THE METRO SPORTS FACILITY NARRATIVE

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

Photo: Dean Mackenzie

INTRODUCTION

The proposed Metro Sports Facility will accommodate a range of sporting, educational and recreational facilities for users ranging from Christchurch families to high-performance athletes. The facility will promote sporting achievement, health and wellbeing, and community and whānau, through play, physical exercise and leisure. The aquatic centre, with a range of educational, water play and relaxation facilities, will form the hub for community and family activities. The Metro Sports Facility will be located in close proximity to other sporting facilities and amenities such as the Retail Precinct, Convention Centre, and walkways and cycleways through Hagley Park and along the Ōtākaro/Avon River.

The Metro Sports Facility is located within an area that was once kahikatea-dominated swamp land. A tributary called Raupō Creek ran through the site, which formed part of the Ōtākaro/Avon River catchment. Although this area has been long-since modified, during pre-European times Māori would have utilised the abundance of natural resources available such as raupō and harakeke (flax), as this area formed part of a wider system of trails and streams that connected to the Ōtākaro, a significant mahinga kai for Ngāi Tahu and travel route between the Māori settlements on Te Pātaka a Rākaihautū (Banks Peninsula) and Kaiapoi Pā.

This historical narrative has been written to guide the design of the Metro Sports Facility. The main thread through this narrative is Māori wellbeing. For Māori, physical and mental wellbeing is directly related to cultural identity; cultural identity is founded on whakapapa, which is embedded in the landscape and is inherent in understanding the relationship between Māori and the natural world. For Māori, humanity arises from the natural environment and remains linked through whakapapa (genealogical ties). Through the core narrative thread of Māori wellbeing, the significance of water, and physical agility and strength will be covered.

Water plays a significant role in the Metro Sports Facility. The proposed aquatic centre with leisure pools and competition pool will be a major drawcard for the Christchurch community and, as such, Ngāi Tahu values and mythology associated with water are considered a relevant topic to cover in this narrative. As noted above, water also once ran through this site as part of a network of waterways that held mahinga kai value for Ngāi Tahu. Throughout the centuries, cultures around the world have believed in the healing and vital qualities of water. Water has played, and continues to play, a significant role in many traditional healing practices. Water for Ngāi Tahu is a taonga; it is considered the life blood of Papatūānuku (Mother Earth) and the sustainer of life. And, as in many other traditional practices around the world, water for Ngāi Tahu formed a vital part of many rites and practices that ensured the maintenance of physical and mental wellbeing of self and the wellbeing of the environment.

The Metro Sports Facility promotes sporting excellence and physical wellness. Physical strength and agility for Māori are directly linked to the core narrative thread of wellbeing. Traditional Māori existence demanded high physical ability of men and woman alike to survive the transient subsistence way of life within this southern landscape and to survive as warriors. Physical and mental excellence is celebrated through the many traditional narratives that tell of the relationship between Māori and the environment and interdependency of both for continued health and wellbeing.

It is the intention of this chapter to leave the design team with a greater level of understanding of the significance of Ngāi Tahu values, whakapapa and cultural identity, and the interconnected relationship between Māori and the environment – and how these influence mental and physical wellbeing. Threaded throughout this narrative are stories that tell of heroic and significant feats and actions of Ngāi Tahu tīpuna and kaitiaki spirits, gods and other mythological beings that the design team can draw upon to create spaces of meaning, build pride in cultural identity and inspire people to achieve. This narrative also covers many traditional practices and traditional Māori games that formed part of the holistic approach to maintaining physical strength, agility of mind and body, and mental wellbeing. It is also intended that Ngāi Tahu artists and designers work in collaboration with the project team to ensure these stories are told and expressed correctly.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is a Treaty partner with the Crown, including the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is a strategic partner for earthquake recovery in Canterbury, in terms of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 (including sections 11, 17, 20 and 59). Ngāi Tūāhuriri is the hapū with mana whenua and customary right over Ōtautahi. The takiwā of Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga in accordance with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (Declaration of Membership) Order 2001 is:

> The takiwā of Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga centres on Tuahiwi and extends from the Hurunui to Hakatere, sharing an interest in Arowhenua Rūnanga northward to Rakaia, and thence inland to the main divide.

The representative entity of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, has mandated a steering group known as Matapopore to represent the interests of Ngāi Tūāhuriri as they relate to the Christchurch Central Recovery Plan (Recovery Plan). The consulting team comprises Ngāi Tahu's pre-eminent historian Dr Te Maire Tau and specialists in iwi engagement and advisory services.

The Recovery Plan outlines the cultural significance of Ōtautahi to Ngāi Tahu and the aspirations of Ngāi Tahu within the redevelopment of the city:

> While this Plan necessarily presents a shared vision and programmes for the redevelopment of the central city, it also presents Christchurch with the opportunity to both incorporate and showcase Ngāi Tahu cultural identity and values in a more visionary and integrated way. It takes the approach of intertwining Māori culture into the redevelopment of the central city, and as such can be celebrated as a sound foundation for a 21st century relationship in urban planning.[1]

The vision for Ngāi Tūāhuriri is to see a stronger cultural identity emerge as a result of the Christchurch rebuild. The identity of Christchurch prior to the earthquakes favoured the stories of the English who settled in this land over 160 years ago. The identity of Ngāi Tahu/Ngāi Tūāhuriri has been largely ignored and, as such, for many Māori living in Christchurch today, the landscape of Ōtautahi (Christchurch) does not engender a sense of pride, nor does it reflect their identity, despite Ōtautahi being a place of cultural significance to Ngāi Tahu (the Recovery Plan includes a map and description of central Christchurch showing areas of cultural significance in more detail than what will be covered in this narrative).

Ngāi Tūāhuriri have identified and endorsed four key values to help achieve their objectives of restoring the visibility of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri values, narratives and aspirations; reflecting the bicultural heritage of greater Christchurch and enriching the multicultural

Fig 1

Ngāi Tahu rock art: the cave of the taniwha, South Canterbury, Otago Daily Times, September 2008.

1. *Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, Christchurch Central Recovery Plan. Christchurch, 2012, p 39.*

experience of the city; and identifying and promoting urban design and architectural solutions that satisfy the cultural and practical needs and aspirations of the Māori community in their foreseeable uses of greater Christchurch. The key principal values are:

- ***mahinga kai*** (foods and other natural resources, the habitats where they are sourced from, as well as the practices that have developed over generations to ensure their sustainable management): protecting and enhancing the natural environment, including mahinga kai species, sites and practices
- ***whānau*** (the extended family unit): provision of facilities and elements that support and encourage use by families, particularly Ngāi Tūāhuriri whānau
- ***te reo Māori*** (the Māori language): upholding the mana of Ngāi Tūāhuriri reo and tikanga
- ***Kia atawhai ki te iwi*** (a saying from the first Upoko Rūnanga of Ngāi Tūāhuriri in the 1860s, imploring his people to take greater care of each other): the provision of facilities and elements that express the key value of manaakitanga by tangata whenua and support the wider community.

A number of Ngāi Tahu historical narratives have documented the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi to Ngāi Tahu and the long intergenerational fight for redress that led to the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998. It is of relevance to the reader of this document to refer to narratives such as the Grand Narrative and the narratives for the Justice and Emergency Services Precinct and for Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct to gain an understanding of the effects that loss of land and loss of mahinga kai had on the traditional economy and wellbeing of Ngāi Tahu spanning many generations.

Toitū te marae a Tāne
Toitū te marae a Tangaroa
Toitū te iwi

If the world of Tāne (all living things on land) endures
If the marae of Tangaroa (the lakes, rivers and sea) endures
The people endure

DIMENSIONS OF MĀORI WELLBEING

I NGĀ RĀ O MUA

Imagine being on a time continuum between your past and future – you stand firmly in the present yet forever thinking and making decisions on behalf of your tīpuna and your unborn mokopuna. Or a water continuum where you are a molecule in a tributary stream, flowing, converging, tumbling, whirling and then being swooshed into the gaping mouth of Takaroa (the god of the sea). Tīpuna Māori lived in a continuum with the natural world. Their survival depended on their understanding and respect of reliance on and responsibility towards their immediate environment and the many tangible and intangible layers that made up their ao (world). Māori personified everything around them: birds, fish, insects, plants, the moon, sun, wind, trees and rocks. They perceived all life forms in terms of their relationship to them, as they believed all creatures and natural phenomena were descendants of Rakinui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother).[2]

2. *M. Orbell, The Natural World of the Māori, David Bateman Ltd, Auckland, 1985.*

WHAKAPAPA

Whakapapa is to create layers upon layers, layers of generations and histories intertwined with the world that surrounds them. Self-awareness, spirituality and self-respect come directly from their relationship with the whenua. Whakapapa is the heart of Māori identity, alongside traditional values and social organisation. Emphasis is on place and strength of kinship ties within the whānau, hapū and iwi.[3]

According to Ranginui Walker, Māori identity is a derivative of iwi history and iwi affiliations. Tribal boundaries marked by significant landmarks, such as maunga (mountains) and awa (rivers), reinforce the distinct cultural self.[4]

The Royal Commission on Social Policy drew upon the Ngā Pou Mana Cultural Identity Model, which comprises:

- taonga tuku iho (cultural inheritance)
- whanaungatanga (family relationships)
- tūrangawaewae (sense of place)
- te ao tūroa (the environment).

This model was used in identifying where Māori may place themselves in terms of being able to talk and feel confident in each of these areas. Their expression is then indicative of how comfortable and secure they feel in their cultural identity and overall cultural wellbeing.[5]

Mason Durie identified three sub-groups that summarise his thinking around Māori identity-

- *Culturally Māori* are those who identify as being Māori, who understand their whakapapa and are familiar with te reo and tikanga Māori. They can be perceived as the traditional Māori collective, often rural-dwelling.
- *Bicultural Māori* are those who identify as Māori but are very comfortable and effective amongst Pākehā. This group is often urban-dwelling
- *Marginalised Māori* are those who are unable to relate to Māori or Pākehā and are often unconnected; they are biologically Māori but know little about their cultural heritage.[6]

The ability to speak te reo Māori is intimately connected to Māori identity and, although the health of te reo Māori has suffered over the years, especially in Te Waipounamu, it is still felt that for Māori to fully participate in Māori society, te reo Māori acquisition is essential.[7]

Educationalist Rose Pere looked at six elements that describes Māori identity:

- whenua connections, having a relationship with the land to provide a sense of belonging
- spirituality that provides a sense of connection and meaning
- ancestral links that provide guidance
- tikanga that are unique to iwi Māori
- whanaungatanga that also endorses whānau wellbeing and connections

3. *T. Moeke-Pickering, Maori Identity within Whanau: A Review of Literature, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1996.*
4. *R. Walker, Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End, Australian Print Group, Maryborough, Australia, 1990.*
5. *Royal Commission on Social Policy, The April Report, Royal Commission on Social Policy, Wellington, 1988.*
6. *M. Durie, Whaiora: Maori Health Development, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994.*
7. *M. Durie, 'Te Hoe Nuku Roa Framework: A Māori Identity Measure', Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1995, pp 104, 461–470, and T. Karetu, Tooku Reo, Tooku Mana, W. Ihimaera, H. Williams, I. Ramsden and D.S. Long (Eds.) Te Ao Marama: Regaining Aotearoa. Māori Writers Speak Out. Volume 2, He Whakaatanga o Te Ao. The Reality, Reed Books, Auckland, 1993, pp 222–229.*

- humility that builds connections to the wider hapori (community) and ensures the individual remembers their extended whānau responsibilities.[8]

In this changing world (Te Ao Hurihuri), Moeke-Pickering comments, if Māori feel one with their environment then, as it changes, so too does Māori identity. Therefore, identity is seen as being in constant transition and not definable.[9]

HAUORA

The term 'hauora' is used most commonly to mean health and wellbeing. It is made up of two words, 'hau' and 'ora'. The specific meaning of 'hau' is 'wind' or 'breath'. Ngāi Tahu authority Teone Taare Tikao associates hau with a breath from the inner being. Mauri (life principle) is the hau inside a person; it is the knowledge that lives within a person's spirituality.[10] The word 'ora' translates as 'alive', 'well', 'satisfied'. Therefore, the overall concept of hauora is to be in good spirits.[11]

TAPU

Tapu and noa are concepts of balance and unity. They embody a function within ceremonies that is similar to concepts of on and off, open and closed, restricted or released. Tapu according to Rose Pere is "an excellent means of social control, self-discipline and conservation preservation".[12] Once instituted, tapu placed upon people, an object, a space or a landmark immediately implies rules that are self-imposed and respected. The offence of infringing tapu is also self-imposed and people can be affected spiritually and physically by their mistakes. Often misfortunes are perceived as an infringement of tapu; therefore the person(s) at fault often accept that they will suffer retribution as a result.[13]

Best describes the illness as a violation of tapu:

> The violation of tapu includes any interference with tapu objects, persons or places. For instance, when a house has become tapu for some reason, and is deserted, it must not afterwards be entered or burned or interfered with in any way. Only a priest, or those under tapu for conveying a body, or exhumed bones, may trespass on a burial place, or caves where bones of the dead are placed. Should anyone else so trespass, then those bones of the dead will turn upon the intruder and slay him, or afflict him grievously. That is to say, the gods will punish that person.[14]

NOA

Noa is the opposite to tapu. Noa, says Pere, is applied to everyday living and ordinary occasions or situations. It plays an important role in "formal and complex rituals and can be seen as ceremonial purification". It is what takes place once a tapu has been lifted and embraces spiritual freedom.[15]

MANA

Mana is another crucial element to Māori wellbeing. Tikao spoke of mana as a sacred fire that can never be put out or overcome. The old learning houses such as the whare mauri, whare pūrākau or the whare kura were places of great mana. These whare were driven by the mana of mātauranga (knowledge). Tohunga held the mana of Māori by their knowledge and usage

8. *R. Pere, Te Wheke – A Celebration of Infinite Wisdom (2nd edn), Ao Ako Global Learning, Hawkes Bay, 1997.*
9. *T. Moeke-Pickering, Maori Identity within Whanau.*
10. *J. H. Beattie, Tikao Talks, Penguin Books, Christchurch, 1939 (1990 2nd edn).*
11. *P.M. Ryan, The Raupo Pocket Dictionary of Modern Maori, Penguin Group (NZ), Auckland, 2009.*
12. *R. Pere, Te Wheke, p 40.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *E. Best, 'Māori Medical Lore', Journal of the Polynesian Society, Volume 13, Number 4, pp 213–237, 1904, p 214.*
15. *R. Pere, Te Wheke.*

of karakia. Sacred fires were lit and used alongside karakia. These sacred fires were another form of rongoā. These fires were known to take away serious illness to counteract mākutu (sorcery) and to protect. Once the karakia had been performed, the fire was covered, yet it remained a sacred fire. Ceremonies involving sacred fire were of greater importance than formal ceremonies held in the water .[16]

RONGOĀ MĀORI

The knowledge of rongoā Māori is an example of the passing on of culture and history. Historically tohunga would concoct and provide rongoā treatment for those unwell. Rongoā came in many forms such as karakia (incantations), mirimiri (massage), romiromi, rākau (trees), wai (water), inu (fluids), hinu (oils), hīkoi (walking), poultices, kōhatu (stones) and kai, and more were identified as vessels or conduits that acted towards wellbeing for the recipient.[17]

Linked intimately with rongoā is the expression of karakia (incantations). Karakia highlighted the atua (gods) most appropriate to the healer's mahi (work) and with the specific rongoā. Blessings or incantations opened the spiritual pathways for healing and also protected the person administering the rongoā. Karakia can also be perceived as a sign of respect for the gods who look after the forests and, if the practitioner is collecting rongoā from outside their tribal area, karakia acknowledge the local people. Overall, the use of karakia in rongoā aligns the spiritual with the physical realm in order to best cure the ailment.[18]

WAIATA/HAKA

The many forms of waiata such as pao (ditty), karanga (call), mōteatea (laments), oriori (lullaby), haka (fierce dance), waiata poi (song with poi) and waiata ā-ringa (song with hand actions) were used as mnemonic aids to carry and transfer large chunks of knowledge; for example, knowledge pertaining to whakapapa, battle sites and conflict, atua, rangatira, infamous feats, visions for a particular child, sorrow and aroha (love).

Waiata were used alongside other healing techniques to soothe and calm a person in pain and were seen as another form of and/or addition to rongoā Māori.

Waiata reinforce identity and this in turn makes a person strong and confident with an awareness of their role in their whānau and hapū.

KAI

Te Waipounamu had large quantities of vegetables. Hue, taro and uhi were grown

Fig. 2
Rite-of-Passage, by Ngāi Tahu artist Priscilla Cowie.

16. *J. H. Beattie, Tikao Talks.*
17. *J. Taiatini,Traditional Māori Birthing Practices, K. Tikao (Ed.) (Personal Interview Ed.). Centre for Science Communication, Auckland, 2011.*
18. *J. H. Beattie, A. Anderson, (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 1994; Ibid.*

around the Banks Peninsula area but it is questionable if they were here before the Pākehā arrived or not. Hue not only were used as a kai but also made great storage containers and floats for children whilst swimming.[19]

The diet of southern Māori was a healthy mix of vegetables, fruit and seafood. The preparation of many of these foods showed a clear understanding by Māori of how to rid the poison from the food to make it safe for consumption, and how best to cook the food utilising umu, hāngī and steaming techniques.

They also had the knowledge of how to prepare food for storage by drying, roasting and smoking, and the use of oils and water. It was essential that Māori had food stored to prepare for leaner months and to have available food types throughout the year.

Māori learnt to grow vegetables that were brought from Hawaiki and adjust the style of cultivation to suit the cooler climate and soil conditions in the south.[21] Having a diet rich in protein, minerals, vitamins and a healthy amount of fat and carbohydrates was essential in keeping illness away.

MODELS OF HAUORA

Mason Durie developed the now commonly used and explored Tapawhā Health Model that defines the core elements of Māori wellbeing. He uses the whare as a metaphor to describe his model. Each cornerstone of the house represented the four key components of Māori wellbeing. These pou or pillars are: wairua (spiritual), tinana (physical), hinengaro (psychological) and whānau (family).

In order to achieve wellness, all four pillars need to be looked at in their entirety, not apart or as separate entities, but holistically. When one pillar is weak so will the others be. The strain from one pillar being unwell has a huge impact on the other pillars and the overall standing of the whare. The whare is of course personified to be that of the human body. Therefore, when Māori are unwell, in order to treat the presenting problem all other areas of that person need to be addressed and considered in the treatment plan. Rongoā Māori did this with the use of karakia and often a strong whānau input into healing the sick.[21]

WATER AND MĀORI WELLBEING

For Ngāi Tahu, water was central to their way of life. It is a taonga that forms the life blood of the environment, left by ancestors to provide and maintain life. Traditionally, water provided the main source of sustenance, it determined the siting of our kāinga and was used as an efficient medium for travel. Water was used in many traditional ceremonial practices by the tohunga, such as in baptisms, sickness, the lifting of tapu from warriors returning from battle and the embalming of the dead.

For Ngāi Tahu, the health of water is a reflection of the health of Papatūānuku. Water is the sustainer of life and all life begins with water.

19. *J. H. Beattie, Tikao Talks.*

20. *Beattie and Anderson, (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori.*

21. *M. Durie, An Indigenous Model of Health Promotion, Paper presented at the 18th World Health Conference on Health Promotion, 27 April 2004, Melbourne, Australia.*

WATER AND THE STORY OF CREATION

The Ngāi Tahu story of creation, as told by Teone Taare Tikao, begins with nothing but water. There was no moon, sun, stars or sky. The sea lay as a vastness of nothing but water. This was a time referred to as the long ages of darkness, called Pō, and long ages of nothingness, called Kore. There were many ages of Pō, until Io, the supreme god of Māori, brought the sky (Rakinui/Ranginui or Raki/Rangi) and the land (Papatūānuku) into being:

> Io-whatata means that he went one way on top of the water, and Io-whatamai that he went another way on the waste of water, and thereupon the two Hekeheke-i-nukus emerged from the deep. The word Hekeheke-i-nuku means "hanging upright and shifting" and Hekeheke-i-papa means "hanging horizontal or flat".[22]

The movement over and under continued during the darkness of endless time. The ages of Pō were maku (dark); as the ages of Pō were nearing the end, Maku, a celestial being, emerged from the darkness, and Mahoranuiatea emerged as the great expanse of whiteness. Maku and Mahoranuiatea joined together and begot Rā (the Sun). Maku had a second wife, her name was Hūareare; they begot a son called Maramahuakea, now called Marama (the Moon).

Two forms emerged above the expanse of water, Raki, the sky formed from Hekeheke i nuku, and Papatūānuku, the earth, formed from Hekeheke i papa. They lay close, Raki lay on top, and Papatūānuku lay underneath, and between them they had many children. The children of these forms included Tāne (who would become guardian of forests and birds), Tāwhirimātea (guardian of storms and wind) and Takaroa (guardian of the ocean). The children lay in darkness without the light from Rā or Marama. Most people are familiar with the story from here, so I won't go into any detail, but we know that once Tāne was able to separate his parents, light was then able to fall upon Papatūānuku and her children, and life on earth began.[23]

There are numerous versions of the story of creation. For example, the well-known Ngāi Tahu tohunga Matiaha Tiramōrehu of Moeraki tells a slightly different version to that of Teone Taare Tikao. Matiaha Tiramōrehu tells that both Raki and Papatūānuku had unions with others before their union together. Raki had many wives such as Pokoharua te pō, she was the source of hau (the breath of life, wind), tapu and incarnations, and Papatūānuku was married to Takaroa (Tangaroa, god of the sea). When Raki joined with Papatūānuku, Takaroa got angry and sent a spear into the thigh of Raki. But Raki remained on top of Papatūānuku, and as he lay there the children that were born to them after he had been injured were ill and deformed.

The last child they begot was Tāne-iti-waiora. Tāne-iti-waiora signified the return to health and wellbeing, as it was after the birth of this son that Raki asked Tāne and his brothers to lift him off Papatūānuku so that light could fill the space between himself and Papatūānuku and that the world of light could commence. As Tāne started to lift his father using a pole that had 10 joints, Raki called to Papatūānuku that he would miss her and weep for her as a show of his love. He said that this would be dew, and in the winter he would miss her also and this would be ice. Papatūānuku returned her love by saying that she too would miss him, and in summer she would greet him as mist.[24]

Tāne was to perform many great feats and obtain many names in respect of these feats. Tāne established the 10 heavens, each level representing a joint in his pole, and populated them with

22. *Beattie, Tikao Talks, p 24.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. *M. V. Ballekom and R. Harlow, Te Waiatatanga mai o te Atua: South Island Traditions recorded by Matiaha Tiramorehu, Canterbury Māori Studies, Christchurch, 1987.*

his children. It was some of these children that he sent down to clothe his mother, Papatūānuku, who lay bare. He sent down Tōtara (a son of Tāne), Mataī (a grandchild of Tāne), Kōwhai (a great grandchild of Tāne) and many more. His offspring were called Te Waonui-a-Tāne (the great forest of Tāne) and they all grew together for protection.[25] Once the trees had grown and were bearing fruit, the birds descended from the heavens to live within Te Waonui-a-Tāne.

Tāne also clothed his father, Raki. One of these stories tells of how Tāne asked Tāwhirimātea (guardian of storms and winds), "Go you and procure the perspiration, the warmth of our mother Papa lying below, bear it upward and arrange it on the person of our father, Raki, as a warmth giving covering for him." Tāwhirimātea obtained Te Aotū, Te Aohore, Te Aonui, Te Aoroa, Te Aopōuri and others (names of cloud formations) from Papa on account of her lamentation for her husband from whom she had been separated. The clouds were formed from the warmth and moisture emanating from Papatūānuku.[26]

Tāne now felt a loneliness, so, wishing for a companion, sculpted the form of a woman out the earth (whenua) of Papatūānuku.[27] She was then imbued with the mauri (life force) of the gods, and her name was Hineahuone (woman formed from earth), from whom Tāne fathered more children.

There are numerous variations of the story of creation, but they all tell us the same thing, that all living things are connected through whakapapa (genealogical ties). Māori view the world as an open system which is entwined with the spiritual realm. For Māori there are three orders of reality: "the physical or natural, the psychic and the spiritual. Whilst the natural realm is normally subject to physical laws, these can be affected, modified and even changed by the application of the higher laws of the psychic and spiritual."[28]

The story of creation tells us that "everything in the universe, inanimate or animate, has its own whakapapa, and all things are ultimately linked via the gods to Raki and Papa. There is no distinction or break in this cosmology, and hence in the whakapapa between supernatural and natural. Both are part of a unified whole."[29]

MAURI

The concept of mauri is central to Māori belief regarding the environment. Mauri is considered to be the essence or life force that provides life to all living things. It was passed down from Raki and Papatūānuku to their children. Tāne breathed mauri into Hineahuone to give her life. Mauri exists within all living things and binds all living things back to the primal parents. Mauri is the binding force between the physical and the spiritual aspects of the world. When the mauri is totally extinguished, this is associated with death.[30] Teone Taare Tikao explains the concept of mauri:

> It is like unto the wairua or spirit of a person … although the mauri is like unto the wairua, the latter comes out of the body, but the former remains with the person in the soul or seat of intelligence … It was an invisible essence in the composition of the spirit or soul, and if it departed, or was taken away, the person died.[31]

Water as the source of all life also contains mauri (life force) and, just as with people, when the mauri is lost, the life in the thing from which it has been removed dies. The mauri of water can be affected, diluted and even destroyed when a foreign or unnatural substance enters the water body. The mauri in water cannot be destroyed by natural disasters, but only from the actions of man. Old-time Māori considered that the Christian form of baptism which used a man-made

25. *Beattie, Tikao Talks.*

26. *E. Best, Māori Religion and Mythology Part 1. A. R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington, 1924 (1976 2nd edn) , p 54.*

27. *Beattie, Tikao Talks.*

28. *M. Marsden, 'God, Man and Universe: A Maori View', King, M., Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On, Hicks Smith & Sons Ltd, Wellington, pp 191–219, 1975, p 195.*

29. *M. Roberts, W. Norman, N. Minhinnick, D. Wihongi and C. Kirkwood, 'Kaitiakitanga: Maori Perspective on Conservation', Pacific Conservation Biology, Vol.2 pp 2–20, 1995, p 9.*

30. *B.A. Morgan, A Tangata Whenua Perspective on Sustainability using the Mauri Model, Paper presented at the International Conference of Sustainability, University of Auckland, 2004, p 4.*

31. *Beattie, Tikao Talks, p 76.*

vessel to hold the water in before sprinkling the water on the baby, had a polluting effect. The water was considered to have lost its potency, its pure healing state as derived from the earth.[32]

The health of mauri in all living things is believed to be directly related to the health and wellbeing of people. The protection of mauri ensures the environment retains strength and vitality. "Mauri Ora is life-force. All animate and other forms of life such as plants and trees owe their continued existence and health to mauri. When mauri is strong fauna and flora flourish. When it is depleted and weak those forms of life become sickly and weak."[33]

For Ngāi Tahu, the primary management principle is the maintenance and enhancement of mauri. The Ngāi Tahu Freshwater Policy identifies a number of factors that reflect the status of mauri within waterways such as its life-supporting capacity and ecosystem robustness; fitness for cultural use; natural character and indigenous flora and fauna; and continuity of flow from the mountain source of a river to the sea.

The state of the waterways within Christchurch has been degraded significantly through urbanisation and farming practices. Many of the minor waterways within the central area of Christchurch have been modified or removed to accommodate urban growth. Unnatural discharges and contamination of waterways continue to be a major issue for Ngāi Tahu as the degradation of mauri affects cultural wellbeing and the wellbeing of the environment.

CATEGORIES OF WATER

The story of creation tells us that water is a holistic resource, and the exchange of water in its various forms between Papatūānuku and Raki as an expression of love speaks of the cycle of water. In Māori mythology, when Papatūānuku emerged out of the endless sea during the ages of Pō, she lay there naked without vegetation, rivers or streams. You've already read about how Tāne clothed her in forest and populated the forest with birds. He also fathered fresh water from his union with Hine-tupari-Maunga (the Mountain Maid). This water, which originated from the earth, was Para-whenua meā.[34]

In traditional Māori knowledge, wai (water) was classified in accordance with its particular characteristics and ceremonial use. These categories determined how the water could or could not be used. If a body of water or stream was classified as tapu, for example, then no food could be taken. Mixing of water from separate categories was, and still is, considered unacceptable to Māori.[35] In this regard, wastewater, which would be classified as wai-kino (polluted water) or wai-mate (dead water), should not be mixed with other categories of water.

The different categories of water may differ between iwi, but they generally are as follows:

- wai-kino – polluted water, dangerous water (the mauri of the water has been altered through pollution or corruption and has the potential to do harm to humans).
- wai-tapu – sacred water, waters used for ceremonial purposes (often a stream or pond located near a kāinga).
- wai-māori – pure water, water rich in mauri, used for cleansing and for ceremonial purposes
- wai-tai – sea water, saline water
- wai-manawa-whenua – water from under the land

32. *E. Best, Māori Religion and Mythology Part 1.*
33. *M. Marsden and T.A. Henare, Kaitiakitanga: A Definitive Introduction to the Holistic Worldview of the Maori, Unpublished paper, 1992, p 22.*
34. *Best, Māori Religion and Mythology Part 1, p 166.*
35. *A. Goodall, D. Palmer, T. Tau, and R. Tau, Te Whakatau Kaupapa: KāiTahu Resource Management Strategy for the Canterbury Region, Aoraki Press, Wellington, 1990, pp 4–15.*

- wai karakia – water for ritual purposes
- wai whakaika, waikotikoti – water to assist in the cutting of hair
- wai mate: (dead water) – this class of water has lost its mauri and is dead. It is dangerous to humans because it can cause illness or misfortune. Geographically it refers to sluggish water, or stagnant or back water. Some tribes refer to it as waikawa.

The use of water in traditional ceremonial practices often served the purpose of removing tapu, restoring and/or ensuring wellbeing. For example, tohi taua was performed over warriors to protect the sacred life principle, which would ensure physical and mental wellbeing; very important qualities for fighting men. The tohi tamariki was the rite performed over a baby to remove tapu after birth and preserve the health and welfare of the child. Immersing the child in water was believed to have an absolving effect – removing any harmful influences and bring the child under the influence of the god.[36] Such rites were carried out by the tōhuka at the stream near the kaikā (settlement) and such streams were classified as wai-tapu. These practices typically involved the dipping of a branch of karamū (Coprosma) or other tree species into the water and sprinkling the water over the head of the subject. Sometimes the subject was fully immersed. As part of this process, the tōhuka would recite the correct karakia (invocation) and, in most instances, would perform such rites early in the morning facing east.

Light from the rising sun was associated with life. From the moment when the world of light entered the existence of our tūpuna, they held onto the value of light equating to wellness, birth and purification. Tōhuka would recite karakia at dawn and if Rehua's (Rā or the sun) shafts of light fell towards the east, this was seen as a good omen. Whare were built facing east and north, never the west or south. The thinking was that the souls of the dead do not enter the whare if facing the east or north on their journey back to Hawaiki or to Te Rēinga (leaping place).[37]

Water was believed to have purifying, cleansing and protective qualities. Pure water is that which is produced from Parawhenua (origin of water). This water contained no contaminants and it was only this water in which such rites could take place.[38]

Bob Tikao, a Ngāi Tahu elder, remembers Te Awaiti Stream, which runs past Ōnuku Marae, being used for birthing practices.

Māori believe that the health of all things depends on water. The tohunga set aside certain streams and bodies of water that were considered to have specific qualities for particular uses. Avoiding the unnatural mixing of water was considered fundamental to Ngāi Tahu. Each water type is considered to have its own characteristics and use, and forms part of a specific ecosystem. Ngāi Tahu believe that the mixing of waters may ultimately compromise the life-giving qualities of the water and disrupt ecologies such as the distribution of fish.

The Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan notes that the mixing of waters occurs naturally; however, natural mixing is almost always facilitated by the presence of a wetland, estuary or similar environment that provides a natural buffer or transition zone.[39]

A kaumātua from Te Taumutu Rūnaka talks of the mixing of water:

> The river's whakapapa is what we must protect when we are talking about the potential mixing of water from different rivers.[40]

36. *Best, Māori Religion and Mythology Part 1, p 344.*
37. *Orbell, The Natural World of the Māori.*
38. *Best, Māori Religion and Mythology Part 1.*
39. *D. Jolly and Nga Papatipu Rūnaka working group, Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan. Christchurch, 2013, p 93.*
40. *Ibid.*

NGĀI TAHU LEGENDS AND MYTHS

The landscape of Canterbury has been embedded with the whakapapa of many great ancestors of Ngāi Tahu. Māori believe that people owe their identity, as well as their existence, to the people who preceded them: "People were present in their ancestors, and their ancestors are present in them."[41] Early ancestors, especially those associated with the great migration feats, established precedents for behaviour and established identity for those who were to follow.

These ancestors were the first explorers of this land, and their extraordinary journeys and great physical feats have left their mark within the hills, lakes and rivers of this land. Through their acts of naming features, areas and resources, the stories of their journeys and the messages they hold are retained and passed down through the generations.

There are also many traditional stories from throughout the Canterbury area of supernatural creatures and phenomena. The significance of water as a life-sustaining resource that must be protected and respected is embodied in the concepts of kaitiaki (guardian spirits) and taniwha (water deities). Kaitiaki or spiritual guardians (often also referred to as gods or deities) are the interface between the physical and spiritual worlds. Their role was to protect the mauri and wairua of the environment.

KAITIAKI

The offspring of Papatūānuku and Raki became the guardian spirits or kaitiaki of natural phenomena. For example, Takaroa (Tangaroa) became god of the sea and his grandchildren populated the ocean as fish and all types of sea life and reptiles, while Tāwhirimātea became kaitiaki or god of storms and wind and presides over the elements including the rain, wind, mist, dew and snow, and Tānemahuta became kaitiaki of the forest.[42] Many of the lesser gods and offspring of the departmental gods also had kaitiaki responsibilities pertaining to specific natural resources.

Taniwha are considered tapu beings. Tikao tells us that taniwha were the offspring of Tinirau, who he believed to have originally been a great fish or sea monster. Tikao tells us that Tinirau is in some way related to Takaroa or is in fact a previous form of Takaroa.[43] Taniwha are water deities that can take many forms and are believed to have incredible powers. They are often associated with specific bodies of water or areas such as underwater caves, deep pools, rivers, lakes or areas with dangerous aspects, such as currents, and are considered the protectors of these waters. They can be punishing to man if the laws of tapu are transgressed. They can also be helpful to man and in some instances signal misfortune. There are myths that tell of taniwha guiding waka and providing protection from the waves on their long migration journeys. Some taniwha act as kaitiaki, and guard certain natural resources.

Tikao tells the story of two taniwha in the form of great fish who dwell within a bottomless hole off Mairaki Point near Ōpukutahi on the western side of Akaroa Harbour. The story is a long one and begins with a rejected suitor pronouncing a mākutu (spell) on Hineao, daughter of Te Ake, causing her death. Te Ake and his daughter were from Ohikuparuparu (Sumner), and had been visiting Akaroa when this event took place. Te Ake was angered, but didn't have the ancient knowledge of magic and other lore to revenge the death of his daughter. So he set about learning this knowledge and, many years later, returned to Akaroa to turn his daughter into a taniwha. He was successful in this, and the taniwha turned into a fish and swam to Sumner where it

Fig. 3
Waka for Moana, by Ngāi Tahu artist Moana Tipa.

41. *M. Orbell, Māori Myths and Legends, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1995, p 25.*

42. *Jolly and Ngā Papatipu Rūnaka working group, Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan.*

43. *Beattie, Tikao Talks, p 37.*

drifted ashore to be eaten. The illness it spread killed many people and the name of the death of those who ate the fish is Tuawera.

It is believed that Turakipō, who had killed Hineao with mākutu, escaped to Pohoareare Pā at Ōpawa. The taniwha form of Hineao is called Te Wahine-maru-kore and she still dwells with her male consort, Te Rangiorahina within Akaroa Harbour. Before Te Ake died, he asked Te Wahine-maru-kore and Te Rangiorahina to safeguard the friendly people on the sea. It is believed that, when the sea turns red, the fishermen know that the two taniwha are under the water. They have also been known to guide waka to shore in times of rough weather.[44]

The Taumutu kaumātua Rewi Kōruarua spoke of Tuterakihaunoa, an atua tiaki (supreme guardian) that dwells within a deep hole in Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). Tuterakihaunoa was one of the grandchildren of Raki who were sent to transform the wreckage of Te Waka-o-Aoraki (the canoe of Aoraki) into land so that it could become habitable for human life. The story of Aoraki and his brothers is one that most are familiar with and we see Aoraki today with his brother close by as the tallest landform in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The other demigods, of whom Tuterakihaunoa was one, set about sculpting the upturned waka into mountains and carving out the valleys, bays, inlets and estuaries into the landscape that would form Te Waipounamu. It is believed that Tuterakihaunoa remained at Whakamatakiuru (Fisherman's Point) and presides over this area as an atua tiaki:

> In the old days, certain domestic duties were not undertaken in the waters of Te Waihora as this could enrage the Atua and cause him to lie on the top of the water. If this happened, the people could not drink the water and it could also cause tuna (eel), inaka (whitebait) and patiki (flounder) to die. When excavating the lake opening, all the inhabitants and resources of the pa were blessed to ensure the opening would be pushed through. If anyone acted thoughtlessly at this time, Tuterakihaunoa would lie across the cut-out channel and prevent the lake from opening. If this happened, the tohunga would perform rituals to placate the Atua. The Atua Tiaki came in many forms and often expressed its will through the actions of the resources of Te Waihora.[45]

Associated with Te Waihora is the sighting of pou tuna (large-headed eels, which were considered tapu) towards the end of the mahinga tuna (eel-gathering) time. Pou tuna were regarded as kaitiaki of the tuna (eel) resource and the sighting of them was a sign that the tuna-gathering season had come to an end.

LEGENDS OF THE LANDSCAPE

Rākaihautū is the founding ancestor of Waitaha. He was the first explorer to Te Waipounamu and, after his waka the *Uruao* beached at Whakatū in Nelson, Rākaihautū headed inland with his party, carving out all the major lakes with his famous kō (digging stick). On reaching the Canterbury area, Rākaihautū dug out the lakes Te Wairewa and Te Waihora. Te Waihora was named Te Kete ika a Rākaihautū (the fish basket of Rākaihautū) and Banks Peninsula was claimed as Te Pātaka a Rākaihautū (the great food storage house of Rākaihautū). Directly across the harbour from Ōnuku Marae stands the distinctive Tuhiraki (Mt Bossu). This peak is said to have been formed when Rākaihautū thrust his kō (digging stick) into the ground.

The legend tells us that his son Rokohouia noted the river mouths as the party made their way along the eastern coastline. He studied the migratory patterns of tuna (eel), and as they

44. *Beattie, Tikao Talks, pp 87–88.*

45. *Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Department of Conservation, Te Waihora Joint Management Plan: Mahere Tukutahi o Te Waihora, Christchurch, 2005, p 30.*

went he drove poles into the river beds at their mouths and constructed eel weirs around them. Today the many river mouths and coastal lakes from the Waihao River north are known collectively as Kā Poupou a Rokohouia (the posts of the weirs of Rokohouia).[46]

As Rākaihautū embedded the major landscape features with whakapapa, he also left spiritual guardians. Te Maire Tau notes "during his travels he left spiritual guardians on the Waiau River, for example".[47] The extensive distances travelled by Rākaihautū and his men and their heroic feats along the way have lived on in memory through Māori oral traditions for many centuries and have been embedded in the land and into the identity of the descendants of these early ancestors, who continue to look upon these marks with pride.

Another great explorer was Tamatea-pōkai-whenua (seeker of lands). It is believed that Tamatea was the grandson of Tamatea-ariki-nui, who was the high priest of the *Tākitimu*, the great ancestral waka of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou. Tamatea was famed for his curiosity and energy. His exploits would see him circumnavigate Aotearoa, leaving many names throughout the country associated with his journey. The waka he travelled in was named after his grandfather's waka, the *Tākitimu*. Arthur Couch, in *Rāpaki Remembered*, tells of how his exploration of Te Waipounamu included an initial brief visit into Lyttelton Harbour, which he named Whakaraupō on account of the great quantity of raupō growing on the foreshore of what is now known as Allandale and Governor's Bay.

His journey continued south; the *Tākitimu* is believed to have been wrecked within the vicinity of the Waiau River in Southland and is remembered today with the mountains called the Tākitimu Range. From here Tamatea and his crew, which included his son Kahungunu (from whom Ngāti Kahungunu descend), headed back north on foot. They traversed the Mackenzie Country and eventually arrived back at Banks Peninsula. He decided to rest with his men on a peak overlooking Whakaraupō.

During all of their travels, Tamatea and his men had carefully tended and kept alive their fire source, but at this point in their travels, the fire that they had carried went out. To add to their troubles, a southerly storm bringing snow and hail struck. Tamatea stood at the peak of the maunga (mountain) above the settlement of Rāpaki and appealed to the gods in Tongariro and Ngaruhoe, through reciting a karakia to send fire. They answered his call and sent fire. Arthur Couch notes the fire god continued down the maunga through Rāpaki and part way up the maunga at Teddington to form what was named Ngā Pungarehu-o-Te-Ahi-o-Tamatea (the ashes of Tamatea's fire). The Pākehā name for this formation is the Giant's Causeway.[48] The maunga on which Tamatea stood when he appealed to the gods was named Te Poho o Tamatea (the bosom of Tamatea). Tamatea also named the Port Hills, Ngā Kōhatu Whakarakaraka a Tamatea Pōkai Whenua (the smouldering boulders of Tamatea-pōkai-whenua).

James Cowan in *Maori Folk Tales of the Port Hills* notes that "… ancient people – with surely some perception of geological truth – connected in their legends with the internal fires of the North Island".[49]

The Port Hills form the most visible landscape feature within Christchurch and they rise up in stark contrast to the flatness of the Canterbury Plains. From the peaks of these spectacular land formations, commanding views can be gained over sea and plains and out towards the Southern Alps. Today they are of national and international significance for their geological features, in particular the prominent volcanic rock outcrops.

46. *New Zealand Geographic Board., He Kōrero Purakau Mō Ngā Taunahanahatanga a Ngā Tupuna: Place Names of the Ancestors: A Māori Oral History Atlas, Government Printing Office, Wellington, 1990, p 91.*

47. *T. Tau, 'Ngāi Tahu and the Canterbury Landscape – a Broad Context', in Southern Capital, Christchurch: Towards a City Biography, 1850–2000, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, p 48.*

48. *A. Couch, Rāpaki Remembered. Te Waihora Press, Christchurch, 1987, p 35.*

49. *J. Cowan, Māori Folk-Tales of the Port Hills. Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, 1923, p 2.*

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

For Māori, "mountains were the most significant of landmarks, their physical presence inseparable from their human association".[50] Rocky outcrops often held special significance as rock was enduring and everlasting. Such rock formations are called wāhi kōhatu, and through spiritual personification become kaitiaki of the surrounding landscape, binding the whakapapa of tangata whenua to the land.

The highly visible and prominent rock formation Castle Rock holds such spiritual significance. To Ngāi Tahu, it is Te Tihi o Kahukura (the citadel of Kahukura or the pinnacle of the rainbow). Kahukura is a god of ancient times according to Tikao, who was believed to be able to separate the good from the bad weather. He became the main god of the migrators as he could send fair winds to assist waka over the seas and assist them with rainbows to show them direction. His sign was believed to be the rainbow.[51] Kahukura was also appealed to for signs or omens of forthcoming events, especially in relation to war. Cowan explains this concept:

> The celestial form of Kahukura was the rainbow; literally the name means "Red Garment." Omens were drawn in days of war from the situation of the arch of the "Red Garment" when it spanned the heavens. The name is sometimes applied to that phenomenon of days of mist in the mountains, the "sun-dog," from which auguries were drawn. So when the Natives gave the term to the Castle Rock they were conferring upon it a name of high tapu befitting its bold and commanding appearance.[52]

50. *Orbell, Māori Myths and Legends, p 50.*

51. *Beattie, Tikao Talks, p 41.*

52. *Cowan, Māori Folk-Tales of the Port Hills, p 8.*

GAMES AND PASTTIMES

WHARE TAPERE

The whare tapere is one of a number of terms used to describe a house of amusement. Although the term whare tapere denotes a whare of sorts, it was perhaps more accurate to describe it as a space that people gathered to socialise. What is important about the whare tapere is that it acknowledges that these types of spaces existed in te ao tawhito (traditional Māori society) and it widens our perspective on what Māori did to amuse themselves creatively, physically and socially. The whare tapere is an ongoing research topic passionately addressed by academic Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, who has also brought back a modern version of the whare tapere for other artists to partake in. Ngāi Tahu film-maker and choreographer Louise Potiki Bryant has also used the concept of the whare tapere in her most recent dance project and continues to research how Ngāi Tahu expressed themselves in a similar style of whare.[53]

Many games and activities Māori took part in were designed to build strength and coordination. Games provided entertainment but also practical skills in preparation for hunting; gathering kai for the whānau and hapū; building whare and food-storage structures within the kāinga; and defending the pā or surrounding area, or for larger conflicts.[54]

The pakeke (adults) had a number of games and pastimes that involved team activities and others built individual strength. There were games that took place on the land such as hand games, tī rākau (stick games), poi, kōruru (knucklebones) and whai (string games). There were also water games that involved swimming, diving and waka races.

Children also played through their day to improve their hand–eye coordination and to learn to protect and provide for their whānau and hapū. Kite flying (manutukutuku) and spinning tops (pōtaka) were popular activities for tamariki.[55]

WHARE PŪRĀKAU

The whare pūrākau taught military strategies and tactics. Unlike the sacred learning institutions such as the whare kura or the whare maire, the whare pūrākau took place during the day and involved a larger group of young men aged 12 years and up. They were drilled on weaponry such as taiaha, patu, paiaka, tewhatewha and other rākau used for fighting. The weapons stayed in the whare pūrākau and, although this whare was still seen as a place of tapu (sacredness), it was not to the same extent as the two other learning houses, which catered for a more select group of young men. The whare pūrākau developed the fitness and physical endurance of those who attended. There is a likeness in this concept to our modern gym facilities. The Canterbury term Waikākahi describes an extensive pā that was used for a number of sports and games.[56]

POI

Poi are mainly seen today as a decorative accessory that highlights the talent of predominantly wāhine in kapa haka performances. The original use of poi, however, was as a tool to improve wrist flexibility and strength in order to prepare toa (warriors) for battle.[57] According to Alan Armstrong, the long poi was traditionally used by wāhine of high rank. The movements of the long poi were not shared with the lower classes. In response to this segregation of sorts, the

53. *C. Royal, Towards the New Whare Tapere, Keynote address at the Te Hotu Manawa Māori Conference, Taipā, New Zealand, October 2012.*

54. *A. Armstrong, Maori Games and Hakas Instructions, Words and Actions, Wright & Carman Ltd, Wellington, 1964; Beattie and Anderson (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori; E. Best, Games and Pastimes of the Maori, A. R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington, 1925.*

55. *Armstrong, Maori Games and Hakas Instructions, Words and Actions.*

56. *Beattie, Tikao Talks.*

57. *Beattie and Anderson (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori.*

lower class designed a shorter length poi that still achieved suppleness in the wrist.[58]

TĪ RĀKAU

Tī rākau is a rhythmical stick game used to improve hand dexterity and hand–eye coordination. Traditionally it was a serious game to prepare warriors, but over time wāhine have joined in and the actions have been simplified.[59]

WHAI

Whai is the term used to describe string games (cat's cradle). Whai were played all over Polynesia and across the ages and sexes. However, it was noted that wāhine were particularly proficient at doing whai as this game required finger agility that many wāhine already had as a result of mahi raranga (weaving) and tukutuku (ornamental panels) work.[60]

The origin of this particular pastime was attributed to Māui and the full name given as 'Te Whai-wawewawe-a-Māui' – 'wawewawe' meaning to be quick, attentive and alert.

Whai consisted of constructing with your hands various formations, using an enclosed string threaded around and through the fingers and hands. All the configurations have names that represent an object or a mythological event.[61]

MOARI

Moari were constructed from a long pole with a crosspiece attached. These would be positioned on the river bank. The crosspiece had a number of holes that were threaded with taura (rope). This became a water activity for a number of people at the same time, using the taura to swing out over the water and diving feet or head first into the water.[62]

MAHI RINGARINGA (HAND GAMES)

Hand games were not only enjoyed and played for leisure across the ages; they also improved the speed of the eye and personal reaction time. Most mahi ringaringa were played in pairs and involved fast hand and arm movements whilst chanting various instructions or taunts. The idea behind most mahi ringaringa was to trick the opponent into a certain move or watch out for a similar move. The toa (winner) was the one that recognised the hapa (mistake) faster. The increasing speed of the mahi ringaringa added to the challenge of keeping the rhythm and completing the hand movements.[63]

SUMMARY

Many of the myths, legends and traditions told within this historical narrative tell of how the spiritual and physical world of Māori impacted on health and wellbeing. Health and wellbeing cannot be separated from the physical and natural elements around us:

> According to Maori belief, there were two most important things by means of which physical health and general well-being were retained. The first of these was the mauri, and the second tapu. To maintain inviolate the mauri, tribal, family or individual, to refrain

58. *Armstrong, Maori Games and Hakas Instructions, Words and Actions.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Best, Games and Pastimes of the Maori.*

61. *Armstrong, A., Maori Games and Hakas Instructions, Words and Actions.*

62. *Beattie and Anderson, (Eds), Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori.*

63. *Armstrong, Maori Games and Hakas Instructions, Words and Actions.*

from transgressing the laws of tapu, and to retain his prestige and powers, natural and supernatural, was to command health, physical and mental." [64]

Loss of mauri in an area or body of water impacts negatively on the mana of tangata whenua. "Should they fail to carry out their kaitiaki duties adequately, not only will mana be removed, but harm will come to members of the whānau and hapu. Thus a whānau or hapu who still hold mana in a particular area take their kaitiaki responsibilities very seriously.[65]

Kaitiakitanga is fundamental to the relationship between Māori and their environment. It is an exercise that arises from the Māori worldview and is considered an inherent responsibility that comes from whakapapa. Kaitiakitanga is the act of safeguarding the mauri (life force) of the environment, and ensuring the environment is passed onto future generations in a state that is as good as or better than the current state. Cameron Kirkwood explains that "kaitiaki means looking after one's own blood and bones – literally. One's whanaunga and tupuna include the plants and animals, rocks and trees. We are all descended from Papatūānuku; she is our kaitiaki and we in turn are hers."[66]

This historical narrative has woven together many stories that have the common thread of Māori wellbeing. To achieve wellbeing for Māori requires a holistic approach. As such, this narrative has covered a range of concepts from spiritual and mythological right through to traditional practices. The intention of this narrative has been to help the reader to gain a greater understanding of the Māori worldview and how whakapapa, identity, and the physical and spiritual world about us all play a part in our ability to achieve physically and mentally. Many of the stories and concepts covered embody the core Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri values that are to be incorporated into the rebuild of Christchurch:

a. Mō tātou, ā, mō ngā uri ā muri ake nei (For us, and our children after us)
b. Ngāi Tahutanga (culture and identity)
c. Manaakitanga ('care for a person's mana' – wellbeing, in a holistic sense)
d. Rangatiratanga (chieftainship)
e. Whanaungatanga (family ties)
f. Tikanga and Kawa (method and protocol)
g. Tohungatanga (professionalism)
h. Kaitiakitanga (stewardship)
i. Kotahitanga (unity)
j. Wairuatanga (spiritual health).

64. *Best, Māori Medical Lore, p 216.*
65. *New Zealand Coastal Policy Statement Report 1994 as cited in Roberts, et al, Kaitiakitanga: Maori Perspective on Conservation. p 14.*
66. *Ibid, p 13.*

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