Tuahiwi.

To the Maoris of Tuahiwi and Kaiapoi,—We thank you for the greetings and good wishes you send on behalf of the Maoris of Tuahiwi and Kaiapoi. Lady Jellicoe, officers, and men of H.M.S. New Zealand, and I, are proud of H.M.S. New Zealand, and are proud to receive such a message from the descendants of the gallant and chivalrous warriors of the past. The Navy will ever remember that your flag was flown aboard at the Battle of Jutland. Kia Ora.—Jellicoe, Admiral of the Fleet.

The Flag of the United Tribes was flown before the Treaty of Waitangi – when the tribes retained their independence. The flag was replaced with the Union Jack when New Zealand became a colony, although it was retained for some time, possibly as late as 1869. The great irony, of course, is that this flag was also flown by the New Zealand Company until Lt Governor Hobson instructed it be pulled down and replaced with the new national flag.

Its significance did not end in the 19th century. Following the visit of HMS *New Zealand* to Lyttelton, Thomas Eustace Green, the Upoko Rūnanga of Kaiapoi, sent the Royal Navy the Flag of the United Tribes for the battle cruiser, with a request that it be flown on holidays and other significant occasions. Captain John Green of HMS *New Zealand* sent a message to the Kaiapoi Rūnanga letting them know that the flag would be flown "in action".[19]

In fact, Lord Jellicoe wrote to Te Hau Korako, who had just become the new Upoko Rūnanga, thanking him and the people of Tuahiwi for the gift of the flag. He finished by saying, "the Navy will ever remember that your flag was flown aboard at the Battle of Jutland – Kia ora.—Jellicoe, Admiral of the Fleet".

In short, if there was ever a flag for Christchurch and New Zealand, the Flag of the United Tribes is the most appropriate and it should definitely be reflected in the design concepts for Christchurch and Canterbury. This is as opposed to the tino rangatiratanga flag, which does not have a place within Ngāi Tahu at any official or traditional level. It is not our flag. The Flag of the United Tribes is the flag of Ngāi Tahu.

Note: For additional information on the Flag of the United Tribes, see the chapter prepared by Dr Te Maire Tau for the Justice and Emergency Services Precinct design component.

Crew of HMS New Zealand, dressed as Māori.

PRINCIPLES OF PARTNERSHIP

by Jane England, Freelance Writer

The Ngāi Tahu Research Centre requested that this essay be prepared for this report. Jane England was a journalist for *The Press* during the mid 1980s through to the early 1990s. She was a member of the original 'A-Team' during the early years of the Ngāi Tahu Claim and watched the evolution of the tribe and how it engaged with the wider Christchurch community.

The story tells how Ngāi Tahu elders and community leaders of Christchurch, its lawyers, historians and journalists shared common values of justice and the most important New Zealand value – a fair go.

This essay is a modern history of Ngāi Tahu and deserves some attention from the design teams because the Ngāi Tahu Claim and its status within Christchurch is due to a set of common shared values. Those values created Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, which now sits as a statutory partner within the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011.

It is important that those values are considered and understood because communities must share a common vision and all visions must rest on their beliefs, shared identity and ideals, if they are to have real meaning for its people.

In a family, stories from the family history – where people came from, what they did, who they knew, where they moved, what they lost and what they gained – grow into the stories of their city and flow into the narrative of their nation. Like the mountain water that splashes over boulders, gushes into waterfalls, rests in pools and tumbles into streams that merge and entwine in a river to the sea, the narrative grows.

For Ngāi Tahu the stories begin at the source of the whānau and the hapū. The knowledge and names of mountains and rivers, resting places and streams formed a collection of geographical features and economic resources. People knew where to go, what had happened there and where to return. They understood the rhythms of seasons and the areas where, throughout the year, they gained sustenance from their mahinga kai: plants and eels, fish and birds. The people in each local area knew their own lagoons and habitats and they cultivated these places through conservation and planning. When they lost their land, they lost their water and resources; they suffered that loss in chilling ways.

When New Zealanders, Māori and Pākehā, signed the Treaty of Waitangi, there was a sense of common destiny. While some Māori were skeptical – rightly as history has shown – others signed the Treaty in good faith, confident that their rights, lands, forests and fisheries would be protected. In the South Island, for the ancestors of the people of Ngāi Tahu, including Ngāi Tūāhuriri, this was their truth, the certainty that they would not be forced to part with anything they didn't choose to sell along with the sure knowledge that, when they did sell any part of their land, they would be granted the hospitals, schools and reserves they requested in return. We now know that the rights of Ngāi Tahu to the security of fair negotiations, for a fair sale and an honouring of the conditions and terms were breached by the Government. The Government did not follow the rules of partnership outlined in the Treaty of Waitangi.

Stories that do not fit with the preferred local or national narrative will not become part of the local or national history. Any inconvenient tributary of truth will not be absorbed into the

local or national account of settlement. The South Island Pākehā narrative was based around colonial settlements. Until recently Pākehā sealers and whalers who settled in the South Island prior to 1840 were not considered worthy of inclusion in the stories of settlement. Ngāi Tahu in and around Christchurch, Tūāhuriri, are remote in the mainstream story of the Christchurch settlement, far off in the realm of another existence; they haven't been noticed or incorporated into the history of place and space.

Where they were visible, they didn't fit into the colonial narrative. From colonial times through to 1958 – when their settlement on the Ōtākaro/Avon and the estuary was taken for Pākehā settlement and sewerage outflow – they suffered the loss of lands and economic resources they rightfully owned. Even recent council Acts prohibited them from building on their own land. The urban migrations by Ngāi Tahu into the city were not just evidence of their desire to move to the city; the shift stemmed from the Christchurch City Council's rule prohibiting Ngāi Tūāhuriri from building on their own land.

Ngāi Tahu had believed in the Treaty of Waitangi. Its leaders had viewed it as an inspirational document that would guarantee peace in the island and allow for their own economic growth without losing any of their spiritual or traditional values. They were willing to sell parts of the island but not the whole. This was a truth they maintained till the day they died and the torch of their injustice was handed down from generation to generation along with the consequence of those losses. Even in the 1980s a few kaumātua and kuia were confident that the Queen would give them a fair deal as soon as she learnt that Ngāi Tahu had been wronged.

The song of injustice against Ngāi Tahu wove its way as a narrative through Ngāi Tahu whānau and hapū. It was known in their settlements in Christchurch and the Canterbury countryside. The truth of that narrative still lives in the brush and bush and bracken and lakes and ocean, in the hearts of the people – Ngāi Tahu and others who worked on the Ngāi Tahu Claim.

On the Ngāi Tahu side, the losses had never been forgotten by older people. The older people at Tuahiwi were children who tried to stifle their own cries as they shivered in sackcloth, their stomachs gnawed by hunger, their families riddled with tuberculosis. These people experienced in hard, cold terms the reality of the loss of their mahinga kai – their economic resources. They attended tangi for those who did not survive and they were warmed by the fire in the bellies of kaumātua and kuia who stayed up all night talking about Te Kerēme, the Claim.

Pākehā children and their parents tend to show knowledge about only one narrative of the settlement of Canterbury and Christchurch, the Pākehā story. In one way, this lack of knowledge could be viewed as a positive. Imagine that one of the largest claims to the Waitangi Tribunal in New Zealand came from these people, Ngāi Tahu. Imagine if, rather than the outcome of the Claim causing a storm as some predicted, it moved across the city and the landscape causing barely a ripple, leaving in the wake of that change neither a wound nor a scar but a success story. That is exactly what happened. Many people are unaware of this Christchurch story of a group of Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā who worked together to remedy injustice.

Ngāi Tahu have upheld the spirit of partnership. Rather than displaying bitterness or longing for separatism, they worked with Pākehā to form the Claim. The Claim was based on the search for justice stemming from truth rather than a sense of victimhood or burning anger. The anger often developed more on the part of Pākehā who came to know the truth and that it had been extinguished from the narrative of the city, its environs and the nation as a whole.

One of the stories interwoven through Ngāi Tahu experience is the loss of land and economic resources. The other is the narrative of Te Kerēme, the decades spent on the Claim for justice and the settlement for restoration.

It is time now for that narrative, that tributary of truth, of the two Treaty partners to be woven into the national narrative of Christchurch. The Claim was forged by hard-working, respectable people who challenged the prescribed, colonised view of the South Island.

The heroes and heroines of the Claim were ordinary men and women who believed in truth and justice. They included Pākehā who had come to know Ngāi Tahu and recognised that Ngāi Tahu in all dealings held the values of integrity and honesty as integral to all relationships. This team of people responsible for running the 'engine' of the Claim came to be known as the A-team.

The Pākehā members were made up of a group of historians, an accountant, a lawyer and a journalist. New Zealand isn't a nation that worships historians as its heroes. But historians have climbed many mountains and those who helped move mountains in Christchurch and other parts of the South Island are not well known beyond academic circles. Their names, like those of the Ngāi Tahu ancestors and their descendants, do not roll off the tongues of school children or their parents. They are simply not famous. But the legacy of their commitment and dedication to detail and evidence lives on in the outcome of the Ngāi Tahu settlement and the choices available to Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Pākehā who live in Christchurch and its environs today.

Harry Evison's heart and words beat to the drum of justice. As a young man, he stayed up nights straining his eyes over deeds and details. He was excited by the thrill of the new in the midst of the old. He found explanations and reasons for the demise of Ngāi Tahu in terms of economic and physical health and it had nothing to do with one culture being superior to the other. This notion of superiority was fashionable at the time. Known as 'culture clash', it suggested conveniently to settlers that the demise of indigenous people was inevitable because their culture was not strong enough to survive.

Evison found evidence – and plenty of it – that the real truth lay in the loss of land belonging to Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the loss of mahinga kai, their natural economic resources, and the failure of the Crown to play fair, or as Kiwis say, to give people 'a fair go'. The values that would later be upheld in every good rugby match in Christchurch, that were expected of Canterbury sports competitors nationally and overseas, had not been honoured by the Government in its dealings with Ngāi Tahu.

Evison could not find any previous works that postulated this theory and he justifiably expected that a thesis on this might stir the winds of excitement and debate in academic and social circles. Instead his paper lay on a desk, untouched, gathering dust. After 30 years of work he had become a lone wolf that has found a path not followed by the pack; his words, empty howls in the dark.

Evison's evidence of economic deprivation through loss of land sat uncomfortably with more than a few Pākehā who preferred the cultural clash theory, which supposed that the invading group was stronger than the indigenous and that the latter would conveniently die out.

But in 1986, when Evison heard that Ngāi Tahu was laying a claim before the Waitangi Tribunal, he knew it was time to come to the fore and sit with Ngāi Tahu.

The man who had laid the Claim, Henare Te Rakiihia Tau, known to his friends as Rik, was the Deputy Chairman of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board. Steeped in the world of the marae, where seasons delivered up the food that fed the whānau and hapū, where kai was shared and no one went hungry at another's expense, Rik was as good at seeking the truth and justice as he was at hunting prey.

Rik's strength lay primarily in his determination, his ability to hide his talents and pull them out at the right time. His values were derived from his knowledge of the traditional Māori world and his Rātana faith, a faith founded on the pillars of the Bible and the Treaty. He would become known as one of the best people at explaining in an honest, accessible way to the Pākehā public that they had nothing to fear and everything to gain from the Ngāi Tahu struggle for restorative justice.

The Rangitira, Jim Te Aika, known as 'Jimo', gave Rik an anchor to the lines that stretch far back into Tuahiwi and Ngāi Tūāhuriri people. Jim linked to the senior line of male leadership in the whakapapa histories of Tuahiwi. Highly respected, intelligent and resourceful, with a ready smile, he held the Claim secure in the rope of descendants that bind people to history.

In Wellington, the renowned Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board Chair Tipene O'Regan kept tabs on the political scene, handling media skilfully and mustering the troops with inspiring oratory and an analytical mind. O'Regan, with his pursuit of justice, a legacy from both his Irish and Ngāi Tahu ancestry, and Riki Tau are perhaps the best-known characters behind the Claim.

Rik Tau would later describe his son, Te Maire, as 'always being there'. From performing traditional practices, such as being the warrior who scooped up the koha, to researching the Claim, Te Maire Tau's young life was shaped by the drive for evidence and the search for a factual basis in all things.

Jim McAloon was in his mid-twenties when he joined the Claim research and evidential team. His vigour and determination to find the truth and reveal it fuelled the team. A lively young historian with a bushy beard, he seemed to bounce through the corridors of the University of Canterbury. His work was rooted in the values of truth and justice and his research was meticulous. Under cross-examination by the Crown, he would not back down because his evidence was built on solid ground.

Ann Parsonson had been called into the Claim by Rik Tau. One of the few historians to show an early interest in Evison's work, she had a quiet, intelligent presence and astute eye for historical detail. Her skills and values showed in her expertise and calm strength in presenting evidence during the Claim and during her lectures as a historian and historical author based at the University of Canterbury.

David Palmer, the Christchurch lawyer for the Claim, was diligent, committed and passionate and he found meaning in his life through the cause of the Claim. A conservative man and a cousin of the then Minister of Justice Geoffrey Palmer – who would later have a short spell as Prime Minister – he delighted in the chance to take on a case, examine it and win. There was nothing more important to him than winning the Claim. Remembered for roving around in his yellow MG, he would lose his established clientele in pursuing the cause and die of cancer before seeing the settlement through to fruition.

A prominent yet extremely humble lawyer who has dedicated his working life to advocating for Ngāi Tahu is the Christchurch lawyer Michael Knowles. He is described by Ngāi Tūāhuriri

people as someone who has given his heart to the people. Knowles became an integral part of the machinery that fuelled the Claim even if he was fulfilling other vital tasks relating to justice rather than being directly in the 'engine room' of the Claim.

That engine room was kept in a shining state by Sid Ashton, the accountant for Ngāi Tahu, a man who worked with Ngāi Tahu from 1963 and who served a crucial financial management role from the early days when he ensured that Ngāi Tahu developed and maintained a decades-long relationship with the ANZ Bank. This honest, up-front relationship between Ngāi Tahu and the bank kept Ngāi Tahu from bankruptcy as it sold its assets and scraped the barrel to support the costs of the Claim.

Besides ensuring the Claim was kept afloat financially, before, during and after the settlement Ashton helped Ngāi Tahu invest wisely and served as a highly reliable Chief Executive for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. Ashton's faith in Ngāi Tahu throughout the years was well placed. He describes his life's work as a privilege, that it was an honour to work with Ngāi Tahu.

Another important ally, the energetic Hamish McKenzie, supported Rik and the A-team with invaluable assistance from providing stationery to building contacts and giving friendly advice. Serving as a clerk for the Rangiora County Council from the 1950s to 1986, McKenzie developed a strong relationship with the Tuahiwi community and became a friend of Ngāi Tūāhuriri people. He kept the relationship between the people and the Council alive and provided a strong link between Rik and other community leaders in the Rangiora region, who mostly came from a rural background. Later, from the Chatham Islands, McKenzie also provided assistance for the Ngāi Tahu fisheries claims.

Other vital members of the A-team who worked on the Claim were the men who came to be known as the 'two Trevors'. Trevor Marsh, a kind man with a robust sense of humour and unstinting desire to care for others, was a 'jack of all trades'. He voluntarily drove people to and from Waitangi Tribunal hearings around the South Island and photocopied documents long into the night. Trevor Howse, a former truck driver, became a mentor to many. A perceptive and astute archivist and highly capable organiser, he also remained conscious of the spiritual values behind the Claim.

Growing from youth to manhood through the Claim, the insightful Anake Goodall became a gifted leader. Humbly and perceptively, he followed the path laid out by his father Dr Maarire Goodall. Goodall senior was another respected member of the A-team and the former Deputy Chairman of the Waitangi Tribunal. His life was infused with Ngāi Tahu experiences and knowledge and he gained a reputation as an intuitive and intellectual academic with an array of doctorates.

The A-team and the Claim itself were also driven by Ngāi Tahu women. At every marae there were esteemed kuia, aunties, who ruled the roost with their strength and kindness. These women included Rima Bell, Kera Brown, Wharetutu Stirling and Magda Wallscott among others. At every hearing these warrior women took up their role. If they thought something was amiss, they were quick to point it out. Together they provided hospitality, reassurance and protection to friends and visitors who attended the hearings.

Strongly rooted in the Tuahiwi community and traditions of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Rima Bell took special care of Rik and the others in the A-team. Putting an arm around them or signalling to the seat beside her, this noble woman groomed those unaccustomed to Ngāi Tahu traditions and bound them in Ngāi Tahu values of honesty and dignity. Her strong, rich voice singing 'Whakaria Mai', 'How Great Thou Art', and her gentle guidance still resonate in the hearts and minds of those she nurtured.

Widening the lens of knowledge, the historians Evison, McAloon, Parsonson and Atholl Anderson from Otago systematically used evidence to dispel myths that had been nourished by the system of assimilation. In doing so they showed that our history has been woven by two strands in the partnership rather than one. It was their job to prove how the strand created by the Pākehā partner to the Treaty had blocked the flow of fair trade in Te Waipounamu with knots that needed to be untied so that the flow of economic growth could be resumed. It was the Crown's job to prove otherwise if that was possible. It was the Waitangi Tribunal's job to find the truth and to report that to the Crown. Based on those findings, the Crown – in effect, the Government – would negotiate a settlement with Ngāi Tahu.

Rather than displaying any bitterness towards Pākehā for their losses, Ngāi Tahu have always reached out and used valuable interchangeable skills for their needs and purposes. Their generosity to Pākehā is legendary. Pākehā who have worked with Ngāi Tahu describe the experience in glowing terms. Ngāi Tahu values are values of 'togetherness', of working 'with' rather than against.

The A-team worked on the intricacies and details of the losses in Canterbury and other areas to show how those losses transformed the ability of Ngāi Tahu to compete equally with Pākehā in education, health and work. The A-team worked in both the Māori and Pākehā worlds. While the injustices were known to Ngāi Tahu, it was important to reveal them, prove them and attack them in every aspect possible so that they would hold up as evidence.

When a group of people is not seen in the mainstream of society, their language and stories are not cultivated by those in the mainstream. There is a need for the mainstream that did not 'see' or experience the other to catch up and explore the truths of the other, to see and to listen and examine the history from more than one perspective.

The Ngāi Tahu leaders of old were real people made of flesh and blood; their histories were as exciting as any adventure story and far more interesting because they were true. Evison had discovered a different truth about the history of Ngāi Tahu, one known to Ngāi Tahu but not to the Pākehā who barely saw them or who only saw people who had a different skin colour and understood nothing else about their language, their culture or their losses.

Evison, McAloon, Parsonson, Atholl Anderson and Te Maire Tau have been as important to the revision of the history of the South Island of New Zealand as Michael King and James Belich were to the North Island.

They were far more integral to a change in perception and a recasting of the past in the South Island than either of these historical authors. Whether their stature failed to expand to the same extent in the national eye because their research and conclusions concerned the South Island or whether it was because the South preferred to look to the North for information relating to Māori, is a matter only for speculation.

To list the people involved in the A-team in separate strands as Māori and Pākehā risks losing sight of their interconnection and togetherness. Ngāi Tahu did not work separately from the Pākehā members of the A-team; they joined together, merged their ideas together, worked hard together, celebrated success together and still have the occasional reunion, although their numbers are ever decreasing due to age and health.

The Pākehā and Ngāi Tahu people working on the Claim developed separately like the strands of the Waimakariri or Rakaia, each one shining, each travelling from ice to ocean, through dust storms and floods, to join forces in a flowing union.

At right: Mau Mahara, by Morehu Flutey-Henare

The Waitangi Tribunal was also a panel of Māori and Pākehā working together. Just as the A-team was made up of astute people with high-level skills, so too was the Tribunal.

In Christchurch, Canterbury and other parts of the South Island the Crown bought some land and seized other parts that had never been sold. These areas included great rafts of coast and inland countryside, various lakes including Waihora (Ellesmere), settlements along the Ōtākaro/Avon River and land at Tuahiwi. The seizure of land that was not included in sales continued through other parts of the South Island across the east and west coasts and from Blenheim to Bluff. The seizure of land from Ngāi Tahu lasted from the signing of the Treaty to at least the late 1950s.

The Waitangi Tribunal found overwhelmingly in favour of Ngāi Tahu, the Crown apologised and the settlement, which is now history, can be viewed on Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu website along with other more detailed information about the Claim.

Dr Evison who died in Christchurch in October 2014, aged 90, was hard of hearing but his great mind and warrior-like courage showed in his determination to set the record straight. Dr Parsonson is constantly busy on projects and writing books and Dr McAloon is an award-winning writer and Associate Professor in History at Victoria University. Dr Te Maire Tau is also the author of many impressive books and Associate Professor and the Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury.

The contrast between Ngāi Tahu of old and Ngāi Tahu today is anchored by a new story, one of justice and dignity. The standing of Ngāi Tahu in Christchurch is firmly established and, since its settlement with the Government, Ngāi Tahu has headed a major business enterprise that is integral to the ongoing story of success in the growth and reconstruction of the city. Ngāi Tahu values will be reflected in the life of the city, the heart of the city, the beat of its business world, in the stories and journeys of people who are uniting their talents to create a new, exciting space for generations to come.

The fact that this turn-around came gently from beginning to settlement without the predicted discord or disruption to Pākehā is due to the assurances given by Rik Tau, the man who first laid the Claim. It is testament to the values that Ngāi Tahu adhered to throughout the decades-long process of preparing proof of losses, through to the restoration that has led to economic growth and success.

In this city, differences will be celebrated and embraced. Ngāi Tahu arts will flourish and the environment that shapes the city will reflect the mahinga kai – the bush that cloaks the hills and mountains, the grasses that allow the wetlands to thrive, the plants that enable the water to flow clear and free so that children can look down from a bridge and watch the fish wriggling their way through the city. The city will harbour a habitat of growth in Ngāi Tahu arts and rituals, reflecting a settlement of harmonious diversity.

The Kiwi value of a fair deal for all has never just belonged to Pākehā. It is a value that has been demonstrated by Ngāi Tahu, as shown in its tradition of partnership. Now that Ngāi Tahu's energies are no longer being consumed by the Claim, it is showing that the way forward lies in successful investments for the future and in commercial gains that it vows will not come at the expense of the environment.

Ngāi Tahu have always worked in partnership with Pākehā and Pākehā have had their lives enriched by their relationship with Ngāi Tahu.

Ngāi Tahu in and around Christchurch and other areas have gone from a people made up of whānau and hapū having to prove that much of their land was seized rather than sold, to being the largest private owner in the South Island.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri are present in the bright economic business world, in the sense of tradition, in the values of this place, this city. Pākehā in Christchurch are still coming to terms with this 'other' history that is the narrative of Ngāi Tūāhuriri.

Of course, some Pākehā have been happy to trundle along under the illusion that they were almost the only people who had ever existed in the South Island and have sought little evidence to the contrary. They had never been required to know about their – by now, rather distant – neighbours. A few still feel threatened by anything that requires them to think to the contrary. The Ngāi Tahu success story of growth and development has not been force fed to Pākehā; it drips like water on a rock to form a hollow that resembles an upturned hand.

That the Ngāi Tahu cash settlement has grown substantially is due again to its reliance on leaders who show commitment and values to form a structure and organisation that can maintain a solid ethical base and function. The Ngāi Tahu success story employs the best skills of Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā, who work together to create and sustain relentless fluid growth – growth that will flow rather than ebb.

While the cash settlement and related 'bolt ons' may seem to make little difference to the average Ngāi Tahu person, the advantages lie in access to higher education through grants and scholarships, and a greater range of work opportunities to increase the economic position of the people.

A young Ngāi Tahu man of today will likely live in the city but he could spend holidays near Ōnuku Marae, the home of his ancestors. After skateboarding around Akaroa, he will visit an uncle out at the marae and play a game of cards. The next week he will be at school playing rugby with his mates. The following weekend he will be at the Maahunui, the Tuahiwi Marae, cooking kai for visitors or washing the dishes in a pavilion.

A young Ngāi Tahu woman will also probably live and attend school in Christchurch. She regularly plays netball and goes to the movies with her friends. She works at the local supermarket two days a week and is learning administrative tasks for the Rūnanga.

On the surface it might seem that little has changed, but young Ngāi Tahu might choose to set up a tourism business or fly commercial aeroplanes; they might become doctors or lawyers, accountants or farm managers. The dreams that might have remained just dreams now form realistic and accessible goals. The ability of young Ngāi Tahu to make a selection from a wide range of choices and take a decision from an array of possibilities is enhanced by economic strength – their access to an economic base. The widening of choices, the array of possibilities in education and workplaces is one of the values Ngāi Tahu is committed to delivering to its young people in Christchurch and around the South Island.

For Pākehā too, the cultural landscape is shifting; many Pākehā, like those first involved in the A-team, are aware of the benefits of partnership, which arise in areas ranging from university to conservation and care for the environment; from business to sport, from rugby to art.

Christchurch buckled under the severe earthquakes of 2010 and 2011 and the thousands of earthquakes that reminded people time and again that this could be the next – or the next 'Big One'.

The strain sometimes took its toll; the grief for those who lost loved ones will always be hard to manage. But out of the darkness there came some light. It was the light of people who could not drive down their driveways when they left home in the morning and who came home to an army of people surrounding a newly cemented drive and a lawn cleared of muck and rubble. It was the gleam in the eye of the person who showed up with gumboots and pitched mud for hours to clear the front yard of a stranger. It showed in the people who offered accommodation to Christchurch people all around the country.

The earthquakes struck at the lives of all Christchurch people. Coming through the grief and trauma has been difficult and people have learnt the value of being united, of caring for friends, neighbours and community. They learnt that values matter more than shattered porcelain, that growth depends on the spirit of people. They learnt the real meaning of hope and dreams and of people pitching in together.

The courage and values shown in the feats of survival and recovery are the same values exhibited by Ngāi Tahu through their own periods of loss and recovery. These values lie in the dream of the impossible made possible and the transition from struggle to a place in life that is better and easier. Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā values together are like the bridge that fords a river.

Pākehā do not live fully in the Māori world and many Ngāi Tahu choose not to live wholly in this world either. Ngāi Tūāhuriri had been the significant people in this area prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. They continue to form their own roles in Christchurch as part of a partnership with Pākehā and in the recognition of their original settlement in Christchurch and their economic and spiritual use of resources.

The narrative that will come out of the rebuilding of the settlement of Christchurch

will be of Pākehā and Ngāi Tūāhuriri working together as they have in the past and as they do in the present. This is the essential truth of all success stories: a river forged from two sources and many strands is stronger than a river forged by one stream alone. Māori and Pākehā skills are complementary because they connect and intertwine. While they may move in parallel paths, they also combine to move forward.

At left: Putake Aronga, by Morehu Flutey-Henare

THE VALUES AND HISTORY OF THE OTAKARO AND NORTH AND EAST FRAMES

Written by Associate Professor Te Maire Tau, Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, University of Canterbury,
includes the essay ‘Early European Settlement’ by Dr Matt Morris

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861

MAAHUNUI II

INTRODUCTION

This chapter has been written to provide guidance for the design of Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct. It gives historical documentary and analysis of the cultural significance of this section of our city. The research strongly reflects Ngāi Tūāhuriri knowledge and historical perspectives of Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct.

We have drawn on our links with Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga and relied on significant consultation with Rūnanga members to assist with the development and ultimate endorsement of this document. I thank them for their significant time commitment in arriving at this point.

The redevelopment of Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct provides the city with an exciting challenge and an opportunity to truly reflect on and represent the rich history and cultural significance of this area that has been central to both Māori and European settlement. We have the chance to develop and leave a lasting legacy for future generations. It is my hope that the outcome is a contemporary design that excites, energises and astounds but yet appropriately reflects our shared history and past. It should be a design that our children and their children feel truly proud of and that provides them with a window to link back into the history of our city.

This chapter is not prescriptive and is by no means complete in its analysis. We believe that the best outcome will be one where there is a mutually agreed version of our shared values, history and culture. We look forward to working with the design team to further interpret this and provide ideas of how to incorporate this into the rebuild.

What is certain are the main-stay concepts that must anchor this project. The design must pay tribute to the historical significance of the river as a travel corridor and centre of trade for both Māori and Pākehā. It must reflect the richness of the native growth and species that provided sustenance for the city's inhabitants. Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct has always been an area of mahinga kai and mahi kai (food gathering). This productive aspect should be reflected in the design and there must be some element that pays tribute to that concept. It must recognise the rich history of our ancestors and the role so many played in the growth and development of the city. Finally it must recognise and appropriately accommodate the cultural role of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri in the future of the city.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri looks forward to working with the design team to develop a plan that reflects the concepts articulated in this chapter and pays tribute to our links with the past.

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – 'Care for your people'

Associate Professor Te Maire Tau

Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre

NGĀI TAHU

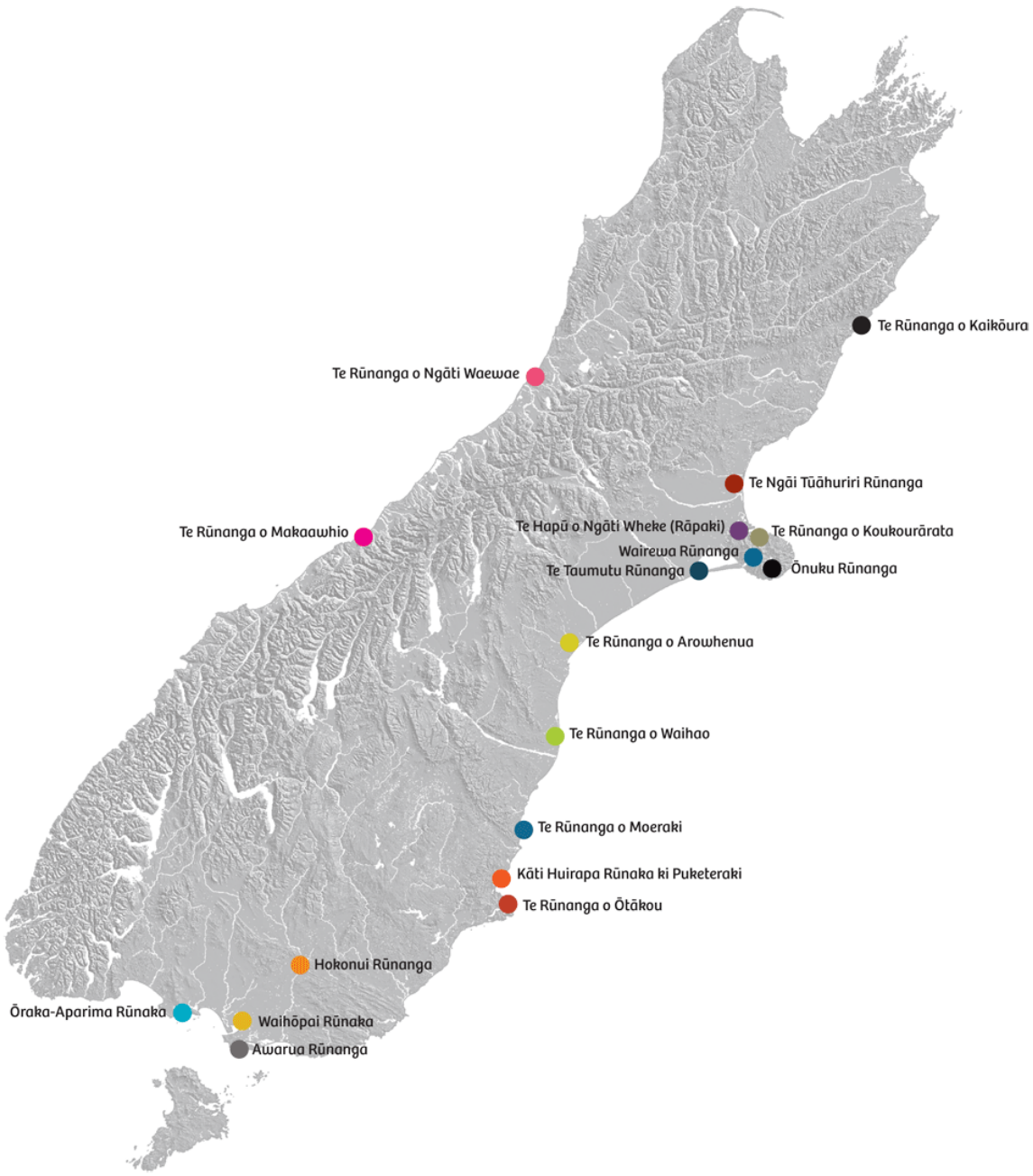
Ngāi Tahu is the tribe that occupies the greater portion of the South Island of New Zealand. The tribe claims descent from Tahu Pōtiki and by custom intermarried with the tribes who previously occupied the area, Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha. As a result Ngāi Tahu is an ascription that includes all three tribes. Thus it was Ngāi Tahu that signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, although many of the chiefs also claimed descent from Waitaha and Ngāti Māmoe.

In 1996 Ngāi Tahu was recognised as a legal entity and as a corporate body under the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act. This body corporate was composed of the 18 traditional Rūnanga 'village councils' that defined Ngāi Tahu. The Act also recognised the five principal hapū or sub-tribes of Ngāi Tahu: Ngāti Kurī, Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Ngāti Irakehu, Ngāti Huirapa and Ngāti Ruahikihiki.

Each Rūnanga falls within a takiwā or boundary described in the Act and each is acknowledged as the traditional authority for that region. Also governing the actions of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is a Charter. One of the principles to the Charter declares:

> The Kaupapa Whakakotahi is that the poupou of the House of Tahu are the Papatipu Rūnanga of our people each with their own mana and woven together with the tukutuku of our whakapapa. In them resides the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāi Tahu. Its collective voice is Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

As the Charter states, the mana and 'tino rangatiratanga' rests with each Rūnanga according to their boundaries. The Rūnanga's collective voice, however, is Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, which is the body corporate and political representative of the iwi.



Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu
Ngā Papatipu Rūnanga map

Decision making regarding Christchurch falls within the boundary of Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga. That Rūnanga is located at Tuahiwi. Ngāi Tūāhuriri's earlier name was Ngāi Tūhaitara. Ngāi Tūāhuriri's traditional village was Kaiapoi Pā until its destruction in 1831.

Because Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is the collective voice and political representative of Ngāi Tahu, it is Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu that is referred to in legislation, including the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 (CER Act). Section 11(4) of that Act states:

> The Recovery Strategy must be developed in consultation with Christchurch City Council, Environment Canterbury, Selwyn District Council, Waimakariri District Council, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, and any other persons or organisations that the Minister considers appropriate.

Likewise s 17 (2) states:

> CERA, Environment Canterbury, and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu must have the opportunity to provide an input into the development of the Recovery Plan for the CBD.

The Rūnanga with mana whenua and customary right over Ōtautahi is Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga. Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga has mandated the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre of the University of Canterbury to fulfil its obligations with regard to the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011. It is led by its Director, Associate Professor Te Maire Tau, a Ngāi Tahu history expert who lives in Tuahiwi with his whānau.

ŌTAUTAHI

The Christchurch City Council website refers to Te Pōtiki Tautahi as the ancestor of "Ōtautahi". This is wrong and it has been repeated more than once.[1] The ancestor from whom Ōtautahi takes its name was Tautahi, the son of Huikai of Port Levy. The confusion comes when Te Aritaua Pitama named the Ōtautahi Māori Club after Pōtiki Tautahi, 'a mythic figure born to a virgin'. When Te Aritaua Pitama told his mother which Tautahi he had chosen, his mother replied, "Kua moumoutia e koe tōu tipuna", (How cheap you make your ancestor).[2] Her point was that ancestral names should not be used lightly in public forums. This is a word of caution and a point that needs to be carefully considered when dealing with ancestral names in the city; it also explains why some Ngāi Tahu used to refer to Christchurch as 'Karaitiana – Christian' and not Ōtautahi.

Huikai, the father of Tautahi from whom Christchurch takes its name, was one of the rangatira who came to Canterbury under the leadership of Tūāhuriri's sons, Moki and Tūrākautahi. The hapū or sub-tribe from which their campaign was led was called Ngāi Tūhaitara. This chapter is not a history lesson so, for the sake of brevity, the key issue to note is that once Banks Peninsula was conquered by Moki and Tūrākautahi, the tribe built and located themselves at Kaiapoi Pā, which fell under the mana of Ngāi Tūhaitara and its leader Tū-rākau- tahi. It was during this period that the chiefs who led the campaign to Canterbury settled the region. One of the key leaders of this campaign was Maka, the captain of their war-canoe ***Makawhiua***. Maka was the brother to Huikai, the father of Tautahi.[3] Our whakapapa indicates that Maka did not have descendants so his mana passed to his brother and nephew. As always there is a subtlety in the language, in that while Maka was the kaihautū[4] of the ***Makawhiua***, the waka itself belonged to Moki and was in fact his gift to his wife Marewa. Not always known is that the ***Makawhiua*** was carved from a tōtara log felled in the Wairarapa.[5] The reason I make this point is because mana whenua is also configured in the same manner. That is, the mana of the land fell under Tūrākautahi and Moki just as the waka had.

1. *Beattie also refers to Pōtiki Tautahi as the ancestor for Christchurch in Canterbury Place Names, 1954, pp 117–118.*
2. *This is an important point for designers and tribal members to take into account when dealing with Māori place names in Christchurch. Te Aritaua's elder, Manakore Pitama, simply made the point that ancestral place names should not be used lightly. Her point was that an ancestor deserved better status than having their name used for a cultural group (Te Aritaua Mss B-2, p 220).*
3. *T. E. Greene, 'Whakapapa MS' Vol 1, p 266, R. T. M. Tau, Private Archives.*
4. *Captain or navigator of a canoe.*
5. *A. Anderson and T.M. Tau, Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History, 2008, pp 109–110.*

These oral traditions were given weight when Hakopa Te Ata o Tū stood as claimant on behalf of the Kaiapoi people to the mahinga kai site 'Tautahi' in the Native Land Court in 1868. There was no contest from other Ngāi Tahu to the claim by Hakopa and the Kaiapoi people. Nonetheless, the Native Land Court dismissed the claim by Hakopa because the land had already been granted to Pākehā.

The claim by Hakopa has since been resolved by way of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998. However, if we are concerned with the values and traditions of this area, its history should be considered and incorporated into the overall design of the river. The key points to note are as follows.

1. Hakopa was the claimant on behalf of Kaiapoi Ngāi Tahu to the Ōtautahi site. The list of claimants is the same as those to the Ihutai Native Reserve.
2. Hakopa's claim on behalf of his people was based on their ancestral right to Maka and Huikai who were part of the Ngāi Tūhaitara campaign into Canterbury that was led by Tūrākautahi and Moki.
3. Ōtautahi was a mahinga kai site. Its waters were not sacred.

It needs to be noted here that Hakopa was and is still a significant elder of Ngāi Tahu. He was a known warrior of Ngāi Tahu right through to the fall of Kaiapoi Pā. And, when taken as a captive by Ngāti Toa warriors, continued fighting with his captor, Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitake of Te Āti Awa.[6] When the wars between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa had finished and the peace settlements had been negotiated by the southern chiefs Taiaroa, Karetai, Te Rakiwhakatia and Whakaka, Hakopa Te Ata o Tū was among the first leading chiefs released along with Iwikau, Momo, Kaukau and Paora Tau. All of these chiefs took a leading role in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi or the 1848 Canterbury Purchase.

The claim by Hakopa is significant. It is with Hakopa where history and design need to converge. The details of his claim and his right can be configured further into the planning stage and we look forward to working with you on how to make this a reality.

MAHINGA KAI

One of the key values for Ngāi Tahu is 'mahinga kai'. Mahinga kai properly refers to Ngāi Tahu in traditional food and other natural resources and the places where those resources are obtained. The area now occupied by Christchurch city has always been a food gathering space for Ngāi Tahu. Its water and rich soils meant an abundance of birds and fish gathered in seasonal rounds by Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu. Mahinga kai is a term that originates from the 1848 Canterbury Purchase, which was a deed of purchase devised by Henry Tacy Kemp on behalf of the Crown to acquire a huge tract of land in the Canterbury region, over which Ngāi Tahu held mana whenua. Under the terms of the deed, the Crown acquired 20,000,000 acres of land running from Maungatere to Maunga Atua outside of Dunedin along the hinterland to Lake Whakatipu for the paltry sum of £2,000.

One of the conditions of sale was that the purchase document promised Ngāi Tahu that all its "mahinga kai" would be reserved for them. The relevant part of the text stated:

> Ko o matou kainga nohonga, ko a matou mahinga kai, me waiho marie mo matou tamariki, mo muri ihi ia matou, a ma te kawana e whakarite mai hoki tetahi wahi mo matou a mua ake nei, a te wahi a ata ruritia te whenua e nga kai ruru.[7]

6. *The Press, Volume XXXIX, Issue 5630, 4 October 1883, p 2 (Papers Past, www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz).*
7. *A. Mackay vol 1: 238.*

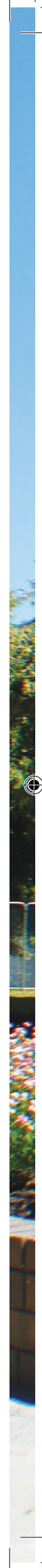


Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

THIS STONE WAS LAID
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE DUKE OF CORNWALL
& YORK

The Crown interpreted the above text thus:

> … our places of residence and cultivations must still be left to us, for ourselves and our children after us. And the Governor must appoint a quantity of land for us hereafter when the land is surveyed.[8]

The problem with the interpretation of these texts is primarily with the word "mahinga kai", which was accorded different interpretations by the Crown and Ngāi Tahu. The Crown's interpretation confines mahinga kai to a narrow meaning. In their first attempt at contesting their claim with the Crown, Ngāi Tahu took their case to the 1868 Native Land Court which sat in the Council Chambers in Christchurch or Puāri.

In this case, Fenton CJ declared that:

> … Mahinga kai does not include Weka preserves or any hunting rights, but local and fixed works and operations.[9]

Fixed works were held to mean gardens and eel weirs. On the other hand, Ngāi Tahu had taken a wider approach to defining the term to mean 'all food producing places'. So how does this history tie in with our current analysis of Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct? The alignment lies in the fact that Ngāi Tahu claimed a number of mahinga kai sites along the Ōtākaro/Avon River out to the estuary and in fact throughout Christchurch. Two specific sites named were Puāri and Ōtautahi. Neither of these Ngāi Tahu mahinga kai sites was approved by Chief Justice Fenton because the land had already been alienated and gone to the new settlers. The only site that was approved by the Native Land Court was Ihutai, which was granted as a fishing easement in the estuary. That site was later taken by the Crown in 1958 under the Public Works Act for what is now the Bromley sewage treatment ponds.

Thus it can be seen that Ngāi Tahu disputed the terms of the purchase from its inception as well as the narrow interpretation accorded

to the term mahinga kai by the courts. In 1998 this claim, among others, was settled with the Crown by way of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act. That the historical claims are settled is not to be questioned. The Treaty of Waitangi is, however, a living document and as a result its principles are still relevant, particularly in regard to the need to consult and actively protect Ngāi Tahu interests. In recognition of this, the Waitangi Tribunal ruled that in matters concerning the environment:

> … remedial action be taken by government in these four fields:
>
> (a) amendment to statutes to ensure that Māori values are made part of the criteria of assessment before the tribunal or authority involved;
>
> (b) proper and effective consultation with Māori before action is taken by legislation or decision by any tribunal or authority;
>
> (c) representation of Māori on territorial authorities and national bodies; and
>
> (d) representation of Māori before tribunals and authorities making planning and environment changes.[10]

The CER Act gives effect to the Tribunal's views. For this reason it is important that Ngāi Tahu (Ngāi Tūāhuriri) outlines its views on mahinga kai. Today Ngāi Tahu's concern is not with claiming ownership rights over these sites, but with preserving the values associated with them. For the values to be outlined, the Ngāi Tahu tradition and history with the river need to be outlined with a review of what are now referred to as Ōtautahi, Puāri and Ōtākaro.

8. Ibid

9. Waitangi Tribunal, Ngāi Tahu Land Claim 1991, para, 892.

10. Ngāi Tahu Land Claim 1991, para, 25.3.

11. Papers Past: Star, Issue 7289, 30 December 1901, p 1.

ŌTĀKARO

The name of the Avon River is 'Ōtākaro' after the tipuna, 'Tākaro'. While one text refers to Tākaro as a Ngāi Tahu tipuna, I suspect the tribal affiliations were Waitaha. It should be noted that Ngāi Tahu have a tendency to refer to specific sites and bends that run along the river, as opposed to an actual river name. Larger places names such as mountains, coastlines and major waterways tend to be anchored in Waitaha tradition. Local sites such as river bends and localities bear Ngāi Tahu names, with specific trees and rocks bearing the names of family ancestors. This is an ongoing point of confusion for cartographers and historians.[11] The research team is currently working on mapping these place names, but is not able to complete these within the given timeframes. These will be provided to the project team upon completion.

The connection between Ōtākaro and the people of Tuahiwi was made clear when Wiremu Te Uki stood before the Smith-Nairn Commission of 1880 and declared:

> Ōtākaro is the name of the Avon. The land belongs to me. It is the place where I used to obtain eels.

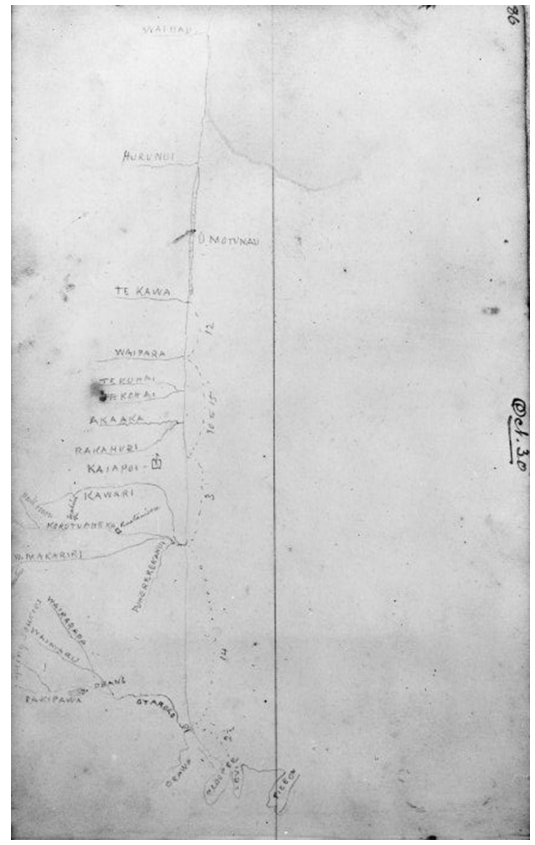
Wiremu Te Uki was an important figure within Ngāi Tahu, who worked with Paora Tau in securing Ngāi Tahu interests within the Canterbury region. When Te Uki claimed the land as his, he was acting as rangatira on behalf of the Kaiapoi people. Te Uki continued to explain his connection to the river in more detail with reference to the burial sites and other mahinga kai out towards the estuary and along the Ōpawa River. What needs to be understood is that Ōtākaro is the generic name of the Avon River and that its traditional importance was its value as a mahinga kai site. One of Te Uki's great statements that he left to us described the meaning behind the term mahinga kai as follows:

> We use to get food from all over our Island; it was all mahinga kai. And we considered our island as in a far superior position to any other, because it is called Waipounamu, the greenstone island; the fame thereof reaches all lands.[12]

Te Uki made this statement during cross-examination before the Smith Nairn Commission hearing in Kaiapoi in 1879, a year before he outlined his people's connection to the Ōtākaro. Not only does he tell us about the waterfowl, fish and vegetation taken for food along the river, he also tells us of the burial sites along the river and the kaitiaki for these sites. Like all historical material, it needs to be placed within its cultural context and its appropriate whakapapa setting.

What should be noted is that there is very little mention of 'sacred waters' along this waterway and it seems that despite the modern rhetoric of 'sacred springs', the river was primarily a food gathering site. The waterways that were used for spiritual purposes are more likely to be located along the upper end of the river along the tributaries. However, it is important to note that by the late 19th century the Tuahiwi people had located all their 'wahi tapu' and water sites for 'pure' rituals in Tuahiwi along the Whakahume (Cam River).

From my notebook in the 1980s an elder aunt made it clear that the three streams that ran into the Ōtākaro/Avon River were Waiwhetu, Wairarapa and O'Rakipaoa. A map by Walter Mantell, drawn in 1848, refers to the streams Waimaru, Wairarapa and Rakipawa running into the Ōtākaro.[13] The oral tradition aligns with Mantell's recording with the exception that Waiwhetu runs off the Wairarapa Stream. The proper spelling of the Waimaru is 'Waimairiiri' which according to my aunt referred to the fact that the stream was used for blessing rituals.[14]



Walter Mantell's map referring to the streams Waimaru, Wairarapa and Rakipawa running into the Ōtākaro.

12. *Evidence of Wiremu Te Uki, National Archives /MA/ 67/4, p 295.*

13. *Walter Baldock Durrant Mantell, 1820–1895 :[Diagram of rivers discharging onto coast from Waiau to Lyttelton. 1848]. Reference Number: E-334-086 (http://mp.natlib.govt.nz).*

14. *I have written about the connection between the Waiwhetu and Wairarapa streams in an earlier publication for the opening of Te Puna Waiwhetu Christchurch Art Gallery.*

The key mahinga kai sections of the Ōtākaro/Avon River within the city centre are Puāri and Ōtautahi. It should be noted that both sections have been subjected to speculative history from both Māori and Pākehā historians.

In the 1880s our elders gathered in their ancestral meeting house, Tū-te-kawa, in Tuahiwi with the intention of relaying to H.K. Taiaroa all their oral traditions relating to their food gathering places within the Canterbury region stretching from Maunga-tere south to Maunga-atua outside Dunedin. The foods taken, the vegetation of the area, the types of settlements and burial grounds were all noted. One gathering by our elders commenced on the night of 3 June 1880 and was led by Taare Te Ihoka, the successor Ūpoko of Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga to Pita Te Hori. Te Ihoka listed 92 sites running from the edges of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) across to Godley Head. Ōtākaro features as the 85th site. However, it is apparent that the site is one of many along that river. The manuscript reads:

> Ōtākaro, E kainga mahinga kai, e kainga nohoanga e kainga tuturu. Ona kai e tuna e inaka e kokopu o uta kai e maara taura e pora e kumara e aruhe nga manu e parera e raipo, putakitaki e pateke e taata.
>
> Ōtākaro: A permanent settlement and food production site. The food sourced here are tuna (eel), īnaka (whitebait), kokopu (native trout); the food found ashore are cultivated in gardens such as pora (turnip), kūmara (sweet potato) and aruhe (fernroot). The birds are the parera (grey duck), raipo (black teal duck), pūtakitaki (paradise duck) pāteke (teal) and the tataa (brown duck or shoveller).

It should be noted that when our elders refer to īnaka, they are speaking about the īnaka that they take in February rather than the whitebait taken in the spring, which they call marearea or mata.

Because this paper is focused on Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct, I keep within the boundaries rather than outline the river as a complete mahinga kai. However, one area to note that stands on the outer edges of the upper ends of the river is Pūtarikamotu – Riccarton Bush or 'Deans Bush' and the sites Ōhikahuruhuru (Upper Fendalton), Motu-iti (Bryndwyr) and Wairarapa.[15] Pūtarikamotu is the upper end of the Ōtākaro/Avon River and needs to be included in this report.

PŪTARIKAMOTU

The name Pūtarikamotu has been subject to a good deal of speculation by historians and elders, all centring on the word 'tarika', which means 'ear'. Most historians of Māori have a basic knowledge of Māori and 'tarika' is an obvious word to focus the attention because 'pū' and 'motu' do mean a clump of trees. As a result the most common translation is that that the area was 'the place of the severed ear'.[16]

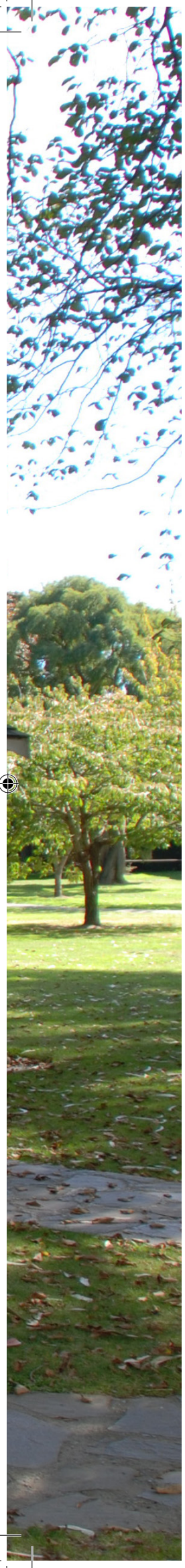
However, the text below gives a better indication of the true meaning of the name. Pūtarikamotu was a site where our elders snared forest fowl such as pigeon, the South Island kākā and the tūī, which we call kōkō. 'Pū' describes a bush or clump of trees. 'Tari' is a noose used to snare birds, as in 'Ka tae ki runga ki te maunga, ka taria e ia te kiwi, ka mau' (upon reaching the mountains, snares were set to catch the kiwi).[17]

'Motu' can mean the island of trees, but it also refers to how fowlers would cut the snares for their birds. Therefore, Pū-tari-ka-motu is likely to mean 'the forest where the snares were cut', – that is the forest where the birds were taken after they had been snared. There is no certainty about this name, but this interpretation aligns with the fact this site was a place to take forest fowl.

15. *Herries Beattie, Māori Place Names of North Canterbury 1945, pp 58–59.*

16. *W.A. Taylor, Lore and History of the South Island Māori, Bascands Ltd, 1950 p 46. Herries Beattie gives the generic name of Rhombosolea to these species except for the moho-ao which he named Rhombosolea retiaria (black flounder). The description of these flounders varies although the moho-ao tends to be the one with a spotted back that lives in the estuary while the whaiwhai has a white belly as opposed to the patotara which has a yellow belly H. Beattie, Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori, ed. Atholl Anderson, Otago University Press, 1994, pp 579–605, 152–153.*

17. *Herbert Williams, A Dictionary of the Māori Language, 1957, p 391.*



The list that follows was recorded on 2 June 1880 and outlines the recollections of Tuahiwi elders such as Wiremu Te Uki, Taare Te Ihoka, Hakopa, Arapata Kooti and 30 others. Fifty sites are recorded. Pūtarikamotu is site 41. The list gives an indicator of the birdlife along the river. The manuscript tells us:

> E kainga nohoanga, e kainga mahinga kai, e pa tuturu on kai, he tuna, he kanakana, he aruhe o te ngahere, ona kai, he whinau, he matai, pokaka,[18] he kahika, nga manu he kereru, he kaka, he koko, he koparapara, he mohotatai.
>
> A settlement and food gathering site with a proper fort. Its foods were eel, lamprey, fernroot and its foods of the forest were from the hinau, black pine, pōkākā, white pine and the forest fowl were native pigeon, South Island kākā, Parson bird (tūī), cockabully and flounder.

Pūtarikamotu is traditionally seen as just the forest. However, the list also includes food from the Ōtākaro/Avon River nearby, such as the kanakana (blind eel) and the flounder we refer to as the 'moho-tatai'.

Moho-tatai does not appear in other areas of the river and the name suggests a particular type of flounder that Māori generally refer to as pātiki. The problem in understanding what type of flounder is referred to here is that Māori taxonomy is ordered along the lines of appearance, taste, smell and even the season or location in which it is taken. For example, in Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) our elders list four types of flounders: mohoao, raututu, whaiwhai and patotara (yellow bellied flounder).[19] While a more thorough discussion can be had on how Māori ordered these species, the important point is that moho-tatai is a unique word and description for the flounder in this area of the Ōtākaro/Avon River. Kanakana is another fish that is interesting because Māori spent a considerable amount of time fishing kanakana along with the eel.

The site for Ohikahuruhuru, the stream in the Upper Fendalton area, is described by the elders as follows:

> E kainga nohoanga, e kainga mahinga kai, e pa tuturu, ona kai, tuna, kanakana, he koukoupara, he inaka, he mahinga maara kumara, he arhe, nga manu, he parera, he putakitaki. He urupa tupapaku kei taua kainga.
>
> A settlement and food gathering site with a proper fort. Its foods were eel, the lamprey, native trout, īnaka and gardens with kūmara and fernroot. There were also grey ducks and paradise ducks. There is also a burial site.

Also of note is that in the Wairarapa Stream, the foods listed are:

> E kainga nohoanga, e kainga mahinga kai e pa tuturu ona kai he kauru, he aruhe, he inaka, he tuna, he kiore.
>
> A settlement and food gathering site with a proper fort. Its foods were the cabbage tree, fernroot, whitebait, eels and the native rat.

What should be noted is that just outside of this area, our elders observed the existence of koreke (native quail), tiroki and tutukiwi (snipe).[20] The native quail and South Island snipe are now extinct. The records do indicate, however, that they were in this region during the 1840s. I cannot identify the tiroki. I suspect it is the New Zealand little bittern – otherwise known as kaoriki. During this period there is also a change in the landscape as our people captured the kīore or native rat on the greater plains. It is quite apparent that the native rat infested much of the landscape, with our people placing their snares along named trails.

The importance of these texts is that it gives an indication of the foods taken by Māori

18. *Whinau is the hinau (Elaeocarpus dentatus) and pōkākā is Elaeocarpus hookerianus, (Beattie, 1994, pp 581, 595).*

19. *E. Best, Fishing Methods and Devices of the Māori, Govt Printer, 1929 (1986), p 231.*

20. *Herries Beattie translates the tutu-kiwi as a snipe (Coenocorypha aucklandica). (Beattie, Traditional Lifeways, 1994, p 603).*

before settlement occurred. To that end, the Opus Design Team may find this information useful in its plans for the river. A healthy river and surrounding areas that allowed for cultivation of native species would truly reflect the sense of history of this space and enable the sharing of that history with the wider community.

PUĀRI

The name Puāri is of relatively recent origins. It is not rooted in early Waitaha or Ngāi Tahu tradition. The sole Māori manuscript seen by the writer that explains Puāri states that the name stems from a tipuna called Te Korotū who died at Kaihope, a place inside Port Levy bay. The text reads:

> Katata, the husband, named the area Puāri after Te Korotū he looked over to where she died.

Given the timeframe in which this research was conducted, there was not sufficient time to fully research this whakapapa and oral tradition; however, it is likely that the Katata referred to was the elder named in Edward Shortland's *Southern Districts*.[21] There is simply a lack of certainty about the name and its meaning and much of what has been written is unreliable. What is important, however, is that Puāri was a mahinga kai and was claimed as such by the Upoko Rūnanga, Pita Te Hori, in 1868 before the Native Land Court. Like Hakopa before him, Pita Te Hori claimed on behalf of the Kaiapoi Rūnanga. There was no contest to his claim by other Ngāi Tahu.

> Kua huihui tatou kia kotahi ai to tatou ritenga. Kei te whakarite koutou i nga ture o te Kawana. He ture ano hoki o matou. Ko taku ture i ahu mai i toku tupuna i a Ahuriri nana i mea, 'Kia atawhai ki te Pākehā ', muri iho, ka pera ano hoki te kupu a Tūrākautahi. No reira tonu ano kahore he kino i roto i o matou, ngakau kua noho marie tatou.[22]

Like Hakopa, Te Hori is an important Ngāi Tahu ancestor. In 1858 Te Hori was appointed by the Crown as Native Assessor[23] and he was also the first Ūpoko Rūnanga of the Ngāi Tūāhuriri.[23] Te Hori was a defender of Kaiapoi Pā and for that reason he is considered to be one of the leading elders. There is no shortage of oral traditions about this Upoko. The importance of Te Hori is that he, along with many of his generation, established the nature of the relationship Ngāi Tahu would have with Pākehā and North Island Māori. For this reason, Te Hori needs to be configured into the design of Market Square. In 1861, Te Hori and the Kaiapoi elders met with the Christchurch leaders to discuss the wars that were raging in the North Island and their loyalty to the Crown. Te Hori told the Christchurch community:

> This meeting is held that we may have but one plan. You are following the laws of the Governor we have also had, laws. My laws commenced with Ahuriri he said, Be kind to men. After him Tūrākautahi said the same. So from thence to the present time we have had no evil in our hearts.

In order to establish the Ngāi Tahu relationship with the Pākehā community, Te Hori looked back to his ancestor Tūāhuriri, who on his deathbed told his sons to follow the path of peace rather than warfare. Despite the intention, this advice was not followed. However, during the building of the Kaiapoi Pā, Tūrākautahi, like his father, told his descendants that Kaiapoi was to be free of warfare. His words were, "Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people". Tūrākautahi understood his kin were warriors (ngākau toa), but that their fighting was to be directed away

21. *Edward Shortland, Southern Districts, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851, London, p 289.*

22. *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi and Māori Intelligencer, 15 March 1861, vol. 1, p 7 (Niupepa Māori Newspapers, www.nzdl.org).*

23. *New Zealand Gazette, 1858, p 110.*

24. *Again, this report does not have the time to cover the history of the Rūnanga within New Zealand and Ngāi Tahu. What is important is that the Kaiapoi Rūnanga, which later became Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, was established in 1859. It is quite possible that the Kaiapoi Rūnanga was established much earlier by the tribal leadership. 1859 is generally accepted as the date of establishment because it appears as such in formal records starting with Walter Buller who visited Tuahiwi in that year.*

from Kaiapoi Pā, which explains why it was the central pā for all Ngāi Tahu. Despite the battles that ran through the tribe, what is significant is that more often than not these same leaders were also found in Kaiapoi Pā. Until the attacks of Ngāti Toa, Kaiapoi was a zone exempt from warfare.[25]

It was this tradition that Te Hori turned to in 1861 when he made his position clear to the people of Christchurch. Te Hori had essentially used the saying from Tūāhuriri and his son to include Pākehā, which is why the Māori passage says, "Kia atawhai ki te Pākehā – Care for the Pākehā". If Market Square, and indeed Christchurch as a city, are to be guided by particular values, then Te Hori's declaration is obviously important for Ngāi Tahu, hence the subtitle of this report Kia atawhai ki te iwi – which best translates as 'Care for your people'. If there is a central Ngāi Tahu (Tuahiwi) value that needs to be noted, the idea of care or atawhai is critical. How will the design show care for its citizens? How will a cultural centre encourage strangers to treat each other with warmth and its local inhabitants to welcome visitors and guests from afar? If this cannot be shown, then support of Ngāi Tūāhuriri for a Māori presence in the centre will be in doubt.

MARKET SQUARE

One of the best indicators of the elders' attitude to this area of the city and to the idea of commerce was expressed by Hone Paratene (John Patterson) of Tuahiwi, who addressed Governor Gore-Browne in 1860 at Lyttelton. In his address, Paratene told the Governor:

> Our friend Governor Browne, we salute you. Welcome, Governor, Welcome! Welcome! Welcome! Welcome thou, the head of New Zealand assemblies, both Euroropean and Māori. We salute you.
>
> Listen to our cry of welcome – from the people of Kaiapoi, of Rāpaki, of Purau, of Port Levy, of Akaroa, of Wairewa, and of Taumutu. Give ear also to our sayings. We come unto you with our complaint as unto a doctor, that he may administer relief. It is this. We are without house or land in this Town for the purpose of a Market-place.
>
> We are like unto a Cormorant sitting on a rock. The tide rises, it flows over the rock, and the bird is compelled to fly. Do thou provide a dry resting place for us that we may prosper. These are the articles (of trade) we pro-pose to bring to town: — Firewood, potatoes, wheat, pigs, fish, and other things. We want this place also as a landing place for our boats.[26]

Ngāi Tahu was well acquainted with trade ever since the arrival of the whalers and sealers through to the drive to acquire muskets. All Ngāi Tahu villages understood the importance of Market Square and were anxious to participate in the local economy. And while Rāpaki and Tuahiwi were the closest villages to the city, the other villages on Banks Peninsula obviously saw the market as important, which is why they requested a landing for their canoes in the city.[27] What is interesting, however, is that by 1864 Taumutu Ngāi Tahu were facing challenges to their role in supplying flounder for the city market when Pākehā operators took a larger role in fishing the lake, despite the Ngāi Tahu view that the lake was theirs.[28] This problem turns back on the Treaty of Waitangi and the 1848 Canterbury Purchase where Ngāi Tahu claimed Waihora and the waterways as mahinga kai.

Nonetheless, Paratene's address to Governor Gore-Browne illustrates that Ngāi Tahu understood the importance of this site and that, in order to participate in the new world, they needed an area to reside. Their two mahinga kai sites that they claimed as an area to camp had been

25. *Too often historians make the mistake of assuming that Kaiapoi Ngāi Tahui had split from those on Banks Peninsula and our kin further south. This is simply wrong. During its fall, Taiaroa was at Kaiapoi, the home of his wife Marewa. Likewise Te Muka chiefs resided in the pā during the raid.*

26. *The Māori Messenger, Te Karere Māori, 1860, Vol. 7, (20).*

27. *Waitangi Tribunal, Ngāi Tahu Sea Fisheries Report, 1992, para 5.6.*

28. *Ibid, para 5.7.*

declined by the Native Land Court and this presented a problem. This is the meaning behind Paratene's pepeha, which compares Ngāi Tahu to a cormorant sitting on a tide without a place to reside. The tide he alludes to represents the migrants from England, who ironically enough Ngāi Tahu referred to as 'takata-pora – boat people'.

The need for a site in the city to camp and occupy has been maintained since the request from the Kaiapoi elders in 1860 for a site through to the 1970s when the Council set aside an area of land at Pages Road for Māori. However, it also needs to be noted that, while Ngāi Tahu wished to participate in the market economy, they made two other requests. The first was that their lands be subdivided into individual title and the second request was that the Crown loan the Port Levy Ngāi Tahu enough money to build a mill. This is a fascinating insight into the way our elders understood their world. The petition from Paora Tau and others read as follows:

> . . . we seek your approval to the erection of a (flour) mill at Port Levy, and we ask your assistance in the same manner that you have aided the people of the Northern Island in the construction of their mills, and that you will send us a wise man (a mill-wright) to superintend the work, that it may be properly done. All the machinery has arrived and we have paid for it the sum of three hundred and eighty pounds fifteen shillings and three pence. The assistance we ask of you is, to erect a house, to set up the mill, and to dig an aqueduct. And when the proceeds of the mill are sufficient we will repay your advance. Let this be made a proof of your regard for us.
>
> Here is another subject for us to speak of, O Governor! The voice of all the people is, that our land Reserves be subdivided, so that each may have his own portion. We ask you to give to each man a title in writing to his own allotment. But we leave the matter in your hands, O Governor. Our reason for urging the subdivision of our land is, that our difficulties and quarrels may cease, that we may live peaceably, and that Christianity and good works may thrive amongst us.

Ngāi Tahu elders understood the new economy that was emerging and were anxious to develop their own capital to develop individually and as villages along the same lines that Christchurch was developing. Mills were an example of industry and the need to develop in order to trade in the city. Equally clear is that they saw the arrangement as a financial loan rather than as a welfare benefit. Ngāi Tahu understood that while they needed to participate in Market Square to actively trade, their villages would also become areas of settlement and industry, which is why they also wanted the right to subdivide the land with the right to exchange among themselves, rather than only with Pākehā. In short, they understood the idea of capital. The exact opposite has occurred over recent years by way of the Urban Plan initiated by the local councils in 2007. In these plans, the councils zoned Māori land as rural and denied them the right to subdivide land for owners if it is less than 10 acres. In fact, their plans do not include any of the principles that our elders presented to the Governor in 1860, despite requests that they do so.

Despite the requests by Ngāi Tahu for land in the city where they could participate in the market, no allocation was made. Ngāi Tahu remained in their villages. By the 1960s Ngāi Tahu were no longer allowed to build upon their traditional land because the local councils had rezoned Māori land in Tuahiwi,

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

Taumutu, Wairewa, Ōnuku and Rāpaki as rural land by way of the Town and Country Planning Act 1958. The same situation occurred throughout the North Island. This meant that, despite the fact that our people had land in their villages, they were not allowed to live there. The consequence was a mass urban migration by Māori into Christchurch and other cities.

One of Ngāi Tahu's most important cultural leaders was Te Aritaua Pitama (1906–1958). Te Aritaua had been taken by the Rev. Charles Fraser and educated at Christ's College. In the main he lived in Christchurch. It is with Te Aritaua Pitama that the request of Pita Te Hori and Paora Tau for a site or hostelry to be established in Christchurch for Ngāi Tahu was reignited. Te Aritaua changes the nature of the debate, however, by asking for a wharenui to be built in Christchurch.

Te Aritaua Pitama had then evolved the idea of a Christchurch wharenui from its original concept first raised in the 1860s, where it was meant to have been a lodging place for Ngāi Tahu moving from Banks Peninsula to Kaiapoi and those Ngāi Tahu working in the Christchurch markets.

Te Aritaua had petitioned the Government to gift to the South Island Māori a wharenui that had been built at Wellington as part of the centennial celebrations in 1940. Little Hagley Park near the Carlton Bridge was seen by Te Aritaua as the best place for the marae and whare. In 1941 the Christchurch City Council supported the Centennial Meeting House as a gift from the Government. However, within a year the Council rescinded its decision because of pressure from other local bodies. These local bodies objected for two reasons. The first was that the costs for transportation and the erection of the building were too high. The second reason was that more attention should be paid to the Canterbury Museum

and Robert McDougall Art Gallery. Māori culture at that time was limited to decorating the Canterbury Museum.

There were also quite racist sentiments expressed by borough councillors. One councillor remarked, "We are putting down an ancient Māori house in one of our best suburbs. It will be quite out of keeping." Another apologetically said, "I understand that it will be looked after properly so that it will not deteriorate into a Māori whare or anything of that sort."[29] The overall feeling, however, was that a carved meeting house should have been sited on one of the Ngāi Tahu kainga at either Tuahiwi, Te Muka or Arahura. This was the feeling of not only Pākehā but also of some Ngāi Tahu. One Ngāi Tahu from Tuahiwi, Hilda Trail, argued that the wairua of the carvings should be cared for in a Māori environment, where they would be welcomed. The overall view for Pākehā Christchurch seemed to be 'out of sight, out of mind'. For Ngāi Tahu, the response came as no surprise. One of Tuahiwi's great leaders and politicians, Hoani Uru, once said in the 1890s that the Pākehā attitude to Māori was "Better be dead and out of the way".[30]

In the end, what eventuated was Ngā Hau E Whā National Marae on Pages Road, which was built in the 1980s. Te Aritaua Pitama had passed away in 1958 and his idea was realised by Mr Hori Brennan of Te Arawa. Ngā Hau E Whā has not had a good history in Christchurch. Its past has been difficult for successive Trustees, the City Council, Ngāi Tahu and Tuahiwi. The situation has only recently managed to resolve itself under the leadership of Mr Norm Dewes and Te Rūnanga o Ngā Maata Waka. With hindsight, we can assess the lessons to be learnt from Ngā Hau E Whā, which should be heeded if the proposed Te Puna Ahurea is to be successful.

1. The location of Ngā Hau E Whā displayed the racism of the Council members at the time. Rather than placing the marae in Hagley Park, the council located the marae near the treatment plant for Christchurch sewage.
2. The point by the Tuahiwi elder, Hilda Trail was valid in that the traditional kainga of Tuahiwi, Rapāki etc were the ideal places for marae and wharenui.
3. Despite the fact that Ngā Hau E Whā was located in Bromley rather than Hagley Park, the problems would have remained in that the marae was not designed to create a sense of community and its aesthetic nature jarred too much with the background. The marae was neither Ngāi Tahu in its āhua nor conducive to the landscape.
4. A wharenui like Ngā Hau E Whā would have been too challenging to the aesthetic values of Christchurch. If Ngā Hau E Whā had been located in Hagley Park, it would have simply emphasised its 'museum' design and would not have had any graceful integration into the city's traditional appearance.

The design team must ensure that the same mistakes are not repeated in the proposed rebuild. We look forward to working with you to ensure that this does not occur.

29. *16 July 1940.*

30. *AJHR 1891 G-7, p 58.*

THE NGĀI TAHU AESTHETIC

The question is what is the aesthetic nature of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri? The interesting aspect to this question is that it can be partially answered by what it is not. Until recently, most Ngāi Tahu communities had very few carvings – at least of ancestral figures. Yet, for any outsider who spent time within the villages, there was an aesthetic design that differentiated it from the Pākehā rural communities.

Ngāi Tahu design should not be an import from the North Island. Neither should the design restrict us to 'Museum Māori' decorative themes. Ngā Hau E Whā – as wonderful as it is – does not represent Ngāi Tahu.

The traditional carving style of Ngāi Tahu did exist in some houses, yet to an outsider this would not have been apparent. While many of our halls, houses and whare did not have carvings, they did have pounamu near the doorways. The houses that most Ngāi Tahu whānau would recognise as theirs would have been the typical settler cottages and bungalows which they modified to suit their needs. Elders may have done their cooking outside or separated the cooking fire from the domestic fire. *continued...*

TE PUNA AHUREA CULTURAL CENTRE

Te reo karanga

Pōwhiri mihi koe

Ki te tuarangi

O te paremata

O Niu Tireni

Te Roopu Reipa

Kia ora ra koe

The proposed plan notes that Te Puna Ahurea Cultural Centre will be a place of welcome and pōwhiri. The plan also notes that it will be a place for interactive celebration, exhibition for taonga, the celebration of performing arts, a place to relax and an area to complement the Convention Centre.

The sole area of concern for Ngāi Tūāhuriri is the view that pōwhiri will occur at this site. Pōwhiri require marae and the endorsement of the local rūnanga. Ngāi Tūāhuriri would find it difficult to support another marae or wharenui in Christchurch city, particularly along Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct. The reason is purely tikanga. Tuahiwi is the principal marae for Christchurch and there are two marae we acknowledge: Rēhua Marae on Springfield Road and Ngā Hau E Whā National Marae on Pages Road. All dignitaries who visit Christchurch for the first time and are accorded a welcome should be welcomed at Tuahiwi. Avoiding marae is simply bad etiquette.

The waiata cited above was composed by Hutika Manawatu in 1974 when the people of Tuahiwi welcomed the Prime Minister, Norman Kirk, onto their marae. This was the last Prime Minister to be welcomed at Tuahiwi. Traditionally it was quite clear to the Pākehā community and Christchurch City Council leadership that pōwhiri to Canterbury and Christchurch by Māori occurred at Tuahiwi. Ngāi Tūāhuriri have welcomed Governors-General, Prime Ministers and other dignitaries. Its last significant role within Ngāi Tahu was that it was the host marae for the Ngāi Tahu Claim before the Waitangi Tribunal. The irony is that while there is talk of a post-colonial city, the older leadership of Christchurch did acknowledge the role and position of Tuahiwi. The same courtesy is rarely displayed today.

Since the 1980s there has been a gradual movement towards Ngāi Tahu and city officials undertaking pōwhiri within Christchurch. The great problem with Ngāi Tahu (Ngāi Tūāhuriri) pōwhiri in the city is that it is nearly impossible for the activity to have meaning or to be carried out in a proper manner. The landscape, the icons and semiotics simply do not lend themselves to pōwhiri. The results are contrived rituals. Ngāi Tahu feel that the occasion has not occurred in the manner that it should and Pākehā simply follow without a full understanding of the situation. One historian accurately summarised the situation: "Ngāi Tahu's participation in civic occasions was important to Ngāi Tahu, but merely colourful to most of the rest of the population".[31]

Ngāi Tūāhuriri would prefer that all significant occasions of welcome be undertaken at Tuahiwi rather than within the city. That means that for any first visit by a Royal, Governor-General, Prime Minister or oversees visitor, Tuahiwi should be their first point of welcome.

31. *John Cookson, 'Pilgrim's Progress', Southern Capital Christchurch, Towards a City Biography 1850-2000, (eds, John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall), 2000, p 27.*

Māori understand this tradition. The challenge is not necessarily to design a greater Māori presence into Christchurch city, but to ensure Christchurch is able to look outside itself to the traditional marae, whether it is Tuahiwi, Taumutu or Rāpaki. The tendency of recent rhetoric that Christchurch must become more Māori is acknowledged, but for significant rituals, particularly pōwhiri, the designers need to design outwards rather than reflect the insecure cultural narcissism that tends to dominate this discussion. How will the design satisfy Ngāi Tūāhuriri that their mana motuhake is anchored in the manner that the Charter of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu states? We look forward to working with you to resolve this.

Nonetheless the original point that Hoani Uru understood and Te Aritaua Pitama tried to resolve indicates an apprehension. Christchurch does not reflect Māori. An illustration of the absence of Māori from the Christchurch landscape is evident in a lack of representation in the Bridge of Remembrance. It is well known that many Ngāi Tahu and other Māori died in their loyalty to the Crown; however, their service to New Zealand is not reflected there. The tension exists and it is clear that the city design needs to reflect Ngāi Tahu, Māori and the fact that New Zealand is within the Pacific region.

Eruera Prendergast of Ngāi Tahu noted in *The Press*:

> My dad's English, so it's not that I don't like them. But we're at the bottom of the Pacific. If you look at the marketing for Christchurch – the punting, the Wizard – our community soul is seen as English.
>
> But you've got to believe it comes at a social cost for Māori youth to be growing up in an environment where your culture's alien, where it's invisible – not just marginalised, not even there.[32]

That view is not shared by all. Amiria Reriti told *The Press*:

> Being a Christchurch girl, born and bred, I was used to the environment and what it looked like. Mostly white and an older age group. I was comfortable with that because that was my home.

Amiria's belief probably aligns with the Tuahiwi view as most of her whānau were active in their marae. In a sense, it was understood that Ngāi Tahu traditions and community lived in their homes and communities while Christchurch was for Pākehā. The distinction was not necessarily a problem because for Māori, their marae is the centre point. However, the largely enforced urbanisation of the 1960s, which was caused by the councils' rezoning of villages and marae as 'rural', created a tension in culture that needs to be resolved.

This does not mean that the city's 'English' character needs to be downplayed or forgotten. Ngāi Tahu understands the importance of the Cathedral and the symbols and signs of the settler culture. That identity needs to be restored and celebrated. Tuahiwi and many of our marae are designed along the lines of what are called 'Church Pā'. That is, the wharenui and marae were closely connected to the church. In turn, the church was closely aligned to the cemetery and the local wāhi tapu. While there have been views that this created tensions within the community, Māori have generally managed this tension. A common feature of Church Pā is that their wharenui do not have ancestral carvings. The older whare in Canterbury do not have carvings, except for Ōnuku and Rāpaki. That does not mean carved figures should not appear. What is more important, however, is that the values are identified and incorporated into the design.

The wharenui or community halls sometimes took second place to the whānau houses such as Te Awhitu House at Taumutu or 'Okaihau' at Tuahiwi. These were typically larger settler houses owned by leading whānau who hosted manuhiri. What the community understood was that these houses were located within a cluster of semiotics that made the whole coherent. The community knew which trees, streams and lands fitted into the larger narrative that the house represented. The point here is that buildings and objects in a community have meaning when the community understands the stories and symbols that they represent.

How whānau operated within these houses and how their interior design differed need to be considered.

A good example of the Ngāi Tahu aesthetic is the Moeraki Church, Kotahitanga, which is clearly a design typical of its day. While many Pākehā may see a stained glass window as a reflection of English settler culture, Ngāi Tahu accept this culture as theirs. The Ngāi Tahu community understands it is Māori; a carved pou is not required. Likewise, many houses in Tuahiwi have their own way of expressing the Ngāi Tahu identity. Often the designs were subtle and influenced by the Anglican and the Rātana Church. The influence of these two institutions should not be underestimated. *continued...*

32. *The Press, 19 January 2013 (ww.stuff.co.nz).*

Colour is also important. Ngāi Tahu and Tuahiwi were heavily influenced by the Anglican Church and Rātana faith. Colour, especially in Tuahiwi, was important in giving the community a sense of meaning.

Moeraki Church Kotahitanga.
Photo: Neil Pardington

The challenge is to successfully integrate Māori design with the traditional English character of the city. This does not mean the erection of ancestral pou across the city like those found along Barbadoes Street. A subtle approach is required to incorporate Māori design into the city. To do this, some reflection is needed on the following.

1. Ngāi Tahu and Māori design is not limited to what we see as the 'traditional' arts. Ngāi Tahu has many modern artists, designers and architects.
2. The most contemporary Tuahiwi/Ngāi Tahu artistic expression has been the new whare, Mahunui II at Tuahiwi. It does not conform to an orthodox style, yet is clearly Māori.
3. The designers /artists should reflect the values of the people, ancestors, iwi and hapū but not restrict themselves to the prescribed genre.
4. Three areas that have influenced Māori design have been the role of the Anglican Church, the role of the Rātana faith and the early settler culture.

The challenge for designers is the proposal that Market Square becomes the centre for the cultural activities – Te Puna Ahurea. The challenge will arise because Ngāi Tūāhuriri will not support the area as a marae; nor would they support a wharenui because too often their process of welcome is converted into a ritual that does not resemble the actual practices at Tuahiwi. The events become a charade with players strutting upon the stage signifying very little.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri do accept, however, that an attempt needs to be made by the Pākehā community and its leadership to jointly participate in activities that foster cultural development and engagement. This is where the joint interest lies. There is a general acceptance that both parties need a workable solution.

This means that if Te Puna Ahurea is to have some meaning and is to be a cultural centre, it has to be integrated into the wider city design. That means the Cultural Centre must incorporate the Christchurch community and how they wish to participate. For Māori, cultural activities occur within a community context of their marae, church and wharenui. Their sacred sites, urupā (cemeteries), schools, gateways and landscape all play a role. Within Christchurch, if Te Puna Ahurea is to have meaning, the natural question for Māori would be, what role do the Cathedral and Convention Centre have in this project? Where are the sacred sites and symbols and how are they acknowledged? Would it be better to locate the proposed Earthquake Memorial in the green zone behind the church as Māori would?

How do the designers impose some kind of order on rituals where all groups understand their meaning?'

These questions are not difficult to resolve because Christchurch does have its traditions and rituals. The Cathedral and the statues of Queen Victoria, Captain Cook, Godley, Fitzgerald and Robert Falcon Scott are all important. This report has outlined their Ngāi Tahu equivalents as Taiaroa, Wiremu Te Uki, Paora Tau Hakopa Te Ata o Tū and Pita Te Hori. The Square was until the 1990s a community plaza similar to a marae for the Christchurch public. If the focus is to be on Market Square as the proposed Te Puna Ahurea, then where is the whare? Would the Convention Centre be a modern version of the great hall that features in the old English universities and the old Arts Centre?

The question would therefore be how would one integrate the values of Māori into the design

of 'the Great Hall/Convention Centre' and how would this building interface with the Cultural Centre and the Cathedral?

This section of the report raises more questions at the moment because Ngāi Tūāhuriri needs to be assured that the principal values underlying Christchurch are maintained. Obviously a discussion needs to occur at a wider level so that the Cultural Precinct can occur. But if Market Square or Puāri is to be the area of activity, Pita Te Hori's adage must set the scene for Tuahiwi's discussion:

> This meeting is held that we may have but one plan. You are following the laws of the Governor we have also had, laws. My laws commenced with Ahuriri.

The overriding value that Ngāi Tūāhuriri would reference is how does any activity/planning or design give effect to the core value, "Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people"?

1. Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga will not support a marae nor a wharenui. This turns back on the first principle that the principal marae and whare lay in our kāinga. There are two marae-wharenui in Christchurch (Ngā Hau E Whā and Rēhua) that Ngāi Tūāhuriri support. Ngāi Tūāhuriri believes that there are enough marae and whare within the city and region and that one within the city centre will detract from the traditional centre points.
2. Ngāi Tūāhuriri support the idea that there needs to be a central place of welcome where Ngāi Tahu and the Crown (local councils etc) are able to welcome and host dignitaries and manuhiri. The guiding principle for Ngāi Tahu marae is "Aroha ki te tangata, tētahi ki tētahi – have regard for each other".
3. The tangata whenua are the Kaiapoi Ngāi Tahu land owners of Tuahiwi. This means the descendants of those who come from the original owners allocated land in the Kaiapoi Māori Reserve 873 and the land owners to the Ihu-tai Native Reserve. This Memorial of Owners has the same status as the commemorative inscription that cites the passengers who arrived on the first four ships at Lyttelton.

Rakiihia Tau, Ūpoko, Ngāi Tūāhuriri, 2012.

NGĀ TIKANGA: VALUES FOR DESIGN

> I hereby claim upon the principles of justice, truth, peace and goodwill for and on behalf of my peoples within the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.
>
> ***Rakiihia Tau, Ūpoko, Ngāi Tūāhuriri***

This statement by Rakiihia Tau is the best place to start when dealing with Ngāi Tahu values and their relationship with the people of Christchurch. Rakiihia Tau was the claimant for Ngāi Tahu to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986 for what is now known as 'Te Kerēme, the Claim'. What the above statement indicates is that Ngāi Tahu has always seen the Treaty of Waitangi as the document that cements its relationship with the Crown and with the wider Pākehā community. In a sense, Tau simply echoed what every other Ngāi Tahu leader that had gone before him had said, with the additional contemporary reference to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The statement was made just after the ruling by the Court of Appeal in *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney General* [1987] where the Court of Appeal President, Sir Robin Cooke, outlined what he saw to be the principles that underpinned the Treaty of Waitangi. Those principles were:

1. the acquisition of sovereignty in exchange for the protection of rangatiratanga
2. that the Treaty established a partnership, and imposes on the partners the duty to act reasonably and in good faith
3. the freedom of the Crown to govern
4. the Crown's duty of active protection
5. the duty of the Crown to remedy past breaches
6. that Māori are to retain rangatiratanga over their resources and taonga and to have all the privileges of citizenship
7. the duty to consult.[33]

These principles are reflected in the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011. How we incorporate them into this project should be a matter for ongoing discussion, but at this stage it is important to note that they need consideration as these principles have been a feature of Ngāi Tahu rhetoric since the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. For Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu there is no debate about principles 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7. Ngāi Tahu understands the Crown's right to govern and our duty to act towards one another both reasonably and in good faith. How we actively protect Ngāi Tahu's role in the rebuild and retain our rangatiratanga over our resources is a matter for discussion as citizens and tangata whenua of Christchurch.

The feature that underpins the Ngāi Tahu/Ngāi Tūāhuriri approach to the Treaty of Waitangi is acknowledgement that 'sovereignty' was passed to Queen Victoria. In return Ngāi Tahu was assured of their 'tino rangatiratanga'. This understanding indicates why the 'sovereignty' argument made in the North Island does not resonate with Ngāi Tahu or Tuahiwi. Ngāi Tahu tend towards the view that the Crown's role confirms Ngāi Tahu mana to their area. 'Mana Motuhake' is a word better understood by Ngāi Tūāhuriri than 'sovereignty' as it indicates independence and authority within the gambit of the Crown's right to govern on behalf of all New Zealanders.

33. *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney General [1987] 1 NZLR 641.*

The idea of Ngāi Tahu maintaining its own mana is indicated as early as 1862 when the leading Ngāi Tahu chief, Te Matenga Taiaroa, delivered his 'ōhākī' or death speech to his iwi, tribe and son. Taiaroa told his people:

> To all my tribe, to my hapū and to my son,
>
> Let me bring these words to your remembrance, that they may be impressed on your memory. In the future, after I am dead and gone, that you may understand and judge for yourselves respecting the lands that I sold to the Europeans. The European land purchases made certain statements in all purchases of land. Firstly, be good to my nation, to the Pākehā, for it was I that brought them to this Island, to Te Wai Pounamu, in former years.
>
> It was I and some other chiefs that went to Port Jackson (Sydney), and arranged a covenant there, in which we placed the whole of the Island of New Zealand under the sovereignty of the Queen, and the covenant was drawn up there, and the Governor of that Colony gave a token of honor, also the Queen's flag to me, and to Tuhawaiki. The Governor also gave us all authority (mana), and to us was the authority over the whole of our Island, Te Wai Pounamu. The Queen was also to be our parent (protector), that no other of Her Majesty's subjects, or any foreign nation should interfere, or take, or sell, or otherwise dispose of our land, without our consent given to any other nation.
>
> We agreed to these arrangements of the Governor of New South Wales, and that covenant was established.
>
> After that was the Treaty of Waitangi, and I and my tribe agreed a second time.[34]

The ideas that underpin this speech are a commitment to Queen Victoria and the Crown's right to govern in return for recognising their authority. Tūhawaiki, Taiaroa and Karetai had made this commitment because they had just emerged from over a decade of warfare with the Northern tribes and were prepared to negotiate with the British Empire, not only for the Queen's protection, but also because they believed the Queen and Crown embodied the law and Christian ideals and values.

As Taiaroa tells us, a flag was gifted to Tūhawaiki and Taiaroa as a 'token of honor'. We can't be certain which flag was given, but it is likely that the flag gifted was the Flag of the United Tribes originally designed by King William IV for Māori in 1835. The flag is certainly important in Tuahiwi and featured in the old Tuahiwi Hall before it was demolished for the new Maahunui II.

In terms of symbols and important icons, the Ngāi Tahu Flag of the United Tribes is significant. The other flag that holds an equivalent value is the flag gifted to Tuahiwi by the Waitangi Tribunal. However, whichever flag was referred to, both feature the Union Jack which returns us to the ōhākī by Matenga Taiaroa and the notions of sovereignty resting with the monarchy/Crown in return for tribal authority and mana being recognised. Within this broad ideal sit the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi referred to by Rakiihia Tau.

Like Taiaroa's commitment to the Crown/monarchy and its right to govern, Tau's reference to the ideals of justice, truth, peace and goodwill simply echo what our elders from Ngāi Tahu (Ngāi Tūāhuriri) believed, starting with Matiaha Tira Morehu who petitioned the Queen in 1857 with the following words:

> This was the command thy love laid upon these Governors … that the law be made one, that the commandments be made one, that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made

34. *Translation of copy of statement made by H. T. Taiaroa's father, on 13 February, 1862 which was handed in on 27 September, 1872, AJHR, 1872, H-9, pp 8–9.*

The Flag of the United Tribes of New Zealand, 1835.

> just equal with the dark skin, and to lay down the love of thy graciousness to the Māori that they dwell happily … and remember the power of thy name.[34]

Faith, trust, justice and a commitment to the Crown represented by Queen Victoria run throughout the language of Ngāi Tahu. There is very little distance in language between Matiaha Tiramōrehu, Rakiihia Tau and Taiaroa in their commitment to Queen Victoria. The challenge for the design teams of this project is to incorporate these ideals so that Pākehā and Māori fully understand the ideals expressed by our ancestors.

During the early stages of the rebuild there were discussions about a post-colonial city. The problem with post-colonial arguments is that they do not represent how Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri view their relationship with Pākehā and the Crown. Māori were colonised by Pākehā.[36] It is simply wrong to say New Zealand is a post-colonial society and to compare the New Zealand situation with that of India, Malaysia or Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. These countries became post-colonial once the Crown devolved its authority to the indigenous peoples who had organised themselves into a nation state. The decolonisation process has not occurred in New Zealand, because the British settlers and their descendants are here by way of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The resolution of the Ngāi Tahu Claim and the admission of wrongdoing by the Crown, however, has changed the relationship between Pākehā and Ngāi Tahu and allows fully for a celebration of our joint heritage under the Treaty of Waitangi. Here the argument by Eddie Durie, former Chief Judge of the Waitangi Tribunal, deserves serious consideration:

> We must also not forget that the treaty is not just a bill of rights for Māori. It is a bill of rights for Pākehā, too.

35. *H. Evison, Te Waipounamu, Aoraki Press, 1993, p 364.*

36. *Katie Pickles, 'A Natural Break from our Colonial Past', (www.stuff.co.nz), The Press, 8 April, 2011.*

> It is the treaty that gives Pākehā the right to be here. Without the treaty, there would be no lawful authority for the Pākehā presence in this part of the South Pacific.
>
> The Pākehā here are not like the Indians in Fiji, or the French in New Caledonia. Our Prime Minister can stand proud in Pacific forums, and in international forums, too, not in spite of the treaty, but because of it.
>
> We must remember that if we are the tangata whenua, the original people, then the Pākehā are the tangata tiriti, those who belong to the land by right of that treaty.[37]

By way of the Treaty of Waitangi, the colonial past is something to be celebrated. The fact that the settler government was dishonest in its dealings with Māori is not something to be forgotten. However, the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 was designed to settle historical wrongs. The Crown's apology to Ngāi Tahu on behalf of Pākehā resolves the moral burden. Ngāi Tahu is also aware that the burden for providing the historical evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal was taken on by Pākehā Christchurch historians such as Harry Evison, Jim McAloon and Ann Parsonson. These historians committed to the Claim because they believed in the idea of justice.

In a sense, then the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 was the reset button for Crown–Māori relationships. On that basis, post-colonial arguments are irrelevant to the Crown and Ngāi Tahu and have no place in the Christchurch rebuild. In fact, the settlement asks both parties to consider two fundamental questions:

1. What is the role of the Treaty of Waitangi in our future development?
2. What is the relationship between tangata whenua and tangata-tiriti.

The CER Act needs to be seen as a way to ensure both the Crown and Ngāi Tahu are vigilant in their commitment to Treaty principles outlined by Sir, Robin Cooke.

The principles require:

1. the Crown's duty of active protection
2. the duty of the Crown to remedy past breaches
3. Māori to retain rangatiratanga over their resources and taonga and to have all the privileges of citizenship
4. the duty to consult.

The challenge is to design their beliefs into the Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct in a manner that signifies more than a quaint language from the past and instead has relevance to Māori and Christchurch citizens.

37. *Address by Chief Judge Eddie Durie, Waitangi Day 1989, NZ Church Leaders Statement 1990, p 10.*

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

by Dr Matt Morris

The conditions that first attracted Ngāi Tahu to the area were also attractive to European settlers as the water and soils meant good gardens, even if the swampiness meant suburbanisation would be difficult. Thus just as Māori communities had created settlements on the margins of waterways, so too did Europeans due to the intrinsic value of the waterways, the soils near them, and the flora and fauna they supported.

When Christchurch was founded in 1850, the city blueprint that was to be implemented over the top of this space contained clues both about the Canterbury Association's values, and the values of their investors. The church, the university, the industrial area, Market Square, government buildings and a 'botanical' gardens were all included, as well as neatly surveyed parcels of land where families could be raised and working men could gain an 'independency'. These components of the plan express a system of values that were intended to reinforce each other. The values around religion, education, productivity, trade, democracy, horticulture and working with the land, respectability, family life and social mobility were fundamental to how the new settlement was conceptualised.

Cutting across each of these values are the virtues of civilising, improvement and prosperity. Each of these can be understood through the lens provided by the mythological template of Christchurch as a Garden City. Gardening should not simply be understood in this context as growing a lawn, or bedding plants and a vegetable garden, though of course that is what our gardens have often looked like. Rather, gardening is a process that involves and nurtures the whole person and the whole environment. Gardening connects people to a place, and it sustains them. Christchurch's history as a Garden City, and a city of gardeners, therefore encapsulates those values held in highest regard by the first Pākehā colonists. However, it also speaks to Ngāi Tahu values and to the values of many young people who are eager to see what the next iteration of the Garden City is going to look like.

ABUNDANCE

Incredibly, the suburban lifestyle envisaged by the city's founders was within the reach of most working men, and enabled family units to achieve what Trevor Burnard described as a "limited, co-operative self-sufficiency".[38]

Like Māori, European settlers were attracted to the waterways. Even before the 'first wave' of colonists arrived in Christchurch in 1850, the pioneering Deans brothers had established productive orchards and vegetable gardens at Pūtaringamotu ('A place to catch birds'), close to the Ōtākaro, with the blessing of Ngāi Tūāhuriri. The gardens here were the first colonial focal point, because they demonstrated that food could be produced in abundance.

Further downstream, another Ngāi Tahu site, Ōtautahi, was also re-created as an important model garden. It is a significant, though often overlooked fact that food production was a major plank of the Canterbury Association's plans. They planned a Botanic Gardens in what was later called the Avon Loop and paid for a gardener to maintain it. In fact, this was a nursery garden for the edible crops that were intended to transform the entire region into a land of plenty. The gardener, William 'Cabbage' Wilson, was such a local hero that he became the city's first mayor, in 1868.

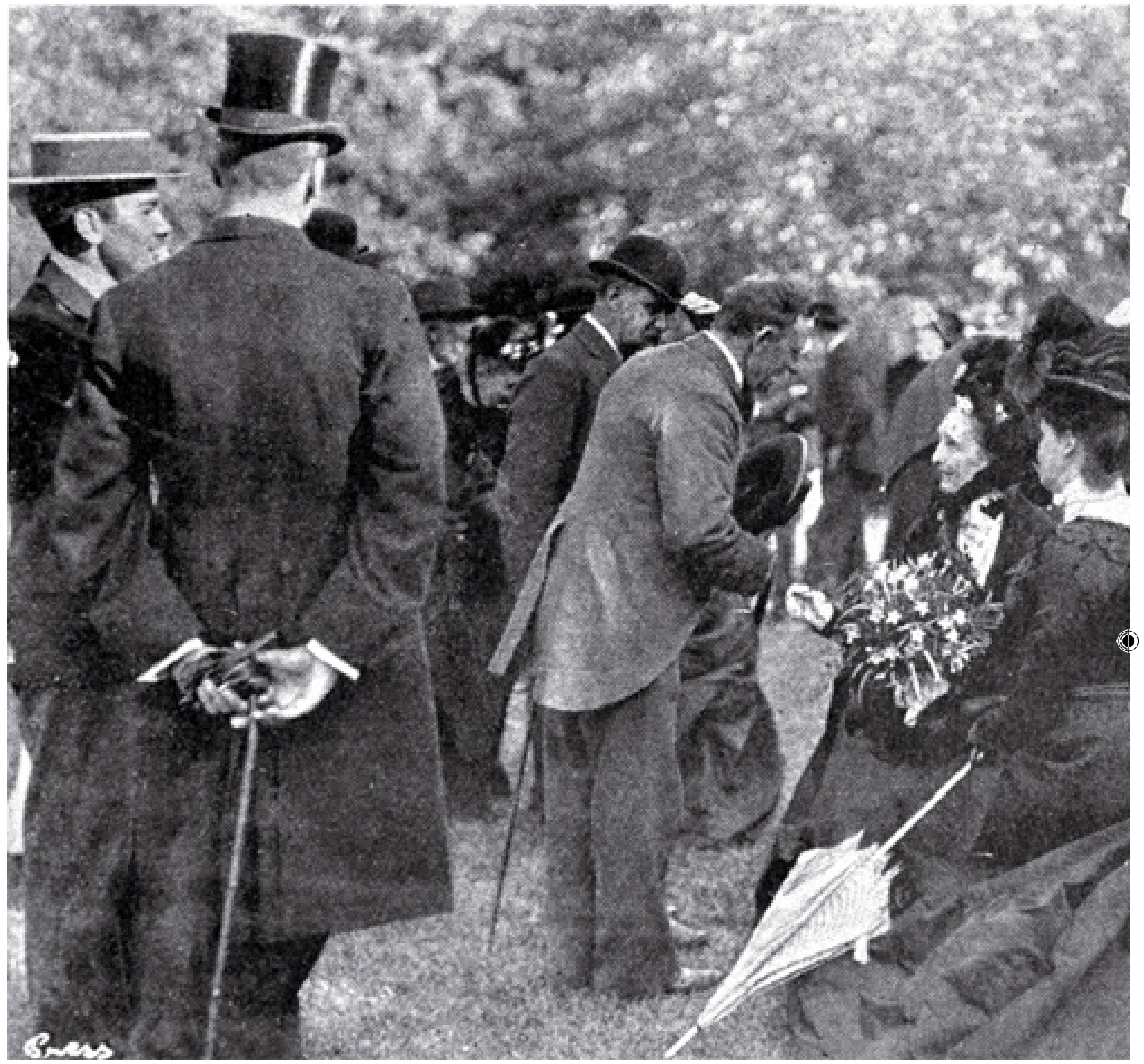
38. *T. Burnard, An Artisanal Town: The Economic Sinews of Christchurch in Southern Capital: Christchurch. Towards a City Biography 1850–2000, J. Cookson and G. Dunstall, Canterbury University Press, 2000, p 123.*

BEAUTY

Another important value in regard to gardening in Christchurch was that of beautification: introducing garden designs that started to de-emphasise productivity or natural abundance in favour of flowers, shrubs and lawns. Public discourse around flower gardening began to take a firm hold in the 1870s, although there is strong evidence to suggest that for most people orchards remained the most important garden element until after World War One.

The interwar period is where we really need to look to see the sudden ascendancy of concepts such as the Garden City and the City Beautiful (which became the name of the Horticultural Society's publication).

Beautification of the home environment, as well as public spaces, certainly became important for many Christchurch householders and is one of the features the city is known best for. A low front fence, a tidy lawn, a concrete path to the front door edged with flowers was (and still is) a common sight from the road. Critics have argued that this form has been oppressive or limiting, or simply boring. However, the social significance of this domestic configuration is that it signalled shared values in a street or neighbourhood. Taking care of one's home like this showed respectability and respectfulness. It was also a welcoming sight for visitors.



PRESERVATION

Just as beautification became a focus for ordinary people in Christchurch during the interwar period, so too did an interest in environmental protection and in gardening with native plants. The two ideas were often closely intertwined as gardeners started to learn more about the beauty of the alpine plants they were seeing more of as a result of the opening of the Ōtira Tunnel in 1923, and

the increasing availability of motorcars. This experience opened the eyes of many Christchurch people to environmental degradation in the high country and helped people to discover a new affinity with the Southern Alps (and especially the Arthur's Pass area, where some of the more affluent residents had holiday homes), which had always distantly framed the Garden City on the Plains. With this also came an appreciation of native birds and the vital role gardeners could play in enhancing their habitat, viewed as especially pressing given what could now be observed first hand of the deforestation in the hinterland. The sense of connection between people in the city and the wider environment around them deepened during the 1920s and 30s, and Christchurch is often thought of as a place that breeds environmentalists.

SUSTENANCE

World War Two saw a renewed focus on vegetable gardening in the print media, although for many people this simply validated what they already did anyway. The Civic Vegetable Campaign (later rebranded as part of the Government's Dig for Victory campaign) emphasised above all else the nutritive qualities of vegetables grown in good soils. Good soils meant soils fed with humic matter, which paved the way for the new composting movement to take a hold. Thus the old values around the home as a place for growing food to feed the family and the neighbours were brought to light once more.

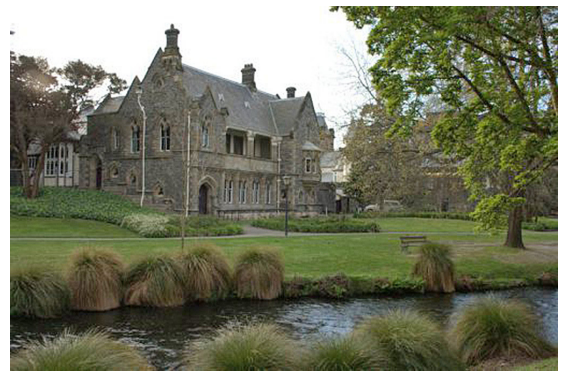
PROVISION

The Garden City has continued to represent these ideals in various ways. Since the mid 1990s Christchurch has seen a proliferation of community gardens as well. The number of these has tripled in the last 10 years. Community gardens serve a wide variety of purposes, but largely exist to meet people's needs for food that cannot otherwise be met, because of lack of money, lack of available land (as subdivisions have got increasingly smaller) and lack of knowledge about gardening. Community gardens are urban food gathering places that enable communities to come together, share their knowledge freely with each other, restore and enhance pockets of urban space with organic gardening practices, grow and share food and also strengthen community connections.

Amidst this sudden growth of these food spaces a new voice, which harks back to older ideas, is asserting itself: it talks about the importance of reintroducing food resilience into the city. This is partly to ensure the people of Christchurch can have their food needs provided for in case of any future disasters (such as the recent earthquakes), but also to enhance Christchurch's ability to feed its visitors well. A local food economy that could be a tourist attraction has been touted. Integral to this notion is the rehabilitation of degraded natural ecosystems, starting with Christchurch's waterways (both in-stream and riparian zones), which are severely degraded and cannot currently be easily used for food gathering.

Old gardens right along the Ōtākaro/Avon River margins tell the story of our people as outlined above, and are still abundant with food even where the houses themselves have been demolished. They embody our shared histories and values and could be a tremendous story-telling device and new food provisioning space. Ōtautahi, the site of 'Cabbage' Wilson's garden and thus the launching pad of Christchurch as Garden City, took up a significant piece of the Avon Loop. But before Wilson it was of course Tautahi's place, a place to gather food, and it remained as such at least as late as the 1840s. From here out to the estuary our history, with its

orchards, market gardens, beautiful gardens, and of course native vegetation, is written in the land.



REFLECTION

In thinking about our shared values, we should ask what does it mean to civilise, to improve and to prosper in the Christchurch context? Again, our garden histories provide a clue. A civilised Christchurch implies one where all people have their basic needs met. This means that all Christchurch residents should have access to good food, a value strongly present in our local traditions but sadly not presently a reality. This could mean a rehabilitation of waterways so they can support mahinga kai, or it could mean the planting of food plants in public spaces, or it could mean the redevelopment of a food-growing culture in suburban homes.

Again, an improved Christchurch might refer to the ability of the city's social, economic and ecological systems to recover from disasters or simply to function according to the principles of sustainability as we collectively proceed into an increasingly unpredictable future. Gardening for ecosystem resilience – as we did in the interwar period – would be a useful starting point here.

Finally, a prosperous Christchurch invokes the ideals of cooperative self-sufficiency: the idea of a strong local food economy, involving activity around the production, distribution, marketing, preparing and selling of locally grown food (not to mention education about it). However, there is also a tremendous reputational opportunity for Christchurch to position itself, through its gardens and its Garden City image, as being not just able to take care of its own people, but also able to play host to visitors from far and wide because it can feed them. Our values are reflected back to us in our gardens, and our gardens will define who we are as a people in this next stage of Christchurch's story.

CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

This piece of work provides a starting point for the design team involved with the concepts for Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct. There is much to be considered and much more work to be done to ensure that the history, views and beliefs of both Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā are accurately captured and reflected in the design. We look forward to working with you to more fully explore this shared sense of history and to translate it into a design that can be celebrated and acclaimed as a treasure of our modern times.

Note: The Ngāi Tahu Research Centre contribution does not include transfer of ownership or unauthorised use or use by unauthorised parties of the narrative or any part of the narrative.

THE JUSTICE AND EMERGENCY SERVICES PRECINCT NARRATIVE

Written by Associate Professor Te Maire Tau, Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, University of Canterbury,
Sacha McMeeking,
Te Marino Lenihan, Director, K4 Cultural Landscape Consultants, Aaron Rice-Edwards,
includes the essay 'A Historian's View of Christchurch' by Dr Jim McAloon, Victoria University of Wellington

Ko taku ture i ahu mai i toku tupuna i a Tūāhuriri

My Laws stem from my ancestor, Tūāhuriri.
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people

Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861

KUPU WHAKATAKI

Tirohia mai nei tātou

He mōrehu tangata

I puta i Patu-nui-o-aio tuauriuri

I heke i Rangiātea whāioio

He maunga hau-huka ki uta

He ururoa mārohirohi ki tai

He toka tū moana

He pou whakaaraara

He pīwakawaka tauwhetawheta

He pari tū kārangaranga

He puna roimata

He pare rau kawakawa mōteatea

He manu korokī i te ata

Ka uru mai, ka uru mai

He kahukura tīwhanawhana ki te rangi

He ope mata-popore ki te whenua

Huia te rangiora

Hara mai te toki

Haumi e

Hui e

Tāiki e

Look at us

Descendants of the many Pacific Isles

Formed by our forebears as ice clad mountains

Modelled as the shark, stubborn and relentless

An island steadfast in raging seas

A sentry, alert and guarded on the edge of the world

A fantail challenging your path

A cliff echoing voices of past, present and future

A deep spring of tears

A songstress of memories woven into a laurel of kawakawa leaves

An orator singing in the dawn

It comes

It appears

A rainbow illuminating the heavens

A congregation of guardians alert below

United in spirit and intent

Tools at hand

Prepare well

Let it be done

CONTENTS

Executive summary 75

Part One: Background

Introduction 83

Ngāi Tūāhuriri interests in the CJESP 83

Scope of services 84

Process for developing advice 85

Part Two: Historical narratives

Summary and recommendations 86

Ngāi Tahu and settler values unique to Christchurch 87

The Ngāi Tahu aesthetic 89

Blending Anglo heritage, the Treaty and Ngāi Tahu aesthetic 90

Acknowledging the Rātana movement 93

The Treaty of Waitangi 95

Principles of Kemp's Deed 96

Kāinga nohoanga 98

Mahinga kai 102

Maori Land Court 105

Mana Motuhake – independence and authority 106

The Flag of the United Tribes of New Zealand 112

A historian's view of Christchurch 114

Part Three: Environmental and cultural performance

Summary and recommendations 119

Introduction 120

Māori values and urban design 120

The Mauri Model decision-making framework – a tikanga Māori framework for sustainable design 121

House of Tahu – cultural sustainability assessment criteria 126

Te Hononga – Christchurch City Council Civic Building 130

Ngāi Tahu design principles and environmental values for the Christchurch Central recovery plan 131

Te Aranga Māori Design Principles – Auckland Design Manual 133

Part Four: Jurisprudence

Summary and recommendations 138

Overview 138

Case summaries 140

Part Five: Iwi Māori user feedback

Summary and recommendations 146

Overview 146

Discussion and recommendations 146

Part Six: Further engagement 153

Appendices 156

Appendix 1: Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act – Crown Apology..... 156

Appendix 2: Māori settlement design qualities – S. Rolleston (2006)..... 158

Appendix 3: Responses to achieve seven essential design qualities consistent with Māori settlement design qualities – S. Rolleston (2006) 159

Bibliography..... 160

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Ngāi Tūāhuriri have valued the opportunity to engage with the design team leading the Christchurch Justice and Emergency Services Precinct (CJESP). We wish to acknowledge the open, constructive nature of the engagement and express our confidence in the design team. We also commend the Ministry of Justice's (the Ministry's) commitment to having a transformative precinct.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri was invited by the Ministry to provide advice for the detailed design phase of the CJESP, which has involved:

- direct engagement with the design team
- the provision of written advice (this report).

This advice has been provided over a period of four weeks, from 15 October to 11 November 2013.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri's objectives for providing advice on the CJESP, and the other anchor projects in the Christchurch rebuild, include:

- restoring the visibility of Ngāi Tūāhuriri values, histories and aspirations on the recreated city
- encouraging the incorporation and reflection of the identities of Christchurch
- identifying functional spaces, layouts and related elements of the Precinct that enhance the experiences of individuals, families and professionals using the Precinct
- supporting innovative approaches to sustainable building design.

We believe that our engagement in the Precinct has contributed to outcomes that will benefit the community as a whole, and note that it would have been desirable to initiate engagement in the early concept design stage to achieve optimal outcomes.

This report is structured in six parts.

- Part One: Background – this part provides context on the engagement programme.
- Part Two: Historical narratives – this part provides an overview of Ngāi Tūāhurririri and Ngāi Tahu's experience with the justice system over time, and the narratives, values and design features that could be incorporated into the precinct design.
- Part Three: Environmental and cultural performance – this part summarises a range of environmental and cultural building performance standards and makes recommendations for the Precinct.
- Part Four: Jurisprudence – this part records some of the key judicial decisions relevant to the Treaty of Waitangi.
- Part Five: Iwi Māori user feedback– this part provides a thematic summary of engagement with Iwi Māori end users of the Precinct and sets out recommendations for particular areas/functions within the Precinct.
- Part Six: Further engagement – this part provides recommendations for continued engagement in the design and development of the Precinct.

The key recommendations contained in the report are as follows:

DESIGN AESTHETIC

The design aesthetic will have a material impact on how Ngāi Tahu and Māori experience their use of the precinct. We strongly recommend that visual cues of the bicultural heritage of the city are integrated throughout the Precinct. We believe integration is an important symbolic recognition of the Treaty partnership between the Crown and Ngāi Tūāhuriri. Our engagement with end users also strongly suggests that integration will enhance the sense of 'ownership' Iwi Māori users have of the Precinct, which in turn will encourage more positive and respectful engagement with the justice system.

The key recommendations for integrating Ngāi Tūāhuriri elements into the design aesthetic are to incorporate:

- Ngāi Tūāhuriri narratives – as set out in Part Two, the historical narratives we believe are most important for the Precinct include:
    - narratives associated with the Ngāi Tahu Claim (Te Kereme), 1848 Canterbury Purchase (Kemp's Deed) and Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998, particularly including the reflection of mahinga kai
    - the Flag of the United Tribes, and associated value of mana-motuhake;
- Ngāi Tūāhuriri tikanga and kawa, including:
    - the values of atawhai, tika, pono and aroha that have melded with early Anglo heritage and the principles of justice
    - exploring courtroom layout that reflects Ngāi Tūāhuriri kawa
    - incorporating functional water and plant features into the Precinct that enable 'cleansing' after traumatic experiences
- Ngāi Tūāhuriri design elements, including:
    - reference to the colours of the Flag of the United Tribes and the Rātana movement
    - exploring design elements of marae, including the incorporation of ātea spaces, photographs and other design cues that contribute to a sense of progression through the Precinct.

We strongly encourage the design team to commission Ngāi Tahu artists to lead the design of agreed elements of the Precinct. We consider that Ngāi Tahu artists are best placed to interpret Ngāi Tūāhuriri narratives, tikanga/kawa and design elements in an authentic manner. As discussed with the design team, we consider that the following areas within the Precinct are suited to one or more Ngāi Tahu artists:

- Māori Land Court
- paving designs around the Precinct
- walls in public spaces of the Precinct
- windows of the Precinct

- agreed elements within all courts
- planting designs for the courtyard.

For the purposes of clarity, we consider that Ngāi Tahu artists should lead the design of functional elements of the building in partnership with the design team: we do not believe that it is appropriate for Ngāi Tūāhuriri design elements to be solely in art works decorating the Precinct. We also note that Ngāi Tūāhuriri has developed a selection process for the engagement of Ngāi Tahu artists on anchor projects.

ENVIRONMENTAL AND CULTURAL PERFORMANCE

Ngāi Tūāhuriri places importance on sustainable building design. Recognising that the design team has deep expertise in this area, we recommend consideration of the following principles to enhance the environmental and cultural performance of the Precinct:

- reference (symbolic or otherwise) to previous areas of habitation (Puāri Pā and Tautahi Pā) and food gathering (mahinga kai) within Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct including Victoria Square through telling the stories; utilising Ngāi Tahu names; the placement of markers, the opening of view sheds and the incorporation of art works by Ngāi Tahu artists
- the incorporation of indigenous flora into the vegetation mix within the Precinct's open spaces and inclusion of water management systems that support and enhance opportunities for mahinga kai restoration in the Ōtākaro/Avon River
- the acknowledgement of the names of Kaiapoi Ngāi Tahu on whose behalf claims to mahinga kai in Christchurch were brought by Hakopa Te Ata o Tū and Pita Te Hori in 1868 to the Native Land Court – for example, the inclusion of these names on the walls of the precinct or within a prominent commissioned artwork which references Ngāi Tahu's long association with the courts and legal system
- the application of Ngāi Tahu cultural sustainability indicators as assessment criteria on the Precinct design and development
- protection and enhancement of the Ōtākaro/Avon River through upgraded, best-practice stormwater treatment and disposal and other low-impact urban design requirements to improve water quality, and provide for improved native flora and fauna and mahinga kai values.

FUTURE TRENDS IN JUSTICE

We recognise that the Precinct may have a functional life of 100 years. Accordingly, we believe it is important to explore in the design, as far as is possible, potential trends for the performance of justice over a contemporaneous time span. The following are two trends we believe are significant.

- Increasing incorporation of tikanga and kawa – over the last 20 years, a number of novel justice processes have been developed that draw on tikanga and kawa, including Family Group Conferences and other restorative justice processes. We believe that this trend of restorative justice is likely to continue and that tikanga/kawa will remain an important catalyst and inspiration for the evolution of restorative and alternative dispute resolution. These processes are likely to be more dialogical and facilitative than existing court

procedures. We encourage consideration of flexible design principles that will enable spaces to be adapted for future uses.

- Possible devolution of justice – we note that community-based justice processes are gaining prominence, through such institutions as Community Justice Panels. We believe that justice may become increasingly devolved to community and local levels. If so, the 'centralised headquarters' nature of the Precinct will need to evolve to recognise the complementarity of community-based processes and 'talk' to community facilities.

AREAS WITHIN THE PRECINCT

- **Integrated Precinct**
  We recognise that the integrated Precinct, bringing together police and courts, is unlikely to change. However, we believe it is important to express strong reservations about the appropriateness of an integrated precinct. As will have been extensively discussed during the concept development, New Zealand's constitutional architecture is founded on judicial independence. We are deeply concerned that the co-location of police and judiciary will compromise the perceived and actual independence of the judiciary, with corresponding injury to the trust and confidence Iwi Māori have in the transparency and legitimacy of the justice system.

- **Public spaces**
  As discussed with the design team, we recommend that public spaces within the Precinct have the following features.

  - Spaces are created that give whānau a sense of privacy within the public areas to enable whānau to have discreet discussions amongst themselves. We encourage exploration of layout and auditory approaches to creating a sense of privacy, including the use of running water in the courtyard. We believe it is important for these spaces to be available in addition to 'breakout rooms', and located on the mezzanine floor, in the courtyard and around all the courts.
  - Spaces for service providers are created to meet whānau they are working with, and hot desks or other usable spaces for service providers to be able to work within the Precinct are explored.
  - Ngāi Tūāhuriri design elements are prominent in public spaces to enhance the sense of 'ownership' and comfort Iwi Māori have within the Precinct.

ALL COURTS

We recommend that all courts incorporate Ngāi Tūāhuriri design elements and, as possible and appropriate, explore tikanga/kawa based layout options. We strongly encourage the design team to replicate as far as is possible the design elements that contributed to the positive experiences of locating the Youth and List courts at Ngā Hau E Whā marae following the earthquake. We understand that the marae location contributed to more respectful and positive engagement with the justice system. We believe that the contributing factors were:

- a sense of ownership in the space
- less hierarchical layout of the judicial proceedings

- more visual stimulus in the space, diffusing some of the inherent tensions in judicial proceedings.

Accordingly, we strongly encourage subtle and overt integration of Ngāi Tūāhuriri design elements. We also recommend the use of photo walls in key areas of the Precinct. Photos are an important design element of marae, which contribute to people's sense of ownership, familiarity and comfort. We encourage the design team to explore creating ICT-enabled photo walls that have changing photo imagery and messaging that is appropriate to the space. For example, adjacent to the Youth Court, there could be imagery of youth who have 'turned their life around'. We also note reservations regarding the shared accessways (stairs and lifts) for the Criminal, Family and Coronial courts. Whānau engaging in family and coronial proceedings are likely to feel vulnerable, and shared accessways may make them feel criminalised and/or otherwise traumatised.

MĀORI LAND COURT

As discussed with the design team, the design principles for the Māori Land Court (MLC) should include:

- accessible design so that Taua and Poua can easily access the MLC
- recognition that the MLC minute books and other records contain whānau whakapapa, and that design elements that provide visual cues for that sense of ownership should be embraced
- that whānau accessing the MLC should not feel 'criminalised'
- that whānau access the MLC most often to source information, rather than to engage in hearings
- that the MLC, while headquartered at the Precinct, should be encouraged to explore periodic sittings at Tuahiwi
- that the detailed design and layout of the MLC should be discussed in depth with whānau.

YOUTH COURT

As discussed with the design team, the Youth and Rangatahi courts have a pivotal role in the future pathways of youth. We strongly share the objective that the design of the Youth Court should positively encourage different life choices. We believe that design features such as photo walls and messaging (described above) could be valuable contributors. We also encourage the Youth Court to explore tikanga/kawa-based layout.

FAMILY COURT

As discussed with the design team, users of the Family Court are likely to want separate entry and exit points.

ENVIRONMENT COURT

The Environment Court may also be suitable for tikanga/kawa-based layout, particularly as Iwi Māori are regularly engaged in these proceedings.

CORONIAL COURT

As discussed with the design team, the following elements should be considered for the Coronial Court:

- usable water feature for people to cleanse themselves after leaving the court
- space that allows the symbolic representation of tūpāpaku during the proceedings
- increased 'privacy spaces' to allow whānau to wait for proceedings with dignity.

DISTRICT AND HIGH COURTS

As for general courts recommendations above.

POLICE

We strongly encourage subtle and overt incorporation of Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Māori design elements into the police area of the Precinct. We believe it is important for Māori accessing the police to have strong visual cues of the bicultural foundations of New Zealand.

FURTHER ENGAGEMENT

We recommend that further engagement occurs between Ngāi Tūāhuriri and the design team as the design continues to become more detailed. We consider it is particularly important for the following to occur:

- exploratory engagement on the layout of the MLC
- engagement on naming the Precinct and areas within it
- participation of Iwi Māori in the various 'mock-ups' scheduled to occur to ensure that the finalised layout serves Iwi Māori interests
- the commissioning of Ngāi Tahu artists through the selection process Ngāi Tūāhuriri have established for the anchor projects
- regular (fortnightly or monthly) engagement with the design team to explore and test elements of the design as they are refined
- any other processes as agreed with/requested by the design team.

PART ONE: BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

The Ministry of Justice (the Ministry) is developing the Christchurch Justice and Emergency Services Precinct (CJESP). The Precinct will include facilities for the courts, police and emergency services. The concept design for the Precinct has been completed and construction commenced in early 2014.

In September 2013, the Ministry approached Ngāi Tūāhuriri to request advice on incorporating Ngāi Tūāhuriri values into the detailed design of the Precinct. This report provides that advice. The scope of advice is summarised further below.

NGĀI TŪĀHURIRI INTERESTS IN THE CJESP

Ngāi Tūāhuriri engagement in the design of the CJESP is framed by Ngāi Tahu holding statutory partner status in the earthquake recovery in Canterbury (as set out in the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011). This partnership status reflects the growing civic leadership of Ngāi Tahu within Canterbury, and the maturity of the Treaty of Waitangi partnership between the iwi and the Crown. The civic leadership of Ngāi Tahu was demonstrated after the February 2011 earthquake, when Ngāi Tahu led a recovery network that reached 10,000 families in the worst-affected suburbs, providing food, water, transport and other support to all whānau and families in need. Ngāi Tahu has continued to support and advance the Canterbury recovery, both supporting our own tribal members and contributing to the community as a whole. The anchor projects are an important opportunity to continue contributing to the recovery and transformation of the city.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri has interests in the anchor projects, individually and collectively, to return the visibility of Ngāi Tūāhuriri in our ancestral landscape: over the course of history, the bicultural foundations of Canterbury have obscured the place, values and contributions of Ngāi Tūāhuriri to the city and its communities. The anchor projects are a significant opportunity to re-weave Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Pākehā, Māori and multicultural identities into a positive, enhancing outcome for all people. Ngāi Tūāhuriri is committed to providing advice on the anchor projects to achieve the following outcomes.

- Anchor projects reflect, embody and express Ngāi Tūāhuriri narratives, histories and aspirations in their design aesthetic.
- Anchor projects provide functionally for current and future uses of the spaces/buildings by Iwi Māori.
- Anchor projects meet cultural and environmental performance standards in their design and materials.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri is confident that our contributions to the anchor projects will provide wider benefits for the community as a whole by encouraging deeper exploration of our shared histories as a city and designing buildings that have people at their centre.

In respect of the CJESP, Ngāi Tūāhuriri has distinct interests drawn from:

- the profound influence of the legal and justice system on Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri's histories and experiences, as a vehicle of both oppression and liberation
- the disproportionate representation of Māori within the criminal justice system, creating distinct user needs that should inform the Precinct design and functionality
- the progressive incorporation of Māori approaches to dispute resolution and restoration, a trend that is likely to continue and similarly impact on how the Precinct is utilised over its life
- the Māori Land Court.

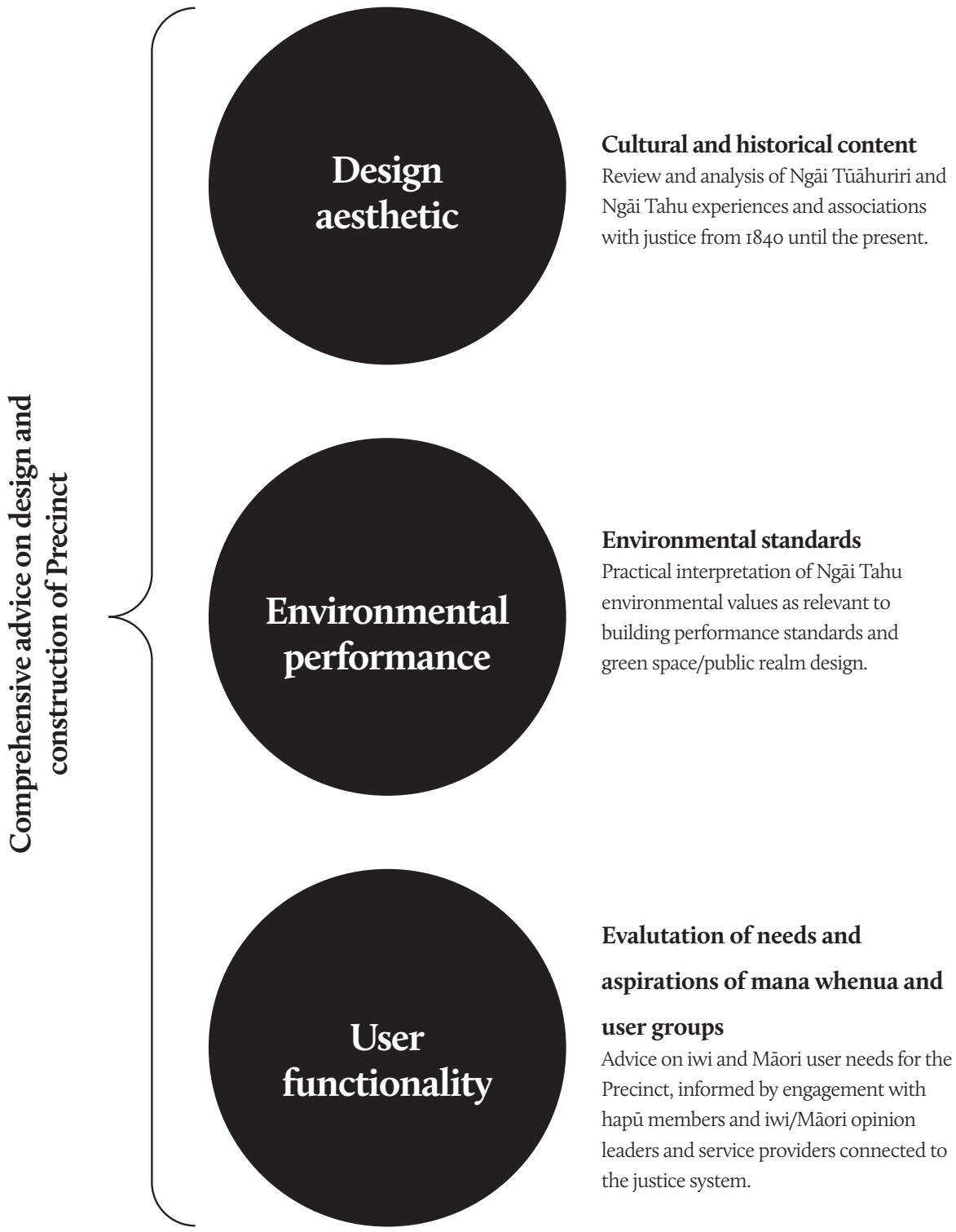
SCOPE OF SERVICES

The scope of engagement included:

1. direct engagement with the design team to discuss the concept for the Precinct, which has involved fortnightly meetings. Ngāi Tūāhuriri has deeply valued the relationship with the design team and has high confidence in the ability of the design team
2. a comprehensive report to inform and guide the design and build of the Precinct.

The scope for this comprehensive report was agreed as including the following.

- Cultural and historical material – to inform the design aesthetic for the Precinct, we will provide a report on Ngāi Tahu's experiences with the justice system from 1840 until the present. The content for this section of the report will be drawn from oral histories and archival records. On the basis of this material we will make recommendations for how the design aesthetic could reflect Ngāi Tahu narratives and values.



- Environmental standards – to inform the building services approach, we will review existing Ngāi Tahu precedents for sustainable buildings and provide recommendations on building performance approaches that reflect Ngāi Tahu environmental values.
- User need and aspirations – to inform detailed design of the Precinct, including the nature of spaces suited to iwi and Māori needs, we will engage with key opinion leaders and service providers to explore how they hope to use facilities within the Precinct. The outcomes of the engagement process will be reported on, with accompanying recommendations for the design and build.

This content is depicted on the previous page.

PROCESS FOR DEVELOPING ADVICE

This advice was developed through:

- archival research to inform the historical narratives
- desktop research to explore precedents for environmental and cultural performance
- direct engagement with Iwi Māori on the functional elements of the design.

The findings of the research were discussed directly with the design team through a series of meetings that allowed for open and constructive exploration. All content contained in this report was discussed with the design team through these discussions.

This report therefore serves as reference material for the design team, to complement the direct engagement.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This part of the report provides a review of Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu experiences with the legal and justice system, with particular emphasis on:

- the values underpinning justice within Ngāi Tūāhuriri traditions
- Ngāi Tūāhuriri philosophical approaches to understanding the Treaty of Waitangi, which we emphasise are different to the approaches of other iwi
- the relationship between the Treaty, Canterbury Purchase (Kemp's Deed), the Ngāi Tahu Claim (Te Kereme) and the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998
- significant elements of Ngāi Tūāhuriri identity and values that should be incorporated into the design aesthetic of the Precinct.

The key recommendations are to incorporate into the design aesthetic and narrative:

- the values and principles of Māori that are also inherent in early Anglo heritage, such as atawhai, tika, pono, aroha and forgiveness melded with principles of justice. This requires a new and modern take on these values that clearly reflects the blended culture and is appropriate for modern times
- the underlying principles of Kemp's Deed and their shaping role in the future of Ngāi Tahu, Māori and the Crown. Two important values within the Deed are the idea of the Crown reserving land for us to live upon that was 'kāinga nohoanga' and attached to these reserves would be mahinga kai. It is important for Ngāi Tūāhuriri that the judicial community acknowledges the importance of Ngāi Tahu communities, their kāinga nohoanga and that the basic principles within Kemp's Deed be acknowledged. For the design team this means acknowledging that Ngāi Tahu communities and villages are important and must be fostered
- that mahinga kai is becoming a value in as much as it was a traditional practice. Mahinga kai is slowly developing into a philosophical view in how we see and engage with the world, just as we have developed values in how we deal with each other on a daily basis. The challenge for the design team is to build this value into the design
- the Flag of the United Tribes, which signifies mana-motuhake
- how to reflect the Treaty of Waitangi and in particular, from a Ngāi Tahu perspective, the Flag of the United Tribes and the Principles to the Treaty of Waitangi as outlined in the 1987 Court of Appeal case, *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney General*
- the Rātana movement, the influence that it has on Ngāi Tahu and the values that it represents.

NGĀI TAHU AND SETTLER VALUES UNIQUE TO CHRISTCHURCH

The great danger in declaring the values of Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu within design documents such as this is that they are immediately subject to criticism by non-Ngāi Tahu; this is despite the fact that Pākehā design teams are not necessarily subject to the same levels of scrutiny. Just why this is the case is not clear. After all, it's not as if architects and designers are culturally neutral, secular or free of any particular community values. Designers and architects will design from a basis of what is important to them and their community.

We know that Ngāi Tahu and their values are not known to the wider community and it is this lack of awareness that makes a document such as this necessary. This document is presented to inform, with the hope that the values and cultural discussion we have included will provide a reference point for design work within the CJESP.

This report is simply a starting point for discussion. Just as many Pākehā New Zealanders have a tendency to see Māori culture as being represented by carvings of ancestors, canoes and fish-hooks (all of which are embellished by a koru), Ngāi Tahu and Māori could equally frame the culture of Pākehā New Zealand around its old English background. Christchurch in particular is a playground for this type of argument. The Canterbury Association made its views quite clear on how the city would be and look when it declared:

> We intend to form a settlement to be composed entirely of members of our own church, accompanied by an adequate supply of clergy, with all the appliances requisite for carrying out her discipline and ordinances.
>
> The purchasers of land will have the selection of labourers to be recommended for a free passage; such labourers to be also exclusively bona fide members of the English Church.[1]

Māori barely feature in these papers.

By the same token when determining what constitutes a Pākehā identity, Ngāi Tahu could also simply refer to Austen Mitchell's *Half Gallon, Quarter Acre, Pavlova Paradise* or worse, David Ausubel's *The Fern and the Tiki* if they wanted to refer to contemporary Kiwi-ana. The challenge is of course to recognise the partial truths as warnings, but not to be trapped by either.

Values and culture do shape design, and design in turn forms and reinforces the beliefs and values of the community.

The worst aspect of the Canterbury Association was that it was a closed society and blind to its double standards. From the outset the Association declared its close-minded vision of who would be part of Christchurch:

> The Committee of Management will have the power of refusing to allow any person of whom they may disapprove to become an original purchaser of land, and as that power will be carefully exercised, it is hoped that ineligible colonists may be almost entirely excluded, and that the new community will have at least a fair start in a healthy moral atmosphere.[2]

Christchurch would not have survived and developed as a city if the Association had been successful with this stance. As it is, Christchurch has always struggled with its provincial reputation, deserved or not. That reputation was seeded at the start and continued on through

1. *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Volume 3 Canterbury Provincial District, The Cyclopedia Company, Limited, Christchurch, 1903, p 68*
2. *Ibid*

to the last century. An early example of that is the work of Jan Morris, the journalist and British historian who accompanied Hillary during his ascent of Mt Everest. He probably best captured Christchurch in the first part of his trilogy on the empire, *Heaven's Command*, when he said:

> The truth was that settlement colonies were essentially for poor men. Educated people would find nothing in a place like New Zealand, except escape from personal troubles at home, and the ideals of the Colonial Reformers mostly faded in time. 'No person who has ever enjoyed a life in England would, I think, profess to prefer a colonial life', wrote E. B. Fitton in 1856, and for ever afterwards most educated Englishmen found New Zealand, though kind and beautiful, fundamentally a bore. Still, though Christchurch grew more egalitarian and less Tractarian over the years, it remained by colonial standards always a conservative city: its Cathedral arose as ordained among the plane trees, its Christchurch Club became alarmingly exclusive, and there were always citizens to recall, referring to rectory water colours upon the drawing room wall, or indecipherable sepias of tennis-parties in family albums, that their forebears were those Mr Wakefield really had in mind, when he spoke of choiceness.[3]

Thankfully, Christchurch had more depth than described by Morris during his visit. While it was provincial and pretended to elitist ideals, the city has also benefited from the more radical leaders of Christchurch who challenged the status quo. This included individuals like Kate Sheppard and Elsie Locke. In fact, it's very hard to imagine the Ngāi Tahu Claim without the input of rational socialists such as Harry Evison, progressive Catholics such as Mike Knowles, or David Palmer who simply rebelled against the establishment despite his St Andrew's background. Likewise, university historians such as Ann Parsonson and Jim McAloon, who supported the claim, were driven by a social consciousness and the need to escape the Ivory Tower charges against the academic world. The University of Canterbury could be and was socially relevant and Ngāi Tahu have always been grateful for their efforts to see another world, different to the "rectory water colours upon the drawing room wall".

In this rebuild, we need to escape the clichéd images of what traditionally constitutes Christchurch. While communities are complex, they do have unique characteristics. We can contrast the mythic image of English Christchurch against the more radical leaders of Christchurch, just as we can compare traditional Ngāi Tahu values and its more modern practices. It may be that little difference exists between the groups. For this reason, this report includes a paper from an independent historian to discuss the values that have shaped Christchurch without becoming trapped in its mythologised roots, in which its critics and adherents often find themselves entangled.

3. *Jan Morris, Heaven's Command, p 146.*

THE NGĀI TAHU AESTHETIC

A traditional account of what we would now call a 'Ngāi Tahu aesthetic' was captured in the following passage, which recorded the Ngāi Tahu attendance at the 'Hinana ki uta, Hinana ki tai' Conference of 1857, where iwi gathered to discuss the Kingi-tanga. The prose is absolutely stunning Māori.

Reflecting and weaving the narrative of language in design

E ka perea taku pere, ka kaa i te Tuahiwi ki Raukawa.

E ka titia taku pere ki te tihi ō Tapuaenuku, kia Taiaroa, kia Tūhawaiki, kia Te Maiharoa,

E tā e! Kia huri mai te taringa ki te whakarongo ki te tangi ā te Matuhi, e tangi nei tui a,

tuia, tuituia.

Rauna noa Te Waipounamu, te waahi i takoto ai te Kuru-auhunga, te Kuru-tongarerewa,

te Tiki Pounamu, te Taramea, te Tikumu, te Rau ā Titapu,

Ngā taonga whakapaipai ō mua, ngā tohu rangatira ō te Māori, titia ki runga i te ūpoko,

te Piki Kōtuku, te Pikihuia, te Raukura, te Tikumu,

Whakakaitia ki te taringa, te Poho i Toroa, te Kuruauhunga, te Kurutongarerewa,

Heia ki kakī te Hei Taramea, te Tiki Pounamu,

Hei aha?

Hei whakapaipai rā, hei whaka-tākunekune kia pai ai, kia hurō ai, kia rawe pai mai ai, kia mate mai ai ngā tamāhine ataahua, ngā whaiaipō, ngā kare-ā-roto, ngā putiputi whakapaipai ō Aotearoa, ko te whakamāoritanga tēnei ō ngā manu mōhio e toru, e kōrero nei i runga i Aotearoa.

My dart is cast and ignites at Tuahiwi beyond the sea of Raukawa.

My dart adorned the peak of Te Tapuae o Unenuku, the mountain of Taiaroa, Tūhawaiki and Te Maiharoa.

Friends! Turn your ears to listen to the song of the Fernbird calling: "Unite, unite, unite".

All through the South Island, the land of precious pendants and ornate greenstone; the Tiki Pounamu, the scented spear grass, taramea and tikumu, the cotton plant – plumes of chieftainship.

These are the adornment of our ancestors, the symbols of leadership: wherein the topknot is ornamented with the plume of the white heron; the plume of the huia; the headband of the scented taramea.

Adorn the ear with the albatross feather, the greenstone jewels, and pendants

Fastened to the neck is the scent-bag of the scented tikumu spear and the Tiki Pounamu.

For what purpose?

To display beauty, to adorn and to arouse the interest of, to become suitable to, to arouse the desires of the beautiful daughters, of the sweethearts, the inner-most desires of the beautiful flowers of the North Island

This absolutely stunning Māori prose is replete with metaphor that Māori orators appreciate and that the Māori communities anticipate upon marae. The composer refers to our (Ngāi Tūāhuriri) mountains and the taonga (treasures) that our people value – the tiki pounamu, the plumes of the white heron and now extinct huia, the scented grasses from beneath the mountains. These are all taonga for which Ngāi Tahu were known. The South Island was celebrated as an island famous for its resources, whether it be the foods, pounamu or the mountains.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

The challenge for the design team is how to interpret the narrative that is such an essential part of Ngāi Tahu and incorporate the imagery into design features.

BLENDING ANGLO HERITAGE, THE TREATY AND NGĀI TAHU AESTHETIC

The challenge for any design in the CJESP is to blend the aesthetic ideals of Ngāi Tahu and Māori with the Anglo heritage that has defined Christchurch for the last century and a half. To be successful, this will require a contemporary New Zealand reflection. This is not about accommodating a traditional Ngāi Tahu whare with an example of neo-gothic architecture but it is about finding a new and fresh aesthetic that blends that early Anglo-Christchurch heritage with Ngāi Tahu design to create a contemporary vision that will speak to New Zealanders of the present and the future.

Matapopore is primarily concerned that the aesthetic emerges from the values we consider important for and specific to the CJESP. This report has primarily concentrated on Ngāi Tahu values, but we recognise it is equally important that the Anglo values that have shaped New Zealand's judicial system are also incorporated.

The laws of New Zealand stem from a Judeo-Christian heritage, which were shaped by the philosophers and artists of the Age of Enlightenment. How those values are incorporated needs to be considered, despite the reluctance of our modern secular world to do so.

Alain de Botton, who once spoke on the architecture of Christchurch, writes that the cardinal virtues underpinning morality of the West are prudence, fortitude, temperance and justice, which are followed by the Christian virtues of faith, hope and charity. These virtues have meaning when placed against their vices of folly, inconstancy, anger, injustice, infidelity, envy and despair. De Botton goes on to explain how the Florentine artist Giotto was commissioned to decorate the walls of the Scrovegni Chapel with frescoes. There were 14 niches, within which Giotto portrayed each of the seven virtues facing its respective vice.[4]

4. *Alain de Botton, Religion for Atheists: A Non-believer's Guide to the Uses of Religion, Hamish, 2012.*

De Botton's concerns were not so much with the virtues or vices, but that in our modern world, there is a view that public spaces should be kept neutral. The libertarian argument is that it is not the role of the state to meddle with the inner morality of its members. Morality is a matter of individual conscience and anything else arouses distrust of the nanny state. But as de Botton argues, public spaces are not neutral. All public spaces are littered with commercial advertisements without any consent from the public. The argument here is that we should not avoid placing imagery within the Precinct, or pursuing design, that polarises views.

For Māori, the view that a public forum such as the CJESP should be kept neutral or amoral in its design is ignoring the reality and the basic principles on which Christchurch was established.

In his letter to Hobson, Lord Normanby essentially outlines a series of moral directions that underlie the Treaty of Waitangi:

> All dealings with the Aborigines for their Lands must be conducted on the same principles of sincerity, justice, and good faith as must govern your transactions with them for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereignty in the Islands.[5]

Ngāi Tahu endorses these principles, albeit with additional values.

The idea of charity is clearly understood by Māori to be 'atawhai' or 'aroha' and the Christian message of faith, hope and charity, 'te tika, te pono me te aroha', is heard on all marae. Justice has long been the dream for Ngāi Tahu and Māori despite adversity in the early political and judicial systems in New Zealand.

Quite often, when we speak of Māori values, we fail to mention the values that our

5. *From Marquis Normanby to Captain Hobson, RN, 14 August 1839, British Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence with the Secretary of State relative to New Zealand, 1840, (238), pp 623–628 (www.parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk).*

ancestors adopted with the arrival of Christianity to Te Waipounamu. Our ancestors quickly realised the importance of 'forgiveness' as opposed to the old idea of 'utu', which they identified and recognised in the Old Testament. They also understood the importance of the law and the notion of justice and how this was connected to Christian ideals. Possibly the best example or illustration of how these ideas were melded together and understood by our ancestors is a letter sent by the Ngāi Tahu leader, Matiaha Tiramōrehu, to Queen Victoria in 1857.

The letter declares:

> This was the command thy love laid upon these Governors … that the law be made one, that the commandments be made one, that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made just equal with the dark skin, and to lay down the love of thy graciousness to the Māori that they dwell happily … and remember the power of thy name.[6]

This text is worthy of further analysis and consideration when determining how best to reflect Ngāi Tahu aesthetics in the CJESP.

Matiaha Tiramōrehu took his name Mathias (Matiaha), from the last of the apostles, chosen for his diligence.[7] The text and the adoption of the apostle's name indicate how our ancestors incorporated Christian values. The question is whether the design team is able to do the same.

Here is a Ngāi Tahu leader, committed to the Queen, with a basic understanding of how the commandments and the law were connected. Matiaha understood that the relationship ultimately relied on goodwill. And, in fact, most iwi had similar views. For instance, Te Kooti, the great prophet of the North Island, had this to say about the law and the idea of justice:

> Ka kuhu au ki te ture, hei matua mo te pani – I bring myself to the law so that it be the saviour for the people.

Te Kooti made this statement after his surrender to the Crown. He understood, like Matiaha Tiramōrehu, that justice would prevail eventually – and that it, like the commandments, transcended their daily struggle. Both Matiaha Tiramōrehu and Te Kooti understood the virtue of fortitude because their lives were often lived in despair.

The letter quoted above and filed by Matiaha in 1857 was not resolved until 1998 through the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act. While the central part of the Act confirmed the transfer of capital, cash and other assets from the Crown to Ngāi Tahu, the moral issues that Matiaha spoke of were only resolved when the Crown apologised to Ngāi Tahu. That apology featured in Part I of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act and is attached as Appendix 1.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

The design team must think of how to incorporate imagery that captures the values and principles of Māori that are also inherent in early Anglo heritage – principles such as atawhai, aroha and forgiveness melded with principles of justice. This requires a new and modern take on these values that clearly reflects the blended culture and is appropriate for modern times.

6. *Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998, s 6.*

7. *Harry Evison, The Long Dispute: Māori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand, 1997, p 120.*

ACKNOWLEDGING THE RĀTANA MOVEMENT

One important aspect of Ngāi Tahu and its claim against the Crown is the role of the Rātana movement. This is a matter of particular importance to Ngāi Tūāhuriri and the Ngāi Tahu villages that were also heavily aligned to the movement.

Wiremu Tahu Pōtiki Rātana (1873–1939) was a prophet who came to the fore as a spiritual leader for Māori during the early part of the 20th century.

Māori prophets had traditionally been attracted to the Old Testament because the stories of oppression suffered by the Jews were something with which Māori identified. Likewise, the Jehovah of the Old Testament was also closer to how Māori understood and engaged with their atua. Rātana stressed the Gospels and the importance of the New Testament. Where Rātana

differed from the 19th century prophets, such as Te Kooti and Te Whiti, was that he believed that while spiritual truths (ture wairua) were important, Māori also needed to firmly master the laws of man, which meant managing the political and legal realities of the day. It was this driver and influence that propelled Rātana to pursue a political strategy through the movement. In 1932 the Rātana movement was successful in challenging for the South Island Māori seat in Parliament, and then in 1939 Rātana took all four Māori seats.

In 1936 Rātana created a formal alliance with the Labour Party and the Prime Minister, Michael Savage. The alliance was confirmed among Māori when Rātana gave the Prime Minister four gifts: a potato, a broken gold watch, a pounamu tiki and a huia feather. The potato signified the loss of Māori land and the ability of Māori to sustain themselves. The broken watch represented the Treaty of Waitangi; and the pounamu, the mana of Māori. The huia feather signified the status of Savage as a rangatira. The huia feather is referred to in the account on page 89. The meaning of these gifts was that if he repaired the watch, returned the land and restored the Treaty of Waitangi, he would earn the right to wear the feather.

One of the reasons that Rātana is referred to in this report is that some of New Zealand's most interesting architecture from the early 20th century comes from Rātana and the other prophet movements. The Dome of Rock re-created by the followers of Rua Kenana in Hiruharama Hou, the Rātana Church at Raetihi and the Rātana Pā at Whanganui are all sources of potential inspiration that the design team should consider.

However, not only is the architecture important, but so too are the colours. The prophet movements often took their colour scheme and symbols from the Old Testament and this is best depicted in the tohu or whetū mārama of the church.

The symbolism of the crescent and star is obvious enough. The star is known as the whetū mārama and the significance can be explained at a later stage by ngā mōrehu.

It is absolutely essential that, in reflecting the Treaty and concepts of justice among Ngāi Tahu and the people of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the design team reflects and interprets the role and physical representation of the Rātana faith.

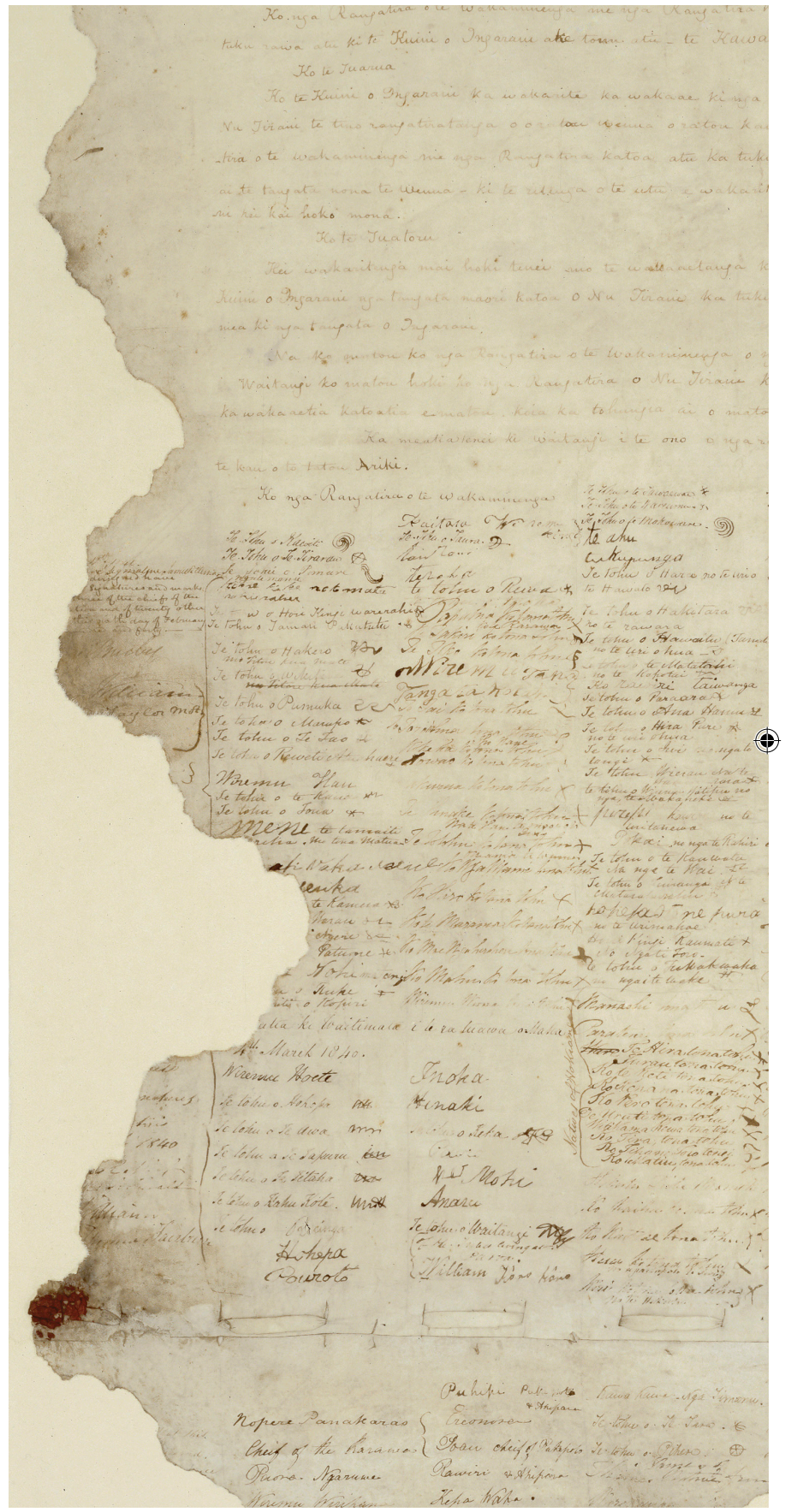
SUMMARY

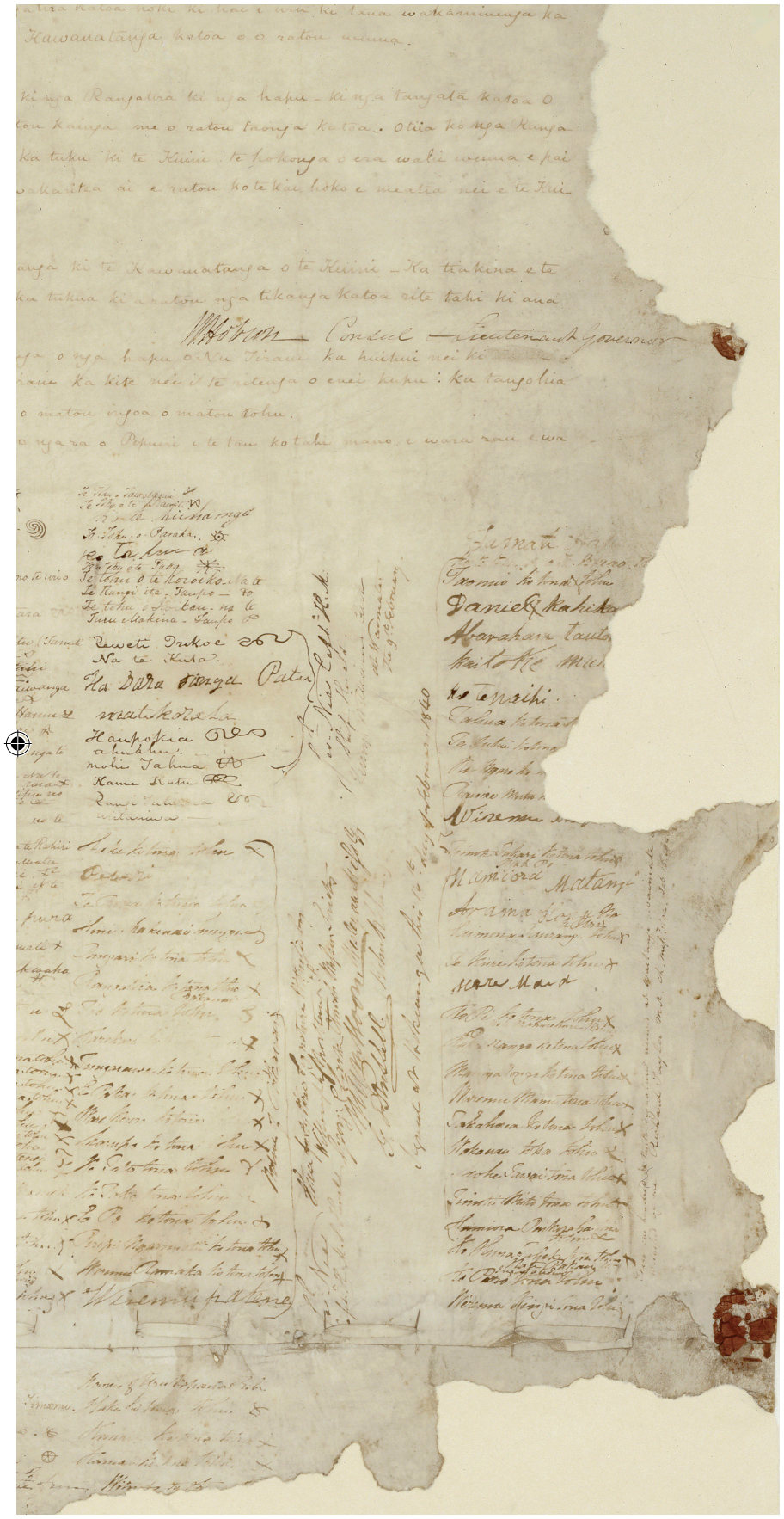
An aesthetic that does not resonate with values the community holds close is a sheen on an empty house. The CJESP must not only reflect the values held dear to Ngāi Tahu but must also provide the basic virtues that underpin the core western virtues outlined above.

How the artists represent these ideals is a matter for discussion. What is important is the alignment of values and design.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

How are the strong sense of commitment to the Rātana movement, the influence that it has on Ngāi Tahu and the values that it represents reflected in the design?





THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

The Treaty of Waitangi is the basis of New Zealand as a nation state and as such should take centre stage for any design team. What is important to understand is that the Treaty should not be seen as a solely Māori document. Rather than outline the history of the Treaty of Waitangi and Ngāi Tahu, it is more important that the design team focuses on two ideas: first, the Flag of the United Tribes; and second, the principles to the Treaty of Waitangi as outlined in the 1987 Court of Appeal case, *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney General*. This case was presided over by Sir Robin Cooke, who outlined what he saw to be the principles that underpinned the Treaty of Waitangi.

Those principles were:

- the acquisition of sovereignty in exchange for the protection of rangatiratanga
- that the Treaty established a partnership, and imposes on the partners the duty to act reasonably and in good faith
- the freedom of the Crown to govern
- the Crown's duty of active protection
- the duty of the Crown to remedy past breaches
- Māori to retain rangatiratanga over their resources and taonga and to have all the privileges of citizenship
- the duty to consult.

Most of these principles were based on the instructions from Lord Normanby, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Captain William Hobson, the first Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand. It was these instructions that underpinned the Treaty of Waitangi, and Lord Normanby at least had noble intentions. The instructions are significant because they provide a glimpse of how Normanby imagined the relationship between Māori and British settlers would be. It is a highly idealised and essentially humanitarian document.

These principles are reflected in the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011. How we incorporate them into this project is a matter for discussion. At this stage it is important to note that they need consideration. What is important to understand is that the principles have been a feature of Ngāi Tahu rhetoric since the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. For Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu there is no debate about principles 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7. Ngāi Tahu understand the Crown's right to govern and our duty to act towards one another both reasonably and in good faith. How we actively protect Ngāi Tahu's role in the rebuild and retain our rangatiratanga over our resources is a matter for discussion as citizens and tangata whenua of Christchurch.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

The design team must consider how it reflects the Treaty of Waitangi and, in particular, from a Ngāi Tahu perspective, the Flag of the United Tribes and the principles to the Treaty of Waitangi as outlined in the 1987 Court of Appeal case, *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney General*.

PRINCIPLES OF KEMP'S DEED

> Our friend Governor Browne, we salute you. Welcome, Governor, Welcome! Welcome! Welcome! Welcome thou, the head of New Zealand assemblies, both European and Māori. We salute you.
>
> Listen to our cry of welcome – from the people of Kaiapoi, of Rāpaki, of Purau, of Port Levy, of Akaroa, of Wairewa, and of Taumutu. Give ear also to our sayings. . . . We are like unto a Cormorant sitting on a rock. The tide rises, it flows over the rock, and the bird is compelled to fly. Do thou provide a dry resting place for us that we may prosper.[8]

The previous section referred to the 1987 Court of Appeal case and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. This section is more concerned with the principles of 'Kemp's Deed', which is specific to Canterbury and the arrival of the early settlers.

One effect of the Treaty was that it was meant to allow the Crown to facilitate the purchasing of the land from Māori, with the Crown then on-selling to settlers or commercial interests. From 1844 to 1863 Ngāi Tahu sold their lands to the Crown in a series of nine purchases. The largest of these was the Canterbury Purchase of 1848, which saw 20,000,000 acres sold for £2,000. The Canterbury Purchase is known as 'Kemp's Deed' after the Native Secretary who was appointed to negotiate the Canterbury Purchase for the Crown. The Canterbury Purchase was then followed by the Port Cooper and Port Levy purchases of 1849 and the Akaroa Purchase of 1856.

These purchase deeds were all contested by Ngāi Tahu throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. All of the South Island purchase deeds eventually formed the Ngāi Tahu Claim which was formally settled in 1998 under the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act. This section is not a historical review of the Ngāi Tahu Claim, but more of a commentary on the values that underpinned the principal land purchase, the 1848 Canterbury Purchase Deed.

What should not be forgotten is the absolute poverty faced by Ngāi Tahu throughout the 19th century and the fortitude and resilience of our leadership in seeing this 'hara' resolved. The harrowing poverty inflicted upon our people by the Crown and the settler government must be included in the design. One elder, Hoani Uru, recalled in 1890 the hopelessness his people felt, when he told a Royal Commission:

> All the people who have families have a great struggle to maintain them. Better be dead and out of the way, as there did not appear to be any place for them in the future.[9]

This was not simply his view. Mackay noted elsewhere it was a belief other Ngāi Tahu:

> Some of the younger men, when testifying as to the insufficiency of the acreage owned by them for the support of their families, remarked that it would be better for them all to die, as there appeared to be no future for them; every year they found it more difficult to find employment, and if the labour-market was closed against them it would be impossible to live on the small parcels of land they possessed.[7]

And in fact Pākehā who had lived with Ngāi Tahu and the Ngāi Tūāhuriri in Banks Peninsula communities also recognised the tragedy of the Crown's failings. The Rev. J.W. Stack, of St Stephen's Church Ngāi Tūāhuriri wrote:

8. *The Māori Messenger, Te Karere Māori, 1860, Vol. 7 (20), pp 5–9.*

9. *'Middle Island Native Claims by MR. Commissioner Mackay,' Appendices to the House of Representatives, 1890, G-11, p 58.*

10. *Ibid, p 3.*

> I lived to feel the tingling blush of shame whom these deludes of Māoris wary of waiting charged me with complicity in a fraud, charged me with taking a bribe from the Government to deceive them. In vain I appealed to my life work amongst them and into the proofs I have given of disinterested friendships for Ngāi Tahu, they scorned my claim to be regarded as a friend, and publicly in their tribal gatherings branded me as a deceiver, the aider and abettor of those who had deliberately broken their most solemn pledges. The old chiefs are now dead, their last years so many of them having been embittered by the want of the common necessaries of life, such as food, clothing and firing, of which they were deprived by those who took away their native sources of wealth, and failed to supply them with the European equivalent which they had agreed to give in exchange.[11]

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

That the Ngāi Tahu Claim and Canterbury Purchase were settled under the 1998 Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act does not mean our past should be forgotten and irrelevant to our present. For that reason, it is important for the design team to have some understanding of our past as well as the values that we attach to the 1848 Canterbury Purchase.

Equally important is that the underlying principles of Kemp's Deed be understood so that they shape and redefine a future for Ngāi Tahu, Māori and the Crown. Two important values within the deed are the idea of the Crown reserving land for us to live upon that was 'kāinga nohoanga' and attached to these reserves would be mahinga kai.

11. *Supporting Papers to: The Evidence of Tony Walzl (Wai 27 M-15, Stack to Stevens 11 July 1888 Māori Affairs MA 67: (23), 204), Ngāi Tahu Archives, University of Canterbury.*

KĀINGA NOHOANGA

The Canterbury Purchase is quite clear in the intention that land was to be reserved for Ngāi Tahu as 'kāinga nohoanga' and mahinga kai. The purchase deed is quite explicit on this matter:

> Ko o matou Kāinga nohoanga ko a matou mahinga kai, me waiho marie mo matou, mo a matou tamariki, mo muri iho i a matou
>
> Our places of residence and our cultivations are to be reserved for us and our children after us.

There are three clear intentions underlying this deed. First, the Crown was to set aside land for our people to reside upon. Second, the Crown was to set aside land that would be reserved as 'mahinga kai'. The final point was that these promises were to be kept for future generations.

The Crown did in fact set aside reserves for tribal members, throughout Canterbury, as places of 'residence'. These lands were known as 'Native Reserves' or in later years, 'Māori Reserves'. The largest of these reserves in Canterbury was the Kaiapoi Māori Reserve 873. However, most traditional kāinga of villages of Ngāi Tahu were located on reserved land at Kaiapoi, Te Muka, Taumutu, Waihao, Moeraki and Puketeraki. Throughout the 19th century through to the middle of the 20th century, these villages existed as Ngāi Tahu centre points where the culture and identity of the tribe were maintained and fostered. That we exist as a tribe is due to the fact that these villages were essentially Māori – and were seen by tribal members as the places where Māori custom and tradition could exist without the intrusion of Pākehā assimilation policy.

12. *Alexander Mackay, Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island, Vol 2, Govt Printer, 1872, pp 95–103.*

In order for Ngāi Tahu to occupy these reserves in an ordered manner, our people constituted the first Rūnanga in the South Island and possibly in all of New Zealand. The task of the Rūnanga was to act as a tribal council for land owners, and chief among the tasks was the subdivision of land and the allocation of individual title. Ngāi Tahu elders had the very clear view that they were to have individual title that could be subdivided. This discussion was observed by Walter Buller, who Grey had sent to Kaiapoi in 1859 to oversee the survey of the Kaiapoi Māori Reserve. Buller reported that the Rūnanga agreed to the following motions:

1. That the primary sub-division and apportionment of the land should be arranged by them in Rūnanga.

2. That as a fundamental condition of the proposed grants, the estates and interests created thereby should be entailed, so as to make them inalienable to persons of other than the Māori race.[12]

And this idea was again placed before the Crown when Governor Gore-Brown visited Ngāi Tahu in 1860. The Kaiapoi and Rāpaki elder, Paora Tau, echoed the views of his Rūnanga when he told Gore-Brown:

> The voice of all the people is, that our land Reserves be subdivided, so that each may have his own portion. We ask you to give to each man a title in writing to his own allotment. But we leave the matter in your hands, o Governor. Our reason for urging the subdivision of our land is that our difficulties and quarrels may cease, that we may live peaceably, and that Christianity and good works may thrive amongst us.

The right to possess individual title and to subdivide was to occur in the following decade.

It was in these villages that our Rūnanga were established and exist today. The reason that this issue appears in this report for the design team is that despite the Treaty relationship the Crown acknowledges, it has fundamentally failed to protect these villages and the rights that were promised for Ngāi Tahu and future generations. Quite simply, if these areas and zones of Ngāi Tahu identity are not protected, then the identity of the tribe is threatened. Contemporary Crown legislation and council policies have slowly eroded these villages and this fundamentally attacks the core identity of the tribe.

The start of this erosion process can be traced to the Town and Country Planning Act 1958 and the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967. The Town and Country Planning Act essentially gave local councils the right to rezone Māori land and the 1967 Māori Affairs Amendment Act allowed the council to regulate Māori land. In fact the 1967 Act was the catalyst for the Māori Land March of 1975. The Act also introduced the compulsory conversion of Māori-owned land into general land. This allowed the Government as the 'Māori Trustee' to acquire perceived uneconomic lands and pay a simple fee to the collective Māori owners. This amendment alone resulted in over 1.5 million acres of Māori land being seized and transferred over to the Māori Trustee.

What this Act did in practice was to allow local councils to rezone Māori land into a rural zone, which had the effect of limiting housing density to one house per 10 acres. The tragedy here was that most Ngāi Tahu had been allocated less than 10 acres well over a century earlier, which automatically placed a ceiling on how many homes could be built on Māori land. The outcome of this Act was that once the local councils rezoned our traditional villages or kāinga, our people were no longer allowed to build upon their family lands. Before the Act, parents simply allocated land to their children to build upon because the land had been designated as 'a place of residence' or kāinga nohoanga under the 1848 Canterbury Purchase.

Historians and anthropologists often refer to the 'urban drift' of Māori from the traditional villages after World War Two. However, the traditional push–pull arguments to explain urbanisation tend to take second place to the simple fact that legislation prohibited Māori from building upon their tribal lands. Māori communities could not keep their whānau on their land, despite the fact that Māori parents had land to allocate to their children. Urbanisation of Māori occurred because local council planners actually 'planned' the destruction of Māori villages and Ngāi Tahu kāinga nohoanga by rezoning them. The reason why Ngāi Tahu live on the east side of Christchurch is because they were prohibited from building next to their parents.

The village of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, or the Kaiapoi Māori Reserve, is the largest reserve in the Canterbury Purchase. However, all other Ngāi Tahu villages suffered the same fate. The loss of tribal members from their communities occurred between the 1950s and 1970s, and this was solely due to Crown legislation and council policies.

Despite the fact that the Crown acknowledged the problems of the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 and removed the offending clauses in 1974, the councils have retained their role in rezoning Māori land regardless of the basic promises to Ngāi Tahu in the 1848 Canterbury Purchase. Even as late as 2005 the Waimakariri District Council still maintained the rural zone imposed in 1967 by way of the Māori Affairs Amendment Act. Furthermore, no consultation occurred with the Māori community– counter to a basic Treaty principle declared nearly three decades earlier.

Underpinning this behaviour is a fundamental lack of awareness of how the Treaty of Waitangi is still relevant today and the view that the wrongs committed upon Māori were a phenomenon of the 19th century and the early settlers.
This inability by New Zealanders to see culturally persistent behaviour that resembles that of the early settlers is a matter of concern and should be incorporated into the design values.

The whole Christchurch rebuild is centred on restoring and retrieving the identity of Christchurch, which Ngāi Tahu endorse. Christchurch was a city founded under the leadership of John Godley and the Canterbury Association. The building of the Anglican Cathedral and the establishment of a Bishop were both statements of identity that made Christchurch a principal New Zealand city. Christchurch is the way it is because of how it was planned by its founding fathers.

What is important for Ngāi Tūāhuriri is that the judicial community acknowledges the importance of Ngāi Tahu communities, their kāinga nohoanga and the basic principles within Kemp's Deed. For the design team, this means acknowledging that Ngāi Tahu communities and villages are still important and that they must be fostered.

Christchurch was designed around the values of the power culture of the 19th century and the centre point of those values was the Anglican Church and the Cathedral. No one would have imagined placing the Catholic Cathedral at the centre of the city and it is no mistake that it sits on the margins of the city's four avenues. The central dominance of the Anglican Cathedral should come as no surprise. Christchurch was after all designed to be a 'vertical' slice of England. The problem was that Ngāi Tahu were peripheral to this grand vision. The very fact that Ngāi Tahu were not allocated any reserves in Christchurch other than on the Heathcote Estuary, which was then compulsorily taken under the Public Works Act in 1956 for the building of the Bromley Sewage Ponds, is a good indicator of how Ngāi Tahu were viewed in the scheme of the city.

The reason bureaucrats and policy planners

can simply ignore Ngāi Tahu communities and villages is that they are not visible and are beyond immediate urban concerns. The villages, people and Rūnanga of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Taumutu, Rāpaki, Port Levy-Koukourārata, Wairewa and Ōnuku must be designed into the city plan and the CJESP is central to this design plan.

Māori are often seen as a social concern rather than as a people with specific rights promised to them by the settler state. And, although those rights challenge the democratic ideals modern nations imagine all peoples to have, Christchurch exists on the basic fact that in the 19th century our people were relocated away from Christchurch to reservations with specific rights promised to them and their descendants. One of those promises is that, just as Christchurch would exist and flourish, so too would our local villages. In fact, this is what Governor Sir George Grey said:

> Of course I imagined that Native Gentleman would arise in the country – men living with comfort. I did not imagine setting up a servile race, with fourteen acres a head. That was never my intention… I should say generally this: that the impression upon my mind was, that each chief would have as much property kept for him as would enable him hereafter to live comfortably as a European gentleman, and that every native farmer should have a farm kept for him, with sufficient land to run their stock on besides. That was decidedly my conception of what should be done, at the least.[13]

While the language is difficult to accept (Native Gentleman) and we can also be skeptical about Grey's recollection, it would be reasonable to assume that he never wished to see Ngāi Tahu impoverished. Likewise, it's difficult to imagine that he ever imagined the Crown actually prohibiting Ngāi Tahu from building upon land his Office had confirmed. The judicial system needs to be aware of Ngāi Tahu and more recent urban-Māori communities – that they exist and matter.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

1. Despite the Treaty relationship the Crown acknowledges, it has fundamentally failed to protect the allocated villages and the rights that were promised for Ngāi Tahu and future generations. Quite simply, if these areas and zones of Ngāi Tahu identity are not protected, then the identity of the tribe is threatened. Contemporary Crown legislation and council policies have slowly eroded these villages and this fundamentally attacks the core identity of the tribe.
2. What is important for Ngāi Tūāhuriri is that the judicial community acknowledges the importance of Ngāi Tahu communities, their kāinga nohoanga and the basic principles within Kemp's Deed. For the design team, this means acknowledging that Ngāi Tahu communities and villages are important and must be fostered. The very fact that Ngāi Tahu were not allocated any reserves in Christchurch other than on the Heathcote Estuary, which was compulsorily taken under the Public Works Act in 1956 for the building of the Bromley Sewage Ponds, is a good indicator of how Ngāi Tahu were viewed in the scheme of the city.
3. The reason bureaucrats and policy planners can simply ignore Ngāi Tahu communities and villages is that they are not visible and are beyond immediate urban concerns. The villages, people and Rūnanga of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Taumutu, Rāpaki, Port Levy-Koukourārata, Wairewa and Ōnuku must be designed into the city plan and the CJESP is central to this design plan.

13. *D. Armstrong, Te Arawa Land and Politics: A Report for the Crown Forest Rentals Trust, November 2002, p 73.*

MAHINGA KAI

In 1879 at Kaiapoi, Wiremu Te Uki stood before the Smith–Nairn Commission and declared:

> We used to get food from all over our Island; it was all mahinga kai. And we considered our island as in a far superior position to any other, because it is called Waipounamu, the greenstone island; the fame thereof reaches all lands.[14]

Te Uki had an obvious pride in his mahinga kai that was more than economic. Mahinga kai identified who he was and where he was from. There is a cultural connection here associated with mahinga kai that needs consideration. Usually mahinga kai has been discussed in functional terms represented in phrases such as "the seasonal round", used to describe the migratory habits of Ngāi Tahu. Rarely, if ever, has a cultural connection been made to mahinga kai.

As stated earlier, mahinga kai is a reference to a phrase taken out of the 1848 Canterbury Purchase. One of the conditions of sale was that the document promised Ngāi Tahu that all its "mahinga kai" would be reserved for them. The relevant part of the text stated:

> Ko o matou Kāinga nohonga, ko a matou mahinga kai, me waiho marie mo matou tamariki, mo muri ihi ia matou, a ma te kawana e whakarite mai hoki tetahi wahi mo matou a mua ake nei, a te wahi a ata ruritia te whenua e nga kai ruru. [15]

The Crown interpreted the above text thus:

> ... our places of residence and cultivations must still be left to us, for ourselves and our children after us. And the Governor must appoint a quantity of land for us hereafter when the land is surveyed.[16]

14. *W Te Uki NA /MA/ 67/4: 295*
15. *Alexander Mackay, Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island, Vol 2, Govt Printer, 1872, p 238.*
16. *Ibid*

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

The shape of the problem was the interpretation of that term "mahinga kai". Mahinga kai is given different interpretations by the Crown and by Ngāi Tahu. The Crown's interpretation confines mahinga kai to its minimal definition, which is cultivations. In 1868, at a Native Land Court hearing in Christchurch, Fenton ruled that he was bound to accept the Crown's interpretation of mahinga kai. Fenton declared:

> The court is of the opinion that Mahinga kai does not include Weka preserves or any hunting rights, but local and fixed works and operations.[17]

Fixed works were to mean gardens and fixed eel weirs. On the other hand, Ngāi Tahu has given mahinga kai several definitions. In 1879 at the Smith–Nairn Commission, Wiremu Te Uki defined mahinga kai as:

> Places where we used to obtain food, the natural products of the soil.[18]

Later Te Uki added that mahinga kai meant:

> Places where we used to catch birds. The places where we used to catch ducks – paradise ducks … we used to get food from all over our island; it was all mahinga kai.[19]

Under further questioning Te Uki added that mahinga kai also referred to "eel weirs". Other Ngāi Tahu witnesses continued to confirm and enlarge upon what Te Uki had stated.

In a petition in 1891 by Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, the Rūnanga interpreted the original passage of Kemp's Deed as follows:

> Our food producing places or places where we might expect to obtain future supplies of food and all fisheries are to be reserved for us and our children after us, and it shall be for the Governor hereafter to set apart some portion for us.[20]

The contrast in interpretations is obvious. One party, the Crown, takes a limited approach. The other (Ngāi Tahu) has a wider, more general interpretation to mahinga kai. However, much of this dispute, which lasted right through to the 1998 Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act rested on the narrow and limited view that the judiciary took on this matter.

17. *Minutes of the Native Land Court 1868 National Archives, LE /1880 /6: The Petition of Te Oti Pita Mutu to the Native Affairs Committee.*

18. *Evidence of Wiremu Te Uki #11, National Archives, Māori Affairs Ms, 67 /7, 14 May 1879. Also Ngāi Tahu Archives, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.*

19. *Evidence of Wiremu Te Uki #11, National Archives, Māori Affairs Ms, 67 /7, 14 May 1879. Also Ngāi Tahu Archives, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.*

20. *R. T. M. Tau: Wai 27 H6*

Maahunui II, *Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri's new wharenui was officially opened 1 December, 2012, replacing* Te Maahanui *opened in 1912*

MĀORI LAND COURT

A key question that needs to be considered during the design phase of the CJESP is whether the Māori Land Court should be located within the Precinct. In its original guise, the Native Land Court was established under the 1865 Native Land Act to "extinguish native title". Legislation passed by the Crown and the role of the Court right through to the present have hardly been of benefit to Māori.

The question is whether the Māori Land Court is cognisant of Ngāi Tahu concerns and values and the differences between it and other iwi.

The only previous time the role of the Māori Land Court and its location have been raised formally with Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu was in the 1980s during the Royal Commission on Social Policy. One of the clear views among Ngāi Tahu at that stage was that the Māori Land Court was poorly situated and that perhaps it should be located at Kaiapoi where it had traditionally been located.

This matter was not pursued further. However, there does need to be consultation on this matter. This matter is raised because Ngāi Tūāhuriri recently hosted consultation on where the Rangatahi Court should be located and the clear view of the Māori community was that Ngā Hau E Whā was the best place.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

Stakeholder engagement and consultation are required around the most appropriate place for the Māori Land Court to be situated.

MANA MOTUHAKE – INDEPENDENCE AND AUTHORITY

> By means of the municipal institutions lately granted to New Zealand, the colonists will have the power of managing their own local affairs without interference.
>
> *Canterbury Association, 'Canterbury Papers', Association for Founding the Settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand by John W. Parker, 1850, p 7*
>
> There is another King of this island, he is Tūāhuriri. Although he is dead his authority remains with us, his descendants. We have great mountains on this island, Tapuae-o-Uenuku, Kai-taurau, Maunga-tere, Ahu-patiki, Tarahoua, Mihi-waka and Rakiura. (*Pita Te Hori, first Upoko Rūnanga of Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga)*.

The idea of self-governance or even self-management for Māori has always challenged the Crown, despite the fact that the United Kingdom has managed to accommodate its own distinctive brand of devolution for some time. Likewise when New Zealand became a colony, John Godley had a distinct view on the matter of self-government. When Sir George Grey proposed his Bill for a New Zealand Constitution, Godley took the position that self-government was the sole option for Christchurch. In rejecting Grey's proposal, Godley declared:

> No, sir, the object which the colonists of New Zealand have given their energies to obtain, and which they will obtain, if they be true to themselves, is . . . political power; the power of virtually administering their own affairs, appointing their own officers, disposing of their own revenues, and governing their own country.

A quick scan of Godley's writings makes it clear that he wanted New Zealand to be the first colony with its own sovereignty. He had little time for representative arguments which he saw as little more than provincial debating clubs. He also found it "ridiculous and inexplicable" that New Zealand could not pass legislation that England found "repugnant" to the laws of England. Yet, Godley was conflicted, and at the same time saw New Zealand as part of the British Empire, and in fact a colony. His view was that New Zealand was to be "pre-eminent and alone among the colonies". Much of Godley's reasoning was a reaction against Grey's role as Governor. However, despite Godley's demand for self-government, he was less capable of applying his argument to Māori, who he saw as having little role in any representative government. On that matter, Godley's politics were as despotic as his antagonists. Godley wrote:

> As the case now stands, I regard by no means without uneasiness the possibility of the constituencies being utterly "swamped" by Māoris. I do not know exactly how the law may come to be worked, but if it be worked fairly and impartially, I foresee that in the Northern Island almost any amount of Māori votes may be created among a population wholly incapable of understanding the simplest rudiments of the questions on which their votes will be brought to bear.

In regard to Māori, John Robert Godley and Sir George Grey held much the same view. Their settlement was, in this context, rooted deep in the swamp of double standards. Yet what is fascinating is that the idea of mana-motuhake (independence and authority) was less antagonistic to rule from Downing Street. Māori simply understood the need to regulate and

Maahunui II

have authority over their lands and world, while also fitting within the larger imperial world. This was the point, after all, of the Flag of the United Tribes. Māori would manage and run their own trade while fitting within international law.

This idea of Ngāi Tahu maintaining their own mana is indicated in our earliest petitions to the Crown, where leaders insisted on the Crown confirming their mana to their traditional lands and mahinga kai. This was evident in 1862 when the leading Ngāi Tahu chief, Te Matenga Taiaroa, delivered his 'ōhākī' or death speech to his iwi, tribe and son. 'Ōhākī' by tribal leaders are often given before their death so that successive generations maintain the values, principles and agreements reached in their lifetimes. Matenga Taiaroa spans the 19th century as the principal rangatira of Ngāti Ruahikihiki and defender of Kaiapoi Pā. Taiaroa then led a series of successful campaigns against Ngāti Toa in the Wairau-Port Underwood region, which eventually led to a peace settlement between the two tribes. Following this period of warfare Taiaroa acted as a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi at Ōtākou and then took a leading role in the major land purchases of the South Island with the Crown, which included the 1844 Otago Purchase and the 1848 Canterbury Purchase. Matenga Taiaroa died in 1863, leaving behind a significant legacy for his son and representative for Southern Māori, H.K. Taiaroa. As his death drew closer, Taiaroa was anxious that Ngāi Tahu commit themselves to their relationship with the Crown, but that they also maintain their mana. To ensure the relationship was maintained, Taiaroa dictated his ōhākī to his son, H.K. Taiaroa. Taiaroa told his people:

> To all my tribe, to my hapu and to my son,
>
> Let me bring these words to your remembrance, that they may be impressed on your memory In the future, after I am dead and gone, that you may understand and judge for yourselves respecting the lands that I sold to the Europeans. The European land purchases made certain statements in all purchases of land. Firstly, Be good to my nation, to the Pākehā, for it was I that brought them to this Island, to Te Wai Pounamu, in former years.
>
> It was I and some other chiefs that went to Port Jackson (Sydney), and arranged a covenant there, in which we placed the whole of the Island of New Zealand under the sovereignty of the Queen, and the covenant was drawn up there, and the Governor of that Colony gave a token of honor, also the Queen's flag to me, and to Tuhawaiki. The Governor also gave us all authority (mana), and to us was the authority over the whole of our Island, Te Wai Pounamu. The Queen was also to be our parent, (protector), that no other of Her Majesty's subjects, or any foreign nation should interfere, or take, or sell, or otherwise dispose of our land, without our consent given to any other nation.
>
> We agreed to these arrangements of the Governor of New South Wales, and that covenant was established.
>
> After that was the Treaty of Waitangi, and I and my tribe agreed a second time.[21]

Taiaroa is specifically referring to the negotiations on 14 February 1840 between Tūhawaikai and Governor Sir George Gipps of New South Wales. The flag that was gifted to Tūhawaiki would have been the Flag of the United Tribes of New Zealand or, as it is sometimes known, the Flag of Independence.

The ideas that underpinned Taiaroa's ōhākī were commitment to Queen Victoria and the Crown's right to govern in return for recognising their authority. Tūhawaiki, Taiaroa and Karetai

21. *Translation of copy of statement made by H. T. Tairoa's father on 13 February, 1862 and handed in on 27 September, 1872, AJHR, 1872, H–9, pp 8–9.*

had made this commitment because they had just emerged from over a decade of warfare with the Northern tribes and were prepared to negotiate with the British Empire, not only to gain the Queen's protection but also because they believed in the Queen and incorporated the values of the law and Christian ideals.

What Taiaroa also tells us is that the relationship established his mana over the island. The point to be noted is that these leaders did not see a contest between the covenant established with the Crown and the belief that the covenant confirmed their mana to the island. This is possibly why iwi tend towards the view that the Treaty confirmed upon them 'mana motuhake', which indicates that while the Crown possessed its sovereignty, its duty was to also ensure tribal 'mana' that was distinct and separate (motuhake) from the Crown.

The mana motuhake spoken of by Taiaroa was not directed solely at the Crown. It was simply a statement of Ngāi Tahu authority in regard to the Crown and other iwi. This situation is seen again in 1860 when Taiaroa attended the Kohimarama Conference. Taiaroa essentially outlined his position to the Kingitanga when he stated his tribe's loyalty was to the Queen, eventually finishing with the statement:

> Taiaroa,. . . Kihai au i haere mai ki te Kingi: i haere mai au ki te Kuini; kahore aku kupu ke. Mate Kingi ta te Kingi e mahi. Otira me Kingi katoa tatou e tu nei! Taiaroa, (Ngāi Tahu) Otago: I did not come to support the King: I came to support the Queen. I have no other subject to speak on. Let the Māori King do his own work; but let all of us here assembled be Kings.[22]

Taiaroa's saying, "me Kingi katoa tatou e tu nei", simply establishes the mana of all iwi as being equivalent and equal. Despite the modern use of 'kingi', the idea behind the proverb is traditional and is probably better understood among other iwi through pepeha such as "Waikato, taniwha rau" or "Ngā Puhi, kōwhao rau".

One important point to note is that whenever Māori spoke of their mana in relationship to other iwi, they used the mountain as a basis from which to display their mana, independence and ancestral authority. Like Taiaroa, the Upoko Rūnanga of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Pita Te Hori, made Ngāi Tahu's authority and mana clear when he wrote to his people explaining why the people of Ngāi Tūāhuriri had jailed a North Island Māori for what they called "sedition" against the Queen. Te Hori wrote to members of the tribe explaining the reasons for his Rūnanga's actions and the nature of Ngāi Tahu mana:

> Friends, my dearest friends, to the people who live in this island, listen here. Those of you from one point of this land, to the other point, to those that dwell in between, to all white people, to those who live in Te Waipounamu, and all who inhabit the Island where the fire's of Mahuika burns. To the Māori, you must all listen.
>
> Raukawa is the boundary. Let not the people of the Northern Island come across to this island and treat the law with contempt; neither the people of this island lay down and allow it. There is a large dividing space between them and us, like unto that between Jacob and Laban, which leaves this to continue as a perpetual testament for us. That island has been divided for your King. There is another King of this island, he is Tūāhuriri. Although he is dead his authority remains with us his descendants. We have great mountains on this island, Tapuae-o Uenuku, Kai-taurau, Maunga-tere, Ahu-patiki, Tarahoua, Mihi-waka and Rakiura.

22. *Nga Mahi o te Runanga in Maori Messenger, No 13–18, Manei 6, Akuhata, 1860, p 14.*

Friends, let not the people of that Island no longer come over to this and work deceitfully. December 7th 1863.

E hoa mā, e ōku hoa aroha, e ngā tāngata e noho ana ki tēnei motu, whakarongomai, e tētahi pito o te motu nei, e tētahi pito, e waenganui, e ngā iwi Pākehā, e noho ana ki Te Wai Poenemu (Pounamu), me ngā tāngata hoki e noho ana ki tērā moutere i te ahi ā Mahuika. E ka Māori, ki a rongomai koutou.

Ko Raukawa, te rohe. Kia kaua te tangata o tērā motu, e whiti mai, ki tenei motu, takatakahi ture ai, me ngā tāngata hoki ō tēnei motu, kia kaua e whakatakotoria. He takiwā nui, ki waenganui ō koutou, ō mātou, pēra hoki me tā Hakopa, rāua ko Rapana, kua waiho tenei hei kawenata mau tonu, mō koutou, mō mātou. Kua rohea atu tēnā motu mō to koutou Kīngi. He Kīngi anō ō tenei motu, ko Tūāhuriri, ahakoa kua mate ia, kei te mau anō tōna mana, i runga i a mātou, ā, ē mōhio nei anō ōna uri. He maunga nunui ana ō tēnei motu, ko Tapuaenuku, ko Kaitaurau ko Maungatere, ko Te Ahupatiki, ko Turahaua, ko Mihiwaka, ko Rakiura.

E hoa mā, kāti te tangata o tēna motu te haere mai ki konei, timanga ai.

Na,

Pita te Hori.[23]

This letter provides a fascinating insight into how Ngāi Tahu saw their relationships with others, whether it be Māori or the Crown. There is much material for the design team to work from.

First, for Ngāi Tahu, Raukawa – Cook Strait – is the boundary line between Ngāi Tahu and the other iwi. However Te Hori, who was literate in the Bible and was to become a lay reader at St Stephen's Church at Ngāi Tūāhuriri, also uses the Old Testament story of Jacob and Laban to make clear that even though there was a disagreement between themselves and although relations may not be friendly, they were at least peaceful. This was of course a reference to the Land Wars of the North Island and the fact that Ngāi Tahu had aligned itself with the Crown, as opposed to the Kingitanga. Te Hori was also referring to the peace that had been arranged between themselves, Ngāti Toa and their allies.

To emphasise the mana motuhake of Ngāi Tahu and its distinction from other iwi, Te Hori then makes the authority of Ngāi Tahu clear by aligning Tūāhuriri, the ancestor of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, with the mountains of Te Waipounamu, the South Island. Te Hori tells his people:

> He takiwā nui, ki waenganui ō koutou, ō mātou, pēra hoki me tā Hakopa, rāua ko Rapana, kua waiho tenei hei kawenata mau tonu, mō koutou, mō mātou. Kua rohea atu tēnā motu mō to koutou Kīngi. He Kīngi anō ō tenei motu, ko Tūāhuriri, ahakoa kua mate ia, kei te mau anō tōna mana, i runga i a mātou, ā, ē mōhio nei anō ōna uri. He maunga nunui ana ō tēnei motu, ko Tapuaenuku, ko Kaitaurau ko Maungatere, ko Te Ahupatiki, ko Tarahoua, ko Mihiwaka, ko Rakiura. E hoa mā, kāti te tangata o tēna motu te haere mai ki konei, timanga ai.
>
> There is a large dividing space between them and us, like unto that between Jacob and Laban, which leaves this to continue as a perpetual testament for us. That island has been divided for your King. There is another King of this island, he is Tūāhuriri. Although he is

23. *W. A. Taylor papers: Maori History, Box 2, Folder 9, Canterbury Museum.*

dead his authority remains with us his descendants. We have great mountains on this island, Tapuaeouenuku, Kai taurau, Maunga tere, Ahu patiki, Tarahoua, Mihiwaka, Rakiura.

At the most basic level, Te Hori is simply saying that the authority of Te Waipounamu rests with Tūāhuriri (Ngāi Tahu) and their descendants. Likewise, Te Hori confirms the mana of Ngāi Tahu to Te Waipounamu by citing the mountains who are all in effect ancestors, starting with the northern-most ancestor/mountain Te Tapuae-o-Uenuku along the Kaikōura Range. Te Hori then moves southwards, citing the other mountain that Ngāi Tahu acknowledged as theirs such as Maunga-tere of North Canterbury, Te Ahu Patiki of Banks Peninsula, Kai-tarau of North Canterbury, Tarahoua of Te Muka, Mihi waka of Ōtākou and finally Rakiura (Stewart Island). However, Te Hori has also assimilated the Old Testament story of Jacob and Laban, who built two pillars, Jegar Sahadutha and Galeed, to witness the agreement to keep the peace between each other. The text from Genesis makes it easier to see how Te Hori aligned what in some ways are two disparate traditions. This passage starts with Jacob establishing the terms of peace between himself and Laban:

44 Now therefore come thou, let us make a covenant, I and thou; and let it be for a witness between me and thee.

45 And Jacob took a stone, and set it up for a pillar.

46 And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones; and they took stones, and made an heap: and they did eat there upon the heap.

47 And Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha: but Jacob called it Galeed.

48 And Laban said, This heap is a witness between me and thee this day. Therefore was the name of it called Galeed;

49 And Mizpah; for he said, The Lord watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another.

50 If thou shalt afflict my daughters, or if thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters, no man is with us; see, God is witness betwixt me and thee.

51 And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold this pillar, which I have cast betwixt me and thee:

52 This heap be witness, and this pillar be witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm.

For Te Hori, the mountains are the equivalent of the pillars built by Jacob and Laban. Te Hori is letting his people know that the mountains are similar in that they represent the covenant among the iwi and that each iwi possesses its own mana to its lands and boundaries.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

See notes under the Flag of the United Tribes of New Zealand.

THE FLAG OF THE UNITED TRIBES OF NEW ZEALAND

The Flag of the United Tribes, also referred to as the Flag of Independence, is an obvious symbol for the design team and one that should be incorporated into the concept plan. Because it forms an important narrative in our history, its history deserves some attention.

A version of the Flag of the United Tribes is held by Ngāi Tūāhuriri and featured in their previous wharenui, Mahunui. That flag had been approved by King William IV in response to a petition from Ngā Puhi chiefs in 1831 wanting a closer trading relationship with the United Kingdom. In 1830 a trading ship, *Sir George Murray*, which was part owned by Northland Māori, was seized in Port Jackson, New South Wales for not being internationally registered.

New Zealand was not part of the British Empire and therefore could not fly under a British Flag and neither could it register.

As a result, James Busby was appointed as the British Resident in 1832, "partly to protect British commerce, and partly to repress the outrages of British subjects on the natives".

On that basis, James Busby then proposed "a national flag for tribes of New Zealand". James Stephen, the British Under-secretary of State for the Colonies, outlined how the flag's design evolved:

> General Bourke transmitted to Lord Stanley a proposal from Mr. Busby, for establishing a national flag for tribes of New Zealand, "in their collective capacity," and advised that ships built in the Island, and registered by the Chiefs, should have their registers respected in their intercourse with the British possessions. Sir R. Bourke reported that he had sent three patterns of flags, one of which had been selected by the Chiefs, that the Chiefs had accordingly assembled, with the commanders of the British and three American ships, to witness the inauguration of the flag at which the officers of H.M.S. "Alligator" were also present. The flag had been declared to be "the National Flag" of New Zealand, and being hoisted, was saluted with twenty-one guns by the "Alligator," a British ship of war. On the 21st of December, 1834, a despatch was addressed to Sir R. Bourke by Lord Aberdeen, approving all those proceedings in the name of the King, and sending a copy of a letter from the Admiralty, stating that they had instructed their officers to give effect to the New Zealand Registers, and to acknowledge and respect the national Flag of New Zealand.[24]

Stephen was outlining the events to emphasise that, before the Treaty of Waitangi had been signed, British policy was clear that New Zealand was not seen as "part of the British dominions; and, secondly, that King William IV made the most public, solemn, and authentic declaration, which it was possible to make, that New Zealand was a substantive and independent State".[25] For all intents and purposes James Busby had recommended to the Colonial Office and the Admiralty that all New Zealand built ships be registered in New South Wales. In March 1834, Busby gathered the principal chiefs from Northland, British residents, missionaries and the commanders of 13 ships to decide upon a flag. The gathering chose what is now known as the Flag of the United Tribes.

However, the flag was essentially an early 'New Zealand Flag' before New Zealand became a colony in 1840, at which time the Union Jack became the official flag. Once the Union Jack

became the New Zealand Flag, Hobson quickly had the 'United Tribes' flag removed from the Bay of Islands. Likewise, in Wellington Hobson had the flag pulled down from the Office of the New Zealand Company. We also know that Tūhawaiki flew the flag on Ruapuke Island until his death in 1844.

That the New Zealand Company also saw the New Zealand Flag as theirs gives us some insight into how we should view the Flag of United Tribes. In the eyes of colonial officials, New Zealand's independent status was to change in 1840 when it became a colony. However, it is likely that Māori had a more subtle view.

The 'United Tribes' flag had confirmed to Māori their autonomy and independence – their mana motuhake – and this is why Taiaroa refers to the flag. Māori did not challenge the sovereignty of the Queen, but they equally did not accept the Queen's sovereignty as impacting upon their mana. On that basis, Ngāi Tahu has not endorsed the Tino-rangatiratanga Flag but has retained the Flag of the United Tribes. This brings us back to the discussion about mana-motuhake. It would not be until the 1987 Court of Appeal case, *New Zealand Māori Council vs Attorney General*, that this tension would at least be examined and partially resolved.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

The purpose of this section was to outline the story behind the Flag of the United Tribes and why it is of significance to Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri.

The flag signifies mana-motuhake and should be incorporated into CJESP design principles.

A HISTORIAN'S VIEW OF CHRISTCHURCH

by Dr Jim McAloon, Victoria University of Wellington

A discussion of a city's values will inevitably be shaped by personal experience and perceptions as well as being informed by historical reflection. Thinking about a city's values quickly leads to thinking of people, events, episodes and organisations where these values have been especially evident.

To begin at the beginning. It's worth emphasising that Christchurch was part of the expanding world of British overseas settlement in the mid-19th century. The legacy is here still; in New Zealand's parliamentary system, in the legal and judicial system. British constitutional arrangements evolve according to pragmatic and empirical considerations; so do those in New Zealand. The right to vote expanded incrementally in both Britain and New Zealand during the 19th century; the difference is in how quickly this happened. In neither Britain nor New Zealand does the prime minister operate in a quasi-presidential fashion. In both countries, local government has developed in an ad-hoc way, always in terms of what the central government has allowed or ordained. New Zealand's provinces are expressions of identity and region, not contracting parties to a federal arrangement like Australian states or Canadian provinces. Similarly, British counties have been organised and reorganised at various times in the last two centuries.

Structures are not values. Values emerge in context, and the context is an evolving settler world. If the 'First Four Ships' dimension of Christchurch has been sometimes excessively mythologised

24. *The House of Commons, Report from the Select Committee on New Zealand, Govt Printer, 3 August, 1840, p 43.*

25. *Thomas Lindsay Buick, The Treaty of Waitangi, how New Zealand became a British Colony, Thomas Avery and Sons Limited, 1993, Great Britain.*

(both by its adherents and its critics), the Godley vision combined an attachment to social hierarchy with a considerable emphasis on social responsibility. It was not only the responsibility of the wealthy to contribute to the wider economic and social welfare, but also the belief (common to all the early New Zealand settlements) that self-government and involvement in public affairs by an active citizenry – a strong civil society as we would now say – were good things. If Godley was to a degree hierarchical, he accepted the inevitability of democracy and thought it essential that strong educational and cultural institutions, public and voluntary, shape the new democracy.

Christchurch had been planned as a particularly Anglican settlement and much of the 'establishment' adhered to the beliefs of the Anglican Church. Many of the early settlers were notable philanthropists. The Rhodes family were examples of the acquisitive, lower-middle-class immigrants who prospered greatly, took on some of the trappings of the gentry, and made many and large benefactions to health, religious and community facilities. Such people dedicated a good deal of time to the institutions of culture and learning, like the museum and the university college, as well as independent scientific research. Another early settler, Joseph Kinsey, a shipping agent, was a significant supporter of Antarctic exploration and of botanical research in New Zealand.

Some members of genteel society were openly nonconformist in their views, espousing social reform to the extent that they were sometimes called traitors to their class. The best-known example is William Pember Reeves, whose brief and spectacular career as a Liberal MP (1887–95) included appointment as the first Minister of Labour in the British Empire. Explicitly, Reeves sought to use state power to benefit working people: regulating hours and conditions

of employment, advancing workplace safety legislation, and above all establishing the system of industrial arbitration that gave legal recognition to trade unions, established the specialist labour jurisdiction of the Arbitration Court, and lasted almost a century. The progressive milieu of the late 1880s and early 1890s was a powerful base for women's suffrage. Kate Sheppard is immortalised on the $10 banknote but her Christchurch base and network of "plain living and high thinking" (to quote Margie Lovell-Smith) are less well remembered. Sheppard's reformism didn't stop with winning the vote for women; she advocated economic independence for women, equality in marriage, and a loosening of stifling convention around dress and physical exercise. Welsh-born Evelyn Cunnington had been educated to university level in England, and rubbed shoulders with Kate Sheppard and other feminists in the Canterbury Women's Institute in the 1890s. With a strong Anglican faith, Cunnington attached particular importance to prison reform and relieving female poverty. By 1914 Cunnington was arguing that socialism was the economic expression of Christianity and frequently worked with, and lobbied, trade union leaders. At its most basic, Cunnington's socialism amounted to the proposition that 'all must share in the good things in life, not only a privileged few'.

Through the 1860s and 70s, working men agitated when unemployment threatened their position, and in 1890 – the colony's first general election under one man, one vote – working-class candidates like William Tanner, a shoemaker, believed that "this new democracy looked ultimately to a rearrangement of society on the basis of a true commonwealth, eliminating the individualism of the present materialistic age". Tanner's politics emphasised rational persuasion, democratic process, and a belief in the dignity of labour as well as the right of all to share in the nation's wealth. These beliefs shaped labour activism in Christchurch for many decades, and when the new Labour Party achieved a parliamentary breakthrough in 1919, three of its eight MPs represented Christchurch seats: Dan Sullivan (Avon), James McCombs (Lyttelton) and Ted Howard (Christchurch South). Howard's columns in the radical *Maoriland Worker* after 1911 consistently mocked privilege and pretension. As he once said, "every time that I get a chance from the public platform I preach to the workers one story, and one story only – have respect for yourselves, and demand that you shall have conferred on you just as much as the other fellow gets".[26]

Nationally, social and economic policy became more egalitarian after 1935. If some labour radicalism became moderated during the years in government, conservative accommodation to the managed economy and the welfare state ensured that a degree of consensus around ends and means prevailed after the National party took office in 1949. It is not always remembered that the principal architect of National's rise was a Christchurch parliamentarian – Sidney Holland, Prime Minister 1949–57, whose father had also been a parliamentarian as well as Mayor of Christchurch. Whatever the balance between principle and political calculation, Holland accepted the managed economy and espoused prosperity and opportunity for all. National under Holland claimed, with some justice, to adhere to an older colonial tradition of progressive reform along with individual freedom and responsibility.

If the 1950s and 60s are seen as conservative years, progressive activism never disappeared. In the late 1950s older and younger pacifists came together in the formation of the New Zealand Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which sought to persuade the Government to withdraw from the Anzus military alliance and promote a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. A key figure in the CND organisation was the socialist Elsie Locke, who had left the Communist party in 1956 "looking for answers" as her 1957 *Landfall* article put it.[27] By the time of her death in 2001 Elsie Locke become widely recognised for her writing, as well as her activism around

26. *J. McAloon, Howard, Edwin John, from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Te Ara - the Encylopedia of New Zealand, updated October, 2013 from www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3h37/howard-edwin-john.*

27. *M. Birchfield, Looking for Answers: A life of Elsie Locke, Canterbury University Press, 2009.*

environment, peace and social justice. For over a decade, from the later 1960s, protest was in the air. In Christchurch and elsewhere a broad progressive humanism shaped much of the public discussion around apartheid, discrimination, war and nuclear disarmament, and brought together rationalists, socialists and Christians of many denominations. For over 20 years a small and lively magazine, the *New Zealand Monthly Review*, espoused an independent and socialist viewpoint, aiming explicitly to discuss "the problems that face us in our country and that affect us as a people living in the Pacific area".

Also during the 1970s the national network of Trade Aid shops began as a community initiative in Christchurch, seeking to move beyond the practice of aid and into the establishment of partnerships for development. This approach was also increasingly advocated by Corso, at that time also based in Christchurch and with a high national profile.

Perhaps the most enduring of the 'new social movements' of the 1970s was the modern environmental movement. Christchurch had no monopoly on that, but community networking around the broad range of environmental issues – transport, energy, recycling, urban development as well as preserving wild ecosystems – was often centred around the Canterbury Environmental Centre, headquartered in the Arts Centre (the conversion of the old university, which was itself a notable exercise in urban development). Not that environmental concern was a new phenomenon nor trademarked to the progressive left: one of the city's more important green spaces, Riccarton (Deans) Bush, owes its preservation to those doughty early Scottish settlers, the Deans and McIlraith families.

In May 1981, as thousands converged into Cathedral Square to protest against the forthcoming Springbok tour of New Zealand, the Anglican Bishop, Allan Pyatt, had the Cathedral bells ringing and the evening newspaper featured a photograph of him and his Catholic counterpart Brian Ashby at the head of the parade.

At best, one can identify some common ground across many shades of political opinion and social background. Like all cities, Christchurch has many communities and many histories that intersect and diverge – like the braided streams of the Rakaia and the Waimakariri. But in the diversity some common ground can be established. That common ground combines a sense of responsibility to a wider common good – however that is perceived. It emphasises reason, persuasion and patience. It is literate, humane and creative. It understands that individual self-interest is not a sound basis for social life, and mutual support is important.

So, why is this type of discussion important for a Ngāi Tahu concept design for the CJESP?

Underpinning the notion of justice is a set of values and morals that have shaped the judicial system in New Zealand and by extension Christchurch. Those values are simply part of the Anglo heritage of New Zealand and this city. Too often we imagine the law to be neutral, open and secular, representing universal human values. The law, we believe, is unencumbered with religious values. New Zealanders believe there is and should only be one law for all.

Yet this has never been a truth. Two laws have always operated in New Zealand. One was specifically designed for Māori and the acquisition of their land. The first Native Land Act of 1862 was designed for the purpose of "regulating the disposal of Native Lands". Although the 1862 Native Land Act also allowed for a court to facilitate the purposes of the Act, it was clearly not enough and the subsequent 1865 Native Land Act provided for a Native Land Court. The preamble to the 1865 Act made its direction clear when it stated its purpose:

> . . . to encourage the extinction of [Māori] proprietary Customs and to provide for the conversion of such modes of ownership into titles derived from the Crown.

New Zealand legislation is full of Acts that directly target Māori, their property, education and social wellbeing. The very fact that Ngāi Tahu were allocated reserves in which to live means New Zealand was established as a segregated society. Ngāi Tahu who live in their traditional villages have lived segregated lives. That this is still the case is neither a negative nor a positive. It simply belies the fact that in New Zealand, there have always been two laws.

The contemporary response from modern New Zealanders is to acknowledge that this was so, but it was also a consequence of an Imperial legacy to which modern New Zealand is no longer attached, as a post-colonial nation. The modern response would be, 'those laws were in the past, but no longer apply today'.

Yet for Māori , the response is also wrong for several reasons. First, Māori are still affected by legislation that dates from as late as the 1967 Māori Affairs Amendment Act which allowed Māori land to be rezoned by local councils. Even today the Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 still imposes restrictions on Māori land that do not apply to general land owners.

Secondly, New Zealand is not a post-colonial nation. New Zealand's modern history commences with the Treaty of Waitangi, which made New Zealand a colony. Māori were colonised by the Crown and that relationship rests upon the Treaty of Waitangi.

PART THREE: ENVIRONMENTAL AND CULTURAL PERFORMANCE

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is increasing evidence and literature to demonstrate that the application of mana whenua environmental values into the design of civic buildings and public spaces supports and enhances sustainable design and building performance. This part of the report reviews existing Ngāi Tahu and Māori precedents or frameworks for the integration of Ngāi Tahu environmental values into the design and construction of the Christchurch Justice and Emergency Services Precinct (CJESP).

The key recommendations are as follows.

- Interpret, develop and integrate the concept of the ātea (the place where visitors are welcomed in the pōwhiri ritual) into the design brief.
- Ensure the design of the Precinct provides references to and acknowledgement of surrounding culturally significant natural features, through the provision of 'view shafts' where possible to peaks such as Te Ahu Pātiki, Mauka Tere and Te Tihi o Kahukura, as well as to Kā Tiritiri o Te Moana (Southern Alps).
- Refer (symbolic or otherwise) to previous areas of habitation (Puāri Pā and Tautahi Pā) and food gathering (mahinga kai) within the Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct including Victoria Square through telling the stories; utilising Ngāi Tahu names; placing markers, opening view sheds and incorporating art works by Ngāi Tahu artists.
- Incorporate indigenous flora into the vegetation mix within the Precinct's open spaces and include water management systems that support and enhance opportunities for mahinga kai restoration in the Ōtākaro/Avon River.
- Acknowledge the names of the Kaiapoi Ngāi Tahu on whose behalf claims to mahinga kai in Christchurch were brought by Hakopa Te Ata o Tū and Pita Te Hori in 1868 to the Native Land Court – for example, include these names on the walls of the Precinct or within a prominent commissioned artwork that references Ngāi Tahu's long association with the courts and legal system.
- Protect and recognise traditional places and place names, enhance and restore these areas and their associated resources, acknowledge traditional uses, and interpret and incorporate these values into future developments, networks, spaces and the built environment. This may include but is not be limited to: specific native plant restoration (species of traditional significance), archaeological surveys, information panels and artwork/sculpture.
- Apply Ngāi Tahu cultural sustainability indicators as assessment criteria for the Precinct's design and development.
- Protect and enhance the Ōtākaro/Avon River through upgraded, best-practice stormwater

treatment and disposal and other low impact urban design requirements to improve water quality, and provide for improved native flora and fauna and mahinga kai values.

INTRODUCTION

Ngāi Tahu have had and continue to have a significant association with the Christchurch central city – from early settlements such as Puāri and Ōtautahi, through to prolonged stays at Little Hagley for Native Land Court sittings, through to the ownership of key commercial properties. These associations with the area remain important to Ngāi Tahu, particularly Ngāi Tūāhuriri, and form a central part of ongoing cultural identity and wellbeing. The future management and development of the area therefore offer an opportunity to recognise and provide for these relationships and connections through the protection, enhancement and interpretation of traditional sites, mahinga kai species, place names and other cultural values. Both as a statutory partner in the earthquake recovery and as a property owner, Ngāi Tahu will continue to have an enduring presence in and connection to the central city.

This part of the report summarises the key Ngāi Tahu cultural and environmental values relevant to urban design and applicable to the development of the CJESP. It concludes by recommending ways to incorporate Ngāi Tahu values into the Precinct.

We have identified several precedents for a kaupapa Māori values-based framework to inform the environmental standards relevant to the design and development of the Precinct:

1. the Mauri Model and similar frameworks based on common or generic Māori values and principles
2. the House of Tahu cultural assessment framework
3. Ngāi Tahu design principles and environmental values based on Ngāi Tahu input into the 100-day Blueprint Plan and Christchurch Central Recovery Plan
4. Te Aranga Māori Design Principles – included in the Auckland City Council Design for Auckland Manual.

To varying degrees, all of these frameworks provide an insight into relevant Ngāi Tahu environmental and cultural values that could be integrated into the design and environmental standards for the development of the Precinct. (Refer to Appendices pp 159–160.)

MĀORI VALUES AND URBAN DESIGN

There is increasing awareness among Māori that traditional environmental knowledge, values and concepts may be critical to fully resolving the contemporary sustainable development dilemmas being faced in New Zealand. This is particularly evident in the area of urban environmental management, where iwi and hapū are attempting to reassert traditional authority and values in an effort to influence the design and impact of civic buildings and spaces.

Key to this realisation and reassertion is the perpetuation of core Māori beliefs, concepts and customs (ie, values) and the use of such by Māori to inform and influence the modern built environment within their ancestral areas. The applicability and relevance of these traditional values have been recognised in New Zealand's major environmental management and urban planning statutes as a matter of national and regional importance.[28]

28. *S. Awatere, C. Pauling, R. Hoskins, and S. Rolleston, Tū Whare Ora: An Assessment tool for Papakāinga. Landcare Research, Hamilton, 2008.*

29. *Ibid*

30. *S. Rolleston, Māori Perspectives of Urban Design: Preliminary Findings. Centre for Urban Ecosystem Sustainability, University of Auckland, 2006.*

31. *M. Marsden, 'God, Man and Universe', in King, M. Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga. Reed, Auckland, 1992.*

32. *M. Durie, Whaiora: Māori Health Development. Oxford University Press, Wellington, 1998.*

Notwithstanding this acknowledgement, due to a lack of working models, examples and frameworks, governments, planners, developers, communities and Māori alike continue to struggle with the meaningful integration of Māori knowledge and values. As stated by Awatere:

> The urban built environment…offers an important area of study that not only demonstrates unique Māori tradition and cultural capability, adaptation, historical loss, and a lack of recognition, integration and application in mainstream practice, but also a recent recovery of self-determination in design and development that is challenging conventional approaches, particularly with regards to sustainability.[29]

In recent years, there has been in increase in research, case studies and literature confirming that a distinct and unique Māori built environment tradition exists and is increasingly being recognised in urban design in order to inform a burgeoning Aotearoa design aesthetic, particularly for iconic civic projects[30]. As recognised in the Christchurch Central Recovery Plan, mātauranga Māori (or, more accurately, mātauranga Ngāi Tahu) derived from both contemporary and traditional knowledge has the potential to influence the way key anchor projects such as the Precinct are designed.

THE MAURI MODEL DECISION-MAKING FRAMEWORK – A TIKANGA MĀORI FRAMEWORK FOR SUSTAINABLE DESIGN

Intensification of urban settlements has not only affected the natural and built environment, but also severely affected the relationship of Ngāi Tahu to traditional resources, landscapes and other sites of significance in the central city. Important cultural sites and resources are damaged, modified, transformed or destroyed through development. Modern urban expansion has a propensity to overlay landscapes, natural features, resources, settlements, land use and activity with little recognition or acknowledgement of what was there before.

The Mauri Model, developed by Professor Kepa Morgan in 2004, is a decision-making framework that seeks to enhance the ability for traditional Māori values to inform urban developments and management of natural resources. Mauri (wellbeing, essential life force) is the central concept that the Mauri Model uses to interpret hapū values in the context of contemporary development. In a traditional Māori worldview, the land, forests, waters, and all the life they support, together with natural phenomena such as mist, wind and rocks, possess mauri.[31] Mauri is the binding force between the physical and the spiritual,[32] and is a holistic concept central to Māori thinking due to its representation in the genealogy of creation. Thus mauri is the conceptual basis chosen for the tool, called the Mauri Model.

The Mauri Model provides us with an assessment guide to better understanding the degree to which the Precinct design proposal might align with Ngāi Tahu values and aspirations. As demonstrated by the House of Tahu project and Te Hononga (Christchurch Civic Building), Ngāi Tahu want to support and promote sustainable urban developments. Whilst in the past there has been a dearth of culturally based methods for assessing sustainability, the Mauri Model assessment tool (and those similar) provide a potential option to better measure design

proposals against Ngāi Tahu environmental and cultural values.

New Zealand legislation indicates that sustainable development should be holistic and promote social, economic, environmental and cultural wellbeing. To assess each of these wellbeing criteria using mauri as the measure of sustainability, it is necessary to identify physical representations of those dimensions for which the impact upon mauri can be evaluated. These representations have been identified as the mauri of the community (social), whānau (economic), ecosystem (environmental) and hapū (cultural) dimensions.

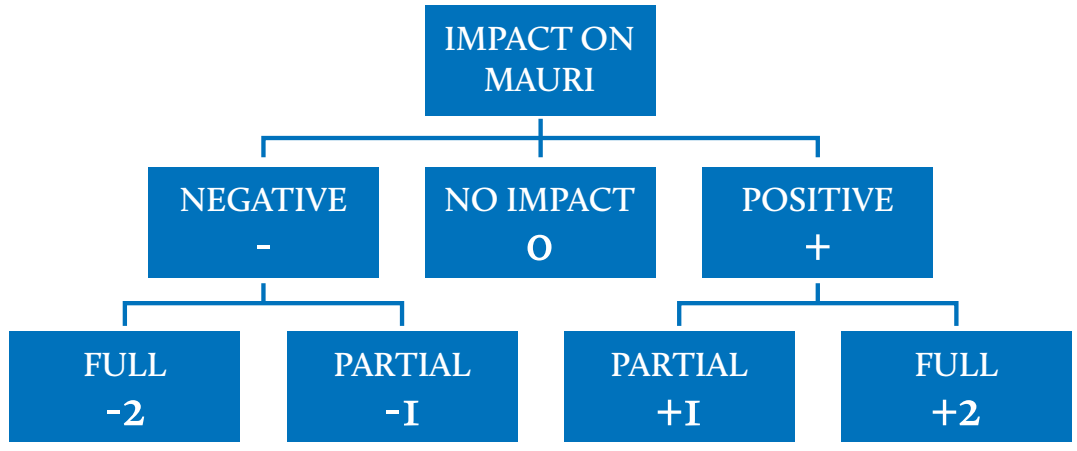
It is important to develop criteria or indicators that reflect these wellbeings and assess the particular proposal against these criteria using a sustainability barometer. The Mauri Model Sustainability Barometer – mauriOmeter – is a five-point scale ranging from -2 to +2 that allows an assessment of a proposal in relation to its ability to either denigrate or restore mauri (or wellbeing) against the chosen indicators.

The mauriOmeter assessment tool is available to use – free of charge – at:

www.mauriometer.com

Building on the Mauri Model, Rolleston has formulated seven cultural design qualities have been developed to help consider how Māori values might be incorporated or integrated into the urban design and development process[33]. These design qualities, we submit, are useful in guiding the design of the Precinct.

- **Mātauranga – knowledge and understanding:** The role of history, genealogy, mythology and cultural traditions has been important in shaping Māori attitudes, beliefs, values and behaviours toward environmental



management.[34] Knowledge and understanding promote, facilitate and build community identification of local mana whenua history and the importance of underlying cultural heritage values of Ngāi Tūāhuriri that relate to the central city (particularly given its proximity to the Ōtākaro/ Avon River. The development of the Precinct should reflect an understanding and awareness of Ngāi Tahu and post-contact history through design.

- **Whakapapa – relationships and connections:** Identification and connectedness of people to people, and people to place were traditionally maintained through marriage, occupation and the use of traditional resources. Design of the Precinct should assist and enable Ngāi Tahu and the wider community to build social and environmental connections.
- **Whanaungatanga – participation and membership:** Ngāi Tahu and Māori generally value collective participation and membership. These notions recognise common interests to encourage and build community pride,

33. *R. Rolleston, 2006. An Indigenous Cultural Perspective to Urban Design. University of Auckland.*

34. *Te Rangi Hiroa, The Coming of the Māori, Wellington, Maori Purposes Fund Board, 1952.*

identification and ownership. Buildings and public spaces of the Precinct should encourage community participation and inclusion and not result in isolation of any section of the Waitaha/Canterbury community.

- **Kaitiakitanga – conservation and protection:** The conservation and protection of natural resources is a valuable cultural sustainable management mechanism. Conservation and protection of the natural environment promote community awareness of inherent values contained within the environment. Important natural resources should be identified and protected as taonga (treasure) for current and future generations.
- **Rangatiratanga – recognition and acknowledgement:** Ngāi Tahu have developed a unique relationship with the local environment underpinned by specialised protocols and values. Recognition and acknowledgement within the Precinct design will enhance community awareness of fundamental Ngāi Tahu cultural values pertaining to the environment and landscape.
- **Tikanga – sustainable management and use:** Sustainable management seeks to not only protect and conserve natural resources and energy, but also provide for their utilisation and development. Where natural resources are identified, urban design should provide for their sustainable management.
- **Mana whakahaere – access and admission:** Māori restricted and regulated access to certain areas through the use of tapu, rāhui and noa.[35] Identified cultural sites of significance should be protected, encouraging community ownership of and responsibility for important natural resources and features found within a community.

In a similar vein, Awatere has adapted the Mauri Model to create a broad evaluation tool to assist the assessor of any proposal to evaluate a development or activity against values framed within a mātauranga Māori environmental context.[36] The tool demonstrates in a practical sense how mātauranga Māori – and in this case mātauranga Ngāi Tahu – can inform environmental design standards for the Precinct.

Under Awatere's evaluation tool, using a Likert-type scale, a proposal can be evaluated against Māori values to determine which elements of the proposal are seen positively or negatively from a mana whenua perspective. Additional qualitative comments can provide observations on how proposals could be improved from an iwi/hapū perspective. An inherent aspect of the tool is the requirement for a mana whenua assessor in addition to a self-assessment undertaken by a project's design professionals. This information can be used to demonstrate support for or changes or opposition to the proposal. In Awatere's model, values are scored between 0 and 5, where 0 does not address any Māori values, 3 addresses some values, and 5 addresses all values. The following are the questions to assess each value.

- **Mana whenua (authority):** Does the proposal acknowledge, recognise and provide for tangata whenua involvement?

  5: Working relationship with mana whenua, mana whenua are involved in the design and implementation and their participation is adequately compensated.

  0: No working relationship with mana whenua.

- **Ngā Wai Tupuna (natural waterways):** Does the proposal protect and/or enhance natural

35. *M. Durie, Nga Kāhui Pou: Launching Māori Futures. Huia, Wellington, 2003.*

36. *Awatere et al, Tū Whare Ora.*

waterways, and consider the appropriate use/reuse, treatment and disposal of water?

5: Protects and enhances natural waterways, ie, sustainable water use, and there is no discharge into waterways.

0: Waterways are befouled and/or unsustainable water use.

- **Ngā Otaota Māori (indigenous flora and fauna):** Does the proposal protect and/or enhance native flora, fauna, habitats, ecosystems and biodiversity (particularly waterways and wetlands)?

  5: Ecosystems are protected and enhanced, biodiversity is enhanced, landscaping and riparian zones use native plants.

  0: Ecosystems are destroyed, biodiversity loss occurs, landscaping and riparian zone use non-native plants.

- **Wāhi Tapu/Taonga (culturally significant sites):** Does the proposal acknowledge, protect, enhance and/or appropriately interpret culturally significant sites?

  5: Wāhi tapu/taonga are identified, protected and enhanced.

  0: Wāhi tapu/taonga are not identified and are destroyed.

- **Kaitiakitanga (sustainable resource management):** Does the proposal consider the reduction of waste and pollution (to air, land, water and coastal environments) as well as minimise the reliance on and/or improve existing infrastructure (eg, sewerage, storm water and energy systems)?

  5: Low-impact urban design solutions are used, sustainable transport options are utilised, and kaitiaki have access to mahinga kai.

  0: Urban design is unsustainable and access to mahinga kai is prohibited.

- **Tohungatanga (expert knowledge):** Does the proposal consider investment in technology, knowledge, product, and systems that are energy, water and resource efficient, and involve ongoing monitoring and reporting?

  5: Most buildings have a Green Star rating of 5 or a Homestar rating of 10, recycled timber is used, renewable energy is utilised, and raw materials are sourced locally.

  0: The majority of buildings have poor, if any, Green Star or Homestar ratings, non-renewable energy is utilised, and raw materials are sourced externally.

- **Whakapapa (cultural identity):** Does the proposal provide a connection to, and/or protect and enhance the local landscape and iwi/hapū identity and integrity?

  5: Recognises and provides for mana whenua tikanga, history, and identity through artwork, pouwhenua, appropriate street names, reserves for wāhi tapu, whare taonga, whare karakia, and involvement in ceremonies.

  0: Does not recognise and provide for mana whenua tikanga, history and identity.

- **Whanaungatanga/Manaakitanga (community development):** Does the proposal provide

work and business environments and practices that are uniquely Māori, and places where iwi/hapū and manuhiri alike are welcome, encouraged and proud to be involved?

5: Utilises the local labour force, local businesses are preferred retailers and suppliers, provides for recreational areas (eg, waka ama) and community centres.

0: Does not utilise the local labour force, local businesses are not the preferred retailers and suppliers, no recreational areas or community centres are provided for.

- **Rangatiratanga (empowered communities):** Does the proposal implement management systems that encourage clients, employees and suppliers to identify and act upon opportunities to protect biodiversity, prevent pollution and continually improve environmental performance?

  5: Clients, employees and suppliers are empowered to protect biodiversity, prevent pollution, and continually improve environmental performance.

  0: Clients, employees and suppliers are not empowered to protect biodiversity, prevent pollution and continually improve environmental performance.

Unique to this matrix is the framing of Māori concepts within a Māori environmental paradigm. It can be used to balance environmental, social, cultural and economic aspirations while meeting mana whenua expectations. Given the challenge of applying mātauranga Māori to the financial and construction criteria for a project such as the Precinct, a mātauranga Māori values evaluation tool provides an information source to complement standard or 'orthodox' project assessments as a cost–benefit analysis.

HOUSE OF TAHU – CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY ASSESSMENT CRITERIA

In 2006, a cultural sustainability assessment was undertaken by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu in relation to the development of a proposed tribal headquarters building to be built within the Christchurch city centre.[37] This development is known as the House of Tahu and the proposed site was the site of the former King Edward Barracks (on the block bounded by Durham Street, Hereford Street, Cashel Street and Montreal Street). The site proposed for the House of Tahu has some proximity to the site for the Precinct and, we would posit, raises some similar environmental and cultural issues in terms of design (less so for function).

The House of Tahu assessment involved a review of relevant tribal policy, planning, design, interview and survey information as well as the facilitation of a cultural design assessment workshop, using the Mauri Model.

Issues identified by Ngāi Tahu as critical for the development of the House of Tahu, included those relating to:

- mana whenua inclusion
- water management
- waterway, mahinga kai and wāhi tapu protection and enhancement
- the restoration of cultural landscapes.

Current Ngāi Tahu policy positions also support an aspiration for urban developments to decrease the overall impact on existing infrastructure, and to find and implement alternative, low-impact and self-sufficient solutions for water, waste, energy and biodiversity issues. Solutions specifically mentioned within Ngāi Tahu environmental policy,[38] as well as at the House of Tahu assessment workshop, included:

- the use of composting or waterless toilet/sewerage systems
- rainwater collection and greywater recycling
- land- or wetland-based stormwater and sewage treatment and disposal systems
- solar- or wind-based energy generation
- the protection and enhancement of native flora, fauna and habitats, with a focus on potential
- mahinga kai and cultural use.

The issues of restoring cultural landscapes through native restoration, enhancing views and connections to landscape features, historical interpretation and the use and incorporation of traditional materials, design elements and artwork within developments were also outlined.

The cultural sustainability assessment for the House of Tahu identified a list of Ngāi Tahu cultural sustainability indicators that provide a checklist for guiding future urban design,

37. *C. Pauling, and K. Morgan, Te Kaupapa o Te Whare: House of Tahu Cultural Sustainability Assessment. Ngāi Tahu Property Ltd, Christchurch, 2006.*

38. *Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2007.*

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

including the Precinct.[39] These indicators, like Awatere's above, include:

South-West Christchurch Area Plan

- **Ngā Wai Tupuna (ancestral waters):** protection of natural waterways and the appropriate use/reuse, treatment and disposal of water (particularly on-site and/or land-based systems for stormwater, greywater and wastewater)
- **Ngā Otaota Māori (indigenous habitats):** protection and enhancement of native flora, fauna, habitats and ecosystems (particularly waterways and wetlands).
- **Wāhi Tapu/Taonga (sites of significance):** acknowledgement, protection, interpretation and enhancement of culturally significant sites
- **Kaitiakitanga (stewardship):** reduction of pollution emissions (air, land, water, coast) and reliance on existing infrastructure (sewerage, stormwater, energy)
- **Tikanga (best practice):** sustainable buildings that are energy efficient and have ongoing monitoring and reporting in design, construction and operation
- **Whakapapa/Mātauranga (traditional knowledge):** use of native, local, recycled and/or renewable resources that provide a connection to and protect/enhance the local landscape and Ngāi Tahu identity/ integrity
- **Whanaungatanga/Tūrangawaewae (sense of belonging):** providing a place where Ngāi Tahu are welcome, encouraged and proud to visit
- **Manaaki (hospitality):** the ability of the built environment to manaaki (care for) manuhiri (guests) and provide a healthy, inspiring environment for all people

39. *Pauling and Morgan, Te Kaupapa o Te Whare.*

- **Rangatiratanga (leadership):** the expression of te reo, kawa, tikanga, history, identity, cultural symbols and artwork of Ngāi Tahu whānau, hapū and iwi
- **Tohungatanga (expertise):** cost-effective and efficient construction and operation and the ability to provide a return on investment – balancing economic, social, cultural and environmental wellbeing
- **Mana whenua (customary authority):** acknowledgement and recognition of and provision for tangata whenua kawa, tikanga, history and ongoing mana

These principles serve as a rudimentary assessment matrix that might be applied to the design proposal for the Precinct in order to ascertain alignment, synergies and inconsistencies with Ngāi Tahu environmental and cultural standards.

Whilst obviously requiring some degree of self-assessment from the Precinct designers and project management, application of such a Ngāi Tahu values matrix to the Precinct design proposal would necessitate assessments from mana whenua and Ngāi Tahu design and environmental experts.

However, in general, these principles might illicit questions and issues such as those in the following table.

Principle	Issues
Mana Whenua	How does the Precinct design proposal (the proposal) acknowledge, recognise and provide for Ngāi Tūāhuriri kawa, tikanga, history, identity and ongoing mana and ensure the appropriate expression and interpretation of te reo Māori, kawa, tikanga, history, cultural symbols and artwork?
Ngā Wai Tupuna/ Waimāori	How does the proposal protect and/or enhance waterways, particularly the Ōtākaro/Avon River, and consider the appropriate use/reuse, treatment and disposal of water?
Ngā Otaota Māori/ Mahinga Kai	How does the proposal protect and/or enhance native flora, fauna, habitats, ecosystems and biodiversity and promote enhanced mahinga kai outcomes (in the river)?
Wāhi Tapu/Taonga	How does the proposal acknowledge, protect, enhance and/or appropriately interpret culturally significant sites such as the Bridge of Remembrance and neighbouring Pūari Pā?
Kaitiakitanga	How does the proposal consider the reduction of waste and pollution (to air, land, water and coastal environments) as well as minimising the reliance on and/or improving existing infrastructure (such as sewerage, stormwater and energy systems)?
Tohungatanga	How does the proposal consider investment in technology, knowledge, products and systems that are energy, water and resource efficient, and involve ongoing monitoring and reporting of results?
Whakapapa/ Mātauranga	How does the proposal encourage the use of native, local, recycled and/or renewable resources and products that provide a connection to, and/or protect and enhance Te Waipounamu landscape and Ngāi Tahu identity and integrity?
Whānaungatanga/ Manaakitanga	How does the proposal provide places where Ngāi Tahu and manuhiri alike are welcome, encouraged and proud to be involved?
Rangatiratanga/ Tikanga	How does the proposal implement management systems that encourage clients, employees and suppliers to identify, and act upon opportunities to protect biodiversity, prevent pollution, and continually improve environmental performance?

TE HONONGA – CHRISTCHURCH CITY COUNCIL CIVIC BUILDING

In 2010, Ngāi Tahu Property Ltd, in partnership with the Christchurch City Council (CCC), re-developed the former New Zealand Post Building on Hereford Street to create Te Hononga – the new CCC civic office. The building is a salient example of the application of Ngāi Tahu environmental standards to achieve world-class environmentally sustainable design. Te Hononga demonstrates how the commonalities shared between Ngāi Tahu environmental values and western sustainable 'green' design standards can come together to develop iconic civic projects. Sustainability was a paramount design objective which coincided with Ngāi Tahu environmental standards. As such, Te Hononga provides a relevant precedent for the Precinct development.

In February 2010, prior to completion, Te Hononga was awarded the highest possible rating for environmental design by the New Zealand Green Building Council (NZGBC), who awarded the Civic Building New Zealand's first six Green Star Office Design rating, achieving a record 83 points under the Green Star rating system[40] – making Te Hononga the 'greenest' building in New Zealand.

In order to align with and promote Ngāi Tahu environmental standards, such as kaitiakitanga, tikanga and tohungatanga, the key green and sustainable features integrated into the design of the Civic Building include the following.

- A tri-generation energy system enables the building to generate its own electricity from a renewable energy source – biogas. This is piped from the CCC's Burwood landfill site – and in future years will be from the city's wastewater treatment plant – and converted into electricity. This process is used to heat and cool the building with annual energy savings of about $1.3 million.[41]
- Additional energy savings come from energy-efficient light fittings, automatic daylight dimming, occupancy controls and sensors on the escalators, which will activate only when people approach, and regeneration capabilities on the lifts.
- To the north, the building has a double-skin façade and between the layers is a thermal and solar buffering zone. This façade is also used to vent air and heat from the building, enhancing its thermal properties. Within the office floors a monitoring system detects when carbon dioxide (CO_2) has reached a certain level and automatically introduces fresh air through floor vents.
- All materials used in the building have been chosen for their low environmental impact, such as low emission paints, carpets, adhesives and sealants, and use of PVC has been reduced by 60 per cent, contributing to a healthy working environment.
- Rainwater harvesting provides about one million litres of water annually. It is used to flush the toilets for landscape irrigation and a water feature (thus reducing dependencies on potable water supply).
- Solar power provides approximately 85 per cent of the building's hot water.

The decision to redevelop an existing building rather than construct from scratch results in an energy saving of an estimated 65,700 gigajoules – equivalent to a saving of 6,440 tonnes of CO_2 emissions (or 12,800 return flights from Christchurch to Auckland).[42]

40. *Green Star is a comprehensive, national, voluntary environmental rating scheme that evaluates the environmental attributes of New Zealand's buildings using a suite of rating tool kits developed to be applicable to different building types and function. The rating tools are developed by the NZGBC in partnership with the building industry.*
41. *http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/new-zealands-greenest-building*
42. *Ibid.*

NGĀI TAHU DESIGN PRINCIPLES AND ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES FOR THE CHRISTCHURCH CENTRAL RECOVERY PLAN

As a statutory partner in the Christchurch central city recovery, Ngāi Tahu has sought to influence and inform key recovery instruments to ensure increased recognition of and provision for Ngāi Tahu values in the process of urban renewal and reinvention.[43]

In May 2012, a hui of key individuals was convened to discuss how Ngāi Tahu could support and inform the Christchurch Central Development Unit and the Boffa Miskell-led consortium in the development of the 100-day Blueprint Plan. The hui included representatives from Ngāi Tūāhuriri; representatives from key organisations including Te Awheawhe Rū Whenua (the earthquake recovery sub-committee of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu), Mahaanui Kurataiao Ltd, Ngāi Tahu Property Holdings Ltd; and Ngāi Tahu professional in planning, architecture, landscape architecture, design, engineering, ecology and environmental management.

The hui participants sought recognition and articulation of the following principles in the Blueprint Plan and, subsequently, in the Christchurch Central Recovery Plan.

- **Tūrangawaewae – Sense of belonging:** This principle is primarily about recognising and giving expression to Ngāi Tahu's place of standing/tūrangawaewae in Christchurch/Ōtautahi. It is about acknowledging those who connect by whakapapa (blood lines) to the many wakawaka (places of settlement) in the area, having particular regard to their cultural knowledge, needs and aspirations.
- **Mana Atua, Mana Tangata – Designing with and within the environment:** This principle advocates for low-impact and sustainable approaches to urban design that seek to protect and enhance the natural environment, particularly in regard to water. The hui also noted a number of other environmental considerations to be taken into account within the Blueprint Plan. These included: the wind/te hā o Tāwhiri (eg, protections from the easterly), the mountains/ngāmaunga kōrero (eg, sight lines to enshrine their majestic stories), the sun/Tama-nui-te-rā (eg, capturing warmth and energy) and land/whenua (eg, efficient use of space).
- **Manawhenua:** Ngāi Tūāhuriri as mana whenua should underpin a collaborative narrative for the future Ōtautahi/Christchurch central city. The expression of Ngāi Tahutanga in the central city shall enhance the city's connection to mana whenua/hapū/kāinga centres.
- **"Ko au te Awa":** Ngāi Tahu advocated for the conceptual re-orientation of the city's 'centre' from Cathedral Square to the Ōtākaro/Avon River, articulated through a river corridor. For those Ngāi Tahu at the May 2012 hui, the river provides 'tāhuhu' (backbone) or linear heart, along which to locate and orient key anchor projects of the central city re-development. Ngāi Tahu advocated for consideration of the concept 'Ki uta – ki tai' – 'from source to the sea', which refers to the flow-on effects downstream and includes the treatment of stormwater before entering the Ōtākaro/Avon River.

43. *Section 17(2) of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 required that Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu be given the opportunity to have input into the development of the Christchurch Central Recovery Plan.*

- **Mahinga Kai:** Ngāi Tahu wished to ensure that indigenous planting within the city demonstrates a level of ecological and landscape integrity pertaining to the original flora and fauna of the Ōtautahi/Christchurch area and to see a commitment to explore opportunities for re-establishment of mahinga kai along the Ōtākaro/Avon River corridor and other central city green spaces.
- **Ngā Tūpuna:** This principle refers to Ngāi Tahu aspirations for wāhi tapu and sites of cultural significance to be connected and acknowledged within the central city and respectfully integrated into a contemporary urban environment. Significant geographical features locate Māori within the realm of myth and tribal histories and therefore must be acknowledged through spatial connections in the form of pedestrian ways, view shafts and place/street names. These spatial connections will support the weaving of a coherent, physical and connected narrative in the new compact core.
- **Ngā Ngutu:** Ngutu/gateways were proposed as cultural markers that provide entry points at different locations in the central city and correspond and make reference to mana whenua. Accordingly, Victoria/Market Square becomes the key northern gateway to the city and the beginning of the city's narrative, starting with the story of mana whenua. Market Square is the poutokomanawa (central pole) of Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct where visitors are first welcomed to the city through the pōwhiri ritual.
- **Ngā Ahuatanga ō te Whare:** Ngāi Tahu advocated to ensure that the built form within the central city, particulary in the anchor projects such as the Precinct, attempts to reflect the culture and landscape of Ōtautahi/Christchurch and express a local vernacular through the use of materials, artworks, place names and referencing the natural landscape. As part of this principle, civic buildings/spaces should, wherever possible, accommodate the performance and re-enactment of key Māori rituals such as the pōwhiri (ritual of welcome).

TE ARANGA MĀORI DESIGN PRINCIPLES – AUCKLAND DESIGN MANUAL

Te Aranga Māori Design Principles are a set of outcome-based principles founded on intrinsic Māori cultural values and designed to provide practical guidance for enhancing outcomes for the design environment. The principles were developed by a forum of Māori professionals – Te Aranga – in consultation with Tamaki (Auckland) mana whenua. The aim of the principles is to enable Auckland urban planners and developers to enhance mana whenua presence, visibility and participation in the design of the physical realm.

DESCRIPTION

The key objective of the principles is to enhance the protection, reinstatement, development and articulation of mana whenua cultural landscapes, enabling all of us (mana whenua, matawaka, tauiwi and manuhiri) to connect to and deepen our 'sense of place'.

The principles seek to foster and guide both culturally appropriate design processes and design responses that enhance everyone's appreciation of the natural landscape and built environment.

The principles are intended as an enabling strategic foundation for iwi/hapū to adopt, customise and further develop in response to local context. The principles also provide other stakeholders and the design community with a clearer picture as to how iwi/hapū are likely to view, value and wish to participate in the design and development of the built environment within their ancestral rohe.

The use of the principles is predicated on the development of high-quality, durable relationships being developed between iwi/hapū, their mandated design professionals and local and central government. Robust relationships between these groups provide opportunities for unlocking a rich store of design potential.

CORE MĀORI VALUES

Core Māori values have informed the development of Te Aranga Māori Design Principles. These process-oriented values provide the foundation for and underpin the application of the outcome-oriented design principles. These core values are the same as those that underpin the Mauri Model and were incorporated into the House of Tahu assessment matrix:

- Rangatiratanga: the right to exercise authority and self-determination within one's own iwi/hapū realm
- Kaitiakitanga: managing and conserving the environment as part of a reciprocal relationship, based on the Māori worldview that we as humans are part of the natural world
- Manaakitanga: the ethic of holistic hospitality whereby mana whenua have inherited obligations to be the best hosts they can be
- Wairuatanga: the immutable spiritual connection between people and their environments

- Kotahitanga: unity, cohesion and collaboration
- Whanaungatanga: a relationship developed through shared experiences and working together that provides people with a sense of belonging
- Mātauranga: Māori/mana whenua knowledge and understanding.

Design principle	Outcome	Attributes	Application
Mana – **rangatiratanga, authority**	The status of iwi and hapū as mana whenua is recognised and respected.	Recognises Te Tiriti o Waitangi / the Treaty of Waitangi and the Wai 262: Ko Aotearoa Tēnei framework for Treaty Partnerships in 21st Century Aotearoa New Zealand as the basis for all relationships pertaining development. Provides a platform for working relationships where mana whenua values, worldviews, tikanga, cultural narratives and visual identity can be appropriately expressed in the design environment. High-quality, Treaty-based relationships are fundamental to the application of the other Te Aranga principles.	The development of high-level, Treaty-based relationships with mana whenua is essential prior to finalising design approaches and will maximise the opportunities for design outcomes. Important to identify any primary mana whenua groups as well as wider mana whenua interests in any given development.
Whakapapa – **names and naming**	Māori names are celebrated.	Recognises and celebrates the significance of mana whenua ancestral names. Recognises ancestral names as entry points for exploring and honouring tūpuna, historical narratives and customary practices associated with development sites and their ability to enhance sense of place connections.	Mana whenua consultation and research on the use of correct ancestral names, including macrons. Recognition of traditional place names through signage and wayfinding. Use of appropriate names to inform design processes.
Tohu – **the wider cultural landscape**	Mana whenua significant sites and cultural landmarks are acknowledged.	Acknowledges a Māori worldview of the wider significance of tohu/landmarks and their ability to inform the design of specific development sites. Supports a process whereby significant sites can be identified, managed, protected and enhanced. Celebrates local and wider unique cultural heritage and community characteristics that reinforce sense of place and identity.	Recognition of tohu, including wāhi tapu, maunga, awa, puna, mahinga kai and ancestral kāinga. Allows visual connection to significant sites to be created, preserved and enhanced. Wider cultural landmarks and associated narratives able to inform building/ spatial orientation and general design responses. Heritage trails, markers and interpretation boards.

Design principle	Outcome	Attributes	Application
Taiao – the natural environment	The natural environment is protected, restored and/or enhanced.	Sustains and enhances the natural environment. Local flora and fauna that are familiar and significant to mana whenua are key natural landscape elements within urban and/or modified areas. Natural environments are protected, restored or enhanced to levels where sustainable mana whenua harvesting is possible.	Re-establishment of local biodiversity. Creating and connecting ecological corridors. Planting of appropriate indigenous flora in public places, strategies to encourage native planting in private spaces. Selection of plant and tree species as seasonal markers and attractors of native bird life. Establishment and management of traditional food and cultural resource areas, allowing for active kaitiakitanga.
Mauri Tū – environmental health	Environmental health is protected, maintained and/or enhanced.	The wider development area and all elements and developments within the site are considered on the basis of protecting, maintaining or enhancing mauri. The quality of wai, whenua, ngahere and air is actively monitored. Water, energy and material resources are conserved. Community wellbeing is enhanced.	Daylighting, restoration and planting of waterways. Contaminated areas of soil are remediated. Rainwater collection systems, greywater recycling systems and passive solar design opportunities are explored in the design process. Hard landscape and building materials that are locally sourced and of high cultural value to mana whenua are explored in the design process.
Mahi Toi – creative expression	Iwi/hapū narratives are captured and expressed creatively and appropriately.	Ancestral names, local tohu and iwi narratives are creatively re-inscribed into the design environment including the landscape, architecture, interior design and public art. Iwi/hapū-mandated design professionals and artists are appropriately engaged in such processes.	Mana whenua assist in establishing design consortia that are equipped to translate iwi/hapū cultural narratives into the design environment. Civic/shared landscapes are created to reflect local iwi/hapu identity and contribute to a sense of place. Iwi/hapū narratives are re-inscribed into the environment through public art and design.

Design principle	Outcome	Attributes	Application
Ahi Kā - the living presence	Iwi/hapū have a living and enduring presence and are secure and valued within their rohe.	Mana whenua live, work and play within their own rohe. Acknowledges the post-Treaty of Waitangi settlement environment where iwi living presence can include customary, cultural and commercial dimensions. Living iwi/hapū presence and associated kaitiaki roles are resumed within urban areas.	Access to natural resources (weaving species, mahinga kai, waterways, etc) facilitates, maintains and /or enhances mana whenua ahi kā and kaitiakitanga. Civic–iwi joint venture developments ensure ahi kā and sense of place relationships are enhanced. Iwi–private sector joint venture developments enhance employment and ahi kā relationships.

TE ARANGA DESIGN PRINCIPLES IN PRACTICE

The principles that emerged from Te Aranga and other Māori urban design strategy work have since been tested and refined through a series of large-scale urban infrastructure projects within greater Auckland, the process of which has guided further refinement of the principles and established widespread Tāmaki mana whenua support.

Auckland Transport's Auckland Manukau Eastern Transport Initiative is the first significant post-Te Aranga development, providing opportunities to engage meaningfully with mana whenua and to test the principles on a real project. Through the engagement process, the principles were applied and worked through to a point of appropriate design resolution, in particular in relation to the Panmure Railway Station precinct.

With the development of the Auckland Transport's City Rail Link (CRL) project in 2012, the principles began to be more formally applied. The CRL will link Britomart to the existing western line near Mt Eden and is a key project in an integrated transport programme to improve public transport as the city grows. As part of the mana whenua engagement process, each iwi wrote a cultural values assessment, the majority of which referred to Te Aranga Māori design principles.

The next significant project was the Quay Street project, which included consultation with six mana whenua groups and further demonstrated the value of retaining and refining the principles.

These pilot projects all demonstrated the critical need for mana whenua engagement from the outset. It has also been proposed that the Auckland City Urban Design Panel – a forum of nominated design practitioners that assess and provide guidance to large public developments pre-resource consent – also adopt these principles as key assessment criteria.

PART FOUR: JURISPRUDENCE

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This part of the report provides a summary of some of the major cases involving Māori rights at law. The succession of case law and corpus of Treaty jurisprudence, in our view, serve to highlight the role of the justice system in recognising and upholding Ngāi Tahu's rights and interests. The relationship of Māori with the courts in recent decades is something that we believe should be taken into consideration in the CJESP design – as that relationship is an integral part of our shared histories and evolving national identity. Furthermore, these cases affirm the role that the courts have had in elevating the status of the Treaty of Waitangi as our nation's founding document and template for a shared future.

The key recommendation is to consider jurisprudence in exploring narratives within the Precinct, particularly the evolving partnership between Ngāi Tahu and the Crown.

OVERVIEW

The key sources of law New Zealand courts engage with in recognising Māori rights are: the Treaty of Waitangi, aboriginal title and tikanga Māori (Māori customary law).

The Treaty of Waitangi holds an obscure status in New Zealand law: it is simulaneously recognised as our 'founding constitutional document' and as holding no legal status. The Treaty is interpreted according to two approaches: literally according to its terms; or purposively according its 'spirit and intent', through the aid of contemporary constructs known as the 'principles of the Treaty'. The 'principles' approach has been judicially crafted to fulfil three distinct purposes: first, to give effect to the 'spirit and intent of the Treaty'; secondly, to provide a means to reconcile the textual differences between the Māori and English versions in which it was executed; and finally, to ensure the Treaty retains continued application in contemporary New Zealand.

The principle of partnership has clothed the Treaty relationship between the Crown and Māori in a variety of analogies, comparing it to marital, fiduciary and fraternité relationships. The common essence is to act honourably, reasonably, cooperatively and in good faith towards one another. As a matter of practice, it amounts to procedural obligations, requiring the Crown to undertake open-minded consultation with Māori Treaty partners to inform policy decisions and directions. The principle of active protection does provide substantive protection by imposing positive obligations on the Crown to undertake measures necessary to protect and preserve Maori interests falling within the meaning of the Treaty. The class of interests protected includes property rights to resources listed in Article II, namely lands, forests, fisheries and estates. It has also been interpreted as applying to a wider class of Māori interests necessary for cultural integrity, including rangatiratanga (customary authority) and an increasingly diverse range of taonga (treasures).

The degree of protection conferred upon Treaty-protected interests is, however, relative and depends on the wider responsibilities of the Crown to govern in the national interest.

The guiding objective is to ensure that the cultural and spiritual values of both Treaty partners are respected, and that neither attains pre-emptive standing. Translated into a test, it is reduced to an exercise in proportionality, balancing the significance and/or vulnerability of the Treaty interest against all other competing interests. In protecting the Treaty interest, the Crown is not obligated to go beyond taking such action as is reasonable in the prevailing circumstances.

Aboriginal title is a common law doctrine with roots in Roman imperial expansion, which recognises the existing property rights of indigenous inhabitants as at the time sovereignty was acquired by a foreign power. Tikanga Māori (Māori customary law) is to some extent recognised as an operative 'third strand' of law in New Zealand (in addition to statutory and common law); however its scope and operation are somewhat unclear.

The meaning and consequence of these sources of law for Māori rights have progressed through a number of discernible eras, from initial recognition in the Treaty of Waitangi and associated agreements, discussed earlier in this report, through close to 100 years of judicial obscurity and into watershed cases from the 1970s that began to recalibrate the nature and strength of Māori rights.

Lagging behind international trends, New Zealand was jolted into recognising and engaging with Māori rights in the late 1980s. In all jurisdictions, the judiciary dominated as arbiter of indigenous rights for a period, upholding claims in what has been described as a "highly indeterminate and inchoate manner". Even in New Zealand, where some form of statutory hook is required to found the courts' jurisdiction, their pronouncements, and arguably activism, are largely responsible for giving life and content to the body of rights now recognised.

As the body of rights grew, becoming increasingly unwieldy in a political and legal sense, the legislatures were forced to enter the rights integration phase, developing legal mechanisms to give modern expression and protection to the judicially recognised rights. The major challenge was, and remains, to coherently integrate indigenous rights with multiple private, public and Crown rights. In New Zealand, the challenges of integration have been largely addressed within the Treaty redress and settlement process. Despite fluctuating political discomfort with Treaty settlements, by the mid 1990s rights recognition and integration were largely formulaic and Treaty settlements had become the institutionalised pattern of Crown–Māori relations. That relationship, for Ngāi Tahu, is embodied in the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998.

Some of the significant judicial decisions are summarised below to illustrate both the oppressive and liberating roles the courts have played in the recognition of Māori rights, and the evolution of the framework for our bicultural nation within a multicultural society.

CASE SUMMARIES

Wi Parata v Bishop of Wellington (1877) 3 NZ Jur (NS) SC 72

Wi Parata is one of the most notorious decisions of the early colonial era that positioned Crown sovereignty as absolute, and Māori property rights as subservient interests imposing moral rather than legal obligations on the Crown.[44] The most quoted excerpt is:

> The supreme executive Government must acquit itself as best it may, of its obligations to respect native proprietary rights, and of necessity must be the sole arbiter of its own justice.[45]

Wi Parata provided the legal baseline for the Treaty of Waitangi for over 100 years.

Te Weehi v Regional Fisheries Officer [1986] 1 NZLR 680

A significant turnaround in the recognition of Māori rights came with *Te Weehi* in 1986. This case tested the notion of customary Māori fishing rights when a Māori was charged with being in possession of pāua smaller than the minimum size permissible under the Fisheries Regulations 1983. Guided by a growing body of Canadian case law recognising aboriginal title, Williamson J in the High Court held that customary rights continued to subsist and continued to have the protection accorded by the aboriginal title doctrines of the common law unless clearly and plainly extinguished by statute or other lawful means.

Accordingly, based on the facts before him, Williamson J found that the appellant was exercising a customary Māori fishing right within the meaning of section 88(2) of the Fisheries Act 1983, and it followed that the other provisions of the Fisheries Act did not affect his right to take the pāua.

This case was of particular relevance to Ngāi Tūāhuriri, as the matter occurred within the Ngāi Tūāhuriri rohe and involved customary fishing rights recognised, authorised and exercised by mana whenua.

New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General [1987] 1 NZLR 641

This landmark case was brought to the High Court by the New Zealand Māori Council who contended that, despite section 27 of the State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986 (SOE Act) (which

44. *Tomas and Johnson supra note 118 at 822.*

45. *Wi Parata cited in Williams, David Wi Parata is Dead, Long Live Wi Parata, Paper presented to the Foreshore and Seabed Conference, "Foreshore and Seabed the New Frontier", 10 December 2004 at 22.*

dealt with land subject to claim under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975), the Crown was able to transfer to state-owned enterprises lands that were subject to claims to the Waitangi Tribunal lodged after 18 December 1986 (as well as claims that were not yet lodged) and that this was contrary to section 9 of the SOE Act, which provided that:

> Nothing in this Act shall permit the Crown to act in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Court found in favour of the New Zealand Māori Council. In doing so, the Court of Appeal was required to determine the principles of the Treaty with which the Crown's actions had been inconsistent. Considering that sovereignty was acquired in exchange for the protection of rangatiratanga, the Court asserted the following principles:

- that the Treaty established a partnership, and imposes on the partners the duty to act reasonably and in good faith
- the freedom of the Crown to govern
- the Crown's duty of active protection
- the Crown duty to remedy past breaches
- that Māori retain rangatiratanga over their resources and taonga and have all the rights and privileges of citizenship
- the duty to consult.

Tainui Māori Trust Board v Attorney-General [1989] 2 NZLR 513

The issue at question in this case was whether the granting of coal mining rights by the Crown to Coalcorp represented a transfer of Tainui's 'interests in the land' subject to the protection of the Treaty of Waitangi (State Enterprises) Act 1988. Furthermore, the case considered whether the proposed transfers of land direct to third parties would be inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the Crown's obligation to evolve a system for safeguarding Māori claims before the Tribunal.

The Court of Appeal found in favour of Tainui on both matters. The Court acknowledged that coal did not seem to have been of particular importance to Tainui at the time of the land confiscations (in the 1860s) and that what mattered to them was the general use of their land. However, it qualified this observation by noting that any attempt to shut out in advance a claim by Tainui to be awarded some interests in the coal would not be consistent with the Treaty. Accordingly, the Court upheld the interim order made by the High Court for Crown action to cease until the matter was resolved by the Waitangi Tribunal.

New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General [1989] 2 NZLR 142

Following the Court of Appeal's decision regarding the transfer of state assets to state-owned enterprises in 1987, the Crown proposed to sell forestry rights but not the ownership of land on which exotic forests are planted. The New Zealand Māori Council subsequently applied to the Court of Appeal that the Government's proposal to dispose of forestry assets was inconsistent with the judgment delivered by the Court of Appeal in 1987.

In ruling on the matter and in considering the significance of the Treaty principles, the Court of Appeal in 1989 held that for the Government to present Māori with a forestry proposal that was a 'fait accompli' "would not represent the spirit of partnership which is at the heart of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi" (page 513).

Te Runanga o Muriwhenua v Attorney-General [1990] 2 NZLR 641

In this case, the Court of Appeal had its first chance to consider the modern relevance of aboriginal title rights since the *Te Weehi* case. The actual decision of the Court related to procedural matters and the evidential value of the Tribunal's Muriwhenua Fishing Claims Report in High Court proceedings.

However, the Court seized the opportunity to reaffirm that, in line with decisions of the Privy Council, Māori rights under the doctrine of aboriginal title survived the cession of sovereignty in the (English version of the) Treaty of Waitangi.

Te Rūnanganui o Te Ika Whenua Inc Society v Attorney-General [1994] 2 NZLR 20

In 1994, a case was brought in the Court of Appeal by Te Rūnanganui against the transfer of property rights in the Rangataiki River and the Wheao River to the Bay of Plenty Electric Power Board and the Rotorua Electricity Authority, pending the resolution of a claim to the rivers lodged by Māori with the Waitangi Tribunal.

The Court dismissed the appeal, finding Māori rights under the Treaty or the doctrine of aboriginal title do not include the right to generate electricity by the use of water power.

However, in setting these limits to customary title, the Court admitted that the Treaty does protect some Māori rights in water. In particular, the Court advised that if control over the rivers for the dams had been assumed by the Crown without Māori consent, that may well be the basis for a breach of the Treaty – for which the claimant iwi could pursue a claim in the Waitangi Tribunal or commence court-based action regarding Māori customary title or the Crown's fiduciary duty.

Taiaroa v Minister of Justice unreported, 29 August 1994, McGechan J, HC Wellington cp 99/94

This case to the High Court concerned the 'Māori option', which required Māori, over a limited period in 1994, to choose between enrolment on the Māori electoral and general roll. This choice and the results of the option would carry repercussions for the number of Māori constituency seats in the first mixed member proportional Parliament in 1996. Māori who brought the case to the High Court (and the subsequent appeal to the Court of Appeal) claimed that the policy was conducted unlawfully in that it was held without adequate notice, and without adequate Crown resources devoted to informing voters.

The Court found that reasonable notice had been given and rejected the claimants' arguments. However, Justice McGechan stated that while he would not attempt to state the full content of tino rangatiratanga preserved in Article 2 of the Treaty, he would "readily accept it encompassed a claim to an ongoing distinctive existence as a people, albeit adapting as time passed and the combined society developed". In particular, Justice McGechan advised that with regard to the Māori seats in Parliament and the so-called 'Māori option':

> there is no doubt Treaty principles impose a positive obligation on the Crown, within

> constraints of the reasonable, to protect the position of Māori under the Treaty and the expression from time to time of that position . . . It is a broad obligation of good faith. Māori representation – Māori seats – have become such an expression. Adding this together, for my own part I consider the Crown was and is under a Treaty obligation to protect and facilitate Māori representation. (page 69)

In drawing on the principle of redress, Justice McGechan found that, "The Crown, as a Treaty partner acting in good faith, should recognise past error when it comes to light, and consider the possibility of remedy under present conditions" (page 70).

New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General [1994] 1 NZLR 513

This was an appeal to the Privy Council against the decision by the Court of Appeal and the High Court in New Zealand that the Crown could transfer broadcasting assets to Radio New Zealand and Television New Zealand under the State-Owned Enterprises Act.

In making the appeal, the New Zealand Māori Council argued that the proposed transfer was illegal with regard to section 9 of the State-Owned Enterprises Act, which requires that the Government not act in a manner inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Council submitted that the transfer was inconsistent with the Treaty's principles because it indicated that the Crown was not taking necessary steps to protect the Māori language (as a taonga protected in Article 2 of the Treaty) with respect to television and radio in New Zealand. While the appeal was unsuccessful, it prompted the courts to further develop the principle of active protection.

In considering the case, Lord Woolf of the Privy Council acknowledged that:

> Foremost amongst [the] principles are the obligations which the Crown undertook of protecting and preserving Māori property, including the Māori language as part of taonga, in return for being recognised as the legitimate government of the whole nation by Māori. (page 517)

He said also that:

> This relationship the Treaty envisages should be founded on reasonableness, mutual cooperation and trust. It is therefore accepted by both parties that the Crown in carrying out its obligations is not required in protecting taonga to go beyond taking such action as is reasonable in the prevailing circumstances. (page 517)

Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board v Director-General of Conservation [1995] 3 NZLR 534

In December 1992, the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board challenged the Director-General of Conservation's intention to issue a further permit for commercial whale-watching (and other activities) by boats off the Kaikōura coast. In the first instance, the High Court admitted that the Director-General ought to have consulted Ngāi Tahu interests, but dismissed the applicants' claim for entitlement by virtue of the Treaty or applications of the principles of the Treaty, to a period of operation protected from competition. Ngāi Tahu appealed and Justice Cooke, in the Court of Appeal, made the following observations in his ruling.

First, it was noted that the Conservation Act 1987 required that the Director-General administer the Marine Mammals Protection Act 1978 so as the give effect to the principles of the Treaty. In acknowledging that both active protection and consultation were appropriate principles for the Court to consider in this case, the question remaining was whether the right to conduct

commercial boat tours was within the scope of the Treaty or aboriginal title. On this matter, the Court ruled that the development right was not unlimited:

> however liberally Māori customary title and Treaty rights may be construed, tourism and whale watching are remote from anything in fact contemplated by the original parties to the Treaty. Ngāi Tahu's claim to a veto must be rejected. (page 543)

Nevertheless, the judge found in favour of Ngāi Tahu on the basis that, although a commercial whale watching business is not a taonga:

> certainly it is so linked to taonga and fisheries that a reasonable Treaty partner would recognise that Treaty principles were relevant. Such issues are not to be approached narrowly . . . [and] the Crown is not right in trying to limits those principles to consultation . . . since . . .it has been established that principles require active protection of Māori interests. To restrict this to consultation would be hollow. (page 544)

Attorney-General v Ngāti Apa [2003] 3 NZLR 643

In this case, the Court of Appeal ruled that the Crown was wrong to contend that certain statutes affecting the foreshore and seabed had had the effect of extinguishing Māori customary title (as it might exist). The Court also ruled that the Māori Land Court had the requisite jurisdiction, under Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 2003, to determine whether any part of the foreshore and seabed was still Māori customary land (for the purposes of that Act).

In essence, the Court of Appeal reinstated the principle, settled by decisions of the Privy Council and accepted by the Supreme Courts of the United States and Canada, the Constitutional Court of South Africa and the High Court of Australia, that indigenous custom forms part of the common law of the state.

Within days of the Court of Appeal decision, the then Labour-led Government controversially moved to ensure ownership in the foreshore and seabed was vested in the Crown, resulting in the enactment of the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004.

Regina v Saxton, Christchurch District Court, 25 October 2007

This case is of particular relevance to Ngāi Tahu as it concerns ownership of pounamu, a tribal taonga that was returned to tribal ownership through the Ngāi Tahu (Pounamu Vesting) Act 1997. The case concerned criminal charges of theft of pounamu. In making his decision, Macaskill J found that customary rights to taonga such as pounamu are not individual rights, but collective rights exercised and held by the wider hāpu or tribal grouping. The Court found that under the 1997 Act, those collective rights to pounamu are, ultimately, to be managed and authorised by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu in the interests of the whole tribe.

Takamore v Clarke

The Supreme Court's *Takamore v Clarke* decision addresses whether New Zealand law entitled Ms Clarke (the partner and executrix of Mr James Takamore) to determine the disposal of his body. After his death, Mr Takamore's body had been taken by members of his family and buried. The judges unanimously dismissed the appeal and gave Ms Clarke the right to proceed to have Mr Takamore's body reburied in a place of her choosing.

This decision is significant in at least two respects. It is important because the Supreme Court settles the position in New Zealand about how decisions are made in regard to body disposal. This judgment is also significant, however, because of the Supreme Court's approach to tikanga Māori (the customary law and practices of the Māori people). Particularly surprising was the manner in which the Court treated tikanga, in this case Tūhoe burial customs.

The majority judgment of Tipping, McGrath and Blanchard JJ placed primacy on the rights held by the personal representative. Māori burial customs were seen as being a relevant consideration to be weighed among others in considering how to exercise those rights.

Chief Justice Elias and William Young J disagreed that the personal representative of the deceased has the role of "first-decider". However, they concurred that the common law imports tikanga as a value and matter to be weighed.

This approach of treating tikanga as a relevant consideration was, however, adopted without explicitly addressing how tikanga could itself be recognised as law. The Supreme Court decision therefore sidestepped, without explanation, addressing when and how tikanga has the status of law as part of the common law.

The Court's lack of discussion on this point means that it is not entirely clear what this decision means for the recognition of tikanga as law in burial matters and the recognition of tikanga within Aotearoa/New Zealand's common law more generally.

PART FIVE: **IWI MĀORI USER FEEDBACK**

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This part of the report provides a thematic review of Iwi Māori user feedback on the Precinct concept. Ngāi Tūāhuriri engaged with a number of Iwi Māori stakeholders in the CJESP to gain practical insights into and recommendations on how the Precinct would likely be used in the short, medium and longer term. Ngāi Tūāhuriri considered this engagement to be important as a show of respect to Iwi Māori stakeholders, and also to give effect to our obligation to manaaki Iwi Māori and the wider community in our rohe (traditional territory). It is noted that this engagement was completed within a compressed time span, and that Ngāi Tūāhuriri sees value in continuing to engage with Iwi Māori stakeholders as the design progresses.

This part has a large number of recommendations, which are set out in the following pages.

OVERVIEW

Ngāi Tūāhuriri engaged with Iwi Māori stakeholders from the following sectors:

- Māori community leaders
- Māori social service providers
- Māori involved in corrections
- Māori with roles inside the New Zealand Police
- Māori engaged in the legal profession.

The discussions and associated recommendations are set out below according to the various aspects of the Precinct. The comments are not attributed.

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FUTURE TRENDS IN JUSTICE

DISCUSSION

Most stakeholders we engaged with considered that the future evolution of justice was relevant to the design of the Precinct. Two key trends were identified by most stakeholders.

- Increasing incorporation of tikanga and kawa: Over the last 20 years, a number of novel justice processes have been developed that draw on tikanga and kawa, including Family Group Conferences and other restorative justice processes. Stakeholders believe that this trend of restorative justice is likely to continue and that tikanga/kawa will remain an important catalyst and inspiration for the evolution of restorative and alternative dispute resolution. These processes are likely to be more dialogical and facilitative than existing court procedures.
- Possible devolution of justice: Community-based justice processes were identified as gaining prominence, through such institutions as Community Justice Panels. Stakeholders

believe that justice may become increasingly devolved to community and local levels. If so, the 'centralised headquarters' nature of the Precinct will need to evolve to recognise the complementarity of community-based processes. Interviewees also spoke about whakamā as an important tikanga that some of them incorporate into their process and that should be more comprehensively integrated into justice processes. Whakamā on one level means shame or embarrassment. Understood in context, however, whakamā is about affirming the values of the community and encouraging those who transgress community values to feel a sense of accountability to the community. Whakamā is an important element of the community justice processes.

Stakeholders also emphasised the profound difference of locating the Youth and List courts at Ngā Hau E Whā following the earthquake. People commented that proceedings were calmer and more respectful and that they considered the outcomes were significantly better. Stakeholders attributed these positive changes to a range of factors including that:

- the marae kawa of respect was accepted by all: offenders who may otherwise have been disrespectful of proceedings in a Crown facility recognised the kawa of the marae as legitimate
- the marae lessened demonstrations of hierarchy, which contributed to more constructive engagement with justice
- the marae created a sense of 'ownership for and by all'
- the visual aesthetic of the marae diffused tensions within the proceedings: there were more things to look at rather than focusing solely on the various protagonists within the proceedings.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recognise that the Precinct may have a functional life of 100 years. Accordingly, we believe it is important to explore in the design, as far as is possible, potential trends for the performance of justice over a contemporaneous time span. In practical terms, we believe it is important to consider the following:

- Community ownership and public service: Stakeholders emphasised that this Precinct is a public institution that serves the community, and that accordingly visual cues in the Precinct should affirm a sense of community ownership. Stakeholders were forthright in encouraging the design team to replicate as far as is possible design elements from the marae setting, with the goal of achieving a comparable degree of trust and respect as was achieved at Ngā Hau E Whā.
- Flexible spaces: If tikanga and kawa are increasingly incorporated into justice processes, spaces will need to accommodate dialogical processes that have less overt hierarchy in the layout.
- Dispersed spaces: If community-based processes do continue to gain prominence, the Precinct should be able to 'talk' to facilities that are located in communities.

INTEGRATED PRECINCT

DISCUSSION

We recognise that the integrated nature of the Precinct, bringing together police and courts, is unlikely to change. However, we believe it is important to highlight the strong reservations stakeholders expressed about the appropriateness of an integrated precinct. As will have been extensively discussed during the concept development, New Zealand's constitutional architecture is founded on judicial independence. Stakeholders are deeply concerned that the co-location of police and judiciary will compromise the perceived and actual independence of the judiciary, with corresponding injury to the trust and confidence Iwi Māori have in the transparency and legitimacy of the justice system. In practical terms, stakeholders commented that the public will inevitably see prosecutors and the judiciary socialising together, which will undermine the perceived independence of the judiciary.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- As far as is possible, the Precinct design contributes to separation between the police and judiciary, including separate cafeteria and any other functional arrangements that can lessen 'social' interaction.

PUBLIC SPACES

DISCUSSION

Stakeholders placed high importance on the look, feel and functionality of the public spaces in the Precinct. They noted a number of challenges related to the current facilities, including the following:

- Meeting whānau: Providers and professionals currently meet whānau they are working with on the street and have private discussions in corridors and other awkward spaces, which impairs the sense of dignity and privacy whānau have within the facilities, as well as compromising the confidentiality of some discussions.
- Whānau alienation: The current design aesthetic elevates the sense of disenfranchisement whānau have from the justice system, as the design aesthetic draws almost exclusively on anglo-heritage values. This sense of alienation was strongly contrasted with the experiences at Ngā Hau E Whā.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Spaces are created that give whānau a sense of privacy within the public areas to enable whānau to have discreet discussions amongst themselves. We encourage exploration of layout and auditory approaches to creating a sense of privacy, including the use of running water in the courtyard. We believe it is important for these spaces to be available in addition to 'breakout rooms', and available on the mezzanine floor, in the courtyard and around all the courts.
- Spaces for service providers are created to meet whānau they are working with, and also hot desks or other usable spaces for service providers to be able to work within the Precinct are explored.

- Ngāi Tūāhuriri design elements are prominent in public spaces to enhance the sense of 'ownership' and comfort Iwi Māori have within the Precinct (as identified above in Parts Three and Four).
- Usable water features are incorporated at entry/exit points to allow whānau to 'cleanse'.

ALL COURTS

DISCUSSION

The stakeholders discussed their experiences at Ngā Hau E Whā as described above as the basis for the recommendations below.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that all courts incorporate Ngāi Tūāhuriri design elements and, as possible and appropriate, explore tikanga/kawa-based layout options.

We strongly encourage the design team to replicate as far as is possible the design elements that contributed to the positive experiences of locating the Youth and List courts at Ngā Hau E Whā marae following the earthquakes. We understand that the marae location contributed to more respectful and positive engagement with the justice system. We believe that the contributing factors were:

- a sense of ownership in the space
- less hierarchical layout of the judicial proceedings
- more visual stimulus in the space, diffusing some of the inherent tensions in judicial proceedings.

Accordingly, we strongly encourage subtle and overt integration of Ngāi Tūāhuriri design elements.

We also recommend the use of photo walls in key areas of the Precinct. Photos are an important design element of marae, which contribute to people's sense of ownership, familiarity and comfort. We encourage the design team to explore creating ICT-enabled photo walls that have changing photo imagery and messaging that is appropriate to the space. For example, adjacent to the Youth Court, there could be imagery of youth who have 'turned their life around'.

We also note reservations regarding the shared accessways (stairs and lifts) for the Criminal, Family and Coronial courts. Whānau engaging in family and coronial proceedings are likely to feel vulnerable, and shared accessways may make them feel criminalised and/or otherwise traumatised.

MĀORI LAND COURT

DISCUSSION

Discussion was held with Matapopore on whether the Māori Land Court (MLC) should be located within the Precinct or at Tuahiwi (given the historical location of the MLC). It was agreed that the MLC should be located within the Precinct, and that the MLC should be encouraged to explore holding sittings at Tuahiwi as appropriate. The discussions on the

design of the MLC facilities were at a high level, and we note that it will be critical to hold more detailed discussions with Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Ngāi Tahu and Iwi Māori as the design progresses to ensure that the facility is well supported by those who will use it. We were reminded through these discussions that the relocation of the MLC to its current location was accompanied by vigorous frustration and opposition due to perceived flaws in the process associated with the relocation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As discussed with the design team, the design principles for the Māori Land Court (MLC) should include:

- accessible design so that Tāua and Pōua can easily access the MLC
- recognition that the MLC minute books and other records contain whānau whakapapa, and that design elements that provide visual cues for that sense of ownership should be embraced
- that whānau accessing the MLC should not feel 'criminalised'
- that whānau access the MLC most often to source information, rather than to engage in hearings
- that the detailed design and layout of the MLC should be discussed in depth with whānau, through a structured engagement programme that ensures the facilities attract as much support as possible from the user base.

YOUTH COURT

DISCUSSION

The Youth and Rangatahi courts have a pivotal role in the future pathways of youth. Stakeholders placed high importance on the Youth Court area being filled with visual cues for youth to make life changes and view their future as has having wide possibilities.

Stakeholders also considered that Rangatahi Courts should be able to move around marae within the catchment, holding sittings as appropriate.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Design features such as photo walls and messaging are incorporated into the Youth Court area, potentially including a photo wall where whānau can ask to have their images displayed as 'social proof' of that they are turning their life around.
- The Youth Court explores tikanga/kawa-based layout that lessens overt suggestions of hierarchy.
- There is subtle and overt recognition of Ngāi Tūāhuriri design elements.

FAMILY COURT

DISCUSSION

Stakeholders identified Family Court proceedings as occasions when whānau are particularly vulnerable, particularly when proceedings concern domestic violence.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The key recommendations included:

- users of the Family Court are likely to want separate entry and exit points
- as above, access to the courts via shared lifts and stairways may make the proceedings more difficult.

ENVIRONMENT COURT

DISCUSSION

The Environment Court was not discussed as extensively by stakeholders, but it was noted that Iwi Māori are regularly engaged in these proceedings.

RECOMMENDATION

- The Environment Court may also be suitable for tikanga/kawa-based layout, particularly as Iwi Māori are regularly engaged in these proceedings.

CORONIAL COURT

DISCUSSION

Coronial proceedings were identified as highly traumatic for whānau and some specifc experiences were recalled.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As discussed with the design team, the following elements should be considered for the Coronial Court:

- usable water feature for people to cleanse themselves after leaving the Court
- space that allows the symbolic representation of tūpāpaku during the proceedings
- increased 'privacy spaces' to allow whānau to wait for proceedings with dignity
- exploration of air flow in the surrounding areas as whānau often feel 'suffocated' after these proceedings.

DISTRICT AND HIGH COURTS

DISCUSSION

It was noted that Iwi Māori are most regularly engaging with the District Court through criminal proceedings. The High Court is accessed less due to the severity of criminal cases and the lower participation of Iwi Māori in civil proceedings. It was noted that, as the Māori economy continues to grow, Māori are likely to increasingly be party to civil proceedings.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations are as for the general courts above, with particular emphasis on prioritising the District Courts for overt incorporation of Māori design elements.

POLICE

DISCUSSION

Stakeholders noted the importance of the police facilities incorporating Māori design elements.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We strongly encourage subtle and overt incorporation of Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Māori design elements into the police facilities in the Precinct. We believe it is important for Māori accessing the police to have strong visual cues of the bicultural foundations of New Zealand.

PART SIX: **FURTHER ENGAGEMENT**

Ngāi Tūāhuriri have valued the opportunity to engage with the design team leading the CJESP. We wish to acknowledge the open, constructive nature of the engagement and express our confidence in the design team. We believe that it is important to continue the engagement as the design process continues, to support the design team to integrate the recommendations made at this stage of development, as well as to explore more detailed aspects of the design. We note that the design team has indicated there is value in ongoing engagement and hope that the Ministry of Justice will confirm ongoing arrangements.

We consider it is particularly important for the following to occur.

- Exploratory engagement on the layout of the MLC: As noted above, there is a high risk of Iwi Māori opposition to the MLC design unless there is constructive engagement on the detailed design. Matapopore can facilitate this engagement process.
- Engagement on naming the Precinct and areas within it: we believe there is value in spaces within the Precinct being named by Ngāi Tūāhuriri. It would be desirable for dialogue on naming to commence so that the metaphors underpinning naming can be aligned with and inspire the detailed design process.
- Participation of Iwi Māori in the various 'mock-ups' will ensure that the finalised layout serves Iwi Māori interests: We understand that the design team is intending to develop a number of 'mock-ups' that will be used to test elements of the design. We believe there is value in Matapopore facilitating Iwi Māori to engage with the mock-ups. We would particularly value:
    - facilitating users of the Ngā Hau E Whā court facilities to engage in a discussion with the design team about their experiences of the marae setting and how that relates to the mock-up experience
    - engaging Māori service providers and whānau in the customer experience mock-up
    - any other mock-up processes that may be of value to the design team.
- The commissioning of Ngāi Tahu artists through the selection process Ngāi Tūāhuriri have established for the anchor projects: We believe it is critical for Ngāi Tahu artists to lead the design of key elements that incorporate Ngāi Tūāhuriri narratives. While it is valuable providing advice to the design team, we believe key visual references that are incorporated into the materials of the Precinct (eg, glass, paving, walls) should have an appropriately skilled person seconded onto the design team to ensure the authenticity of the interpretation. Matapopore has established a selection process for design teams to access Ngāi Tahu artists with the appropriate skills and expertise and would welcome the opportunity to work with the design team to:
    - identify specific areas of the Precinct that could be led by a Ngāi Tahu artist (eg, X wall space, X paving area, X window)
    - identify suitable artists to work with the design team.
- Regular (fortnightly or monthly) engagement with the design team to explore and test elements of the design as they are refined: We believe that the most valuable element of this

compressed engagement programme has been the direct engagement with the design team. While this report is useful as a reference document, it is inevitably a static instrument. Face-to-face discussions have enabled exploratory discussions.

- Any other processes as agreed with/requested by the design team: We are acutely aware that we have incomplete information about the design process over the next 24 months, and that there may be additional or alternative modes and timing of engagement that would be of value to the design team. Ngāi Tūāhuriri is commited to delivering the most value possible to the re-creation of Ōtautahi and would welcome recommendations for when and how engagement could best occur on this Precinct.

Image Credit: Fran Shackleton

APPENDIX 1

NGĀI TAHU CLAIMS SETTLEMENT ACT – CROWN APOLOGY

The text of the apology in English is as follows:

"1 The Crown recognises the protracted labours of the Ngāi Tahu ancestors in pursuit of their claims for redress and compensation against the Crown for nearly 150 years, as alluded to in the Ngāi Tahu proverb 'He mahi kai takata, he mahi kai hoaka' ('It is work that consumes people, as greenstone consumes sandstone'). The Ngāi Tahu understanding of the Crown's responsibilities conveyed to Queen Victoria by Matiaha Tiramōrehu in a petition in 1857, guided the Ngāi Tahu ancestors. Tiramōrehu wrote: 'This was the command thy love laid upon these Governors … that the law be made one, that the commandments be made one, that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made just equal with the dark skin, and to lay down the love of thy graciousness to the Maori that they dwell happily … and remember the power of thy name.'

The Crown hereby acknowledges the work of the Ngāi Tahu ancestors and makes this apology to them and to their descendants.

"2 The Crown acknowledges that it acted unconscionably and in repeated breach of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in its dealings with Ngāi Tahu in the purchases of Ngāi Tahu land. The Crown further acknowledges that in relation to the deeds of purchase it has failed in most material respects to honour its obligations to Ngāi Tahu as its Treaty partner, while it also failed to set aside adequate lands for Ngāi Tahu's use, and to provide adequate economic and social resources for Ngāi Tahu.

"3 The Crown acknowledges that, in breach of Article Two of the Treaty, it failed to preserve and protect Ngāi Tahu's use and ownership of such of their land and valued possessions as they wished to retain.

"4 The Crown recognises that it has failed to act towards Ngāi Tahu reasonably and with the utmost good faith in a manner consistent with the honour of the Crown. That failure is referred to in the Ngāi Tahu saying 'Te Hapa o Niu Tireni!' ('The unfulfilled promise of New Zealand'). The Crown further recognises that its failure always to act in good faith deprived Ngāi Tahu of the opportunity to develop and kept the tribe for several generations in a state of poverty, a state referred to in the proverb 'Te mate o te iwi' ('The malaise of the tribe').

"5 The Crown recognises that Ngāi Tahu has been consistently loyal to the Crown, and that the tribe has honoured its obligations and responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi and duties as citizens of the nation, especially, but not exclusively, in their active service in all of the major conflicts up to the present time to which New Zealand has sent troops. The Crown pays tribute to Ngāi Tahu's loyalty and to the contribution made by the tribe to the nation.

"6 The Crown expresses its profound regret and apologises unreservedly to all members of Ngāi Tahu Whānui for the suffering and hardship caused to Ngāi Tahu, and for the harmful effects which resulted to the welfare, economy and development of Ngāi Tahu as a tribe. The Crown acknowledges that such suffering, hardship and harmful effects resulted from its failures to honour its obligations to Ngāi Tahu under the deeds of purchase whereby it acquired Ngāi Tahu

lands, to set aside adequate lands for the tribe's use, to allow reasonable access to traditional sources of food, to protect Ngāi Tahu's rights to pounamu and such other valued possessions as the tribe wished to retain, or to remedy effectually Ngāi Tahu's grievances.

"7 The Crown apologises to Ngāi Tahu for its past failures to acknowledge Ngāi Tahu rangatiratanga and mana over the South Island lands within its boundaries, and, in fulfilment of its Treaty obligations, the Crown recognises Ngāi Tahu as the tangata whenua of, and as holding rangatiratanga within, the Takiwā of Ngāi Tahu Whānui.

"8 Accordingly, the Crown seeks on behalf of all New Zealanders to atone for these acknowledged injustices, so far as that is now possible, and, with the historical grievances finally settled as to matters set out in the Deed of Settlement signed on 21 November 1997, to begin the process of healing and to enter a new age of co-operation with Ngāi Tahu."

APPENDIX 2: MĀORI SETTLEMENT DESIGN QUALITIES

– S. ROLLESTON (2006)

Quality		Description	Purpose	Response
Mātauranga	Knowledge and understanding	Knowledge and understanding of history, people and environment	To promote and facilitate community understanding of local history and the importance of underlying cultural heritage and values	Community heritage information boards, recognition of traditional place names through signage, recognition of history in common spaces
Whakapapa	Relationships and connections	Understanding of the relationships and connections between people and place	To promote the relationships between people and place that reflect social connections with the environment	Recognition and protection of sites of significance, protection of view shafts
Whanaungatanga	Participation and membership	Participation and membership in the community and social setting	To encourage community participation and pride through building and emphasising community identity	Communal facilities (community centre), common and civic spaces reflecting local identity
Kaitiakitanga	Conservation and protection	Protection of significant landscape features important to the local community	To support the protection of important environmental and cultural features through community ownership and collective responsibility	On-site mitigation for three waters, recognition and protection of spiritual guardians, restoration of waterways
Rangatiratanga	Recognition and acknowledgement	Recognition of community relationships with the surrounding environment	To promote the recognition and awareness of community relationships with natural environment and landscape	Heritage markers (pou)
Tikanga	Sustainable management and use	Sustainable use and management of resources important to the local community	To facilitate and promote the sustainable use of natural and physical resources	Connecting ecological corridors, ecological restoration projects
Mana Whakahaere	Access and admission	Community access to natural resources found within the community	To provide and encourage community access to and sustainable use of natural and physical resources	Indigenous plantings, linking walkways with natural areas

APPENDIX 3: RESPONSES TO ACHIEVE SEVEN ESSENTIAL DESIGN QUALITIES CONSISTENT WITH MĀORI SETTLEMENT DESIGN QUALITIES

– S. ROLLESTON (2006)

SEVEN DESIGN QUALITIES		MAORI SETTLEMENT DESIGN QUALITIES						
		Mātauranga	**Whakapapa**	**Whanaungatanga**	**Kaitiakitanga**	**Rangatiratanga**	**Tikanga**	**Mana Whakahaere**
	Context	Development should recognise the natural and cultural heritage of a particular site as a means to establish the design context	Recognition and protection of sites of significance, protection of view shafts	Communal facilities (community centre), common and civic spaces reflecting local identity				
	Character	Community heritage information boards, recognition of traditional place names through signage, recognition of history in common spaces						
	Choice					Promote and facilitate cultural design options and choice		

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Awatere, S., *Building Mana Whenua Partnerships for Urban Design*. Landcare Research, Lincoln, 2012.

Awatere, S., Pauling, C., Hoskins, R., and Rolleston, S. *Tū Whare Ora: An Assessment Tool for Papakāinga*. Landcare Research, Hamilton, 2008.

Awatere, S., Harmsworth, G., Rolleston, S., Pauling, C., Morgan, T. K. K. B., & Hoskins, R. *Kaitiakitanga o ngā Ngahere Pōhatu: Kaitiakitanga of Urban Settlements*. Landcare Research, Lincoln, 2011.

Durie, M. *Whaiora: Māori Health Development*. Oxford University Press, Wellington, 1998.

Durie, M. *Nga Kāhui Pou: Launching Māori Futures*. Huia, Wellington, 2003.

Harmsworth, G. The Role of Māori Values in Low-impact Urban Design and Development. (LIUDD) Discussion paper, Landcare Research NZ Ltd. Palmerston North [Online] Available: www.landcareresearch.co.nz/publications/researchpubs/harsworth_maori_LIUDD.pdf

Landcare Research New Zealand Ltd. Tu Whare Ora: *Building Capacity for Māori Driven Design in Sustainable Settlement Development*. Landcare Research, Hamilton, 2008.

Marsden, M. 'God, Man and Universe', in King, M. *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga*. Reed, Auckland, 1992.

Miller, D. 'Western and Māori Values for Sustainable Development', 2004. [Online]. Available: http://www.firstfound.org/david%20miller.htm

Ministry for the Environment, The Value of Urban Design. Ministry for the Environment, Wellington, 2005.

Pauling, C. and Morgan, K. *Te Kaupapa o Te Whare: House of Tahu Cultural Sustainability Assessment*. Ngāi Tahu Property Ltd, Christchurch, 2006.

Pearson, L., Pauling, C. et al. 2008. *South-West Christchurch Area Plan - Phase 1 Report: Tangata Whenua Values*. Christchurch City Council & Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

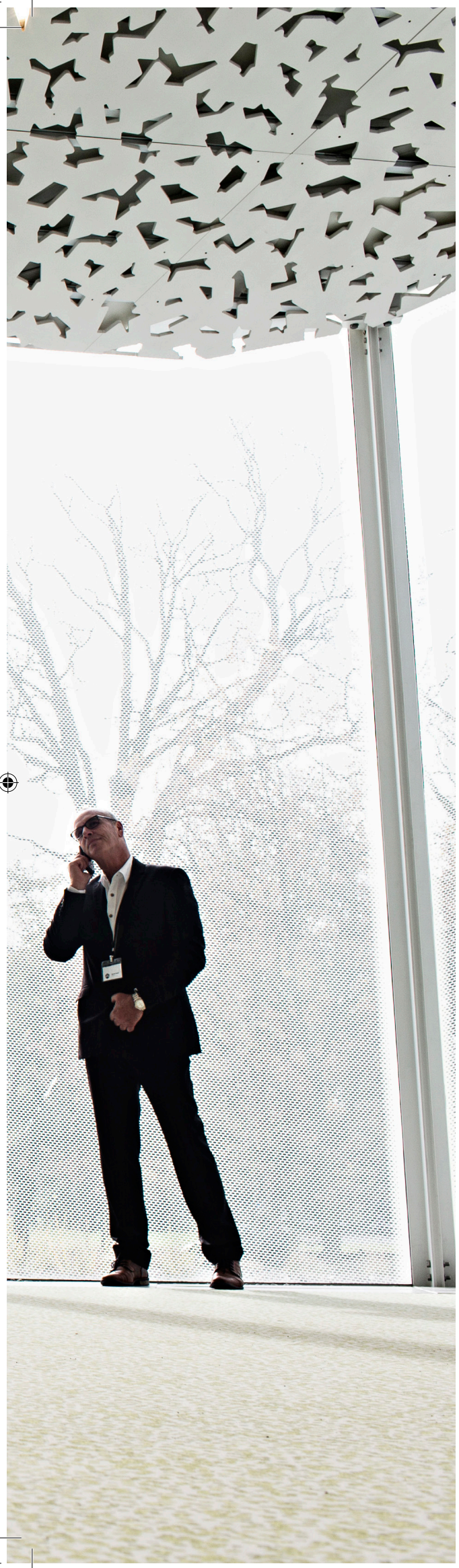
Rolleston, S. *Māori Perspectives of Urban Design: Preliminary Findings*. Centre for Urban Ecosystem Sustainability, University of Auckland, 2006.

Te Aranga. 'Te Aranga Māori Cultural Landscape Strategy', 2008. [Online] Available: www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/planspoliciesprojects/plansstrategies/unitaryplan/Documents/Section32report/Appendices/Appendix%203.16.7.pdf

THE CONVENTION CENTRE NARRATIVE

Written by Associate Professor Te Maire Tau, Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, University of Canterbury,
includes the essay 'The Great Hall' by Dr Chris Jones, University of Canterbury

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861



INTRODUCTION

This narrative is written to outline Ngāi Tūāhuriri values and narrative so that architects and design teams may incorporate these values into the proposed Convention Centre for the Christchurch rebuild.

From the outset, this report has required much research and reference to traditional concepts, simply because for Māori there is no real equivalent to a convention centre. The notion of a convention centre is a relatively modern idea originating from an American innovation that in turn evolved from exhibition centres of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The most famous exhibition centre was the Crystal Palace, which was built to house Prince Albert's Great Exhibition in 1851.

The old Christchurch Convention Centre had little relevance to Māori and it was hardly an enjoyable place to visit. The design did not reflect any notion of tribal values and it certainly had no alignment to tribal practices as outlined in our Grand Narrative. We are now presented with a significant opportunity to design and develop a new convention centre that is not only a world-class facility, but is also without precedent because of its reflection of unique Ngāi Tahu cultural values.

From the position of Matapopore, the new Convention Centre has to commit itself to the core values outlined in the Grand Narrative. Those values are:

- whakapapa: identity
- mana-motuhake: independence and autonomy
- manaakitanga: charity
- ture wairua: faith.

This report is based on recognition of, and provision for, two key principles in the design of the Convention Centre:

(1) the articulation of our values outlined in the Grand Narrative and summarised above, into a functional operative design – not just one of decorative purpose

(2) outlining the basic principles behind a wharenui and the great hall so that designers can configure a building that resonates with New Zealanders and Māori, rather than building an American construct in Christchurch.

In particular, the proposed Centre must reflect and incorporate our values of manaakitanga. This is discussed in more detail on the following pages. How will you look after and host our guests in a way that reflects traditional values?

The Centre must also reflect the design components of our wharenui and the whakapapa encapsulated in such design. Again this is outlined in more detail in this report.

We also ask the designers to give appropriate recognition to the early Pākehā concepts of a great hall, which we believe are more appropriate for Christchurch than a 'Convention Centre'.

NGĀI TAHU VALUES

The new Convention Centre has to commit itself to the core values outlined in the Grand Narrative. Those values are:

- whakapapa: identity
- mana motuhake: independence and autonomy
- manaakitanga: charity
- ture wairua: faith.

Implementation of these values in the design phase means more than simply asking an artist to provide some decorative example of mana-motuhake or the hanging the Flag of the United Tribes along the wall. The real question that must be addressed and resolved is: ***How will Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu Whānui practise manaaki in this building with a degree of mana-motuhake?***

Secondary to that, designers must also consider the following issues.

- How does the design enable ringa wera (people from our different marae) to feel comfortable in hosting events when they are using the facilities?
- How would our ringa wera use these facilities?
- When we deal with issues of ture wairua and faith, how will an architect place Ngāi Tahu and New Zealand spirituality at the front and centre of the building so that it imposes some disciplines on visitors and hosts when they gather, engage, debate and eat together? How will this be achieved in a way that does not relegate kaupapa Māori and ture-wairua to a back or side room? How will this be done so that visitors do not aimlessly wander around the building but are appropriately hosted and feel comfortable as guests?
- A significant test for this Convention Centre is whether Māori would feel comfortable hosting wānanga (seminars), hui-a-hapū (sub-tribal meetings), hui-a-iwi (tribal meetings) and hui-a-rūnanga (hapū or iwi council meetings) in this building. And just as importantly, how will Convention Centre management feel in overseeing these events?
- When Māori undertake a ritual/blessing/whaka moemiti/pōwhiri, how will the designers create a space to ensure these events are given prominence while at the same time accommodating and managing visitors who may be wandering aimlessly around the Precinct?

This series of questions is challenging and there is no easy or simple resolution. There are few if any precedents for convention centre design that incorporate these values and this makes us question whether the city is constructing a venue that is essentially an American or European concept (ie, a convention centre) with little that resonates with Ngāi Tahu and the citizens of Christchurch?

Māori do not do business in 'convention centres'. Māori meet on marae where matters are formally discussed and, usually, business takes place over shared food either during the hākari in the dining hall or in tribal headquarters – where they feel free to host and discuss issues of the day. In simple terms, Ngāi Tahu wealth was created on marae such as Tuahiwi, in the old

Te Waipounamu House on 127 Armagh Street and in the homes of tribal leaders. A convention centre will need significant 'indigenising' to surpass these places as areas where Māori choose to do business.

Furthermore, notions of taking Māori business away from our traditional venues for undertaking business and politics will be seen as an attempt to assimilate Māori business into western models. This is hardly the direction in which Māori wish to head.

For these reasons, Matapopore suggests that what Christchurch may need more than a convention centre is a building that aligns with who and what Ngāi Tahu and the Christchurch community are – rather than developing a building that positions us as an economic outpost of the American economy. Maybe all this highlights is a case of terminology and what we should really be talking about, and referencing, is a modern and expanded version of the great hall that dominated most English communities throughout their history through to the 19th century. Matapopore believes there is more alignment with this notion than there is with a convention centre.

To help facilitate this discussion, I have asked Dr Chris Jones, medieval historian at the University of Canterbury, to prepare a paper on the history and purpose of the great hall. It is an interesting read that explains how the idea of a great hall eventually became a common feature within towns and universities. The idea of a great hall was incorporated into the old university and, while it is no longer suitable for conferences, there are aspects of the great hall and the old university layout that resonate better with both Ngāi Tahu and, I suspect, Christchurch citizens. This paper is incorporated at the end of this chapter and Matapopore encourages the design team to read the work and consider how to incorporate the vision into the Convention Centre concept.

NGĀI TAHU MARAE

Our core concern is, how will the Convention Centre articulate Ngāi Tahu tribal values other than in simplistic forms of artistic decoration?

To understand this concern and work towards a solution, you need to have some awareness of our history in Christchurch, and the design team must also look to the concepts outlined in the Grand Narrative.

A HISTORY

Before its destruction, Kaiapoi Pā was the principal fort for Ngāi Tahu where the different hapū gathered and for kaihaukai, wānanga, hohou-rongo or any range of tribal activities. The principal reason for the emergence of Kaiapoi as the dominant pā lay in its leadership, location and – for want of a better word – its economic value location in the South Island. From its foundation, Kaiapoi was established as the main fort for Ngāi Tahu, particularly for the hapū in Canterbury (Ngā pakihi-whakatekateka-o-Waitaha) and the West Coast (Te Tai Poutini). Yet even the Ōtākou and Murihiku leaders retained their strong relationships with Kaiapoi and resided inside this fort whenever they were in the region.

Kaiapoi Pā was established by Tūrākautahi once his younger brother, Moki, had secured the region and avenged the deaths of their father, Tūāhuriri, at Waikakahi, along Lake Ellesemere (Te Waihora). Tūrākautahi chose Kaiapoi Pā because it was surrounded by swamp and could only be entered from one direction. The name itself came about when peers asked Tūrākautahi

where the food would come from and, according to the Rev Canon Stack, the food would be swung into the pā from all the villages throughout the region. Stack explains the story as follows:

> The pā got its name Kaiapoi, or rather Kaiapohia, (meaning "food depot") from the answer given by Tūrākautahi to those who criticised his choice of the site for it, and who asked him how he expected the inhabitants of a place so situated to escape starvation, seeing that they were too far removed from the permanent sources of food supply. 'Kai' must be 'poi' or swung to the spot, 'Kai-a-poi-ed' "potted birds from the forests of Kaikoura in the north; fish and mutton birds from the sea-coasts of the south; kiore and weka and kāuru from the plains and mountain ranges of the west." Ready wit of the chief silenced the objections of his critics, and his pā was henceforth known as Kaiapoi,...

There has been some criticism over the years as to the authenticity of the story, but there is a wealth of evidence to support the notion that Tūrākautahi did indeed separate his colleagues and senior chiefs of his tribe into their own areas within Canterbury and that these villages did indeed swing their food towards Kaiapoi. Te Muka elder, Hoani Kaahu, outlined the story of Kaiapoi towards the end of the 19th century:

> Nō waiti a ka nui haere te tangata ka tupu hoki he ngakau toa nō rātou ka tahuri rātou ki te riri kia rātou nā reira ka tirohia te wāhi hei painga mō rātou. Ka puta te kupu a Tūrākautahi kia wehea ngā tangata o ia hapū o ia hapū. Ko Ngāti Hinekakai me Ngāti Hurihia kua wehea mai ki Tuahiwi nei, noho ai hanga ai i to ratou pa. No muri iho nga wehewehea nga tangata i reira a Turakipo ki o Pawaho a Manuhiri ki Koukourarata haere ki Te Whakaraupo. Ko Makoo i wehea mai ki Wairewa naere atu ki Hakaroa. Me Te Ruahikihiki raua ko tana hunonga ko Kaweriri i wehea mai ki Taumutu nei noho ai. Ko te Ariki i wehea mai ki Arowhenua nei me tōna nuinga me Ngāti Huirapa rātou. Ko te nuinga ia o nga hapū i noho ano ki roto i Kaiapoi ko etahi i haere atu ki Kaikoura. I wehea atu ki reira a Ngāti Tuteahuka me ngā mano o Teiha. Ko ngā mano o Hikawaikura i noho rātou ki Omihi[1]

There are different versions of this tradition, but they all roughly confirm the idea that the principal chiefs, who led the Ngāi Tahu migration into Waitaha, separated into different areas, but referenced back to Kaiapoi as their chief fort and in fact Kaiapoi remained the central Ngāi Tahu pā right through to its sacking in the early 1830s.

The tradition of swinging food into Kaiapoi is really a statement of the growth of Kaiapoi as a meeting point for the exchange of food and taonga. As a result, Kaiapoi became the central meeting place for the different whānau and hapū of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Māmoe. Goods were swung towards Kaiapoi and this is where the people met. The role of Kaiapoi as a trade centre became more obvious when the Kaiapoi chief Tuhuru left his village at the Kaikanui, along the Waimakariri River, and gained mana over Te Tai Poutini. Now, rather than pounamu being traded north via Whakatū (Nelson), trade was now redirected through Kaiapoi. It is likely that the underlying reason for the Ngāti Toa attack on Kaiapoi was more to do with securing pounamu than any imagined slight.

Before we go further we need to understand what we mean by trade. The closest equivalent term within Ngāi Tahu to trade is the practice of 'kaihaukai'. Ngāi Tahu elder Tikao, whose family was from Kaiapoi, explained 'kaihaukai' as follows:

1. *Hoani Kaahu Manuscript, Ngai Tāhu Archives, University of Canterbury.*

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

NGAI-TAHU

> The people would send word of a proposed kaihaukai some weeks before hand. The people from Kaiapoi might go to Rapaki carrying tuna (eel), kiore (rat), kāuru (cabbage tree), kuri (dog), aruhe (fernroot), kūmara (sweet potato), and so on, while the home people would prepare pipi or kuku (shellfish), shark, marakai (dried fish) and other sea products as a return gift ... In two or three years' time the Rapaki people would carry food to a kaihaukai at Kaiapoi and bring back inland food in exchange.[2]

In this case, Tikao refers to kaihaukai as a system of exchange of foods between two kāinga (villages). Within Ngāi Tahu there are countless examples of inter-hapū and inter-iwi exchanges of food. Kaiapoi is the better known example of this tikanga.

The principal foods that Kaiapoi traded in were kūmara and kāuru. The kūmara or sweet potato was the sole crop among Māori and it would only grow as far south as Kaiapoi. Kāuru was the trunk of the tī (cabbage tree), which was baked in umu (earth ovens) and then dried and left as a sweetener or as a relish to be had with other food. According to tribal manuscripts and early settler reports, the cooking process allowed the saccharine to crystallise along the trunk of the tī tree. It was then separated into strips which were torn apart, mixed in water and chewed.[3]

Trade and economics, however, should not be seen as an activity in themselves. Trade occurred because the political groundwork had been established for Kaiapoi to become the centre point of Ngāi Tahu. One of the more intriguing aspects of Kaiapoi is that it was the home base for Ngāi Tahu leadership, wherever they were. At the fall of Kaiapoi, Taiaroa of Ngāti Ruahikihiki and Te Rakiwhakatia of Ngāti Huirapa were inside the pā and were eventually released by Ngāti Toa. Equally important is that Kaiapoi was also the home of Ngāti Ruahikihiki chiefs to the south such as Tūhawaiki, Te Whakatupuka and Topi. In fact, both Tūhawaiki and Te Whakataupuka, our principal chiefs in Murihiku, were products of a peace settlement arranged at Kaiapoi Pā, where many of their family elders remained.

After the fall of Kaiapoi Pā, the Murihiku chiefs took the lead role in the fight against Ngāti Toa. The reason for these connections stretches back to the tradition of Tūrākautahi and the underlying principles of Kaiapoi Pā. Stack writes that Tūrākautahi '...had established a reputation for hospitality – a virtue which on his deathbed he enjoined his posterity to continue the practice forever'.[4] Tūrākautahi's directions to his descendants while he lay resting on his deathbed is known as an 'ōhākī' – a final farewell speech. In Māori, the pepeha he left was "Kia atawhai ki te iwi" which roughly translates as "Care for the people" although it also means to show and demonstrate hospitality. This saying was the same pepeha left by Pita Te Hori in the 1860s when he spoke to the Christchurch leaders:

> ...I ahu mai toku ture i a Tūāhuriri, kia atawhai ki te iwi...

Again, the great tohunga of Ngāi Tahu, Natanahira Waruwarutu, instructed his descendants after the fall of Kaiapoi Pā:

> E hoa, ma, e ka uri whakatipu i muri nei, koi pēnei koutou; atawhaitia kā oraka mai o ētahi kaika, whakaputa mai ana kia koutou, koi pēnei ki a koutou; ahakoa pākehatia koutou, kia rakatira e whakahaere mā koutou.
>
> To you my friends and my descendants who follow after me. . . always offer kindness and hospitality to those who come to you deprived of their homes, lest this may happen to you. And although you may become as the

2. *H. Beattie, Tikao Talks, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1939, p 130.*
3. *James Cowan, The Māori Yesterday and Today, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1930, p 174.*
4. *Rev. James West Stack, South Island Māoris: A Sketch of Their History and Legendary Lore, 1898, p 72.*

White-man, always let your standard of conduct be as gentlemen, be chivalrous.[5]

This is more than a flippant statement of being kind to one another. The reason Kaiapoi Pā became the tribal headquarters is that fighting was not allowed inside the pā. Kaiapoi was to be a place where the ideas of 'atawhai' and 'manaaki' were to dominate. This is the underlying reason why Tūrākautahi separated his leading chiefs into their different regions, as explained by Hoani Kaahu from Te Muka. The pepeha also explains why the only attack that occurred at Kaiapoi Pā was that undertaken by Te Rauparaha. In addition, it explains why sometimes quite different clashing personalities could be found inside Kaiapoi Pā during its years as the principal headquarters. Kaiapoi became the tribal headquarters because the underlying values of 'atawhai' and 'manaaki' established the conditions upon which trade and kaihaukai could occur – making Kaiapoi a place for all to convene.

With the fall of Kaiapoi, a new tribal centre was needed. Te Muka, Otakou and Ruapuke Island all became central gathering points for the tribe until the late 1840s when Tuahiwi took over the role of Kaiapoi Pā as the central gathering place for Ngāi Tahu.

The role of Tuahiwi as the central gathering place evolved from the 1870s when it became the tribal headquarters for the Ngāi Tahu Claim. This was because it was located close to Christchurch where the Native Land Court meetings were held and it was the largest Ngāi Tahu village. The size of Kaiapoi meant that it was able to host tribal members from as far away as Ruapuke on the marae and in family houses. Again, this brings us back to the basic message laid down by Tūrākautahi – kia atawhai ki te iwi. These ideas of manaaki and atawhai are evident in the economic support Kaiapoi was able to provide to the Ngāi Tahu Claim by way of the 'Ngāi Tahu Fighting Fund' – the tribal account set up to fight the Ngāi Tahu Claim. From June 1907–1908 Ngāi Tahu fundraisers raised £277. The contribution from Kaiapoi was £120, close to half the total contribution and by far the largest contribution by a kāinga. This contribution is evidence of the political and economic commitment of Ngāi Tūāhuriri.[6]

The 1879 Rūnanga minutes at Tuahiwi, where all Ngāi Tahu–Ngāti Māmoe Rūnanga gathered, explain how the Rūnanga organised themselves to fight the Ngāi Tahu Claim. Two committees were created. The first committee was the 'Executive Committee' (Komiti Whakatikatika) and the second committee was a council of kaumātua who had signed the various purchase deeds. The Executive Committee was the functional arm of the tribe represented by members from papatipu marae from the Kaikōura region south to Murihiku. As with the raids of Te Rauparaha, Ngāi Tahu had managed to drop hapū loyalties in favour of iwi unity. The pan-hapū view is confirmed in the Tutekawa minutes, which state:

> Ko te whakaaro o tēnei Rūnanga ki te tū he hui mo te mahi a Nutireni[7] e haere ake nei me tū ano ki Kaiapoi nō te mea ko waenganui tenei o Tewaipounamu kia hui ai ngā tangata ka waenganui pērā hoki me te Paremata o Nutireni Kei Poneke Ko waenganui tērā o tērā motu o tēnei motu…
>
> The thought of this Rūnanga was to hold a meeting concerning te mahi o Nutireni and that it should always be held here at Kaiapoi because this is the centre of the South Island where people will gather like the Parliament of New Zealand at Wellington that is the centre of that island and this island…

Tuahiwi became the focal point for Ngāi Tahu because the Kaiapoi Reserve was in the centre of Te Waipounamu, making it the gathering point for Ngāi Tahu. That the Kaiapoi Māori Reserve

5. *Rawiri Te Maire Tau, I Whānau au ki Kaiapoi, Otago University Books, 2010.*

6. *W. T. Pitama Ms, A-17.*

7. *Te mahi o Nutireni refers to the work that faced the tribe in completing the promises inherent in the Ngāi Tahu Claim.*

was the largest in the South Island and that the Ngāi Tūāhuriri hapū was, along with Ngāti Ruahikihiki and Ngāti Huirapa, one of the more politically and economically active hapū of Ngāi Tahu would have confirmed Kaiapoi as the centre of Ngāi Tahu. Its proximity to Christchurch would have further confirmed Tuahiwi as the centre of Ngāi Tahu.

The 1881 decision to see Kaiapoi as the centre point of Ngāi Tahu was reconfirmed at a Te Muka meeting in 1907, from which the minutes stated that Kaiapoi was to be, "… te tari mo te Iwi o Ngāi-tahu rāua ko Ngāti-mamoe" (the department for the tribes of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Māmoe). The reasons for Kaiapoi becoming the centre point are similar to those of the 1870s.

Tuahiwi retained its role as the tribal headquarters well into the 1980s, although the movement of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board from Kaiapoi into Christchurch occurred in 1981, when the first Te Waipounamu House was built on Armagh Street by the Trust Board. The movement had occurred because by the 1980s, the journey from Bluff to Christchurch on a train by Trust Board members was far too long. Bob Whaitiri, the Murihiku representative for the Trust Board, would have to travel by train from Bluff and then catch a train to Kaiapoi and then on to Tuahiwi where he would stay at the home of Whitu Pitama. It was simply easier for the southern members to meet in Christchurch.

However, the transition into Christchurch, while functionally easier and logical, has never been fully accepted as 'tika' by tribal members. Christchurch is a place for Pākehā. It was designed for Pākehā, not Māori. It is where our people were forced to locate because they were never allowed to build on their reserved lands. In fact, the hostility of Pākehā towards Māori has always simmered beneath the surface. When the idea of a meeting house in Christchurch was raised, quite racist sentiments were expressed by borough councillors. One councillor remarked, "We are putting down an ancient Māori house in one of our best suburbs. It will be quite out of keeping." Another apologetically said, "I understand that it will be looked after properly so that it will not deteriorate into a Māori whare or anything of that sort."[8]

This is not to say that Christchurch today is still hostile to Māori. But while not being hostile, neither does the city acknowledge or show any real appreciation of Ngāi Tahu. To counteract this perspective, it is essential that the Convention Centre articulates our tribal values in ways other than in artistic decoration.

We are not asking that a wharenui be built. That would be a simple response to a difficult dilemma that needs real discussion. The reality is that for our people to feel comfortable in holding a conference and convening a meeting, they must feel that they have a sense of ownership when they provide manaaki and atawhai (kindness, generosity) to our manuhiri.

The new building must translate our values outlined in the Grand Narrative into a functional operative design, rather than one of decorative purpose, and interpret the basic principles behind a wharenui and the concept of a great hall so that designers can configure a building that resonates with New Zealanders and Māori, rather than constructing an American-style convention centre in Christchurch.

8. *The Press, 16 July 1940.*

THE WHARENUI

Te Ao Marama
Te Ao Marama
Ko Hine Titama
He tauira
Te Whiwhi a Nuku
Te Whiwhi a Rangi
Taka mai a Tama-nui-a-Rangi
E toki ana
E tokia e Tāne Mahuta
I nukunukutia
I nekeneketia
Te Whare a te tangata

This chapter is not written with the purpose of requesting a wharenui. We are simply providing a conceptual idea and framework for the design teams to better understand the creation mythology behind the wharenui.

For Māori, the wharenui is a statement of identity. It is a declaration of who one is and where one comes from. Today, identity is taken for granted, where one can simply state one is a New Zealander. For Māori and the early settlers, statements such as this were meaningless. Identity went straight to the matter of who one was and for Māori that meant declaring one's descent lines and ancestral connections. Identity was a statement of whakapapa.

The connection to the wharenui is that at a community level there were two symbols of tribal identity: the waka and the wharenui. Both were seen as the most prestigious assets of the community and were therefore consecrated during their tapu-lifting rituals as significant ancestors of the iwi.

When Māori gather upon a marae, they greet the whare as an ancestor, not a meeting house.

How the tribal identity was designed into the wharenui or canoe can be seen in the architecture of the wharenui. Once the iwi confirmed the ancestor whose mauri they wish to imbue into the building, the tohunga then designed the whare along the lines of the ancestor. The tipuna for the whare would be carved as the tekoteko who would stand upon the very apex of the wharenui facing the marae-ātea.

The whakapapa or descent lines would run along the tāhuhu of the meeting house, or the ridgepole. For Māori, the ridgepole was the tāhuhu (spine) of the ancestor that represented the senior descent line. From the main descent line, the rafters that reached down from the tāhuhu were known as heke, which our people saw as the ribcage of the ancestor. The heke or rafters that ran downwards would themselves drop down to particular poupou or carved pillars of ancestors standing along the walls of the wharenui.

When other iwi visited, the identity of the home people was made clear when both parties gathered upon the marae (courtyard) to engage in tribal activities and affairs. Internally, the wharenui reinforced the ideas of tribal traditions and customs by way of the carved ancestors that lined the walls and the tukutuku panels that connected each family line.

To an extent, early Christchurch architecture followed this principle of identity. Inside the Cathedral, the Reredos of the High Altar included six carved figures: Samuel Marsden, Archdeacon Henry Williams, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Bishop George Selwyn, Bishop Henry Harper and Bishop John Patterson. This is a clear statement of Anglican identity and interestingly the church leaders were confident enough to place Tamihana Te Rauparaha inside simply because the Gospel was brought to the South Island by the Anglican Church and Tamihana when the peace settlements were being established between the iwi.

Bold statements of identity have never bothered Ngāi Tahu and, as an extension of that thought, it is our view that appropriate consideration be given about how you reference the building currently called the Christchurch Convention Centre. Is this the right name for that structure?

Ngāi Tūāhuriri have clear views on the matter of identity.

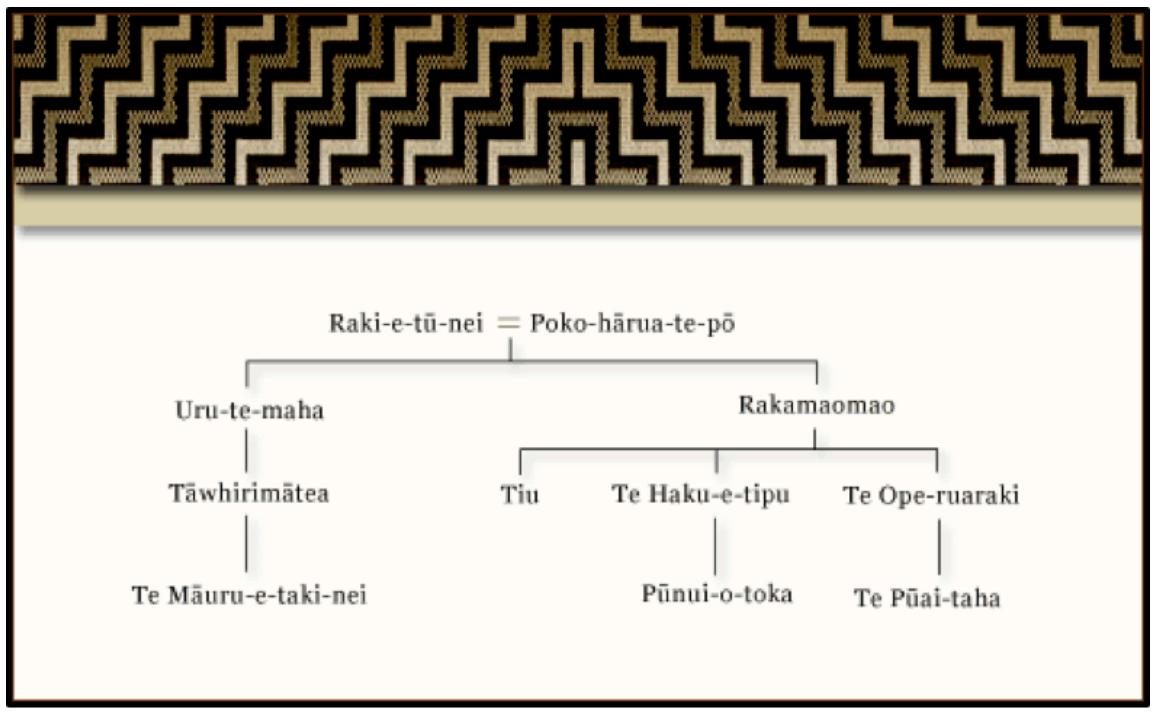
The best way to understand how Māori perceive and interact with the wharenui means understanding the wānanga and pūrākau, our mythology and traditions, that we believe establish the origins of the wharenui. More often than not, traditional communities have creation myths, which are essentially traditions that explain the origins and purpose of the practices and traditions of that community. For example, most cathedrals and great churches have a ground floor plan designed around the crucifix. The ChristChurch Cathedral is designed along the same lines and sits on the eastern side of the Square following the Christian tradition of praying towards the East.

For Māori, the tradition for the wharenui can be found in the creation myth of Rangi and Papatūānuku and in particular their separation. There are different accounts of this tradition among the tribes. For Ngāi Tahu, the creation story starts with the story of Raki, who we identify as the Sky or Heavens. His first partner was Pokohārua Te Pō and from this union emerged the primal ideas of 'hau', which in a sense establishes the winds that flow through Canterbury. The whakapapa below is an example of what is meant by the union of Raki and Pokohārua Te Pō.

We don't need to delve any further into this whakapapa other than to understand what is really meant by this creation tradition is that for Māori, 'hau' signifies the breath of life. 'Hau' is the breath that creates the more common concept known to New Zealanders as 'mauri' or, as Ngāi Tahu know and understand the term, 'mouri'.

The second union of Raki with Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, is where the idea of the 'wharenui' is established.

The first partner to Papatūānuku was Takaroa, the ocean itself. In our traditions, Takaroa departed for a time and, during this interlude, Raki mated with Papatūānuku.



Upon the return of Takaroa, a duel was fought and Raki was defeated when Takaroa thrust a spear into his thigh. Raki collapsed upon Papatūānuku, wounded and close to death. It is at this stage of the tradition that the idea of the whare emerges.

As Raki lay wounded upon the Earth Mother, the children of Raki and Papatūānuku gathered to consider how they could raise their father. In the North Island tradition we have Tāne lying upon his back, pressing their father into the heavens after all the other brothers had failed. In this account, the brothers of Tāne, Tāwhirimātea, Tūmataueka and Tangaroa, resented their brothers actions and declared war upon Tāne and all living creatures. The Ngāi Tahu tradition differs in that their two sons, Tāne and Paia, cooperated in their endeavours rather than the version in the North Island where the brothers compete. Tāne, the second eldest brother, moved quickly to raise his father by using a post called Toko-maunga. As Tāne raised his father, 10 heavens were created, with Rehua, the eldest brother, taking his residence in the 10th.

Paia, the younger brother, then followed by raising his father with a post called Rua-tipua. Tāne then moved around his father carefully, propping up his father in the heavens by establishing more posts along the sides of his father's body. The poles used to separate the heavens were fashioned from the maire tree, which was considered a hardwood. Just as tradition mirrors day-to-day activities and vice versa, maire was often used as a wedge during the felling of a tree or for wood splitting itself. The incantation chanted by Tāne to help the separation ran as follows:

> Wehea ko Rangi ko Papa, kia wehea, Te-maire-toro, Te-maire-toro
> Taua ka wehea Te-maire-toro Te-maire-toro, e,
> Wehea ko te Maku ko Te-maire-toro, kia wehea Te-maire-toro e, i,
> Wehea ko Ari, ko Hua kia wehea, kia wehea Te-maire-toro
> Wehea ko Rehua, ko Tama-rau-tu, kia wehea Te-maire-toro
> Wehea ko Uru Te Kakana, kia wehea Te-maire-toro
> Wehea ko Te-aki ko Whatuia, kia wehea Te-maire-toro
> Wehea ko Tu, ko Roko, kia wehea Te-maire-toro.
> Separate our parents, Rangi and Papa, let the maire tree stretch upwards,
> It is agreed, let the separation commence, let the maire tree stretch upwards
> Separate the darkness as the maire stretches upwards
> Separate the lunar month of Ari when there is a paucity of food and Hua when there is an abundance
> Separate Rehua from Tamarautu, let the maire tree stretch upwards
> Separate the seasons of the year, let the maire tree stretch upwards
> Separate Te Aki and Whatiua, let the maire tree stretch upwards
> Separate the seasons of warfare from the seasons of harvest, let the maire tree stretch upwards.

Besides the separation of Rangi and Papa, the story also outlines the divisions of the year, the seasons and the month. It establishes our basic relationship to the natural world.

These poles referred to represent the principal posts upon which the whare is erected and a variation of this karakia was chanted during the erection of the main posts when they set out to build their own whare. We don't have time to name all the posts used in the separation, although the main posts used were Toko-maunga and Rua-tipua. Other posts that surrounded Rangi, and held him in the heavens were:

- Ka mau ki tua
- Ka mau ki waho
- Ka mau ki waho o te raki.

These three posts really represent the securing of their father in the heavens along the horizon and beyond.

With the main support posts for the whare established, the tradition then goes on to explain how Tāne clothed their father, Raki, with a cloak of stars – in other words, how Tāne adorned the roof.

SUMMARY

The separation of Raki and Papatūānuku is the basic foundation tradition that establishes how Māori see and understand their world and establishes some core values that underpin our worldview. The tradition creates the concept of Te Ao Marama – The World of Light and the world of the living.

Nearly all customs and traditions return to the separation of both parents and the emergence of the principal ātua from this union:

- Rehua
- Tāne nui a raki
- Paia nui a raki
- Wehi nui a maomao.

The account also establishes the tradition of Tāne – who really represents all living things and is essentially mankind itself. What is not dealt with fully in most explanations of the Raki and Papa tradition is the story of how the children from Raki and Papa gathered and decided who would do what. One of the principal children from the union was Rehua, the eldest son, who eventually went to reside in the highest heaven, the 10th heaven. Rehua is always represented as a being-on-high, and is associated with light, summer and the abundance of food.

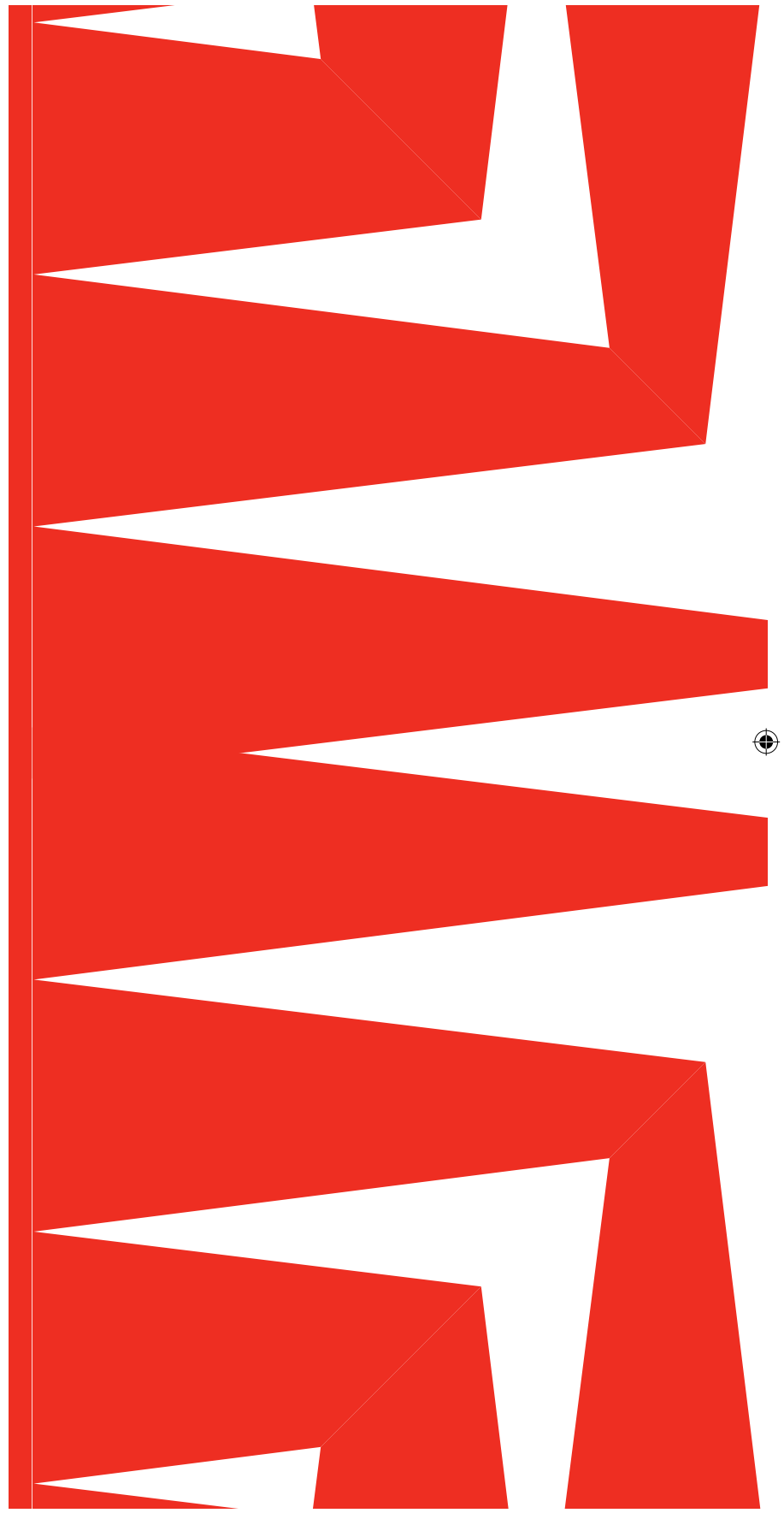
The next stage of the creation tradition centres on the shame of Tāne that his father lay in the heavens unclothed. To clothe his father, Tāne first sought the 'kura', a red soil that had its pigmentation from the blood created during the separation from his wife. However, Tāne was unhappy with the kura as a suitable way to clothe his father because it only appeared in the evening sky at sunset. Tāne then decided to visit his brother Wehi-nui-a-maomao, who held domain over the stars. Wehi-nui-a-maomao consented to clothe their father in stars and so gave him his tōpuni, 'Te Wehinui-a-maomao', which roughly translates as 'The Cloak of Heavens' as it was a cloak of stars that would cover his father in the night. This cloak was made up of four different tōpuni known as:

- Hira tai
- Hira uta
- Pari nuku
- Pari raki.

Tāne then asked his brother for the stars to cover their father and, with the consent of Wehi-nui-a-maomao, he returned to his homeland and secured the following stars upon the backbone of the heavens:

- Manako tea (White Magellan Cloud)
- Manako uri (Black Magellan Cloud)
- Te ika o te raki (the Milky Way).

Tāne was able to secure Te Ao-tahi (Canopus) in the skyline as the 'ariki-tapu' or the principal star. Te Ao-tahi was the child of two other stars, Puaka (Rigel) and Takurua (Sirius). In our traditions, Te Ao-tahi remained separate from the other stars, the parents and Takurua and Puaka, along with three others, located in the Tail of Scorpio Constellation, that could not be secured to the heavens and were used as pointers for the planting and harvesting seasons:



- Tama rēreti
- Te Waka a Tama rēreti
- Te Punga a Tama rēreti.

We include this material as it should provide inspiration for the development and design of the proposed structure. How can the design team incorporate this vision and rich tradition into the structural components of the new building? How do you reflect this symbolism and worldview in an appropriate manner within the new building? How do you weave the Māori tradition for the wharenui as told in the creation myth of Rangi and Papatūānuku into a modern construct?

The essay that follows has been drafted by Dr Chris Jones and provides a focus on the concept of a great hall. Matapopore ask the design team to consider these concepts and develop a design that blends the Māori tradition for the wharenui with the English tradition of a great hall. This is a challenge but, if successful, it will set an international precedent as a building that draws together two key components of history and culture and establishes a modern form for future generations.

THE GREAT HALL

An overview by Dr Chris Jones, University of Canterbury

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This essay examines the origins and development of the structure known as the 'great hall' in a British context.

In common with other early medieval European societies, the 'great hall' fulfilled both a symbolic and a practical function in post-Roman Britain. While it originated as a means of facilitating communal discussion, the hall rapidly evolved into a mechanism through which local lords – and later kings – could express their authority. Nevertheless, the British Isles offer a distinct case study in the development of such structures.

The 'great halls' that emerged across Britain between the fifth and the tenth centuries were common to both the native Romano-British population and the Germanic settler society that migrated to the island, the latter known collectively today as the Anglo-Saxons. Great halls became a dominant feature of both societies and took a unique form, distinct from similar structures that developed on the continent. Their practical function became largely associated with government, although literary evidence suggests that they retained a wider, symbolic meaning that embodied civilised society. In the later Middle Ages the significance of the 'great hall' declined across continental Europe. England was, however, an exception to this trend. The 'great hall' re-emerged in English society following the Norman Conquest in an altered form, one that suggests that the new English ruling class were consciously seeking to employ the hall as a means of establishing a connection with a semi-mythical 'British' past.

The great hall's decline took place only when significant changes occurred in household structures in the Early Modern era. Nevertheless, it retains to this day a limited symbolic value in contemporary British society. In particular, Westminster Hall continues to play an important role in the political life of the United Kingdom.

ORIGINS AND PURPOSE

The idea of a covered structure as a meeting place for communities dates, in Europe, to the Iron Age.[9] It was once assumed that the form of structure known today as the 'great hall' was introduced to Britain by Germanic settlers in the post-Roman period. Today, the nature and extent of that settlement are heavily debated.[10] In the case of the great hall, neither archaeology nor written sources offer any clear-cut answers, but it seems probable that the evolution of the hall was more complex than has sometimes been assumed. There is now evidence for native Romano-British structures that might be classified as halls appearing at several sites after the departure of the Romans, one notable case being the structure established on the grounds of the Roman fort at Birdoswald.[11] In certain instances, such as Doon Hill, a British hall would appear to have been replaced by a later Anglo-Saxon structure. This may have been a deliberate gesture associated with the expansion of Anglo-Saxon power.[11] Whether or not this is the case, both types of hall would appear to reflect common assumptions about the nature of 'community';

9. *Stephen Pollington, The Meadhall: The Feasting Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England, 2nd edn, Ely: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2010, pp 68, 101.*

10. *For an overview, see: Robin Fleming, Britain after Rome: The Fall and Rise 400 to 1070, London: Penguin, 2011.*

11. *Guy Halsall, Worlds of Arthur: Facts and Fictions of the Dark Ages, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, p 121.*

12. *Jenny Walker, 'The Recursive Structuring of Space: Socio-Political and Religious Performance in the Hall', in Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450–1100, ed. by David Petts and Sam Turner, Turnhout: Brepols, 2011, p 227.*

equally, both reflect the changes that took place in the structures of those communities in the fifth and sixth centuries.

In both Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon societies, the great hall would appear to have had a central symbolic value. The late date of the only extant manuscript of the most significant surviving work of Anglo-Saxon literature, the poem Beowulf, means that considerable caution is necessary when drawing conclusions from it. Nevertheless, it is striking that the poet chose to begin with the construction of a hall, a gesture that was, as Stephen Pollington has put it, "symbolic of the rise of human society".[13] The hall represented human civilisation. Nowhere is this idea clearer than in the monk Bede's account of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon king Edwin to Christianity. The king, not entirely convinced by the efforts of the missionary Paulinus, turned, Bede recounts, to his counsellors for advice. One responded:

> This is how the present life of man on earth, King, appears to me in comparison with that time which is unknown to us. You are sitting feasting with your ealdormen and thegns in winter time; the fire is burning on the hearth in the middle of the hall and all inside is warm, while outside the wintry storms of rain and snow are raging; and a sparrow flies swiftly through the hall. It enters in at one door and quickly flies out through the other. For the few moments it is inside, the storm and wintry tempest cannot touch it, but after the briefest moment of calm, it flits from your sight, out of the wintry storm and into it again. So this life of man appears but for a moment; what follows or indeed what went before, we know not at all. If this new doctrine brings us more certain information, it seems right that we should accept it.[14]

While Bede's eighth-century account of events that took place at the beginning of the seventh century is unlikely to be wholly accurate, the incident does convey a remarkable contrast between the warmth and refuge afforded by the hall and the world of darkness outside it. The Anglo-Saxon poem The Wanderer reinforces this idea when it implies that banishment from one's hall was the equivalent of being banished from civilisation.[15] And the centrality of the hall was not unique to Anglo-Saxon society: the ninth-century British (Welsh) englyn chooses to sum up a defeat by focusing on the loss of a hall:

> The hall of Cynddylan is dark tonight, without fire, without bed;
> I shall weep a while, I shall be silent after …
> The hall of Cynddylan; it pierces me to see it without roof,
> without fire; my lord dead, myself alive.[16]

If halls came to symbolise civilisation, it was primarily because their original function was associated with the community as a whole. In Old English, the hall was a ***mæðelstede***, a meeting-place. Old English verse uses a variety of descriptive terms for halls, many of which encompass this concept. They include ***maÞelstede*** (discussion place) and ***mæÞelern*** (assembly hall). Those who met at a hall did so under the ***mæÞelfriÞ***, a legal peace surrounding any assembly.[17] There seems to have been a strong attempt, both in the early Middle Ages and later, to retain aspects of this 'communal' function. By the time of King Edwin's conversion, however, a conception of the hall as a place belonging to the whole community had begun to come into conflict with the developing hierarchical structures of both Anglo-Saxon and native British society.

The precise development of both British and Anglo-Saxon society in the two centuries immediately following the collapse of Roman authority remains unclear. What is certain is that

13. *Pollington, The Meadhall, p 111.*

14. *"'Talis" inquiens "mihi uidetur, rex, uita hominum praesens in terris, ad conparationem eius quod nobis incertum est temporis, quale cum te residente ad caenam cum ducibus ac ministris tuis tempore brumali, accenso quidem foco in medio et calido effecto cenaculo, furentibus autem foris per omnia turbinibus hiemalium pluuiarum uel niuium, adueniens unus passerum domum citissime peruolaurerit; qui cum per unum ostium ingrediens mox per aliud exierit, ipso quidem tempore quo intus est hiemis tempestate non tangitur, sed tamen paruissimo spatio serenitatis ad momentum excurso, mox de hieme in hiemen regrediens tuis oculis elabitur. Ita haec uita hominum ad modicum apparet; quid autem sequatur, quidue praecesserit, prorsus ignoramus. Vnde, si haec noua doctrina certius aliquid attulit, merito esse sequenda uidetur."' Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, Bk. II, c. 13, pp 182–84; English translation: Bede, The Ecclesiastical History of the English People; The Greater Chronicle; Bede's Letter to Egbert, ed. with an intro and notes Judith McClure and Roger Collins, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, p 95.*

15. *Michael W. Thompson, The Medieval Hall: The Basis of Secular Domestic Life, 600–1600, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995, p 12.*

16. *Cited from ibid, p 12.*

17. *Pollington, The Meadhall, pp 105, 111.*

by the seventh century both societies had developed sophisticated hierarchical structures at the apex of which sat royal figures. This shift towards a more structured, hierarchical society would appear to be reflected in the archaeology of the great hall. The earliest known halls, such as Doon Hill, appear to have been open-plan structures that facilitated easy access. Later halls appear to have had more complex internal arrangements. One possibility is that these new arrangements were designed to separate different groups and to introduce restrictions on access. If this interpretation is correct, such changes would reflect a society in which the hall was being transformed from a 'common' space into the hall of the local lord or king.[18] This development was certainly complete by the time Beowulf was written: the poet's audience is left in no doubt that the hall at the centre of the poem belonged to a specific ruler, King Hroðgar. Beowulf paints a clear portrait of the functions that the hall took on in this hierarchical society: it remained a meeting place, but it was also now the place where the ruler could demonstrate his generosity by gift-giving.[19] It was also the place where diplomacy and discussion took place. Above all, however, it was an environment in which feasting took place. Although women were not entirely absent from the hall, Old English verse gives a strong impression that it was a place occupied by a great lord's male retainers. Whether or not halls also occupied a religious function in the pre-Christian era remains unclear. The discovery of a temple at Yeavering (Northumbria), separate from the hall, suggests religious activities may have been conducted elsewhere.[20]

STRUCTURE AND DESIGN

The majority of our information concerning early medieval great halls in Britain and elsewhere comes from archaeology. Both the Romano-British and the Anglo-Saxons built their halls from wood. No halls survive above ground level; indeed only one wooden Anglo-Saxon building, the small church of Greensted-juxta-Ongar, Essex, remains extant.[21] As a consequence, we are restricted to interpreting postholes and aerial photographs. Reconstructions of even identifiable sites, such as the royal palace at Yeavering, remain highly speculative (fig. 1). The halls themselves seem to have sat at the centres of settlements, and were notable for their size. They were not usually placed within defensive structures and it has been speculated that the fact that anyone could approach them may have had a lingering symbolic value connected with their ancient communal function.[22]

Anglo-Saxon written sources provide some descriptions of halls but even these are extremely limited. Beowulf, for example, recounts that parts of the hall at the heart of the poem were fastened together with iron bands and that the structure gleamed with gold; no archaeological evidence has been found to support either assertion.[23] What can be said with certainty is that halls in Britain followed a rectangular floor plan. Unlike those erected on the continent, British halls do not seem to have been divided by aisles.[24] We have no evidence of internal or external decoration, but it seems highly unlikely, given the Anglo-Saxon love of ornamentation revealed by the jewellery and weapons at burial sites such as Sutton Hoo, that there was not considerable decoration, probably in the form of carving.[25] According to Beowulf, the floor of the hall was coloured, a suggestion that has led some to speculate that Roman mosaics were re-used.[26] The ceiling and walls were undoubtedly of wood. Each hall had a central hearth, whose function was to provide light and heat but which was not used for cooking.[27] Beyond this, the furniture seems to have consisted of moveable benches for the lord's companions and the lord's own seat, known as a gift-stool (giefstol), from which he distributed largesse to his followers.[28] Again, we know from Beowulf that while a lord's retainers might sleep in the hall, he himself did not.[29]

Fig. 1: ***Possible reconstruction of King Edwin's great hall, c. 627***
The hall was approximately 24m long.

Source: 'Past Perfect' website, Durham and Northumberland County Councils (www.pastperfect.org.uk/sites/yeavering/index.html).

18. *Walker, pp 221–39.*
19. *According to the poet, Hroðgar's first action on completing his hall was to engage in gift-giving: "He beot ne aleah beagas dælde / sinc æt symle" (lines 80–81). English translation: "He broke no promises, but dealt out rings, / treasures at his table." Beowulf: A Dual-Language Edition, trans. with an intro and commentary by Howell D. Chickering, Jr., New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1977, p 53.*
20. *Walker, The Recursive Structuring of Space, p 231.*
21. *Pollington, The Meadhall, p 77.*
22. *Ibid, p 102.*
23. *For the iron bands: 'innan 7 utan irenbendum' (line 774). For the gold: "… guman onetton / sigon ætsomne oÞÞæt hy sæl timbred / geatolic 7 goldfah ongytam mihton …" (lines 306–08). English translation: "The warriors hastened, / marched in formation, until they could see / the gold-laced hall, the high-timbers". Beowulf: A dual-language edition, p 67.*
24. *Thompson, The Medieval Hall, p 21.*
25. *Pollington, The Meadhall, p 79.*
26. *Ibid, pp 87–88.*
27. *Ibid, p 79.*
28. *Ibid, p 83f.*
29. *Thompson, The Medieval Hall, p 12.*

Fig. 2: ***Henry VIII's great hall at Hampton Court***
Constructed 1532–35

The hall provided a communal dining room for 600 people and a magnificent entrance to the royal apartments.

The roof was designed by the King's Master Carpenter, John Nedeham, and is decorated with arms and pendants. It was originally painted blue, red and gold.

A substantial stone hall is found at Northampton by the 10th century.[30] Yet, as surviving church architecture demonstrates, the Anglo-Saxons certainly possessed the ability to work in stone long before that. The persistence of wood as a construction material, like the continued use of the same basic ground plan, suggests that wood may have had a symbolic value.[31]

THE LATE MEDIEVAL HALL

In the period following the Norman Conquest, great halls came to be incorporated into both castles and episcopal residences. By the later Middle Ages, what John Goodall terms a 'classic' style of hall seems to have developed across England.[32] This style included a division of the hall into 'high' and 'low' ends, undoubtedly formalising hierarchical divisions that had developed in the Anglo-Saxon period. These divisions were clearest during meals, when the lord would sit at a table set up on a raised dais set out along one of the hall's narrower walls while the remainder of those dining would eat at trestle tables set up at right angles to the lord's table along the length of the hall. Those of the lowest social status would sit at the tables furthest from the lord.

The 'classic' style includes a number of features that are notable for their 'archaic' associations. The first is the striking decision to continue to place a hearth in the middle of the hall. Medieval architects had developed fireplaces with chimneys by the 13th century but hall-designers seemed disinclined to use them.[33] They also seem to have been extremely attached to use of wooden roofs. These became increasingly elaborate, culminating in the highly decorated roof of Henry VIII's great hall at Hampton Court (fig. 2). Another feature introduced that the designers – mistakenly – may have believed was archaic was the division of some halls using aisles, notably Henry III's hall at Winchester.[34]

The reasons for the emergence of the 'classic' style in England and its popularity are only just beginning to be debated. For the majority of Europeans, halls continued to play a distinct role, primarily in a royal context. A prominent example would be the Grand'salle built at the centre of the French royal palace in Paris in the early 14th century. This huge space was designed to promote the strength and legitimacy of France's kings. The hall fulfilled many of the functions of the ancient great hall, ranging from a place in which the business of royal government was conducted to feasting and ceremonial functions.[35] Yet halls such as the Grand'salle were thoroughly 'modern' structures. In this respect, late medieval England took a very different path to the rest of Europe. It may be speculated that in evoking a connection with a semi-mythical 'British' past via an archaic architectural 'vocabulary', England's late medieval ruling elite were seeking to establish a sense of continuity that they were unable to find in their written historical accounts. Viewed in this light, the great hall became a tangible link to the past that both legitimated the present rulers of England and re-stated one of the kingdom's distinctive qualities, its 'communal' values.

THE POST-MEDIEVAL HALL

The later Middle Ages witnessed the concept of the great hall spread beyond the nobility to become a feature associated with towns, guilds and universities. Perhaps, in so doing, it regained at least part of its original function in establishing a sense of corporate identity. While changing concepts of the household – and a move from 'followers' to 'servants' – led to the great hall disappearing from post-17th century building designs, one particular great hall continued to

30. *Pollington, The Meadhall, p 96.*

31. *"The hall evoked and defined the traditional way of life, which was immensely important to the Anglo-Saxons; rather than adopt palaces or villas, they clung to the time-honoured building forms." Ibid, p 111.*

32. *John Goodall, The English Castle, 1066–1650, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011, p 25.*

33. *"The persistence of such an arrangement within this single space is a reflection of how conventionalised the design of the hall became." Ibid, p 25.*

34. *Ibid, p 24, plate 10. The usage may also have been intended to echo ecclesiastical architecture: Matthew M. Reeve, 'Gothic Architecture and the Civilizing Process: The Great Hall in Thirteenth-Century England', in New Approaches to Medieval Architecture, ed. by Robert Bork, William M. Clark and Abby McGehee, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011, pp 93–109.*

35. *For a recent study of the way in which the Grand'salle functioned, see: Joan A. Holladay, 'Kings, Notaries and Merchants: Audience and Image in the Grand' Salle of the Palace of Paris', in Ritual, Images, and Daily Life: The Medieval Perspective, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2012, pp 75–94.*

perform a key socio-political function in British society. When it was completed in 1099 by William II, Westminster Hall was the largest hall in Europe. It remains, with the addition of a late 14th-century hammer-beam roof, an impressive structure.[36] For much of the Middle Ages it was the site of England's three main courts: the Court of King's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of Chancery. Its history includes the impeachment of King Charles I. As part of the modern Palace of Westminster complex, it continues to function as a place of political assembly, and has been, since 1939, the most privileged place from which to address both Houses – Commons and Lords – of the British Parliament.[37] It also serves as the location for the lying-in-state of the reigning monarch in connection with state funerals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People; The Greater Chronicle; Bede's Letter to Egbert*, ed. with an intro and notes by Judith McClure and Roger Collins, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Beowulf: A Dual-Language Edition, trans. with an intro and commentary by Howell D. Chickering, Jr., New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1977.

Beowulf, trans. by Seamus Heaney, London: Faber & Faber, 1999.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Fleming, Robin, *Britain after Rome: The Fall and Rise 400 to 1070*, Penguin, London 2011.

Gerhold, Dorian, *Westminster Hall: Nine Hundred Years of History*, James & James, London, 1999.

Goodall, John, *The English Castle, 1066–1650*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2011).

Halsall, Guy, *Worlds of Arthur: Facts and Fictions of the Dark Ages*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013.

Holladay, Joan A., 'Kings, Notaries and Merchants: Audience and Image in the Grand' Salle of the Palace of Paris', in *Ritual, Images, and Daily Life: The Medieval Perspective*, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz, LIT Verlag, Münster, 2012, pp 75–94.

Pollington, Stephen, *The Meadhall: The Feasting Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn, Anglo-Saxon Books, Ely, 2010.

Reeve, Matthew M., 'Gothic Architecture and the Civilizing Process: The Great Hall in Thirteenth-Century England', in *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture*, ed. by Robert Bork, William M. Clark and Abby McGehee, Ashgate, Aldershot 2011, pp 93–109.

Saunders, Hilary Aidan St George, *Westminster Hall*, M. Joseph, London 1951.

36. *For an overview, see: Dorian Gerhold, Westminster Hall: Nine hundred years of history, London: James & James, 1999; Hilary Aidan St George Saunders, Westminster Hall, London: M. Joseph, 1951.*

37. *In addition to Elizabeth II and her father, the list of those who have addressed both Houses in the hall is limited to two French presidents (Albert Lebrun and Charles de Gaulle), Nelson Mandela, Pope Benedict XVI, Barack Obama and Aung San Suu Kyi.*

Thompson, Michael W., *The Medieval Hall: The Basis of Secular Domestic Life, 600–1600*, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1995.

Walker, Jenny, 'The Recursive Structuring of Space: Socio-Political and Religious Performance in the Hall', in *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450–1100*, ed. by David Petts and Sam Turner, Brepols, Turnhout, 2011, pp 221–39.

THE SQUARE NARRATIVE: WHITI RĒIA

Written by Associate Professor Te Maire Tau, Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, University of Canterbury

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861

MILLENNIUM

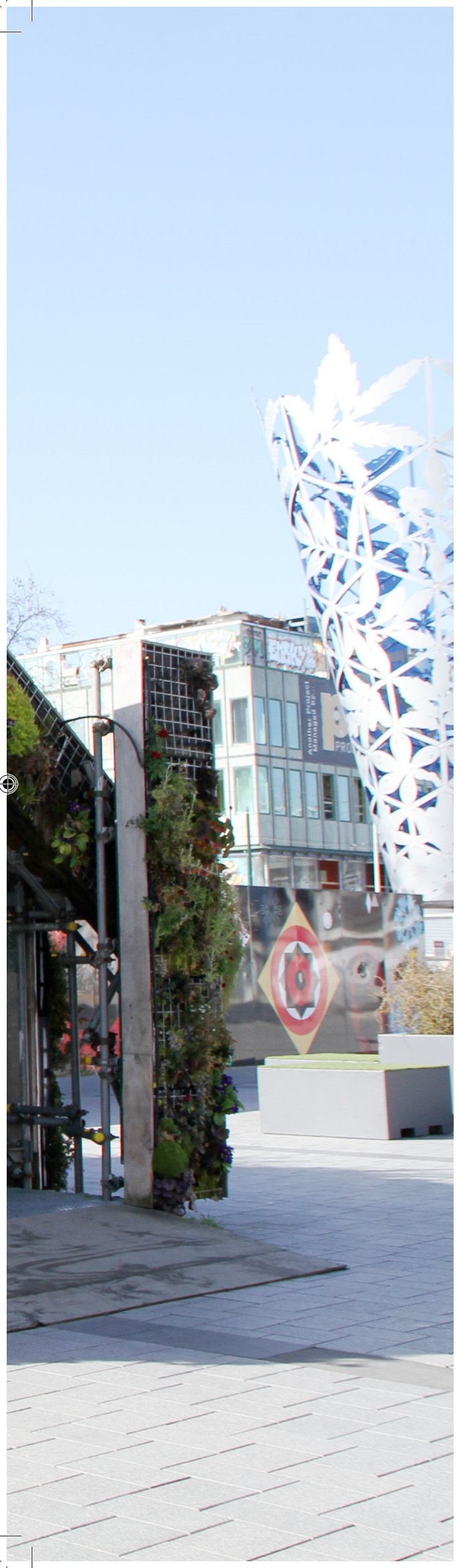


Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

IDENTITY

The Cathedral and the Square are an expression of Christchurch's identity. They state that Christchurch is Christian in its faith and Anglican in its culture. This is simply a statement of what Christchurch is, and is not surprising considering the fact that the city's beginnings were led by the Canterbury Association, which wanted its city to be exclusively Anglican. That idea did not last long, but it does tell us much about Christchurch and its heritage. Like Ngāi Tahu, the Canterbury Association settled in Canterbury and placed its names upon many of the dominant features of the region. Lake Coleridge, Sumner, Lyttelton, Hinds, Torlesse, Heathcote and many other place names recall the family names of those who sat on the Canterbury Association.

In a fascinating series of articles, the Rev. Michael Blain outlines the deep family connections that laced the members of the Canterbury Association, which he referred to as "a close weave of traditional rural land-owners, mostly in western and southern England, with residences and business interests in the West End of London". [1] Blain then went on to explain the friendships among the families:

> The public school and university system brought further contacts and friendships. Two dozen of the members had links with Eton College, half a dozen with Harrow School, which Godley himself had attended. Such boyish friendship grew to stronger commitment through the academic life of Christ Church Oxford (two dozen have links there), and the common room of Oriel College (eight), or at Cambridge University, Trinity College (over a dozen). Some members were very clever men (notably George Henry Lyttelton, the real sustainer of the Canterbury Association). Others got to university on class prerogative rather than academic ability or application. (William Drogo Montagu—'silly but not dull,' remarked Disraeli.)

From a Māori perspective, the Canterbury Association appears to be a tribal group made up of families that have retained and confirmed their allegiances over the generations.

We understand that among the Pākehā community this type of tight network causes concern and frustration. However for Ngāi Tahu, this is simply a matter of Pākehā tribalism. It is secondary to the fact that the history, heritage and identity of the Square are rooted in the Canterbury Association.

However, this document is concerned with Ngāi Tahu values and culture. From our perspective, the Canterbury Association was hardly concerned with Māori, other than as a labour pool for Godley's vision. It's clear from his letters and writings that Māori barely raised his interest and that much of what he wrote floundered in his own set of double standards. As we explained in the Justice and Emergency Services Precinct Narrative, Godley insisted that the settlers be the first colony with self-government. Yet he was also clear that his ideal of self-government did not extend to Māori:

> As the case now stands, I regard by no means without uneasiness the possibility of the constituencies being utterly "swamped" by Māoris. I do not know exactly how the law may come to be worked, but if it be worked fairly and impartially, I foresee that in the Northern Island almost any amount of Māori votes may be created among a population wholly incapable of understanding the simplest rudiments of the questions on which their votes will be brought to bear.[2]

Godley did not remain long, although his attitude did. Until recently, Christchurch has remained indifferent to Ngāi Tahu. It was the 1998 Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act, that established the tribe as a corporate fact upon the landscape. However, the community and local authorities have never really bothered to establish a formal relationship with Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, which holds mana-whenua to the Christchurch area, or with the rūnanga on Banks Peninsula who have authority in their areas.

However, the Crown has formalised its relationship with Ngāi Tahu by way of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 and this allows us to participate in the Christchurch rebuild. There is nothing to stop a formal relationship being established along provincial lines.

The tendency among Christchurch leaders to dismiss the Godley ideals as 19th century idealism with no relevance to our recent past is wishful thinking. Writers such as Austin Mitchell in *The Half-Gallon Quarter-Acre Pavlova Paradise* and David Ausubel's *The Fern and the Tiki* have all made comment on the hostile Kiwi attitude towards Māori. Neither should we forget that the Christchurch City Council and the Crown decided to take land from Tuahiwi land owners in Sumner Ihutai under the Public Works Act in 1958 without asking them or notifying them.

We have made these observations so that we are clear that the canvas we are attempting to re-create has an established heritage and inherited values. The challenge for both groups is to recognise that values and culture shape design, which in turn reinforces the beliefs and values of the community.

While it was provincial and pretended to elitist ideals, the city has also benefited from the more radical leaders of Christchurch who challenged the status quo, including Kate Sheppard and Elsie Locke. In fact, it's very hard to imagine the Ngāi Tahu Claim without rational socialists such as Harry Evison, progressive Catholics such as Mike Knowles, or David Palmer who simply rebelled against the establishment despite his St Andrew's background. University historians such as Ann Parsonson and Jim McAloon were also driven by a social consciousness and the need to escape the Ivory Tower charges laid against the academic world.

We need to escape the clichéd images of what constitutes Christchurch or Ngāi Tahu values.

The real challenge is to respect the differences and to synthesise the commonalities. What is important is understanding Ngāi Tahu, and in particular Ngāi Tūāhuriri, and their connection with the settler culture, its heritage and the Cathedral.

With this in mind, we make the following points.

- The Treaty of Waitangi was signed with Queen Victoria, who was the head of the Anglican Church and the British Empire.
- Ngāi Tahu have a deep understanding of and respect for the city's English heritage and expect that it be celebrated. The challenge is for the design teams to show an equal depth of understanding towards our heritage. For example, while Ngāi Tahu are aware of the Christchurch city leadership, do any city leaders have a comparative knowledge of our Upoko Rūnanga?
- The peace settlement between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa was facilitated by the Anglican Church. The settlement is referred to by Ngāi Tahu as the 'rongo-pai', a reference to the arrival of the 'Gospel' and the New Testament idea of 'forgiveness'.
- The first church built in Canterbury was at Koukourārata, Port Levy.

1. *Reverend Michael Blain, The Canterbury Association (1848–1852): A Study of Its Members' Connections (Online, http:// anglicanhistory.org/nz/blain_canterbury2007.pdf).*
2. *James Edward Fitzgerald, A Selection from the Writings and Speeches of John Robert Godley, Press Office, Christchurch, 1863 p 160.*

- The first church built in Tuahiwi was St Stephen's in 1867 which still stands today.
- Tuahiwi has a strong Anglican community that has respected tribal traditions and customs.

Secular debates among the Christchurch community are balanced by the above views, which anchor the Anglican Church and the Christian faith within the modern cultural milieu that is Ngāi Tahu. This does not mean that Ngāi Tahu have been happy with the leadership of the Anglican Church. The Rev. Canon Stack was aware of this when he lamented:

> I lived to feel the tingling blush of shame whom these deludes of Māoris wary of waiting charged me with complicity in a fraud, charged me with taking a bribe from the Government to deceive them. In vain I appealed to my life work amongst them and into the proofs I have given of disinterested friendships for Ngāi Tahu, they scorned my claim to be regarded as a friend, and publicly in their tribal gatherings branded me as a deceiver the aider and abettor of those who had deliberately broken their most solemn pledges. The old chiefs are now dead, their last years so many of them having been embittered by the want of the common necessaries of life, such as food, clothing and firing, of which they were deprived by those who took away their native sources of wealth, and failed to supply them with the European equivalent which they had agreed to give in exchange.[3]

In fact, by the early part of the 20th century, many Ngāi Tahu and members of Tuahiwi had converted to the Rātana faith because they believed the Anglican Church had left them. Nevertheless, Ngāi Tahu respect the Christian faith and the Anglican Church and this needs to be reflected in the design principles. In simple terms, the challenge is: how does one blend 19th century English aesthetics with contemporary Māori art?

The chapter that follows is an attempt to articulate the points we would like the design teams to consider when dealing with the Square and the Cathedral.

An indicator of the relationship between the church and Ngāi Tūāhuriri is that, while the name of the church at Tuahiwi is St Stephen's, the land upon which it sits is named Whiti reia. Whiri reia was the name of the garden and spring nearby. Whiti reia was also the name given to the vicarage.

In Ngāi Tahu tradition, Whiti reia was the name of Paikea's whare (house). Whare such as these were seen as tapu. Paikea, as we explained in the Grand Narrative chapter, was the ancestor who rode the whale to New Zealand, begetting the East Coast tribes, Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Porou. Whiti reia has always been a significant name among the East Coast tribes because it was the house from which Ngāi Tahu claims its origins.

Christchurch takes its name from Christ Church in Oxford, where the city's founder, John Robert Godley, was educated. It is co-incidental that the founding ancestor of Ngāi Tahu was Paikea, whose house Whiti reia was the vicarage for St Stephen's Church in Tuahiwi. It is the view of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, therefore, that the most suitable name for the Square in Christchurch would be Whiti reia as it duplicates the relationship of St Stephen's Church to Whiti reia in Tuahiwi.

Just as the Cathedral is the reference point for Christchurch's identity, there needs to be a clear statement of Ngāi Tahu identity. The best way in which the design team can depict Ngāi Tahu identity is by considering the following:

- the Ngāi Tahu whakapapa line from Rangi and Papa to Paikea

3. *Supporting Papers to: The Evidence of Tony Walzl (Wai 27 M-15, Stack to Stevens 11 July 1888 Māori Affairs MA 67: (23), 204), Ngāi Tahu Archives, University of Canterbury.*

- the whakapapa of Paikea to Tūhaitara and Tūāhuriri
- the tradition of Paikea
- the tradition of Te Taua Tuawhitu
- Ngāi Tūāhuriri Upoko Rūnanga.

THE SQUARE AND MANA ATUA

Because the Square is so important to the people of Christchurch, Matapopore feels that it needs to address matters of the spirit. The simple fact is that Christchurch was established by the Canterbury Association, which means the architecture and the city itself reflects an Anglican heritage and a Christian faith. Faith and belief are important. However, the problem with discussing anything to do with religion or religious institutions is that the discussion is subject to quite silly statements and fallacies of logic.

A theological debate is not the purpose of this chapter. What is important to understand is that the idea of 'turewairua' runs through all things that are Māori and, because the Square is so central to Christchurch, the design team needs to incorporate faith and spiritual ideals into its design. Christchurch must not become a 'godless city, with a godless people'.

This chapter attempts to deal with the matter with the proposition that there is too much talk about God and religion and too little reflection on what people actually do. Spirituality and religion are something that people do. Regular practice makes one reflect on and ponder issues that have meaning to the 'hine ngaro' (emotional centre).

Ture wairua, is important to Ngāi Tahu. We practise our beliefs in rituals because they have meaning to us. Fathers teach their children to eel in particular ways simply because that is what their ancestors did. But just as importantly the customs of eeling reach back to our myths of Māui, who was the first to catch eel. The story is found right through Polynesia and is unique to the Pacific. In taking eels, Māori are simply experiencing a tradition that is ancestral but also has a spiritual connection. On another level, mothers teach their daughters hymns, whakamoemiti and moteatea because their voices lend beauty to the marae. Rather than ponder the meaning of 'god', life and other esoteric matters, it may be better to design around the rituals that encourage reflection.

This practice of beliefs in rituals is no different to that of Pākehā in Christchurch. Donations made as part of belonging to a Christian faith are acts of charity – a basic tenet of Christian faith. Community work with groups such as St Johns, YMCA and the Red Cross provides examples of New Zealanders doing religion rather than thinking about it. Discussing supernatural beliefs that defy modern minds and were probably never seriously considered by the original authors of the Bible simply misses the fundamental point of most religions – charity and social cohesion.

The trick for the design team is to bypass the fundamentalists from both the secular world and religious sectors, while designing an area that shows reverence for the values, rituals and practices of the different faiths that make up modern-day Christchurch. How do we design a city that enables us to live together in harmony, when the natural inclination of Christchurch leans towards provincialism and insularity? How do we design places for our community to attend in moments of crisis and tragedy? Human life is about pain and joy and religious institutions

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

have always played a role in these affairs. Converting the high school gymnasium into a great hall is not good enough. In moments of crisis, people turn to their church, just as they do for weddings and christenings.

How will the design team meet these needs?

Where this chapter may help is by explaining how Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri locate, practise and understand 'mana-atua, mana tipuna' and 'ture wairua'.

MANA ATUA

Ngāi Tahu claim descent from the atua. What needs to be understood is that atua does not mean 'god' or 'gods', as it is understood in the western sense. When Māori claim descent from Takaroa, the atua of the oceans, we do not personify and imagine an ethnic variation of Poseidon with a trident. We simply believe that the ocean is Takaroa and that we came from it.

In the words of a past Upoko Rūnanga, Papatūānuku 'is'. There is really nothing to debate. That Māori claim descent from the earth is entirely rational and logical. It is proper that we show some reverence towards nature.

A good way to understand our relationship to the atua is by way of the winds that dominate Canterbury. In our creation traditions, the winds are descendants of Raki and his first wife, Poko hārua te pō. Raki or Rangi, as most New Zealanders know, is the sky. What is not so well known is that his first wife was Poko hārua te pō. In our traditions, Poko hārua te pō was seen as the source of 'hau' – which is best understood as the wind or the breath of life. Our tribal priest, Natanahira Waruwarutu said of this atua, "Ko ngā uri, he hau katoa, ko ngā karakia, ngā tapu" (The descendants were all the winds and the incantations and tapu).

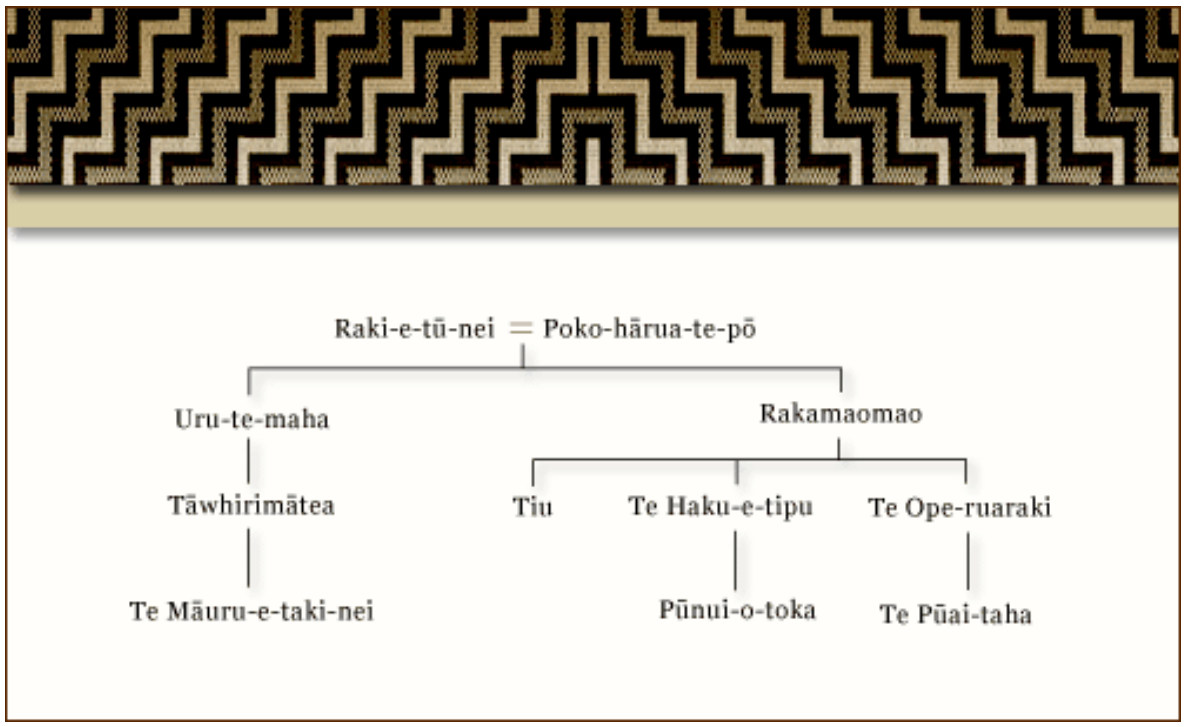
What Waruwarutu meant was that everything starts with the murmur of the wind – its breath. Hau (wind) stems from the root word 'ha', the breath. 'Ha' creates the spark of life that we call 'mauri' – a word found often enough in New Zealand. Our stories tell us that when Tāne attempted to create life in the clay figure Tiki, the first man – he sneezed into it, giving it life, its mauri.

For Māori, the land must have a 'hau'. The hau of land is its vitality and fertility. Ngāi Tahu have an expression that represents this view when they talk about Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere, which declares, "Ko ngā hau ki ngā whenua, ko ngā kai ki Orariki – Whatever the season or wind, food will be found at Orariki". Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere was famous as the food basket for Ngāi Tahu. Its 'hau' was everywhere. A proverb meaning the opposite to that at Te Waihora is, "Hāhā te whenua, hāhā te tangata – Desolate land, desolate people".

A typical whakapapa or genealogy of the wind is provided on the next page. It traces the connections between Raki, Poko hārua te pō and their children – the winds that dominate Canterbury. In particular, the whakapapa places the nor' west wind, Te-mauru-e-taki-nei, in the senior position, which is understandable for Canterbury. The nor' wester is the wind that dominates Canterbury from October through to late autumn.

The whakapapa tells us how Uru-te-maha signifies the fact that Tāwhirimātea and Te Māuru-e-taki-nei are from the west. Raka-maomao signifies the winds from the south with Te pū nui o te toka as the southerly. Hine pū nui o tonga are among the female atua who fan the winds from the south. Pūai-taha is no doubt the southwest wind.

Raka-maomao's child Tiu is the northern wind. Te ope ruaraki literally means 'The grouping of winds from the north'. The north-easterly in Ngāi Tahu is known as 'whakarua'.



Uru te maha and Raka maomao are then the origins of the winds from different directions.

The point to this whakapapa is not to invite debate about its truth. Whether or not our elders believed these traditions is irrelevant. What this whakapapa shows is the intimacy between Ngāi Tahu, the natural world and the atua. They essentially saw their world as a living, breathing entity and their relationship was entirely flat and non-hierarchical.

Our ancestors engaged with nature and atua by living with it and showing deep respect in their oral traditions.

This section outlines an aspect of our spirituality in a way that encourages designers to understand how Māori understand and show reverence for nature and its spirit – its hau. It is not a difficult issue to comprehend and that understanding provides many of us with a regard for the Canterbury landscape and an understanding of its importance. Tramping clubs, for example, regularly walk the land because nature means something. Ngāi Tahu whānau visit sites on a seasonal basis because their parents and ancestors did the same.

The design team needs to reflect these beliefs.

In a way, the manner in which Ngāi Tahu showed reverence to nature is similar to the way New Zealand artists attempt to capture it. William A. Sutton's famous 'Nor' Wester in the Cemetery' is a superb example of a New Zealander capturing something important about a Canterbury summer that resonates with all New Zealanders. The small, wooden church with the brown, dry grass tells us something about old rural New Zealand that we treasure, whether Māori or Pākehā. The cemetery could be anywhere in Canterbury, including Tuahiwi urupā and St Stephen's Church.

MANA TIPUNA

Perhaps the best example of mana-tipuna – the way in which our ancestors were consecrated into the landscape – comes from the tradition of Hine Paaka. Her whakapapa was shared in the Grand Narrative. Hine Paaka is known by Ngāi Tahu as a tree that stood at Springburn. The tree was respected by early settlers after they twice tried, but failed, to fell it. After both attempts Hine Paaka was still standing the next morning. The tree was still living in 1890 but was a skeleton when it was blown over in September 1945. In 1976, a new seedling was planted as part of the Springburn District Centenary and was blessed by the late Upoko Rūnanga of Tuahiwi, Pani Manawatu.

The tradition of Hine Paaka is that when our leaders migrated to Canterbury, they split into two war parties. One took an inland route and the other took a coastal route upon the war canoe, *Makawhiua*. The inland war party was known as 'Te Taua Tua whitu' and the leaders of the party were Tāne Tiki, Hikatutae, Moki, Maka, Huikai, Mōkai, Whakūkū and Turaki pō. All of these leaders were close cousins and all descendants of the hapū, Ngāi Tūhaitara.

As the party crossed the Waimakariri, they made their way to Pūtarikamotu (Riccarton or Deans Bush) where they fought with Ngāti Māmoe. Following their battle, the war party made its way to the tree Hine Paaka. Hine Paaka was claimed by Tūrākautahi as his tree, but as she was the ancestor that established his hapū's right in the South Island by way of his descent lines from Tūhaitara, she was their common ancestor.

However, Hine Paaka was also important because her descent lines included connections to the earlier tribes of Waitaha and Ngāti Māmoe. In short, the Ngāi Tūhaitara chiefs were able to assert their customary rights to the area because of their descent from Hine Paaka and Tūhaitara.

Once Tūrākautahi, had claimed Hine Paaka as his tree, the Tūhaitara chiefs set about claiming the mountains inland along the Torlesse Range for the daughters. The mountains were famous for their forest fowl and in particular the kākāpō which the leaders took as food. They also used the skins to clothe their daughters in cloaks and maro. Two pepeha or tribal sayings that we have retained come from Tūāhuriri's two sons, Tāne tiki and Tūrākautahi.

The pepeha from Tūrākautahi to Kura Tāwhiti was:

> Ko Kura Tāwhiti, te mauka kākāpō, ko au te takata – Kura Tāwhiti is the mountain of parrots and I am the man.

The claim of his elder brother, Tāne tiki to Whata-a-rama was similar:

> Mōku tēnā maunga, kia maro ai a Hine-mihi rāua ko Hutika i te maro-kākāpō – Whata a rama is to be mine, to clothe my daughters Hine mihi and Hutika in kilts made from kākāpō.

This history reinforces the fact that our ancestors knew the land intimately – not just the names of their mountains but also the names of trees. They had covered the landscape in ancestral names and this, in turn, established their identity.

The Ngāi Tahu relationship with the land was a relationship between kin. Connections could be traced to the natural features such as trees, rivers and mountains or even further back to the winds, mists and other meteorological events. The land was not an abstract object that people had been separated from long ago. Interaction was immediate and personal because kinship is

a personal matter. Perhaps the best example of mana-tipuna and our relationship to the land and mountains is expressed in the whakapapa on the left, which traces the descent lines from Rākaihautū down to the ancestor Otapara from whom many Ngāi Tahu claim descent.

In our traditions, Rākaihautū was the ancestor who led the Waitaha people to the South Island upon the canoe *Uruao*. In our stories, Rākaihautū made his way down the middle of the island, digging the lakes up from the earth with his spade, Tuhiraki. This whakapapa shows that our ancestors consecrated the landscape with their tīpuna over the generations. The mountains in the Crown Range and the Cardrona River were all recognised and revered as ancestors. They engaged with a landscape that was ancestral. This reverence extended as far as the heavens and constellations with our traditions, telling us that these were the canoe *Uruao* – 'Te-waka-a-tama-rereti'. Hence it is the custom among Ngāi Tahu to acknowledge the constellation in the heavens at night. One elder instructed his descendants:

> Koia te tohu o taua waka e mau ana i te rangi. Tā te Māori kī, mihi, ka kite i a Tama-rereti i te rangi, arā, e tātai whetuā ko taua waka tēnā.
>
> So it is that the canoe was attached to the heavens as a constellation. And according to our people, when you see a canoe in the sky as 'Te Waka o Tamarereti – The Tail of Scorpio', make sure you acknowledge it with your greetings.[4]

The idea of speaking to nature seems odd to many because their lives are urban and divorced from the land. In the city the stars are barely revealed and certainly not to the degree that they are in remote rural areas. The point here is that people communicated

4. *Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson, Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History, Bridget Williams Books, 2008.*

with nature and read the seasons and its winds in a manner that's not too different from how seasoned trampers read the weather, how old recreational fishermen watch the water and how farmers know what's happening over the hill.

From the wind, the trees, the mountains, river and the stars in the night – the land was seen as ancestral. This is what defined their spirituality. When our people came to New Zealand, they carried with them their ancestors – of whom they say, "Kua wairuatia. Kua atua hoki – they became spirits and atua".[5] The difference between how Ngāi Tahu have named the landscape and how the early settlers named a lake after Coleridge or a headland after Godley is only a matter of degree.

The question for the designers of the city and of the Square is how to celebrate our heritage and ancestry upon the landscape in a way that has meaning for both Māori and Pākehā.

DESIGN A SACRED SPACE

It is important that the design team creates a 'sacred space' within the Square in a manner that complements the Cathedral and the more day-to-day activities that define the Square.

This does not mean the Square should be restricted by ideas of tapu and noa or Christian rituals. It simply means that the design teams need to consider how best to set apart areas for activities for Christchurch citizens to sit and meditate upon their beliefs, whatever they may be, and for civic leaders to officiate important rituals and memorials.

As stated at the start of the Grand Narrative, the concern of Matapopore is that the design teams understand that their first priority is to design a community, not just a series of buildings. On that basis, communities are held together by a variety of features, one of which is ritual. This in turn may be led by our churches, cultural and ethnic associations or simply spiritual leaders and elders.

The challenge for designers is how to separate ideas and rituals from the dominating influence of their religious institutions.

There are two other points to understand. First, while Ngāi Tahu understand secular views, they are not a 'godless people' and have little time for meaningless debates as to whether God is real or not. The other point is that Christchurch itself is rooted in Christian tradition. How do you recognise, celebrate and incorporate these aspects?

- The designers must incorporate a spiritual centre to the city.
- There must be a place where people can worship in common.
- That spiritual centre needs to place at its core a commitment to traditional Māori spirituality in a way that adopts their commitment to and adoption of the Christian faith.

5. *Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson, Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History, Bridget Williams Books, 2008.*

THE STADIUM NARRATIVE: TAIWHANGA HĀKINAKINA

Written by Aaron Rice-Edwards

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861

bnz

In the long view of the history of mankind… essential functions of mythology can be discerned. The first and most distinctive – vitalising all – is that of eliciting and supporting a sense of awe before the mystery of being.

Joseph Campbell[1]

INTRODUCTION

Ngāi Tahu history and tradition are steeped in stories of bravery, of tribal heroes protecting their people, of propelling them onto greater achievements, of inspiring those behind them and creating a sense of awe. For Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the Stadium represents an opportunity to carry on those traditions associated with the Hero, to be a place where the ordinary and mundane are transcended, where individual and collective potential is realised and where mental, spiritual, psychic and physical prowess is displayed for all to witness and marvel at.

This chapter sets out traditions, stories and values that Ngāi Tūāhuriri feel will assist and inform exploratory thinking around the design of the Stadium. It all also sets out some of Ngāi Tahu's sporting heroes, both old and recent, in order to affirm Ngāi Tahu's traditional and modern association with the heights of mental, physical and spiritual effort and achievement.

IHI – ESSENTIAL, PSYCHIC FORCE

For Ngāi Tahu, the concept of ihi is critical to understanding the purpose and the ethos of the Stadium. Ihi is a central force in traditional Māori life, an all-pervasive energy present in all to varying degrees, but prevalent in times of battle and performance, such as the adept rendition of a haka. Ihi is a difficult concept to explain, but can mean a ray of sun, essential force, excitement, intrinsic power, charm, authority, personal magnetism – psychic force as opposed to spiritual power (mana). The haka undertaken by the All Blacks prior to a test, for instance, is ihi personified.

It was ihi – essential force and power - that enabled Tāne to separate his parents, Rakinui and Papatūānuku. It is ihi – powerful rays of energy and light –that is released by Tama Nui Te Rāki (the Sun). It was ihi that enabled Māui to fish up Te Ika Nui A Māui – the North Island. Ihi is a spiritual and psychic energy that is evident in an athlete's awe-inspiring, record-breaking feat, evident when the All Blacks snatch victory from the jaws of defeat right on full time, or the batsman sends the cricket ball high up into the stadium rafters.

All great heroes in Ngāi Tahu and Māori traditions had and used ihi to enable themselves to accomplish great feats and to win. For Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the Stadium will be a place where ihi is expressed, experienced, attained and witnessed – as ihi is the primal force that pushes and drives athletes, sportspeople and performers on to glory and greatness.

THOUGHTS ON DESIGN ELEMENTS

One helpful image for the future design of the Stadium is that of a fortified pā. In pre-European times, a ngutu or carved entrance or gateway guarded the entrance to the upper, tapu terraces of a fortified pā. Before going into battle, the warriors passed through the ngutu to show their commitment to defending the mana of the tribe. For many, some sporting events, particularly

those such as test rugby, are reminiscent of battle. Thus a battle ground or a fortified village might in such a context serve as a relevant design metaphor.

NGĀ TOA – HEROES

The Stadium will be a place to celebrate, create and witness heroes in action. Ngāi Tahu and Māori mythology and history are rich with the exploits and endeavours of ancestors of heroic stature and temperament. Heroes such as Māui Tikitiki A Taranga, Tāwhaki, Paikea, Tāne, Marukaitatea, Tamateapokaiwhenua, Tamatea Arikinui and others all undertook the hero's sometimes lonely journey, and in so doing demonstrated bravery, tenacity, resilience and determination – traits that were and continue to be evident among the Canterbury community in the aftermath of the earthquakes of 2010 and 2011.

TĀNE

Despite being an atua, Tāne is perhaps the first of the long legion of heroes in Ngāi Tahu and Māori traditions, foremost for his feat of separating Raki and Papa by the novel act of using his legs to push away at Raki, whilst bracing his back against his mother. After this act, Tāne incurred the wrath of his brother Tangaroa, who had opposed the separating of their parents, and thus the children of the two atua continue that battle to this day.

In Ngāi Tahu traditions, Tāne achieved another heroic feat when he climbed to the heavens to reach his brother Rehua. From Rehua, Tāne obtained the trees of the forest for the benefit of humankind.

MĀUI

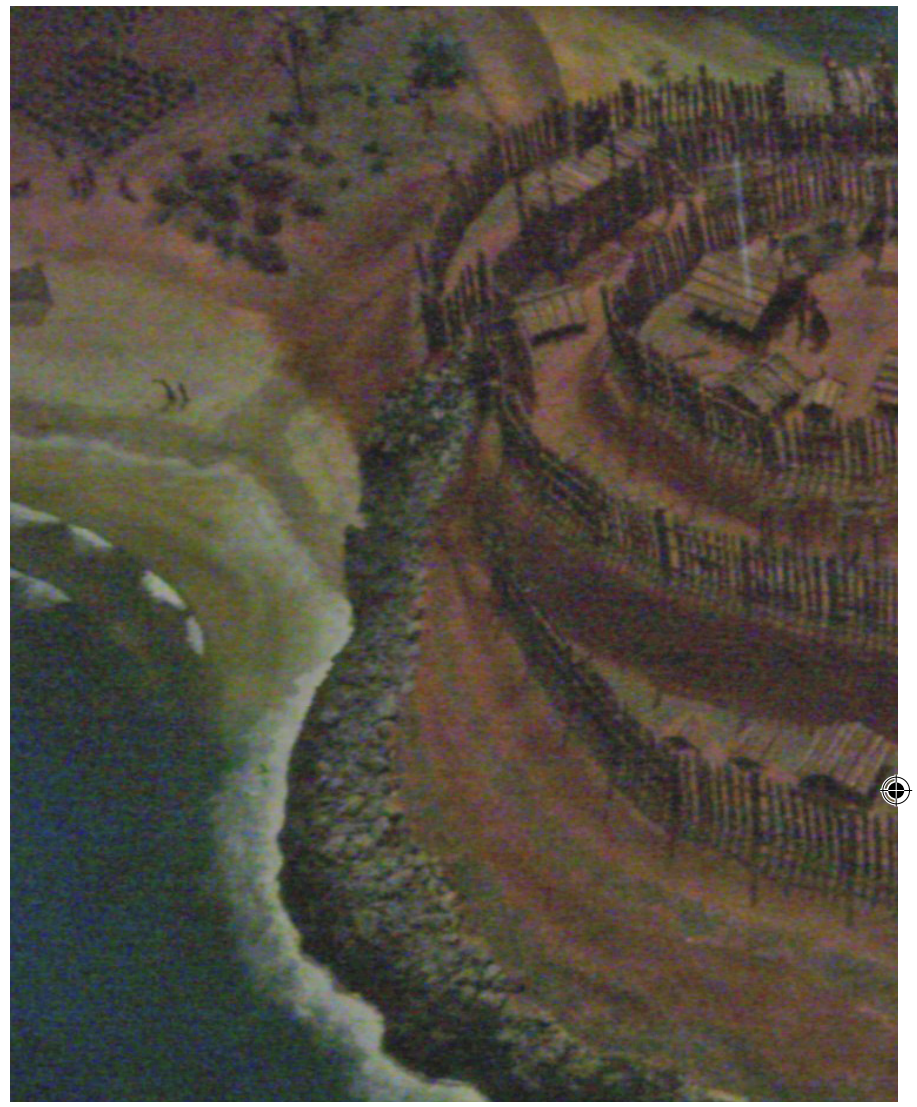
Māui is perhaps the penultimate archetypal hero-trickster in Māori and indeed Polynesian mythology. Like Hercules in the Greek traditions, Māui performed a number of amazing feats. As the pōtiki – youngest sibling, Māui was constantly tested to prove his abilities and worth to his older brothers – Māui taha, Māui roto, Māui pae and Māui waho. Māui was skilled and adept at traditional Māori games such as poi rākau (stick games) and kite flying. Such traditional games were in essence warrior-training games. They kept reflexes sharp and promoted quick thinking – important attributes in hand-to-hand combat.

Among his attributes, Māui possessed the power to change form and in his penultimate act of trying to overcome death, personified as the goddess Hine nui te pō, Māui took on the form of the harrier hawk, the falcon, the morepork, the kea, the bat, the rat, the pigeon and the worm. However, he was finally killed by Hine nui te pō in her house at Pōtaka rongorongo. In some respects, as with the Greek legend of Achilles, this final undoing of Māui demonstrates the risks associated with hubris – the hero's arrogance – and the need to temper such with humility and patience – both on the sports field and in life generally.

In Ngāi Tahu and Māori traditions, Māui achieved a great many feats for the benefit of humankind, including the following.

SLOWING DOWN THE SUN

Māui takes the jawbone of his ancestress Muri-ranga-whenua and uses it as a weapon in his first



1. *Joseph, Campbell, Occidental Mythology. Arkana, 1991, p. 519.*

expedition. Long ago, in Māori mythology, the days were extremely short because the Sun – Tama Nui Te Rā – travelled too fast across the sky. Māui sets out to subdue and to snare the Sun and make it go slower, thus lengthening the daylight hours and enabling the people to get their work done. With the help of his brothers, Māui nooses the Sun and beats him severely with the jawbone club until the Sun promises to go slower in the future.

FISHING UP THE NORTH ISLAND

Māui's next exploit is to haul up land from the depth of the ocean. In some tribal traditions, here he again uses the jawbone of Muri-ranga-whenua, this time as a fishhook. Māui, using blood from his nose for bait, hauls the great fish up from the depths. When it emerges from the water, Māui goes to find a priest to perform the appropriate ceremonies and prayers, leaving his brothers in charge of the fish. They, however, do not wait for Māui to return but begin to cut up the fish (to grab their share), which immediately begins to writhe in agony, causing it to break up into mountains, cliffs and valleys. If the brothers had listened to Māui, the island would have been a level plain and people would have been able to travel with ease on its surface. Thus Māori refer to the North Island as Te Ika-a-Māui – the Fish of Māui.

The canoe used by Māui and his brothers on the great fishing expedition is, for many iwi, the South Island. Thus, while Ngāi Tahu commonly refer to it as Te Waipounamu, sometimes the South Island is referred to as Te Waka a Māui – the Canoe of Māui. Stewart Island (Rakiura) is known as Te Punga a Māui (Māui's anchor), as it was the anchor holding Māui's waka as he pulled in the giant fish. However, in Ngāi Tūāhuriri traditions, Māui's waka was known as *Maahunui*. Maahunui is also the Ngāi Tahu name for the Canterbury's coastline, Te Tai o Maahunui, and the name of the wharenui (meeting house) at Tuahiwi marae.

OBTAINING FIRE

Māui, finding that fire has been lost on the earth, resolves to find Mahuika, the Fire-goddess, and learn the secret art of obtaining fire. He visits her but his tricks make her furious and, although he obtains the secret of fire, he barely escapes with his life. He transforms himself into a kāhu (hawk), but to no avail for Mahuika sets both land and sea on fire. Māui prays to his great ancestors, Tāwhirimātea and Whatiri matakaka, who answer with pouring rain that extinguishes the fire.

TĀWHAKI

A descendant of Māui, Tāwhaki is another hero famous for his exploits and adventures. In Ngāi Tūāhuriri traditions, Tāwhaki is perhaps most famous for climbing to the heavens in search of his father and, in so doing, obtaining greater knowledge for mankind.

Tāwhaki, along with his young brother, Karihi, sets off to climb up to the sky in order to avenge the death of their father, Hema. At the foot of the ascent they find their grandmother, Whaitiri, now blind, who sits continually counting the tubers of sweet potato that are her only food. In some tribal traditions, Whaitiri is the guardian of the vines that form the pathway into the sky. Tāwhaki and Karihi tease her by snatching them away, one by one, and upsetting her count. Eventually, they reveal themselves to her and restore her sight. In return, she gives them advice

about how best to ascend to the heavens. Karihi tries first, but makes the error of climbing up the aka taepa, or hanging vine. He is blown violently around by the winds of heaven and falls to his death. In some traditions, it is the sight of naked women that in fact distracts Karihi from his task.

Tāwhaki climbs by the aka matua, or parent vine, recites the appropriate incantations, and reaches the highest of the 10 heavens. Once there, Tāwhaki learns many spells from Tama-i-waho, and subsequently brings such knowledge back to humankind.

PAIKEA

The story of Paikea again demonstrates the journey and qualities of the hero in the histories and traditions of Ngāi Tahu. Paikea was the grandfather of Tahu Pōtiki, the founding ancestor of Ngāi Tahu.

Paikea is the name assumed by Kahutia-te-rangi because he was assisted by humpback whales (paikea) to survive an attempt on his life by his half-brother Ruatapu.

The legend transpires in the wake of Ruatapu being shamed by his father, Uenuku. Angry and ashamed at his father's disparaging comments, Ruatapu built a canoe. Once finished, Ruatapu persuaded Kahutia-te-rangi and a large number of Uenuku's other sons, all of them young men of high birth, aboard his canoe. Ruatapu then took them out to sea to drown them. He had knocked a hole in the bottom of the canoe, temporarily plugging it with his heel. When far out at sea, he removed his heel, and the canoe sank. Ruatapu then went to each of the young men in turn and drowned them. However, according to legend, Kahutia-te-rangi recited a karakia (incantation) calling on the southern humpback whales (paikea) to carry him ashore. Kahutia-te-rangi was the sole survivor of his brother's evildoings and assumed the name Paikea as a memorial to the assistance he received from the whales. In Ngāi Tahu and other tribal traditions, it is said that Paikea travelled all the way to Aotearoa on the back of a whale, an epic and heroic journey indeed.

MARUKAITĀTEA

Marukaitātea (Maru) is a significant hero for Ngāi Tahu, who led the tribe to seize control over the abundant Kaikōura region. Maru was the senior Ngāti Kurī chief residing in Kaikōura at Takahanga marae. By all accounts Maru was a large man, heavily built and at seven feet tall he was a formidable warrior.

During this time Ngāti Kurī and Ngāti Māmoe peoples lived in the many pā dotted along the coast, often with the neighbouring pā being occupied by the other tribal group. It was a period of infiltration as Ngāti Kurī chiefs gradually extended their dominance in the Kaikōura region.

The heroic stature and qualities of Ngāi Tahu chiefs Maru and Te Rākaitauheke were evident before the famous battle of Waipapa against Ngāti Māmoe. This battle is a significant event in Ngāi Tahu history and the tribe's migration journey in Te Waipounamu. Maru's rallying of Ngāti Kurī warriors prior to the battle also aptly demonstrates the power and significance of the Ngāi Tahu tradition of whaikōrero (oratory) and its capacity to inspire, energise and mobilise the people.

At Waipapa, the odds were not in Ngāti Kurī's favour as they were severely outnumbered by Ngāti Māmoe. Panic started to spread amongst the people and many contemplated fleeing to the north rather than staying to be destroyed. Morale of the warriors was also low. Amongst the ranks of Ngāti Kurī's fighting chiefs, there was debate as to who might lead Ngāti Kurī into battle that day. Initially no one was willing to assume the leadership role.

A carving at Takahanga Marae Kaikōura, depicting the ancestor Paikea.

a.

Maru tried to stir his men and asked another chief, Te Kauae, to inspire the troops by standing to recall his great victory in Te Whanganui A Tara (Wellington). However, Te Kauae remained seated and merely replied, "Ah! That was done with thousands supporting me, but here I am single handed."[2] Another chief, Manawa-i-waho, echoed Te Kauae's pessimistic sentiments. However, Maru then turned to another great Ngāti Kurī hero, Te Rākaitauheke, who stood with energy and fervor rallying the warriors, stating, "I will force the way. I will charge the foe; I will lead Ngāti Kurī to victory. Listen! The thousands of Ngāti Māmoe are as nothing to me, and there is nothing to be afraid of. See my strength, for this, my right arm, is as strong as twenty men and so is this, me left. See, there."

Te Rākaitauheke then hurled a large stone at a karaka tree, whereupon the stone became lodged in the trunk of the tree. He went on, "Even if Ngāti Māmoe are there in their thousands, I would wipe them out alone. Arise, Pōhatu. Dig the wells, rear the mounds, that you may see how the tātare (dogfish) of Tānemoehau (his mother) will burst the net."[3]

In a similar heroic vein, Maru quickly rose to his feet to rally those of his warriors who were still reticent, stating, "My strength is as Te Rākaitauheke's. I will say the karakia and I will lead you against the foe. Only death shall close my eyes, only death shall stay my hand."[4] Maru then performed the required rituals and recited the famous karakia discussed further below – Tipea Tahia Rakea. Maru rallied his men and they went on to victory in the battle, despite the enemy's superior numbers, thus establishing their foothold in the region.

Following the battle at Waipapa (the last battle north of Kaikōura), the Ngāti Kurī warriors moved on to Kaikōura and the big fortified pā there called Takahanga. Kaikōura was a place with a wealth of food resources from the seas and forests there. An emblem of this wealth was the sacred pōhā (kelp bag) named Tohuraumati that contained preserved foods of various kinds including fish, birds and human flesh.

Each year the contents were added to but went untouched. It was believed that only someone with great prestige and mana could touch and eat from the food stored there, otherwise they would die. The pōhā was an emblem of control over the Kaikōura region and whoever could eat from the sacred pōhā and live would hold title to the land. Whereupon, Maru opened the kelp bag and ate from it, thus proving that he had the mana and courage to overcome the tapu of the sacred bag.

2. *Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson (ed.), Kāi Tahu, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2008, p 86.*

3. *Ibid, at p 87.*

4. *Ibid.*

TIPIA TAHIA RAKEA – AN INCANTATION TO FOCUS

This karakia (incantation) was often used by Ngāi Tahu leaders before battle to ensure that the warriors were focused – mentally, spiritually and physically. The karakia refers to Tāne's heroic example and ihi when separating his parents – Raki and Papa – and essentially calls upon the atua (gods) to bring forth victory. This karakia was often recited before battle or before a major expedition. For example, it is said that the karakia was used by Rupe when he ascended the heavens to Rehua.

Tipia a	*Exterminate*
Tahia a	*Sweep*
Rakea a	*Make barren*
Tipia Te Raki i ruka nei	*Sweep the heavens above*
kia maau mai ei	*So that we may grasp*
Toto mai waho	*And drag forth*
Ko Ariki o te raa	*The Ariki of the heavens*
me hua to o ikoa	*May your name prosper*
Ko te Rakipuaeho	*Te Rakipuaeho*
Te turuturu o te Raki	*The foundation of the Sky*
Ma wai hoki te kura	*Who will be the victor*
ikia Maru mai ei	*It is for you Maru to reply*
Kia mau mai ei	*And to grasp*
Ko Tāne anake naana	*As it was Tāne alone*
i tokotoko	*who made the separation*
Te Raki i ruka nei	*of the heavens above*
Ko ee tama eei	*It will be you, my son*
Ma wai hoki te kura	*To whom will victory go*
i whakareere	*It will go to the one who strikes*
Ko ee tama eei	*The victory will go to you, my son*

Image Credit: Fairfax Media NZ / The Press

A H U N U I I

THE 1974 COMMONWEALTH GAMES

The 1974 Commonwealth Games were a significant sporting, cultural and social phenomenon for Ngāi Tahu, particularly Ngāi Tūāhuriri, who saw themselves as hosts to an international community of competitors and supporters.

The 1974 Games demonstrated to Ngāi Tūāhuriri the unifying power of such sporting events, their capacity to bring together diverse peoples and cultures and the celebration of the human spirit. The 1974 Games also allowed Ngāi Tūāhuriri to showcase the beauty of Canterbury's landscapes and cultures.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri have a love of competition and a love of meeting different cultures. Kapa haka – traditional Māori performing arts – is one forum where this love of competition continues to be evident. In 2015, Ngāi Tahu hosted Te Matatini – the national Māori kapa haka festival. This is a huge event for Māoridom and for Ngāi Tahu as hosts. In the future, Ngāi Tahu would hope that the Stadium would become an iconic venue not only for sporting events, but also for displaying and showcasing Ngāi Tahu and Māori culture to the world.

NGĀ WHETŪ – THE STARS

The traditions and practices of Ngāi Tahu, Māori and most cultures historically lend weight to use of the constellations – in both the design and associated narrative of the anchor projects. The constellations help to locate the anchor projects in time and place.

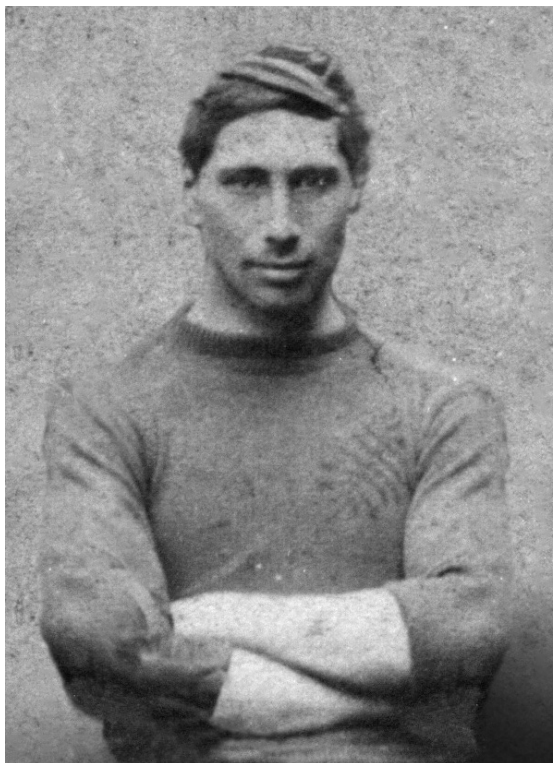
As with the Square and the development of the Canterbury Earthquake Memorial, Ngāi Tūāhuriri associations with and use of the stars may perhaps help to inform and influence the design of the Stadium. In particular, traditionally, references to the constellation Matariki (Pleiades) were often incorporated by Ngāi Tūāhuriri as a design feature in carvings and within meeting houses.

In Ngāi Tahu traditions, the arrival of Matariki and Puaka (Rigel) in the night sky signalled the time to 'hibernate', to ensure that there were sufficient resources gathered to see the tribe through the winter. Conversely, the rise of Aotahi (Canopus) in the night sky signalled that it was time to come out to play, hunt and travel.

NGĀI TAHU SPORTS HEROES

In recent times, modern Ngāi Tahu heroes have emerged on the sports fields of the nation and globe, continuing to demonstrate their personal ihi and the indomitable nature of the human spirit. In many respects, these Ngāi Tahu sporting heroes carry the legacy of those heroes of the past. Our modern sports heroes and also performers all undertake a heroic journey in order to overcome obstacles before them, and in so doing they inspire and energise the generations that follow.

The following sporting heroes have blazed trails of glory in their respective fields, for generations of Ngāi Tahu to follow and be inspired by. Their legacy contributes to Ngāi Tahu's warrior, athletic and sporting whakapapa (genealogy) and an ongoing connection to the Stadium as a forum for celebrating New Zealand's heroes.



Teōne Wiwi 'Jack' Taiaroa

TEŌNE WIWI 'JACK' TAIAROA

Teōne Wiwi Taiaroa (1862–1907) – also known as John or Jack Taiaroa – was a member of the first rugby team to represent New Zealand overseas and was recently inducted into the Māori Sports Hall of Fame, Te Whare Mātāpuna o Te Ao Māori, recognising his prowess in rugby, cricket and athletics. Jack was selected for the Australian tour in 1884, and scored nine tries in the tour's nine games – an impressive feat given the rarity of tries at the time.

Jack grew up in Ōtākou and had a distinguished Ngāi Tahu whakapapa. His grandfather was the chief Te Matenga Taiaroa, and his father was Hori Kerei Taiaroa, a long-serving parliamentarian for Southern Māori and a tireless campaigner for Ngāi Tahu land claims.

Jack learnt to play rugby at Otago Boys' High School and went on to represent Otago between 1881 and 1884. An all-round athlete, he also represented Hawke's Bay in rugby in 1887 and 1889 and in cricket in the 1890s. In 1893, he was runner-up in the national athletics championships in the long jump, for which he held a national record.

THOMAS RANGIWAHIA ELLISON

Thomas Rangiwahia Ellison (c. 1867–2 October 1904), also known as Tom Ellison or Tamati Erihana, was captain of New Zealand's first official rugby team when it toured Australia in 1893. He was a member of the New Zealand Natives Football Team, which toured Great Britain and Australia in 1888–89. They played 107 matches in 54 weeks, 16 of which were spent travelling. Ellison finished the tour as the team's second-highest point scorer with 113 points, including 43 tries.

Thomas Rangiwahia Ellison

Ellison was born at Ōtākou on the Otago Peninsula, probably in 1867. His mother, Nani Weller (Hana Wera), was the only child of the whaler Edward Weller, who had established the Ōtākou whaling station in 1831, and Nikuru. His father, Raniera Taheke Ellison, was the son of Thomas Ellison and Te Ikairaua (Te Ikaraua) of Ngāti Moehau, a hapū of Te Ati Awa. Raniera had come south in 1862 in search of gold and made an important discovery at Māori Point on the Shotover River. He and his two companions were said to have taken at least 300 ounces (8.5 kg) of gold in one day. In 1882 Raniera became involved with the exiled Parihaka leaders Te Whiti and Tohu. He provided food for their followers who were imprisoned in Dunedin. He made many trips to Parihaka and provided financial assistance in rebuilding the settlement. Tom was to inherit his father's concern with Māori grievances, although it was on the rugby field that he made his name.

His rugby career began in 1882 when he won a scholarship to that most famous of Māori schools, Te Aute. He began as a forward before moving to the wing. When he moved to Wellington he played half-back for the Pōneke club and established a reputation as an innovative player. At Pōneke he developed the wing-forward position aimed at blocking interference with passing from the base of the scrum. The position, which was quickly adopted by Wellington and then throughout New Zealand, set this country apart from its international rivals. It was superseded by the eight-man scrum in 1932. In 1902 Ellison published *The Art of Rugby Football*, one of the game's first coaching manuals.

Before the 1893 tour Ellison proposed to the first annual general meeting of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union that the team's uniform be a black jersey with silver fern monogram, black cap and stockings and white shorts. With a switch to black shorts in 1901, this became the now famous All Black uniform. Ellison was also an early advocate of players being paid the equivalent

of their normal wages while on tour representing their country. The union did not accept this in 1893. During the tour of New South Wales and Queensland, Ellison played in seven of the 11 matches and scored 23 points. In his whole career he played 117 matches (68 of them first-class games) and scored 160 points, including 51 tries.

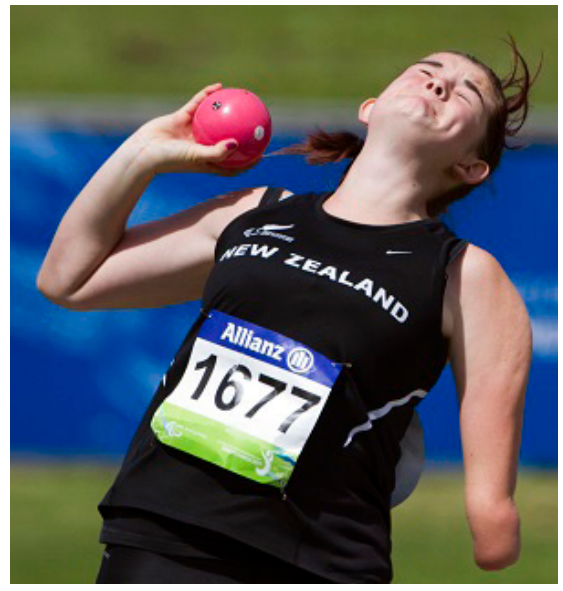
Off the field, Tom Ellison became an interpreter in the Native Land Court in 1886. He had a particular interest in Ngāi Tahu land claims. He failed on three occasions to get elected to Parliament as the member for Southern Māori. From 1891 he worked as a solicitor. In 1902, while working for the Wellington law firm Brandon, Hislop and Johnston, he became one of the first Māori to be admitted to the Bar. Ellison died in 1904 at Porirua and was buried in Ōtākou.

BILLY STEAD

John William Stead (18 September 1877 – 21 July 1958) was born in Invercargill and played for the All Blacks on their 1905–1906 tour. Stead also played provincially for Southland and later coached various teams, including Southland and New Zealand Māori. A boot maker by trade, he also co-authored *The Complete Rugby Footballer* and was a columnist for the *Southland Times* and *New Zealand Truth*.

Stead first played representative rugby for Southland in 1896. He was only 18 at the time, and continued to play for the province until 1908, raking up 52 matches in total for the side. After representing the South Island in 1903, he was selected for the All Blacks that year. Although he did tour with the team to Australia, he did not play in a test match until the following year. In his first test against Great Britain in 1904, Stead captained the side. He was again selected for the All Blacks the following year for their northern hemisphere tour.

Dave Gallaher was named as the tour captain, with Stead as vice-captain. The tour was highly successful for Stead as he established himself as one of New Zealand's greatest ever first five-eighths and as a master tactician. Stead participated in 29 of the Originals' matches and, although he only scored 11 tries for the team, his ability to set up tries for other players was vital.



Holly Robinson competing in the IPC Athletics World Championship, in 2011.

MORE RECENT NGĀI TAHU HEROES

TONY BROWN

Tony Brown (born 17 January 1975) was born in Balclutha and attended King's College in Dunedin. With the launch of the Super 12 rugby competition in 1996, Brown was rewarded with a place in the first ever Highlanders squad as first five. Brown was first picked for the All Blacks in 1999, making his debut in a match against New Zealand A on 11 June, before making his international debut against Samoa exactly a week later. Brown played a total of 18 test matches, scoring 171 test points (mostly with the boot, although he did score five tries) between then and his final test against Australia in August 2001. His international career included matches for New Zealand at the 1999 Rugby World Cup.

Brown's goal-kicking feats enabled him to score over 30 points in three separate internationals (against Italy in 1999, Samoa in 2000 and Tonga in 2001) – the only player to have achieved this.

Krystal Forgesson at the Glasgow Commonwealth Games.

STORM URU

Storm Uru (born 14 February 1985 in Invercargill), racing with Peter Taylor, finished 7th in the men's lightweight double sculls at the 2008 Beijing Olympics. At the 2009 World Rowing Championship, Uru and Taylor won the gold medal in the lightweight double sculls and took the bronze medal at the following year's World Championships. At the 2012 London Olympics, Uru and Taylor won the bronze medal in the lightweight double sculls. Uru rowed at bow for the winning Oxford crew in the 2014 Boat Race.

HOLLY ROBINSON

Holly Robinson (born 10 December 1994) excels in shotput and javelin. Holly has been a field athlete at the Paralympics. She is currently studying towards a Bachelor of Applied Science at the Otago Institute of Sport and Adventure. She competed at the 2014 IPC Grand Prix, in Beijing and won gold in the women's F46 shotput, where she set a world record. Holly also won bronze in the women's F46 javelin. Her bronze medal-winning throw set a New Zealand record.

SONIA MANAENA

Sonia Manaena competed at the World Classic Raw Powerlifting Championships in South Africa and came first in the women's 84kg+ raw deadlift; she was also successful in setting a world record in her category.

KRYSTAL FORGESSON

Krystal Forgesson (born 7 September 1982 in Auckland) recently retired from international hockey with the Black Sticks, having amassed 220 caps and 77 goals. She was a member of the Blacksticks team at the Glasgow Commonwealth Games. Some of her achievements include being named Auckland Hockey Player of the Year and Sport Waitakere, Sportswoman of the Year.

JONATHAN WINTER

Jonathan Winter (born 18 August 1971 in Masterton) represented New Zealand as a backstroke swimmer. He competed at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics and at the 1995 FINA World SC Championships in Brazil he won the gold medal with the Men's 4x100 medley relay team.

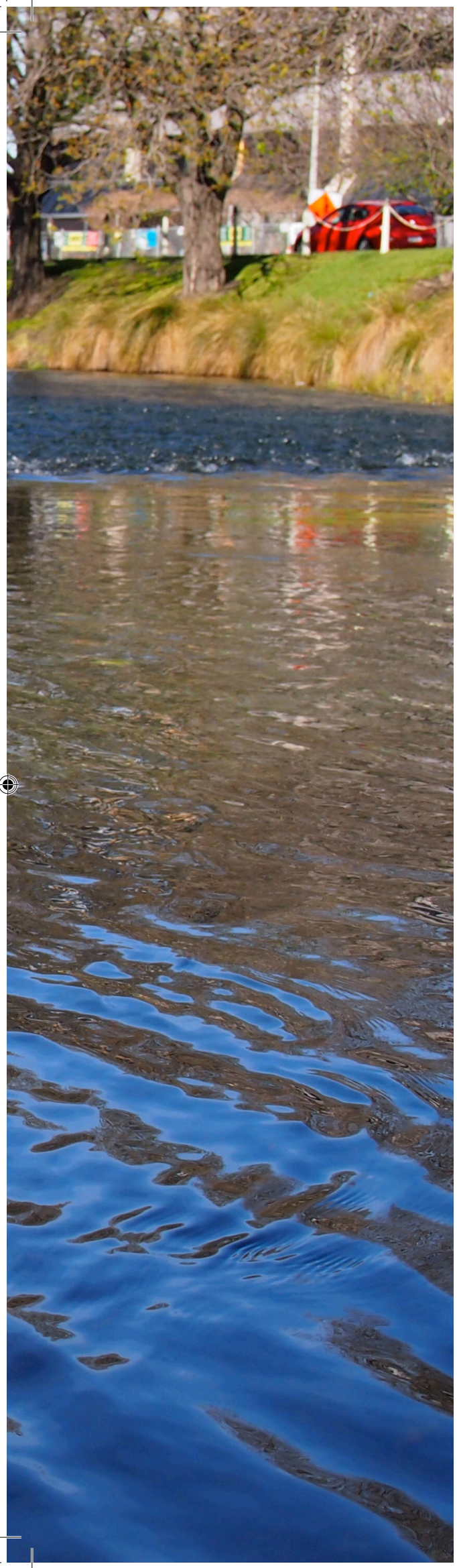
Winter also competed in three consecutive Commonwealth Games, commencing in 1994. His first outing for the national team was in Spain at the first World Short Course Championships 1993. Winter also won four consecutive backstroke categories (1993/94/95/96) at the Oceania Grand Prix and represented his country in all strokes and individual medley. He held national records in butterfly, backstroke and individual medley.

Winter made a comeback in 2002 (Manchester Commonwealth Games – placed 6th in the 50 butterfly) and became the oldest male to win a national title in the 50 freestyle aged 31 years. He began coaching the Heretaunga Sundevils swimming club in Flaxmere, Hastings in 1998. He is currently the head coach at Raumati Swimming Club in Wellington and was coach for the Tongan Olympic swimming team at London 2012.

CANTERBURY EARTHQUAKE MEMORIAL: TE PUNA MAUMAHARA

Written by Aaron Rice-Edwards

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861



Ko taku ture i ahu mai i toku tupuna i a Ahuriri nana i mea, 'Kia atawhai ki te Pākehā ', muri iho, ka pera ano hoki te kupu a Tū-rākau-tahi. Nō reira tonu ano kahore he kino i roto i o mātou, ngakau kua noho marie tātou.

My laws commenced with Ahuriri he said, Be kind to men. After him Tū-rākau-tahi said the same. So from thence to the present time we have had no evil in our hearts

Te Hori, 1861

INTRODUCTION

This report provides an overview of Ngāi Tūāhuriri traditions and values associated with commemorating those who have passed in order to inform and inspire exploratory thinking on the nature, scope and design of the Canterbury Earthquake Memorial (the Memorial). These traditions and values will, we hope, serve as a guide to assist those charged with the challenge and burden of creating a widely embraced and utilised space for remembering those who passed in the Canterbury earthquakes and also those who demonstrated bravery in rescue and recovery efforts.

While Ngāi Tūāhuriri wish to ensure that the design and ethos of the Memorial reflects, embodies and expresses Ngāi Tūāhuriri narratives, histories and aspirations, there is also a desire to ensure that the Memorial speaks to and for all – that it is a place of sanctuary and healing for all peoples, wherein our collective sense of loss and tragedy might somehow be lifted within a place of healing and reflection.

The key aspirations of Ngāi Tūāhuriri for the Memorial are that it will be:

- a living memorial – rather than a stark and cold edifice, the Memorial should be a place of life, contemplation, vegetation and growth, a symbol of rebirth and renewal
- a space and design that reflects the natural elements and landscape specific to Waitaha/ Canterbury and specific particularly to 22 February 2011. In this respect, stars such as Aotahi (Canopus) are relevant, as is Te Hau Kai Takata (the infamous nor' west wind);
- a place of lament and memory, but also a place of healing, peace and renewal, a place where "tragedy is avenged by tears" (Mā ngā roimata ka ea te mamae – our pain will be eased by our tears)
- a haven in the city centre
- symbolically and functionally, a southwest gateway into the city Core – a welcoming and inviting point of entry and transcendence.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri have identified several key concepts, themes, values or traditions as having particular import and relevance to the Memorial. This report echoes the sentiments of the Grand Narrative in regard to the need to design the Square as a sacred space for the people of Christchurch. So too Ngāi Tūāhuriri feel that the Memorial should be designed as a sacred, hallowed space – a space imbued with not only meaning due to its role in preserving a collective memory of our shared loss and tragedy, but also a meaning and narrative that reflects the deep connections held by Ngāi Tahu, and indeed all Cantabrians, with the land and surrounding natural elements. Ngāi Tūāhuriri wishes to see designers draw on and be inspired by the natural landscape, to create a place of sanctuary, healing, meditation and peace.

THE ANCESTRAL HOUSE – WHARE TUPUNA

In Ngāi Tahu and Māori traditional society, the most iconic form in remembering those who have passed is the whare tupuna – the ancestral house or the meeting house for the tribe. The whare tupuna is a powerful metaphor and institution in Māoridom. These houses, whilst performing key social and cultural functions for the collective, are a visual representation and living memorial to ancestors who have paved the way for their people and who now, through the whare, continue to shelter and nurture the people.

The ridge pole of the whare is likened to the spine, the backbone of an ancestor, while the supporting beams coming down to the walls represent the ribs of the ancestor, which in turn connect to the upright poles along the sides of the whare, each often representing a specific ancestor. The upright poles within the whare that support the backbone are also often seen to depict, via carvings, key ancestors. Looking at the face of the whare from outside on the ātea (ceremonial courtyard), the traditional carved meeting house has a carved depiction of an eponymous ancestor on the apex of the whare, known as the tekoteko.

Thus, in Māori traditions, the whare tupuna operates as a living memorial to those who have passed on, a place to learn and recall the achievements of ancestors, and to affirm collective identity and memory through whakapapa (genealogy), oratory and waiata (song). Within the whare tupuna, there is a sense of warmth, shelter and at times solitude; more often, there is an all-pervasive sense of whanaungatanga (relationships and connections). The walls of most whare tupuna are adorned with images and photos of ancestors and the hapū's deceased – an ongoing reminder of past generations that fuels our collective memory and our shared identity.

The concept of a 'living' whare tupuna may serve as some inspiration to the Memorial's designers, at least in a metaphorical or symbolic fashion. Such a whare (house) might have native trees for the poutokomanawa (centre pole) and poupou (upright poles), with the constellations as a purapurawhetū (finely latticed ceiling), a ngutu (gateway or portal), while the river Ōtākaro/Avon River might serve as a tahuhu (backbone) of sorts for Memorial.

TE ORANGA HOU – NEW LIFE

Traditionally, Ngāi Tūāhuriri have often commemorated the passing of a loved one with the planting of a tree. Some of those trees were given the names of those for whom they were planted. At one level, the tree grows into an ongoing living memorial to the deceased. At a more esoteric and philosophical level, the tree in time serves to provide new life, shelter and sustenance to those around it. In this respect the tree marks the ongoing life force of those who have passed, a living monument that triggers both memory and a sense of renewal.

At Tuahiwi marae in times of old, on the passing of a member of the tribe, a tree was planted near the marae. This tradition continues in some respect at places such as the wetland reserve at Ōtukaikino,[1] wherein native New Zealand trees are planted to commemorate loved ones who have passed away – thus creating a living memorial within a beautiful environment to which they may return, to reflect, to remember, to gather their strength.

At Ōtukaikino, specific trees are not dedicated to any one person; rather, a tree is merely added to the growing corpus of vegetation that pays tribute to the collective of those who have passed.

1. *www.doc.govt.nz/parks-and-recreation/places-to-visit/canterbury/christchurch-and-banks-peninsula/otukaikino*

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

Ōtukaikino Wetland Reserve

This concept of a living memorial is apt also for the Memorial, and aligns with the proposed site for the Memorial within Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct, with its emphasis on reconnecting and engaging the community with the natural environment.

MŌTEATEA – SONGS OF LAMENT

Ngāi Tūāhuriri are no strangers to tragedy, loss and grief. As noted in the Grand Narrative, the fall of Kaiapoi Pā marked a turning point in Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu history and generated a deep and enduring collective pain that has echoed through the generations. Yet Ngāi Tūāhuriri survived and in time prospered again. The tribal values at the heart of Ngāi Tūāhuriri identity such as manaaki, atawhai and rangatiratanga were no doubt critical in moving the collective past the grief of the losses incurred at Kaiapoi. But also influential was the traditional process of grieving, the process of commemorating those who were lost.

One of the traditions that continue to this day is the composition and passing down of mōteatea – songs of lament for loved ones who have passed. Mōteatea are an ancient form of waiata (song or chant) that play a critical role in keeping oral traditions alive and in remembering those who have passed away.

An example of a mōteatea is 'E Kimi Ana', a famous dirge among Ngāi Tahu that questions the causes and source of death, and explores the process of grieving by those left behind. Matiaha Tiramorehu composed this mōteatea for his wife after she had taken her own life.

E kimi ana i te mate o te motu
I ngā waniwani a mua a Weka
Nana i whakapiki ka reo o te tini
o te iwi o te ao o o o
Waiho kia mate ana te tangata
tuarua tia nei e koe te mamae ki au
E tira ka huri kino koe
i au u u u
Haere rā whatu karokaro i te Tahu
e karo tonu atu koe i au
Haere rā e hine i te ara whānui e rori
Ka tika ia Hinetitama i a Tahu Kumea i a Tahu Whakairo
ka tika tea ra ki te mate
Huaparaunoa e Tāne ki te whai
Nō hea e mou mai koi ana i tapoko atu ai
ki roto o te tatau o te whare o Pohutukawa
Ko pou tere Rangi e oti tonu atu koe te tahu e e e
Hoki kau mai nei e Tāne ki te ao
Ko miro kino ai tena kakau penei me aue
Mo motu kino nei
Taku manawa ki a koe e te Tahu e
Whakapiki te haere a Tahu ki te Rangi i a Rehua i runga
Whakapiki te haere a Tahu ki te Rangi i a Tama-i-waho
Whakapiki titahi te haere a Tama ki te rangi i a Te-Rangi
Whakaupoko i runga ka tuturu ano te Kāhui Ariki
Kei te mutuka heke

Entrance to Ōtukaikino Wetland Reserve.

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

iho nei a e Tāne ki te whenua
ka tipu e tangata e i noho I e Ao Marama e i i i

ROIMATA – TEARS OF LAMENT AND HEALING

There is great healing power within tears– roimata. Roimata are a manifestation of the process, the emotions and pain of longing and grief, of lament for a loved one, or in anguish and times of tragedy generally. The expression of sorrow and remembering through tears is a metaphor evident in the earliest of Māori traditions and, in the traditions of many iwi, appears with the story of the separation of Rakinui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku. For eons, these lovers and primordial parents had been locked in a loving and all-encompassing embrace. Their children resided in the darkness and cramped conditions between Rakinui and Papatūānuku. After unsuccessful attempts by his brothers, it was Tāne – God of the Forest – who eventually was able to separate Rakinui and Papatūānuku, thus opening up the world to light and understanding – Te Ao Marama.

In Ngāi Tūāhuriri and other tribal traditions, the rain is in fact the tears of grief falling from Rakinui, who remains bereft at being separated from his lover. In turn, the dew of the morning represents the tears of Papatūānuku – who gazes upwards to her husband with longing and despair.

Through the centuries, tears – the process of crying – has become a natural part of the process of grieving in most cultures, and continues to be evident on marae across the country at takiaue (funerals) where kuia (elderly women) in particular express raw emotions and grief through wailing and through emotional bursts of crying. These kuia will often be seen wearing pare kawakawa – green wreaths upon their heads made from the kawakawa plant (*Piper excelsum*) – and will sit within the mahau (porch) of the wharenui supporting the process of grief and remembering through tears and lament.

This then connects us to the use and image of water – the power of water to cleanse, renew and heal. The proximity of the proposed location of the Memorial alongside the Ōtākaro/Avon River provides an ideal opportunity to link the Memorial – at least symbolically but perhaps also in a tangible design sense – with water and the metaphor of tears.

KARANGA

In a similar vein to mōteatea, the act and process of karanga (a cry, wail or call) continue to be an important means of remembering the dead for Ngāi Tahu and Māori generally. The karanga is usually heard at a traditional Māori welcome (pōwhiri) and is the first cry of welcome on the marae. Karanga is the domain of women, most often the elderly women of the tribe or group. It is the first voice heard at a pōwhiri and is laden with emotion, lament, ihi (energy) and spirituality. In many respects, the karanga is a call to awaken and bring forth the spirits of those who have gone, to bring their guidance and oversight to the proceedings at hand.

When calling out her karanga, the kaikaranga (caller) will usually make reference to those who have passed away, to remind the audience of loved ones no longer present, of the ancestors' continued influence on our lives. Often those undertaking the karanga will be overcome with tears and emotion, particularly if the occasion is a takiaue (funeral).

For Ngāi Tahu, the process of grieving through tears and through sound – mōteatea and karanga, for example – are important aspects of remembering those who have passed away, and they continue to be a vital part of the process of healing.

NGĀ WHETŪ O TE RANGI – STARS OF THE SOUTHERN SKY

Traditions associated with astronomy and the constellations continue to be of significance to Ngāi Tahu and perhaps offer a further means of connecting the Memorial to the natural world, and to those elements and aspects of cosmology pertinent to Waitaha/Canterbury. For Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the stars were an essential guide to seasonal activities, a map, and a canvas upon which to create and affirm tribal identity and stories. For Ngāi Tūāhuriri the stars, particularly those present in February, provide a tapestry and visual reference point that might be incorporated into the Memorial design.

As noted in the Square Narrative, the traditions associated with Whitireia – the house of Paikea – and its links to Tuahiwi, and the links also to the path of the Sun – 'te taumata o Te Rā' – all provide rich material to inform and assist with the development of the Memorial project. As proposed in the Square Narrative, Whitireia has an apt connection to the Square in the heart of the central city. Continuing the celestial theme, for Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the most appropriate celestial body for the Memorial is the star Aotahi – Canopus (Alpha Carinae).

AOTAHI – TE UPOKO O NGĀ WHETŪ

In Ngāi Tahu traditions, Aotahi is the name of the star Canopus. Aotahi is the second brightest star in the night-time sky, second only to Sirius (Takurua or Rehua). The name Aotahi, or its other tribal variations of Autahi or Atutahi, translates approximately as 'first light' or 'single light', intimating the star's solitary nature and position in the sky. Aotahi is regarded as a very tapu (sacred) star and always dwells alone. Aotahi is particularly prevalent in the southern sky in the month of February.

Aotahi has several different mythologies attached to it as well. In Ngāi Tūāhuriri traditions, it was the God Tāne who affixed all of the stars, including Aotahi, to his great cloak, which he then cast across the heavens. He then secured the cloak using four great pegs – Pari nuku, Pari-raki, Hira uta and Hira tai.

Like the hands on a clock face, Aotahi and Te Punga (the anchor, the Southern Cross) move around the unmoving heart of the southern skies, the South Celestial Pole. In the dawn sky, Te Punga is buried in the south. In some tribal traditions, Aotahi anchors a great waka to Papatūānuku. In this context, the star is referred to as Te Taki o Aotahi, a towline to Aotahi from the shores of Papatūānuku. As Aotahi moves ever higher in the sky, it tugs at Te Punga. Slowly, the anchor is lifted from its resting place and the great waka begins to move away from the horizon to sail once again across Te Wainui o Te Ranginui (the great ocean of the Skyfather).

Another Māori tradition tells of how Aotahi was left outside of the basket representing the Milky Way when Tāne wove it. Another related myth surrounding the star says that Aotahi was the first-born child of Rangi who refused to enter the Milky Way and so turned it sideways and rose before it.

In some traditions, it is said that Tāne cast the stars across the heavens from his great kete (basket). It is said that Aotahi was the elder sibling amongst all the stars, and was reluctant to leave Tāne's kete. Aotahi thus clung to its sides. In the Māori worldview, that is why Aotahi now sits, somewhat aloof and in solitude, to the side of the main body of stars that make up Te Ika Roa A Te Rangi – the Great Fish in the Sky (the Milky Way). This aloofness, and desire to differentiate himself, is why, in Ngāi Tūāhuriri traditions Aotahi is referred to as 'Te Upoko o Ngā Whetū', the lord of the stars. In other tribal traditions, Aotahi is known as 'Te Upoko o Te Tau', the lord of the year.

Aotahi had a special place, along with Rigel (Puaka), because of their intimate association with kūmara cultivation. Their appearance in the eastern sky was the sign for planting to begin. Aotahi and Puaka could also be used to foretell the weather. Prior to European arrival, Aotahi was used to foretell the seasons. According to tradition, if its rays extended toward the south it foretold rain and snow, and an inclement season; if toward the north a mild season followed.

When undertaking the rituals to send the deceased's spirit on their way beyond the veil to the spirit world, a tohunga (seer/priest) would often locate the brightest star in the night sky, and then – with the appropriate prayer and incantations – send the spirit off towards the star, with the star guiding the path that was to be travelled. Therefore, in the case of those lost in the February earthquake, the spirits of those who have passed would, traditionally, have been sent off towards Aotahi – the brightest beacon in the February night sky, guiding them on the journey towards their final resting place.

This connection between death and the stars is also reflected in a phrase often heard when referring to the deceased (for instance, at a traditional takiaue or tangihanga (funeral)): "Kua whetū rangihia" – they have now become one of the stars in the heavens.

HAPOPO – GOD OF TRAGEDY

In many iwi traditions, Rūaumoko is the god of earthquakes and the youngest child of Rakinui and Papatūānuku. Rūaumoko is often personified as a baby, still nestled deep within the bosom of his mother, Papatūānuku. Whilst, to some extent, Ngāi Tahu traditions reference Rūaumoko, in times of tragedy and collective loss, there is more emphasis placed upon the atua (god) Hapopo.

In his recollections concerning the fall of Kaiapoi Pā and in recounting Ngāi Tahu oral traditions, Natanahira Waruwarutu refers to Hapopo in the context of great tragedy, when there is a collective sense that the gods are against the tribe.

TE HAU KAI TAKATA – THE NOR'WEST WIND

The nor'west wind is another natural element prevalent in the Canterbury landscape in February and should inform the design of the Memorial. Known to Ngāi Tūāhuriri as Te-mauru-e-taki-nei, or more commonly, Te Hau Kai Takata – the wind that devours humankind – the nor'wester is the wind that dominates Canterbury from October through to late autumn.

1. *www.doc.govt.nz/parks-and-recreation/places-to-visit/canterbury/christchurch-and-banks-peninsula/otukaikino*

NGAI-TAHU

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

Memorial at Kaiapoi Pā.

CHRISTIANITY

Like other iwi, the ancestors of Ngāi Tūāhuriri embraced Christianity for a range of spiritual, social, economic and political motives, particularly in the wake of the dislocation of intertribal conflict in the 1820s and 1830s. For Ngāi Tūāhuriri, while the Memorial should be inclusive of all cultures and religions, it is important that the Memorial reflects the relationship of Ngāi Tahu and Canterbury's settler communities with the Christian faith. This relationship includes the corpus of Christianity's doctrines and teachings on renewal, hope and resurrection. Such doctrines and teachings were a source of strength for Ngāi Tūāhuriri in the 19th century as the people recovered from the loss of both Kaiapoi Pā and many leaders of the tribe.

Christianity, whether through the Church of England, the Rātana Church or other strands of the religion, has assisted Ngāi Tūāhuriri, as a collective and as individuals, to lift the dark cloud of grief. So too should the traditions and teachings of Christianity be an ongoing source of strength and recovery now in the wake of the earthquakes. The first relationship Ngāi Tūāhuriri had with Christianity was with the Anglican Church. St Stephens's church at Tuahiwi bears testament to the historical relationship between Ngāi Tūāhuriri and the Anglican Church.

The traditional rituals and practices in relation to death and mourning were led by the tohunga of Ngāi Tahu. These rituals were often very complicated and onerous. Like other iwi, Ngāi Tahu looked on Christianity as a means of uplifting themselves and providing a means to leave behind the darkness and grief of the past. Christianity aligned with Ngāi Tahu values and offered a means of renewal, healing and salvation. So too did the Rātana Church, which was subsequently embraced by Ngāi Tūāhuriri after some members of the tribe felt that the Anglican Church had not sufficiently protected or advanced the interests of Ngāi Tahu with the settler communities and government, particularly during the general malaise and widespread poverty and landlessness of the tribe in the late 19th century.

The Rātana Church (and the subsequent political movement) was founded by Tahu Wiremu Pōtiki Rātana in the early 19th century, and has its headquarters at the settlement of Rātana, near Whanganui. Noting the discussion above in terms of the importance of stars for Ngāi Tūāhuriri in the Memorial design, the symbol of the star is also an integral part of the Rātana emblem. The five-pointed star of Rātana along with the crescent moon is often seen on the lapels of mōrehu

(the scattered remnant, Rātana followers) and at prominent points on church buildings. The golden crescent moon (symbolising enlightenment) can face different parts of the coloured star: blue represents Te Matua (the Father), white is Te Tama (the Son), red is Te Wairua Tapu (Holy Spirit) and purple is Ngā Anahera Pono (the loyal angels). Te whetū mārama represents the kingdom of light or Māramatanga, standing firm against the forces of darkness (mākutu).

CONCLUSION

This report is a starting point to inform the design process for the Memorial, to ensure it accords with Ngāi Tūāhuriri values and aspirations. Ngāi Tūāhuriri does not take lightly its role as 'host' and mana whenua. It feels compelled to practise and perpetuate the values of atawhai and manaaki to all of those who reside within its ancestral lands. Accordingly, Ngāi Tūāhuriri is committed to providing ongoing assistance and input into the design and build process for the Memorial in the months and years ahead. It is our hope that the Memorial reflects and embodies the traditions and values of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, as well as all Canterbury settlers, and becomes an iconic international testament to both those who were lost in earthquakes and those who remain.

Mō tātou, ā, mō ngā uri am muri ake nei.

For us and for those that will follow.

THE PUBLIC REALM OF CENTRAL CHRISTCHURCH NARRATIVE

Written by Debbie Tikao, Landscape Architect and
General Manager of the Matapopore Charitable Trust.

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861

EXIT
NO HEELS

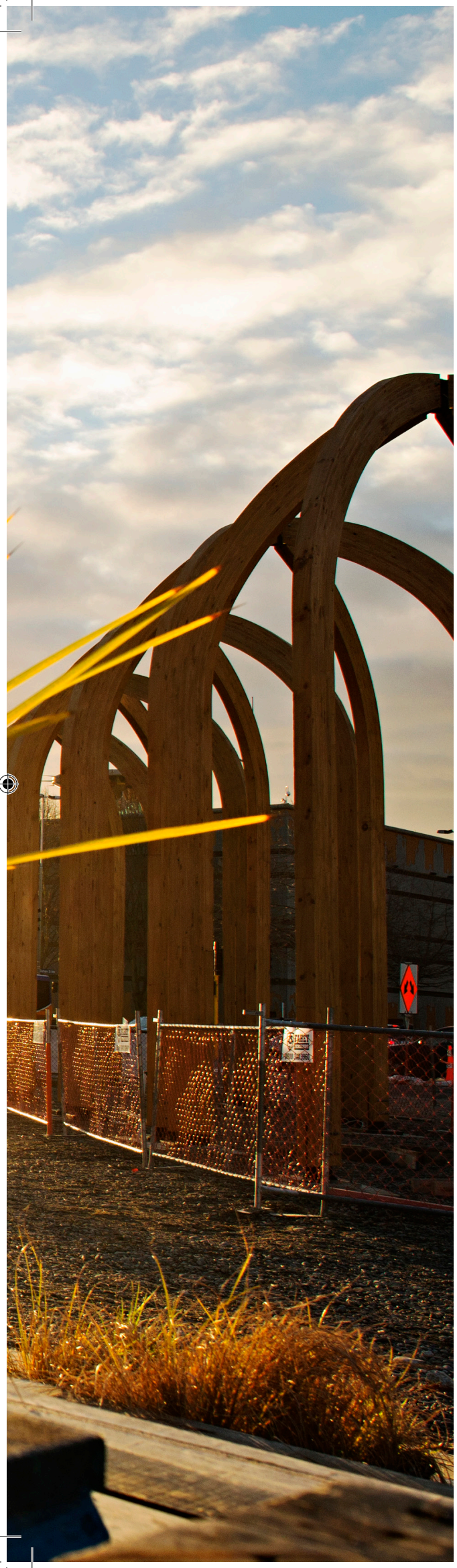


Image Credit: Dean Mackenzie

INTRODUCTION

This historical narrative weaves together Ngāi Tahu cultural values, stories and traditional knowledge associated with Ōtautahi (Christchurch) and the highly mobile existence of hapū and whānau groups within the Canterbury area and the wider landscape of Te Waipounamu (South Island). The focus of this historical narrative therefore is on this mobile way of life and the depth of knowledge of the natural environment and natural phenomena that was needed to navigate the length and breadth of the diverse and extreme landscape of Te Waipounamu.

The story that will unfold is not one of specific sites or specific areas, but rather a story of passage and the detailed cognitive maps that evolved over time through successive generations, which wove together spiritual, genealogical, historical and physical information that bound people to place and provided knowledge of landscape features, mahinga kai and resting places along the multitude of trails that established the basis for an economy based on trade and kinship. This knowledge system has been referred to in other places as an oral map or a memory map, which are both good descriptions; however, here it is referred to as a cognitive map in an attempt to capture the multiple layers of ordered and integrated information it contains.

This historical narrative has been written to guide the design of the public realm of the Christchurch central business area, including the public spaces within the East and South frames. It is the intention of this chapter to leave the designer or design team inspired, but most importantly to leave them with a greater level of understanding of the significance of whakapapa and the interconnected relationship between Māori and the environment. Within this relationship there is much traditional knowledge that can be learnt, and from this understanding there lies the possibility of designing a public realm that integrates and connects with traditional landscapes and ways of knowing to create spaces that not only reflect the cultures of the place but also respect and restore the environment and the traditional values systems embedded within it.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is a Treaty partner with the Crown, including the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is a strategic partner for earthquake recovery in Canterbury, in terms of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 (CER Act) (including sections 11, 17, 20 and 59). Ngāi Tūāhuriri is the hapū with mana whenua and customary right over Ōtautahi. The takiwā of Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, in accordance with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (Declaration of Membership) Order 2001, is:

> The takiwā of Te Kāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga centres on Tūāhiwi and extends from the Hurunui to Hakatere, sharing an interest in Arowhenua Rūnanga northward to Rakaia, and thence inland to the main divide.

The representative entity of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, has mandated a steering group known as Matapopore to represent the interests of Ngāi Tūāhuriri as they relate to the Christchurch Central Recovery Plan (Recovery Plan). The consulting team comprises Ngāi Tahu's pre-eminent historian Dr Te Maire Tau and specialists in iwi engagement and advisory services.

The Recovery Plan outlines the cultural significance of Ōtautahi to Ngāi Tahu and the aspirations of Ngāi Tahu within the redevelopment of the city:

> While this Plan necessarily presents a shared vision and programmes for the redevelopment of the central city, it also presents Christchurch with the opportunity

> to both incorporate and showcase Ngāi Tahu cultural identity and values in a more visionary and integrated way. It takes the approach of intertwining Māori culture into the redevelopment of the central city, and as such can be celebrated as a sound foundation for a 21st century relationship in urban planning.[1]

A number of Ngāi Tahu historical narratives have been completed already for various precincts such as the Justice and Emergency Services Precinct and Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct (both written by Dr Te Maire Tau). These existing narratives have discussed the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi to Ngāi Tahu and the long intergenerational fight for redress that led to the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998. Rather than reading the same information here, the reader is directed to these existing narratives to gain an understanding of the effects that loss of land and loss of mahinga kai had on the traditional economy and wellbeing of Ngāi Tahu, spanning many generations.

As we move into what some commentators describe as the "post-settlement" era,[2] the Crown and Māori are in the process of forging new relationships and governance structures within the field of natural resource management to build bridges and give effect to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Within this post-settlement era, iwi are building both wealth and capacity and looking to create innovative partnership arrangements with the Crown and Crown agencies to advance their desire for rangatiratanga and to exercise kaitiakitanga: "Kaitiakitanga involves the sustainable use of environmental resources by tāngata whenua for social maintenance and development, central to the development of indigenous te tino rangatiratanga."[3]

The CER Act provides the mechanism for recognition and acknowledgment of Ngāi Tūāhuriri as mana whenua through Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu as the Treaty partner with the Crown, and to ensure the participation of mana whenua in the redevelopment of Christchurch city so that they can continue to strengthen cultural identity, traditions and their relationship to this environment.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PUBLIC REALM TO NGĀI TAHU

In the physical sense, the public realm is defined as publicly owned streets, pathways, lanes, parks, plazas, squares, publicly accessible open spaces, and public and civic building and facilities. It is within this space that we carry out our everyday lives, as well as where we come together to participate in community activities. How public spaces are planned, designed and built can impact on our experience of the city, how safe we feel and how we feel about it as the place in which we live, socialise, visit or work:

> Public space is all around us, a vital part of everyday urban life: the street we pass through on the way to work, the places where children play, or where we encounter nature and wildlife; the local parks in which we enjoy sports, walk the dog or sit at lunchtime; or simply, somewhere quiet to get away for a moment from the bustle of a busy daily life. In other words, public space is our open-air living room, or outdoor leisure centre.[4]

Social geographer James Kunstler believes that the public realm is the physical manifestation of the common good in a society, that there is a relationship between the surroundings and the behaviour of a society.[5]

1. *Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, Christchurch Central Recovery Plan, Christchurch, 2012, p 39.*
2. *P. Callister, and D. Bromell, A Changing Population, Changing Identities: The Crown – Māori Relationship in 50 Years' Time? Institute of Policy Studies Working Paper, Wellington, 2011.*
3. *Kawhary as cited in G. Dodson, 'Co-governance and Local Empowerment? Conservation Partnership Frameworks and Marine Protection at Mimiwhangata, New Zealand', Society and Natural Resources: An International Journal, 27:5, 521 – 539, 2014, p 526.*
4. *The Value of Public Space, CABE Space, 2004 (www. CABE Space).*
5. *J. Kunstler, The Public Realm and the Common Good. Home from Nowhere: Remaking, Our Everyday World for the 21st Century, Touchstone: New York, 1998.*

The public realm tells the story of who we are – our histories, cultures, values and creative expression are embedded in the fabric of this space. The identity of this space is inseparable from the users' experience of the city, how they identify with themselves, each other and this environment.

It has long been acknowledged that the public realm of central Christchurch prior to the earthquakes favoured the stories of the English who settled in this land over 160 years ago. The landscape character that evolved closely reflects that of the traditional English aesthetic that now forms the dominant identity for Christchurch, 'the Garden City'. This aesthetic is undeniably charming; however, it has all but smothered and degraded the prior layers of cultural identity, values and traditions associated with this landscape. Ōtautahi is a place of cultural significance to Ngāi Tahu and the Recovery Plan includes a map of central Christchurch showing areas of cultural significance:

Ōtākaro (Avon River) and ***Ōpāwaho*** (Heathcote River): supported extensive wetlands and mahinga kai (food and resource gathering place) in the Christchurch region.

Tautahi: Mahinga kai and kāinga nohoanga (village settlement) located on the banks of the Ōtākaro (Avon River).

Tautahi Rua Kōiwi: Kōiwi tāngata (human remains) were discovered at the location of St Luke's Vicarage. This site is believed to be the burial place of Tautahi.

Puāri: A mahinga kai and kāinga nohoanga (village settlement) located on the banks of the Ōtākaro.

Puāri Pā Urupā: The urupā (burial place) for Puāri was situated in sandhills set back from the Ōtākaro on the site of the former Christchurch Public Library at the intersection of Cambridge Terrace and Hereford Street.

Tī Kouka Fishing Marker: A tī kōuka (cabbage tree) that was used as a fishing marker by local Māori in the 19th century stood on the northeast corner of the CBD in the grounds of Englefield Lodge until its removal in 1922. The tī kōuka was formally replaced in 1994.

Market Square: Market Square, currently known as Victoria Square, was an important site of early trading between Ngāi Tahu and European settlers. Many Ngāi Tahu, particularly Ngāi Tūāhuriri from Kaiapoi, came to Market Square to sell their produce.

Little Hagley Park: Little Hagley Park is the sliver of land between Harper Avenue and Carlton Mill Road. In the colonial period it became a meeting and resting place for Ngāi Tahu, mostly Ngāi Tūāhuriri, who often travelled great distances to Christchurch to sell or trade.[6]

All of these culturally significant areas are intersected by the public realm (streets and facilities), or form the basis for the open space network such as the Ōtākaro/Avon River, Little Hagley Park and Market Square (Victoria Square). A number of these areas will be or have already been discussed in more detail within the Ngāi Tahu historical narratives for anchor projects such as Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct. The whole of the central area of Christchurch was of significance to Ngāi Tahu as a mahinga kai, as an area of passage between the main Māori settlements at Kaiapoi Pā and Te Pātaka a Rākaihautū (Banks Peninsula), coastal, estuarine and lake mahinga kai of Wairewa (Lake Forsyth), Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) and Te Riu o Te Aika

6. *Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, Christchurch Central Recovery Plan, p 12.*

kawa (Brooklands Lagoon). The central area of Christchurch formed an important part of a network of trails that connected these settlements and mahinga kai to each other, and to natural resources and settlements throughout Te Waipounamu. As such, these ancestral trails, which included river passage and walking, served much the same purpose as the public road network does today. They connected family groups living in different settlements, provided access for trade, areas for rest and temporary shelter along the way, and access to food and necessary supplies for longer journeys.

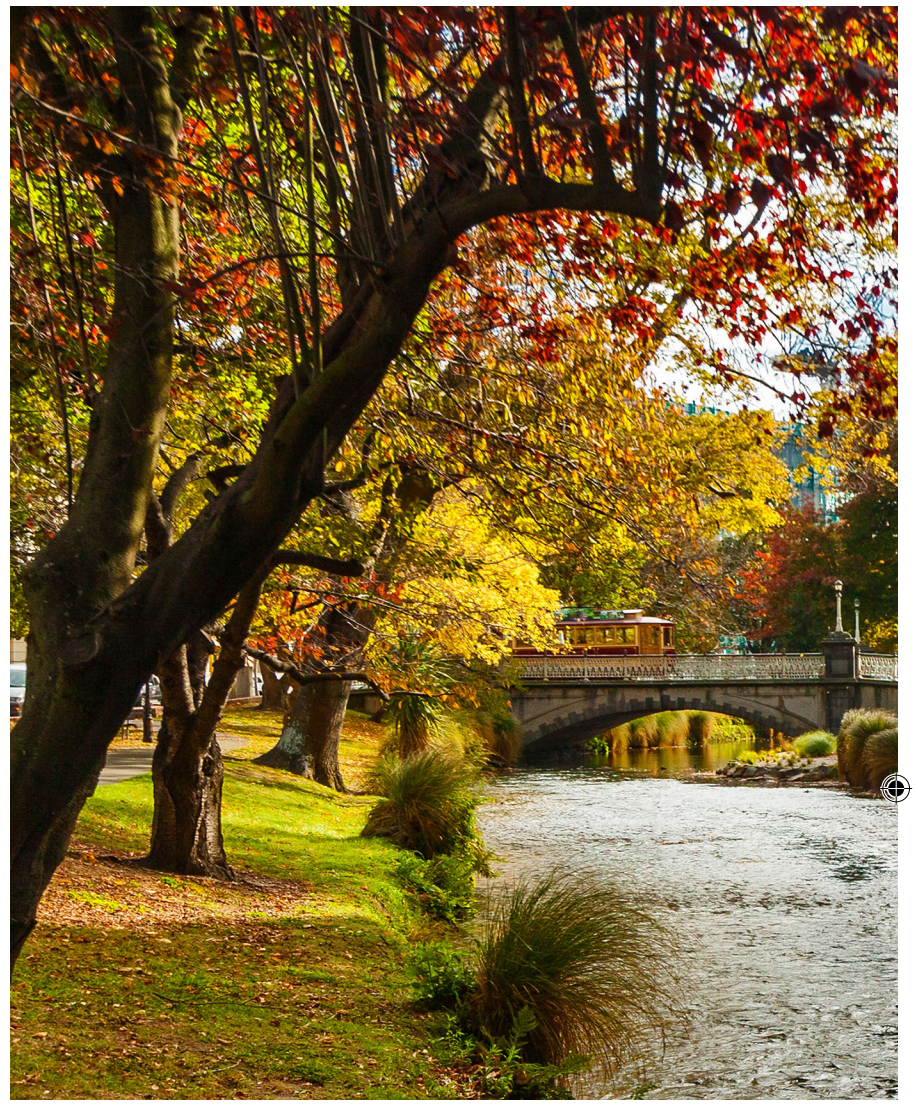
The cultural significance of central Christchurch to Ngāi Tahu is evident in the many oral traditions and historical manuscripts that have recorded the knowledge of traditional customs, whakapapa and histories of this area. Acknowledging, protecting and celebrating cultural histories and values within the public realm will have many benefits to the community of Christchurch as a whole. Building pride in Ngāi Tahu identity and culture will have a beneficial effect on the wellbeing of Māori and their sense of belonging, and build shared pride and community cohesiveness. A visible cultural identity within the public realm is experienced by all. Ngāi Tahu identity has formed through whakapapa and this identity is unique to this place and, through design, art and language, it can inform a unique and meaningful sense of place, which will enrich the experience of the city:

> ***Tūrangawaewae*** – Sense of Belonging: This principle is primarily about recognising and giving expression to Ngāi Tahu's place of standing/tūrangawaewae in Christchurch/Ōtautahi. It is about acknowledging those who connect by whakapapa (blood lines) to the many wakawaka (places of settlement) in the area, having particular regard to their cultural knowledge, needs and aspirations.[7]

PASSAGE AND NAVIGATION

Te Waipounamu is a landscape of extremes. From snow-covered rugged mountain ranges, to sandy sheltered bays, snow-fed braided rivers to low-lying swampland, each landscape contains specific ecological conditions that culminated in a landscape rich in natural resources. For Ngāi Tahu, and Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha before them, it was this bounty that they came for and came to rely upon for survival. They moved around nearly the whole of Te Waipounamu hunting and gathering the diversity of resources this landscape provided, from north to south, east to west. They traversed the low-lying plains, travelled along the many river courses and through the mountainous and dangerous terrain of Kā Tiritiri o te moana (Southern Alps) to access the precious pounamu. Ngāi Tahu and the tribes before them developed detailed cognitive maps to help them navigate this vast and often hostile environment. In these maps were contained the tribe's traditions and histories about the land that was founded on the naming of landscape features, food resources and resting places. The first layer to this map is told through the story of the early Waitaha explorer, Rākaihautū.

This story tells of how Rākaihautū travelled the length and breadth of Te Waipounamu, developing a cognitive map of the landscape and natural resources as he went. This process was more than the memorising and naming of the physical features of the land; more significantly it was the embedding of whakapapa into the landscape. For Māori, the spiritual, natural and psychic worlds are intertwined. Humanity is viewed as part of an interconnected system in which all things have a role to play and in which all living things descend from the same primal parents, Rakinui and Papatūānuku. As such, everything in the universe, inanimate or animate, has its own whakapapa.



7. *N. Harris, Matapopore Environmental Statement and Benchmarks, unpublished report prepared for Matapopore, 2014, p 4.*

Image Credit: Damon McPhail

The story of Rākaihautū starts with *Uruao*, the primary waka of Waitaha. There are numerous accounts of this ancestral waka and the exploits of the founding ancestor of Waitaha, Rākaihautū. The legends tell of how the *Uruao* was guided by the tail of the summer constellation Scorpio[8] and that the *Uruao* then became the stars that guided the waka. After the *Uruao* beached at Whakatū (Nelson), Rākaihautū headed inland with his party, carving out all the major lakes with his kō (digging stick). On reaching the Canterbury area he dug out the lakes Te Wairewa and Te Waihora. Te Waihora was named Te Kete ika a Rākaihautū (the fishing basket of Rākaihautū) and Banks Peninsula was claimed as Te Pātaka a Rākaihautū (the great food storage house of Rākaihautū). Directly across Akaroa Harbour from Ōnuku Marae stands the distinctive Tuhiraki (Mt Bossu). This peak is said to have been formed when Rākaihautū thrust his kō (digging stick) into the ground.

The Māori worldview and relationship to the natural and spiritual world are embedded in the structure of their language, naming of landscape features and places, and myth and legend. Myths and legends hold fundamental knowledge and "were deliberate constructs employed by the ancient seers and sages to encapsulate and condense into easily assimilated forms their view of the world, of ultimate reality and the relationship between the Creator, the universe and man".[9]

As Rākaihautū embedded the major landscape features with whakapapa, he also left spiritual guardians. Te Maire Tau notes, "During his travels he left spiritual guardians on the Waiau River, for example. These tribal stories finish by telling us: 'Ko Rākaihautū te takata, nāna i tīmata ai kā ahi i ruka i ēnei motu' (It was Rākaihautū who lit the fires of occupation upon this island)."[10]

8. *E. R. Prendergast-Tarena, He Atua, He Tipua, He Takata Ranei: The Dynamics of Change in South Island Māori oral Traditions, University of Canterbury, Unpublished thesis, 2008.*

9. *M. Marsden, and T.A. Henare, Kaitiakitanga: A Definitive Introduction to the Holistic Worldview of the Maori, Unpublished paper, 1992, p 3.*

10. *T. Tau, Kāi Tahu and the Canterbury Landscape: 'A Broad Context', Southern Capital, Christchurch: Towards a City Biography, 1850–2000. Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, p 48.*

This detailed cognitive map wove together spiritual, genealogical, historical and physical information that bound people to place. The naming process had an order to it, whereby hills and mountains often bore the names of waka and chiefly tīpuna associated with the waka. Other major landscape features such as lakes and rivers also told the stories of ancestral waka and tīpuna. As successive tribes migrated to Te Waipounamu, they did not disrupt the oral map that had been drawn by Waitaha, but rather merged their whakapapa over time into the existing one. Te Maire Tau notes that this process occurred at a concurrent rate of tribal intermarriage.[11]

Smaller landscape features were also named; these names often related to lesser ancestors, ancestors of later tribes and the historical events or actions relating to them, or the naming also often spoke of the natural resources available there. The intricate detail of this map was noted by a Pākehā, Edward Shortland, who visited Te Waipounamu in 1840. He wrote that he was "surprised to find that, even in this thinly populated part of the country, names had been given to many small streams and ravines, which one would have imagined scarcely worthy of notice…".[12]

This tells us that this cognitive map that was retained in oral tradition was not static but rather was developed in detail over time. We might refer to such a document today as a 'living or working document', in that we add to it as new information comes to hand. This built up detailed knowledge of the environment and the interconnected way in which we relate to it, and served as vital information for the highly mobile economic and social network that evolved in this landscape.

The migration story of Ngāi Tahu from the east coast of the North Island to Canterbury is often told through the oral tradition of the accounts of Moki and his elder brother Tūrākautahi. Moki was the war chief of this expedition and the youngest son of Tūāhuriri, the senior Ngāi Tahu chief of the hapū Ngāi Tūhaitara (later to become Ngāi Tūāhuriri). I don't intend telling this story in any detail here, but I will cover aspects of it that relate to the richness of natural resources that this landscape had to offer.

Ngāi Tahu historians Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson, in *Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History*, tell us that Kaiapu and Tamakino were making their way north to the Ngāi Tahu stronghold of Kaikōura, after accompanying Waitai in his fighting rampage in the south. As they travelled, they noted the resources of the land in detail. On arriving at Kaikōura, they went to the house of their brother in-law, Moki, and it was there that they told their story to the principal chiefs of the pā.

They told of the thickly forested Banks Peninsula, the immense number of rats and weka that were running amongst the tussock and scrub, the luxurious growth of tī kōuka (cabbage trees), the rivers and streams that were teaming with tuna (eel) and other fish, and the endless amount of flat fish within Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere).

Mako was there and asked about the food available at Ōhiri (Little River). On hearing of the weka, kākā, kererū and tuna that were available there in Te Wairewa (Lake Forsyth) and the surrounding landscape, Mako claimed the Little River valley and Te Wairewa as his by saying, "Inland is a pillow for my head and on the coast a rest for my feet". In a similar fashion, Te Ruahikihiki claimed Te Waihora, Kaitōrete Spit and the surrounding landscape as his. The promise of resources within these landscapes spurred the chiefs to go forth to Canterbury and secure these prizes for themselves. It is also important to note that it wasn't only the incentive of abundant resources that motivated Ngāi Tahu chiefs to migrate

11. *Ibid.*

12. *B. Dacker, The People of the Place: Mahika Kai, The New Zealand Commission, 1990, p 17.*

further south, but also the opportunity to avenge the deaths of two of the wives of Tūāhuriri who had been killed by Tūtekawa, a Ngāti Māmoe chief living at Waikākahi, on the shores of Te Waihora.[13]

Moki led the war party south to avenge the death of his father's wives. After the death of Tūtekawa, Tūrākautahi then ordered the migration from Kaikōura to Canterbury. Areas that hadn't been claimed during Moki's expedition were soon claimed by other Ngāi Tahu chiefs. Te Rakiwhakaputa (father-in-law of Tūrākautahi) claimed Te Whakaraupō (Lyttelton Harbour) and established himself at the place now known as Rāpaki. Te Wheke (son of Te Rakiwhakaputa) settled at the mouth of the Ōpāwaho (Heathcote River), Huikao occupied Koukourārata and his son, Tautahi, constructed the pā Ōtautahi within the central Christchurch area. Other areas were systematically claimed by occupation and by disposing of Ngāti Māmoe living there.[14]

Tūrākautahi and Moki built a pā in the Taerutu lagoon that was later to become known as Kaiapoi Pā. The location of Kaiapoi Pā was strategic. It had access to vast areas of forest, kiore (rats) and manu within the Canterbury Plains and numerous other mahinga kai, such as the surrounding swamps and rivers. Kaiapoi was en route to Kaikōura and close to the Ōtira-Waimakariri trail (Arthur's Pass) for pounamu and the wealth of natural resources of Banks Peninsula and Te Waihora. With Ngāi Tahu chiefs all established within these areas, the scene was set for an economic and social life based on mahinga kai.

The centrally positioned pā of Kaiapoi became the major trading centre of pounamu for Ngāi Tahu. The success of this extensive trading network of pounamu and other natural resources relied on detailed knowledge of the natural environment and natural phenomena. The extensive and extreme landscape of Te Waipounamu offered a rich diversity of natural resources, all located within specific and sometimes far-reaching areas. The cooler South Island climate also meant that traditional cultivated foods such as kūmara could not grow any further south than Banks Peninsula so the hunting and gathering of food was a vital part of the lives of southern Māori. A highly mobile way of life existed, which revolved around knowledge of the seasons, animal life cycles and growth cycles of plants. The area known today as central Christchurch was frequently traversed as Māori moved between Banks Peninsula and Kaiapoi Pā.

PASSAGE AND THE LANDSCAPE OF ŌTAUTAHI

The central area of Christchurch, as discussed in the previous section, formed part of a network of trails that connected the various settlements within the wider Christchurch area and further afield. The Ōtākaro was an important part of this network and along its banks were located two kāinga nohoanga (settlements), Puāri and Tautahi. Both these kāinga nohoanga had ceased to act as permanent settlements at some point between 1700 and 1800, but continued to be used as temporary accommodation by Ngāi Tahu travelling through this area or to this area to gather food or other resources. Outside of the central area of Christchurch there were numerous other kāinga nohoanga and kāinga mahinga kai, which were used as both regular and seasonal camping places associated with mahinga kai.

The main trail between Banks Peninsula and Kaiapoi was the Rāpaki trail (still used today as a popular walking and cycling track), which connected to the Ōpāwaho (Heathcote River)

13. *Anderson, A., and Tau, T., Kāi Tahu a Migration Story. Bridget Williams Books in association with Te Rūnaka o Kāi Tahu, Christchurch, 2008.*

14. *Ibid.*

then onto the Ōtākaro (Avon River). A trail from the settlements at Taumutu and Wairewa went through the southwestern area of Christchurch and utilised the river systems of the Huritini (Halswell River) and the Ōpāwaho. This trail then also connected with the Ōtākaro. The Ōtākaro provided access to a trail along the eastern coastline and the coastal resources of Te Ihutai, and west to an inland trail which went through the area of Papanui and Pūtarikamotu (Riccarton or Deans Bush) and forest resources.[15] Both eastern and western trails headed north to Kaiapoi Pā and the Waimakariri, which provided the route through to the Ōtira–Waimakariri trail (Arthur's Pass) to access pounamu on the West Coast.

These trails not only provided access between settlements and resources, but also had to provide the necessary resources to survive the journey such as food, materials for shelter, materials to catch or harvest food, water, and materials to build temporary rafts and replenish clothing and footwear on longer journeys.

The Ōtākaro supported numerous mahinga kai, as did the various swampy areas nearby. Foods gathered from the Ōtākaro included tuna (eel), īnaka (whitebait), kōkopu (native trout), kanakana (lamprey), waikōura (freshwater crayfish), waikākahi (freshwater mussel), tuere (blind eel) and pātiki (flounder). A variety of birds were also gathered including pūtakitaki (paradise ducks), pārera (grey duck), raipo (black teal), tatā (brown duck) and pāteke (teal). On the banks of the rivers, plants such as aruhe (fernroot) and kāuru (root of the tī kōuka/cabbage tree) were also gathered.[16]

To traverse the rivers and streams that formed part of this network of trails, temporary rafts needed to be constructed from the resources at hand. The wetlands throughout this low-lying landscape

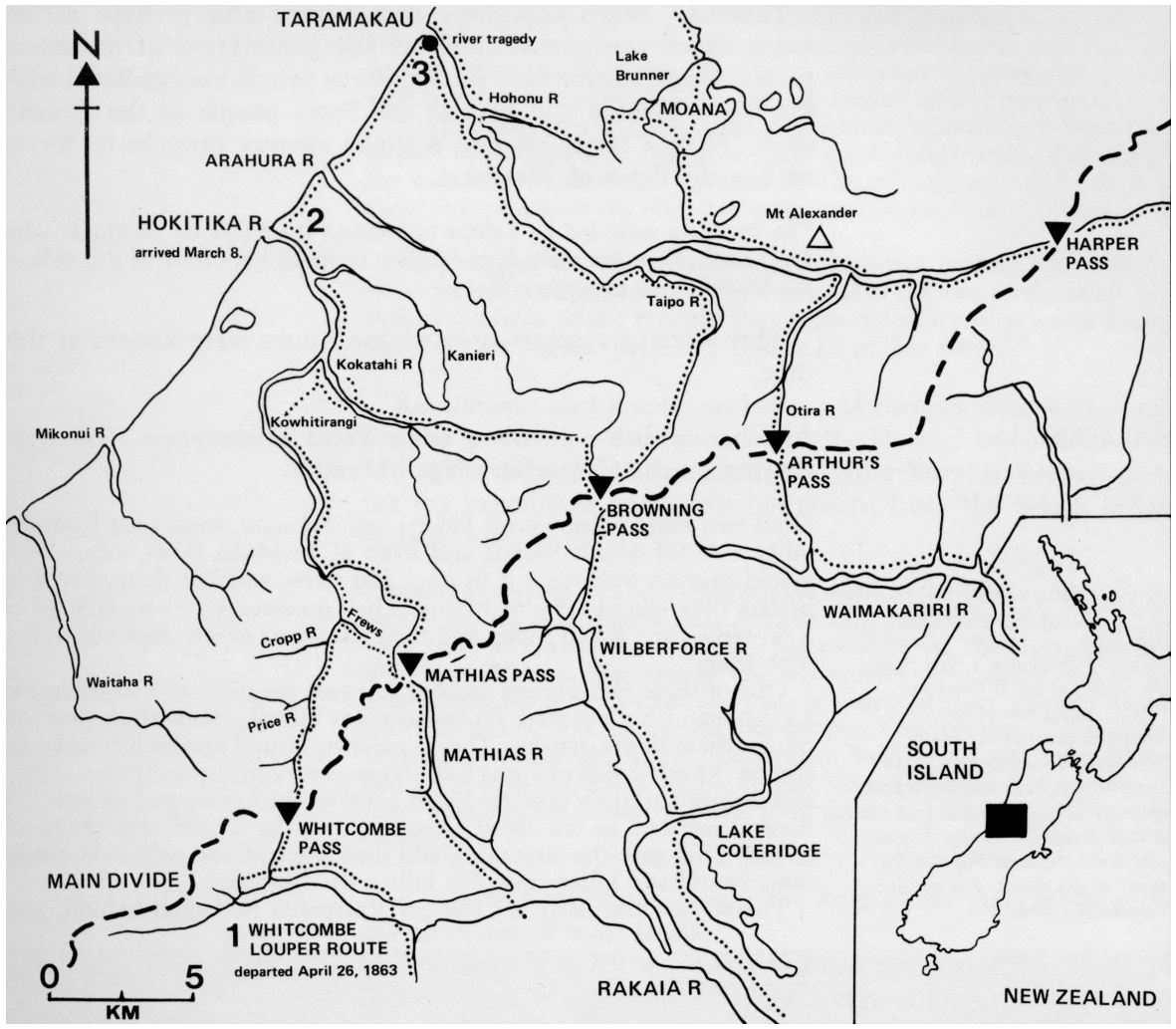


Fig. 1
The main passes between the Arahura Country and Canterbury. B. Brailsford, Greenstone Trails, Māori and Pounamu, Stoneprint Press, Hamilton, 2nd ed 1996 rev, p 125.

15. *Christchurch City Council, Christchurch before 1850 – Inner – city and coastal heritage trails (brochure). Refer to the map in the brochure titled Trails and Place names in Kāi Tahu times.*

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

Fig. 2 (left)
Example of a temporary shelter (whare rau) constructed of surrounding vegetation. "The branches are laid across the fern until they are melded together". B. Dacker, The People of the Place: Mahika Kai, p 21.

Fig. 3 (below)
Mokihi, Otago Museum. Made of raupō and harakeke. Otago Museum, Kāi Tahu taoka: treasures from the Otago Museum, Reed Publishing, 2006, p 58.

provided the perfect material for such a task. The leaves of raupō (bullrush) contain tubular air pockets, which create a spongy buoyancy. The name of this raft was mōkihi and, according to Tikao, "the people would walk inland to the lakes and mountains and would come back down on mōkihi. They were made large and broad as a raft, but were boat-shaped and they were of a size to carry from 10 to 20 people as required".[17] Knowledge of how to make these craft is kept alive by tribal members today.

The raupō would be tied in bundles using strips of harakeke (flax). The lightweight dried harakeke flower stalks were cut and used as reinforcing for the centre of the raft. The bundles of raupō typically formed the base, top and sides of the raft. These bundles would then be tied tightly together using strips of harakeke to form a waka shape. Poles were then used to guide the raft downstream. Although mōkihi were temporary and would eventually biodegrade back into the environment from which they were made, they were sometimes used more than once. After the destination had been reached, the mōkihi were typically left near the river for use by the next travelling party.

Tikao also mentioned another technique used to cross rivers, which is worthy of note because it illustrates how carefully tīpuna Māori used to observe the natural world around them, including the antics of animals:

> When a number of people wished to cross a rapid but wade-able stream, they took a lesson from the kiore (native rat) in the strong helping the weak in a chain system. They would take a number of poles, and a chain of strong men held these flat against the current while the old men, women and children crossed below them. They broke the current for the weaker ones, and this is a lesson man learned from the rats.[18]

17. *J. H. Beattie, Tikao Talks, Penguin Books, Christchurch, 1939, p 108.*

18. *J. H. Beattie, Tikao Talks.*

The local environment also provided the necessities for clothing, footwear and shelter. Sandals were an important travel item, especially over rough, swampy or mountainous terrain. Sandals (called pāraerae) were made of either woven harakeke or woven dry tī kōuka (cabbage tree) leaves. Barry Brailsford, in *Greenstone Trails*, talks about the various European explorers who travelled with whānau groups through the Southern Alps to access pounamu. Many of these explorers found that the pāraerae was better equipped for the job than their leather boots, which would fast deteriorate on such journeys. The pāraerae would last anything from one to several days, depending on craftsmanship and terrain, but could easily be remade en route:

> Whenever they stopped they made more, using whatever material was handiest. The best ones were made of dry ti leaves, and if double, would last for five to six days on fair ground … Everyone in the party would be employed making them.[19]

Medicinal needs for travellers were also met by the vast medicine cabinet that was the vegetation around them. According to Rob McGowan, expert on rongoā Māori (traditional Māori medicine), "the first teacher of rongoā Māori is the ngahere, the Wao Nui a Tāne, the forest itself".[20] He remembers the answer his koroua (North Island term for grandfather) and kuia (North Island term for grandmother) gave him when he enquired about the medicinal values of plants:

> E Pa, why do you keep asking us about the plants. We don't have to tell you anything at all; all you have to do is get to know the forest and all the trees in the forest, and they will tell you everything you need to know.[21]

This story tells us that the knowledge of rongoā Māori came from detailed observation of the plants of the forest and the handing down of knowledge through the

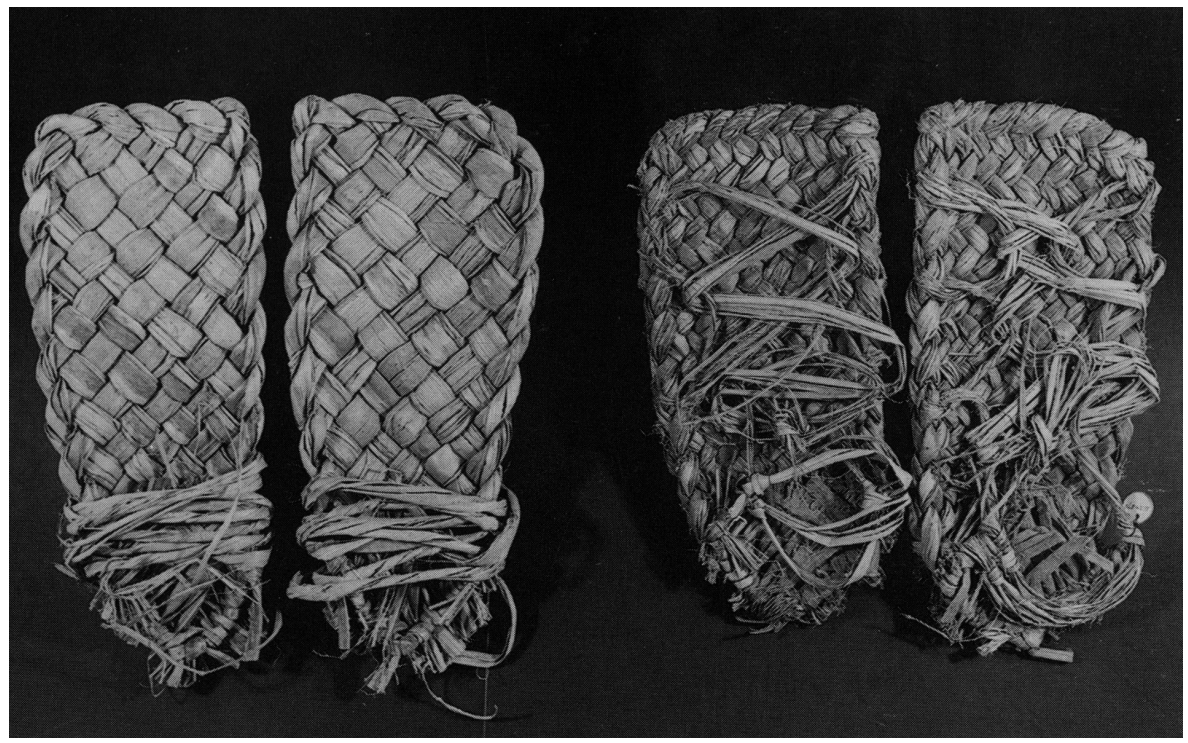


Fig. 4
Traditional woven sandals (pāraerae) made from harakeke. A. Anderson, and Dunedin City Council (N.Z.), The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethno History of Southern Māori A.D. 1650–1850. Dunedin, N.Z., University of Otago Press in association with Dunedin City Council, image sourced from the Otago Museum, Dunedin, 1998, p 124.

19. *Roberts, cited in B. Brailsford, Greenstone Trails, Māori and Pounamu, p 100.*
20. *R. McGowan, Rongoā Māori: A Practical Guide to Traditional Māori Medicine. Kale Print, Tauranga, 2009, p 1.*
21. *Ibid.*

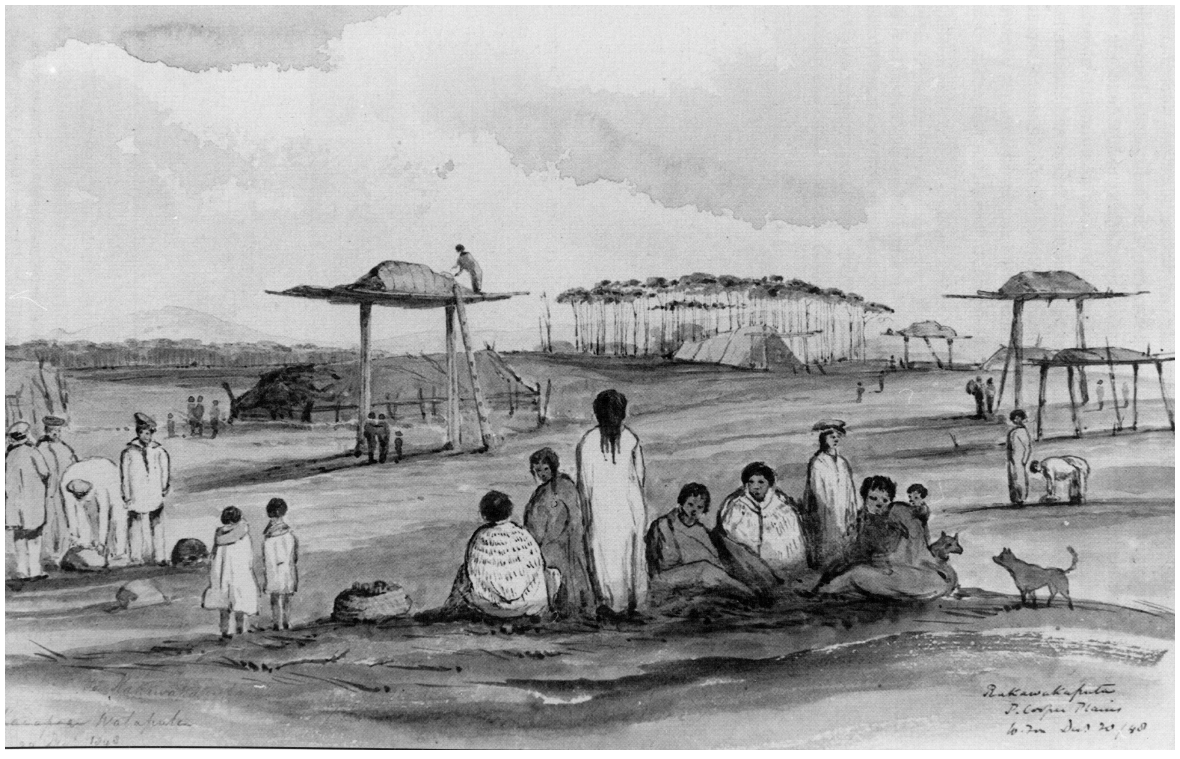


Fig. 5
Examples of whata: William Fox's watercolour in 1848 of Rakawakaputa village near Kaiapoi. A. Anderson, and Dunedin City Council (N.Z.), The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethno History of Southern Māori A.D. 1650–185,. image sourced from the Hocken Libray, 1998, p 153.

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

Knowledge of medicinal lore was traditionally held by the tohunga (expert practitioner in healing and other areas of traditional knowledge and skills). During most expeditions, a tohunga would have been present; however, general knowledge of rongoā Māori would have been held by the wider whānau group, and especially by those who assisted the tohunga with his work.

Interestingly, many of the plants that already served multiple uses in building, weaving and food also had medicinal qualities. For example, harakeke (flax) not only contains one of the strongest natural fibres known, used for weaving kete, clothes, rope and fishing nets, it was also a popular and useful rongoā plant. Juices from the root were used for skin problems such as boils, the root of the flax was used for constipation, gum from flax was used for toothache and ringworm. The nectar from the flower is edible and was used as a sweetener.

Tī kōuka (cabbage tree) also had multiple uses. The stem and taproot (kāuru) of young trees was highly prized as a sugary food-source; the growing tip is also edible. The leaves of the tree were very fibrous and used for weaving rope, rain capes, sandals and other items. Its rongoā uses included eating of the shoots, which helped to prevent scurvy, and brewing as a hot drink to cure diarrhoea and dysentery. Cabbage trees were also planted to mark trails, boundaries and other important sites as they are generally long-lived.

Food exchange between the settlements of Banks Peninsula and Kaiapoi Pā was an important custom known as kaihaukai (feast giving). Respected rangatira and tohunga Teone Taare Tikao talks of the ceremony of visiting and exchanging gifts of food. He tells of the different types of food from the various areas and the importance of this exchange to provide some variation in diet. The people of Kaiapoi might bring tuna (eel), kāuru (root of the tī kōuka/cabbage tree), kiore (rat), aruhe (fernroot) and kūmara. The people from Rāpaki might bring pipi, kuku (mussels), shark and maraki (dried fish) as a return gift. The food would be exhibited on tall structures like an inverted V framework with a platform or stage running across to provide tiers to hold the baskets of food. The staging was called a whata or tīrewa and the various platforms, which each displayed a different type of food, were called kaho. Tikao goes on to say that the food was not eaten at this time, but rather exchanged. He also states, "There was more food down here than in the North Island, and nothing was stinted in the efforts to create a good effect."[22]

Although each hapū had their own defined area, they also had usage rights as

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

Fig. 6
Expansive views across the Canterbury landscape as viewed from the Banks Peninsular. Lithograph by Edmund Norman, 1855, Canterbury Plains. A. Anderson, and T. Tau, Kāitahu: A Migration Story, image sourced from the Alexander Library, p 118.

determined by whakapapa and intermarriage to other resources outside of their main area. These areas are called wakawaka (family gathering sites) and the resources there were carefully managed by that whānau group in accordance with tikanga (right way of doing things, best practice). Williams notes that families specialised, generation after generation, in management and harvesting of the particular resources within wakawaka, for which they were kaitiaki.[23] Different whānau groups would sometimes need to travel long distances to areas to harvest seasonal delicacies such as tītī (muttonbirds) from Rakiura (Stewart Island). Bill Dacker notes in *The People of the Place: Mahika Kai* that preparations for the harvesting of tītī would begin in January and February. Kete (flax baskets) would be woven; pōhā (kelp bags) and their protective coverings of tōtara bark or raupō were prepared. These items were used to carefully store the tītī in so that they could be preserved and transported.[24] Tītī were, and still are, an important traditional food to gift (koha) or exchange.

Entire whānau groups would traverse the landscape on foot, by waka or mōkihi and, after the arrival of European colonists, on horseback. Such an encounter was recorded by one of these colonists:

> A strong, healthy people, much given to riding about on horseback. In the early days of settlement it was quite a sight to see the cavalcades of Māori's, scores of them mounted on all sorts of horses, – men, women and children with bag and baggage starting out – visiting each other to and from Kaiapoi, Temuka, Waimate, Waikouaiti and Port Chalmers…[25]

The trails that traversed the area between Banks Peninsula and Kaiapoi were well utilised. The cognitive map for this landscape encapsulated the detail and name of every landscape feature, all of which embodied the stories of their tīpuna (ancestors), every resource and all the knowledge required to use and manage that resource.

The low-lying land that makes up much of the Canterbury landscape means that mountainous

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

24. *B. Dacker, The People of the Place: Mahika Kai, p 13.*

25. *Stevenso, cited in H. Evison, Te Wai Pounamu, The Greenstone Island, Aoraki Press in association with the Kāi Tahu Māori Trust Board and Te Rūnakanui O Tahu, Christchurch, 1993, p 334.*

features such as Kā Kōhatu Whakarakaraka a Tamatea Pōkai Whenua (the Port Hills) and Kā Tiritiri o te moana (the Southern Alps) are clearly visible over long distances and would have provided important navigational cues. There are many legends surrounding the more prominent peaks of these features; one such legend is that of Te Poho o Tamatea (the bosom of Tamatea-pōkai-whenua, Captain of the *Tākitimu* waka):

> The hill's name derives from when Tamatea recited karakia at its peak, causing fire to erupt from Mount Ngaruhoe in the north. The fire travelled to Te Waipounamu to relieve Tamatea's cold and suffering in this new and hostile environment.[31]

Other peaks and features along the Port Hills are Ōtūtohukai (the ridge south of Dyers Pass), Ōmawete (Coopers Knob), Ōrongomai (Cass Peak), Pukeatua (Dyers Pass) and Te Pōhue (Sugarloaf).

Within the Halswell area, the hillock known as Otumatua (Kitchener's Knoll), which sits upon the spur running from Cass Peak down to the Halswell Quarry area, is of significance to Ngāi Tahu as a wāhi tapu. The site provided a clear outlook north to Kaiapoi Pā and Maukatere (Mount Grey) across Kā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha (the Canterbury Plains), and south to Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere), Kā Kōhatu Whakarakaraka a Tamatea Pōkai Whenua (the Port Hills) and Kā Tiritiri o te moana (the Southern Alps). Otumatua features often in oral traditions as a boundary marker. Te Maire Tau also notes that from information gained from manuscripts written by tribal elders in the middle to late 19th century, Otumatua was "a sacred place with an altar used to forecast the weather. Used by all of the resident tribes".[27]

Maukatere (Mount Grey) is the ancestral mountain of Ngāi Tūāhuriri and the dominant feature of North Canterbury. In traditional lore this mountain is often connected to the nor'west wind and death. Te Maire Tau writes that this mountain was also linked to life as Maukatere was the site of the pool Te Waiora a Tāne – 'the life-giving waters of Tāne'. The Ngāi Tahu myth tells of an attempted union between Raki (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and an ensuing battle between Takaroa (god of the ocean and husband to Papatūānuku) and Raki, which left Raki wounded upon Papatūānuku. They begot ill and deformed children, the youngest of whom was Te Waiora a Tāne. Te Waiora a Tāne came to signify the return to health and wellbeing.[28]

Aoraki (Mt Cook) is the highest mountain in Aotearoa New Zealand. The story of Aoraki and his brothers won't be told in any detail here, but within the context of understanding the significance of mountains to the identity of Ngāi Tahu, Aoraki represents the most sacred of ancestors. The ancestor embodied in the mountain remains the physical manifestation of Aoraki, the link between the supernatural and the natural world.

THE MANY DIMENSIONS OF THE COGNITIVE MAP

In Māori cosmogony, the origin of the universe is explained through whakapapa and through the personification of natural phenomena. Māori view the world as an open system that is entwined with the spiritual realm. For Māori there are three orders of reality: "the physical or natural, the psychic and the spiritual. Whilst the natural realm is normally subject to physical laws, these can be affected, modified and even changed by the application of the higher laws of the psychic and spiritual".[29]

26. *D. Jolly, and Ngā Papatipu Rūnaka working group, Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan, Christchurch, 2013, p 255.*

27. *T. Tau, Cultural Report on the Southwest Area Plan, Christchurch City Council, 2013, p 18.*

28. *Tau, Kāi Tahu and the Canterbury Landscape, p 44.*

29. *M. Marsden, God, Man and Universe: A Maori View, in: King, M. Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On, Hicks Smith & Sons Ltd, Wellington, pp 191–219, 1975, p 195.*

Māori believe that humanity was born of both god and Earth Mother (Papatūānuku), and that all living things commence with the same primal parents, Raki (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother), and that the offspring of these primal parents have procreative and protective responsibilities for all aspects of the environment and associated phenomena.[30] Māori mythology tells how the offspring of Raki and Papatūānuku were born into darkness, so their children conspired to separate their parents in order to let light in. One of the children, Tāne, was successful in wrenching his father from his mother, and hence became Tāne-nui-a-Raki (Tāne the greatest son of Raki).

Tāne set to the task of adorning his mother with his offspring, many of whom took the form of trees, shrubs and grasses. Personified he was Tānemahuta, god of the forest. Tāne now felt a loneliness so, wishing for a companion, sculpted the form of a woman out the earth (whenua) of Papatūānuku.[31] She was then imbued with the mauri (life force) of the gods, and her name was Hineahuone, from whom Tāne fathered more children.

Other offspring of Papatūānuku and Rakinui became gods of other natural phenomena. For example, Takaroa became god of the sea and his grandchildren populated the ocean as fish and all types of sea life and reptiles, while Tāwhirimātea became god of storms and wind and presides over the elements including the rain, wind, mist, dew and snow.[32]

This story (which is given in very shortened form here) tells of the interconnectedness of all things, and that "everything in the universe, inanimate or animate, has its own whakapapa, and all things are ultimately linked via the gods to Rangi and Papa. There is no distinction or break in this cosmology, and hence in the whakapapa between supernatural and natural. Both are part of a unified whole."[33]

> Thus the Māori relationship to the land was a relationship between kin. Connections could be traced to physical features such as trees, rivers and mountains, and even further back to winds, mists and other characteristic weather. The land was not an abstract object from which people had long been separated: it was pervaded by whakapapa.[34]

The cognitive map of the world in which Māori lived was multidimensional. It ordered life, provided geographical detail and kept alive knowledge of whakapapa and historic events. A significant layer of information within these maps is knowledge of the seasons, moon, sun, stars and natural phenomena, such as wind and rainbows.

Māori relied upon understanding the seasons and phases of the moon, sun and stars to order their daily lives. The excursions to hunt and gather resources were dictated by te maramataka Māori (the Māori lunar calendar). The Māori calendar is based on the moon and stars and formed the basis of cultural life before colonisation. For Ngāi Tahu, the new year began in May and every month was measured from then in accordance with the cycles of the moon. Māori would have strictly adhered to this calendar within the wider Christchurch area when it came to the planting and harvesting of kūmara (Banks Peninsula was the southernmost location for the growing of kūmara). Kūmara is a tropical plant, so to grow it as far south as Christchurch required extensive horticultural knowledge and high levels of labour to tend and nurture the crops. As such, trips to other areas had to take place around the planting season for kūmara.

The maramataka was used in conjunction with tohu (signs/omens) to determine activities such as planting, harvesting, hunting, fishing and other resource-gathering excursions. Tohu included flowering of certain plants, moulting of birds, sighting of certain birds, and other local

30. *M. Roberts, W. Norman, N. Minhinnick, D. Wihongi, and C. Kirkwood, 'Kaitiakitanga: Maori Perspective on Conservation', Pacific Conservation Biology, Vol.2: 2–20, 1995.*

31. *Beattie, Tikao Talks.*

32. *Jolly, and Ngā Papatipu Rūnaka working group, Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan.*

33. *M. Roberts, et al, Kaitiakitanga: Maori Perspective on Conservation, p 9.*

34. *Tau, Kāi Tahu and the Canterbury Landscape, p 53.*

knowledge. For example, Tikao notes that when the pīpīwharauroa (shining cuckoo) was sighted flying across the land from the islands, which it did only once a year, Māori knew it was time to plant the kūmara.[35]

According to Tikao, the principal star of Canterbury Māori is Puaka, which rises on about 6 June each year: "It is a star that flickers and changes colour, and has a great history, being mentioned in the song about Tāne. If it comes up on the south side, it is a sign of bad weather, but if it rises on the north side it is a good tohu (omen)."[36]

Matariki is another important group of stars that arrives a few weeks before Puaka and is associated with the beginning of the Māori New Year. Navigation was accomplished through observation of the moon and stars, as is illustrated by the journey of *Uruao*, the primary waka of Waitaha. According to Tikao, āniwaniwa (rainbows) showed the direction for waka during migrations. They were also a sign of good weather and of weather clearing up Rainbows were sometimes called kahukura or had an association with the god Kahukura:

> Kahukura was another god of ancient times and the rainbow was his sign… Kahukura became the main god of the migrators. He separated the good from the bad weather; he protected the frail canoes on the heaving waves; he sent fair winds to waft the canoes over favourable seas; he assisted them with rainbows, which showed the canoe men their directions.[37]

There were numerous other tohu that predicted weather events, such as flashes in the sky, meteors, different fog formations, streaks in the sky at sunrise and different formations of the moon. A Peninsula native noted the meaning of various shades and hues in the sky:

> Tahupokai (a red sky all round horizon) was a tohu of fine weather, but ata a wai (a light bluish light out to sea due south) was a forewarning of bad southerly weather. Ata a mauru, however, was a good tohu; it is a peculiar light-coloured shade in the atmosphere to the west, inland over Canterbury plains viewed from the Peninsula.[38]

The flowering and growth habits of plants were also key indicators of weather and seasons and of the health of associated natural resources. Māori would pay close attention to harakeke, toetoe and kōwhai. If the flower heads of toetoe and harakeke were plentiful, it was usually an indicator that fishing that year would be good. The flowering habit of kōwhai was especially significant as it was usually the first tree to flower. If the tree was blooming, at its best it was a sign that the season would be good, and conversely, a lack of bloom foretold of a dead, or bad, season. Tikao notes that it was the information gained from the flowering habits of plants that the old people used to largely go on for predicting the climate for coming seasons.[39]

The whakapapa of natural phenomena typically referenced the gods. The Sun was the god Rehua and Marama (Moon) was his half-brother. Māori believed that all the gods had great powers and could harm humankind if they were over-exerted. The element of wind was especially significant to Canterbury Māori. Te Maire Tau talks about the whakapapa of Te Māuru (northwest wind) as originating from Pokohārua Te Pō – the source of all winds, incarnations and tapu: "From Raki's union with Pokoharua Te Pō came Uru Te Maha – a name that literally means 'the source of the westerly winds'. From this source came Tāwhirimātea (manifestation of the wind) and eventually Te Mauru."[40]

The northwest wind impacted on the lives of Māori. The force of the wind was used to good effect in some activities. For example, when strong northwest or southwest winds were blowing,

35. *J. H. Beattie and A. Anderson, (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 1994, p 334.*

36. *J. H. Beattie, Tikao Talks, p 49.*

37. *Ibid. p 41.*

38. *J. H. Beattie, and A. Anderson, (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori, p 361.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Tau, 'Kāi Tahu and the Canterbury Landscape', p 42.*

Māori would beat the swamps to send the pūkeko into flight against the strong winds. Eventually the birds would get tired and drop from the sky.[41]

Growing of kūmara and other crops and the hunting and gathering of resources required a great depth of knowledge of the influencing natural phenomena around them and of the growth cycles of the plants and habits of the animals on which their subsistence lifestyle depended. Hunting and gathering always occurred within specific seasons when that resource was at its prime. For example, whānau groups would travel to Tāwera (Oxford) and the back country to trap kiore (native rat) during April and May when the rats were fattest. Weka were hunted around April and sometimes into early winter when the fat resources in the bird was at its highest. Ducks were caught only when they were moulting as this made them slow. The younger ducks were preferred as the older ducks were retained for continued reproduction.

The layers of information within this cognitive map were assigned to memory through the spoken word, songs and stories. Māori had an intrinsic relationship with the land and resources. This relationship was expressed through whakapapa, tikanga (the correct way of doing things) and other actions.

THE COGNITIVE MAP AND THE PUBLIC REALM

Indigenous knowledge of the environment is founded on many centuries of careful observation of ecological systems and holistic and spiritual ways of living in a reciprocal and respective way with the environment. This knowledge has the potential to effect positive ecological change in an environment that is straining under the pressure of population growth, careless management and exploitation of natural resources. Many indigenous peoples around the world have maintained an identity and culture founded on a spiritual values system that is intertwined with the natural world. This includes environmental practices that are believed to be aligned with contemporary innovative and environmental thinking. As such, traditional value systems and knowledge are being looked to for new approaches to conservation and development.[42]

Māori held a great depth of knowledge of the world around them, which formed the multidimensional cognitive map that provided all the detail needed to navigate the length and breadth of Te Waipounamu and live in an environment that could often be hostile and changeable. Much of this knowledge came from the environment itself, through careful observation of natural processes and change. This knowledge was passed down through the generations and refined or adapted as new lessons were learnt or changes to environmental conditions identified.

The urban environment we live in today is far removed from the environment of Māori pre-European contact. This narrative has focused on the traditions and knowledge associated with the passage and navigation of Ngāi Tūāhuriri and other hapū within and through the wider Christchurch area. There have been many stories within this narrative that have shown how reliant Māori were on the natural resources around them, and how their knowledge of these resources was extensive. Today, most of us have lost this awareness of natural phenomena and depth of knowledge of natural resources and processes.

41. *Beattie and Anderson, (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori, p 336.*

42. *G. Pungetti, G. Oviedo and D. Hooke, Sacred Species and Sites: Advances in Biocultural Conservation, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2012.*

Some of the stories told here have also been about food exchange, and whānau groups working together and ensuring the natural resources they depend upon are sustainably managed. There are many parallels between some of these traditional activities and contemporary thinking about more sustainable and meaningful ways of living. These stories also embody the Ngāi Tahu values that have been identified by Ngāi Tūāhuriri to be incorporated into the rebuild of Christchurch:

a. Mō tātou, ā, mō nga uri ā muri ake nei (For us, and our children after us)

b. Ngāi Tahutanga (culture and identity)

c. Manaakitanga ('care for a person's mana' – wellbeing, in a holistic sense)

d. Rangatiratanga (chieftainship)

e. Whanaungatanga (family ties)

f. Tikanga and kawa (method and protocol)

g. Tohungatanga (professionalism)

h. Kaitiakitanga (stewardship)

i. Kotahitanga (unity)

j. Wairuatanga (spiritual health).

For Ngāi Tahu, mahinga kai formed the basis of the cognitive map and mahinga kai is the key value for the recovery of Christchurch. There are a number of explanations of the meaning of mahinga kai. To end this narrative, I've chosen one from Te Waihora Joint Management Plan written by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu:

> Mahinga kai encompasses the social and educational elements of food gathering. It includes customs practised in accordance with rangatiratanga, kaitiaki and whakapapa. Particularly with regard to kaitiaki, tangata tiaki have a role to implement and pass down customs and associated sustainable management methods, including the use of animal and plant species as tohu. In this way, mahinga kai ensures the continuation of traditional practices and the passing down of values to children and grandchildren, ensuring the survival of the practices.[43]

43. *Te Rūnaka o Kāi Tahu and Department of Conservation, Te Waihora Joint Management Plan: Mahere Tukutahi o Te Waihora, Christchurch, 2005, p 32.*

THE METRO SPORTS FACILITY NARRATIVE

Written by Debbie Tikao, Landscape Architect and General Manager of the Matapopore Charitable Trust, and Kelly Tikao, Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu, Kairakahau Māori (Māori Researcher)

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861

Photo: Dean Mackenzie

INTRODUCTION

The proposed Metro Sports Facility will accommodate a range of sporting, educational and recreational facilities for users ranging from Christchurch families to high-performance athletes. The facility will promote sporting achievement, health and wellbeing, and community and whānau, through play, physical exercise and leisure. The aquatic centre, with a range of educational, water play and relaxation facilities, will form the hub for community and family activities. The Metro Sports Facility will be located in close proximity to other sporting facilities and amenities such as the Retail Precinct, Convention Centre, and walkways and cycleways through Hagley Park and along the Ōtākaro/Avon River.

The Metro Sports Facility is located within an area that was once kahikatea-dominated swamp land. A tributary called Raupō Creek ran through the site, which formed part of the Ōtākaro/Avon River catchment. Although this area has been long-since modified, during pre-European times Māori would have utilised the abundance of natural resources available such as raupō and harakeke (flax), as this area formed part of a wider system of trails and streams that connected to the Ōtākaro, a significant mahinga kai for Ngāi Tahu and travel route between the Māori settlements on Te Pātaka a Rākaihautū (Banks Peninsula) and Kaiapoi Pā.

This historical narrative has been written to guide the design of the Metro Sports Facility. The main thread through this narrative is Māori wellbeing. For Māori, physical and mental wellbeing is directly related to cultural identity; cultural identity is founded on whakapapa, which is embedded in the landscape and is inherent in understanding the relationship between Māori and the natural world. For Māori, humanity arises from the natural environment and remains linked through whakapapa (genealogical ties). Through the core narrative thread of Māori wellbeing, the significance of water, and physical agility and strength will be covered.

Water plays a significant role in the Metro Sports Facility. The proposed aquatic centre with leisure pools and competition pool will be a major drawcard for the Christchurch community and, as such, Ngāi Tahu values and mythology associated with water are considered a relevant topic to cover in this narrative. As noted above, water also once ran through this site as part of a network of waterways that held mahinga kai value for Ngāi Tahu. Throughout the centuries, cultures around the world have believed in the healing and vital qualities of water. Water has played, and continues to play, a significant role in many traditional healing practices. Water for Ngāi Tahu is a taonga; it is considered the life blood of Papatūānuku (Mother Earth) and the sustainer of life. And, as in many other traditional practices around the world, water for Ngāi Tahu formed a vital part of many rites and practices that ensured the maintenance of physical and mental wellbeing of self and the wellbeing of the environment.

The Metro Sports Facility promotes sporting excellence and physical wellness. Physical strength and agility for Māori are directly linked to the core narrative thread of wellbeing. Traditional Māori existence demanded high physical ability of men and woman alike to survive the transient subsistence way of life within this southern landscape and to survive as warriors. Physical and mental excellence is celebrated through the many traditional narratives that tell of the relationship between Māori and the environment and interdependency of both for continued health and wellbeing.

It is the intention of this chapter to leave the design team with a greater level of understanding of the significance of Ngāi Tahu values, whakapapa and cultural identity, and the interconnected relationship between Māori and the environment – and how these influence mental and physical wellbeing. Threaded throughout this narrative are stories that tell of heroic and significant feats and actions of Ngāi Tahu tīpuna and kaitiaki spirits, gods and other mythological beings that the design team can draw upon to create spaces of meaning, build pride in cultural identity and inspire people to achieve. This narrative also covers many traditional practices and traditional Māori games that formed part of the holistic approach to maintaining physical strength, agility of mind and body, and mental wellbeing. It is also intended that Ngāi Tahu artists and designers work in collaboration with the project team to ensure these stories are told and expressed correctly.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is a Treaty partner with the Crown, including the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is a strategic partner for earthquake recovery in Canterbury, in terms of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 (including sections 11, 17, 20 and 59). Ngāi Tūāhuriri is the hapū with mana whenua and customary right over Ōtautahi. The takiwā of Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga in accordance with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (Declaration of Membership) Order 2001 is:

> The takiwā of Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga centres on Tuahiwi and extends from the Hurunui to Hakatere, sharing an interest in Arowhenua Rūnanga northward to Rakaia, and thence inland to the main divide.

The representative entity of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, has mandated a steering group known as Matapopore to represent the interests of Ngāi Tūāhuriri as they relate to the Christchurch Central Recovery Plan (Recovery Plan). The consulting team comprises Ngāi Tahu's pre-eminent historian Dr Te Maire Tau and specialists in iwi engagement and advisory services.

The Recovery Plan outlines the cultural significance of Ōtautahi to Ngāi Tahu and the aspirations of Ngāi Tahu within the redevelopment of the city:

> While this Plan necessarily presents a shared vision and programmes for the redevelopment of the central city, it also presents Christchurch with the opportunity to both incorporate and showcase Ngāi Tahu cultural identity and values in a more visionary and integrated way. It takes the approach of intertwining Māori culture into the redevelopment of the central city, and as such can be celebrated as a sound foundation for a 21st century relationship in urban planning.[1]

The vision for Ngāi Tūāhuriri is to see a stronger cultural identity emerge as a result of the Christchurch rebuild. The identity of Christchurch prior to the earthquakes favoured the stories of the English who settled in this land over 160 years ago. The identity of Ngāi Tahu/Ngāi Tūāhuriri has been largely ignored and, as such, for many Māori living in Christchurch today, the landscape of Ōtautahi (Christchurch) does not engender a sense of pride, nor does it reflect their identity, despite Ōtautahi being a place of cultural significance to Ngāi Tahu (the Recovery Plan includes a map and description of central Christchurch showing areas of cultural significance in more detail than what will be covered in this narrative).

Ngāi Tūāhuriri have identified and endorsed four key values to help achieve their objectives of restoring the visibility of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri values, narratives and aspirations; reflecting the bicultural heritage of greater Christchurch and enriching the multicultural

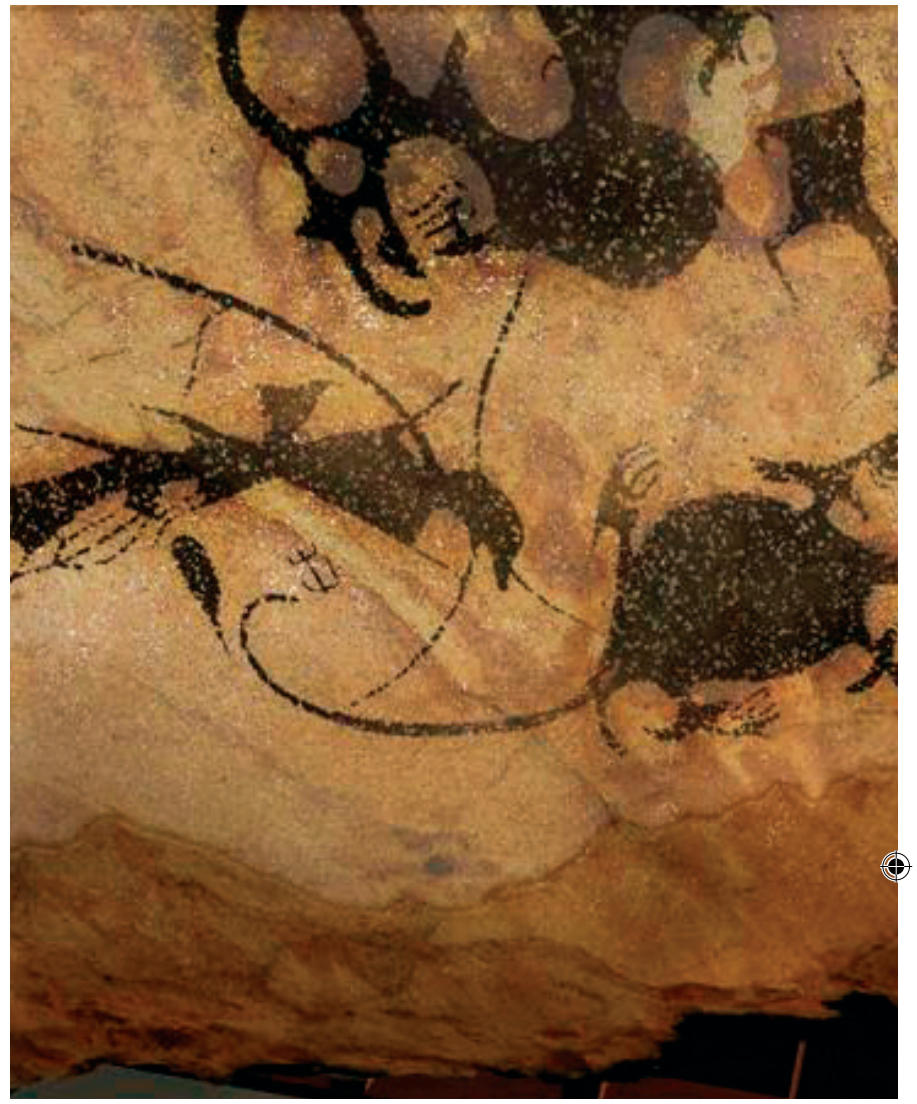


Fig 1

Ngāi Tahu rock art: the cave of the taniwha, South Canterbury, Otago Daily Times, September 2008.

1. *Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, Christchurch Central Recovery Plan. Christchurch, 2012, p 39.*

experience of the city; and identifying and promoting urban design and architectural solutions that satisfy the cultural and practical needs and aspirations of the Māori community in their foreseeable uses of greater Christchurch. The key principal values are:

- ***mahinga kai*** (foods and other natural resources, the habitats where they are sourced from, as well as the practices that have developed over generations to ensure their sustainable management): protecting and enhancing the natural environment, including mahinga kai species, sites and practices
- ***whānau*** (the extended family unit): provision of facilities and elements that support and encourage use by families, particularly Ngāi Tūāhuriri whānau
- ***te reo Māori*** (the Māori language): upholding the mana of Ngāi Tūāhuriri reo and tikanga
- ***Kia atawhai ki te iwi*** (a saying from the first Upoko Rūnanga of Ngāi Tūāhuriri in the 1860s, imploring his people to take greater care of each other): the provision of facilities and elements that express the key value of manaakitanga by tangata whenua and support the wider community.

A number of Ngāi Tahu historical narratives have documented the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi to Ngāi Tahu and the long intergenerational fight for redress that led to the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998. It is of relevance to the reader of this document to refer to narratives such as the Grand Narrative and the narratives for the Justice and Emergency Services Precinct and for Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct to gain an understanding of the effects that loss of land and loss of mahinga kai had on the traditional economy and wellbeing of Ngāi Tahu spanning many generations.

Toitū te marae a Tāne
Toitū te marae a Tangaroa
Toitū te iwi

If the world of Tāne (all living things on land) endures
If the marae of Tangaroa (the lakes, rivers and sea) endures
The people endure

DIMENSIONS OF MĀORI WELLBEING

I NGĀ RĀ O MUA

Imagine being on a time continuum between your past and future – you stand firmly in the present yet forever thinking and making decisions on behalf of your tīpuna and your unborn mokopuna. Or a water continuum where you are a molecule in a tributary stream, flowing, converging, tumbling, whirling and then being swooshed into the gaping mouth of Takaroa (the god of the sea). Tīpuna Māori lived in a continuum with the natural world. Their survival depended on their understanding and respect of reliance on and responsibility towards their immediate environment and the many tangible and intangible layers that made up their ao (world). Māori personified everything around them: birds, fish, insects, plants, the moon, sun, wind, trees and rocks. They perceived all life forms in terms of their relationship to them, as they believed all creatures and natural phenomena were descendants of Rakinui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother).[2]

2. *M. Orbell, The Natural World of the Māori, David Bateman Ltd, Auckland, 1985.*

WHAKAPAPA

Whakapapa is to create layers upon layers, layers of generations and histories intertwined with the world that surrounds them. Self-awareness, spirituality and self-respect come directly from their relationship with the whenua. Whakapapa is the heart of Māori identity, alongside traditional values and social organisation. Emphasis is on place and strength of kinship ties within the whānau, hapū and iwi.[3]

According to Ranginui Walker, Māori identity is a derivative of iwi history and iwi affiliations. Tribal boundaries marked by significant landmarks, such as maunga (mountains) and awa (rivers), reinforce the distinct cultural self.[4]

The Royal Commission on Social Policy drew upon the Ngā Pou Mana Cultural Identity Model, which comprises:

- taonga tuku iho (cultural inheritance)
- whanaungatanga (family relationships)
- tūrangawaewae (sense of place)
- te ao tūroa (the environment).

This model was used in identifying where Māori may place themselves in terms of being able to talk and feel confident in each of these areas. Their expression is then indicative of how comfortable and secure they feel in their cultural identity and overall cultural wellbeing.[5]

Mason Durie identified three sub-groups that summarise his thinking around Māori identity-

- *Culturally Māori* are those who identify as being Māori, who understand their whakapapa and are familiar with te reo and tikanga Māori. They can be perceived as the traditional Māori collective, often rural-dwelling.
- *Bicultural Māori* are those who identify as Māori but are very comfortable and effective amongst Pākehā. This group is often urban-dwelling
- *Marginalised Māori* are those who are unable to relate to Māori or Pākehā and are often unconnected; they are biologically Māori but know little about their cultural heritage.[6]

The ability to speak te reo Māori is intimately connected to Māori identity and, although the health of te reo Māori has suffered over the years, especially in Te Waipounamu, it is still felt that for Māori to fully participate in Māori society, te reo Māori acquisition is essential.[7]

Educationalist Rose Pere looked at six elements that describes Māori identity:

- whenua connections, having a relationship with the land to provide a sense of belonging
- spirituality that provides a sense of connection and meaning
- ancestral links that provide guidance
- tikanga that are unique to iwi Māori
- whanaungatanga that also endorses whānau wellbeing and connections

3. *T. Moeke-Pickering, Maori Identity within Whanau: A Review of Literature, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1996.*
4. *R. Walker, Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End, Australian Print Group, Maryborough, Australia, 1990.*
5. *Royal Commission on Social Policy, The April Report, Royal Commission on Social Policy, Wellington, 1988.*
6. *M. Durie, Whaiora: Maori Health Development, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994.*
7. *M. Durie, 'Te Hoe Nuku Roa Framework: A Māori Identity Measure', Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1995, pp 104, 461–470, and T. Karetu, Tooku Reo, Tooku Mana, W. Ihimaera, H. Williams, I. Ramsden and D.S. Long (Eds.) Te Ao Marama: Regaining Aotearoa. Māori Writers Speak Out. Volume 2, He Whakaatanga o Te Ao. The Reality, Reed Books, Auckland, 1993, pp 222–229.*

- humility that builds connections to the wider hapori (community) and ensures the individual remembers their extended whānau responsibilities.[8]

In this changing world (Te Ao Hurihuri), Moeke-Pickering comments, if Māori feel one with their environment then, as it changes, so too does Māori identity. Therefore, identity is seen as being in constant transition and not definable.[9]

HAUORA

The term 'hauora' is used most commonly to mean health and wellbeing. It is made up of two words, 'hau' and 'ora'. The specific meaning of 'hau' is 'wind' or 'breath'. Ngāi Tahu authority Teone Taare Tikao associates hau with a breath from the inner being. Mauri (life principle) is the hau inside a person; it is the knowledge that lives within a person's spirituality.[10] The word 'ora' translates as 'alive', 'well', 'satisfied'. Therefore, the overall concept of hauora is to be in good spirits.[11]

TAPU

Tapu and noa are concepts of balance and unity. They embody a function within ceremonies that is similar to concepts of on and off, open and closed, restricted or released. Tapu according to Rose Pere is "an excellent means of social control, self-discipline and conservation preservation".[12] Once instituted, tapu placed upon people, an object, a space or a landmark immediately implies rules that are self-imposed and respected. The offence of infringing tapu is also self-imposed and people can be affected spiritually and physically by their mistakes. Often misfortunes are perceived as an infringement of tapu; therefore the person(s) at fault often accept that they will suffer retribution as a result.[13]

Best describes the illness as a violation of tapu:

> The violation of tapu includes any interference with tapu objects, persons or places. For instance, when a house has become tapu for some reason, and is deserted, it must not afterwards be entered or burned or interfered with in any way. Only a priest, or those under tapu for conveying a body, or exhumed bones, may trespass on a burial place, or caves where bones of the dead are placed. Should anyone else so trespass, then those bones of the dead will turn upon the intruder and slay him, or afflict him grievously. That is to say, the gods will punish that person.[14]

NOA

Noa is the opposite to tapu. Noa, says Pere, is applied to everyday living and ordinary occasions or situations. It plays an important role in "formal and complex rituals and can be seen as ceremonial purification". It is what takes place once a tapu has been lifted and embraces spiritual freedom.[15]

MANA

Mana is another crucial element to Māori wellbeing. Tikao spoke of mana as a sacred fire that can never be put out or overcome. The old learning houses such as the whare mauri, whare pūrākau or the whare kura were places of great mana. These whare were driven by the mana of mātauranga (knowledge). Tohunga held the mana of Māori by their knowledge and usage

8. *R. Pere, Te Wheke – A Celebration of Infinite Wisdom (2nd edn), Ao Ako Global Learning, Hawkes Bay, 1997.*
9. *T. Moeke-Pickering, Maori Identity within Whanau.*
10. *J. H. Beattie, Tikao Talks, Penguin Books, Christchurch, 1939 (1990 2nd edn).*
11. *P.M. Ryan, The Raupo Pocket Dictionary of Modern Maori, Penguin Group (NZ), Auckland, 2009.*
12. *R. Pere, Te Wheke, p 40.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *E. Best, 'Māori Medical Lore', Journal of the Polynesian Society, Volume 13, Number 4, pp 213–237, 1904, p 214.*
15. *R. Pere, Te Wheke.*

of karakia. Sacred fires were lit and used alongside karakia. These sacred fires were another form of rongoā. These fires were known to take away serious illness to counteract mākutu (sorcery) and to protect. Once the karakia had been performed, the fire was covered, yet it remained a sacred fire. Ceremonies involving sacred fire were of greater importance than formal ceremonies held in the water .[16]

RONGOĀ MĀORI

The knowledge of rongoā Māori is an example of the passing on of culture and history. Historically tohunga would concoct and provide rongoā treatment for those unwell. Rongoā came in many forms such as karakia (incantations), mirimiri (massage), romiromi, rākau (trees), wai (water), inu (fluids), hinu (oils), hīkoi (walking), poultices, kōhatu (stones) and kai, and more were identified as vessels or conduits that acted towards wellbeing for the recipient.[17]

Linked intimately with rongoā is the expression of karakia (incantations). Karakia highlighted the atua (gods) most appropriate to the healer's mahi (work) and with the specific rongoā. Blessings or incantations opened the spiritual pathways for healing and also protected the person administering the rongoā. Karakia can also be perceived as a sign of respect for the gods who look after the forests and, if the practitioner is collecting rongoā from outside their tribal area, karakia acknowledge the local people. Overall, the use of karakia in rongoā aligns the spiritual with the physical realm in order to best cure the ailment.[18]

WAIATA/HAKA

The many forms of waiata such as pao (ditty), karanga (call), mōteatea (laments), oriori (lullaby), haka (fierce dance), waiata poi (song with poi) and waiata ā-ringa (song with hand actions) were used as mnemonic aids to carry and transfer large chunks of knowledge; for example, knowledge pertaining to whakapapa, battle sites and conflict, atua, rangatira, infamous feats, visions for a particular child, sorrow and aroha (love).

Waiata were used alongside other healing techniques to soothe and calm a person in pain and were seen as another form of and/or addition to rongoā Māori.

Waiata reinforce identity and this in turn makes a person strong and confident with an awareness of their role in their whānau and hapū.

KAI

Te Waipounamu had large quantities of vegetables. Hue, taro and uhi were grown

Fig. 2
Rite-of-Passage, by Ngāi Tahu artist Priscilla Cowie.

16. *J. H. Beattie, Tikao Talks.*
17. *J. Taiatini,Traditional Māori Birthing Practices, K. Tikao (Ed.) (Personal Interview Ed.). Centre for Science Communication, Auckland, 2011.*
18. *J. H. Beattie, A. Anderson, (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 1994; Ibid.*

around the Banks Peninsula area but it is questionable if they were here before the Pākehā arrived or not. Hue not only were used as a kai but also made great storage containers and floats for children whilst swimming.[19]

The diet of southern Māori was a healthy mix of vegetables, fruit and seafood. The preparation of many of these foods showed a clear understanding by Māori of how to rid the poison from the food to make it safe for consumption, and how best to cook the food utilising umu, hāngī and steaming techniques.

They also had the knowledge of how to prepare food for storage by drying, roasting and smoking, and the use of oils and water. It was essential that Māori had food stored to prepare for leaner months and to have available food types throughout the year.

Māori learnt to grow vegetables that were brought from Hawaiki and adjust the style of cultivation to suit the cooler climate and soil conditions in the south.[21] Having a diet rich in protein, minerals, vitamins and a healthy amount of fat and carbohydrates was essential in keeping illness away.

MODELS OF HAUORA

Mason Durie developed the now commonly used and explored Tapawhā Health Model that defines the core elements of Māori wellbeing. He uses the whare as a metaphor to describe his model. Each cornerstone of the house represented the four key components of Māori wellbeing. These pou or pillars are: wairua (spiritual), tinana (physical), hinengaro (psychological) and whānau (family).

In order to achieve wellness, all four pillars need to be looked at in their entirety, not apart or as separate entities, but holistically. When one pillar is weak so will the others be. The strain from one pillar being unwell has a huge impact on the other pillars and the overall standing of the whare. The whare is of course personified to be that of the human body. Therefore, when Māori are unwell, in order to treat the presenting problem all other areas of that person need to be addressed and considered in the treatment plan. Rongoā Māori did this with the use of karakia and often a strong whānau input into healing the sick.[21]

WATER AND MĀORI WELLBEING

For Ngāi Tahu, water was central to their way of life. It is a taonga that forms the life blood of the environment, left by ancestors to provide and maintain life. Traditionally, water provided the main source of sustenance, it determined the siting of our kāinga and was used as an efficient medium for travel. Water was used in many traditional ceremonial practices by the tohunga, such as in baptisms, sickness, the lifting of tapu from warriors returning from battle and the embalming of the dead.

For Ngāi Tahu, the health of water is a reflection of the health of Papatūānuku. Water is the sustainer of life and all life begins with water.

19. *J. H. Beattie, Tikao Talks.*

20. *Beattie and Anderson, (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori.*

21. *M. Durie, An Indigenous Model of Health Promotion, Paper presented at the 18th World Health Conference on Health Promotion, 27 April 2004, Melbourne, Australia.*

WATER AND THE STORY OF CREATION

The Ngāi Tahu story of creation, as told by Teone Taare Tikao, begins with nothing but water. There was no moon, sun, stars or sky. The sea lay as a vastness of nothing but water. This was a time referred to as the long ages of darkness, called Pō, and long ages of nothingness, called Kore. There were many ages of Pō, until Io, the supreme god of Māori, brought the sky (Rakinui/Ranginui or Raki/Rangi) and the land (Papatūānuku) into being:

> Io-whatata means that he went one way on top of the water, and Io-whatamai that he went another way on the waste of water, and thereupon the two Hekeheke-i-nukus emerged from the deep. The word Hekeheke-i-nuku means "hanging upright and shifting" and Hekeheke-i-papa means "hanging horizontal or flat".[22]

The movement over and under continued during the darkness of endless time. The ages of Pō were maku (dark); as the ages of Pō were nearing the end, Maku, a celestial being, emerged from the darkness, and Mahoranuiatea emerged as the great expanse of whiteness. Maku and Mahoranuiatea joined together and begot Rā (the Sun). Maku had a second wife, her name was Hūareare; they begot a son called Maramahuakea, now called Marama (the Moon).

Two forms emerged above the expanse of water, Raki, the sky formed from Hekeheke i nuku, and Papatūānuku, the earth, formed from Hekeheke i papa. They lay close, Raki lay on top, and Papatūānuku lay underneath, and between them they had many children. The children of these forms included Tāne (who would become guardian of forests and birds), Tāwhirimātea (guardian of storms and wind) and Takaroa (guardian of the ocean). The children lay in darkness without the light from Rā or Marama. Most people are familiar with the story from here, so I won't go into any detail, but we know that once Tāne was able to separate his parents, light was then able to fall upon Papatūānuku and her children, and life on earth began.[23]

There are numerous versions of the story of creation. For example, the well-known Ngāi Tahu tohunga Matiaha Tiramōrehu of Moeraki tells a slightly different version to that of Teone Taare Tikao. Matiaha Tiramōrehu tells that both Raki and Papatūānuku had unions with others before their union together. Raki had many wives such as Pokoharua te pō, she was the source of hau (the breath of life, wind), tapu and incarnations, and Papatūānuku was married to Takaroa (Tangaroa, god of the sea). When Raki joined with Papatūānuku, Takaroa got angry and sent a spear into the thigh of Raki. But Raki remained on top of Papatūānuku, and as he lay there the children that were born to them after he had been injured were ill and deformed.

The last child they begot was Tāne-iti-waiora. Tāne-iti-waiora signified the return to health and wellbeing, as it was after the birth of this son that Raki asked Tāne and his brothers to lift him off Papatūānuku so that light could fill the space between himself and Papatūānuku and that the world of light could commence. As Tāne started to lift his father using a pole that had 10 joints, Raki called to Papatūānuku that he would miss her and weep for her as a show of his love. He said that this would be dew, and in the winter he would miss her also and this would be ice. Papatūānuku returned her love by saying that she too would miss him, and in summer she would greet him as mist.[24]

Tāne was to perform many great feats and obtain many names in respect of these feats. Tāne established the 10 heavens, each level representing a joint in his pole, and populated them with

22. *Beattie, Tikao Talks, p 24.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. *M. V. Ballekom and R. Harlow, Te Waiatatanga mai o te Atua: South Island Traditions recorded by Matiaha Tiramorehu, Canterbury Māori Studies, Christchurch, 1987.*

his children. It was some of these children that he sent down to clothe his mother, Papatūānuku, who lay bare. He sent down Tōtara (a son of Tāne), Mataī (a grandchild of Tāne), Kōwhai (a great grandchild of Tāne) and many more. His offspring were called Te Waonui-a-Tāne (the great forest of Tāne) and they all grew together for protection.[25] Once the trees had grown and were bearing fruit, the birds descended from the heavens to live within Te Waonui-a-Tāne.

Tāne also clothed his father, Raki. One of these stories tells of how Tāne asked Tāwhirimātea (guardian of storms and winds), "Go you and procure the perspiration, the warmth of our mother Papa lying below, bear it upward and arrange it on the person of our father, Raki, as a warmth giving covering for him." Tāwhirimātea obtained Te Aotū, Te Aohore, Te Aonui, Te Aoroa, Te Aopōuri and others (names of cloud formations) from Papa on account of her lamentation for her husband from whom she had been separated. The clouds were formed from the warmth and moisture emanating from Papatūānuku.[26]

Tāne now felt a loneliness, so, wishing for a companion, sculpted the form of a woman out the earth (whenua) of Papatūānuku.[27] She was then imbued with the mauri (life force) of the gods, and her name was Hineahuone (woman formed from earth), from whom Tāne fathered more children.

There are numerous variations of the story of creation, but they all tell us the same thing, that all living things are connected through whakapapa (genealogical ties). Māori view the world as an open system which is entwined with the spiritual realm. For Māori there are three orders of reality: "the physical or natural, the psychic and the spiritual. Whilst the natural realm is normally subject to physical laws, these can be affected, modified and even changed by the application of the higher laws of the psychic and spiritual."[28]

The story of creation tells us that "everything in the universe, inanimate or animate, has its own whakapapa, and all things are ultimately linked via the gods to Raki and Papa. There is no distinction or break in this cosmology, and hence in the whakapapa between supernatural and natural. Both are part of a unified whole."[29]

MAURI

The concept of mauri is central to Māori belief regarding the environment. Mauri is considered to be the essence or life force that provides life to all living things. It was passed down from Raki and Papatūānuku to their children. Tāne breathed mauri into Hineahuone to give her life. Mauri exists within all living things and binds all living things back to the primal parents. Mauri is the binding force between the physical and the spiritual aspects of the world. When the mauri is totally extinguished, this is associated with death.[30] Teone Taare Tikao explains the concept of mauri:

> It is like unto the wairua or spirit of a person … although the mauri is like unto the wairua, the latter comes out of the body, but the former remains with the person in the soul or seat of intelligence … It was an invisible essence in the composition of the spirit or soul, and if it departed, or was taken away, the person died.[31]

Water as the source of all life also contains mauri (life force) and, just as with people, when the mauri is lost, the life in the thing from which it has been removed dies. The mauri of water can be affected, diluted and even destroyed when a foreign or unnatural substance enters the water body. The mauri in water cannot be destroyed by natural disasters, but only from the actions of man. Old-time Māori considered that the Christian form of baptism which used a man-made

25. *Beattie, Tikao Talks.*

26. *E. Best, Māori Religion and Mythology Part 1. A. R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington, 1924 (1976 2nd edn) , p 54.*

27. *Beattie, Tikao Talks.*

28. *M. Marsden, 'God, Man and Universe: A Maori View', King, M., Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On, Hicks Smith & Sons Ltd, Wellington, pp 191–219, 1975, p 195.*

29. *M. Roberts, W. Norman, N. Minhinnick, D. Wihongi and C. Kirkwood, 'Kaitiakitanga: Maori Perspective on Conservation', Pacific Conservation Biology, Vol.2 pp 2–20, 1995, p 9.*

30. *B.A. Morgan, A Tangata Whenua Perspective on Sustainability using the Mauri Model, Paper presented at the International Conference of Sustainability, University of Auckland, 2004, p 4.*

31. *Beattie, Tikao Talks, p 76.*

vessel to hold the water in before sprinkling the water on the baby, had a polluting effect. The water was considered to have lost its potency, its pure healing state as derived from the earth.[32]

The health of mauri in all living things is believed to be directly related to the health and wellbeing of people. The protection of mauri ensures the environment retains strength and vitality. "Mauri Ora is life-force. All animate and other forms of life such as plants and trees owe their continued existence and health to mauri. When mauri is strong fauna and flora flourish. When it is depleted and weak those forms of life become sickly and weak."[33]

For Ngāi Tahu, the primary management principle is the maintenance and enhancement of mauri. The Ngāi Tahu Freshwater Policy identifies a number of factors that reflect the status of mauri within waterways such as its life-supporting capacity and ecosystem robustness; fitness for cultural use; natural character and indigenous flora and fauna; and continuity of flow from the mountain source of a river to the sea.

The state of the waterways within Christchurch has been degraded significantly through urbanisation and farming practices. Many of the minor waterways within the central area of Christchurch have been modified or removed to accommodate urban growth. Unnatural discharges and contamination of waterways continue to be a major issue for Ngāi Tahu as the degradation of mauri affects cultural wellbeing and the wellbeing of the environment.

CATEGORIES OF WATER

The story of creation tells us that water is a holistic resource, and the exchange of water in its various forms between Papatūānuku and Raki as an expression of love speaks of the cycle of water. In Māori mythology, when Papatūānuku emerged out of the endless sea during the ages of Pō, she lay there naked without vegetation, rivers or streams. You've already read about how Tāne clothed her in forest and populated the forest with birds. He also fathered fresh water from his union with Hine-tupari-Maunga (the Mountain Maid). This water, which originated from the earth, was Para-whenua meā.[34]

In traditional Māori knowledge, wai (water) was classified in accordance with its particular characteristics and ceremonial use. These categories determined how the water could or could not be used. If a body of water or stream was classified as tapu, for example, then no food could be taken. Mixing of water from separate categories was, and still is, considered unacceptable to Māori.[35] In this regard, wastewater, which would be classified as wai-kino (polluted water) or wai-mate (dead water), should not be mixed with other categories of water.

The different categories of water may differ between iwi, but they generally are as follows:

- wai-kino – polluted water, dangerous water (the mauri of the water has been altered through pollution or corruption and has the potential to do harm to humans).
- wai-tapu – sacred water, waters used for ceremonial purposes (often a stream or pond located near a kāinga).
- wai-māori – pure water, water rich in mauri, used for cleansing and for ceremonial purposes
- wai-tai – sea water, saline water
- wai-manawa-whenua – water from under the land

32. *E. Best, Māori Religion and Mythology Part 1.*
33. *M. Marsden and T.A. Henare, Kaitiakitanga: A Definitive Introduction to the Holistic Worldview of the Maori, Unpublished paper, 1992, p 22.*
34. *Best, Māori Religion and Mythology Part 1, p 166.*
35. *A. Goodall, D. Palmer, T. Tau, and R. Tau, Te Whakatau Kaupapa: KāiTahu Resource Management Strategy for the Canterbury Region, Aoraki Press, Wellington, 1990, pp 4–15.*

- wai karakia – water for ritual purposes
- wai whakaika, waikotikoti – water to assist in the cutting of hair
- wai mate: (dead water) – this class of water has lost its mauri and is dead. It is dangerous to humans because it can cause illness or misfortune. Geographically it refers to sluggish water, or stagnant or back water. Some tribes refer to it as waikawa.

The use of water in traditional ceremonial practices often served the purpose of removing tapu, restoring and/or ensuring wellbeing. For example, tohi taua was performed over warriors to protect the sacred life principle, which would ensure physical and mental wellbeing; very important qualities for fighting men. The tohi tamariki was the rite performed over a baby to remove tapu after birth and preserve the health and welfare of the child. Immersing the child in water was believed to have an absolving effect – removing any harmful influences and bring the child under the influence of the god.[36] Such rites were carried out by the tōhuka at the stream near the kaikā (settlement) and such streams were classified as wai-tapu. These practices typically involved the dipping of a branch of karamū (Coprosma) or other tree species into the water and sprinkling the water over the head of the subject. Sometimes the subject was fully immersed. As part of this process, the tōhuka would recite the correct karakia (invocation) and, in most instances, would perform such rites early in the morning facing east.

Light from the rising sun was associated with life. From the moment when the world of light entered the existence of our tūpuna, they held onto the value of light equating to wellness, birth and purification. Tōhuka would recite karakia at dawn and if Rehua's (Rā or the sun) shafts of light fell towards the east, this was seen as a good omen. Whare were built facing east and north, never the west or south. The thinking was that the souls of the dead do not enter the whare if facing the east or north on their journey back to Hawaiki or to Te Rēinga (leaping place).[37]

Water was believed to have purifying, cleansing and protective qualities. Pure water is that which is produced from Parawhenua (origin of water). This water contained no contaminants and it was only this water in which such rites could take place.[38]

Bob Tikao, a Ngāi Tahu elder, remembers Te Awaiti Stream, which runs past Ōnuku Marae, being used for birthing practices.

Māori believe that the health of all things depends on water. The tohunga set aside certain streams and bodies of water that were considered to have specific qualities for particular uses. Avoiding the unnatural mixing of water was considered fundamental to Ngāi Tahu. Each water type is considered to have its own characteristics and use, and forms part of a specific ecosystem. Ngāi Tahu believe that the mixing of waters may ultimately compromise the life-giving qualities of the water and disrupt ecologies such as the distribution of fish.

The Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan notes that the mixing of waters occurs naturally; however, natural mixing is almost always facilitated by the presence of a wetland, estuary or similar environment that provides a natural buffer or transition zone.[39]

A kaumātua from Te Taumutu Rūnaka talks of the mixing of water:

> The river's whakapapa is what we must protect when we are talking about the potential mixing of water from different rivers.[40]

36. *Best, Māori Religion and Mythology Part 1, p 344.*
37. *Orbell, The Natural World of the Māori.*
38. *Best, Māori Religion and Mythology Part 1.*
39. *D. Jolly and Nga Papatipu Rūnaka working group, Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan. Christchurch, 2013, p 93.*
40. *Ibid.*

NGĀI TAHU LEGENDS AND MYTHS

The landscape of Canterbury has been embedded with the whakapapa of many great ancestors of Ngāi Tahu. Māori believe that people owe their identity, as well as their existence, to the people who preceded them: "People were present in their ancestors, and their ancestors are present in them."[41] Early ancestors, especially those associated with the great migration feats, established precedents for behaviour and established identity for those who were to follow.

These ancestors were the first explorers of this land, and their extraordinary journeys and great physical feats have left their mark within the hills, lakes and rivers of this land. Through their acts of naming features, areas and resources, the stories of their journeys and the messages they hold are retained and passed down through the generations.

There are also many traditional stories from throughout the Canterbury area of supernatural creatures and phenomena. The significance of water as a life-sustaining resource that must be protected and respected is embodied in the concepts of kaitiaki (guardian spirits) and taniwha (water deities). Kaitiaki or spiritual guardians (often also referred to as gods or deities) are the interface between the physical and spiritual worlds. Their role was to protect the mauri and wairua of the environment.

KAITIAKI

The offspring of Papatūānuku and Raki became the guardian spirits or kaitiaki of natural phenomena. For example, Takaroa (Tangaroa) became god of the sea and his grandchildren populated the ocean as fish and all types of sea life and reptiles, while Tāwhirimātea became kaitiaki or god of storms and wind and presides over the elements including the rain, wind, mist, dew and snow, and Tānemahuta became kaitiaki of the forest.[42] Many of the lesser gods and offspring of the departmental gods also had kaitiaki responsibilities pertaining to specific natural resources.

Taniwha are considered tapu beings. Tikao tells us that taniwha were the offspring of Tinirau, who he believed to have originally been a great fish or sea monster. Tikao tells us that Tinirau is in some way related to Takaroa or is in fact a previous form of Takaroa.[43] Taniwha are water deities that can take many forms and are believed to have incredible powers. They are often associated with specific bodies of water or areas such as underwater caves, deep pools, rivers, lakes or areas with dangerous aspects, such as currents, and are considered the protectors of these waters. They can be punishing to man if the laws of tapu are transgressed. They can also be helpful to man and in some instances signal misfortune. There are myths that tell of taniwha guiding waka and providing protection from the waves on their long migration journeys. Some taniwha act as kaitiaki, and guard certain natural resources.

Tikao tells the story of two taniwha in the form of great fish who dwell within a bottomless hole off Mairaki Point near Ōpukutahi on the western side of Akaroa Harbour. The story is a long one and begins with a rejected suitor pronouncing a mākutu (spell) on Hineao, daughter of Te Ake, causing her death. Te Ake and his daughter were from Ohikuparuparu (Sumner), and had been visiting Akaroa when this event took place. Te Ake was angered, but didn't have the ancient knowledge of magic and other lore to revenge the death of his daughter. So he set about learning this knowledge and, many years later, returned to Akaroa to turn his daughter into a taniwha. He was successful in this, and the taniwha turned into a fish and swam to Sumner where it

Fig. 3
Waka for Moana, by Ngāi Tahu artist Moana Tipa.

41. *M. Orbell, Māori Myths and Legends, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1995, p 25.*
42. *Jolly and Ngā Papatipu Rūnaka working group, Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan.*
43. *Beattie, Tikao Talks, p 37.*

drifted ashore to be eaten. The illness it spread killed many people and the name of the death of those who ate the fish is Tuawera.

It is believed that Turakipō, who had killed Hineao with mākutu, escaped to Pohoareare Pā at Ōpawa. The taniwha form of Hineao is called Te Wahine-maru-kore and she still dwells with her male consort, Te Rangiorahina within Akaroa Harbour. Before Te Ake died, he asked Te Wahine-maru-kore and Te Rangiorahina to safeguard the friendly people on the sea. It is believed that, when the sea turns red, the fishermen know that the two taniwha are under the water. They have also been known to guide waka to shore in times of rough weather.[44]

The Taumutu kaumātua Rewi Kōruarua spoke of Tuterakihaunoa, an atua tiaki (supreme guardian) that dwells within a deep hole in Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). Tuterakihaunoa was one of the grandchildren of Raki who were sent to transform the wreckage of Te Waka-o-Aoraki (the canoe of Aoraki) into land so that it could become habitable for human life. The story of Aoraki and his brothers is one that most are familiar with and we see Aoraki today with his brother close by as the tallest landform in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The other demigods, of whom Tuterakihaunoa was one, set about sculpting the upturned waka into mountains and carving out the valleys, bays, inlets and estuaries into the landscape that would form Te Waipounamu. It is believed that Tuterakihaunoa remained at Whakamatakiuru (Fisherman's Point) and presides over this area as an atua tiaki:

> In the old days, certain domestic duties were not undertaken in the waters of Te Waihora as this could enrage the Atua and cause him to lie on the top of the water. If this happened, the people could not drink the water and it could also cause tuna (eel), inaka (whitebait) and patiki (flounder) to die. When excavating the lake opening, all the inhabitants and resources of the pa were blessed to ensure the opening would be pushed through. If anyone acted thoughtlessly at this time, Tuterakihaunoa would lie across the cut-out channel and prevent the lake from opening. If this happened, the tohunga would perform rituals to placate the Atua. The Atua Tiaki came in many forms and often expressed its will through the actions of the resources of Te Waihora.[45]

Associated with Te Waihora is the sighting of pou tuna (large-headed eels, which were considered tapu) towards the end of the mahinga tuna (eel-gathering) time. Pou tuna were regarded as kaitiaki of the tuna (eel) resource and the sighting of them was a sign that the tuna-gathering season had come to an end.

LEGENDS OF THE LANDSCAPE

Rākaihautū is the founding ancestor of Waitaha. He was the first explorer to Te Waipounamu and, after his waka the *Uruao* beached at Whakatū in Nelson, Rākaihautū headed inland with his party, carving out all the major lakes with his famous kō (digging stick). On reaching the Canterbury area, Rākaihautū dug out the lakes Te Wairewa and Te Waihora. Te Waihora was named Te Kete ika a Rākaihautū (the fish basket of Rākaihautū) and Banks Peninsula was claimed as Te Pātaka a Rākaihautū (the great food storage house of Rākaihautū). Directly across the harbour from Ōnuku Marae stands the distinctive Tuhiraki (Mt Bossu). This peak is said to have been formed when Rākaihautū thrust his kō (digging stick) into the ground.

The legend tells us that his son Rokohouia noted the river mouths as the party made their way along the eastern coastline. He studied the migratory patterns of tuna (eel), and as they

44. *Beattie, Tikao Talks, pp 87–88.*

45. *Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Department of Conservation, Te Waihora Joint Management Plan: Mahere Tukutahi o Te Waihora, Christchurch, 2005, p 30.*

went he drove poles into the river beds at their mouths and constructed eel weirs around them. Today the many river mouths and coastal lakes from the Waihao River north are known collectively as Kā Poupou a Rokohouia (the posts of the weirs of Rokohouia).[46]

As Rākaihautū embedded the major landscape features with whakapapa, he also left spiritual guardians. Te Maire Tau notes "during his travels he left spiritual guardians on the Waiau River, for example".[47] The extensive distances travelled by Rākaihautū and his men and their heroic feats along the way have lived on in memory through Māori oral traditions for many centuries and have been embedded in the land and into the identity of the descendants of these early ancestors, who continue to look upon these marks with pride.

Another great explorer was Tamatea-pōkai-whenua (seeker of lands). It is believed that Tamatea was the grandson of Tamatea-ariki-nui, who was the high priest of the *Tākitimu*, the great ancestral waka of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou. Tamatea was famed for his curiosity and energy. His exploits would see him circumnavigate Aotearoa, leaving many names throughout the country associated with his journey. The waka he travelled in was named after his grandfather's waka, the *Tākitimu*. Arthur Couch, in *Rāpaki Remembered*, tells of how his exploration of Te Waipounamu included an initial brief visit into Lyttelton Harbour, which he named Whakaraupō on account of the great quantity of raupō growing on the foreshore of what is now known as Allandale and Governor's Bay.

His journey continued south; the *Tākitimu* is believed to have been wrecked within the vicinity of the Waiau River in Southland and is remembered today with the mountains called the Tākitimu Range. From here Tamatea and his crew, which included his son Kahungunu (from whom Ngāti Kahungunu descend), headed back north on foot. They traversed the Mackenzie Country and eventually arrived back at Banks Peninsula. He decided to rest with his men on a peak overlooking Whakaraupō.

During all of their travels, Tamatea and his men had carefully tended and kept alive their fire source, but at this point in their travels, the fire that they had carried went out. To add to their troubles, a southerly storm bringing snow and hail struck. Tamatea stood at the peak of the maunga (mountain) above the settlement of Rāpaki and appealed to the gods in Tongariro and Ngaruhoe, through reciting a karakia to send fire. They answered his call and sent fire. Arthur Couch notes the fire god continued down the maunga through Rāpaki and part way up the maunga at Teddington to form what was named Ngā Pungarehu-o-Te-Ahi-o-Tamatea (the ashes of Tamatea's fire). The Pākehā name for this formation is the Giant's Causeway.[48] The maunga on which Tamatea stood when he appealed to the gods was named Te Poho o Tamatea (the bosom of Tamatea). Tamatea also named the Port Hills, Ngā Kōhatu Whakarakaraka a Tamatea Pōkai Whenua (the smouldering boulders of Tamatea-pōkai-whenua).

James Cowan in *Maori Folk Tales of the Port Hills* notes that "… ancient people – with surely some perception of geological truth – connected in their legends with the internal fires of the North Island".[49]

The Port Hills form the most visible landscape feature within Christchurch and they rise up in stark contrast to the flatness of the Canterbury Plains. From the peaks of these spectacular land formations, commanding views can be gained over sea and plains and out towards the Southern Alps. Today they are of national and international significance for their geological features, in particular the prominent volcanic rock outcrops.

46. *New Zealand Geographic Board., He Kōrero Purakau Mō Ngā Taunahanahatanga a Ngā Tupuna: Place Names of the Ancestors: A Māori Oral History Atlas, Government Printing Office, Wellington, 1990, p 91.*

47. *T. Tau, 'Ngāi Tahu and the Canterbury Landscape – a Broad Context', in Southern Capital, Christchurch: Towards a City Biography, 1850–2000, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, p 48.*

48. *A. Couch, Rāpaki Remembered. Te Waihora Press, Christchurch, 1987, p 35.*

49. *J. Cowan, Māori Folk-Tales of the Port Hills. Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, 1923, p 2.*

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

For Māori, "mountains were the most significant of landmarks, their physical presence inseparable from their human association".[50] Rocky outcrops often held special significance as rock was enduring and everlasting. Such rock formations are called wāhi kōhatu, and through spiritual personification become kaitiaki of the surrounding landscape, binding the whakapapa of tangata whenua to the land.

The highly visible and prominent rock formation Castle Rock holds such spiritual significance. To Ngāi Tahu, it is Te Tihi o Kahukura (the citadel of Kahukura or the pinnacle of the rainbow). Kahukura is a god of ancient times according to Tikao, who was believed to be able to separate the good from the bad weather. He became the main god of the migrators as he could send fair winds to assist waka over the seas and assist them with rainbows to show them direction. His sign was believed to be the rainbow.[51] Kahukura was also appealed to for signs or omens of forthcoming events, especially in relation to war. Cowan explains this concept:

> The celestial form of Kahukura was the rainbow; literally the name means "Red Garment." Omens were drawn in days of war from the situation of the arch of the "Red Garment" when it spanned the heavens. The name is sometimes applied to that phenomenon of days of mist in the mountains, the "sun-dog," from which auguries were drawn. So when the Natives gave the term to the Castle Rock they were conferring upon it a name of high tapu befitting its bold and commanding appearance.[52]

50. *Orbell, Māori Myths and Legends, p 50.*

51. *Beattie, Tikao Talks, p 41.*

52. *Cowan, Māori Folk-Tales of the Port Hills, p 8.*

GAMES AND PASTTIMES

WHARE TAPERE

The whare tapere is one of a number of terms used to describe a house of amusement. Although the term whare tapere denotes a whare of sorts, it was perhaps more accurate to describe it as a space that people gathered to socialise. What is important about the whare tapere is that it acknowledges that these types of spaces existed in te ao tawhito (traditional Māori society) and it widens our perspective on what Māori did to amuse themselves creatively, physically and socially. The whare tapere is an ongoing research topic passionately addressed by academic Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, who has also brought back a modern version of the whare tapere for other artists to partake in. Ngāi Tahu film-maker and choreographer Louise Potiki Bryant has also used the concept of the whare tapere in her most recent dance project and continues to research how Ngāi Tahu expressed themselves in a similar style of whare.[53]

Many games and activities Māori took part in were designed to build strength and coordination. Games provided entertainment but also practical skills in preparation for hunting; gathering kai for the whānau and hapū; building whare and food-storage structures within the kāinga; and defending the pā or surrounding area, or for larger conflicts.[54]

The pakeke (adults) had a number of games and pastimes that involved team activities and others built individual strength. There were games that took place on the land such as hand games, tī rākau (stick games), poi, kōruru (knucklebones) and whai (string games). There were also water games that involved swimming, diving and waka races.

Children also played through their day to improve their hand–eye coordination and to learn to protect and provide for their whānau and hapū. Kite flying (manutukutuku) and spinning tops (pōtaka) were popular activities for tamariki.[55]

WHARE PŪRĀKAU

The whare pūrākau taught military strategies and tactics. Unlike the sacred learning institutions such as the whare kura or the whare maire, the whare pūrākau took place during the day and involved a larger group of young men aged 12 years and up. They were drilled on weaponry such as taiaha, patu, paiaka, tewhatewha and other rākau used for fighting. The weapons stayed in the whare pūrākau and, although this whare was still seen as a place of tapu (sacredness), it was not to the same extent as the two other learning houses, which catered for a more select group of young men. The whare pūrākau developed the fitness and physical endurance of those who attended. There is a likeness in this concept to our modern gym facilities. The Canterbury term Waikākahi describes an extensive pā that was used for a number of sports and games.[56]

POI

Poi are mainly seen today as a decorative accessory that highlights the talent of predominantly wāhine in kapa haka performances. The original use of poi, however, was as a tool to improve wrist flexibility and strength in order to prepare toa (warriors) for battle.[57] According to Alan Armstrong, the long poi was traditionally used by wāhine of high rank. The movements of the long poi were not shared with the lower classes. In response to this segregation of sorts, the

53. *C. Royal, Towards the New Whare Tapere, Keynote address at the Te Hotu Manawa Māori Conference, Taipā, New Zealand, October 2012.*

54. *A. Armstrong, Maori Games and Hakas Instructions, Words and Actions, Wright & Carman Ltd, Wellington, 1964; Beattie and Anderson (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori; E. Best, Games and Pastimes of the Maori, A. R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington, 1925.*

55. *Armstrong, Maori Games and Hakas Instructions, Words and Actions.*

56. *Beattie, Tikao Talks.*

57. *Beattie and Anderson (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori.*

lower class designed a shorter length poi that still achieved suppleness in the wrist.[58]

TĪ RĀKAU

Tī rākau is a rhythmical stick game used to improve hand dexterity and hand–eye coordination. Traditionally it was a serious game to prepare warriors, but over time wāhine have joined in and the actions have been simplified.[59]

WHAI

Whai is the term used to describe string games (cat's cradle). Whai were played all over Polynesia and across the ages and sexes. However, it was noted that wāhine were particularly proficient at doing whai as this game required finger agility that many wāhine already had as a result of mahi raranga (weaving) and tukutuku (ornamental panels) work.[60]

The origin of this particular pastime was attributed to Māui and the full name given as 'Te Whai-wawewawe-a-Māui' – 'wawewawe' meaning to be quick, attentive and alert.

Whai consisted of constructing with your hands various formations, using an enclosed string threaded around and through the fingers and hands. All the configurations have names that represent an object or a mythological event.[61]

MOARI

Moari were constructed from a long pole with a crosspiece attached. These would be positioned on the river bank. The crosspiece had a number of holes that were threaded with taura (rope). This became a water activity for a number of people at the same time, using the taura to swing out over the water and diving feet or head first into the water.[62]

MAHI RINGARINGA (HAND GAMES)

Hand games were not only enjoyed and played for leisure across the ages; they also improved the speed of the eye and personal reaction time. Most mahi ringaringa were played in pairs and involved fast hand and arm movements whilst chanting various instructions or taunts. The idea behind most mahi ringaringa was to trick the opponent into a certain move or watch out for a similar move. The toa (winner) was the one that recognised the hapa (mistake) faster. The increasing speed of the mahi ringaringa added to the challenge of keeping the rhythm and completing the hand movements.[63]

SUMMARY

Many of the myths, legends and traditions told within this historical narrative tell of how the spiritual and physical world of Māori impacted on health and wellbeing. Health and wellbeing cannot be separated from the physical and natural elements around us:

> According to Maori belief, there were two most important things by means of which physical health and general well-being were retained. The first of these was the mauri, and the second tapu. To maintain inviolate the mauri, tribal, family or individual, to refrain

58. *Armstrong, Maori Games and Hakas Instructions, Words and Actions.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Best, Games and Pastimes of the Maori.*

61. *Armstrong, A., Maori Games and Hakas Instructions, Words and Actions.*

62. *Beattie and Anderson, (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori.*

63. *Armstrong, Maori Games and Hakas Instructions, Words and Actions.*

from transgressing the laws of tapu, and to retain his prestige and powers, natural and supernatural, was to command health, physical and mental." [64]

Loss of mauri in an area or body of water impacts negatively on the mana of tangata whenua. "Should they fail to carry out their kaitiaki duties adequately, not only will mana be removed, but harm will come to members of the whānau and hapu. Thus a whānau or hapu who still hold mana in a particular area take their kaitiaki responsibilities very seriously.[65]

Kaitiakitanga is fundamental to the relationship between Māori and their environment. It is an exercise that arises from the Māori worldview and is considered an inherent responsibility that comes from whakapapa. Kaitiakitanga is the act of safeguarding the mauri (life force) of the environment, and ensuring the environment is passed onto future generations in a state that is as good as or better than the current state. Cameron Kirkwood explains that "kaitiaki means looking after one's own blood and bones – literally. One's whanaunga and tupuna include the plants and animals, rocks and trees. We are all descended from Papatūānuku; she is our kaitiaki and we in turn are hers."[66]

This historical narrative has woven together many stories that have the common thread of Māori wellbeing. To achieve wellbeing for Māori requires a holistic approach. As such, this narrative has covered a range of concepts from spiritual and mythological right through to traditional practices. The intention of this narrative has been to help the reader to gain a greater understanding of the Māori worldview and how whakapapa, identity, and the physical and spiritual world about us all play a part in our ability to achieve physically and mentally. Many of the stories and concepts covered embody the core Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri values that are to be incorporated into the rebuild of Christchurch:

a. Mō tātou, ā, mō ngā uri ā muri ake nei (For us, and our children after us)
b. Ngāi Tahutanga (culture and identity)
c. Manaakitanga ('care for a person's mana' – wellbeing, in a holistic sense)
d. Rangatiratanga (chieftainship)
e. Whanaungatanga (family ties)
f. Tikanga and Kawa (method and protocol)
g. Tohungatanga (professionalism)
h. Kaitiakitanga (stewardship)
i. Kotahitanga (unity)
j. Wairuatanga (spiritual health).

64. *Best, Māori Medical Lore, p 216.*
65. *New Zealand Coastal Policy Statement Report 1994 as cited in Roberts, et al, Kaitiakitanga: Maori Perspective on Conservation. p 14.*
66. *Ibid, p 13.*

CHRISTCHURCH BUS INTERCHANGE NARRATIVE:

HINE PAAKA
TIME FOR A CHANGE

Written by Jane England, freelance writer

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861

N
Whata-a-rama
Kaiapoi
Ōpāwaho

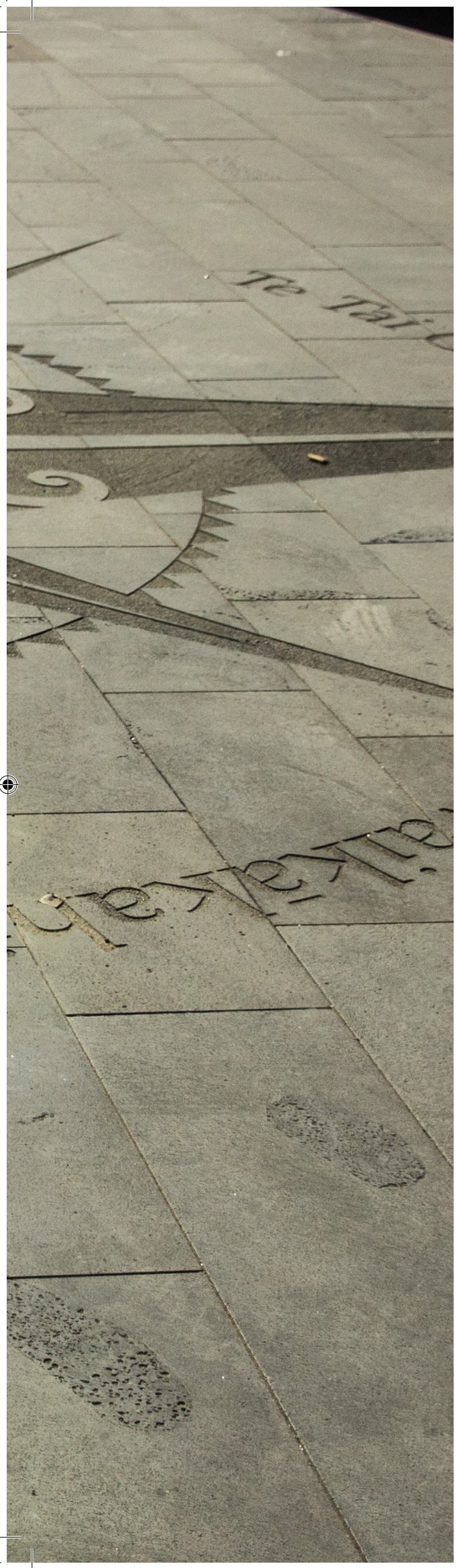


Image Credit: Baptiste Marconnet

INTRODUCTION

The Canterbury earthquakes ripped out architecture and roads from the heart and environs of the city. These massive shakes left wide spaces exposed to the environment and caused losses of life and homes. In the carnage, many old features were lost but the old rises out of the new just as the new rises out of the old. Christchurch people have clung to a vision of progress and that vision entwines the knowledge of the past with the architecture of the present. The Bus Interchange and the many routes that flow through and around the buildings will be held in place spiritually and culturally by Hine Paaka of Ngāi Tahu in both name and tradition. The vision is exciting and the journey that will bring that vision to life is one of positivity and progress. It is a journey that is shared by the indigenous people of the area and those who came after and will provide proof that each can embrace the other.

Ngāi Tahu flourished in the Christchurch area and Canterbury. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, they had a strong network of economic bases connected by trails to other villages, with the centre being their main fortified pā at Kaiapoi.

Unlike Europeans they did not rely on ship provisions from foreign markets. Instead they knew how to catch and sustain wildlife, which included the kiore (native rat) and birds sweetened by a diet of berries and a multitude of fish and eels.

Ngāi Tahu, like other Māori, had a strong sense of the interconnectivity between the natural spiritual world and the physical world. The continuation of life was protected by the constant attention paid to the universe and the spiritual life elements that nourished and sustained the life cycle. Strong laws protected the life element of mauri that ensured growth from beginning to end to beginning – from seed to activity to sickness to death and back to seed.

With the arrival of Pākehā settlement, Ngāi Tahu were quick to continue to grow their economic resources, to compete and thrive alongside Pākehā.

Scrutiny of numerous historical documents acknowledged recently in the Ngāi Tahu legal settlement of claims reveals that Pākehā did not always, at this time, share the same dream of combined enterprise and partnership.

When the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Tahu people firmly honoured their part of the contract. Unfortunately, however, when they sold land they lost even the land they chose not to sell.

Rather than losing sight of this injustice or becoming bitter towards all Pākehā, they sought justice through the court. It took a formidable amount of time and many generations for justice to be served.

In the meantime, other land was appropriated and laws have restricted Ngāi Tahu rights to develop their own properties in places like Tuahiwi right up to and into this century.

The demise of the Ngāi Tahu economy did not occur instantly. Ngāi Tahu had always appreciated the development of technology and they were quick to secure whale boats and begin trade in New Zealand and across the Tasman.

They developed their flax industry and jade manufacturing industry and they walked or rode over their trails to the Victoria market in Christchurch where they sold their cultivated potatoes and other goods.

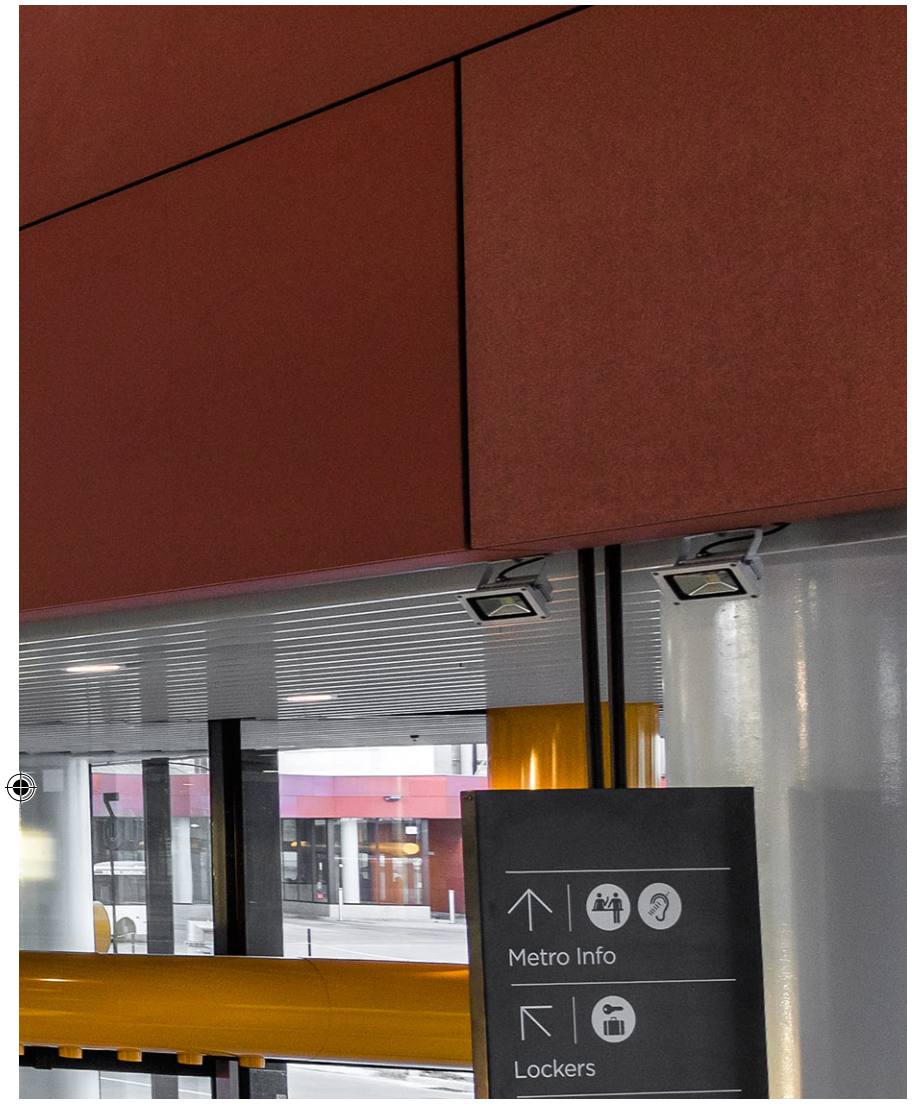
History shows that the potential for a beneficial cultural and economic interchange between Māori and Ngāi Tahu was felled by racist policies. Not only did the majority of settlers and councillors respect one perspective – that of one empire entirely replacing another – it regarded the English in particular as being superior to the tangata whenua, the people of the land.

Ngāi Tahu, rather than reigning over the area they had claimed and protected, now watched in horror as their trails were covered, their sacred burial grounds were buried, and their mahinga kai – economic resources – became endangered and extinct in a spiritual void that failed to protect the living and the dead.

Hear the cries of Ngāi Tahu when they simply asked for a whare, a resting house in one of their few reserves, at Little Hagley Park. After losing so much, Ngāi Tahu were denied even the right for a place to rest for their people travelling to Ōtautahi or Christchurch.

> This is our word to you about a house at Christchurch. For we have no resting place there. The evil of this is manifest, when we have to pass through, some are obliged to sleep under the hedges of the roadside, others go to the public houses and spend their money to their hurt. The word of our meeting is that we should be treated as brethren, as one people, be fulfilled. We have lately shown that it is our wish to assist our European friends as far as we can. Let the same spirit be manifested by you towards us in this matter. Follow the example of Auckland, Wellington, Nelson and Otago, where houses have long been erected for the Maoris. This is the only town without a resting place.

Photo: Damon McPhail



These are the eminent people who signed that petition: *Ihaia Taihewa, Hoani Paratene, Pita Te Hori (Assessor), Hakopa Te Ata o Tu (Assessor), Hamiora Tohuanuku, Horomona Pa, Wiremu Hape, Te Wakena Kokorau, Matiu Hutoi, Te Koro Mautai, Wiremu Te Pa, Tare Rangitira, Hakopa Tahitama, Matene Rehu, Te Wakaemi, Horomona Haukeke, Wiremu Te Hau, Ihaia Tainui, Aperahama Te Aika, Hemiona Pohata, Te Moroati Pakapaka, Ripene Waipapa, Matana Piki, Te Tura Turakina, Mikaera Turangitahi, Hoani Rehu, Henare Korako, Wereta Tainui, Heraia Te Koreke, Hoani Pareti, Hohepa Huria, Meihana Tawha, Manahi Iri, Te Manihera Te Pehu, Irai Tihau, Wiremu Pukupuku, Hapurona Taipata, Ahuira Tama-rangi, Hoani Poutoko, Mohi Patu, Tamate Tikao, Rewite Tekau, Paora Tua, Tukaruatoro, Hoani Hape, Te Wirihana Piro, Taituha Hape, Erua Tihema, Mohi Roperu.*

Remembering these names would be a tribute to these Ngāi Tahu ancestors who were overlooked by the colony.

Not only did the main hapū of Ngāi Tahu known as Ngāi Tūāhuriri and hapū from other areas lose their land in Christchurch and Canterbury, they lost their place names and many of the signs directing them to sacred areas.

Their heroes were not recounted in the main historical records. Just like the people who walked from them, their first ships were not honoured or considered worthy of a primary place in the history of European society. Whenever the 'first four ships' were mentioned, they referenced only the period of British settlement – a place for people of one culture and heritage.

Ngāi Tahu invested an enormous amount of energy over the span of two centuries in obtaining justice. While achieving the true measure of recompense was impossible, they now have a firm economic base in the city, a place of standing that is long overdue. Ngāi Tahu energies are now being poured into developing their market as well as researching and resurrecting the original names and trails of the whole of Te Waipounamu.

Reviving these places and the markers that guided Ngāi Tahu in their direction both spiritually and physically is a way of bringing Ngāi Tahu back into the world of the living city while acknowledging the vital part their tūpuna or ancestors played in the past.

In many cases the mauri or sacred markers to mahinga kai (economic resources) and kāinga (villages) have disappeared but they remain fixed in memory and written documents. While they cannot all be found and preserved, many are responding to the breath of recognition that is stirring them into the present.

SACRED NAME OF THE BUS INTERCHANGE: HINE PAAKA OF NGĀI TAHU

Hine Paaka is a female ancestor of the Ngāi Tūhaitara hapū of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Māmoe, which was part of an earlier migration into the South Island. Ngāi Tahu tradition tells us that Hine Paaka was already standing as an ancestral tree marker by the time the later part of the Ngāi Tūhaitara migration into Waitaha commenced. The tree was known as a customary marker of Ngāi Tūhaitara claims to the region. Rights to the area were applied through the descent line from her parents, Marukore and Tūhaitara.

For Ngāi Tahu the ancestors did not simply exist and die; many became geographical formations – mountains, rivers, streams. The ancestor Hine Paaka became a sacred fowling tree, a place where birds were hunted and where the skins of the cull were stretched against the branches of a living ancestor, the tree, Hine Paaka.

Hine Paaka, like other Ngāi Tahu ancestors, lives today as a tree just as other ancestors have taken the form of proud mountains and rippling waves, representing the earth's call to the sky and the sky's call to the forest and birds. The ancestors can be traced geographically and genealogically from the land to the universe, in the physical realm and the mysteries of mythology.

When Ngāi Tahu look at sacred trees, mountains and rivers, they see an ancestor, they feel the presence of that ancestor and they may pause to weep, to grieve, to remember and admire the ancestor.

This sense of the ancestors embodied in land is a common theme in many indigenous cultures. Without the ancestors the land does not exist; without the land the people cannot exist. Where there is breath there is life and each living thing contains the breath of life. The breath of life is in the sacred ancestral mountains and rivers, it is in an ancestral tree that served as a trail marker; the ancestors live in the geographical features of the land and the cord that binds the people to the land and the ancestors cannot be broken.

Ngāi Tahu tribal tradition tells us that the name of the campaign party that led the final Ngāi Tūhaitara expedition into Waitaha was Te Taua-Tua-Whiti. The tradition tells us that the campaign leaders were: Taane-tiki; Hika-tutae; Moki; Maaka; Huikai; Mokai; Whakuku and Turakipo.

Their ariki or high leader was Tūrākautahi. During their settlement of the Waitaha region, Tūrākautahi and his kinsmen journeyed inland to claim the Torlesse Range – the mountainous area famed for its forest fowl.

Hine Paaka was claimed by Tūrākautahi as his fowling tree. The trees were known among families as boundary markers. From this sacred marker tree Hine Paaka, the Ngāi Tūhaitara leaders laid claim to the inland mountains. These claims are recalled with the following proverbs from the two leaders, Tūrākautahi and his brother, Taane-tiki:

> Tūrākautahi: Ko Kura-tāwhiti te mauka kākāpō, ko au te takata.
> Kura-tāwhiti is the mountain that has the parrot and I am the man.

Taane Tiki: Ko te mauka ko Te Whatarama, te manu o reira, he kākāpō. Moku tēnā mauka kia maro ai a Hine-mihi rāua ko Hutika.

Te Whatarama is the mountain of parrot and will be mine to cloak my daughter Hine-mihi and Hutika.

Hine Paaka, the female Ngāi Tūāhuriri ancestor, will represent Ngāi Tūāhuriri and the people of Christchurch in the form of the Bus Interchange, which will bear her name. She will also be embodied in the central artwork displayed in front of Hine Paaka – the Bus Interchange building.

Revived in both name and form, the Bus Interchange that bears her name also carries the spirit of this Ngāi Tūāhuriri female ancestor into the present and the future of Christchurch and Canterbury.

The Bus Interchange is the central place for routes like the routes eels have woven across, under and through Christchurch and Canterbury.

The Ngāi Tahu narrative will be embedded in Christchurch through knowledge of the trails and means by which the Ngāi Tahu migration entered and claimed most of the South Island. For Christchurch people and visitors, it involves the discovery of journeys that have only recently been revealed by Ngāi Tahu themselves.

It speaks of the ancestral waka and voyages made through the ocean from the ancestral land in the far Pacific and the smaller journeys taken across the stretch of sea between the North and South Islands. It tells of migratory journeys by foot, of shoes crafted for various journeys, of gourds that became rocks and of valuable resources and lands that were taken by European settlers, destroying possibly forever a way of life that should be preserved.

KAIAPOI – NGĀI TAHU SETTLEMENT FOR TRADE AND TRAILS

Christchurch is seen as the point of gravity for the Canterbury region. Kaiapoi, Leeston and other small rural towns are seen as outer lying districts to Christchurch. However for Ngāi Tahu, Christchurch was an outpost food-gathering site to Kaiapoi – the centre of activity for the Canterbury Ngāi Tahu. The main sites for this area were O-tū-matua, Ihu-tai, O-pa-waho, Otakaro, Tā-rere-kau-tuku, Pū-tarika-motu, O-Raki-pāoa and Niho-toto.

Dr Te Maire Tau, Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, University of Canterbury.

The South Island is the homeland for Ngāi Tahu, and the area now known as Christchurch fell within the lands occupied and worked by the Ngāi Tahu hapū or clan known as Ngāi Tūāhuriri. Christchurch was the centre of Canterbury only in terms of British settlement, which succeeded in largely exterminating the earlier founding histories.

The significant pā for Ngāi Tahu was the base of the Ngāi Tūāhuriri people at Kaiapoi. It became the main repository and trading centre for the sharing of abundant Ngāi Tahu resources in the South Island.

A fortified pā, the settlement contained houses with boundaries defined by the communal hierarchy. It harboured places of work and industry, from carving to cooking, tool making to spiritual teaching. It also contained a large food storage area where gourds, vats and high storehouses contained preserved and fresh produce.

Built on dunes surrounding a deep lagoon, Kaiapoi was accessible by waka (canoes) to both the sacred ancestors, the Waimakariri and the Rakahuri (Ashley) rivers. Flowing with valued resources from west to east, "Ki Uta, Ki Tai" – mountains to the sea, the cycle of accessible resources was likened to the motion of swinging poi and reflected in the name, Kaiapoi.

For Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the Waimakariri River is the life blood of Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother), supporting all life including people. For generations spanning centuries, the ancestors built settlements ringed by ridges of sand dunes near the food-laden lagoons and estuaries associated with the Waimakariri.

Cleverly constructed Ngāi Tahu boats moved along rivers and streams from lowland to the high land and back again. Shoes were specifically crafted for clambering over rocks, for mountain treks or for walks across sandy shores. Small treks and long routes provided a connection between the people and their mahinga kai, economic resources.

The Waimakariri has always been an important source of kaimoana (seafood), including freshwater mussels and crays, eels, whitebait, flounders and native trout. The birdlife in the river and basin include kererū (native pigeon), pāteke (brown teal), pūtakitaki (paradise duck) and a host of other birds valued for their flesh and feathers used for regal cloaks. The banks of the river hold a heritage of sacred urupā (burial sites) and traditional kāinga nohoanga (permanent and temporary occupation sites).

A diverse range of trails poured out from the rich settlement of Kaiapoi to other villages and settlements. The Ngāi Tahu way of life depended on the resources gained from settlements in and beyond Kaiapoi and the Waimakariri River: Te Waihora; Te Pātaka a Rākaihautū (Banks Peninsula); Rāpaki; Koukourārata; Wairewa; Ōnuku; and Taumutu.

The current motorway north from Christchurch runs parallel to one of the Ngāi Tūāhuriri trails from Kaiapoi. The Waimakariri River served as a guide for Ngāi Tūāhuriri resulting in several trails to Te Tai Poutini (the West Coast). It was also used as access into the mahinga kai areas of the Waimakariri basin such as lakes Lyndon (Te Hapūa Waikawa), Hawdon (Opera), Pearson (Moana Rua) and Coleridge (Whakamatau).

Other areas significant to Ngāi Tahu in and around Christchurch include the Ōpāwaho (Heathcote), Ōtākaro (Avon), Pūharakekenui (Styx), Whakahume (Cam River at Tuahiwi), Ruataniwha (Cam River at Kaiapoi), the land around Te Ihutai (Avon-Heathcote Estuary), Te Oranga (Horseshoe Lake) and Te Riu o Te Aika Kauai (Brooklands Lagoon).

To Ngāi Tahu, Kaiapoi was the centre linked by trails to smaller settlements made up of other hapū.

There is ample documented evidence that the trails Bishop Selwyn and Edward Shortland used to travel southwards already existed in the form of trails used and developed by Ngāi Tahu. The trail Shortland used to get to Te Muka/Te Waiteruaati from Taumutu was the same trail Waruwarutu and the Kaiapoi people used when they fled south.

There were also the trails that led into the hills and mountains to the famous forests along the Torlesse Range where the kākāpō and other forest fowl could be found.

It is not commonly known that the paths and passes 'discovered' by European settlers had already been developed and used by South Island Māori. One such pass from Canterbury to

the West Coast later came to be known by European settlers as Arthur's Pass, after the surveyor Sir Arthur Dudley Dobson. It was one of many passes named after European explorers such as Dobson, Henry Lewis and Julius Von Haast. These Europeans were closely connected to each other by marriage and were affiliated to Māori guides – men such as Tarapuhi and Wereta Tainui – who informed and guided them over the old pre-discovered trails.

Although such European men were hardy explorers, so were the South Island Māori who had developed and used these trails over treacherous mountains and through swollen rivers.

The passes from the East to the West Coast were the arteries to the precious stone, pounamu. Known as jade or nephrite to Ngāi Tahu, pounamu was treasure from the ancestors far more precious than gold. Handed down as an heirloom, presented as a highly prized gift, and valued as a hard strong rock that would form tools able to last through various lifetimes, pounamu is a reflection of the multi-forested land that is Waipounamu, the South Island. In its picturesque beauty it appears to hold ribbons of forest and waves from the sea, mists and clear skies, peaks and wild shores. In his last book endorsed by Ngāi Tahu, *Greenstone Trails*, Barry Brailsford refers to the trails created for the purpose of contact with the stone and how its power drew Māori in and through the alpine country at the heart of the South Island.[1]

The Bus Interchange is not merely a building that stands alone devoid of these earlier histories of discovery, exploration and travel. Unlike its predecessor and other buildings that represented the English colonial settlement of Canterbury, it does not just reflect one narrative of settlement. The building with its skylights, its reflection of waka and its identity linking it to Hine Paaka, a Ngāi Tahu ancestor, is alive and rich with the identity of Ngāi Tahu, of the people of the area, Ngāi Tūāhuriri, and the geographical features that are the ancestors.

KURA TĀWHITI – CASTLE HILL

When people journey outside Canterbury on what is now State Highway 73, they are following other trails that lead into areas that had vital importance to Ngāi Tahu and their ancestors who link into the Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha people of earlier times. Kura tāwhiti or Castle Hill dominates a high tussock basin between the Torlesse Range in the east and the Craigieburn Range in the west. Hidden in the limestone outcrops are traces of 500-year-old charcoal drawings, left behind by Waitaha, the first people to shelter here.

The sacred naming of places was a way of claiming land, and Kura-tāwhiti was claimed by the Ngāi Tahu ancestor Turakautahi, son of the celebrated leader of Tūāhuriri and founder of Kaiapoi Pā.

The nearby mountains were famed for kākāpō and Tāne Tiki yearned to obtain their soft skins and glowing green feathers for clothing for his daughter Hine Mihi.

The area was a well-used mahinga kai area for Kaiapoi Ngāi Tahu, and an integral part of a network of trails for hunting and gathering. Ngāi Tūāhuriri hapū are the guardians of the land.

RAUIRI KIORE – RAT TRAILS

The rauiri kiore – rat track – begins within the hinterland at Kura-tāwhiti, which is located along the Torlesse Range. The track then heads towards the Waikirikiri or Selwyn River and then proceeds towards Otaumata – the Selwyn River mouth – to Tauhinu, Kaiwaha, Tarerekautuku

1. *B. Brailsford, Greenstone Trails, The Maori Search for Pounamu, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1984.*

and Makonui. From this point, the track heads towards the Waimakariri River and eventually reaches Kaiapoi Pā.

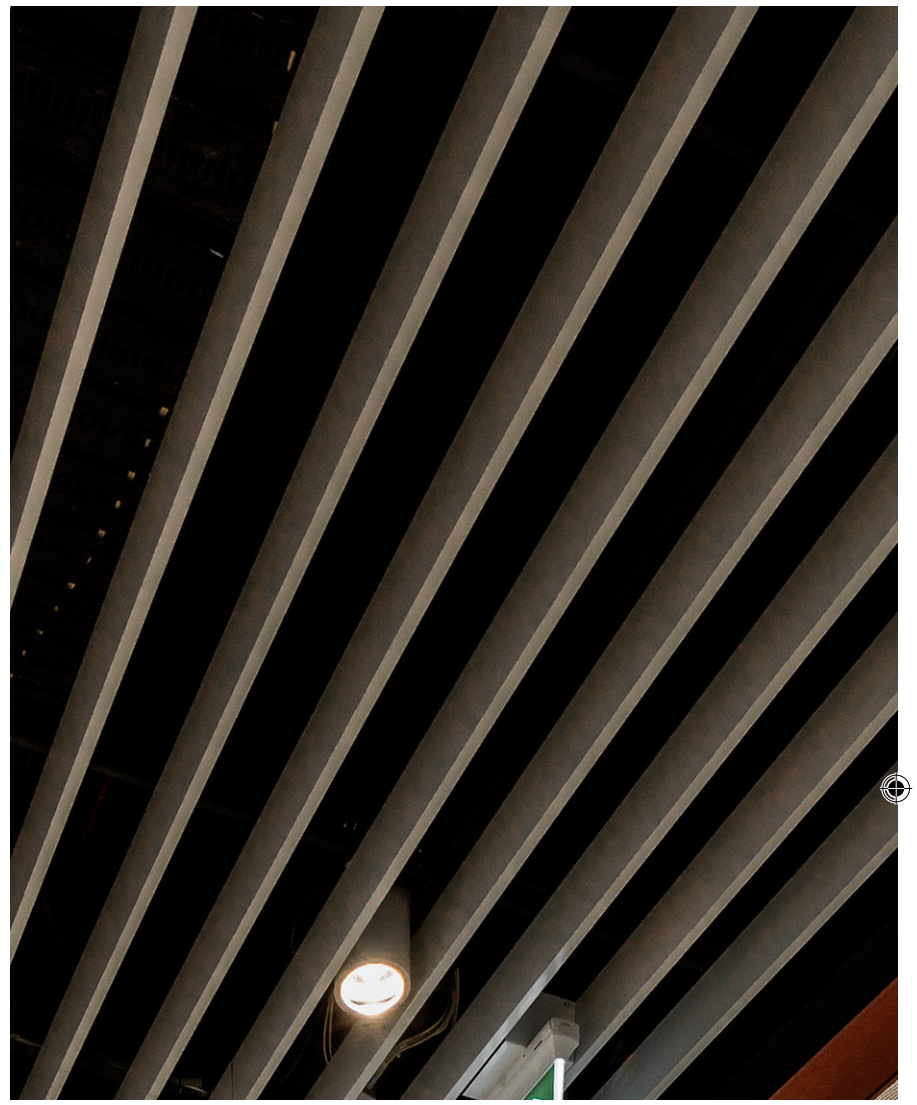
A similar range of mountainous and inland locations was given for the taking of weka in the months between March and August. Kākāpō were caught with weka on Mount Torlesse and Mount Otarama; kererū at Tawera (Oxford) and Okuku.

The rats eaten by Ngāi Tūāhuriri were quite different to the creatures that drove fear into settlers who had come from the cities where rats spread contagious disease. The Māori kiore or rats were smaller, with brown fur and a grey-white belly. They feasted on berries and were a clean source of meat, being particularly full and sweet from April to July when they feasted on the tawai berry.

Particularly plentiful in the beech forests of the South Island, the kiore or native rat was the most highly prized of all the kai (foods) in Canterbury. Rat runs were strictly divided into wakawaka among the different family groups made up of whānau and hapū.

Evidence recorded in an old document reveals that the trails Māori worked and hunted were passed down the generations from hapū or clans to be worked seasonally. These ownership rights were taken seriously and the owners' punishment was meted out to poachers. The activity of rat-catching was tapu and overseen by a tohunga or specialist in spiritual protections and rules related to hunting.

The trails were used and worked by generations of Ngāi Tūāhuriri until they were destroyed by the British and the land owned by Ngāi Tahu was bought in some cases and stolen in many others.



DEVASTATING LOSS OF MAHINGA KAI

The loss of the kiore or rat was one of the first traditional and highly valued foods to become a casualty of introduced species of plants and animals.

Their demise deprived Ngāi Tūāhuriri of a rich economic resource that had previously been protected by a life based on complex seasonal rituals and rules.

A hereditary web of entitlement around access and rules firmly protected and maintained the life force of all beings. The life force that created generations of trees and birds, rats and eels and fish was respected because its protection provided a firm path into the future.

A hunter would hunt with a hunger in his belly. Ngāi Tahu understood how and why birds and fish migrate and move from areas of settlement. Hunting rules protected the balance of life and provided for regeneration. Māori believed that hunters who consumed food in the forest, who ate a bird in front of birds, would scare off their prey. Like people who become refugees, a whole species of birds might fear being hunted and seek a safer life elsewhere.

A Ngāi Tahu hunter would always leave something behind as an offering; an acknowledgement of the need for the continuation of life against the cliffs of death. The parent stock were never obliterated but were left to keep on breeding.

These rules reflect plans based on sophisticated conservation insights. We now know that the depletion of whales and seals in the South Island was caused by the over-culling of seals and whales through operations run by European settlers. Now, many long generations later, these creatures of the sea are returning to their old nesting grounds on coasts in the South Island

where they are gradually building up their numbers.

Tuna and pātiki – eels and flounder – are both vital resources to Ngāi Tūāhuriri but their numbers have dwindled due to the pollution of streams and other pressures of the advancing city of Christchurch.

The bush no longer resounds with a deafening chorus of birds the way it did in the time when Ngāi Tahu walked and worked from their trails. The native birds have largely disappeared, scared off by a British settlement that revolved around people rather than a habitat.

Thanks to modern machinery that replaced the highly crafted pounamu adzes of Ngāi Tahu, time is not spent on crafting individual pieces from honoured trees. Instead, the bush around Canterbury, after being culled en masse, is a shadow of the previous dramatic canopy that sheltered parrots and pigeons.

The impact of colonial settlement and theft by government agents cannot be undone. But what is left must be protected and Ngāi Tūāhuriri names and markers must become embedded again in Christchurch and the environs of Canterbury.

SPHERES OF TRAILS

Ngāi Tūāhuriri and their kin hapū and whānau (Ngāti Irakehu, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Rakiwhakaputa, Ngāti Huirapa) link to a people who held a universe of knowledge in their minds. These people understood the ways of the seasons, the winds, the water and the skies. They had landmarks and skymarks. Landmarks contained stories linking the people to a place – an ancestor who fell overboard, a ladder from a gully over a cliff, a violent fall of water or the abundance of birds that provided feathers for fine cloaks. Trails in the water, sky and land linked people to a world that sustained their economic growth and sustenance.

The sky was marked by the stars, and navigators of the sea would determine their position by the pattern and locations of stars. Many people depended on tuna (eels) for their food source. When the thick smell of eels rose from the water, they followed paths to make nets and use spears.

Those who lived nearer the sea would venture in boats to fishing grounds estimated by the distance from a landmark such as a rock or gnarled tree. They watched the circling birds and could determine the weather forecast from their behaviour. Hunters learnt to move quickly in shadows, imitating the nature of their prey and using this knowledge to provide a catch to be shared by the families.

Ngāi Tahu had to identify routes that were safe and secure. Spiritual landmarks such as special rocks known as 'mauri' contained the protective life force or energy of the spiritual world and these were respected and known to the people.

The connections between time and space were tended by seemingly physical elements that maintained spiritual harmony. People followed rules and when they took something from a place they also returned something to that place. Their trade with nature was honoured by prayers and rituals and the life force that produced the flax, the trees, the birds, the fish and the eels was never taken for granted.

The people swirling in and out of the city have the Bus Interchange as their central mark. They are assured of reaching their destination by the number and route of their bus.

TRAILS AROUND THE FRUITS OF FORESTS

To Māori the whakapapa, trails of genealogy that have been memorised and handed down in sacred oral traditions, connect people to people and people to their land.

There is also a whakapapa for the universe, for the gods who came from Te Kore, the nothingness or void out of which all things are stirred.

The essence of knowledge relates to the connectivity between all living things and the respect paid to those beings. The forest clothed the land and created a separation between the earth and sky. Trees gave birth to trees, and other trees and plants sprang up in the generations and regenerations of the life of the forest.

The myths, rituals, rules and cosmology around forests suggest that the ancestors of the first Māori in New Zealand, who undertook various journeys from Asia through the Pacific, originally lived in deeply forested areas. The forest was respected for both its spiritual value and the

Image Credit: Damon McPhail

Lockers
2
Door 2

Image Credit: Damon McPhail

economic resources it provided; and through karakia and firm rules, the economic resources were entwined with spiritual values that protected and respected the life cycles.

Birds sometimes became pets and were taught to mimic other birds so that these would come to the call and be snared. The methods of trapping ranged from simple to highly sophisticated, involving the use of highly crafted bone tools.

As with the cutting down of a tree, karakia were performed to honour and protect the life force of the birds. These prayers acknowledged the sacred energy that passed from generation to generation of birds in much the same manner as it ignited the flow of life between generations of people.

Ngāi Tahu lived a complex life in a world of cosmologies extending from the creative space in the universe to trails of stars across the night sky. Journeys were made across oceans and rivers; tracks were pulled out of a rich and resourceful land.

There was a strong belief in the spiritual essence that created and governed life, which people protected through rituals of tapu and tapu removal. All living things were thought to be tapu; when they were dead and eaten, the tapu was void.

Birding and the trapping of native rats were vital hunting activities to Ngāi Tūāhuriri. Both these activities were carried out in the mountains that overlooked Kaiapoi and in the ranges beyond them.

Kai (food) was preserved rather than simply being consumed in times of abundance. Ngāi Tahu developed oils and fat, used native herbs and plants, and undertook means of smoking and drying to preserve their kai for the leaner seasons. Through their whānau and hapū bonds of relationship, they traded and gained access to foods in other areas. They moved along trails to different rūnanga, shared in feasts and celebrations, and aided each other in planting, gathering, hunting and cooking.

Ngāi Tahu ancestors live today in the lives of those who still love and listen to them. While the old ways were submerged under the emergence of old Christchurch, the ancestors still speak through traditions carried out today. Ngāi Tūāhuriri who have family bonds with Rakiura – Stewart Island – still journey south for mutton birding and return with carefully preserved birds. Festivals and funerals pivot on the food and the work provided by Ngāi Tahu from various hapū. At such times, tables are made up of an abundance of seafood and other delicacies from different areas, food caught by hand and given from the heart.

Ngāi Tahu trails between the villages across Canterbury might be easier to negotiate today, the paths might be roads that are now sealed and the journey faster, but these trails between Ngāi Tahu people and their food sources carry the same importance today as they did when they were forged under the guidance of the ancestors. Ngāi Tahu is flourishing economically while displaying the traditional values of hospitality, generosity and reciprocity essential to the re-growth of this internationally acclaimed city.

NGĀI TAHU ORIGINS – ANCESTRAL JOURNEYS

Where did Ngāi Tahu come from? How did they develop and move into the South Island? The answers to these questions take us far back in time, hundreds of years ago to about 1300 AD.

Archaeological evidence reveals that Māori people are descended from Eastern Polynesians who travelled to New Zealand in various waka, large sturdy double-hulled canoes equipped with strong sails to battle the winds and currents.

Dr Te Maire Tau, Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury, points out that while some of these people might have purposefully veered in the direction of New Zealand, their discovery of New Zealand would have been coincidental. Return to their former homes would have been virtually impossible due to the arduous upwinds, and there is no evidence that it ever happened.

The ancestors of Ngāi Tahu who first journeyed into and over the ocean were skilled astronomers. They navigated by sail through their knowledge of space and the changing patterns of stars in relation to the horizons of sea and land. They understood the different phases of the moon including the distance of the halo around the moon and how it signalled good or bad weather. When they reached their places of settlement, these celestial understandings proved equally useful to apply to seasonal knowledge about fishing for tuna, or eels, and planting kūmara, their sweet potato.

TAHU PŌTIKI

Ngāi Tahu, like all Māori, connect in space and time to their experiences of their lands and water through their whakapapa or descent lines. From their great migrating ancestor Tahu Pōtiki – an ancestor they share with other iwi such as Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou in the North Island – Ngāi Tahu evolved.

The name Ngāi Tahu is the collective name of all the hapū and whānau, clans and families derived from this ancestor, a man who lived on the eastern coast of the North Island around the late 15th century. According to Ngāi Tahu legend and tradition, Tahu Pōtiki was one of the sons of Paikea who arrived in New Zealand on the back of a whale that guided him to the shore.

The waka that carried wave after wave of people to the land is also a strong symbol of navigated journeys. The prow of the waka riding over the waves is mirrored in the sharp glass design element of the Bus Interchange.

FIRST MIGRATIONS OF MĀORI

Māori trace their ancestry or whakapapa through distinct sailing vessels known as waka, which arrived in the land now known as New Zealand at various times. Those Māori who are descended from the migration of the ***Tākitimu*** waka include the iwi or large tribal collectives known as Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Porou and Ngāti Kahungunu.

The stories of the wide and varied voyages that led a collective group of people to this place exemplify courage against death, resilience against defeat and success over failure. Each wave

that splashed over the bow of waka filled with men, women and children, each stride over snow-clad mountains and rugged terrain, each path to a hunting ground is exemplified in the design and purpose of the Christchurch Bus Interchange.

Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Kahungunu were closely related and their travels and settlements down to the southern part of the North Island are sometimes difficult to distinguish. People move and journey for various reasons and Ngāi Tahu gradually wound down the North Island during a period of 250 years. Before migrating to the South Island, they settled along the southern coasts of the North Island where their eyes gazed on the land of the South Island. Numerous names have been attributed to the South Island, one of the most common being Te Waipounamu, the land of greenstone or jade. Another name is Te Waka-o-Māui which is based on the Māui legend that the South Island was the waka from which Māui pulled up the fish, Te-Ika o Māui, the North Island.

PHYSICAL AND METAPHYSICAL DEPARTURES AND ARRIVALS

The spiritual world and the physical world contained vital elements of life. To the indigenous people at this time, in this land in and around Christchurch, one world was not considered possible without the other. The business and hierarchy of roles in daily life was harnessed inside a spiritual world of rituals, rules and traditions that nurtured spiritual energies and provided various protections.

Entwined within the stories of daily life, of romance and births, of squabbles and misunderstandings are stories of boats that become stars and baskets that become boulders.

Besides Ngāi Tahu, another earlier group of Māori to reach the South Island were Ngāti Māmoe. They had arrived in the east coast of the North Island, and two different branches lived in Hawke's Bay. In the latter half of the 15th century, after being defeated in a war, they were provided with canoes by their victors on which they sailed from the North to the South Island.

Arapaoa – the misty path, known later to British settlers as Cook Strait – had already been crossed by other groups known as Ngāti Tara and Rangitāne who formed settlements along the coast and fiords known as the Marlborough Sounds.

WAITAHA AND RĀKAIHAUTŪ

But Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoe, Ngāti Tara and Rangitāne were not the first people who lived in the South Island. Prior to their migration, another group of people known as the Waitaha had settled in the land. According to genealogical tables tracing 42 generations, these people had arrived in the *Uruao* boat or waka, which was captained by Rākaihautū.

The lake Hoka Kura, known in the European narrative of settlement as Lake Sumner, is one among others in the tradition of 'Ngā Puna Wai Karikari o Rākaihautū'. The tradition relates to how the main lakes in the South Island were dug up by the rangātira– Rākaihautū, the famed captain of the waka, or boat, named *Uruao*.

According to legend, after beaching the *Uruao* at Whakatū (Nelson), Rākaihautū divided his men into two groups. His son took one party to explore the coastline southwards and Rākaihautū took another southwards by an inland route. On his inland journey southward, Rākaihautū used his famous kō – a tool similar to a spade – to uplift the principal lakes of Te Waipounamu, including Hoka Kura.

The concept of pulling up or digging land along with the naming of places is familiar to indigenous people. In this way, the line is blurred between the tangata and the whenua, the people and the land.

The land is pulled or called into being by important ancestors, in this case Rākaihautū, and his significance over the land is in his being as the source of transition between the land undiscovered and the land uncovered.

Although the source of the name Hoka Kura is not now known, it probably refers to one of the descendants of Rākaihautū.

Hoka Kura was valued as an area for mahinga kai – economic resources – by Ngāi Tūāhuriri. They had specialised knowledge of whakapapa – the trail of generations connecting people across time in this area – and they depended on the lake that they protected.

The mauri or life essence of Hoka Kura binds physical and spiritual elements of all things together, generating and upholding all life. All elements of the natural environment possess a life force, and all forms of life are related. Mauri is a vital element in the spiritual relationship between Ngāi Tahu and their sacred places.

The whakapapa on the next page shows a line of descent from the Waitaha ancestor, Rākaihautū, through his son Te Rakihouia (also known as Rokohouia). The names of people descended from Rākaihautū became linked to geographical features of the South Island. In this tradition of place-naming, the landmark in a sense is the ancestor, so the whole landscape becomes an ancestral temple or church.

Te Rākaihautū
Te Rakihouia
Awe-a-raki
Te Aweawe
Te Whatu
Te Whatu-hunahuna
Te Whatu-karokaro
Te Whatu-ariki
Te Whatu-karokata (a peak in the Southern Alps)
Tāne-au-roa (a mountain near Wānaka)
Tītī-tea (Crown Range)
Turu (Diamond Lake)
Ōrau (Cardrona River)
Ari (head of Wakatipu)
Tākaha (beach at Glenavy)
Te Wai-reika (Gentle Annie Creek)
Tokopā (a range on the West Coast)
Koroiko (Roaring Meg Creek)
Te Papa-puni (Nevis River)
Tata-whe (location near Ben Nevis)
Toromikimiki (Kawarau Gorge)
Tahauri (a mountain near Kawarau)
Tā-maipi (near Ōtāraia)
Roko-te-whatu (near Waimate)
Kawarau (well-known river)
Parapara (near Hāwea)
Waimeha (Waimea Plains)
Te Kāretu (near Mataura Falls)
Tā-maipi (near Mataura Falls)
Waiwhero (now Waiwera, Otago)
Kahuwera (now Kaiwera)
Tāraia (now Ōtāraia)
Te Urumoeanu (Lake George at Colac)

Like the ancestor Rākaihautū, Ngāi Tahu worked and walked trails all over the South Island from the top of the Kaikōura coast down through Ōtākou (Otago) to Bluff and Rakiura (Stewart Island) and from the East Coast to the West Coast.

Journeys along the coasts and up rivers would be taken by boat or a combination of walking and boats engineered specifically for certain purposes. Many difficult seasonal journeys were taken by foot alone with shoes specifically crafted for terrains as varied as snow and ice to beaches and swamps.

Knowledge of these trails continues to be held by whānau and hapū and is regarded as a taonga – sacred information. A seasonal lifestyle of walking and camping and trading with other kinspeople meant that the state of such lakes and the resources in and around them were fundamental to the cycles of survival.

Sacred places such as urupā and wāhi tapu also lie in the area. Urupā are the resting places of Ngāi Tahu tūpuna and, as such, are the focus for whānau (family) traditions. Urupā and wāhi tapu are places that contain the sacred memories, customs and stories of Ngāi Tahu ancestors. Their enduring significance is ensured by locations that remain secret to this day.

WHAKAPAPA

Whakapapa – the connecting line of people to ancestors and land – is a vital tradition in Māori culture. The Ngāi Tahu connection to their land in the South Island traces to Waitaha, the first people of the land and Ngāti Māmoe who came after Waitaha. Like the different tribes that settled Europe, Māori lineage was born out of defeat and victories, love and sorrow, mysteries and practicalities.

In practical terms, to seal their bond with the land and to transfer that bond through the generations to follow, the leaders of the people who came after Waitaha took a wife whose descent line ran from the Waitaha. By this means Ngāi Tahu leader Te Rakitāmau was connected to the land through his Waitaha wife, Punahikoia.

AKA ATUA (CANOES OF THE GODS) ARAITEURU TRADITION ORIGINS CONNECTION TO NGĀI TAHU

The Arai-te-uru tradition refers to the ancestral waka atua (canoe of the gods) that foundered on the Otago coast in a storm on its return voyage from the ancestral homeland of Hawaiiki (now thought by scholars to be Tahiti). The legend connects to the arrival of kūmara in New Zealand and many of the landmarks and geographical features of the South Island, from the Otago coast through to the Southern Alps.

When Ngāi Tahu ancestor Rokoitua exchanged the kūmara he carried in his belt with the mamaku (tree fern) given to him by the Kāhui Tipua people in the Wairarapa, the Kāhui Tipua became determined to introduce the plant to Aotearoa. When they gave him mamaku to eat, he offered them the dried kūmara he carried in his belt, which he took out and soaked in a bowl of water. When the Kāhui Tipua tasted it, they decided to build a canoe to try to obtain this new food from 'across the sea'. When the canoe returned with the kūmara, the crop was planted but it failed. While it is thought that no return trips were made to the homeland, the story shows the value of the plant to Ngāi Tahu.

According to Ngāi Tahu traditions, Rokoitua sailed to Hawaiiki on a second canoe, *Te Arai Te Uru* having learnt the correct karakia (incantations) and tikanga (customs) connected with growing this plant successfully in New Zealand. *Te Arai Te Uru* returned under the command of Pakihiwitahi and Hapekituaraki (Hipo and Te Kohi in some versions) and eventually became waterlogged.

Some of its precious food baskets (kaihinaki) and water calabashes were washed overboard at Te Kaihinaki (Hampden Beach), where they are thought to be preserved in stone as the famous Moeraki boulders.

More of its precious cargo of gourds and their contents were lost on Katiki Beach and the canoe was eventually wrecked at Matakaea (Shag Point). The hull of the great waka is preserved in the tradition as a reef just off the Waihemo (Shag) River mouth. The highest part of the reef (said to represent the sternpost) is known as Hipo, who was navigator and helmsman.

There are many versions of this legend that connect the arrival of the *Arai Te Uru* to the arrival of kūmara in Aotearoa. Importantly, passengers and crew – including Matakaea, Puketapu, Pakihiwitahi and Hikaroroa – became the hills and ranges inland all the way to the snow-crested peaks Kā Tiritiri o te Moana (the Southern Alps). This Ngāi Tahu tradition echoes indigenous traditions where the ancestors step ashore and by dawn become the geographical features of the land – mountains, rivers, rocks, streams and hills.

Some sailing vessels that came to the South Island are steeped in the mists of the mythical realm. Many other vessels came to the South Island across Cook Strait, bringing adventurous people who forged a relationship with the land, lakes, mountains, rivers and coasts. One of these was Tama ki te raki who arrived in the vessel *Tairea*. After a bountiful meal of delicate white crayfish he aptly named this part of the East Coast of the South Island, which is now known as Kaikōura, Te Ahi Kaikōura a Tama Ki Te Raki.

NGĀI TŪĀHURIRI TODAY – TUAHIWI

The Ngai Tūāhuriri connection to the land is real and strong, forged in the world of the living by needs as basic as thirst and hunger, even if this need is now serviced more commonly in cafes or restaurants rather than on hunting trips to fields and lakes.

Practical step-by-step journeys were vital in their industries and activities: felling timber and building boats, homes and storage houses; soaking and drying flax to weave clothes, ropes, nets and shoes; sewing feathers into cloaks and accessories, creating jewellery and carving weapons, utensils, and tools from treasured rocks or trees.

All the trails in Christchurch were originally formed by people who moved into and around a place that nurtured and fed families. The trails of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the people of this area, and their relatives stretch outwards and return inwards. Their trails became the base for colonial roads and passes over mountains and alongside rivers. Their stories are trails from homes to workplaces, between family and friends, settlers and travellers, the living and the ancestors.

The old pā at Kaiapoi is now a pasture of mounds, masking historic relics of former battles and periods of long-contented peace. The main pā is now at Tuahiwi where the Tūāhuriri people have their base. A new wharenui now takes the place of the old, and many visitors – from royal visitors and politicians to friends from out of town – are called to Maahunui II. From the front, Maahunui looks over the ancient swamp and out to the ocean and from the back the wharenui is guarded by the ancestors – the mountains.

CULTURAL VALUES

The Bus Interchange in its design and purpose represents Ngāi Tūāhuriri cultural values of openness and hospitality, of warmth and generosity, of the everlasting light breaking at dawn and the stars returning at night.

Echoed in the design of the building is the knowledge that all journeys are navigations between sky and land. These journeys were taken by Ngāi Tūāhuriri and their ancestors. Inside these journeys were negotiations and conversations, thrilling adventures and places for rest. On hot summer days, the people sought shelter from the sun. On grey, rain-saturating days, they sought warmth around hearths and inside houses, their whare. When they settled in and around Christchurch, they developed a range of trails – trails to mahinga kai, their economic resources, places for nourishing the body with food; trails to the homes of relatives and trails to food and exchange markets.

RITUALS FOR JOURNEYS

Karakia are blessings or chants that seek protection for each journey, to protect all the people on the journey. Before each waka left one shore for another, Māori prayed for the journey. Even in contemporary life, when a Māori bus driver picks up children to take them to a field trip or a school formal, it is common for a prayer to be recited as protection for the journey. Specific prayers may be made by family members on their individual journeys in and around Christchurch. Karakia – the prayer rituals – initiate safety. Ngāi Tūāhuriri employ prayer to guide the safety of all people entering and leaving the Christchurch Bus Interchange – from locals to international travellers; families to business people; groups and those who travel alone – in their daily and life journeys.

FEATURES FOR CULTURAL INCLUSION IN THE BUS INTERCHANGE

Christchurch and its environs have been affected by many challenges and changes. Some, like new technology, are part of a common global change; others, like the scale and time span of the earthquakes, are less common but the consequent social upheavals have been shared by Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā in Christchurch.

Ngāi Tahu will be sharing the future alongside Pākehā, furthering the city's development, investment and enterprise. Modern Ngāi Tūāhuriri people might be just as likely as non-Māori to catch a bus to view a film, buy groceries or go to work but they might use buses to travel to a tangi and grieve for the loss of someone they love, they might take a bus to attend a rūnanga meeting of various hapū, they might be on a family trip to gather succulent pipi from a mud-crusted beach or they might be travelling to the airport to depart for places further afield.

The stories and histories of Ngāi Tūāhuriri trails to significant places are as important to the continuation of a sense of place and time in the area in, around and outside Christchurch. The histories of Ngāi Tahu trails and journeys show that Ngāi Tahu have protected the environment while embracing challenges and ventures for the future.

PROPOSAL FOR ENHANCED RECOGNITION

Recognition of Ngāi Tūāhuriri trails, hunting grounds and settlements will be reflected in artwork and recorded in Māori names alongside English on bus signs and on timetables at bus shelters.

Works of art as well as landscaping will reflect the theme of migrational journeys and mahinga kai trails will be incorporated in the Interchange.

The Ngāi Tahu ancestor Hine Paaka will represent Ngāi Tahu both in the name of the Bus Interchange building and in a sculpture that reflects the form of this ancestor for whom the sacred tree marker was named.

Ngāi Tahu cultural rituals related to journeys will be accepted and respected in practice.

CONCLUSION – THE END IS THE BEGINNING

People involved in personal journeys, whether those journeys involve experiences of relief and excitement, happiness and carefree abandon or hardship and struggle can know that this land has been part of such journeys for a long time.

In the stirring of a breeze, in the changing colours of the hills, and the snow on the ridges of mountains, it is possible to think of the tīpuna – the great ancestors who came before. These people felt as people feel now, they experienced grief and toil; they buried loved ones and gave birth to new generations.

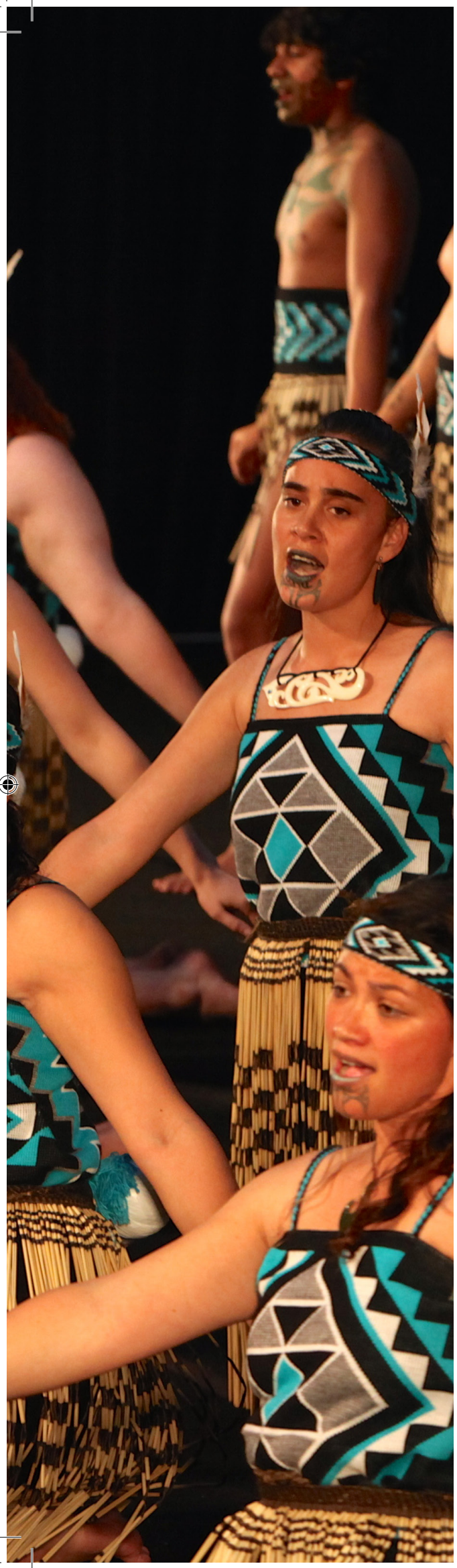
New roads have forged and merged from the old trails where the ancestors strode, climbed, steered, camped, rode and settled. The ancient paths are the paths of sacred memories and those memories are reflected in the lines, waves and reflections of the Interchange building – a resting place and a place of transition for the vessels carrying men, women and children through all the journeys to come.

We can feel the yearning, struggles, pain and delight of generations of Ngāi Tūāhuriri as we embark on our own voyages. We know that today our travels might be easier but our life journeys can still hold trials. We may even, if we wish, hear the voices of the atua – the influential ancestors – protecting us on our journeys as we travel through Christchurch, Canterbury and Te Waipounamu, the South Island, today.

THE PERFORMING ARTS NARRATIVE

Written by Puamiria Parata-Goodall

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861



Me he manawa tītī, me tōna hiringa, kia hoki anō i te hū o moho ki ngā moka katoa o Te Waipounamu.

Like the courageous heart of the tītī, in all its glory, let the sound of the moho return to all the corners of Te Waipounamu.

Ngāi Tahu Publications Limited, 2005

INTRODUCTION

The day Rūaumoko decided to haka is the day the people of Christchurch started a new journey. Each and every day since has brought a new leap of faith, a new challenge to each of us. The phrase 'manawa tītī' refers to the extraordinary flight prowess of the muttonbird; in this context, it refers to the staying power of man, the ability for us to rebuild not only the city but also the heart of our people.

The origins of Māori performing arts can be traced back to early mythology. There are numerous stories about the creation of the world, the separation of Rangi and Papa, stories of the unborn child Rūaumoko who is credited with causing earthquakes. All of these stories provide a plethora of artistic fodder, a foundation for explaining movements and practices in Māori performing arts.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu have a long performing arts history, be it in Māori performing arts or arts in general. Defining what constitutes Māori performing arts is an interesting question. Often it is defined as kapa haka. For the purposes of this chapter, Māori performing arts is taken in its broadest form. It includes the pōwhiri (the traditional rituals of encounter), taonga pūoro (wind and percussion instruments), the wero (the challenge), mau rākau (weaponry), whaikōrero (speeches), karanga (call) and waiata (songs). There is also a dance component that includes kopikopi (the flirtatious movements of the women) and kapa haka.

Western performing arts is usually broken into three main categories: music, theatre and dance. Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu have a rich history of broadcasters, opera singers, musicians and composers. Added to this, today we can also include internationally recognised dancers, choreographers, poets and actors.

Performing arts have always played a key role in demonstrating and reinforcing tribal traditions, practices and values. The pōwhiri is a classic example of performance. From the Rātana band playing as it marches down the road towards the marae, to the sounding of the karanga, from the poetry of the whaikōrero to the beauty of the haunting melodies sung following the whaikōrero. All are pure performance. All tell a story. All remind the participant of a unique set of traditions.

Performing arts are a marketable commodity. During the war years, performance was used to raise funds for the war effort. Kapa haka began to charge for their performances, to travel nationally and internationally and to develop shows that appealed to a wider audience. This raised profile brought a new economy and way of life. Pipiwharauroa (also known as Te Rōpū Tamariki o Tuahiwi) and the Methodist Waitaha Māori Choirs are examples shared in this chapter.

Performing arts provide an opportunity for communities to gather and build. In 2007, a

new kapa haka festival, Te Atakura, debuted. The purpose of the festival was to build Ngāi Tahu community expertise and cohesion using kapa haka as the vehicle. In the first year approximately 120 performers participated. The level of confidence and competence of the performers that year left a lot to be desired. In 2012, the number of teams increased: 250 performers entertained over 1,000 people. The quality of the performance, confidence and competence of the performers had taken a significant step up.

This chapter describes various performing arts as they pertain to Ngāi Tahu. It identifies some of the greatest Ngāi Tahu performers – some who have passed on, some who are currently at the top of their game. It shares compositions that identify Ngāi Tahu values and beliefs. In its totality, this chapter gives a snapshot view into a Ngāi Tahu worldview on performing arts and their importance. To say that performing arts for Ngāi Tūāhuriri are purely about entertainment is untrue. Performing arts are about identity, connection to place and people, the opportunity to maintain a shared history and the platform to build a cohesive community.

TAONGA PUORO – FLUTES AND TRUMPETS

> A Kaiapoi Māori said he had seen a porutu [large flute] which was made of tuturākau. It had four holes but he never heard anyone play it. Flax pūkaea (trumpets) were blown as a game – they made a noise like a foghorn. They might last a day or two with care but were only temporary.[1]

It is widely acknowledged that early Māori musical instruments are rarely recovered from archaeological sites.[2] Early trumpets were usually made of organic material. They were made quickly and with the understanding that they only had a short life span.

Rare examples of the early southern trumpets exist at Canterbury Museum. These examples were retrieved from archaeological materials collected at Te Mata Hapuka, on the Banks Peninsula and Moa Bone Point Cave in Christchurch. They are significant finds.

The discovery of these trumpets and the anecdotal evidence collected by early researchers tell us that these instruments were used in rituals, to signal and gather people, and in games. Those more skilled with the playing of the instruments would be called upon to play during rituals because they could evoke haunting ethereal melodies.

It should be noted that the term 'pūkaea' is often translated as a wooden trumpet. In the research carried out by Herries Beattie in 1920, participants always referred to the pūkaea as a flax trumpet, not a wooden trumpet. It seems that this is a uniquely southern use of the term, pūkaea.

Flutes were another common musical instrument. Herries Beattie recorded the following from a source in Southland:

> I never heard of a wooden drum being used by Southern Māoris but there was a koauau or flute which was made of bone. I think it was made of the wing bone of a toroa (albatross) and I hear it is played at Waikouaiti. It has three holes at the bottom and one at the top and was a little bigger than your thumb. It was probably called a koauau because it could be made of koauau kelp. It was also made of wood. The sound was much the same from each kind and it could be blown with the nose if one wished. The porutu is a bigger flute and has

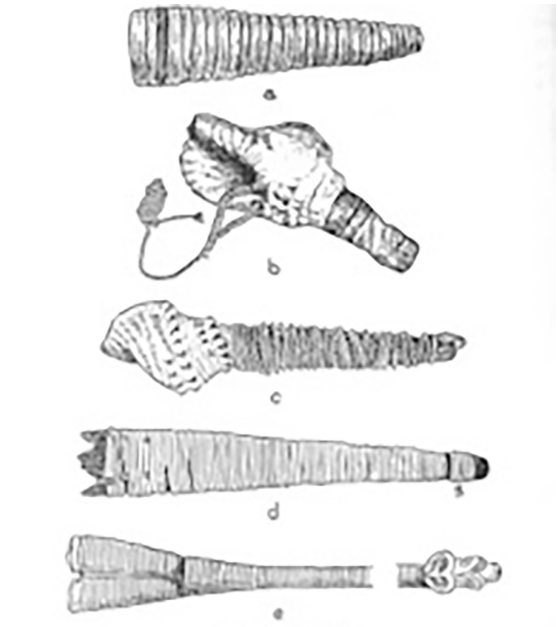


Fig. 70. Trumpets.
a, flax; b, shell; c, shell with long mouthpiece; d, wood; e, double mouth; a, c-e, after Andersen (2); b, after Best (18).

Trumpets — a, flax; b, shell; c, shell with long mouthpiece; d, wood; e, double mouth; a, c-e, after Andersen (2); b, after Best (18) (Hiroa, 1949)

1. *J. H. Beattie and A. Anderson (Eds) Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 1994, p 259.*
2. *R. Fyfe, Rediscovering Two Tētere Flax Trumpets in Canterbury Museum. Ngā Kete a Rehua, Inaugural Māori Research Symposium 2008, Symposium Proceedings, 2008, pp 326–331.*
3. *Beattie and Anderson, Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori, pp 77–79.*

six holes and it could accompany singing...I never heard of shells being used as horns..."[3]

There are numerous examples of early flutes held in collections throughout New Zealand. The art form of making and playing flutes and trumpets is in revival mode today. Distinguished musicians like the late Hirini Melbourne and Richard Nunns spent years researching and then teaching the art form. Today Ngāi Tahu has a growing number of musicians who utilise these traditional instruments – artists like Ariana Tikao, Mahina-Ina Kaui and Tony Smith, to name a few.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

Traditional Māori musical instruments were a normal part of the entertainment and pastimes of early southern Māori. Examples still exist in Canterbury Museum. Drums do not seem to be a part of the southern percussion instruments. How can these early flutes and trumpets be represented in city design? How do we draw people together? How does sound feature in the new design?

TAONGA PUORO – TUMUTUMU

Very little can be found about the origins of the tumutumu or percussion instruments. However, the references all seem to agree that the instrument is uniquely southern. The pictured example was found at Mason Bay, Stewart Island.

Tumutumu are percussion instruments made out of stone, bone or wood. The 'voice' and tone of the instrument can be altered depending on what part of the instrument is played and the density of the striker material.[4] The rhythmic patterns of these percussion instruments come from the notion that they are the pulse, the heartbeat and the breath. Played well the tumutumu have a tempo that is in sync with the player but not necessary in sync with contemporary uniformed rhythms.[5]

Richard Nunns is recognised as a leading expert in taonga puoro. Audio recordings of him playing tumutumu can be found online at www.richardnunns.net.nz.

This tumutumu kōiwi upokohue is a pilot whale's lower jawbone with a rata striker that was at Mason Bay. (Wellington City Libraries, 2012)

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

Percussion instruments like tumutumu were part of the early musical instruments found in the South Island. They have a distinctive sound and rhythm. How can those sounds and rhythms be echoed in the city?

PŌWHIRI

The act of performing pōwhiri is the domain of the mana whenua, in this instance, Ngāi Tūāhuriri. Without delving into the intricacies of the process too much here, the purpose of this section is to highlight that pōwhiri, aside from being ceremonial rituals of encounter, are performances. They are formulaic. There is a natural rhythm to them. There are specific roles for men and women. There is a high level of showmanship involved and a significant degree of expertise in language and poetry, knowledge of genealogy and an understanding of how to capture and hold an audience.

4. *Wellington City Libraries, News Blog, 2012. Retrieved from www.wcl.govt.nz/blog/index.php/2012/01/30/instruments-from-rakiura-wild-creations-tumutumu/*

5. *P. Beatson, (2003). Richard Nunns: The Renaissance of Traditional Māori Music, 2003. Retrieved November 2014, from www.massey.ac.nz/massey/fms/Colleges/College%20of%20Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences/PEP/PDF_documents/Sociology/Beatson/Richard%20Nunns%20The%20Renaissance.pdf*

Each marae, hapū and iwi have different variations of how they perform their pōwhiri. However, there is a general order of proceedings that most follow:

1. karanga – calls of welcome, exchanged by the women
2. whaikōrero – speeches of welcome made by the men
3. waiata – the song that follows each speech. The songs embellish the speech
4. hongi – the pressing of noses. This acknowledges the sharing of life and knowledge
5. hākari – the sharing of food
6. poroporoaki – thanks and farewell to the host.

When important guests are formally welcomed, there is a generally accepted order of proceedings. First there is the wero (challenge), then the calls of welcome and a rousing haka performed by a kapa haka, followed by speeches, singing, hongi, meal and farewells. For Ngāi Tūāhuriri, wero has not featured prominently in their proceedings. The reason for this is unclear; however, if one was to hazard a guess, it might have something to do with the strong faith and religious belief of Rātana – discussed later in this chapter. Therefore, although wero was noted as an element in the introduction, it will not be addressed in any detail; neither will mau rākau (weaponry).

WHAIKŌRERO (SPEECHES)

Over the years Ngāi Tūāhuriri has been blessed with a number of eloquent and knowledgeable speakers. Their clever use of poetry, in-depth knowledge of genealogy and their ability to perform have kept people enthralled.

Te Aritaua Pitama

Te Aritaua Pitama (1906–1958) stands out as one of the great orators of his time. A first-language Māori speaker, Te Aritaua was identified at a young age as an up-and-coming tribal leader. Accordingly he was trained in traditional Māori practices, at the same time as he was being taught the appropriate etiquette to become an upstanding member of the settler society. This early training set him up to become an accomplished broadcaster, the perfect English gentleman, and a speaker of note for his people. His mastery of the spoken word, in Māori and English, his charisma and his ability to entertain set him apart from the crowd. One has only to listen to audio recordings of his broadcasts to get a true sense of the man. Recordings can be found online at www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5p29/pitama-te-aritaua/media

At the age of 19, ***Joe Karetai*** had his leg amputated. He was sent to the Ureweras to recover. There he lived in the bush, lived off the land, and learnt the local knowledge. From there he went to live in Waikato. After a time, he returned to Christchurch and started to take his place as a speaker on the paepae (speakers' platform).

Joe had a beautiful command of Māori. One of his great passions was to study European speechmakers and to weave their quotes into his speeches. He was the ultimate showman, delivering his speeches with gusto and passion, all the while pacing up and down and flourishing his tokotoko (walking stick) when he wanted to emphasise a point.

Recognised for his expertise, Joe was invited in 1963 to participate in the welcome to Her Majesty the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Philip when they visited Waitangi. He went on to

represent Ngāi Tahu on numerous occasions, including the royal visit in 1986.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

Speech making is an important part of the traditional process of welcome. Great speechmakers will entice the audience, keep them enthralled, and entertain them. In the new design, where is our speakers' platform (both figuratively and literally), how will they be heard, and what devices will enhance their ability to draw in people?

KARANGA (THE WOMEN'S CALL)

> I was in my thirties when the pōua and tāua at Tuahiwi asked me to karanga for a tangi. I nearly died. I was in the kitchen making a trifle and my heart started pounding and my knees were knocking. I got through that, but performing karanga never gets any easier. Maruhaeremuri Stirling[6]

There is a pattern and rhythm to pōwhiri. Much like a well-tuned orchestra in full performance, everyone knows their part, the point at which they enter and the point at which they depart. All players understand the fine balance of power, when they need to lead and when they need to follow, when to build to the climax and when to ebb. Karanga is an integral part of this process. It is the opportunity for the women to speak.

Karanga is defined as the first cry of welcome to guests, the opening of the spiritual pathway to the spirit world, the exchange of calls that form part of the welcome ceremony. As for their male counterparts, there is a certain level of confidence and competence required of the women who perform this role. A great caller is able to welcome the guests with beautiful words of poetry; the cadence of her voice will carry clearly upon the wind and her whole being will be engaged in connecting physically, vocally and spiritually with the guests. It is the ultimate performance piece for these women.

Karanga perform several functions. The role of the caller is not only to welcome the guests; the caller is also responsible for confirming the reason for the visit, announcing who is arriving, identifying if there is trouble coming and, last but not least, she is responsible for protecting the front door to the house – allowing in only those who come in good faith. All of this is done through the exchange of calls.

Maruhaeremuri Stirling (1932–2012) was in her 30s when she first started to karanga. As she was blessed with a sharp wit and intellect, and a native speaker of Māori, karanga should have come easy to her. However, it did not. The responsibility was too big and Maruhaeremuri opted instead to stay in the kitchen as long as she could. A descendant of the famous East Coast chieftainess, Mihi Kotukutuku, it is not surprising that once Maruhaeremuri did step up she was a force to be reckoned with. The following excerpt is taken from Mihi Kotukutuku's biography:

> As a descendant of Muriwai, the woman who, according to one account, saved the Mataatua canoe from being swept onto rocks at Whakatane, Mihi Kotukutuku was among the few women of her generation who had the right to speak on the marae, at least within her own district. Mihi's elder sister Keita had been prepared for this role by training in whakapapa and tribal tradition, and after her death Mihi took her place. Often she did not speak herself, but organised the women to sing waiata in support of other women

6. *A. Rewi, 'Karanga - A Call from the Heart', Te Karaka, 2012, p 54.*

speakers. She knew innumerable waiata and sometimes composed her own. But there were occasions at important hui when, as the senior representative of her tribe, Mihi felt obliged to rise and speak.

Other tribal leaders challenged the right of women to take what was usually the role of male elders, and Mihi's position posed problems for them. Te Pairi Tuterangi of Tuhoe challenged her right to speak at Waimana, and Mita Taupopoki of Te Arawa did the same at a tangihanga at Ohinemutu in 1917. In an exchange that became famous among Māori, he told her to sit down and forbade her from trampling on the protocol of his marae. Mihi responded by giving her whakapapa, which established her own senior descent from Tama-te-kapua of Te Arawa canoe, and declared that Mita was junior to her. She then turned and exposed herself in the derisive act known as whakapohane, saying that he should not derogate women, since a woman had given him birth."[7]

Mihi Kotukutuku Stirling

As you may well imagine, being a descendant of Mihi Kotukutuku, Maruhaeremuri was a determined soul. During her lifetime she made significant contributions to those less fortunate than herself, dedicating a lot of her time and energy working within the health and social services sector. Her staunch stand on te reo Māori often meant she was also at the forefront of language initiatives. She carried the role of kaikaranga until her death in July 2012. She represented the tribal collective on numerous occasions, always delivering calls that sent chills down the spine. She used imagery without restraint, drawing a picture with her words.

Maruhaeremuri with two other senior Ngāi Tahu kaikaranga, Ruahine Crofts and the Honourable Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan, Te Papa Tongarewa, 2006.

Erihapeti Rehu Murchie (1923–1997) was born at Arowhenua, Temuka. Although she trained as a teacher, Erihapeti was to turn her

7. *A. Ballara, 'Story: Stirling, Mihi Kotukutuku', in Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara, The Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Vol. 3) 1996.*

Portrait of Dr Erihapeti Rehu Murchie, Stuart Ramson, 29 October 1984, The Dominion Post collection, Alexander Turnball Library, REF: EF/1984/5125 – F.

hand to several careers, moving from teacher to actress to broadcaster to health and social justice. Her skills as a writer and composer coupled with her rich alto voice also made sure that when she did the karanga, her karanga resonated deep into the soul of the people fortunate enough to hear her perform.

Following is a sample of Erihapeti's published poetry.

***Awarua* (*Te Hura Kohatu*)**

I have a passion here
For quiet waters brooding deep
In the curve and sweep of a narrow trough meandering
Through willowed banks

And languid in its flow
The white dressed cress is haunt
To the waters crabs and speckled trout
That taunt the dragon flies
Skimming the stream
And slim black eels within,

Aloft in trembling flight
The flick flack tiwaiwaka
Pirouetting its delicate haka
And the Little White Bridge
Triumphant stands still
To spring floods,

But life is ever changing
With voices stilled and the richness
That the tidal flow is witness to
Has ebbed - and Awarua
No more chatters
Free from the bridge below.[8]

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

Karanga is the women's realm. To be able to karanga well, the caller needs more than the ability to project their voice. They require a proficiency in te reo Māori, an understanding of history and genealogy, and a knowledge of who people are and how they connect. Karanga is an important part of the pōwhiri. Quite often it sets the stage for what is to follow. A karanga can inform or excite, or alert the menfolk to danger.

8. *E. Murchie, Awarua (Te Hura Kohatu), Broadsheet, New New Zealand Poetry, 2013, p 11.*

How does the design team provide a tangible recognition of this significant role? A recognition of the female essence, the mother, the nurturer, the leader? If the woman caller is the protector of the front door, where is the front door?

KOPIKOPI (FLIRTATIOUS DANCE OF THE WOMEN)

This type of dance form is more often than not associated with the women of Waikato. However, if anecdotal information is correct, this dance was performed with some regularity at Rāpaki two generations ago. The kopikopi is an impromptu, often humorous dance performed to entice suitors and to generally entertain. The pelvic movements are playfully sexual and the women flirt outrageously.

Nowadays this type of demonstration might be viewed as rude, obscene and possibly bordering on sexual harassment. That being said, the kopikopi is still performed in Waikato at major events. Most often it is the elderly women who lead the charge. Everyone takes the dance in the spirit in which it is intended, in good humour.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

The kopikopi is a provocative dance done by the women. It used to be done at Rāpaki. It is still part of the living memory of some elderly people currently living at Rāpaki.

How is movement incorporated in the city design, the movement of people through the spaces, the movement of the human form? What about the movements of the traditional Māori performing costumes like the piupiu or flax skirts?

Puamiria Parata-Goodall and Koka Hauwai Te Aowera – the swing of the piupiu (flax skirt).

KAPA HAKA

> Tama-nui-te-ra, the Sun God, had two wives, Hine-raumati, the Summer Maid, and Hine-takurua, the Winter Maid. The child born to him and Hine-raumati was Tāne-rore, who is credited with the origin of the dance [haka]. Tāne-rore is the trembling of the air as seen on the hot days of summer, and represented by the quivering of the hands in the dance.[9]

The term 'kapa haka' literally means a haka group or a group of people lined up in rows. It also refers to the performance of the Māori art forms of waiata (songs), haka, poi and waiata-ā-ringa (action songs). Kapa haka is a powerful channel of self-pride and identity for Māori.[10]

In Timoti Kāretu's book *Haka! The Dance of a Noble People*, he provides several myths and tribal histories as reference points to haka. He also supports the notion of Tanerore being the origin of haka.

In the following pages are examples of the various disciplines that make up kapa haka. Compositions are listed in each section along with brief explanations about the composition and composer.

9. *T. Kāretu, Haka! The Dance of a Noble People, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, Auckland, 1993.*

10. *Auckland Council. Te Ao Māori, 2014. Retrieved from Auckland Libraries: http://www.aucklandlibraries.govt.nz/EN/maori/teaomaori/kapahaka/Pages/kapahaka.aspx*

Te Pao a Tahu performing at the Waitahi Cultural Competition, 2014.

POI

Today poi is recognised as a ball on the end of a string. In 1920 when Herries Beattie was carrying out his research for his book, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori*, he recorded that often the poi was a ball without a string. The poi was passed backwards and forwards between players. In other accounts, the ball did have a string and so the poi was swung and hit.

Originally poi were made out of bulrushes, flax and any other available plant materials. The strings were usually made of out of flax.

The poi could be used with a long or short string. In her book, *The Rhythm and Life of Poi*, Ngamoni Huata credits the invention of the double long poi movements to the South Island, in particular to Tuahiwi:

> This what Tāpara Hatu said about the double poi:
>
> Forty-five years ago, Wiki Heretaunga (Shipgood), Mere Tamihana, Mere Patu, Maggie Mihaka and myself left Rotorua to work at Motueka. We moved to Christchurch and became acquainted with Te Ari Pitama, the radio announcer at that time, and as a result of our association he taught us the double long poi. Through his tutoring of the double long poi and our knowledge of other items, we became known as 'The Melodies of Māoriland Concert Party'... After a lengthy stay we returned to Rotorua and introduced this unique poi to Guide Rangi's concert party. So the double long poi filtered through to the other concert parties in the Whakarewarewa Village.
>
> Every performer I interviewed in the village endorsed the information... In 1961 Del travelled...to the South Island and during a pōwhiri by George

11. *N. Huata, The Rhythm and Life of Poi, HarperCollins Publishers (New Zealand) Limited, Auckland, 2000.*

> Brennan's group she caught sight of a man performing with four poi. It was so simple she wondered why she never did it! Eventually she incorporated the quadruple poi into her own performances…[11]

This is a significant acknowledgement to Ngāi Tūāhuriri, something that should be celebrated. The kapa haka groups from Rotorua are well known for their expert skills in poi, particularly the long poi. Ngamoni Huata and her family still teach poi and still tell people where the double long poi came from.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

One of the most recognised exponents of poi credits Te Aritaua Pitama and Ngāi Tūāhuriri as the first to do the double long and four long poi. This should be celebrated. How do we celebrate this in the new design?

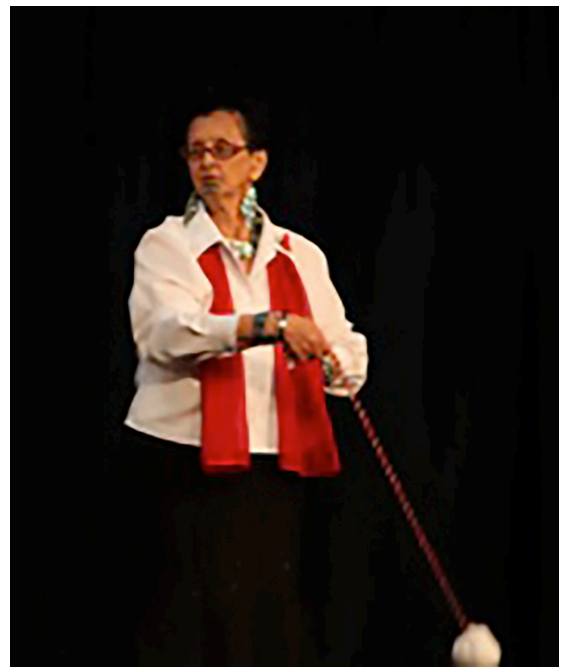
WAIATA WHAKAPAPA

The transmission of genealogy is vital to retaining and maintaining a tribal identity. Some people are naturally wired to be able to recite lines and lines of genealogy. Others are able to retain this information through stories. For a fair portion of the population, the addition of music to lines of genealogy and stories ensures that they are remembered.

In traditional Māori society this information would have been embedded into dirge-like chants. Usually the rise and fall of the pitch and the introduction of percussive instruments helped to remind the singer how far they had got through the recitation. For speakers, their tokotoko (walking sticks) became mnemonic devices. Discreetly carved notches in the walking stick aided speakers to remember their place in the lines of genealogy.

Whakapapa (genealogy) books were held by particular members of each family. Understandably they were treasured heirlooms that were treated with reverence. To unlock those books, some families gave permission for sections of genealogy to be revealed and for them to be put to music. 'E Tuku Ana', the following composition is an example of this.

Hutika Manawatu, who inherited this waiata, arranged it for the next generation. It was



Ngawini Crofts Temepara performing the singly long poi at the Waitaha Cultural Competitions 2014.

performed by Ngāi Tūāhuriri in the early 1970s. As te reo Māori had become a second language by this time in Tuahiwi and urban drift had taken firm hold of the community, the traditional practice of putting a dirge-like chant to these words was put aside in favour of a modern tune. The tune proved to be popular and the song is still remembered and sung over 40 years later.

E Tuku Ana

E tuku ana
E tuku ana koe
I a Raki e tū nei e
E whā kemi ana koe
Te uri a Haeremaitua
A iti atu koe e Hounuku
Ko Houraki, ko Houatea
Ko Houmea i a Uenuku
A ai atu ki a Paikea
Nāna ko Whatiua Te Ramarama
Ko Porouraki
Ko Tawhiri ki te raki
Ko Raki papa ki a Tāne
Ko Rakitāne
Ko Hine Matioro e tū mai rā
I tūraki e tō Ariki tapu
I Ngāi Tahu e!

I give to thee
The Heavens that stand above
Within you are gathered the
The descent lines of Haeremaitua
Who descended into the earth
To our ancestors Hounuku
Houraki, Houatea, Houmea
And Uenuku, who lived in Hawaiki
And begat Paikea, who rode the whale to
The shores of Aotearoa
And bore Whatiua Te Ramarama
Who bore Porouraki of the Ngāti Porou

Whose son was Tawhiri ki te raki
Who begat Raki papa ki a Tāne
Who began Rakitāne who coupled with
The great chieftainess Hine Matioro
From whom comes Hinekaitaki
The weeping daughter
From whom comes the supreme head
Of the Ngāi Tahu people!

TAHU PŌTIKI

'Tahupōtiki' is a waiata written by ***Ruahine Crofts*** for Ngāi Tūāhuriri kapa haka in the early 1980s. At the time, Ruahine was working with Christchurch youth at risk. She could see that they needed guidance back into the Māori world, a world where they could connect with their culture and identity. A natural teacher, tutor of kapa haka, composer, weaver and kaikaranga, Ruahine was well placed to provide the kind of help needed.

The composition identifies the singers as descendants of Tahu Pōtiki (the ancestor from whom the tribe of Ngāi Tahu descend). It acknowledges the link with the sacred mountain, Aoraki, and refers to the ancestral canoe, *Takitimu*, which conveyed the forebears of Ngāi Tahu to Aotearoa.

Tahupōtiki
Tahupōtiki tāku tupuna
Hoki wairua mai arohaina e
Ki ō uri e karanga ake rā
Aratakina tō iwi auē

Aoraki te maunga ariki
Hei whakamaru te iwi kei raro
Takitimu waka whakairo
Hoea hoea rā te moana

Auē e koro e
Hei whakamahana
Kore rawa koe e warewaretia
Huakina mai rā ki ō tamariki
Ngā tikanga o ngā mātua tīpuna

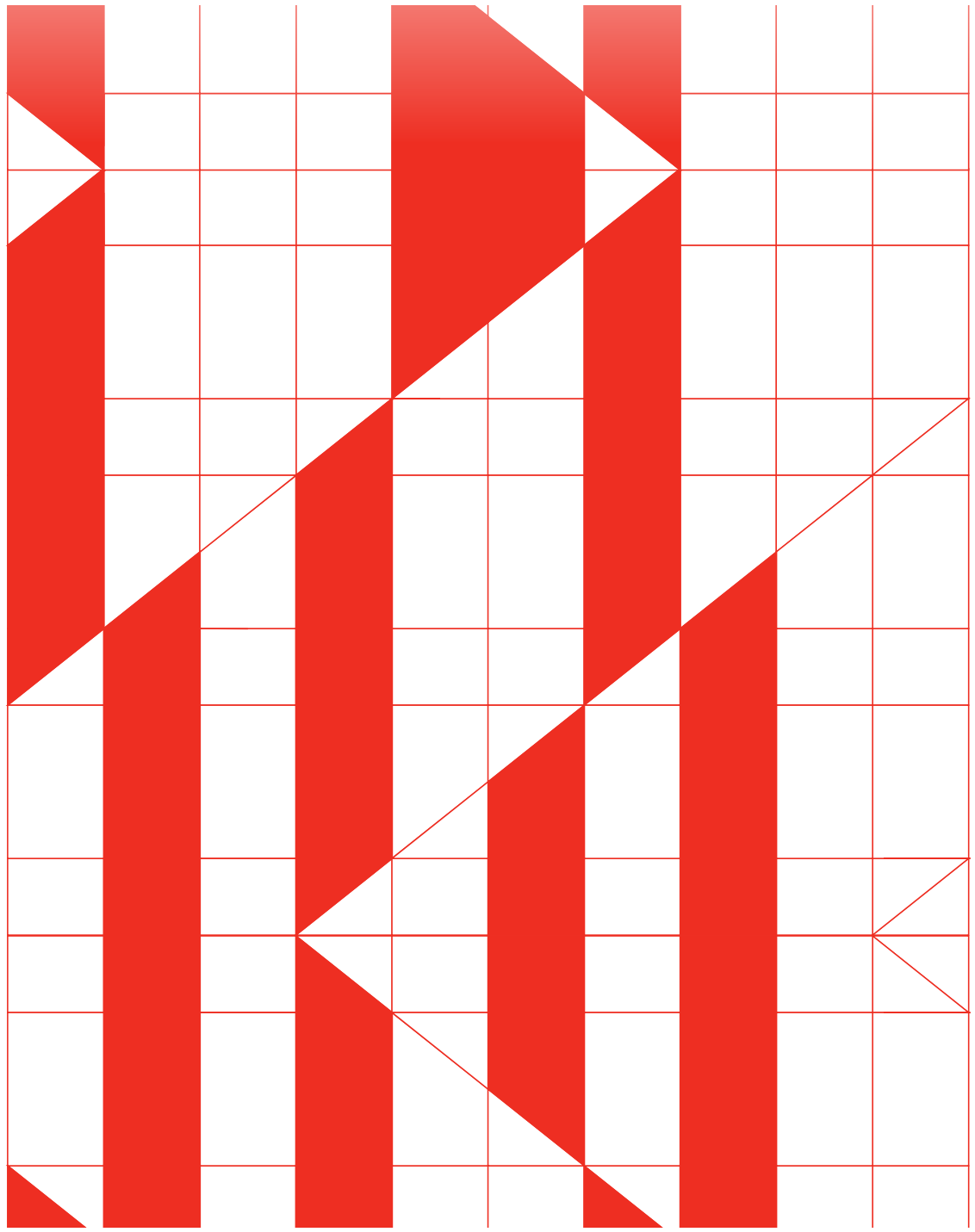
Ngāi Tahu te iwi ki Te Waipounamu
Maranga mai

I acknowledge you my tupuna Tahu Pōtiki
May your spirit descend lovingly upon we
Your present generation, we call for your
Guidance as we seek the ancestral path to our heritage

We acknowledge our sacred mountain Aoraki
Whose stately presence provides a sheltering haven for us below

Takitimu our sacred waka may you continue
Your voyage upon the sea of life

E koro, you give us tribal warmth and pride
You will never be forgotten, you are our identity
Show us your children the teachings of our ancestors



To all Ngāi Tahu descendants of Te Waipounamu
Rise up and stand tall.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

We are bound together by genealogy. Genealogy grounds our identity. Being able to weave a strong connection between the people, the designs, the buildings and the landscape is essential. None can operate in isolation; they need to be bound together. The story from the beginning to the end needs to make sense.

HAKA

> Haka run the whole gamut of human experience and those topics that one culture might find offensive or lewd are not so in another.[12]
>
> Tīmoti Karetu

Commonly known as a war dance, a posture dance or a fierce rhythmical dance, the haka is the quintessential icon of New Zealand and Māori performing arts. In traditional Māori society it was acceptable for both men and women to haka. In fact, in the version of the Tinirau and Kae story retold by Timoti Karetu, it states "the first kapa haka (haka troupe) of Māoridom is said to be the women of Tinirau..."[13] There is evidence that Ngāi Tahu used haka to convey challenges, to hype up the warriors, to express emotion and to entertain.[14]

> When the news was received that the one who has been sent out had been killed, Rītoka mourned the death of Kaweriri...When Ngāi Tūāhuriri got to Taumutu, Rītoka came out of the house wailing. She climbed to the top of the pā, bare-skinned, naked but for a garment wrapped around her waist.

12. *Kāretu, Haka! THe Dance of a Noble People.*
13. *Ibid*
14. *Beattie and Anderson, Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori.*
15. *T. M. Anderson, (Ed.). (2008). Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History. Bridget Williams Books in association with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Wellington, 2008.*

Te Ahikōmau kapa haka, Waitaha Cultural Council Competitions 2012, Parata-Goodall private collection.

> She came to the top of the hill, her taiaha [fighting staff] in her hand. She laid the weapon down between the elders, and then she herself lay down, tossing about on the ground. The people realized that this was a challenge laid down by Rītoka for them.[15]

Although not the usual expression of haka that we might be used to today, Rītoka's actions and intent are very clear. She was performing her own version of the haka.

There are several different kinds of haka. Most New Zealanders will know Te Rauparaha's famous haka, Ka mate, ka mate. This type of haka is a haka taparahi – a haka done in lines, with set actions, with no weapons, and done for ceremonial purposes rather than as a war dance.

Haka pōwhiri are another type of haka. As the name suggests, a haka pōwhiri is a haka done to welcome people. With this type of haka, usually the women start in the front rows and by the end of the haka the men have moved to the front and the women to the back.

The following haka pōwhiri is a new composition created in 2013 by Piri Sciascia, upon request from the late Ūpoko Rūnanga, Henare Rakiihia Tau. He requested that the haka pōwhiri extended the absolute gratitude of the Christchurch people for the assistance given post-earthquake. He also asked that the underlying message was aroha ki te tangata, ahakoa ko wai, ahakoa nō whea – kindness and compassion to all men, no matter who they are or where they come from. This sentiment was best encapsulated in Matiaha Tiramorehu's letter to Queen Victoria in 1857:

> This was the command they laid upon these Governors…that the law be made one, that the commandments be made one, that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made just equal with the dark skin, and to lay down the love of thy graciousness to the Māori that they dwell happily… and remember the power of thy name.[16]

Haka pōwhiri mō Te Matatini

Te Waipounamu pōwhiritia atu!
Hei hā! Hei hā!
Auē tahuti mai rā āku pāruru ki raro i te maru o Aoraki e
Tū whakamānawa! Tū whakamānawa!
Nāhau nei i ea ai taku hapa
Te ngāueue o te rū, te ngāueue o te rū
Nāhau te pōhā i ora ai ahau
Makuru noa! Taka mai tahu!
Nā Matiaha Tiramōrehu ngā kupu hei whakakotahi i a tātou

16. *Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 s6.*

Te Ahikaaroa Kapa Haka 2014, left to right, Jasmin Ngāwai, Te Arani Huia, Rangimarie Parata Takurua. Parata-Goodall, private collection.

Te kiri mā, te kiri waitutu, te kiri mā, te kiri waitutu
Pōkaia nei ki Te Tiriti o Waitangi, te ture atua ki te ngākau
Haere mai, haere mai
Haere mai, haere mai
Hutihuti mai ki ngā pākihi
Whakatekateka o Waitaha
Auē auē auē hā
Aoraki! Matatū!

Welcome our visitors to Te Waipounamu
Welcome to you my shelter from the storm, here in the shadow of Aoraki
With gratitude we stand
You satisfied my needs in the hour of need
When the earth was shaking, the shaking, shaking
Yours was the contribution of revival
Abundant and plentiful
Matiaha Tiramoreha spoke the words, that the one law would unite us
The white and the brown skin
Bound up in the Treaty of Waitangi, with the law of God in our hearts
Welcome
To the open plains of Waitaha
Aoraki! Ever alert!![17]

Tēnei te ruru can be used as a haka pōwhiri. It also sits comfortably within the haka taparahi category. The haka is a call for people to rise up, to stand firm and strong. Performed with either men or women at the front, this haka is simple and effective. It is quickly becoming an anthem throughout all schools in the South Island.

The haka is primarily a posture dance. The way the performer holds him/herself during haka is important. Performers need

17. *P. Sciascia, Te Waipounamu Pōwhiritia Rā! Christchurch, 2013.*

to be able to exude a sense of strength and invincibility. They need to balance this with their ability to be nimble and light of foot when required. The best haka people are able to flick backwards and forwards between these states in the flash of an eye. Piri Sciascia is one of Ngāi Tahu's leading exponents of this art form. Both haka included in this chapter were either written or arranged by him.

Tēnei te ruru

Tahu Pōtiki
Maraka! Maraka!
Tahu Pōtiki
Maraka! Maraka!
Tēnei te rūrū
Te koukou nei
Kīhai māhitihiti
Kīhai marakaraka
Te ūpoko nui o te rūrū
Terekou
He pō, he pō, he ao, ka awatea!

Descendants of Tahu Pōtiki
Rise up! Rise up!
Descendants of Tahu Pōtiki
Rise up! Rise up!
This is the morepork
Who calls

18. *Arranged by P. Sciascia, 2000.*

Whose head does not toss
From side to side, nor up or down
The head of the morepork is steadfast on its shoulders
As it calls us
From the darkness
From the darkness
And into the world of light
To a dawn of new understanding[18]

TE HAKA A RŪAUMOKO

Rūaumoko is the personification of earthquakes. He is the unborn child of Rangi and Papa. When he gets restless or upset, he moves within his mother's womb, causing the movement we recognise as tremors or earthquakes; hence the phrase 'te haka a Rūaumoko' – the dance of Rūaumoko.

As aptly described in Alan Armstrong's book, *Māori Games and Haka*:

> Haka is a composition played by many instruments. Hands, feet, legs, body, voice, tongue and eyes all play their part in blending together to convey in their fullness the challenge, welcome, exultation, defiance or contempt of the word.[19]

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

The challenge will be in how to translate the passion, energy and intensity of the haka into city design in a new and creative way. Patterns like the niho taniwha (the teeth of the taniwha) demonstrate a strength and intensity often associated with haka.

WAIATA Ā-RINGA

Apirana Ngata, the first born of Paratene and Katerina Ngata, was born on 3 July 1874. Young Apirana seemed to have an unstoppable determination to improve the lot for Māori. His staunch commitment to his cause coupled with his sharp mind and intellect meant that his climb up the political ladder provided the impetus he needed to help Māori help themselves. He was deeply committed to preserving and maintaining Māori customs and practices.

Apirana is attributed with many significant achievements. Of particular relevance to this kaupapa is his lifetime collection of mōteatea (chants), culminating in Ngā Mōteatea.[20] Noticing that the tradition of mōteatea was waning, Apirana began to translate popular Pākehā songs and to add actions. This was to be the beginning of a deliberate campaign to revive traditional Māori music and a new form of waiata, called waiata ā-ringa (action song).

The following composition, Ko Ngāi Tahu, is an example of a waiata ā-ringa. Written by ***Wairemana Pitama-Riwai*** of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, this song was written to commemorate the visit of Queen Elizabeth II to Rugby Park, Gisborne, in 1971.

Ko Ngāi Tahu ki Te Waipounamu

19. *A. Armstrong, Māori Games and Haka: Instructions, Words, and Actions, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1964.*

20. *R. Walker, He Tipua: The Life and Times of Sir Apirana Ngata, Penguin, Auckland, 2001.*

I raro i a maunga Aorangi
E mihi nei ki tō tātou manuhiri tuārangi
Te kotuku rerenga tahi Irihapeti
Me ngā mokopuna o Wikitoria
Nāna nei i hōmai te Tiriti o Waitangi
Me te mana motuhake o te iwi Māori

E pae nei i raro i ngā parirau o Hikurangi
Ki te Tairāwhiti

Mauria mai e tō mātou Kuini
Te rongopai te aroha me te rangimarie
Ki tō iwi Māori o Niu Tīreni
Mahia ngā mahi e ngā iwi o ā tātou tūpuna kei ngaro
Auē taukiri e

Kua mutu ngā mihi o maunga Aorangi o Te Waipounamu
Mā te Matua i runga rawa e manaaki i a tātou katoa
Kia ngawari, kia ngawari

We the Ngāi Tahu tribe of the South Island greet you
Aorangi our ancestral mountain greets you
Our most distinguished visitor of single flight, Irihapeti
And the mokopuna of Queen Victoria
Who gave to the Māori people the Treaty of Waitangi
We stand here beneath the sheltering arms of Hikurangi maunga
Nestled within the domain of Tairāwhiti [East Coast of the North Island]
To welcome you
We ask that your visit bring goodwill, love and peace to the Māori people of New Zealand
We urge our people to remain strong in the knowledge of our ancestors
Aorangi maunga bids you farewell and may you be well cared for
Farewell[21]

This composition continues to demonstrate the Ngāi Tahu connection to land by noting the connection between the tribe and the ancestral mountain in lines 1 and 2 and the personification of landforms shown in line 8 – "i raro i ngā parirau o Hikurangi" – beneath the sheltering arms of Hikurangi maunga. The use of metaphor to compare Irihapeti (Queen Elizabeth) with the kotuku (white heron) in line 4 is a beautiful way of acknowledging the arrival of this honoured, rarely seen guest.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri kaumātua (elders) alive today performed this action song in 1971. They continue to teach this song to the current generation. For them it's about legacy. The performance style of these elders is significantly different from the current kapa haka trends; a style of kapa haka that is rarely seen anywhere now. These elders are of the generation where they were still being actively taught how to stand, sit, walk and curtsey properly. This shows in the way they hold themselves and how they perform kapa haka. It is very regal.

21. *Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, Te Hā o Tahupōtiki - Ka Haea te Ata. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Christchurch, 1998.*

Te Aritaua Pitama and Hutika Hakete Huria, Canterbury Museum, Unknown photographer ref: 19XX.2.4390, date unknown.

HE KORŌRIA

He korōria he hōnore	Glory, honour
He hareruia e	Halleluiah
Ki te ope o Tūmatauenga	To the troop of Tūmatatenga
I hinga i te pakanga	Called into battle
Ngāpuhi Taitokerau	Ngāpuhi Tai Tokerau
Porourangi Tairāwhiti	Porourangi Tairāwhiti
Me Maniapoto e	And Maniapoto
Taihauauru ki Te Atiawa	Taihauāuru to Te Atiawa
Waipounamu me Wharekauri	Waipounamu and Wharekauri
Kia mataara	Be alert
E te iwi e	Oh people
Kia kaha kia toa	Be strong, be victorious
Kia māia e	Be brave
Nō reira rā e te iwi e	Therefore my people
Kua puta kua ora rā	You have survived

The lasting impacts of World War Two can still be seen and felt throughout New Zealand. War memorials can be found in almost every town. War babies are easily identifiable by their names: El Alamein, Anzac, Te Hokowhitu a Tū – names of battles or companies. For the children of Tuahiwi, a new leader emerged during the war years. His name was Te Aritaua Pitama (1906–1958). A broadcaster, talented speaker, composer, fluent speaker of te reo Māori and exponent of kapa haka, Te Aritaua was to become one of Ngāi Tūāhuriri's cultural leaders.

In 1945, Te Aritaua Pitama was instrumental in organising the children of Ngāi Tūāhuriri to travel to Wellington to welcome the Māori Battalion home from World War Two. Accompanied by his sister Wairemana Pitama-Riwai and whānau, Te Aritaua and 21 children from the Tuahiwi Native School stood on the wharf and sang songs of welcome. Amongst those songs was this waiata, He korōria, he hōnore, composed by Te Aritaua, Wairemana Pitama-Riwai and Georgina Riwai.

The structure of the composition is simple and uncluttered. The message is clear. The musical arrangement, actions and movements were reflective of the music of the time. The big band era was in full swing and the Māori ear loved the rhythms and sounds of this new music. They much preferred it to the dirge-like monotone of the traditional chant. Te Aritaua and his sister Wairemana knew that in order to catch the imaginations of their young Tuahiwi charges, they would have to move with the times. This song was to be one in a series of compositions written by this family that were composed to acknowledge the Second World War, recorded an event and/or celebrated their Rātana faith. All of these compositions were put to upbeat modern tunes, and the actions were true to life, depicting things like the movement of the trombone.

MŌTEATEA

Mōteatea is more generally used to describe the type of song we might refer to in English as classical Māori chant.[22] There are many different forms of mōteatea. This chapter will not go into any depth to explain the forms; rather, it will share two mōteatea – Kātahi au and Ka karuerue te papa. Written decades apart, these two compositions show unique expressions of Ngāi Tahu worldview.

Described as a strong yet humble woman, ***Hutika Manawatu*** was one in the league of Ngāi Tūāhuriri matriarchs who guided the hapū through the war years and into the 1970s. Wife of the Ūpoko Rūnanga of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Pani Manawatu, Tāua Hutika composed waiata that have endured and become tribal anthems. Notable are Kātahi au and E tuku ana, two compositions discussed in this chapter.

Kātahi au is a composition very firmly located within the Ngāi Tahu camp. The ancestral mountain, lake, river and local place name are clearly identified. All are important indicators of identity and connectivity to the land.

One of the interesting characteristics of the Māori worldview is that seemingly inanimate objects like mountains and landforms tend to be assigned the qualities of a person. In a number of instances, oral traditions will also retell stories of how landforms were formerly gods or were the creations of gods. Aoraki/Mt Cook is one of those.

Ngāi Tahu oral traditions record Aoraki as the eldest son of Raki (the sky) and Papatūānuku (the Earth). He and his three brothers, Rakirua, Rakiroa and Rarakiroa, descended from the heavens in their canoe, *Te Waka o Aoraki*. When they reached earth, they became stranded and ended up remaining here, eventually turning to stone and becoming the Southern Alps. There are various versions of the story; suffice to say that the story provides an explanation for the various landforms that make up the South Island.

For Ngāi Tahu there is particular pride that we are home to Aoraki, the highest mountain. It is apt therefore that reference has been made in this song to the following phrase: "whāia e koe te iti kahurangi: ki te tuohu koe, me he maunga teitei" – seek the treasure you value most dearly: if you bow your head, let it be to a lofty mountain.

Kātahi au

Kātahi au ka kite ai i a Aoraki e tū mai rā e
E ngaro ana koe i roto i te kohu me te hukarere
Auē rā e Aoraki te maunga ariki
Maringi ai ōu roimata ki roto o Pūkaki
Kātahi rā ka haruru mai ki te awa o Waitaki
Ka āta titiro ngā mania tekateka o Waitaha
Mehemea au ka tūohu ai me maunga teitei
Noho mai rā kei te hoki ahau ki te ohonga o te rā e[23]

Only once have I sighted you standing in your awesome splendour, Aoraki
You have often been hidden by the mist and snow
Aoraki you are my maunga ariki
Your tears flow into Lake Pūkaki and rumble down into the river Waitaki
I gaze across the plains of Canterbury, the seed bed of Waitaha
I salute you Aoraki with the proverb that reminds us to aspire to great achievement
"If I bow my head let it be to a lofty mountain."[24]

22. *T. A. Royal, Mōteatea and the Transmission of History, 1997. Retrieved from www.orotokare.org.nz/assets/moteateaandhistory.pdf*
23. *H. Mānawātu, no date.*
24. *Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, Te Hā o Tahupōtiki.*

***Ka karuerue te papa**...*
He pie auē ka huki
Te whenua ka hopo
Ka taki kau awhio ana i kā Pākihi
Whakatekateka o Waitaha ...
Ka waiho atu nei
He iwi hāura
He kare maki noho
Pāhehaheha e
I kā whiuka o te wā,
I kā neke a te whakapākaka tipua e

Toro mai a rau rika
I ka moka katoa
I te raki i te uru
I te rawhiti te toka
Hei taumata mo te iwi
Noho ana ki ka whenua Ōtautahi
Hai tautaawhi hai tautiinei e

Ko te manawa ka pari
Parikia e te tai
O aroha o mihi
E kā porohe kākau
Nunui o te motu
Mō koutou i whakakākahuria taku tinana e

I kā hau kino o te wā
I te rā hunuhunu
I te kau o te anu
Mātao me te aweko raia e
Ehara taku tū i te tū maro kore
Ehara au i te uri o Pani e
Ka oi Rūaumoko ka piri Tahu Pōtiki
Ka oi Rūaumoko ka takatū ko te motu
Niu Tīreni ka whakamānawa atu e

Ka toko noa ake
Te urupounamu i te kākau kai whea
Tāku ki a koutou
E pēnei nā
Nau mai, haere mai, ki ōku nei papa
hai whakaeke e te rau...e te tini e

The land heaves
A desperate call is heard
The land thrusts, a cry of sorrow
resounds across the plains of Waitaha.
The remains of a maimed people
Those who were invalids
Left emaciated
By the challenges of the time
Brought on by the rumblings of the youngest of gods

Many hands stretched forth
From all corners
North, west
East and south
To assist those living on the lands of Tautahi
To embrace and hold up

***The heart flooded** by tides of love and gratitude*
To those chieftains of big heart across the land
You who clothed my body

From the bitter winds
The scorching sun and the bite of the stabling cold
I stand here not without family, I stand here not alone
Rūaumoko shakes, Tahu Pōtiki unites
Rūaumoko shakes the country, rallies
New Zealand, we are forever grateful

My emotions swell
My request goes out to the hearts of all of you no matter where.
Welcome all to my lands and be hosted by the multitudes, the many.

Charisma Rangipunga of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu descent is an accomplished writer, poet, composer, educationalist and staunch advocate of te reo Māori and te reo o Ngāi Tahu. She has published numerous children's books, all in Māori; is co-author of ***Kupu***, a collection of contemporary Māori poetry; and is a prolific composer of waiata.

Charisma's style of composition is strongly influenced by her mentors Te Rita Papesch, Dr Timoti Karetu, Dr Wharehuia Milroy and Haani Huata. Being taken under the wing of these great writers, orators and tohunga reo, Charisma flourished and continues to flourish. A graduate of Te Panekiretanga o te Reo (Institute of Excellence in the Māori Language), Charisma's grasp of Māori and her innate skills with poetry and imagery mean that her waiata are rich and lyrical.

Ka kāruerue te papa talks of the devastation of the Canterbury earthquake in February 2011. It was originally written as a poroporoaki (farewell) to all who lost their lives during the earthquake and was the poroporoaki used for the National Christchurch Earthquake Memorial Service held just weeks after the earthquake. The last stanza was added in late 2012 so that the composition could be used to thank all who came to help the people of Christchurch post-earthquake. In March 2015, the composition was used by Ngāi Tahu to welcome the competitors and participants of the biennial national kapa haka competition, Te Matatini.

A STYLE OF PERFORMANCE – THE NGĀI TŪĀHURIRI WAY

In 1945, Te Aritaua started tutoring waiata and haka to the children of Ngāi Tūāhuriri.

Much like his contemporary of the time, Tuini Ngāwai of Tokomaru Bay, East Coast, Te Aritaua used the tunes of the time to create his waiata. Ngāi Tūāhuriri's kapa haka kaumātua, the children who stood on the wharf to welcome back the soldiers, still sing his waiata. His tunes included popular songs like 'Indian love call' and 'A white sports coat'; the tunes that were catching the imagination of the teenagers of that time.

The language was simple and the compositions relatively concise. In general, his waiata consisted of two verses and a chorus. As a fluent Māori speaker, Te Aritaua had both the language skills and the expertise to write much longer compositions; however, he chose not to.

For Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the performance stance is very still and upright. Both men and women tend to stand quite tall with feet close together. There is minimal hip movement. Actions tend to be gentle and flowing. Actions, for those waiata composed in the 1940s tend to be unique and directly mimic the words. For example, songs that reference war themes around Egypt, Crete and Gallipoli tend to elicit gun shooting movements and fingers touching at the peak to show pyramids.

For the takahi (foot movement), Ngāi Tūāhuriri are unique. No other hapū in Ngāi Tahu has a foot movement that is remotely similar. When asked, the kaumātua do not recall why Tūāhuriri takahi this way; all they remember is "This was how Uncle Te Aritaua taught us". For Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the foot movement is basically the raising of the two heels, rather like a rocking motion. This unique takahi does not seem to have transferred through to the contemporary performance style of Ngāi Tūāhuriri. It is interesting to trace the takahi style of this hapū in recent times because it changes depending on who the tutor was and what has influenced them.

Kapa Haka Kaumātua, Te Papa Tongarewa, left to right: Ramari Brennan, Ruahine Crofts, Korōria Pitama.

A stunning singer, Te Aritaua taught the children of Ngāi Tūāhuriri to sing in four-part harmony. This legacy most definitely lives on in Ngāi Tūāhuriri, who continue to produce some of our most talented professional singers.

DESIGN INTERPRETATION

Ngāi Tūāhuriri have a rich and unique style of kapa haka performance. Their regal elegance is legendary. In the immortal words of Henare Rakiihia Tau, Ngāi Tūāhuriri stand with "pride, poise and dignity".

Kapa haka need places to perform, stages that are big enough to handle 40 performers and their choreography. They need flexible performing spaces where they are connected to the audience.

Kapa haka really is the bread and butter of Māori performing arts. The popularity of the art form continues to grow. A record 4,500 children participated in the Christchurch Cultural Festival 2014. Ninety per cent of those children participated in the kapa haka performances.

Group of Rātana church members. Back row: Wiremu (Wally) Rehu, John Driver Tregerthen, W A Taylor(?). Front: Mrs Rau Mokomoko, Mrs Tregerthen, Mrs Te Uki, Mrs Hutana, 1935.

Canterbury Museum, W A Taylor collection, 1968.213.138

INFLUENCES

The Rātana church had a significant impact on the community of Ngāi Tūāhuriri. These influences can be seen in the kapa haka style of performance and the practices on the marae. One of the most obvious indicators of this influence is the Rātana band and their inclusion in the traditional rituals of welcome.

There is a long history of the Rātana band supporting Ngāi Tūāhuriri ceremonies. Images of the Rātana band leading guests from St Stephen's Church at Tuahiwi to the marae to celebrate the opening of Maahunui II are forever etched in the mind. What a powerful statement of tradition, a tangible reminder of the old tradition of parades and bands.

THE PIONEERS OF PERFORMING ARTS

> While not appointed as "Māori broadcasters", they were bi-culturally adept broadcasters who were Māori, each possessing style and flair and te reo which they used on-air. My opinion is that their personal, outgoing charismas quietly opened their Pākeha colleagues' insights into te ao Māori – the Māori world – and were at the genesis of Māori broadcasting.
>
> H. R. Te Ua[25]

Airini Ngā Roimata Grennell (1910–1988) and Te Aritaua Pitama were pioneers of Māori broadcasting. They were two of the first four Māori broadcasters appointed during the 1930s.

In her late teens, Airini travelled to England to study music professionally, gaining an LTCL and LRSM in teaching the piano and singing. In 1935, Airini and her sister Hinemoa joined the Methodist Choir, Waiata Māori, organised by Reverend Seamer. This put them in the esteemed company of some of the nation's most famous singers of the time, Inia Te Wiata and their cousin, Mori Pickering, née Ellison.

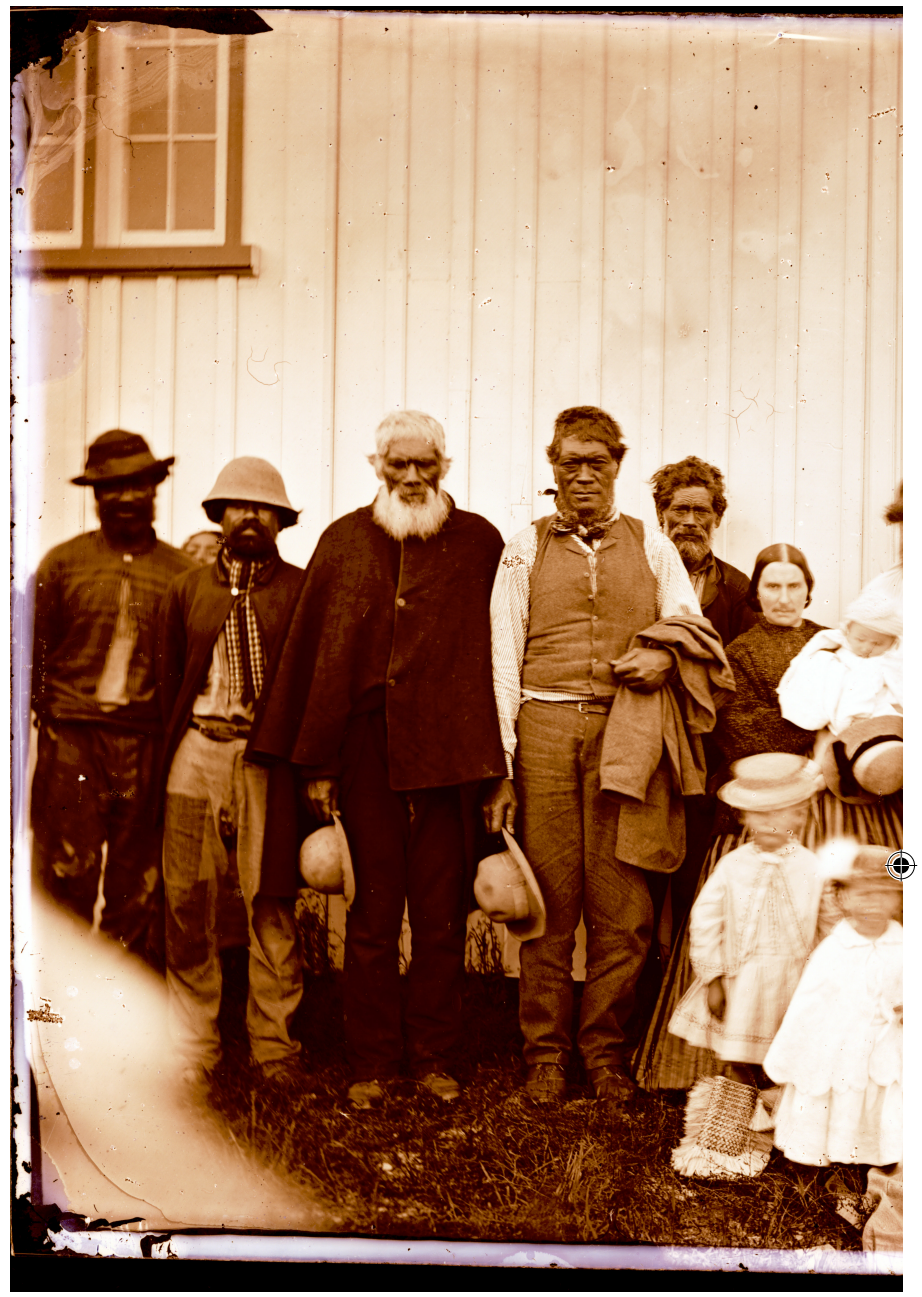
Airini retired from broadcasting in 1966, leaving behind a trail of firsts – including the first Māori woman to be a broadcaster, one of the first Māori women to appear on television.[26]

Mori Ellison (1909–2013) of Ōtākou lived a long and rich life. In the mid 1930s, Mori's voice caught the attention of Reverend Seamer, choirmaster of the Waiata Māori Choir. Before long, Mori became a key member of the troupe, performing solos for the King, Queen and the young Princess Elizabeth when the troupe visited England in 1938. Mori also gained the affection of Princess Te Puia and her father King Koroki. That affection was so great that it resulted in Princess Te Puia gifting a kiwi feather cloak to Mori. That cloak was returned to the Māori royal family this year.

Kiato Riwai (1912–1967) is credited with establishing Ngā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha Cultural Council and setting into motion a legacy of kapa haka that is still alive and active today. During the war years of 1939–1945, Kiato was instrumental in getting the Kāti Ōtautahi Association up and running, providing a base of support for the Māori Battalion.

In the 1950s and 60s Kiato poured her energy into driving a cultural renaissance. She realised that the young people she was working with in the community were losing their sense of identity and connection to their heritage. To keep them off the street, Kiato started up a kapa haka group. The group soon grew, as did the interest of others. In 1965 she held the inaugural Waitaha kapa haka competitions. It was held at the Theatre Royal in Christchurch.

In 1967 Kiato passed away. At her funeral, Ngāi Tūāhuriri kaumātua bestowed the name Ngā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha Cultural Council on the entity that was to continue running the annual kapa haka competitions. In 2015, the Waitaha Council celebrated its 50th birthday.



Group standing in front of St Stephen's Church, Tuahiwi.

Canterbury Museum, Alfred Charles Barker collection, 17 December 1867, REF: 1944.78.242

25. *H. R. Te Ua, Whakarongo Ake: A Brief History of Māori Radio Broadcasting, 2008. Retrieved from Irirangi: www.irirangi.net/roopu-tautoko/history/whakaaro-ake.aspx*

26. *A. Payne, Grennell, Airini Ngā Roimata. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara the Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Vol. 5), 2000.*

Above: *Kiato Riwai 1930s, Alexander Turnbull Library, Adelaide Couch-Snow Collection (PAColl-7089) Reference: 1/2-190577.*

Above, right: *Mori Pickering, celebrating 100th birthday, Otago Daily Times, 6 April 2009.*

Right: *John McFarlane (left), Airini Grennell and Ian Watkins in the 1930s.*

WAIATA MĀORI CHOIR

The Methodist Home Mission Party (MHMP, later renamed the Waiata Māori Choir) provides a case study to explore the hybrid nature of New Zealand's music history. Established in 1924 by Reverend Arthur John Seamer, the choir group consisted of Māori performers who presented an eclectic repertoire, including religious, indigenous, and popular or mainstream music, as well as imported music and western art music. The group performed on many stages for nearly 12 months of each year from 1924 to 1938, constituting no small feat of performance stamina. Investigating the MHMP contributes to our understanding about music as a social tool for interacting with and educating audiences and performers alike.[27]

This last section introduces a series of nationally and internationally recognised Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu artists. This information has been included as it adds to the bigger picture of performing arts. It provides a snapshot of the present scene and gives some reference points for anticipating the kinds of needs the new Christchurch design needs to take into account. Māori performing arts is more than just kapa haka. It now includes all art forms.

Above: Waiata Māori Choir 1930s, Methodist Church of New Zealand Archives.

Opposite: Te Pao a Tahu perform at Te Matatini 2015, Hagley Park.

27. *M. Willyams, Singing Faith: A History of the Waiata Maori Choir, 1924–1938. University of Otago, Dunedin, 2012.*

CONTEMPORARY ARTISTS

SINGERS AND ENTERTAINERS

OPERA SINGER

Timua Brennan has sung all of her life. She comes from a family that has always entertained. Her father Hori (George) Brennan was an accomplished kapa haka tutor. The entire family was brought up on the stage, performing kapa haka and singing.

'Discovered' in a singing competition in Rotorua, Timua was encouraged to seek professional voice training. After five years' study she completed a Master of Music with First Class Honours in Vocal Performance at Waikato University.

Above: Timua Te Puhi Kai Ariki Brennan-Bryan, soprano.

SINGER, MUSICIAN AND POET

The talented ***Hinemoana Baker*** is a published poet, a singer-songwriter, recording artist, teacher of creative writing and occasional broadcaster. She has released two albums of original music and two CDs of spoken word.

SINGER, TAONGA PUORO

Ariana Tikao is a singer, writer and emerging taonga puoro (Māori instruments) artist. She started her career in 1993, with a folk duo called Pounamu, and launched her solo career in 2002. Ariana draws on folk and pop styles, composing heartfelt songs in both Māori and English. She has released three solo albums and tours nationally and internationally.

SINGER, TAONGA PUORO

A former member of the group 'Big Belly Woman', ***Mahina-Ina Kaui*** is a singer, musician and taonga puoro specialist. She often works collaboratively with fellow musicians, bringing her own special brand of artistry to the fore.

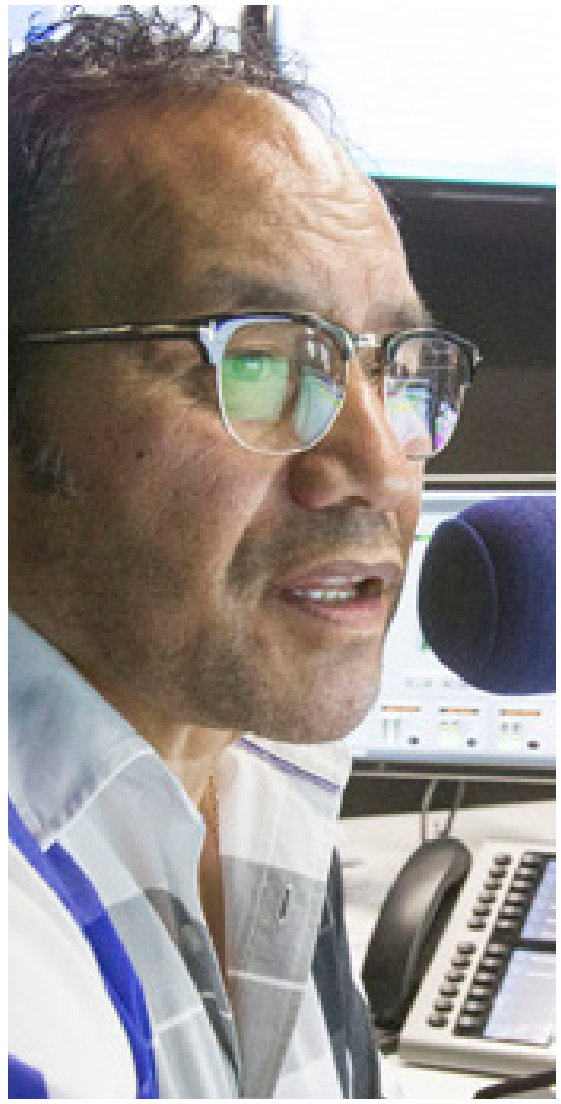
BROADCASTERS

Miriama Kamo is an award-winning journalist and has worked on various television programmes including *Sunday*, *One News*, *20/20* and *TVNZ 7*.

Miriama started her career as a radio announcer and producer at National Radio. In the late 1990s she moved in television.

The beautiful ***Stacey Morrison*** is one of New Zealand's most popular TV and radio personalities. She hosts the Classic Hits Auckland radio breakfast show and her own television series, *Whānau Living*. She has worked on numerous radio and television shows, including co-hosting *It's in the Bag* alongside comedian Pio Terei.

Opposite, clockwise from top left: Hinemoana Baker; Ariana Tikao; Ariana Tikao at Pao Pao Pao 2012; Mahina-Ina Kaui, Ariana Tikao, Christine White, Voices of our Ancestors tour 2011; Miriama Kamo.



Clockwise from top left: Stacey Morrison; Chey Milne; James Daniels; Rachel House.

To add to Stacey's considerable talents, she is also a professional master of ceremonies and has compered at the Māori Sports Awards and The Young Sports Person of the Year Awards. She is passionate about her Māori heritage and, along with her husband Scottie Morrison, Stacey champions the revitalisation of te reo Māori. Scottie and Stacey are raising their three children to be first language Māori speakers.

Chey Milne is a television presenter, professional master of ceremonies, radio announcer, kapa haka tutor and te reo Māori tutor. This busy father and his partner Kahurangi Maxwell are committed to raising their daughter in te reo Māori.

Chey is a presenter on *I AM TV* and a previous presenter on *Pukana*.

James Daniels, father of Stacey Morrison, is a well-known radio personality. James started his broadcasting career in 1978 on Radio Caroline in Timaru. Today he is a presenter on Breeze radio in Christchurch.

In the 1980s, James teamed up on air with Ken Ellis. This partnership proved to be one of the more exciting times of James' life. During this period he and Ken changed their names by deed poll to "James and Ken" and ran for mayor. They came third, behind Vicki Buck and Hamish Hay.

ACTOR AND PRODUCER

Rachel House graduated from Toi Whakaari (New Zealand Drama School) in 1992. Since that time, she has performed in over 28 plays and starred in several movies including *The Whale Rider*, *Boy*, *Eagle versus Shark* and Witi Ihimaera's *Medicine Woman*.

The passing on of stories is one of the greatest gifts we have to retain our culture, our history, to learn, laugh or recoil in recognition or form a deeper understanding of our differences. To have taken part in the last 20 years of theatre and film – in particular Māori – has been a privilege – a celebration of diversity, talent, beauty, humour, struggle, victories.[28]

28. *Rachel House, The Arts Foundation, 2012: www.thearts.co.nz/artists/rachel-house*

DANCE AND CHOREOGRAPHY

Tanemahuta Gray is a professional producer, event and theatre director and choreographer, with management skills in both creative performance and technical production areas.[29] Since graduating from the New Zealand School of Dance in 1994, Tanemahuta has gone on to become a nationally and internationally recognised artistic force. His works have included Maui – One Man Against The Gods, The Elements Carnival, Kōwhiti Matariki Series, the New Zealand Icons and Illuminated Illusions sections of World of Wearable Art and Arohanui, to name a few.

Tanemahuta's works often fuse together components of multiple disciplines. In perhaps his piece de resistance, Maui – One Man Against The Gods, he wove together opera, contemporary dance, ballet, kapa haka, theatre, aerial dance and te reo Māori. Over 60,000 people viewed the show live.

> Aerial dance can perhaps be broadly defined as imagery-in-motion; a form that expands the parameters of dance into a spatial zone where anything is possible and where the shapes or images created are not limited to the capabilities of the individual dancer.[30]

Tanemahuta demonstrates a new era of theatre work for Ngāi Tahu. The production requirements for shows of this quality, size and variety demand a lot of the host venue.

Merenia Gray is one of New Zealand's prominent choreographers, dancers, directors and producers. She graduated from the New Zealand School of Dance in 1990 and her works include Maui – One Man Against The Gods, Andrew Lloyd Webber's Song and Dance, Wild Civility and Pounamu. She has worked nationally and internationally. She teaches at Raising the Barre – a Wellington dance school specialising in advanced classical ballet and contemporary dance. She often works collaboratively with her brother, Tanemahuta Gray.

> Māori culture has the potential to play a profound role in dance theatre because of its spiritual energy. Dance is a form of performance art that goes beyond words and pictures to communicate with its audience via the poetry of movement. Dance reaches people through its ability to speak to the human condition by evoking an emotional and spiritual response. The Māori essence of wairua shares these characteristics and so lends itself well to being an integral element of dance performance.[31]

Most recently, Merenia composed and choreographed a short dance film called *Hine-ahu-one*. The dance film retells the story of Hine-ahu-one, the first woman created from the soils of Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother.

Louise Potiki Bryant is a celebrated choreographer, dancer and video artist. Her works include NGĀI TAHU 32, TE AROHA ME TE MAMAE, TAONGA; dust, water, wind; TE KĀROHIROHI: The Light Dances and IN TRANSIT.

She has choreographed works for the Atamira Dance Company, Curve and Black Grace Dance Company. She has worked in collaboration with artists like Professor Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, Dr Richard Nunns, Paerau Corneal and Ariana Tikao, producing shows, video installations and dance films.

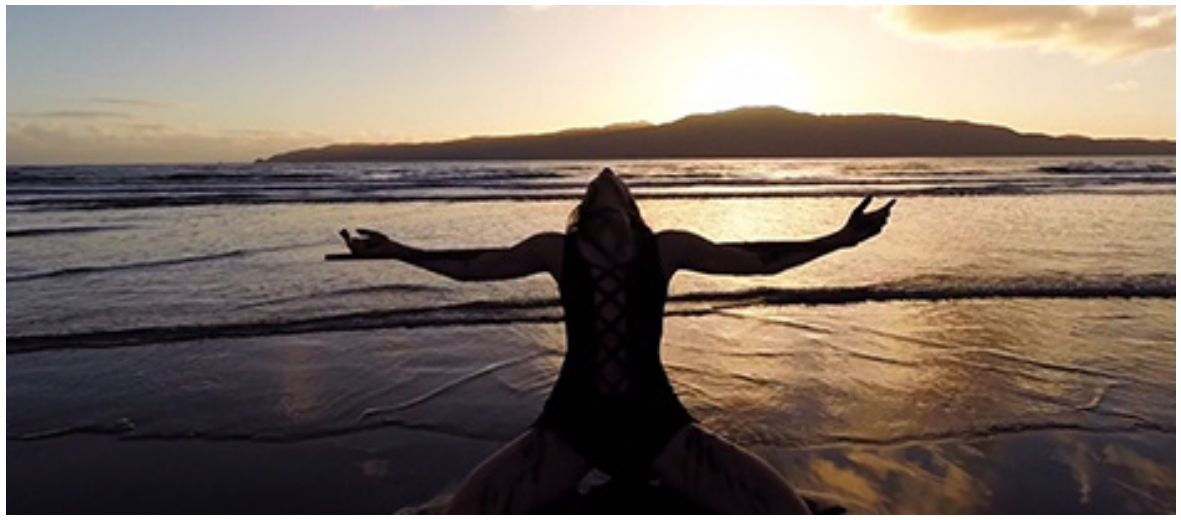
A talented artist, Louise has exhibited and worked nationally and internationally. She has completed an artist in residency at the Otago Polytechnic School of Art, at Aoraki/Mount Cook, and undertaken a choreographic internship in Toronto, Canada. Louise's body of work is considerable.

29. *Emerging Arts Trust, no date. Retrieved from www.eatwellington.org.nz/Tanemahuta-Gray*

30. *Jenny Stephenson, in P. Moon, (Ed.) Special Edition on Dance, Te Kaharoa, 2012, 5, pp 1 – 167.*

31. *Merenia Gray, in Moon (Ed.) Special Edition on Dance, 2012.*

Clockwise from top left: Tanemahuta Gray; Tanemahuta Gray performing; Merenia Gray; Scene from Hine-ahu-one, short dance film 2014; Louise Potiki Bryant.



Taiaroa Royal

Taiaroa Royal

Taiaroa Royal

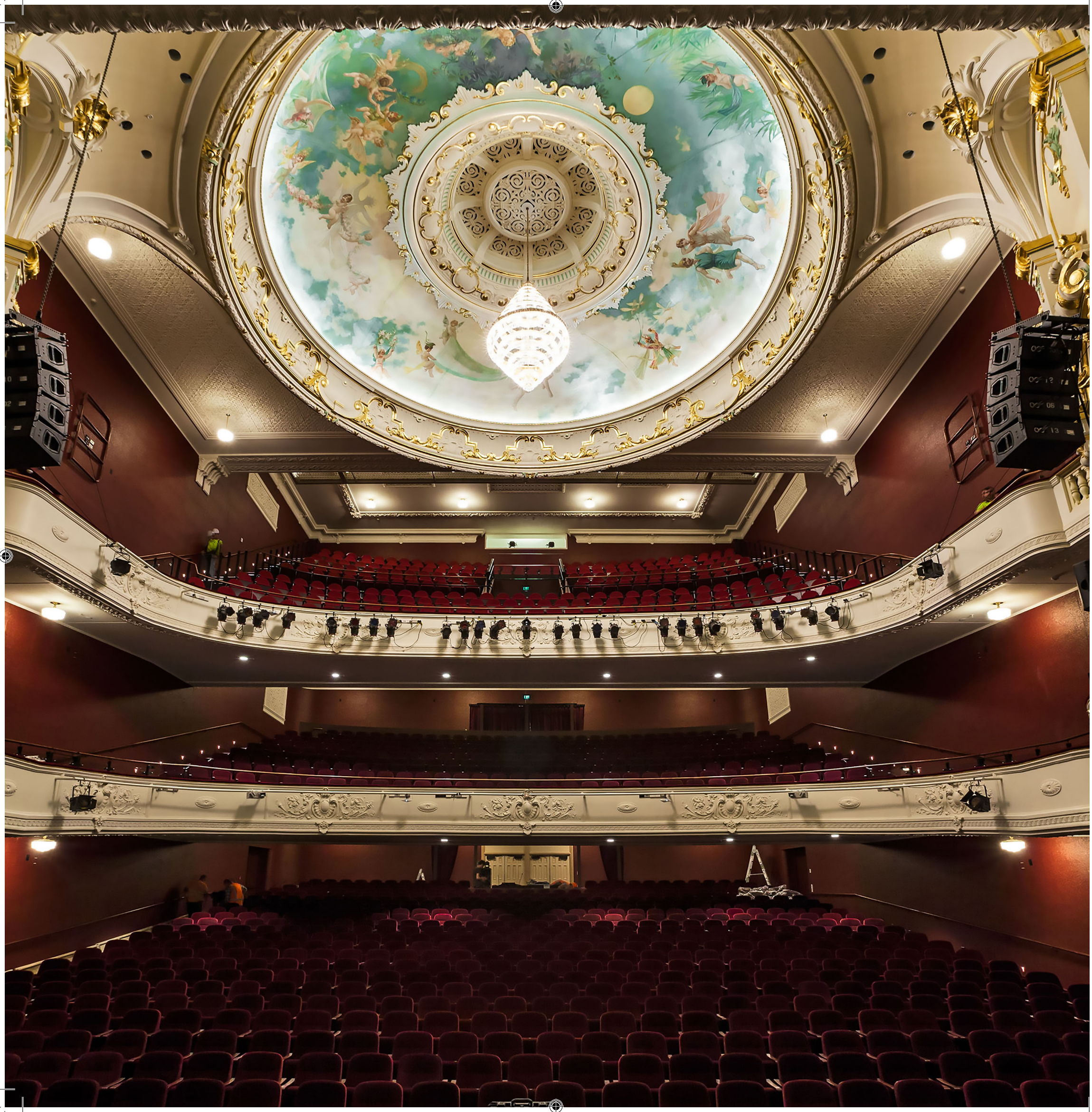
KIRI is a compelling and beautifully crafted duet between a dancer, Louise Poutiki Bryant and a clay artist, Paerau Corneal bring to life the creation of Hine-ahu-one, in an extraordinary performance, with spell-binding video and a hypnotic sound score from Paddy Free.[32]

Taiaroa Royal is of Te Arawa, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Raukawa and Uenukukopako descent. A graduate of the New Zealand School of Dance, Taiaroa has performed with the Royal New Zealand Ballet, Douglas Wright Company, Atamira Dance Collective and Black Grace. In 2007 along with fellow dancer, Taane Mete, Taiaroa formed the Okareka Dance Company.

Recognised as one of New Zealand's most outstanding, versatile dancers, Taiaroa has received several awards and honours. These include Tempo awards; Te Tohu Toi Kē award from Te Waka Toi for making a difference to contemporary dance; and the Kōwhiti Lifetime Achievement Award for his services to Māori contemporary dance.

The year 2008 saw the debut of a collaborative work, Tama mā. The work, created by Taiaroa and Taane Mete, talked of the transition from boyhood to adulthood and the many trials and tribulations experienced along the way. The work was to prove to be such a success that in January 2014, it toured in Europe.

Taiaroa is a nationally and internationally acclaimed dancer.



THE RETAIL PRECINCT NARRATIVE

Written by Dr Michael J. Stevens, BA(Hons), LLB, PhD (Otago); nō Ngāi Tahu

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861

QUAKE CITY
Crafted Coffee Company
Re:START
SUPPORTED BY ASB
3:WISEMEN
RUBY
RUBY
SALE
FREE
PEEP
SHOW
FREE
PEEP
www.bikefirst.co.nz

INTRODUCTION

This historical narrative identifies values, traditions and histories associated with Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu trade and commercial enterprise in the Waitaha (Canterbury) region between the late 18th century and the early 21st century. While the Crown has a lead role in the design process of the Christchurch rebuild, it is well understood that designs in the Retail Precinct are private-sector led. It is nonetheless hoped that key cultural institutions and social dimensions of trade outlined in this report might be reflected in innovative approaches to design, including landscape design, in the Retail Precinct.

This report consists of three main parts. The first part explains the institution of kaihaukai, a term that essentially represents the reciprocal exchange of preserved foodstuffs. This part therefore also provides an overview of mahinga kai, places where food was traditionally gathered or produced, and the pivotal role that Kaiapoi Pā played in the distribution of resultant products until its destruction in 1831. The report then highlights how trade has brokered and strengthened relationships between Ngāi Tahu and non-Ngāi Tahu communities prior to and since the colonial encounter. Finally, the narrative describes the role of Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu trade in the development of Christchurch. This has been quite visible and important since the early 2000s and stands in stark contrast to the marginalisation of Ngāi Tahu that occurred in the 1860s and persisted for more than a century.

THE INSTITUTION OF KAIHAUKAI

> Generations of food-gathering in small mobile family groups, and of self-reliance in the bush, had produced a [Māori] race of individualists…a chief grew his own food, made his own speeches in hapu discussions, and did his own fighting…
>
> Hapu success was measured…by competitive displays…Ceremonial displays of food were a measure of the social standing of the hapu and in turn the tribe, which would establish their value as allies or their might as enemies, and those who received what the hapu offered incurred reciprocal social, diplomatic, or military obligations.
>
> *Ann Parsonson, The Pursuit of Mana in a Competitive Society, pp 141–42.*

When sustained European contact with the lower South Island began in the 1790s, mahinga kai – places where food is gathered or produced – were the bedrock of the Ngāi Tahu economy. In their seasonal pursuit of mahinga kai throughout the South Island, Ngāi Tahu kin-groups are thought to have harvested more than 200 different plants, animals and other resources.[1] Journeys to and from various mahinga kai were not just regular but also often long-ranging. Accordingly, while mobility was common for Māori generally, it has been suggested as "a defining characteristic of the southern people".[2] Seasonal foodstuffs that were not immediately consumed at their point source were preserved and transported, mainly to Kaiapoi, the largest Ngāi Tahu village and the island's entrepôt. In other words, Kaiapoi was to the 18th century South Island what Christchurch is to it in the 21st century: the "Southern Capital".[3]

Key mechanisms for exchanging these preserved goods, both in and beyond Kaiapoi, were the rituals of hākari and kaihaukai. Hākari denotes reciprocal feasting at a ceremonial gathering whereas kaihaukai is best understood as the presentation of food that a recipient group would later consume. Kaihaukai was not a gift as the term is usually understood in that the donor

group expected to receive a present of food in return, whether immediately or at some point in the future. Hākari and kaihaukai occurred within and between hapū right across the New Zealand archipelago and, as the epigraph above indicates, they had a highly competitive element. In short, mana was gained, maintained or lost according to the quality and quantity of food produced. It was therefore necessary for the debt of an earlier hākari and kaihaukai to be repaid to at least an equivalent, but ideally higher, standard.[4] This path to mutual enrichment runs counter to the capitalist approach whereby trading parties seek material and social reward by negotiating each other down to a position that both can live with: a meeting of minds, in the parlance of contract law.

These vastly different approaches to commercial exchange foreshadow some of the difficulties that Ngāi Tahu faced when participating in the colonial economy, which is explored in the context of Christchurch in the third and final part of this report. It is first necessary, however, to provide a more detailed overview of the institution of kaihaukai. To do this, an outline is needed of the nature and extent of mahinga kai within Ngāi Tahu and the strategic role historically played by Kaiapoi Pā.

MAHINGA KAI

Initial Polynesian settlement in Te Waipounamu was relatively sedentary as villages were established close to 'resource clumps' where protein was easily accessible. This came in the form of multiple species of large birds, especially flightless moa, and sea mammals, mainly fur seals.[5] However, these things were quite quickly depleted. This reduced supply, in tandem with climatic deterioration, forced the descendants of initial arrivals and later migrant kin-groups from the North Island to adopt a vastly different occupation regime. In the late 18th century therefore, by which time sufficient genealogical integration had occurred for the later emergence of a relatively united tribal entity known as Ngāi Tahu, villages were much more reliant on smaller birds, eels, marine fish and shellfish. More to the point, these villages were "sustained by long-distance movement of [the South Island's] dispersed resources".[6]

While Ngāi Tahu villages were for the most part coastally orientated, the Waitangi Tribunal was presented with "substantial evidence" in the 1980s that showed pre-European Ngāi Tahu "were familiar not only with the coast line of the island…but also with the inland plains, mountains and lakes." Interior and mountain passes were "crossed by a network of trails" and "inland resources were an integral part of the tribe's subsistence and of their trade both internally and with other tribes".[7] Ngāi Tahu archaeologist and ethno-historian Atholl Anderson explains that the exploitation of natural resources in all of these different locales shared the following interrelated elements: regulated access (primarily on the basis of genealogy), seasonal mobility, preservation, transport and exchange.[8] This all required a peripatetic lifestyle and this contributed to the small size of most Ngāi Tahu hapū. Concomitantly, Ngāi Tahu hapū cannot be understood as "a set of coherent hapu groups, each occupying a discrete, defendable territory", which is the normative view based on analysis of North Island regions.[9] Put differently, it made no sense for one community to hold a monopoly over a single mahinga kai site. "On the contrary, it was an advantage to live in a multi-hapu settlement which had access to a variety of resources." It has therefore been advanced that this incentive caused hapū groups to strategically marry their offspring, "thereby creating a number of multi-settlement hapu spanning the entire southern region of the South Island".[10]

1. *Bill Dacker, The People of the Place: Mahika Kai, New Zealand 1990 Commission, Wellington, 1990, p 6.*
2. *Atholl Anderson, The Welcome of Strangers: An ethnohistory of southern Māori A.D. 1650–1850, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 1998, p 118.*
3. *After John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (Eds), Southern Capital: Christchurch: Towards a City Biography, 1850–2000, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000.*
4. *Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Tahu 2025, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Christchurch, 2001, p 47.*
5. *Atholl Anderson and Ian Smith, 'The Transient Village in Southern New Zealand', World Archaeology, 27, no. 3 1996, pp 359–371.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Waitangi Tribunal, Ngai Tahu Report 1991, p 184.*
8. *Atholl Anderson, The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethnohistory of Southern Maori A.D. 1650-1850, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 1998, pp 111–130.*
9. *David Haines, 'Te Kai a te Rakatira: Kai Tahu Leadership, 1830–1844', BA(Hons) diss., University of Otago, 2003, p 21.*
10. *Ibid., p 20.*

Key to understanding this situation is the fact that kūmara, the hardiest crop introduced by Polynesian settlers, on which 'classic' Māori culture was based, could not be grown south of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). Until the introduction of the white potato to southern New Zealand in the first decade of the 19th century, any permanently occupied village south of Te Waihora required a number of its inhabitants to travel to mahinga kai sites at optimum harvesting times. These people would then directly consume food resources but also preserve a surplus and transport it back to their main settlement for distribution and trade. Those living north of Te Waihora, in the Ngāi Tahu horticultural zone, would also travel south on the basis of genealogical use rights to access mahinga kai not immediately available to them. This practice continues down to the present as illustrated by Canterbury-based Ngāi Tahu families who travel south of Rakiura (Stewart Island) to take part in the annual tītī harvest, an activity now better known as muttonbirding, each April and May.

Though not a form of husbandry as the term is usually understood, mahinga kai was more than simply hunting and gathering or optimal foraging. Simply put, its practitioners actively manipulated natural environments for maximum human gain. But this often occurred in ways that suggested a mindfulness of future needs. During the colonial encounter, colonists overlooked or ignored the complexity of this relationship with the natural world and, as explained below, viewed whole chunks of the South Island landscape as unimproved and therefore unused. Traditional Ngāi Tahu resource management techniques have also been misread in another way: as a reverence for nature. This is simply a reformulation of the old European idea of the noble savage. Sara S. Gronim's characterisation of Native American environmental knowledge in her

study of colonial New York gestures towards a more measured assessment of the Ngāi Tahu relationship with nature. She states that Indian environmental knowledge is often sentimentalised as "respect for nature, as if they were somehow nicer people than are we". However, she stresses that the specific peculiarities of the local natural world were mastered because they mattered:

> Men who ignored the subtle sign of an impending blizzard and left on a hunting trip, women whose food stocks fell low because they had failed to exploit every bit of what they could grow and gather, died quickly. Indians knew the local natural world because they had to.[11]

The same applies for Ngāi Tahu and mahinga kai. Moreover, as Anderson notes, the harvesting of seasonal abundance only made sense if the surplus could be preserved and transported for later consumption or exchange. Food was therefore preserved by one of two methods: pawhera, a form of dehydration that utilised the sun, and tahu, pre-cooking food and storing it in a vessel of congealed fat.[12] Pawhera was used to cure tuna (eels), kanakana (lamprey), barracouta, whitebait and even varieties of shellfish. The tahu process was used for birds such as tītī and weka, shellfish such as pāua and, later on, pork. Anderson describes packing cooked food in congealed fat as the more complex technology of the two methods because it required containers in which to pack the preserved goods. In the North Island, hue (gourds) were used to store pre-cooked tītī (muttonbids) and other birds, but this plant could not grow in the south. One alternative was papa huahua, containers made out of thick sheets of kiri-tōtara cut, folded and stitched together. These too had limitations within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā, especially in relation to the seasonal harvest of juvenile tītī from islands clustered around Rakiura.

The main strategy in the south therefore was to use pōhā. As with the concept of kaihaukai, knowledge of pōhā was almost certainly brought from the North Island to the South Island, whereupon it possibly assumed a greater significance than it had had in the North.[13]

In its *Ngai Tahu Report*, the Waitangi Tribunal wrote that, "[p]erhaps the most striking aspect of the preparation of the varied and rich Ngai Tahu foods were the methods of preservation of the season's surplus food supplies". So much so, it described these methods as having been "an essential part of Ngai Tahu existence".[14] The Tribunal highlighted the role pōhā and the pawhera method played in preserving foods "at the times of the year they were most abundant" and that they were later "used for exchange and gifts, in feasts catering for guests, to feed dogs, for eating on journeys and in times of less abundance".[15] The ubiquitous presence of pōhā in connection with the southern tītī harvest until the mid 20th century, and the exceptional persistence of the harvest itself, meant that by 1994, Tipene O'Regan was able to write that, "Ngai Tahu are one of the few Maori tribes left who know anything about poha".[16]

Although, as is spelt out below, colonists saw limited value in mahinga kai, an 1882 supplement to the *Southland Times* suggests that it was not dismissed outright. Finely built waka, kūmara plantations, pounamu objects and preserved tītī were all read as evidence that Māori "labour had to some extent been piled up into capital". These things "were his capital, the savings of his labour, and with these he purchased the wants of his every day life, or his luxuries … [and] erected his forts of pahs or equipped his expeditions in war or adventure".[17] The key pā for Ngāi Tahu, whose existence was absolutely tied to mahinga kai, was Kaiapoi: the place where "'Kai' must be 'poi'

11. *Sara Stidstone Gronim, Everyday Nature: Knowledge of the Natural World in Colonial New York, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 2007, p 37.*
12. *Anderson, Welcome of Strangers, p 120.*
13. *For references to pōhā in both North and South Island contexts, see: W. J. Phillipps, Māori Life and Custom, revised by John Huria, Penguin Group, North Shore, 2008, pp 45–46, 83.*
14. *Waitangi Tribunal, Ngai Tahu Report 1991, p 201.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Tipene O'Regan to Michael Stevens, 19 December 1994, private correspondence, copy in author's possession.*
17. *"Economics of Labour and Capital", Southland Times, 18 October 1882, p 5.*

or swung to the spot…potted birds from the forests of Kaikoura in the north; fish and mutton birds from the sea-coasts of the south; kiore and weka and kauru from the plains and mountain ranges of the west".[18]

KAIAPOI

Before it was sacked in 1831 by warriors led by Te Rauparaha, Kaiapoi Pā was the centre of trade and commerce for villages in the Waitaha (Canterbury) region. It was a site that had been chosen for its defensive qualities rather than its food sources.[19] Even so, it was strategically placed to receive and trade pounamu from Te Tai Poutini once Ngāi Tahu gained control of this area, but also the likes of pōhā-tītī from the far south, and crops from the warmer north. Kaiapoi thus became a crucial feature of the Ngāi Tahu economy that Tipene O'Regan likens to Singapore for the British Empire: a trading hub.[20]

To provide themselves with means of exchange for commodities they needed, Kaiapoi-based Ngāi Tahu cultivated kūmara and prepared kauru (cabbage tree stems) with which, as Raymond Firth put it, "they 'bartered' with the dwellers in other districts for the goods required". There is also a suggestion that Kaiapoi chiefs received tribute from other parts of Canterbury and Banks Peninsula in addition to regular trade. For instance, Herries Beattie noted that "the Kaiapoi contention is that the Banks Peninsula chiefs were in a state of vassalage to the head chief at Kaiapoi, and that these chiefs and their successors paid marine products as an annual tribute to their overlord". In return, "as a matter of etiquette or courtesy", the Kaiapoi chiefs sent kauru. However, "the Banks Peninsula view is that they were fully independent and that the food was merely exchanged in accordance with polite custom".[21]

Either way, Rev. James Stack, an Anglican missionary based at Tuahiwi (part of the the Kaiapoi Native Reserve) from 1859 until 1870, noted that Kaiapoi was some distance away from permanent sources of food supply and therefore, in Firth's words, "all provisions had to be carried to the spot". Stack thus asserted that at one stage a "large body of porters" was continually engaged in transporting heavy loads between coastal settlements via a chain of depots. It is difficult to know whether or not this is accurate; however, Firth seriously doubted that "such a definite and well-established system of exchange was ever really in operation". That said, he admitted that "some method of exchange of products was widely practised by the South Island tribes".[22] According to Beattie, kaihaukai that took place between Ngāi Tahu at Kaiapoi and Rāpaki required people from the latter settlement to carry coastal food inland and people from the former settlement to carry inland food to the coast. As Beattie saw it, this system was "an act of courtesy to enable people to vary foods a bit".[23]

KAIHAUKAI

As mentioned above, it was necessary for outstanding debts of hākari and kaihaukai to be discharged at levels that at least equalled those being repaid. Evidence of both concepts in action comes from the colonial surveyor and explorer Thomas Brunner who observed them amongst Ngāi Tahu at Taramakau Pā during his 1847 exploration of Te Tai Poutini.[24] Brunner explained that a great feast was held at the time of potato-planting and that "all the good things are reserved for and produced on this occasion, the chiefs trying to outdo each other in liberality and profusion".[25] He noted that the menu included "a poha of ready-dressed wekas", a method and article he described thus:

> The natives here preserve the birds they catch during the winter months, when they are in excellent condition, in a rimu or sea-weed bag. They open

18. *W. T. Locke Travers and James West Stack, The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha (Chief of the Ngatitoa), Auckland, 1971, p 182.*

19. *Haines, Kai a te Rakatira, p 22.*

20. *Tipene O'Regan, 'A Kai Tahu History', Te Karanga, 6, no. 1, 1990, p 12.*

21. *Teone Taare Tikao and H. Beattie, Tikao Talks: Ka Taoka Tapu O Te Ao Kohatu: Treasures from the Ancient World of the Maori, Auckland, 1990, p 140.*

22. *Raymond Firth, Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori (Oxford: Routledge, 2011 (orig. 1929)), p 398.*

23. *Herries Beattie, in Atholl Anderson (Ed.) Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori, University of Otago Press in association with the Otago Museum, Dunedin, 1994, p 278.*

24. *Thomas Brunner, 'Journal of an Expedition to Explore the Interior of the Middle Island of New Zealand', The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London 20, 1850, pp 344–378.*

25. *Ibid., p 358.*

> the bird down the back, and take out all the bones; they then lay the flesh of the bird in a shallow platter made of the bark of the totara-tree, which is called a patua, when they cook the bird by applying red-hot stones; they then place the cooked birds in the rimu bag, and pour over them the extracted fat, and tie tightly the mouth of the bag. I have tasted birds kept two years in this manner, and found them very good. They also keep eels and seals in the same way, using whale-oil for their preservation.[26]

In terms of kaihaukai, Brunner explained that great care was taken in the completion of specially adorned pōhā-weka, which he was sure were "always made for a present, for which they expect a return".[27] Indeed, Brunner witnessed a chief exchange a pōhā-weka for a quantity of dog-fish. Furthermore, the party that presented the pōhā "were also fed, or rather gorged, each having a kit of potatoes and taro, a large quantity of…preserved potato, and garnished well with different… fish".[28] Brunner concluded that, "[t]he natives appear particularly fond of giving and receiving presents", and based on what he saw, he thought that "the first donor gets off the best".[29]

In 1920, Herries Beattie wondered how the "southern Maori…wrested an existence from Nature, whose moods are sterner down here than in the more enervating North".[30] Because kūmara "did not flourish farther south than Banks Peninsula", there was a view that southern Ngāi Tahu "must have subsisted mainly on fern-root and fish". However, "this did not meet with the approval of one old [southern] Maori, who told me that by the system of kaihaukai they could exchange titi (mutton-birds) and other things for kumara from Canterbury, and even get taro and hue from the North Island".[31] Written nearly two decades earlier, in 1902, an article on muttonbirding in the *Otago Witness* referred to a share of one's harvest traditionally being given away to friends and relatives and to chiefs on the basis of deference. However, the columnist wrote that, "[t]hese ancient customs are fast losing ground before the inevitable progress of civilisation and commerce. They, like the atuas of old…will soon bid us their last irrevocable haere ra!"[32] While Māori social stratification and some other traditional customs certainly declined, they did not die out altogether, as this commentator predicted. Mid-20th century Tuahiwi village is evidence of this. As W. A. Taylor explained in 1952, notable visitors to the Canterbury region are invariably welcomed at Tuahiwi, where, following speeches of welcome from village elders, "a sumptuous feast" is usually followed. It was also common for a "gift of some Maori article [to be] given to the guest (or guests)". As Taylor put it, "The Maoris of Tuahiwi do not lack the art of extending hospitality".[33]

Even so, as the final section of this report explains, sources of mahinga kai declined throughout the Ngāi Tahu takiwā but especially in Canterbury. As Ann Parsonson notes, "[f]arming, pollution and the acclimatisation of introduced species of animals, trees and fish … played havoc with the indigenous ecosystems … [and] had a drastic impact on Ngāi Tahu's way of life". However, given that this way of life was largely unknown to most South Islanders, "its loss passed unnoticed".[34]

26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid., p 359.*
28. *Brunner, 'Journal of an Expedition'.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Herries Beattie, 'Nature-lore of the Southern Maori', TPNZI, 52, 1920, pp 53–77.*
31. *Ibid., p 67.*
32. *Nga-ti Ngaro, 'Mutton Birds', Otago Witness, 2 July 1902, p 72.*
33. *W. A. Taylor, Lore and History of the South Island Maori, Bascands, Christchurch, 1952.*
34. *Ann Parsonson, 'Ngāi Tahu – The Whale That Awoke', in Southern Capital – Christchurch: Towards a City Biography, 1850–2000, ed. John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, p 260.*

CONCLUSION

- The institution of kaihaukai was a critical feature of the mahinga kai-based world of pre-European Ngāi Tahu.
- Mahinga kai, and thus associated values including kaihaukai, were altered but not displaced on the pre-colonial frontier between the years 1800 and 1840. They were, however, severely constrained by systematic colonisation from the late 1840s onwards.
- Notwithstanding land loss, environmental changes and evolving social dynamics within Ngāi Tahu, many mahinga kai (and their exchange) are still incredibly important to the diet, commerce and social standing of Ngāi Tahu families and villages.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To the extent that it is able to do so, it is recommended that the Crown shapes the design aesthetic in the Retail Precinct to reflect the following things:

- commercial transactions and experiences that reflect the 'pursuit of mana' approach to mutual reward. High-end goods, especially those that reflect the resources, design and manufacturing base of Canterbury and the wider South Island, might be a way in to doing this
- persisting mahinga kai traditions that take place in the city: for example, hākari and kaihaukai. This could provide recognition of the commercial component of customary practices, which in recent decades (notably with respect to fisheries) have been mischaracterised as being inherently non-commercial. Thought might therefore be given to a space that features an eatery or market that specialises in seasonal mahinga kai. This could be both a companion and an antidote to the way in which the proposed Te Puna Ahurea Cultural Centre will cater to the likes of kapa haka
- 'tahu', the process that enabled key food surpluses to be carried over, which is also the umbrella tribal name under which the practitioners and beneficiaries of this process were wielded together. This pun could be played with and reflected visually in the likes of buildings, public spaces or public art installations. Simply put, thought could be given to reflecting how tahu, the process, was central to Tahu, the people. This would enable references to mahinga kai traditions such as whānau mobility. This in turn invites consideration of Ngāi Tahu networks across and beyond the Waitaha region
- papa huahua (food storage containers made from bark) and the protective bark layer component of pōhā (food storage containers made from bull-kelp). These require kiri-tōtara (bark sustainably harvested from mature tōtara trees) and harakeke (flax). These species could be planted in connection with landscaping initiatives. More than simply referencing mahinga kai traditions in a decorative or botanical sense, though, they could be arranged in certain places and ways that give them a utilitarian value – that is, as resource banks for practitioners who still use these things in Ngāi Tahu art and commerce. For example, this could include Christchurch-based families who take part in the seasonal tītī harvest[35] and might wish to preserve some of their catch in pōhā as some families still do in Bluff.

35. *Parsonson, 'Ngāi Tahu–The Whale That Awoke, p 255.*

THE ROLE OF TRADE IN BROKERING AND STRENGTHENING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PEOPLES

> [R]elationships of exchange were at the heart of a complex cycle that circulated unevenly distributed resources and created broader social and political connections and hierarchies.
>
> *Tony Ballantyne, 'Economic Systems, Colonization and the Production of Difference', p 6.*

Colonists and the colonial state, as outlined below in the final part of this report, rejected the mahinga kai-based economy of Ngāi Tahu. This way of life was therefore unable to form the basis of trade relationships between Ngāi Tahu communities and newcomers in the South Island from the late 1840s onwards. This was quite different from the situation that had unfolded in the pre-colonial period: a time of "mutual reliance and relatively benign race relations".[36] To make matters worse, from the late 1840s onwards, Ngāi Tahu communities were also largely excluded from participation in the new capitalist economy that emerged around them and eroded their natural and social worlds. In other words, the new types of trade that emerged were not typically those on which relationships with newcomers could be established.

This middle part of the report then, which is its shortest component, briefly outlines some ways that trade shaped and strengthened relationships within Ngāi Tahu prior to sustained European contact and with newcomers from the early 19th century before the advent of 'mature' colonialism that sidelined and marginalised Ngāi Tahu.

MAHINGA KAI AND MARRIAGE: THE NGĀI TAHU HORSE AND CARRIAGE

As we have seen, the large size of the Ngāi Tahu takiwā meant there was a need for mobile groups to make seasonal visits to mahinga kai and transport preserved food surpluses back to permanently occupied settlements, especially Kaiapoi, in the pre-European era. An analysis of whakapapa suggests that marriage was used to maintain connections between these widely dispersed kin groups and help this system function. Indeed, Tipene O'Regan has argued that the Ngāi Tahu political system was "woven together and continually reinforced" by strategic marriages. In his view, this caused the tribe to display "singular characteristics not so evident in most North Island tribes".[37] This was substantially due to mahinga kai shaping Ngāi Tahu leadership and vice versa. The operation of both things was confirmed and regulated by marriage.

We can see this at work through reference to Tahatu, for instance, the leading chief at Ōtākou in the early 1830s. His two brothers, Te Pahi and Te Marama, each married sisters of the upoko ariki Te Maiharanui, who was taken captive by Te Rauparaha at Takapuneke in 1830. One of the couples referred to was based mainly at Kaiapoi while the other was based mainly in the Foveaux Strait region where both couples went muttonbirding. This is a good example of the mutual exchange involved in Ngāi Tahu chiefly marriages, but is only one of many. So much so, it has been stated that, "the many connections between … chiefly families makes it difficult to represent the series of political marriages in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries".[38]

Image Credit: Josie Meachen

However, these kinship ties did not naturally lead to regional cooperation as some might assume. As Harry Evison writes:

> … the dominant families were all closely related to one another throughout the tribal territory, and visits and return visits were common. But this did not commit them to close co-operation, or even to any permanent alliance, any more than it did for the feudal lords of medieval Europe.[39]

Tensions between northern- and southern-based Ngāi Tahu kin, which pre-existed sustained European contact in southern New Zealand, were further complicated by the way in which initial European interest was more densely concentrated in Foveaux Strait than in Banks Peninsula. This set the scene for diverse trajectories of encounter in the South Island.

TE AO HURIHURI

Seals, harakeke and whales drew sailors, traders and merchants, most of them operating out of Port Jackson (Sydney), to southern New Zealand from the 1790s. Ngāi Tahu communities were thus "drawn into the commercial networks of the British empire long before formal colonisation".[40] As part and parcel of this, several Ngāi Tahu chiefs and sailors travelled to New South Wales from at least the 1820s and interracial communities emerged in Foveaux Strait from around the same time. However, on the whole, relationships born out of sealing "tended to be fleeting, strained, and frequently violent".[41] Shore-whaling on the other hand, which took place at points along the southern and eastern coasts of the South Island from the early 1830s into the late 1840s, led to quite invested and stable forms of cross-cultural relationships. These whaling stations, explains the historian Tony Ballantyne, "were spaces built around interdependence, mutuality, and various degrees of accommodation even as they propelled an explosive short-lived extractive economy".[42]

Shore whaling introduced Ngāi Tahu individuals and communities to new forms of economic practice including wage labouring and operating lines of credit with station stores. At the same time, mahinga kai, including introduced white potatoes and pigs, were purchased from Ngāi Tahu enclaves for money. This was used to buy a range of goods including muskets and clinker boats. In addition to labour and food, sex was supplied on commercial terms.[43] Debate persists as to whether this was a new development or an extension of traditional forms of hospitality. There are also questions related the duration of these liaisons, who controlled them from the Ngāi Tahu side, and who enjoyed the material benefits they proffered.[44] Recognisable forms of marriage between whalers and Ngāi Tahu women, many of which persisted into the colonial encounter, were used to cement trade relationships and maintain social harmony. This was especially evident on the east Otago coast, but also in the Waitaha region. In any event, the spectrum of transactions and intimacies connected with shore whaling enabled metal tools, iron nails and fishhooks, European clothing, and tobacco to be increasingly woven into the Ngāi Tahu world.[45] As Te Maire Tau has speculated, the European settlement of New Zealand might have been better advanced by "natural processes" accompanying sealers, whalers and missionaries and later farmers and labourers interacting with Māori for mutual benefit.[46]

The first major Ngāi Tahu land sale occurred at Ōtākou in 1844 and it seems likely that chiefly engagement with this process flowed directly from their connections with New South Wales and its merchants. It is reasonable to assume that this experience led Ngāi Tahu to expect an expansion in markets for their goods following colonial settlement and enhanced access to

36. *David Haines, 'In Search of the "Whaheen": Ngai Tahu Women, Shore Whalers, and the Meaning of Sex in Early New Zealand', in Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire, ed. Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 2008, p 49.*

37. *Tipene O'Regan, 'Old Myths and New Politics: Some Contemporary Uses of Traditional History', in The Shaping of History: Essays from the New Zealand Journal of History, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2001, p 18.*

38. *Haines, "Te Kai a te Rakatira", opp. 25.*

39. *Harry Evison, Te Wai Pounamu, the Greenstone Island: A History of the Southern Maori During the European Colonization of New Zealand, Aoraki Press, Christchurch, 1993, p 13.*

40. *Tony Ballantyne, 'Economic Systems, Colonization and the Production of Difference: Thinking Through Southern New Zealand', unpublished paper, copy in author's possession, p 7.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid., p 8.*

44. *Haines, 'In Search of the "Whaheen".'*

45. *Ballantyne, 'Economic Systems', p 8.*

46. *Te Maire Tau, 'Ngāi Tahu and the Canterbury Landscape – A Broad Context', in Southern Capital – Christchurch: Towards a City Biography, 1850–2000, ed. John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, p 56.*

47. *Ballantyne, 'Economic Systems', p 11.*

48. *Te Maire Tau, 'Ngai Tahu – From "Better to be Dead and Out of the Way" to "To Be Seen to Belong"', in Southern Capital – Christchurch: Towards a City Biography, 1850–2000, ed. John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, p 240.*

Image Credit: Josie Meachen

introduced goods. By such means, Ngāi Tahu chiefs would have hoped to increase their commercial power and mana. By the end of that same decade, though, Ngāi Tahu were in a much weaker bargaining position during subsequent land purchases. Much smaller payments of money and smaller and less precise reserves were therefore allocated in subsequent land purchases.[47] Kemp's Deed in 1848, which paved the way for the Canterbury settlement, is the prime example of this.

CONCLUSION

- Mahinga kai shaped Ngāi Tahu leadership and vice versa. The operation of both things were confirmed and regulated by marriage. Thus dominant families across the tribal takiwā have long been closely related to one another.
- Mid-19th century Ngāi Tahu, in the words of Te Maire Tau, "probably had more kinship connections with early Pākehā whalers, sealers and explorers than with North Island Māori".[48] This reflects the close maritime-based connections that developed between Ngāi Tahu and New South Wales in the first half of the 19th century.
- This also reflects the fact that Ngāi Tahu were relatively isolated from North Island Māori, whose lifeways were substantially different from those in the south.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To the extent that it is able to do so, it is recommended that the Crown shapes the design aesthetic in the Retail Precinct to reflect the following things:

- the distribution of key genealogical lines across the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. This will guard against the assumption and false view that Ngāi Tūāhuriri and other proximate hapū, for example Ngāti Wheke at Rāpaki, lived quite separate from other parts of the tribe and takiwā. Put another way, without eroding the mana whenua of Ngāi Tūāhuriri or the importance Tuahiwi, the design should try to reflect the fact that the Canterbury region, including Christchurch city, is significant for many Ngāi Tahu families whose primary areas of Ngāi Tahu identification or residence lay outside of that village and hapū
- the international maritime dimensions of the 19th century world that Ngāi Tahu was drawn in to and continues to be a part of. Many Ngāi Tahu people with connections to Canterbury have been and still are the likes of deep-sea fisherman and seamen. This provides a way in to think about New Zealand's early but ongoing connections with New South Wales and beyond. It also forces us to think about the connections between city and coast – alongside the more usual reflections of the dialectic between town and country generated by New Zealand's terrestrial-biased historians
- the role that marriage played within Ngāi Tahu to confirm trade and commercial relationships not just in the pre-European era but also with Europeans during the pre-colonial period. The idea of mutual reliance that underscores much of the latter epoch seems especially pertinent in light of relationships that emerged or were strengthened following Christchurch's major earthquakes and the city's subsequent rebuild. As the saying goes, we are all in this together.

Photo: Dean MacKenzie

THE ROLE OF NGĀI TŪĀHURIRI TRADE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTCHURCH

> [From the late 1860s] Ngāi Tahu were confined to the occupation of reserves on the outer rim of Christchurch, making the Ngāi Tahu presence in Christchurch itself insignificant. Ngāi Tahu were to remain largely outside the life of the city until the 1930s.
>
> *Te Maire Tau, 'To Be Seen to Belong', p 224*

The above epigraph speaks directly to the difficulty of outlining the role of Ngāi Tahu trade generally in the development of Christchurch city, let alone any specific role that Ngāi Tūāhuriri might have played. In short, the iwi and hapū were totally displaced and sidelined by the last Wakefield-inspired settlement, which began in the mid-19th century. Accordingly, any customary economic activities of Ngāi Tahu that survived the colonial encounter in the Waitaha region mostly took place outside of, and in spite of, the Christchurch settlement.

This part explains how and why this sidelining of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri occurred, highlights some of its examples and enduring consequences, and gestures towards how the Crown-led rebuild of Christchurch city might reflect Ngāi Tahu economic values and practices, some of which continue to persist in heartland tribal villages in and beyond the Canterbury region.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF MAHINGA KAI AND THE (RE)PLACEMENT OF NGĀI TŪĀHURIRI

The very existence of this report indicates that Ngāi Tahu is now seen as a major economic and therefore political player in the Canterbury region. This was almost unthinkable as recently as 20 years ago. Although the tide was starting to turn in the 1990s, Ngāi Tahu at that point was still largely invisible in the minds and day-to-day lives of most Christchurch residents. It had been this way for well over a century. A useful way to understand how and why this happened is the encounter between the economic system based on mahinga kai, outlined earlier, and ideas and practices central to the colonial economy. As Ballantyne puts it, this was "ultimately a struggle between two radically different ways of understanding the physical environment and between two cultural systems that attached very different meanings to accumulation and exchange".[49] He in fact argues that "ideas about property rights, values attached to different types of resource use, and understandings of the nature and ends of 'improvement' were ultimately more important" than biological differences in shaping views on cultural difference in the South Island.[50]

Referring to pawhera and pōhā and the accumulation of food surpluses that they enabled, Ballantyne notes that this led to the development of an economic system that was "oriented not merely towards to subsistence, but rather to culturally-meaningful patterns of exchange".[51] He thus highlights hākari and kaihaukai as key mechanisms of distribution. Combined with the particularly elaborate adornment of pōhā intended for high-ranking recipients, Ballantyne observes that hoarding stockpiles of commodities was not meaningful. Food, he explains, was "both real and symbolic capital in this economic system" and thus "its value was only activated

49. *Ballantyne, 'Economic Systems', p 4.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid., p 6.*
52. *Ibid.*

when it was shared".[52]

This system underwent changes between 1800 and 1840 due to Ngāi Tahu interactions with sealers, flax-traders and whalers, especially shore whalers, as outlined in the last part. Mahinga kai as a whole was not abandoned though. So, while potatoes largely displaced aruhe (fernroot) as a food source, the introduction of pigs to Foveaux Strait in the 1820s did not displace the annual tītī harvest. In fact, whaleboats, which were larger and sturdier than traditional waka, allowed the harvest to expand considerably.[53] In other words, in the new and changing world that Ngāi Tahu found themselves in, some mahinga kai took on an increased importance. This supports Marshall Sahlins' assertion that the first commercial impulse of indigenous people is not to become just like Europeans, but more like themselves.[54]

This ongoing reliance on and investment in mahinga kai by mid-19th-century Ngāi Tahu was clear to some colonial commentators and administrators, particularly Edward Shortland who visited the South Island in 1843–44. Shortland thus noted that lands and waters that looked unimproved and unused in European eyes were actually subject to a complex system of ownership and use rights. He also observed that these rights were rarely concentrated in any continuous block of land, especially south of Te Waihora. Instead, because of the complexity of genealogy, rights were scattered across the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. Considering the nature and extent to which Ngāi Tahu might nonetheless sell land, Shortland considered it unlikely that they would alienate "a large district without reservation, unless it be wholly unsuited to their methods of cultivation and even then there would probably be some favourite eel fisheries to them of great moment, with which they would not part".[55] Shortland's observations and warnings to colonists fell on deaf ears and systematic colonisation, which began in the southern and central east coast of Te Waipounamu in the late 1840s, restricted Ngāi Tahu access to mahinga kai and destroyed many of the ecosystems on which they were based. The colonial official Walter Mantell seems to have foreseen this situation from Timaru in 1848 when he wrote about "the absence among the natives of any perception in the inevitably appreciable change in their habits of life, foods etc".[56] He found it almost comical that South Canterbury Ngāi Tahu would try to set aside weka-hunting districts.

Ballantyne notes that letters and petitions penned by Ngāi Tahu chiefs in the 1850s reflected a growing awareness of how quickly they were being marginalised by incoming colonists. Many of these leaders had travelled to Port Jackson (Sydney) since the 1820s and had enjoyed short-term benefits of engaging with that market. However, this commercial experience did not necessarily allow them "to foresee the consequences of landlessness in a capitalist economy".[57] By the 1860s it was also clear to Ngāi Tahu that mahinga kai sites were endangered and that officials "would not entertain the possibility that these sites would become the basis for additional reserves".[58] This is despite the fact that the term "mahinga kai" was used in Kemp's Deed, which paved the way for the colonisation of what became known as Canterbury.

Ballantyne argues that the "fundamental problem" was that the colonial state did not recognise mahinga kai practices "as establishing property rights at all and therefore its agents did not seek to alienate those rights in its negotiations for land". Given the centrality of these practices to Ngāi Tahu life, it is certain that tribal leaders "would have never given up these rights". This disjunction between mahinga kai and particular ideas of individual property rights bring us "to the heart of the collision between two radically different ways of understanding the value of different regimes of resource use".[59] Indeed, in his 1890 analysis of Kemp's Deed, Alexander

53. *Michael J. Stevens, 'Kāi Tahu me te Hopu Tītī ki Rakiura: An Exception to the Colonial Rule?' Journal of Pacific History 41, no. 3, 2006, p 282.*

54. *Quoted in John Gascoigne, 'The Expanding Historiography of British Imperialism", The Historical Journal 49, no. 2, 2006, p 588.*

55. *Ballantyne, 'Economic Systems', p 10.*

56. *Waitangi Tribunal, Ngai Tahu Report, 8.9.6.*

57. *Ballantyne, 'Economic Systems', p 11.*

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid., p 12.*

Mackay noted that "the phrase 'mahinga kai,' used in the Maori copy of the deed has a much wider interpretation than the translation into English gives it". For Ngāi Tahu, he explained, the "view of the phrase is that it includes, besides their cultivations, the right of fishing [especially eel weir], catching birds and rats, procuring berries and fern-root, over any portion of the lands within the block". Mackay felt that even if this definition excluded mere hunting grounds "which were never made property in the sense of appropriation by labour", it would still entitle Ngāi Tahu "to roam at will over the whole country – a state of affairs that could not have been contemplated".[60]

Mackay's view that ongoing itinerant harvesting at will by Ngāi Tahu was anathema to colonial ideals was right. These values were, moreover, long held in New Zealand and are clearly evident in instructions that Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1846 to 1852, issued to the colony's incoming governor Sir George Grey in 1846. Operating from a premise that saw the majority of New Zealand as unowned "waste land", Earl Grey told the governor that "so much does the right of property go along with labour, that civilized nations have never scrupled to take possession of countries inhabited only by tribes of savages – countries which have been hunted over, but never subdued or cultivated".[61] In other words, Ngāi Tahu and all other Māori groups could not hope to get title to any land that they did not cultivate or permanently occupy. Agricultural practice, not mahinga kai, established title in colonial society.

In both Otago and Canterbury, early colonists depended on Ngāi Tahu guides, environmental knowledge and labour. Many also purchased potatoes, pork and fish from Ngāi Tahu groups. In the 1850s, for instance, Ngāi Tahu groups "made full use of the Market Square (Victoria Square) Christchurch, and were much in evidence selling potatoes and other products to the early settlers". However, straying horses and dogs were said to have "brought the Maoris into disfavour with Europeans".[62] In any event, this dependence quickly passed and colonists became increasingly sceptical of the economic value of Ngāi Tahu communities as colonialism matured. A big part of this scepticism was based on the fact that many Ngāi Tahu families "continued to organise their economic activity through a seasonally-defined and task-based pattern of labour".[63] This approach ran exactly counter to the colonial view that "labour inputs should be constant, regular and carefully regularized, rather than structured by seasonality". Hence, even the great friend of Ngāi Tahu, the ethnographer Herries Beattie, could praise "young Maoris" at Rāpaki in 1920 for their hard work fencing and ploughing but also criticise them for lacking "the continuity of effort which the Pakeha has acquired through centuries of experience".[64]

An ongoing commitment to mahinga kai also marked Ngāi Tahu out as "obstacles to improvement". Missionaries and officials tried to equip Ngāi Tahu for colonial capitalism – the Government, for example, sponsored Māori translations of Richard Whately's Easy Lessons on Money. "But", notes Ballantyne wryly, "the simplified teachings of the former Professor of Political Economy at Oxford was of little assistance to Ngāi Tahu, whose economic position was precarious because of their limited lands and constrained access to [mahinga kai]".[65] Ironically, Henry Tacy Kemp translated this text, the same person who negotiated the deed at Akaroa in 1848 that was later named after him.

As well as ignoring Ngāi Tahu resource rights by equating property with the improvement of land through expending certain types of labour on it, the colonial

60. *Alexander Mackay, Middle Island Native Land Questions (Report on), George Didsbury, Government Printer, Wellington, 1888, p 2.*
61. *Ballantyne, 'Economic Systems', p 13.*
62. *Taylor, Lore and History, p 50.*
63. *Ballantyne, 'Economic Systems', pp 16–17.*
64. *Beattie, Traditional Lifeways, pp 462–63.*
65. *Ballantyne, 'Economic Systems', p 17.*
66. *Tau, 'To Be Seen to Belong', p 223.*
67. *Mackay, Middle Island Native Land Questions, p 3.*
68. *Ibid.*

Photo: Dean MacKenzie

state underappreciated the large and growing number of mixed-descent Ngāi Tahu and failed to recognise them as Māori. The small number and size of reserve lands set aside for Ngāi Tahu in Canterbury, determined by Walter Mantell, at George Grey's behest, were therefore inadequate from the very beginning.[66] Mantell never believed that the reserves were "sufficient to satisfy the honour of the Crown" but originally thought that they were large enough for Ngāi Tahu "to furnish bare subsistence by their own labour".[67] He later doubted even this and by the 1860s thought the reserves should have been larger. In his words, "I have come to this conclusion because the Native sources of food are lessened".[69] A meaningful Ngāi Tahu stake in the province's regional capital, Christchurch, was arguably even more important than it might have been. Unfortunately, though, this was not forthcoming.

"THERE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE ANY PLACE FOR THEM IN THE FUTURE"

Ngāi Tahu leader Hoani Uru stood before an 1891 Royal Commission investigating the tribe's landlessness and concluded, sadly, that Ngāi Tahu would be better to die and get out of the way "as there did not appear to be any place for them in the future". This grim assessment was well founded. As Te Maire Tau explains, Uru had "seen Ngāi Tahu stripped of its resources, ignored by the new political order of the Pākehā, and worse, ridiculed".[69] Ngāi Tahu hopes of participating in the new order on equal terms were by now well and truly dashed. As Harry Evison later put it, Ngāi Tahu had been left out of New Zealand.[70]

In terms of Christchurch specifically, traditional Ngāi Tahu occupation formally ended in 1868. This is when the Native Land Court declined Ngāi Tahu applications for reserves within the settlement's boundaries. The places sought in the place Ngāi Tahu knew as Ōtautahi reflected traditional settlement patterns and important mahinga kai.[71] However, as explained already, colonial officials and colonists at large did not view these things as establishing property rights. In any event, demographic shifts meant that colonial dominance was no longer aspirational but real. "Migrants, not rifles, were the most potent instrument of empire" in New Zealand, and it was "demography rather than brute military power that ultimately marginalised Māori".[72] This characterisation is especially true for Ngāi Tahu.

As noted at the outset of this part, the result of the Native Land Court's 1868 decision was that Ngāi Tahu were confined to the occupation of reserves on the outer rim of Christchurch. The most important of these reserves was Tuahiwi, near Kaiapoi. This was the largest reserve set aside following Kemp's Deed and became a key site of "holding on" for Ngāi Tūāhuriri. Tuahiwi also became an important locale for Ngāi Tahu as a whole as it "inherited the…political role that Kaiapoi Pā had taken before its sacking".[73] If nothing else, it was also a convenient gathering point for the iwi due to its central location and proximity to Christchurch. Although Ngāi Tūāhuriri was one of the most politically and economically active Ngāi Tahu hapū in the late 19th century, and in 1907 contributed nearly half of all tribal funds directed at pursuing historic grievances with the state, its residents had been impoverished since the 1870s. Seven decades later, by which time the Great Depression had ended for most Pākehā, some Ngāi Tahu at Tuahiwi "were still living in shacks on the Cam River".[74]

This poverty, as opposed to simply a predisposition to keeping aspects of the old order of things, meant that Tuahiwi people were heavily reliant on residual mahinga kai for direct consumption, if not also trade. However, as early as the 1880s, fishing easements had "been

69. *Tau, 'To Be Seen to Belong', p 222.*

70. *Harry C. Evison, The Long Dispute: Maori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1997, p 335.*

71. *Tau, 'To Be Seen to Belong, p 223.*

72. *Tony Ballantyne, 'The Theory and Practice of Empire Building: Edward Gibbon Wakefield and "Systematic Colonisation"', in The Routledge History of Western Empires, ed. Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie, Routledge, Oxon, 2014, p 98.*

73. *Tau, 'To Be Seen to Belong', p 227.*

74. *Ibid., p 242.*

75. *Mackay, Middle Island Native Land Questions, p 8.*

rendered comparatively worthless through the acclimatisation societies' stocking many of the streams and lakes with imported fish".[75] These were protected by legislation that prevented Ngāi Tahu from using whitebait nets or even catching eels and other native fish. Fish habitats were also severely impacted upon by colonists draining the swamps and wetlands that were a key natural feature of Canterbury. That aside, Mackay noted that:

> In olden times, before the advent of the Europeans and the settlement of the country, [Ngāi Tahu] were at liberty to go at will in search of food, but now, should they chance to go fishing or bird-catching in any locality where they have no reserve, they are frequently ordered off by the settlers. All this is very harassing to a people who not long since owned the whole of the territory now occupied by another race, and it is not surprising that discontent prevails at the altered condition of affair ...[76]

This "discontent" also engendered a very real sense of tribal shame. Ngāi Tahu leader Wi Naihira conveyed this to the Governor of New Zealand, Lord Onslow, during a visit to Kaiapoi in 1891. Naihira explained, "Once all the land was ours, we travelled all over it, lived upon it and found food upon it. But ... the waves rolled in upon us from England ... [and] you find us clinging to ... those rocks called Native reserves." After registering Ngāi Tahu dissatisfaction as to the non-fulfilment of Kemp's Deed, Naihira stated, "We bear no malice" but "are suffering from poverty, owing to the ownership of the land having passed away from us". Nonetheless, it had been resolved to "continue the injunctions of our ancestor Tūāhuriri, and continue to be kind to our fellow-subjects". Accordingly, Naihira expressed the community's sorrow that it could not provide a feast befitting the governor's rank and in recognition of the kindness of his visitation. Kaiapoi, he continued, "once the great store-house and gathering place of food of every kind" is now "the house of want ... my Lord, it is your own people who have put a stop to the hands of the food carriers who once enriched us".[77]

Large-scale environmental transformations that negatively impacted on mahinga kai were inaugurated by the colonial era but were not limited to it. In 1920, for instance, Beattie recorded that Ngāi Tahu at Kaiapoi complained about "the river there ... being blocked up with some weed introduced to give food to the trout. It was an American plant and would prove a disastrous and costly experiment".[78] In addition to these challenges, Te Maire Tau notes that since Christchurch's founding, and their exclusion from its boundaries, Ngāi Tahu "had faced the problem of making an urban space for themselves".[79] The fate of Ngāi Tahu in Christchurch can be illuminated through comparison with tāngata whenua in New Zealand's other main centres thanks to Ben Schrader's research into the nature and extent of Māori settlement in urban spaces.

Schrader explains, "hotels and boarding houses for the most part refused to accommodate Māori", although there is no evidence to show explicitly why this was the case. In response to this, an informal network of "native hostels"[80] sprang up around New Zealand, beginning in Nelson in 1842 on a site that "became an important Nelson market and meeting place".[81] Similarly, by the mid 1850s a Government-built hostelry in Auckland was that settlement's main market for fresh produce[82] and one of its "most interesting places".[83] The Government built another Native hostelry in Wellington in 1856 and did so despite criticism from some of its prominent colonists. In the 1850s Ngāi Tahu in both Otago and Canterbury lobbied their respective provincial governments for

76. *Mackay, Middle Island Native Land Questions, p 88.*
77. *'The Governor at Kaiapoi', Press, 19 December 1891, p 3.*
78. *Beattie, Traditional Lifeways, p 462.*
79. *Tau, 'To Be Seen to Belong', p 236.*
80. *Ben Schrader, 'Native hostelries', unpublished manuscript, copy in author's possession, p 1.*
81. *Hilary and John Mitchell, 'Auckland Point Market', theProw.org.nz, retrieved from www.theprow.org.nz/auckland-point-market/#.Ua_P6-CCjnY*
82. *Schrader, 'Native hostelries', p 3.*
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid, p 6.*

hostelries in Dunedin and Christchurch. Dunedin's facility was completed by the central government in February 1860 and also became a popular marketplace: somewhere to buy barracouta, crayfish, eel and flounder – all mahinga kai. Within five years, though, the building was removed and not replaced. Canterbury Ngāi Tahu, who wanted a similar building, fared even worse.[84] In 1860 more than 100 Ngāi Tahu from Kaiapoi, Rāpaki and Port Levy petitioned Canterbury's provincial government for accommodation during visits to Christchurch. They explained that, as it stood, they were obliged to sleep under hedges on roadsides and while away hours and money in pubs because they lacked somewhere to stay. A translation of part of the petition states that:

> we should be treated as brethren, as one people…We have lately shown that it is our wish to assist our European friends as far as we can. Let the same spirit be manifested by you towards us in this matter. Follow the example… where houses have long been erected for the Maoris. This is the only town without a resting place.[85]

Unfortunately, the provincial government voted down a proposal to provide a hostel, albeit narrowly. And unlike earlier instances, the colonial government did not intervene. Christchurch continued to be the only large town without a Native hostelry.[86] Schrader highlights the irony of this situation – that it jars with ideals of Christian compassion but that Christchurch was a church settlement.[87] To paraphrase Uru, there did not appear to be any visible place for Ngāi Tahu in Christchurch. This was quite different from Ngāi Tahu experiences with whaling stations on the pre-colonial frontier that had been interracial "meeting up places".[88] The sluggishness with which all colonial centres responded to accommodate Māori, and the complete lack of effort by Christchurch, signalled to tāngata whenua that, "towns were bastions of European power in which Māori were subservient".[89] It remains to be seen if the Christchurch rebuild this century, which this report forms a part of, radically breaks with that pattern.

It was not until the 1930s that Ngāi Tahu began to reclaim a visible presence in Christchurch. This followed an urban drift from Tuahiwi and other outlying Ngāi Tahu settlements such as Taumutu, Rāpaki, Ōnuku, Wairewa and Koukourārata for factory work.[90] This movement accelerated during and after World War Two, a period that Ann Parsonson describes as a turning point: the time when Christchurch became a destination for Ngāi Tahu people as opposed to a place they simply passed through. However, Tau insists that the Ngāi Tahu families who were a part of this trajectory of urbanisation viewed their Christchurch occupation as a temporary arrangement. In any event, most retained their identity by "continually returning to marae during weekends for tangi, hui, and sporting tournaments, and also by establishing cultural groups in Christchurch".[91] The latter initiative led to Ngāi Tahu involvement in important civic occasions. Involvement in commercial affairs really only began, in earnest, in 1967. This was when the head office of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, which had been established in 1946, moved from Kaiapoi to Christchurch.[92] The Trust Board focused its small amount of capital on Christchurch commercial properties in the 1970s, and in 1981 secured its own standalone office, at that stage one of its major assets, Te Waipounamu House, in Armagh Street.[93] This strongly supports the claim that Ngāi Tahu "has had a long road to recognition … and economic renaissance" in Ōtautahi.[94]

Ngāi Tahu started the 1990s, as Parsonson puts it, "no longer as an unknown people".[95] The Waitangi Tribunal's investigations and

85. *Taylor, Lore and History, p 51.*

86. *Ibid. Unlike, their Christchurch relatives, Foveaux Strait-based Ngāi Tahu received a hostel at Bluff, and unlike its Dunedin counterpart, the Bluff facility was replaced when foreshore development necessitated its removal. This is further evidence of the uneven regional experiences of Ngāi Tahu communities during colonisation.*

87. *Schrader, 'Native hostelries', p 7.*

88. *Ballantyne, 'Economic Systems'.*

89. *Schrader, 'Native hostelries', p 4.*

90. *Parsonson, 'Whale that Awoke', p 251.*

91. *Tau, 'Better to be Dead', p 236.*

92. *Parsonson, 'Whale That Awoke', p 253.*

93. *Ibid, p 253; Tau, 'Better to be Dead', p 242.*

94. *Tau, 'Better to be Dead', p 247.*

95. *Parsonson, 'Whale That Awoke', p 262.*

reports into its historic grievances gave these things a profile they had not had in a century. At the same time it was clear that the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board was planning "for a future in which it no longer had to conduct its business under the paternalistic eye of the Minister of Māori Affairs".[96] Some banks and businesses thus "realised that Ngāi Tahu had the potential to be a major player in the South Island".[97] However, it was a Japanese businessman who loaned the Trust Board the funds it required to successfully conclude its settlement and "made it possible … to continue on the uncertain path of development".[98] Appropriately, mahinga kai, the bedrock of the past, was also a pathway to the future. The board's involvement in commercial fishing over the same time, in the words of its then secretary, "allowed Ngāi Tahu to pull itself up by its bootstraps".[99]

CONCLUSION

- Ngāi Tahu entered the new millennium as a key economic player in Christchurch but this followed marginalisation and invisibility in the city and exclusion from both the rural and urban economies of the region for well over a century.
- Since the formation of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu in 1996, Ngāi Tahu has navigated a new existence and forged new relationships. Even so, core values and practices persist. Chief among these are mahinga kai and their profound economic and social importance within and beyond the iwi. Another thing is the political leadership provided by Ngāi Tūāhuriri.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To the extent that it is able to do so, it is recommended that the Crown shapes the design aesthetic in the Retail Precinct to reflect the following things:

- loss of mahinga kai in Christchurch and the wider Canterbury region due to resource alienation and resource destruction and attempts to reverse this situation
- persisting mahinga kai traditions in Christchurch and the wider region
- the re-emergence of Ngāi Tahu within the boundaries of Christchurch following intergenerational marginalisation
- if Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri agree, some sort of physical acknowledgement of the assistance that Masashi Yamada provided to the iwi, given its clear nexus with the strong position Ngāi Tahu is now in, which enables it to take a key role in the Christchurch rebuild. While Yamada's contribution is moderately well known within Ngāi Tahu circles, it is little known outside of them.

96. *Parsonson, 'Whale That Awoke', p 264.*
97. *Ibid, p 266.*
98. *Ibid, p 265. See also Mark Revington, 'A Tokyo Tale', Te Karaka, 63 Kana/Spring 2014, pp 18–23.*
99. *Parsonson, 'Whale That Awoke', pp 266–67.*