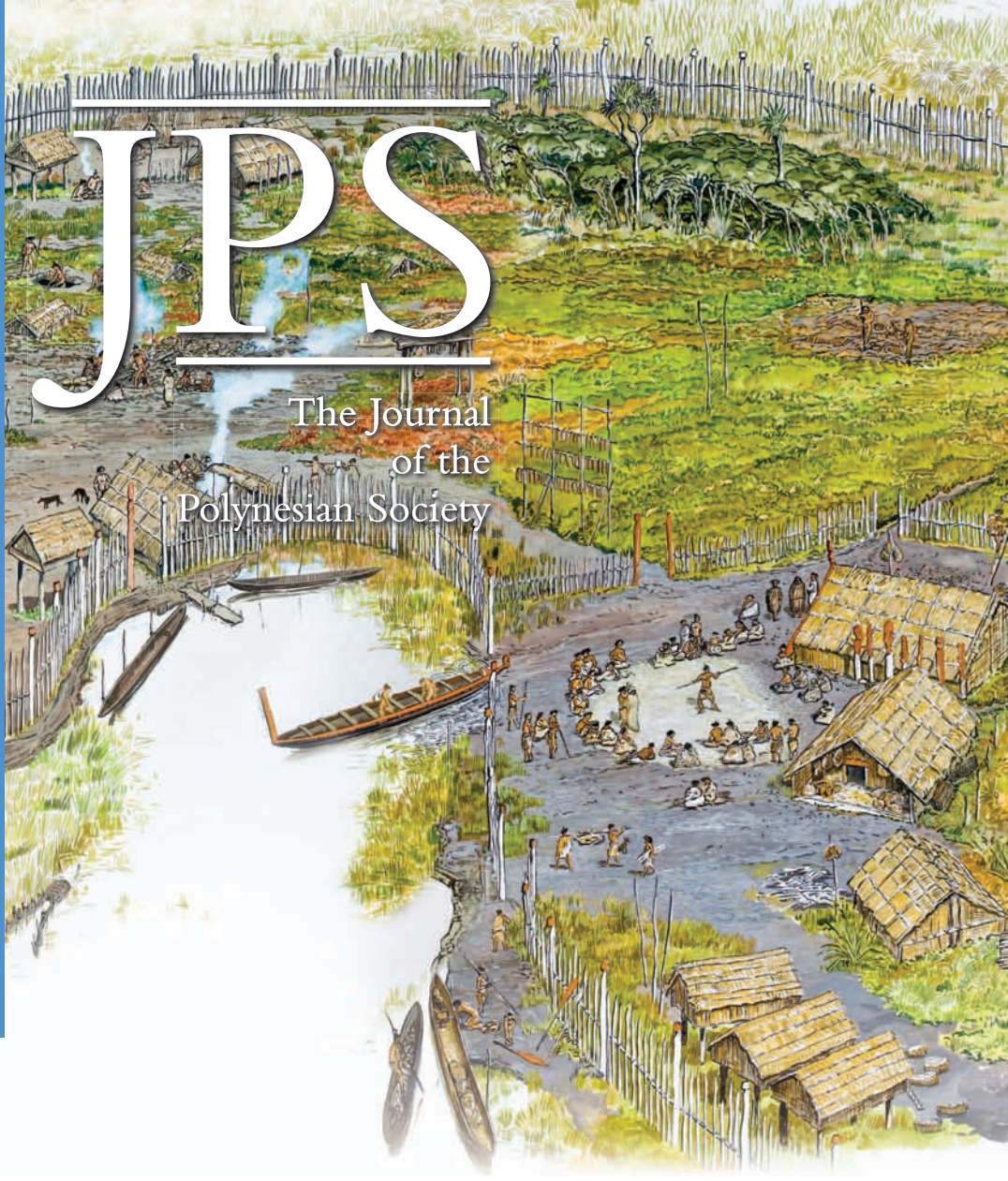

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AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

Volume 122 DECEMBER 2013 Number 4

CONTENTS

Contributors to This Issue

Geoffrey Irwin is an Emeritus Professor of Archaeology at the University of Auckland. He has done extensive archaeological research in the prehistory of New Zealand and the Pacific. His current research includes landscape and wetland archaeology, ancient canoes and seafaring. Professor Irwin received the Elsdon Best Memorial Medal at the Polynesian Society's 2013 Annual General Meeting. The paper he presented on that occasion has been expanded and extended in the article published here.

Alan Jones is a Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Linguistics at Macquarie University and a Research Associate in the Department of Anthropology at the Australian National University. Alan's first degree was from Sydney University, where he studied Anthropology under Peter Lawrence and Linguistics under Michael Halliday. His engagement with Mekeo speakers of Central Province, PNG, and his fascination with their unique ethos and conceptual universe, date from the early 1980s when he spent two years teaching at Mainohana High School. He returned in 1983 and lived in a number of Mekeo villages while gathering materials for a grammar of Mekeo. He received his doctorate from the ANU in 1994; his thesis was published by *Pacific Linguistics* in 1998. Alan spent ten years (2000-2010) as an academic at Macquarie University, researching and publishing in the areas of disciplinary and professional communication, with a focus on competing discourses and underlying ideologies. Current research focuses on Pacific area myths—interpreting thematic variation and diffusion in terms of sociocultural contexts.

Jeffrey Sissons is Associate Professor of Anthropology in the School of Social and Cultural Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He is the author of five books and over thirty articles on Māori and Polynesian societies. His most recent book, *The Polynesian Iconoclasm: Religious Revolution and the Seasonality of Power* (Berghahn Books) draws on the thought of Sahlins and Bourdieu to analyse the rapid conversions to Christianity in early 19th century Polynesia.

Tradition and Change in Māori and Pacific Art: Essays by Roger Neich

This tribute to the late Roger Neich is in part one of his own making. Roger himself had a hand in choosing the 18 essays that appear in it—selecting to include the particularly significant or representative of his work or difficult of access. The collection was edited by present and past Auckland Museum colleagues: Chanel Clarke, Fuli Pereira and Nigel Prickett, and published by Bridget Williams Books on behalf of Auckland Museum. It was launched at the Museum in December 2013.

The 441 page book has 11 papers on Māori topics ranging from Ruatahuna wood-carvings to gateways of Maketu and treasures boxes, and seven Pacific items on Samoa, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Included are more than 200 illustrations, many of them re-photographed in colour for the book, a bibliography of Neich's published work, a general bibliography and an index. Copies may be obtained from the Auckland Museum shop: shop@aucklandmuseum.com.

Index to JPS Volume 122

Following discussions among Council members, the decision was reached at the July Council meeting to include yearly indices of the contents of the year's issues in the December issue. Thus, those receiving hardcopies will not have an Index insert. This change was largely a consequence of having the issues published online, especially for members electing the electronic only option, as well as it being the practice of most other academic journals.

WETLAND ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF LATE MĀORI SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN NORTHERN NEW ZEALAND

GEOFFREY IRWIN
University of Auckland

> There was probably a period in New Zealand prehistory when the population grew relatively rapidly…. Most of this growth seems to have taken place in northern parts of the North Island. Such an increase would necessitate some readjustments in social organisation, if not in population distribution. Larger social groups in closer proximity may have provided the trigger for *pā* building, and stimulated the quest for both personal status and group prestige.
>
> (Davidson 1984: 222)

The study of settlement patterns is of long-standing interest in New Zealand archaeology. This paper focuses on the significant change represented by the appearance and spread of *pā* in late prehistory. Elsdon Best's landmark book, *The Pa Maori* published in 1927, has greatly influenced subsequent research on *pā* and current researchers are still working through the issues he raised.

Settlement pattern is an established method for studying social organisation, and relationships between sites are used as a proxy for relationships among social groups. Pacific archaeologists routinely consider social trajectories in the past and this requires the use of wider anthropological models.

The paper comprises several parts, but there is a thread of argument between them and they follow what has been an essentially personal approach.

- First, there is a discussion of the problems and prospects of *pā* archaeology. These sites are complex, diverse and remain intractable; nonetheless, an excavation strategy that focuses on the significance of defences is outlined.
- Three wetland sites are taken as examples of settlement at a communal level because of the excellent survival of evidence. The lake village of Kohika provides a snapshot of a Māori community, shortly before the advent of Europeans. Two other examples are a small inland site at Lake Mangakaware and the large site of Oruarangi, which was still occupied at the time of European contact. To consider what changed during New Zealand prehistory, a brief comparison is made between Kohika and Wairau Bar, which was a foundation settlement of primary importance, and in some general respects the evidence has remained much the same.

- Carrying insights from wetland archaeology into wider archaeological landscapes, two cases are reviewed. One is an early study of land, *pā* and polity at Pouto in the northern Kaipara (Irwin 1985), and the other a preliminary report of a subsequent study in the islands of the Inner Hauraki Gulf (Irwin, Ladefoged and Wallace 1996). Pouto and Ponui are compared, and some other studies considered.
- The ethnography of social organisation and settlement pattern is reviewed and issues considered include community composition, territory and chieftainship.
- Finally, a discussion and some concluding remarks include a suggestion of continuity from late prehistory to early history.

WHAT CAN WE SAY ABOUT *PĀ*?

A great deal is known about individual *pā* and the data have improved with the recent publication of substantial excavations like Pouerua (Sutton, Furey and Marshall 2003), Kohika (Irwin 2004) and Maungarei/Mt Wellington (Davidson 2011), but it remains difficult to generalise about them. Most of the archaeological features found in undefended sites also occur in *pā*; however, many propositions such as whether houses and defences were normally contemporary with each other, or not, remain impressionistic while the existing corpus of excavated information remains unquantified, and quantification will present problems because the data are uneven.

- *Pā* appeared in the archaeological record around AD 1500 (Schmidt 1996). They were often associated with agricultural landscapes that have access to marine resources, and were sometimes very dense. Excavations have shown that many have long and complicated sequences, often beginning as undefended sites. Like many other sites, they are accumulations of short-term events over time (Holdaway 2004).
- *Pā* were very diverse in size and form, but analysis of form has scarcely advanced in decades. Suitable modern methods such as laser scanning and digital image analysis are now available. *Pā* also had diverse functions. They defended people from attack, but the extent to which settlement was permanent or temporary is unresolved. *Pā* were also monuments of the *mana* of communities, but the relative importance of defence or social identity is debated. *Pā* also defended food stores in a seasonal economy and protected access to resources.
- The origins of *pā* might be better explained if they were better dated. Nearly 30 years ago I commented that while *pā* appeared to have been widespread from around AD 1500 it was not known when they were first built, or when a majority of them was built. It was not known where

the early ones were built or how the idea of or the need for *pā* may have spread (Irwin 1985: 1). The current situation is not much improved. In this regard it is interesting to note that recent research on the chronology of earthwork sites of the British Neolithic using Bayesian statistical analysis has identified a point of origin for early causewayed camps and a chronological pattern to their spatial spread (Whittle, Healy and Bayliss 2011). Much the same could be possible here.

The significance of defence

By definition, what all *pā* have in common is defences. Much uncertainty and debate revolves around the evidence contained within them; however, defences themselves provide important information that is often overlooked:

- Firstly, all *pā* defences are based on simple devices, such as fences, ditches and banks, to impede an attacker, and they usually provide a height advantage for hand-to-hand combat.
- With very few exceptions, *pā* were completely enclosed by their defences, whether artificial or natural. This means the defences were more than just symbolic. As Davidson (1984: 185) remarked: "The significance of *pā* as focal points of community activity and centres of community pride and prestige is an important point, but one which should not be overemphasised at the expense of their defensive function."
- At the moment in time when a site was fortified a social group revealed itself in the archaeological record and we see an event at a communal level. Within the community there may have been a perception of external threat and, at that moment, the community and a wider social landscape were engaged.
- At such moments all *pā*, however diverse, are comparable and certain points arise. Most obviously, we can suggest that the scale of the defence is a reflection of the size of the community or, in some cases, a proxy for the scale of the polity. And we can ask: What was the source of the threat—was it local or regional? When whole landscapes were fortified, social organisation and modes of integration such as leadership were operating at a landscape level as well as a communal one.

Strategies for excavating and dating pā

Excavating and dating *pā* can be a long and expensive process, but it is necessary to have a sufficient number of examples and models in order to address relevant questions. Tracing stratigraphic and chronological relationships through the structures and features of sites is complex but, again, defences come to our aid. Experience shows that, at any one time, the defences

of a *pā* were usually complete. Therefore, we can extrapolate age horizontally through the defences further than through any other feature. Multiple defences such as separate ditches and banks can be dated independently or, where they have been rebuilt and overlap, they can be excavated at points of intersection, which are sometimes detectable from surface evidence. Dating defences is not always easy but it is a useful strategy and tells us one of the things we most want to know, which is when a site was functioning as a fortification. It is unfortunate and rather surprising that relatively few C^{14} dates from *pā* come from defences.

For some research questions dating only the defences can be useful, with the proviso that this does not inform us about what is being defended. However, it can indicate the size or scale of the community and it can support comparisons with other fortifications in the same settlement system, or elsewhere. The satisfactory dating of defences requires stratigraphic excavation and not simply the collection of samples for dating from eroding sections of *pā*.

EXAMPLES OF SETTLEMENT AT THE COMMUNAL LEVEL

Wetland archaeology

About 20 percent of Polynesian material objects were archaeologically durable and the remainder normally perishable (Kirch and Green 2001). Information from wet sites has been easily incorporated into conventional frameworks based on dryland archaeology and important gaps in our knowledge of architecture and material culture have been filled by waterlogged discoveries of things elusive on dry land. Known sites occur mainly in the North Island and two common types are habitation sites or artefact finds (Gumbley, Johns and Law 2005). The former include swamp *pā*, which were fortified villages or hamlets found in wetlands, on swamps, lakes and rivers. The second group comprises sites where only artefacts have been found, but no habitation. Most artefacts were not intended to be retrieved but there are cases where valuable carvings, often parts of buildings or canoes, were hidden in times of stress with the intention of retrieval later (Day 2009, Edson 1983). Minor sites include caches of horticultural tools casually buried near gardens and sometimes wooden or fibre tools that were kept in water to enhance their functions (Phillips, Johns and Allen 2002, Wallace 1983). In Europe it is often suggested that wetlands were marginal places (Van der Noort and O'Sullivan 2006), but they were mainstream in New Zealand where none of the artefacts found in water represent votive offerings in the same way.

Kohika: A late prehistoric lake village

Kohika provides a rich picture of a Maori community in late prehistory (Irwin 2004) and contrasting survivals in the wet and the dry parts of the site suggest what kinds of evidence are missing routinely from dryland sites (Taylor and Irwin 2007). The village was located in the Rangitaiki Swamp in a lake in the fork of the Rangitaiki and Tarawera rivers, which joined to form an estuary, Te Awa o Te Atua near the sea. This was a volatile environment with common floods, frequent earthquakes and occasional volcanic eruptions. The people at Kohika chose to live with the risks, while rewards arose from the strategic location among waterways and the ease of canoe transport. It was occupied for two or three generations, abandoned after a flood, fortuitously preserved in peat and rediscovered in 1974.

Figure 1 is a contour map showing excavation areas and their designations, A to HS. The core of the island is sand from a former shoreline left stranded behind the coast which prograded in spurts following eruptions. Figure 2 is a portrait of life in the *pā* in AD 1700 based on a reconstruction of the evidence, and many of the structures shown were contemporary because they were interrupted by the same flood. In the left of the painting is a chiefly household in Area HS featuring a carved house, *whare whakairo*. Stylistic analysis by Roger Neich showed that all of the carvings were by one artist, although the work of three other carvers was found elsewhere. Near the house was a *pataka* storehouse on poles and rough shelters for cooking. Alongside was a jetty and parts of canoes and cordage were recovered from the former lake. Large blocks of Mayor Island obsidian, which had been transported to the site by canoe, were broken up for tools. Obsidian was so abundant it was probably traded up-river into the central North Island.

The house illustrated in Area D in the sheltered bay at the north of the site (Fig. 2) was of simple pole and thatch construction showing clear status differentiation among households. The house was damaged by an earthquake, rebuilt immediately but, later on, surrounded by debris from a flood. There was an entrance in the palisade, another jetty and a laid path down into the water where fishing gear was stored at the lake edge. One striking find was a carved human figure which stood in the palisade facing out into the bay, to confront anyone who approached. These households, which were basic building blocks of the community, are more visible in wet sites than in dry-land ones because they were raised above the water table by floors of sand. All houses were decorated to some extent, whatever the status of the occupants.

Another elite household has been found in Area E (Fig. 1), on the western side of the bay. A canoe landing made of massed rata (*Metrosideros* sp.) vine coils and an entrance in the palisade, led to an open court or *marae*

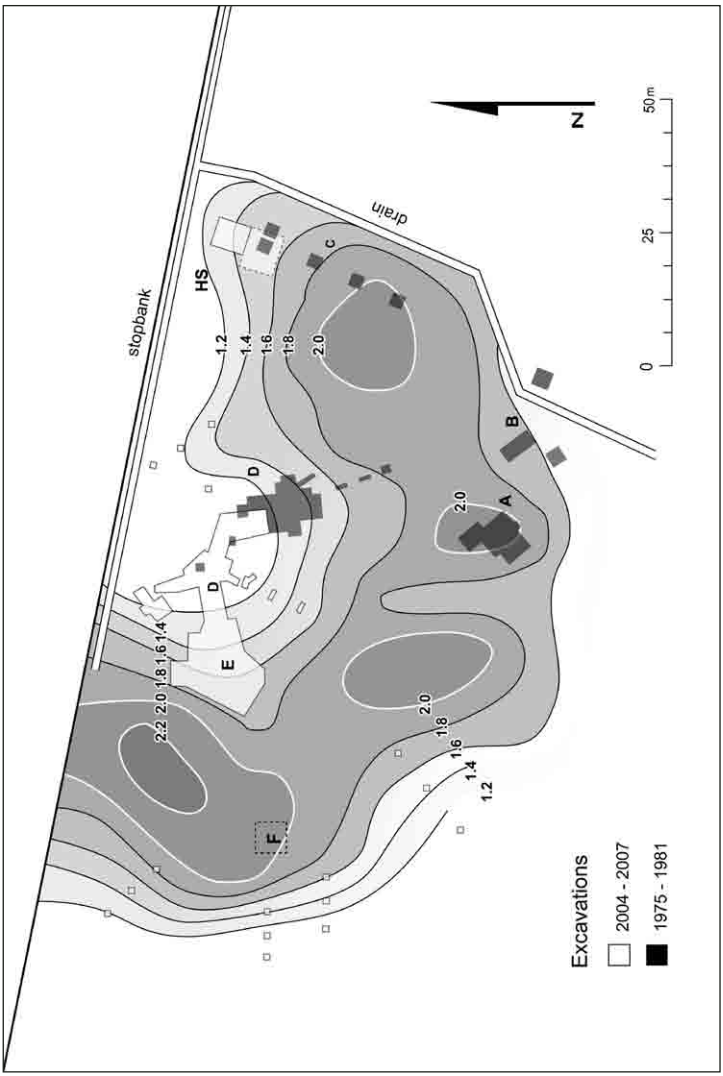

Figure 1. A contour map of Kohika showing the excavations and their area designations (A-HS) referred to in the text.

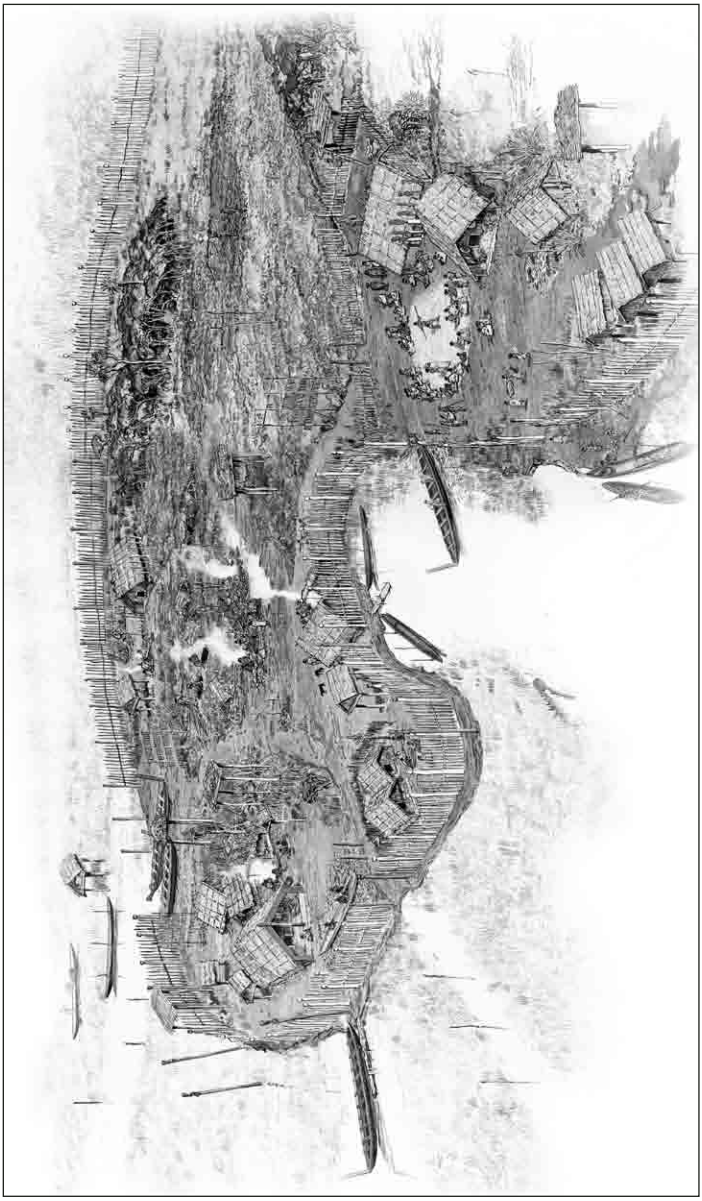

Figure 2. A reconstruction of Kohika by Chris Gaskin based on evidence from excavations, 1975-1981 and 2004-2007. The site is viewed from the north.

constructed of layers of sand, which were renewed from time to time for social and ceremonial occasions. Two superior houses made of dressed planks with traces of red ochre painting, and separated by a line of standing carved posts, stood adjacent to the *marae*. While many open spaces in settlements have been designated as *marae* by archaeologists, this is the most formal structure that I know of. A large number of diverse artefacts and thousands of flakes were found in the houses, but the court was scrupulously clean.

The general picture that emerges at Kohika is of a lightly defended village with an economy based on fishing, fowling, gathering shellfish, gardening, seafaring and trading. The community practiced a wide variety of industrial, craft, social and cultural activities, and had time for leisure, music, art and play. There was evidence for external connections to people from other areas.

Occupation ended not long after a flood, but Kohika had experienced floods before and this one did not inundate the island. One possibility is that the site became *tapu*, perhaps after an untimely death. The *whare whakairo* was left standing and the carvings were not hidden or buried, to be retrieved later. Abandonment could have been a result of political stress or warfare. When people left they took their weapons, but artefacts of every other kind, including several blades of *pounamu*, were left behind.

Lake Mangakaware

The question arises whether Kohika can be regarded as typical. In the Waikato there are several smaller swamp *pā*, with fewer external connections, on small lakes rich in resources (Cassels 1972). Two settlements at the swampy margins of Lake Mangakaware, MA-1 and MA-2, were excavated during 1968-1970 (Bellwood 1978). They were found to be semi-artificial islands with lenses of sand laid on felled timbers at the lake edge. MA-1 was strongly fortified with palisades set into the lake and six lines of posts on the more vulnerable landward side. Divers groping in the soft lake bed recovered many wooden artefacts and building timbers. MA-2 was low-lying and about 2100 square metres in area and approximately 40 per cent of the occupied area was excavated. Some crucially important evidence was recovered. For the first time unambiguous house floors were recognised consisting of laid, rectangular sand floors delineated by wooden posts and vertical planks set in shallow bedding trenches. Previous excavations of dry-land sites had yielded many postholes, but few convincing house plans, and bedding trenches had been interpreted as drains. One house had a double wall of slender tree fern posts which could have been insulated for winter occupation. Two C^{14} samples from these posts indicated a 17th century date. Contemporary houses were arranged around an open court or *marae*. The site was interpreted as being occupied year round but by a fluctuating population.

Arguing from the case of Pouerua that evidence for sustained settlement in *pā* is generally lacking in excavated sites, Sutton *et al.* (2003: 231) suggested that the relationship of the houses with the defences at Mangakaware was "ambiguous"; however, as one who excavated there, I am satisfied that they were contemporary.

Kohika and Mangakaware allow us to consider some other current opinions. A review of the ethnographic and archaeological evidence of settlement patterns suggested to Phillips and Campbell (2004: 103) that, "… although houses are not uncommonly found, pa were not in general occupied except as necessary in periods of conflict. They should not be thought of as settlements in any standard sense.…" This view may be too sweeping.

Bellwood (1978) speculates that at Mangakaware there was possible evidence of an attack. In the narrow entrance, between a double line of palisades through which people had to pass, there were five fragments from at least three stone hand clubs, two wooden spear points and two adze heads, and eight pieces of a human femur that had been smashed, burnt, covered with red ochre and left in a small earth oven. A small breast pendant was found just outside the palisade. Taken together these all may be interpreted as indicative of a case of hand-to-hand fighting.

Oruarangi: A major riverside village

Kohika gives us an insight into this famous site which can be taken as an example of a site of regional significance (see below). Built near the mouth of the Waihou River on natural levees where the river divided around an island, it has a remarkable collection of more than 3000 artefacts of stone and bone, possibly the richest and most diverse in New Zealand (Furey 1996), and used by Golson (1959) to define the material culture of the Classic phase of Māori culture.

Oruarangi was occupied when James Cook travelled up the river in 1769 in one of the *Endeavour*'s boats with the scientists Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, and the Tahitian navigator/priest, Tupaia, who could communicate with Māori (Beaglehole 1968: 207). Sidney Parkinson, artist on the *Endeavour*, described it thus: "Near the entrance of this river... there was a village, and a Hippa [*pā*], or place of refuge, erected to defend it, which was surrounded by piquets [palisades] that reached above the water when the tide was up, and, at low water, it was unapproachable on account of a deep soft mud" (Parkinson 1784: 106). The ship *Fancy* spent three months in the river from December 1794, cutting trees for spars and on one occasion her captain, Dell, reported 117 canoes around the ship at anchor and up to 2000 people on shore (Furey 1996: 14-15). In 1801, Oruarangi was the residence of the principal chief of the area and the *pā* was the gathering place for a large

assembly of people going to war with Waikato tribes to the south. Oruarangi controlled the river and access to the hinterland and the wealth of artefacts reflects its importance (Phillips 2000).

In the early 1930s much of the site was ransacked by artefact-hunters; since then a number of investigations have attempted to recover what is left of the stratigraphy. Archaeology shows that the site was enlarged from time to time from the 16th century by the addition of fill quarried from natural shell banks near the river-mouth. By AD 1800 it had grown to 20,000 square metres and was heavily defended by a double row of palisades. Inside were concentrations of artefacts, possibly house floors, and other areas had debris from artefact manufacture (Best 1980, Furey 1996). Wooden house elements were recovered from nearby Paterangi (Bellwood 1978). Early amateur diggers spoke of canoe landings by the shore. Unfortunately, little is known of the waterlogged layers and for archaeology Oruarangi is a lost opportunity, so far.

Kohika and Wairau Bar compared

In a review of archaeological studies of social organisation Marshall states "… by the 1950s it was apparent that Archaic and Classic Maori had descended from a common ancestor… implying, if not requiring, significant cultural continuity and fundamental similarities in the social systems of the two cultures" (Marshall 2004: 56). In this context it is of interest to make a thumbnail comparison of Kohika with Wairau Bar which represent landmark sites at either end of the cultural sequence. Obviously, Wairau Bar is southern and Polynesian, and Kohika is northern and Māori, but there are some interesting parallels. Both were substantial and permanently occupied, containing the remains of housing and cooking areas. Both had a local economic resource base. Both were located at a river-mouth giving access to an extensive hinterland and also to long-distance connections by sea. Both have evidence for individuals of status, and for status differentiation—Wairau Bar in its burials and Kohika in its houses. Both had finely made artefacts and specialist craftsmen. Both have evidence for internal diversity—Wairau Bar in the genetic variation of individuals (Knapp *et al.* 2012) and Kohika in the differences between households in the extent of obsidian trade (Irwin 2004).

So, what changed during New Zealand prehistory? After a comprehensive review Walter, Smith and Jacomb concluded (2006: 274):

> Despite… marked changes in subsistence practices there is little evidence in the archaeological or ethnographic record for any substantial alterations in patterns of mobility, sedentism or socio-political organization over the full duration of the New Zealand sequence.

This is an insightful and reasonable conclusion, especially for the South Island, but it could be a more open question—perhaps the null hypothesis—for the densely-settled landscapes of the North Island, dominated by *pā*. Were there any changes in the scale of settlement and organisation after around AD 1500? To address this question we need to look beyond the individual site into the wider landscape and we can extend some possibilities from the wet to the dry.

LANDSCAPE APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF *PĀ* ARCHAEOLOGY

Pouto: An early case study

Pouto, at the southern end of the North Kaipara Head, is one of many areas in the North Island which feature dense archaeological landscapes where there appear to be coherent spatial relationships between sites and also between sites and the environment (Irwin 1885). However, the problem with fieldwork at this scale is that to spread archaeological resources more widely is to spread the evidence more thinly.

At Pouto 20 *pā* were mapped; most of them were of small or medium size and lay in the horticultural hinterland. However, three large ones were located at the borders of Pouto, including the massive site of Rangitane—over 600 metres long with seven sets of transverse defences—on a ridge above Okaro Creek, which cuts off Pouto at the south of North Kaipara Head. Two *pā* were excavated and test excavations were made to obtain dates for defence building at another ten. Radiocarbon dates on samples of marine shell are shown in Figure 3.

It seems that there were initially just a few *pā* in Pouto and that most were built late in the pre-European period and could have overlapped in time. The sample of dates was very meagre and the results must be regarded with caution; however, such a pattern of similarly late dates was unlikely to occur at random. Spatial analysis by different methods produced consistent results:

- Nearest-neighbour analysis indicated that *pā* were regularly dispersed, which was taken as support for the notion that a significant number were contemporary. It appeared that the wider landscape of Pouto was defended not just a few individual sites. The undefended sites were found to cluster around key resources and around *pā*.
- The rank-size distribution showed two groups of *pā* . Many were small, roughly equivalent and independent units in a system that was not particularly integrated socially. The context of fortification was local and domestic and we can envisage sporadic stress among neighbours and kin, who had much in common but most to disagree about. In contrast,

the rank and size of the three large sites suggested times of increased social integration. They were located on the periphery, two on poor soils, and could have been for regional defence. Rangitane protected the neck of Pouto from landward attack and the others defended the shore.

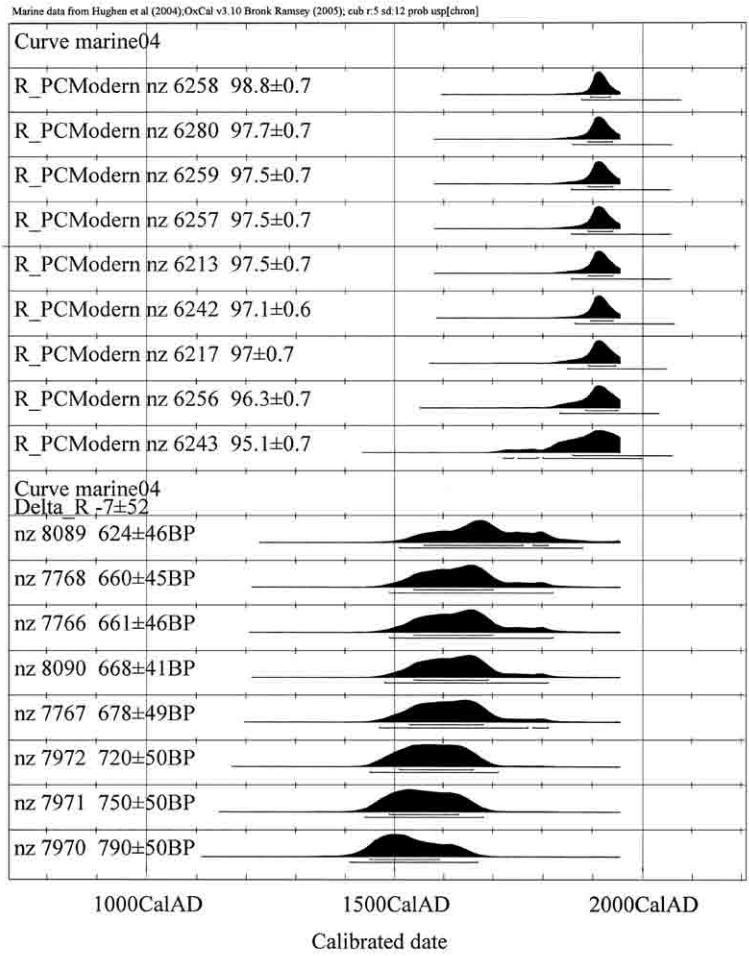

Figure 3. Radiocarbon dates on marine shell from the defences of *pā*, the upper group from Pouto and the lower group from Ponui Island. Several *pā* were built in quick succession but at different times in the two places.

- Network analysis supported the dual internal and external elements of social and political relations, with the smaller sites in the agricultural hinterland being more connected in local communications than those highest in rank-size, which were peripheral.
- A further analysis of the relative influence of sites supported the same two levels and also implied occasions when there could have been middle-order sites and individuals of influence, but only as the first-among-equals. Overall, it seemed that the pattern of relations was dynamic and fluid.

The indications are that the landscape passed through some stress threshold and there was a rash of *pā* building in late prehistory. The settlement system experienced internal pressure, perhaps because the area of useful land was decreasing as gardens in a zone of fragile soils were lost to invading sand dunes. In addition, Pouto at times came under external stress or threat and there were episodes of integration for defence at a regional level. Interestingly, there are historical accounts of a long series of raids between *hapū* related to Ngāti Whatua in the North Kaipara and *hapū* of Nga Puhi south of the Hokianga Harbour. There was a battle in 1807, at Moremonui on the Kaipara coast, just north of Dargaville (Crosby 2012: 47); however, there were too few muskets present to influence the outcome. In 1820 a Ngā Puhi *taua* 'party of warriors' attacked Tauhara Pā at Pouto.

The Inner Hauraki Gulf

A subsequent study, still to be concluded, was set mainly on Ponui Island but involved Motutapu (Irwin *et al.* 1996). Fieldwork included a survey of Ponui (Fig. 4), excavation of an early coastal site (S11/20) and a nearby *pā* (S11/21), excavations at four open sites, test excavations at a range of coastal middens and also in the defences of *pā*. Ponui, at the eastern end of Waiheke Island, had fewer than half the number of open sites as Motutapu at the other end, which can be attributed to the added fertility of the Rangitoto Ash on Motutapu, but there was a more similar number of *pā*. An interesting feature of the Ponui *pā* was that many seem to have been residential, which was a point made by Kennedy (1969) for the Bay of Islands of 1772. Sedentary communities living in fortified villages are thought to be atypical of the North Island (Phillips and Campbell 2004); however, houses are still the most elusive features of New Zealand dry-land archaeology and it is hard to feel confident about their absence.

Undefended coastal sites pre-dated *pā* on Ponui (Sheppard *et al.* 2011) and continued through the sequence. A significant number of *pā* were first fortified during the 16th and early 17th centuries and a reduced number

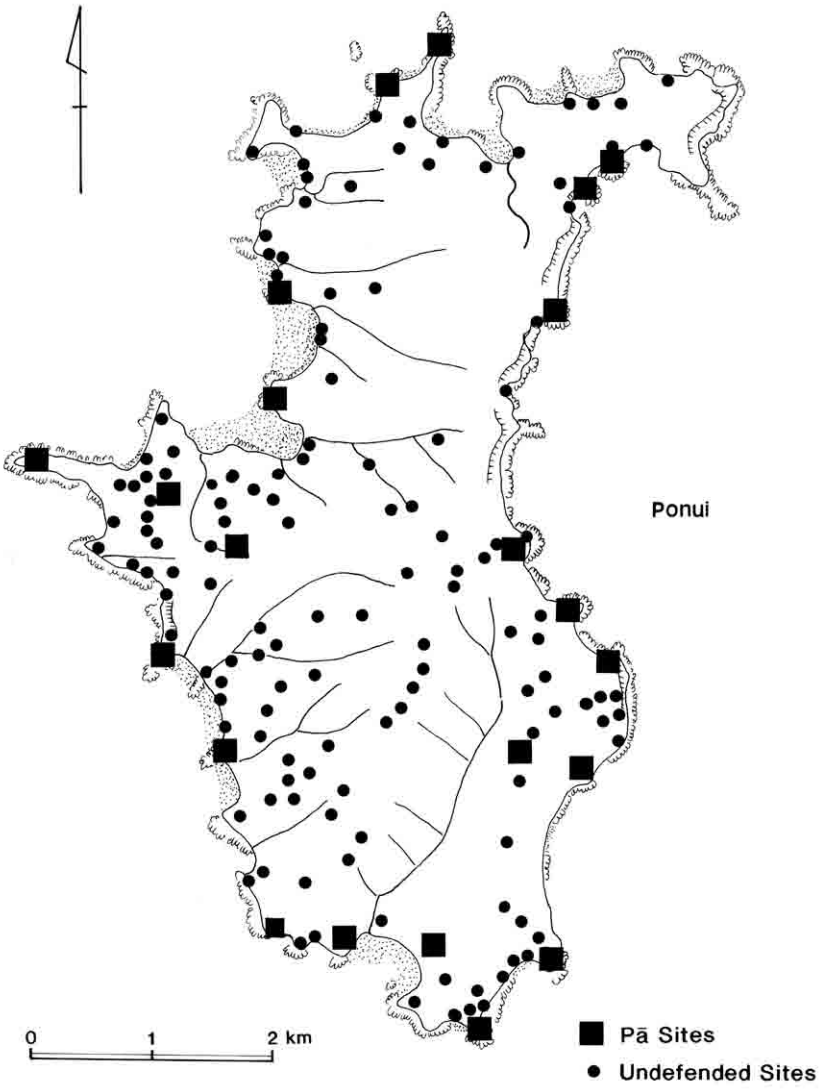

Figure 4. The distribution of archaeological sites on Ponui Island.

later in prehistory. Undefended inland sites overlapped in time with *pā*. The radiocarbon dates on marine shell from defences of six Ponui *pā* are shown in Figure 3 and contrasted with those from Pouto.

Pouto and Ponui compared

- There were episodes when *pā* were built in quick succession as a result of local pressures and issues.
- Events in different landscapes followed different trajectories and there was no single pattern of change.
- The construction of large *pā* in strategic locations could have been for regional defence, as different groups interacted. A wider scale of organisation and leadership was implied for such events.
- Settlement and society remained fluid and there was no clear evidence for permanent elites.
- Changes in tempo in late northern prehistory have been camouflaged by continuity in artefact style.

Other theoretical approaches

Archaeological approaches to the study of New Zealand settlement patterns have been reviewed by Marshall (2004) and Phillips and Campbell (2004), and there are ready-made theories available for interpretation. As one example, Mark Allen's (1996) study of polity formation in Hawkes Bay adopted Earle's (1991) view of Māori society as simple hill-fort chiefdoms. However, Allen's idea that discrete social units occupied fixed territories was at odds with other studies (Marshall 2004: 70), and very few C^{14} dates in his sample came from *pā* defences. Phillips (2000) used traditions in addition to archaeology in a narrative of 400 years of settlement on the Waihou River in the Hauraki district, and she followed Earle (1991) with reference to the emergence of larger political groups led by *ariki*. McCoy *et al.* (2014) tested the efficacy of Carniero's circumscription theory using obsidian artefact data from Pouerua Pā in the Inland Bay of Islands. These are examples of insightful studies which point the way ahead; however, at present, it is quality data that are in short supply in New Zealand archaeology rather than theory.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Community and territory

From the time of Best (1927) comparisons have been made between field archaeology in New Zealand and Britain. Large numbers of Iron Age hill-forts were constructed in parts of Britain during the 5th and 6th centuries BC. All were characterised by a rampart, ditch and gate. It is generally thought they

were constructed as a communal effort at the instigation of some authority and, like New Zealand *pā*, they have been shown to be diverse, some with evidence of substantial occupation and storage, but others for little use. The British archaeologist Barry Cunliffe remarked: "Viewed spatially, it is difficult to resist the impression that these early hill-forts were sites to dominate discrete territories, often defined by natural features like river valleys." (Cunliffe 2013: 305). In New Zealand, with the benefit of ethnography and traditional history, such a parallel between community and territory falls apart. It is also where New Zealand may depart from other parts of East Polynesia.

In Māori society bilateral kinship allowed a flexible system of multiple rights to use resources and settle land. In both North and South Islands *hapū* commonly were not residential groups and settlements were occupied by members of more than one *hapū*. Individual rights to resources overlapped on the ground and mobility was high (Anderson 1998, Ballara 1998, Phillips 2000). H. Allen (1996: 670) concluded that: "The search for a reified hierarchy of social groups [such as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*] that might have made an indelible imprint on the landscape and the archaeological record should be abandoned." At Pouto "… the essence of the archaeological evidence is that there were no discrete pre-European social building blocks to be found. Instead, they varied in a more continuous fashion in both size and scale. Social relations were very fluid. Centres of activity and influence ebbed and flowed" (Irwin 1985: 109). Whether this kind of situation applied earlier in prehistory is a matter of conjecture. It could be the case that earlier, more formal patterns of kinship and residence became fragmented through time by bilateral kinship and group mobility.

Social changes suggested for late prehistory were a shift from *hapū* to the multi-*hapū* community as an operational unit (Anderson 2009, Ballara 1998). Also, the Ngāi Tahu migrations have been described as "… part of a more general surge of mobility in Maori Society" (Tau and Anderson 2008). In the north, Sissons (1988) suggested the possibility of a re-ordering of society in the 18th century. He based this mainly on a change in the structure of traditions, but with his eye on the emerging archaeological evidence from Pouerua (Marshall 1987). The archaeology of Pouto told a similar story (Irwin 1985).

One can envisage a mosaic of shifting social and political relationships influenced by contingent events sometimes leaving a more precise record in *whakapapa* than in the ground. However, from an archaeological perspective we can be fairly confident that, whatever their composition, communities were defended as social units, and the scale of defence may reflect the scale of the polity. Regional centres become implicit archaeologically in late prehistory but more real in early history. Oruarangi could be an example of such a site at the cusp between the two.

Chieftainship

Kirch and Green (2001) argued from linguistic evidence that "Ancestral Polynesian Society" was stratified and had hereditary chiefs, and Marshall (2004: 71) pointed out that a kernel of social complexity was present in New Zealand from the beginning, ready to respond to challenges presented by the environment. By historical times "… multi-hapu communities acknowledged one or a small group of chiefs as community leaders" (Anderson 2009: 45). In parallel with trends elsewhere in East Polynesia the increasing complexity of Māori chieftainship has been entertained at times (e.g., M. Allen 1996, Sutton 1990). However, Anderson (2009: 46) commented that possible changes in social structure and organisation might have some currency in the northern North Island, but the proposition had not been tested archaeologically to any significant extent.

Hypothetically, the increasing density of settlement could have affected social relations and political leadership. For example, in terms of mathematical combinations, as the number of places in a social network increased, the number of pair-wise links between them would have increased at a greater (quadratic) rate. Thus, if the number of sites was three, then the number of links was three; with six sites there were 15 links; with 12 sites 66, and so on. Moreover, within social networks, individual nodes were not equal in terms of information flow, and locational advantage (and disadvantage) could have been involved in the differentiation of places and people (Brughmans 2013). The context of chiefly authority would have changed as settlement and competition intensified in the north.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper I have been concerned with the emergence of late Māori settlement patterns in northern New Zealand. I began with a discussion of problems of *pā* interpretation—noting the lack of modern analysis—and considered excavation strategies which focus on defences. I suggested that the scale of defence could be used as a proxy for the scale of a polity. Three wetland *pā* were used as examples of communal sites. Mangakaware could be regarded as a community equivalent in status to many sites in the hinterland of Pouto or on Ponui Island.

Not far off the coast from Kohika is Whale Island where Cook's *Endeavour* encountered the large double sailing canoe illustrated by Spöring in 1769. The canoe was crowded with people and may not have been going far, and it displays the diversity, wealth and status so conspicuous at Kohika. It could have come from somewhere like Kohika, which was close by in space and

time. Shortly afterwards, Oruarangi was seen by the same eyewitnesses. It shared many attributes of location, function and status with Kohika, but was larger and was acting as a regional political centre. These sites make connections between prehistory and history, and between the wet and the dry.

A brief comparison was made between Kohika and Wairau Bar as significant communities at either end of the cultural sequence and some general elements of continuity were noted. To investigate changes in settlement pattern at the landscape level—and possible differences between north and south—I described case studies from Pouto and Ponui, and noted some others. I draw a number of conclusions from the material presented.

- Population growth and increasing competition are implicit in the archaeological record in parts of the North Island (Davidson1984: 222). *Pā* were widespread after AD 1500.
- There were episodes when *pā* were built in quick succession as a result of local pressures and issues, but events in different landscapes varied.
- Some large *pā* in particular locations could have been built for regional defence as different groups interacted. A wider scale of organisation and leadership is implied for such times, but settlement patterns remained fluid.
- There are ethnographic suggestions of a trend from *hapū*-based to community-based residence and territoriality (Anderson 2009: 44). We might consider that if *pā* were occupied by mixed *hapū* and not by corporate kin groups, then their construction was as much for the defence of persons as an expression of *mana*.
- Chiefs operated within the context of circumstances which varied in scale, and whether there was a change in the nature of chieftainship remains an open question.
- Settlement and society were diverging regionally in New Zealand.

There is an interesting possibility of continuity in regional defence from late prehistory to early history. In the initial campaigns of the musket wars, people in many regions that came under attack from around 1820, gathered in major regional *pā* for defence. This happened at Putiki o Kahu on Waiheke, Mokoia on the Tamaki River, Te Totara at Thames, Mt Maunganui in the western Bay of Plenty, Matakitaki in the Waikato, Mokoia Island at Rotorua, and in other places (Crosby 2012). Because of the mismatch in war technologies, these regional centres were defeated in every case. A working hypothesis is that this pattern of regional defence had continued from late prehistory and was not entirely an invention in the early historic period.

Whatever the case, it failed, and the development of gunfighter *pā* soon followed (Best 1927). Our attention is drawn immediately to pre-European *pā* of massive dimensions and strategic location such as Rangitane at Pouto and Maunganui (S11/65), which is the largest and highest centrally-located fort among the islands of the Inner Hauraki Gulf. Historical records show that Oruarangi in the Hauraki was an important centre at contact and in the early years of the historic period. Interestingly, excavations at Pouerua in the Inland Bay of Islands indicate that it was not defended at the end of the sequence (Sutton *et al.* 2003). Traditions suggest that it was not the site of an important battle and there was no evidence for a paramount chief there (Sissons, Wi Hongi and Hohepa 1987). The centres of power at the end of prehistory in the Inland Bay of Islands may have lain elsewhere.

Further archaeological case studies in the North Island would be useful and traditional history and *whakapapa* could illuminate the archaeology, especially for the late period.

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ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with prehistoric changes in the scale of settlement, social organisation and chieftainship in northern New Zealand. It suggests an excavation strategy for *pā*, describes examples of sites at a communal level and carries insights from wetland archaeology into the study of wider social landscapes. Increasing stress within landscapes is implicit in episodes of *pā* building, which occurred at different times in different places. Large strategic *pā* were built for regional defence and there is a suggestion of continuity into early history. A wider scale of organisation and leadership is implied for such times.

Keywords: Māori, archaeology, settlement, society, chieftainship

MYTHIC ORIGINS OF MORAL EVIL: MORAL FATALISM AND THE TRAGIC SELF-CONCEPTION OF THE MEKEO

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> It was A'aia who threw down our bad ways, he flung them down, he caused them to come into being. (Anonymous Mekeo speaker)

Creation myths of New Guinea societies typically describe the origins of human beings and of the different clans, tribes or language groups; they often explain the origin of salient geographical features, of the animals and food plants that people depend on, and of key elements of a group's material culture. Sometimes too, linked to these origin myths, are accounts of the origin of death—typically through some human failing or fault. However in the present article I focus on mythic accounts of the origins of moral evil and, more specifically, on myths of that type that were widely told among the Mekeo of Papua New Guinea's Central Province[1] in the second half of the 20th century. In these myths the origin of death is associated with the origins of the types of antisocial behaviour that traditionally bedevilled Mekeo society, instruments symbolic of such behaviours, and the motives that underlie and drive them.

Moral philosophy in the West has traditionally made a distinction between natural evil and moral evil. The types of human suffering that are inherent in human existence are classed as natural evils, while the types of suffering that result from voluntary acts of other human beings are described as moral evils. In a cosmos so-conceived, natural evils such as sickness and death arise from what we call "natural causes"; moral evils on the other hand are brought about by human action. However, the term "morally evil" is perhaps most often used to categorise *the actions and motives that bring about such suffering*, firmly linking evil as suffering to evil as wrongdoing (Ricoeur 1995). Violent attacks on the person or well-being of others are the most obvious forms of morally evil action, but actions like lying, theft and adultery, while not intrinsically or immediately injurious, typically lead on to conflict, aggression and injury, and can thus also be classed as morally evil. However, within the lived universe of the Mekeo, death itself (along with sickness, pain, etc.) is firmly held to be an outcome of intended actions and deliberately initiated cosmo-ontological processes (Mosko 1985: 151), specifically various types of magic (*menga*) and sorcery (*ungaunga*).[2] And if

death and suffering are not accidental but are brought about by the actions of conscious agents—in Burridge's phrase, all evil stems from "the evil in men" (1988 [1960]: 59)—then all evil is moral evil. I will argue below, based on the evidence of two pivotal Mekeo myths, that moral evil is a category of Mekeo thought and that, moreover, Mekeo thinkers have gone to some considerable imaginative lengths to account for their own recognised propensity to behave in antisocial and ultimately self-defeating ways.

Myths accounting for the origins of human-initiated evil are relatively rare across New Guinea.[3] I would argue that, where such myths exist, they can be seen as evidence for an evolving moral consciousness in which a sense of guilt, based on the internalisation of a sense of socio-moral wrongness, is entwined with more elemental feelings such as shame and loss of face. Such sentiments point to a rational mind troubled by discrepancies between the rules and ideals of conduct that are publically espoused and the often rule-trampling reality of everyday human transgressions. Paradoxically, in Mekeo society, transgressions against the idealised socio-moral order—such as theft and illegitimate sexual relations—are not always deplored or sanctioned, even when they lead to conflict and aggression; they are regarded as inevitable.[4] Yet on some level they give rise to a profound moral unease and call for some kind of causal explanation. Such explanations are supplied in the form of myths, which can be seen as part-justification and part-excuse. That is to say, the myths in question can be regarded as socio-moral *accounts*, to use the term introduced into sociology by Scott and Lyman (1968). But more than that, the two myths reported below construct a complex collective self-consciousness and explicit self-representations that combine moral fatalism with a very tragic sense of human destiny (compare Stephen 1995: 308). This self-concept and the associated moral ethos constitute what Lévi-Strauss termed the "operational value" of myth (1963: 209): an essentially ideological meaning-making function that renders the world and the social-existential status quo in some sense more acceptable.

As a widely circulated technology of understanding and knowing, these myths open a direct window onto traditional Mekeo conceptions of moral and, more especially, immoral conduct. In the picture that emerges from these narratives, a weft of immorality is embedded in a warp of taken-for-granted values and emotions. The picture is complicated, but regularities can be identified, with some major categories of Mekeo morality corresponding to categories set up by Zigon (2007, 2010). And in the end it has been possible to devise *a generative model* (see Bourdieu 1990: 101-2) which, while not being predictive, can *account for* most of the choices made by individual Mekeo—actual choices documented in the rich ethnographic literature as well as, more paradigmatically, in the myths.

Zigon has developed a comprehensive conceptual framework for an explicit "anthropology of moralities" (2007: 132). Zigon (2007, 2010) distinguishes between an institutional morality, a public discourse of morality, and certain embodied socio-moral dispositions, or (as I would say) predominantly tacit *principles of action*. Institutional moralities are typically underwritten by powerful if sometimes loosely defined groups within a society. Distinct from this, Zigon suggests there will generally be a non-institutionalised public discourse of moral expectations and norms. And underlying these two more or less visible and explicit moralities are a set of embodied and enacted principles of action. (Although Zigon explicitly formulates this last type of morality in Heideggerian rather than Bourdieuian terms [2007: 135-36], insisting that dispositions are *enacted* rather than *embodied*, I would maintain that these concepts are not mutually exclusive.)

Within the Mekeo schema being developed here, the overarching institutional morality will be referred to as *kangakanga 1* and the public discourse of social-behavioural appropriateness referred to as *kangakanga 2*. The powers behind *kangakanga 1* are vested in various categories of hereditary chief and in the elders of localised sub-clans. This sphere of rightness versus wrongness is focused on customary emblems, actions and procedures. Operating simultaneously with *kangakanga 1*, there is an informal public moral discourse, *kangakanga 2*; this is mainly concerned with traditional ideals and norms of pro-social behaviour. The two embodied and enacted moral-behavioural dispositions that have been identified—competition and reciprocation—powerful as they are, are as we shall see fundamentally in conflict (something foreseen by Zigon 2010: 7).

Infringements of *kangakanga 1* are never explicitly made known to the perpetrator, who must infer their transgressions from any misfortunes—that is, punishments—that they might encounter. Their transgressions were often inadvertent and are even in retrospect often difficult to determine, a circumstance that produces much forensic and inherently speculative reasoning (a second, subsidiary public discourse of indeterminable rightness and wrongness). Infringements of *kangakanga 2* are typically carried out consciously and deliberately. However, Zigon's framework fails to account for further aspects of Mekeo moral discourse and behaviour. Infringements of the social-behavioural order do not constitute "problems" (in the Foucauldian sense) or cases of "moral breakdown" (Zigon's term, borrowed from Heidegger) because the discourse and principle of *kafa,* or expected immorality—when this is invoked—tends to normalise them. The "ethical moment" in which a moral dilemma is verbalised and negotiated (Zigon 2010) thus never arrives.

A proposed generative model of the Mekeo moral order is presented further below, as Table 2 (p. 343), indicating linkages between the categories

outlined above and various mythic models. What this model suggests (but of course fails to capture in all its lived complexity) is the morally fraught experiential matrix and the dark emotional tone of the Mekeo life-world. And what the model does not capture, of course, the myths themselves do—albeit in imagistic and narrative terms. They are irreducible sense-giving projections and validations of lived experience, conflating past and present, memory and desire, in self-conscious celebration of who Mekeo collectively are, their collective way of being. The life-world they project and articulate and reaffirm is one in which individuals are, prototypically, impelled towards their own self-destruction by virtue of a tragic character flaw that they fatalistically and almost vaingloriously accept as an emblem of who they are—*lai, Mekeo au'i* ('we, Mekeo men/people').[5]

In the main body of this paper I compare variants of two myths in both of which a semi-divine hero named A'aisa figures as the protagonist. The different versions given are taken either from the ethnographic literature or from data I collected in the 1980s. These two internally complex myths—each consisting of two distinct episodes—have themselves usually been represented in the literature as episodes or segments of a single narrative (Bergendorff 2009, Mosko 1985, Stephen 1995). Indeed the Mekeo themselves conceptualise them in this way, encouraged by the fact that they both centre on the figure of a character named A'aisa. However, they tend to be recited separately, and clearly constitute stand-alone narratives. Moreover, internal evidence supports their analysis as independent myths. They offer quite distinct if, in the event, complementary accounts of (among other things) the origin of moral evil and its role and status in everyday village life. Comparative analysis supports the evidence of internal structural analyses, indicating that the vast "common pool of narrative events" that links so many cultures of New Guinea reflects two important but quite distinct story-lines or "themes" (Harding, Counts and Pomponio 1994: 6). The first is the tale of the male culture hero—the snake-man of northeastern New Guinea, the travelling creator of the south-west—who is "both a creator and moral arbiter" (Harding, Counts and Pomponio 1994: 6). He appears without antecedents, is shamed, insulted or abused, and—in consequence—bestows death upon humans who until then have been immortal. The second is a myth of primordial social conflict—typically, as here, distrust and conflict between two brothers—that prefigures or threatens the breakdown of social structure in its entirety (see Counts 1994: 120).

In each myth A'aisa is a shape-changer and a trickster. In the first myth (which I will refer to as A'aisa 1) the divine hero appears initially as a parentless child who is adopted by an old woman. As a boy, he uses his magic to outdo the village men in hunting wallabies and pigs; for his impertinence he is abused and beaten, and the men steal his game. In brief, A'aisa reacts to

the blows and insults of the village men by condemning humanity to a newly mortal existence. He 'throws down' death along with the instruments and practices that bring it about. In the second myth (A'aisa 2), A'aisa is the eldest of two brothers. He is a great chief but as the story opens he has for unknown reasons taken on the outward appearance of a small child. Because of this humble disguise A'aisa is misrecognised and insulted by his younger brother's wife, or wives. This leads to a feud with his brother that escalates thanks to a succession of further misunderstandings and deceptions. The feud only ends when each brother has brought about the death of his own nephew, a child who is also his namesake (having been named in his honour). This second myth is traditionally cited to explain the existence of *pikupa*, a deep-seated propensity to mistrust, to resent and (when the occasion arises) to harm one's neighbour. *Pikupa* is regarded by the Mekeo themselves, with a mixture of pride, regret and sad self-irony, as one of their most characteristic traits.

It is noteworthy that in the first myth A'aisa condemns humanity to embody and endure moral evil by fiat. In this it evokes a series of myths from other New Guinea contexts that can best be exemplified by the Daribi myth of Souw (see Wagner 1967, *The Curse of Souw*). In the second tale, A'aisa propagates moral evil by example—providing a moral template that still inspires, warrants and excuses various types of wrongdoing. This myth-type is widespread in the form of stories about two disaffected brothers. The popular north New Guinea tale of Kilibob and Manup (Lawrence 1964), in which these brothers' quarrel over the infidelity of one of their wives, with its drawn-out consequences for language and culture, is an exemplar of this type, though lacking the peculiarly Mekeo dénouement of A'aisa 2.[6]

A fundamental claim in what follows is that attributing both myths to the semi-divine hero A'aisa irrevocably sacralises and validates them as true accounts. Subsequently I discuss some interactional *uses* made by the Mekeo of these myths, particularly in explaining or justifying behaviours and emotions that are otherwise considered generally inadmissible in oneself and unacceptable in others. However, before proceeding to the myths and their analysis I present a discussion of discursively versus tacitly recognised categories of moral evil within Mekeo society. I then attempt to situate moral evil within a larger picture of the socio-moral order that takes account of both prevailing public moralities and embodied dispositions. Here, following Zigon (2007, 2009, 2010) and Bourdieu (1977, 1990), I show how consciously espoused behavioural norms, along with embodied dispositions, traditionally implicated powerful emotions and typically entailed ritual practices and sorcery-oriented transactions. This model (see Table 2) foregrounds the ontologically diverse cognitive and affective grounds of the Mekeo moral conscience and an almost institutionalised fatalism in regard to breaches of espoused socio-moral norms.

LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL MANIFESTATIONS OF THE MEKEO MORAL ORDER

In Mekeo society a range of specific types of action or behaviour are labelled *apala* 'bad', and it is clear that this term is being used in a socio-moral sense when the actions or behaviours so described merit censure and/or potential retribution (cf. Barker 1984). The kinds of action or behaviour that are likely to be followed by censure and/or retribution (in whatever form that might take) are referred to as *kelele* (sometimes *kerere*), a noun that is often translated into English as 'mistake' (English-speaking Maisin use the same word to translate the indigenous term *da* [see Barker 1984: 222-24]).[7] These actions and behaviours can be divided into a number of categories based on their circumstances and motives, although the term itself is profoundly polysemous, conflating these widely divergent types of breach or fault under the one essentially non-judgemental rubric.

Kangakanga is the very general term for 'custom' or 'customary law'. However, in actual usage it is ambiguous, describing two quite different sets of conventional behaviour. I label these *kangakanga 1* and *kangakanga 2*. *Kangakanga 1* refers to the correct performance of public ceremonies or rituals, and respect for customary rights and privileges, such as the institutionalised rights and privileges of chiefs and sorcerers, of partner-clans (*ufuapie*) or of affines (*ipa-ngava*). In the past, clan badges, songs and dances constituted an important part of a body of distinctive emblems and behaviours. Actions or behaviours that seemed to the senior men to contravene these inherited ways of doing things would often be punished, albeit tacitly and indirectly, by a chief, who would employ his official sorcerers—often described by Mekeo as his "policemen"—for this task. Such punishments often took the form of apparent "accidents" like snakebite or a sudden sickness.

Kangakanga 2 refers to the body of idealised socio-moral attitudes and behaviours that ethnographers have tended to describe almost in passing. These are behavioural expectations that can be formulated as rules of the form "we always do—or feel—like that" and they typically pertain to specific social relationships. These norms often remain tacit until breached but, importantly, they can be articulated when necessary. Transgressions against these types of *kangakanga* often lead to open conflict; revenge can be exacted on the spot by an impulsive resort to physical violence or, more secretively, by employing a sorcerer to inflict more indirect punishments (note that both official and unofficial sorcery practices among the Mekeo are the preserve of males). However, there is a countervailing tendency, especially on the part of bystanders, to deprecate the gravity of such transgressions and, if not condone them, suggest that they are in some sense inevitable. Moreover, the propensity to breach social norms has been normalised as *kafa*, a term for expected misbehaviours that is attributed to the norm flouting models provided by A'aisa in key myths.

Finally here we must note a type of *kelele* that was originally perhaps most characteristic of peace chiefs, i.e., those who had the keenest sense of having a public face to maintain. The Mekeo term *oa* can be translated as either 'face' or 'honour' but I shall prefer the latter term. *Oa* refers to the fact that these chiefs in particular have internalised a demanding moral code based on selflessness and service. In fact their behaviour is stringently monitored by their official sorcerers (Hau'ofa 1981: 279), to whom they also owe their mystical powers, i.e. their *isapu* or mystical "heat" (Hau'ofa 1981: 281). That *oa* is something that can be lost is evident in everyday phrases like *oa e-ngea* '(his/her) honour disappears' and *oa e-pa-ngea* 's/he makes (his/her) *oa* disappear' (in the everyday usage of commoners, 's/he causes X to be ashamed'). Possession of *oa*—not *isapu*—is what lends the peace chief both authority and moral dominance. This dominance is reflected in the fearlessness with which chiefs intervene in violent confrontations, as appears in numerous incidents (historical or quasi-historical) recounted by Hau'ofa (for examples, see 1981: 188-9, 192, 204). Ideally at least, the moral superiority of a peace chief can be damaged by any failure to maintain the integrity of his moral role, to which his *oa* is firmly attached. One frequently told and largely apocryphal tale (p. 204) exemplifies the consequences of a moral breach for the peace chief. A peace chief's wife secretes, for her own use, a portion of meat intended for general consumption; her dishonesty is accidentally made public; the chief is profoundly shamed; his sense of guilt leads him to resign immediately and, in some versions, flee the village. This sense of what one owes to others *and oneself* by virtue of one's position in society, so characteristic of the peace chief, thus has its own myth which also functions to reproduce a moral ideal by dwelling on the consequences of its breach, the *kelele* in question. *Oa* has been translated by Mosko (2005a) as 'authority' and 'law' (he links it to *oaoa* meaning 'custom' when in fact, historically, *oa* meant 'head'). However, even in everyday usage it clearly refers to an intangible quality that is lost when an individual (or some close associate, like a wife) acts in such a way as to betray their public persona.

Underpinning all of the values mentioned above are two powerful albeit largely implicit *principles of action* that can be labelled (i) competition (based on egoism) and (ii) reciprocation (based on envy). As principles, they are the theoretical correlates of embodied dispositions and practices (Bourdieu 1977). The former grounds competition in the individual will to self aggrandisement. It is a kind of egoism that is inherently anti-social. This is what Hau'ofa (1981: 289) refers to as a "principle of inequality". In Mekeo society, Hau'ofa points out, inequality is institutionalised and ascribed to specific role relations. Reciprocation (i.e., the principle of equal returns) is realised as a deep-seated disposition to balance every transitive action,

whether of a visible or invisible nature and whether positive or negative in effect. As abstract principle, it is on a par with the principle of "equality in honour" which Bourdieu extrapolated from Kabyle male behaviour (1977: 11-15); but reciprocation reflects rather a sense—essentially calculative—of what one is due as a result of real or imagined injuries to one's ego (i.e., pride) or in compensation for symbolic objects of which one has been deprived. Implementation of this principle is, however, constantly framed and hedged by the competitive nature and hubristic machinations of egoistic individuals. Thus each principle is in opposition to the other, as *kafa* is to *kangakanga 2*—but in this case it is two deeply internalised dispositions that are potentially at war with one another. And indeed both principles rest firmly on a deeper assumption—that there is affixed quantum of good and that "[t]he man who succeeds does so at the expense of others" (Hau'ofa 1981: 216).

Bourdieu, in his analysis of the Kabyle *habitus*, introduced the concept of generative principles (1977: 11, 1990: 100), theoretical constructs capable of accounting for—not predicting—the choices made by social actors, based on their embodied dispositions, in specific situations. It corresponds perhaps to what Ricoeur (1966) meant by structures of possibility. The generative principles are, as previously noted, largely implicit. They provide an unspoken rationale for action, and are enacted rather than invoked, debated or advocated. As the most fundamental components of a generative model they account for most of the situated actions and events that make up the lived reality of the Mekeo lifeworld.

On the basis of the above, *kelele* is divisible analytically into a number of distinct categories. I give the most salient of these below:

1. Breaches of the unspoken/unwritten principles of competition and reciprocation: the non-sharing of food (*ani-vake*, *ani-onge*), the non-donation of labour when required by custom. These moral failings can lead to *pikupa*, and *ungaunga* or revenge sorcery (*u'u*; *'ava*).
2. Breaches of customary law or rights (*kangakanga 1*). The chief can ask the *ungaunga* sorcerers to punish offenders (who may not be aware they have committed an offence).
3. Ambivalently condemned/condoned anti-social behaviours (*kanga-kanga 2*).
    i) *Pi-paini*—fighting, especially with close agnates, and fighting within the ward, and especially in the clan-house (*'ufu*).
    ii) *Pi-kafa*—swearing at or insulting someone, and also laughing at (i.e., mocking) someone (*a'a-laina*).

iii) *Painao*—theft of such things as pigs (*'uma*), areca nuts (*mave*) or garden food (*fo'ama*), and also nowadays money (*moni*) or items of transferable property (*amuamu*).

iv) *Lapau/pafau*—promiscuous sexual behaviour, up to and including adultery. *Pafau* (*pa-fau*) specifically refers to a form of vainglory or self-display regarded as potentially leading to sexual intercourse (*pi-ai*).[8]

There is no doubt that sorcery and sorcerers are believed by Mekeo to embody a very extreme degree of malice, and to cause great suffering, and for such reasons might well be called evil. The Tangu, for example, viewed sorcerers as the epitome of evil (see Burridge 1988 [1960]: 38, 68). Baumeister (1999) has identified seemingly universal categories of human evil that are reflected in Mekeo sorcery practices and the motives underlying them. Yet, like most facets of the Mekeo lifeworld, sorcery is evaluated somewhat differently in different contexts of use. Sorcerers in their traditional role, as enforcers of traditional law, are respected and their practices in this role are regarded as legitimate. However, sorcery is often used for the furtherance of personal spites and resentments, especially by representatives of the newer sorcery lines (Hau'ofa 1981: 229), who are more open to the use of their powers for personal ends. And in such uses it is widely deemed to be evil or "criminal" (Hau'ofa 1981: 277). As Hau'ofa puts it, this criminality "arises not merely out of [the sorcerers'] own venality but also (and perhaps mainly) from the evil within ordinary members of society who hire them to do what they themselves cannot do" (Hau'ofa 1981: 278-79). That said, even the official sorcerer is viewed with considerable ambivalence, both by chiefs and commoners, both of whom who fear him as much as they regard him as a necessary pillar of the social order. (Barker [1984] documented a similar ambivalence towards sorcery among the Maisin, something which suggests that sorcery might often play such a dual role in New Guinea societies). There are thus grounds for using the English term "evil" in Mekeo contexts for the kinds of malevolent magic and the sufferings attributed to it that are described above—at least when referring to unofficial uses of sorcery. Meanwhile I will persist in using 'moral evil' in a broader sense, a sense that encompasses all the deliberate breaches of the generally espoused moral code—the discursively reproduced behavioural ideals—that I have termed *kangakanga 2*. Moral evil is thus objectively defined as the cover term for all those kinds of action, however motivated, that result in suffering, hatred or conflict.

HOW MORAL VALUES IMPLICATE EMOTIONS AND PRACTICES

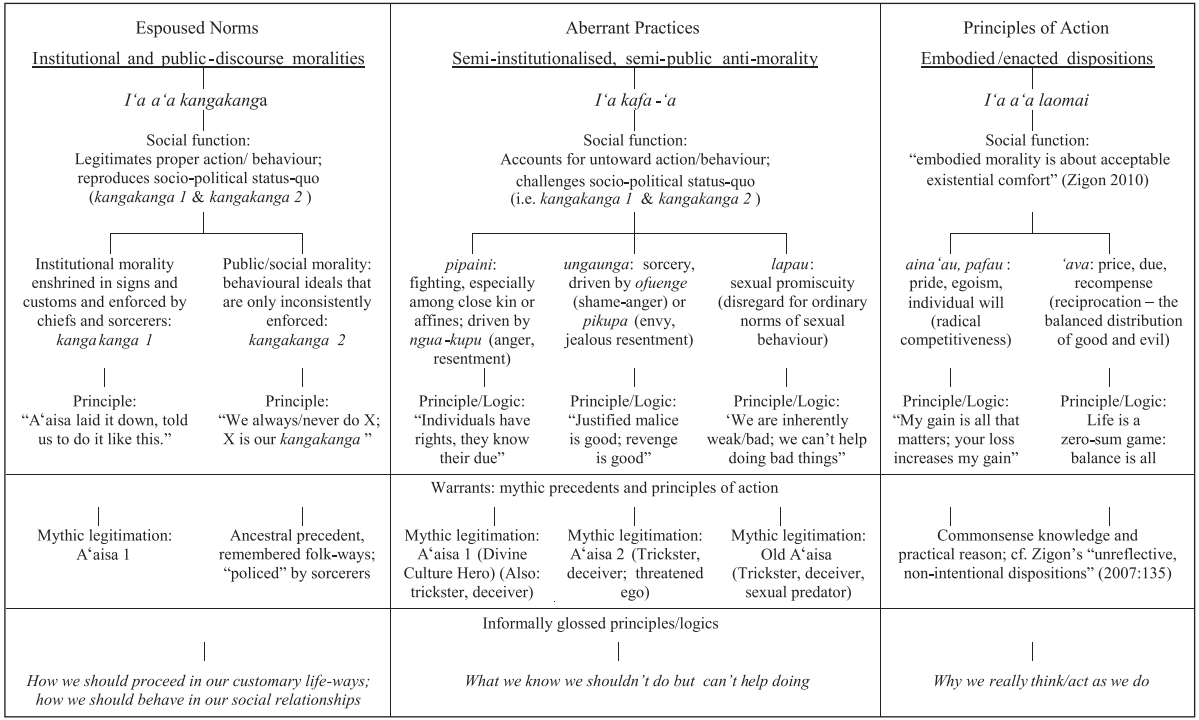
Before moving on to a consideration of the myths, it is necessary to say something about the ways in which, in the Mekeo context, anti-social emotions and certain ritual practices are implicated by negative moral-value judgements. The latter arise in the presence of any unexplained misfortune that might befall someone, such as an accident or illness, up to and including death. In the Mekeo cosmos, such misfortune is a sign of moral culpability or blame. That is, some unknown agent has deemed one guilty of an offence or insult—two concepts that merge in Mekeo thought—and the suffering now experienced is the outcome of their deliberate ritual manipulations. Perpetrators of such breaches may be completely ignorant of what it is they are being punished for, or by whom. Mekeo have a well developed "vocabulary of motives"[9] and this is typically mobilised in widespread gossip involving speculation as to the causes and of a person's misfortunes and the possible courses of action they might take based on hypothetical identifications of the perpetrator. Numerous transactions, involving payments to ritual specialists, may be initiated in the pursuit of magical remedies.

In the discourse on misfortune, the ritual practices assumed to be involved are chiefly sorcery (*ungaunga*) and other forms of injurious magic (*menga*), all of which are known (in terms of techniques and symptoms) and specifically named (Hau'ofa 1981). However the main focus of such discourse tends to fall

Table 1. From judgements to emotions, ritual practices, and intended outcomes.

Negative moral judgement	*Anti-social emotion*	*Harmful ritual practice*	*Intended harm, outcome*
Equilibrium lost, *'ava* is due	Harm-focused agency, secret ritual practice; inferred feelings and actions		Equilibrium restored, *'ava* paid
Offence is given but it is not known how or to whom (may be an ancestor, as proxy for a person)	Offended person feels shame-rage (*ofuenge*), plus the intention to inflict harm (as *'ava,* here 'payback')	Offended person initiates harmful ritual (sorcery, other types of magic) that will implement 'payback'	Offending person suffers some harm, misfortune; this may be illness or death or the death of loved ones
→	→	→	
kelele (*oa e-ngea*, honour is lost)	*pikupa* (envy, resentment): *ofuenge* ('anger')	*ungaunga, menga, mefu* etc.	*'ava* is paid; honour is restored

Table 2. Moralities, anti-moralities and embodied/enacted dispositions.



on the specific emotions that accompany and motivate the ritual practices—to whom may these be attributed and, plausibly, for what cause. Prominent among the feelings that figure in these conversations are emotions we can gloss here as envy, resentment, jealousy and shame-anger.

It is possible to discern a causal chain linking untoward incidents, or trigger events, with evil/malicious emotions, practices and outcomes (see Table 1 above). So it is not after all so surprising to find Mekeo myths in which the origins of moral evil are linked to the origins of natural evil. What remains surprising is that this link is so rarely explicitly made in the New Guinea context.

A‘AISA—SEMI-DIVINE CULTURE HERO

A‘aisa is often referred to by Hau‘ofa as a deity (1981), and by Stephen (1995: 3) as “mythic hero and founder of Mekeo culture”, but he is perhaps best described by Mosko (1985, 1992), using a category drawn from Mekeo languacultures itself, as a spirit (North Mekeo *tsiange*, East Mekeo *isange,* earlier *iange*).[10] However, A‘aisa is like men in many ways and is in some contexts identified as an ancestor (Mosko 1992).[11] As either spirit or deity A‘aisa possesses supernatural powers, including especially the ability to change his outer shape or form. He often appears, for example, in the guise of the deadly Papuan Black snake (*aungama*). However, a feature that sets A‘aisa apart from other culture heroes and shape-shifters is his propensity to appear as a young boy and even in some myths as a small bird or marsupial, i.e., a small and insignificant being.[12] A‘aisa often assumes these forms deliberately, in order to deceive or ‘trick’ people (EMek *pa‘au*, NMek *bakau* [see Mosko 1985: 89, Stephen 1995: 136-37]) [13] who are then punished for failing to recognise and afford him due respect and veneration.

In myths of the Kuni (Egidi 1913), speakers of a closely related Austronesian language who inhabit the foothills of the Owen-Stanley Range, there appears an anarchic and homicidal young warrior called Akaea, who wreaks havoc on the surrounding villages. This leads me to postulate an archaic Akaia in early Mekeo lore, lying behind and informing the later narratives. There was, moreover, a hill known as Akaea-faka a short distance to the southeast of Rarai and north-east of Veifa‘a (see the map in Egidi 1914). The earliest reconstructable form of the Mekeo hero’s name is Akaia (corresponding to the contemporary West Mekeo form). It is probable that Akaea-faka is the hill known nowadays as O‘opo, which Desnoës (1941: 865) described as Inaufokoa’s *colline des morts* (hill of the dead).[14] This is the hill upon which, in one of the myths (A‘aisa 1, see below), the divine hero raises up the stolen wives and from the top of which he ‘throws down’ (*e-ngoaleia*, *e-pioleia*) his “gifts” (to borrow Michelle Stephen’s perceptive trope).

THE "GIFTS" OF A'AISA

It has not been sufficiently recognised till now that the A'aisa stories contain two conflicting accounts of the origin of moral evil. These accounts are embedded in otherwise unconnected narratives centred on a spirit or spirits called A'aisa.[15] Not only is the character of this personage quite distinct in each narrative, both narratives conclude with his departure from the world of men. In the first story (which I am referring to as A'aisa 1) the origin of death is linked to the origin of key social institutions such as chieftainship and, of more central interest to me here, perennial human evils like lying, theft and fighting. In the second story (A'aisa 2), an ontologically disparate type of evil appears—namely *pikupa*. *Pikupa* is an emotional and moral disposition—a disposition to envy and resent the good fortune of others—and it is foreshadowed, prefigured and, as it were, institutionalised by the character, motives and actions of this mythical A'aisa. The type of moral evil at issue here is an embodied inclination or tendency to feel and act in a certain way. A'aisa 2 addresses the motivational grounds of moral evil.

In order to be able to disentangle the complex motifs and underlying themes present in these two key myths, I shall in recounting them try to capture the variation that appears across tellings. In all this variation there is a consistency and coherence that is self-validating and that brings us significantly closer to understanding the peculiar existential quality of this (to us) alien life-world and in particular the tragic self-conceptualisation of the Mekeo."

A'aisa 1

Numerous versions of this myth begin with the story of how A'aisa , in the shape of a very small child, was discovered by an old woman in her firewood (Hau'ofa 1981, Mosko 1985, Seligman 1910, Stephen 1995). I here reproduce a version collected and written down for me by a young man from Piunga (West Mekeo) in 1981.

> One day an old woman named Amete went to the garden. She collected some firewood and then went to get some bananas. She came back with the bananas and placed the firewood on top and went off home. She left it in the kitchen and went down to the river to fetch water. When she was gone, A'aisa came out as a small child. When the old woman returned she saw the child and asked it: 'Who are you?' The child said: 'You brought me in the firewood.' So she said: 'Well I have no children, so I'll look after you and you will be my son.'

In a very similar account by Stephen (1995: 3), A'aisa is found (also in firewood) by a childless old woman called Epuke. The story continues with the growing boy's mistreatment at the hands of the village men, who are jealous of his hunting prowess.

> The boy soon grew big enough to go hunting. One day a crowd of men were going hunting and A‘aisa wanted to join them. He asked his mother to give him a net of the kind called *nge*.[16] She could only find a short one, but he told her it would be alright. He went with the men to the place where the nets were to be set. The men all set long ones. Then they went and beat the bush to drive the wallabies, pigs and other animals towards the nets. All the animals went into A‘aisa’s net. The men found their own traps empty when they got back. Then they heard the sounds of A‘aisa killing his game. They were jealous so they beat him and took all his game except for two baby wallabies that he managed to hide. The men left him and returned to the village.

A‘aisa then performs a peculiar trick that is included in most versions of the story:

> A‘aisa then took the wallabies and, by blowing into their anuses, he made them very large. He set off back to the village. When the men saw him approaching with his two wallabies they were amazed.

However, the hero subsequently sets out to take revenge in a more systematic fashion, and with more permanent consequences for people in general. The 1981 version from Piunga is typical of most public versions of the story, portraying A‘aisa as a great trickster and emphasising the comic aspect of his tricks. The story at this point takes on a sexual dimension that is perhaps somewhat unusual in the context of Mekeo culture (see Stephen on the “seemingly puritanical streak” of Mekeo men [1995:13]; I note that Mosko [1985] gives a more detailed account of A‘aisa’s interference with the women’s vaginas and interprets this at length in symbolic and structuralist terms). The story goes as follows:

> [A‘aisa told his mother:] ‘I will go fishing.’ He went until he came to a lagoon (*afunga*). He caught plenty of fish (*ma‘a*) called *angama* and *pou‘u* and went back home to the village. He gave the fish to his mother and old her to distribute him to all the women in the village. The women asked his mother where he had got such a lot of fish. His mother told them that A‘aisa had caught them and said that he would go fishing again the next day, and that they might accompany him if they so wished. The women agreed to this and next day off they all went with A‘aisa to the lagoon. When they arrived at the place the women started to fish, but A‘aisa went some distance away and turned into a fish. He swam under the water and played many tricks on the women, pulling their lines and grabbing their vagina. When it was time to come home he changed back and asked the women if they had caught any fish. The women, of course, said ‘No.’ The women were very cold, so A‘aisa made a fire and they warmed themselves around it. A‘aisa went to the end

> of the lagoon and beat the surface of the water. This caused a big storm to arise with lots of rain. The lagoon was soon turned into a river. The women asked A‘aisa how they might cross the river. A‘aisa next produced a canoe and said that he would divide the women into two groups. Those with large vaginas would go across first, followed by those with small vaginas. While the second group was going across A‘aisa broke the paddle and stranded them on a little hill. Night fell and A‘aisa changed the hill into a high mountain while the women were sleeping.[17] One woman awoke in order to urinate and the noise of her urine falling into the water alerted her to the transformation. She woke up the other women and they waited for morning to come. When it was light they were astonished to see their husbands working in the village far below. They said: ‘A‘aisa, you tricked us but now our husbands will come and kill you.’ A‘aisa didn’t say a word. Meanwhile, the men were preparing their weapons. Next day they came up the hill and were about to surprise A‘aisa from behind. But the women [stupidly?] shouted out: ‘A‘aisa, you are sitting there but our husbands are about to kill you.’ He jumped up and said: ‘What do you want?’ And they all fell down dead! He told them to get up again, and they did. He told them to fight one another, and they did. He told them to go home, and they did.

Bergendorff (2003: 74) tells the story of the fateful dénouement in much more detail, albeit without discussing the events that led up to it:

> At one time, A‘aisa gathered all the people, telling them he wanted to introduce them to death. A‘aisa needed a volunteer, but all refused because they did not know about death. He then told the people that death was like sleeping. Finally, a man agreed, and A‘aisa told him to lie down and sleep. After a while, A‘aisa woke him up and they sat together. Then, A‘aisa asked the man to sleep again. This time he was dead. A‘aisa wrapped the body in a piece of tapa cloth and carried it to the top of the mountain O‘opo. From there, he told all the people to gather at the bottom and be ready to catch Imala, the dead man, when he threw him down. But the people became afraid when they saw the falling body and stepped back. A‘aisa then informed them that if they had caught the falling body they would have had eternal lives, but since they had mistrusted him, they would be gone for good when they died. Imala can still be found at the bottom of O‘opo in the shape of a big stone.

An expanded version of the myth (Bergendorff 2009: 229) contains an additional episode (I have italicised the Mekeo terms in Bergendorff’s text):

> After having introduced death, A‘aisa cast down the institutional powers, making one man responsible for each. These men then became *iso* (‘the war-chief’), *faia* (‘the war-magician’), *lopia* (‘the peace-chief’) and *ungaunga* (‘the sorcerer’).

Stephen (1995: 3-4) gives a summary version of this important episode, which I reproduce below. Stephen argues that 'man of kindness' is a literal translation of the Mekeo term *lopia* or, more specifically, *lopia aunga* (but see Jones 2007 for a contrary view). In her summary Stephen focuses on the ritual knowledge and institutional roles that were bestowed on men along with death (again, I have italicised Mekeo words):

> Having demonstrated his superior powers and having punished men..., A'aisa [Mekeo culture hero] now gives them some of his special knowledge. He confers upon humankind ritual knowledge, and then creates the roles of the man of kindness (*lopia auga*), of the spear (*iso auga*), of cinnamon bark (*faia auga*), and of sorrow (*ugauga auga*). Along with these gifts he also bestows death upon human beings.

Mosko collected two alternative endings to this episode (Mosko 1992: 707). In one A'aisa kills the women so that their husbands are left without the means of producing sons and heirs. In the other it is implied that the wives of the chiefs and sorcerers are not killed but are returned to their husbands. They thus later give birth to children of A'aisa.

A'aisa was also known as Oa Love (Oa Rove among the Roro) and the following account of A'aisa's legacy was collected by Seligman (1910). Death comes here in the form of fighting, sorcerers (shorthand, we might suppose, for sorcery), and the types of antisocial behaviour that produce conflict and lead to the use of weapons and sorcery techniques:

> Then Oa Rove called together all the inhabitants of the Roro and Mekeo villages... and told them that the Arabure people had treated him badly, but if they had treated him well, everyone would have been happy and always have had plenty of food. Then he gave them spears and black palm-wood clubs, *and he sent battle, theft, and adultery among them, and sorcerers who kill people*. Thus death came to these villages. (1910: 306, *emphasis mine*)

Seligman (1910) also provides a variant collected by Romilly and possibly from a Roro source:[18]

> [W]hen the injured husbands came to get their wives back, they found Oa Rove sitting on an inaccessible rock from which he threw into their midst a spear, a bow and arrow, and a club successively, killing a man each time. *Finally he threw them a stone with which people could be killed without external marks of violence. He told the men they were to copy the weapons he had thrown among them and instructed them in the use of each, so that they might be able to kill each other easily, and he taught them how to use the charm stone*. Oa Rove next threw a dead body into their midst, and told them

> that had they caught it in their arms, and so prevented it from touching the ground, the weapons he had previously given them would have been useless for they would have been immortal, as he was. (1910: 307-8, *emphasis mine*)

In this latter version the deity 'throws' the sorcerer's stone at the husbands, just as he later 'throws' them a dead body. Mekeo versions of these stories make it clear that this is a more or less literal translation of the Mekeo verbs *piu-lei-a* and *ngoa-lei-a*.[19] However, the cultural significance of the actions described is lost. Hau'ofa (1981: 178) analysed the symbolism involved in 'throwing down' gifts in the Mekeo socio-cultural context (without alas specifying the Mekeo verbs that were used), with special reference to the "hurling" (Hau'ofa's term) of large packets of food at *ufuapie* partners in the course of a ritual prestation where the inherent ambivalence of the *ufuapie* relationship of interdependence between clans takes on its clearest expression. Hau'ofa commented that "[t]his ritualised expression of extreme aggression in giving symbolised utmost contempt, for the throwing of food out and down from houses is done only for pigs and dogs" (p. 178). This mode of giving is suggestive not only of a very asymmetrical relationship between donor and recipient (eventually to be balanced in the case of *ufuapie* partners) but also of the reluctant acceptance of gifts that entail weighty future obligations. Moreover, the action of 'throwing down' a gift—itself an ambivalent concept in the Mekeo context—resonates with a wide spectrum of activities in Mekeo life and the verbs *ngoa-lei* and *piu-lei* also have connotations that are not strictly negative.

A'aisa 2

The story of the quarrel between the two brothers, A'aisa and Isapini, ranks alongside the story of the throwing down of death, along with key social practices and institutions, in terms of popularity and frequency of mention or retelling. It is said that, by his quarrel with his younger brother, A'aisa brought *pikupa* into the world. However, before we examine the nature of *pikupa* in more detail, its relation to lethal sorcery (*ungaunga*) and the socio-discursive uses made of this particular myth, let us review some of the symbolic oppositions and interactions represented in this powerful narrative, visible across changing and evolving versions of the core myth.

What seems to be the earliest version of the story is given in Fr Joseph Guis's (1936) book on Papua. It was told to him in 1898 by a man called Paiafu from Inauae, whom he describes as a knowledgeable man of middle age who possessed magic to control the rain and was, he thought, possibly a sorcerer. The two protagonists are called Afungo and Fuana, names that Guis translates as Eagle and Sparrow. Now this may be a disguised version of the later A'aisa-

and-Isapini myth, or else (and I favour this view) a precursor of it. The relevant fact is that Afungo is large bird, while Fuana is small. In this version of the story, the two are half brothers, with different fathers but the same mother; they live in their respective fathers' villages. Afungo, the junior brother, who is paradoxically the larger of the two, lives in Pioufa (i.e., Veifa'a); Fuana, the eldest, who is paradoxically much smaller than his brother, lives at Ve'e (the original Ve'e village was Ngangai, modern Rarai). In the later A'aisa myths, A'aisa is the elder brother and he also lives in Ve'e; while Isapini, the junior brother, lives in Pioufa (i.e., Veifa'a). A'aisa is the smaller of the two brothers, although the older, and Isapini is the larger. It is a salient feature of many Mekeo myths and folktales that the most important and the powerful figure is to all appearances the smallest and most insignificant. Size dimorphism here (as elsewhere in Mekeo myths and folktales) inverts the seniority relation that is so fundamental to the Mekeo social order, while hinting at a deeper cosmic, ontological and epistemic disparity between appearance and reality that for Mekeo ways of thinking constitutes simultaneously an incomprehensible paradox and a pragmatic resource.

There is an initial misunderstanding when the wives of Afungo mistake Fuana for a small boy and ask him to fetch his father Fuana. The first misunderstanding is glossed over, but the situation is reignited by confusion over a pig (which is taken to be a returned/rejected gift). Afungo and Fuana then lead their respective villages to war against one another, i.e., Ve'e (Rarai) against Pioufa (Veifa'a). They have four wives each, and the wives fight until all eight of them are killed. Then Afungo and Fuana, appalled at the slaughter, agree to fight one another in single combat to save further loss of life and to restore peace between the villages. They spear one another and die in one another's arms and they are buried where they fell. Their lime gourds remain where they were buried (this detail indicates that they were peace chiefs.)

A more recent version that was widespread in the 1970s is given at length in Hau'ofa (1981); I paraphrase this version here. A'aisa (who Hau'ofa refers to here as "the old deity") and his younger brother Isapini lived on two neighbouring hills. Each had an only son: A'aisa named his son Isapini, after his younger brother, and Isapini called his son A'aisa.[20] One day Isapini went to visit his brother.[21] When he arrived, A'aisa was sitting on his platform in the form of a very small child. Isapini assumed that the child was A'aisa's son, his own namesake, He addressed him, saying: "Child, where are your parents?" A'aisa replied: "They went to the garden." "Go and tell them that I am here," said Isapini. As Hau'ofa tells it (1981: 78): "A'aisa's face betrayed nothing of the seething anger he felt because of his younger brother's failure to recognise him." A'aisa went into the house, carefully wrapped up his chiefly insignia, and took them to the garden. The insignia consisted of a

boar's tusk necklace, a special lime gourd and spatula, and a special string bag. He told his wife what had happened, donned his regalia, and returned to the settlement, still in the guise of a child. When Isapini saw them coming he realised what a mistake he had made. However, A'aisa said nothing, and played the perfect host.

When Isapini was about to leave, A'aisa made him a present of a special pig he had raised. Then he told his wife to accompany Isapini and his party back to Isapini's village, but he also told her not to remain there overnight. However, on reaching the village A'aisa's wife yielded to pressure from her hosts and she stayed there overnight. Isapini feasted his guests that night and again the following morning and, as they were leaving, produced another special pig that he had raised for his brother. Hau'ofa describes the pig (p. 78): "It so happened that the pig was, in every characteristic, exactly the same as the one A'aisa had given him on the previous day. It even had the same name."

When his wife arrived home with the pig, A'aisa abused her roundly for disobeying his instructions. He also accused her of sleeping with Isapini[22] and would not listen to her protestations of innocence. When he saw the pig, he believed that his brother had rejected his gift, returning the pig he had given him. When others argued with him, he proved his point be calling the pig by name; of course it answered to the name since Isapini had given his pig the same name that A'aisa had given his.

In some accounts (e.g., Mosko 1985: 189-90), Isapini is portrayed as the obtuse pre-cultural mirror-image of the clever, skilled A'aisa. A'aisa alone knows how to hunt animals for meat; Isapini and his wives have no meat, only a very poor substitute like the skins of nuts or a kind of clay. A'aisa gets his game thanks to his hunting magic, or from a secret place in the bush; Isapini discovers this place and allows the game animals to escape—typically wild pigs, cassowaries and wallabies, or kangaroos. A'aisa then devises a plan to trick and humiliate Isapini. He gives his own people a great feast of village pig meat, but tells the guests to pass it on to Isapini that he had given them his own mother to eat. Unable to bear being outdone, Isapini actually kills his own mother and gives her flesh to his people to eat.

The end of the story is always the same. In his jealousy and anger (*pikupa*), A'aisa uses *ungaunga* sorcery to send a poisonous snake to bite Isapini's son, who is his namesake. Isapini's son—the young A'aisa—dies. Isapini decides to take revenge and uses his own sorcery (*mefu* sorcery in this case) to bring it about that A'aisa' son, *his* namesake, becomes violently ill and thus also dies. Here is a slightly more recent version, from Piunga, a West Mekeo village:[23]

> A'aisa married one woman and founded a village there. One of his brothers, by the name of Isapini, who lived in the original village, had a son and called

him A‘aisa. One of A‘aisa’s wives had a son and he called him Isapini. A‘aisa got a black pig (called A‘aisa) and gave it to Isapini (‘for my namesake’). Isapini got another and named it Isapini (‘for *his* namesake’) and returned the gift. A‘aisa thought it was the same pig (i.e., his gift was being returned; other versions of the story emphasise that the two pigs’ size and markings were identical). He called it by name (A‘aisa) and it responded. (Other versions of the story have it that the pig just grunted ambiguously.) So they untied it and it ran away into the bush. A‘aisa next day sent a sorcerer called Moki, who killed Isapini’s son by means of a Papuan Black snake [*aungama*]. Isapini got a small goanna [kind of lizard common in PNG and Australia] and used it to get a big *goanna* from under the ground. He had to keep his eyes closed while he ordered big *goanna* to kill A‘aisa’s son, using chewed sugar cane (i.e., chewed by the child). A‘aisa and Isapini then both denied killing their namesakes.

A‘aisa left his wife [sic] and went to Poukama [ancestral village] where he buried his son, but seeing Isapini’s smoke he dug him up again and placed him on the body of a man who fell into the sea and became a crocodile. The crocodile kept saying Iso-iso-ngau (spear-spear-son) and Muki-muki-ngau (weed-weed-son) while it took the remains over the sea. Arrived at Faiafu, he went up Mount Kariko. There A‘aisa buried his son since he couldn’t see Isapini’s smoke any longer. He held the mortuary feast at Faiafu. A‘aisa killed a python [*okafu*] and fed it to the people of Nara (Vanuamai). He killed people and fed them to the Goilalas. He gave meat to the Mekeo, Roros and Gulfs. He gave *purpuri* (sorcery) to all the people.

In the above version, the two brothers deny killing their namesakes. In other versions of this myth (see e.g., Hau‘ofa 1981: 79), Isapini begs A‘aisa for medicine that will cure his son (the young A‘aisa); A‘aisa complies, but the child dies before his father can reach home. Then A‘aisa begs his brother for medicine to heal the young Isapini; he is given it, but he too arrives too late to

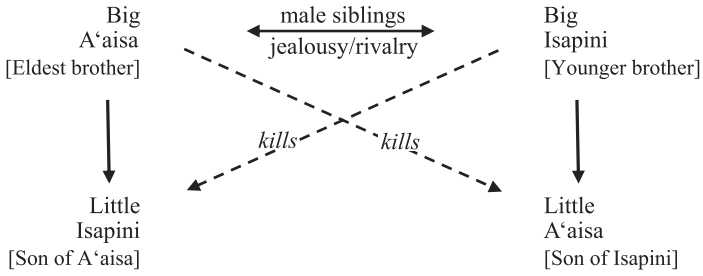


Figure 1. Schematic representation of episode 1 in A‘aisa 2.

save his son. Thus (in these versions) we have hints of an ultimate or desired reconciliation in the midst of the mutual hostilities and mutual destruction.

Below I give the final episode of the A‘aisa 2 myth according to Kavo, a Mekeo sorcerer of Eboa, as reported in Bergendorff (2003: 80):

> When the son of A‘aisa died, A‘aisa buried him at Afungofungo. Isapini’s son is also buried there. A‘aisa was distraught with sorrow, so he dug up the corpse and started travelling with it. He went to several different places, weeping all the way. He came to a stream where he washed his son. From there, he went to Ikonga, where the navel of the corpse burst open. He went on until he reached Ko‘oko‘o, where he found a place to bury his son’s navel. Then he travelled on to Koana, then to Kekenina, and on to Kaliko. When he arrived there his son’s corpse was almost completely rotten, and he buried him there. A‘aisa then went to Bereina and threw a big feast, after which he went back to O‘opo. The bones stayed where A‘aisa buried his son, while he took his son’s *laulau* and carried it to the mountain.

A‘aisa finally decides to leave the world of the living for good and made his abode at Kaliko, or Kariko, “a hill on the coast toward the west, in the direction of the setting sun, where he still is believed to dwell with the shades of the dead” (Stephen 1995: 4; see also Stephen 1995: 306 and Hau‘ofa 1981: 79). Bergendorff (2003: 80) remarks that

> One of the important but implicit elements in this story is that during A‘aisa’s travel, liquid was dripping from the rotting corpse of his son. When these drops touched the ground, they grew up as plants [*fu‘a*] that represent, or rather share the substance of, the body parts they came from. The locations mentioned in the story are a form of mnemonic device indicating the places where transformed substances of A‘aisa’s son can be found in the form of different plants. The bones of A‘aisa’s son turned into stones. These are now called *ungaunga*, like the sorcerer.

Stephen, based on her long acquaintance with Mekeo sorcerers and indeed her apprenticeship with one of them (1995: 305-6), summarises this possibly esoteric episode[24] as follows:

> ... stricken with grief over the death of his son, A‘aisa travels to the coast carrying the dead body with him. As it decays, the putrefying juices fall in various places, thus creating various powerful things used in the rituals of secret knowledge. Finally A‘aisa decides to dispose of what is left of the body. He buries the remains, and at night they turn into wallabies that eat the plentiful grass growing over the grave. A‘aisa then instructs the people who allowed him to bury his son’s body on their land that they might kill and eat

> this meat sprung up from the corpse of the child. He then bids the human world farewell and travels west to Kariko, the village of the dead.

The things that grow up where the juices from the corpse had fallen are known collectively as *fu'a* (NMek *fuka*, WMek *puka*), a generic term for plants but more specifically for ritually potent plants (compare the Fijian use of *drau* 'leaf'). As the "transformed substances" of A'aisa's son (Bergendorff 2003; see above) and thus, indirectly, of A'aisa himself, they are used to powerful effect in sorcery and magic by those who possess the hidden knowledge of them—the *ikifa au'i* or 'men of wisdom'.

THE MEKEO RESPONSE TO MORAL EVIL

I now want to focus on the social functions of the myths described above, the uses made of them in the course of everyday social interactions. The Mekeo have traditionally justified moral transgressions by appealing to one or another of the main A'aisa stories (Hau'ofa 1981, Mosko 1985, Stephen 1995). The actions, assumed motives and character of A'aisa (as attested in A'aisa 1 and 2) clearly play an important role in negotiating the gravity and implications of a given fault (*kelele*). These myths, stories or *isonioni* thus have great practical relevance, allowing individuals to "account for" (that is, to excuse or justify) types of behaviour that are socially sanctioned or forbidden by custom (see Scott and Lyman 1968 on the role of accounts in everyday communication). Knowledge of the stories constitutes an important socio-discursive resource.[25] It is noteworthy that they are invoked not so much to excuse one's own misdeeds as to excuse other people's bad behaviour and thus "shore up the timbers of fractured sociation" (as Scott and Lyman so memorably put it) with minimal cost to existing structures and relationships.

Each of the A'aisa myths is used to warrant (justify) or excuse a different type of misdemeanour. A'aisa 1 is invoked, albeit indirectly, to excuse types of untoward behaviours that are referred to as *kafa*. This is represented as one of A'aisa's "gifts" ('thrown down' along with all the others). An entry in the Mekeo-French dictionary compiled by Fr Desnoës in the 1930s and 1940s but based on the notes of missionary priests working in the Mekeo area from 1896 onwards, has *kafa* referring to certain behaviours ('customs' in the local idiom) that are considered untoward or bad.[26] An initial definition of *kafa* as 'custom' (the third entry under *kafa*) is followed by the comment: "It is not customs in general but only certain ones, unpleasant or evil ones, that give rise to quarrels" (Desnoës 1941: 436). Moreover, from texts and example sentences included under this entry it appears likely that *kafa* referred more specifically to types of sexual promiscuity (*pafau*, *lapau*), and particularly to female sexual misbehaviour:

> *Ngava ke-ia, ke-lapau, ke-pa-fau, gaina aka: A'aia kafa-'a e-ngoalei-a, pau-kai a-la-pa-ngama, uaina.*
>
> They see the moon, they act in lewd ways, they parade themselves about, the meaning of this is: A'aisa gave us [literally, strewed down, threw down] our bad customs [*kafa-'a*], they didn't begin just now, they are ancient/of the beginning time.

After this unsourced fragment Desnoës (1941) presents the following example sentences:

1) *A'aia kafa-mai e-ngoa-lei-a (= e-piu-lei-a).*
   It is A'aia who gave us [literally, threw down] our bad ways (i.e., our customary disputes and quarrels...; 'our stupidities...'.
2) *A'aia kafa-'a e-ngoaleia, e-piuleia, e-pa-ngama-i'i.*
   It was A'aia who threw down our bad ways, he flung them down, he caused them to come into being (or 'caused them to develop, grow'—AJ).[27]
3) *Papie e-lapau aiama, pangua ke-pafala, a-inaka: Fo-lo-iva; A'aia kafa-'a e-piuleia; 'ifonga-mo e-kapa-ia pangu? Ma'o aufangai lo-anga, anga'o-mo a-lo-'e-ngia a-lo-'afu.*
   When a woman has behaved badly, and they gossip in the village, we say: You shouldn't talk/blame (people), it is A'aia who gave us our bad customs. Is she the only one who acts like that? Everyone received it, no one escaped.

A'aisa 2 (the story of A'iasa and Isapini) is used to account for *pikupa*, a category and a concept that is in many respects untranslatable. The term suggests a way of thinking and valuing, an associated emotion (*ofuenge*), and the kinds of action that spring from it (typically *ungaunga* sorcery), and it is widely held to be the root of most quarrels. Different authors have made different attempts at translating the term. Hau'ofa (1981: 77) wrote that it means "both envy and jealousy"—and the actions that spring from these emotions. He emphasises its effects (1981: 95), saying elsewhere that *pikupa* is "a vicious type of conflict". Mosko also emphasised the outward effects of *pikupa*, glossing it as 'quarrelsomeness' (1985: 190). Hau'ofa also emphasises the intensity of *pikupa* and notes that, leading as it does to *ungaunga* sorcery, it is an unavowable emotion (1981: 95; compare Jones 1992). Stephen (1995) generally glosses the term as 'jealousy', explaining (perspicaciously I believe) that *pikupa* "arises out of a sense that one has not been given one's due" (1995: 137).[28] As suggested above, the present author associates it with Kleinian envy (see Klein 1984). It can also be fruitfully compared with ancient Greek *phthoinos*.[29] In any case, Hau'ofa vividly

illustrates how the myth of A‘aisa and Isapini was discursively invoked to excuse people’s bad behaviour:

> Then in a grave tone [the chief] confided that this particular *pikupa* happened a long time ago between A‘aisa, the old deity, and his younger brother, Isapini. The clear inference of the chief’s statement is that people cannot help having *pikupa* among themselves, especially among close kinsmen, because of the bad example set by their deity. (Hau‘ofa 1981: 77)

Stephen confirms that it is widely believed and often asserted that A‘aisa “initiated” *pikupa* and the lethal *ungaunga* sorcery which is its typical outcome (1995: 41, 56). As she puts it: “It was A‘aisa, who by his quarrel with his younger brother, Isapini, initiated jealousy (*pikupa*) in human relationships and the lethal rituals of *ugauga* to implement revenge” (1995: 56).

The example set by A‘aisa in A‘aisa 2 functions not simply to excuse but to warrant *pikupa* and *ungaunga*, operating as a divine precedent for these motives, emotions and ritual actions, but a precedent that possesses almost causal efficacy. For (again in Stephen’s words) “this ‘dark aspect of human relationships” is unavoidable “because it is inherent in the established order of things” (1995: 41). However, we miss the point if we interpret this story as a comedy of errors, driven by misunderstandings (Hau‘ofa 1981: 79) and perhaps, at a deeper level, people’s inability to know one another’s thoughts (Hau‘ofa 1981: 83). It is often made clear, at several points in these stories, that A‘aisa is a trickster who knowingly deceives people in order to inveigle them into making ‘mistakes’ (*kelele*) for which they can then be made to suffer. For example in Mosko’s version of A‘aisa 2 (1985: 189), A‘aisa ‘s wives tell Isapini’s wives (who have mistaken A‘aisa for a small boy) that “he is always playing tricks like that” (*bakau* in NMek, EMek *pa‘au*). Indeed “tricks like that” were a staple genre of Mekeo social life in the 1980s. A‘aisa “tricked” his brother’s wives by taking on the form of a child, but he later tricks his brother more grotesquely when he manipulates him into believing that he has slain his own mother and given her body to his followers to eat. Isapini subsequently kills his own mother and gives her to his followers to eat. These last events undoubtedly have Oedipal overtones.

Traditional Mekeo men tend to be great tricksters, priding themselves on their skill in *fonge* ‘deception’ and *pifonge* ‘lies’ despite the quarrelling and aggression that this often leads to. In A‘aisa 1, the culture hero tricked the village men in three important ways: (i) by appearing as a small boy, but one with magical powers, (ii) by stealing their wives, and (iii) by making the men fight against one another “friend against friend”. This behaviour is regarded as a warrant for the practices of sorcerers, who are arch-deceivers. However, the warrant is also applied more widely, and A‘aisa‘s deceptions

and sexual impudence are used to excuse many kinds of social misdemeanours that are otherwise heavily sanctioned. It is worth emphasising that in some versions of A'aisa 1, death is 'thrown down' in the form of a corpse or stone, which is always called *imala*; in failing to catch it people lose their chance of immortality and are condemned to die for ever. There is sometimes here the suggestion that A'aisa was to blame when people allowed the *imala* to fall to the ground. Somehow he tricked them or used magic to secure the result. Stephen notes that "people often remark that A'aisa tricked the people (*papiau e foge'i*) and *that is why* the men of sorrow and others who inherited his secret knowledge still do so" (Stephen 1995: 137, the emphasis here is mine; also see note 13 below). Indeed A'aisa's trickery—in the form of malevolent and seemingly gratuitous deceptions—is a frequent motif in many stories.

It is clear that both A'aisa myths were explicitly invoked to account for moral transgressions, whether one's own or those of others. By invoking A'aisa 1, various forms of moral delinquency (*painao*, *lapau*) were represented as having been 'thrown down' by the deity, which makes their incidence in daily life both inevitable and excusable. By invoking A'aisa 2, all types of malicious behaviour (which, it is broadly agreed, stem from *pikupa*) were represented as involuntary re-enactments of A'aisa's exploits.

THE EMERGENCE AND TRANSFORMATION OF KEY MOTIFS AND THEMES

The Afungo-Fuana story, collected in the 1930s, documents the inception of key themes that later, in the different versions of A'aisa 1 and A'aisa 2, appear in more fully developed and more nuanced form, giving a narrative shape to complex theories about human morality and nature. The relative complexity of these later myths possibly reflects the more complex social and cultural environment that arose in the middle years of the 20th century (from the 1940s to the 1980s, say), as contacts with Europeans became ever more intensive but also as the Central Mekeo population underwent a period of sustained growth (Hau'ofa 1981: 28, Table 1), and communication and interaction between the villages became safer, more frequent and, simultaneously in many ways, more fraught. Many of the social repercussions of pacification (e.g., the disruptive new emphasis on *pakai* or 'love magic' [*bakai* in NMEk] have been well described by Mosko, e.g., see Mosko 2001).

It is always possible that the story A'aisa and Isapini reflects and contains motifs from the biblical story of Cain and Abel, though I am personally sceptical of that. We will probably never be able to say for certain that any of the myths described above were not influenced by mission teaching (starting from1890). But neither can it be argued that these societies have not thoroughly nativised the problems of moral action. It seems more likely in my view that they came to these profound concerns quite independently.

Regarding the historical and geographical provenance of the Mekeo A'aisa and his earlier putative manifestations as Akaia, it seems clear that this personage shares many traits with the wandering hero of Papuan myths or folktales (Busse 2005, Wagner 1972). As Stephen emphasises (1995: 136-37), the Mekeo hero even in his more recent guise has many of the characteristics of an archetypal Trickster (compare the Huli Trickster Iba Tiri in Goldman 1998). However, the evidence of certain Kuni myths alluded to above allows us to speculate more concretely. The destructive exploits of the dark figure there called Akaea (Egidi 1913, 1914) suggest that the original A'aisa may have been a similar type of anti-hero, sharing Akaea's characteristics as the wild, pre-cultural archetype of an unacculturated anti-social male, roaming the countryside and marauding and killing at random.[30] This is perhaps the source of 20th-century A'aisa's dark side. We know that in other parts of New Guinea a similar duality is ascribed to the ancestors. Newman noted that the Gururumba thought of the ancestors as having two quite distinct sets of characteristics. First, they are admirable beings, much like us, and in some sense contemporaneous with us as the source of our vital energy. Second, they inhabit a distant past when men "did not live within the bounds of society.... They raped, murdered and stole as whim directed them and ranged freely over the countryside without concern for boundaries" (Newman 1965: 86).

Stories of terrifying giants and dangerous wild men may sometimes be based on real people, violent men of great stature who were sometimes also cannibals (as in Young 1983), but it is clear that they also reflect a widely distributed archetype in pan-New Guinea myths. This archetype corresponds with the figure of Foikale in other myths, portrayed as an uncivilised and in many respects scarcely human counterpart of A'aisa. Foikale is ignorant of fire, hunting, planting, betel nut chewing and sexual reproduction. He lives in a cave and sometimes eats earth, sometimes plant food that has been "cooked" by the sun. Sometimes he lives in a village populated only by other men like himself. It is worth pointing out that in some versions of A'aisa 2, A'aisa's young brother Isapini is described along these lines. So these two siblings may represent two different sides of an original, ambivalent deity or hero. That said, the story of their disputes and their mutual symbolic self-destruction reflects a very sophisticated meditation on human nature and the origins of anti-social—and often deeply evil—dispositions and practices.

THE MEANING OF THE A'AISA MYTHS

As I have I hope established, there are two distinct Mekeo myths, both centred on the figure of A'aisa—and both purporting to account for humankind's moral failings. The first (A'aisa 1) is of the type that Ricoeur calls an Adamic myth. That is, it represents both natural evil and the practices that lead to or

exacerbate it as stemming in origin from a divine punishment for a primordial human failing or mistake (*kelele*). However, the second of the two myths (A'aisa 2) possesses a more modern psychological dimension insofar as it accounts for people's innate predisposition towards antisocial practices, describing the origins of *pikupa*, an emotion that is portrayed as being not just destructive of the social order but in most cases also self-destructive.[31]

In A'aisa 1, village men beat and verbally abuse the deity, who has taken on the form of a small boy, and then steal the animals he has captured in his net. They are subsequently punished for this behaviour when A'aisa, revealed in his true form, 'throws down' death—mortality—in the form of a dead body and a range of antisocial practices (practices that lead to conflict, retribution and thus to a range of natural evils). At the same time, however, A'aisa 'throws down' the four key social roles, the institutional pillars of Mekeo society: the peace chief, war chief, peace sorcerer and war magician.[32] Here, in contrast to the Daribi myth, we have a deserved retribution; the behaviour of the village men towards the young A'aisa cost them their wives, their ability to slough their skins like snakes and live forever, and brought down upon them a cultural order that inevitably leads to a wide variety of natural evils.

The second myth of origins (A'aisa 2) is very different. Here two brothers fall into a kind of jealous[33] madness in which they seem to almost wilfully misinterpret ambivalent actions and events. There is an element of wilful self-destruction in the way A'aisa brings about the initial misunderstanding, by taking on the form of a small boy. Stephen (1995: 137) wrote: "People point out that [...] A'aisa deceived his brother Isapini by appearing to him in the form of a small boy, but was insulted when his brother failed to recognise him and treated him as a child."[34] The chained misunderstandings, and retaliations for imagined slights, that follow on from this initial event all seem to be brought about in some sense accidentally-on-purpose. It is as if—as in the myth of Afungo and Fuana—the two protagonists are intent on destroying one another or, if not one another, then each his other in the form of his nephew and namesake. The result is that both sons are killed (despite last-minute efforts to save them). As we saw above, it is believed that humankind is condemned to emulate A'aisa by virtue of *kafa*—perhaps a kind of predisposition to evil or at least anti-social conflict-generating practices like *painao*, *piai*, *lapau* and so on.

According to the tale of the star-crossed brothers—this tragi-comedy of errors and wilful misunderstandings—humankind did not inherit the guilt of some original misdemeanour or fault, but it did inherit a capacity for and irresistible inclination towards evil, concretised as *pikupa*. Men in particular (it seems) are condemned forever to re-enact the primordial drama, which serves as a moral template for inherently tragic action. As Ricoeur put it (1969:

173), "the fault appears to be indistinguishable from the very existence of the tragic hero." A'aisa embodies evil—but he is also good—and he lives out the inevitable consequences of this paradox. Isapini is in many ways his mirror image—albeit his younger brother and hence junior in rank. Salvation, in this cosmic schema, can only consist in "a sort of aesthetic deliverance issuing from the tragic spectacle itself, internalised in the depths of existence and converted into pity with respect to oneself" (Ricoeur 1969: 173).

The import of one part of this narrative becomes much clearer if we schematise the relations and events in episode 1 of A'aisa 2 (Figure 2 below) according the fullest versions of that myth. In Table 3, I sequence the events portrayed in that episode to bring out the central theme of that episode, which dramatises and encapsulates the profound moral fatalism and tragic self-conception of the Mekeo.

Figure 2 highlights the often overlooked Oedipal dimension of this story.[35] Meanwhile, it becomes clear from the analytic array of events given in Table 3 that the core message of this particular story lies in the inevitable loss—the obviation—of reciprocity. The social relationships that are predicated on *asymmetric* giving and delayed reciprocity (Hau'ofa 1981: 82) are dramatically and tragically obviated by the (apparent!) precise and immediate equivalence of the return gift, which amounts to a rejection of the proffered social bond. But it is the malicious and ultimately self-destructive disposition of A'aisa, his ingrained *pikupa*, that ends the possibility of a harmonious relationship between brothers and threatens the very possibility of human of sociality.

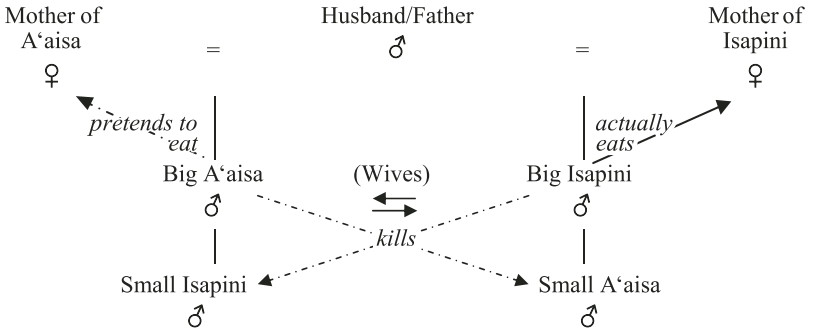


Figure 2. Schematic representation of relations and events in episode 1, A'aisa 2.

Table 3. The obviation of delayed/asymmetric reciprocity and thus sociality itself in episode 1, A'aisa 2.

	Agent	Symbolic or Material Action/Emotion	Patient	
i)	A	experiences *pikupa* regarding [….]	I	(*pikupa*)
a)	A I A	gratuitously/maliciously deceives (as a result) inadvertently insults reacts with 'anger' against	I A I	(*fonge*) (*ia-ngea*) (*ofuenge*)
b)	A I A	gives self-raised pig to [attempt to reconcile?] gives 'the same' self-raised pig to reacts with 'anger' against	I A I	(*peni*) (*umaka*) (*ofuenge*)
ii)	A	deceives himself about his wife's adultery with	I	(*pikupa*)
c)	A I A I A & I	pretends to I he has cooked his mother for a feast actually cooks his mother for a feast kills the son of kills the son of both react with 'grief/regret'	I I A 	(oedipal fantasy) (*au-pungu*) (*au-pungu*) (EoS)

MYTHOPOEIA AS CONTINGENT SENSE-MAKING PROJECTS

Accounts of a fall from some primordial state of grace are remarkably widespread in world mythology, as Wagner remarked (1967: 41). This is especially the case across Melanesia. Dorothy Counts (1994) has documented myths of "paradise lost" across northwest New Britain, where the phenomenon is linked to the departure of an offended culture hero. Cargo cults have often recast this theme to address perceptions of racial inequality and inequity (Burridge 1988 [1960], Lawrence 1964, Lattas 1998). One of the most intransigent problems for theories of folklore or mythology resides in the fact that certain mythic themes and motifs are universal, or very nearly so. Are they shared aspects of a universal psyche as argued influentially by Freud, Jung, Campbell and numerous others? Or are they evidence for a diffusionist theory whereby core themes and motifs spread out from some forgotten mythpoeic centre or centres? Take, for instance, the myth of the ogre-killing child. This is the tale of an abandoned mother and her infant child (sometimes the abandoned woman is pregnant); the infant grows rapidly, turning into a formidable warrior; he (and occasionally she) slays a cannibal monster that has terrorised the village or the neighbourhood. Versions of this myth occur not just throughout New Guinea and Island Melanesia, but across Africa and the Americas.

Hence the most interesting questions for anthropologists are: How does a plot vary from place to place? What are its local manifestations? How do the protagonists differ? Do the sociocultural circumstances of its telling account for specific themes and motifs? Wagner emphasised the "appropriateness" of the myths he studied, their cultural rightness or "fit" (1967, 1972). As Young has it, each community will domesticate any given narrative in an attempt to "claim it as its own" (Young 1991: 388; see also Young 1983: 35 and Telban 1998: 142). Indeed, this has been something of a commonplace in anthropology for some time (see for example Firth 1967 [1960]). We must thus expect any collected version of any myth will have its unique, contextually appropriate and contextually motivated emphases, mediated perhaps by the personal interests of the teller. From Mekeo ethnography we have a concrete example of these processes at work in Bergendorff's (1998) account of the way in which A'aisa 1 had been modified to advance the socio-political purposes of a specific group, the so-called *isapu* people, who claimed to be in direct communication with the Christian God and "the Sky people". In the reworked version it was not death that A'aisa 'threw down' but a black skin and a white. The Papua New Guineans caught the black skin, not the white. "The meaning of this is that all ancestors are white" (Bergendorff 1998: 126). When the dead return, through the efforts of the *isapu* people, "they will return as white and the Papuans will also turn into whites" (p. 126). This leaves us in no doubt about the potential of myth, even one as entrenched as this had been, serving as the ideological ground of the traditional chiefly society, to be transformed and exploited in the service of new ideologies and new interest groups.

Some of Barth's (1987) comments on indigenous cosmologies are relevant here. Barth argued that, in local sense-making in small-scale communities, *meaning is conferred selectively on a chosen sector of the world*. Different communities select different aspects of their lifeworld to problematise and explain, typically using the tools of symbolism and myth. Hence some of the most useful questions the anthropologist can ask will focus on "which meanings, for which purposes, with claims of validity for which sector [of the world]" (Barth 1987: 69). Philosophical thinking in many smaller communities in the vast hinterland of PNG seems most often to focus on the mysteries of nature, for example, "the life forms that surround the Ok in their mountain slope environment" (1987: 69). In southwest Papua the main focus seems to be on fertility and the frustration of a hero's regenerative powers (Wagner 1972: 24). Elsewhere it is on sexual differentiation and gender roles. For the Mekeo, the most interesting questions are moral ones. Why is man drawn towards evil, so often knowing what is right but doing what is wrong? Here we recall the common self-description, as reported by

Hau‘ofa (1981: 216) and heard often by myself in the 1980s: “we Mekeo, are very good people *but* we are also very bad.” Such self-deprecatory remarks are typically delivered with great equanimity, even a wry pride, but an observer of Mekeo life-ways gets a strong sense that the Mekeo mind has been engaged in a long and tortuous struggle aimed at comprehending their seemingly insurmountable inclination towards envy, distrust and mystical enactments of malice.

Ricoeur (1969) has claimed that four powerful archetypal theories—or myths—underlie all attested accounts of the origins of moral evil. Two of these are particularly relevant here: the so-called Adamic myth, which describes an original fault and fall; and “the myth of the tragic vision” in which a morally ambivalent deity punishes humankind less for some failing or folly of its own than out of divine envy or jealousy (Greek *phthoinos*). The first theory resonates with the Mekeo myth I have called A‘aisa 1, as noted above. The tragic aspect of both A‘aisa stories lies in the tension between A‘aisa’s awareness that *pikupa* can lead to suffering and even death and his inability to resist it. However, A‘aisa 1 contains a motif that does not appear in Ricoeur’s systematisation. Here we have a deity who as it were *contrives* to be misrecognised, beaten and insulted—as if precisely to initiate a cycle of vengeance and counter-vengeance that will end in his own destruction. This is the myth of the self-inimical and (in some roundabout way) self-sacrificing deity. Thus in A‘aisa 1 the deity as a small child provokes the village men by his paradoxical success as a hunter, bringing down upon himself insults and blows. But his revenge involves ‘throwing down’ all the essential elements of Mekeo being-in-the-world. This theme is echoed in A‘aisa 2, where the deity kills his namesake and alter or surrogate, while from his own son’s murdered corpse come the wallaby meat and magical substances that are the currency of social interactivity in Mekeo society. Through self-destruction, the divine hero brings social institutions and anti-social practices into the world—along with mortality itself, the defining condition of human existence with all its attendant ceremonial practices. The coherence and persistence of this fundamental theme—surviving more than a century of social, cultural and political changes—testifies to the remarkable integrity and resilience of the self-conception and complex moral character of the Mekeo.

SOME FINAL REMARKS

Having spent nearly 30 years grappling with the otherness of the Mekeo lifeworld and Mekeo ways of knowing and reasoning and being, I have tried above to summarise insights gained and understandings. I have taken the A‘aisa myths to be important vehicles of and (for this outsider) keys to the concealed/revealed knowledge that provides Mekeo thinkers with a

narratively articulated understanding of their own collective identity and character and an acceptable degree of existential (dis/)comfort (Zigon 2010). In these myths we are privy the "authentic self-constitution" (Mimica 2010) of a thoroughly alien universe and a lifeworld, revealed through a stubborn engagement with detailed ethnographic accounts, the stories themselves—the myths—that I and others have gathered from knowledgeable Mekeo, and vivid memories of my own often unsettling experiences in Mekeo villages in the early 1980s. My approach, adumbrated by Wagner (1967: 243) has been to present key cultural categories as expressed in Mekeo and to explicate them with reference to social discourses and practices. That is, I have tried to correlate pivotal categories of the language with what we know about the uses of these categories by traditional Mekeo speakers—both in accounting for their most authentic feelings and motives and in the construction of complex myths that, being simultaneously historical and timeless, can serve essentially ideological functions (Jones 2007). By focusing on language use in the context of the naturally occurring discourses and practices I hope to have succeeded in providing some useful insights into a profoundly different moral universe, some appreciation of an intricate moral self-conception so very different from our own, and some partial understanding of what is an intrinsically tragic way of being-in-the-world—a way of being that is jealous, stubborn and proud, but at the same time fearful, fatalistic and irremediably tragic.

NOTES

1. The Mekeo live in some 14 small, medium and large-sized villages situated along the banks of the Angapunge (also known as St Joseph's) and Biaru rivers and their various tributaries in the extreme west of Central Province. To the south and east their habitat consists of level kunai (*Imperata cylindrica*) grasslands bordered to the west and north by seasonal swamps and forest. They speak dialects of an Austronesian language closely related to Roro, Kuni and Motu, and represent the westernmost reach of Austronesian languacultures on the southeast coast of Papua New Guinea and the furthest point reached in a presumed westward expansion along this coast.
2. Hau'ofa (1981: 222-28) lists numerous types of sorcery practice that are referred to as *ungaunga*. All involve an attack on the spirit, or inner person, conceptualised here in terms of the inner organs of the body.
3. The Daribi myth of Souw is one of a very few other examples to have been both reported and analysed (Wagner 1967). A relevant recent study of evil in myths of the Formosan aborigines is Chen 2013. Turning to non-Austronesian data, there is a reference in Burridge (1988 [1960]: 59) to a Tangu myth that associates the origin of evil with the coming into the world of the first sorcerer. Some versions

of the Kilibob and Manub story (reported in Lawrence 1964) have vaguely similar themes. But see the Orokolo-Toaripi myth of Oa Laea (given at length in Brown 1988) for a more detailed account of the origin of various moral evils, which is also linked to the emergence of sorcery and sorcerers. (The Toaripi inhabit a stretch of coast just a small distance to the west of the Mekeo area.)

4. The ethnographic present referred to throughout corresponds most narrowly to the early 1980s. I was a teacher at Mainohana High School from 1980 to 1981; I returned in 1983 as linguistic fieldworker, spending altogether 12 months in Mekeo villages. More broadly it refers to a fairly stable social and socio-cognitive situation that seems to have obtained throughout most of the 20th century (as documented by Bergendorff 1996, 1998; Desnoës 1941; Guis 1936; Hau'ofa 1971, 1981; Mosko 1985; Seligman 1910; Stephen 1995).
5. The presence of a reverse apostrophe [‘] in a Mekeo term indicates a (weak or strong) glottal stop. This phoneme is peculiar to East Mekeo but is gradually being lost. (There are four phonologically defined dialects. In North Mekeo, West Mekeo and Northwest Mekeo it is represented by /k/ or /g/.)
6. In the Mekeo myth the theme of marital infidelity is introduced merely as a suspicion, a mental construct that aggravates the rapidly growing hostility and *pikupa* of A'aisa. In tales of Kilibob and Manup (Lawrence 1964) or Titikolo and Alu (Counts 1994), this theme is more prominent. The infidelity actually occurs, often at the instigation of the younger brother's wife, and is the prime cause of the brothers' conflict and separation.
7. Barker (1984), in an early work on Maison Christianity, defines evil in terms of those acts that are likely to be punished by sorcerers (*wea tamati*, or *yawu tamati*). As he puts it (1984: 222): "Maisin call the acts that attract the wrath of a sorcerer either *da* or *dinunu*. English-speaking informants translate *da* as 'mistake'. A better translation might be 'provocation', for acts are only recognised as *da* when they are marked by a sorcerer's retaliation."
8. Regarding *lapau*, Stephen (1995: 13-14) claims that there is something of a double standard in force, suggesting that women and girls are more chaste than men. She writes:

   > Adultery is an expected male pastime, although such things are always kept out of the public eye for the sake of decorum. Women must be faithful to their husbands; moreover, they are said by males to be scarcely interested in sex. Unmarried girls are required to be chaste and are carefully watched over (see also Hau'ofa 1981:120-21).

   But Hau'ofa, in the locus cited, also remarks that secret sexual relationships were engaged in widely by unmarried men and girls. Girls had multiple boyfriends. In fact: "It is one of the nightmares of husbands that their wives are conducting adulterous liaisons with 'old flames' among whose number are their own agnatic peers with whom they shared past amorous adventures" (1981: 121).
9. The phrase used here is actually from C. Wright Mills (Mills 1940: 904-13). But see also Robbins' discussion (2004: 184-86) of the Urapmin vocabulary of motives.

10. As suggested in note 5, there are four dialects of Mekeo, distinguishable mainly on phonological grounds (Jones 1998): East Mekeo, North Mekeo, West Mekeo and Northwest Mekeo (also known as Kovio). Unless otherwise indicated the Mekeo terms cited in this article are East Mekeo forms. In Mosko's publications East Mekeo A'aisa appears as Akaisa, and Isapini as Tsabini, which are North Mekeo forms of the names.
11. Stephen notes that A'aisa is mentioned in spells along with the names of other powerful ancestors (1995: 243-44), something I can verify from my own fieldwork. His relics are treated like those of an ancestor, being used in *ungaunga* sorcery (Stephen 1995).
12. See Bergendorff (1998: fn. 5) for the cuscus story; a European cat was also once believed to be a manifestation of A'aisa. See also the popular story of *Kinokino* ("Flying Squirrel"), which is almost certainly an exoteric version of A'aisa 2, told for entertainment.
13. Stephen (1995: 137) notes that "people often remark that A'aisa tricked the people (*papiau e foge'i*) and that is why the men of sorrow and others who inherited his secret knowledge still do so".
14. Inaufokoa is the clan, possibly of Kuni origin, which by most accounts founded Veifa'a (see Hau'ofa 1981).
15. The culture hero is known as Akaia in the West Mekeo dialect, Akaiza or Akaisa in North Mekeo, and A'aisa in East Mekeo (spoken in the area traditionally referred to as Central Mekeo). A'aisa appears as A'aia in older texts such as the Desnoës dictionary; the [s] is an intrusive or excrescent consonant with little phonemic value. The anarchic and homicidal figure referred to as Akaea in Kuni myths may represent an early version of this hero.
16. The young man who collected the story translated *nge* as 'trap'. The word *nge* actually refers to the long nets that were used to trap animals in the past. This young man might not have seen one. Small deadfall traps are normally referred to as *pa*, snares are *nio* (or *uve-nio*, where *uve* means vine).
17. In the esoteric version of the myth collected by Stephen (1995: 260) A'aisa himself became a huge tree, lifting the women up into the sky. It is interesting to note that A'aisa is also held to be commonly incarnated as the deadly Papuan Black snake known in Mekeo as *aungama*—i.e., *au-ngama*—which can be translated either as 'man grows' or 'tree grows' (it is cognate with the Motu place-name Taurama—i.e., *tau-rama*—the name of a hill near Port Moresby that is inhabited by a giant snake with supernatural powers).
18. Seligman (1910) also recorded a shorter version of the story, gathered by a Dr Strong, that provides a link with the Mekeo village of Eboa (which was originally a group of three villages grouped around the mythico-historically important hill called O'opo):

> Oa Rove went fishing in the Ethel or Ufafa River, he took his canoe to a place near Eboa and there made the hill appear on which Eboa folk expose their dead to the present day. All the inhabitants of all the villages of the Papuasian world, especially the people of Toaripi and the Motu, went to this hill to try to get their women from Oa Rove, who gave to

each tribe the special weapon in the use of which it excels, viz spears and wooden clubs to the Roro-speaking tribes and bows and arrows to the people of the Papuan Gulf. He also taught or gave the Mekeo tribes their sorcery which kills people.

19. See Mosko (2005b) and Jones (2007) on the potential problems involved in so-called "literal translations".
20. This situation is mirrored in one version of the Kilibob and Manub myth (Lawrence 1964) from Bogadjim. The two protagonists, referred to in Bogadjim as Kelibob and Mandumba, have nephews who are also namesakes. The relevant version of the myth was collated by Riesenfeld (1950: 368-69) from early German-language sources.
21. In the more extensive version given by Mosko (1985, 1992), it is not Isapini himself but his wives who visit A'aisa's village and give offence by failing to recognise the young boy as A'aisa the chief. This version is in accord with the story of Afungo and Fuana. Michelle Stephen's version of the story corresponds with Hau'ofa's in that it is Isapini himself who causes offence by failing to recognise his own brother.
22. Elsewhere in tales of warring brothers (e.g., those of Kilibob and Manub) adultery is the explicit cause of the brothers' falling out, their feud and their subsequent travels.
23. In the dialect of Piunga (West Mekeo) the names of the principal characters would have been Akaia (or Akaida) and Iabini (or Idabini). The story-teller has used the more widely familiar East Mekeo forms of the two names.
24. Stephen (1995: 56-57) confirms my own impression that, while some recognised 'men of knowledge' (*ikifa au'i*)—effectively sorcerers (*ungaunga*)—claim to be in possession of special, secret versions of the myths, the same or very similar stories are recounted by men with no special qualifications to instruct or entertain listeners of all ages. Neither type of teller is inclined to offer interpretations of the myths, although sorcerers can and do supply exegeses, typically in secret and upon receipt of gifts.
25. Hau'ofa (1971) claimed that "[t]he origin myth of the people, the story of A'aisa the Creator, can only be told by an *ungaunga*" (or sorcerer). However, by the 1980s this myth was widely known and retold, albeit often in a much disguised form. Entries in the Desnoës dictionary (1941) indicate that the adventures and personality of A'aia (later A'aisa) were widely known and frequently referred to in the period before the Second World War.
26. Roro has a cognate term, *taba,* meaning 'custom' in a more general sense.
27. This seems to have been said to excuse actions that would otherwise be considered blameworthy.
28. The last formulations captures the essence of *pikupa*, and recalls incidentally the use of "jealousy" in translations of the Old Testament where it is used to describe Yahweh's "jealous" insistence on exclusive worship.
29. Typically defined as: 'Envy, jealousy, pain felt and malignantly conceived at the sight of excellence or happiness.'

30. Similar figures appear again in the Mekeo myths Olibe and of Angukabi (corresponding to the Kuni tale of Vanuabi). Angukabi, for example, is an infant abandoned with its mother while still unborn, who grows to young manhood in an underground cave ignorant of its paternity; however, the child teaches itself how to use its father's weapons and becomes a great killer. In the Kuni tale, Vanuabi eventually joins forces with his father and together they lay waste the countryside. Goilalan mythology is replete with such beings (compare Hallpike 1977, on the Tauade). This archetype appears as Enkidu in the Epic of Gilgamesh (18th century BC).
31. One reviewer has suggested an interpretation of A'aisa 2 in particular in terms of social structures. It is certainly true that the seniority principle that underpins the Mekeo social order contains within itself the seeds of *pikupa* and social conflict. This inherent tension characterises the asymmetrical relation holding between an older brother and his younger siblings as well as that between a senior chief and his sub-clan (Hau'ofa 1981: 104-5).
32. There is no mention of food plants or animals. The Mekeo plains are very fertile and food has not been a major preoccupation for some generations at least, although there are terms for famine and famine foods.
33. The brothers (A'aisa and Isapini) are jealous in the Biblical sense—see note 27—i.e., easily slighted, and ever ready to take offence and punish those who offend.
34. It is a very grave insult among the Mekeo to treat any adult as a young child, whether deliberately or by mistake (the relevant verb is *pa-angu'a*). See Hau'ofa (1981: 248) for an example—in ritual contexts the sorcerer can be compared to a powerless child.
35. An Oedipal theme is also evident in various folktales, for example, in the story known as *Foe inā e-ani-a isonioni-na* (Egret's mother is eaten).

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ABSTRACT

The author documents and interprets versions of key Mekeo myths that tell of the origins of moral evil, suggesting that, where such myths exist, they may be seen as evidence of an evolving moral consciousness in which subjective awareness of guilt begins to displace feelings of shame and loss of face. He identifies the components of a complex socio-moral order with two distinct types of moral behaviour, a semi-institutionalised anti-morality, and two largely implicit principles of action that inform everyday actions and transactions. The author shows how these various components are grounded in the personalities, actions and interactions of mythic personages.

Keywords: Mekeo myths, moral awareness, moral fatalism, self-conception

RETERRITORIALISING KINSHIP: THE MĀORI *HAPŪ*

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The further we have moved from genealogy and the genealogical model the more progress we have made in the anthropology of kinship. Hopefully, we will soon do away with the circles and triangles of those impossibly transcendent kinship diagrams altogether. Perhaps the most serious of the many weaknesses of these diagrams—Ingold (2007: 112) calls them "circuit-boards"—is that they only include people: occasionally a god or an ancestor-turned-animal may be admitted as a quasi-human circle or triangle, but only on the condition that we recognise them as quasi-kin. There is no symbol for a spring, river, mountain, mist or whale. In divorcing the humanity from the materiality of kinship, these charts reinforce an understanding of kinship as ultimately transcendent when what we should be seeking is a deeper understanding of the ways in which the humanity and materiality of kinship are implicated in each other's emergence. If kinship is a "mutuality of being", as Sahlins has proposed, then this must include relations between human beings, their land and certain products of their collective labour (Sahlins 2011a: 16).

It is with this general idea in mind that I return here to Te Waimana, the New Zealand Māori community I have been thinking and writing about for some 30 years, to reconsider the nature of *hapū* 'territorial kin groups' and their relationships with ancestral meeting houses. In a recent article on this subject (Sissons 2010) I drew upon Lévi-Strauss' concept of the "house" to propose that *hapū* were not, as Webster (1975) had argued, both large kin-categories and smaller, "core" kin groups but were, instead, only kin groups that became house-centred during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In a brief commentary on my article, Webster (2011) re-stated his 1975 position, claiming that it was closer to Māori understandings than mine and, in response, I emphasised the need to understand the creative, improvised nature of kin groups often concealed by an ideology of descent (Sissons 2011). While this was undoubtedly a little storm in a southern teacup, there were more general issues, including the historicity and materiality of kinship, at stake. I take this opportunity, therefore, to develop more fully here my response to Webster.

In a critique of Sahlins' recent contribution to the anthropology of kinship, Bloch has argued that the whole exercise of searching for a "highest common denominator" in culture is fundamentally misconceived. Kinship, as opposed to "kinships"—different cultural understandings of kinship—is, for Bloch, concerned with "relations of closeness created by parenthood and sex":

> It is totally irrelevant to this kinship whether any particular group of people have ideas that resemble western folk-notions of kinship… whether those people are interested in genealogy or not, whether they mix up genealogy with all sorts of other things or not. (Bloch 2013: 256)

But if "kinships", as different mutualities of being and becoming, emerge out of the participation of Bloch's kinship in the more general processes of social life, then the ways that people mix up genealogy with other things is by no means irrelevant. The study of kinship from this perspective belongs to a Deleuzian anthropology defined by Ingold (2011: 9) as "the study of human becomings as they unfold in the weave of the world".

My argument here is similarly framed in Deleuzian terms. It is that Māori *hapū* can be understood as collective becomings, an emergent series of new kin-assemblages territorialised or reterritorialised around different ritual centres. These ritual centres—"intense centres" in Deleuzian terms—included small shrines (*tūāhu*), churches, settlement meeting houses and *hapū* meeting houses. Deterritorialisations and reterritorialisations of *hapū* around these centres between 1840 and the early 1900s took place during three periods of dramatic and widespread social change throughout Māori society, each of which was associated with a significant ritual change. In the 1840s and 1850s, mass conversions to Christianity saw the abandonment of shrines and the construction of hundreds of churches to replace them (Belich 1996: 217, Sundt 2010: 61-87); in the 1860s and early 1870s, military invasions and government confiscations of tribal lands coincided with a widespread rejection of European missionaries and the beginnings of prophetic movements whose adherents built carved meeting houses in place of their now abandoned churches (Binney 1995, Elsmore 2000); from the 1880s into the 20th century, sales and legal sub-divisions of tribal lands were associated with a proliferation of carved, *hapū* meeting houses on surveyed reserves, termed *marae* (Sissons 2010).

It would, of course, be impossible to describe this process in all its complex multiplicity here. Instead, I have chosen a Deleuzian "archaeological" approach, seeking to uncover the succession of historical assemblages of one, rather small, Te Waimana *hapū* named Ngā Maihi (literally, 'The Maihi People', descendants of an ancestor named Maihi who lived around 20 generations ago). While, for its members, the collective becomings of this *hapū* were and are most meaningfully recorded in local traditions, its successive re-assemblings also reflected the broader changes to Māori society outlined above. My hope, therefore, is that this exercise will provide insights into the historicity and materiality of Māori *hapū* more generally. In what follows I first outline my Deleuzian framework, highlighting the

possibilities it allows for a non-transcendent understanding of kinship. I then embark upon a narrative that traces the re-assemblings of Ngā Maihi around different ritual centres between the 1830s and early 20th century. I conclude with some reflections on anthropological representations of *hapū* and the debate concerning their status as descent categories.

ASSEMBLAGE, TERRITORY AND INTENSITY

In order to understand the historical emergence of different *hapū* formations we must abandon functionalist, structuralist and other models that attribute a transcendental essence, expressed as genealogy, to kin groups. While such continuity is, of course, often central to the way kin-group members themselves conceptualise their group identity, we need to employ different concepts if we are to appreciate the radical changes in *hapū* organisation that occurred during the latter half of the 19th century. A Deleuzian ontology has an advantage over those which assume a separation between culture and nature in that it allows us to grasp the emergence of kin groups, not as an instantiation of a pre-given transcendent structure outside of nature and the material world but as the a reassembling of people, things and ideas.

Foucault famously commented that, in retrospect, the 20th century would be seen as Deleuzian. However, within anthropology, at least, his thought has only become part of the mainstream within the last ten years or so, especially via the writings of Ingold (2007, 2011), Latour (1993), Vivieros de Castro (1992, 2010) and Beihl and Locke (2010). Gilles Deleuze was a French philosopher whose early books were brilliant commentaries on the thought of Hume, Bergson, Kant and Nietzsche. Through his collaboration with Felix Guatarri, a radical psychoanalyst and political activist whom he met in Paris in 1968, he went on to develop more fully the political possibilities of his philosophy of desire and emergence. In *A Thousand Plateaus*, the second volume of his and Guattari's major work, *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, they introduced the powerful and now influential metaphor of the rhizome—a spreading, horizontal root with multiple branches leading in all directions—to describe a mode of non-hierarchical thought and action. This, they contrasted with the branching structure of a tree, a metaphor for hierarchical thought and action.

In addition to the notion of rhizomic emergence, I have found three concepts, also developed most fully by Deleuze and Guatarri in their *A Thousand Plateaus*, to be particularly helpful in understanding the process of the historical emergence of *hapū*. These are "assemblage", "territory" (including territorialisation, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation) and "intensity". Let me briefly elaborate on each of these.

The main advantage of the concept of assemblage over that of institution or group is that it includes people, things and fragments of all kinds, these held together by relationships of exteriority rather than by the relationships of interiority characteristic of Hegelian totalities. Totalities and assemblages are both wholes that are greater than the sum of their parts. However, in a totality parts only have meaning as parts in relation to the whole to which they belong whereas, in an assemblage, parts also retain their capacities for interaction when they move from one assemblage to another—that is, when they are reterritorialised (De Landa 2006: 9, Deleuze and Guatarri 1987: 503-5). New assemblages activate different capacities among the detachable parts and their interactions give rise to different emergent properties specific to different wholes. Assemblages are simultaneously "machinic" (with detachable parts) and "expressive"; they are comprised, on the one hand, "of bodies, of actions and passions, an intermingling of bodies reacting to one another" and, on the other hand, "of acts and statements, of incorporeal transformations attributed to bodies" (Deleuze and Guatarri 1987: 88).

In the following passage Deleuze and Guatarri describe, by way of example, "the feudal assemblage". Much of what they have to say here is also directly applicable to kinship and we can readily substitute kinship assemblage for "feudal assemblage" and chief, priest and commoner for "overlord, vassal and serf" in this passage:

> Taking the feudal assemblage as an example, we would have to consider the interminglings of bodies defining feudalism. The body of the earth and the social body: the body of the overlord, vassal and serf; the body of the knight and the horse and their new relations to the stirrup; the weapons and tools assuring a symbiosis of bodies—a whole machinic assemblage. We would also have to consider statements, expressions, the juridicial regime of heraldry, all of the incorporeal transformations, in particular, oaths and their variables (the oath of obedience, but also the oath of love etc.): the collective assemblage of enunciation. On the other axis we would have to consider the feudal territorialities and reterritorializations and at the same time the line of deterritorialization that carries away both the knight and his mount, the statements and acts. We would have to consider how all this combines in the crusades. (p. 89)

For Deleuze and Guatarri, all assemblages are basically territorial—they "begin by extracting a territory from a milieu" (p. 503) and they become more highly territorialised as their parts or fragments are consolidated around intense centres (p. 328-29):

> There is always a place, a tree or grove in a territory where all the forces come together in a hand-to-hand combat of energies.… this intense centre is

> simultaneously inside the territory and outside several territories that converge on it.… Inside or out, the territory is linked to an intense centre which is like the unknown homeland, terrestrial source of all forces, friendly and hostile, where everything is decided. (p. 321)

Intense centres consolidate assemblages, holding them together as effectively as relations of power. As Beihl and Locke point out in their proposal for a Deleuzian anthropology of becoming, Deleuze emphasised desire over power and saw society as something that is "constantly escaping in every direction" along lines of flight (Beihl and Locke 2010: 223). Rather than being held together by capillaries of power, society, as an assemblage, creatively consolidates around intense centres (Deleuze and Guatarri 1987: 329). Instead of focusing on the way society is held together through the imposition of a formalising, hierarchical, centralised, aborescent model—that is, through the action of a centre upon a periphery—Deleuze and Guatarri highlight the ways in which an exterior milieu is consolidated and intensified at the centre (p. 328): "consolidation is not content to come after; it is creative.… consistency [integration] is the same as consolidation, it is the act that produces consolidated aggregates, of succession as well as co-existence" (p. 329).

This concept of consolidation or intensification accords closely with the rhizomic understanding of social life introduced by Deleuze and Guatarri in *A Thousand Plateaus*. This rhizomic view is also shared by Tūhoe people of Te Waimana. Indeed, the kinship milieu in which Ngā Maihi and other Tūhoe *hapū* of Te Waimana territorialised themselves is understood in local tradition to be the spreading, entangled vines of a *kūmara* (sweet potato) plant, this understanding preserved in the saying: *Te Waimana Kāku: Horana i te kururangi* (The woven, chiefly cloak of Te Waimana is like the spreading of the *kūmara* vines).

THE FLIGHT OF NGĀ MAIHI

The territorialisation of the *hapū* named Ngā Maihi around a succession of intense centres is summarised in Table 1 below. In what follows I explain and expand upon this diagram, drawing upon oral traditions that I recorded in the late 1970s and early 1980s and on archival evidence, much of which has been gathered since. Of particular importance as sources of documentary evidence are reports produced by Judith Binney and me for the Waitangi Tribunal, a Government body established to investigate unjust government actions towards Māori since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Binney's substantial report, an outstanding work of historical scholarship, has been published in full (Binney 2009) whereas my own much smaller report

remains unpublished (Sissons 2002). Binney and I consulted many of the same archival sources relating to Te Waimana and wherever possible I have cited Binney's text rather than my own, less readily available, report or its archival sources. Where I have used different sources from Binney I have cited these.

Table 1. Reterritorialising Ngā Maihi.

Hapū type	Date	Intense Centre	Place of Settlement	Chief/Priest
Shrine-centred	Pre-1840	*Tūāhu*/spring	Te Iho o te ata Pukeatua	Maungaharuru
Temple-centred	1840-60	Church	Te Iho o te ata	Maungaharuru Rakuraku
Temple-centred	1875-85	Meetinghouse	Te Manuka	Rakuraku
House-centred	1886	Meetinghouse	Tanatana	Rakuraku

During the 1830s, the decade in which our story begins, Ngā Maihi comprised a group of around 70 people living near the head of the Waimana Valley in two adjacent settlements: Te Iho-o-te-ata and Pukeatua (Best 1925: 1158, Binney 2009: 49, 54-55, see aerial photo [Fig. 1] adjacent). They had recently re-occupied the valley, moving out from the rugged, forested interior into which they had fled to avoid Ngā Puhi raiders from the North armed with muskets. Their leader, a man of great *mana* named Maungaharuru, had brought his people out in the late 1820s or early 1830s so that they might plant *kūmara* and potatoes and prepare flax for trade with Europeans. Maungaharuru was a powerful priest (*tohunga*), medium of an ancestral god (*atua*) named Parehouhou (Best 1902: 58, Ngata 2004: 85). It is not recorded what visible form his *atua* normally assumed, but many such gods appeared as lizards and others were embodied by the priest who acted as their mouthpiece.

Maungaharuru was living with his daughter, Hokinga, her husband, Rehua, and their son Rakuraku in addition to other more distant relatives. By the end of the 1830s, Rakuraku had begun the intensive training required to become a priest, learning from his grandfather the rites performed on behalf of his *hapū* at a shrine (*tūāhu*) probably located beside or near a spring on the edge of the settlement (Best 1925: 1083, Smith 1910: 365). In addition to these rites, Rakuraku was taught genealogy, sorcery and traditions relating to the origins and history of Ngā Maihi and the landscape that they inhabited. Some of this traditional knowledge was later passed on by Rakuraku himself to the amateur ethnographer, Elsdon Best.

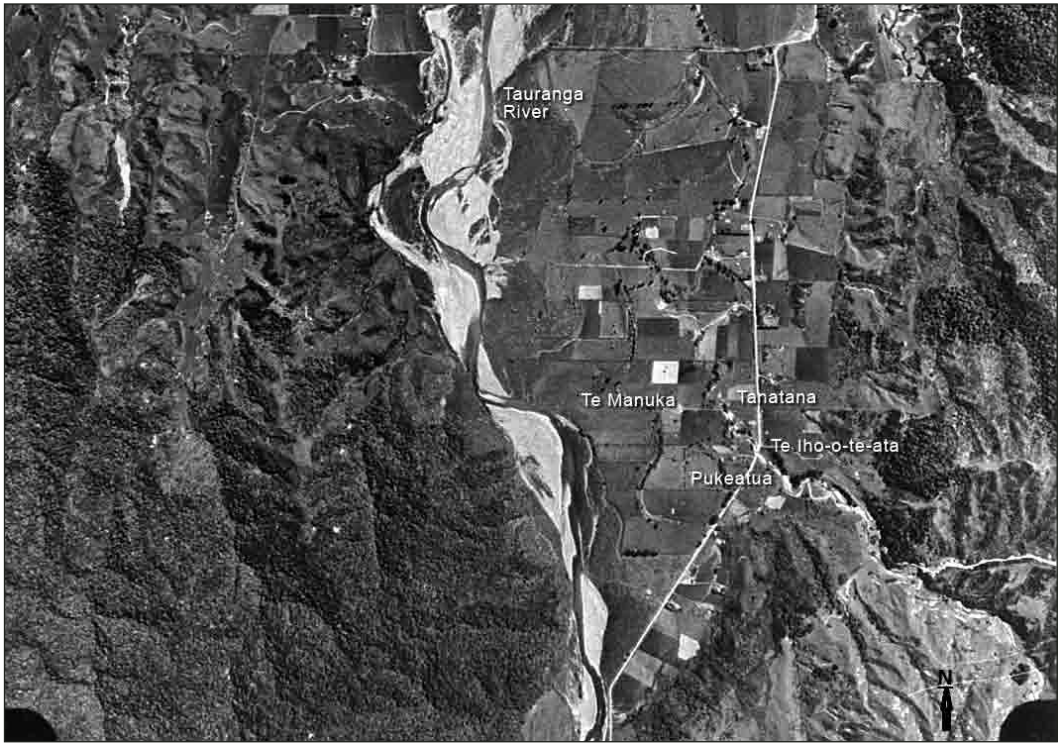


Figure 1. Aerial photo of Te Waimana with settlement names added. Original photo in Geography Dept. University of Auckland.

Best learned that the name "Nga Maihi" referred to the facing gables of the cave-dwelling of Ruamano, a sea demon (*taniwha*) and early ancestor of the *hapū* who lived 17 generations before Rakuraku (Best 1925a: 40-42, 963-965; see also Best 1925b: Table 12). Among the historical traditions that Maungaharuru taught his grandson were those relating to the origin and history of a spring named Te Waimana Kaaku (literally, 'chiefly cloak of water') from which the valley takes its name and near which Maungaharuru's shrine was probably located.

Rakuraku's great-grandson showed me where this spring was located on his farm and I learned a version of the origin story of the spring from Materoa, a granddaughter of one of Rakuraku's contemporaries who had lived at Te Iho-o-te-ata in the 1850s. Materoa told me that *kūmara* stores belonging to an old couple were raided on two occasions. In order to prevent a third theft the couple placed their *kūmara* in a pit and by reciting a spell (*karakia*) called forth their ancestor, the spring water, to cover it like a cloak, thus rendering the *kūmara* invisible to the thieves. Others told me that the old couple were original inhabitants of the valley and that the thieves were spirit people (*tūrehu*) (Sissons 1991: 110-13).

While this spring was not at the physical centre of either of the two Ngā Maihi settlements, it was undoubtedly an intense centre in Deleuzian terms, a sacred (*tapu*) centre consolidating Ngā Maihi as a kin-assemblage of people, gods and ancestors, some of whom were, like the spring, represented in their landscape. Moreover, it was an intense centre closely associated, through its origin narrative, with *kūmara*, the spreading vines of which Maungaharuru and Nga Maihi explicitly likened to the meshwork of kinship connections in which they were entangled. Associations between the spring, *kūmara* and kinship were elaborated upon by other traditional stories relating to the spring. In one such account an outsider was killed when trying to lay claim to Ngā Maihi's land by planting *kūmara* on it. The victim's companion, one of Rakuraku's ancestors, tried, unsuccessfully, to heal his friend with the spring's sacred water (Sissons 1991: 109).

The kin-assemblage that was Ngā Maihi of Te Waimana territorialised people, gods and ancestors around a spring and the shrine of Maungaharuru, the two probably located in close proximity to each other. As Johansen makes clear in his insightful and lengthy discussion of *tūāhu* and sacred water (*wai tapu* or *wai mana*) they are often associated in recorded traditions. He describes a *tūāhu* as follows:

> The typical *tuahu* is the sacred precinct par excellence, the place where the gods are represented and where offerings and other important rites are performed. We must imagine a rather simple scenery, a small elevation in the terrain with

> some poles and stones, probably fenced in. Although a few passages might be interpreted as if the *tuahu* also included the *wai tapu*…. (1958: 64)

Tūāhu were shrines at which offerings of first-fruits were placed and where sacred hair-cutting and other initiation rites (*pure*) were performed. In addition, sacrifices were offered to *atua* before war, and rites of divination, sorcery and counter-sorcery were enacted here (Johansen 1958: 78-81). While some shrines were small semi-circles of stones, Elsdon Best learned from Tutakangahau, a close relative of Rakuraku who was also training to be a priest at about the same time as Rakuraku, that some local *tūāhu* were formed as mounds near a sacred spring or pool to represent the labia of the earth-mother, Papa:

> One of the mounds was termed tuahu-a-te-Rangi [*tuahu* of the sky father] and in it was stuck a wand of the *karamu* tree, such a wand being called a *tira ora* [wand of life]…. The other mound was named puke-nui-a-Papa [labia/*mons veneris* of Papa] and the wand or rod inserted therein was known as the *tira mate* [wand of death and misfortune].… When the mounds were made the priest performed a certain ceremony and repeated charms or invocations in order to cause the *tira mate* to absorb all the undesirable qualities of people, all *he* (errors) and *hara* (offences against *tapu*). He then overthrew, or caused to fall, the *tira mate* and left the *tira ora* standing. (Best 1996a: 1074)

This rite, through which life was caused to triumph over death, was performed for warriors before battle and on other occasions when sickness or misfortune had to be overcome. In the performance of these and other rites, the *tūāhu* of Maungaharuru and his *atua*, Parehouhou, became the intense centres of Nga Maihi, territorialised as the locus of life itself at the symbolic centre of the body of the earth.

But in 1840, Rakuraku's priestly training came to an abrupt end: his grandfather became the valley's first Christian convert and the whole of Ngā Maihi followed his lead (Best 1996a: 1083). The decision to abandon the shrine of the god, Parehouhou, and perhaps those of other local *atua*, and to build churches to replace them was made at a large feast, remembered as Taua's feast because it was hosted in the valley by Maungaharuru's great ally, Taua. An elaborately carved *kūmara* store named, appropriately, "Te Waimana Kaaku", was built for this occasion (Judge Monro notes n.d.: 29, Best 1925: 562) Taua's settlement and that of his *hapū*, Ngāi Tama, was located down-river from Ngā Maihi near the mouth of the valley (Binney 2009: 46, 48, 619).

By the mid-to-late 1840s, Ngā Maihi had become a Catholic people. Now under the leadership of Rakuraku, they built a large church at Te Iho-o-te-ata

and named it Tomohukahuka (New Dawn). Maungaharuru, Rakuraku and their *hapū* had first sought, unsuccessfully, to attract an Anglican missionary or teacher to their settlement and had built a small Anglican chapel (Binney 2009: 48, 55). The large Catholic church replaced the *tūāhu* and Anglican chapel as the intense centre of a reterritorialised Christian kin-assemblage.

Unfortunately, we do not know what happened to Maungaharuru's *tūāhu*, nor, for that matter, do we know the fate of the hundreds of other shrines that were abandoned in the 1840s throughout the North Island of New Zealand. The stones of the shrines were probably unworked and would thus be very difficult to identify archaeologically (Best 1974: 77, Davidson 1984: 171). The mounds of earth were even more so. We do have, however, one eyewitness account written by Edward Shortland of the de-sanctifying of what was probably a *tūāhu*. Shortland does not identify the year or location of the ceremony, but it is likely to have taken place in the central North Island in the early 1840s when Shortland was living at Maketu.

> On arriving one evening at a Maori settlement, I found a ceremony, in which everyone appeared to take deep interest, was to take place in the morning. The inhabitants were mostly professing Christians, and the old sacred place of their settlement was, from the increase in their numbers, inconveniently near their houses.… I was curious to see in what way the land would be made *noa* [free of *tapu*]. In the morning when I went to the place I found a numerous assembly, while in the centre of the space was a large native oven, from which women were removing earth and mat coverings. When opened it was seen to contain only *kumara* or sweet potato. One of these was offered to each person present, which was held in the hand while the usual morning service was read, concluding with a short prayer that God's blessing might rest on the place. After this each person ate his *kumara* and the place was declared *noa*.… In this case, everyone present, by eating food cooked on the *tapu* ground, equally incurred the risk of offending the *Atua* of the family, which was believed to be removed by the Christian *karakia* [prayer]. (Shortland 1882: 27)

No such deterritorialising ceremony has been recorded for Ngā Maihi. As professing Christians, however, they too would have needed to ritually remove the *tapu* from Maungaharuru's shrine, the old sacred place of the settlement, at some point.

By the 1860s, Te Waimana was a relatively prosperous valley. People wore European clothing, fields of wheat had been planted and each of the settlements owned a small mill. Among the issues being debated were the form that local government should take and the terms of trade with Europeans. But the leaders also shared a more widespread concern, expressed elsewhere in prophetic movements, over the colonial government's hunger for Māori land. In 1866, the Te Waimana people were wrongly deemed by the Government

to be supporters of one such movement, the Pai-Marire, and to be shielding one of its leaders. Rakuraku's relatively small and undefended Ngā Maihi settlements were twice brutally ransacked by some 250 Government troops and on the second occasion Rakuraku was arrested. The following year, the lower half of the Waimana Valley was confiscated by the Government on the pretext that this was a justified punishment for rebellion.

Taua's grandson, Tamaikoha, had by this time assumed the leadership of his *hapū*, Ngāi Tama, and as surveys of the confiscated land began he organised and led an armed resistance (Binney 2009: 103-8, Sissons 1991: 125-32). Rakuraku decided not to confront the aggressor directly. Instead, he and Ngā Maihi resettled on the confiscated land occupying a fort situated between their valley and the coast and a small island just off the coast (Binney 2009: 123). During the three-year conflict between the Government and Tamaikoha, Rakuraku maintained peaceful relations with the former and gathered and passed on military intelligence to the latter.

It would be almost ten years before Rakuraku and Ngā Maihi returned to Te Waimana (Mclean Papers 1877). By the time that they did so, around 1874, they had become, along with almost all the residents of Te Waimana, followers of Te Kooti, a prophet and the leader of the Biblically-based religious resistance movement, Ringatu. Tamaikoha was virtually alone among the Waimana people in not becoming Ringatu. In place of the Catholic church, which had been burned down by invading Government troops during the conflict, Rakuraku built a finely carved meeting house named Rahiri-o-te-Rangi and dedicated it to Te Kooti. It was situated in a new settlement named Te Manuka established closer to the river than the earlier two Ngā Maihi settlements (Binney 2009 314-15, Sissons 1991: 169-70; see Fig. 1 above). While Ngā Maihi was the main *hapū* at Te Manuka in the late 1870s—and Rakuraku explicitly identified himself as leader of this *hapū* in 1878—all Ringatu adherents in the Waimana Valley, irrespective of their *hapū* affiliations, considered Rakuraku's new meeting house to be their own, a place of worship for the entire community. It was, as I argued in my earlier article, built as a "settlement house" rather than a "*hapū* house" (Sissons 2010: 380).

But if membership of the emerging Ringatu church united the people of Te Manuka, tensions between Rakuraku and Tamaikoha divided the valley. Oral tradition records that Tamaikoha told Rakuraku that his new *atua* (Te Kooti acting as God's mouthpiece) was merely tobacco for his pipe ("*he kai mo taku paipa to atua*") (Sissons 1991: 152). Documents record that in 1878, when Tamaikoha brought the entire valley before the Native Land Court to have its ownership legally determined, he omitted Rakuraku's name from the list of owners supplied to the Judge. This was corrected at a re-hearing two years later (Binney 2009: 260-62). At this rehearing in 1880, Rakuraku

identified himself not as leader of Ngā Maihi, but as leader of a *hapū* named Ngāi Turanga: he claimed membership in the former through his maternal grandfather and membership in the latter through his paternal grandmother. This shift in *hapū* identity was a strategic choice that is best understood in relation to disputes over land ownership within the Native Land Court. Rakuraku's Ngāi Turanga group included both his Ngā Maihi kin and people who were not members of Ngā Maihi but who were close Ringatu allies living with him at Te Manuka (Best 1996b: Tables 12, 15, 31).

Ngā Maihi at Te Manuka under the leadership of Rakuraku was a very different kin-assemblage from that which had been forced to flee the valley in 1867. This was most strongly evident in the differences between their intense centres: Christian church and Ringatu meeting house. The church had been at the centre of a settlement becoming European. The meetinghouse was at the centre of a settlement becoming Ringatu, an independent people. Ngā Maihi, as both Christian and as Ringatu, were an intra-assemblage within larger settlement assemblages that had reterritorialised around new intense centres. Rakuraku was, himself, an intense centre—a chief of very high *mana* who was closely identified first with the church and then with the meeting house, just as earlier his grandfather had been identified with his shrine. Indeed, the becomings of Ngā Maihi were most deeply the becoming *tohunga*, the becoming Christian and the becoming Ringatu of Rakuraku. As Johansen first emphasised (and Sahlins also, more recently), chiefly *mana* was a kind of fellowship in that the life of the kin group was lived as the life of the chief and vice-versa (Johansen 1954: 91, Sahlins 2011b: 229).

The last reterritorialisation of Ngā Maihi shown in Table 1 was again precipitated by Rakuraku; in 1883 he successfully applied for the Waimana valley, now a legally surveyed block, to be subdivided. As a result of this subdivision, completed in 1885, Rakuraku and seven other individuals collectively named Ngāi Turanga were awarded a sub-block of 1272 acres at the head of the valley. This land included the Waimana spring, now no longer visible, Te Iho-o-te-ata, now abandoned, and Te Manuka, soon to be abandoned (Binney 2009: 314, Sissons 1991: 91-93). Immediately after the subdivision, Rakuraku relocated his residence and his meeting house away from the river and nearer the site of the spring and the original Ngā Maihi settlements. Here, the house would become the intense centre of a new settlement named Tanatana (see Fig. 1 above). Oral traditions record that before the move Te Kooti, for whom the meeting house was built, predicted that a *ngārara* (reptilian monster) would pass through the middle of the structure. At the time, the *ngārara* was thought to be the river, but it was subsequently realised that the predicted monster was a road; surveyed in 1917, the road up the valley was to pass through the centre of the meeting house at Tanatana, requiring

that it be shifted 100 metres to its present Tanatana location.

While Ngāi Turanga was a convenient name for the group of individuals who had been awarded shares in Rakuraku's block, it was not the name that Rakuraku later used for the *hapū* reterritorialised around himself and his meeting house at Tanatana. This kin-assemblage was named Ngāti Rere. In a list drawn up by Elsdon Best in 1896, Rakuraku is listed as leader of Ngāti Rere-kahika and it is this name, shortened to Ngāti Rere, that Rakuraku's descendants use for their *hapū* today (Binney 2009: 631). *Rere* means 'flight', the name referencing the reterritorialisations of the *hapū* "along lines of flight" during and after the conflict with the Government; here, again, local tradition is in explicit accord with a Deleuzian view of society.

When Rakuraku died in February 1901, his third son took on the mantle of Ngāti Rere leadership and adopted his father's name. Much to the frustration of his younger brother, he thus claimed the right to stand in front of Rahiri-o-te-Rangi and welcome guests with his oratory. The younger brother later built his own house directly opposite and facing Rahiri on the other side of the road. As Māori society became increasingly "housy", both Rahiri and its twin came to be viewed as *hapū* houses.

* * *

The cultural assemblages excavated and reconstructed by Deleuzian archaeology will always be material, discursive and performative. In this article I have focused on the material dimension of *hapū* assemblages, in particular, the way that residents gathered around successive intense centres: *tūāhu*, churches, settlement meeting houses and *hapū* meeting houses. However, consolidated around these intense material centres were also numerous discursive and performative components—genealogical recitals, stories, namings, rites and public ceremonies. Let me conclude, then, by briefly touching upon the discursive and performative dimensions of the *hapū* reassemblings and their relationships with the changing material centres.

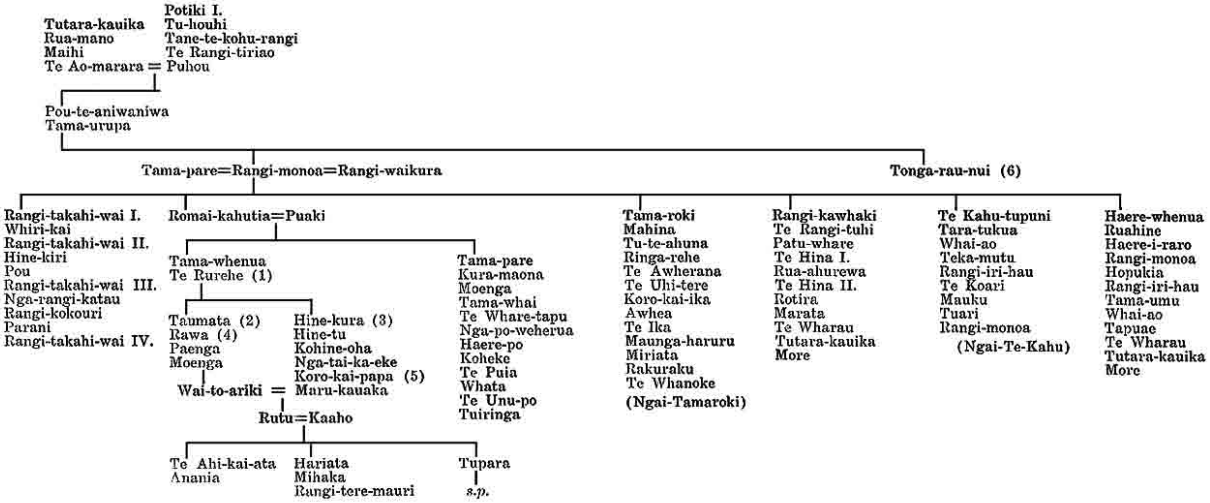
Anthropological descriptions of *hapū* have almost always assumed that they can, and should, be represented genealogically. The table below is Elsdon Best's representation of Ngā Maihi in Volume II of his monumental tribal history, *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist* (1996b).

The sub-title of Best's book references the descent of the Tūhoe tribe from The Mountain (Te Maunga) and a mist maiden (Hine Pukohurangi) through their child, Potiki I (named at the top of the chart). Table 12 tells us that Maihi was a sea-chief, a descendant of two ancestral ocean creatures (*tipua*), Tutara-kauika and Rua-mano, and we learn that his daughter married an inland chief, Puhou (Best 1996a: 41, 963-64). This Table also tells us that his great-great-

Table 2. Elsdon Best's Table 12.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE No. 12.

Nga-maihi sub-tribe of Nga Potiki.



(1) Origin of Ngai-Te-Rurehe *hapu*.
(2) Origin of Ngai-Taumata *hapu*.
(3) Origin of Ngati-Hine-kura *hapu*.
(4) Origin of Ngati-Rawa *hapu*.
(5) Origin of Ngati-Koro-kai-papa *hapu*.
(6) See Genealogical Table No. 6 for a line from Tonga-rau-nui.

grandson, Rangi-monoa, fathered six sons, each of whom founded one or more sub-tribes of Ngā Maihi. A narrative recorded by Best further states that one of these sons, Tamaroki, settled at the head of the Waimana Valley near Te-Iho-o-te-ata (p. 47-48). Maungaharuru and Rakuraku were his descendants.

Tim Ingold has argued that kinship charts cannot adequately represent the story lines of social life:

> But far from picking up a story from ancestors and carrying it onwards to descendants, each of the persons signified by these marks [a circle, triangle or name] is immobilized on one spot, their entire life compressed into a single position within the genealogical grid, from which there is no escape. (2007: 113)

However, charts such as Best's Table 12 do not really compress entire lives into single positions, rather, they compress entire histories onto a single page. Table 12 is by no means a list of the members of Ngā Maihi, some living, some deceased, but is instead a highly distilled history of the *hapū*, remembered by priests such as Maungaharuru and Rakuraku as genealogical recitals to which narratives were attached. The Table is Elsdon Best's visual representation of this highly condensed history, one which had previously only existed in multiple oral recitals. It is also a composite history pieced together by Best in the early years of the 20th century from information that he recorded during a fraught Government investigation into land ownership. It is, in other words, a colonial artefact, a judge's-eye view of a tribe that was in the process of being corralled into surveyed blocks.

We can only guess at how the component recitals and associated narratives of this table were understood by Rakuraku and his Ngā Maihi community at the time they were recorded. What we can be sure of, however, is that they would have understood them quite differently from Maungaharuru and the community that had been earlier consolidated around his *tūāhu* at Te Iho-o-te-ata. In this latter landscape and social context recitals of descent from Tamaroki were expressions of connection with other communities living in the adjacent valley, the leaders of which were able to recite lines of descent from Tamaroki's brothers. While Maungaharuru's descent from ocean *tipua,* mountain and mist had magnified the intensity of his *mana* at the centre of his *hapū*, this was probably not so for Rakuraku at the centre of his Ringatu settlement. For Rakuraku's sons living beside their two meeting houses glaring at each other across a road, recitals of descent from Tamaroki were of little significance in relation to their new, Ngāti Rere identity. A different ancestry was carved into the walls of their ancestral buildings.

When we come to the ritual and ceremonial practices associated with the different material centres we are confronted by an extreme paucity

of information. Very little has been recorded, for example, about the rites performed by priests at any *tūāhu*, let alone that of Maungaharuru. There is no record at all of the earliest church services in the Waimana Valley or in any of the adjacent communities. We can assume that the Ringatu services held in Rakuraku's meeting house at Te Manuka proceeded along similar lines to contemporary services—locals and visitors sleeping together over two nights every month, praying and singing passages from the Old Testament at intervals throughout the period of worship—but we do not know what role Rakuraku himself played. We know that Rakuraku usually welcomed visiting groups with great oratory performed on the plaza in front of his meeting house, but we know little of how these performances and the ceremonies that accompanied them compared to those of his sons at Tanatana.

In the end, then, the success of any Deleuzian excavation can never be guaranteed. It will always be a question of whether there is enough evidence, oral, documentary and material, to allow a reconstruction of three-dimensional assemblages. We cannot yet know how successful a more general Deleuzian archaeology of Maori *hapū* might be, but I hope I have shown here that such a project is both possible and potentially exciting.

I hope, also, that this understanding of *hapū* as a succession of reterritorialised assemblages moves the debate about the anthropological definition of *hapū* beyond the question of whether or not they are both large descent categories and smaller core groups or simply active kin-groups. I have argued elsewhere that it makes no sense to regard *hapū* as descent categories comprising thousands of widely dispersed members who have the potential to link themselves genealogically through male and/or female ancestors to a founding ancestor. Certainly these people might be regarded as *potential* members of the *hapū*, but this is also to say that they are not yet members (Sissons 2011: 629). I have argued instead that *hapū* are only active groups that have, since the late 19th century, formed around meeting houses, Maori society becoming a house society in the process (Sissons 2010).

I would now want to go further and propose that, when understood as assemblages, *hapū* are neither descent categories nor groups. *Hapū* assemblages do not merely form around meeting houses (or *tūāhu* or churches), they *include* them as their intense material centres. Also included are those *hapū* ancestors who appear in the form of animals or natural phenomena (*tipua*) or who are represented as carved panels in the meeting houses. Included, too, were the gods specific to different *hapū* that were called upon by *tohunga* such as Maungaharuru to provide assistance in daily life. To understand *hapū* in this way is not to "purify" them (Latour 1993:102-3), extracting their human "essence" and discarding the material and expressive components of a genealogically linked assemblage.

To view *hapū* in this way is also to bring our anthropological understandings closer to those of at least some members of Ngā Maihi. When I asked Materoa, the knowledgeable old woman whose grandfather had lived with Rakuraku at Te Iho-o-te-ata, about the Waimana spring she told me she had seen it and that she and the spring shared a mutuality of being.

> I saw it with my own eyes. I know where the *pati* (oozing) is now but I won't go there, it's hurting him too… the water was feeling for me. He'd come long ago, but it must be that I'm a relation or something, that's why it came back. (Sissons 1991: 112)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABSTRACT

In this article I develop the Deleuzian-inspired argument that Māori *hapū* can be understood as collective becomings, an emergent series of new kin assemblages territorialised or reterritorialised around different ritual centres. These ritual centres—"intense centres" in Deleuzian terms—took different forms, including small shrines, churches, settlement meeting houses and *hapū* meeting houses. I conclude that *hapū* are neither large kin-categories nor smaller kin-groups but assemblages that may include people, land, animals, shrines and buildings.

Keywords: kinship, *hapū*, Deleuze, meeting-houses

REVIEW

AGEE, Margaret, Tracey McIntosh, Philip Culbertson and Cabrini ‘Ofa Makasiale: *Pacific Identities and Well-being: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013. 330 pp., $45.00 (paper).

PEGGY FAIRBAIRN-DUNLOP
Auckland University of Technology

This anthology is another significant step to expanding the body of research and literature in the area of Māori and Pacific psychologies, counselling and psychotherapy. Its beginnings were in preparations for the Pacific Research Symposium: Cross-Cultural Conversations about Pacific Identities, Mental Health and Well-being (Auckland 2010) where this multi-disciplined group of practitioners, theologians, teachers and researchers sought answers to questions of why there is a high prevalence of mental disorders among the Pacific population in New Zealand? (p. 51) So while this mix of pioneer and new writers (including insider voices) draw on their own in-depth community knowledge and a range of research foci and methods, the focus on self esteem, connecting, solidarity and especially resilience bind the chapters together as a compelling challenge to deficit modelling and a call for new paradigms of connection unity and counselling education for Pacific peoples. The collection is a rich *talanoa* of other ways of knowing: approaches are refreshingly strength based (well captured in Mila-Schaaf’s words [this is] “not another NZ born identify crisis”), and show how Pacific peoples “are actively changing the way identify politics are discussed and negotiated” (p. 18). While there is some theoretical modelling, priority is given to exploring the experiences of second generation New Zealand-born who are growing up far from the Pacific homelands and contending with relatively complex cultural environments. Issues of intergenerational change and maintenance of cultural identity and heritage are examined against a questioning of what this means for our practice.

The introduction is a fine entry into the chapters especially for readers new to this discussion. The 17 chapters are arranged in four parts—identity (who am I and how do I belong), therapeutic practice, death and dying and, reflexive practice—with poems by noted poets Seri Barford, Selina Tusitala March and Tracey Tawhiao introducing each. The inclusion of poetry throughout this collection is a powerful reminder of the importance of language and words to Pacific peoples. This is explored further in the Epilogue where in a “theology of comedy” Mua-Strickland argues Pacific people’s loud laughter is a source of healing and the way “we understand tragedy, suffering and injustice”.

This education/social sciences/New Zealand-born Samoan reviewer found the Part 1 chapters of particular interest in offering frameworks for further reflection. Chapter 1 opens with Webber’s well referenced discussion aimed at gaining a better understanding of the salience of racial ethnic identity (REI) constructs and cultural

orientation. Contrary to views that REI is fixed and well defined, Webber presents this as a dynamic and interactive aspect of self-concept, as time bound and space dependent, continually renegotiated, and unpredictable. REI also helps buffer the effects of discrimination and racism on adolescents' psychological well-being, providing them with a repertoire of social identities by which they can successfully negotiate difficult situations such as being faced with negative stereotypes and unfair treatment. She presents her research carried out at multi-ethnic schools in Auckland, which explored the significance and meaning Year 9 adolescents attached to their REI. Thirty seven percent of Māori respondents and 43 percent of Pacific ones had positive feelings about their racial-ethnic group (Pakehā 38%, Chinese 48%), with Pacific students associating this strongly with culture family, language and difference, for example, "it is cool being an Islander because we are different to everyone". All groups reported having experienced, engaged in or witnessed some form or discrimination, racism or stereotyping with differences by ethnic group. Webber's conclusion is that REI matters for individuals and for groups, and, just as REI groups must affirm and reaffirm their boundaries in order for these boundaries to retain social relevance, individual group members must also affirm and reaffirm their REI in order for this to be a feature of any social situation in which they are participants (p. 43) The Pacific challenge was to negotiate their positive feelings of REI membership with the race based stereotypes they encountered which were constructed on notions of cultural and social deficit.

In Chapter 2 Mila-Schaaf adds another level of understanding in the identity and cultural orientation spectrum drawing on interviews with 14 successful New Zealand-born, second generation professionals. Her starting point is findings from the New Zealand National Youth Study that "feeling accepted by your own ethnic group and by others is statistically associated with advantageous mental health outcomes for youth". Pride in identity is a significant resilience factor as these participants challenge and in many cases transform their work environments. At the same time, they often found themselves operating outside the bounds of what was culturally acceptable. Mila-Schaaf presents a number of questions which stay in the mind and warrant further study, for example, "how do we imagine ourselves as Pacific people and therefore who gets to belong", and as attributed to Said, "new relationships are not inherited but created".

Part 1 concludes with chapters by Brown-Pulu and Agee and Culbertson which highlight identity challenges and enablers Pacific youth face as a result of the often continuous movement of parents and kin between the homeland and New Zealand. Prominence is given to the importance of parents and increasingly of grandparents in this scenario.

A Part 3 highlight was Seiuli's discussion of *meaalofa* 'gift' as a therapeutic approach in counselling with Pacific clients, especially as *meaalofa* are more often classed in terms of reciprocal obligations and expectations. Seiuli offers *meaalofa* as a methodological approach, as a cultural process, as reaffirming of ancestry and divine beginnings, and whose properties of connectedness (relationships) anchor Samoan and Pacific people within their cultural imperative while they negotiate and locate themselves within a Western environment. Counselling then, is "handing the gift of

helping from one person to another". In unpacking the *fa'a Samoa* values underpinning the *mealofa* (p. 121), Seiuli also demonstrates the total inability of English to capture the full nuances of Pacific conceptual understandings. This is reiterated in the Chapter 8 discussion on the values and spirituality in trauma counselling.

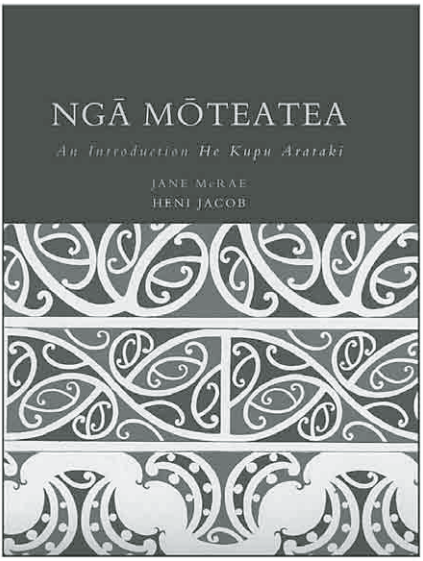
Part 3 chapters on death and dying are largely drawn from Waikato University's Tangi Research Programme on the public and ritualised performance of grief and mourning. Chapter 13's excellent discussion by Moeke-Maxwell and colleagues about carrying out research ethically with Māori who are dying resonates with much wider issues of researching in sacred spaces and researching with *mana*. A verse penned during this process, resonates with the experiences of psychiatric survivors (Chapter 16) that:

> I stepped inside this space
> With you, *rangatira*,
> How long had you been waiting
> To *korero*?
> I listened (p. 217)

This rich *talanoa* highlights the value of the group discussions/partnerships being mentored by this pioneer group and the new knowledge being constructed in these engagements. This chapter, and others not discussed in this review, have started to move beyond the practice of treating Pacific peoples as a homogenous group.

Ngā Mōteatea: An Introduction/He Kupu Arataki

Jane McRae and Hēni Jacob



Mōteatea (sung laments) are at the heart of mātauranga Māori. They are the central strand of Māori poetry and song, a source of knowledge about tribal history and whakapapa, and a living art form. This book introduces Sir Apirana Ngata's classic four-volume collection of mōteatea, discussing the power and meaning of these traditional Māori songs. With dual text in English and Māori, and illustrated throughout, *Ngā Mōteatea: An Introduction He Kupu Arataki* provides an accessible entry point into a great Māori art form.

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ISBN 978 1 86940 490 1, paperback 160p, illus, $34.99

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