Leaving Marks and Names on the Land: The Deeds of Tama Ki Te Rangi, Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua, Te Rakiwhakaputa and Rākaihautū

Lloyd Carpenter

Stories of first explorations and the naming of landmarks, boundaries and resources by a renowned tipuna (ancestor) feature in most Māori pūrākau (oral traditions). The first explorer sets out captaining their great waka (ocean-going canoe), fighting battles with monsters or other explorers, enduring hardship to traverse the land and discover, name or create geographical features on their journey. In this way, the intrepid pioneer declares and defines the boundaries of the takiwā (area of responsibility) of their iwi (tribe), metaphorically throwing a korowai (cloak) of their mana (prestige or honour) and responsibility over the new whenua (land), embedding their nomenclature, collective tribal mauri (spirituality), traditions and whakapapa (genealogies) into the lands they anticipate their peoples will settle.

Naming confers the status of mana whenua (local people), but in the Māori (Indigenous New Zealander) world, it confers much more than that. Naming, especially when done by a prominent leader or explorer, is the step that sees the recent settlers accept the role of kaitiaki (guardian) for the environment of their new home, as well as the resources it can produce.

In this paper, I examine the deeds of the explorers of the past, comparing the kaupapa (methodology) of name-giving with the arbitrary nomenclature systems of settler surveyors and explorers in the nineteenth century, revealing the stories behind each original name and offering reasons for recognising them today.

Lloyd Carpenter is Kaiwhakaako (Educator – Māori and Equity), Te Whatu Ora | Health New Zealand, Waitaha Canterbury, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Email: Lloyd.carpenter@gmail.com

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Names on the landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand are more than an arbitrary bestowing of a sponsor's name by a European visitor like the explorer Cook did for Mount Egmont (he named it on 11 January 1770 after John Perceval, Second Earl of Egmont, a former First Lord of the Admiralty; it is now known as Taranaki Maunga). The appropriateness of Governor Sir Thomas Gore Browne's actions in 1859, declaring that the port town of Waitohi in the Wairau region should henceforth be named after Sir Thomas Picton, a commander under the Duke of Wellington who fell at Waterloo, is only now being re-examined by the government and Geographic Board.

For Māori, these names never changed; in introducing themselves, they offer mihi that detail connections to tribal groups and to ancestral landmarks such as maunga (mountains), awa (rivers) and roto (lakes), establishing their ties to place and grounding their identity, providing tūrangawaewae (their place of belonging). Fundamental to the original names on the landscapes are the mythical and superhuman deeds of the early kaihōpara (explorers) and their work to imbue the landscapes with their mana (spiritual power and authority), so that when Māori recite whakapapa (genealogies) today, the landscape and the mythological naming bases are themselves invoked. The features we view today as mere landforms have layers of meaning, which successive colonial settlements

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and remapping or renaming have failed to eradicate. The original names establish tūrangawaewae, the right of tangata whenua (Indigenous people of the land) to stand on their lands.

Stories of first explorations and the naming of landmarks, boundaries and resources by a renowned tipuna (ancestor) are a feature in most Māori pūrākau (oral traditions). The first kaihōpara (explorer) sets out captaining their great waka (ocean-going canoe), fighting battles with monsters or other explorers, enduring hardship to traverse the land and discover, name or create geographical features on their journey. In this way, the pioneer declares and defines the boundaries of the takiwā (area of responsibility) of their iwi (tribe), metaphorically throwing a korowai (cloak) of their mana and guardianship over the new whenua (land), embedding their nomenclature, collective tribal mauri (spirit), traditions and whakapapa into the lands, in anticipation of settlement by their peoples. As Prendergast-Tarena (2008) observes in his thesis:

> A common dynamic in Māori oral tradition is for early ancestors to shape the land, such as the exploits of Māui who prepared the environment for human occupation. To a lesser extent this is also seen by early arrival figures who traverse the land, planting mauri, forming geographic features and spiritually colonising the landscape for their descendants. (p 273)

Naming confers the status of mana whenua (local people), but in the Māori world, it means considerably more than that. Naming, especially when done by a prominent leader or explorer, is the step that sees the recent settlers accepted and empowered in the role of kaitiaki (guardian) for the environment of their new home, as well as the resources it produces.

The legendary Tama Ki Te Rangi was one of the first and most renowned of these explorers. Captain of the *Tairea* migration waka, he was one of the many who departed from the ancient homelands in eastern Polynesia (celebrated in oral tradition as Hawaiki), setting out to explore the southern-most lands, which the early explorer Kupe's wife Kuramārōtini called Ao-tea-roa | *Land of the Long White Cloud* (New Zealand Government, 1998; Taonui, 2005b). Heading southwards down the east coast of the southern island – known variously as Te Waipounamu, Te Waka o Māui or Te Waka o Aoraki (the different names reflect the different foundational pūrākau of the iwi of the land) – Tama Ki Te Rangi became tired and hungry. He paused his travels at a peninsula where kaimoana (seafood) abounded, offering kina (sea urchin), tipa (scallops), pāua (abalone) and ika (fish of all kinds). However, it was the kōura (crayfish) thriving in the region that caught his eye, so he designed and wove basket traps from harakeke (flax leaves) to catch enough for his group, built a fire on the beach and cooked the feast. In celebration of the event, those with him and everyone since referred to the location as 'Te Ahi Kaikōura a Tama Ki Te Rangi', or the fires where Tama Ki Te Rangi ate crayfish (Taylor, 1950).

This story accounting for the naming of the modern Kaikōura is where the narrative of the deeds of Tama Ki Te Rangi ceases in most sources. However, in James Cowan's (1910) *The Maoris of New Zealand,* the historian's informant Ira Herewini of Moeraki describes how after the feast, the *Tairea* waka went south as far as Piopiotahi | *Milford Sound*. According to this legend, Tama Ki Te Rangi searched for his missing wives and at Piopiotahi found his favourite wife

transformed into pounamu (greenstone). As he lamented her loss, his tears flowed so strongly that they penetrated the rock, leaving inclusions in the otherwise clear bowenite found there, which created a form of the greenstone now called tangiwai, or water of weeping. Further, the kiekie (*Freycinetia banksii*) growing on the fringes of the fiord sprang from the shreds of Tama's pōkeka (rain-cape), which had been damaged in his forest travels as he searched the area (Cowan, 1910, p 61).

Naming and acts redolent with symbolism signify new kaitiaki and new mana whenua relationships, in a variant on the nomenclature theme. The name of Rāpaki, in the Ōhinehou | *Lyttelton* area, recalls rangatira toa (war chief) Te Rakiwhakaputa, who was part of Ngāi Tahu's move from the east coast of Te Ika-a-Māui | *North Island* to Te Waipounamu. Arriving in Ōhinehou, Te Rakiwhakaputa called the area at the eastern end of the harbour Whakaraupō, to acknowledge and claim the fine stands of raupō (bulrush) growing there. To Te Rakiwhakaputa, the promising-looking landscape offered a safe harbour with good fishing, most especially the renowned local delicacy of pioke (shark). It also had rich mahinga kai (cultivated food) areas, leading him to conclude that it was a suitable place to establish a new home for his people. After driving off the resident peoples, Ngāti Māmoe, he symbolically confirmed his take raupatu (seizure of new lands) by taking off his rāpaki (waist mat), laying it on the beach and thus claiming the land, declaring his mana over it and making the valley tapu (sacred). After this symbolic act, the area was called Te Rāpaki o Rakiwhakaputa | *The Waist Mat of Rakiwhakaputa* and was declared to be in the takiwā of Ngāi Tahu. Te Rakiwhakaputa brought peace between the new arrivals and the former residents by marrying Hine-te-a-Wheka, a high-born wahine (woman) with Ngāti Māmoe whakapapa. He went on to claim other areas, leaving his son Te Wheke to establish the settlement (Couch, 1987). Because Te Wheke constructed a kāinga (settlement) at Rāpaki, today the hapū (subtribe) of the Whakaraupō takiwā is known as Ngāti Wheke. Te Wheke is also memorialised in the name of the hill above Cass Bay, Te Moenga-a-Wheke | *The Great Tor of Wheke*. Te Rakiwhakaputa left his other son, Manuwhiri, to build Te Pā Whakataka (near the modern Governors Bay tennis courts). Today, the shortened version of the name Rāpaki is the popular name of the bay and marae, while Wheke is the name of the Rāpaki wharenui (meeting house).

Every reference that I consulted for the stories of Tama Ki Te Rangi mentioned that he was exploring the new lands at the same time – but never in the same place – as another legendary figure, Tamatea Ure-Haea (Hakopa et al, 2017, p 115). Hailing from the *Takitimu* waka,[1] Tamatea Ure-Haea is better-known under his later persona as the great explorer Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua | *Tamatea who circled the land*, and Tamatea-Pōkai-Moana | *Tamatea who circled the oceans* (Mitiria, 1972, p 58). After exploring as far south as Murihiku | *Southland*, Tamatea Ure-Haea began the long trip back north, pausing at Te-Oha-a-Maru | *Oamaru*, where the weather became very stormy.

Explorers like Tamatea took with them te ahi kā roa (long burning ancestral fires of occupation) as they travelled. These burning embers were more than merely the means to cook kai (food) along the way; they were how people established the rights to occupation. For the very first explorers, these fires were highly tapu and protecting them was critical to the exploration process. Te ahi kā roa were smouldering puku tawhai (beech bracken fungus), carried in a hollowed-

out log with holes drilled along it to control the airflow, and in this way the rate of smouldering, and with a sand nest as a fire guard. I grew up with stories from the Waitohi | *Waikawa* area of travelling groups carrying stone containers that held smouldering hinahina (māhoe) sticks. The tiaki (guardians) of this kind of travelling fire had a symbolic and practical role to play, maintaining the embers both for cooking and to establish te ahi kā roa (Te Maiharoa, 2017, p 105).

It was therefore a critical moment when the party made camp at Oamaru but failed to attend to the smouldering kauati (fire sticks), with the result that they rekindled in the storm and burned down into the ground. Only the charred remnants were found in the morning. Losing te ahi kā roa was a grievous and dangerous loss of mana, damaging the mauri of the explorer team. But unknown to the party as it headed north, Tamatea's sacred fires continued burning down deep into the ground, burning the soil and even the rocks. The subterranean ash that remained from the underground fires was compressed and consolidated over the ages to form what is known today as Oamaru stone (University of Canterbury, nd(b)).

Leaving the remnants of their te ahi kā roa in Te-Oha-a-Maru, Tamatea's group was cold, hungry and chagrined at having lost their fire when they arrived at the hills above modern-day Rāpaki (Mahaanui Kurataiao, 2019). Their prospects were looking dire, prompting Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua to recite karakia (prayers and incantations) to call to the atua (gods) of Ruapehu, Tongariro and Ngāuruhoe (the volcanic cones of the central North Island), asking that they help him (Mahaanui Kurataiao, 2019). Here, Tamatea's legend intersects with that of the famed northern tohunga (priest) and leader Ngātoroirangi | *The Traveller in the Heavens* because it was not the volcanic atua but Ngātoroirangi himself who heard and acted on the karakia.

Ngātoroirangi's exploration and naming were as important for Te Ika a Māui as the work of the southern explorers was for Te Waipounamu. While Tamatea explored the south, Ngātoroirangi and his followers had sought Te Puku o Te Ika a Māui | *The Belly of the Great Fish of Māui* in the centre of the North Island. They landed at Maketū on the coast and moved east along the shoreline to a (then) unnamed river mouth at Matatā, now known as the Tarawera. Immediately this river was named Te Awa-a-te-Atua | *River of the God* in his honour, conveying the awe in which everyone who met Ngātoroirangi on his travels held him. He arrived at the plains surrounding Taupō-nui-a-Tia | *Lake Taupō*, where his kākahu (cloak) of woven kiekie leaves was left tāreperepe (tattered) by bushes. Such was his power that the shreds of cloak fell to the ground, took root and grew up into kōwhai trees (von Hochstetter, 1867, p 391).

Ngātoroirangi left the lake named for his explorer rival Tia (Wikaira, 2005), looked south and saw a maunga that he named Tongariro | *Towards South*. He travelled to the mountain's base at Rangipō | *Dark Sky* and began to climb it, aiming to claim the surrounding land for his people. Here Ngātoroirangi encountered another rival, Hape-ki-tūārangi, who likewise was seeking settlement lands for his own peoples. Ngātoroirangi chanted powerful karakia to Tāwhirimātea | *God of Storms and Weather*, bringing driving snow, howling winds and freezing rain. Hape-ki-tūārangi and his followers perished in this storm and the weather was so ferociously cold that Ngātoroirangi's own life was imperilled as well.

Realising the danger, he battled his way to the highest summit, looked over land below and, with his fading strength, called to his sisters Kuiwai and Haungaroa in Hawaiki[2] for assistance: 'Kuiwai e!, Haungaroa e!, ka riro au i te Tonga. Tukuna mai te ahi!' ('Oh Kui, Oh Hau, I have been captured by the southern winds. Send me fire!'*)* (Delani, nd). Hearing his desperation, his sisters filled six kete (baskets) containing ngārehu ahi (glowing embers), the offspring of Rūaumoko | *God of Volcanic Energy*. To deliver these speedily, the sisters sent the demigod siblings (some versions of this story have them as taniwha (monsters)) Te Haeata and Te Pupu to bear the embers.

Te Haeata and Te Pupu plunged into the earth to travel from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. At intervals, they surfaced to check that they were headed in the right direction: first at Whakaari | *White Island* and Moutohora | *Whale Island*, then in sequence at Rotoiti, Tarawera, Rotorua, Waiotapu, Orakei-Korako, Te Ohaaki, Wairakei, Tokaanu and Taupō. At each place where they emerged from the earth's crust, embers spilled from kete, leaving ngāwhā (geothermal sites), puia (geysers) or waiariki (hot springs) – all volcanic or geothermal features for which the region is renowned today (Delani, nd). Because of these inadvertent spillages, just one of the six original kete of embers reached Ngātoroirangi on Tongariro, at a place that he named Ketetahi | *One Basket*, which is famed now for its geothermal vents and waterfalls. Raging that just one basket was not enough, he stomped his feet twice, violently shaking the entire surrounding area and breaking out steaming fissures in the landscape, which accounts for the name given to the neighbouring peak, Ruapehu | *Two Vents*. He was not finished, slamming his koe (paddle) deep into the earth, naming the next peak Ngāuruhoe | *Paddle Shaft and Blade*. Now Ngātoroirangi's fury exploded the last kete over Ngāuruhoe, releasing the full power of Rūaumoko and finally providing the rangatira (chief) with sufficient warmth to revive and restore him (Prendergast-Tarena, 2008, p 292).

The journey of discovery and the creation of the geothermal areas of the central North Island of Aotearoa remain linked to Ngātoroirangi's journeys. Moreover, Tongariro remains an important symbol of the claim of mana whenua by the peoples of Te Arawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa iwi. They name the taurapa (sternpost) of their epistemological Te Arawa waka *Tongariro* and the ihuwaka (prow) Maketū. This is declared in the whakataukī (proverb), 'Mai Maketū ki Tongariro' ('From the prow of the canoe at Maketū, to *Tongariro*').

It was as he was resting from his exertions and his brush with death at the hands of the snowstorm on Tongariro that Ngātoroirangi heard Tamatea's karakia from Rāpaki in the south. With both karakia and the heart of the petitioner appearing correct, Ngātoroirangi answered fulsomely; this time he requested that his sisters Te Pupu and Te Haeata respond to Tamatea. They changed themselves into fireballs, rushing across the landscape, and, in so doing, gouging out the riverbed of the Whanganui River. Leaping across Raukawa Moana | *Cook Strait*, they paused at Whakatū | *Nelson* to scorch the rocks, which formed the dark ōnewa (argillite) stone for which the Nelson mineral belt is renowned (Johnston et al, 2011; Rattenbury et al, 1998). They carried so much fire in their arms that some spilled as they passed, falling onto Mānia Rauhea | *Plain of the Shining Tussock*, a small plain inland from the coast and surrounded by a series of low hills (Cowan, 1932). The fires entered the whenua and began to heat the underground

strata, boiling up into a series of rock-lined pools, which then became known as Te Whakatakanga-o-te-ngaheru-o-te-ahi-o-Tamatea, or more typically Te Ahi o Tamatea | *The ashes of Tamatea's fires*. Today the tourist town is known by the far less romantic name of Hanmer Springs. It features a bronze statue erected to Thomas Hanmer, its plinth bearing a plaque that admits the surveyor's assistant did not visit the hot springs area, but instead farmed out on the coast near the Piri-tūtae-putaputa | *Conway River* and in 1867 moved to Australia, where he ended his days.

The sisters continued their rush south to Te Iringa o Kahukura | *The Port Hills*, then traversed the mountain-tops until they reached the shivering Tamatea at Rāpaki (University of Canterbury, nd(b)). The fires restored the health of the exploration team and allowed them to continue north. The fires also created Te Ahi a Tamatea – the hill next to Te Upoko o Kurī | *Witch Hill* – and then flowed down into the sea and across to Ōtamahua | *Quail Island*, where the heat scorched the cliff there, leaving it black. The fires flowed further, crossing the harbour where they burst onto and created the dramatic rocky landform called Ōtarahaka (Cowan, 1918b; Taylor, 1950), at the head of Waiake Stream, Teddington. The area where Tamatea was revived also became known as Te Ahi a Tamatea. Later the European settlers named it the Giant's Causeway and in recent years it has been known as Rāpaki Rock. The cone-shaped hill above Rāpaki commemorates this legend as Te Poho o Tamatea | *Tamatea's breast* (Mahaanui Kurataiao, 2019).

This series of events, however, is by no means the most famous of Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua's naming deeds. After circumnavigating the lands and oceans of Aotearoa, Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua, who was travelling with his brother on their return to the north, encountered a small group of warriors from an enemy tribe at Pōrangahau, near Waipukurau in southern Te Matau-a-Māui | *Hawke's Bay*. Tamatea's fighting prowess did not desert him, but his brother was killed, leaving Tamatea mourning his loss and spending several days sitting on a hillside playing a lament on his kōauau (flute). His impressive deeds and his musical tribute following this loss are memorialised in the name of a hill near Porangahau, near Waipukurau in southern Hawke's Bay: Taumatawhakatangihangakōauauotamateapōkaiwhenuakitānatahu / *The place where Tamatea, the man with the big knees, who slid, climbed and swallowed mountains, known as 'landeater', played his flute to his loved one* (New Zealand Gazetteer, nd; Pollock, 2015). Now recognised as the world's longest place name, it has appeared in celebration or renown on media spots ranging from the *Kenny Everett Video Show* on television to advertisements for the Seek employment website, as well as in folk songs in the 1960s and 1970s.[3] For Ngāti Kahungunu, Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua is of primary importance because his son Kahungunu went on to be the eponymous creator of the iwi (Royal, 2007).

As momentous as the explorers discussed so far are, Rākaihautū of Waitaha looms even larger as a significant presence in the early history and landscape of Aotearoa and Te Waipounamu (Prendergast-Tarena, 2008, p 271). Rākaihautū's legendary deeds, both mythical and real, left their marks on the landscape and in the names of southern regions. First, it should be noted that despite the wondrous deeds attributed to him, it is generally agreed that Rākaihautū was a real person and his descendants locate him in their whakapapa today. The *Uruaokapuarangi*

waka he captained on the voyage from the Polynesian homelands of Te Patunuioāio (a land occupied before the traditional mythopoeic homelands of Hawaiki) was imbued with mana from the atua and rangatira (Rangipunga and Tamati-Elliffe, nd). Constructed with the atua Urutengangana's sacred toki (adzes) Te Haemata and Te Whiro-nui (Hīroa, 1949, p 446; Smith, 1913, p 121; Whatahoro, 2011), the *Uruaokapuarangi* waka was built as a large sea-voyaging canoe for the great chief Taitewhenua of Te Patunuioāio (Beattie and Beattie, 1994). Taitewhenua gifted the waka to the renowned tohunga kōkōrangi (astronomer navigator) Matiti, who in turn, when his daughter Waiariki-o-āio married Rākaihautū, gave the waka to the couple as their wedding gift (Beattie and Beattie, 1994). It was Matiti who imbued Rākaihautū with a thirst to explore, encouraging him to set out on a voyage of discovery to the new lands of Aotearoa and joining the crew himself as navigator to strengthen the younger man's resolve (University of Canterbury, nd(a)). Arriving in Aotearoa, they made landfall at Whangaroa in Te Tai Tokerau | *Northland*, finding it densely populated with the Muriwhenua peoples (Land Information New Zealand | Toitū te Whenua, nd; Orange, 2005). Despite being warmly welcomed in Te Tai Tokerau, they elected to head south to find new lands. Beattie (1941) describes how in Northland bays and in others they called into on the eastern side of Te Ika a Māui, not only did the crew members get hospitality in the form of food supplies and water, they were also instructed in the ways of harvesting, processing and weaving harakeke fibre into clothes, cordage and rope (p 30).

On board the *Uruaokapuarangi* waka were Rākaihautū and Waiariki-o-āio, their sailing master son Te Rakihouia (Beattie, 1918, p 140) and his wife Tapu-iti, the navigator Matiti, and an array of crewmen of varying repute and mana in different Ngāi Tahu and Waitaha pūrākau. In heading south into the unknown, this voyage was foundational. Waitaha tohunga Wī Pōkuku and Herewini Ira noted, 'There were no people on this [Te Waipounamu] island' (Prendergast-Tarena, 2008), a declaration repeated in nearly all sources that I encountered. Significantly, all sources then declare unequivocally:

> Ko Rākaihautū te takata nāna i tīmata te ahi ki ruka ki tēnei motu.
> (Rākaihautū was the man who lit the fires of occupation in this island.)

In this way, they locate the legend of Rākaihautū as essential and central in establishing mana whenua of Te Waipounamu. The 'fires of occupation' that this refers to translate from 'ahi kā roa', or the right of tenure established through occupation, declaring the Waitaha people's dominion over Te Waipounamu and its resources and establishing them as mana whenua. As quoted in Eruera Prendegast-Tarena's research (2008), Wī Pōkuku and Herewini Ira stated that it was 'here that the roots of the cabbage tree and the fern-root can be found as well as the birds and all other things that pertain to this island' (p 272).

Their first landfall was on Te Pokohiwi[4] | *Boulder Bank* at Whakatū | *Nelson* (New Zealand Geographic Board, 1990). Here, the party planted a karaka tree (Beattie, 1957) as a symbol of their arrival. The group then split: Rākaihautū and Waiariki-o-āio and some crew headed inland to explore the mountains, while Te Rakihouia and Tapu-iti took *Uruaokapuarangi* and the remaining crew to explore the island's eastern coasts. *Uruaokapuarangi* rounded Takapourewa| *Stephens*

Island and sailed through Te Moana-o-Raukawa | *Cook Strait*, negotiating their passage past Ngā Whatu Kaiponu | *The Brothers Rocks*, a sacred landmark. The name means 'the eyeballs that stand witness', referring to the remnant of a famed battle between the explorer Kupe and the mighty whekenui (giant squid) called Wheke a Muturangi. These rocks were so tapu that while passing them, paddlers had to shield their eyes and cover the whakairo (carvings) on their waka to avoid any chance that the encounter might blind them or becalm their vessel (Best, 1918, p 100). This is one of many Kupe exploration traditions still commemorated in waiata (song) as:

> Nga taero ra nahau, e Kupe! I waiho i te ao nei.
> 'The obstructions there, by thee, O Kupe! left in the world.' (Best, 1917, p 147)

Safely past this hazard, the waka then headed down the eastern coast to the bluffs and hills dominated by the peak known as Tapuae-O-Uenuku, north of the Kaikōura peninsula. Seeing the seaward cliffs contained numerous nests of kawau (shags), tākapu (gannets) and tarāpunga (gulls), Te Rakihouia brought the waka in below the highest bluffs to secure provisions for their journey (Taonui, 2005a). The party made ropes from muka (flax fibre), using the vast pā harakeke plantations that dominated the flatlands and marshes of the region. With the ropes, men were then lowered over the dangerously high precipices to gather the eggs and fledglings (Beattie, 1918, p 159). This prowess in obtaining the necessary foodstuffs is celebrated in the name that Rakihouia declared was from that time the name to be bestowed on the cliffs north of Kaikōura (Taonui, 2005a):

> Te Whata-kai-o-Rakihouia
> (The standing food storehouse of Rakihouia.)

Tā Tipene O'Regan (1987) comments that while enjoying the fruits of his fishing and food-gathering prowess, Rakihouia invented pōhā, the rimurapa (bull kelp, *Durvillaea poha*) bag wrapped in tōtara bark inside a flax basket used to preserve and store valuable foodstuffs such as tītī (muttonbirds, *Puffinus griseus*).

Progressing southwards towards the planned reunion with his parents, Te Rakihouia and Tapu-iti brought the waka into the river mouths and estuaries that they encountered down the eastern coast. At each place, Te Rakihouia set hīnaki (woven eel traps) secured to poupou (anchoring posts) that he and his crew drove into the riverbeds. This action of trapping tuna (eels) has prompted the often-quoted whakataukī expressing mana whenua status and domain over the island:

> Kā poupou a Te Rakihouia.
> 'Te Rakihouia's upright posts.' (Orbell, 1996, p 7)

Through Te Rakihouia's skill, he and his crew caught tuna (longfin eel), hao (shortfin eel) and kanakana (lampreys) wherever they built traps and erected pou. This activity was more than a fishing expedition: it was a statement of ownership of and responsibility for that resource. For this reason, the Waitaha | *Canterbury* coast is often referred to as 'Kā-poupou-o-Te-Rakihouia' (Ngāi Tahu, nd). When he came to the coastline of Kaitorete Spit, the isthmus between Te Moana a Kiwa | *Pacific Ocean* and the teeming abundance of mahinga kai (traditional food sources) in Waihora | *Lake Ellesmere*, Te Rakihouia specifically claimed this coastal region to fall under his mana by naming it 'Kā Poupou o Te Rakihouia' (Te Taumutu

Rūnanga Society Inc, nd). Extending this name to encompass a wider swathe of the whenua is a stronger statement of the mana of his deeds than any later imprecise nomenclature. I have heard this description of the eastern coast as far north as Kēkerengū, as well as along the seaward coast south off Te Taumutu.

After his arrival at Whakatū, as Te Rakihouia headed away on the *Uruaokapuarangi,* Rākaihautū led his group out overland to explore Te Waipounamu. Inland from Whakatū, he used his magic kō (digging stick) called Tū Whakaroria for the first time to dig three trenches in the middle of the northern mountains. As these filled with water, they became Lakes Rotoiti, Rotoroa and Rangatahi | *Tennyson* (New Zealand Government Office of Treaty Settlements, 2013, p 18; Taonui, 2005a). Rākaihautū carried Tū Whakaroria throughout his tour of discovery, leading to the figurative saying: Te Kari o Rākaihautū (The dug basins of South Island lakes) (Taonui, 2005a). From these new lakes in what is now Pourangahau | *Nelson Lakes National Park*, Rākaihautū and his group went south. With Tū Whakaroria, he created Hoka Kura | *Lake Sumner*, Whakamātau | *Lake Coleridge* and ō Tūroto | *Lake Heron*. Crossing Te Kopi Opihi | *Burkes Pass*, they entered the wide elliptical intermontane basin now known as Te Manahuna | *The Mackenzie Country*. He began to dig again, naming his first effort Takapō | *To Move About at Night* (and currently misnamed 'Tekapō'), Pūkākī | *The Source*, ō Hau | *of Hau* (a member of the party) and Hāwea, which was named after a member of the party called Hāwea Ki Te Rangi.

The work of creating landforms and shaping the whenua requires paying due deference to the atua, so just south of the newly formed roto called Hāwea, Rākaihautū and his companions paused to perform cleansing rituals, to say karakia and to rest (Prendergast-Tarena, 2008, p 276). These rituals had the purpose of protecting their group, emboldening their hearts for the quest, strengthening their bodies and acknowledging the domain of the atua. Creating an impressive roto to commemorate his time at the place and recognise its importance, Rākaihautū named it Wānaka | *Place of learning*.

Rākaihautū and his party then began a focused exploration of the centre of Te Waipounamu, criss-crossing mountain ranges and creating more landforms. They began with the arduous climb over Te Haumatiketike | *The Crown Range* to create Whakatipu Waimāori | *Freshwater Whakatipu*, before crossing the mountain range to the west, which Rākaihautū named Kā Mauka Whakatipu | *Ailsa and Humboldt Mountains*. To the east of Kā Mauka Whakatipu, Rākaihautū named the river flowing into Whakatipu Waimāori as Te Awa Whakatipu | *Dart River*. Crossing the mountain range and wielding Tū Whakaroria again, he dug out Whakatipu Waitai | *Saltwater Whakatipu* (Lake McKerrow) and then named the river that flows into the new lake as Whakatipu Kā Tuka | *Hollyford River*. As they headed south from these creative endeavours, the group apparently encountered very rough, wet weather because the next lakes to be dug out were named, first, Te Ana Au | *The Cave of Rain* (now 'Te Anau') and then Roto Ua | *The Lake Where Rain Is Constant*. Roto Ua as a name has entirely disappeared from the landscape and records today, due to an early New Zealand Geographic Board clerical error. Roto Ua became 'Manapouri', a corruption of Manawa Pore | *Trembling Heart*, which was actually the original name of North Mavora Lake.

Confusingly, southern Ngāi Tahu now refer to the lake as Motu Rau | *The Lake of a Thousand Islands* (Cowan, 1918a; Fletcher, 1929).

After reaching the southern tip of the island and pausing to look out into the rough waters of Te Ara a Kiwa | *Foveaux Strait*, Rākaihautū and his party began their trip back north to reunite with the other explorers and their waka, creating and naming the landscape as they went. When they briefly forged inland, the first roto created was Roto Nui a Whatu | *The Big Lake of Whatu*, just north of the mouth of the Mata-au | *Clutha River* (Waite, 1940). Roto Nui a Whatu is now Tuakitoto, a large remnant of wetland originally adjacent to the lake, famed as a place for preserving several threatened species, such as Clutha flathead galaxias, dusky galaxiids, kanakana, pomahaka galaxiid and giant kōkopu (Department of Conservation | Te Papa Atawhai, nd). Further north, Rākaihautū wielded his kō to create Maranuku | *Port Molyneux* at Kākā Point, and then Waihora | *Spreading Waters*, which later changed to the mistaken – and meaningless – local name of 'Waihola', as it is still known today (Land Information New Zealand | Toitū te Whenua, nd).

Close to what is now Ōteputi | *Dunedin*, Rākaihautū stopped at the mouth of a river to eat. His party killed and ate a seabird known as a kārae (petrel), so they named this place Kai-kārae. In another case of a name that Pākehā map-makers misheard, it became the nonsense 'Māori-sounding' Kaikorai Stream, which it remains today (Beattie, 1941, p 30; Potiki, 2011). Resuming their northward journey, the weary party led by Rākaihautū created and named Wainono | *Lake Studholme*, which is where they found and reunited with Rakihouia and his crew after at least two years apart. Their meeting was a reason for celebration and an exchange of pūrākau, each group telling the other of daring deeds and acts of establishing mana whenua status in their new home. Their meeting place of Wainono was, before Rākaihautū intervened with his powers of creation and naming, known as Waihao | *The Waters of the Shortfinned Eel* (hao). As with any location Māori named for a food source, Waihao teemed with that food – hao in this case – and Rakihouia's wife Tapu-iti had become a master of the art of preparing and cooking the eels to bring out the very best flavours (Beattie, 1941, p 29). She took their catch from that day, rekindled the cooking fires and soon offered a hākari (feast) to her in-laws and their footsore companions. The reunion feast was so joyful that the day is still commemorated in the whakataukī that any tangata whenua in the southern regions recite before they start on a kai (meal) of tuna or hao today:

> Ka whakapepeha a Waitaha ki te hao te kai a te aitaka a Tapu-iti.
> (Eel is the delicacy that belongs to the descendants of Tapuiti.)

Rested and fed, the recombined group headed back north, towards the richly forested peninsula, Horomaka | *Banks Peninsula*, that broke up the eastern coastline. Rākaihautū paused to wield Tū Whakaroria to create the lake at Ōkahu | *St Andrews* and then the lagoon at Te Aitarakihi, found on the land at the end of the 90-mile beach, south of the Waitarakao | *Washdyke Estuary* (Beattie, 1918, p 142; Te Aitarakihi Trust, nd). When they finally reached the wide, flat landscape that would lead them to the volcanic-origin peninsula that marked the end of their journey, they celebrated, naming the plains

after the collective peoples with whom they had begun to identify: Kā-pakihi-whakatekateka-a-Waitaha | *The plains that radiate the pre-eminence of Waitaha* (Land Information New Zealand | Toitū te Whenua, nd).

Kā-pakihi-whakatekateka-a-Waitaha has other translations. Margaret Orbell's (1996) informants offered '*The plains where Waitaha walked proudly along*' (p 19). When recording the traditions of Tare te Maiharoa and Henare te Maire in a series of interviews, Herries Beattie (2004) notes that his informants translated this as '*the flats where the Waitaha people dressed themselves gaily and strutted along joyfully when they saw the country was so level*' (p 115). My colleague Professor Hirini Matunga, who is Ngāi Tahu and Kāti Māmoe, has always called Kā-pakihi-whakatekateka-a-Waitaha '*The seedbed of Waitaha*'. According to Margaret Orbell (1996), descendants of Waitaha still establish their credentials as mana whenua with the declaration 'Rākaihautū was the man, and Te Rakihouia, and Waitaha were the iwi' (pp 16–19).

The final two lakes that Rākaihautū carved out were Te Waihora | *Lake Ellesmere* and Te Roto o Wairewa | *Lake Forsyth*. The abundant mahinga kai resources – aquatic and waterfowl – of the prosaically named Te Waihora ('*spreading waters*') were so impressive that the lake became known instead as Te Kete Ika o Rākaihautū | *The Fish Basket of Rākaihautū*. The renowned resources of this region became critical to the mana whenua of the region, to the extent that a taniwha kaitiaki (guardian monster) named Tūterakihuanoa took up residence in the lake.

Even a great explorer like Rākaihautū will decide to settle, and the rich productive landscape of the region made his decision to stay there relatively easy. To symbolise that his creative journey was over, he decided to create a memorial for all time. He climbed a high hill named Puhai, overlooking his lakes and the plains to the south and Akaroa to the east. On the summit, he plunged his faithful kō Tū Whakaroria firmly into the ground and left it there to adorn the skyline, renaming both the kō and the hill Tuhirangi | *Adorning the Skyline* (the hill is now known as Mt Bossu). His great work of exploration and naming, followed by his settling in the area, saw his mana acknowledged with the naming of the richly resourced peninsula as Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū | *The Great Food Storehouse of Rākaihautū*. Rākaihautū lived out the rest of his life at Akaroa.

Rākaihautū's importance in the twenty-first century cannot be overestimated. On marae ātea throughout Te Waipounamu, orators can be heard in their whaikōrero (speechmaking) declaring 'Rākaihautū was our ancestor. Rakihouia and Waitaha are the hapū.' They will inevitably refer also to the creative work of Rākaihautū, including a declaration of Kā Puna Wai Karikari o Rākaihautū | *The Springs Excavated by Rākaihautū* in whaikōrero and in their declarations of whakapapa establishing them as mana whenua.

The work of the explorer group was critical in establishing te ahi kā (the fires of occupation). By focusing on the coast and its resources, Te Rakihouia asserted mana over ki tai (the land's margin with the sea); by travelling through the mountains and shaping the lakes there, Rākaihautū asserted mana over ki uta (the mountain regions) (Beattie, 1918, pp 146–147). Between the two men and their actions to explore, shape and name the region, their mana covered the whole of the whenua,

embodying a phrase now often used in planning and environmental management in Aotearoa New Zealand, ki uta ki tai (from the mountains to the sea).

When current members of the iwi, marae or extended group of people who identify these explorers in their whakapapa repeat these sayings, they are declaring that the mana of the land first established by the ancients is maintained, that the mauri placed into the whenua is protected and that the statement of being mana whenua, first articulated in the distant past, remains the lived experience. Further, the recall and use of ngā ingoa tua whakarere (ancient names in the landscape) illustrate the spatial nature of taonga tuku iho (heritage) for tangata whenua in general and mana whenua in particular, revealing the embedding of tribal history in the local whenua. As Sinclair (1975) comments, names on the landscape commemorate a repository of 'long-remembered history, mythology and imagery' (p 86).

Māori introduce themselves by offering a mihi: greetings that detail connections to their tribal group, to significant ancestors and to ancestral landmarks such as maunga, awa and roto, establishing the framework that ties the people to a specific place and a specific identity, to their tūrangawaewae. Through this process, the speaker establishes interpersonal and inter-tribal connections, as well as fundamentally asserting roots in a particular geographic area. Ailsa Smith (2001, cited in Adams, 2013) comments on how identification with the landscape:

> conferred dignity and rank, providing the means for hospitality, the battlefield where prowess might be displayed and honour won, the resting place for the dead, and the heritage of future generations. It carried on its back the pa and the marae, the wahi tapu, or burial grounds, and the sacred places. Land was a giver of personal identity, a symbol of social stability, and a source of emotional and spiritual strength. (p 177)

Because of the mythical or super-human deeds of the early kaihōpara (explorers) and their work to imbue the newly explored landscapes with their mana, mauri, wairua and aroha, when tangata whenua of today recite whakapapa or quote whakataukī that invoke these people and deeds, they invoke the landscape itself. The features we view in the twenty-first century as lakes, peaks, rivers or significant landforms have layers of meaning, both hidden and apparent. The successive curved lines etched into the sides of glacial lakebeds carved by advancing and retreating glaciers look like the same excavation marks seen gouged into the sides of the rua (storage pits) of kūmara (sweet potato), so became linked in the emergent epistemologies with the creative work of the first people there.

The names bestowed in this way remain critically linked with who mana whenua are, with all sense of being, of belonging, and of responsibility as tangata whenua and kaitiaki implied and imbued in the names. The names on the landscape are more than names: they establish tūrangawaewae, the right of tangata whenua to so stand. To deny, forget, minimise or ignore these names as mere pūrākau or myth is to recolonise the whenua, disenfranchising and denying agency, epistemologies, cosmologies and oral histories of the people who remain passionately linked through the charge on each life to be kaitiaki and protector of the land that the stories name. This then is what being Indigenous means in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Author's comment

These pūrākau were first told to me by my favourite aunt, Hine Tui Waitai Wanhalla of Te Taumutu Rūnanga. She told me the first tale of Rākaihautū when I was around six years old, while we were standing on the shores of Lake Rotoiti in Nelson Lakes National Park. She added the rest over the years, telling more of the interwoven tales each time we met. It was a privilege in 2006, not long before she passed away, to see her stand again on the shores of Rotoiti to tell another young lad these tales, this time my son Jeremy. It has been a rare privilege for me as tangata whenua with whakapapa to Ngāti Apa Ki Te Rā Tō, Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui and Ngāti Toarangatira ki Whakatū to retell the stories she was so generous in gifting to me. Everything she did was a process of whakamana to all around her; I trust that I have carried on her legacy of retelling these precious stories to see others learn of the importance of names on our landscape.

I further note that there are many more detailed stories of individual places in Te Waipounamu. Ngāi Tahu ki Waihora scholar and researcher Dr George Haremate noted in an email that the iwi has a number of particular examples intrinsic to who they are that it would be inappropriate to outline as an outsider. Therefore this article deliberately omits these, such as the Aoraki Maunga traditions, the Moeraki boulder stories, the Takitimu ranges/waka traditions and others. Those interested in finding out more are encouraged to seek out these stories by visiting papatipu marae on open days, consulting histories published on rūnanga websites and in Iwi Management Plans (the latter are generally available through local council websites) and asking elders.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lloyd Carpenter's iwi affiliations are Ngāti Apa Ki Te Rā Tō, Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui | Ngāti Toarangatira ki Whakatū. As Kaiwhakaako (Educator – Māori and Equity) in the People and Capability Team for Te Whatu Ora | Health New Zealand, he is Kaihautū Hōtaka (Programme Lead) for the Whakahotahi | Unify Cultural Education Programme. He was previously a Senior Lecturer in Māori Studies at Lincoln University.

NOTES

1 There were at least two *Takitimu* waka. This Tamatea is frequently (and erroneously) conflated with his grandfather, Tamatea Arikinui, captain of the original *Takitimu* waka that journeyed from Hawaiki. See HeiHei et al (2014), p 4.

2 Some versions of this legend have the sisters resident on Whakaari | *White Island*.

3 See, for example, Peter Cape's song of the same name on YouTube: www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kvg9AKvgGqQ.

4 Also known among mana whenua as 'Te Taero a Kereopa – Te Tāhuna a Tama-i-ea'.

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