

ĀPITI HONO TĀTAI HONO: NGĀ WHENUA O NGĀ TAHU KI MURIHIKU

Stage 1 Southland Cultural Landscape Assessment Study





This report was written by Kauati under the authority and direction of Te Ao Marama Inc, on behalf of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku.

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INTRODUCTION

To ask how significant a landscape is for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku is a meaningless and redundant question. All landscape is significant, given that in Te Ao Māori, whakapapa and whenua are intertwined.

The question that needs to be asked is, what is held within that landscape? That is the more meaningful question. And to answer that, consideration is needed of whakapapa, mana, kawa, tikanga and mātauranga as well as identity, connections, practices, history, and future aspirations. These considerations are the context in which to determine what is appropriate and the relationships iwi/hapū have with their whenua. This reasoning has formed the criteria and methodology for Stage 1 of the Southland Cultural Landscape Assessment Study (the **Study**) that enables Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku to identify, assess and articulate their cultural landscapes.

In identifying and describing what ‘cultural landscape’ is to Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, the Study has not used the common New Zealand landscape assessment practices nor conceptualised the landscape as three overlapping dimensions of physical, associative and perceptual.¹ Landscape professionals may see components of this approach in the Study; however, physical, associative and perceptual dimensions were purposely not used to analyse or collate information as that is not how whānau speak about their relationships with the whenua or their cultural landscapes.

Instead, the Study focuses on the interwoven relationships between Ira Atua and Ira Tangata and the continuum of time and whakapapa. It acknowledges change, interdependencies, ki uta ki tai, duality (e.g. intangible/tangible, tuakana/teina, masculine/feminine) and the philosophies and paradigms of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku.

As a result of the Study, a Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku specific landscape assessment methodology founded on Ira Atua Ira Tangata has been designed and tested. The assessment methodology has been named *Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono* in recognition of the act of ordering whakapapa. *Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono* enables Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku to identify and assess their cultural landscapes as known to them.

This is the first time a cultural landscape study has been undertaken in Southland. With the support of the local authorities and in partnership with Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, the Study was undertaken on the premise of “by Ngāi Tahu, for Ngāi Tahu”. Therefore, the Study is to be principally meaningful to Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku. The subsequent stages of the Study will consider how the findings of Stage 1 can be applied through Treaty Partnership and in regulatory tools (e.g. District Plans, asset management).

The Study has uncovered gaps and data needs that must be addressed. Neither the assessment methodology nor the findings of the Study support a ‘lines on maps’ approach, and very careful thought is needed by all parties about the role of Māori sites of significance. It is envisioned that this Study will enable parties to question and investigate the best approaches for recognising and actively managing cultural landscapes in Southland, and deters any attempts to inappropriately or inadequately apply the findings and methodology of Stage 1 and *Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono* to existing regulatory practices.

¹ R. De Lambert et al., *Te Tangi a Te Manu: Aotearoa New Zealand Landscape Assessment Guidelines*, Final draft approved by Tuia Pito Ora New Zealand Institute of Landscape Architects, 2021, p. 32.

Southland-wide Cultural Landscape Assessment Study

This Southland-wide Cultural Landscape Assessment Study has been undertaken by Te Ao Marama Inc, on behalf of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, and in partnership with Environment Southland, Southland District Council, Gore District Council and Invercargill City Council.

The overall purpose of the Study is 'to provide a comprehensive understanding of the cultural values of the Southland landscape as it relates to Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku'. The Study is also to inform the development of Southland-wide policy and planning processes and enable Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku to exercise kaitiakitanga.²

This Study is deliberately separate from the other landscape reports prepared for Southland because 'it was considered that Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku are the most qualified to identify and assess the cultural values of the region's landscape.'³ This independence has allowed Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku to identify, assess and describe landscapes through its own worldview and language.

Stage 1 of the Study, as delivered in this report, is to 'identify, describe and collate what Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku value within the Southland landscape.' It looks at criteria to identify and assess relationships with places and sites for the purpose of:⁴

- a) Describing (either narratively or visually) the relationship(s) that Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku have with the region's landscape.
- b) Describing the different types of relationships with specific places, and the different cultural values that are attributed to each if applicable.
- c) Providing a collation of place specific information that supports why specific places/areas/sites may differ within the landscape from traditionally identified sites as these will be specific stories from iwi that may not be formalised.
- d) Visually/spatially displaying these stories and relationships that Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku have to a place or specific area/site within the landscape.

Stage 2, still to be undertaken, will utilise the findings from Stage 1 to inform the prioritisation and management of identified cultural values.

Āpiti Hono, Tātai Hono

In identifying and describing how Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku understand the landscape, an assessment methodology was developed by Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku to undertake Stage 1 of the Study. This methodology, Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono, has become the principal component of Stage 1. Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono characterises the landscape into six layers based on Ira Atua Ira Tangata, with Ira Atua taking primacy as the tuakana.

Ira Atua recognises the metaphysical elements of culture and landscape and is not confined by time. Ira Atua has always existed and always will. This section has three layers:

- **Waiatatanga** – the cosmological unfolding of the universe and the creation of whakapapa and elements.
- **Atuatanga** – the supernatural deities with whakapapa and mana over attributed domains.
- **Ngā Tipua** – the primal genealogies related to the precursors of humans and the prerequisite events that physically shaped the Murihiku landscape.

² Southland District Council, *Consultants Project Brief for a Southland wide Cultural Landscape Assessment Study*, 2020, p. 2.

³ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴ Ibid.

The Ira Atua layers:

- **purpose** – acknowledges the metaphysical and related connections and reverence they have in the kawa, tikanga and culture of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku.
- **recognise and manage** – whakapapa, mauri, mana, tikanga, kawa – fundamental philosophical components of culture and identity; what is right and wrong, and the interconnections between the elements, landscape and people.

Ira Tangata recognises the associations and connections humans have within the landscape over a defined period of time. The period focuses on 900CE to the modern day and into the future. The Study acknowledges that some connections and events cross these periods; therefore, the dates are a guide rather than fixed starts and ends. This section has three layers:

- **Ngā Kākano** 900 CE – 1840CE
The adaptation of Pacific mātauranga to a new landscape and the unobstructed growth of Ngāi Tahu⁵ ki Murihiku identity, history, connections and culture.
- **Te Kerēme** 1840 CE – 1997 CE
A time of great change and unease for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, dominated by colonisation, alienation and restrictions, as well as urbanisation and international events.
- **Te Ao Marama** 1998 CE onwards
An exploratory period focused on acknowledging the past, reconnection and revitalisation with much potential and challenge.

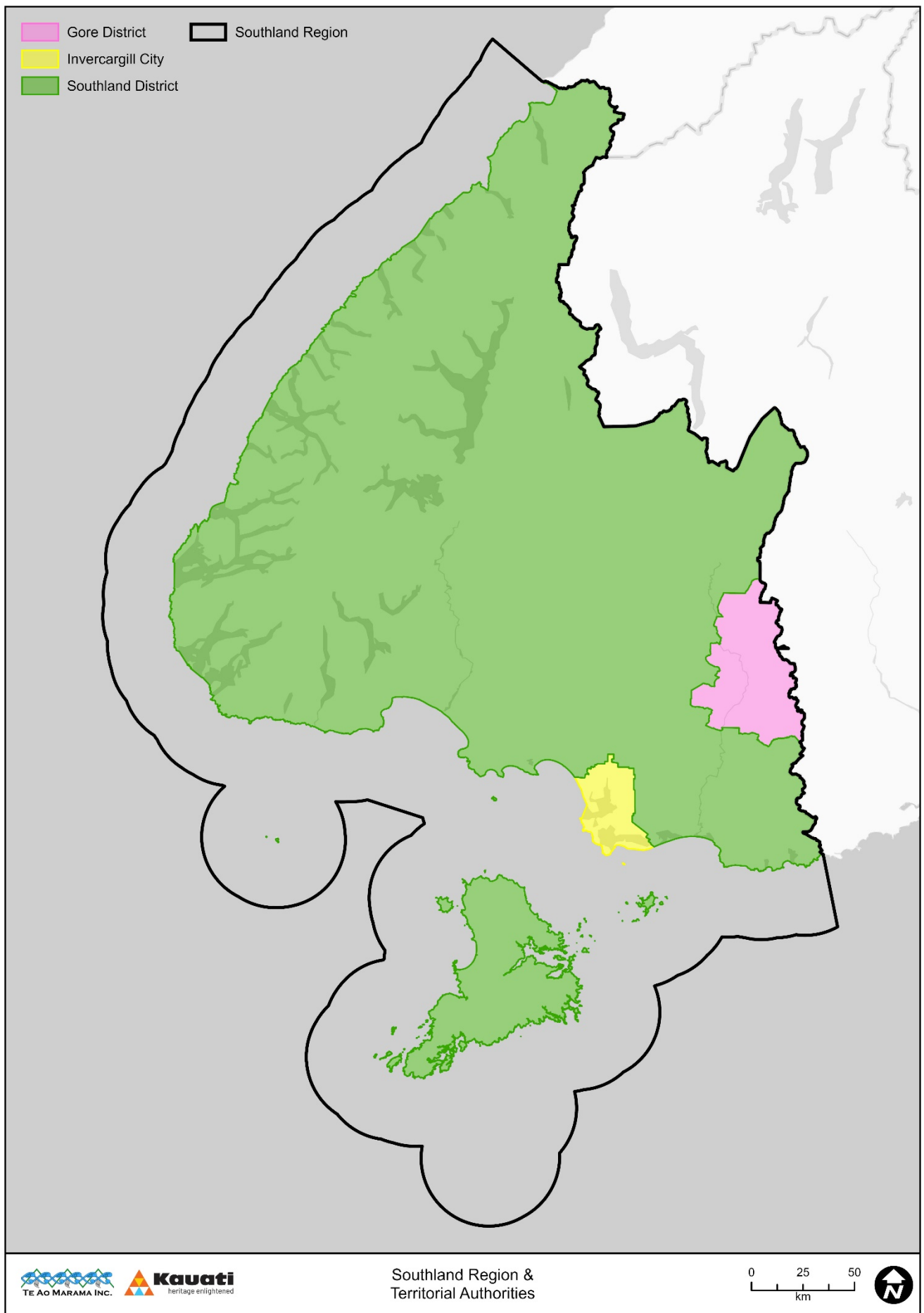
The Ira Tangata layers:

- **purpose** – identifies tangible and intangible cultural heritage and mātauranga, the evidential record of human occupation, personification of landscape and place names, and future aspirations.
- **recognises and manages** – safeguarding whakapapa and connections between whenua and people, the human record, history and continuing evolution of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku cultural heritage and mātauranga.

It is expected that as the supporting information grows over time, these six layers will be refined, and more layers may be added.

As this is a cultural landscape study, the term 'landscape' has been used, however, Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono applies equally to water, air, sky, and star/night scapes. Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono is also applicable to other types of landscape assessment as it is premised on a holistic overview of Ira Atua Ira Tangata that makes no distinction between 'cultural' or 'natural' or any other dissociative classifications.

⁵ While 'Ngāi Tahu' is used, it also recognises Hāwea, Rapuwai, Waitaha and Kāti Māmoe.



Description of Study Area

The Study covers the Southland Region, including the districts of Invercargill City, Southland and Gore. This area is due to the support and commissioning of the Study by the Southland local authorities.

The Ngāi Tahu defined rohe of Murihiku, however, encompasses the Southland Region, offshore islands and parts of Otago. Murihiku and Southland are not the same, and the terms are not used interchangeably in this Study. Murihiku is used when referencing Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku interactions in their rohe as it is impractical and misleading to restrict their pūrākau, hīkoi, connections, whakapapa and manawhenua just to Southland.

While this Study is for Southland, Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku exercise manawhenua in other districts and may wish to use their cultural landscape assessment methodology, Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono, in the wider Murihiku area.

Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku

The four Ngāi Tahu Papatipu Rūnanga that have shared interests in Southland have been collectively involved in the development of this Study. The four Papatipu Rūnanga are:

- Waihōpai Rūnaka, based in Waihōpai Invercargill
- Te Rūnanga o Awarua, based in Motupōhue Bluff
- Te Rūnanga o Ōraka Aparima, based in Aparima Riverton and Ōraka Colac Bay
- Hokonui Rūnaka, based in Māruawai Gore.

Ngāi Tahu has centuries' long customary associations, rights and interests in Southland and its resources. These associations are both historical and contemporary and include whakapapa, place names, mahinga kai, tribal economic development, and landholdings. In this area, Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku can exercise manawhenua and associated rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga.

Manawhenua, Manamoana

Manawhenua is defined in Te Tangi a Tauira and its predecessor, Te Whakatau Kaupapa o Murihiku, as meaning:

traditional/customary authority or title over land, and the rights of ownership and control of usage on the land, forests, rivers etc. Manawhenua is held by an iwi or hapū rather than individuals. Also, the land area (and boundaries, rohē) within which such authority is held.⁶

Alongside manawhenua, manamoana is defined as meaning:

tribal authority over the sea, coasts and offshore fisheries, generally accepted as extending iwi manawhenua from the traditional tribal land boundaries into the adjacent ocean as far as New Zealand statutory limits-currently 200 miles offshore.⁷

Manawhenua and manamoana recognises an iwi or hapū association with an area and acknowledges their authority and/or title over the area and its resources. The authority held by manawhenua/manamoana also encompasses their world views, mātauranga and philosophies. For the Study, Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku have directed the use of an assessment methodology based on Ira Atua Ira Tangata to define and articulate landscapes as known to them and their relationship with the whenua.

⁶ Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, *Te Tangi a Tauira: The Cry of the People, Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku Natural Resource and Environmental Iwi Management Plan*, 2008, p. 312.

⁷ Ibid.



Figure 2: Dean Whaanga (centre) talking with Ngāi Tahu Whānui about landscapes at Motupōhue, 31 January 2021.

Study Approach

Stage 1 of the Study included desktop research, discussions with local authorities, wānanga with whānau, and peer reviews and guidance from topic experts. Its progress was often interrupted by Covid-19 level changes, and there was a desire by all parties to ‘get it right’ rather than rush to meet the deadlines of any one council’s plan development timetable.

The initial phase of Stage 1 reviewed the existing data from multiple agencies for recorded Māori sites of significance in Southland with the assumption that this information would expedite research. Sample testing was taken of 16 recorded Māori sites in Southland, and it was found that the site records held insufficient information for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku and a cultural landscape study. Only a marginal amount (less than 1%) was transferable to this Study for understanding cultural associations with place and the relationships Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku have with their whenua.

Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku needed meaningful, robust information that could evidence their approach to a cultural landscape study. Following the findings of the sample testing, much time was spent deliberating appropriate and achievable approaches with Te Ao Marama Inc and the Southland local authorities, as well as obtaining guidance from practitioners.

Te Ao Marama Inc strongly indicated a preference to base the cultural landscape assessment on Ira Atua Ira Tangata, and there were no known landscape assessment methodologies that did this. Traces of this thinking could not be found or dissected from the available data for Māori sites of significance. There were several other issues such as the size and remoteness of the region, and how to map metaphysical elements. As such, it was decided to develop a tailored assessment methodology that borrowed from Te Ao Ngāi Tahu and existing landscape and heritage approaches.

To develop this methodology, four wānanga were held with Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, each approximately four hours long. The wānanga primarily focused on understanding how Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku identified, characterised and assessed their landscapes, including the language and emphasis used. On several occasions, wānanga needed to be postponed due to Covid-19 or whānau availability. The wānanga focused on key themes and explored hypothetical and actual examples that Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku have experienced regarding the active protection of sites and landscapes.

The wānanga dates and themes are as follows:

- 10 March 2021. Takutai o te Tīti marae. Explored the ways in which tangata whenua connect with their whenua. The wānanga highlighted the major thematic layers, or layers of association, held in the landscape and define connection to place.
- 20 May 2021. Te Rau Aroha marae. Kōrero focused on Ira Atua and Ira Tangata, highlighting the presence of multiple atua in a given landscape.
- 20 July 2021. Te Ao Marama office. Kōrero focused on the layers, their meaning, and their application.
- 23 September 2021. Hokonui Rūnaka. The draft report was presented for review, and there was kōrero regarding subsequent stages of the project.

Hīkoi and site visits were planned for Stage 1 but were not undertaken as a methodology was needed first to identify and assess Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku relationships with their whenua. In light of this, only wānanga and hui were undertaken.



ĀPITI HONO TĀTAI HONO – ORGANISING LANDSCAPE

Catalyst for Development

Using Ira Atua Ira Tangata for cultural/tūpuna landscapes has been envisaged for years by Te Ao Marama Inc but was largely seen as a ‘pipedream’. Local and regional Resource Management Act 1991 processes frequently reinforced Western styled and centric approaches. Manawhenua felt unable to comprehensively articulate and provide for their relationships with the whenua in regulatory processes and this disconnect often led to deep frustration.

The trend in Southland mirrors what is happening nationally. Despite the relatively common usage of the term ‘cultural landscapes’, by 2018, few Environment Court decisions have substantively recognised and provided for Māori cultural landscapes.⁸

The protection of certain landscapes from inappropriate development is a matter of national importance that needs to be recognised and provided for under the Resource Management Act but the term ‘landscape’ is not defined under that legislation. The term “cultural landscape” is often used in planning documents and Environment Court decisions in a shorthand manner to describe this relationship manawhenua have with the land.⁹ This interpretation partially aligns with the definition of cultural landscapes in the ICOMOS New Zealand Charter 2010 that states cultural landscapes possess tangible and intangible values arising from relationships between people and the environment.¹⁰ However, the Charter does not limit cultural landscapes to being only for or about Māori nor being the only way for Māori to express their connection to place.¹¹

There is a disconnect in how Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku regard whenua and what is commonly assumed when using the term cultural landscapes. This disconnect may stem from the fact that cultural landscape assessments in New Zealand have largely been driven by the Resource Management Act, particularly District Plans, rather than led by the mātauranga of iwi/hapū. ‘Cultural landscape’ has also become the default term in attempting to recognise a culturally different way of understanding to the dominant view. If a District Plan is the basis for assessment, then the subsequent outcome is that cultural landscapes and Māori sites, and the related management approaches, are selected to fit within the framework and mechanics of the District Plan. Often this means preference is given to mapping and protection of tangible material with Māori heritage poorly protected under the current Resource Management Act system.¹²

This point is conveyed in the findings of Alayna Renata in her thesis on Seeking Cultural Polyvocality in Landscape Policy.¹³ Renata’s research data demonstrated that the most important landscapes for Ngāi Tahu are those that are associated with whānau and whakapapa, and the least important were those which contained middens, which are a common archaeological method of assessing human occupation timeline through carbon dating.¹⁴ However, archaeological sites currently dominate recorded Māori sites of significance in Southland. Thus, whakapapa is a fundamental aspect continually missing or marginalised in landscape assessment and site identification – not just human whakapapa, but all whakapapa and the functions of whakapapa.

In her development of a thematic framework for the Southland Conservancy, Rachael Egerton noted that there was a tendency for Māori to be lumped into one theme of early Māori history. Egerton was concerned that ‘it obscures the Māori role in a wide variety of activities, include many of the themes identified as

⁸ J Caldwell, *Is culture the new landscape? Recognising Māori cultural values special to location and place*, Buddle Findlay, 2018, p. 1.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ ICOMOS New Zealand, *ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value*, 2010, p. 9.

¹¹ See section 3 *ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value*, 2010, p. 2.

¹² See paragraphs 94–96 of the Randerson Report regarding the lack of protection for Māori heritage. T. Randerson et.al., *New Directions for Resource Management in New Zealand*, Resource Management Review Panel, 2020, p. 307.

¹³ A. Renata, *Seeking Cultural Polyvocality in Landscape Policy: Exploration, Association and Knowledge Sharing Preferences*, Ph.D, Queensland University of Technology, 2018.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 150.

representative of events after European contact, which serves to marginalize the Māori role in Southland history.¹⁵

Te Ao Marama Inc saw Ira Atua Ira Tangata as a way of moving through these issues. Nonetheless, investing in an iwi/hapū designed landscape methodology and assessment can be an expensive undertaking for manawhenua, already having to prioritise limited funds, if the approach or outcome is not respected or understood by regulators. In the last three years, there has been strong direction from the Environment Court and leading practitioners to recognise Te Ao Māori, Tiriti o Waitangi and Treaty of Waitangi, and consequently, improve cultural landscape assessments. This momentum highlights there is now a prime opportunity for manawhenua to define their landscapes as they see fit. This investment is more constructive knowing that cultural landscape assessments will be meaningful to manawhenua, and recognised and respected by practitioners and the Court.

It is through this Study that Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku have the resources and support from the Southland local authorities to develop Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono as a means of defining and assessing its landscapes. It provides a meaningful way for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku to:

- recognise and define landscapes through a Te Ao Ngāi Tahu lens, unencumbered by the distinction between atua and tangata;
- strengthen Ngāi Tahu identity, heritage and connection/reconnection with whenua;
- exercise rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga;
- design criteria to meaningfully identify and assess relationships with place;
- build repositories and collate mātauranga for the purpose of cultural landscape assessments;
- provide greater depth and understanding when considering the impacts of specified activities on cultural landscapes and what is and is not appropriate; and
- work in partnership with the Crown and local authorities, and alongside practitioners to inform the prioritisation and management of cultural values.

Therefore, as this Study is the first of its kind in Southland and for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, it includes the identification of key concepts and principles leading to the development of a tailored cultural landscape methodology. It outlines how to apply Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono based on testing hypothetic and real-life examples by Te Ao Marama Inc and whānau.

Theory

To identify, describe and collate what Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku value within the Southland landscape, a Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku centric approach has been taken. This approach blends Te Ao Ngāi Tahu philosophical concepts and mātauranga with aspects of heritage and landscape practice. Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono is a tailored landscape assessment methodology and its name was selected by Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku in recognition of the act of organising whakapapa.

Māori is an oral culture, and the oral tradition is a repository of religious and philosophical thinking, customary practice, mātauranga and personal experience. Oral tradition is a richly informative, poetic record of ngā korero tuku iho or the words that were remembered and handed down verbally over generations.¹⁶ Within this oral tradition, 'we discern a landscape utterly different from that seen through a 'western lens'. Through poroporoaki, whaikōrero and other mōteatea we enter a universe that tells of waka and how our ancestors settled the landscape; a universe where the world of Māori is reconfigured, with the past not only told differently but also received and understood differently.'¹⁷

¹⁵ P. Clayworth, *Historic heritage thematic frameworks: Their use as tools for management and interpretation*, Department of Conservation, 2008, p.37.

¹⁶ J. McRae, *Māori Oral Tradition: He Kōrero nō te Ao Tawhito*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2017, p. 1.

¹⁷ T. Tau, 'Kākāriki, Pōwhaitere: The Beauty of the Canoe Traditions', in D. Keenan (ed.), *Huia Histories of Māori: Ngā Tāhuhu Kōrero*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2012, p. 21.

The distortion of time found within oral tradition is a key feature of Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono. Māori elders 'did not see their ancestors and traditions located in some distant timeline separate from us, but instead projected their stories upon their immediate present. Not only was the past projected onto the present, but it was also engaged with as a living entity.'¹⁸

Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono is based on Ira Atua Ira Tangata and the associated continuum of time and whakapapa. Time in this sense is not linear but acknowledges the connections between one moment with another. Ira Atua Ira Tangata acknowledges duality, pairings that need to be considered together, and the associated analytical language, prioritisation and weightings. It identifies and categorises those relationships.

Whakapapa means 'to lay one thing upon another' as, for example, to lay one generation upon another. Everything has whakapapa and it is the basis for organising knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things.¹⁹ Mere Roberts writes of whakapapa having four key functions:²⁰

1. Ascribing origins and the coming into being (or ontology) of each known thing. Central to this is acknowledging that each 'thing' is dependent upon other things and their shared historical relationship.
2. Providing a 'taxonomic framework' for ordering and classifying things, thereby making sense of the world.
3. A cognitive template and mnemonic for the storage and retrieval of knowledge.
4. Serves as a parable, providing moral instruction, and reasoning for why things come to be the way they are.

To understand the landscape from a Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku perspective and their relationship with it is to enable any cultural landscape assessment to draw from their taxonomic framework. The assessment methodology is built from the depth of meaning and association of the layers within that landscape, reasoning, parables, and timeless interconnections. Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono is a demonstration of cultural landscapes being more than the sum of its parts by enabling multi-faceted relationships to be first acknowledged in a way that is meaningful to manawhenua before those relationships are then appropriately protected and restored.²¹

Within landscape practice in New Zealand, Te Aranga Principles acknowledge whakapapa as recognition of our connections with one another and place, and our connection with past and future. This point is also recognised in *Te Tangi a Te Manu: Aotearoa New Zealand Landscape Assessment Guidelines* that expresses an intention for the Guidelines to 'promote a Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākehā partnership approach to landscape, binding together the layers of people and land across time and place: past, present and future.'²²

However, Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono is not designed to fit within the professional landscape practice of conceptualising landscape in three overlapping dimensions of physical, associative, and perceptual.²³ Ira Atua Ira Tangata is not confined by the intersect of Biophysical and Associative values. In this Study, whakapapa is more akin to heritage thematics which is a framework consisting of themes (usually based on major historical processes) 'that helps conceptualise history and place sites, people and events in their historical contexts.'²⁴

Ira Atua Ira Tangata layers are used to broaden the understanding of cultural landscape and enable the

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁹ C. Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1991, p. 173.

²⁰ M. Roberts, 'Revisiting 'The Natural World of the Māori'', in D. Keenan (ed.), *Huiā Histories of Māori Ngā Tāhuhu Kōrero*, Huia, Wellington, 2012, pp. 40-1.

²¹ T. Randerson, *New Directions for Resource Management in New Zealand*, p. 9.

²² R. De Lambert et al., *Te Tangi a Te Manu*, 2021, p. 3.

²³ Ibid., p. 32.

²⁴ P Clayworth, *Historic heritage thematic frameworks: Their use as tools for management and interpretation*, p. 5.

contexts and connections to be analysed²⁵ within a continuum of time from a Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku perspective. Whakapapa also conveys a status that is factored into the evaluation of the layers.



Figure 3: The Aparima River curving around on the left, with a Māori dwelling and several people on the riverbank to the right, by W B D Mantell, 1851, in the Alexander Turnbull Collection ref: C-103-105-1

Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono does not evaluate the site's comparative significance in a local, regional, national or international context as heritage thematics does, nor does it look to examine the representativeness of the site.²⁶ Significance and representativeness will often be silent or nonexistent in Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono when determining if the site is to be actively managed and/or protected. Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono is not a comparative tool; instead Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono uses Ira Atua Ira Tangata to guide kaitiaki in how the whenua is to be recognised, revered and managed.

Reasoning for Developing a Tailored Methodology

Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono captures a thought and analytical process often used by Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku but is largely at odds or invisible from the predominant western styles of environmental management and landscape assessment. This Study has sought to formalise that process by identifying layers, the associated concepts, philosophies, mātauranga and terminology, factors to be assessed and the method for doing so.

Data Inequalities

Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono, in this instance, provides a way for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku to identify and assess its landscapes while building the necessary data for each layer over time. Western landscape approaches used in New Zealand have only recently acknowledged Māori derived concepts relating to landscape, and new methodologies and methods are emerging.²⁷ This Study needed to recognise that there are data inequalities and there is not enough useable or meaningful information for cultural landscapes currently captured or collated, let alone spatially applied or plotted. The presence and absence of species and biophysical landscapes are of little use to manawhenua in cultural landscape assessments without consideration of atua and whakapapa.

Additional factors for the data inequalities are that colonisation, land use change, and restricted access has impacted associations and the active transfer of mātauranga within Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku about places, practices, and associations. Cultural landscapes assessments are also not a Te Ao Māori derived concept, so mātauranga and tikanga have not been collated or held by Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku in repositories suitable for retrieving or analysing data for that purpose. Tools are needed within a cultural landscape methodology to bridge worldviews and the impacts of colonisation.

²⁵ S. Marsden, P. Spearritt, *The Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework: A Tool for Assessing Heritage Places*, Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, p. 5.

²⁶ P. Clayworth, *Historic heritage thematic frameworks: Their use as tools for management and interpretation*, pp.7-11.

²⁷ R. De Lambert et al, *Te Tangi a Te Manu*, 2021, p. 27.

Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono provides a tailored assessment that captures the Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku way of life. Hikoi and seasonal occupation with mahinga kai are foundations of Ngāi Tahu society which means the scale of daily occupation within a landscape is extensive; seasonal occupation is expansive. There are many pūrākau about hikoi in Murihiku, and te ara tawhito and the act of exploration are often the more noteworthy points than the destination.

Murihiku is not characteristic of the occupation patterns of Te Ika a Maui; it is not a series of defined permanent, marae-focused settlements with rohe whose boundaries are known or at least well contested. Murihiku is instead characterised by its topography, extreme climate and a relatively small population²⁸ with whānau kaik (usually on the coast or beside inland lakes) and nohoanga, and hapū shared interest areas and mahinga kai hundreds of kilometres apart. Murihiku is vast with many remote areas and is traversed by land, sea and river.

Neighbouring kaik and their adjoining 'gardens' can be separated by Te Ara a Kewa Foveaux Strait or mountain ranges. Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku do not characterise themselves as being from one permanent settlement but recognise their movement across Murihiku and the connections of those places. Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono provides the appropriate context in which to define a workable scale to investigate the connections within landscape, both at the place in question and with the routes to get there.

To undertake a regional-scale cultural landscape assessment, or even localised assessments requires decades worth of data and assessments before mapping can be considered (assuming it is supported by manawhenua). This point about scale is well made through the stories and places related to Tamatea-pōkai-whenua and the Takitimu waka – one of many stories that cross this landscape. The features of the Takitimu waka are one part of the cultural landscape and are orally defined by references to topography, not by specific land titles or surveyed lines.

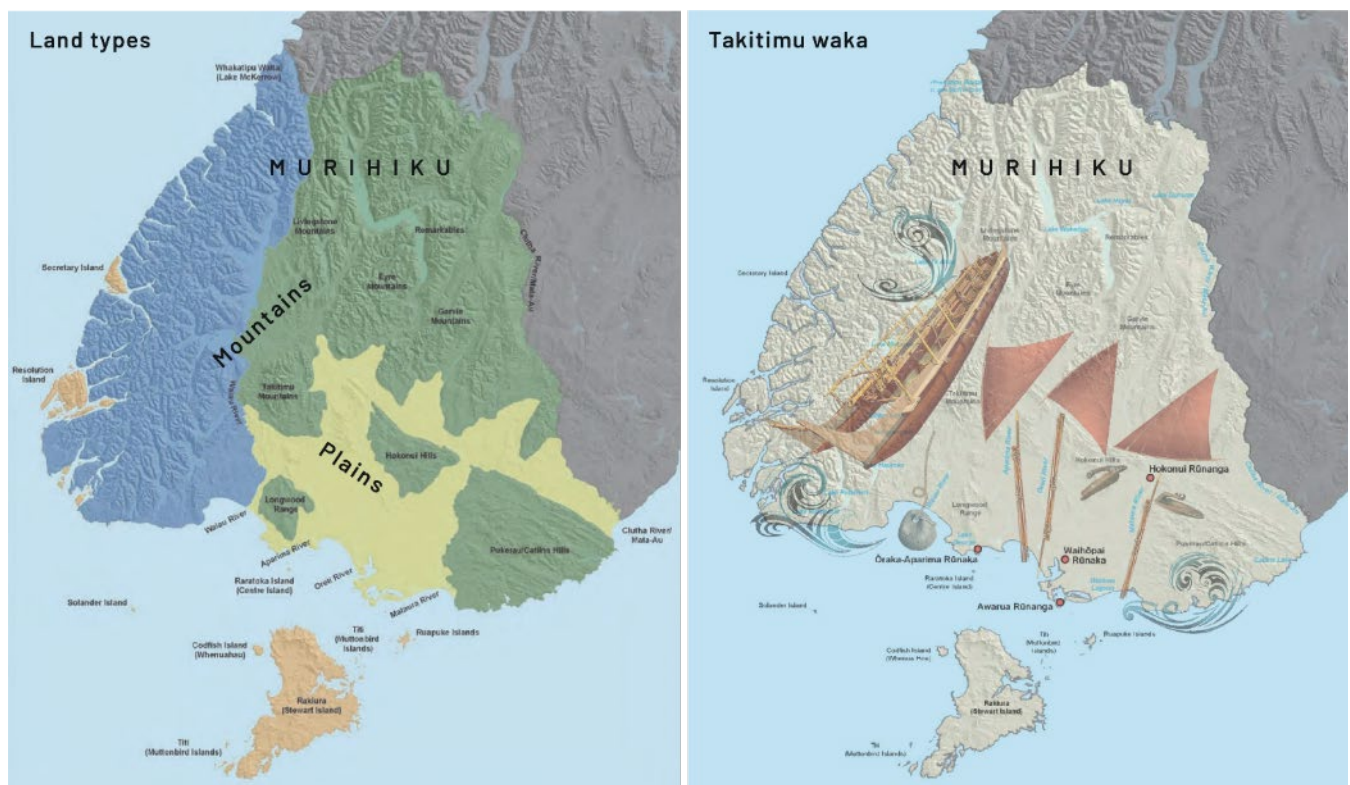


Figure 4: Illustrating a Takitimu pūrākau within the landscape alongside land types in Murihiku.

²⁸ A. Anderson, 'Emerging Societies, AD 1500-1800', in A. Anderson et al., *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Bridget Williams books, 2014, p. 114.

Mapping Sites and Significance

Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono does not yet encourage mapping sites nor refer to sites as significant. The term significant is not used in this Study in regard to any specific site. Identifying sites for the purpose of mapping is too limiting and does not provide a comprehensive understanding of the cultural values of the Southland landscape.

The complex interrelationships between places within the landscape and metaphysical and physical elements mean that mapping is somewhat useless as all of Southland is a significant cultural landscape, with countless and timeless linkages crisscrossing the region. Mapping and site identification in this situation do not answer the key questions for either party as to what this landscape is, its values and what is tika or appropriate activity.

There are already over 600 sites of significance to Māori mapped in Southland by government and local agencies.²⁹ These sites were not centralized, so, with considerable effort, they were put onto a single GIS layer to assist Stage 1. Following sample testing of 16 site records, none were found to contain the necessary information or reasoning to be of use to Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku in a cultural landscape assessment or values identification. The value identification and assessments for these mapped sites were undertaken by the responsible agencies using their own criteria, and while some site assessments may have had input from manawhenua, any benefit was diluted by the overall methodology and purpose of identification.

Testing found the recorded Māori sites to be predominately about the human occupation Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku and protection of tangible evidence. There was a very strong bias and over-representation of human occupation sites relating to the pre-1900 period. This is consistent with Egerton's findings for Māori sites managed by Te Papa Atawhai Department of Conservation.³⁰ This intense pre-1900 focus reinforces underlying colonial views that Māori society was assimilated and restricts recognition of Māori society, economy, and culture to the early 1800s. This view, in turn, results in later Māori history, heritage, and cultural landscapes being largely invisible in the public record and unprotected by legislation. There is no future thinking around how Māori heritage has evolved after 1900³¹ and the best means to identify, record, manage and/or protect it.

In Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono, recorded Māori sites of significance will assist with Ira Tangata but do not contain the depth required for considering both Ira Atua and Ira Tangata.³² The mapped sites are a supplementary tool for landscape assessment and need to be analysed in conjunction with Ira Atua, tikanga and the proposed activity.

Therefore, while investigated, the plotting and mapping of cultural landscapes or Māori sites of significance was not undertaken for Stage 1 of the Study.

²⁹ Heritage New Zealand, Gore District Council, Environment Southland, Southland District Council, Department of Conservation, archaeological site records for Southland and Clutha.

³⁰ P Clayworth, *Historic heritage thematic frameworks: Their use as tools for management and interpretation*, p.37.

³¹ 1900 is the cut-off date set in the Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014 for archaeological sites. See the definition of an archaeological site, section 6, Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014.

³² Section 6 of the Resource Management Act 1991 recognises that the protection of historic heritage (including sites of significance to Māori, including wāhi tapu) and the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands from inappropriate subdivision, use and development, are matters of national importance. The Southland Regional Policy Statement 2017 states that the management and protection of such values recognises their importance to the regional sense of identity and is essential to providing for the social and cultural wellbeing of the community. Objective TW.4, *Southland Regional Policy Statement, 2017*, p. 23.





Figure 5: Ira Atua Ira Tangata in the Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono landscape assessment.

Ira Atua: Waiaatanga

Summary Statement

This layer is the beginning, the cosmological unfolding of whakapapa and the continuum of life. Mai i ngā rā anō. Any element, be it water, gravel, or a forestry block, represents the material manifestation of creative force. As such, everything is connected. Waiaatanga is part of the name of the Ngāi Tahu creation scriptures by Matiaha Tiramōrehu.³³

Description

All things are part of the unfolding of whakapapa. Humans are part of the continuum of life. There is only one sound in the universe – the unfolding of creation being played in infinite ways. In 1849, Matiaha Tiramōrehu defined creation as being the process by which the world was sung into existence.³⁴ Waiaatanga has been taken from Tiramōrehu's scriptures, *Te Waiaatanga Mai o ngā Atua*, to be the name of this layer that underpins Āpiti Hono, Tātai Hono.

Whakapapa shows how all living things are progeny of creation. Nothing is separate. Relationships are mapped so that history, mythology, philosophy, spirituality, custom and mātauranga are organised,

³³ M. van Bellekom, R. Harlow (eds.), *South Island Traditions recorded by Matiaha Tiramōrehu*, Department of Māori, University of Canterbury, 1987.

³⁴ W. Ihimaera, *Navigating the Stars, Māori Creation Myths*, Penguin Random House New Zealand, 2020, p. 25.

preserved and transmitted.³⁵ As such, whakapapa is of paramount importance to Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku.

Tiramōrehu, a renowned Ngāi Tahu tōhunga, understanding of creation's unfolding begins from the state of nothingness. In his manuscript, he recites:

Kei a Te Pō te tīmatanga mai o te waiatatanga mai o te Atua.

Nā Te Pō, ko Te Ao.

Nā Te Ao, ko Te Aomārama.

Nā Te Aomārama, ko Te Aotūroa.

Nā Te Aotūroa, ko Te Koretēwhiwhia.

Nā Te Koretēwhiwhia, ko Te Koretērawea.

Nā Te Koretērawea, ko Te Koretētāmaua.

Nā Te Koretētāmaua, ko Te Koretēmātua.

Nā Te Koretēmātua, ko Te Mākū.

Nā Te Mākū, ka noho i a Mahoranuiatea,

Ka puta ki waho ko Raki.

From the vast ages of darkness comes the darkness of potential, and then the first ever glimmer of light, Te Ao. Next is the longstanding light, from which eventually emerges moisture, Te Mākū. In due course, Te Mākū emerges and couples with Mahoranuiatea, from which came Rakinui, personified father of the heavens and skies.

This example is a small excerpt from the longer manuscript which explains an unfolding continuum. Tiramōrehu presents a holistic view in which the whakapapa of people, land, sky, the natural world and the supernatural world align. All are connected, and all hold an energy and life essence.³⁶

Considerations for the Layer

Matters to be considered in the analysis of this layer are:

- Understanding of creation and the interrelated steps
- Seniority and mana of elements
- Whakapapa between elements
- Duality in landscape
- Continuum of time.

³⁵ R. T. Tau, *Ngā Pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu: The Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 2003, p.1.

³⁶ P. Parata-Goodall, *Cultural Narrative*, Canterbury Museum, Te Pākura Ltd., 2019, p.3.

Summary Statement

This layer draws from a Ngāi Tahu manuscript that portrays the world through the eyes of the Ngāi Tahu rangatira Teone Taari Tikao. Tikao describes the ancient view; a world unencumbered by the distinction between atua and tangata.³⁷ Atuatanga outlines how the atua and their associated mātauranga guides tikanga and decision making. For this layer, only five of the hundreds of atua that can be considered have been mentioned.

Selected Atua

*'Across the world, myth became the dominant mode for telling history, at times impossible to separate from religion and reality itself. Indeed, entire belief systems and histories have been based on complex relationships between the mythic, spiritual and the real ...'*³⁸

*The Māori ancestors did not arrive in Aotearoa empty-handed. They brought the primal tales of origin, of the gods of Hawaiki and the society of man and atua with them. That this archive survived the transfer at all, and without being written down, is astounding. In all the generations since then, the transmission has continued to rely solely on recitation by memory through generations. Today, Māori regard the narratives as taonga tuku iho, our treasures that have been handed down to us.'*³⁹

Every element in nature, each class, type, species, and genus has mauri, and is under the protection of its tutelary deity, its atua. The rimu tree is with Tāne, atua of the forests; the great tohorā whale is with Tangaroa, atua of the ocean, and the humble kūmara is with Rongomātāne, atua of peace and cultivated foods. Over countless generations, Ngāi Tahu has maintained their unique genealogy of atua, of which there are many.

This layer describes five atua and outlines how the associated mātauranga informs planning for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku. The atua described here are:

- Tangaroa, Ocean
- Ranginui and Papatūānuku, Sky/Celestial Heavens and Earth
- Tāne, Forests
- Tāwhiri-mātea, Winds.

There are many more atua who are prominent in Murihiku and these atua will be considered where necessary.

TANGAROA

It is Tangaroa who is responsible for the creation of the seas, with dominion over most creatures that live in them. For Ngāi Tahu, Tangaroa is the first husband of Papatūānuku. One of the first unions was between him and her, earth and sea.

Traditionally the survival of the people depended on the well-being of this atua. Kaik and nohoanga sites sit at the edge of his lapping waves. As intergenerational sea farers, Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku learned to work with Tangaroa, regularly navigating his notoriously treacherous coastlines and tides.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁸ W. Ihimaera, *Navigating the Stars, Māori Creation Myths*, p. 13.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 18.

Tangaroa occurs frequently in the ancient forms of invocations⁴⁰, and the reverence for this atua is portrayed in the colloquialisms of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku:

- Te whatu kura a Tangaroa – A figurative encomium for a woman or girl of high rank⁴¹
- Ka eke panuku, eke Tangaroa – A Ngāi Tahu colloquialism for ascending to the full heights of potential
- Tangaroa puukunohi nui – The god of the sea Tangaroa can observe all we are doing

Contemporarily, Tangaroa continues to drive much of the focus of the community, including habitat restoration for kaimoana, fisheries management and conservation of coastal and wetland areas.⁴²

RANGINUI AND PAPATŪĀNUKU

In Māori tradition and history, Papatūānuku is profoundly important. She is the land; an earth mother who gives birth to all things of the world and imparts many blessings to earth's inhabitants. Figuratively, humans are born from the womb of Papatūānuku and thought itself is seen as coming from the land.⁴³ The word for land is the same as the word for placenta, for humanity owes its existence to both. Papatūānuku represents the generative foundation of all life.⁴⁴

Papatūānuku first dwelt with Tangaroa. However, Tangaroa went away for a very long time and returned to find Papatūānuku in union with Ranginui, the atua of the heavens and all celestial bodies. When Tangaroa returned to the scene, he speared Ranginui in the buttocks; paralysis was the price to pay for taking Papatūānuku. Ranginui clung so desperately to his love Papatūānuku that nothing penetrated their embrace.

Puamiria Parata-Goodall explains the events that follow:

In the Ngāi Tahu whakapapa, Ranginui was wounded and clung to Papatūānuku. Between the two forms in the darkness, many children lived. Those children grew tired of the darkness and decided to separate the parents. Leading the charge was Tānemahuta, god of the forests. With the help of his siblings Tānemahuta lifted his father with a giant pole called Pou-tū-te-rangi. The pole had ten joints, each a heaven. More support poles were added and soon Ranginui was suspended about his love, Papatūānuku. Both forms were now out of the water, and light and air flooded the space in between. The world of light, the creation of the world as we know it, began to emerge.⁴⁵

Ranginui was torn away from his partner, suspended high above the earth to form the vault of the heavens: Rangi (heavens), Ranginui (great heavens), Rangiroa (expansive heavens), Rangi-e-tū-nei (the great standing heavens). During the separation, light rushes into the world, between the parents of all visible nature.⁴⁶

Though separated, their aroha for each other continues. Papatūānuku sighs out of her bosom the vapoury mist that rises from the forested mountains and may be seen ascending to Ranginui. In return, he weeps heavenly tears of love down upon her in dewdrops.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Rev J.F.H Wholers, *The Mythology and Traditions of the Maori in New Zealand*, Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand 1868–1961, Vol. 7, 1874, p. 2.

⁴¹ H. Beattie, A. Anderson (ed.), *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori*, University of Otago Press, 2009, p. 401.

⁴² B. Flack et al, *Scope: Kaupapa Kai Tahu 3*, Otago Polytechnic Te Kura Matatini ki Otago, 2015, p.13.

⁴³ C. Royal, 'Te ao mārama the natural world', in Te Ara, *Te Taiao Māori and the Natural World*, 2010 p. 8

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 40

⁴⁵ P. Parata-Goodall, *Cultural Narrative*, Canterbury Museum, Te Pākura Ltd., 2019, p.11.

⁴⁶ Rev J.F.H Wholers, *The Mythology and Traditions of the Maori in New Zealand*, 1874, p. 6.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 3.

TĀNE

Tāne is the god of the forest, and he holds an important place in both tribal consciousness and traditions.⁴⁸ His fame came from his actions. Tāne separated earth and sky, he adorned the heavens with stars, he sculpted and breathed life into the first woman, and brought the baskets of knowledge down to humanity.⁴⁹

Tapu was formulated by Tāne, as outlined in the text by Rawiri Te Maire Tau:⁵⁰

‘Anō ka mutu te mahi a Tāne i mahi ai kia pai te āhua o tana hakoro o Rangī, a mahia ana eia ngā kī mo te tapu’. The translation from White reads ‘After Tāne had arranged the stars, and had made his father Rangī beautiful, and had formulated the laws of tapu, he visited the earth.’ This is a clear statement that Tapu was formulated by Tāne.

What was it that Tāne formulated? Tāne formulated life ...

Tāne was the creator of all life ... Tāne created life because Rehua gave to Tāne the knowledge of planting trees and the trees that resulted in life. He also created humankind. Thus the phrase, ‘Na Tāne anō te tapu, i kimihia e ia ki te waho (wao ngahere) nui a Tāne.’

Tāne also arranged the forests, and his domain is Te wao nui a Tāne – the realm of the forests.⁵¹

Te wao nui a Tāne, the forest realm, provides essential resources for the Ngāi Tahu material culture; materials for weaving, for muka (a weaving technique which produces nets, cords, and ropes), for traps, rongoā (medicines), mahinga kai, pou and tumu for carving – all of which are essential to Ngāi Tahu identity traditionally and contemporarily.

The birds belong to Tāne, and he is acknowledged for the provision of food, feathers, adornments, and cloaks. Te wao nui a Tāne also provides Māori with rich inspirations for sayings and expressions. As well as the means for life Tāne, the god of the forest, separated earth and sky and let light into the world. These actions became the basis for important rituals and oratory on the marae.⁵²

TĀWHIRI-MĀTEA

Ngāi Tahu traditions state that Tāwhiri-mātea took no part in the separation of the earth and sky.⁵³ When his siblings separated, Tāwhiri-mātea followed his father heavenward, coming down at will to fight against his siblings ‘from all quarters of the heavens.’⁵⁴

We can imagine Tāwhiri-mātea standing on Rangī’s lower left eyelid. The iris of his father was like a fiery, bloodshot sun. His utterance was decidedly epic, resounding and echoing all the way from Te Ao back through Te Pō to Te Kore. All the founders of the universe must have put their hands to their ears, grieving. Must siblings fall apart?⁵⁵

Tāwhiri-mātea declared a revenge oath – war upon the other atua.

After an epic battle, Tūmataunga emerge triumphant and vanquished his brother Tāwhiri-mātea, who, defeated and anguished, decided to flee skywards and spend his days with his father. But before he departed, Tāwhiri-mātea plucked out his eyes, crushed them in his hands and threw them into the sky, in a display of rage and contempt towards his siblings. It was also a symbol of aroha from son to father, revealing the deep-seated sorrow and affection Tāwhiri-mātea felt for Ranginui. The eyes of Tāwhiri-mātea stuck to the chest of Ranginui and there they remain to this day. This is

⁴⁸ T. A. C. Royal, ‘Te Waonui-a-Tane forest mythology’, in Te Ara The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, *Te Taiao Māori and the Natural World*, David Bateman, Auckland, 2010, p. 100.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ R. T. Tau, *Ngā Pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu The oral traditions of Ngāi Tahu*, p. 82.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² T. A. C. Royal, ‘Te Waonui-a-Tane forest mythology’, p. 100

⁵³ Rev J.F.H Wholers, *The Mythology and Traditions of the Maori in New Zealand*, 1874, p. 7.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ W. Ihimaera, *Navigating the Stars, Māori Creation Myths*, p. 87.

Matariki,...‘Mata Ariki’, a shortened version of the phrase Ngā Mata o te Ariki Tāwhiri-mātea.

...Tāwhiri-mātea continues to send his descendants, the winds, to earth. It is for this reason Māori believe that the winds are so unpredictable, because Tāwhiri-mātea has no eyes and he uses the winds to feel his way around the world, seeking revenge for the separation of his parents.⁵⁶

Tāwhiri-mātea is most commonly referred to as atua of the winds, rains, and climatic processes. Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku refer to his domain as air and sound.⁵⁷ Depending on the state of the environment, Tāwhiri-mātea may be found sweeping the earth clean, or swiping unnatural contaminants from place to place.

Considerations for the Layer

Matters to be considered in the analysis of this layer are:

- Domains and whakapapa of atua
- Mauri, wairua and hauora
- Mana atua, mana tūpuna, mana whenua, mana tangata
- Reverence and utu
- Ritual
- Tikanga, correct conduct
- Parables - understanding how the world works and how to act
- Climate and natural state
- Biodiversity and ecology
- Evolution and change.

⁵⁶ R. Matamua, *Matariki: The Star of the Year*, Huia, Wellington, 2017, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁷ Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, ‘Southland Cultural Landscapes Wananga on Atuatanga’ [interviewed by Ailsa Cain and Donelle Manihera], 20 May 2021, Te Rau Aroha Marae, Motupōhue Bluff.

Summary Statement

This layer recognises the primal genealogies related to the precursors of humans, and the pre-requisite events that shaped the Murihiku landscape. Also, it acknowledges the ancestors of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, their work in creating landscape and the associated geological, metamorphic and ecological forces.

Description

There is an abundance of Ngāi Tahu pūrākau that describe how the landscape came to be. Below are examples of the pūrākau that this layer acknowledges and makes space for.

- Tū te Rakiwhānoa is the earth shaper, and his efforts gave form to Te Rua o te Moko Fiordland. His whakapapa connects the Southern fiords with Aoraki and the Southern Alpine fault further north. It is a story that extends beyond the boundary of Murihiku, placing this region and its resources within the wider perspective of Te Waipounamu. Tū te Rakiwhānoa sets an expectation of best practice, acknowledging his mana and his final work, his masterpiece, Te Rua o te Moko.
- Rakaihautū lit the fires of occupation on this island⁵⁸ more than 800 years ago. His work was creating and naming numerous lakes and lagoons across Te Waipounamu, including Whakatipu Watai (Lake McKerrow), Te Ana Au (cave of rain), Roto Ua (Manapouri). His places are a tool to connect vast landscapes in a simple way, while explaining geological, metamorphic and ecological forces. Over 800 years ago, Rakaihautū lit the fires, and his story is an oral map that has preserved Ngāi Tahu places and place names for hundreds of years.
- The story of Hine Hukatere explains glacial systems, Hine-te-wai explains braided river systems, the story of Ōtewao, Ōroko and Ōkākā explain prehistoric tsunami events and connect ridges in the Murihiku landscape. Hine-te-repō is the personification of wetlands. Each ancestral story layers the landscape with conceptual references.

Considerations for the Layer

Matters to be considered in the analysis of this layer are:

- Connections forged with atua, Te Waipounamu, Te Ika a Māui and Hawaiki
- How/why the landform was shaped
- Geology and geomorphology
- Topography and hydrology
- Characteristics of natural features
- Mahinga kai resources
- Aesthetic qualities
- Pepeha and whakataukī
- Wayfinding and landmarks
- Modification of landscape.

⁵⁸T. Davis et al., *He Korero Pūrākau Mo: Ngā Taunahanahatanga a Ngā Tūpuna Place Names of the Ancestors: A Māori Oral History Atlas*, New Zealand Geographic Board, 1990, p. 90 – 91.



Time Period

900 CE– 1840 CE

This period recognises the adaptation of Pacific mātauranga to a new landscape and the unobstructed growth of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku identity, history, connections and culture.

The name for this time period is taken from Hirini Moko Mead's classification of Māori art.⁵⁹ He identifies three periods: Ngā Kākano – the seeds (900–1200 AD), Te Tipunga – the growth (1200–1500 AD); Te Puāwaitanga – the flowering (1500–1800 AD). However, this layer has consolidated those three periods into one and Ngā Kākano was selected to represent the time period.

Description

Ngā tipua shaped and wove themselves into the whenua. This enabled the peoples of Te Rapuwai, Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu to traverse Murihiku for centuries, and they came to know the landscape intimately. They had 'considerable knowledge of whakapapa, traditional trails, places for gathering kai and other taonga, ways in which to use the resources of the land, the relationship of people with the land and their dependence on it, and tikanga for the proper and sustainable utilisation of resources.'⁶⁰

This massive intergenerational knowledge base was passed down through the generations orally and through active participation. Children accompanied their Pōua and Taua, their parents and relatives, on expeditions. Travelling across the landscape was part of everyday life in Murihiku. They were confident in their ability and that of the environment to sustain them on their travels. This confidence allowed Ngāi Tahu to live a seasonal lifestyle, not just as individuals but as whānau and hapū travelling together. Ngāi Tahu travelled extensively for economic, social, scientific and cultural reasons.⁶¹

The size of hapū and whānau groups travelling inland from the coastal kaik varied. There are records of early European explorers seeing small groups of five to seven people.⁶² By contrast, based on the well-known trip by Ōraka whānau in the 1830s to collect pounamu from Te Koroka, there were enough people on the hīkoi to handle 20 mokihi on the Waiau River. On at least one of the mokihi were four women plus infants.⁶³ That implies that there were more than 40 people in the party returning to the coast.

Many hapū travelled to inland Murihiku using different routes from the permanent kaik around Foveaux Strait and the Otago coast. Along the routes were temporary, overnight areas to rest with nohoanga established, usually around a lake or waterbody.⁶⁴ Nohoanga were also established in remote coastal areas for harvesting kaimoana, sea birds, and seals. These nohoanga could be occupied for a month or two.

Routes to the nohoanga tended to follow land features inland and utilise the waterways to travel back to the coast. Inland travel was generally via the line of less resistance, up the river valleys, taking to the hilltops occasionally to avoid obstacles.⁶⁵ However, the challenges traversing the inland routes were well known and managed where possible. Examples of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku-specific knowledge and management practices included avoiding the area until it was favourable to traverse and using specific techniques and tools to cross rivers and snowfields.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ S. M. Mead, 'The Ebb and Flow of Mana Māori and the Changing Context of Māori Art', in S. M. Mead (ed.) *Te Māori: Māori Art from New Zealand Collections*, Heinemann, Auckland, 1984, p.35.

⁶⁰ *Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998*, s. 91.

⁶¹ Dacker, B., *The People of the Place: Mahika Kai*, New Zealand 1990 Commission, 1990, p. 6.

⁶² '...nine miles north of Okarito. There was a small Maori encampment there at the time that composed of two women, two children, an old man, and two natives from the kaik, called by the Europeans, Jacksons Bay.' In 1873, *Maoris South of Martins Bay*

⁶³ 'Pio-Pio-Tahi: Milford Sound', *Otago Witness*, 04 March 1903, p. 12.

⁶⁴ N. Ritchie, *Archaeology and Prehistory of the Upper Wakatipu Region*, New Zealand Archaeological Association, 1986, p. 245.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ B. Dacker, *The People of the Place: Mahika Kai*, pp. 19–20.

As travel inland was undertaken mainly on foot, not all items used were carried by hapū from the coast to nohoanga nor were they made new every year. Many tools were buried in caches at nohoanga and along the routes for use on subsequent visits. Mōkihi and waka were left on the banks of rivers to help people cross. John Boulton was able to cross the swift and turbulent Waimeamea River in 1820 due to 'a small canoe that was kept here for the convenience of passengers.'⁶⁷ Eel equipment (including hīnaki and stone traps) and drying racks were repaired and left in situ for reuse.

Samuel Mitchell, the former manager of Manapouri Station, was well known for his collections of 'Māori curios' and finding caches of stone tools. In his private collection, he had

*hundreds of stones, meres, axes and chisels, bones and ornaments...Two eel pots, one perfect specimen, found near the Waiau are particularly interesting, being made after a manner differing from the practice of the Maoris of the present day...Some 40 of the implements were found near the homestead – a noticeable fact because it is not in the neighbourhood of any river or bush, nor is the situation in any other respect such as Maoris would select for a permanent camp.*⁶⁸

These tools were not left by accident but were deliberately buried or stored at key sites for future use. This approach assisted travel by enabling people to move with minimal equipment. Travel was also assisted by using the resources in situ, both manufactured and natural, and undertake mahinga kai along the route.

While travelling and at nohoanga, all members of the party would have been involved in collecting resources for either immediate consumption or to preserve and take home. Clothing, tools and campsites had to be maintained and people cared for, scientific observations undertaken, and artistic and recreational activities. Vegetation would have been felled and burnt for nohoanga, birding grounds and cultivations. Early settlers often referred to coming across 'Māori glades' or 'Māori clearings'.⁶⁹

Whānau would have taken the time to teach children skills and encourage self-reliance. Children were able to explore and learn more about the environment and landscape, both with kaumātua and their peers. The ongoing resilience and expertise of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku as a highly successful nomadic people depended on the transfer of this historical, environmental and spiritual knowledge to the following generations.

Place names along with karakia, pūrākau, skills, intergenerational knowledge and preparation demystified large tracks of land and enabled people to travel with relative ease. Herries Beattie noted that no lake was too remote or too insignificant to be without a Māori place name.⁷⁰ Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku used these place names to bind themselves with the landscape and to provide guidance for future hīkoī.

Ngāi Tahu places and their names were part of a knowledge system in which religious belief, history, and geography were combined. Stories were used to create 'oral maps' with the place names and meanings carefully woven into it.⁷¹ Ngāi Tahu experiences and whakapapa became intertwined with the landscape. For example, the names of some mountains record the whakapapa of deities like Aoraki and his brothers along the Kā Tiritiri o Te Moana/Southern Alps. Other routes were linked by the continued use of a name such as Whakatipu that was used to mark the route from Queenstown to Martins Bay;⁷² a wayfinding practice from Hawaiki.

Place names were also used as indicators of environmental resources and behaviours - 'Makakura' indicating the clay found in the area that is used as a red dye; 'Ma-tuna-rere' a tributary of jumping eels; 'Waitakahea' where more takahe were found than anywhere else in the area.⁷³ Some place names did change over time, following significant events, but the naming protocols helped Ngāi Tahu move confidently and knowledgeably through Murihiku over the generations.

⁶⁷ A. C. Begg and N. C. Begg., *The World of John Boulton*, Whitcoulls Publishers, Christchurch, 1979, p. 190.

⁶⁸ 'Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri', *Otago Daily Times*, 1891, p. 5.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ H. Beattie, *Maori Lore of the Lake, Alp & Fiord: Folk Lore, Fairy Tale, Tradition & Place names of the Scenic Wonderland of the South Island*, Otago Daily Times & Witness Co. Ltd, Dunedin, 1945, p. 18.

⁷¹ B. Dacker, *The People of the Place: Mahika Kai*, p. 17.

⁷² H. Beattie, *Maori Lore of the Lake, Alp & Fiord*, 1945, p. 65.

⁷³ M. N. Moore, *Fiordland Placenames: A review of existing information*, 1993.

Mahinga kai was the predominant and economic activity during this period and establishes itself as 'central to the Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku way of life'.⁷⁴ Mahinga kai refers to the specific locations and actions that Ngāi Tahu undertakes to harvest and manage particular resources. Mahinga kai incorporates a holistic knowledge and understanding of the interdependences between habitats, species, humans and climate.

During this period, Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku developed a complex calendar for mahinga kai that is based on maramataka, life-cycles, migratory patterns, seasons and spatial locations.⁷⁵ Known or perceived threats, including weather patterns and events, and the impacts of previous harvests are factored in deciding what mahinga kai would be visited that season. If necessary, mahinga kai were given time to rest and regenerate. Waterbodies such as estuaries, wetlands and riparian zones are of particular significance as important sources of mahinga kai⁷⁶ due to the species that inhabit them and ecosystems' ability to replenish.

Mahinga kai are not a 'once off' resource; for an area and species to be harvested, the collective parts must be able to sustain themselves within a specified cycle. This cycle also determines the types and quantities of resources that can be harvested during that season. The rights of a hapū to use a mahinga kai included 'the responsibility to manage the resource so that it would be available for future generations'.⁷⁷

In the later stages of this period that crosses over to Te Kerēme, European sealers and whalers arrived on the southern coastline. Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku had its first contact with them from around 1795. By the 1830s, Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku had built up a thriving industry supplying whaling ships with provisions such as pigs, potatoes, and wheat. In 1835, whaling and sealing stations began to be established onshore under the authority of local Ngāi Tahu chiefs.⁷⁸ Ngāi Tahu settlements were moved to support this trade and contained permanent residents, although mahinga kai and hīkoi were still commonly practised. There were notable bi-cultural settlements on Whenua Hou⁷⁹, Motupōhue and Aparima with many Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku women married to whalers.⁸⁰

Considerations for the Layer

Matters to be considered in the analysis of this layer are:

- Occupation, settlement and travel patterns, including those without physical evidence
- Evolution of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku society from its Pacific origins
- Maramataka
- Cultural practices, uses and associations
- Connections with Te Waipounamu, Te Ika a Māui and Hawaiki
- Knowledge systems and tikanga associated with human use of the landscape
- Social structures and control mechanisms such as manawhenua, rangatiratanga, rāhui and tapu
- Tangible evidence of human occupation, e.g. archaeological sites, urupā, tauranga waka, rock art
- Intangible evidence of human occupation, e.g. place names, cultural narratives, personification of landscape.

⁷⁴ Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, *Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku Natural Resource and Environmental Iwi Management Plan*, p. 164.

⁷⁵ Dacker, B., *The People of the Place: Mahika Kai*, pp. 8-13.

⁷⁶ Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, *Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku Natural Resource and Environmental Iwi Management Plan*, p. 166.

⁷⁷ P Garven et al., *Te Whakatau Kaupapa o Murihiku: Ngāi Tahu Resource Management Strategy for the Southland Region*, Aoraki Press, 1997, p. 39.

⁷⁸ Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, *Te Whakataunga, Celebrating Te Kerēme - the Ngāi Tahu Claim* [website], <https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/ngai-tahu/te-whakataunga-celebrating-te-kereme-the-ngai-tahu-claim/>, (accessed 25 July 2021).

⁷⁹ Established before 1815 as the first explicit mixed-race community in New Zealand. M Reilly et al., *Te Kōparapara: An Introduction to the Māori World*, Auckland University Press, 2018, p. 163.

⁸⁰ J. Binney et al., 'The Coming of the Pākehā, 1820-1840', in A. Anderson, J. Binney, A. Harris (eds.), *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2014, pp. 202-205.

Time Period

1840 CE – 1997 CE

This period recognises a time of great change and unease for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, dominated by colonisation, alienation, and restrictions, as well as urbanisation and international events.

Its name is taken from the Ngāi Tahu Historical Treaty Claim, Te Kerēme, lodged in the 1980s after over 140 years of petitions by Ngāi Tahu, and inquiries to have Tiriti o Waitangi and land sale breaches heard. The Deed of Settlement was finally signed in 1997, with the corresponding Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act passed in 1998.

Description

By the time Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed in 1840, Ngāi Tahu was no stranger to European ways. Ngāi Tahu rangatira signed the Treaty at Ōnuku, Ōtākou, and Ruapuke Island. At the time, it was seen as a convenient arrangement between equals.⁸¹ Ngāi Tahu asserted its power as it saw fit and selectively adapted aspects from other cultures into its own. However, this rapidly disintegrated over the following decades.

Between 1844 and 1864, in a series of ten land purchases, the majority of Te Waipounamu was purchased by the Crown from Ngāi Tahu. In 1853, Walter Mantell, on behalf of the Crown acquired title from Ngāi Tahu to over seven million acres for £2,600 in the Southland region. The northern boundary line of the purchase was marked by Piopiotahi on the west coast and Tokata (south of Kaka Point) on the east coast and included the lands down to the Foveaux coast.⁸² A total of 4,875 acres was set aside for Ngāi Tahu in seven reserves at Tukurau, Ōue, Ōmāui, Aparima, Kawakaputaputa, Ōraka and Ōuetoto.⁸³

The purchase was made with great controversy – Ngāi Tahu names were included on the Deed without their knowledge, not signed or suspected of being forged, key people were not included, and others included who did not hold manawhenua in the area.⁸⁴ As was the case in other purchases, the boundaries of the area to be included in the sale were not made sufficiently clear at the time. Ngāi Tahu have always maintained that the region known as Fiordland was not to be included in the Murihiku Purchase.⁸⁵

The Crown then failed to honour its obligations under these land purchase agreements. Over the ensuing years the tribal authority of Ngāi Tahu was diminished, people were ostracised from their land, connections were fragmented, and language and knowledge suppressed.⁸⁶ After the Crown asserted ownership of the high country, it established non-freeholding grazing licenses in 1858. These licenses were for Crown-owned land that was leased for pastoral farming for various fixed terms. The 1948 Land Act created a special category of pastoral land and offered more secure fixed-term leases, to be leased in perpetuity subject to certain conditions. The rationale was to incentivise greater investment into the land by providing increased security of tenure.⁸⁷

Removal of native vegetation was commonplace to modify the landscape for pasture and had a significant impact on mahinga kai, biodiversity, and for some, the aesthetic beauty of the place. Native species were targeted for removal; farmers regarded species prized by Ngāi Tahu such as taramea/speargrass and tutu

⁸¹ Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, *Te Whakataunga, Celebrating Te Kerēme - the Ngāi Tahu Claim* [website], <https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/ngai-tahu/te-whakataunga-celebrating-te-kereme-the-ngai-tahu-claim/>, (accessed 25 July 2021).

⁸² H. C Evison, *The Ngāi Tahu Deeds: A Window on New Zealand History*, Canterbury University Press, 2007, p. 156.

⁸³ Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, *Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku Natural Resource and Environmental Iwi Management Plan*, p. 43.

⁸⁴ H. C Evison, *The Ngāi Tahu Deeds: A Window on New Zealand History*, p. 155-159.

⁸⁵ Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, *Te Whakataunga, Celebrating Te Kerēme - the Ngāi Tahu Claim* [website], <https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/ngai-tahu/te-whakataunga-celebrating-te-kereme-the-ngai-tahu-claim/>, (accessed 26 July 2021).

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, *The Cultural Mapping Story*, Chapter Two – Protecting Ngāi Tahu History [website], <https://www.kahuumanu.co.nz/cultural-mapping-story/protecting-ngai-tahu-history>, (accessed 29 July 2021).

as pests. The Acclimatisation Societies encouraged the introduction of plants, birds, fish and mammals from Europe with rewards given for the removal and destruction of native species, such as tuna/eels and kōau/shags that hindered the establishment of introduced species.⁸⁸

The seasonal lifestyle of Ngāi Tahu in Murihiku was impeded, and by the 1850s there were few hapū and whānau groups moving regularly or freely from the coast to the inland lakes. Taylor White noted that 'in 1859, and ten years subsequently, no Maoris came inland to either Lakes Te Anau or Wakatipu.'⁸⁹ However, in the late 1860s, Alfred Duncan stated he had found traces of recently occupied Ngāi Tahu camp near Diamond Lake [Ōturu] but did not see any people. At this site he found 'stake nets, baskets for catching eels, spears, waddies, ashes and other debris.'⁹⁰

By the 1870s, Ngāi Tahu kaumātua were mourning the loss of species, and speaking of their travels and way of life in the past tense. Before the Smith-Nairn Commission in 1879, Wiremu Te Uki explained that 'We used to get food from all over our island; it was all mahinga kai. And we considered our island in a far superior position to any other, because it is called Te Wai Pounamu, the greenstone island, the fame thereof reaches all.'⁹¹

Land use change and ownership further restricted Ngāi Tahu movement and decreased or destroyed habitats and mahinga kai. 'British colonists of that time took it for granted that New Zealand would be a 'Britain of the South' and that the native bush, the curious native birds – and the native people – would all be displaced by the advance of colonisation... The land covered with bush and fern was seen as a desolate waste, waiting to be turned into prosperous farms.'⁹²

The European attitude prevailed over land use and 'priority' species – domesticated livestock and

*in European tradition, certain species were protected because they were valuable to elite hunters, usually aristocrats and kings. Before there were any serious attempts to protect the native species, nineteenth-century New Zealand protected game introduced for sport...reacting to the class-ridden system they had left behind...hunting and fishing, for instance, were available to everyone. In so doing, the newcomers overlooked the wishes and needs of the tangata whenua and the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi.'*⁹³

Introduced species such as dogs and stoats had noticeably impacted on native animal populations. A paper read by James Richardson to the Otago Institute in 1891 outlined the decline in native alpine birds in Fiordland/Otago 'and the prospect of their extinction at an early date'. The paper included the following observations from surveyor Ernest Wilmot:

*At the time I was last there – April 1889 (the second exploration of the headwaters of the Eglinton) – I did not come across a single kakapo or kiwi though from what I had seen in 1883-84 when travelling through the Hollyford Valley I expected them to be very numerous and, indeed, had relied greatly on them for animal food. I do not now remember whether on the last occasion the party got any wekas, but, if so, only one or two. Blue ducks, which should have been plentiful, were rarely to be had...wekas, which use to be very plentiful around Lake Wakatipu, are now very rarely to be met with.'*⁹⁴

By 1930 about half of the forest area, and a large part of the tussocklands – totalling 39% of New Zealand's land area – had been transformed into pastures. 85% of wetlands were drained by the Second World War. This figure is high compared with countries such as the Netherlands or Great Britain, where about 60% have been drained. European settlers carried out this extraordinary conversion by:⁹⁵

⁸⁸ *Lake Wakatipu Mail*, Issue 1355, 7 December 1883, p. 2.

⁸⁹ T. White, *A Maori Pa at Lake Te Anau*, Transactions and proceedings of The Royal Society of New Zealand, vol. 26, 1893, p. 513.

⁹⁰ N. Ritchie, *Archaeology and Prehistory of the Upper Wakatipu Region*, p. 254.

⁹¹ P. Garven et al., *Te Whakatauranga Kaupapa o Murihiku*, 1997, p. 39.

⁹² R. Galbreath, *Working for Wildlife: A History of the New Zealand Wildlife Service*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, p. 1.

⁹³ D. Young, *Our Islands, Our Selves: A History of Conservation in New Zealand*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 2004, p. 44.

⁹⁴ 'Extirmination of Native Birds', *Otago Witness*, 27 August 1891, p. 15.

⁹⁵ H. Campbell and J. Haggerty, *Farming and the environment*, Chapter two, Early changes, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/farming-and-the-environment/page-2>, (accessed 27 May 2021)

- clearing forest, mainly through burning
- draining swamps and wetlands, removing most of the lowland forest in the process
- burning hill and high country tussock grasslands.

During the twentieth century, Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku was in a state of turmoil and adaptation due to colonisation. Resources they used in situ were no longer there or were in an unusable state of decline, restricting movement and the active transfer of knowledge. Sickness and death from Western diseases such as measles had weakened social structures and reduced the population.⁹⁶ Tikanga and Ngāi Tahu social controls had been replaced with Western law. Te Reo Māori was forcefully replaced by English language⁹⁷ and Māori were regarded as second-class citizens. On the Southland mainland, Māori land holdings were limited to Waitutu, Aparima, Waikawa and Waimumu although Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku retained its dominance in the sea and offshore islands.

The urban drift consolidated Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku populations in Motupōhue, Waihōpai, Aparima, Māruawai/Gore, Ōtepōti who mixed with people from other iwi/hapū migrating from north to south for employment and training, resulting in 'a more diversified South Island Māori character'.⁹⁸ Marae were established at Ōraka, Waihōpai, Motupōhue and later, Māruawai. Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku focused on protecting whakapapa and while mixed marriages were still common and celebrated, arranged marriages between senior whakapapa continued. Like other iwi, World Wars One and Two had long-lasting impacts on Ngāi Tahu tribal leaderships and the wellbeing of its people.⁹⁹ The marae at Bluff, Te Rau Aroha, was named after the food truck that supported soldiers in Italy during World War Two.¹⁰⁰

The latter half of the twentieth century in Southland was notable for Think Big projects, and economic booms and declines, especially in the primary sector. Land use intensified through dairy conversions and the growth of industries and factories. Land modification continued for development, agriculture and flood protection, and many of the waterways were straightened and/or had flows decrease.¹⁰¹ Political recognition of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku was increasing but still largely paternalistic by authorities.¹⁰²

When Te Kerēme was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986, its legitimacy had already been established through an extensive series of commissions, inquiries, courts, and tribunals. Many of the environment and landscape changes witnessed in Southland were used as the basis of this evidence.¹⁰³ In 1997 the Ngāi Tahu Deed of Settlement was signed at Takahanga Marae, Kaikōura, and the following year the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act was passed.

Ngāi Tahu received a Formal Apology from the Crown, the return of its ancestral maunga Aoraki, economic redress, and a cultural redress package that consisted of new statutory mechanisms to express the traditional kaitiaki relationship with the environment. Economic redress consisted of \$170 million cash with specific mechanisms to provide Ngāi Tahu with the capacity, right, and opportunity to re-establish its tribal base.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁶ H. O'Regan, 'The Fate of Customary Language: Te Reo Māori 1900 to the Present', in D. Keenan (ed.) *Huia Histories of Māori: Ngā Tāhuhu Kōrero*, Huia, Wellington, 2012, p. 301.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ M. Reilly et al., *Te Kōparapara An Introduction to the Māori World*, p. 273

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 264-5

¹⁰⁰ 'Te Rau Aroha – The Mobile Canteen', 28th Māori Battalion, <https://28maoribattalion.org.nz/memory/te-rau-aroha-the-mobile-canteen/>, (assessed 8 October 2021).

¹⁰¹ Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, *Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku Natural Resource and Environmental Iwi Management Plan*.

¹⁰² C. Orange, 'An Exercise in Māori Autonomy: The Rise and Demise of the Māori War Effort Organisation', in P. W. Lackenbauer, R. S. Sheffield, C. L. Mantle, *Aboriginal Peoples and Military Participation: Canadian and International Perspectives*, Canadian Defence Academy Press, Kingston, 2007, p. 237.

¹⁰³ For example, E003- WAI27 – Submission of Harold Francis Ashwell on Bluff – Motupōhue, February 1988, Fifth Waitangi Tribunal Hearing of the Ngāi Tahu Claim held at Te Rau Aroha Marae with site visit to Wānaka and Hāwea, 01-02-1988 – 03-02-1988, <https://kareao.nz/SCRIPTS/MWIMAIN.DLL/172481031/4/1/1105?RECORD&UNION=Y>, (accessed 8 October 2021).

¹⁰⁴ Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, *Te Whakataunga, Celebrating Te Kerēme – the Ngāi Tahu Claim* [website], <https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/ngai-tahu/te-whakataunga-celebrating-te-kereme-the-ngai-tahu-claim/>, (accessed 25 July 2021).

Considerations for the Layer

Matters to be considered in the analysis of this layer are:

- Occupation and travel patterns
- Relocation and reordering of settlements and civic structures
- Social and cultural shifts
- Human impacts on the environment, including cumulative effects and land use change
- Presence, absence and loss of species
- Māori and SILNA lands
- International connections through trade, travel, intermarriage and population relocation
- Legislation, social norms and attitudes
- Social structures and control mechanisms
- Land use change and alienation
- Evidence of human occupation.

Time Period

1998 CE onwards

This is an exploratory period focused on acknowledging the past, reconnection and revitalisation with much potential and challenge.

Its name is taken from the whakapapa of creation, when the first light filtered through the darkness. Whānau debated whether this period should be called Te Ao Hurihuri in recognition of the turbulent period post-Settlement and the major challenges we face with climate change. However, they wanted a name that inspired opportunities and strategic thinking, and as such, Te Ao Marama was selected.

Description

After decades of negotiations, legislation was passed in 1998 that put into effect the terms and redress package from the Ngāi Tahu Deed of Settlement. This package was agreed to by Ngāi Tahu and the Crown to mitigate and remedy breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 includes several mechanisms specifically designed to be used in implementing other legislation such as the Conservation Act 1987, Resource Management Act and Fisheries Act 1996. These mechanisms legally recognise the importance of natural resources to Ngāi Tahu.

A key feature of the Settlement is mahinga kai and the related sections include:

- Nohoanga
- Customary Fisheries Management
- Taonga Species Management
- Coastal space.

Not all Ngāi Tahu lands are recognised in the Settlement Act. Areas where lands had not been lost/taken (e.g. Ruapuke Island) or that are Māori Freehold (e.g. Jacobs River) are not covered by the Settlement. The Settlement Act also does not include complete lists of taonga species or sites of significance. These limitations are due to the terms of negotiation and arbitrary Crown restrictions on the number of sites and species that Ngāi Tahu could include.

The post-settlement period has been turbulent with much work required for recovery, revitalisation and re-establishing the tribal base. There have been wins and setbacks, and there are periods of regrouping and recovery. A multitude of legacy issues across social, political, judicial and economic spheres need to be understood, acknowledged and resolved. Environmental degradation needs to be replaced with health and wellbeing, and in due course, the continuation of mahinga kai in places and for species that have not been able to be accessed for generations.

There are many aspirations for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku to consider in this period, including the return of whānau and whenua. Building on the Settlement redress provisions and recognition of Te Ao Ngāi Tahu across Southland and nationally will be at the core of these aspirations.

Resilience and adaption for climate change shadows this period. Being agile and able to learn from rapidly evolving environmental indicators will be critical and will see fundamental changes in mātauranga relating to the environment and landscape.

Considerations for the Layer

Matters to be considered in the analysis of this layer are:

- Cultural and economic redress from Treaty Settlement
- Legislation, social norms, and attitudes
- Occupation and travel patterns
- Modern settlements and civic structures
- Human impacts on the environment, including ki uta ki tai, cumulative effects and restoration
- Climate change adaptation responses
- Presence, absence, and loss of species
- Restoration and revitalisation of environment, culture, and society
- Future social, cultural, and economic aspirations
- Ahi kā and the return of whānau and whenua.



APPLYING ĀPITI HONO TĀTAI HONO

The Study has drawn from the methodology process outlined in *Te Tangi a te Manu* adapted from the work of Dr. Mike Steven.¹⁰⁵ It states that designing an appropriate landscape method can be visualised as follows:

- **State the purpose** – the matters to be assessed. Identify the concepts, principles, terminology, and general approaches associated with the matters to be assessed.
- **Consider the factors, metrics, descriptors, criteria** that may be relevant to the matters being assessed.
- **Select (or tailor) the appropriate method for the assessment.** This is likely to entail both desk-top research and field work to investigate and interpret the things listed above.
- **Revise the method in an iterative way** if other factors, metrics, criteria etc., that warrant assessment emerge while carrying out the assessment.
- **Structure the report to best explain the findings** in terms of the purpose of the assessment.

Assessment Process

The assessment of cultural landscapes is undertaken by desktop, hikoī, hui and wānanga. It draws on the collective knowledge of the kaitiaki whānau, hapū and iwi as well as the expertise of manawhenua undertaking and leading the assessment. Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono does not emphasise the role and expertise of an individual practitioner.

Data Sources

Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku can utilise a range of data sources in assessing cultural landscapes that include visual, numerical, and narrative, and use subjective and objective analysis. Some information will be held by kaitiaki whānau, and consideration is needed about intellectual property, and private manuscripts and mātauranga being used in public process.

These sources include, but are not limited to:

- Karakia
- Waiata
- Whakataukī and other parables
- Whakapapa
- Ngāi Tahu histories (oral and written)
- Pūrākau and kōrero tuku iho
- Local and regional histories
- Unpublished manuscripts, letters, speeches, and reports
- Published reports and manuscripts from a range of disciplines (scientific, historical, landscape, theologian, etc.)
- Archaeological records and Māori sites of significance
- Taonga tūturu finds
- Māori Land Court and other Court records
- Council and museum records
- Ngāi Tahu Treaty of Waitangi published research and reports

¹⁰⁵ R. De Lambert et al., *Te Tangi a Te Manu*, p. 23.

- Ngāi Tahu cultural mapping
- Survey maps and Field books
- Ngāi Tahu empirical evidence
- Artworks, photographs, posters, flyers
- Newspaper articles
- Film and television footage
- Official statistics

Cultural narratives may be used in different ways – to provide context, inform the consideration of a layer, in the overall assessment and/or decision making.

Analysis using Ira Atua Ira Tangata

The Ira Atua Ira Tangata layers, like heritage thematic layers, can cross sites in different ways and need to be identified before any assessment is undertaken. However, unlike heritage layers, each layer comes with underlying tikanga and parables that guide manawhenua in their consideration of that layer. The tuakana-teina relationship between Ira Atua and Ira Tangata influences the overall assessment.

Each of the relevant Ira Atua Ira Tangata layers will be considered individually by manawhenua in the first instance with the respective layer description. It is expected that there may be conflicts between the layers, and this is deemed to be acceptable. It is through understanding whakapapa and how to act within these relationships¹⁰⁶ that the appropriate outcomes will be determined.

The Study provides an initial description of the layers, which is expected to be refined and deepened with use. The text for the layers is introductory and is not designed to limit the considerations of manawhenua. For example, in Atuatanga, five atua have been specifically mentioned but there are many more manawhenua may wish to acknowledge in their consideration of a place.

Atuatanga is also seen to be a key layer in accounting for climate change. Atua are in constant interplay, conflict and support, and by acknowledging atua, it enables manawhenua to assess the landscape in real-time, based on what has happened in the past and what is happening now and into the future. The impact and interactions of Tangaroa, Tawhiri-mātea and Tāne provide insights into coastal erosion and storm-altered landscapes.

Atuatanga provides an alternative perspective for area boundaries such as coastal marine. This area terminology is not referenced in the Study as it is defined through acknowledging the realms of the atua. Land types are considered through Ngā Tipua as it is this layer that acknowledges the shaping of the land by those such as Māui, Rākaihautū, Tū Te Rakiwhānoa and Hine Titama. Ngā Tipua, like Atuatanga, is a combination of explanation and metaphor.¹⁰⁷

Ira Tangata layers are where tangible materials and sites of occupation are to be recognised; archaeological sites and wāhi tūpuna, along with most of the recorded Māori sites of significance. Intangible matters such as pūrākau relating to human history and activities, and place names will also be recognised in these layers. Consideration will be given to human connection with place and continuation of practice and use.

However, any layer is not to be interpreted individually for a specific land type, activity or situation, e.g. using Ngā Tipua for a determination on outstanding natural landscapes. To do so is a direct contradiction of Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono and fails to recognise Ira Atua Ira Tangata. The assessment is predicated on the

¹⁰⁶ T. A. C. Royal, 'Te ao mārama the natural world', in Te Ara The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, *Te Taiao Māori and the Natural World*, David Bateman, Auckland, 2010, p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ T. A. C. Royal, 'Whenua how the land was shaped', in Te Ara The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, *Te Taiao Māori and the Natural World*, David Bateman, Auckland, 2010, p. 48.

acknowledgement, understanding and expertise of whakapapa and tikanga. It requires a proficient understanding of Te Ao Ngāi Tahu. For example, mahinga kai will sit across multiple layers as will many other matters fundamental to the philosophies, culture and society of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku.

Sites and Routes

A Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku centric cultural landscape assessment does not consider sites in isolation to the route to get there or associated features. Sites outside the defined assessment site will be referenced in landscape assessments and ki uta ki tai applied. Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono will be used in a manner that is flexible enough to allow variations in scale and scope.

Proactive Assessments

Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono assessments do not have to be reactive to a resource consent application, land redesignations or other applications such as concessions. They can be undertaken proactively to guide future protection and development.

Building useable data sets is a key matter for this Study and Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono. Proactive partnerships between local authorities and manawhenua may provide opportunities to undertake Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono assessments through master planning and zoning processes, and investigations of high risk and sensitive areas for local authorities and/or manawhenua. The assessments can inform developments prior to applications being lodged for resource consent.

Template

To assist manawhenua in undertaking landscape assessment and provide a consistent methodology, especially during the informative period of Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono, a template has been created. The design is based on heritage templates used by local authorities and government agencies.

This template provides a structured assessment that can then be summarised in any reports released by manawhenua. This template, in combination with Stage 1 of the Study, provides all parties with some certainty about what matters have been assessed by manawhenua.

The template may contain restricted or sensitive information that manawhenua do not want publicly released. A reason for not releasing the information may be concerns about how it could be reinterpreted and used in the future.

The template will be subject to ongoing refinement and change by Te Ao Marama Inc.

See Appendix One for the Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono template.

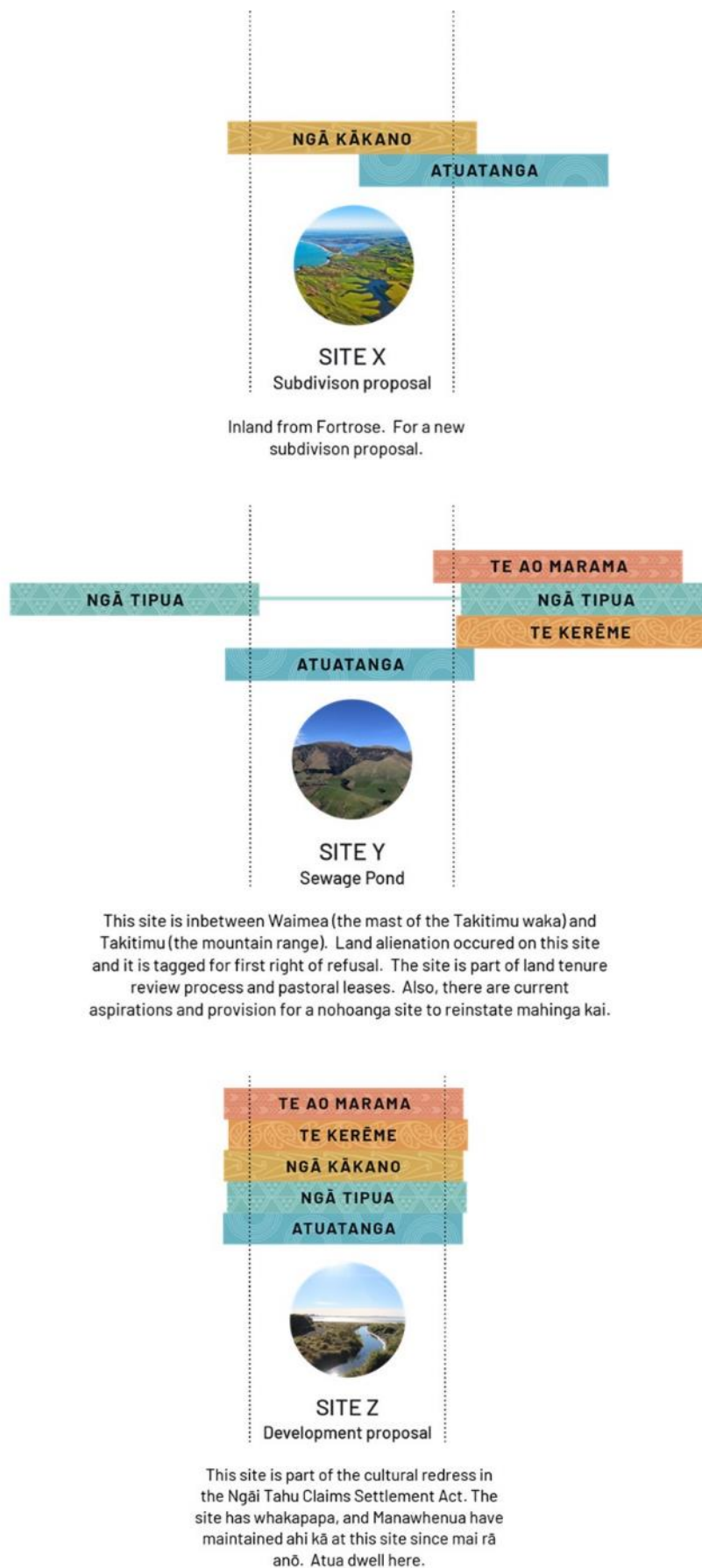


Figure 6: Three hypothetical examples of how layers may overlap when they are combined. The site (marked between the two dashed lines) refers to the site/place being assessed. The site is not necessarily a recorded Māori site or surveyed land parcels. The number of layers identified/discussed do not give any weighting.



CONCLUSION

To enable a comprehensive understanding of the cultural values of the Southland landscape as it relates to Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, Stage 1 of the Study needed an assessment methodology. There was no cultural landscape assessment methodology known by manawhenua or Southland local authorities that were acceptable or suitable for this purpose. So, one was designed and tested by Te Ao Marama Inc and Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, and Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono became the principal component of Stage 1 of the Study.

Tests were undertaken early on in Stage 1, before the development of Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono, to see if the site record data for Māori sites of significance could be used to inform the identification of place-based information and cultural landscapes. The weaknesses and inconsistencies in the data meant that it was unsuitable. Most of the recorded Māori sites of significance inadequately recognised Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku social, cultural or economic practices, and there was an over-representation of pre-1900 sites. These sites contained no quality references or assessment criteria related to whakapapa or tikanga.

This limitation and the inability to map all metaphysical elements, deemed by Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku as crucial in cultural landscape assessment, required the proposed approach for the Study to shift dramatically. Careful deliberation was had to find the most useful and achievable pathway forward.

There were fundamental matters that needed to be considered before site identification was undertaken, such as the recognition of Ira Atua Ira Tangata. Cultural landscapes needed to include the widespread associations and connections Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku have in Southland. Landscape assessments also needed to provide for discussions around what is appropriate at a site, rather than blanket rules that enable site identification but no consideration of tikanga and future aspirations.

As such, Stage 1 was able to develop criteria to identify and assess the relationships Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku have with these places and sites in Southland. Through Ira Atua Ira Tangata, the relationships Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku has with landscape and the depth of these relationships, metaphysical and physical, are recognised, and through Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono, they are identified and assessed.

Stage 1 of the Study does not provide a series of localised cultural landscape assessments due to data inequalities and the time spent developing Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono. Sites were not specifically mapped as part of Stage 1, however, it did pull together in GIS all the mapped Māori sites in Southland and their records from various agencies as part of the initial Stage 1 research. Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono assessments are still to be undertaken and can happen proactively and in reaction to resource consent applications.

Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono does provide a robust and defensible platform from which Te Ao Marama Inc and the Southland local authorities can build decisions around the inclusion of cultural landscapes in regulatory documents. The theory and methodology have been outlined in the Study, and the approach borrows from the design of landscape methodology detailed in Te Tangi a te Manu and heritage thematics. The true strength of Stage 1 of the Study, however, is that it is founded on Te Ao Ngāi Tahu and uses a methodology approved by Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku – by Ngāi Tahu, for Ngāi Tahu.

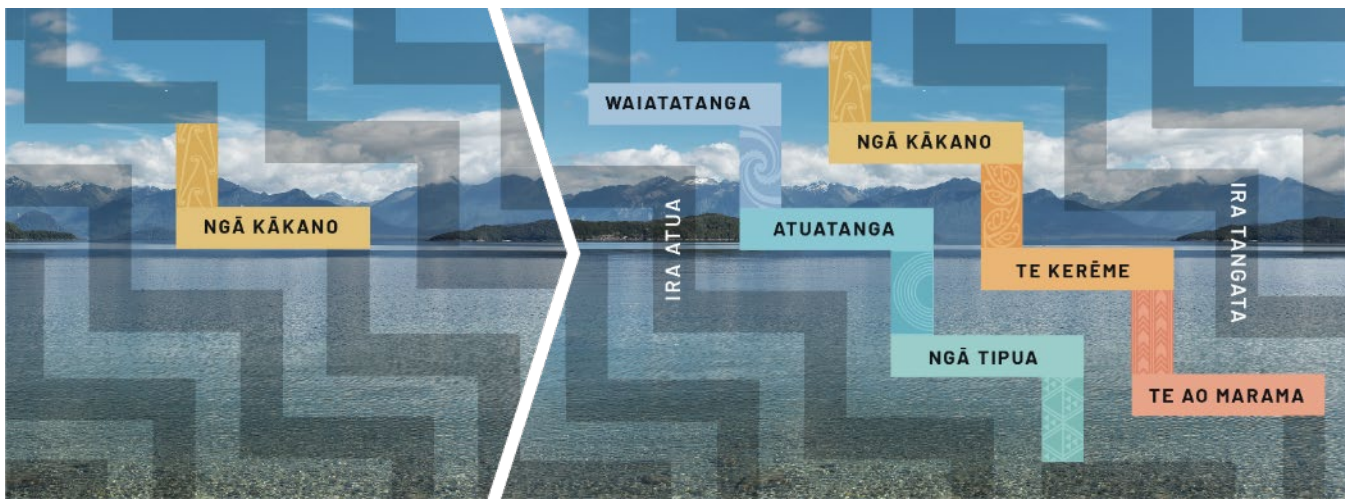


Figure 7: The profoundness of Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono is its inclusion of Ira Atua Ira Tangata in landscape assessments rather than just focusing on pre-1900, predominantly archaeological, sites and human landscapes.

Stage 2 of the Southland Cultural Landscape Assessment Study

In the following stages of the Study, thought will be given to prioritising and managing the identified cultural values for landscape. The response will include District Plan provisions. Some ideas for that step are:

- Ensure any mechanism(s) do not restrict Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku in exercising its rangatiratanga or kaitiakitanga, nor undermine its cultural heritage and mātauranga.
- Use the District Plan Cultural Landscapes Chapter to generate quality data and spatial information using appropriate tools and methods for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku.
- Encourage a proactive, dynamic approach that provides resource consent applicants with a more tailored response.
- Investigate what triggers already and should exist in District Plans (e.g. references to associations Māori have with their lands, cultural sites and values) and what additional triggers are needed; how this influences plan architecture as well as development, reviews and changes.
- Understand if and how Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku or cultural landscape values and tikanga are affected by a proposal.
- Examine what aspects of Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono are best supported by the Resource Management Act and ensure that regulatory tools do not restrict or constrain the evolution of Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono by Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku.
- Consider the use of Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono across planning tools, such as spatial planning, not just resource consents. This thinking may also assist with exploring scale and processes.
- Include references to the recorded Māori sites in the District Plan but qualify their role and use for cultural heritage assessments.
- Apply a consistent approach across the Southland local authorities, including how National Planning Standards are used.
- Educate and communicate with practitioners and applicants on Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono, and provide capacity and resources for manawhenua to build repositories and quality data while training additional staff/whānau in the assessment techniques.





*E ngā uri a Raki rūua ko Pohārua o Te Pō,
arā ko Te Hau o Te Ope Ruaraki
me Te Hau o Te Ope o Patunuioaio,
kawea he korero,
tū mai te ihi, tū mai te wehiwehi e
A hei aha rā?*

*Kia whakamārama ai te tirohanga a ngā
hua i whakairotia ai te waka pounamu
ki uta ki tai.
Tū ake rā tōku pou pou whakairo
i te poho o tōku maunga e!*

*Nei rā te ngākau e mihi atu nei ki ngā Manawhenua.
Ko koutou te kāhui i hui ai kia piki ai te mana o te
kaupapa kei mua i a tātou, eke ai ki te taumata e
tika ana.*

*Kei te tuku mihi ki Dean korua ko Stevie i tō korua
mahi matatau, whakaahua ai, ārahi ai ki te kaupapa
nei. He mihi, he mihi atu ki a korua.*

*He mihi mutunga kore ki ngā kaiārahi, Diana Menzies
rūua ko Hēmi Whaanga, ko korua te puna
mātauranga, te mōhiotanga kia whakapakari te
mahi nei. He mihi anō ki ngā tokatū moana, Jade
Wikaira, koutou ko Rachael de Lambert ko Ben
Farrell.*

*E ngā kāwanatanga ki Murihiku, he mihi tēnei ki ngā
tangata tiriti ā roto, tae rā anō ki Margaret Ferguson
i ō koutou mānawa tītī, akiaki ai, manaaki ai.*

*E rere tonu te mihi ki te Ngā Kete o te Wānanga,
poipoia te tūkanga, mā Ngāi Tahu, mō Ngāi Tahu.*

Aoraki Matatū.

*My chant goes to the descendants of Raki and his
wife, Pohārua o te Pō – the winds from the horizon
and the lands of Waitaha, carry the histories of the
past to the living so that the ihi and wehi are
aroused within.
For what purpose?*

*To enlighten the views of the people who carved the
greenstone canoe ashore and upon the tides.*

*My carved pillar stands with pride upon my
mountain!*

*This is a heartfelt acknowledgement to Muriel
Johnstone, Ann Wakefield, Steph Leith, Stewart
Bull, Michael Skerrett, Mapihi Kahurangi Davis, Sean
Bragg, Riki Parata, Mollie Lyders, Courtney Bennett,
Darren Rewi, Matua Te Oti, Joan and Phil Fluerty,
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*We also acknowledge the research programme, Ngā
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confidence to grow a methodology that is for Ngāi
Tahu, by Ngāi Tahu.*

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APPENDIX ONE: TEMPLATE FOR ĀPITI HONO TĀTAI HONO

Ngāi Tahu Ki Murihiku Āpiti Hono Tātai Hono Assessment	
Summary	
Description of Landscape by Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku	
Recommendation	
Application overview	
Reviewer Name	
TAMI reference number	
Client	
Consent authority	
Description of project	
Location as physical address of legal description	
Photograph of site	
Catchment	
Type of response required	
Date response requested by	
Key points	
Legislation and Policies	
Relevant Te Tangi a Tauira Policies	
District Plan Recognition	
Protection mechanisms <i>e.g. NZAA site, HNZPT listed, Māori SoS, DOC Heritage Site Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011</i>	
NZAA Site Number(s)	
HNZPT Listing Number(s)	
Last visited by whānau? <i>If known or details of site visit</i>	
Ira Atua Ira Tangata	
Overarching Narrative(s) for the Site	
Whakapapa of the Site	
Waiatatanga <i>The cosmological unfolding of the universe and the creation of whakapapa and elements.</i>	
Atuatanga <i>The supernatural deities with whakapapa and mana over attributed domains.</i>	
Ngā Tipua <i>The primal genealogies related to the precursors of humans and the prerequisite events that physically shaped the Murihiku landscape.</i>	
Ngā Kākano (900-1840) <i>The adaptation of Pacific mātauranga to a new landscape and the unobstructed growth of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku identity, history, connections and culture.</i>	
Te Kerēme (1840-1997) <i>Time of great change and unease for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, dominated by colonisation, alienation and restrictions,</i>	

as well as urbanisation and international events.					
Te Ao Marama (1998-onwards) An exploratory period focused on acknowledging the past, reconnection and revitalisation with much potential and challenge.					
Site Characteristics Scientific, archaeological, etc references – capturing other practices/references Nearby water feature, significant place names Terrain View on the ground e.g., rocky outcrop with deflated sand dune system and eroding outcrops to the right					
Statement of Association					
Association within Ngāi Tahu and with other iwi/hapū	✓				
	Whānau	Hapū	Ngāi Tahu Whānui	Other iwi/hapū	
Description of Association					
Associated Whakataukī, Pūrākau, etc.					
Recommendation:					
Can this site, or parts of it, be destroyed, forgotten or dismissed? Why / why not? Conditions, mitigations? Characteristics? Make reference to the considerations for the layers and how that affected the analysis					
References					
Include links to online data if available					

APPENDIX TWO: TE HONONGA TOI MĀORI – KOWHAIWHAI FOR EACH LAYER

Layer	Waiatatanga	Atuatanga	Ngā Tipua
Kowhaiwhai name	Takarangi	Uenuku, Kahukura	Tāniko, Nihi Taniwha
Why chosen for the Layer	Mai i te kore i te pō i te ao mārama. Mauri ora! The Takarangi is an intersecting double spiral pattern that signifies humanity's celestial origin born at the beginning of the Universe. Used widely in Māori carvings and art, the Takarangi double spiral uses space to separate its two solid spirals; it is this space that allows us to see the spirals.	Kahukura was carried from the Hawaiki to Aotearoa. Kahukura is known as a kaitiaki, and the symbol presents the spectrum of light. Kahukura is a very powerful atua for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku.	Tāniko represents the creation of landscape. It expresses the formation of plains, the shaping of mountains, the carving out of huge lake beds through the great works of Ngāi Tahu ancestors such as Rakaihautu, Tū te Rakiwhanoa, and others. This shape also represents the islands throughout Te Ara a Kiwa.
Layer	Ngā Kākano	Te Kerēme	Te Ao Marama
Kowhaiwhai name	Puhoro	Ngutu kaka, Mangopare	Waewae paakura or Takitoru
Why chosen for the Layer	Puhoro signifies movement and change. It is chosen for Ngā Kākano because it reflects the migration of waka to Aotearoa. It symbolises the movement of tūpuna across this landscape and their adaptiveness. Puhoro also represents the crossover between Ngā Tipua and Ngā Kākano.	Mangopare represents the idea of challenge, Te Kerēme. The challenges that manawhenua faced through the Claim, the sadness, and the seven generations of determined perseverance. This determination is reflected in the whakatauki, 'kaua e mate wheke, mate ururoa'.	This design came from the secret message sent by Rongomaituaho to Paikea, and Paikea having received the message in the form of three angled stitches, tied them the opposite way and sent them back. It means to communicate. The Pukeko/Pakura is also said to be very adaptable.

APPENDIX THREE: SUMMARY OF IRA ATUA IRA TANGATA LAYERS

Layer	Waiatatanga	Atuatanga	Ngā Tipua	Ngā Kākano	Te Kerēme	Te Ao Marama
Category	Ira Atua	Ira Atua	Ira Atua	Ira Tangata	Ira Tangata	Ira Tangata
Time period	Timeless	Timeless	Timeless	900-1840	1840-1997	1998 onwards
Summary Description	The cosmological unfolding of the universe and the creation of whakapapa and elements.	The supernatural deities with whakapapa and mana over attributed domains.	The primal genealogies related to the precursors of humans and the prerequisite events that physically shaped the Murihiku landscape.	The adaptation of Pacific mātauranga to a new landscape and the unobstructed growth of Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku identity, history, connections and culture	Time of great change and unease for Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku, dominated by colonisation, alienation and restrictions, as well as urbanisation and international events	An exploratory period focused on acknowledging the past, reconnection and revitalisation with much potential and challenge.
Considerations	- Understanding of creation and the interrelated steps - Seniority and mana of elements - Whakapapa between elements - Duality in landscape - Continuum of time	- Domains and whakapapa of atua - Mauri, wairua and hauora - Mana atua, mana tūpuna, mana whenua, mana tangata - Reverence and utu - Ritual - Tikanga, correct conduct - Parables - understanding how the world works and how to act - Climate and natural state - Biodiversity and ecology - Evolution and change	- Connections forged with atua, Te Waipounamu, Te Ika a Māui and Hawaiki - How/why the landform was shaped - Geology and geomorphology - Topography and hydrology - Characteristics of natural features - Mahinga kai resources - Aesthetic qualities - Pepeha and whakataukī - Wayfinding and landmarks - Modification of landscape	- Occupation and travel patterns - Evolution of Ngāi Tahu society from its Pacific origins - Maramataka - Cultural practices, uses and associations - Connections with Te Waipounamu, Te Ika a Māui and Hawaiki - Knowledge systems and tikanga associated with human use of the landscape - Social structures and control mechanisms - Tangible evidence of human occupation - Intangible evidence of human occupation	- Occupation and travel patterns - Relocation and reordering of settlements and civic structures - Social and cultural shifts - Human impacts on the environment - Presence, absence and loss of species - Māori and SILNA lands - International connections - Legislation, social norms and attitudes - Social structures and control mechanisms - Land use change and alienation - Evidence of human occupation	- Treaty Settlement redress - Legislation, social norms and attitudes - Occupation and travel patterns - Modern settlements and civic structures - Human impacts on the environment - Climate change adaptation - Presence, absence and loss of species - Restoration and revitalisation of environment, culture and society - Future social, cultural and economic aspirations - Ahi kā, return of whānau and whenua