APPENDIX 1

Extract from the Cultural Impact Assessment prepared for Waipori Power Scheme that was provided to Trustpower as part of the Mahinerangi Stage 1 CIA in 2006

CHAPTER FOUR

Cultural Environment - Traditional and Current

Introduction

Ko te wai te ora nga mea katoa
Water is the life giver of all things

'He taura whiri kotahi mai ano te kopunga tai no I te pu au'
From the source to the mouth of the sea all things are joined together as one

He aha te mea nui o te Ao
He takata, he takata, he takata
What is the most important thing in the World
It is people, it is people, it is people

Of all natural resources, water is one of the most important to Kai Tahu. Water is seen as the provider and sustainer of life, therefore water flow, water quality, and the mauri (life force) of waterbodies is extremely important to Kai Tahu. Mahika kai, for example, is extremely dependent on the maintenance of water quality and quantity. The loss and degradation of this resource through drainage, pollution and damming is a major resource management issue to Kai Tahu and is considered to have resulted in material and cultural deprivation of Kai Tahu.

Water also plays a significant part in Kai Tahu's spiritual beliefs and cultural traditions. Kai Tahu believes that all life began with the mating of Maku and Mahoranuiatia which are both forms of water. Spiritual beliefs and practices are included in Kai Tahu's traditional values and controls relating to water recognise and reinforce the importance of water quality in all aspects of life. The condition of water is seen as a reflection of the health of Papatuanuku, the Earth Mother.

Kai Tahu had a very distinctive and unique culture and lifestyle in the southern half of the South Island. It was distinctive compared to the rest of the South Island and the North Island. A major defining factor in this difference was the colder climate that only allowed limited cultivation of crops, excluding the kumara. However, as a balance, this southern portion of the South Island offered an abundance of food and resources available for harvest from the 'wild'. This inturn led to the unique lifestyle

of permanent coastal settlements and seasonal migrations inland over often vast distances to harvest and collect food and resources. This practice is referred to as 'mahika kai' and became a corner stone of Kai Tahu culture.

The Waihola/Waipori wetlands were once one of the most significant food baskets in the Otago region, and featured in the seasonal activity of the coastal settlements as far away as the Otago Peninsula and the harbour area, Purakaunui and Puketeraki. The wetlands were once much larger in water area and deeper than at present, connected by a labyrinth of waterways. It use to have a gravel bed which is now been overlaid by silt and mud (Settlement Act, Schedule 70).

In 1844 Dr Monroe of Nelson travelled to the Lower Taieri with a view to purchasing the area for the New Zealand Company. He described the scene from the hills above what is now Henley.

> Having gained the summit ... we had a good view of the Taieri Plain and I have never seen any place which more strongly warrants the supposition of its once having been a lake. It is in fact a deep basin shaped hollow, surrounded on all sides by hills. ... About the upper third of the Taieri Basin is in my opinion available but the two lower thirds can hardly be called terra firma being, in fact, an immense grass tree swamp.
> TM Hocken Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand, Sampson et al London 1898

Kai Tahu were familiar not only with the coast line of the South Island, where most of the permanent settlements were based, but also with the inland plains, mountains and lakes. The interior and mountain passes were crossed by a network of trails. Inland resources were an integral part of the tribe's subsistence and of their trade both internally and with other tribes (Waitangi Tribunal Reports, p.184).

The Waipori catchment, especially the lower portion around Lake Waipori, was the focus of those seasonal migrations. While the lower reaches of the Waipori River were used frequently and valued highly by Kai Tahu, the upper reaches were nonetheless used and explored, but less often. The use of this catchment by Kai Tahu is an example that typifies their very distinctive lifestyle. This chapter will outline that past use and then the current use.

The 'Cultural Environment', for the purpose of this Assessment, will be a description of the Waipori catchment from Kai Tahu's perspective. How Kai Tahu viewed and used the Waipori River. This description will first be from a traditional angle, and then the current use will be outlined. This will highlight the stark comparison between the situations.

The cultural environment description will use the following means to convey Kai Tahu's Waipori:

- Traditions, values and beliefs
- Place names
- Mahika kai
- Kaika nohoaka
- Trails
- Waahi tapu
- Archaeological survey

For ease in description and assessment, the Waipori catchment may be broken up into Lower, Middle and Upper. Equally, there are descriptions and assessments that apply to the full length of the Waipori River, from the mountains to the sea.

Upper Waipori is from the tributaries of Lake Mahinerangi to Lake Mahinerangi dam.
Lower Waipori is from the Dam 4 (last dam) to the sea.
Middle Waipori is the portion in-between.

Traditions, Values and Beliefs

The streams of descent that flow together to form the Iwi known today as Kai Tahu whanui are Rapuwai, Waitaha, Mamoe and Tahu. The first people to arrive in Te Wai Pounamu came from Eastern Polynesia some thousand years ago. This is known not only from archaeology but from traditions of the descendants of those first voyagers. These early voyagers established the southern whakapapa. The first recalled traditions originate from Waitaha ancestors.

By the early 16th century, elements of a tribe from the east coast of the North Island achieved migrations to the edges of Raukawamoana (Cook Strait). The descendants of Whatua Mamoe from Heretaunga (Napier) became known as Kati Mamoe. Sections of these groups crossed the Straits and imposed themselves on the Waitaha communities. Tradition says that it was through strategic marriages and war that the southern tribal communities gradually became known as Kati Mamoe over the length of Te Wai Pounamu, even though they were basically Waitaha.

Another more substantial tide of movement was building back in the eastern North Island. A mosaic of tribes was shifting southward after a retributive round of fighting. Over two generations, several of these groups migrated across Raukawamoana into Te Wai Pounamu. Gradually, through war and strategic marriages, they formed the principal southern tribe and became known as Kai Tahu through their linking ancestry to Tahupotiki of the East Coast of the North Island, from whence much of their southern migrations had begun.

Kai Tahu inherited many Waitaha and Kati Mamoe traditions. These included earlier names for the features and resources of the island, as well as the economic activities, traditions and whakapapa associated with them.

The traditions, culture and life of the indigenous people of Te Waipounamu, Te Waka o Aoraki (South Island) the Waitaha, Hawea, Rapuwai, Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu are intricately linked with the Otago region. The present day descendants are known as Kai Tahu whanui (the large family of Kai Tahu), the custodians of the tribal lore and history. The way in which they relate to their environment is influenced by the very earliest of their ancestors and in turn by their actions which will influence the welfare of future generations (ORC Regional Policy Statement, Manawhenua Perspective).

To Kai Tahu, the natural features of a landscape encapsulates in the korero the linking elements between *Ira Atua* and *Ira Takata* - that of the world of Atua (gods) and that of the world of human kind. This includes the environment's creation, and ancestors past interactions. Therefore, the land is considered to be the sustainer, a living account of the people's beliefs, legends and myths. The following accounts convey some of those stories.

Timatatanga - Creation Tradition, taken from the ORC Regional Policy Statement, Manawhenua Perspective.

> Water is central to all Maori life. Traditionally, life came into being when *Maku* mated with *Mahoranuiatea,* another form of water and begat *Rakinui,* the sky. *Rakinui* coupled with a number of wives, including *Papatuanuku.* From *Raki's* various unions came vegetation, animals, birds, the mountains and people and a host of departmental atua.
>
> Kai Tahu claim the same descendency from *Raki* and his wives. Whakapapa then, binds Kai Tahu to the mountains, forests and waters and the life supporting them. In this way, all things are considered to have mauri (life force) and to have a geneaological relationship with each other. People are therefore related to the natural world.

It is this very direct link, the whakapapa relationship with all things, that influences Kai Tahu *Wairua* (life principle) philosophy. The interconnectedness of all things, the welfare of any part of the environment influences the welfare of people. This is further explained by the following Kai Tahu saying.

> Toi tu te marae o Tane
> Toi tu te marae o Tangaroa
> Toi tu te Iwi

If the marae of Tane survives (deity of the forests)
If the marae of Tangaroa survives (deity of the sea)
The people live on

Te Mauri o Te Waipounamu - the South Island comes into being, taken from the 'Southern Maori in the Lakes District' Exhibition.

Mythology teaches us that there was no Te Waka o Aoraki. The great sea of Kiwa rolled over the place that is now Te Waipounamu. Before Rakietunei (sky father) wedded Papatuanuku (earth mother) each had children from previous unions. After the marriage some of Raki's children came down to inspect the new wife of their father. They were Aoraki, Rakiroa, Rakirua and Rarakiroa and they arrived from the heavens in the canoe called Te Waka-a-Aoraki.

They proceeded to inspect Papatuanuku who lay as one body in a huge continent known as Hawaiki. When the explorers attempted to return to the celestial realms the karakia (invocation) which should have lifted the canoe back to the heavens failed and the canoe sank onto an undersea ridge, turning to stone and earth in the process. The voyagers climbed onto the high side of Te Waka-a-Aoraki and were turned to stone. Aoraki became Mount Cook and his three younger brothers are the three highest peaks near him. As the great canoe settled on its side it became the whole of the South Island whose oldest name is Te Waka-a-Aoraki.

In this state it was not fit for human habitation and to remedy this problem a grandson of Rakietunei, called Tuterakiwhanoa was sent to shape the land. He brought with him three other gods named Marokura, Kahukura and Rokonuiatau. Tuterakiwhanoa inspected the great canoe and found things far from satisfactory. The prow of the canoe formed Marlborough Sound, the stern became the Southland Plains with the stern post making Bluff Hill. The eastern side was undulating with few places for anchorage and safe fishing. The western side was one long, high, unbroken line of jagged rock.

Tuterakiwhanoa sent Marokura along the north-eastern coast to form harbours such as Kaikoura Peninsula and other fishing areas. Kahukura and Rokonuiatau were sent south with the same instructions and formed Otago Peninsula and the harbours and bays around the south-east coast. Tuterakiwhanoa formed Banks Peninsula but his greatest achievements were to be on the difficult terrain of the West Coast and Fiordland.

After working hard on the West Coast Tuterakiwhanoa turned his attention to the majestic unbroken wall of rock from Milford Sound to Puysegur Point. His intention was to create a few openings to let in the sea but it was an daunting task. Tuterakiwhanoa firmly placed his feet and grasped his gigantic axe, Te Hamo, and set to work to chop into this great mountain wall. To assist him he repeated the karakia (invocation) Tapatapa-te-tapahi which commanded the rocky wall to split

into pieces. After much effort Tuterakiwhanoa formed the fiords, valleys and passes of Fiordland. Many of the Maori names in this area refer to this gigantic man and his many famous deeds. His last act in Te Wai Pounamu was to plant gifts of a celestial nature in the form of grasses, shrubs and trees to beautify the land.

The following accounts are reprinted from Harry Evison's 1993 publication 'Te Wai Pounamu. The Greenstone Island'.

When Maori looked at land, they did not see an area of so many hectares which could be divided, subdivided, rented, leased or sold. Instead they saw certain resources which could be used to feed, house, clothe, and equip their *whanau.* They saw the various *mahika kai* for food - such as the swamps and creeks for eeling and the cabbage-trees for *ti-kaura.* They saw the varieties of flax for clothing and fishing-nets, the trees for canoes, building, palisades and firewood, the varieties of stone for implements or weapons. They saw places associated with their many *atua* (gods), and with the births, lives and deaths of their *tupuna* (forbears).

A tribe's land was not only the source of economic well-being. For each Maori it was also the burial-ground of the placenta and of the bones of ancestors, and the abode of the tribal *atua* and of many other gods as well. The ancestral lands were therefore regarded with deep veneration and not merely as an economic resource. The value attached by the Maori to land is evident from the fact that every part of the country was owned and named. Not only were the larger mountains, rivers, and plains named, but every hillock, streamlet, and valley. The self-respect and *mana* of every Maori was inseparable from the tribe's hold upon the land. The loss of the land would bring not only deprivation and disgrace, but spiritual anguish (p.9).

In the Maori view, Te Wai Pounamu and the universe were controlled by numerous *atua* and *wairua* - deities, demons, ghosts and spirits, each with influence over particular human activities and natural phenomena. *Taniwha* were deities living in water. All living things were possessed of spirits, some of them potent for good or evil. Mountains and other remarkable features of the landscape were also inhabited by *atua*. There were tribal and family *atua*, and *atua* who watched over particular individuals. These *atua* bestowed protection or punishment, according to the strictness with which the rules of *tapu* were observed. *Tohunga* skilled in the use of *karakia* (prayers and chants) to influence the spirit world, especially the tribe's own *atua*, were very important members of any community (p.11).

Lower Waipori

Maukaatua stands guard over the interior of Otago and is a dominant feature, visible from many vantage points. Travellers by sea, along the Lower Taieri, travelling

inland either side of Maukaatua or returning to the coast from inland could not escape the gaze of Maukaatua. The *mauka* (mountain) is imbued with spiritual qualities that were respected by the tupuna (ancestors). The mauka was likened to a sleeping giant and was said to be the source of strange noises in particular winds or climatic conditions.

An *urupa* (burial site) is known to be located on the northern shoulder of Maukaatua. As urupa are the resting places of Kai Tahu tupuna, they are the focus for whanau traditions. These are places holding memories, traditions, victories and defeats of Kai Tahu tupuna (Settlement Act, Schedule 84).

The adventures of *Matamata*, a taniwha that was the guardian of Te Rakitauneke, the celebrated Kati-mamoe chief and warrior - Herries Beattie, 1944.

> Matamata lost its master from the hills about Dunedin, and proceeded inland to find him. It turned around at one place and made a lagoon known as Wai-potaka (round pool) and then slithered down Whaka-ehu (to roil water - Silverstream). It made a hollow near Mosgiel named Te Kokika-o-te-matamata (the crawling of Matamata). Next it wriggled down the Taieri, hence the tortuous course of the river below Allanton. This winding part is known as Te Rua-taniwha (the monster's lair) and is haunted. Not finding its master it went to the back of the Mauka-atua (Maungatua), and the dips and long open hollows on that side were made as it went sniffing about. That part is called Te Konika-o-matamata (the zig-zagging of Matamata). Then it crept southward and westward until it came to where Gore is. There it ascended the Hokanui Peak, where it died and where its skeleton is said to form the reef of rock on that summit.

Mauri

Whakapapa binds Maori to the mountains, forests and the waters of Te Waka o Aoraki and to the life that is supported by these resources. Maori believe that all elements of the environment, such as birds, fish, insects, plants as well as natural phenomena such as the mist, wind and rocks possess a life force, and that all forms of life are related. The interconnectedness of all things means that the welfare of any part of the environment will directly impact on the welfare of people. In this instance the health and well-being of the resources of a catchment will impact on the health and well-being of Maori depending on these resources.

Maori see themselves as being part of the environment, belonging to it and complementing other entities. The shared whakapapa confirms that all things are from a common source. Maori retain the strong sense of indivisibility of humanity and nature.

Maori believe that all natural entities have a mauri or spiritual life force. Through mauri all things in nature are coherent. The mauri should not be desecrated. Natural disasters cannot harm the mauri only unnatural disturbances that result from the actions of man. However, a healthy river is not in a steady state, it is dynamic. Disturbance is natural, normal and can be frequent. Unfortunately human intervention can change the frequency and intensity of the disturbances. The mauri of a waterway is unable to protect itself from these unnatural disturbances. With poor management, water may become diseased and will impart this condition on all other organisms causing their ill health and death. Maori warn that if the mauri of an entity is desecrated or defiled the resource itself, resource users and other depending on that entity are at risk. In the case of humans, moral, mental and spiritual deterioration may be manifestations of ill health.

If the health of a waterway is affected so too is the health and well being of Maori.

Because water is a taoka that has been left by our ancestors for the life sustaining use of their descendants, Maori, as the tiaki, are charged with ensuring that this taoka is passed on in as good a state, or indeed better, to those that follow. This means that modern resource management practice, in particular the use and development of resources should have regard to the needs of future generation.

Belief in the mauri of natural resources and the need to protect the mauri created an atmosphere of respect and fear of the consequences of deliberate defilement or desecration. Concepts such as mauri, tapu, rahui and noa were applied to protect the health of a resource.

The loss of mauri is recognised by its degraded state and the loss of its life supporting values. The mauri of many rivers in the country has been seriously eroded by water use and development including the damming of the rivers.

The mauri of Waihola/Waipori represents the essence that binds the physical and spiritual elements of all things together, generating and upholding all life. Mauri is a critical element of the spiritual relationship of Kai Tahu with the wetlands. The wetlands represent, in their resources and characteristics, a strong element of identity for those who hold manawhenua, whose tupuna were nurtured on the food and resources of the wetlands for generations (Settlement Act, Schedule 70).

In the context of river management you cannot assess the mauri of the river by looking solely at the water, you must examine the catchment through which the river flows. An intact mauri depends on the status of all components of the catchment. A river is not a collection of segments that can be managed as separate units. A holistic and integrated approach is required.

Current Cultural Environment - Traditions, Values and Beliefs

Most of Kai Tahu's traditions, values and beliefs are not known or retold by the wider pakeha community. For Kai Tahu themselves, many traditions, values and beliefs have been lost. This is due to a variety of reasons including Trust Power's use of this catchment and the impact that use has had on Kai Tahu's association with the river.

The mauri of the Waipori River has been altered by Trust Power's use of it: by the creation and management of Lake Mahinerangi; by the manipulation of flow and obstructions to flow in the middle portion of the river; and again with the manipulation of flow below the last dam and into Lake Waipori. The mauri of the river is vastly different at the end of its journey than when it started.

An avenue that gives expression to Kai Tahu values and beliefs is the work performed by Kai Tahu ki Otago Ltd, the resource management consultancy set up by the four Papatipu Runaka of the Otago region. Through the resource management work the office does in consultation with the four runaka, Kai Tahu values and beliefs regarding the environment are given practical expression to resource users and statutory authorities.

Place Names

Kai Tahu whanui tradition of settlement is recorded in the names on the landscape. The history is in the names. Such names take their source from the earliest people, creation traditions, incidents, weather, ancestors, reflect specific characteristics of a location. A memory map of important places would give detailed names of camping places, ancient settlements, places where different foods could be obtained, all held in memory like whakapapa, where the sequence and significance of every name had its own place. The physical presence of the ancestors in every part of Otago is evidenced by the names that survive.

While many of these names have been lost in the century and a half since the Treaty, many are still known and remembered. It is to that end that we explore Kai Tahu placenames within the Waipori catchment.

Herries Beattie wrote in his 1944 publication 'Maori Place-Names of Otago' -

> In New Zealand many names came down from ancient tribes, and certainly from the time of Maui. In Otago we have Maui names, Waitaha names, Rapuwai names, Kati-mamoe names and Kai-tahu names, each lot passing some of their nomenclature on. A Maori said to me, 'The Kai-tahu got their place-names from Kati-mamoe when peace was made', and from this fact we can trace the preservation of many very ancient names.

Shortland visited Murihiku and Otago in 1843-1844. As he travelled about the district he meticulously observed daily life and met many of the important rangatira (chiefs) in the area. He was often displeased by the attitude of pakeha settlers as this comment reveals:

> "The doctrine…was…a very favourite one among new comers, who landed full of the idea that there were large spaces of what they termed waste and unreclaimed land, on which their cattle and flocks might roam at pleasure, and to which they had a better right than those whose ancestors had lived there, fished there, and hunted there; and had, moreover, long ago given names to every stream, hill, and valley of the neighbourhood."
> 'Southern Maori in the Lakes District' Exhibition

Herries Beattie and W.H.S. Roberts are the main source for place name descriptions. This was due to their commitment and passion for this work. Also because of the general belief during the last turn of the Century and early 1900's that Maori culture, traditions and knowledge would eventually die out, therefore there was the perceived need to record the information before informants died. Table 4.1 lists place names for the upper Waipori, and Table 4.2 for the lower Waipori.

Table 4.1 - Place names for Upper Waipori

Maka-rara	Deep Stream, same name as for Lee Stream. 'Noisy branch stream'.
Hora-tahaka	Shepherd's Creek. 'Spread out empty' or 'spread out naked'.

Table 4.2 - Place names for Lower Waipori

Waipouri	Waipori.
Pukurau-puka	Pa near Lake Waihola of Chief Tukiaua 'Part of the top of the bulrushes which Maori ate'.
Marama-Te-Ta	Lagoon north of Lake Tatawai. Once famous eeling resort. Now, (1914), almost dry.
Owhiti	High hill west of Lake Waihola. 'To cross over'
Poutakahiamaru	Next hill northward.
Whakaraupuka	Next hill northward. On it stood the Pa of Tukianau, who became embroiled in warfare that followed the untimely death of Haki-Te-Kura, the maiden of the Taieri.
Te-Wai-a-Hinemiro	Creek further north. Name of Waitaha girl of gentle birth.
Parihaka	Ridge further north of this creek.. Foot of ridge on the lakeside was a fishing and eeling camp.
Omawete	Creek north of this ridge, then Berwick.
Kai-Maka	River connecting Lake Waihola and Taieri River. 'Feast of Barracouta'.
Pohatunui	Hill behind. 'Great Stone'
Wai-O-Te-Meho	Small stream on the south side of hill.
Porotakahiamaru	Mountain peak behind Lake Waihola, fledged with native bush at the top, but bare towards the base. 'A covered-in post', a person covered/shrouded with a Maori mat, the proportions of which are not sufficient to reach right down to the feet.
Whakakea	Small settlement situated on the north side of Lake Waihola. 'Call of the mountain parrot, (Kea)'.
Opotio	Hill near Milburn.
Kararoa	Cliff north east of Lake Waihola.
Whakahi-Kotuku	Pig Island. North of Lake Waihola,
Kauheka	Junction of Taieri and Waihola Rivers.
Kenepuru	John Bulls Creek, Waipori.
Te Koti	Poleys Bush near Otokia.

Tutae-A-Te-Hana	Hill near Henley.
Po-Haere	Little Creek near Berwick.
Matakahi	Tributary of Waipori River.
Tu-Ahuriri	Tributary of Waipori River.
Nhaka-Rau-Puka	Channel between two Lakes.
Te-Kene-Toto	Scrubby Island, between two Lakes.
Te Ruku Ka Tawere	McKeggs Island, between two Lakes.
Whaka-raupo	A place on the network of waterway connecting Lakes Waihola and Waipori with the Taieri River. So named because an unexpectant flood caused the people to make a canoe or two of raupo.
Whaka-rau-puka	Pa on Ram Island (Sinclair Wetlands).
Ka Wha Ka Tua Tea	Eeling place, Lake Waihola.
O Ku Hari	Eeling place, Lake Waihola.
Te-Au-Kakume	Old Kaika at Taieri Mouth.
Whakarekeamahe	John Bulls head.
Waiotemeko	Creek at Lake Waihola.
Te Awa-makarara	Lee Stream. 'The stream that makes a noise' or 'a stream with a noisy tributary'.
Tuakeka	Boulder Hill, across the river from Lee Stream.
Whakaehu	Silver Stream.

The names Waihola/Waipori are likely of Waitaha derivation, with 'hola' being the Waitaha form of 'hora' meaning flat, spread out or widespread. Waipori may in fact be a misrecording of Waipouri, which is used in many older manusripts, being a reference to the dark, tanin-stained water the wetland receives from Waipori River, a heavily wooded catchment (Settlement Act, Schedule 70).

Maukaatua is an ancient name brought to Te Tai Pounamu from distant homelands, and is one of a number of Maori place names that reappear in a recognisably similar form throughout the Pacific Islands and into Indonesia. The name thus serves as a reminder of the links between Kai Tahu and their whanaunga of Te Moana Nui a Kiwa, the Great Ocean of Kiwa - the Pacific Ocean (Settlement Act, Schedule 84).

These names follow the pattern outlined earlier, that is, they reveal a history to the location. Locations within the Waipori catchment are generally named after one of the three following categories: a legendary or important event, person, family or object; the type or quantity of food or resource available; a characteristic of the natural feature. Place names are an indicator of Kai Tahu's use of this catchment, and its importance to them.

Current Cultural Environment - Place Names

A lot of these names are now either out of context, or the location they refer to has been lost due to the flooding and alteration to the river. The loss of place names has resulted in an impact to Kai Tahu's relationship with this river from Waipori Power's use.

Mahika Kai

'those places where food was produced or procured'
Waitangi Tribunal Report, vol.3, ch.17, p.841

The development of a comprehensive system of food and resource use in the Otago region attracted Kai Tahu into all corners of Otago on a seasonal basis. Water was central to all activity, a sustainer of life. Hapu claimed considerable honour, prestige and mana by virtue of their water and associated resources. This system of resource use, to procure or produce a wide range of resources, is known as mahika kai.

Mahika kai has immense cultural significance to Kai Tahu particularly in the gathering and sharing of it. Kai Tahu use of resources was on a regional basis. Each community had its own special areas for collecting different foods throughout their region in various seasons. The foods available in each region differed in abundance and ease of acquisition. Regions had their specialties.

Kai Tahu had many methods of preservation of the season's surplus food supplies. This was an essential part of Kai Tahu existence. Preserved resources were used for exchange and gifts, in feasts catering for guests, for eating on journeys and in times of less abundance. Mahika kai is another indicator of a use Kai Tahu had for the Waipori catchment, from the mountains to the sea.

The following accounts are reprinted from Harry Evison's book 'Te Wai Pounamu. The Greenstone Island'.

Te Wai Pounamu (South Island) was rich in natural resources. Food and *pounamu* attracted Maori people to Te Wai Pounamu, and the enjoyment of these was what kept them there. The distinctive flavours of the various species of bird, eel, shellfish, fish and other wildlife bound the people to the land and to the waters, and strengthened their will to hold on to them.

There were birds and *kiore* (edible native rats) in the forests and grasslands; eels, freshwater fish and waterfowl and their eggs in the wetlands; shellfish, seabirds and

their eggs, and marine mammals on the shoreline; and boundless fish in the sea. In addition, foods were prepared from *ti kauka* (cabbage tree), *aruhe* (bracken-fern root), and other plants. *Ti-kauka* was actively cultivated in suitable places, as a substitute for the *kumara* (sweet potatoe), which could be grown only with difficulty on the east coast of Te Wai Pounamu, because of the sever spring frosts, and south of Taumutu it could not be grown at all. The food made from *ti-kauka* was *kauru*, a fructose-rich cake, prepared in summertime from the pith of the stems and roots of the tree, in large earth-ovens (*umu-ti*). In all, some 200 edible plant and animal species were found in Te Wai Pounamu.

There were *mahika kai* throughout the countryside. *Harakeke* (flax) of many varieties provided the kinds of fibre suitable for clothing, footwear, mats and baskets, and fishing-nets. The *pingao* grass was valued for decorative work. Mountain daisy leaves were used for cloaks, and fragrant oil was extracted from *Taramea* (spaniard grass). The tall *totara* tree provided durable timber for canoes, permanent buildings and fortifications.

Eels in particular are a valuable resource and have always played a significant part in the social order of Kai Tahu. They have prized tuna (eels) since their ancestors first inhabited Te Wai Pounamu. The places where tuna were harvested are important to whanau and hapu, and the gathering and processing of eels, still practised in many areas, is a tradition which maintains and strengthens the kinship and social order of whanau. Customary management practices based around the life-cycle of tuna and knowledge of its migratory habits regulated access to and harvest of the resource to ensure its sustainability. The value of tuna to the community was considerable (Arai Te Uru Eel Management Plan, p.21). It is important that this resource is recognised by Trust Power, and enhanced for future generations.

Stone materials important to the economy of Kai Tahu, such as greenstone, silcrete, porcellanite and schist, were gathered in the interior of Otago. This resource was called *kohatu taoka* (treasured stone resources). Maori technicians skilled and knowledgeable in the characteristics of stone searched the countryside for useful kinds of stone, for Maori had no metals. Maori crafts and industries depended on having stone suitable for adzes, chisels, saw-edges, and cutting and grinding implements. Even the remotest mountain recesses of Te Wai Pounamu were methodically prospected.

Pounamu tangiwai, and the bone of whales and other animals provided ornaments, fish-hooks, needles, and weapons. Working at the *mahika kai* required expert knowledge and skill in harvesting and preparing the foods and other produce.

Lakes Waihola/Waipori was a key mahika kai resource for Kai Tahu based along the Otago coastal region, where an abundance of tuna (eels), inaka (whitebait), patiki (flounder) and other indigenous fish were available. Waterfowl and fibre resources such as harekeke and raupo were also easily accessible from the wetlands. Spearing, setting hinaki and nets, and bobbing for eel were regular activities on the wetlands in the season. The gathering of young ducks in the moult, and the catching of herons, pukeko and other birds supplemented the broad range of kai available from the wetlands (Settlement Act, Schedule 70). Overland mahika kai expeditions were made to the upper portions of this catchment.

In reference to the Waipori/Waihola lake complex including the Sinclair Wetlands, the Conservation Management Strategy (1996) notes that;

> '... for wildlife (80 species have been recorded, 55 regularly, 21 of which are largely or totally dependent on wetlands for survival) in particular, water-fowl (it regularly supports more than 10,000) and of national importance for freshwater fish (it contains 12 species of fish, including rare species such as giant kokopu), supports a whitebait fishery, eel fishery, ...'

From these accounts it is clear that the Waipori catchment, from the mountains to the sea, offered a variety and wealth of food and resources for Kai Tahu. Again, mahika kai sites and the food and resources available within this catchment are an indicator of Kai Tahu use of this catchment, and the significance they placed on it.

From the late 1700s European sealers and whalers began frequenting the coast of southern Te Wai Pounamu. Kai Tahu were quick to move to coastal centres when they recognised the new trading opportunities that visiting Europeans offered. Potatoes were introduced and many Kai Tahu became more settled in order to grow this new trading item. The introduction of previously unknown diseases affected the population and these, with other factors combined to curtail seasonal visits to the interior (Southern Maori in the Lakes District).

Current Cultural Environment - Mahika Kai

Kai Tahu continue some of the traditional mahika kai practices, albeit vastly reduced, partly due to a loss of traditional resources through development of and around the Waipori River. The tribe still continues to harvest mahika kai: forage for flora, collect harakeke for weaving and decorative art, herbs for medicinal purposes, puha, watercress, tuna (eels) and fish.

Royal Commissioner Mackay's 1887 findings highlight the changes that started after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, which have continued since (Waitangi Tribunal Reports, Vol.2, Ch.3, p.499).

> The Natives were under the impression that under the terms of the deed (of sale of land) they were entitled to the use of all their 'mahika kai'; but they found, as the country got occupied by Europeans, they became gradually restricted to narrower limits, until they no longer possessed the freedom adapted to their mode of life. Every year as the settlement of the country progressed the privilege of roaming in any direction they pleased in search of food-supplies became more limited. Their means of obtaining subsistence in this way was also lessened through the settlers destroying, for pastime or other purposes, the birds which constituted their food, or, for purposes of improvement, draining the swamps, lagoons, and watercourses from which they obtained their supplies of fish.'

The loss of mahika kai and the enjoyment and experience of collecting it is an impact to Kai Tahu's culture which is partially a result of Waipori Power's use of the Waipori catchment.

Kaika Nohoaka

- permanent and seasonal camps

The gathering and preparation of food and other bounties of nature in Te Wai Pounamu were based at *kaika nohoaka*, each situated near a particular resource to be worked. Although Kai Tahu were located largely along the sea coast in permanent settlements, they ranged inland on a regular seasonal basis. Sometimes inland kaika could be occupied for several years at a stretch. In the harsh winters inland camps were generally deserted, but in summer they were busily occupied by eeling and birding parties.

There was a variety of nohoaka over the Waipori catchment, from larger camps occupied over many months by many people, to smaller camps occupied for maybe only one night by a few people. While the location of many are still within living memory, the location and reason for many sites has been lost, and only re-discovered as archaeological evidence.

Lower Waipori

The Waihola/Waipori area was visited and occupied by Waitaha, Ngati Mamoe and Kai Tahu in succession. The wetland supported a number of pa within its environs and nearby. Whakaraupuka, the pa of the Ngai Mamoe chief Tukiauau was located in the area now known as Sinclair Wetlands.

There was also many nohoaka located within the wetland complex, used by food gathering parties which would travel to the lakes and camp on the fringes for two to three days to gather kai; to eel, hunt water fowl and gather flax. There was also permanent or semi-permanent settlements located in a number of locations around the lakes, some on islands in the wetland system.

A number of other settlements further afield were also dependent on the mahika kai resources of Waihola/Waipori for sustenance. Examples include Tu Paritaniwha Pa near Momona, Omoua Pa near Henly, Maitapapa (Henley area), a kaika south of Henley and Takaaihitau near the old Taieri Ferry bridge, in addition to other settlements adjacent to the Taieri River up and downstream of the wetlands. Otakou

and Puketeraki hapu would also make seasonal visits to gather resources and strengthen and maintain the kupeka (net) of whakapapa on which their rights to use these resources were based (Settlement Act, Schedule 70).

Maukaatua once sheltered kaika within close proximity of its base at *Whakaraupuka* (Settlement Act, Schedule 84).

Current Cultural Environment - Kaika Nohoaka

Most of the traditional camps are no longer available for Kai Tahu use. This loss has impacted on Kai Tahu's relationship and experience of this river system.

Trails

The South Island was covered with an elaborate system of trails, either on land or water. These linked the various Kai Tahu settlements into the social and economic life of the tribe and tied them into networks of trade which extended well beyond the South Island. Trails were not just routes across terrain, they had to follow food resources. While preserved food, such as dried fish, could sustain travellers in a hurry, families travelled at a slower pace, stopping for different periods of time at places where eels were plentiful, weka easily caught, or some other food obtainable. Knowledge of the route included knowledge of where all these foods could be taken.

The attractiveness of Waihola/Waipori as a mahika kai was enhanced by their accessibility. With the direct link to the Taieri River, access via the Taieri to villages on the banks of the Taieri River, upstream and down, and access by waka to the coast and northward to Otakou, kai and other resources gathered from the wetlands could be transported back to these home bases with relative ease.

Tupuna had an intimate knowledge of navigation, river routes, safe harbours and landing places, and the locations of food and other resources on the wetlands. Knowledge of these trails continues to be held by whanau and hapu and is regarded as a taoka. The traditional mobile lifestyle of the people led to their dependence on the resources of the wetlands (Settlement Act, Schedule 70).

Most of today's access routes follow old Kai Tahu trails. Trails are an indicator of how far and where Kai Tahu travelled, and the purpose of an often long and arduous journey. Knowledge of these trails continues to be held by whanau and hapu and is regarded as a taoka.

Current Cultural Environment - Trails

Most of the traditional trails are no longer followed because they no longer exist. Many of them have been covered over by the existing roading network, are on private land,

or they have been drowned by the hydro lake. This loss from Waipori Power's use of the Waipori River has impacted on Kai Tahu's culture.

Waahi Tapu

For Kai Tahu, the term *waahi tapu* refers to places that hold the respect of the people in accordance to tikaka (custom) or history. Whilst some sites are significant to the iwi most are generally important to the hapu and whanau who visited, lived at, or had special affiliations to that area. Some waahi tapu were only visited by tohuka (specialists) who performed rituals such as waitohi (blessings) or karakia (incantations). *Urupa* are the best modern day example of waahi tapu, but physical resources such as mountain tops, springs and clumps of vegetation are other examples.

Because of the long history of use of Waihola/Waipori as a mahika kai, supporting permanent and temporary settlements, there are numerous urupa, waahi tapu and waahi taoka associated with the wetlands. These are all places holding the memories, traditions, victories and defeats of Kai Tahu tupuna (Settlement Act, Schedule 70).

There is a lot of sensitivity surrounding the identification of specific waahi tapu locations and details. For that reason, information on specific waahi tapu has not been included in this document. There are waahi tapu of particular significance within the Waipori catchment. Discussion of specific waahi tapu sites would be better left to confidential discussions between Kai Tahu and Trust Power, and sensitively managed forums during the resource consent process.

Archaeological Survey

Setting

Located around thirty kilometres south west of Dunedin city, the survey area comprises both Waipori Lake and River. Lake Waipori in the central Taieri lowlands is fed by numerous waterways from north and west, but the major source is the Waipori River, which drains the schist country west of Maungatua. Lake Waipori was central in a line of lakes, with Waihola to the south, Tatawai adjoining immediately north, and Marama Te Taha further north again. These lakes connected with the Taieri River, the main access to the sea through the coastal range lining the eastern side of the Taieri lowlands.

Nineteenth Century descriptions and other evidence show the lower Waipori River valley was heavily forested, along with several other localities around the Taieri wetlands. The podocarp forest was largely coniferous in the lower Waipori River valley, with silver Beech predominating inland around the upper gorge where the valley is narrow and deeply cut as it descends from the ancient schist plains. Within the survey area a variety of grasses mid bracken fern covered the majority of un-forested dry ground, while most of the Taieri lowlands here were either marshy with rushes, raupo, and harakeke, or waterway. This variety of topography and ground-cover supported a diverse range of flora and fauna, attracting people to the area from the earliest period of Polynesian settlement.

Iwi History

Some of the readily available accounts of iwi history of the Taieri-Waipori area recorded from kaumatua. Most relate to formation of land features, and periods of social upheavel. Along with oral history, archaeological evidence records intensive Maori occupation and use of the Taieri wetlands and surrounding hills, including the area covered in this survey. This occupation was concentrated around the richest resource zones - the wetlands and associated waterways. In the lower Waipori catchment there was rich forest nearby, adding to the attractions of the locality.

Archaeological Sites

Maori archaeological sites within the survey area include pa, nohoaka, umu (earth ovens), rock-shelters, and isolated find spots. This range of site types is reflective of richness in diversity of other sites in the wider Taieri lowlands and surrounding hills.

In an archaeological sense very little is known of sites on what we now call the Taieri Plains. No archaeological excavations have been carried out on the known sites in the survey area, and many of the sites on record are not precisely located in the real landscape. We simply do not know exactly where some of these taoka were found, as many were uncovered at apparently random points during drainage operations. Furthermore, many of the old sites remain hidden, while local knowledge of various finds has passed on un-recorded.

There are comparatively few archaeological sites of Maori origin recorded in the hills west of Maungatua, yet local historians state that on the inner hills "bleached moa bones and abandoned Maori ovens lay scattered amongst the tussocks" (Shaw and Farrant, 1949:39). Reports of "Maori ovens and other relics" (ibid.:51) alongside the track down the western edge of the Taieri lowlands is more reflective of the higher recorded site density here.

Maori Archaeological Sites Recorded in the Lower Waipori Catchment

There are at least two known **pa** sites in the survey area, and several other pa in close proximity.

Whakaraupuka (Ram Island; H45/5)
Located at the southern extremity of Lake Waipori, this was the pa of Tukiauau. The pa comprised an island fortress overlooking the strategic junction with Lake Waihola. Steep sides and water surrounds provided an ideal natural setting for a fortification. No earthworks were evident in 1899 (Roberts, 1910:7) and it seems likely that the pallisading was constructed at the top of the natural embankment surrounding the fairly flat-topped island. Tukiauau abandoned the site for a southern destination, an event that had local repercussions as a result of an incident at Motupara pa at the mouth of the Taieri River.

A taurapa in Otago Museum (D33.2095) was reportedly found at Whakaraupuka, and numerous taoka were uncovered during the first ploughing in the mid 1950's including adzes, sandstone grinders, and stone-flake tools, filling at least two apple cases (H.Sinclair, pers. comm.). Several orthoquartzite flakes were recovered from the pa site in 1970s (Z1197 in Otago Museum) and oven stones and kakahi midden were noticed at the north end on a recent visit with iwi representatives.

Marama-te-taha (No site number)
This pa stood on the hill westwards of the lagoon carrying the same name (later called Loch Ascog; Beattie,1930). While the actual site looks fairly obvious, no archaeological material is known from the locality, and it is not registered on the New Zealand Archaeological Association Site Files.

At least two other pa are known across the Taieri River from the, survey area; Omoua at the entrance to the lower gorge, and Tupari Taniwha at Amoka, near the current airport. Another pa stood near Poutakahiamaru at the southern end of Lake Waihola.

Recovered Taoka

The numerous taoka unearthed from the Taieri lowlands over the last one hundred years or so reflect the rich way of life of the earlier inhabitants. The high quality of finish and degree of ornamentation of some of these taoka show considerable skills and an obvious pride in manufacture. In terms of function, many relate to water travel as would be expected, others point to activities such as food gathering and timber working. The very nature of the Taieri wetlands has led to good preservation of perishable objects, which in turn, given the popularity of the area by Maori, has resulted in recovery of many superb taoka from the overall 'lower' Taieri catchment.

Some of the places from which taoka have been recovered would be amongst the many nohoaka sites located around the Taieri wetlands (Kai Tahu Claims Settlement, Schedule 70, p.378). There could be further structural evidence at some of these sites, or the taoka re-covered could have originally been cached or stored at pieces very briefly occupied.

Maori Archaeological Sites Recorded in the Upper Waipori Catchment

H44/461 - Recorded as a 'rock shelter'. There are several rock shelters in the survey area that could have been occupied by Maori. Given the bleak weather conditions that apply to this part of the country at times throughout the year these places provided ready-made shelter from the unexpected or sudden arrival of cold fronts. Archaeological excavation would be required to assess any cultural remains at each potential outcrop. The rock shelters would also be likely encampments during prolonged activities in the upper catchment.

H44/896 - An adze was reportedly found at this point closely adjoining the main stream by a gold-miner during sluicing operations.

Other Sites of Maori Interest in the Waipori Catchment

Urupa

Ancient urupa exist in various unknown places throughout the survey area, and can be unexpectedly revealed through erosion or development in any place.

Tracks

The rather elongated Taieri and adjoining Tokomariro lowlands ran parallel with the coast, making the fairly direct route a popular way for foot traffic. The old Maori track following the western side of the Taieri lowlands was still evident in the mid-1800s (Shaw and Farrant, 1949: 51). This connected the various nohoaka along the way and was a major north-south access, fording the Taieri River near the current site of Outram township.

Several tracks passed through the survey area, following the lowlands, and heading inland (Shaw and Farrant, 1949:30,51). The main road along the western side of the plains to Outram appears to follow the old track to a ford in the Taieri River. Other tracks fell into disuse during the early 1800s.

Most travel around the Taieri lowlands, however, was by water craft. The vast network of lakes, rivers, and streams provided the easiest movement around the wetlands and through to the coast via the tidal Taieri River. Waka and paddles feature amongst the considerable number of important taoka unearthed around the Taieri plains in modern times.

Landings

Those places were strategically located amongst the network of tracks through the region. Many of these localities can only be guessed at these days, but at least one important landing is known on the north western shore of Lake Waipori, at the foot of the leading spur now supporting Prentice Road. Other landings would be sited at the various pa and nohoaka.

Natural Features of Importance to Maori

Natural sites of importance, now difficult to relocate, would include pools, springs, rock outcrops (some possibly tu-ahu) and topographical features that would have been special places, in some cases tapu.

Woods

Sources of timber and the bird and other life forest areas supported. Timber in the Lower Waipori gorge included totara, rimu, matai, black pine, red birch and manuka amongst other species (Shaw and Farrant, 1949:53). Totara for example, was popular for waka construction, and the bark was used for housing. Forest birds included pigeon, parakeets and tui.

Mahika kai

The whole area was of significance in this respect. Tuna, kanakana, flounders and kakahi were widely available. The raupo, rushes, harakeke and toitoi covered marsh areas housed abundant water-fowl, especially ducks, which were taken in numbers during the moulting season. Thelma Smith's wonderful descriptions inform us of the diversity of life in the area, including the weka which was an important resource to Maori.

Modern Issues

Heavy demand for timber from around the mid-1880s resulted in clearance of large tracts of forest, and the saw-milling industry at Waipori would account for massive reduction of the forest and the life it supported in this area. The most dramatic alterations to the Waipori catchment, however, followed the discovery of gold in

1861. Sluicing in the upper catchment displaced spoil from the valley sides into the bed of the river, and ultimately the lake, which had an original depth of 14 feet in places (Shaw and Farrant, 1949:69).

There is evidence that indicates sluicing for gold in the upper Waipori catchment disturbed cultural sites of Maori origin (eg. Site H44/896) while deposition of spoil in the lower catchment has covered sites, providing an element. of protection at the cost of the environment that once supported the tangata whenua. Construction of the dam for hydro-electric power could have affected any sites lining the river that had survived the ravages of gold mining, but this would now be difficult to quantify.

Drainage of the lowlands for agriculture and transportation compounded the silting up of the waterways through the removal of forest and mining activities, but led to the recovery of most of the cultural material of Maori origin recorded from the Taieri Plains. Construction of new drains and maintenance of those existing has the potential to reveal yet more taoka.

The most obvious potential for damages to any site in the survey area is from modification to the ground through a wide range of developments, such as road formation, quarrying, construction of logging facilities and drainage. Development has provided most of the archaeological material recovered from the survey area, and with appropriate supervision where necessary has the potential to teach us more.

Current Cultural Environment

Kai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 (Settlement Act)

The Settlement Act has provided Kai Tahu with a variety of redress that affects areas and sites within the Waipori catchment.

Ownership of the ***Sinclair Wetlands*** has been given to Kai Tahu. This area is considered a waahi taoka by Kai Tahu because it is a healthy representation of the once vast and abundant mahika kai area of the Taieri Plains. The ownership of this wetland is an opportunity for Kai Tahu to reassert its rangatirataka over this significant site by regaining direct control over its management.

Statutory Acknowledgements (SA) is an instrument that aims to improve the effectiveness of Kai Tahu's participation under the RMA, and the protection that areas significant to Kai Tahu receive under that Act. A statement of Kai Tahu's association to each of the 65 areas has been recorded in the Settlement Act, plus five Coastal Statutory Acknowledgements.

Deeds of Recognition (DoR) apply to the same areas as the SAs and compliment them by providing for Kai Tahu input into decision-making processes of the Crown body responsible for the administration of each of those areas. The Crown body is either Department of Conservation (DoC) or Land Information NZ (LINZ).

The combination of DoRs and SAs provide Kai Tahu with input into decisions made by the Crown as a landowner in these areas, and, through the RMA, into decisions about activities of the Crown or any other persons which affect these areas.

There is one SA and DoR within the Waipori catchment, which is ***Lakes Waihola / Waipori***. The statement of Kai Tahu association with this area reinforces what has already been mentioned in this chapter. Appendix 3 contains the schedule of statement from the Settlement Act.

A ***Topuni*** confirms and places an 'overlay' of Kai Tahu values on specific pieces of land managed by DoC. The concept of Topuni derives from the traditional Kai Tahu tikanga (custom) of persons of rangatira (chiefly) status extending their mana and protection over a person or area by placing their cloak over them or it. In its new application, a Topuni does not override or alter the existing status of the land (eg. National Park), but ensures that Kai Tahu values are also recognised, acknowledged and provided for.

There is one Topuni within the Waipori catchment, it is the mountain range ***Maukaatua***. Appendix 4 contains a statement of Kai Tahu values in relation to this area.

The loss of **mahika kai** was addresses under the Settlement Act by 4 mechanisms, nohoaka, customary fisheries management, taoka species management and coastal space. The mechanisms of relevance to this CIA is discussed below.

There are no ***nohoaka*** sites within the Waipori Catchment. The closest are the three on the Taieri River, one between Middlemarch and Sutton, one near Paerau, and one upstream of Paerau on the Logan Burn.

There are eight separate but interconnected elements within the ***Customary Fisheries*** section of the Settlement. These provisions will enable Kai Tahu to have greater access to customary fisheries of importance to the tribe and greater input to the management of those fisheries. The elements that relate to the Waipori catchment are as follows.

- *Acknowledgement* of Ngai Tahu's special relationship to a number of taoka fish species including Taiwharu or Giant Kokopu, Piripiripohatu or Torrentfish, Paraki or Common Smelt and Kokopu or Giant Bully.
- Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu (TRONT) are recognised as an *Statutory Advisory* to the Minister of Fisheries and the Minister of Conservation, and must be consulted. The Ministers must have particular regard to TRONT's advice in relation to the management of the taoka fish species.
- *Customary Freshwater Fisheries Regulations* are to be developed for customary freshwater fisheries managed under the Conservation Act. They are to be promulgated within 2 years of the passing of the Settlement Act.
- Seven species not currently taken under commercial permits, will be formally *excluded from commercial fishing*, these include Kanakana (Southern Lamprey), Kakahi (Freshwater Mussel) and Waikoura (Freshwater Crayfish).
- *Temporary Closure* (rahui) of specific fisheries is reintroduced.
- The *South Island Eel Management Plan* is supported by the Crown and certain specific aspects of the Plan are to be implemented. The Plan is formulated by Ngai Tahu, northern South Island iwi and non-Maori commercial and non-commercial eel fishers.

There are only three native fish species in Lake Mahinerangi, Koaro, Common Bully and Koura (freshwater crayfish). No eel population is thought to exist in the lake. Trout and Perch are also present. Tributaries to the lake contain Dusky Galaxias, Galaxias Eldoni and Longfin Eels, as well as Brown Trout.

The lower Waipori River contains a wide range of fish, including Longfin Eels, Common and Red-finned Bullies, Banded Kokopu and Inanga. Trout and Perch are also present. Lakes Waipori and Waihola support at least 12 species including Eel and whitebait fishery. Rare species include the Giant and Banded Kokopu.

Ngai Tahu's special relationship with 49 bird species, 54 plant species and 6 marine mammals is recognised and acknowledged. These are referred to as ***Taoka Species***. Of relevance to the Waipori catchment is the following native bird taoka species:

Bellbird	Koparapara *or* Korimako
Kingfisher	Kotare
White Heron	Kotuku
Blue Duck	Kowhiowhio
Wood Pigeon	Kereru *or* Kukupa
Swamp Hen	Pukeko *or* Pakura
Grey Duck	Parera
Fantail	Piwakawaka
Paradise Shelduck	Putakiaki
Tui	Tui
Black Stilt	Kaki
Pied Stilt	Poaka
Black, Pied and Little Shag	Koau
Rifleman	Tititipounamu

Conclusion

Kai Tahu's use of Te Wai Pounamu's natural resources was extensive rather than intensive. That involved sophisticated use of a wide range of resources in an integrated economy. This economy rested on an equally elaborate system of customary use, based on complexities of whakapapa, seasonal migrations and trade.

Kai Tahu adapted their economy to the resources available to them. Maori life in Te Wai Pounamu was never static, and was always subject to the ebb and flow of the seasons, to changes in climate and the availability of resources. Like all living cultures the society adapted to meet needs.

The lower reaches of the Waipori River were used frequently and valued highly by Kai Tahu. Lake Waipori was part of the vast Taieri Plains wetlands which was a plentiful source of mahika kai. The upper reaches of the Waipori River were used and traveled over less by Kai Tahu. This was in part due to the difficult access up the rugged gorge, and in part due to the dead end nature of the catchment when

compared to the neighbouring Taieri River. However, the upper reaches of the Waipori River would have been routinely traveled and used, albeit less often. The current unmodified nature of the Waipori Gorge makes it an important river to Kai Tahu today and in the future.

This chapter has highlighted the traditional use by Kai Tahu of the Waipori catchment. The current use has also been included as an indicator of the loss of cultural relationship between Kai Tahu and this river system. Waipori Power's use of this catchment has contributed to that loss.