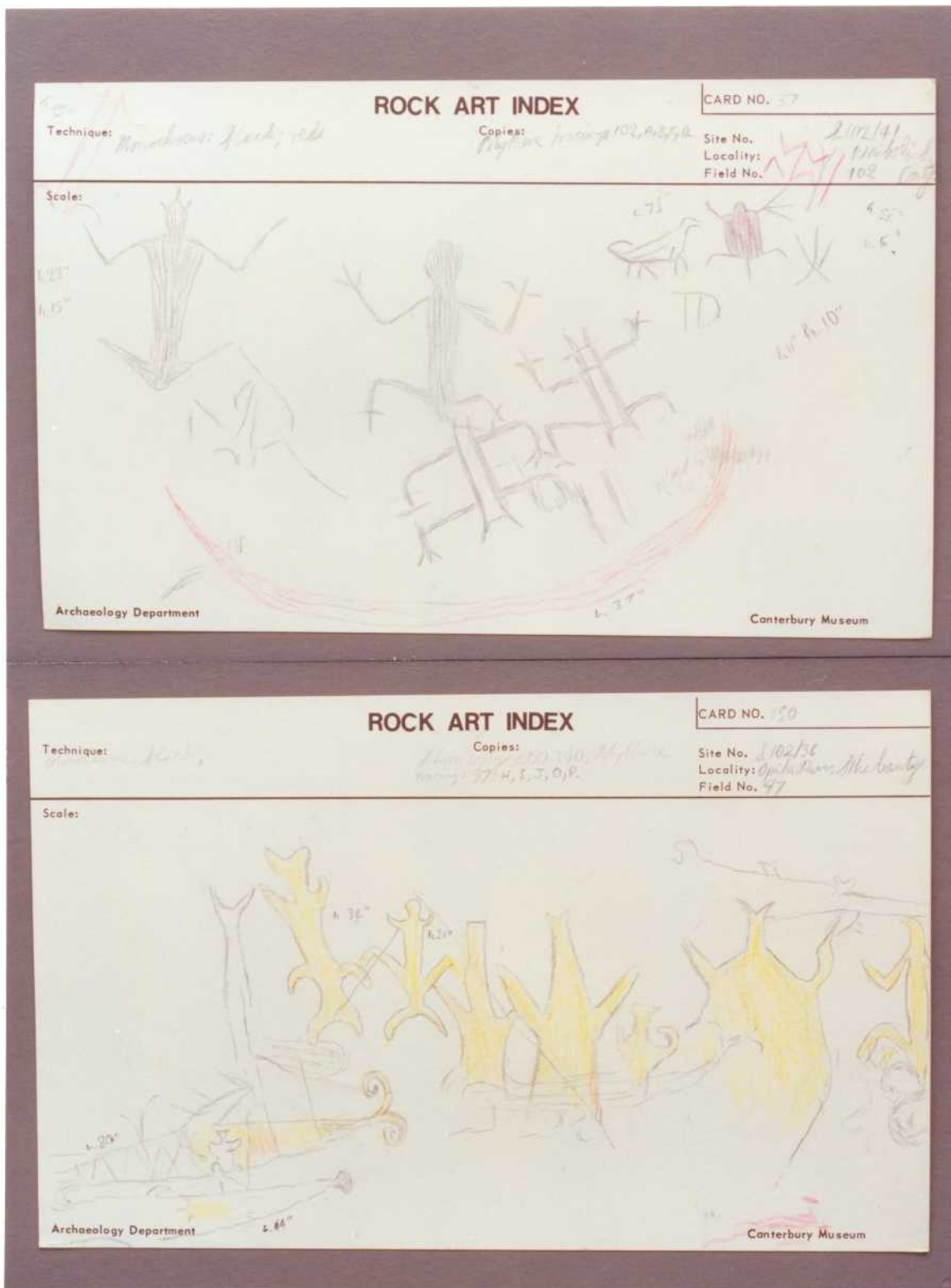


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**Figure 17** South Canterbury rock drawings: Fomison's Early Polynesian Style. Upper: Raincliff J38/65; lower: Waitohi J38/92 (original drawings by Tony Fomison, photographs by Chris Jacomb).



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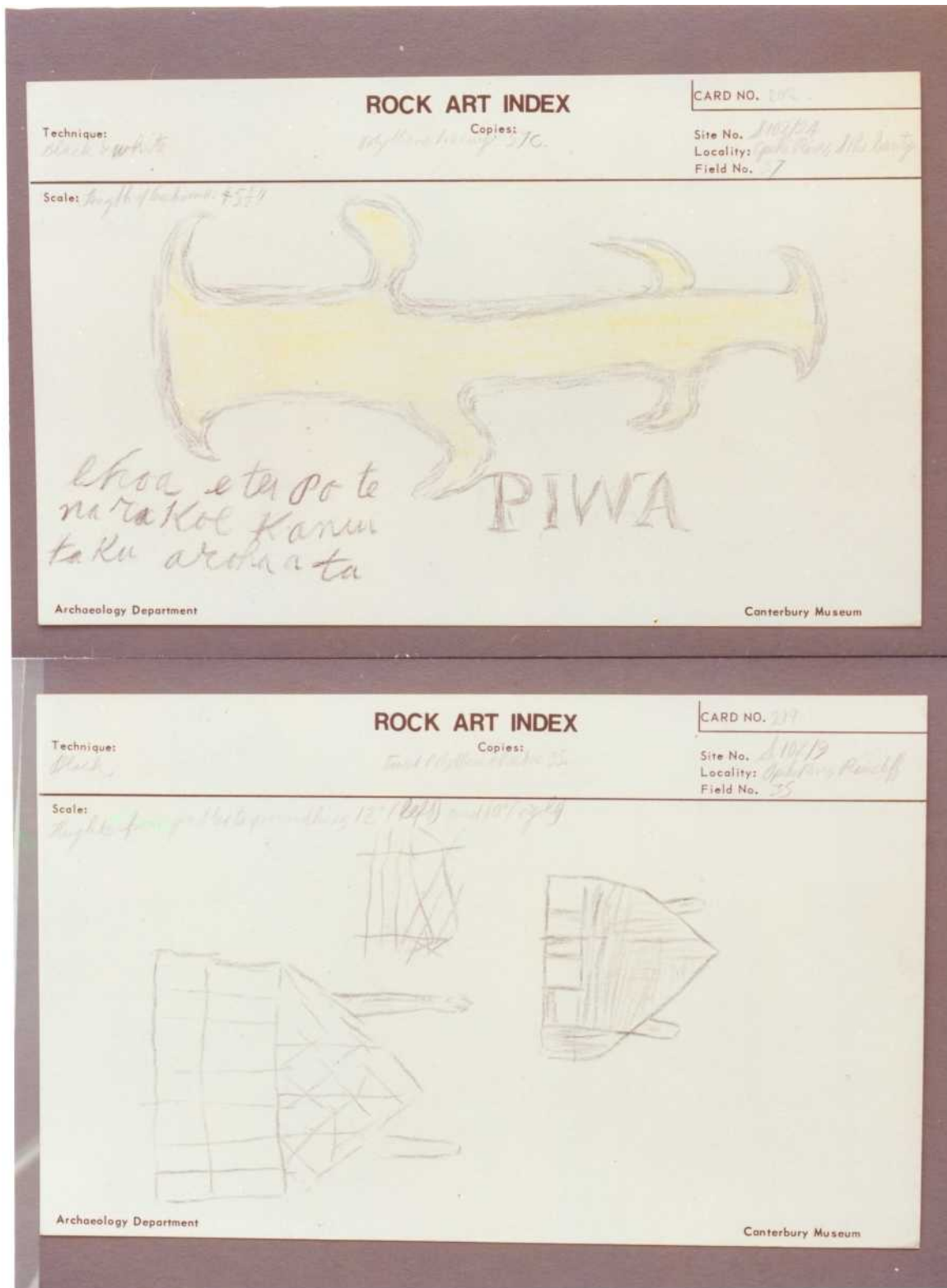
**Figure 18** South Canterbury rock drawings. Upper: Fomison's Early Polynesian Style, Waitohi J38/93; Lower: Fomison's Classic Style, Opahi J38/88 (original drawings by Tony Fomison, photographs by Chris Jacomb).

Style local variations are the Craigmere moas (J39/1; Fomison n.d.: fig. 11), the Frenchmans Gully birdmen (J39/17; Bain 1982: fig. 20), and the Hazelburn mokihi (J38/24; Bain 1982: fig. 24; mokihi were stable expendable reed rafts used for river travel). Regional variations in style are also recognisable. The realistic upraised tails and standing stances of south Canterbury Early Polynesian Style kuri (e.g., Raincliff, J38/65, previously S102/13; Figure 17 upper), similar to the Monck's Cave carved wooden kuri (Skinner 1924: pl. xxxii), distinguish them from north Otago Early Polynesian Style kuri which have downward-curving tails. These local and regional variations suggest different communities or different times. Overall, Fomison's Early Polynesian Style provides a strong depiction of the human and environmental relationships and preoccupations of hunting communities. Fomison identified antecedents of the style in Polynesian art (Fomison n.d.: 9-10).

Excavations or test pits have been dug at about 20 inland rock shelters, 10 in advance of flooding by the Benmore dam in the Waitaki Gorge. Human occupation, the evidence of which was often slight, frequently followed use of the shelters by moas as nesting sites (e.g., Waitaki Gorge sites, Ambrose 1970: 434; Craigmere, J39/2, McCulloch 1984; Tengawai Gorge, Hamilton 1897: 25). Discrimination between natural deposits of bone and egg shell and the middens resulting from meals is not easy, so that remains reported from rock shelters may not always represent Maori use. However, in general it appears that bird species including moa, and also freshwater fish, kakahi (freshwater mussel), and kiore, were exploited in a partly or decreasingly forested environment (e.g., Timpendean, Trotter 1972b: 47-49; Waitaki Gorge sites, Ambrose 1970: 395, 407, 434). The remains of coastal foods indicate the immediately coastal origin of the visiting Maori groups, and their less than total reliance on inland food sources (e.g., seven species of marine shellfish, maka or barracouta, and other marine fish at Timpendean, Trotter 1972b: 45, 47). A pattern of frequently repeated temporary summer occupations, mainly in the early period, is indicated (Orchiston 1974: 3.38-3.43; 1977: 116).

A shell radiocarbon date from Pentland Downs rock shelter (NZ 1534, discussed in chapter 1.3), indicates early occupation. Three charcoal dates from Waitaki Gorge rock shelters (ANU 47, ANU 48, ANU 49) overlap in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries but should be treated with caution given likely inbuilt age. Ongoing inland expeditions and shelter usage is suggested by a shell date of the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century from Timpendean (NZ 3655), where there is evidence of superimposition of the drawings, and by a shell date of the mid-seventeenth century or later from Glen Gynk near Motunau (NZ 1532). The evidence suggests a pattern of early visiting of shelters prior to moa extinction, continuing in later times perhaps on a reduced scale. Environmental changes such as deforestation (see chapter 1.2) and reduction in available avifauna (chapters 2.1 and 2.2), and developments in rock drawing style, occurred.

The large number of inland rock shelter sites, and the evidence of time depth and local difference in the drawings, indicate numerous expeditions inland. The distribution of the sites (Figure 16) extends away from major valleys and routeways (such as Weka Pass, the upper Waitaki valley, and Castle Hill) into the subsidiary valleys of the downlands (Trotter 1971: 235), suggesting that intentions were localised within these areas, and were not predominantly the opportunistic use of ready shelter by itinerants in transit to destinations further afield.



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Figure 19 South Canterbury rock drawings: Fomison's European Contact Period Style. Upper: writing, Opihi J38/76; lower, houses, Raincliff J38/61 (original drawings by Tony Fomison, photographs by Chris Jacomb).

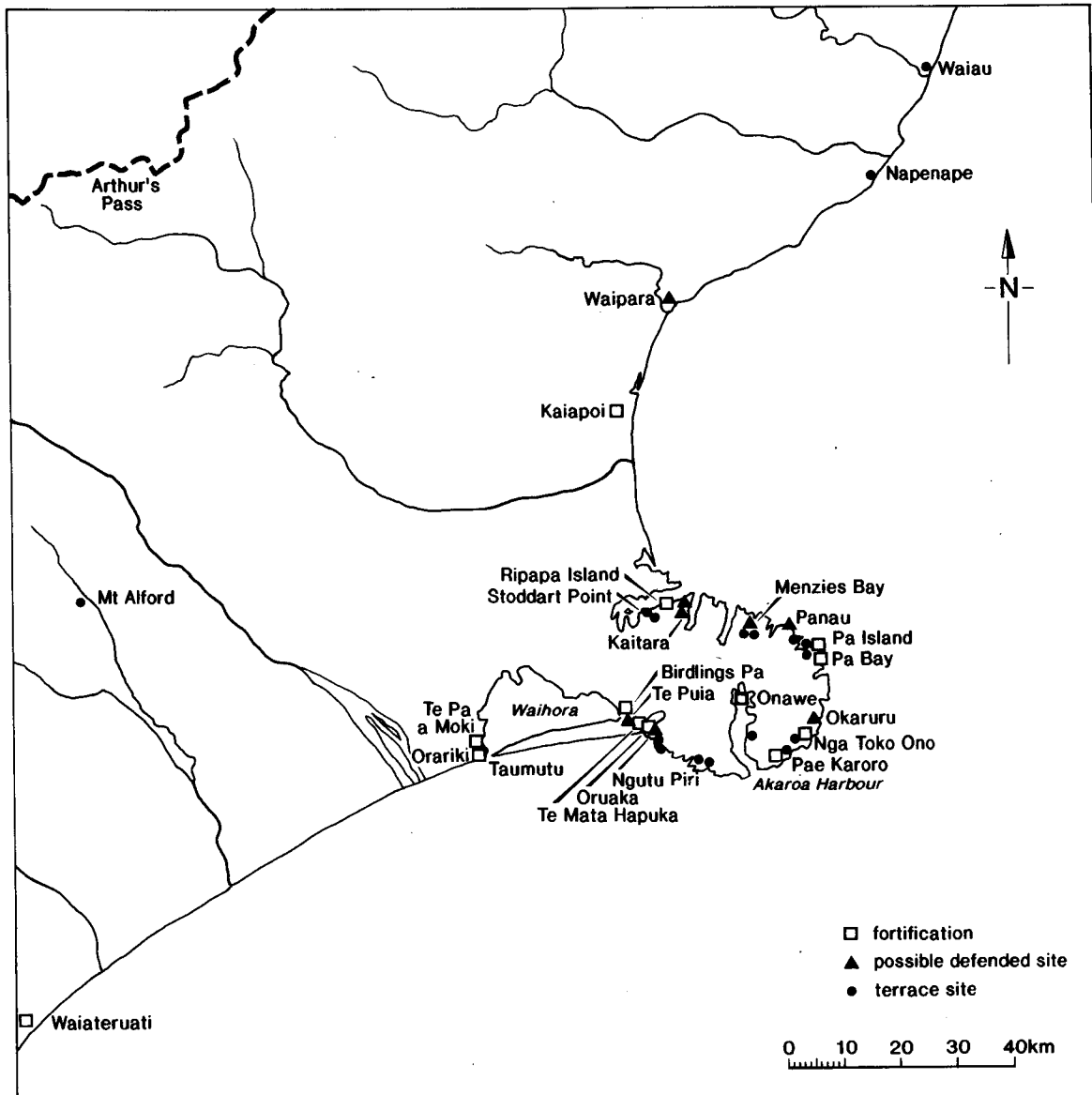
One intention may have been food collection. It has been suggested that inland expeditions for hunting and gathering were routine seasonal activities both early and late in the pre-European period (Anderson 1982: 63). However, the archaeological evidence on coastal sites of food remains derived from inland sources, such as would prove that inland resources were routinely collected for consumption in coastal base camps, has not been found (Ambrose 1970: 435; Trotter 1971 : 241). The extent of inland hunting has been debated (Ambrose 1968: 590; Orchiston 1974: 3.42). Middens in coastal settlements which have the downlands as their hinterlands have hardly been adequately examined for the evidence.

Another intention may have been more directly related to the rock drawings. Many rock drawing surfaces are on uninhabitable crevices or boulders. This raises the possibility that the rock drawings were not entirely incidental to the objectives of finding shelter and food gathering, but that the existence of rocky outcrops with good drawing surfaces was itself a factor in attracting people to these areas. A pattern of visiting for the purpose of drawing and activities associated with it appears possible, established in the early period in which the drawings were most abundant and their expressions of narrative and ancestry were particularly strong.

### **3.2 Fortifications**

Archaeologists describe Maori fortifications, and settlement sites in naturally fortified positions, as pa. The term fortification is used here because, in the general literature, undefended village sites or kainga may also be called pa. The Maori fortifications recorded in Canterbury (Figure 20, Appendix 10) may be classified into sites with defensive terraces only (1 site, and 2 others possible); sites on flat or elevated promontories with transverse ditches and banks (4 sites, and 2 others possible); and sites on cliffs, terraces, promontories, or islands, with ditches and banks in more than one direction (8 sites, and 4 others possible; for site plans see Brailsford 1981, and site record forms). Sites with no field evidence of defensive structures are excluded (e.g., Coalgate, L35/11, recorded as "pa with pits" in 1963, but no field evidence described or apparent; site record form). The 13 fortifications and 8 possible sites recorded in Canterbury are markedly fewer than the 93 recorded in the Nelson-Marlborough region (Challis 1991: 110-112).

The attribution as Maori fortifications of some simple rectilinear enclosures with light peripheral earthworks, and some sites with no clear evidence of internal occupation, may be viewed with suspicion. For example, the site given the name Te Puia has a straight earthen bank with a ditch either side (Brailsford 1981: 152), a form of earthwork usually interpreted as a nineteenth century ditch and bank fence for stock enclosure. The outer earthworks at Oruaka (Brailsford 1981: map 86, areas A and B; Jones 1994: 226) are also suggestive of a stock enclosure and stock yard. The earthworks named Ngutu Piri (M37/26, site record form) appear insufficiently substantial to have functioned as defences. It is questioned whether the attribution as Maori fortifications of simple enclosures, rectangular in plan, such as those at Waipara (Figure 21), Panau (Figure 11, N36/73), and Okaruru (Brailsford 1981: maps 87, 88 and 97) would withstand archaeological investigation. Three rectilinear enclosures in inland Canterbury (Harrowfield 1962; Scarlett 1977) and one on Horomaka (Banks Peninsula; Trotter 1976), first recorded as fortifications, were found on investigation to be stock enclosures. Conversely, some traditionally known refuge pa may be unrecorded by archaeologists, and some apparently undefended sites



**Figure 20** Distribution of terrace sites and sites recorded as fortifications (data in Appendices 10 and 11).

may have been fortified by palisades (e.g., the excavated occupation area at Panau, N36/72, Figure 11, Jacomb 1995: 59; and Hohoupounamu, Canterbury Museum information).

Some of the Canterbury Maori fortifications are well known in history, particularly those with major earthworks reinforced for defence against the threat of musket raids (Kaiapoi, Onawe, and Waiateruati; Evison 1993: 51, 60, 61; for the name Kaiapoi, see Evison 1993: 59; for a plan of Waiateruati see Figure 22). Other sites were associated with early nineteenth century feuds (e.g., Ripapa; Evison 1993: 40-41). Fortifications in Canterbury have been considered to be a mainly late development, associated with such historically attested conflict (Duff 1967). It has been suggested (Orchiston 1979: 179) that fortifications were rare before 1769; that they were constructed adjacent to habitations in the unsettled times which followed, to serve as citadels or refuges to be occupied in times of danger; and



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**Figure 21** A rectilinear earthwork enclosure on a terrace edge north of the mouth of the Waipara River, recorded as a fortification, N34/1.