Aukaha
KIA KAHA, AU KAHA

Cultural Narrative *for* North East Valley School

North East Valley Normal School Cultural Narrative

This cultural narrative provides two types of information for North East Valley Normal School – that which is of a celestial nature and that which is of a historical nature – and it is important to be cognisant of this when using the information with classes and students. This information is from the Kāi Tahu tribe, with a focus on Otago and the area your school is in. The bibliography supplied will allow you to follow up on particular references for your students, classes and so forth.

It is important to note that our tribal dialect is used in this report. The ng is replaced by the k; for example, “Ranginui” is “Rakinui” in our dialect. We also use words and idioms particular to our tribe.

Macrons are another crucial part of the Māori language. They indicate whether the vowel is long or short. If a word has a macron on a particular vowel, it must be used when naming classrooms or other spaces. This is the official orthographic convention from the Māori Language Commission.

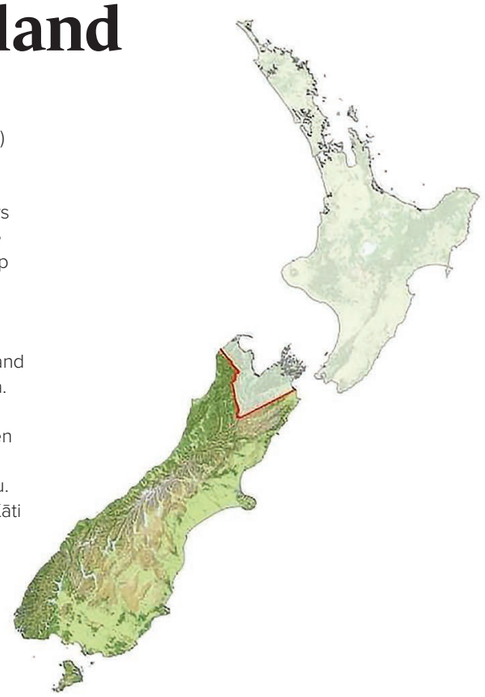
We hope this cultural narrative will be a source of learning and development for your school. Please get in touch with Aukaha (1997) Ltd if you have any questions.

The Kāi Tahu tribal area of the South Island

The South Island (Te Waipounamu) of New Zealand not only has an entirely different landscape to that of the North Island (Te Ika-a-Maui) but also a different indigenous demographic.

The South Island was originally inhabited by early Polynesian settlers known as Kāti Hāwea among the ancestors of southern Māori. 1 The following onset of people were the Waitaha. They are an early group of people who are known to have arrived on the canoe, the Uruao; their legacy was left in the many places they named in the South Island. The well-known southern tribal ancestor Rākaihautū of the Waitaha people was described as a giant. He carved out the lakes and rivers of the South Island with his digging stick named Tūwhakarōria.

The consequent migration and intermarriage of Kāti Māmoe and then Kāi Tahu from the east coast of the North Island to the South Island and into Waitaha procured a stronghold for Māori in Te Waipounamu. Map 1 illustrates the large tribal area now associated with Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu in the South Island.



Introduction to the Kāi Tahu creation story

In our southern Māori history, the creation story is very detailed and somewhat different. The original story itself has been recorded, edited and published in a book that is accessible in most libraries and could be used in the classroom, Te Waiatatanga Mai o nga Atua: South Island Traditions. [2] This book is a good place to start if you are interested in the original creation beliefs; it focuses on the tribal narrative of Kāi Tahu. The narrative was told by Matiaha Tiramorehu (he was Kāi Tahu, and he died in 1881). Te Waka o Aoraki and Tūterakiwhānoa feature as the oldest stories that connect to Otago.

Aoraki was one of the senior progeny from Rakinui's (male) first marriage to Pokohāruatepō (female). Raki's (Rakinui) second marriage was to Papatūānuku. Aoraki and his brothers were interested in Raki's new wife and descended from the heavens in their waka (canoe) to greet Papatūānuku. The meeting appears to have been amicable, but a mistake was made in the requisite prayers when Aoraki attempted to once again ascend to their celestial home, and the canoe began to list. Aoraki and his crew scrambled to the high ground but were caught by the sun's rays and turned to granite, becoming the highest peaks of the Southern Alps.

The nephew of Aoraki, Tūterakiwhānoa, was charged with the responsibility of determining the whereabouts of his uncles – he discovered that they and their waka had become an island in the vast ocean. After a period of grieving, he grasped his great adze, Te Hamo, and set about shaping the canoe and its inhabitants so that it could be an inhabitable land mass.

He carved out the sounds in Fiordland and Marlborough and formed the peninsulas along the eastern seaboard, including Otago Peninsula, Huriawa Peninsula and the Moeraki Peninsula. He left the atua kaitiaki (guardians) Kahukura and Rokonui-ā-tau in place, and they remained until the time the old religion was abandoned and Christianity was adopted.

After the entire South Island had been shaped fit for habitation, Tūterakiwhānoa returned to Piopiotahi/Milford Sound. It was brought to his attention that the sound was so beautiful that those who saw it would never move on. His relation, the goddess Hinenuitepō, left behind the small namunamu, or sandfly, to ensure that nobody would stay in the area for too long.

Matamata

A very localised tradition relates to a guardian taniwha known as Matamata, who appears in many traditions in the South Island, from as far north as Marlborough to the Hokonui Hills.

He is an ancestor of the Kāti Māmoe tribe, and the local chief Karetai was his descendant.

Below is an account recorded by the Rev. Thomas Pybus for his book, The Maoris of the South Island:
Regarding their legends, the Māori people of Ōtākou used to speak about taniwhas and fabulous monsters which performed extraordinary deeds. Hoani Karetai, the paramount chief of Ōtākou, used to speak about a taniwha which was the guardian of the spirit of a famous Kāti Māmoe chief. This taniwha lost its master and set out in search of him. From Silverstream near the base of Whare Flat, it journeyed as far as the present Mosgiel. Then it took its course down the Taieri River and wriggling, caused all the sharp bends and twists in the river. The same taniwha scooped out the Otago Harbour. The monster now lies solidified in the Saddle Hill. The humps of the hill are named Pukemakamaka and Turimakamaka. [3]

Araiteuru

The story of the Araiteuru canoe is well known and most often associated with Te Kai Hinaki beach below Hampden village, where the Moeraki Boulders are to be found. The story, though, is much more comprehensive than the simple tale of a wrecked canoe that is most often recounted.

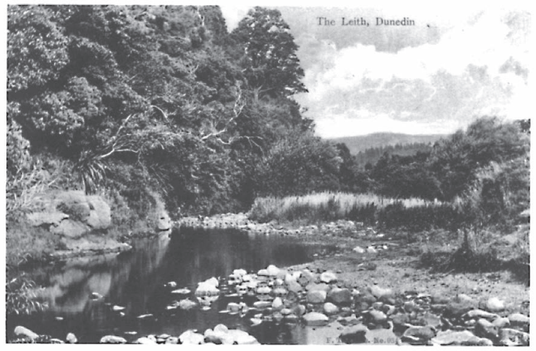
Araiteuru was one of two canoes that were built from a log discovered on the beach by an ancestor called Roko-i-tua. He had just introduced a local tribe to the pleasures of dried kumara, and they sailed two canoes to Hawaiki to collect some of the seed kumara to bring back to Aotearoa. Unfortunately, the crew of the sister canoe, Mānuka, did not perform the appropriate rituals and their precious cargo rotted. Meanwhile, the Araiteuru made landfall on the North Island's east coast and they planted the seed kumara, introducing it to Aotearoa.

The Araiteuru continued sailing south until it struck a storm somewhere around the Kaikoura coast. The first of the crew to fall overboard was Te Tapuaenuku, who became the famous mountain of the same name that overlooks eastern Marlborough.

A plethora of placenames was bestowed on the landscape in remembrance of each crew member or passenger who fell overboard. There are several names on Banks Peninsula and up the Waitaki Valley, including Kohurau (Kurow) and Aoraki. Araiteuru finally capsized at Matakaea (Shag Point). It seems that parties of survivors then travelled inland; as a result, a number of Dunedin landscape placenames are associated with Araiteuru as each of the survivors was turned to stone and became mountains, hills or coastal rocks.

One story tells of Pakihiwitahi, a senior crew member, who sent his servant girl, Puketapu, to collect firewood following the wreck. She travelled as far as Southland to gather the wood and was carrying it back, tied Māori style to her back, when some of the firewood fell off at the Ōwheo (Leith River). A clump of forest immediately sprang up at the point where the wood fell to the ground, becoming the bush around Ōtepoti. Other firewood fell at Waitete (Waitati), Puketeraki, Kā Iwi-O-Te-Weka (Mount Baldie) and Ōwhata (Goodwood). The sun caught Puketapu just before she returned to her master. Puketapu is now known as the conical hill that oversees Palmerston, while Pakihiwitahi is the one-shouldered hill that State Highway 1 cuts through at the southernmost point of the Katiki straight.

If you stand at Matakaea (Shag Point) and look to the rocky reefs immediately adjacent to the shore, you can see stone remnants of the wreck, including a large pillar known as Hipo (the canoe's captain), a large flat rock representing the sails, and a sea-battered reef that is Araiteuru itself.



Ōwheo

The Ōwheo (Leith) is the original name of the awa (river) that flows out to the harbour. It has been significantly altered from its natural form through the use of concrete structures, deforestation and land reclamation. Ōwheo channels water from the river catchments of Leith Valley and North East Valley to Te Awa o Ōtākou (the Otago Harbour).

It was named after a local Māori ancestor and Ōwheo was also the name of a small village situated where Howe and Leith Streets now meet. The site of present-day Dunedin was not a permanent settlement for Kāi Tahu, but several seasonal nohoaka (settlements) were located there for the purpose of mahika kai. These nohoaka included:

- **Ōwheo, a small nohoaka on the edge of the awa Ōwheo, where Howe and Leith Streets now meet** [4]
- **Te Tūtai o Te Matauira (also recorded as Tūtae a Te Matauira), on the beach near the mouth of the Ōwheo** [5]
- **Ngā Moana e Rua, a nohoaka at Ōtepoti where tuna were gathered, and the site of a hāpua (lagoon)** [6]
- **Mataukareao, a nohoaka and tauraka waka (landing place for canoes) at the bottom of present-day Hanover Street.** [7]

> “Ōwheo channels water from the river catchments of Leith Valley and North East Valley to Te Awa o Ōtākou (the Otago Harbour). It was named after a local Maori ancestor and Ōwheo was also the name of a small village situated where Howe and Leith Streets now meet."

According to Tahu Pōtiki (2019),
These, and other Upper Harbour settlements, were occupied seasonally for the purpose of mahika kai – food cultivation and gathering. Prior to the establishment of Dunedin City this area was an abundant hunting ground with a plentiful fresh-water fishery, prodigious birdlife, forest plants and seafood. The small bays made ideal landing places for waka (canoes) carrying those from the more permanent villages at the harbour mouth on their way to gather food or to access trails to other parts of the South Island. [8]

Types of food gathered at the mouth of the Ōwheo would have included riverine and estuarine fish such as waharoa, pipiki, patete, paraki (all names for smelt, Retropinna retropinna), panako, upokororo (grayling, Prototroctes oxyrhynchus, now extinct), īnaka, mata (minnows and whitebait, Galaxias spp), kōkopu and koukoupara (native trout and bullies, Galaxias fasciatus and Gobiomorphus gobioides). [9]

Harakeke (flax) would have been prevalent, as was raupō (bulrush), aruhe (fern root), tī kōuka (cabbage tree) and tutu, all important plant foods. Ducks, weka, tūī (also called kōkō) and other birds would have been caught, as well as the kiore (the Polynesian rat, Ratus exulans) and wild kurī (the Polynesian dog, Canis lupus familiaris, now extinct). [10]
Most important, however, was the abundance of tuna (eels), which could be harvested at the mouth of Dunedin’s various awa (including Ōwheo, Toitū and Ōpoho). [11]

Otago Peninsula history

The Otago Peninsula has a long history of occupation beginning with that of Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand. The origins of how the peninsula was formed have been cemented in southern Māori narratives, as discussed previously. Early occupation of the peninsula was focused at the harbour entrance rather than near the mainland or across the peninsula. This area remains occupied today by the descendants of the first people to live on the peninsula. Muaūpoko has recently been adopted by our people as the overarching Māori name for the Otago Peninsula. However, this name’s attachment to the peninsula is spurious as there is only one source for it, from Herries Beattie in 1915. The name Muaupoko is also not mentioned in the original Deed of Sale of Otago, which was signed by 23 Māori leaders and two “proxies” on 31 July 1844 at Kōpūtai (Port Chalmers) across the harbour from the Otago Peninsula.

Ōtākou is the significant name of the area. Ōtākou was originally the name of the waterway that spans the area from Taiaroa Head to Harwood township. Although it is an ocean harbour, it was known as an awa (river) by our old people because of its river-like appearance. Ōtākou is more widely recognised in the Otago area today as the name for the entire harbour and the settlement at the lower end of the Otago Peninsula. Otago (a modified version of Ōtākou) eventually became the name for the entire southern region. The origins of the meaning are still somewhat dubious although, as Beattie recorded, the word “kou” in Ōtākou means a jutting point or an end point, which may describe the shape of the area of Ōtākou.

The earliest activity on the Otago Peninsula was two moa butchery sites in the 1150-1300AD period, one at Harwood on the peninsula and one at Andersons Bay on the mainland, according to Anderson. [12] The following waves of people migrated in different phases from the North Island and married into the existing groups of people. Kāti Māmoe were the first in the series of migrations south. The migration that followed Kāti Māmoe were descendants of an ancestor, Tahupōtiki, who lived on the east coast of the North Island around the area now known as Hawke’s Bay. The Kāi Tahu tribe is a well-known Māori entity of the South Island today and takes its name from Tahupōtiki.

A series of events over a relatively short timeframe explains Kāi Tahu’s position at the harbour entrance of the Otago Peninsula. The first known arrival of Kāi Tahu to Otago started with the ancestor Waitai, who journeyed south leaving behind his siblings and relations, who were known as Kāti Kurī. Kāti Kurī lived in the Wellington area and made their way to the South Island.

Otago Peninsula history cont…

Waitai made his way south to the fortified village, Pukekura (Taiaroa Head), where he became resident. He married the sister of Te Rakitauneke, a local Kāti Māmoe chief, and an alliance was established. The pair embarked on a number of skirmishes throughout Otago, and Waitai was eventually killed by local Kāti Māmoe.

Another manoeuvre around the same time involved a well-known figure named Tarewai, who was based at Pukekura. While Waitai was gone, he had left the pā (village) in the hands of his two brothers and their nephew, Tarewai. There was tension between the more recent inhabitants like Tarewai and others. The Kāti Māmoe had invited Tarewai and some of his colleagues to a place known today as the Pyramids, near Papanui Inlet on the Otago Peninsula, on the premise that they would help them to build a house. After a day's work and kai (food) they started to play some wrestling type games, and Tarewai was taken by surprise as men held him down and started to cut his stomach open with their weapons. According to accounts, he was a large, strong man and was able to throw off the attackers and make an escape. However, he left behind his mere pounamu (greenstone weapon).

Tarewai hid at Hereweka, where he healed his wounds with the fat of a weka and planned a return to retrieve his mere pounamu. He eventually returned one night to the village of Kāti Māmoe, who were sitting around a fire admiring his mere pounamu. Tarewai pretended to be another villager by feigning their speech impediment, was handed his mere pounamu and took off into the night. Tarewai eventually returned to Pukekura; Kāti Māmoe had established a pā (village) opposite Pukekura named Rakipipikao. Tarewai successfully created a diversion so that he could run along the beach and back into the safety of his pā. The spot where he leapt to his safety is named "Te Rereka o Tarewai". Tarewai and his uncles then sought revenge on Kāti Māmoe over a period of time, pursuing them into Southland. Tarewai met his demise in Fiordland.

Following the skirmishes at Pukekura and a brief period of asserting dominance, the Ōtākou people enjoyed a relatively settled period with no external threats, during which they formalised peace-making arrangements with sub-tribes to the north. There were a number of significant battles, and the Tarewai battle is a useful one to retell for tamariki. The places where he battled or recuperated can be visited, and the imagery of the mere can be illustrated in art work and so forth.

Trails and movement

Kāi Tahu were a nomadic people who travelled extensively on land and sea. They travelled from Ōtākou villages up the Otago Harbour and into bays and inlets within the Dunedin area, known as Ōtepoti. This area was a landing spot and a point from which the Ōtākou-based Māori would hunt in the surrounding bush. Māori would drag their waka into estuaries and walk by foot to food-gathering places such as the Taiari (now known as Taieri), which was rich in food sources like birds and eels. Four species of moa roamed the Otago Peninsula, and there were moa hunter sites in Andersons Bay, St Kilda and St Clair.

Māori also followed tracks over the peninsula, around the Lawyers Head area and into the Taiari plain. According to traditions, the bush was so thick in the Dunedin area that when some Europeans ventured in they never returned. The lakes and wetland area now known as Te Nohoaka o Tukiauau/Sinclair Wetlands (a fantastic place to visit with students) was teeming with kai, including whitebait, eels, lamprey and birdlife. Shortland suggests that the ancient walking tracks were falling into disuse by the time he explored the Otago area because of the superior marine technology that Māori had employed over the previous 40 years. The whaling boat proved to be an improved mode of transport from the carved single or double-hulled Māori vessels that dominated sea transport until the arrival of the European.

Treaty of Waitangi and the consequent land sales in Dunedin

In 1836, the ship The Sydney Packet arrived at Ōtākou with a few influenza cases on board. The disease immediately attacked Māori and the people died in hundreds, reducing the population to an alarming degree. Following the demise of the Ōtākou Māori population came the loss of land. This began with the Treaty of Waitangi, which was taken by Major Bunbury throughout the Kāi Tahu tribal region to obtain southern Māori signatures. The Treaty had been signed by many iwi (tribes) in the North Island, and Korako and Karetai signed it at Taiaroa Head on 13 June 1840. They were among seven signatures for southern Māori. The premise they accepted in their hearts and minds was that under the Treaty they would retain their lands and have equal protection and rights with British citizens. Political struggle over the total disregard of the promises agreed to in the Treaty of Waitangi would continue for 150 years.

After the signing of the Treaty came the most significant contractual breach for Māori on the Otago Peninsula. Under pressure from the New Zealand Company, the British Crown waived its right of pre-emption as stated in the Treaty of Waitangi, allowing the New Zealand Company to negotiate with the local chiefs for the purchase of land in the south. The New Zealand Company and the Free Church of Scotland selected the area on the mainland at the head of the harbour for a permanent site, to be called New Edinburgh. Frederick Tuckett, a surveyor for the New Zealand Company, was assigned to oversee the purchase of the site. In 1844, George Clarke wrote an account of the proceedings in Otago, which included Tuckett, surveyors and local Māori. They had come to survey the land for a "New Edinborough, the Dunedin of the future". [14]
Kāi Tahu wanted to keep 21,250 acres of Otago Peninsula land with ancestral sites for themselves. However, the Europeans did not agree and would not proceed with the sale unless the peninsula was included. The Māori conceded to accept only the land at the northern end of the peninsula and a few other areas outside of that, totalling 9,612 acres. On 31 July 1844 at Kōpūtai, 25 chiefs signed the Otago Deed, selling around 400,000 acres for £2,400. Of the 400,000 acres, 150,000 acres would be chosen for the New Edinburgh site. In addition to this land, verbal agreements were made to reserve 10% of all land sold, known as "the tenths", in trust for the benefit of Kāi Tahu. The agreement was not honoured, and work began on New Edinburgh on the mainland in 1846.

The organised settlement of the suburban and rural areas of the peninsula began in 1848, focusing on Andersons Bay and Portobello. The peninsula was divided into farms of about 50 acres, which were gradually occupied and supplied a growing Dunedin with food. West states that "the sale of the Otago Block to the New Zealand Company in 1844 was by far the most significant event that shifted control over the Peninsula… the Ōtākou Māori were stranded on the northern tip of the Otago Peninsula, confined to meagre portions of their once vast property. The way was thereby opened to the European settlement, and the making of a new environment on the Otago Peninsula."[15]

Place names around North East Valley

It is best to refrain from attempting to translate names from Māori to English as the meanings are often complex or forgotten. Some definitions and descriptions from different resources are recorded here:

Tauraka Pīpīpī	This is the Māori name for Black Jacks Point (which is opposite the stadium and where the quarry is).
Ōtepoti	The corner shape of a food-gathering kete made from flax is called a “poti”. This could be seen in the corner shape of the harbour coming up to George Street, which does not visually exist now.
Kapuketaumahaka	These are possible names for Mount Cargill. Kapuketaumahaka has been mispelled and misinterpreted for many years. In recent times, mana whenua have come to a fuller understanding of the name, which is one of an ancestor. Mihiwaka is also the possible name for Mount Cargill, as confirmed by our tūpuna.
Te Pahure-o-te-Rangipokiha	Te Pahure-o-te-Rangipokiha is the area known as Ravensbourne today. Ōpoho Creek runs south along the western flank of Te Pahure-o-te-Rangipokiha before being diverted through culverts and flowing into Ōwheo (the Water of Leith).
Ōwheo	This is the name for the Leith River (discussed earlier).
Ōpoho	Ōpoho was also the name for the former inlet at Otago Harbour known as Pelichet Bay, which was reclaimed in 1913 to construct the sports ground at Logan Park. Ōpoho Creek flows through this today. The name is possibly also related to the tūpuna, Waitai’s brother, Poho.
Whānau-paki (Flagstaff)	The prominant hill that overlooks the northwest of Dunedin.
Whāwhā-raupō	Swampy Summit mountain.

Mahika kai (food gathering)

Tuna

Both freshwater and saltwater tuna (eels) were an incredibly important food source for Kāi Tahu, and their availability could be relied upon when travelling. [16] Tuna were harvested at all times of year and could be relied upon as a food source from awa (rivers) or repo (wetlands). [17]

Tuna were also harvested systematically during the time of the tuna heke (eel migration).[18] Particular whānau (families) would often travel to seasonal nohoaka (settlements) to carry out eeling activities. They were responsible for harvesting and preserving tuna to share with their hapū or for use in the traditional practice of kai hau kai.

Southern Māori also followed astronomical indicators: Beattie, a Pākehā ethnographer who collected the kōrero of many southern Māori kaumātua, was told by one of his informants that “the people used to go by stars, Puaka in particular, for eeling.” [19] One recorded environmental indicator that signalled the start of systematic harvesting of tuna was the flowering of the pōpōhue (wire vine, Muehlenbeckia complexa). [20]

Origin of tuna

Stories of tuna’s origin were told by Kāi Tahu kaumātua to both Beattie and the Reverend Wohlers.[21] Both told of the origin of tuna in the time of Māui, the Polynesian demi-god, aswell as methods of catching tuna and some of the plant species associated with tuna.

In both versions, Tuna was a taniwha who took advantage of Māui’s wife (or wives). Māui planned his revenge, eventually trapping Tuna and hacking his body to pieces with his toki (adze). The upper half of Tuna’s body flew into the ocean, where it became the kōiro, or conger eel. The lower half flew into the river, where it became the tuna, or freshwater eel.

Pieces of Tuna’s body were flung into the forest, where they became plant species such as aka (vines), pukapuka (the rangiora tree) and kōareare (raupō root). Various versions of this story have been told by Māori throughout Aotearoa: some say that other plant species, such as kareao (supplejack) and akatorotoro (clinging rātā vine), originated from the hacked-off parts of Tuna’s body, [22] while other versions cite Tuna’s blood as the reason for the red plumage on many birds and the red colour of many forest berries, leaves and sap. [23]

Classification of tuna

The western classification of New Zealand eels accounts for just two species: the longfin eel (Anguilla dieffenbachia) and the shortfin eel (Anguilla australis).

Longfin eels can be found throughout New Zealand. They live mainly in rivers and inland lakes but can be found in almost all types of waters, usually well inland from the coast. They are legendary climbers and have made their way well inland in most river systems, even those with natural barriers. Elvers (young eels) swimming up river will climb waterfalls and even dams by leaving the water and wriggling over damp areas. It is not unheard of for an eel to climb a waterfall of up to 20 metres. [24]

Māori categorised tuna differently, according to size, colour, habitat, behaviour and taste.

Beattie recorded 24 names for eels used by Kāi Tahu:

- Aroake
- Hao
- Horepara
- Horihori-wai
- Kirirua
- Kouka
- Mairehe
- Manawa
- Matamoi
- Papaaka
- Tuna hau
- Tuna heke
- Tuna kai noke
- Tuna Pākehā
- Tuna raka
- Kohekehe
- Korakiraki
- Kotokoto
- Reko
- Riko
- Take-harakeke
- Tuna tai
- Weko
- Winiwini hao [25]

The conger eel (Leptocephalus verreauxi) is more properly known in Māori as the kōiro. It is found in salt water.

“Tuna was a taniwha who took advantage of Māui’s wife (or wives). Māui planned his revenge, eventually trapping Tuna and hacking his body to pieces with his toki (adze). The upper half of Tuna’s body flew into the ocean, where it became the kōiro, or conger eel. The lower half flew into the river, where it became the tuna, or freshwater eel.

Catching tuna

Southern Māori had many different methods for catching tuna, three of which are described below: bobbing, spearing and trapping in hīnaki (eel pots).

1. Bobbing: A bob was made of noke (worms) threaded on a "wand" made from a string of frayed harakeke, which was then dropped into the water. When the tuna had bitten down on the worms, it would be hauled out onto dry ground and killed. [26]

2. Spearing: Tuna were traditionally speared using a matarau (a mānuka spear with several wooden prongs at its end). Spearing could occur during the day, or at night using a rama (torch). [27]

3. Using hīnaki: A hīnaki was usually crafted out of vines (such as akatorotoro or pōpōhue), kareao (supplejack, also known as pirita), and kōrari (flax sticks). The hīnaki was made of concentric circles of vines held in place by harakeke and smaller vines. It would be placed in the water; once tuna had swum into its mouth, they could not escape. [28]

Hīnaki (eel pots)

Beattie recorded the following description of the form and function of the hīnaki:

To make eelpots (hīnaki), pirita (supplejack) could be split and used; korari (flax sticks), aka vine, tororaro (a vine which grows on the flats) could be used also. The mouth of the pot was of flax and was called puraki and the flax part which led from the puraki into the pot was called te rohe.

The hīnaki is long and round and good ones were made of aka vine ... To keep the framework of aka in place, hoops (pōtaka) of pirita or big branches of aka are inserted at necessary intervals.

The big opening at the front of the hīnaki is called te-rae-o-te-hīnaki or te-kutu-o-te-hīnaki while the small opening at the rear end is known as te-kumu-o-te-hīnaki. The puraki is the mouth through which the eel enters te rohe and from the latter it passes into the pot and cannot return.

The loose flax strings which are its doom are called kā-mata-o-te-puraki, and without the hīnaki the rest of the trap is called kaitara. [29]

Kareao and akatorotoro, which were used to make hīnaki, were readily available in this area.

Kareao (supplejack, Ripogonum scandens) was recorded as growing on the flat below Hanover and Frederick Streets, and the area there was named Mataukareao (supplejack fish- hook).[30] The strong, supple vines twist their way in tangled masses to the top of the canopy of the New Zealand forest, growing up to five centimetres per day. [31] As well as being used to make hīnaki, tender young shoots of kareao were eaten and tasted like beans. Watery sap could be blown out of short sections of vine to quench thirst.

Akatorotoro (clinging rātā, Metrosideros perforata) is a climbing plant with a thin, strong stem, which was invaluable to Māori for lashing objects together. [32] Travelling parties sometimes carried akatorotoro or harakeke with them in order to tie or bind temporary shelters together, in case these were not available at their stop-over points. [33]

Tuna were not the only fish caught in hīnaki: other fish caught included pānako, pipiki, upokororo, kanakana, kokopu and īnaka. [34]

Preserving tuna

Tuna were preserved for later consumption by being hung to dry on a rack called a whata (drying rack). [35]
After being caught, the tuna would be either killed or stunned, and then strung onto a harakeke cord through their head. [36] To prepare its flesh, each tuna would be split in half – this process was called pāwhera. [37] The flesh now exposed to the sun and wind, each half of the tuna would be draped over the whata, connected by the harakeke cord. [38]
The drying process could take anywhere from a few days to a week. A mat of pātītī (tussock) would sometimes be suspended over the whata to protect the drying tuna from the rain, snow and dew. [39]

Cooking tuna

Tuna were traditionally prepared for eating in various ways:

- **The kōhiku method:** To toast the tuna on a stick over a fire. This method was also commonly used for cooking manu (birds). [40]
- **The rara method:** Two mānuka stages would be laid against each other to form a point and placed over hot embers. The tuna would be fixed to the mānuka wood stages to grill. [41]
- **The whena method:** Tuna would be wrapped in harakeke and placed in an umu (earth oven) or by the fire to cook. [42]

"As well as being used to make hīnaki, tender young shoots of kareao were eaten and tasted like beans. Watery sap could be blown out of short sections of vine to quench thirst.

Native flora and fauna around North East Valley

This section describes native flora and fauna found locally. Some projects teachers could consider are outlined below.

1. Visualise what the area around North East Valley Normal School and further afield might have looked like in the period of pre-contact and contact between Māori and European.

2. Examine some of the types of plants that were once in abundance around your school. Some plants have medicinal purposes, so investigation into these would be valuable.

3. Look at a cross-section of land near your school to assess whether any of those plants are still growing in your area.

At the point of European contact with Dunedin, the vista that looked out from North East Valley Normal School would have differed greatly to that of today. According to our people, the bush was so thick in the Dunedin area that when some Europeans ventured in they never returned. Māori had trails and tracks and understood the area.

In the wider area, Monro made his observations about the mouth of the harbour of the peninsula in 1844, following on to note the "absence of a good site for a town":
The sky, a great part of the time, was without a cloud, and not a breeze ruffled the surface of the water, which reflected the surrounding wooded slopes, and every sea-bird that floated upon it, with mirror-like accuracy. For some hours after sunrise, the woods resounded with the rich and infinitely varied notes of thousands of tuis and other songsters. I never heard anything like it before in any part of New Zealand. [43]

On his stay at Ōtākou (the Otago Harbour and village at the end of the peninsula) between 1843 and 1844, Edward Shortland wrote in his diary:

In the morning I woke early; and, as the dawn first peeped forth, was deafened by the sound of bell birds. The woods which were close by seemed to be thronged with them. Never before had I heard so loud a chorus. I called to mind Captain Cook's description of the impression made on him by the singing of these birds, when at anchor near the shore in Queens Charlotte's Sound. He is wrong, however, in saying that they sing at night, like the nightingale. They commence at dawn of day their chime of four notes, which, repeated independently by a thousand throats, creates the strangest melody. But they cease, as by one consent, the moment the suns first rays are visable; and there is a general silence. Again, at even, they commence, just as the suns last ray fades, and sing on till dark. [44]

Flora

Tarata

This is a small tree with yellow, sweet-scented flowers and leaves that give off a fragrance of lemon when bruised. The tarata leaves were used for many purposes. They were mixed with karetū grass, squeezed, and the juice used as a remedy for "whitemouth" in Māori babies. Tarata was also mixed with bird or rat fat to make scent.

Mānuka

Mānuka wood was once fashioned into canoe deckings, canoe poles, fish hooks, fishing rods, eel pots and other fish traps. It was made into gardening implements and weapons such as spears and clubs. Beattie recorded that the mānuka leaves were boiled and rubbed on a leg itch. 45 An infusion of kōwhai bark and mānuka bark was rubbed on externally for pains in the back and side. Edward Shortland commented that the whalers drank so much mānuka tea that it was called the whalers' tea. Beattie recorded that constipation could be cured by steeping mānuka leaves in water and drinking the infusion. [46]

Tūpākihi/Tutu (also known as toot)

In 1851, Edward Shortland recorded of his travels into the Dunedin area that:
having crossed the valley, we struck into a path which brought us to the south end of Otakou, across an undulating country, where the soil was generally good, producing tall fern, and vigorous "tupakihi", besides wood at intervals. [47]

Tutu is highly poisonous to humans and animals. The poison affects the body's nervous and muscular systems. In his 1865 list of useful trees of Otago, Buchanan wrote that the tutu was poisonous apart from the succulent petals surrounding the seeds and that it was used to treat epilepsy with supposed success. [48]

In 1940, Bell recorded detailed recipes for using tutu/tūpākihi:
Tūpākihi. Nearly fill a billy with leaves. Cover with water. Boil till the water is coloured. Bathe the broken leg or bruise with the warm water in which the leaves were boiled. Apply the "kaikai" plaster. Tie with a "bandage" – raupō or flax or bark (hammered with a stone to make it soft) or fibres (muka). In summer, rub the injured part with pig's fat (or some kind of oil) before applying the plaster, because it gets very hot.

Tūpākihi plaster: Cut a young stalk of tūpākihi about 2 feet long. Scrape out the green pith and sap with a knife or a shell. Apply the plaster to the injured part, every four hours for a week. The plaster keeps the injured part cool and prevents inflammation. If it is a broken leg, obtain a piece of bark for a splint as nearly as possible the same size as the leg. [49]

Kōwhai

Beattie also wrote about kōwhai's medicinal use in the South Island.
The bark was soaked in water and was an excellent remedy for cuts. Swellings of any sort were swiftly cured with wai kōwhai (kōwhai water). Another internal remedy was for colds and sore throats. The bark was steeped in boiling water, and the infusion had to be drunk fresh as it does not keep.

Beattie was told of an incident where kōwhai juice was used successfully:

One aged man narrated the case of a Māori who had been with him on a sealing hunt. This man suffered very nasty injuries when his face unfortunately came between the teeth of a kekeno (fur seal). As soon as possible waikōhai (kōwhai juice) was poured into the wounds and in two or three days the man was right again. [50]

Tī kōuka – Cabbage tree

Along with fern root (aruhe), the interior part of the tree stem and the roots, called kāuru, were a staple food for Māori at one time, being steam-cooked in a type of hangi. Kāuru would have provided sustenance like that of the potato. Some say the kāuru was the young shoot at the side of the tree.

The tī trunks collected by Māori were young plants that had germinated from seed dropped by mature plants or from cuttings. Tī kōuka take only four years to grow one and half metres tall.[51] Beattie recorded that:

A good section of tī – cabbage trees – was called para kāuru. While the soft part of the tī leaves could be cooked at anytime and chewed and eaten to ensure regularity of the bowels. [52]

Beattie has recorded three ways getting kāuru:

1. *When travelling, cut down the young trees, strip the bark off and eat the remainder.*

2. *When travelling, cut down old trees and eat the roots and a part away up at the top of the tree.*

3. *Select a suitable place and make an "orchard" of the tī y cutting down all of the young trees to a suitable height. Leave them two years and then harvest the result. The growth from these pruned trees was so suitable for food, you merely scraped it and ate the lot.* [53]

Elsdon Best (1986) recorded details about the gathering and processing of tī kōuka.

Around September or October of each year, the cabbage tree was ready for harvesting. The juvenile plants up to two metres tall were cropped, leaving some of the tap root still in the ground to regrow. The crown of leaves at the top was also cut off, leaving a section of trunk that was tied into bundles with several other trunks. These bundles were either prepared at, or transported to, a place abundant in firewood. Large ovens (umu-tī) several feet in diameter were then dug by the hapū members. Also known as puna, these ovens were generally circular, although some were also rectangular. All were very deep, and many were dug to the same depth as a grown man.
The oven was filled with several rocks and covered by firewood. The fire was lit at dawn, and by midday the rocks should have been hot enough. Large leaves were placed on the rocks, and the bundles were placed on the foliage. More leaves and grasses were put on top of the bundles of trunks, and the whole thing was covered in soil.

Kānuka

The common name for this plant is white tea tree or white mānuka. Kānuka was used medicinally by boiling 12 even-sized pieces of bark until the water was dark – it was drunk for diarrhoea and dysentery. Long poles of sharpened kānuka were used to make eel weirs, and spinning tops were also made of kānuka. Fragrant leaves of the kānuka were used as scent oil. Captain Cook and early settlers called mānuka “tea tree” because they used the green leaves to make a substitute for tea. Māori used the hard wood of the plant for paddles and weapons, blades and spears. The bark was used to make water containers and the inner bark as a waterproof layer for roofing.

Harakeke/Korari

This plant was a hugely important resource to Māori, but also to Pākehā when they arrived on our shores. The flax is a strong, useful plant that was used to make clothing and ropes and for medicinal purposes. The flax leaves, rhizome and roots were used. Edward Pohau Ellison of Ōtākou, who became a medical doctor, gave advice in the newspaper to those with dysentry:

Dysentry cure and care. Do not take any food on the first day. Take boiled liquids only. To clean out the bowels, take Epsom salts every two hours. There is no problem using flax water but it may be too severe for children.... [54]

Beattie collected information on using the flax root for toothache:

Toothache is said to have been a very rare affliction in olden days. It was called nihotuka. Juice from the flax root, so the collector was told, if poured in to the ear would make the recipient give a cold shiver, but in about 20 minutes time it would cause the toothache to depart. [55]

Beattie also wrote:

Cuts... scratches and wounds were treated with various healing agencies according to which was most convienient at the time and place. Flax gum (pia harakeke) was extensively used. A European who came to Otago in 1857 told me that following the maori example he used flax gum for cuts, binding it round with whitau (dressed flax) and that he found it very effacious. [56]

The korari part of the flax (flower stem) was also useful. In our southern traditions, the korari was used to make a musical instrument. The porotu was a type of flute that was made from wood or korari and had between four and six holes in it. A great project to do with the students in your class would be to make these and see if you can get a sound from them.

Birds

Some of the traditional birdlife in the area would have been:

Kōparapara – bellbird
Tīrairaka – fantail
Tauhou – silver-eye
Kāhu – hawk
Weka – woodhen
Kākāpā – owl parrot
Pūtakitaki – paradise duck
Kererū – wood pigeon
Parera – grey duck
Rūrū – morepork/owl

This birdlife was mainly relegated to the forest areas. Birdlife was abundant near the ocean and into Ōtākou.

References

Allen, Ralph. *Native Plants of Dunedin and Its Environs.* Dunedin: Otago Heritage Books, 1994.

Anderson, Atholl. *Prodigious Birds: Moa and Moa-Hunting in Prehistoric New Zealand.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

- *The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethno-History of the Southern Māori, 1650-1850.* Dunedin: Otago University Press, 1998.

- *When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold: Nine Centuries of Changing Fortune for the Southern Māori.* Dunedin: Otago Heritage Books, 1983.

Beattie, J.H. *Māori Placenames of Otago.* Dunedin: Otago Witness, 1944.

- *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori. Ed.* Atholl Anderson. Dunedin: Otago University Press, 1994.

Beattie, H. "*Traditions and Legends. Collected From the Natives of Murihiku. (Southland, New Zealand.) Part XIII.*" The Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 29, no. 116, 1920.

Beattie, Herries, *Tikao Talks,* Cadsonbury, Christchurch, 1990

Begg, A.C & N.C. *The World of John Boultbee*. Christchurch: Whitcoulls, 1979.

Best, E. *Forest Lore of the Maori.* Wellington: Government Printer, 1986.

- *"Maori Eschatology: The Whare Potae (House of Mourning) and its Lore; Being a Description of Many Customs, Beliefs, Superstitions, Rites, etc, Pertaining to Death and Burial Among the Maori People, as Also Some Account of Maori Belief in a Spiritual World."* Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand, vol. 38, 1905, pp. 148-239.

Church, Ian. *Gaining a Foothold: Historical Records of Otago's Eastern Coast 1770-1839.* Friends of the Hocken. Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2008.

"Coriaria arborea. C. sarmentosa. Tutu. Main reference." *Ngā Tipu Whakaoranga: Māori Plant Use Database.* Landcare Research, Manaaki Whenua. https://maoriplantuse.landcareresearch.co.nz/WebForms/PeoplePlantsDetails.aspx?firstcome=firstcome&PKey=7A36838B-F469-409A-881D-8F0EB53A4668. Accessed 1 August 2021.

Department of Conservation, Eels, https://www.doc.govt.nz/nature/native-animals/freshwater-fish/eels/. Accessed 30 November 2021.

Entwisle, P. *Behold the Moon: The European Occupation of the Dunedin District 1770-1848.* Dunedin: Port Daniel Press, 1998.

Evison, H.C. *The Long Dispute: Māori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand.* Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1997.

Goodall, M.& G. Griffiths. *Māori Dunedin.* Dunedin: Otago Heritage Books, 1980.

Hamel, A. *Dunedin Tracks and Trails.* Dunedin: Silver Peaks Press, 2008.

Hamel, Jill. *The Archaeology of Otago.* Dunedin: Department of Conservation, 2001.

Harlow, Ray & M. van Bellekom. *Te Waiatanga Mai O Nga Atua: South Island Traditions*. Christchurch: University of Canterbury, 1987. [This is the version of creation dictated by Matiaha Tiramorehu to Rev. Creed.]

Johnson, P. *Otago Peninsula Plants: An Annotated List of Vascular Plants Growing in Wild Places.* Dunedin: Save the Otago Peninsula (STOP) Inc, 2004.

Keane, Kelly. *"Ngā Manu – Birds – Symbols of Status." Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* 2015. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-manu-birds/page-1. Accessed 2 August 2021.

Knight, H. *"Umu-Ti."* Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 75, no. 3, 1966, pp. 332-347.

"New Zealand Native Plant Use." Resources to Download. New Zealand Marine Studies Centre, University of Otago. https://www.otago.ac.nz/marine- studies/resources/download/otago062823.pdf. Accessed 1 August 2021.

Potiki, M. *"The Otago Peninsula: A Unique Identity."* SHIMA Journal, 2015.

Pybus, T.A. *The Maoris of the South Island.* Wellington: Reed, 1954.

Riley, Murdoch. *Maori Healing and Herbal.* Paraparaumu: Viking Seven Seas, 1994.

Scott, Dick. *Ask That Mountain: The Story of Parihaka*. Auckland: Raupo Publishing, 2008.

"Scottish Settlers Arrive in Otago." New Zealand History. Ministry of Culture and Heritage. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/scottish-settlers-arrive-otago. Accessed 7 March 2021.

Shortland, Edward. *The Southern Districts of New Zealand.* London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851.

Stack, J.W. *"Sketch of the Traditional History of the South Island Māoris."* Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, vol. IV, 1877.

Tau, Te Maire and Atholl Anderson, eds. *Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History:* The Carrington Text. Christchurch: Bridget Williams Books in association with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi
Tahu, 2008.

Taylor, W.A. *Lore and History of the South Island Māori*. Christchurch: Bascands, 1952.

Tremewan, Christine, *Traditional Stories from Southern New Zealand,* He korero no Te Wai Pounamu, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 2002.

West, J. *The Face of Nature: An Environmental History of the Otago Peninsula.* Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2009.

Newpapers

"Ki a te Kai Tuhi o te Waka Maori." *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani,* 23 March 1872, vol. 8, no.8, p. 62. *Marlborough Press*, 26 December 1879.

Monro, D. "Notes of a Journey Through a Part of the Middle Island of New Zealand." *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle,* 1844.

Roberts, W.H.S. "Maori Nomenclature: Early History of Otago." *Otago Daily Times,* 1910.

End notes

1 Atholl Anderson, *When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold,* p. 4.
2 Ray Harlow and M. van Bellekom, *Te Waiatatanga Mai o nga Atua.*
3 T.A. Pybus, *The Maoris of the South Island*, p. 33.
4 W.H.S. Roberts, *"Maori Nomenclature: Early History of Otago,"* p. 4; W.A. Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island Māori,* p. 136.
5 W.H.S. Roberts, *"Maori Nomenclature: Early History of Otago,"* p. 4.
6 W.A. Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island Māori,* p. 136.
7 Ibid, p. 137.
8 T. Pōtiki, personal communication.
9 Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethno-History of the Southern Māori,* p. 131.
10 Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethno-History of the Southern Māori,* pp. 131, 134-135.
11 W.A. Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island Māori,* p. 136.
12 Atholl Anderson, *When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold,* p. 7.
13 Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand.*
14 *"Scottish Settlers Arrive in Otago,"* New Zealand History.
15 J. West, *The Face of Nature,* p. 265.
16 Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethno-History of the Southern Māori,* p. 138.
17 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori,* pp. 141-152, 316-326.
18 Ibid; Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethno-History of the Southern Māori,* p. 138.
19 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori,* p. 323.
20 J.H. Beattie, *Māori Placenames of Otago,* p. 86.
21 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori,* pp. 141, 404; Wohlers, in Tremewan (ed.) (2002), pp. 78-79, 84-85.
22 Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal,* pp. 113, 183.
23 Ibid, p. 183.
24 Department of Conservation, Eels, Accessed, Nov 30 2021, https://www.doc.govt.nz/nature/native-animals/freshwater-fish/eels/
25 Tikao, (1990), p. 138; J.H. Beattie, T*raditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori,* p. 143.
26 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori,* pp. 144, 316.
27 Ibid, pp. 145-146; **28** Ibid, pp. 145-146.
29 W.H.S. Roberts, *"Maori Nomenclature: Early History of Otago,"* p. 3.
30 *"New Zealand Native Plant Use,"* Resources to Download, p. 2.
31 Ngā Tipu Whakaoranga: Māori Plant Use Database, Aka, Plant use details.
32 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori,* p. 43.
33 Ibid, p. 146.
34 Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethno-History of the Southern Māori,* p. 120.
35 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori,* pp. 316, 144.
36 Ibid, pp. 316-317; **37** Ibid, p. 325; **38** Ibid, pp. 144, 325; **39** Ibid, pp. 112, 114, 291; **40** Ibid, p. 112.
41 Beattie, J.H. Māori Placenames of Otago, p. 28.
42 D. Monro, "*Notes of a Journey Through a Part of the Middle Island of New Zealand,*" p. 96.
43 Edward Shortland, The Southern Districts of New Zealand, pp. 121-122.
44 Ibid, p. 280; **45** Ibid, p. 283; **46** Ibid, p. 174.
47 "Coriaria arborea. C. sarmentosa. Tutu. Main reference," Ngā Tipu Whakaoranga: Māori Plant Use Database.
48 Ibid.
49 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori*, p. 83.
50 Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal,* p. 455.
51 Ibid, p. 457.
52 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori,* pp. 124-125.
53 Edward Pohau Ellison, "*Te Rongoā me e Tiaki,*" Te Toa Takitini, 1 Oct 1929.
54 Murdoch Riley, *Māori Healing and Herbal,* p. 133.
55 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori*, p. 83.

Megan Potiki

Megan hails from Ōtākou and is of Kāi Tahu and Te Ātiawa descent. Megan has spent the last several years at the University of Otago as a Lecturer for Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies, now in the Office of Māori Development and working towards completing her PhD. Her research interests are focused on the loss of te reo Māori at Ōtākou and the written Māori archives of the past that have a particular geographical focus on her tribal region of Kāi Tahu in the South Island of New Zealand.

Aukaha

KIA KAHA, AU KAHA

To find out more about any of our
services please contact us:

Level 1, 258 Stuart Street, Dunedin 9016, New Zealand
Phone: 03 477 0071 | www.aukaha.co.nz