

CULTURAL VALUES STATEMENT



QUEENSTOWN LAKES DISTRICT COUNCIL WASTEWATER OVERFLOW DISCHARGE QUEENSTOWN LAKES DISTRICT

Intellectual Property Rights


This report has been prepared for the Queenstown Lakes District Council on behalf of Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki, Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou and Hokonui Rūnanga & Te Rūnanga o Awarua, Hokonui Rūnanga, Ōraka/Aparima Rūnanga and Waihōpai Rūnanga.

Intellectual property rights are reserved by Kā Rūnaka and the Queenstown Lakes District Council.

Front Cover Picture:

Queenstown Lakes District Council

May 2019

 Aukaha Level 1 258 Stuart Street PO Box 446 Dunedin Tel: 03-477-0071	Prepared by: Phoenix Hale
	Reviewed By: Kā Rūnaka
	Report 1 of 1 Queenstown Lakes District Council

This report covers Kāi Tahu values for the proposed unplanned wastewater overflow discharges that may enter waterways within the Queenstown Lakes District.

In this report, the use of 'k' instead of 'ng' will be respected, unless 'ng' is used in the official name of an entity, place name or area. This is in line with linguistic differences between standard Māori and Southern Kāi Tahu dialect.

Southern Rūnaka, Southern Māori and Kāi Tahu Whānui have all been used interchangeably in this report to reflect the accumulation of history that current day Kāi Tahu represents. However, in layman terms; Southern Māori are the people who whakapapa to ancestors and the land of what is largely known today as Otago and Southland; Southern Rūnaka are the administrative groups of the Māori living in and/or with heritage from this same area; and Kāi Tahu Whānui is the collective term used to represent the interconnectedness and respect held for all people from Kāi Tahu, Kāti Mamoe, Waitaha and Rapuwai backgrounds.

Introduction

The area and limits defined as the Queenstown Lake District possess a strong cultural significance to Southern Rūnaka, it is so that all Rūnaka share common interests in this area. Remove the facets of modern civilisation and one reveals a myriad of ara tāwhito (traditional travel routes), wāhi mahika kai (areas traditionally significant for food gathering), pakiwaitara (legends) of tipua (strange beings) and taniwha, tikaka (customs and protocols) and a strong association to past happenings. All these components, unbeknownst but to the trained eye, come together like pages of a book, creating a strong sense of cultural and spiritual beliefs and belonging that lie within all Kā Uri (descendants) of Kā Rūnaka.

Whether it be used as a main method of transport, centre-play in amazing feats achieved by certain prolific ancestors (such as Haki-te-Kura who had swum across Whakatipu-wai-Māori/Lake Wakatipu, associated with a heroic tale or that of tipua, or as a medium to gather food, Kāi Tahu Whānui has always held a strong, innate connection to the waters of this area. In fact, it is a common view that water was left as a taoka left by tūpuna (ancestors) to provide and sustain life. The health of this taoka is not only viewed to be a direct reflection of the state and health of Papatūānuku, but also their ability to upkeep traditions, tikaka and mana. The ability to gather and share food was, and still is, a cornerstone of Kāi Tahu society, without which the mauri of the iwi itself would diminish. It is for this that the health and cleanliness of water and the ecosystem is of upmost importance to Kā Rūnaka, who maintain a role as kaitiaki (guardians), ensuring the natural environment is preserved for now and the future.



Queenstown

Proposed permits for ‘unplanned’ discharges of wastewater in and around the water associated with such a sacred area for Southern Māori cause concern, as this form of pollution degrades the mauri of the water and threatens the Ki Uta Ki Tai philosophy (management of resources through the connectedness from mountain to sea). In order to reduce the incidence of cultural pollution caused by these ‘unplanned’ discharges, along with any possible renovations of the wastewater network, a cultural impact statement has been written for each of the rivers and lakes in the Queenstown Lakes District boundary. This will highlight the association Kā Rūnaka have had and still continue to have with the water bodies. Areas of importance include traditional pā sites, wāhi tūpuna (sacred places); including nohoaka, Statutory Acknowledgement areas, and areas of cultural importance for tikaka, mahika kai or lore.

This Cultural Values Summary does not account for the places of important umu or middens, nor does it account for exact locations in which food was gathered. This is because Māori tikaka goes further than exact locations. The mauri of the entity in question is directly affected by any action taken place in or around the area. It is not about saving certain places for the connection and relationship with Kāi Tahu Whānui, as once the mauri of the area diminishes, so does that of the inherent relationship with wāhi tapu. It is thought that Queenstown Lakes District Council will consider the connection Kāi Tahu Whānui has with the entirety of the below waterways when planning any works, so as to not diminish the mauri or esteem of the important places scattered along them, the connection held and the Ki Uta Ki Tai philosophy.

Kā Awa/Rivers

Haehaenui/Arrow River



The Haehaenui/Arrow River has long been a place of cultural significance to Māori, forming part of the extensive network of kāika mahika kai and ara tawhito throughout this area. Kleinlangevelsloo (2017) tell of how there are well-developed ara tawhito along this river, with a rock shelter with distinctive Māori rock art along its banks.

Mahika kai values for Māori were in the form of weka, koreke, tuna, aruhe, kāuru and kōura (Kleinlangevelsloo, 2017). Anderson (1983) mentions how this area was used as a traditional weka hunting ground and, as such, this provided a large proportion of the protein attained from the area.

Cultural association to this river, and the health of its water, is demonstratable through the harvesting of tuna and kōura, and the inherent use of this river as an ara tawhito, connecting the traditional pounamu fields to this area of the Queenstown Lakes District.



Aruhe (bracken fern root)

Mata-Au/Clutha River



The Mata-Au/Clutha River plays the role of a vital vein in the ancient network of rivers and pathways that connected Southern Māori to the land and its resources. However, it is also entrenched with an array of stories of tipua and mystical beings that characterised the land for Māori. From Kōpūwai, the immense scary ogre who roamed the hills with his pack of two-headed hunting dogs, slaughtering weka-hunting parties and carrying women off to his cave by the river; Matau; Māeroero, a race of powerful half-men, covered with hair and long sharp fingernails used to skewer prey; and the taniwha from Lake Waihola passing over to the Mata-Au/Clutha, to Patupaiarehe; entrancing mortal men with the sound of their spectral flutes in the mountain mist; Taipō, nocturnal goblins; and gigantic eels rising from the depths of the lakes to drag the unwary fisherman with them, the significance of this river is shown through the sheer quantity of stories associated with the shores of this river (Duff, 1978).

The Mata-Au was used by all coastal Otago Rūnaka as a part of seasonal migrations inland for resources necessary for survival. This dependence on seasonal resources amongst Kāi Tahu Whānui was largely due to the inability of kūmara, taro, uwhi and many other plants to grow in the Southern half of the South Island (MacGill, 2007). This resulted in the conversion to a hunter gatherer society, depending largely on seasonally available resources. King (2003) describes this societal structure not as nomadic, due to Māori's adherent affinity to certain kāik, but as heavily mobile.

Due to the documented permanent kāik being abandoned prior to the arrival of Europeans, there is a lot of scepticism around the permanence of Māori along the Clutha/Mata-Au catchment. While many contemporary ethnographers, many of whom are cited in this review, have defined this area to be void of Māori settlement (Beattie, 1945; Taylor, 1952). However, with the fragments of tradition, recollection of 'Māori informants', archaeological discoveries, historical observations and place-name analyses collated, a living map has been created in literature and the minds of many of the life of Māori in the Clutha/Mata-Au catchment (Anderson, 1982).

An additional reason why this area was thought to be void of Māori settlement could be explained with the increase in trade between coastal kāik and the ever increasing European settlements along the coast of the South-Eastern South Island. Allingham (2000) describes how this increase in trade would provoke Māori to remain in their coastal Otago kāik to collect resources for trade, as opposed to travel a treacherous journey inland for resources that would no longer be of immense benefit to the people, due to the resources acquired through trade with the Europeans.

Allingham (2000) quotes a study conducted that shows Māori occupation of the area to predate 1200AD, with wide scale use around the discovery of Lake Wakatipu/Whakatipu-wai-Māori and the greenstone fields around 1400AD. This coincides with the different waves of migration to Te Wai Pounamu- Rapuwai, Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe, Kāi Tahu -all of whom depending on the intricate network of ara tawhito that traversed this area, connecting coastal kāik to the abundance of resources inland (Duff, 1978).

The history behind the name Mata-Au of the river is largely disputed. However, Beattie (1930) summarises the name to be a memento to one of the following;

- A Waitaha lady of honour, possibly a chieftainess.
- A description of the swift current of the surface water of the river.
- A misspelling of the tipua Matau, who was said to live along the shores of this river.

Aside from the massive importance this river plays in connecting all the resources of Central Otago to coastal kāik, the shores of this river were known for many resources. aruhe, kāuru, koreke, pora, taramea, tikumu, tuna, weka, kāpāpō, kea, kākā, kōura, kererū, tūi and moulting ducklings were all known to be harvested in many areas along this river. Hamel (2001) also states that there were a total of five large moa hunting sites between the sites now known as Roxburgh and Cromwell.



Taramea

Current association

Under the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act (1998), the Clutha River/Mata-Au is listed as an area of crown land subject to Statutory Acknowledgement. This was established to ensure the cultural, spiritual, historical and traditional association of Kāi Tahu Whānui is fairly and equally represented in all the decisions and applications for resource consents relating to this awa tīpuna (sacred river). This requires Queenstown Lakes District Council to consider Kāi Tahu values, outlined in the Kāi Tahu Ki Otago Natural Resources Management Plan (2005) when conducting works that could potentially diminish the mauri of the Clutha River/Mata-Au, such as those that may lead to contamination via accidental or deliberate spillage of treated and untreated waste in said awa tupuna.

Additional to the Statutory Acknowledgement, the Clutha/Mata-Au also has on its shores a total of four nohoaka. A nohoaka is an area of land to which Kāi Tahu Whānui has had a long and proud spiritual and cultural association, traditionally providing 'a place to sit' during the seasonal travels inland for resources. Officially recognised nohoaka are not necessarily the same sites used traditionally, rather they are the areas that were given back during the claims settlement in 1998. These areas of land are now still used by Ngāi Tahu Whānui between August and the end of April to facilitate the gathering of food and other resources. Some of these nohoaka are not considered as active, however, due to the deep connection Kāi Tahu Whānui have with these areas, the cleanliness of the area is of utmost importance in order to uphold the mauri pertained within this area. Furthermore, as nohoaka are mostly located in areas of lakeshore or riverbed, activities that directly affect the water quality of the Clutha River/Mata-Au are considered to be culturally offensive.

None of the nohoaka on the banks of the Clutha River/Mata-Au are found within the limits of the Queenstown Lakes District. However, due to the holistic conservation policy, Ki Uta Ki Tai, that understands and respects the connectedness of everything Kāi Tahu Whānui stress that any detrimental effects caused by works in the Clutha/Mata-Au in the Queenstown Lakes District will trickle down and be observed in these nohoaka, reducing not only the mauri of the awa tīpuna, but also all four nohoaka. This is assumed for all nohoaka, historic pā and mārae sites and wāhi and kāik mahika kai situated close to or on the shores of the lakes and rivers in question.

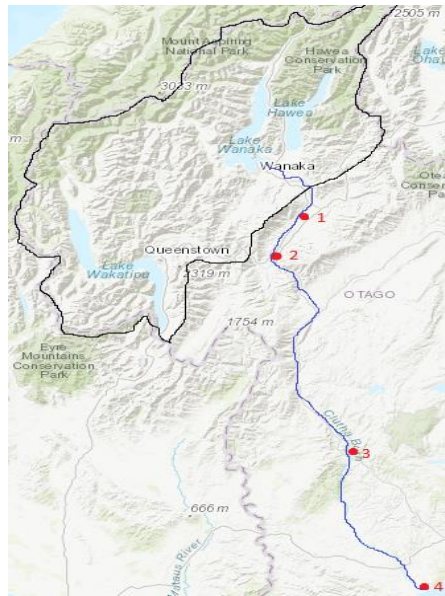


Figure 1: Detailed map showing, in black, the rough outline of the Queenstown Lakes District; in blue, the rough course of the Clutha/Mata-au under Statutory Acknowledgement; and, in red, the locations of the four Nohoaka – 1: Island upstream Dunstan, 2: Lake Dunstan – McNulty Arm, 3: Te Kōwhai, 4: Clutha River Nohoanga 3.

Hāwea River



The Hāwea River was known to be the beginning of the ara tawhito that the current-day state highway through Haast Pass follows. This area was well traversed by Kāi Tahu Whānui as one of the main routes from the lakes area to the pounamu fields of the West Coast and for trade. Furthermore, Hāwea River was in close proximity to many traditional pā and kāik, mahika kai, and now neighbours four nohoaka.

Kawarau River



The Kawarau River is of great significance to coastal Otago iwi, possibly due to the utility as an ara tawhito, connecting all iwi with Lake Wakatipu/Whakatipu-wai-Māori and therefore, the greater Wakātipu/Whakātipu pounamu fields. This stretch of river, additionally connected many ara tāwhito, creating a more comprehensive network. A natural rock bridge known as Pōtiki-whata-rumaki-nao once existed on the Kawarau River, allowing people to cross the river. The long, proud history of navigating this river can be seen through the contemporary history of New Zealand – from Māori miners using mātauraka (traditional knowledge).

Māori and traditional kāika mahika kai to catch whēkau and weka (Anderson, 1982), to stories of kaumātua calling on ‘Māori death songs’ to save someone in the nearby Wakatipu/Whakatipu after having capsized (Duncan, 1888).

The shores of this river were also a known and well-frequented moa hunting site, with two pā, potentially kāika mahika kai, in the vicinity (Hamel, 2001). Little evidence is provided as to the permanence of these pā, however, H.K.Taiaroa (1800) does give insight to the resources readily available to Māori here: weka, kākāpō, kea and tuna.



Figure 3: A map showing, in black, the limits of the Queensland Lakes District; in blue, a rough course of the Kawarau River; and, in orange, the location of the two traditional pā found on the Kawarau River within the Queenstown Lakes District boundary; (1)Oteroto and (2)Tititea.

Kimi-ākau/Shotover River



Kimi-ākau/Shotover River has long been a place of cultural significance to Māori, forming part of the extensive network of kāika mahika kai and ara tawhito throughout this area. Kleinlangevelsloo (2017) tells of how there are well-developed ara tawhito along this river. Mahika kai values for Māori were in the form of weka, koreke, tuna, aruhe, āāuru and kōura (Kleinlangevelsloo, 2017). Anderson (1983) mentions how this area was used as a traditional weka hunting ground and, as such, this provided a large proportion of the protein attained from the area.

The importance of the ara tawhito in this area is shown through the name of the Shotover River - Kimi-ākau - meaning *'to look for the coast'*, suggesting that this river was a main route for Māori to the pounamu fields on te Tai Poutini/West Coast.



Weka

Current Association

The importance of this river for both its mahika kai values and its place in the great system of ara tawhito seasonally traversed by Kāi Tahu Whānui is demonstrated with the installment of two nohoaka in this area. Both places possess high regards through the mauri of the area and have large cultural and spiritual significance to Māori. It is for this, the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act (1998) has given sanction to these two nohoaka.

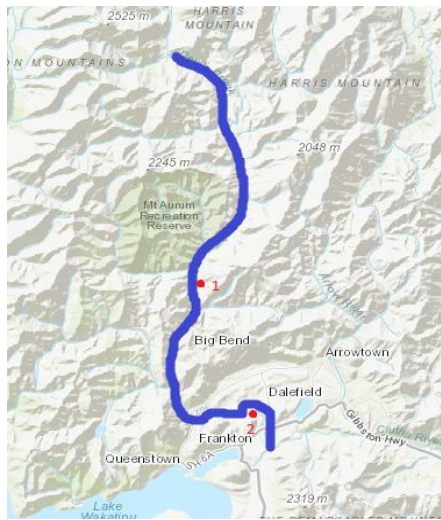


Figure 4: A map showing, in blue, a rough course of the Kimi-ākau/Shotover River and, in red, the rough location of the two nohoaka located on the shores of said river; (1) Māori point and (2) Tuckers beach.

Kā Roto/Lakes

When mentioning the lakes of te Waipounamu/South Island in a Māori narrative, it is important to honour a very influential tupuna; Rākaihautū. It was he who had led the first wave of settlers to Te Waipounamu/South Island;

Legend speaks of the ariki of the Uruao waka, Rākaihautū, who had traversed the island with his famous kō and created (named) the Southern lakes of the interior and also the coastal lakes and lagoons of the east coast. While Rākaihautū was exploring the interior of the South Island, his son, Rokohouia, sailed the Uruao waka down the east coast, meeting up with his father at Waihao in what is now South Canterbury before the party returned north to Banks Peninsula. Rākaihautū travelled along Kā Tiritiri o te Moana/Southern Alps, naming these lakes; Hāwea after a member of his party, Hāwea Ki Te Rangī; Wānaka associating it with lore of the tohuka; Whakatipu-wai-Māori, whose name is still debated to this day.

Whakaata/Lake Hayes



Whakaata/Lake Hayes has no concrete association to kāik or permanent settlement. However, there is a lot of evidence suggesting that kāik from the Whakatipu settlements, along with those along coastal Otago, used the Kimi-ākau/Shotover River and Haehaenui/Arrow River, between which this catchment is sandwiched, as significant mahika kai areas. Common resources attained from this area were weka, tuna, koreke, aruhe, kāuru and kōura (Kleinlangevelsloo, 2017).

This area was named in memory of the reflection (whakaata) visible in the lake of Haki-te-kura, a young woman, descendant of the Kāti Mamoe chief Te Wiri Roa of Tāhuna, a kāik on the shores of Whakatipu-wai-Māori/Lake Wakatipu, just north of nowadays Queenstown. This tupuna was known for her remarkable feat swimming from one side of Whakatipu-wai-Māori/Lake Wakatipu to the other.

Lake Hāwea



Turihuka (Mt Prospect); Hau-matakitaki, Poho-wahine or Kaki-roa (Breast peak); Kahuitamariki (Mt Grandview); Manuhaea- these, among hundreds of others, were names strongly associated with Lake Hāwea and its surrounding catchment. These mountains, synonymous to the stories shared from generation to generation, were landmarks that aided the Māori to find culturally significant landscapes that were akin to the day-to-day life of Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu alike. Māori occupancy is suggested to date back to Hāwea iwi, arriving with the first of the two waves of Waitaha migration (Williams, 2004). It is said that this iwi originated with Hāwea-i-te-raki, son of the chief Waitaha-ariki, some fourteen generations after Rākaihautū – the chief of Uruao waka, the first of the Waitaha waka to arrive in Te Waipounamu/South Island some 50 generations ago (Beattie, 1919). These people, once revered as the aristocrats of Waitaha, intermarried with Kāti Mamoe, and later, Kāi Tahu. Beattie (1945) states that there is mystery around the naming of Lake Hāwea, but suggests that it might be named after one of Rākaihautū's men, sinuating doubt, uncertainty or indecision.

Due to the long presence, these lands are entrenched with both settlements and wāhi mahika kai, of which information is given through colourful lore of bountiful lands that is passed down to each successive generation;

Taki-karara once lived along the shores of Lake Hāwea, where he'd taken it upon himself to go fishing. All of a sudden, he was put out to sea when the point of land on which he stood began to rumble and move with the strong winds. Once Taki-karara finally arrived to the other side of the shore, he'd decided that it would be best for him to leave Hāwea and move to Wānaka. Unbeknownst to him, Takaroa (god of the sea), described to be a tipua of Rakiriri/Goat Island in Te Awa/Otago Harbour who frequents Foveaux strait, had travelled inland through the Mata-Au to inspect the interior. While in Hāwea, Takaroa decided to separate the point on which Taki-karara stood, setting it adrift. This drifting mass has been named 'Taumanu-o-Taki-karara' -Beattie 1945

The crown jewel of this rich patchwork of histories is known as Manuhaea – the largest and most important settlement in the Clutha/Mata-Au catchment and was still an important site after Te Puoho's raid in 1800s (Anderson, 1983). This pā was said to be a very important place for food gathering where kea, weka, koukoupāra (giant Kōkopu), kākāpō, kiwi, kākā, kererū, and tūī, while boasting a very productive cultivation of kāuru, rīwai and pora (Anderson, 1983). Terraces from this pā were still visible on the banks of the Lake pre dam construction (Beattie, 1945).

Additional wāhi mahika kai around the catchment are well documented and it is notable that Eel and Weka were of utmost utility to the settlements around Lake Hāwea included:

Te Taumana o Tiaki – a few kilometres north lay a mountain by the name Te Haumatiketike which was a well-known weka gathering location.

Pakituhi – a few kilometres north lay a wāhi mahika kai where tuna, weka and earuhe were gathered.

Okai Tuu – Wāhi mahika kai for weka, tuna and kauru (Anderson, 1983)

Turihuka – tuna, koukoupara, weka and raupō

Tauru hāwea – a stream located on the north-west banks of the Lake from where kea, kākā, weka, tuna and kererū were gathered (Allingham, 2000).



Giant Kokopu

Current association

Thanks to the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act (1998), Kāi Tahu Whānui association to Lake Hāwea has received a lot of attention. Through the Act, three Nohoaka have been sanctioned in wāhi tīpuna around Lake Hāwea, while the Lake itself is recognised as a Statutory Acknowledgement area. Alongside the sites of the 7 traditional pā along these shores and the array of wāhi and **kāik** mahika kai, have helped to restore the mauri of the Lake and the connection to Kāi Tahu Whānui. However, with the townships to the south, the Lake is losing mauri through the pollution caused by the direct and indirect associations to the water. It is Kāi Tahu Whānui intention that this mauri not be further diminished with any activity or works in and around the water. Given that it is a Statutory Acknowledgement, it falls under the responsibility of the Queenstown Lakes District Council to fulfil these wishes to the best of their ability.

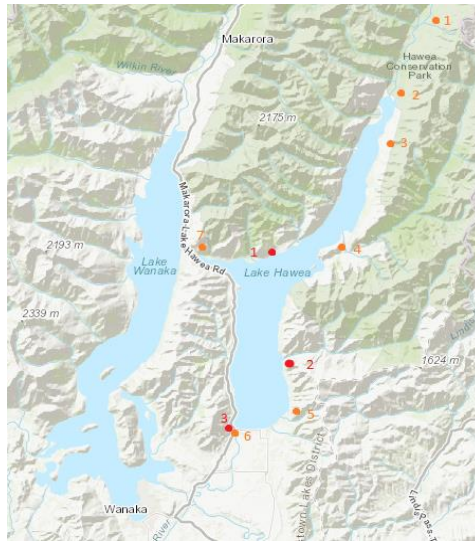


Figure 5: A map demonstrating, in red, the rough location of the three nohoaka sites located along the shores of lake Hāwea - (1) Lake Hāwea, (2) Lake Hāwea Timaru creek and (3) Lake Hāwea Campground; and, in orange, the location of the traditional pā sites along the shoreline – (1) Upoko tauira, (2) O te Purupuru, (3) Turihuka, (4) Te Taumanu o Tiaki, (5) Pakituhi, (6) Te Tawaha o Hāwea and (7) Manuhaea.

Lake Wānaka



Lake Wānaka is thought to get its name either after a religious ceremony or the perpetuation of knowledge (Beattie, 1945). Based on historic accounts of the area, the latter seems to be more correct, given that there are accounts of a whare kura to where many children from coastal and central Otago were sent to learn etiquette and lore of the land (Anderson, 1983).

This lake was, along with Lake Hāwea, revered as a stronghold for Waitaha. The transition of Waitaha to Kāi Tahu takiwā was instigated by an attack on Pōtiki-tautahi's settlement, Paekai. During the 1700's, Pōtiki-tautahi was the chief of Paekai who guarded the area fiercely. However, when news came that his cousin, Weka, was leading a Kāi Tahu war party from Kaiapoi against Pōtiki-tautahi, he'd begun to prepare for the worst. Upon contact with this war party, Paekai was ransacked, Pōtiki-tautahi killed, and the remainder of the Waitaha people taken prisoner. This has been described by Beattie (1945) as the end of the Waitaha presence in Lake Wānaka, and possibly Central Otago.

Although Paekai was the stronghold for Waitaha, the biggest settlement in this area was a Kāi Tahu pā mahika kai known as Takikarara (Anderson, 1983). Evidence suggest that this pā did manage to cultivate rīwai, said to grow like a weed around Dublin Bay and Waiariki (Anderson, 1998). Despite this, principal support came from natural resources such as tuna, native fish (such as giant kōkopu) and moutling ducks at the river mouth, while kāuru, aruhe and weka were harvested in the open valley during the winter months. Additional to this, tikumu and taramea were readily available in these areas, enabling Māori to make water and matagouri thorn-proof leggings, fragrant cloaks and perfume (Anderson, 1983). Taylor (1952) also states that, additional to all these resources, pora, and harakeke was also harvested from this area.

The main routes from this lake were the Matukituki/Mātakitaki River, which provided an alternative route to the pounamu fields of te Tai Poutini/West Coast, and the Mata-au/Clutha River, which was the main lifeline that connected coastal Māori to the central lakes area.



Mountain Daisy (Tikumu)

Current association

Much like Lake Hāwea, Lake Wānaka has been included in the Statutory Acknowledgements of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act (1998) due to the strong association to the area and its resources. There are, also, three Nohoaka near to or along the shores of Lake Wānaka.

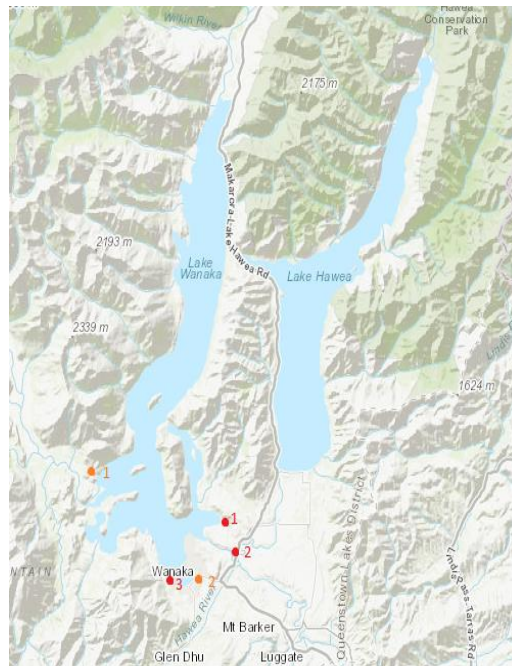
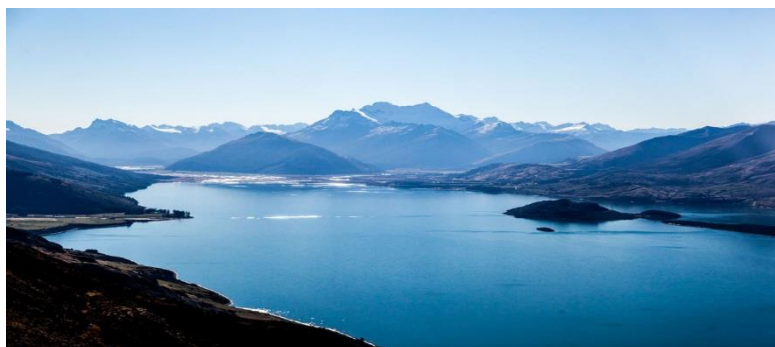


Figure 6: A map detailing, in orange, the rough location of the historic pā sites – (1) Nehenehe and (2) Taki karara; and, in red, the rough location of the three nohoaka – (1) Lake Wānaka Nohoanga 2, (2) Albert town and (3) Lake Wānaka.

Whakatipu-wai-Māori /Lake Wakatipu



Since the presence of Kāti Mamoe, the area has seen many a bloodshed. From quarrels over fishing rights on the Frankton flats, to invasions – these lands have experienced a very extensive account of history. The origins of the name Whakatipu-wai-Māori are uncertain as the name dates back to Rākaihautū. In fact, Whakatipu was used in the name of many landmarks in this area, such as Whakatipu Waitai/Lake Mckerrow, Whakatipu Kā Tuka/Hollyford River, Te Awa Whakatipu/Dart River and Kā Mauka Whakatipu being the mountains between Whakatipu-wai-Māori and Whakatipu Waitai. The use of Whakatipu in all these names denotes interconnectedness of this entire area. Recent effort to translate the meaning of the names demean the ancestor. For this, the name has been left alone until, if ever, someone with profound knowledge can elucidate the meaning or origin of 'Whakatipu'. Modern associations to the name acknowledge that the area was used by many fleeing tribes, Kāti Mamoe for example, as a resting place to build up a renewed tribe. Whakatipu means to generate, produce, develop, thrive, create, preserve, cultivate, and grow. However, for this exact reason the shores are commonly associated with sites of slaughter when raiding war parties descend on these small, unstable communities (Beattie, 1945). Furthermore, this area is said to be frequented by many tipua;

"Legend tells of the hairy, fearsome creatures, known as Māeroero, who frequent forested areas. Known for their great strength and craftiness, these men have been known to carry people away from the bush, possessing them with a spell only to be taken away by lying atop a clay-filled umu. Whispers of the Māeroero have been heard as far as the Catlins, where Māori are told to stop harvesting harakeke, while rumours tell of women who have been carried away with their prey, not to be seen for many days."
- Beattie, 1919

One of the leading reasons this area was fought over could be the myriad of ara tawhito. Whether it be the Ōreti and Mataura Rivers, connecting Murihiku Māori with the Greenstone fields, Te Papapuni/Nevis and ŌrauCardrona, connecting Murihiku Māori with Lakes Hāwea, Wānaka and Wakatipu/Whakatipu, or the Clutha/Mata-Au and the Kawarau, connecting coastal Māori with both the Lakes and the greenstone fields (Shortland, 1974; Ngāi Tahu 1800, H.K.Taiaroa). The importance of Whakatipu-wai-Māori/Lake Wakatipu as the centre piece to many ara tawhito is also shown through the accuracy of maps Māori were able to draw and provide colonial explorers – often being described as perfectly accurate and able to explain a great deal of detail (Anderson, 1998)

The Whakatipu-wai-Māori/Wakatipu catchment also boasts richness in mahika kai resources. With weka being the main source of food around the plains area and Tapuae o Uenuku, the mountains on the lower eastern shore, accounts of tuna, kererū, kea and kākā are also present (Ngāi Tahu 1800, H.K. Taiaroa). Additional to this, Wāwahi Waka/Pigeon Island contains evidence of having gardens, possibly for kāuru, pora and rīwai (Anderson, 1998).



Eel (Tuna)

Current association

As well as having a nohoaka on the shores of this lake, Kāi Tahu Whānui relationship with this Lake has also been recognised through the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act (1998) under a Statutory Acknowledgement.

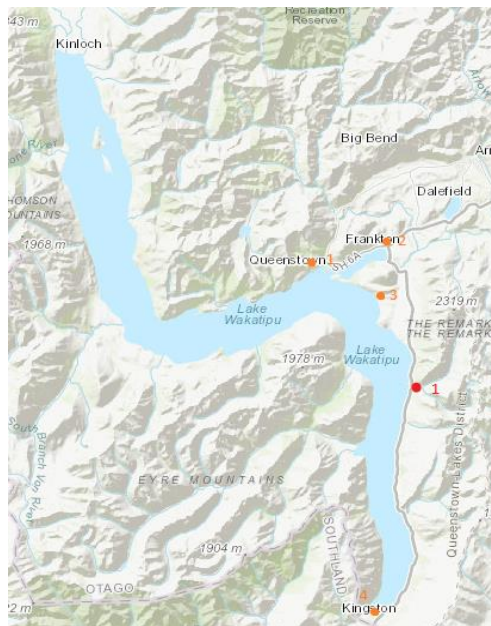


Figure 7: A map detailing, in orange, the rough location of the traditional pā found along these shores – (1) Tāhuna, (2) Paharaki, (3) Te Kirikiri and (4) Takerehaka; and, in red, that of the Nohoaka – (1) Wye Creek

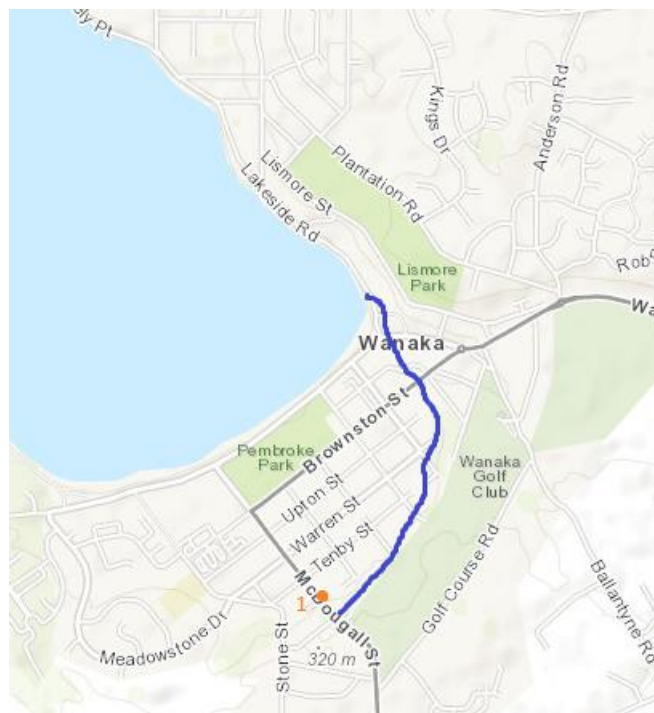
Kā Kōawa/Creeks

Bullock Creek

Taki-karara once lived along the shores of Lake Hāwea, where he'd taken it upon himself to go fishing. All of a sudden, he was put out to sea when the point of land on which he stood began to rumble and move with the strong winds. Once Taki-karara finally arrived to the other side of the shore, he'd decided that it would be best for him to leave Hāwea and move to Wānaka. Unbeknownst to him, Takaroa, described to be a tipua who frequents Foveaux strait, had travelled inland through the Mata-Au to inspect the interior. While in Hāwea, Takaroa decided to separate the point on which Taki-karara stood, setting it adrift. This drifting mass has been named 'Taumanu-o-Taki-karara'

-Beattie 1945

The historic pa site of Takikarara, named after the above legend of Taki-Karara, stood along the banks of where the Bullock Creek now flows. This creek, although small in size, provided the largest pā of the area with all the amenities necessary for prosperity; possibly a place of access and mooring for the waka used to reach the upper limits of Lake Wānaka, readily accessible source of water, and as a food source. As previously mentioned, in this pā, they were able to cultivate riwai and feed off tuna, native fish (such as giant kōkopu), moulting ducks at the river mouth, kāuru, aruhe and weka. This shows that both resources from land and those from the rivers and lake were equally as important for the village. Records do not specify which river mouths were used to cultivate moulting ducks, however, it is important to mention there is a likelihood that the mouth of the Bullock Creek was used for these activities. In this case, it must be said that the mouth of the Bullock creek could very likely have been used to harvest moulting ducks. In fact, due to this area being more calm and sheltered than that of the Mata-Au/Clutha River, it is thought that this could have been one of the main sights for Kāi Tahu Whānui to cultivate such resources.



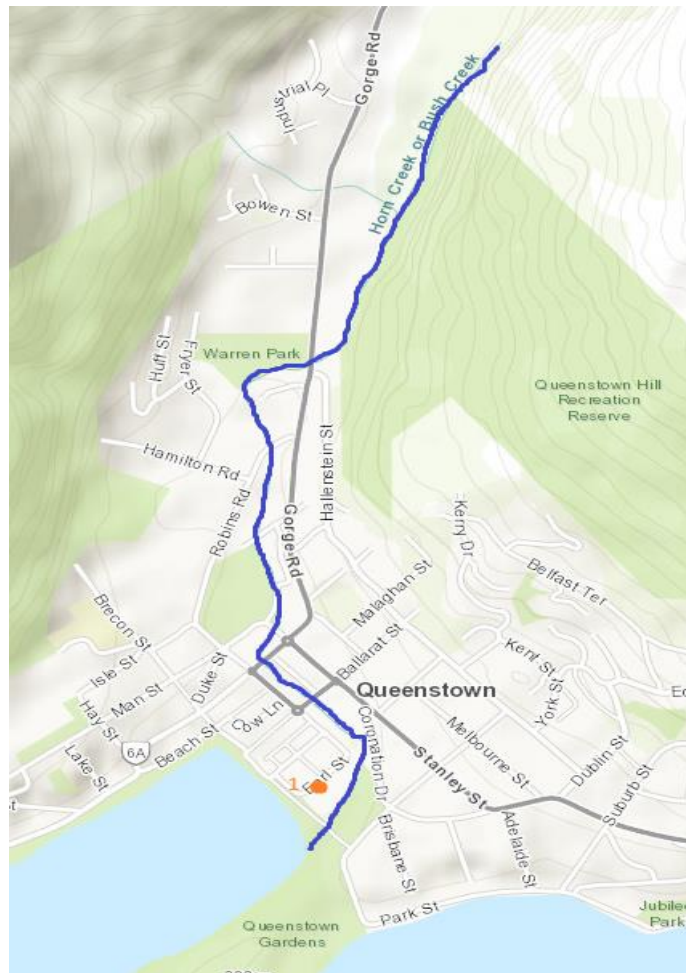
A map showing, in blue, a rough course of Bullock Creek and, in orange, the location of the a traditional pā found on its banks; (1)Takikarara

Horne Creek

“Te Taumata-o-Hakitekura is the Māori name for Ben Lomond and Fernhill, located at Whakatipu Waimāori behind where the settlement Tāhuna used to be, Haki-te-kura was the first person to swim across Whakatipu Waimāori. After watching other young women from these mountains attempting to outswim each other, she decided that she wanted to outdo them. She swam across the lake in darkness, with a bundle of dry raupō strapped to her. When Haki-te-kura was discovered missing, her father remembered his daughter’s request for a kauati, and a waka was sent across the lake to bring her back. The mountains where she would look across the lake were thereafter known as Te Taumata-a-Hakitekura”

-Beattie, 1945

Much like Bullock Creek, Horne Creek has been shown to have association with an important pā in this area. The pā of Tāhuna stood along the shoreline of nowadays Queenstown, to the right of Horne Creek. This site is known by many to be the home of Haki-te-kura, an inspirational wahine toa and tupuna to Kāi Tahu Whānui- so much so, that many landmarks, including Whakaata a Haki-te-kura/Lake Hayes, are named in her memory. Mahika kai resources linked to Horne creek are not said to be as important as other areas around Lake Whakātipu. However, the possibility of weka, tuna, kererū, kea and kākā harvest cannot be eliminated.



A map showing, in blue, a rough course of Horne creek and, in orange, the location of the a traditional pā found on its banks; (1)Tāhuna

Luggate Creek

The Luggate catchment has very little recorded history attuned to it. However, this does not mean that the area is void of association with Māori, accounts of a pā at the mouth of the Luggate Stream flood through the memories of many an avid historian. Unfortunately, the stories and information about Te Rua Tūpāpaku has not survived with the memory of this pā. Accounts of this pā depending largely on resources, such as tuna, weka and kāuru (Allingham, 2000), after the extinction of the moa, as a moa hunter site is noted on the shores of the mouth (Hamel, 2001). Allingham (2000) also documents evidence of schistose grawacke patu and soapstone carved bowls found within this catchment, suggesting the area was at least explored and utilised. No ara tawhito have been documented throughout this area.



A map showing, in blue, a rough course of the Luggate creek and, in orange, the location of the a traditional pā found on its banks; (1)Te Rua Tūpāpaku

Glossary

<i>Aruhe</i>	<i>Bracken fernroot (Pteridium esculentum)</i>
<i>Kāik</i>	<i>Homes, villages or living places – aslo Kāika/Kāinga</i>
<i>Kauati</i>	<i>Fire lighting sticks</i>
<i>Kāuru</i>	<i>Cabbage tree root (Cordyline australis)</i>
<i>Kō</i>	<i>A spade-like tool</i>
<i>Kōrari</i>	<i>A raft made from flax bundles</i>
<i>Koukoupapa</i>	<i>Giant kōkopu (Galaxias argenteus)</i>
<i>Koreke</i>	<i>NZ Quail (Coturnix novaezelandiae)</i>
<i>Mana</i>	<i>Prestige</i>
<i>Māra</i>	<i>Garden/cultivated site</i>
<i>Mauri</i>	<i>Essential life force or principle</i>
<i>Papatūānuku</i>	<i>Earth Mother</i>
<i>Pora</i>	<i>Māori turnip (Brassica rapa)</i>
<i>Rīwai</i>	<i>Māori potato</i>
<i>Taoka</i>	<i>A treasure/sacred</i>
<i>Taniwha</i>	<i>Serpent-like creature</i>
<i>Taramea</i>	<i>Wild Spaniard (Aciphylla spp.)</i>
<i>Tī/Tī Kōuka</i>	<i>Cabbage tree (Cordyline australis)</i>
<i>Tikumu</i>	<i>Mountain daisy (Celmisia spectabilis)</i>
<i>Tohuka</i>	<i>A Māori priest or learned person</i>
<i>Tuna</i>	<i>Eel (Anguilla australis or Anguilladieffenbachi)</i>
<i>Uwhi</i>	<i>Māori yam (Dioscorea alata)</i>
<i>Wahine toa</i>	<i>Influential woman/female role model</i>
<i>Waka</i>	<i>Māori canoe</i>
<i>Whēkau</i>	<i>Laughing owl (Sceloglaux albifacies)</i>