

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 Guattari, 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 Guattari 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 juridical 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.

<i>Hapū</i> type	Date	Intense Centre	Place of Settlement	Chief/Priest
Shrine-centred	Pre-1840	<i>Tūāhu</i> /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 Puhī 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 Tāua's feast because it was hosted in the valley by Maungaharuru's great ally, Tāua. An elaborately carved *kūmara* store named, appropriately, "Te Waimana Kaaku", was built for this occasion (Judge Monro notes n.d.: 29, Best 1925: 562) Tāua'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 (McClean 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.

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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.

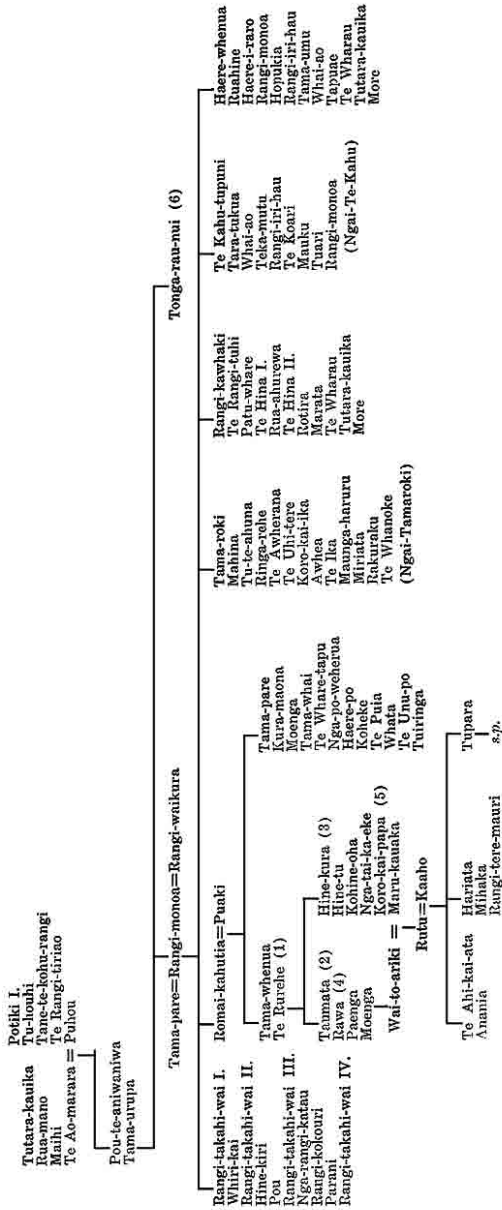
Anthropological descriptions of *hapū* have almost always assumed that they can, and should, be represented genealogically. The table below is Elsdon Best's representation of Ngā Maihi in Volume II of his monumental tribal history, *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist* (1996b).

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*), Tutarakauika 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-mahi sub-tribe of Nga Potiki.



(1) Origin of Ngati-Te-Rurehe hapu.
 (2) Origin of Ngati-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 (*tīpua*) 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)

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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

