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# CHRISTCHURCH BUS INTERCHANGE NARRATIVE: HINE PAAKA TIME FOR A CHANGE

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





Whata-a-rama

Kaiapoi

Opāwaho

Māhū





Image Credit: Baptiste Marconnet

# INTRODUCTION

The Canterbury earthquakes ripped out architecture and roads from the heart and environs of the city. These massive shakes left wide spaces exposed to the environment and caused losses of life and homes. In the carnage, many old features were lost but the old rises out of the new just as the new rises out of the old. Christchurch people have clung to a vision of progress and that vision entwines the knowledge of the past with the architecture of the present. The Bus Interchange and the many routes that flow through and around the buildings will be held in place spiritually and culturally by Hine Paaka of Ngāi Tahu in both name and tradition. The vision is exciting and the journey that will bring that vision to life is one of positivity and progress. It is a journey that is shared by the indigenous people of the area and those who came after and will provide proof that each can embrace the other.

Ngāi Tahu flourished in the Christchurch area and Canterbury. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, they had a strong network of economic bases connected by trails to other villages, with the centre being their main fortified pā at Kaiapoi.

Unlike Europeans they did not rely on ship provisions from foreign markets. Instead they knew how to catch and sustain wildlife, which included the kiore (native rat) and birds sweetened by a diet of berries and a multitude of fish and eels.

Ngāi Tahu, like other Māori, had a strong sense of the interconnectivity between the natural spiritual world and the physical world. The continuation of life was protected by the constant attention paid to the universe and the spiritual life elements that nourished and sustained the life cycle. Strong laws protected the life element of mauri that ensured growth from beginning to end to beginning – from seed to activity to sickness to death and back to seed.

With the arrival of Pākehā settlement, Ngāi Tahu were quick to continue to grow their economic resources, to compete and thrive alongside Pākehā.

Scrutiny of numerous historical documents acknowledged recently in the Ngāi Tahu legal settlement of claims reveals that Pākehā did not always, at this time, share the same dream of combined enterprise and partnership.

When the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Tahu people firmly honoured their part of the contract. Unfortunately, however, when they sold land they lost even the land they chose not to sell.

Rather than losing sight of this injustice or becoming bitter towards all Pākehā, they sought justice through the court. It took a formidable amount of time and many generations for justice to be served.

In the meantime, other land was appropriated and laws have restricted Ngāi Tahu rights to develop their own properties in places like Tuahiwi right up to and into this century.

The demise of the Ngāi Tahu economy did not occur instantly. Ngāi Tahu had always appreciated the development of technology and they were quick to secure whale boats and begin trade in New Zealand and across the Tasman.

They developed their flax industry and jade manufacturing industry and they walked or rode over their trails to the Victoria market in Christchurch where they sold their cultivated potatoes and other goods.



History shows that the potential for a beneficial cultural and economic interchange between Māori and Ngāi Tahu was felled by racist policies. Not only did the majority of settlers and councillors respect one perspective – that of one empire entirely replacing another – it regarded the English in particular as being superior to the tangata whenua, the people of the land.

Ngāi Tahu, rather than reigning over the area they had claimed and protected, now watched in horror as their trails were covered, their sacred burial grounds were buried, and their mahinga kai – economic resources – became endangered and extinct in a spiritual void that failed to protect the living and the dead.

Hear the cries of Ngāi Tahu when they simply asked for a whare, a resting house in one of their few reserves, at Little Hagley Park. After losing so much, Ngāi Tahu were denied even the right for a place to rest for their people travelling to Ōtautahi or Christchurch.

This is our word to you about a house at Christchurch. For we have no resting place there. The evil of this is manifest, when we have to pass through, some are obliged to sleep under the hedges of the roadside, others go to the public houses and spend their money to their hurt. The word of our meeting is that we should be treated as brethren, as one people, be fulfilled. We have lately shown that it is our wish to assist our European friends as far as we can. Let the same spirit be manifested by you towards us in this matter. Follow the example of Auckland, Wellington, Nelson and Otago, where houses have long been erected for the Maoris. This is the only town without a resting place.







These are the eminent people who signed that petition: *Ihaia Taihewa, Hoani Paratene, Pita Te Hori (Assessor), Hakopa Te Ata o Tu (Assessor), Hamiora Tohuanuku, Horomona Pa, Wiremu Hape, Te Wakena Kokorau, Matiu Hutoi, Te Koro Mautai, Wiremu Te Pa, Tare Rangitira, Hakopa Tahitama, Matene Rehu, Te Wakaemi, Horomona Haukeke, Wiremu Te Hau, Ihaia Tainui, Aperahama Te Aika, Hemiona Pohata, Te Moroati Pakapaka, Ripene Waipapa, Matana Piki, Te Tura Turakina, Mikaera Turangitahi, Hoani Rehu, Henare Korako, Wereta Tainui, Heraia Te Koreke, Hoani Pareti, Hohepa Huria, Meihana Tawha, Manahi Iri, Te Manihera Te Pehu, Irai Tihau, Wiremu Pukupuku, Hapurona Taipata, Ahuira Tama-rangi, Hoani Poutoko, Mohi Patu, Tamate Tikao, Rewite Tekau, Paora Tua, Tukaruatoro, Hoani Hape, Te Wirihana Piro, Taituha Hape, Erua Tihema, Mohi Roperu.*

Remembering these names would be a tribute to these Ngāi Tahu ancestors who were overlooked by the colony.

Not only did the main hapū of Ngāi Tahu known as Ngāi Tūāhuriri and hapū from other areas lose their land in Christchurch and Canterbury, they lost their place names and many of the signs directing them to sacred areas.

Their heroes were not recounted in the main historical records. Just like the people who walked from them, their first ships were not honoured or considered worthy of a primary place in the history of European society. Whenever the ‘first four ships’ were mentioned, they referenced only the period of British settlement – a place for people of one culture and heritage.

Ngāi Tahu invested an enormous amount of energy over the span of two centuries in obtaining justice. While achieving the true measure of recompense was impossible, they now have a firm economic base in the city, a place of standing that is long overdue. Ngāi Tahu energies are now being poured into developing their market as well as researching and resurrecting the original names and trails of the whole of Te Waipounamu.

Reviving these places and the markers that guided Ngāi Tahu in their direction both spiritually and physically is a way of bringing Ngāi Tahu back into the world of the living city while acknowledging the vital part their tūpuna or ancestors played in the past.

In many cases the mauri or sacred markers to mahinga kai (economic resources) and kāinga (villages) have disappeared but they remain fixed in memory and written documents. While they cannot all be found and preserved, many are responding to the breath of recognition that is stirring them into the present.



# SACRED NAME OF THE BUS INTERCHANGE: HINE PAAKA OF NGĀI TAHU

Hine Paaka is a female ancestor of the Ngāi Tūhaitara hapū of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Māmoe, which was part of an earlier migration into the South Island. Ngāi Tahu tradition tells us that Hine Paaka was already standing as an ancestral tree marker by the time the later part of the Ngāi Tūhaitara migration into Waitaha commenced. The tree was known as a customary marker of Ngāi Tūhaitara claims to the region. Rights to the area were applied through the descent line from her parents, Marukore and Tūhaitara.

For Ngāi Tahu the ancestors did not simply exist and die; many became geographical formations – mountains, rivers, streams. The ancestor Hine Paaka became a sacred fowling tree, a place where birds were hunted and where the skins of the cull were stretched against the branches of a living ancestor, the tree, Hine Paaka.

Hine Paaka, like other Ngāi Tahu ancestors, lives today as a tree just as other ancestors have taken the form of proud mountains and rippling waves, representing the earth's call to the sky and the sky's call to the forest and birds. The ancestors can be traced geographically and genealogically from the land to the universe, in the physical realm and the mysteries of mythology.

When Ngāi Tahu look at sacred trees, mountains and rivers, they see an ancestor, they feel the presence of that ancestor and they may pause to weep, to grieve, to remember and admire the ancestor.

This sense of the ancestors embodied in land is a common theme in many indigenous cultures. Without the ancestors the land does not exist; without the land the people cannot exist. Where there is breath there is life and each living thing contains the breath of life. The breath of life is in the sacred ancestral mountains and rivers, it is in an ancestral tree that served as a trail marker; the ancestors live in the geographical features of the land and the cord that binds the people to the land and the ancestors cannot be broken.

Ngāi Tahu tribal tradition tells us that the name of the campaign party that led the final Ngāi Tūhaitara expedition into Waitaha was Te Taua-Tua-Whiti. The tradition tells us that the campaign leaders were: Taane-tiki; Hika-tutae; Moki; Maaka; Huikai; Mokai; Whakuku and Turakipo.

Their ariki or high leader was Tūrākautahi. During their settlement of the Waitaha region, Tūrākautahi and his kinsmen journeyed inland to claim the Torlesse Range – the mountainous area famed for its forest fowl.

Hine Paaka was claimed by Tūrākautahi as his fowling tree. The trees were known among families as boundary markers. From this sacred marker tree Hine Paaka, the Ngāi Tūhaitara leaders laid claim to the inland mountains. These claims are recalled with the following proverbs from the two leaders, Tūrākautahi and his brother, Taane-tiki:

Tūrākautahi: Ko Kura-tāwhiti te mauka kākāpō, ko au te takata.

Kura-tāwhiti is the mountain that has the parrot and I am the man.



Taane Tiki: Ko te mauka ko Te Whatarama, te manu o reira, he kākāpō. Moku tēnā mauka kia maro ai a Hine-mihi rāua ko Hutika.

Te Whatarama is the mountain of parrot and will be mine to cloak my daughter Hine-mihi and Hutika.

Hine Paaka, the female Ngāi Tūāhuriri ancestor, will represent Ngāi Tūāhuriri and the people of Christchurch in the form of the Bus Interchange, which will bear her name. She will also be embodied in the central artwork displayed in front of Hine Paaka – the Bus Interchange building.

Revived in both name and form, the Bus Interchange that bears her name also carries the spirit of this Ngāi Tūāhuriri female ancestor into the present and the future of Christchurch and Canterbury.

The Bus Interchange is the central place for routes like the routes eels have woven across, under and through Christchurch and Canterbury.

The Ngāi Tahu narrative will be embedded in Christchurch through knowledge of the trails and means by which the Ngāi Tahu migration entered and claimed most of the South Island. For Christchurch people and visitors, it involves the discovery of journeys that have only recently been revealed by Ngāi Tahu themselves.

It speaks of the ancestral waka and voyages made through the ocean from the ancestral land in the far Pacific and the smaller journeys taken across the stretch of sea between the North and South Islands. It tells of migratory journeys by foot, of shoes crafted for various journeys, of gourds that became rocks and of valuable resources and lands that were taken by European settlers, destroying possibly forever a way of life that should be preserved.

## KAIAPOI – NGĀI TAHU SETTLEMENT FOR TRADE AND TRAILS

Christchurch is seen as the point of gravity for the Canterbury region. Kaiapoi, Leeston and other small rural towns are seen as outer lying districts to Christchurch. However for Ngāi Tahu, Christchurch was an outpost food-gathering site to Kaiapoi – the centre of activity for the Canterbury Ngāi Tahu. The main sites for this area were O-tū-matua, Ihu-tai, O-pa-waho, Otakaro, Tā-rere-kau-tuku, Pū-tarika-motu, O-Raki-pāoa and Niho-toto.

Dr Te Maire Tau, Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, University of Canterbury.

The South Island is the homeland for Ngāi Tahu, and the area now known as Christchurch fell within the lands occupied and worked by the Ngāi Tahu hapū or clan known as Ngāi Tūāhuriri. Christchurch was the centre of Canterbury only in terms of British settlement, which succeeded in largely exterminating the earlier founding histories.

The significant pā for Ngāi Tahu was the base of the Ngāi Tūāhuriri people at Kaiapoi. It became the main repository and trading centre for the sharing of abundant Ngāi Tahu resources in the South Island.

A fortified pā, the settlement contained houses with boundaries defined by the communal hierarchy. It harboured places of work and industry, from carving to cooking, tool making to spiritual teaching. It also contained a large food storage area where gourds, vats and high storehouses contained preserved and fresh produce.



Built on dunes surrounding a deep lagoon, Kaiapoi was accessible by waka (canoes) to both the sacred ancestors, the Waimakariri and the Rakahuri (Ashley) rivers. Flowing with valued resources from west to east, “Ki Uta, Ki Tai” – mountains to the sea, the cycle of accessible resources was likened to the motion of swinging poi and reflected in the name, Kaiapoi.

For Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the Waimakariri River is the life blood of Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother), supporting all life including people. For generations spanning centuries, the ancestors built settlements ringed by ridges of sand dunes near the food-laden lagoons and estuaries associated with the Waimakariri.

Cleverly constructed Ngāi Tahu boats moved along rivers and streams from lowland to the high land and back again. Shoes were specifically crafted for clambering over rocks, for mountain treks or for walks across sandy shores. Small treks and long routes provided a connection between the people and their mahinga kai, economic resources.

The Waimakariri has always been an important source of kaimoana (seafood), including freshwater mussels and crays, eels, whitebait, flounders and native trout. The birdlife in the river and basin include kererū (native pigeon), pāteke (brown teal), pūtakitaki (paradise duck) and a host of other birds valued for their flesh and feathers used for regal cloaks. The banks of the river hold a heritage of sacred urupā (burial sites) and traditional kāinga nohoanga (permanent and temporary occupation sites).

A diverse range of trails poured out from the rich settlement of Kaiapoi to other villages and settlements. The Ngāi Tahu way of life depended on the resources gained from settlements in and beyond Kaiapoi and the Waimakariri River: Te Waihora; Te Pātaka a Rākaihautū (Banks Peninsula); Rāpaki; Koukourārata; Wairewa; Ōnuku; and Taumutu.

The current motorway north from Christchurch runs parallel to one of the Ngāi Tūāhuriri trails from Kaiapoi. The Waimakariri River served as a guide for Ngāi Tūāhuriri resulting in several trails to Te Tai Poutini (the West Coast). It was also used as access into the mahinga kai areas of the Waimakariri basin such as lakes Lyndon (Te Hapūa Waikawa), Hawdon (Opera), Pearson (Moana Rua) and Coleridge (Whakamatau).

Other areas significant to Ngāi Tahu in and around Christchurch include the Ōpāwaho (Heathcote), Ōtākaro (Avon), Pūharakekenui (Styx), Whakahume (Cam River at Tuahiwi), Ruataniwha (Cam River at Kaiapoi), the land around Te Ihutai (Avon-Heathcote Estuary), Te Oranga (Horseshoe Lake) and Te Riu o Te Aika Kauai (Brooklands Lagoon).

To Ngāi Tahu, Kaiapoi was the centre linked by trails to smaller settlements made up of other hapū.

There is ample documented evidence that the trails Bishop Selwyn and Edward Shortland used to travel southwards already existed in the form of trails used and developed by Ngāi Tahu. The trail Shortland used to get to Te Muka/Te Waiteruaati from Taumutu was the same trail Waruwarutu and the Kaiapoi people used when they fled south.

There were also the trails that led into the hills and mountains to the famous forests along the Torlesse Range where the kākāpō and other forest fowl could be found.

It is not commonly known that the paths and passes ‘discovered’ by European settlers had already been developed and used by South Island Māori. One such pass from Canterbury to



the West Coast later came to be known by European settlers as Arthur’s Pass, after the surveyor Sir Arthur Dudley Dobson. It was one of many passes named after European explorers such as Dobson, Henry Lewis and Julius Von Haast. These Europeans were closely connected to each other by marriage and were affiliated to Māori guides – men such as Tarapuhi and Wereta Tainui – who informed and guided them over the old pre-discovered trails.

Although such European men were hardy explorers, so were the South Island Māori who had developed and used these trails over treacherous mountains and through swollen rivers.

The passes from the East to the West Coast were the arteries to the precious stone, pounamu. Known as jade or nephrite to Ngāi Tahu, pounamu was treasure from the ancestors far more precious than gold. Handed down as an heirloom, presented as a highly prized gift, and valued as a hard strong rock that would form tools able to last through various lifetimes, pounamu is a reflection of the multi-forested land that is Waipounamu, the South Island. In its picturesque beauty it appears to hold ribbons of forest and waves from the sea, mists and clear skies, peaks and wild shores. In his last book endorsed by Ngāi Tahu, *Greenstone Trails*, Barry Brailsford refers to the trails created for the purpose of contact with the stone and how its power drew Māori in and through the alpine country at the heart of the South Island.<sup>1</sup>

The Bus Interchange is not merely a building that stands alone devoid of these earlier histories of discovery, exploration and travel. Unlike its predecessor and other buildings that represented the English colonial settlement of Canterbury, it does not just reflect one narrative of settlement. The building with its skylights, its reflection of waka and its identity linking it to Hine Paaka, a Ngāi Tahu ancestor, is alive and rich with the identity of Ngāi Tahu, of the people of the area, Ngāi Tūāhuriri, and the geographical features that are the ancestors.

## KURA TĀWHITI – CASTLE HILL

When people journey outside Canterbury on what is now State Highway 73, they are following other trails that lead into areas that had vital importance to Ngāi Tahu and their ancestors who link into the Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha people of earlier times. Kura tāwhiti or Castle Hill dominates a high tussock basin between the Torlesse Range in the east and the Craigieburn Range in the west. Hidden in the limestone outcrops are traces of 500-year-old charcoal drawings, left behind by Waitaha, the first people to shelter here.

The sacred naming of places was a way of claiming land, and Kura-tāwhiti was claimed by the Ngāi Tahu ancestor Turakautahi, son of the celebrated leader of Tūāhuriri and founder of Kaiapoi Pā.

The nearby mountains were famed for kākāpō and Tāne Tiki yearned to obtain their soft skins and glowing green feathers for clothing for his daughter Hine Mihi.

The area was a well-used mahinga kai area for Kaiapoi Ngāi Tahu, and an integral part of a network of trails for hunting and gathering. Ngāi Tūāhuriri hapū are the guardians of the land.

## RAUIRI KIORE – RAT TRAILS

The rauiri kiore – rat track – begins within the hinterland at Kura-tāwhiti, which is located along the Torlesse Range. The track then heads towards the Waikirikiri or Selwyn River and then proceeds towards Otaumata – the Selwyn River mouth – to Tauhinu, Kaiwaha, Tarerekautuku

1. B. Brailsford, *Greenstone Trails, The Maori Search for Pounamu*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1984.



and Makonui. From this point, the track heads towards the Waimakariri River and eventually reaches Kaiapoi Pā.

A similar range of mountainous and inland locations was given for the taking of weka in the months between March and August. Kākāpō were caught with weka on Mount Torlesse and Mount Otarama; kererū at Tawera (Oxford) and Okuku.

The rats eaten by Ngāi Tūāhuriri were quite different to the creatures that drove fear into settlers who had come from the cities where rats spread contagious disease. The Māori kiore or rats were smaller, with brown fur and a grey-white belly. They feasted on berries and were a clean source of meat, being particularly full and sweet from April to July when they feasted on the tawai berry.

Particularly plentiful in the beech forests of the South Island, the kiore or native rat was the most highly prized of all the kai (foods) in Canterbury. Rat runs were strictly divided into wakawaka among the different family groups made up of whānau and hapū.

Evidence recorded in an old document reveals that the trails Māori worked and hunted were passed down the generations from hapū or clans to be worked seasonally. These ownership rights were taken seriously and the owners’ punishment was meted out to poachers. The activity of rat-catching was tapu and overseen by a tohunga or specialist in spiritual protections and rules related to hunting.

The trails were used and worked by generations of Ngāi Tūāhuriri until they were destroyed by the British and the land owned by Ngāi Tahu was bought in some cases and stolen in many others.

## DEVASTATING LOSS OF MAHINGA KAI

The loss of the kiore or rat was one of the first traditional and highly valued foods to become a casualty of introduced species of plants and animals.

Their demise deprived Ngāi Tūāhuriri of a rich economic resource that had previously been protected by a life based on complex seasonal rituals and rules.

A hereditary web of entitlement around access and rules firmly protected and maintained the life force of all beings. The life force that created generations of trees and birds, rats and eels and fish was respected because its protection provided a firm path into the future.

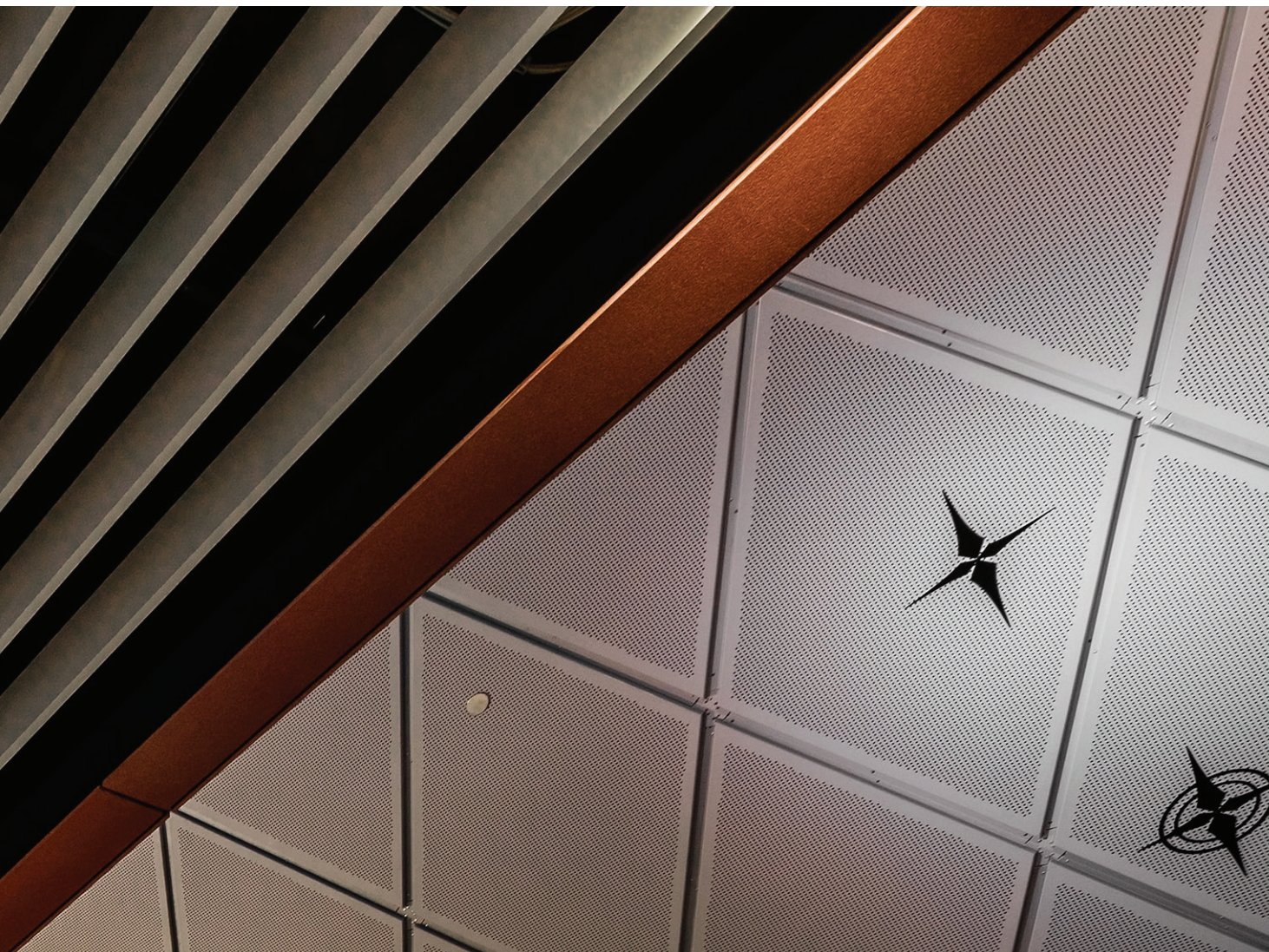
A hunter would hunt with a hunger in his belly. Ngāi Tahu understood how and why birds and fish migrate and move from areas of settlement. Hunting rules protected the balance of life and provided for regeneration. Māori believed that hunters who consumed food in the forest, who ate a bird in front of birds, would scare off their prey. Like people who become refugees, a whole species of birds might fear being hunted and seek a safer life elsewhere.

A Ngāi Tahu hunter would always leave something behind as an offering; an acknowledgement of the need for the continuation of life against the cliffs of death. The parent stock were never obliterated but were left to keep on breeding.

These rules reflect plans based on sophisticated conservation insights. We now know that the depletion of whales and seals in the South Island was caused by the over-culling of seals and whales through operations run by European settlers. Now, many long generations later, these creatures of the sea are returning to their old nesting grounds on coasts in the South Island







where they are gradually building up their numbers.

Tuna and pātiki – eels and flounder – are both vital resources to Ngāi Tūāhuriri but their numbers have dwindled due to the pollution of streams and other pressures of the advancing city of Christchurch.

The bush no longer resounds with a deafening chorus of birds the way it did in the time when Ngāi Tahu walked and worked from their trails. The native birds have largely disappeared, scared off by a British settlement that revolved around people rather than a habitat.

Thanks to modern machinery that replaced the highly crafted pounamu adzes of Ngāi Tahu, time is not spent on crafting individual pieces from honoured trees. Instead, the bush around Canterbury, after being culled en masse, is a shadow of the previous dramatic canopy that sheltered parrots and pigeons.

The impact of colonial settlement and theft by government agents cannot be undone. But what is left must be protected and Ngāi Tūāhuriri names and markers must become embedded again in Christchurch and the environs of Canterbury.



# SPHERES OF TRAILS

Ngāi Tūāhuriri and their kin hapū and whānau (Ngāti Irakehu, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Rakiwhakaputa, Ngāti Huirapa) link to a people who held a universe of knowledge in their minds. These people understood the ways of the seasons, the winds, the water and the skies. They had landmarks and skymarks. Landmarks contained stories linking the people to a place – an ancestor who fell overboard, a ladder from a gully over a cliff, a violent fall of water or the abundance of birds that provided feathers for fine cloaks. Trails in the water, sky and land linked people to a world that sustained their economic growth and sustenance.

The sky was marked by the stars, and navigators of the sea would determine their position by the pattern and locations of stars. Many people depended on tuna (eels) for their food source. When the thick smell of eels rose from the water, they followed paths to make nets and use spears.

Those who lived nearer the sea would venture in boats to fishing grounds estimated by the distance from a landmark such as a rock or gnarled tree. They watched the circling birds and could determine the weather forecast from their behaviour. Hunters learnt to move quickly in shadows, imitating the nature of their prey and using this knowledge to provide a catch to be shared by the families.

Ngāi Tahu had to identify routes that were safe and secure. Spiritual landmarks such as special rocks known as ‘mauri’ contained the protective life force or energy of the spiritual world and these were respected and known to the people.

The connections between time and space were tended by seemingly physical elements that maintained spiritual harmony. People followed rules and when they took something from a place they also returned something to that place. Their trade with nature was honoured by prayers and rituals and the life force that produced the flax, the trees, the birds, the fish and the eels was never taken for granted.

The people swirling in and out of the city have the Bus Interchange as their central mark. They are assured of reaching their destination by the number and route of their bus.

# TRAILS AROUND THE FRUITS OF FORESTS

To Māori the whakapapa, trails of genealogy that have been memorised and handed down in sacred oral traditions, connect people to people and people to their land.

There is also a whakapapa for the universe, for the gods who came from Te Kore, the nothingness or void out of which all things are stirred.

The essence of knowledge relates to the connectivity between all living things and the respect paid to those beings. The forest clothed the land and created a separation between the earth and sky. Trees gave birth to trees, and other trees and plants sprang up in the generations and regenerations of the life of the forest.

The myths, rituals, rules and cosmology around forests suggest that the ancestors of the first Māori in New Zealand, who undertook various journeys from Asia through the Pacific, originally lived in deeply forested areas. The forest was respected for both its spiritual value and the













Image Credit: Damon McPhail

economic resources it provided; and through karakia and firm rules, the economic resources were entwined with spiritual values that protected and respected the life cycles.

Birds sometimes became pets and were taught to mimic other birds so that these would come to the call and be snared. The methods of trapping ranged from simple to highly sophisticated, involving the use of highly crafted bone tools.

As with the cutting down of a tree, karakia were performed to honour and protect the life force of the birds. These prayers acknowledged the sacred energy that passed from generation to generation of birds in much the same manner as it ignited the flow of life between generations of people.

Ngāi Tahu lived a complex life in a world of cosmologies extending from the creative space in the universe to trails of stars across the night sky. Journeys were made across oceans and rivers; tracks were pulled out of a rich and resourceful land.

There was a strong belief in the spiritual essence that created and governed life, which people protected through rituals of tapu and tapu removal. All living things were thought to be tapu; when they were dead and eaten, the tapu was void.

Birding and the trapping of native rats were vital hunting activities to Ngāi Tūāhuriri. Both these activities were carried out in the mountains that overlooked Kaiapoi and in the ranges beyond them.

Kai (food) was preserved rather than simply being consumed in times of abundance. Ngāi Tahu developed oils and fat, used native herbs and plants, and undertook means of smoking and drying to preserve their kai for the leaner seasons. Through their whānau and hapū bonds of relationship, they traded and gained access to foods in other areas. They moved along trails to different rūnanga, shared in feasts and celebrations, and aided each other in planting, gathering, hunting and cooking.

Ngāi Tahu ancestors live today in the lives of those who still love and listen to them. While the old ways were submerged under the emergence of old Christchurch, the ancestors still speak through traditions carried out today. Ngāi Tūāhuriri who have family bonds with Rakiura – Stewart Island – still journey south for mutton birding and return with carefully preserved birds. Festivals and funerals pivot on the food and the work provided by Ngāi Tahu from various hapū. At such times, tables are made up of an abundance of seafood and other delicacies from different areas, food caught by hand and given from the heart.

Ngāi Tahu trails between the villages across Canterbury might be easier to negotiate today, the paths might be roads that are now sealed and the journey faster, but these trails between Ngāi Tahu people and their food sources carry the same importance today as they did when they were forged under the guidance of the ancestors. Ngāi Tahu is flourishing economically while displaying the traditional values of hospitality, generosity and reciprocity essential to the re-growth of this internationally acclaimed city.



# NGĀI TAHU ORIGINS – ANCESTRAL JOURNEYS

Where did Ngāi Tahu come from? How did they develop and move into the South Island? The answers to these questions take us far back in time, hundreds of years ago to about 1300 AD.

Archaeological evidence reveals that Māori people are descended from Eastern Polynesians who travelled to New Zealand in various waka, large sturdy double-hulled canoes equipped with strong sails to battle the winds and currents.

Dr Te Maire Tau, Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury, points out that while some of these people might have purposefully veered in the direction of New Zealand, their discovery of New Zealand would have been coincidental. Return to their former homes would have been virtually impossible due to the arduous upwinds, and there is no evidence that it ever happened.

The ancestors of Ngāi Tahu who first journeyed into and over the ocean were skilled astronomers. They navigated by sail through their knowledge of space and the changing patterns of stars in relation to the horizons of sea and land. They understood the different phases of the moon including the distance of the halo around the moon and how it signalled good or bad weather. When they reached their places of settlement, these celestial understandings proved equally useful to apply to seasonal knowledge about fishing for tuna, or eels, and planting kūmara, their sweet potato.

## TAHU PŌTIKI

Ngāi Tahu, like all Māori, connect in space and time to their experiences of their lands and water through their whakapapa or descent lines. From their great migrating ancestor Tahu Pōtiki – an ancestor they share with other iwi such as Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou in the North Island – Ngāi Tahu evolved.

The name Ngāi Tahu is the collective name of all the hapū and whānau, clans and families derived from this ancestor, a man who lived on the eastern coast of the North Island around the late 15th century. According to Ngāi Tahu legend and tradition, Tahu Pōtiki was one of the sons of Paikea who arrived in New Zealand on the back of a whale that guided him to the shore.

The waka that carried wave after wave of people to the land is also a strong symbol of navigated journeys. The prow of the waka riding over the waves is mirrored in the sharp glass design element of the Bus Interchange.

## FIRST MIGRATIONS OF MĀORI

Māori trace their ancestry or whakapapa through distinct sailing vessels known as waka, which arrived in the land now known as New Zealand at various times. Those Māori who are descended from the migration of the *Tākitimu* waka include the iwi or large tribal collectives known as Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Porou and Ngāti Kahungunu.

The stories of the wide and varied voyages that led a collective group of people to this place exemplify courage against death, resilience against defeat and success over failure. Each wave



that splashed over the bow of waka filled with men, women and children, each stride over snow-clad mountains and rugged terrain, each path to a hunting ground is exemplified in the design and purpose of the Christchurch Bus Interchange.

Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Kahungunu were closely related and their travels and settlements down to the southern part of the North Island are sometimes difficult to distinguish. People move and journey for various reasons and Ngāi Tahu gradually wound down the North Island during a period of 250 years. Before migrating to the South Island, they settled along the southern coasts of the North Island where their eyes gazed on the land of the South Island. Numerous names have been attributed to the South Island, one of the most common being Te Waipounamu, the land of greenstone or jade. Another name is Te Waka-o-Māui which is based on the Māui legend that the South Island was the waka from which Māui pulled up the fish, Te-Ika o Māui, the North Island.

## PHYSICAL AND METAPHYSICAL DEPARTURES AND ARRIVALS

The spiritual world and the physical world contained vital elements of life. To the indigenous people at this time, in this land in and around Christchurch, one world was not considered possible without the other. The business and hierarchy of roles in daily life was harnessed inside a spiritual world of rituals, rules and traditions that nurtured spiritual energies and provided various protections.

Entwined within the stories of daily life, of romance and births, of squabbles and misunderstandings are stories of boats that become stars and baskets that become boulders.

Besides Ngāi Tahu, another earlier group of Māori to reach the South Island were Ngāti Māmoe. They had arrived in the east coast of the North Island, and two different branches lived in Hawke's Bay. In the latter half of the 15th century, after being defeated in a war, they were provided with canoes by their victors on which they sailed from the North to the South Island.

Arapaoa – the misty path, known later to British settlers as Cook Strait – had already been crossed by other groups known as Ngāti Tara and Rangitāne who formed settlements along the coast and fiords known as the Marlborough Sounds.



# WAITAHA AND RĀKAIHAUTŪ

But Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoe, Ngāti Tara and Rangitāne were not the first people who lived in the South Island. Prior to their migration, another group of people known as the Waitaha had settled in the land. According to genealogical tables tracing 42 generations, these people had arrived in the *Uruao* boat or waka, which was captained by Rākaihautū.

The lake Hoka Kura, known in the European narrative of settlement as Lake Sumner, is one among others in the tradition of ‘Ngā Puna Wai Karikari o Rākaihautū’. The tradition relates to how the main lakes in the South Island were dug up by the rangātira– Rākaihautū, the famed captain of the waka, or boat, named *Uruao*.

According to legend, after beaching the *Uruao* at Whakatū (Nelson), Rākaihautū divided his men into two groups. His son took one party to explore the coastline southwards and Rākaihautū took another southwards by an inland route. On his inland journey southward, Rākaihautū used his famous kō – a tool similar to a spade – to uplift the principal lakes of Te Waipounamu, including Hoka Kura.

The concept of pulling up or digging land along with the naming of places is familiar to indigenous people. In this way, the line is blurred between the tangata and the whenua, the people and the land.

The land is pulled or called into being by important ancestors, in this case Rākaihautū, and his significance over the land is in his being as the source of transition between the land undiscovered and the land uncovered.

Although the source of the name Hoka Kura is not now known, it probably refers to one of the descendants of Rākaihautū.

Hoka Kura was valued as an area for mahinga kai – economic resources – by Ngāi Tūāhuriri. They had specialised knowledge of whakapapa – the trail of generations connecting people across time in this area – and they depended on the lake that they protected.

The mauri or life essence of Hoka Kura binds physical and spiritual elements of all things together, generating and upholding all life. All elements of the natural environment possess a life force, and all forms of life are related. Mauri is a vital element in the spiritual relationship between Ngāi Tahu and their sacred places.

The whakapapa on the next page shows a line of descent from the Waitaha ancestor, Rākaihautū, through his son Te Rakihouia (also known as Rokohouia). The names of people descended from Rākaihautū became linked to geographical features of the South Island. In this tradition of place-naming, the landmark in a sense is the ancestor, so the whole landscape becomes an ancestral temple or church.





Te Rākaihautū  
Te Rakihouia  
Awe-a-raki  
Te Aweawe  
Te Whatu  
Te Whatu-hunahuna  
Te Whatu-karokaro  
Te Whatu-ariki  
Te Whatu-karokata (a peak in the Southern Alps)  
Tāne-au-roa (a mountain near Wānaka)  
Tītī-tea (Crown Range)  
Turu (Diamond Lake)  
Ōrau (Cardrona River)  
Ari (head of Wakatipu)  
Tākaha (beach at Glenavy)  
Te Wai-reika (Gentle Annie Creek)  
Tokopā (a range on the West Coast)  
Koroiko (Roaring Meg Creek)  
Te Papa-puni (Nevis River)  
Tata-whe (location near Ben Nevis)  
Toromikimiki (Kawarau Gorge)  
Tahauri (a mountain near Kawarau)  
Tā-maipi (near Ōtāraia)  
Roko-te-whatu (near Waimate)  
Kawarau (well-known river)  
Parapara (near Hāwea)  
Waimeha (Waimea Plains)  
Te Kāretu (near Mataura Falls)  
Tā-maipi (near Mataura Falls)  
Waiwhero (now Waiwera, Otago)  
Kahuwera (now Kaiwera)  
Tāraia (now Ōtāraia)  
Te Urumoeanu (Lake George at Colac)

Like the ancestor Rākaihautū, Ngāi Tahu worked and walked trails all over the South Island from the top of the Kaikōura coast down through Ōtākou (Otago) to Bluff and Rakiura (Stewart Island) and from the East Coast to the West Coast.

Journeys along the coasts and up rivers would be taken by boat or a combination of walking and boats engineered specifically for certain purposes. Many difficult seasonal journeys were taken by foot alone with shoes specifically crafted for terrains as varied as snow and ice to beaches and swamps.

Knowledge of these trails continues to be held by whānau and hapū and is regarded as a taonga – sacred information. A seasonal lifestyle of walking and camping and trading with other kinspeople meant that the state of such lakes and the resources in and around them were fundamental to the cycles of survival.

Sacred places such as urupā and wāhi tapu also lie in the area. Urupā are the resting places of Ngāi Tahu tūpuna and, as such, are the focus for whānau (family) traditions. Urupā and wāhi tapu are places that contain the sacred memories, customs and stories of Ngāi Tahu ancestors. Their enduring significance is ensured by locations that remain secret to this day.



# WHAKAPAPA

Whakapapa – the connecting line of people to ancestors and land – is a vital tradition in Māori culture. The Ngāi Tahu connection to their land in the South Island traces to Waitaha, the first people of the land and Ngāti Māmoe who came after Waitaha. Like the different tribes that settled Europe, Māori lineage was born out of defeat and victories, love and sorrow, mysteries and practicalities.

In practical terms, to seal their bond with the land and to transfer that bond through the generations to follow, the leaders of the people who came after Waitaha took a wife whose descent line ran from the Waitaha. By this means Ngāi Tahu leader Te Rakitāmau was connected to the land through his Waitaha wife, Punahikoia.

## AKA ATUA (CANOES OF THE GODS)

## ARATEURU TRADITION ORIGINS CONNECTION TO NGĀI TAHU

The Arai-te-uru tradition refers to the ancestral waka atua (canoe of the gods) that foundered on the Otago coast in a storm on its return voyage from the ancestral homeland of Hawaiiki (now thought by scholars to be Tahiti). The legend connects to the arrival of kūmara in New Zealand and many of the landmarks and geographical features of the South Island, from the Otago coast through to the Southern Alps.

When Ngāi Tahu ancestor Rokoitua exchanged the kūmara he carried in his belt with the mamaku (tree fern) given to him by the Kāhui Tipua people in the Wairarapa, the Kāhui Tipua became determined to introduce the plant to Aotearoa. When they gave him mamaku to eat, he offered them the dried kūmara he carried in his belt, which he took out and soaked in a bowl of water. When the Kāhui Tipua tasted it, they decided to build a canoe to try to obtain this new food from ‘across the sea’. When the canoe returned with the kūmara, the crop was planted but it failed. While it is thought that no return trips were made to the homeland, the story shows the value of the plant to Ngāi Tahu.

According to Ngāi Tahu traditions, Rokoitua sailed to Hawaiiki on a second canoe, *Te Arai Te Uru* having learnt the correct karakia (incantations) and tikanga (customs) connected with growing this plant successfully in New Zealand. *Te Arai Te Uru* returned under the command of Pakihiwitahi and Hapekituaraki (Hipo and Te Kohi in some versions) and eventually became waterlogged.

Some of its precious food baskets (kaihinaki) and water calabashes were washed overboard at Te Kaihinaki (Hampden Beach), where they are thought to be preserved in stone as the famous Moeraki boulders.

More of its precious cargo of gourds and their contents were lost on Katiki Beach and the canoe was eventually wrecked at Matakaea (Shag Point). The hull of the great waka is preserved in the tradition as a reef just off the Waihemo (Shag) River mouth. The highest part of the reef (said to represent the sternpost) is known as Hipo, who was navigator and helmsman.



There are many versions of this legend that connect the arrival of the *Arai Te Uru* to the arrival of kūmara in Aotearoa. Importantly, passengers and crew – including Matakaea, Puketapu, Pakihiwitahi and Hikaroroa – became the hills and ranges inland all the way to the snow-crested peaks Kā Tiritiri o te Moana (the Southern Alps). This Ngāi Tahu tradition echoes indigenous traditions where the ancestors step ashore and by dawn become the geographical features of the land – mountains, rivers, rocks, streams and hills.

Some sailing vessels that came to the South Island are steeped in the mists of the mythical realm. Many other vessels came to the South Island across Cook Strait, bringing adventurous people who forged a relationship with the land, lakes, mountains, rivers and coasts. One of these was Tama ki te raki who arrived in the vessel *Tairea*. After a bountiful meal of delicate white crayfish he aptly named this part of the East Coast of the South Island, which is now known as Kaikōura, Te Ahi Kaikōura a Tama Ki Te Raki.

## NGĀI TŪĀHURIRI TODAY – TUAHIWI

The Ngai Tūāhuriri connection to the land is real and strong, forged in the world of the living by needs as basic as thirst and hunger, even if this need is now serviced more commonly in cafes or restaurants rather than on hunting trips to fields and lakes.

Practical step-by-step journeys were vital in their industries and activities: felling timber and building boats, homes and storage houses; soaking and drying flax to weave clothes, ropes, nets and shoes; sewing feathers into cloaks and accessories, creating jewellery and carving weapons, utensils, and tools from treasured rocks or trees.

All the trails in Christchurch were originally formed by people who moved into and around a place that nurtured and fed families. The trails of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, the people of this area, and their relatives stretch outwards and return inwards. Their trails became the base for colonial roads and passes over mountains and alongside rivers. Their stories are trails from homes to workplaces, between family and friends, settlers and travellers, the living and the ancestors.

The old pā at Kaiapoi is now a pasture of mounds, masking historic relics of former battles and periods of long-contented peace. The main pā is now at Tuahiwi where the Tūāhuriri people have their base. A new wharenui now takes the place of the old, and many visitors – from royal visitors and politicians to friends from out of town – are called to Maahunui II. From the front, Maahunui looks over the ancient swamp and out to the ocean and from the back the wharenui is guarded by the ancestors – the mountains.



# CULTURAL VALUES

The Bus Interchange in its design and purpose represents Ngāi Tūāhuriri cultural values of openness and hospitality, of warmth and generosity, of the everlasting light breaking at dawn and the stars returning at night.

Echoed in the design of the building is the knowledge that all journeys are navigations between sky and land. These journeys were taken by Ngāi Tūāhuriri and their ancestors. Inside these journeys were negotiations and conversations, thrilling adventures and places for rest. On hot summer days, the people sought shelter from the sun. On grey, rain-saturating days, they sought warmth around hearths and inside houses, their whare. When they settled in and around Christchurch, they developed a range of trails – trails to mahinga kai, their economic resources, places for nourishing the body with food; trails to the homes of relatives and trails to food and exchange markets.

# RITUALS FOR JOURNEYS

Karakia are blessings or chants that seek protection for each journey, to protect all the people on the journey. Before each waka left one shore for another, Māori prayed for the journey. Even in contemporary life, when a Māori bus driver picks up children to take them to a field trip or a school formal, it is common for a prayer to be recited as protection for the journey. Specific prayers may be made by family members on their individual journeys in and around Christchurch. Karakia – the prayer rituals – initiate safety. Ngāi Tūāhuriri employ prayer to guide the safety of all people entering and leaving the Christchurch Bus Interchange – from locals to international travellers; families to business people; groups and those who travel alone – in their daily and life journeys.

# FEATURES FOR CULTURAL INCLUSION IN THE BUS INTERCHANGE

Christchurch and its environs have been affected by many challenges and changes. Some, like new technology, are part of a common global change; others, like the scale and time span of the earthquakes, are less common but the consequent social upheavals have been shared by Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā in Christchurch.

Ngāi Tahu will be sharing the future alongside Pākehā, furthering the city’s development, investment and enterprise. Modern Ngāi Tūāhuriri people might be just as likely as non-Māori to catch a bus to view a film, buy groceries or go to work but they might use buses to travel to a tangi and grieve for the loss of someone they love, they might take a bus to attend a rūnanga meeting of various hapū, they might be on a family trip to gather succulent pipi from a mud-crusted beach or they might be travelling to the airport to depart for places further afield.

The stories and histories of Ngāi Tūāhuriri trails to significant places are as important to the continuation of a sense of place and time in the area in, around and outside Christchurch. The histories of Ngāi Tahu trails and journeys show that Ngāi Tahu have protected the environment while embracing challenges and ventures for the future.



# PROPOSAL FOR ENHANCED RECOGNITION

Recognition of Ngāi Tūāhuriri trails, hunting grounds and settlements will be reflected in artwork and recorded in Māori names alongside English on bus signs and on timetables at bus shelters.

Works of art as well as landscaping will reflect the theme of migrational journeys and mahinga kai trails will be incorporated in the Interchange.

The Ngāi Tahu ancestor Hine Paaka will represent Ngāi Tahu both in the name of the Bus Interchange building and in a sculpture that reflects the form of this ancestor for whom the sacred tree marker was named.

Ngāi Tahu cultural rituals related to journeys will be accepted and respected in practice.

## CONCLUSION – THE END IS THE BEGINNING

People involved in personal journeys, whether those journeys involve experiences of relief and excitement, happiness and carefree abandon or hardship and struggle can know that this land has been part of such journeys for a long time.

In the stirring of a breeze, in the changing colours of the hills, and the snow on the ridges of mountains, it is possible to think of the tīpuna – the great ancestors who came before. These people felt as people feel now, they experienced grief and toil; they buried loved ones and gave birth to new generations.

New roads have forged and merged from the old trails where the ancestors strode, climbed, steered, camped, rode and settled. The ancient paths are the paths of sacred memories and those memories are reflected in the lines, waves and reflections of the Interchange building – a resting place and a place of transition for the vessels carrying men, women and children through all the journeys to come.

We can feel the yearning, struggles, pain and delight of generations of Ngāi Tūāhuriri as we embark on our own voyages. We know that today our travels might be easier but our life journeys can still hold trials. We may even, if we wish, hear the voices of the atua – the influential ancestors – protecting us on our journeys as we travel through Christchurch, Canterbury and Te Waipounamu, the South Island, today.



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