

CONTEMPORARY TAONGA: THE ART WORKS OF BRETT GRAHAM

BY

ANNA-MARIE EMMA WHITE

A thesis

submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Victoria University of Wellington

2020

Abstract

The production of taonga is a sovereign Māori tradition closely guarded in contemporary Māori society. Many Contemporary Māori Artists observe taonga principles in their work though these qualities are stifled within the New Zealand art system. In the 1990s these subjects were fiercely debated resulting in Contemporary Māori Art being defined differently to the ancestral tradition of taonga. This debate created a rupture, which disturbs the practice of Māori art and is a major concern in the emerging practice of Māori art history. Reviving earlier arguments for Contemporary Māori Art to be defined according to the principles of taonga, this thesis applies the concept of 'contemporary taonga' to the art works of Brett Graham (Ngāti Koroki Kahukura), to argue that taonga production is active in contemporary Māori life and offers a new method to reconcile Māori art histories.

The practice of Kaupapa Māori research and theory enlivened the taonga principles of Brett Graham's art works. Intensive accounts of two art works, produced a decade apart, reveal 'contemporary taonga' to be a collaborative process involving recognition and instrumentalisation by authoritative Māori viewers. *Kahukura* (1996), produced in response to the debates was, however, overwhelmed by competing interests of the time. *Āniwaniwa* (2006) undertook an arduous journey—to the centre of the Western art world in order to be shown within the artist's tribal rohe—where Ngāti Koroki Kahukura kaumātua recognised Graham as a tohunga. Iwi leaders also employed *Āniwaniwa* in their Treaty of Waitangi claims process, functionalising the art work as taonga to support the advancement of their people. *Āniwaniwa* then left New Zealand to play a role in the formalisation of an international indigenous art network.

As a type for contemporary taonga, *Āniwaniwa* is an expansive model to introduce this concept to contemporary art discourse. The impact of this concept is yet to be realised though immediately reconciles long-standing issues in Māori art.

'Contemporary taonga' has the potential to radically reconceive, and reorganise, Contemporary Māori Art practice and history according to the practice of ancestral Māori traditions and determined by the authority and agency of Māori people.

Acknowledgements

Tihei mauriora! Ko Taranaki te maunga, ko Waitara te awa, ko Owae te marae, ko Te Ātiawa te iwi, ko Manukōrihi te hapu. No reira, tēnā koutou kātoa.

As a work of Māori art history, this thesis observed kaupapa Māori research methods and theory and proceeded with the constant involvement, approval and generosity of Brett Graham. I have been well supported by Mahara Okeroa, Garry Nicholas and Ngahiraka Mason, who challenged me to declare my position within the field. I benefited from important conversations with Kathie Irwin, Robert Jahnke, Derek Lardelli, Robert Leonard, Darcy Nicholas, Piri Sciascia (1946-2020) and Teresia Teaiwa (1968-2017). My supervisors, Peter Brunt and Christina Barton brought different expertise to this research and drove me to develop a convincing and unyielding argument. Roger Blackley (1953-2019), David Maskill and Raymond Spiteri of the Art History department provided continuing pastoral care, with Simon Gennard, Kirsty Baker, Milly Mitchell-Anyon and Lachlan Taylor offering light relief.

I am a grateful recipient of a Victoria Doctoral Scholarship and developed friendships with many talented students on campus through the writing wānanga programme. My curatorial colleagues always expressed interest in my research and provided opportunities to publicly test and present my work in progress. I have had a number of exceptional teachers who are always in my mind: Bruce Richmond, Raewyn Niwa, Sushila Hay, Clare Hall, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, Deidre Brown, David Butts and Susan Abasa.

My whānau helped me to undertake this study, Marilyn Campbell-Macdonald, Levi Rona, Mawhaturia, Mere and Te Manu Arupe White, with much time and attention owed to Daniel, Pearl and Winston Campbell-Macdonald.

This work is dedicated to my mother, Margaret White, who sets the standard of achievement for us all, and in memory of my fastidious father, Moki Te Ua Retimana White (1918-1996).

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
List of Figures	7
Glossary	17
Introduction: Te Huringa—Contemporary Taonga	19
Taonga	19
Contemporary Māori Art	21
‘The Crisis’	23
Te Māori	24
The ‘Death’ of Māori Art	29
The ‘Māori Art’ Debate	36
Māori Art History and the Concept of ‘Toi’	38
Brett Graham	42
Chapter Summaries	45
1. Ngā Kakano: Kahukura and Korurangi	48
Brownie Points (Biculturalism and its Consequences)	48
Headlands: Thinking Through New Zealand Art	51
Taiarotia: Te Waka Toi	52
Brett Graham?	54
Niho Taniwha / The Cutting Edge	59
Kahukura	62
Korurangi: New Māori Art	66
“The Young Guns”	69
Brown Art, White Spaces	73
Korurangi and Kahukura	80

2. Ngā Kakano: Kahukura and Patua	82
Patua: Māori Art in Action.....	82
Patua: Hitting Out With Force.....	86
Toi Māori Aotearoa	89
Defining Māori Art: The Māori Art Conference.....	92
Kia Hiwa! Maranga Mai! Be Alert, Arise!.....	95
Contemporary Taonga.....	103
The Backlash.....	110
Kahukura	117
3. Ngā Kakano: Kahukura and the Pacific	119
The Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art	121
Tjibaou Cultural Centre	131
Lapita	139
Kahukura	145
Postscript: Kahukura and The Whale Rider	150
4. Te Tipunga: Te Whakapapa o Āniwaniwa	152
Tātai: Tainui whakapapa	152
Tātai: Fred Graham	156
Tātai: Contemporary Māori Art.....	159
Tātai: The Pacific	169
Tātai: Mana Wahine	170
Tātai: Mangōroa	174
Tātai: UFOB	177
Āniwaniwa	178
Venice Biennale	183
5. Te Puawaitanga: Te Kōrero o Āniwaniwa	188
Kōrero: Āniwaniwa Te Hokinga Mai	191
Kōrero: Āniwaniwa, Haere Tū Atu, Hoki Tū Mai.....	202

Kōrero: Sakahàn	205
Āniwaniwa: Contemporary Taonga.....	214
Conclusion: Contemporary Taonga—Te Huringa	216
Images	223
Bibliography.....	336

List of Figures

- Figure 1: The opening of Te Ikaroa-a-Māui at Owae marae, Waitara, June 1936, built by a team of carvers lead by Pine Taiapa, one of the first graduates from Te Ao Mārama and lead carver of Apirana Ngata’s whare whakairo building programme. Image: Puke Ariki Heritage Collections, PHO2011-2339. 223
- Figure 2: Third Year Teachers’ College Students, Kings Technical School, Dunedin, 1950, with Contemporary Māori Artist, Fred Graham at centre right, photograph: Myra Bancroft. Image: Jill Smith, “Sharing Māori Knowledge,” in *Fred Graham. Creator of Forms: Te Tohunga Auaha*, edited by Maria de Jong (Wellington: Huia Publishing, 2014), 124..... 224
- Figure 3: Paintings by Para Matchitt presented in Mahinarangi, the whare whakairo at Turangawaewae marae and the first house executed by Ngata’s team of carvers lead by Pine Taiapa and Piri Poutapu in 1926, as part of the First Māori Festival of the Arts, Ngaruawāhia, 1963, photographer: Ans Westra. Image: Suite Tirohanga Limited on Behalf of Ans Westra. 225
- Figure 4: Fred Graham and his painting, *Whiti Te Ra* 1966, in the exhibition *Contemporary Māori Painting and Sculpture* 1966. Image: Archives New Zealand, AAMK W3495, 28. 226
- Figure 5: *Whatu Aho Rua: A Weaving Together of Traditional and Contemporary Taonga*, Sarjeant Gallery, Whanganui (8 April – 5 June 1989) exhibition view looking through two doorways across three gallery spaces providing a contrast of historic Māori art from the Whanganui Regional Museum collection (front and centre) with works by Selwyn Muru and Para Matchitt (background). Image: Sarjeant Gallery Te Whare o Rehua Whanganui. 227
- Figure 6: *Whatu Aho Rua: A Weaving Together of Traditional and Contemporary Taonga* exhibition view, Sarjeant Art Gallery, Whanganui (8 April – 5 June 1989). Image: Sarjeant Gallery Te Whare o Rehua Whanganui. 228
- Figure 7: *Whatu Aho Rua: A Weaving Together of Traditional and Contemporary Taonga* exhibition view,, Sarjeant Art Gallery, Whanganui (8 April – 5 June 1989). Image: Sarjeant Gallery Te Whare o Rehua Whanganui. 229
- Figure 8: Māori art historian, Jonathan Mane-Wheeki (left), and Contemporary Māori Artist, Fred Graham (right) at the inaugural International Indigenous Artists’

Gathering, January 1995, Apumoana marae, Rotorua. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	230
Figure 9: Brett Graham, <i>1492-1642</i> 1992, exhibition view, Waikato Art Museum. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	231
Figure 10: Brett Graham, <i>Te Puawaitanga</i> 1993, exhibition view, ARTIS Gallery, Auckland. Image: Brett Graham Archive. <i>Te Pū</i> (centre right) was purchased for the Auckland City Art Gallery collection from this exhibition, 1993/26.....	232
Figure 11: George Hubbard, “Untitled’: An Exhibition of Contemporary Maori Art,” exhibition proposal cover sheet, “Korurangi Exhibition File,” E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.....	233
Figure 12: Brett Graham to William McAloon, “Kahuwhero – project outline,” undated (c. September 1996), Brett Graham Archive. The text reads, ‘William, here is an outline of my project. Theme: a homage to Rangimarie Hetet. Title: Kahu Whero Kahukura (rainbow / red cloak). Description: laminated timber, lacquer red finish. Appearance like ‘Rangiatea’ work in ARTIS exhibition, <i>Te Kowhao o te Ngira</i>	234
Figure 13 : <i>Te Kowhao o te Ngira</i> in production, from left to right: <i>Te Kowhao o te Ngira</i> , <i>Matariki</i> and <i>Rangiatea</i> . Image: Brett Graham Archive.	235
Figure 14: <i>Rangiatea</i> 1993. Image: Brett Graham archive.....	235
Figure 15: Ngahuaia te Awekotuku (front right) leads the karanga to welcome Tainui manuhiri into <i>Te Kowhao o te Ngira</i> , ARTIS Gallery 1993, with <i>Rangiatea</i> to the left of the entrance. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	236
Figure 16: Whaikōrero by Arnold Manaaki-Wilson, with Ngāti Koroki Kahukura leaders, Tioriori Papa and Te Kaapo Clark standing between <i>Matariki</i> (centre) and <i>Taniwha Ma</i> (right). Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	237
Figure 17: <i>Te Kowhao o te Ngira</i> exhibition view, ARTIS Gallery, 1993 with the tongikura of Pōtatau presented on the wall (black text), which Graham translated into Cook Islands Māori (red text) and English (white text on opposite side of glass divider, not visible). Image: Brett Graham Archive.	238
Figure 18: The visual impact of the fau is captured in the scene to the left of this painting. William Hodges, <i>Review of the War Galleys at Tahiti ‘The Fleet of Otaheite assembled as Oparee,’</i> 1776, oil on panel, 2400 x 4650 mm, National Maritime Museum Collection, Greenwich, London, BHC 2395, https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/13871.html , accessed 31 December 2019.....	239

Figure 19: Tahitian Fau, fibre and feathers, 1375 x 1250 mm, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, 1886.1.1683. Image: Pitt Rivers Museum.....	240
Figure 20: Brett Graham Pacific Art lecture notes, 1990. Brett Graham Archive. .	240
Figure 21: The laminated block form of <i>Kahukura</i> , with maquette in the background at centre. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	241
Figure 22: <i>Kahukura</i> work in progress. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	242
Figure 23: Fred Graham inspects work on <i>Kahukura</i> . Image: Brett Graham Archive.	243
Figure 24: <i>Kahukura</i> 1995. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	244
Figure 25: 'Ahu 'ula' (feathered cloak), 1700s, Hawai'i, maker unknown. Gift of Lord St Oswald, 1912. Collection of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, FE000327. Image: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.....	245
Figure 26: Uenuku. Image: Te Awemutu Museum, 2056.	246
Figure 27: Opening pōwhiri for <i>Korurangi: New Māori Art</i> at the NEW Gallery, Auckland City Art Gallery, 1 October 1995. It is customary for a puhi (at centre) to be the first to break the tapu of a new building. Image: E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.	247
Figure 28: Whaikōrero by Arnold Manaaki-Wilson as Chair of Haerewa, 1 October 1995. Image: E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.	247
Figure 29: <i>Korurangi: New Māori Art</i> exhibition view, NEW Gallery, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1 October – 26 November 1995. Image: E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.....	248
Figure 30: <i>Korurangi: New Māori Art</i> exhibition view, NEW Gallery, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1 October – 26 November 1995. Image: E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.....	249
Figure 31: Diane Prince, <i>Flagging the Future: Te Kaitangata – the Last Palisade</i> 1995, mixed media, 3000 x 3000 x 4000 mm, (background) Emily Karaka, <i>Manawhenua Hapu o Tamakimakaurau</i> 1995, oil media on canvas, 3000 x 3800 mm in <i>Korurangi: New Māori Art</i> , 1 October-26 November 1995. Image: E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.....	250
Figure 32: Toihoukura waharoa, <i>Patua: Māori Art in Action</i> 1-23 March 1996, City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.	251

Figure 33: Marae ātea and whare whakairo exterior, <i>Patua: Māori Art in Action</i> exhibition view. Image: City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi Archive.	252
Figure 34: Pōwhiri for the opening of <i>Patua</i> , view from the whare whakairo gallery looking toward the marae ātea. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.	253
Figure 35: <i>Patua</i> exhibition live weaving demonstrations. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.	254
Figure 36: <i>Patua</i> exhibition artist demonstrations. Navajo printmaker, Melanie Yazzie (Navajo) (pictured) and Nu-cha-nulth sculptor and performer, Joe David, were invited guests of Te Ātinga and ran artist demonstrations during <i>Patua</i> . Both had attended the First International Indigenous Wānanga Symposium of Contemporary Visual Arts called by Te Ātinga and held at Apumoana marae, Rotorua. 14-24 January 1995. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.	255
Figure 37: “Te Toka-a-Toi” International Festival of the Arts kapa haka performance, Civic Square, Wellington. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.	256
Figure 38: <i>Kahukura</i> in <i>Patua</i> , exhibition view of the whare whakairo gallery. Image: City Art Gallery Wellington Archive.	257
Figure 39: Diane Prince, <i>Culturally Sensitive Object</i> 1996, mixed media in <i>Patua: Māori Art in Action</i> , first floor gallery. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.	258
Figure 40: Brett Graham, September 1995, photograph by Margaret Kawharu. Image: Sandy Adsett and Cliff Whiting, <i>Mataora: The Living Face</i> (Auckland: Te Waka Toi, David Bateman Ltd, 1996): 132.	259
Figure 41: Blessing of the Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane, in preparation for the installation of The Waka Collective (Aotearoa/New Zealand) in <i>The Second Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art (APT2)</i> 1996, Queensland Art Gallery of Modern Art. Image: Queensland Gallery of Modern Art Archive.	260
Figure 42: View of The Waka Collective (Aotearoa/New Zealand) in <i>The Second Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art (APT2)</i> 1996, Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane, with works by Lisa Reihana, Brett Graham, Chris Booth, Bronwynne Cornish, Ani O’Neill, Marie Shannon, John Pule, Yuk King Tan and Judy Millar, photographer: Richard Stringer. Image: Queensland Art Gallery of Contemporary Art Archive.	261
Figure 43: <i>Kahukura</i> , exhibition view from the Watermall level. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	262

Figure 44: Inscribed fax correspondence from Susan Cochrane to Brett Graham, 10 September 1997. Brett Graham Archive.	263
Figure 45: Ngan Jila interior view with the poutokomanawa by Lyonel Grant at right, Tjibaou Cultural Centre, Nouméa, New Caledonia, photographer: Andreas Secci. Image: Archaid Images.....	264
Figure 46: Brett Graham working on <i>Melanesia</i> in its solid form at the ADCK offices, Nouville, 1998. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	265
Figure 47: Brett Graham working on the cracked form of <i>Melanesia</i> at the ADCK office site, Nouville, 1998. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	266
Figure 48: Brett Graham working in Atsuo Okamoto's stone yard, Tsukuba, Japan, 1991. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	267
Figure 49: <i>Te Puawaitanga – The Flowering</i> , 1993, ARTIS Gallery, Auckland. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	268
Figure 50: <i>Te Taniwha Ma</i> in <i>Te Kowhao o te Ngira</i> , 1994, ARTIS Gallery, Auckland. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	268
Figure 51: Brett Graham, <i>Bravo Bikini</i> 1996, Bartley Nees Gallery, Wellington. Image: Bartley & Company Art, Wellington.	269
Figure 52: <i>Polynesia</i> work-in-progress, detailed view (top edge). Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	270
Figure 53: Installing <i>Melanesia</i> onsite in the Jinu Patio, 1998. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	271
Figure 54: (left to right), Sandra Maillot-Win-Nemou, unknown, Brett Graham, Roger Boulay. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	272
Figure 55: <i>Lapita</i> installation, Jinu Patio. Note the proximity of <i>Lapita</i> to <i>Kahukura</i> displayed behind the louvre windows. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	273
Figure 56: <i>Kahukura</i> sited in the <i>Bérétara: Contemporary Pacific Art</i> exhibition gallery with <i>Lapita</i> installed in the Jinu Patio at rear. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	274
Figure 57: <i>Kahukura</i> in the <i>Bérétara</i> exhibition during the opening of the Centre. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	275
Figure 58: Brett Graham, wearing a t-shirt commemorating <i>The Second Asia Pacific Triennial</i> , in the <i>Bérétara</i> exhibition with <i>Kahukura</i> at rear, wearing . Image: <i>Ngan Jila: House of Riches</i> , directed by Renata Schuman and Andrew Bliss, 1998, video still.	276

Figure 59: Fred Graham and <i>Kahukura</i> , Tjibaou Cultural Centre reception foyer, Nouméa, 2005. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	277
Figure 60: <i>Kahukura</i> projected onto a suspended sheet in the family living room, <i>The Whale Rider</i> , directed by Niki Caro (New Zealand, Germany: South Pacific Pictures, 2002), video still.....	278
Figure 61: The character, Porourangi, played by Cliff Curtis, inside the whale whakairo, Te Whitireia, <i>The Whale Rider</i> , video still.	279
Figure 62: <i>The Whale Rider</i> , video still.....	280
Figure 63: Auckland Weekly News, “The Horahora Rapids on the Waikato River,” 24 August 1905, <i>Auckland Weekly News</i> (24 August 1905), 3. Image: Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, AWNS-19050824-3-1, CC.BY.4.0.	281
Figure 64: “Practically a New River Bed: Cutting the Race at the Horahora Rapids Electric Power Works, Waikato,” <i>Auckland Weekly News</i> (16 February 1911), 7. Image: Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, AWNS-19110216-7-2, CC.BY.4.0.	282
Figure 65: “A General View of the Horahora Hydro-Electrical Works from Across the Waikato River,” <i>Auckland Weekly News</i> (2 October 1913), 47. Image: Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, AWNZ-19131002-47-1, CC.BY.4.0.	283
Figure 66: “Interior of Horahora Hydroelectric Station,” c. 1912. Image: Hart, Roger: Photographs of Somes Island and other subjects, Alexander Turnbull Library, PAColl-5479, CC.BY.4.0.	284
Figure 67: Aerial photograph taken by Whites Aviation, “Horahora Hydro Scheme and River, Waikato,” February 1947. Image: Whites Aviation Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, WA-05620-G, PA-Group-00080, CC.BY.4.0.	285
Figure 68: Whites Aviation, ‘Construction of the Karāpiro Hydroelectric Power Station, including the Waikato River, Karāpiro, Waikato’ with Maungatautari in the background, 20 November 1946. Image: Whites Aviation Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, WA-04409-G/PA-Group-00080, CC.BY.4.0.	286
Figure 69: ‘Karāpiro Hydroelectric Power Plant Under Construction’, January 1946, <i>New Zealand Free Lance</i> , no. 6, vol. 1 (1946). Image: Alexander Turnbull Library, PAColl-7171-00079, CC.BY.4.0.	287
Figure 70: The flooded interior of the Horahora Hydroelectric Powerstation showing the number 7 generator, which would not shut down. Note Kiwa Graham’s inscription	

on the number 8 generator (background). Image: Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections 1370-231-8, CC.BY.4.0.....	288
Figure 71: Whites Aviation, ‘Aerial View of Karāpiro’, January 1953. Image: Whites Aviation Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, WA-32199-F/PA-Group-00080, CC.BY.4.0.....	289
Figure 72: Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh survey the Karāpiro reservoir from the top of the dam, “UK Royal Family Tour 1953-54.” Image: Auckland War Memorial Museum, neg. S1344, with permission from the <i>Auckland Star</i>	290
Figure 73: Piri Poutapu (left) and Waka Kereama (right), c. 1928. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	291
Figure 74: The procession walking through <i>Te Māori: Te Hokinga Mai</i> at the Dominion Museum, Wellington, 1986 during the opening pōwhiri, with Uenuku at centre and Te Potaka at right, photographer: Brian Brake. Image: National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, gift of Mr Raymond Wai-Man Lau, 2001, E.00558916.	292
Figure 75: <i>Contemporary Māori Artists</i> 1966 exhibition view, Hamilton. Image: Harry Dansey archive, PH 92/4, folder 1 (scan from proof sheet), Auckland War Memorial Museum.....	293
Figure 76: Fred Graham, <i>Manaia</i> 1966, exhibited in <i>Contemporary Māori Artists</i> 1966, Hamilton. Also included in <i>New Zealand Māori Culture and the Contemporary Scene</i> 1966, Christchurch and the international tour of <i>Traditional and Modern Māori Art</i> 1967-8. Image: Harry Dansey archive, PH 92/4, folder 1 (scan from proof sheet), Auckland War Memorial Museum.....	294
Figure 77: Cliff Whiting, <i>Te Wehenga o Rangi Raua Ko Papa</i> (1969-1974), exhibited in <i>Contemporary Māori Art</i> 1976, Waikato Art Museum, Hamilton, photographer: Kees Springer. Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.	295
Figure 78: Exhibition view of <i>Contemporary Māori Art</i> 1976, with Fred Graham’s kauri wall relief carving, <i>Kurangaituku and Hatupatu</i> 1976 at centre left, flanked by woodcarving (including the model of the Tainui waka, Taheretikitiki at centre right) representing the Waikato School under the leadership of Piri Poutapu. The kākahu (cloaks) and whariki (fine mat, bottom right) is the work of Rangimarie Hetet, with the piupiu (tasselled overskirt) and pari (bodice) being the work of Diggeress Te Kanawa. Photographer: Kees Springer. Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.....	296

Figure 79: Fred Graham in his home studio, Manurewa, c.1974. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	297
Figure 80: Brett Graham, <i>Rangi and Papa</i> 1987, exhibited in <i>Māori Art Today</i> 1986-87. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	298
Figure 81: <i>Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake: Tainui Regional Group</i> exhibition view, 1990-1991 from left to right: Brett Graham, <i>Pou Whakamaharatanga</i> 1988, wall relief and sculpture by Buck Nin and kākahu by Diggeress Te Kanawa (encased). Image: National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Photographic Collection.	299
Figure 82: Paratene Matchitt, a detailed view of the installation <i>Ngā Tohu No Te Wepu—Waharoa Maunga</i> 1990 in <i>Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake</i> , 1990-91. Image: National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Photographic Collection.	300
Figure 83: Silicon moulding from wood sculpture, East West Centre, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, 1990. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	301
Figure 84: Brett Graham, <i>Kia Mahara ki te Hē Rona (Remember the Sin of Rona)</i> 1990, bronze, private collection, Honolulu. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	301
Figure 85: Kumu Keola Lake leading the oli wehe (Hawai'i ritual acknowledgement) for <i>Te Ara a Papatuanuku</i> 1990 (with <i>Kia Mahara ki te o Rona</i> visible in the mid-ground), East-West Centre, Honolulu, Hawai'i. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	302
Figure 86: Brett Graham responding to the oli wehe for <i>Te Ara a Papatuanuku</i> 1990, East-West Centre, Honolulu, Hawai'i. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	302
Figure 87: Arowhenua Stone Symposium, Timaru, 1990, with visiting sculptors from Zimbabwe (back row, centre and left), Atsuo Okamoto (centre right), Fred Graham (centre left), Arnold Manaaki Wilson (back row, back centre right) and Buck Nin (back right). Image: Toi Māori Aotearoa Archive.	303
Figure 88: Brett Graham, <i>Bravo Bikini</i> 1996, Bartley Nees Gallery, Wellington. Image: Bartley + Company Art, Wellington.....	304
Figure 89: Brett Graham, <i>Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua</i> 2003, Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi, Victoria University of Wellington. Image: Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi.....	305
Figure 90: An image of a top-dressing plane spraying fertiliser onto New Zealand soil, as projected onto a steel orb in <i>Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua</i> 2003. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	306
Figure 91: <i>Techno Māori: Māori Art in the Digital Age</i> 2001 exhibition view showing art works by Peter Robinson, Michael Parekowhai and Rachael Rakena's "... as an	

<i>Individual and not under the Name of Ngai Tahu</i> ” at right. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.....	307
Figure 92: Rachael Rakena, <i>Rerehiko</i> 2003, digital still from multi-projection video environment, collection of Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū, 2005/038.a-b. Image: Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū.....	308
Figure 93: Mangōroa concept drawings. “Āniwaniwa File,” Brett Graham Archive.	309
Figure 94: Rachael Rakena, digital render of <i>UFOB</i> 2006. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	310
Figure 95: Rachael Rakena, <i>Pacific Washup 003</i> , digital still from <i>UFOB</i> 2006. Image: Bartley + Company Art, Wellington.....	311
Figure 96: Wood plug for the <i>Āniwaniwa</i> mould. Image: Te Manawa Museum of Art, Science and Heritage, Palmerston North.	312
Figure 97: Vacuum moulding process. Image: “Mangōroa Report to Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga” 2016, “Āniwaniwa File,” Brett Graham Archive.	313
Figure 98: Rachael Rakena, <i>Āniwaniwa</i> 2006, digital still. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	314
Figure 99: Rachael Rakena, <i>Āniwaniwa</i> 2006, digital still. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	315
Figure 100: Rachael Rakena, <i>Āniwaniwa</i> 2006, digital still. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	316
Figure 101: Exhibition opening of <i>Āniwaniwa</i> (one wakahuia), Te Manawa Art Gallery, 2006. Image: Te Manawa Museum of Art, Science and Heritage, Palmerston North.....	317
Figure 102: Exhibition view of <i>Āniwaniwa</i> with three wakahuia, Te Manawa Art Gallery 2006. Te Manawa Museum of Art, Science and Heritage, Palmerston North.	318
Figure 103: <i>Āniwaniwa</i> arrives in Venice by barge. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	319
Figure 104: Murray Rich rigs the suspension cables for <i>Āniwaniwa</i> in the heritage-listed wooden rafters of the Magazinni del Sale. Image: Brett Graham Archive. ...	320
Figure 105: Hoisting the first waka huia. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	321
Figure 106: <i>Āniwaniwa</i> work in progress. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	322
Figure 107: <i>Āniwaniwa</i> work in progress, (left to right): Rachael Rakena, Murray Rich and Brett Graham.....	323
Figure 108: <i>Āniwaniwa</i> work in progress. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	324

Figure 109: <i>Āniwaniwa</i> work in progress. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	325
Figure 110: Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena, <i>Āniwaniwa</i> 2006-7, 52nd International Art Exhibition La Biennale di Venezia, Italy, 10 June-30 September 2007, photographer: Jennifer French. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	326
Figure 111: Tino Rangatiratanga flag installed on the exterior of the Magazinni del Sale as seen from the Grand Canal, June 2007. Image: Brett Graham Archive....	327
Figure 112: <i>Āniwaniwa</i> exhibition opening, 9 June 2007. Image: Brett Graham Archive.....	328
Figure 113: Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena are brought into the Waikato Museum and Art Gallery by Ngāti Koroki Kahukura leaders, Jake Puke (centre left) and Brett's uncle, Kiwa Graham (centre right). Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.	329
Figure 114: Kuia welcome the ope into the museum. Note Fred Graham's sculpture, <i>Kereana (Foster Parent)</i> 1984 (bottom left), which is held in the Waikato Museum and Art Gallery collection. Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.	330
Figure 115: Tainui kuia lead the ope into the <i>Āniwaniwa</i> exhibition space, from left to right: Brett Graham, Norma Graham, Rachael Rakena, and Fred Graham (at rear). Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.....	331
Figure 116: <i>Āniwaniwa: Te Hokinga ki te Matapuna</i> , Waikato Museum and Art Gallery, 27 September – 16 November 2008. Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.	332
Figure 117: Brett Graham, <i>Mīhaia</i> 2008, Museum of Contemporary Art Sydney, 16 th Biennale of Sydney, <i>Revolutions—Forms That Turn</i> 18 June – 7 September 2008, collection of the National Gallery of Australia. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	333
Figure 118: Brett Graham, <i>Hokioi</i> 2008, <i>Campaign Rooms</i> (27 November – 20 December 2008), Two Rooms Gallery, collection of Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2009/33/4. Image: Brett Graham Archive.	334
Figure 119: Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena, <i>Āniwaniwa</i> 2006-7, <i>Sakahán: International Indigenous Art</i> (17 May – 2 September 2013), National Gallery of Canada, collection of the National Gallery of Canada. Image: National Gallery of Canada.....	335

Glossary

Atua	Ancestor of great influence, supernatural being
Haehae	Scratch, cut, lacerate, tear
Haerewa	First cut (tattoo), cutting edge
Ihi	To excite, thrill, psychic force
Iho	Down, following, successive
Iwi	Extended kinship group
Kahu	Garment, to dress
Kāinga	Home, residence, village, settlement
Kākahu	Woven cloak
Kapa haka	Māori performing arts group
Kaupapa	Foundation, purpose, agenda
Kingitanga	Māori monarchy, Māori sovereign movement
Kokowai	Red-ochre pigment, paint derived from red-ochre pigment mixed with oil
Kōrero	Speak, say, write
Kura	Red, scarlet
Mana	Authority, power, status
Mana whenua	Territorial rights and authority over land area
Marae ātea	Open area at the centre of the marae building complex where formal welcome ceremonies occur
Marae	A land area and complex of buildings where Māori live and gather
Mihi	Greeting, acknowledgement
Moko	Tattoo
Niho	Tooth
Ope	Entourage, contingent, group of people moving together
Pākehā	Non-Māori, European New Zealanders
Papatuānuku	Primordial parent, earth mother
Poroporoaki	Eulogy, farewell speech to the dead
Pōwhiri	Ceremony
Puhi	Young girl of rank

Rakau	Wood
Rangatira	Chiefly, high rank
Ranginui	Primordial parent, sky father
Rohe	Region, tribal territory
Tangata	People
Tangata whenua	People of the land
Taniwha	Guardian spirits, dangerous creatures, chief, powerful leader
Tapu	Sacred, prohibited, restricted
Te Ao Māori	The Māori World
Te Ao Mārama	The world of light, mortal physical world, enlightenment
Tohunga	Expert
Tongikura	Statements made by the monarchy accurately preserved through time
Tuku	Present, offer, release
Wairua	Life spirit
Wana	To inspire, move, thrill
Wānanga	To meet, discuss, deliberate and exchange knowledge
Wehi	Awe, fear, a response of awe in response to ihi
Wero	Challenge at a pōwhiri
Whakairo	Design, designed
Whakapapa	Genealogy, lineage
Whakatauki	Proverbial wisdom, significant statement
Whānau	Extended family
Whare	House
Whare whakairo	A carved and painted meeting house that expresses the history and identity of a collective group
Whatu aho rua	Weaving technique; two-pair weft twining
Whenua	Land, placenta
Wheua	Bones

Introduction: Te Huringa—Contemporary Taonga

The concept of contemporary taonga responds to critical and persistent issues observed in the history of Māori Art. These issues arise from differences observed, established and maintained between the ancestral Māori tradition of taonga and the post-European contact development of Contemporary Māori Art.¹ Through an examination of two art works by Brett Graham (Ngāti Koroki Kahukura, Tainui) a connection is made between taonga and Contemporary Māori art. Based on this example, the concept of 'contemporary taonga' is introduced as a rare and elite mode of Contemporary Māori art practice and a productive method of Māori art history.

Taonga

The concept of taonga was introduced to the study of Māori art in the late twentieth century.² In 1984, Māori anthropologist, Hirini Moko Mead, described the concept of taonga in the catalogue for the landmark exhibition of historic Māori art, *Te Māori* (1984-87). Mead described taonga as objects of great antiquity revered for embodying ancestral knowledge and their physical association with Māori ancestors. At the time, *Te Māori* was heralded for presenting objects previously regarded as 'artefacts' as works of 'art', causing an important shift in the perception and value of Māori culture in mainstream New Zealand society.³ While specific to historic Māori art, the phenomenon of *Te Māori* created unprecedented interest and opportunity for

¹ The capitalisation of 'Contemporary Māori Art' throughout this thesis indicates differences between the contemporary practice of customary Māori art forms and the development of a new mode of Māori art practice from the mid-twentieth century that specifically engages with Western traditions of fine art practice. This convention is influenced by the taxonomy devised by Robert Jahnke in his 2006 doctoral dissertation, 'He Tataitanga Ahua Toi: The House that Riwai Built' (Massey University), which employs the terms of 'customary', 'contemporary' and 'transcustomary' Māori art practice, and strongly advises against the continued use of 'traditional' Māori art to avoid outdated concepts and perceptions of Māori art history. The convention of 'Contemporary Māori Art' observes and adapts Jahnke's key ideas in an abbreviated form suitable for use in a study specific to 'contemporary' Māori art but at times involves discussion of 'contemporary' customary Māori art practice.

² Paul Tapsell, "The Flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of Taonga from a Tribal Perspective," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* vol. 106, no 4 (1997), 359-360, and Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2007), 143-149 and 152-154.

³ McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori*, 2-3 and 135-166.

Contemporary Māori Artists, who also began to describe their work in relation to the concept of taonga.⁴

The enduring legacy of *Te Māori* has been the ongoing involvement of Māori in the care and presentation of their material culture within the museum and gallery sector in New Zealand. As a result, the Māori concept of taonga gained currency and began to be operationalised as a guiding principle regarding the care of historic and contemporary Māori art within museum policies, and tentatively applied to presentations of Contemporary Māori Art by Māori and Pākehā alike.⁵ Internationally, anthropologists and ethnographers also began to use taonga as a substitute for 'Māori artefact' though continued to conceive of historic Māori art in Eurocentric terms.⁶

The widespread, cursory and liberal usage of 'taonga' in the period after *Te Māori* caused Māori anthropologist, Paul Tapsell, to issue a more rigorous definition in 1997.⁷ Tapsell's definition refined Mead's introduction and expanded on key principles in relation to specific examples of taonga tuku iho—objects of great antiquity handed down through generations—to detail the active role that these taonga play in contemporary Māori life.⁸ Tapsell's paper established the crucial function of taonga as transmitters of ancestral knowledge with the traditions associated with the care and presentation of taonga ensuring that this knowledge is meticulously conveyed. Tapsell's paper was specific to the conceptual and relational

⁴ Stacey Hanham, "The Te Māori Exhibition: An examination of its organisation and impacts as seen by those who developed the exhibition," (MA diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 2000), John Bevan Ford, "Introduction," in *Māori Artists of the South Pacific* (Raglan: Ngā Puna Waihangā New Zealand Māori Artists and Writers Society, 1984), 9, Sandy Adsett, Timoti Karetu, Derek Lardelli and Cliff Whiting, "Whaikōrero," in *Mataora: The Living Face*, edited by Sandy Adsett and Cliff Whiting (Auckland: David Bateman, Te Waka Toi, 1996), 10-15, McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori*, 156-166.

⁵ For a critical appraisal of the implementation of taonga concepts in the policies of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa see Paul Tapsell, "Taonga. A Tribal Response to Museums" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1998), 155-167. For examples of Contemporary Māori Art being described as taonga by Māori and Pākehā see Cliff Whiting in Paul Reeves, "Te Waka Toi Returns to Aotearoa", *Te Māori News*, n.d. c. 1994, 16, and William Dart, "Te Ku Te Whe: Rediscovering a Tradition," *Music in New Zealand* 24 (Summer 1994), 25, "Te Waka Toi Exhibition File," E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

⁶ Tapsell, "Pareraututu," 361-362.

⁷ Tapsell, "Pareraututu," 323-374.

⁸ Tapsell, "Pareraututu," 325-334 and 335-358.

properties of taonga tuku iho and disassociated the definition of taonga from the visual and physical properties of the object.

Tapsell's paper has since provided the seminal definition of taonga and caused taonga to become an increasingly rarefied and highly regulated concept. Subsequent studies have strengthened the association of taonga with historic Māori art, emphasising the active role played by taonga in the present though consigning the production of taonga to the past.⁹ Within this view, taonga are directly associated with Māori ancestors and provide a portal to a Māori-centred world view in a way that Contemporary Māori Art cannot.

Contemporary Māori Art

Contemporary Māori Art is an outcome of European colonisation. There are various theories about the origins of Contemporary Māori Art though all are concerned with the way that Māori artists responded to Western art traditions. There is consensus that a new and distinctive Māori art movement began in the mid-twentieth century led by the first generation of Māori to undertake formal education in Western art and operate within the New Zealand fine art system.¹⁰ Their work was considered 'contemporary' because it was different to 'Māori art' as it was then understood. Histories of Contemporary Māori Art by Māori art historians have been largely concerned with reconciling those differences to justify this movement as 'Māori' and part of a continuum of Māori creative practices.¹¹

⁹ See McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori*, 175-197, and Arapata Hakiwai, "He Mana Taonga, He Mana Tangata: Māori Taonga and the Politics of Māori Tribal Identity and Development" (PhD diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 2014).

¹⁰ For different approaches regarding the categorisation of the emergence of Contemporary Māori Art in the mid-twentieth century, compare Damian Skinner's history of Māori Modernism in *The Carver and the Artist: Māori Art in the Twentieth Century* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008), with Ngahiraka Mason's argument for Contemporary Māori Art in "Tūruki Tūruki! Paneke Paneke!" in *Tūruki Tūruki! Paneke Paneke: When Māori Art Became Contemporary* edited by Ngahiraka Mason (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2008), 14-33.

¹¹ See Rangihiroa Panoho, "The Development of Māori Art in a Contemporary Form and Context: Paratene Matchitt," (MA diss., The University of Auckland, 1988), Ngahiraka Mason and Ngarino Ellis, *Pūrangiaho: Seeing Clearly* (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2001), Rangihiroa Panoho, "Māori Art in Continuum" (PhD diss., The University of Auckland, 2001), Huhana Smith (ed.), *Taiāwhio: Conversations with Contemporary Māori Artists* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2002), Witi Ihimaera and Ngarino Ellis (eds), *Te Ata: Māori Art From the East Coast, New Zealand* (Auckland: Reed Books, 2002), Deidre Brown and Ngarino Ellis, *Te Puna: Māori Art from Te Tai Tokerau Northland* (Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2007), Huhana Smith (ed.),

Contemporary Māori Art is the most significant artistic development in New Zealand art of the twentieth century. While Contemporary Māori Artists have adopted Western art traditions, their work is regarded as different to New Zealand art. The significance of Contemporary Māori Art is related to the artist's identity as Māori, the influence of Māori art and culture, and the statement that Contemporary Māori Art makes about art and culture in New Zealand. While Contemporary Māori Art features prominently in New Zealand art history and is widely appreciated, the constituting features of Contemporary Māori Art are contested and prone to conflicting interests.

The origins, histories and traditions of Contemporary Māori Art have been constantly questioned and debated since the emergence of this movement in the mid-twentieth century. This study is primarily concerned with the impact of a heated public debate in the early 1990s, when the definition of Māori art was placed under pressure by the work of a new generation of Contemporary Māori Artists, the requirements of government funding policies for Māori Art, and flamed by Pākehā in defence of their artistic traditions and cultural sites. Internal divisions within Contemporary Māori Art were magnified by Pākehā art historians, Pākehā curators lent unprecedented support to dissenting voices and Pākehā commentators levelled questions of their own. These challenges spurred senior Contemporary Māori Artists and Māori scholars to mount an immediate response in defence of Māori art traditions and their position within the New Zealand art system. Against accusations that Māori art and culture was at worst, dead, and at best, a fabrication, their charge resulted in separate definitions for the Māori ancestral tradition of taonga and Contemporary Māori Art as art made by an artist who recognises their Māori ancestry from 1997 onward. Defining Contemporary Māori Art according to the artist's Māori ancestry, hereafter referred to as the whakapapa definition, prevails today and goes largely uncontested.¹²

Taiāwhio II: Conversations with Contemporary Māori Artists (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2007), Robert Jahnke, "He Tataitanga Ahua Toi: The House That Riwai Built, A Continuum of Māori Art," (PhD diss. Massey University, 2006), Deidre Brown, Ngarino Ellis and Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, *Does Māori Art History Matter?* (Wellington: Victoria University, 2014), and Rangihiroa Panoho, *Māori Art: History, Architecture, Landscape and Theory* (Auckland: Bateman, 2015).

12

'The Crisis'

The moment when taonga and Contemporary Māori Art were separately defined is referred to here as 'the crisis' of 1996 though held as one of a number of crises moments that mark the history of Contemporary Māori Art in the period after European contact. The whakapapa definition of Contemporary Māori Art accounts for the variety of challenges posed to the traditions and concepts of Māori art practice caused by colonisation but distances Contemporary Māori Art from taonga and has a disfiguring effect on Māori art history. Reconciling Contemporary Māori Art with the tradition of taonga is a major theme in the development of Contemporary Māori Art up to the crisis of the 1990s, a primary concern for Māori art historians in the time since and an objective of this study.

Separate definitions of taonga and Contemporary Māori Art reconciled the crisis of the 1990s within the New Zealand art system though created factions within Contemporary Māori Art practice. Senior Contemporary Māori Artist leaders turned away from the New Zealand art system as a key site for the development of their work. They created enclaves to protect and advance traditions of Māori art and prioritised relationships with indigenous art communities internationally, who share similar experiences and values, and offer sympathetic contexts for the practice of Māori art traditions today. This course of Contemporary Māori Art intersects, from time to time, with the New Zealand art system though carefully negotiated and on specific terms.

The whakapapa definition has enabled Pākehā to confidently engage with Contemporary Māori Art on terms that are compatible with Pākehā tastes and serve their political needs.¹³ After the crisis, the whakapapa definition was actively implemented in the New Zealand art system creating fertile conditions for a

¹³ Robert Jahnke, "Dialogue: Talking Past Each Other," in *Culturalism, Multiculturalism, and the Visual Arts*, papers presented at the 1994 Auckland Conference of the Australian Council of University Art and Design Schools, edited by J. Holmes (Hobart: University of Tasmania, 1995): 5-17, Panoho, "Māori Art," Conal McCarthy, "The Rules of (Māori) Art: Bourdieu's Cultural Sociology and Māori Visitors in New Zealand Museums," *Journal of Sociology* vol. 49, no. 2-3 (2013): 173-193, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783313481521>, accessed 3 March 2017.

flourishing of Contemporary Māori Art practice in the twenty-first century though had the effect of individualising the nature of Māori cultural representation within this field of cultural production. As a result, the nature of Māori cultural representation has become incredibly vulnerable to Pākehā preferences, influence and control. These conditions have undermined and marginalised the political agency of Contemporary Māori previously achieved by the senior generation through strategic collective action despite the ever-increasing number of Māori employed in the field and contributions by Māori art historians to the knowledge of Māori art. The separate worlds of Contemporary Māori Art do, however, work together to present a diverse and prominent Māori presence within the New Zealand art scene though the nature of representation remains at the discretion of Pākehā.

As a work of Māori art history contributing to the collective body of Māori scholarship, this thesis stages an intervention in this course of development. Through the observance of Kaupapa Māori research methodologies, this study identified taonga as the principle influence on Contemporary Māori Art development with the observance of taonga concepts being the defining quality of Contemporary Māori Art.¹⁴ Through the practice of Kaupapa Māori theory, this study determined that the conditions of the New Zealand art system discourage and mask the conveyance of taonga principles in the work of Contemporary Māori Artists and distance Contemporary Māori Art discourse from Māori people. Through an intensive study of the debate and crisis from a Kaupapa Māori position, the mitigating role of Pākehā in the definition of Māori Art in the period after *Te Māori* is revealed along with the deficiencies of the whakapapa definition as a founding for the continuity of Māori art.

Te Māori

This study charts the definitions of Māori art developed in the period after *Te Māori* to establish the conditions that gave rise to the crisis of 1996. *Te Māori: Māori Art from New Zealand Collections* toured North American museums in 1984-85 with *Te Māori: Te Hokinga Mai* shown in New Zealand museums and art galleries in 1986-

¹⁴ This research was approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee: 23687.

87. The national tour broke attendance records and created a cultural phenomenon that positioned Māori at the forefront of New Zealand art and culture, raised questions about the definition of Māori art and sparked a backlash that saw major shifts in Māori social, cultural and political life manifest and play out in New Zealand art discourse in the following decade.

The impact of *Te Māori* was orchestrated as part of a wider Māori-led political strategy to improve the well-being of Māori people. The Tū Tangata (Stand Up) strategy was conceived by Ihakara Puketapu in 1977, implemented in his role as Secretary for the Department of Māori Affairs, and based on a steadfast belief in the right of Māori people to determine their own affairs in accordance with Māori values and cultural practices.¹⁵ Based on this philosophy Puketapu engineered a radical shift in state Māori policy from welfare spending to Māori development schemes, influencing changes in Māori political leadership and governance and directing investment into Māori language, social welfare, cultural knowledge retention and economic enterprises.¹⁶ In 1981 Puketapu became Chairman of the management committee for *Te Māori* and regarded this project as part of a ‘major international arts offensive ... to help boost a much-needed awareness of te reo Māori ... to help turn the tide’.¹⁷ In that role, Puketapu is credited for establishing the principle of Māori cultural ownership over taonga, which ensured the involvement of Māori people at all levels and stages of the exhibition—the hallmark of the exhibition’s success and legacy. When *Te Māori: Te Hokinga Mai* opened at the Dominion Museum, Wellington in 1986, objects that had been publicly displayed in New Zealand museums for decades were suddenly enlivened within the context of taonga—through ritual performance, the conveyance of Māori knowledge and the emotion of Māori connected to their ancestors.¹⁸

¹⁵ Kara Puketapu, *Reform From Within* (Wellington: Department of Māori Affairs, 1982).

¹⁶ Fear about the loss of te reo Māori was the major focus of the Tu Tangata programme and a major point raised at the 1981 Tū Tangata Wānanga Whakatauirā at Parliament in July 1981—the same year that Puketapu became Chairman of Te Māori Management Committee. “Te Māori,” New Zealand Foreign Affairs and Trade, <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/mfat75/te-maori/>, accessed 29 August 2019. See also Augie Fleras, “Towards Tū Tangata: Historical Developments and Current Trends in Māori Policy and Administration,” *Political Science* vol. 37, issue 1 (1985): 18-39.

¹⁷ “Te Māori,” *Foreign Affairs*. Also see Hanham, “‘Te Māori’ Exhibition,” 9, and 40-41.

¹⁸ For a compilation of various responses and accounts, see Philippa Butler, “Te Māori Past and Present: Stories of Te Māori,” (MA diss. Massey University, Palmerston North, 1996).

While specific to historic Māori art from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries, *Te Māori* had immediate and long-term impacts for Contemporary Māori Art.¹⁹ Since the mid-twentieth century Māori trained in the Western fine art tradition had struggled to gain recognition for their work in the New Zealand art system and met resistance from Māori who questioned the motivations for fusing Māori and European art traditions. The early decades of Contemporary Māori Art are marked by disappointments and resentments about the difficulties of access, cultural and intellectual incommensurability of working with New Zealand art galleries, and this period is characterised by independent artist-led projects outside of the gallery system, or staged in museums with collections of historic Māori art.²⁰ Yet it was within the marae that artists focussed their efforts and the site of vanguard Contemporary Māori Art practice in the second-half of the twentieth century.

Questions were, however, raised again by Hirini Moko Mead in an influential and often-quoted statement made in the catalogue for *Te Māori*.

New forms of art, borrowed from the traditions of the West, have been introduced into the Māori world. Māori artists trained in the art schools of the Pākehā are spearheading a movement to change the face of Māori art more radically than ever before. One does not know whether they innovate with love and understanding, or whether they are about to ignite new fires of destruction.²¹

Mead made this statement at the end of his second essay, which compared cosmological narratives of taonga with histories of Māori art written by Pākehā.²² Mead organised that history according to a developmental model comprising four 300-year period categories based on the cycle of plant growth.²³ Ngā Kakano (The

¹⁹ Hanham, “Te Māori,” 60-61, 63-65 and 69.

²⁰ See McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori*, 122-134, and Taarati Taiaroa, “The Development of the Māori Art Exhibition,” (MA diss., Victoria University Wellington, 2017), 18-45.

²¹ Sidney Moko Mead, “Ka Tupu te Toi Whakairo ki Aotearoa: Becoming Māori Art,” in *Te Māori: Māori Art from New Zealand Collections* edited by Sidney Moko Mead (Auckland: Heinemann, The American Federation of Arts, 1984), 75.

²² Sidney Moko Mead, “Ngā Timunga me ngā Paringa o te Mana Māori: The Ebb and Flow of Mana Māori and the Changing Context of Māori Art,” in Mead (ed.), *Te Māori*, 34-35.

²³ Mead, “Mana Māori,” 34.

Seeds, 900-1200 AD) acknowledged the importation of cultural knowledge from Eastern Polynesia to Aotearoa. Te Tipunga (The Growth, 1200-1500 AD) identified the emergence of an indigenous style of Māori Art which flourished during Te Puawaitanga (The Flowering, 1500-1800 AD). The impact of European explorers and settlers marked a period of turning, Te Huringa (1800 – present), during which the ‘very survival of the culture was put at risk’ and a remarkable recovery was made in the twentieth century. Following the logic of the model, Mead was writing midway through the Huringa period and the question he posed about Contemporary Māori Art reads as a challenge—to artists, viewers and patrons—to ensure that the new cycle of Māori art is sown from the seed of taonga, in which *Te Māori* played a crucial role.

While a minor point in Mead’s work overall, Contemporary Māori Artists immediately rose to Mead’s challenge. In 1984 the first book on Contemporary Māori Art, *Māori Artists of the South Pacific*, was published by the New Zealand Māori Artists and Writers Society. Profiling the work of thirteen artists and writers working in customary and contemporary modes the book introduced Contemporary Māori Art as a new form of New Zealand art that drew distinctiveness from the tradition of taonga though used the phrase, ‘treasurable uniqueness’, an English language translation of taonga.

All of the artists featured here represent the pioneers of a new consciousness, single warriors in a battle for new creative direction, who came together to support each other at a time of cultural insecurity.

The elders were bent on a policy of conservation and feared that the culture would be trampled on ... The journey for the pioneering artists was an uneasy one ... They had started a revolution which sought not only the retention of the underlying aesthetic of the past but also the revival of its creative genius. Old images were broken down and reformed, new materials replaced the traditional ones and the content looked both backward and forward into the future. The exact copying of previous designs was not seen as the only means of conserving the old. Instead, the ancient custom of *treasurable*

uniqueness became the justification and motivation for new symbols and shapes to express each new venture.²⁴

The following year a group of senior Māori artists established the Contemporary Māori Art Trust. The Trust was funded by the artists to create regular opportunities to meet, wānanga, and create opportunities to develop Contemporary Māori Art in the wake of *Te Māori*.²⁵ Trust member, Darcy Nicholas, led a number of important initiatives to directly associate Contemporary Māori Art with the taonga of *Te Māori*. The exhibition *Māori Art Today* (1986-87) toured the four major cities alongside *Te Māori: Te Hokinga*.²⁶ At the Christchurch showing, Nicholas was reported as likening *Te Māori* and *Maori Art Today* as:

[T]win canoes ... the canoe representing the arts today to complement the canoe of the arts represented by *Te Māori* ... and for some, particularly non-Māori viewers it was a challenge to their perception of “Māori Art” and the galleries now need to address the contemporary Māori art scene in a responsible way.²⁷

With Keri Kaa, Nicholas also produced the interview-based publication, *Seven Māori Artists* in 1986. This publication supported the exhibition, *Te Ao Mārama: Seven Māori Artists*, developed at the Sarjeant Gallery in Whanganui before touring to the Sydney Opera House and Australian regional museums in the same period that Australian museum officials were requesting *Te Māori* to tour their major museums.²⁸ Later, Nicholas readily acknowledged the impact of *Te Māori* on Contemporary Māori art initiatives.

²⁴ Bevan Ford, “Introduction,” 9.

²⁵ “Contemporary Māori Arts Deed of Trust 1985,” Darcy Nicholas Archive. The founding trustees were Sandy Adsett, Fred Graham, John Hovell, Darcy Nicholas, Buck Nin, Matt Pine, Cliff Whiting and Arnold Manaaki Wilson. See page 168.

²⁶ Amy Brown, “Māori Art Today,” *Art New Zealand* no. 45 (Summer 1987-88): 52-55.

²⁷ Canterbury Society of Arts, ‘Māori Art Today,’ exhibition flyer, “Ngā Puna Waihangā: Administrative Files 1/4 – Newsletters,” National Library of New Zealand, MS Papers-9430-009.

²⁸ Jeanne MacAskill, “Te Ao Mārama: Seven Māori Artists,” *Art New Zealand* 38 (Autumn, 1986): 35-37.

[*Te Māori*] kicked open the doorways and knocked over the barriers ... I was a contemporary Māori artist well before that and we had to really push and drive to get recognition. Suddenly all the doors opened up with *Te Māori*.²⁹

These examples represent an incredibly buoyant and diverse uprising of Contemporary Māori Artists in which a new generation of artists were prominently introduced. While Contemporary Māori Artists met Mead's challenge by describing and framing their work in relation to taonga, these 'two waka' continued to run parallel to each other. This distinction was not simply related to the different traditions and practices of museums (artefacts) and art galleries (art): there remained a gap in Māori art history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as it was told at the time—the period in which Māori art was said to have died.

The 'Death' of Māori Art

The 'death' of Māori art is a recurring theme in Contemporary Māori Art history. In fact, the origins of Contemporary Māori Art are associated with Māori art revitalisation programmes of the twentieth century to ensure the survival of Māori Art. These initiatives maintained Māori art practices though inexorably changed the concept of Māori art, and underscore the distinctions made between taonga and Contemporary Māori Art at the end of the twentieth-century.

From the mid nineteenth-century the Māori population began to decline leading some to believe that Māori were facing extinction by the end of the century.³⁰ Similarly, Pākehā scholars claimed a similar fate for Māori art and actively developed collections of this dying art and as well as records of Māori history, art and culture by Pākehā artists.³¹ Anthropological and ethnographic studies of Māori material culture undertaken by Pākehā scholars from the early twentieth century produced chronological accounts of Māori art development, which traced the emergence of an

²⁹ Darcy Nicholas, interview dated 2000, quoted in Hanham, "'Te Māori' Exhibition," 66.

³⁰ Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, "Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History" (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, Auckland War Memorial Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira, Stout Trust, 2014), 246.

³¹ Leonard Bell, "Colonial Constructs: European Images of Māori 1840-1914" (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993), 147, Brown, Ellis and Mane-Wheoki, "Māori Art History," 18-19.

indigenous style of Māori art in the period immediately pre-dating European context.³² These studies classicised Māori art and culture, giving rise to the entrenched attitude that European influence corrupted Māori art from the early nineteenth-century, and produced stereotypes against which Māori survival and development has since been measured.

While Māori survived colonisation Māori leaders maintained grave concerns about the status of Māori cultural knowledge. In 1923, Ngāti Porou leader and influential government minister, Apirana Ngata, lobbied for the establishment of the Board of Māori Ethnological Research Te Poari Whakapapa to direct efforts toward the 'study and investigation of the arts, language, customs, history, and traditions of the Māori.'³³ In 1926 the passing of the Māori Arts and Crafts Act enabled Ngata to establish Te Ao Mārama, the national school of carving at Ōhinemutu marae in Rotorua.³⁴ The school was led by tohunga whakairo who still practiced their customary art forms and attracted students from around the country.³⁵ Ngata then deployed the school carvers to serve a national whare whakairo building programme, intended to reinvigorate the marae as the centre of Māori life. The itinerant carving team tailored their school style to the history and traditions of the specific region, involved host communities in the work, with over thirty buildings providing a focus for a renewal of marae life between 1926-36 (Figure 1) before the closure of the school in 1937.³⁶ In 1963, however, Te Ao Mārama was reformed as the Rotorua Māori Arts and Crafts Institute and in 1967, accepted the first student intake as the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, which continues in Rotorua today.³⁷

³² For a survey of key trends and scholars, see McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori*, 13-60.

³³ Conal McCarthy and Paul Tapsell, "Te Poari Whakapapa: The Origins, Operation and Tribal Networks of the Board of Māori Ethnological Research 1923-1935," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 128, 1 (2019), 87-88.

³⁴ Deidre Brown, "Te Hau ki Turanga," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 105, 1 (1996), 18-22, Deidre Brown, "The Architecture of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* vol. 198, no. 3 (1999): 241-276, and Conal McCarthy, "To Foster and Encourage the Study and Practice of Māori Arts and Crafts": Indigenous Material Culture, Colonial Arts and Crafts and New Zealand Museums," *Craft, Community and the Material Culture of Place and Politics, 19th-20th Century* edited by Janice Helland (et.al), (Surrey, Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 68-69.

³⁵ Brown, "School of Māori Arts and Crafts," 245-246, Roger Neich, *Carved Histories: The Woodcarver of Ngāti Tararua* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001), 69-76.

³⁶ New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, Ngā Kete Tuku Iho, "About NZMACI," <https://www.nzmaci.com/about-us/>, accessed 3 July 2018.

³⁷ About NZMACI."

The emergence of the first generation of Contemporary Māori Artists overlapped with the establishment of the Māori Arts and Crafts Institute and they were critical of the classical visual style promoted by the school. Provoked by questions and suspicions about their work as 'Māori art', a number of artists denounced the work of the Institute as 'museum art,' and a 'template of what was done before 1840, or what is even worse, a template of a template that was created by the Ngata revival.'³⁸ In 1966, Arnold Manaaki Wilson stated that 'Māori art' had been 'trashed to the point that the work was no longer "living"', and it was through the work of Contemporary Māori Artists that the wairua of Māori art would be maintained and advanced.³⁹ The right of Contemporary Māori Artists to make this claim at this time was questionable, however, given the nature of their Māori art education at that time.

In the post-World War Two period, young Māori began to train in tertiary level art education programmes in New Zealand (Figure 2).⁴⁰ Their training introduced them to Western art traditions, the work of leading artists, seminal art works and major art movements. They received no tuition in Māori art but were encouraged to independently develop their knowledge in this area.⁴¹ Through the 1950s a small group of individuals formed networks through their professions as Māori art teachers and continued to develop their knowledge in Māori art by studying taonga in their respective communities and museum collections, along with the knowledge conveyed by taonga, with the first exhibition of Contemporary Māori Art staged in Auckland in 1958.⁴²

³⁸ Muru Walters quoted in "Personality Study: Muru Walters," *Te Ao Hou*, no. 35 (June 1961), 28, and Arnold Manaaki Wilson quoted in "Reviving Māori Art and Craft is a Dead Loss, Say Māori," unsourced newspaper clipping, c. 1966, n.p., "Arnold Manaaki Wilson Artist Files," E.H. McCormack Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, both quoted in Skinner, *The Carver and the Artist* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008), 116-7.

³⁹ "Reviving Māori Art."

⁴⁰ Jill Smith, "The Impact of the Recruitment of Māori Art Advisors by the Department of Education Upon the Evolution of Contemporary Māori Artists and Art," (MA diss., The University of Auckland, 1992), and Cliff Whiting, "Historical Note" in *Beeby: The Enlightened Years* (Wellington: The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, 1992), 22-23.

⁴¹ See account from Murray Gilbert in Panoho, "Para Matchitt," 39.

⁴² See Mason (ed.), *Tūruki Tūruki! Paneke Paneke!*

In 1960, a number of Māori Art Teaching Specialists received formal training in Māori art by Pine Taiapa, the lead carver of Ngata's whare whakairo programme.⁴³ This led to further instruction and mentorship in the following years during the same period that Muru Walters and Arnold Manaaki Wilson openly criticised Taiapa's legacy.⁴⁴ In 1966 fifteen Contemporary Māori Artists held a seminal exhibition of their work in conjunction with the Māori Arts Festival in Hamilton and invited Taiapa to open their exhibition. While initially critical of the art work, Taiapa eventually gave his approval to this new style of Māori art.⁴⁵ His acceptance became a great source of pride and motivation among that group and led to further opportunities in their Māori art education.

Kaupapa Māori research demonstrated that Contemporary Māori Artists went on to play an important role in the survival of Māori art in the late twentieth century. Through Taiapa's work with the New Zealand Historic Places Trust the artists became involved in whare whakairo restoration projects exposing them to a broad range of innovative and idiosyncratic examples of Māori art of the Huringa period, which in turn, influenced their experiments in figurative and abstract painting, wall relief constructions and lattice work.⁴⁶ The restoration projects also led to marae-based commissions and by the mid-1970s, Contemporary Māori Artists were working fluently across marae, art gallery and museum sites in New Zealand.⁴⁷ The 1976 exhibition, *Contemporary Māori Art* at the Waikato Art Gallery (11 September-17 October 1976) showcased the diversity and camaraderie amongst artists of various schools of Māori art, featuring carvings by Te Ao Mārama graduates from the collection of the Kingitanga, exemplary examples of weaving from the informal school led by Rangimarie Hetet and her daughter, Diggeress Te Kanawa, and the

⁴³ Carol Henderson, *A Blaze of Colour. Gordon Tovey: Artist Educator* (Christchurch: Creative New Zealand, Hazard Press, Māori and Pacific Arts Council, 1998), 166-174.

⁴⁴ Muru Walters went on to become a diligent student of Taiapa, attending courses with Taiapa in the years after the 1960 hui, known as the Ngāti Porou inservice courses, and frequent visitor to Taiapa's homestead in Tikitiki. See Ian Christiansen, *Cliff Whiting: He Toi Nuku, He Toi Rangi* (Palmerston North: He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2013), 46-50, and Ngahiraka Mason, "Muru Walters: Tuia ki te Here Tangata: Binding People Together," in Mason (ed.), *Tūruki Tūruki! Paneke Paneke!*, 75-76.

⁴⁵ Para Matchitt, "People are Amazed. So am I," in *Now See Hear: Art, Language and Translation* edited by Gregory Burke and Ian Wedde (Wellington: Victoria University Press, Wellington City Art Gallery, 1990), 245.

⁴⁶ Christiansen, "Cliff Whiting," 56-113.

⁴⁷ Skinner, *Carver and the Artist*, 127-161.

work of Contemporary Māori Artists of the 'Taiapa School'.⁴⁸ The exhibition catalogue featured an essay by Frank Davis, a Pākehā colleague and ally in the Education Department, who stressed the integral position of Māori art within Māori society, identified these qualities in the work of Contemporary Māori Artists who he also regarded as offering a singular contribution to the development of an indigenous style of New Zealand art.⁴⁹

In his *Te Māori* essay, however, Mead did not acknowledge the marae-based research and practice of Contemporary Māori Artists at that time or their engagement and continuity of late-nineteenth and early twentieth century Māori art forms—none of which were represented in *Te Māori*. Rather Mead chose to champion the innovations of newly established urban marae and recently built whare whakairo in the Ngata tradition, an example being Te Herenga Waka, the marae established at Victoria University of Wellington, where Mead was the Professor of Māori Studies, and Te Tumu Herenga Waka, the whare whakairo at Te Herenga Waka marae, which opened on 6 December 1986 at the peak of the phenomenon of *Te Māori* in New Zealand.⁵⁰

This gap in the presentation of Māori art history became a point of discussion during *Te Māori: Te Hokinga Mai*.⁵¹ In a 1986 interview conducted by Māori art historian, Rangihiroa Panoho, with Pākehā ethnologist, Roger Neich, Neich proposed that the Ngata style was a deliberately apolitical construct based on the art traditions of pro-

⁴⁸ "Taiapa School" is a term that has risen in response to the mythologisation of Gordon Tovey as the progenitor of Contemporary Māori Art with the first generation coming to be known as 'The Tovey Generation' in the work of Jonathan Mane-Wheoki. For a range of views see Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, "Te Puawaitanga Hou: Modernist Māori Artists of the Tovey Era, 1946-1966," unpublished essay draft, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki Archive, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, TMP 024433.4.1.3, Jill Smith, "Sharing Māori Knowledge," in *Fred Graham: Creator of Forms, Te Tohunga Auaha* (Wellington: Huia Publishing, 2014), 25, Damian Skinner quoted in Luit Bieringa (dir.), *The HeART of the Matter*, produced by Jan Bieringa and BWX Productions (2016), video, Peter Ireland, "The Early Days of Bicultural School Education," *Eyecontact*, <http://eyecontactsite.com/2017/03/the-early-days-of-bicultural-school-education>, accessed 1 February 2020, Deidre Brown, "Preface," in *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance. Essays in Memory of Jonathan Mane-Wheoki*, edited by Conal McCarthy and Mark Stocker (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2017), ix, and Wairau Māori Art Gallery, "Sandy Adsett," (Auckland: Tim Melville Gallery, 2018), https://issuu.com/timmelville/docs/tm1334fa_cover_text_issuu_max, accessed 21 March 2020.

⁴⁹ Frank Davis, "Māori Art: An Introduction," in *Contemporary Māori Art* (Hamilton: Waikato Art Museum, 1976), 6-16.

⁵⁰ Mead, "Mana Māori," 25, Mead, "Te Toi Whakairo," 75, and Te Kawa a Māui, *The Opening of Te Tumu Herenga Waka: 6 December 1986* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1987).

⁵¹ For a compilation and summary of criticism see Butler, "Te Māori," 21-26.

government iwi over more radical art developments within anti-colonial Māori communities.⁵² He specified the example of painted whare whakairo associated with the nineteenth-century Māori prophetic movement, which Contemporary Māori Artists had studied in the course of their restoration work. This raised the point that the history of Māori art told by *Te Māori* was equally political and created incongruities between the presentation of *Te Māori* and the raft of Contemporary Māori Art exhibitions accompanying that tour, feeding further into the question raised by Mead in his catalogue essay.

This gap in Māori art history became a subject of Panoho's early work as a Māori art historian and curator. His 1988 Master of Arts dissertation on Para Matchitt emphasised the influence of Ngā Poropiti (the Māori Prophetic Movement) on this artist's work—and others of his generation—to establish change as a constant principle in Māori art.⁵³ In 1989 Panoho curated *Whatu Aho Rua: A Weaving Together of Traditional and Contemporary Taonga* at the Sarjeant Gallery in Whanganui (8 April – 5 June 1989) to accompany *Te Ao Māori*, an exhibition of work by thirteen Contemporary Māori Artists curated by the national Māori art collective, Ngā Puna Waihanga, as an extension of their 1989 national hui held at Ratana Pa.⁵⁴ The title aptly alluded to weaving techniques to present Contemporary Māori Art within a continuum of taonga practice—as contemporary taonga—and contextualise *Te Ao Māori* within that history.

Through selection and comparative display techniques, *Whatu Aho Rua* demonstrated the influence of Huringa-period taonga on Contemporary Māori Art (Figure 5). Particular attention was paid to the visual synergies between historic and contemporary 'taonga' such as recurring motifs, styles of abstraction and the use of text in Māori art of the post-European contact period (Figure 6 and Figure 7). The exhibition also addressed the notable gaps of *Te Māori*—which had been a subject of much contention at the time—by including fibre artists, the work of women artists

⁵² Roger Neich interview with Rangihiroa Panoho, quoted in Panoho "Para Matchitt."

⁵³ Panoho, "Para Matchitt."

⁵⁴ "File 17 National Conference 1989: Papers Relating to National Conferences. 1973-1995. Ngā Puna Waihanga: Records," Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-9430-044.

and an intergenerational grouping of Contemporary Māori Artists in addition to those included in *Te Ao Māori*.⁵⁵

Panoho's catalogue essay acknowledged that this comparative strategy was not new and acknowledged the consistent efforts of Contemporary Māori Artists to associate their work with taonga and the art of the marae from the 1950s onward.⁵⁶ One significant example is the 1963 exhibition staged in Mahinarangi, the first building to be completed by Ngata's team, as part of the First Māori Arts Festival at Tūrangawaewae marae, Ngaruawahia (Figure 3).⁵⁷ Panoho also pointed to Roger Neich's 1978 exhibition, *Māori Art*, which contrasted taonga from the Dominion Museum collection with paintings by Ralph Hotere, to draw the following conclusion:

A key issue raised by this show ... was the lack of public understanding over the relationship between traditional and contemporary pieces. Clearly an audience needs to be more directly informed about aesthetic and thematic connections, and also discrepancies, in style, subject, technique and materials. The direct and indirect relationship between taonga such as weaving, painting, carving, stone fashioning, whakapapa (genealogy, tribal traditions, history, language) and Māori art today needs to be more carefully examined.⁵⁸

Where Neich based his argument on the unsympathetic comparisons between Māori art in the classic style and a series of Hotere's black paintings visually inspired by American abstract painter, Ad Reinhardt, Panoho chose visually sympathetic examples in *Whatu Aho Rua*. His catalogue essay also elaborated on continuous conceptual concerns, such as whakapapa, whenua, whakatauki, and the effects of taonga—wehi and wana—all concepts identified by Mead in his introduction to

⁵⁵ This included Robert Jahnke, Robyn Kahukiwa, Emily Karaka, Manos Natahan, Michael Te Rakato Parekowhai, Matt Pine, Kura Rewiri, Hariata Mei Ropata-Tangahoe and Ahu Te Ua.

⁵⁶ Rangihiroa Panoho, *Whatu Aho Rua: A Weaving Together of Traditions and Contemporary Taonga* (Whanganui: Sarjeant Gallery, Tandanya Aboriginal Cultural Institute, 1991), 9.

⁵⁷ See Taiaroa, "Māori Art Exhibition," 34-38.

⁵⁸ Panoho, *Whatu Aho Rua*, 10. The quote refers to a visitor study conducted by Neich about perceptions of the curatorial premise. See Roger Neich, "A Survey of Visitor Attitudes to a Māori Art Exhibition," *AGMANZ News* 11:2 (1980): 6-9.

taonga in his *Te Māori* catalogue essays, though also highlighted criticisms by Contemporary Māori Artists about the 'conservative content' of *Te Māori*.⁵⁹ By addressing these gaps in Māori art history as told by *Te Māori*, Panoho argued for the concept of contemporary taonga as a weaving together of "taonga tuku iho ... and European art", with the title, indicating the 'multiplicity of strands present in the makeup of contemporary Māori art.'⁶⁰ However, while *Whatu Aho Rua* was highly regarded and widely appreciated, successive projects did not support or develop his concept of Māori art history.⁶¹

The 'Māori Art' Debate

In 1990 the rise of Māori art and culture was profiled in the 1990 sesquicentennial commemorations of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document. Commemorations involved an expansive national campaign along with a raft of unofficial contributions that reflected on the state of the nation and examined—critically and uncritically—the relationship between Māori and Pākehā. Māori art played a dominant role in the commemorations and positioned Contemporary Māori Artists at the forefront of New Zealand art, provoking a backlash and raising questions about the definition of Māori art. This backlash involved dissention within the Contemporary Māori art movement but increasing Pākehā interest and involvement in Contemporary Māori Art had a greater impact and revealed a determination to maintain power over the position over Contemporary Māori Art within the New Zealand art sector.

Pākehā critique of Māori art took a number of forms. Pākehā curators began to champion dissenting voices within Contemporary Māori art, particularly the position of a younger generation who had begun to question the taonga practices of the older generation—what they perceived to be a conservative and traditionalist doctrine. By lending support to younger artists who felt disenfranchised from the Māori cultural

⁵⁹ Panoho, *Whatu Aho Rua*, 11-13.

⁶⁰ Panoho, *Whatu Aho Rua*, 9.

⁶¹ For a comprehensive review see Nicholas Thomas, "Whatu Aho Rua: Histories and Encounters," *Art Monthly Australia* (October 1993): 3-5.

and economic powerbase (and ironically, those most affected by the impacts of colonisation), Pākehā curators, writers and art historians began to raise their own questions about the definition of Māori art. Their questions were less concerned with the relationship of Contemporary Māori Art to taonga but the debt that was owed to the tradition of Western art. As the following extract attests, the nature of Pākehā critique was not specific to Contemporary Māori Art but reflected more broadly on the impact of the Tū Tangata programme and demonstrated a newfound concern for ‘urban Māori’ considered to be doubly disadvantaged by the impacts of colonisation, and discrimination from Māori.

They challenge the prevailing notion of ‘authenticity in contemporary Māori Art. Māori culture is typically presented as distinct, noble, sincere (no irony), spiritual, ecologically-sound—a living tradition conflating the authentic with the well-appointed. While appearing PC, this misty-eye essentialism masks economic and cultural disenfranchisement. It runs the risk of mocking and enhancing the sense of emptiness and displacement that many Māori feel, as if they are not real Māori because they do not walk the walk and talk the talk. The extent to which this identity mythology is less traditional than a construction of the present that simply refers to tradition, is seldom confronted ... [and] begs the question, why must Māori art be viewed as exclusively blue-blooded?⁶²

Māori art leaders were inflamed by this kind of questioning and responded through exhibitions and development initiatives that maintained and asserted collective identity among Contemporary Māori Artists. Māori art writers affiliated with the Contemporary Māori Art movement began to ‘write-back’ (Figure 8), raising their own questions about the hegemony of Pākehā support for Māori artists who singled themselves out through their criticism and distancing from the Contemporary Māori Art movement. These reactions sparked a fiercely contested public debate from 1990 to 1996 focussed on establishing a formal definition of Māori art—with the work

⁶² Robert Leonard, “3.125% Pure: Peter Robinson Plays the Numbers Game,” *Art and Text*, no 50 (1996), <https://robertleonard.org/3-125-pure-peter-robinson-plays-the-numbers-game/>, accessed 28 September 2019.

of a new generation of Contemporary Māori Artists becoming a complicating aberration that, in the heat of the debate period and crisis moment of 1996, effectively determined the whakapapa definition. The ferocity of this debate and the subsequent impact of the whakapapa definition on Contemporary Māori Art development is covered here as a central concern of this study.

Māori Art History and the Concept of 'Toi'

Debates about the definition of Māori art in the decade after *Te Māori* demonstrated the urgent need for a greater understanding of Māori art history. At the time of the debates and since, a small group of anthropologists, art historians, curators and ethnologists have addressed this need by contributing to the emerging discipline of Māori art history.⁶³ This body of writing simultaneously challenges the legacy of colonial interpretations of Māori art and offers more thorough histories and theories of Māori art. By introducing continuum theories of Māori art history based on processes of innovation, adaptation and change, their work refutes the recurring belief that Māori art died during the colonial process, implicitly refuted the linear chronology of Mead's developmental model, attitudes about the Huringa period and framing of Contemporary Māori Art.

More recently, Māori art historians have also begun to develop and practice Māori methods of art history.⁶⁴ These methods offer specific frameworks to construct continuous histories of Māori art. Māori methods of art history draw from Māori

⁶³ Notable examples include: Roger Neich, *Painted Histories: Early Māori Figurative Painting* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993), Paul Tapsell, *Pukaki: A Comet Returns* (Auckland: Reed, 2000), Roger Neich, *Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngāti Tarawhai Carving* (Auckland University Press: 2001), Paul Tapsell, *Ko Tawa: Māori Treasures of New Zealand* (Auckland: David Bateman, Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira, 2006), Damien Skinner, *The Carver and the Artist: Māori Art in the Twentieth Century* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008), Deidre Brown, *Māori Architecture: From Fale to Wharenui and Beyond* (Auckland: Penguin Group, Raupo Publishing Ltd, 2009), Awhina Tamarapa (ed.), *Whatu Kākahu: Māori Cloaks* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2011), Ngahuia te Awēkotuku, *Mau Moko: The World of Māori Tattoo* (Auckland: Penguin Group New Zealand Limited, 2011), Rangihira Panoho, *Māori Art: History, Architecture, Landscape and Theory* (Auckland: David Bateman, 2015) Ngarino Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition: One Hundred Years of Ngāti Porou Carving, 1830-1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2016), and Dougal Austin, *Te Hei Tiki: An Enduring Treasure in a Cultural Continuum* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2019).

⁶⁴ Mason and Ellis (eds), *Pūrangiāho*, Panoho, "Māori Art," Robert Jahnke, "He Tataitanga Ahua Toi: The House That Riwai Built (PhD diss., Massey University, 2006), Brown, Ellis and Mane-Wheoki, *Māori Art History*, Panoho, *Māori Art*.

knowledge systems and make judgements about Māori art based on Māori values. For this reason, Māori methods of art history can be seen as an attempt to maintain essential qualities of Māori art that encompass both taonga and Contemporary Māori art.

Continuum histories of Māori art and methods of Māori art history have introduced the concept of 'toi' as an essential attribute.⁶⁵ Toi has many interpretations that relate to a high point, apex or summit. Te Toi o Ngā Rangi is the name of the highest celestial realm of Māori cosmology and the source of art knowledge. In an abbreviated form, toi indicates the high value and respect given to the esoteric knowledge of Māori art within Māori culture and society. As a verb, toi indicates the artist's pursuit of creative excellence and technical achievement rather than describing the resulting art form. In this respect, toi refers to the process of art making from the perspective of the artist.

The use of toi is strongly associated with Contemporary Māori Art and was introduced to the New Zealand arts and culture sector in the period of *Te Māori*. In 1986 the Māori and South Pacific Arts Council, which directed government funding to support the development of Contemporary Māori Art, was reformed as Te Waka Toi—the name being given by Kuru Waaka, the long-serving leader of the Māori Arts and Crafts Institute.⁶⁶ In 1992, Te Waka Toi Chairman, Cliff Whiting, and Sandy Adsett, Chair of Ātinga, the Māori Visual Art advisory committee to Te Waka Toi, curated *Te Waka Toi: Contemporary Māori Art From New Zealand*, an exhibition of that retraced the path of *Te Māori* through North America and New Zealand in 1992-1994. In 1994, a restructure of Te Waka Toi prompted Cliff Whiting to initiate the

⁶⁵ Ngahiraka Mason, "Pūrangiāho Tōku Mata: He Whakapapa Toi Hou—A Context," in Mason and Ellis (ed.) *Pūrangiāho*: 19-28, Panoho, *Māori Art*, 25-33, Brown, Ellis and Mane-Wheoki, *Māori Art History*, 38-46. Whakapapa and kinship is a more recent emerging theme as evidenced in the work of Elisapeta Heta, "E Moemoeā Tātou ka Taea: Māori Art and Artist Collectives 1984-2014" (MA diss., The University of Auckland, 2015), Taiaroa, "Māori Art Exhibition," and the recent *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 128, no. 1 (March 2019) dedicated the theme of "Te Ao Hou: Whakapapa as Practical Ontology," including the essays, Billie Lythberg, Conal McCarthy and Amiria J.M. Salmond, "Transforming Worlds: Kinship as Practical Ontology," 7-18, McCarthy and Tapsell, "Te Poari Whakapapa," Anne Salmond and Billie Lythberg, "Reflections on the 1923 Dominion Museum East Coast Ethnological Expedition and Other Multimedia Experiments," 43-64, and Amiria J.M. Salmond, "Comparing Relations: Whakapapa and Genealogical Method," 107-130.

⁶⁶ "Te Waka Toi Newsletter, March 1989," Toi Māori Aotearoa Archive.

creation of an independent national Māori arts organisation, Toi Māori Aotearoa (1996-present), intended to shelter the contemporary practice of Māori art traditions and definitions, with Hirini Moko Mead a founding settlor.⁶⁷

Māori art historians have also used the concept of toi in their continuum theories of Māori art. In a 2001 catalogue essay to accompany *Pūrangiaho: Seeing Clearly*, a major exhibition of Contemporary Māori Art at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, exhibition curator, Ngahiraka Mason, offered a historical account called 'Whakapapa Toi Hou', which "interconnects with today's contemporary Māori art, spanning a 150 year bandwidth by generation, practice, shared issues and commonality to show a continuum of practice and the legacy of tradition."⁶⁸ In the same year, Rangihira Panoho submitted his doctoral thesis, *Māori Art in Continuum*, which introduced the foundations of the idea 'Toi o Tāhuhu', greatly clarified and expanded in the resulting 2015 publication, *Māori Art: History, Architecture, Landscape and Theory*. 'Tāhuhu' is translated as structure, history, the name of a genealogical descent line and the central ridge pole of a whareniui. As a phrase, Toi o Tāhuhu is a structure of Māori art history and method of analysing individual art works.⁶⁹ At the time of writing, Deidre Brown and Ngarino Ellis are engaged in a major study of Māori art history titled 'Toi te Mana' and focussed on continuous traditions evidenced across multiple forms of Māori art as the basis of a reconceived history of Māori art.⁷⁰

The emerging group of Māori art historians have avoided using the term 'taonga' despite applying the values of taonga in their construction of Māori art history and assessments of Contemporary Māori art. Toi is different to taonga though the terms are related and complementary. Toi is specific to the knowledge of Māori art and the pursuit of excellence on behalf of the artist. Taonga refers to the knowledge embodied in, and conveyed by the art work, during ritual performance, and the status accorded to toi by Māori who recognise and respond to the knowledge conveyed by the art work. Toi and taonga describe the production, presentation and function of art

⁶⁷ "Toi Māori Aotearoa Trust Deed 1996," Toi Māori Aotearoa Archive.

⁶⁸ Mason, "Pūrangiaho Tōku Mata," 19.

⁶⁹ See Anna-Marie White, "Toi o Tāhuhu: A Māori Art History," *Art New Zealand* 155 (Spring 2015): 108-110.

⁷⁰ Brown, Ellis and Mane-Wheoki, *Māori Art History*, 13.

in Te Ao Māori, though refer to different aspects of the process. This lead to the question, if toi can become taonga, when might Contemporary Māori Art become taonga?

The current terminology for Māori art reflects the different perspectives, practices and worlds of Contemporary Māori art. Where some terms are closely related, there remains a firm distinction between taonga and Contemporary Māori Art that the concept of toi does not appear to ameliorate. In fact the increasing Westernisation of the concept of toi forecasts irrevocable changes to the concept and practice of Māori art—changes that Mead so presciently described as the ‘new flames of destruction’—against which this research and thesis is deployed.

It has long been observed that Māori do not have a term equivalent to art. In the period after *Te Māori*, however, toi began to be employed as a Māori language translation of art. Toi became the standard word used in Māori names given to art galleries in New Zealand and in recent years two major surveys of New Zealand art history have included ‘toi’ in their titles: the 2011 publication, *Art Toi: New Zealand Art at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki*, and the 2018 exhibition, *Toi Art* at the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.⁷¹ In 2019, the New Zealand government funding agency, Creative New Zealand, deactivated Te Waka Toi, their Māori policy and funding division as part of a broader restructure, with Creative New Zealand Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa releasing the organisation’s first Māori arts strategy, ‘Ngā Toi: Māori Arts’; ngā being a plural particle with ‘ngā toi’ recognising the different art form categories in which funding is distributed.⁷² Where the operation of Toi Māori Aotearoa continues as an umbrella-organisation for different Māori art forms, ‘Ngā Toi Māori has institutionalised separate categories of Māori art despite the relatedness of Māori art practice as recognised in the Māori

⁷¹ Ron Brownson (ed.), *Art Toi: New Zealand Art at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki* (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2011), “Toi Art,” <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/visit/exhibitions/toi-art> Blog post, accessed 21 July 2019. See also Ranea Aperahama and Daniel Crichton-Rouse, “Mastering the Art of Interpretation: What Exactly Does ‘Toi’ Mean?,” <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2018/06/20/mastering-the-art-of-interpretation-what-exactly-does-toi-mean/>, accessed 29 June 2018.

⁷² Creative New Zealand, “Te Hā o ngā Toi – Māori Arts Strategy 2019-2024,” <https://www.creativenz.govt.nz/about-creative-new-zealand/corporate-documents/te-ha-o-nga-toi-maori-arts-strategy-2019-2024>, accessed 24 February 2019.

concepts of *toi* and *taonga*, and in spite of the demonstrated historical issues caused by the impositions of Western art categories on Māori art.

This study foresees new issues being created by the implementation of *toi* as the central concept of Māori art history and the Westernisation of *toi* as a word for art in New Zealand. The most obvious problem arises from the understanding of *taonga* according to the concept of *toi* in the service of continuum theories of Māori art history, against the rigorous definition of *taonga* applied in studies specific to historic Māori art. Secondly, it is already evident that the *whakapapa* definition of Contemporary Māori art will be grafted to the term of *toi*, which threatens the culturally specific histories and practices associated with that term and poses new threats to those enclaves within Contemporary Māori Art that maintain those traditions—particularly those subject to government funding. Impelled by the importance of *taonga* Māori in the lives of Māori people today, the pervasive influence of *taonga* in the development of Contemporary Māori Art, and as a contribution to the maintenance of Māori cultural knowledge within contemporary life, this study returns to the 1990s to relitigate the debate from the position advanced by those scholars who advocated for the continuity of Māori art based on the tradition of *taonga* and introduces the concept of contemporary *taonga* to contemporary art discourse.

Brett Graham

Among the new generation of Māori artists to emerge in the decade after *Te Māori*, Brett Graham rose to national prominence during the debates, and occupied a central role in the crisis moment. His art works were embroiled in the key events of this period though never their exclusive subject. Unlike his peers, however, Graham was schooled in the philosophies of the older generation and defended the *taonga* traditions of Māori art through the debate period and crisis moment. Despite his work being utilised by senior Contemporary Māori artists, writers and curators in their assertion of Māori art traditions, their combined efforts didn't stay the tide of public discourse leading Graham to be erroneously categorised, then and now, as an 'urban Māori artist' of the 'Young Gun' generation. The incongruity of Graham's

categorisation as a 'urban Māori artist' and the gulf between the whakapapa definition and the depth of Māori knowledge conveyed by his work, led this research to focus on his idiosyncratic and exceptional example as a Contemporary Māori Artist and represents the most important decision of the research process.⁷³

Reading through the debate and crisis through the practice of Brett Graham illuminated arguments for the relevance of taonga to the practice of Contemporary Māori—in certain cases. As the son of first-generation Contemporary Māori Artist, Fred Graham, Brett Graham received a privileged education in Contemporary Māori Art as taonga and maintained these practices from the earliest stage of his career. When directly asked if he made taonga, however, Graham said “I make neither taonga nor art. If my work is valued over time by others they might be considered to be taonga.”⁷⁴ This simple statement established the critical difference between the traditions of taonga and Western art: the Western tradition is based on the right of the artist to claim their creative expression as 'art' whereas a Māori artist who observes taonga principles in their work relies on a complex network beyond themselves to recognise and acknowledge their work as such. The taonga process is made even more difficult by the impacts of colonisation on the complex of Māori society and culture, and the transfer system of Māori knowledge. Only through an intensive examination of Graham's work within a Māori context was it discovered that one of his art works had been recognised and utilised as taonga, a process that was thoroughly investigated, documented and detailed here as the basis for the concept of 'contemporary taonga.'

Graham is a singular, idiosyncratic and effective example from which to build an argument for contemporary taonga. Graham works fluently across Māori, Western and international art forms, sites and traditions and comfortably inhabits various

⁷³ Brett Graham declined to be formally interviewed as part of this research though was available for frequent and ongoing conversation and communication via telephone, email and text message. Graham made his personal archive available to the researcher, which included an extensive collection of published articles on Contemporary Māori Art history, individual art work files including production notes, reference material and correspondence with involved parties, personal diaries and academic writing by the artist, and an extensive collection of photographs, slides and transparencies. Graham's father, sister, friends and colleagues were also interviewed.

⁷⁴ Brett Graham, email to author, Waiuku, 5 April 2017.

communities of Contemporary Māori Art. His work draws on multiple forms and traditions of Māori art, observes Māori art and cultural traditions and recognition of his work as taonga involved a considerable collaborative effort. The research found that it took many years of artist development, intellectual endeavour, diligence and determination for his work to be recognised as taonga, a process of 'becoming' signalled by the use of Mead's developmental terminology as chapter titles.

The selection of Graham was also a subject of consultation. Conducted within the territory of Te Ātiawa by a Te Ātiawa researcher, the research process was guided by Te Ātiawa and Taranaki leaders with expertise in Māori art and cultural development. Dialogue with these leaders, and Graham, was frequent, informal and ongoing. Initially Graham viewed this study as a means to critically evaluate his work challenging the researcher to uncomfortably test his practice. He ensured a high level of accessibility through multiple forms of communication, his personal archive and networks.

However, Graham would not discuss his work as contemporary taonga.⁷⁵ He consistently distanced himself from any discussion of his work as taonga regarding the subject to be inappropriate. Consultation with Māori leaders established that the question was both logical and reasonable and wider consultation with Māori artists indicated that contemporary taonga is a live subject of discussion within Māori art communities. It became clear that Graham's resistance to this subject was entirely consistent with the concept of taonga as a transactional process of knowledge and a status conferred to the art work by another party. Having established that Graham would never claim his work as taonga, the researcher assumed full responsibility for proposing, investigating and conceptualising his work as such, which led to the concept of contemporary taonga being established through the case study of *Āniwaniwa*.

Graham's singular course of development as a Contemporary Māori Art and the significance of his work being recognised as taonga has not yet registered within

75

Contemporary Māori Art discourse. Nor has his practice been able to affect the definition of Contemporary Māori Art. By employing contemporary taonga as a method of Māori art history, this study does demonstrate the deficiencies of the whakapapa definition, though concedes that contemporary taonga is a concept not applicable to all examples of Contemporary Māori Art and limited to work that has already been recognised as such.

Chapter Summaries

This thesis develops and introduces the concept of contemporary taonga to New Zealand art discourse. The concept of taonga is applied to two art works by Brett Graham produced a decade apart. These case studies were carefully—painstakingly—chosen after an intensive study of Contemporary Māori Art history and represent the other crucial decision of the research process.

The first example, *Kahukura* (1996) was conceived as taonga though not recognised as such. Produced as a response to the crisis period the art work defended the concept of Māori art as taonga, though came to be recognised and presented as a leading example of Contemporary Māori art in numerous high-profile contexts. The first three chapters document the effects of these exhibitions on the reception of *Kahukura*. The story of *Kahukura* is told in considerable detail to demonstrate the implications of the definition debate on the representation of contemporary Māori culture within New Zealand art discourse and reveal the influence of the Western art system on the practice and reception of taonga principles.

The story of *Kahukura* begins with *Korurangi: New Māori Art* (1 October – 26 November 1996). *Korurangi* was the first exhibition of Contemporary Māori Art developed by Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki and sought to showcase the work of a new generation of Māori artists whose work was defined by their whakapapa and perceived to challenge the cultural orthodoxy of their elders. This mischievous premise conjured a raft of interventions, conflicts and controversies, which whirred around the seemingly impervious *Kahukura*, positioned at the heart of the show. By placing *Kahukura* at the centre of the analysis of *Korurangi*, Chapter One

demonstrates how radically *Kahukura* kicked back at both the curatorial premise of the exhibition and the emerging narrative attached to the new generation of Contemporary Māori Artists who came to be known as 'The Young Guns'.

After appearing in *Korurangi*, *Kahukura* was part of a forceful collective statement lead by the Contemporary Māori Art collective, Te Ātinga. The exhibition, *Patua: Māori Art in Action* (2-23 March 1996) staged at City Gallery Wellington was a Māori curatorial exercise that reconciled some issues within the Contemporary Māori Art collective and directly struck out at criticisms of their 'orthodox' position. Again, *Kahukura* stood at the heart of the exhibition, this time as part of a tightly woven and closely held narrative of Māori art history that resisted the claims made by *Korurangi*. Shortly after, that narrative was released in the publication *Mataora: The Living Face* where Contemporary Māori Art was claimed to be taonga only to be refuted by a comprehensive definition of taonga that excluded the terms of Contemporary Māori Art practice.

Kahukura ostensibly left the debates behind when it travelled to the *Second Asia-Pacific Triennial (APT2)* 1996 in Brisbane and became part of the founding collection of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre in New Caledonia, where it currently resides. Chapter Three follows *Kahukura* on this journey where the art work encountered similar issues though altered by the broader lens of the Pacific and the sympathies of indigenous perspectives of Contemporary Māori Art. Both the *APT2* and Tjibaou Cultural Centre offered new opportunities to renegotiate the concept of Contemporary Māori Art, though any effort to do so was shadowed by neo-colonial power shifts within the Pacific and shaped by the comparable concerns facing indigenous peoples internationally, both subjects that have influenced Grahams work in the period after *Kahukura* as evidenced by the second case study, *Āniwaniwa*.

Āniwaniwa (2006-7), created with Rachael Rakena (Ngai Tahu), is recognised as taonga. Produced a decade after the crisis, *Āniwaniwa* demonstrates the ways that Graham mastered and harnessed the Western art system to maintain the traditions of taonga. *Āniwaniwa* was recognised as taonga after a series of challenging events though is read here as taonga from the moment of conception. This approach yields

a rich and detailed interpretation and introduces this method of reading Contemporary Māori Art to New Zealand art discourse.

Āniwaniwa was a collaborative endeavour and Chapter Four documents the whakapapa of this taonga, identifying the histories, traditions and people that informed the creation, presentation and function of this taonga. While the whakapapa of *Āniwaniwa* draws substantively from Graham's biography the status of *Āniwaniwa* as contemporary taonga relied on a collective investment in the art work, leading to the conceptualisation of *Āniwaniwa* as an entity autonomous to any one individual or single whakapapa line.

Chapter Five details the kōrero of *Āniwaniwa*, recalling the stories accrued by the taonga across several public venues. Many of these stories relate to the challenges the artists faced to present *Āniwaniwa* in a way that supports the taonga properties of the art work. Unlike *Kahukura*, which was shown alongside other art works in a group context, *Āniwaniwa* stood alone and harnessed sufficient presence to influence and control the kōrero in the public sphere, ensuring that this taonga was evident to Māori who recognised and completed the artwork as such. This process is, however, a slight moment in an otherwise grand and heroic narrative that impresses the delicacy of the taonga process within the Western art system.

By focussing on two art works, both conceived as taonga but only one formally recognised as such, the concept of contemporary taonga is argued to be an active decolonised realm of Māori art practice today. This realm observes and maintains traditions of taonga that rely on the intersection of expert knowledge held by a few, a process of knowledge transfer made ever more challenging by the legacy and ongoing conditions of colonisation. For these reasons, the knowledge and credibility to produce, recognise and perform contemporary taonga is retained within Te Ao Māori, beyond the systems and controls of the Western art system, and therefore is incredibly rare. For these reasons, the concept of contemporary taonga is offered here as a contribution to the continuity of taonga against the forces of the New Zealand art system.

1. Ngā Kakano: Kahukura and Korurangi

The example of *Kahukura* (1996) demonstrates the challenges faced by Contemporary Māori Artists who practice taonga principles in their work. Born from the debate of the 1990s, *Kahukura* substantiated the case for 'contemporary taonga' though this contribution was not fully realised at the time. The following three chapters chart the various ways that *Kahukura* was understood in different exhibition contexts and identifies the conditions that prevented the art work from being recognised as taonga.

This chapter concerns the commission, production and first presentation of *Kahukura* in the 1995 exhibition, *Korurangi: New Māori Art*. *Korurangi* is a key event of the crisis and envelopes the primary issues of the period. *Kahukura* was commissioned for *Korurangi* and the context of this event is captured by this art work. By considering *Kahukura* in relation to *Korurangi* this chapter produces a specific, detailed and faceted view of the crisis period, finding that *Korurangi* was incommensurate with the practice of taonga.

Kahukura remains the subject of intensive analysis in chapters three and four. These chapters examine *Kahukura* via exhibitions that foreground Māori and indigenous perspectives. These presentations attached new kōrero to *Kahukura*, affirm the limitations of *Korurangi* and begin to position Graham apart from his Contemporary Māori Art peer grouping. While there is no evidence that *Kahukura* was recognised as taonga during these events, the trajectory of this art work provided the foundation and experience for the second case study, *Āniwaniwa*, to be recognised as such.

Brownie Points (Biculturalism and its Consequences)

Kahukura was commissioned for the *Korurangi: New Māori Art* exhibition at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki in 1995. The development of this exhibition was mired in conflict and is recognised here as a key event of the crisis period. *Korurangi* was also a defining moment for a new generation of Contemporary Māori Artists. In the decades since, Graham's association with this exhibition and that generational

grouping has defined his work as a Contemporary Māori Artist. This is despite Graham's obvious differences within this cohort with these inconsistencies leading to the identification of this period and Graham as a focus for this research.

Korurangi arose from debates about the definition of Māori art in the early 1990s. The exhibition was curated by George Hubbard, a freelance Māori curator who had played a particular role in these debates. His 1990 exhibition, *Choice!*, voiced criticisms of Contemporary Māori Art leadership and the supposedly 'traditionalist' doctrine maintained among that group. The exhibition statement, written by Hubbard's collaborator, Robin Crow, argued that 'Māori art' was determined by the artist's whakapapa not their demonstrated expertise in Māori art and culture, and criticised the Contemporary Māori Art movement for perpetuating inauthentic Māori cultural stereotypes.

"Real Māori Art" is usually identified by its offering of signifying traces of a "primitive" past. Reflected in the mirror of a supposed Māori Renaissance, classical and traditional Māori modes of representation evoke a nostalgia for the mythical golden age through accepted images of Māoriness purporting to convey the creative genius of the real Māori.

... Constricting societal modes of artistic regulation have never allowed Māori artists to become more than bearers of tradition and children of nature, never more than re-presenters of the land and the past. Perhaps it is time to rework the givens of the political and theoretical analyses that surround and govern orthodox notions of "Māoriness" in art practice.¹

Choice! was one of a number of exhibitions to profile Contemporary Māori Art as part of the 1990 sesquicentennial commemorations of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the nation's founding document.² Official and unofficial events comprised a

¹ George Hubbard and Robin Crow, "Beyond Kia Ora: The Paraesthetics of 'Choice!'," *Antic*, no. 8 (1990), 28.

² These exhibitions included the bicultural curatorial experiment, *Mana Tiriti: the Art of Protest and Partnership*, City Gallery Wellington (14 April – 17 June 1990), *Te Koanga (The Harbringers of Spring)*, the Ngā Puna Waihangā Festival of the Arts, Auckland (17-29 September 1990) and the other Ngā Puna Waihangā

breakthrough moment for Contemporary Māori Art within the New Zealand art system, and offered new opportunities for emerging artists in the public gallery sector. Compared to the large-scale exhibition, *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake* at the National Art Gallery, *Choice!* was a humble affair though enthusiastically received by major players in the New Zealand art scene. The exhibition handout was published in the art journal, *Antic*, alongside a review by Stephen Zepke, the title of which summarised the tenor of his writing: ‘Difference Without Binary Oppositions: A Chance For Choice!’³ Most consequentially, Christina Barton, an editor of *Antic* and Assistant Curator at Auckland City Art Gallery, proposed that Hubbard be invited to develop an exhibition for the Gallery as part of a series on recent art in Auckland.⁴

In January 1993, Hubbard submitted a proposal to Auckland City Art Gallery for an exhibition titled *Brownie Points (Biculturalism and its Consequences)*.⁵ The proposal was deeply personal and related details of his upbringing as the adopted child of an English couple who raised him as a Pākehā. Hubbard also described his various curatorial projects as explorations as to how he might ‘abandon [his] bi-cultural status and re-assume [his] original Māori identity?’⁶ In later correspondence, he explained the title as ‘what Pākehā try to score by indulging Māori, and what Māori try to score by indulging Pākehā’—an explanation that may also be read as what disenfranchised Māori try to score in order to feel more Māori. Auckland City Art Gallery staff had immediate reservations about the title and regarded the proposal as controversial within the current climate but proceeded in their negotiations with Hubbard.⁷

initiative, *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake: Artists Construct New Directions*, National Art Gallery, Wellington (1 December 1990-17 March 1991).

³ Stephen Zepke, “Difference Without Binary Oppositions: a Chance for Choice!”, *Antic*, no. 8, 1990, 29.

⁴ *Surface Tension: Ten Artists in the ‘90s* (3 September – 25 October 1992, curated by Christina Barton, was the first exhibition in this series.

⁵ George Hubbard, “Brownie Points (Bi-Culturalism and its Consequences),” exhibition proposal, January 1993, “Korurangi Exhibition File,” E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

⁶ Hubbard, “Brownie Points,” 1. Hubbard was specifically referring to *Choice!* and *Cross-Pollination* 1991, an exhibition staged at Artspace in 1993, co-curated with Pākehā painter, John Reynolds, which paired Māori and Pākehā artists to make collaborative artworks. See Robert Leonard and Anna-Marie White, “George Hubbard: The Hand That Rocked the Cradle,” *Reading Room: A Journal of Art and Culture* 8 (2018), 37-38.

⁷ Leonard, “George Hubbard,” 40-41.

Headlands: Thinking Through New Zealand Art

The proposal for *Brownie Points* was received amidst a debate that had erupted over the definition and propriety of Māori art practice, and implicated in broader issues concerning Treaty of Waitangi settlement claims, assertions of Māori intellectual property rights, and complaints about the failure of the Crown to protect taonga Māori in the past and present.⁸ Rangihiroa Panoho's essay, 'Māori Art: On the Margins, At the Centre', published in the exhibition catalogue for *Headlands: Thinking Through New Zealand Art* (1 April – 28 June 1992, Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney) mainlined these issues into New Zealand art discourse.⁹ Here Panoho criticised Pākehā artist, Gordon Walters, for referencing Māori art and language in his paintings and an example of the ongoing legacy of colonisation in New Zealand.¹⁰ Panoho's accusation caused immediate opprobrium from supporters of Walters and quickly turned into a counter attack on the definition of Māori Art and the practice of Contemporary Māori Artists.

The 'Walters' debate was initially conducted through the professional networks of the New Zealand art community, although it soon became the subject of media attention and escalating debate when *Headlands* was staged at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (1 September – 1 November 1992), and the catalogue was more widely available in New Zealand.¹¹ A variety of scholars weighed in with Robert Leonard, curator of *Headlands*, later reporting that 'published writing in this area constitutes only a fraction of the actual debate'.¹² The most notable response came from Pākehā art historian, Frances Pound, with his book length defence, *The Space Between: Pākehā Use of Māori Motifs in Modernist Art* 1995, which contextualised

⁸ See Mason Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kāwanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998), 175-216, Richard S. Hill, *Māori and the State. Crown-Māori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1950-2000* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2009), 187-220 and 247-274, and Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou: Struggle Without End* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1990, 2004), 288-401.

⁹ Rangihiroa Panoho, "Māori Art: On the Margins, At the Centre," *Headlands: Thinking Through New Zealand Art*, edited by Mary Barr (Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney, 1992): 123-134.

¹⁰ For a detailed study of the exhibition and attendant controversy see Louise Garrett, "Reading Headlands," (MA diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 1997).

¹¹ Garrett, "Headlands," 95-115.

¹² See footnote 1 of Robert Leonard (with John McCormack), "Dick Frizzell: Beyond the Pale," *Art Asia Pacific* no. 2 (1993), <http://robertleonard.org/dick-frizzell-beyond-the-pale/>, accessed 28 September 2019.

Walters' work within a history of Western abstract painting in the twentieth century and countered Panoho's claims of cultural mis-appropriation by turning attention toward the influence of Western Modernist art on Contemporary Māori Artists.¹³

Hubbard was also involved in the *Headlands* debate. When *Headlands* was showing in Wellington, Pākehā artist, Dick Frizzell, responded to the debates with his *Tiki* exhibition, a series of paintings that appropriated the tiki according to various examples of twentieth-century modern art styles.¹⁴ Frizzell invited Hubbard and Craw to contribute to the catalogue, and in their 'Foreword', the authors described the current debate about Māori art as reaching 'almost hysterical levels'.¹⁵ They also declared that Māori artists were 'great appropriators and transformers of Pākehā culture', lending 'Māori' support to the Pākehā defence of Walters vis-à-vis Frizzell. Māori scholars were quick to comment on these provocations with Māori art historian at the University of Auckland, Ngahua te Awekotuku, saying 'all of that work is hacked-out from the suppurating wounds of our pain as a people, and we don't need that now ... No, we do not.'¹⁶ It was against those events that Auckland City Art Gallery received Hubbard's proposal finalising his curatorial contract in June 1993.

Taiarotia: Te Waka Toi

The *Headlands* controversy benefited other Contemporary Māori Art initiatives. In July 1992, Auckland City Art Gallery received an exhibition proposal to host *Te Waka Toi: Contemporary Māori Art from New Zealand*, which was touring North American venues at the time. An initiative of Sandy Adsett and Cliff Whiting, *Te Waka Toi* featured the work of twenty-three senior and established artists working in customary and contemporary styles. *Te Waka Toi* had been developed for North American venues to meet interest in Contemporary Māori Art in the years since *Te Māori* and

¹³ Frances Pound, *The Space Between: Pākehā Use of Māori Motifs in Modernist New Zealand Art* (Workshop Press, Auckland, 1995), 154-163.

¹⁴ Gow/Langsford Gallery, *Dick Frizzell: "Tiki"* (Auckland: Gow/Langsford Gallery, 1992).

¹⁵ George Hubbard and Robin Craw, "Foreword. Icon (Irony): Not Māori Art," in Gow/Langsford Gallery, *Dick Frizzell: "Tiki,"* 4.

¹⁶ Ngahua te Awekotuku quoted in "Conversation: Tiki'd Out," *Stamp* (December 1992-January 1993), 50.

initiate cultural exchanges with First Nation artist communities.¹⁷ The tour was remarkably successful in all venues, drawing large audiences, most notably, Native American audiences at a level rarely observed in the host venues.¹⁸ This success motivated organisers to tour the show through New Zealand under the title of *Taiarotia: Te Waka Toi*, a name given by Derek Lardelli and translated as ‘bringing the waves of attention back to New Zealand.’¹⁹

The decision of Auckland City Art Gallery staff to take *Taiarotia: Te Waka Toi* proved to be a significant move. The proposal was accepted in September 1992 when *Headlands* was showing in Wellington. Auckland City Art Gallery had been an original institutional organiser for *Headlands* and was supposed to host the exhibition along with other New Zealand venues.²⁰ The tour did not eventuate, ostensibly due to the unreasonable expenses involved.²¹ Yet Principal Curator, Alexa Johnston had also publicly sided with Walters and expressed criticism of *Headlands* generally, which inflected upon the Gallery’s decision to choose *Taiarotia* and another ‘made for export’ New Zealand art exhibition, *Distance Looks Our Way: 10 New Zealand Artists* to fill the gap.²²

Taiarotia became the first major exhibition of Contemporary Māori Art to be held at Auckland City Art Gallery. That important decision was made in the heat of the debate provoked by *Headlands* and Frizzell’s *Tiki* exhibition, and during negotiations with Hubbard over his show, initially scheduled to occur in late 1993, and rescheduled for March 1994—directly after *Taiarotia*. Gallery staff also implemented measures to moderate Hubbard’s controversial proposal by appointing Barton’s successor, William McAloon, as Co-ordinating Curator for the project—a decision that proved to have the opposite effect.

¹⁷ Between 1992-93, *Te Waka Toi* travelled to museums and galleries in San Diego, Phoenix, Chicago, Seattle and Hawai’i. See Pat Baskett, “Te Waka Toi Comes Home,” *New Zealand Herald* (3 February 1994), 2.

¹⁸ Rangitihi Tahuparae, “Te Waka Toi Returns from the USA,” *Mana Magazine* (February/March 1994): 22-25.

¹⁹ Garry Nicholas, personal communication with author, 28 June 2018.

²⁰ The proposed touring venues also included Waikato Art Museum and Dunedin Public Art Gallery, and these venues were listed in the colophon of the exhibition catalogue.

²¹ Robert Leonard, personal communication with author, 29 June 2018.

²² Garrett, “Headlands,” 5 and 26.

Brett Graham?

In July 1993, Hubbard and McAloon issued correspondence to a list of potential artists considered for the show. Brett Graham, a rising star in the New Zealand art scene, was on the list. Graham had recently taken a position as a lecturer in Māori and Pacific art history at the University of Auckland, where he had undertaken an undergraduate degree in sculpture at the Elam School of Fine Arts. After completing a Master of Fine Arts degree at the East/West Centre in Honolulu, Hawai'i, he returned to New Zealand and made an immediate impact on the New Zealand art scene. His 1992 debut solo exhibition, *1492-1642* toured public art galleries throughout the North Island (Figure 9), and in 1993 he presented the solo exhibition, *Te Puawaitanga*, at ARTIS Gallery in Parnell leading Auckland City Art Gallery curators to purchase the signature work, *Te Pū*, for the City's collection (Figure 10).²³ For these reasons, Graham was an obvious choice for the show.

Hubbard and McAloon's standard format letter introduced the concept of the project and asked to visit the artist in their studio. Notably, the letter did not indicate the proposed title of the project, explaining the exhibition as 'intended to challenge perceptions of what constitutes contemporary Māori art, and to examine its position in relation to predominantly European art institutions.'²⁴ In late July Hubbard and McAloon embarked on a national research tour of artist studios in Christchurch, Dunedin, Palmerston North and Wellington. The trip also involved meetings with stakeholders, gallerists, public art galleries and visits to current exhibitions and openings.²⁵ They failed to follow up with Graham on their return as indicated in their letter.

Hubbard submitted a revised proposal on 7 September with the exhibition title *Untitled*. The proposal listed the 'Curator's Final Selection of Artists'. Graham's name was listed at the bottom of the two-column list, separated by a space and appended

²³ Brett Graham, *Te Pū* 1993, sandstone, 1443 x 420 x 300 mm, collection of the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 1993, 1993/26.

²⁴ George Hubbard and William McAloon to Brett Graham, 19 July 1993, "Korurangi Exhibition File."

²⁵ "Itinerary: Mr William McAloon, Mr George Hubbard," "Korurangi Exhibition File."

with a '?' (Figure 11). The following day, Graham was called to the Gallery to meet with the Curators, where he expressed strong reservations about the exhibition concept and an unwillingness to participate. The meeting was documented in a letter written by McAloon the following day.

I am glad that you were able to raise the issues that you did, and know that we have much to think on and discuss here. I am however confident about the exhibition, and think that it will be both a challenge and success. It will not, as I said, be unproblematic ...

I was pleased to have been able to see your show at the Waikato Museum of Art and History ... it was a powerful experience, and it was well installed at the Museum.

I hope that we can continue to talk about the contemporary Māori exhibition here, and work towards including your work in the show.²⁶

When asked about his hesitancy, Graham admitted to being suspicious of Hubbard's impudent curatorial style and hazy agenda.²⁷ He also cited Hubbard and Craw's *Tiki* essay as informing his view at the time.²⁸ Graham was equally influenced by other factors in play. Brett's father, Fred Graham, and Kura te Waru Rewiri, had been appointed as curatorial consultants for *Taiarotia*.²⁹ At the same time, Selwyn Muru, the head of Te Ao Hou, the Māori art department at the Elam School of Fine Arts, and long-time mentor to Graham, withdrew his work from the Auckland showing in

²⁶ William McAloon to Brett Graham, 9 September 1993, "Korurangi Exhibition File."

²⁷ Brett Graham, personal communication with author, 21 April 2018.

²⁸ Graham was studying in Hawai'i when *Choice!* was presented at Artspace, Auckland.

²⁹ Te Waka Toi artists also provided advice to the Gallery on suitable programmes and opening protocols. A public programming included Arnold Manaaki-Wilson and Emare Karaka with Lisa Reihana (who was part of a delegation to support the opening of *Te Waka Toi* in North America) volunteering to assist with a programme of audio-visual material. Members from this group also contributed to a Mana Whenua committee, comprising representatives of various iwi located within Tamaki Makaurau, whose primary role concerned the protocols for the exhibition opening. "Te Waka Toi Exhibition File," E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

protest of the Gallery's poor support for Contemporary Māori Art in the past and what he later described as 'part of his fight for "future generations"'.³⁰

Muru's protest was supported, and reflected, by others at the time. In the article, 'Up Against the Wall' with the by-line, 'It's the biggest art gallery in the country – so why isn't it the best?' Keith Stewart criticised the recent trend of 'blockbuster' exhibitions of European art to be staged.³¹ Stewart identified the recent *Rembrandt to Renoir: 300 Years of European Masterpieces from the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco* (5 June – 29 August 1993) as a 'glaring example of the institution's increasingly antagonistic role in the world's largest Polynesian city.'³² He also identified that the 'loudest criticism ... is coming from the city's own contemporary artists, many of whom believe that it is losing touch with contemporary issues and with the community it serves,' going on to quote from interviews with a number of Pākehā artists and scholars.³³ Painter John Reynolds contended that it was the Gallery's role to develop awareness about certain forms of art within the community. He said of *Te Maori*; 'That was just "Whammo! It's happening at the ACAG, you've got to come, you can't miss it" and they got huge crowds to the sort of thing nobody bothered going to before.'³⁴ Other commentators equally identified Contemporary Māori and Pacific art as an area of particular concern advocating for the development of policy to address these gaps.³⁵ While Johnstone defended the Gallery's performance in the article he did not disclose the Contemporary Māori Art projects soon to be delivered.

Taiarotia became a catalyst for further Māori involvement and activism directed at the Gallery. In December 1993, Elizabeth Ellis became the first Māori appointee to the Art Gallery Enterprise Board, the governing body of the Auckland City Art Gallery, and took immediate steps to review the Gallery's relationship to Māori.³⁶

³⁰ Selwyn Muru quoted in Pat Baskett, "Gallery has failed," *New Zealand Herald* (3 February 1994): 2.2.

³¹ Keith Stewart, "Up Against the Wall," *Quote/Unquote* 5 (October 1993): 20-23.

³² Stewart, "Up Against the Wall," 20.

³³ Stewart, "Up Against the Wall," 20.

³⁴ John Reynolds quoted in Stewart, "Up Against the Wall," 21.

³⁵ Michael Dunn quoted in Stewart, "Up Against the Wall," 23.

³⁶ In the foreword to the *Korurangi* catalogue, Ellis states that she was appointed to the Board in 1991 though correspondence from G.N. Barlett, then Chairman, seeking her permission to be nominated as a co-opted

Secondly, *Te Waka Toi* exhibiting artist, Buck Nin met with Johnstone to discuss his concerns with the Gallery's commitment to Māori art. As proof of the Gallery's work in this area, Johnstone supplied a draft policy 'Position Paper' to Nin.³⁷ The paper reported on a confidential consultation process between August-October 1993 involving structured interviews with stake holders and interest groups along with research and analysis. The consultation process reflected on many aspects of the Gallery's operations though paid limited attention to Contemporary Māori Art.³⁸ With a PhD in Arts Management, Nin quickly picked up these points and produced a six page analysis that criticised what he perceived as a clear lack of commitment and accountability to tangata whenua.³⁹ He concluded the letter with an appeal to the Director for immediate action, in the meantime notifying:

Te Waka Toi of my decision that my works are not available pending your reply. It is my earnest wish that I can exhibit and it is also my wish that the Gallery now take all positive steps to address what has been for decades a painful non recognition of art and culture by the tangata whenua except the portrayal of that culture through the eyes of European artists and Māori being the subject of analysis rather than participants.⁴⁰

On 25 January, 1994, three days from the exhibition opening, the Gallery received a subsequent response from Nin where he stated:

I have received an acknowledgement from you that the Gallery has not acted in the past as it could have in this direction. In the absence of you being willing to give me that assurance and commitment, I again reiterate that my

member, is dated 19 November 1993, and tabled in the "Art Gallery Enterprise Board Agenda and Meeting Minutes, 19 October 1994," E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

³⁷ "Auckland City Art Gallery Position Paper for Future Planning Process Search Conference, November 26-29 1993," E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

³⁸ "Position paper," 14. This statement appeared through Auckland City Council policy review documents of this time though this long-held claim has since been questioned and revealed as incorrect. See Damon Salesa, "Rethinking Pacific Auckland," conference paper given at *Auckland Conversations*, 21 March 2013, <https://infocouncil.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz>, accessed 30 May 2018, and Lana Lopesi, "So, you Want to be the 'Largest Polynesian City in the World?'" <https://www.pantograph-punch.com/post/largest-polynesian-city>, accessed 21 September 2018.

³⁹ Buck Nin to Christopher Johnstone, 8 December 1993, "Te Waka Toi Exhibition File."

⁴⁰ Nin to Johnstone, "Te Waka Toi Exhibition File."

work or any reference to my work be with-held from the forth-coming exhibition.

It is very sad that you in your position as Director of New Zealand's largest Polynesian city are unable to declare and give a commitment to an area of fundamental rights. Until you are able to do so, my decision must stand.⁴¹

Taiarotia: Te Waka Toi opened at Auckland City Art Gallery with a dawn ceremony and evening opening on 29 January 1994. Overall, *Taiarotia* received favourable reviews. T.J. McNamara, the long-serving arts reviewer for the *New Zealand Herald*, offered a creative introduction to the exhibition.

[*Te Waka Toi* is an] exhibition that is important because, in a certain sense, it is nothing special. *Te Waka Toi* is an exhibition of contemporary New Zealand Māori art that has toured extensively in the United States.

There was a time when such an exhibition and such a tour might have seemed extraordinary. Now it is simply an affirmation that contemporary Māori art is well founded at home and can reach out to convey the personality of our land to others. It does this by taking its place alongside the art of anywhere in the world that is made available by such tours.

This said, it is also true that the art of this exhibition is very special. It is the art of the tangata whenua of Aotearoa and it is special because of its variety and because its quality, despite some notable defections, is very high.⁴²

Pat Baskett also covered the exhibition in a full page article in the same issue and offered the following appraisal.

Although the layout reflects traditional marae practices, the exhibition goes beyond any superficial representation of what might be deemed "Māori

⁴¹ Nin to Johnstone, "Te Waka Toi Exhibition File."

⁴² T.J. McNamara, "Māori Art Reaches Out," *New Zealand Herald* (3 February 1994), 2.3.

culture.” The artistic rigour of the images attest to the vigorous way in which that culture continues to evolve—while maintaining its most distinctive features.⁴³

The page also featured an inset article titled ‘Artists say gallery has failed,’ which introduced Nin and Muru’s protest against the Gallery.⁴⁴ Muru identified this failure as ‘peculiar to Auckland,’ describing ‘the Wellington City Art Gallery as “supportive” of Maori art’ and why his work would be included there at the next showing. Muru also declared that he would offer his painting, *No Ordinary Sun*, to the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa for the reason that ‘unlike the Auckland gallery, MONZ has “come to its sense” by appointing a curator of Maori art.’⁴⁵ Nin pointed to the Gallery’s unrealised investment in *Headlands*, in which Te Waka Toi had been an institutional partner and where Contemporary Māori Art had featured prominently as part of the story of art in New Zealand.⁴⁶ The article concluded with a summary of the position given by Te Waka Toi representative, Garry Nicholas, who stating that ‘in presenting the exhibition, the view of the two dissenting artists was respected, and that their withdrawal in no way lessens its impact.’⁴⁷

These events had placed Graham in a vexed position in relation to Hubbard’s show, stuck between the involvement of his father in the delivery of *Taiarotia* and the activism of important mentors, Muru and Nin. Graham did eventually agree to participate though with an informed and alert position as to the context of the show.

Niho Taniwha / The Cutting Edge

While Hubbard’s show was intended to run after *Taiarotia*, Gallery staff saw an opportunity to maximise the profile of ‘their’ Māori art exhibition. In late 1993

⁴³ Pat Baskett, “Te Waka Toi Comes Home,” *New Zealand Herald* (3 February 1994), 2.2.

⁴⁴ Baskett, “Gallery Has Failed,” *New Zealand Herald* (3 February 1994), 2.2.

⁴⁵ Megan Tamati-Quennell was appointed as a Curatorial Intern at the National Art Gallery at the time of *Taikaka* in 1990 and in place when the the Gallery merged with the National Museum. John Walsh was the first Māori art curator to be appointed to the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in 1993.

⁴⁶ Nin quoted in Baskett, “Gallery Has Failed.”

⁴⁷ Baskett, “Gallery Has Failed.”

Hubbard's project was rescheduled to become part of the first suite of exhibitions to open the Gallery's NEW art annex in early 1994, a space dedicated to contemporary art. Delays in the building programme, however, exacerbated the deteriorating relationship between Hubbard and the Gallery, incompatibilities between Hubbard and McAloon, and Hubbard's increasing frustration of the level of control exerted by the Gallery over 'his' show.⁴⁸ While the experience of *Taiarotia* hadn't been smooth the exhibition had forged positive relationships with Contemporary Māori art leaders and established a productive model for delivering a Contemporary Māori Art exhibition. At a *Taiarotia* de-brief meeting, Gallery staff recognised the clear benefits of strong Māori involvement in the delivery, interpretation and reception of the exhibition. This caused them to reflect on the prospect of Hubbard's project, express concern about the anticipated Māori reaction and the need to encourage 'Māori ownership' of that show.⁴⁹

By mid-1995, the exhibition process had reached a critical stage. Communication between the Gallery and Hubbard had entirely broken down. The Gallery still had reservations about the most current exhibition title, *Niho Taniwha* (the teeth of the monster, the name of a weaving pattern and suggested by Maureen Lander in her correspondence with the curators), and Hubbard had missed the deadline for his catalogue essay. Amidst these difficulties, the Auckland City Art Gallery Enterprise Trust Board called the first meeting of the Māori consultancy group, Haerewa on 13 May 1995. The founding members included those who effected the delivery of *Taiarotia* at the Gallery along with Ngahuaia te Awekotuku.⁵⁰ *Niho Taniwha* was the first point on the agenda for the Gallery. A draft exhibition touring proposal was tabled, which had been drafted by Gallery staff and described the curatorial concept in the following way.

An exhibition of recent and new work by ten artists, all of whom identify (to some extent) as Māori. Much of their work addresses the issues raised by the

⁴⁸ Alexa Johnston, "The Pathway to 'Korurangi: New Māori Art'," *Korurangi: New Māori Art* edited by Chris Szekely (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1996): 7-11.

⁴⁹ "Notes from staff meeting," "Te Waka Toi Exhibition File."

⁵⁰ The founding members included Elizabeth Ellis, Fred Graham, Ngahuaia te Awekotuku, Kura Te Waru Rewiri and Arnold Manaaki-Wilson.

creation/questioning of that Māori identity. This is neither old guard nor a new artists show, however all are established artists, already exhibiting and collected in the Pākehā art world

Not being 'politically correct' is now a valid position and one which many of these artists have selected, as part of choosing the ways in which a Māori identity can be both affirmed and questioned.

The title of the exhibition reflects both the very contemporary nature of the artists and the relative discomfort inherent in straddling two cultures.⁵¹

The exhibition received support from Haerewa. Arnold Manaaki Wilson also offered support to the Gallery by offering the title, *Korurangi: New Dimensions in Contemporary Māori Art*. The title was explained as referring to 'both a cloak, and a pattern in which two spirals surround each other without touching' and 'could represent the coming together of two strands, e.g. traditional/contemporary, or biculturalism.'⁵² At the next meeting on 21 June 1995, Haerewa met with Gallery staff (including McAloon, Hubbard failed to attend) who expressed their inability to confirm exhibition details due to the lack of engagement with Hubbard. This included the list of artists and art work commissions. Again Haerewa gave support to the exhibition in its current form, revised the title to *Korurangi: New Māori Art* and advocated that attention was given to public programming as a means to attract Māori visitors and provide Māori interpretations of the show. The following day, the Gallery finalised the artists' exhibition contracts and art work commissions without Hubbard's involvement, dispatching these on 22 June 1995, just three months before the exhibition opening on 1 October 1995.

The organisational crisis of *Korurangi* is plainly evidenced by the short period of notice given to artists to create new work. This crisis is compounded by the fact that seven of the twelve exhibiting artists were commissioned to make new work for this

⁵¹ "Niho Taniwha/Cutting Edge 'Exhibitour' Touring Proposal," "Korurangi Exhibition File."

⁵² "Korurangi [sic]: Dimensions in Contemporary Maori Art Exhibition Agreement," and "Korurangi – New Māori Art Meeting Report," 21 June 1995, "Korurangi Exhibition File."

show.⁵³ While this process ensured that the exhibition delivered on its subtitle—*New Māori Art*—Gallery staff were tasked with presenting an exhibition in a new building based on artist sketches and descriptions. Graham remembers, however, that he had been assured that the commission was forthcoming and was prepared when the contract was eventually confirmed.⁵⁴

Kahukura

Kahukura was an extension of one work from Graham's most recent exhibition *Te Kowhao o te Ngira* 1994, again at ARTIS Gallery. The exhibition comprised five large sculptures, four tall cylindrical works and one ovoid vessel. Each sculpture represented one aspect of the tongikura of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero (d. 1860), the Tainui warrior chief appointed as the first Māori King. At his coronation ceremony at Ngaruawahia in 1858, Pōtatau said 'Kotahi anō te kōhao o te ngira e kuhu ai te miro whereo, te miro mā, te miro pango'. The statement stressed the unity of the people and likened his role to the eye of a needle through which red, white and black threads would be passed.

The exhibition was a literal translation of the tongikura. *Ngira* was the shaft of the needle, *Te Kōhae of te Ngira* was the eye of the needle, with *Rangiatea*, *Te Taniwha Mā* and *Matariki* represented the red, white and black threads. The symbolism of the threads was addressed in a review of Graham's exhibition by James Ritchie, a Pākehā academic and respected advisor to Tainui leadership and the Māori Queen.

When Pōtatau used the image of the three ... he was contrasting the brilliant light of day (white) with the mystical original night (black), between which humanity (the red) rises, has its being then rests.⁵⁵

⁵³ These artists included Shane Cotton, Jacqueline Fraser, Brett Graham, Emare Karaka, Maureen Lander, Diane Prince and Lisa Reihana.

⁵⁴ Brett Graham, personal communication with author, 21 April 2018.

⁵⁵ James Ritchie, "Through the Eye of the Needle. Recent work by Brett Graham," *Art New Zealand* no. 76 (Spring 1995), 58.

Kahukura evolved from *Rangiatea*, the red thread. ‘Rangiatea’ is another name for Hawaiki, the spiritual realm and physical homeland of Māori. The actual location of Rai’atea/Rangiatea/Hawaiki is the subject of ongoing study and debate, though the distinctive beaked cylinder was styled on a Tahitian fau, a woven fibre and feather headdress worn by Tahitian chiefs, a reference noted by Ritchie when describing *Rangiatea* as a “symbol of personhood, blood coloured, the red of rangatira, of mana.”⁵⁶ Graham’s notes from the Pacific Art lectures at the East/West Centre are illustrated with a number of sketches of fau, of which two examples exist in British museum collections, one being collected by Captain James Cook from a Chief Pōtatau in Tahiti in 1769.⁵⁷

Graham regarded *Rangiatea* as the most evocative and promising work of *Te Kowhao o te Ngira* and began to develop that form. Graham manipulated the shape using plasticine maquettes, isolating the upper surface of the concave spout and replicated the beak on the other side. By inverting the form, the upper arched edge became a curved saddle. The spouts were then pinched and turned inward to point toward each other, to achieve the unusual—and entirely original—form of *Kahukura*.

While the body of *Kahukura* evolved from formal experimentations with the fau the concept of the sculpture responded to a specific event. On 14 June 1994, eight days before the *Korurangi* commissions were finalised, the master Tainui weaver, Rangimarie Hetet died. *Kahukura* became an expression of grief about the passing of Hetet, a recognition of her standing within the Māori art community and an acknowledgement of her work as taonga tuku iho.

Kahukura was shaped from cross-laminated pine. Like Graham’s father and his peer group, Graham was accustomed to working with commercial wood products as native timbers were already rare, expensive and difficult to acquire in large quantity. Graham first learned about the laminated product at a pine symposium run by Contemporary Māori Artist, Jacob Scott at the Eastern Institute of Technology,

⁵⁶ Ritchie, “Eye of the Needle,” 60.

⁵⁷ “Pacific Art Lecture Notes,” 1989, Brett Graham Archive.

Hawkes Bay in 1992. Subsequently Graham had developed a relationship with a factory in Papakura that specialised in laminated beams. A block form was produced in the factory, transported to a studio in Waiuku and shaped using a chainsaw followed by a plane and grinder. The main body had a tunnel-shaped void on the underside. The sculpture bore weight on a small area along the bottom centre edges and had the ability to be rocked back and forth. While the wooden form was both large and heavy, the overall design produced a weightless effect.

The outer surface of *Kahukura* was hand-carved with a chisel. Graham translated the parallel grooves from the trunk of *Rangiataea* to the crescent-shaped surface of *Kahukura*. Graham describes these carved lines as *haehae*, a term used to describe carving patterns based on parallel lines. When viewed on its longest side, the ridging on *Kahukura* appears to be determined by the curved outer edge on which the sculpture rests and Graham considered this view to reflect the *aho* (horizontal threads) of weaving. Yet the ridges are actually a series of concentric circles originating from a single point located at the centre of the top edge of the spine and increase in size as they radiate from the centre. When viewed from above, the upper surface of the sculpture reads as a circular disc inscribed with radiating circles, a radial illusion that reflected Hetet's influence on others. Lastly, *haehae* also means to scratch, draw, or, lacerate and refers to Māori mourning traditions involving cutting and scarification, particularly on the breast area, with the flared faces of the sculpture evoking this area of the body.

The surface of the sculpture was stained with red ochre automotive lacquer and then waxed, producing an intense colour and powdered matte finish. Graham learned this technique from his study of the work of North American sculptor, Martin Puryear. This finish also had a similar effect to the mixture of *kokowai* (red ochre pigment) with oils, which is used to daube the body and objects to denote a state of *tapu*, and the colour most strongly associated with Māori art.

Kahukura carried other important meanings and associations, which were documented in the statement that Graham provided to the Gallery for use as an exhibition label and later published in the exhibition catalogue. Notably Graham was

the only artist to provide his statement in te reo Māori—no English language translation was provided. Translated here by Graham, the statement introduced the manifold concepts extant in *Kahukura*.

Ko au ko Kahukura, he uwhi
Hei whakamarumarū i ngā mea katoa
noho ai i raro
I am Kahukura, a protective shelter for all that dwell beneath me

Ko au ko Kahukura, he aniwaniwa
E hora ana oku kara i mua i to aroaro
I am Kahukura, the rainbow, I spread my colours before you

He tohu o nga ra kua pahure mo apopo hoki
A sign of ancient days and also for the future

Ko au ko Kahukura, he pou whakamaharatanga
mo te tupuna whaea, Rangimarie
I am Kahukura, a memorial for our ancestor Rangimarie

Ka tū au hei atamira, he ataata mōu
I stand before you, to uplift you, as a reflection for you

Ko koe he tohunga, he taniwha,
He kanohi hūmārire o te ao kōwhatu
*You are the skilled one, from beyond this world, the gentle face from another era*⁵⁸

This text operates as a poroporoaki spoken by *Kahukura* to Hetet. Through the course of this eulogy, *Kahukura* morphs into a number of identities, which collectively welcome Hetet's spirit into the immortal world.

⁵⁸ Translation by Brett Graham, 11 November 2018.

Kahukura first takes the form of Hetet's mastery. A kahu kura (red cloak, adorned with red feathers or daubed in kokowai) is a premier type of kākahu (cloak). A kahu kura is a rare mark of prestige, conferring the highest status on the wearer but equally indicating the responsibilities that such a leadership role entails. In this instance, *Kahukura* is a symbolic cloak offered to Hetet on her journey to Hawaiki. The form of this cloak makes another reference to the physical location of Hawaiki, this time, the Hawaiian ahu 'ula (feathered cloaks), which Graham also studied while a student at the East West Centre in Honolulu (Figure 25).

Kahukura also takes the form of a rainbow, a symbol associated with Tainui and Ngāti Koroki Kahukura identity representing hope and wellbeing. A rainbow is also regarded as a manifestation of the atua, Uenuku, who was conveyed from Hawaiki to Aotearoa on the Tainui waka and associated with the sculpture *Uenuku* (Figure 26), which was a star of *Te Māori* (Figure 74). *Kahukura* is also the eponymous female ancestor of Graham's iwi, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura, with this taonga standing as a memorial to two great Tainui women leaders.

In the closing remarks of the mihi, *Kahukura* invokes the collective power of these various identities, operating as a 'reflection for' Hetet, her leadership as a tohunga, her retention and conveyance of taonga tuku iho, and the example she set for all Māori artists.

Korurangi: New Māori Art

Korurangi opened with a dawn ceremony on 1 October 1995 followed by an afternoon opening event. This was the same sequence of events as had been observed for *Te Waka Toi* and again guided by Arnold Manaaki Wilson. Where the installation of *Taiarotia* had observed tikanga Māori and Māori spatial concepts, Gallery staff were left to arrange *Korurangi* in Hubbard's absence. Graham recalled the remarks of a kuia at the opening, who said that the art works seemed cold and alienated in the space of the NEW Gallery. Graham had a similar impression despite his work holding centre stage.

The art works in *Korurangi* were seemingly grouped according to visual sympathies and conceptual similarities, with the opening area of the exhibition constructed to make a certain statement about the concept of the exhibition. The first art work to be seen by the viewer was *If* 1995 by Ralph Hotere. Hotere was a founding member of the Contemporary Māori Art movement, a Māori art teaching specialist, member of Ngā Puna Waihanga and exhibited his work alongside his peers from the 1950s to the late 1980s. From 1990, however, Hotere began to distance himself from his peers, maintaining that his work was judged for by its merits rather than his identity as a Māori artist or part of any programme to redress Māori racial discrimination within New Zealand society.⁵⁹ He did not feature in key projects such as *Taikaka* or *Te Waka Toi* and was increasingly set apart from the Contemporary Māori Art movement as a leading New Zealand artist. Positioned as the first statement made by the exhibition, Hotere was held as the kaumatua of the group with his model establishing the kaupapa for the exhibition.

To the right of Hotere's painting was an art work that incontrovertibly addressed the issues of the moment. Michael Parekowhai's *Kiss the Baby Goodbye* 1994, was a three-dimensional rendering of Gordon Walter's 1969 painting *Kahukura* as an over-scaled kitset model.⁶⁰ The sculpture was purported to have 'claimed' Māori art back from Walters and also called an end to the debate--Parekowhai's 'copy' included an additional dot in the bottom right corner of the composition, and read as a 'full stop'.⁶¹ By positioning this art work at the start of the exhibition, *Kiss the Baby Goodbye* appeared to clear the air on those issues and enable new dialogue to occur.

While Hubbard's agenda claimed visual and intellectual freedom for Contemporary Māori Artists, the exhibition was studded with visual references to customary forms of Māori art and culture. The first area of the exhibition contained paintings,

⁵⁹ It appears that Hotere was concerned that his work was judged on its merits and avoided any projects that may have appeared tokenistic within the political climate of biculturalism—a subject worthy of further study and analysis.

⁶⁰ Graham said that these dual references to *Kahukura* were serendipitous.

⁶¹ See Nicholas Thomas, "Kiss the Baby Goodbye: Kōwhaiwhai and Aesthetics," *Critical Inquiry* (Autumn 1995): 119-121.

sculptures and mixed-media art works in the stereotypical Māori visual scheme of black, red and white, with the other dominant colour being shades of brown. The contentious imagery of *kōwhaiwhai*—the primary reference of Walters’ abstractions—could be found in the work of Jacqueline Fraser, Chris Heaphy, Michael Parekowhai and Peter Robinson, who, perhaps ironically, were held at the time as making the most strident challenges to the conventions of Contemporary Māori Art.

Weaving also featured throughout the spaces of *Korurangi*. Diane Prince and Maureen Lander practiced *raranga* in their respective installations. Reihana’s velvet patchwork wall hanging operated like a bicultural *kākahu*. The work of Shane Cotton and McIntyre referenced *whatu* (twining), a basic method of weaving, while *Kahukura* was a tribute to a weaver and referenced forms of Polynesian weaving, though these references were not as obvious.

The influence of Roger Neich’s 1993 publication, *Painted Histories: Early Māori Figurative Painting* was also evident in *Korurangi*.⁶² This seminal publication detailed the innovative adaption of Western influences into Māori art traditions in the period when Māori art was said to have died. The publication was richly illustrated and introduced a range of symbols and visual devices used in Māori art of that period. Such iconography featured in the paintings of Shane Cotton and Chris Heaphy and located their works in relation to Māori art history. Though Heaphy’s use of place mats as the ground for his paintings—a deliberate breach of basic *tikanga*—introduced a critical edge to his engagement with Māori art history.

Some references to Māori art were intended to criticise Māori art stereotypes and the doctrines of the Contemporary Māori Art movement. Peter Robinson’s *Painting* 1993 calculated the artist’s Māori blood quantum and relationship to his sole Māori ancestor in the following way: ‘100% 50%25%12.5%6.25%3.125%1.5625%’.

⁶² Roger Neich, *Painted Histories: Early Māori Figurative Painting* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993). Neich later produced a companion volume that traced the development of carving during the period covered in *Painted Histories*. See Roger Neich, *Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngāti Tarawhai Woodcarving* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001).

Inscribed in white oil stick on a heavily textured dark brown ground, the numerals were embellished with rudimentary koru forms, a reference that lent more towards the Walters' debate than Neich's comprehensive study of kōwhaiwhai. More than any other single work, Robinson's *Painting* exemplified Hubbard's curatorial agenda and concept for Contemporary Māori Art. Overall, however, *Korurangi* presented *New Māori Art* that showed obvious visual engagements with Māori art traditions.

"The Young Guns"

Korurangi quickly attracted media attention, which was to have a national reach. On the day prior to the exhibition opening the state radio broadcaster aired a programme titled 'The Rise and Rise of Young Māori Artists, the Young Guns.'⁶³ The programme featured interviews with a number of exhibiting artists and commentators. The phase 'The Young Guns' was introduced by Māori art historian, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, to summarise the daring and irreverent spirit exhibited by the new generation of Contemporary Māori Artists.

Print coverage came to focus on three main points. *Korurangi* was regarded as a stand out exhibition of the NEW Gallery Annex and reviewers praised the profile given to Contemporary Māori Art within the Gallery's new contemporary art space. Several reviewers criticised the 'racial bias' and anti-Pākehā politics of some art works as going against the principles of state biculturalism. Despite earlier criticism of the Gallery for not supporting Māori art, Keith Stewart wrote a stinging review provocatively titled 'Cultural Apartheid Creates Ghetto', which described how *Korurangi* had, ironically and inadvertently, played into other Māori stereotypes with currency at the time.

⁶³ Paul Bushnell, "Arts Week: 'Young Guns' – New Māori Artists [raw audio interview footage]," 30 September 1995, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision Kōrero Collection, 21998. The programme featured interviews with exhibiting artists, Shane Cotton and Lisa Reihana, exhibition curator, George Hubbard, Pākehā curator at the Waikato Museum of Art and History, Lara Strongman, artists affiliated with Ngā Puna Waihanga, Ross Hemara and Para Matchitt, and Māori art historian, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki.

For those who want to play the long established pākehā game of marginalising Māori ... there is plenty of opportunity here. A koru here, a spiral there, and a couple of flag stomping, placard waving 'radicals' demanding their land back and bringing in the audience looking for the Māori they know.⁶⁴

The exhibition was also regarded as an extension of the political tokenism and affirmative action that Hotere resisted, and what Pākeha reviewer, Jon Bywater, later described as 'the political-campaign-come-gravy-train of the early '90s.'⁶⁵

Public outcry also led to the removal of one work midway through the exhibition. Diane Prince's sculptural installation, *Flagging the Future: Te Kaitangata–The Last Palisade* sparked outrage from media commentators throughout the country and public complaints to the Gallery. Complaints focussed on one aspect of the art work; a New Zealand flag with the stencilled text 'PLEASE WALK ON ME.' After threat of prosecution under the 1983 Flags and Emblems Act, Prince agreed to remove the art work.⁶⁶ Overall, this debate monopolised media coverage of the exhibition until more considered reviews for arts-specialist journals and the exhibition catalogue were published in the following year.

Among the responses to *Korurangi*, *Kahukura* was frequently singled out as an important work in the show and its image was repeatedly used in exhibition promotions. An anonymous writer in the *Auckland Tourism Times* introduced the exhibition through Graham's 'monumental sculptures', and described as exploring 'issues of colonisation.'⁶⁷ In a glowing review, T.J. McNamara, the long-serving arts reviewer for the *New Zealand Herald*, evaluated *Korurangi* as showing 'great assurance and poise ... impressive' and Graham's sculptures as 'fine shapes ... that recall traditional patterns but do not copy it.'⁶⁸ Keith Stewart identified Robinson's

⁶⁴ Stewart, "Cultural Apartheid."

⁶⁵ Jon Bywater, "Exhibitions," *Art New Zealand* 100 (Spring 2001), 30.

⁶⁶ Upon removal, the area of the Gallery was marked with a label that stated that the artist was considering making a new work for display though this did not eventuate. "'Flagging the Future' Revised Exhibition Label," "Korurangi Exhibition File."

⁶⁷ "Modern Art, New Gallery," *Auckland Tourist Times* (5 October 1995), "Korurangi Exhibition File."

⁶⁸ T.J. McNamara, "Bright Start for Splendid New Gallery," *New Zealand Herald* (11 October 1995), 3:13.

work as the ‘most commanding’ work in the exhibition for reflecting on the ‘apportioning of claim in a country increasingly obsessed with instant Maori culture.’⁶⁹ But he also said ‘the problem with the show is you want more of Robinson, and of Brett Graham’s wonderfully sinuous, bold sculptures’ instead of the rest.

Exhibition coverage presented an opportunity for Graham to comment on the issues surrounding Contemporary Māori Art at the time. His observations about *New Māori Art* ran against mainstream appraisals of the political nature of *Korurangi*. In an interview for *Tama Toa* magazine, Graham described his peer group as relatively conservative when compared to the politics of his father’s generation of artists.

We have to ask ourselves what’s happened to the generation of Maori master artists before us? Do galleries bring the young ones in because our work is comfortable, safe and non-challenging, or is it that they’re (institutions) truly concerned about bi-culturalism.⁷⁰

Graham also gave new insight about current debates and offered his own opinions and position on the subject.

Most of the group showing in *Korurangi* have come through Pākehā art schools where the question “what is and what’s not Māori art” has been constantly asked. My only hope is that Māori art remains relevant to the people—that Māori find it relevant. The danger is, we call it Māori art but we’re a long way from the people.⁷¹

While *Kahukura* was appreciated for its formal qualities the meaning of the art work elided most reviewers. No one took the time to interpret the artist statement or engaged a reviewer with the capability to do so. Furthermore the intervention that the art work staged within the conceit of *Korurangi* was missed and had no influence over the course of reception to the exhibition.

⁶⁹ Stewart, “Cultural Apartheid.”

⁷⁰ Brett Graham quoted in Moana Tipa, “Korurangi: New Māori Art,” *Tangata* (September/October 1995), 17.

⁷¹ Graham in Tipa, “Korurangi,” 17.

Kahukura was singled out in another important way. Pasifika artist and curator, Jim Vivieaere, brought a visiting group of curators to the exhibition and provided an explanation of the work and interpretation of the label. The curatorium represented the Agence de Developmenet de la Culture Kanak (ADCK), the organisation responsible for the development of the Jean Marie Tjibaou Cultural Centre in Nouméa, New Caledonia, including the Australian art historian of Pacific Art, Susan Cochrane, and Kanak curators-in-training, Denise Tiavouane and Sandra Maillot Win-Nemon. Their task was to develop a permanent collection of contemporary Kanak and Pacific art held at the Centre, known as the Fonds D'Art Contemporain Kanak et Oceanien (FACKO). While their visits served the purpose of the Centre, Vivieaere and Cochrane were also working with Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, Emmanuel Kasarhérou (Cultural Director of ADCK), Margo Neale and others as country advisers and curators for the Second Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art 1996, and had specifically timed their visit to New Zealand to see *Korurangi: New Māori Art*.

The visiting curators, unaware of the controversy surrounding *Korurangi*, were immediately attracted to *Kahukura*. Cochrane remembers the 'inescapably astounding' 'striking visual and physical form' of the sculpture.⁷² Cochrane also saw an affinity between the sculpture and the distinctive architectural plans for the Tjibaou Centre and specifically, the internal architecture of the FACKO collection gallery. This featured large expanses of glass along two walls and suited three-dimensional works that comfortably occupied a large area of space. Vivieaere also introduced *Kahukura* as a tribute to Hetet. Weaving is a highly regarded art form in New Caledonia and the curators felt *Kahukura* would resonate with local viewers and make a strong statement about the importance of women in the community. For these reasons the curators initiated dialogue with Graham resulting in the purchase of *Kahukura* for the FACKO collection in early 1996.

Korurangi closed on 26 November 1995. Alexa Johnston admitted that 'for some there was a numbed sense of relief' though production of the catalogue continued

⁷² Susan Cochrane, interview by author, Sydney, 5 October 2018.

well into the following year.⁷³ And despite having commissioned the majority of art works in the show, nothing was purchased for the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki collection.

Brown Art, White Spaces

The impact of *Korurangi* was the subject of more considered responses in the period after closing. In the Spring (March-May) issue of *Art New Zealand* Jonathan Mane-Wheoki documented the controversies of the exhibition beyond that of the ‘Flag Debate’. His essay, titled *Brown Art, White Spaces*, questioned why Pākehā had such an issue with the first exhibition of Contemporary Māori Art to be shown at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, dwelling on the racism that infused the criticism, and identifying some new issues arising from the exhibition.

Mane-Wheoki chose to reveal previously unpublished feedback received by the state broadcaster in response to the ‘The Young Guns’ radio programme. This included a letter from the Pākehā painter, Alan Pearson, who questioned whether Contemporary Māori Art had any veracity as a form or discernible style of art. Pearson thought that the idea of ‘contemporary Māori art’ was nonsense as all Māori are products of a hybrid lineage, arguing that the influence of Western art had not been acknowledged or respected by commentators in the radio programme.

How does a small percentage of Maori blood produce Maori artists? ... to flog the racist card smacks of elitism and a desire for protection from insecurity.⁷⁴

Mane-Wheoki compacted Pearson’s accusations of racism with Stewart’s description of the exhibition concept as in ‘keeping with Boer apartheid and fascism’ and Justin Paton’s appraisal that *Korurangi* was ‘impaled on its own good intentions,’ mixed in quality and prone to accusations of political tokenism, to highlight the irony of the

⁷³ Johnston, “The Pathway,” 11.

⁷⁴ Allan Pearson, “Letters to the Editor,” *New Zealand Listener*, 28 October 1995, 14, quoted in Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, “Korurangi/Toihoukura: Brown Art in White Spaces,” *Art New Zealand* 78 (Autumn 1996), 43.

racist backlash from Pākehā critics.⁷⁵ Mane-Wheoki confessed, however, to agreeing with Pearson's assertion, "Who cares, really, what race a person stems from if their art is good" yet questioned whether the 'The Young Guns' are:

[T]he most appropriate artists to carry, collectively, the mana of new Māori art? Or are they the artists whom New Zealand's non-Māori art establishment wishes to recognise as Māori artists, the artist who it wants Māori artists to be—urbanised, possibly detribalised, perhaps geographically and culturally displaced, and internationalist in outlook.⁷⁶

In raising these questions, Mane-Wheoki's essay identified the controlling influence of 'New Zealand's non-Māori art establishment' as the greatest threat to Māori art development.

The *Korurangi* catalogue was launched on 1 October 1996, exactly one year after the exhibition, and took a confessional approach. Principal Curator, Alexa Johnston, delivered a sanctioned view of the issues that the Gallery faced in mounting the exhibition. The catalogue also included a reproving interview with Hubbard by Haerewa committee member, Kura te Waru Rewiri, and a critical response to the exhibition by Robert Jahnke—all contributions commissioned by the Gallery to replace Hubbard's late and then rejected essay.⁷⁷ As a whole the *Korurangi* catalogue offered both a debrief and critical appraisal of the exhibition and confirmed the myriad ways that competing interests had erupted over the show.

The catalogue focussed on the problematic and controversial nature of the exhibition. A sample of visitor comments about Prince's art work were reproduced on the front end page; review quotes and headlines featured on the end pages. These

⁷⁵ Stewart, "Cultural Apartheid," and Justin Paton, "Wide Blue Yonder," *New Zealand Listener*, 6 January 1966, 44, quoted in Mane-Wheoki, "Korurangi/Toihoukura," 43.

⁷⁶ Mane-Wheoki, "Korurangi/Toihoukura," 47. For a summary of Mane-Wheoki's work as a Māori art historian see Anna-Marie White, "Decolonising Art Histories: Jonathan Mane-Wheoki and Contemporary Māori Art" in Conal McCarthy and Mark Stocker (eds), *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance: Essays in Memory of Jonathan Mane-Wheoki* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2017), 205-212.

⁷⁷ This essay was reproduced in its entirety as an appendix to Leonard and White, "George Hubbard," 54-58.

ensured that the mood inspired by the exhibition, contrasting opinions and key events, such as the removal of Prince's work, became part of the official memory of the event.

17/10/95 Diane Prince – This piece is not acceptable to most N.Z. people. I, as a 5th generation N.Z.er find it disgraceful ... This is a public gallery and the standard of this exhibit is poor.

'The sterility of political correctness hangs about *Korurangi: New Māori Art*.'

'Mediocre art hiding behind a screen of controversy.'⁷⁸

Haerewa had recommended Jahnke to provide a written response to the exhibition, which was not a sympathetic choice. In 1994 Jahnke had delivered a conference paper where he attacked the 'neo-colonial construct perpetuated by the cognoscenti of "New Zealand" art history'.⁷⁹ The paper provided a catalogue of the criticisms of Māori art, identified cultural offensive instances—such as Frizzell's *Tiki* exhibition—and the role of key players. Jahnke's appraisal of Hubbard provides a summary of the primary issues in play at the time.

[Hubbard] has been seconded by the Pākehā curatorial fraternity because they perceive his version of 'cultural hybridisation' as a tool of deconstruction. In deconstructing the tenet of 'Māori art', in making definition problematic, in questioning the legitimacy of definition from the cultural perspective of the minority and in presuming a self other than the other, Hubbard's voice is in tune with the baton of the 'white conductor.'⁸⁰

As expected, Jahnke's essay challenged the conceit of *Korurangi* and made a very important point in terms of this study. Jahnke opened his essay by accepting

⁷⁸ Szekely, *Korurangi*, front end page.

⁷⁹ Robert Jahnke, "Dialogue: Talking Past Each Other," in *Culturalism, Multiculturalism, and the Visual Arts*, papers presented at the 1994 Auckland Conference of the Australian Council of University Art and Design Schools, J. Holmes (ed), (Hobart: University of Tasmania, 1995), 5.

⁸⁰ Jahnke, "Dialogue," 11.

whakapapa as the principle definition of Contemporary Māori Art. He argued, however, that the trend articulated by *Korurangi* posed a threat to Māori art. By invoking Mead's fatalist views, Jahnke's essay sought to contain the impact of *Korurangi* as a definitive statement of Contemporary Māori Art.

Jahnke regarded *Korurangi* as a dangerous proposition that required intervention. His essay interrogated claims made about the exhibition within a history of Contemporary Māori Art practice. He argued that Māori artists had long been influenced by new technology and media. Nor was this the first time that a younger Māori generation had challenged the orthodoxy of their elders. What was 'new' about *Korurangi*, said Jahnke, was the hybrid political attitude championed by Hubbard, which overstated the position of some artists over others.

Many of the younger generation have emerged out of alternative sites of contestation. Many are urban-bred with tickets to artistic achievement attained from the bastions of Western aesthetic dissemination. Their facility and eloquence is a project of urban realities ... Like those before them, these artists *inherit a reality that imposes a cultural price in their commitment to creative expression*. However the tenor of their korero remains theirs to define [italics added].⁸¹

Jahnke read Hubbard's appeal to Māori creative freedoms as legitimising colonised perceptions of contemporary Māori identity. He made the point that older generations of Māori artists had similar upbringings but challenged their colonised urban realities through their work. In this way Jahnke summarises Contemporary Māori Art as a collective project of decolonisation. The rhetoric of *Korurangi*, however, positioned colonised mindsets as the subject of a new trend in Contemporary Māori Art, which Jahnke contends is not common to or evidenced by the work in the show.

Jahnke's essay deconstructed the premise of *Korurangi* by analysing the work of each artist in the exhibition and making distinctions among the group. His method of

⁸¹ Robert Jahnke, "Korurangi: New Māori Art" in Szekely, *Korurangi*, 41-2.

assessment aligned with Mead's definition of Māori art and employed key concepts of taonga. Jahnke employed the novel approach of 'listening' to the kōrero of each art work and appraised the way the art work communicated to a 'Māori ear'. By using sound as an analogy for Māori concepts this approach avoided debates about the visual tradition of Māori art in favour of the Māori knowledge conveyed in the art work.

The kōrero of the art works heard by Jahnke did not support Hubbard's curatorial premise for *New Māori Art*. Rather Jahnke identified that many of the art works were engaged in rich and sophisticated discussions about Māori art, culture and identity, which had not been adequately respected by their framing in the show. He also found that some art works remained 'silent' suggesting that these might be more productively read as Pākehā art. Jahnke's reading also emphasised aspects of the exhibition that had been silenced by the curatorial premise. To make this point he saved his most substantive analysis for *Kahukura*.

Jahnke described *Kahukura* as 'a salute to taonga tuku iho.'⁸²By listening to the mihi, Jahnke recognised *Kahukura* as a 'tipuna' (ancestor) 'steeped in kōrero.'⁸³ Jahnke's analysis introduced the various identities assumed by the art work and the multiple references to ancestral art traditions. He also recognised how *Kahukura* asserted the pre-eminence of Hetet in this gathering where Hotere was the elder of the group, and how her presence—at the centre of the exhibition—altered the history of Contemporary Māori Art told by *Korurangi*.

Kahukura also prompted Jahnke to contribute his own kōrero to Hetet. As with the mihi of *Kahukura*, this was published in te reo Māori with no English language translation.

Nā reira, e kui, haere atu rā ki runga i te aranui a Tāne
And so elder, farewell via the exalted pathway of Tāne

⁸² Jahnke, "Korurangi," 45.

⁸³ Jahnke, "Korurangi," 46.

Ahakoā, kua pakaru te taura hei here i a koe
Despite the severing of the living bonds that held you here,

ki tōu whānau, hapū hoki,
Your family and relatives

Ka mahana tonu ngā kākahu i whatu i a koe
are warmed/sheltered by the cloaks you wove

i te wā ora ai
in your lifetime.

He tauira mīharo, hei taonga hoki
A privileged connection through these taonga

ki ngā uri whakamuri
for your descendants who remain.

Ināinei, e ngunguru ana te maunga a Ruapehu
Now, even the ancestral mountain Ruapehu murmurs/rumbles

i tōu wehenga atu rā.
at your passing

Haere atu rā, e Kui, ki runga i tōu waka whakahirahira
Farewell elder, borne upon a conveyance of your greatness

ki te kāinga tūturu ki te kāinga i whakapūkenga ai
along the pathway of the ancient to the place of origins

te kune o ngā taonga tuku iho,
the font of all great inherited treasures

Arā, ki Hawaiki-nui, ki Hawaiki-roa, ki Hawaiki-pāmamao.
*A pathway to Hawaiki of the great, the vast and distant.*⁸⁴

Jahnke's poroporoaki (speech of farewell) makes an intriguing reference to Ruapehu. In 1995, Ruapehu maunga (mountain) was in eruption and Jahnke attributes this natural phenomenon to Hetet's passing. By making this comparison Jahnke bestows the highest praise on Hetet and, through association, positions *Kahukura* as the formative art work of the *Korurangi* exhibition.

Jahnke's essay proved to be the final word on debate about the whakapapa definition. While Jahnke reasserted whakapapa as the defining principle of Māori art his *Korurangi* essay established other important measures of Contemporary Māori Art. These qualities aligned with Mead's concept of Māori art as taonga and Jahnke innovatively applied these to his reading of Contemporary Māori Art.

Jahnke's essay also provides an important model of performing Contemporary Māori Art as taonga. By listening to the korero of *Kahukura* he recognised that taonga is a subject of *Kahukura*, the art work operated like taonga and inspired by specific forms of taonga. But he did not specifically recognise the art work as such. Jahnke did, however, position Graham's practice as demonstrative of the generative potential of Contemporary Māori Art—the ability to grow, develop and change—as opposed to the tenuous future he heard communicated in other works in the show. In this way, Jahnke clearly distinguished Graham from 'The Young Guns' by demonstrating how his art work represented a substantively different position.

Despite his differences, Graham has continued to be described and associated with The Young Guns. This is largely due to the work of Mane-Wheoki, who continued to employ this term in his work in the years since the crisis.⁸⁵ 'The Young Guns' has gone on to become a widely referred name for those Contemporary Māori Artists

⁸⁴ Translation by Tamahou Temara, 20 June 2018.

⁸⁵ Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, "Toi Hiko: Māori Art in the Electronic Age," in *hiko! New Energies in Māori Art*, edited by Felicity Milburn (Christchurch: Christchurch Art Gallery, 1999), 4.

who emerged from the crisis period and have been described as a 'tribe of like-minded individuals.'⁸⁶

While *Kahukura* was part of *Korurangi*, Graham is not part of that 'tribe'. *Kahukura* was an articulation of the artist's identity in relation to his ancestral lands (Kahukura/Aniwaniwa), whakapapa (Hawai'iki/Tainui/Ngāti Koroki Kahukura), affiliation and education within the contemporary Māori art movement (Nga Puna Waihangā and Hetet's standing among that group), and his kaupapa as a Māori artist (Hetet). This information was made available in his artist statement though 'coded' in te reo Māori, which remained untranslated at the time. Graham's choice of language—and that of Jahnke—should be read as deliberate strategies intended to test the limitations of the New Zealand art system in respect of taonga Māori. While Graham deployed a number of other strategies to evade capture by the conceit of *Korurangi*, Graham has continued to be defined and understood as a 'Young Gun', which is a point that this research seeks to redress.

Korurangi and Kahukura

This chapter introduced Brett Graham as the primary subject of this study. Graham was introduced to this study through the lens of the exhibition, *Korurangi: New Maori Art*. *Korurangi* was a response to debates about the definition of Māori art and leveraged different points of view within the Contemporary Māori Art movement. The initial intention of the exhibition curator was to liberate the concept of Māori art from the traditions of taonga. *Korurangi* achieved this goal and led to the establishment of the whakapapa definition despite a strong and concerted effort by Māori to maintain the concept of Māori art as taonga. For this reason, *Korurangi* is recognised as a key event of the crisis period.

Brett Graham was keenly alert to the provocation of *Korurangi*. He knowingly accepted the invitation to participate in the exhibition and intervened in the course of

⁸⁶ Kirsten Rennie, "Urban Māori Art: The Third Generation of Contemporary Māori Artists: Identity and Identification," (MA diss., University of Canterbury, 2001), 26.

debate that *Korurangi* represented. The resulting art work, *Kahukura*, was a response to the debate but was not informed by that context. Rather, Graham produced an art work that exemplified the teachings of the older generation of Contemporary Māori Artists and supported Mead's case for the concept of Māori art as taonga. In this way, *Kahukura* opposed the concept of Contemporary Māori Art invoked by *Korurangi*.

Korurangi was intended to change the definition of Contemporary Māori Art. Yet inconsistencies between the exhibition premise and the presented art works aggravated a wave of criticism about the whakapapa definition of Contemporary Māori Art. In the face of racist charges and accusations of political tokenism, Robert Jahnke defended the whakapapa definition. Though he equally expanded on that definition by referring to the taonga principles of *Kahukura*.

While *Korurangi* was a Contemporary Māori Art exhibition, the exhibition concept validated Pākehā attitudes about Māori art with critical reception of the show revealing hostile and racist attitudes toward Māori development strategies in mainstream society. The example of *Kahukura* also demonstrates how Māori views and positions at the time were consistently overwhelmed and overrun by Pākehā criticism. The strength of prejudice against Māori within the site of *Korurangi* was such that the efficacy of any intervention within this space was limited.

2. Ngā Kakano: Kahukura and Patua

After the close of *Korurangi*, *Kahukura* travelled to Wellington for inclusion in *Patua: Māori Art in Action*. *Kahukura* was the only art work to feature in both exhibitions and performed very differently in the context of *Patua*. This exhibition, unlike *Korurangi*, provided appropriate conditions for *Kahukura* to be recognised as taonga, and where Graham was highlighted as a model of Contemporary Māori Art practice that countermanded the urbanised, detribalised and culturally alienated stereotype of his generation.

Patua was also part of a co-ordinated response by Contemporary Māori Artists to the public debates. This response continued at pace through 1996 though had the effect of internalising debate within the Contemporary Māori Art community. This pressure led to the crisis moment which fractured the concept of Māori art, with taonga being defined differently to Contemporary Māori Art from 1997 onward.

Patua: Māori Art in Action

Patua: Māori Art in Action was initiated by Sandy Adsett in his role as Chair of Te Ātinga, the Māori visual arts committee of Te Waka Toi, and opened at City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi (2-23 March 1996) three months after the close of *Korurangi*. *Patua* was an unequivocal statement of the 'traditionalist' position targetted by Hubbard, which directly responded to the public debate, the controversies of *Korurangi*, and internal conflicts within the Contemporary Māori Art movement. The authoritative tone of the exhibition as a collective statement of the Contemporary Māori Art movement drew on the expertise and standing of Adsett as a Māori art teaching specialist, head of Toihoukura, the tertiary Māori art school in Gisborne, and the most experienced Contemporary Māori Art curator practising at the time.¹

¹ In addition to his work on *Te Waka Toi: Contemporary Māori Art From New Zealand* (1992-3) and *Taiarotia: Contemporary Māori Art to the United States of America* (1994), Adsett also curated an exhibition of

Patua was the centrepiece of the 'Toka-a-Toi' Māori art programme for the 1996 New Zealand Festival of the Arts, and featured the work of fifty artists working in a diverse range of styles. As with *Te Waka Toi*, the exhibition was conceived as a Contemporary Māori Art marae, with the exterior and internal areas of the gallery configured according to the spatial features of the marae ātea and whare whakairo (Figure 33), and phases of hui tikanga. As a single venue exhibition, Adsett exerted a higher level of control over the execution of this concept, and his curatorial approach demonstrated expert knowledge of Māori art to make a strong and complex statement about the nature of Contemporary Māori Art. The kōrero of the art works, and the dialogue within the show, were however, privileged insights only conveyed at certain times to particular viewers in particular situations.

As with the marae, visitor experiences were regulated by tikanga Māori and mediated by tangata whenua. Toi Houkura staff and students held the role of tangata whenua, their presence indicated by the waharoa affixed to the exterior of the gallery in their signature school style (Figure 32). Toi Houkura were also based in the gallery space to the right of the marae ātea for the duration of the show, leading pōwhiri for guests (Figure 34), facilitating live artist displays (Figure 35), hosting visiting artists (Figure 36), and supporting the regular schedule of kapa haka performances in Civic Square in front of City Gallery (Figure 37). As there were no introductory exhibition labels or individual interpretations of the art works, tangata whenua also acted as visitor guides. Through this method Adsett prioritised direct human engagement as the primary strategy for exhibition interpretation.

Kahukura was assigned an important role in the gallery that operated as the interior of the whare whakairo. The largest art work in this space, *Kahukura* was positioned directly in the viewer's line of sight as they moved from the marae ātea (Figure 38). In this location *Kahukura* operated as a poutokomanawa, the main vertical post supporting the ridgepole of the building. Poutokomanawa also refers to the three-

Contemporary Māori Art at Shed 11, Wellington waterfront, for the 1994 New Zealand Festival of the Arts, and *Toi Houkura: Tairāwhiti Polytechnic* at The Dowse Art Gallery in Lower Hutt (26 August-26 November 1995).

dimensional carved figure at the base of the post, and depicts an important ancestor to that community. In this context, Adsett deployed *Kahukura* to commemorate Hetet as the poutokomanawa of the group.

Adsett amplified this kōrero by presenting *Kahukura* in line with *Korowai Ngahurihanga* by Diggeress Te Kanawa, a daughter of Rangimarie Hetet. The korowai incorporated feathers from many birds in the colours of grey, green, cream and tanny red, and had the overall effect of a rich dark brown, which visually resonated with *Kahukura*. Adsett presented these art works on black backgrounds, a device used throughout the exhibition to denote a state of tapu and here indicated the evocation of Hetet's ancestral spirit.²

Kahukura also played a role in articulating the whakapapa of Contemporary Māori Art given by the exhibition. On a right angle to *Kahukura* was a free-standing sculpture by Fred Graham. The sculpture featured a stylised black bird form with outstretched wings made from steel saw blades atop a long and tall square black post. This sculpture, *Tribute to Hone Tuwhare*, also paid respect to a Māori artist. On the wall behind the sculpture was a hieke (rain cape) by Erenora Puketapu-Hetet, a grand-daughter of Rangimarie Hetet. These arrangements created tātai that bisected the whare whakairo gallery converging in the central area where tangata whenua hosted manuhiri (visitors), providing clear examples of the continuity of Māori art and the relatedness of different modes of contemporary Māori art practice.

Patua was replete with similar relationships and histories, within and across the exhibition galleries, or as the following example attests, addressed long-standing issues and more recent controversies. As a Contemporary Māori Art Trustee, Adsett was a target of criticism by Māori women artists from the mid-1980s, and a subject of Diane Prince's art work featured in *Choice! Adsett*, however, extended support to her in the wake of the *Korurangi* controversy, and offered the opportunity to respond to that experience. In the centre of the upstairs gallery, Prince presented *Culturally Sensitive Object*, the revised version of *Flagging the Future*, promised in the label

² Pauline Swain, "Down-To-Earth Curator With a Sense of Fun," *The Dominion* (Saturday 9 March 1996): 24.

that replaced the installation when removed from public display.³ The installation again featured a New Zealand flag, here presented on an oblique angle to the floor, with a white sign suspended above that read:

KIA TUPATO!! (be careful)

THIS IS A CULTURALLY SENSITIVE OBJECT

MADE IN TAIWAN

DO NOT WALK ON SAID OBJECT

PLEASE PASS OVER

IF YOU HAVE TOUCHED OR WALKED ON SAID OBJECT

KEI TE PAI (all good)

ENGARI (but): YOU MAY HAVE BEEN OBSERVED

AND THEREFORE LIABLE FOR PERSECUTION.

Given the nationwide media furore over the art work (and its censorship) the presence of this art work was inflammatory. More so was the inclusion of Prince's work in a show lead by the very figures that had been the target of her criticism. Yet *Patua* was equally a collective statement of Contemporary Māori Art, and the exhibition design revealed these dynamics at work. Two Māori women art leaders supported Prince's installation in the exhibition. To one side was a kahuhuruhuru by Emily Schuster, and this relationship acknowledged Prince's foremost identity in the Māori art community as a weaver. To the other was a painting by Kura te Waru Rewiri, a member of Haerewa involved in the difficulties posed by Prince's work in *Korurangi*. In *Patua*, however, Schuster and te Waru Rewiri stood behind Prince to extend their support in the face of the expected reaction, which surprisingly did not arise.⁴

³ "'Flagging the Future' Revised Exhibition Label," "Korurangi Exhibition File," E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki..

⁴ There is no mention of this art work in any media commentary or written articles nor any complaints registered in City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi exhibition documentation.

Patua: Hitting Out With Force

Patua offered a faceted view of Contemporary Māori Art, the internal dialogue of the exhibition being only one side of the overall project. Adsett employed a vigilant media strategy intended to guide public attention toward the kaupapa of the exhibition, promote the philosophy of Contemporary Māori Artists, and avoid the scandalous headlines of *Korurangi*. The exhibition catalogue, however, directly confronted the public debate and it was through this means that the title of the exhibition, translated as ‘hitting out with force’, takes effect.⁵

The *Patua* catalogue directly engaged with the definition debate and reads as though it were directed towards ‘other’ viewers of the exhibition. The catalogue essay was authored by Ngapine Tamihana Allen (Te Ao), artist and Ngā Puna Waihanga stalwart who was then teaching Māori art history with Jonathan Mane-Wheoki at the University of Canterbury. In the opening passages, Allen quoted Adsett as saying that “*Patua* was ... a way of confronting people with an up-front view of how we see ourselves and how we perceive others’.⁶ Allen adopted this statement as the structure for the essay, which asserted a collective view of Contemporary Māori Art practice, and a history of key issues that continued to affect the development of Contemporary Māori Art.

Allen identified the issue of ‘traditionalism’ as having continuously plagued Contemporary Māori Art development. Allen recalled that some (unnamed) artists had not participated in the 1966 exhibition, *New Zealand Māori Culture and the Contemporary Scene* because they did not wish their work to be defined as ‘Māori art’ and stereotyped as ‘traditionalists.’⁷ In the three decades since, however, Allen wrote that Māori artists are proud to identify as Contemporary Māori Artists and make work that is evidently Māori.

⁵ Ngapine Tamihana Allen, “Patua Means To Strike,” *Patua: Māori Art in Action* (Wellington: City Gallery Wellington, Te Waka Toi, 1996), 2.

⁶ Sandy Adsett quoted in Allen, “Patua,” 2.

⁷ Allen, “Patua,” 2.

Biculturalism was another important issue in Contemporary Māori Art development. Again, biculturalism was not a recent influence with Allen citing the bicultural teachers programme of the 1950s and '60s as the catalyst for Contemporary Māori Art development. The bicultural foundations of Contemporary Māori Art had always raised questions, though the high profile of Contemporary Māori Art under state biculturalism had raised new questions about the definition and authenticity of this work as Māori art. These frustrations lead Māori to seize the opportunities of state biculturalism to develop independent courses of development, within New Zealand and abroad, the impact of which had the potential to affect the nature of art in New Zealand in yet-to-be-determined ways.⁸ In her words, “watch this space” as Maui-who-tamed-the-sun would say’, leaving the ‘other’ readers of the catalogue with the message that Contemporary Māori Artists were leaving their Treaty partners behind. Overall the catalogue essay is a reactionary statement to the debates of the time, and offered little insight into the rich and dynamic dialogue of the exhibition itself.

Given the furore of *Korurangi* just months earlier, it was logical for Adsett to expect *Patua* to attract similar attention. Adsett employed various strategies to protect the exhibition as a bold statement of Contemporary Māori Art. Yet the confrontational title and catalogue essay was primed for further debate. It is uncertain what response Adsett intended, except that he expected the exhibition to be controversial. In any case, this was not forthcoming.

Overall, the exhibition coverage was positive though limited. *Patua* received widespread local coverage within Wellington city and regional media. The coverage was largely descriptive and reliant on media releases. Notably, the exhibition did not receive any coverage in national news or art publications at the time though was the subject of intensive analysis several months later. In July 1996 Robert Jahnke presented a conference paper, subsequently published later in the year, which praised the curatorial sophistication of *Patua*. The paper positioned *Patua* within a lineage of exhibitions that employed Māori concepts to constitute the work as Māori

⁸ Jonathan Mane-Wheoki also addressed these points in his essay “The Resurgence of Māori Art: Conflicts and Continuities in the Eighties,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 12.

art. *Te Māori* was identified as the precedent with the Māori contingent travelling to the venues to support the reception of taonga as Māori art. *Te Waka Toi* advanced this model by embedding the conceptual and spatial orientation of the marae within the design of the exhibition to construct a Māori cultural paradigm that immersed viewers at each venue. This concept, however, primarily served Māori viewers, as explained by Sir Paul Reeves.

To me the interesting thing was that immediately our people entered the area that held the exhibition, it naturally became their marae. They felt secure, you could see it. They looked at all the works, whether they were modern or traditional. They looked at them as taonga tuku iho, as works handed down from the ancestors.⁹

Patua advanced these models by colonising City Gallery Wellington to create an autonomous context for the presentation of Contemporary Māori Art to Māori people, conditions absent from the over-riding agendas of *Korurangi*. The observance of tikanga Māori in the organisation of the exhibition and through ritual performance, activated the kōrero of the art works and revealed the kaupapa of the artists as Māori. Jahnke also advanced the argument he made in his *Korurangi* essay about the audible qualities of Māori art, an angle that accounted for art work that did not explicitly engage with visual traditions of Māori art yet ‘spoke’ coherently to Māori people. These principles made an important contribution to the definition debate, though did not register in scholarly discourse until the inclusion of the essay in the compiled volume, *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific*, edited by Australian scholars, Diane Losche and Nicholas Thomas, in 1999.¹⁰

⁹ Cliff Whiting in Paul Reeves, “Te Waka Toi Returns to Aotearoa”, *Te Māori News* 16 (n.d. c. 1994), “Tairarotia: Te Waka Toi Exhibition File,” City Gallery Wellington Archive.

¹⁰ Robert Jahnke, “Voices Beyond the Pae” in *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific*, edited by Diane Losche and Nicholas Thomas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 193-209.

Toi Māori Aotearoa

As a Te Ātinga project, *Patua* also heralded significant changes to the organisation of government funding for Māori art. In 1994—the year that *Taiarotia* toured Auckland and Wellington—Te Waka Toi became part of the new government arts funding entity, Creative New Zealand (formerly the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council). The function of Te Waka Toi shifted from an active commissioning and funding entity, to a policy advisor and funding division within Creative New Zealand. This shift required Te Waka Toi Councillors to provide a definition of Māori art upon which government funding would be determined and allocated, and their whakapapa definition became a catalyst for debate.

Toi Māori Aotearoa, a separate operational Māori artists' agency created to offset the changes to Te Waka Toi, was formally launched at the opening of *Patua*. While Chair of Te Waka Toi, Cliff Whiting conceived of the Toi Māori Aotearoa Trust: “We knew when the legislative changes for the arts were made last year, that we had to be independent”, and receiving widespread support from Māori art and cultural leaders with the founding Trustees including Te Aue Davis, Hirini Moko Mead and Bill Parker.¹¹ The Trustees established an office and small staff to support the objectives of eight Māori art form committees who had previously advised Te Waka Toi.¹² This grouping provides a clear view of the concept of Māori art collectively maintained by Māori people, with Mead described the purpose of Toi Māori Aotearoa as:

[M]andated by its Māori art committees to act in the best interests of the whole field of Māori art, and its main purpose is to maintain, develop and promote Māori art as an essential element of Māori culture and the culture of Aotearoa

¹¹ Cliff Whiting quoted in “Māori Contemporary Art: the International Connections,” [newspaper advertising supplement, n.d. 1996], Toi Māori Aotearoa Archive. The founding Settlers of Toi Māori Aotearoa were Sandy Adsett, Henry Bennett, Waana Morrell Davis, Derek Fox, Patricia Grace, Timoti Kāretu, Georgina Kirby, Hohepa Mason, Trevor Horowaewae Maxwell, Sidney Moko Mead, Kataraina Ameria Piri, and Emily Schuster. “Toi Māori Aotearoa Māori Arts New Zealand Trust Deed 14 October 1996,” Toi Māori Aotearoa Archive.

¹² The committees included He Awhi Tikanga, Pūtatangi (Māori music), Te Ātinga (Māori Visual Arts), Te Hā (Māori writers), Te Huinga Taunaki Kaituhi Māori (writers in te reo Māori), Te Ope o Rehua (theatre and dance), Te Roopu Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa, Te Uhi ā Mataora (moko), and Ngā Waka Federation. This structure remains in place today with the addition of Rununga Whakairo (carving).

... It has a concern for the integrity of Māori art, that is to maintain its basic wairua, or its essential Māori quality.¹³

While Toi Māori Aotearoa received base-line operational funding from Te Waka Toi, the organisation operated outside of Creative New Zealand regulations, independence that Mead described as double-edged.

In putting ourselves outside the structures of Government, we have ... made it far more difficult to obtain funding on the scale necessary to carry out the objects of the organisation ... However, what we have done is to position ourselves to reclaim control over our arts—with or without funding.¹⁴

In the context of this study, the establishment of Toi Māori Aotearoa may be regarded as a response to debates about Māori art, providing shelter for the practice of toi and maintenance of taonga independent of Government requirements.

Changes to government funding of Māori art soon came under attack. While *Patua* was on display at City Gallery Wellington, a stinging article about the changes to Te Waka Toi was published. The article, titled “Colour bars Maori Art” was written by Keith Stewart (author of the *Korurangi* review, ‘Cultural Ghetto Creates Apartheid’ for the same outlet) and published in the Sunday Star-Times on 17 March 1996.¹⁵ The full-page article drew on interviews with Ralph Hotere and Selwyn Muri who argued that funding should reward artistic merit rather than fulfil policy quotas.

‘There are a lot of people getting funding who I would not consider are worthy ... Because people do not have to prove themselves as artists anymore, they jump on the Māori bandwagon and they get a grant.’

¹³ Hirini Moko Mead, “Māori Art Restructured, Reorganised, Re-examined and Reclaimed,” *He Pukenga Kōrero* vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 1996), 2.

¹⁴ Mead, “Māori Art Restructured,” 2.

¹⁵ Keith Stewart, “Colour Bars Māori Art,” *Sunday Star Times*, 17 March 1996, F1. Colour bar is a term that refers to methods of racial segregation.

They (Te Waka Toi) forget that we, us contemporary artists, are the buggers who have given them the credibility to have a brown arts council but they never listen to what we say... They never take any notice of the reasons why artists like Ralph Hotere and Para Matchitt and me are successful. Its not because we're bloody Māoris, its because we're good.¹⁶

Stewart leveraged these comments, however, to develop a different argument. He proposed that the 'racist definition of Māori art' employed by Te Waka Toi was inconsistent with the objectives of the new Arts Council Act to support New Zealand artists for the benefit of all New Zealanders.¹⁷ He sought comment from the Chair of Te Waka Toi Board, Elizabeth Ellis, who defended the definition of Māori art as being made by individuals with Māori whakapapa. She also made assurances that Te Waka Toi did discern quality among the pool of applications made by Māori artists and their processes involved 'some form of quality check so that in terms of aesthetics and skill it must be good art.'¹⁸ Stewart, however, referred to *Korurangi*—under Ellis' watch—as a recent example of a 'Māori-only' exhibition of mixed quality work, describing Prince's *Flagging the Future* 'one of the poorest works in the show.'¹⁹

Stewart also solicited comment from non-Māori scholars, artists and writers excluded from the Māori art funding pool. Most chose to remain anonymous for 'fear criticism would work against them in the future'.²⁰ Margaret Orbell, a Pākehā historian and wife of Gordon Walters, was willing to be named, with Stewart introducing her work as having 'significantly advanced the understanding of Maori culture in the past 30 years.'²¹ Orbell considered her current work on Māori authors as ineligible for Te Waka Toi funding 'because I assume I am outside their brief.'²² Stewart pointed to the paucity of texts on Māori art as a compelling reason why the policy of 'racial

¹⁶ Selwyn Muru quoted in Stewart, "Colour Bars."

¹⁷ Stewart, "Colour Bars."

¹⁸ Elizabeth Ellis quoted in Stewart, "Colour Bars."

¹⁹ Stewart, "Colour Bars."

²⁰ Stewart, "Colour Bars."

²¹ Stewart, "Colour Bars."

²² Margaret Orbell quoted in Stewart, "Colour Bars."

purity' worked to disadvantage Māori and all New Zealanders despite Ellis' own opinion that Māori should be supported to produce these resources for themselves.²³

Defining Māori Art: The Māori Art Conference

These ongoing debates caused Robert Jahnke to call a national gathering of Contemporary Māori Artists to debate the definition of their work. The 'Māori Art Conference' held in Palmerston North (26-28 June 1996) featured presentations from notable voices of the period, Ngapine Allen, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Robert Jahnke, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, Darcy Nicholas, Rangihiroa Panoho, Diane Prince and Cliff Whiting among others, and the event was well-attended by artists from around the country. Varied and conflicting perspectives produced strong debate—'And believe me, the debate raged,' recorded Christchurch-based artist, Eugene Hansen—revealing a lack of consensus among Contemporary Māori Artists and scholars.²⁴

Hirini Moko Mead gave the keynote address, and his paper, 'Māori Art Restructured, Reorganised, Re-Examined and Reclaimed' set the terms for the conference debate. Mead identified the current debate arising from the assimilation of Te Waka Toi within Creative New Zealand and the implementation of contestable funding models for Māori art.

Contestability is supposed to bring with it a high degree of transparency. Thus it is necessary to define Māori art so everyone knows what it is. Before this everyone seemed to know what it was ... in preparations for *Te Māori* ... there were no big discussions about how to define our art.²⁵

The restructure of Te Waka Toi and creation of Toi Māori Aotearoa masked reduced levels of government funding for Māori art. Limited contestable funding had created a

²³ Stewart, "Colour Bars."

²⁴ Eugene Hansen, "Toi Oho Ki Apiti: A Question of Definition. Māori Art Conference at Massey University," *Monica* (August/September 1996), 24.

²⁵ Mead, "Māori Art Restructured," 3.

competitive climate, involving questions about the authenticity of Māori art forms, and creating tensions between traditional and Contemporary Māori art practices. Public debate about the definition of Māori art had exacerbated the issues—Mead specifically cited Stewart’s article as a case in point—and symptomatic of a wider ‘backlash’ against Māori in the period after *Te Māori: Te Hokinga Mai*.²⁶

We have noted an increase in anti-Māori sentiment, a toughening of attitudes against us in the press and in the media generally and a lack of enthusiasm in Government to promote Māori initiatives ... Some Government people want to open up Māori society to their scrutiny and criticism, and make us more accountable to them. The media wants to dissect us, criticise us, highlight the negative things about us ... Through their “Letters to the Editor” section there is an endless repetition of prejudice, myth and mis-information. There are politicians who want to reshape us into individuals just like them. In short, there has been a decade of backlash against us.²⁷

Mead saw the public debate about definitions of Māori art as a distraction from the real issue of Pākehā control and influence over Māori art development.

Māori art serves two publics, Māori and Pākehā ... [The Pākehā] public includes the Government and its agencies, the decision makers of industry ... This public appropriates Māori art to satisfy the needs of individuals within it. These individuals are not necessarily committed to Māori art and culture and are characteristically highly selective in what they take ... this is the power group that controls our lives, sets policies that we have to live by, decide how much funding we receive, and how we spend it.²⁸

Mead regarded the whakapapa definition of Māori art as primarily serving the needs of the Pākehā public. While the definition had been criticised as ‘racist’, Mead thought the definition too liberal and designed to accommodate Māori artistic practice

²⁶ Mead, “Māori Art Restructured,” 2.

²⁷ Mead, “Māori Art Restructured,” 2.

²⁸ Mead, “Māori Art Restructured,” 5.

aligned to Western art traditions and Pākehā cultural values.²⁹ Given the limits on funding Mead questioned whether the work of ‘Māori artists who have no grounding in their own culture and no training in Māori art’ should be recognised as Māori art at the expense of those who maintain traditional practices.³⁰

If we think for a moment about the integrity of Māori art, its wairua, ihi, wehi and wana, and if we pause to think about the distinctiveness of our art, then it follows that it is necessary always to go back to traditional arts ... to the very foundations of our culture, to the meaningful symbols, to the prime works of art created by our ancestors. In my view the traditional artists must be given our full support now and in the future. There should be no argument about this.³¹

Where Mead supported Toi Māori Aotearoa, his speech specifically criticised the Māori Visual Arts Committee, Te Ātinga, who ‘feel that they should have priority in funding ... [and] see themselves as exploring the frontiers of change, as agents of change who will take Māori art where no traditional artist will dare to take it.’³² In Mead’s opinion, however, the ‘modern’ artists:

[C]ome from a different base, often from not a particularly strong cultural background. They are often thoroughly enculturated into the traditions of Western art and philosophy and have to learn how to be Māori. They are often talented, dedicated, believe strongly in democracy and individualism, and come to the Māori world with all the enthusiasm of an evangelist, fully prepared to reform us. Inevitably they find we do not want to be reformed, just yet.³³

Mead challenged the assembly to maintain the more rigorous definition of Māori art as taonga, conceive of their work as inextricable from Māori culture, and, most

²⁹ Mead, “Māori Art Restructured,” 4.

³⁰ Mead, “Māori Art Restructured,” 4.

³¹ Mead, “Māori Art Restructured,” 4.

³² Mead, “Māori Art Restructured,” 4.

³³ Mead, “Māori Art Restructured,” 4.

controversially, make art that is recognisably Māori. He concluded by readily recognising the challenges of the current moment, though lay responsibility for the maintenance of Māori art as taonga squarely on Māori artists.

Mead's speech had a huge impact on conference delegates. His paper generated 'debate but not agreement, as most of the audience of young Māori artists seemed to find themselves on the other side' of Mead's argument.³⁴ Allen and te Awekotuku (a Te Waka Toi Councillor) directly challenged Mead's definition for limiting Māori art development and not accounting for innovation, which as Panoho's paper outlined, is a defining quality of Māori art.³⁵ Darcy Nicholas squarely stated that Contemporary Māori Art was not taonga.³⁶ Cushla Parekowhai argued for a more inclusive definition of Māori art, stating that 'Māori art is art where we can see ourselves in the picture.'³⁷ Hansen confessed his surprise that 'as a third-generation, urbanised, detribalised Māori who produces art ... it was precisely my contemporaries and the activities that we engage in that was the focus of the *Toioho Ki Āpiti* debate.'³⁸ Yet the conference dialogue is clouded by an inconsistency of terminology and widespread reluctance to introduce the term 'taonga' to the debate.

Kia Hiwa! Maranga Mai! Be Alert, Arise!

In December 1996, the publication, *Mataora: The Living Face* was launched and issued the boldest definition of Māori art, and the most substantive account of Contemporary Māori Art history produced during the debate period.³⁹ Lead by Sandy Adsett and Cliff Whiting, the publication was initially intended as an exhibition catalogue for *Te Waka Toi*, and provided a much-needed resource on Contemporary

³⁴ Bill McKay, "Toioho ki Apiti: A Question of Definition. Māori Art Conference at Massey University," *Monica* (August/September 1996), 24.

³⁵ Mason Durie, "Excerpts from Conference Summary. Toioho Ki Āpiti: A Question of Definition. Māori Art Conference at Massey University," *Monica* (August/September 1996), 25, and Rangihiroa Panoho, "A Search for Authenticity: Towards a Definition and Strategies for Cultural Survival," *He Pukenga Kōrero* (2:1, Spring 1996): 20-25.

³⁶ Durie, "Conference Summary."

³⁷ Cushla Parekowhai quoted in Hansen, "Māori Art Conference," 25.

³⁸ Eugene Hansen, "Māori Art Conference," 24.

³⁹ Sandy Adsett and Cliff Whiting (eds), *Mataora: The Living Face* (Auckland: David Bateman, Te Waka Toi/Creative New Zealand, 1996).

Māori Art for Māori readers and Māori artists, while also responding to the public debates. *Mataora* was never described by those involved as a work of Contemporary Māori Art history though came to be regarded as such.

Robert Jahnke was tasked with the responsibility of writing the first history of Contemporary Māori Art from a collective Māori artists' perspective. At this time, Jahnke was actively engaged in research to develop Māori art history papers for the Māori Visual Art programme at Toioho Ki Āpiti at Massey University in Palmerston North and working on a book about the development of Māori sculpture and painting.⁴⁰ This experience led Haerewa to commission his response to the *Korurangi* exhibition, which was completed in October 1995 though not published until October 1996, one month before the launch of *Mataora*. Selected papers from the Toioho Ki Āpiti conference, including his conference paper, *Voices From the Pae*, were also published in the Spring (September-October) 1996 issue of *He Pukenga Kōrero*. This confluence of events in the last months of 1996 marks Jahnke as the leading voice of the Contemporary Māori Artists' response to the public debate.

To gain a collective view of Contemporary Māori Art history—and the definition debate—Jahnke and Susan (Huhana) Smith, the first graduate of the Māori Visual Arts degree programme, conducted primary research with contributing artists. They composed and circulated a questionnaire to the artists, which included quotes from Māori and Pākehā writing on Contemporary Māori Art. The questionnaire asked the artists to respond to these quotes, and this compilation catalogued the specific instances, perspectives and issues that troubled the researchers. In the cover letter to the second circulation of the questionnaire (the first having garnered a poor response), Smith made the following appeal.

[T]he current postulations on Māori art are very much those of the “white conductor” whose baton orchestrates a tune which at times is rather strident

⁴⁰ Te Waka Toi: Council for Māori and South Pacific Arts, *Te Waka Toi: Contemporary Māori Art From New Zealand* (Wellington: Te Waka Toi, Council for Māori and South Pacific Arts, 1992), n.p.

to the Māori ear. It is also an orchestration of rhythm that pulsates and resonates beyond the shores of Aotearoa creating a tune that sounds culturally sensitive but omits a Māori intonation ... It is hoped that the response to this second questionnaire will afford a more positive response so that the myths perpetuated may be rectified rather than reified.⁴¹

This passage contains a number of unexplained references to key issues and emerging trends on Jahnke's radar at the time. 'White conductor' originates from a paper given by Jahnke at a 1994 conference in Australia.⁴² 'Dialogue: Talking Past Each Other' identified differing interpretations and practices of biculturalism as having an enormous impact—positive and negative—on Contemporary Māori Art. Jahnke's paper outlined the key events of the debate, with 'white conductor' summarising his argument about the nature of Pākehā influence on Contemporary Māori Art development.

Jahnke saw state biculturalism and the Treaty settlement processes as empowering Pākehā to move into a post-colonial political position. Criticism of Contemporary Māori Art leadership was evidence of this attitude, and shifted the 'onus' of responsibility for redressing the legacy of colonisation 'from the majority to the minority, from the oppressor to the oppressed.'⁴³ Such arguments downplayed the role of Pākehā in the colonising process, which had produced culturally disenfranchised 'urban Māori', now championed by a Pākehā cultural elite within the New Zealand art system. Despite the partnership principles of biculturalism, Jahnke regarded these tactics as attempts to maintain control over the representation of Māori within the Pākehā cultural space of the New Zealand art system.

Jahnke also addressed the uncomfortable subject of Māori complicity in these processes of Pākehā dominion. The term 'white conductor' was broadly applied to Hubbard's curatorial work on *Choice!*, role in Frizzell's *Tiki* exhibition controversy,

⁴¹ Susan Smith to Brett Graham, "Mataora Questionnaire," n.d. (c. mid-1995), Brett Graham Archive.

⁴² Robert Jahnke, "Dialogue: Talking Past Each Other," in *Culturalism, Multiculturalism, and the Visual Arts*, (Papers Presented at the 1994 Auckland Conference of the Australian Council of University Art and Design Schools), edited by J. Holmes (Hobart: University of Tasmania, 1995): 5-17.

⁴³ Jahnke, "Dialogue," 10.

and in response to Hubbard's appointment as curator of the Auckland City Art Gallery project. Jahnke wrote:

Access to the hegemonic propaganda machine is controlled by the 'white conductor' who cites the 'first amendment' asserting an 'artists' right to choose, to trade in any currency, to challenge and contest cultural values in defence of their own when confronted by accusations of cultural appropriation.

... [H]ubbard has been seconded by the Pākehā curatorial fraternity because they perceive his version of 'cultural hybridisation' as a tool of deconstruction. In deconstructing the tenet of 'Māori art', in making definition problematic, in questioning the legitimacy of definition from the cultural perspective of the minority and in presuming a self other than the other, Hubbard's voice is in tune with the baton of the 'white conductor'. Hubbard does not speak for Māori people he merely speaks about them ... a self-elected representative with a self-constructed vision of biculturalism that has emerged from the contested site of urban depersonalisation.⁴⁴

This damning attack on Hubbard, specifically, was just as relevant to the position of Jacqueline Fraser, Michael Parekowhai and Peter Robinson, whose work had been deployed in service of Pākehā arguments through the debate period. Jahnke coded that phenomenon, without naming individuals, in the cover letter through reference to the exhibition, *Cultural Safety: Contemporary Art From New Zealand*, staged at City Gallery Wellington directly after *Patua*.

The first New Zealand art exhibition to travel to Central Europe, *Cultural Safety* reflected 'major realignments currently occurring in New Zealand art and culture.'⁴⁵ Developed by Pākehā curator, Gregory Burke, and German art historian, Peter Weiermair, the exhibition was first shown at the Frankfurter Kunstverein in Germany (30 March – 14 May 1995), returning to City Gallery Wellington the following year (3

⁴⁴ Jahnke, "Dialogue," 11.

⁴⁵ Gregory Burke, "Cultural Safety," in *Cultural Safety: Contemporary Art From New Zealand* (Wellington, Frankfurt: City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi, Frankfurter Kunstverein, 1995), 17.

April – 22 May 1996). The exhibition title referred to ‘cultural safety’ policies developed for the New Zealand health sector to respect different cultural practices—including Māori—and widely criticised as an example of extreme-political correctness.⁴⁶

Cultural Safety was not, however, an exercise in ‘political correctness.’⁴⁷ On the contrary, the curators cleverly applied the subject of ‘cultural safety’ to critique the propriety and impact of state biculturalism in an increasingly multicultural society. Burke’s catalogue essay argued, in fact, whether biculturalism had even been positive for Māori development.

Crucial to any discussion of national identity is a consideration of the impact of New Zealand’s history as a British dominion on its current official status as a bicultural country. Such constitutional acknowledgement of the indigenous Māori population begs the question: whose culture is represented by the banner of nation? And if the state now promotes bi-culturalism as an equal partnership in nationhood, to what extent does it assume a homogenous Māori culture conceived of in nationalist terms? Does the centralised policy of bi-culturalism in fact camouflage and even inhibit the tribal basis of Māori society? Conversely how does such a policy account for the many ethnic groupings that officially make up the other side of the partnership? Does the bi-cultural construct favour one history of settlement over others and thereby suppress cultural difference?⁴⁸

Cultural Safety addressed these questions by redefining New Zealand’s British Commonwealth identity in a post-colonial multi-cultural context by featuring the work of a younger generation of ‘Māori, European and Asian’ artists.⁴⁹ The Contemporary Māori Artists selected for *Cultural Safety*—Fraser, Parekowhai and Robinson, the favoured Contemporary Māori Artists of an influential cohort of Pākehā curators and

⁴⁶ Burke, “Cultural Safety,” 20.

⁴⁷ Paula Savage, “Preface,” in *Cultural Safety*, 6.

⁴⁸ Burke, “Cultural Safety,” 15.

⁴⁹ Savage, “Preface,” 6.

writers of which Burke was part—were said to have evaded the trap of cultural commodification and exoticisation that had befallen the Contemporary Māori Art movement under biculturalism.⁵⁰ Rather, their work was ‘non-traditional’, familiar with the history of Western art’, and ‘seems to fit easily into an international context.’⁵¹ It was this representation—and definition—of Contemporary Māori Art that Jahnke described in his cover letter as a ‘tune that sounds culturally sensitive but omits a Māori intonation’.⁵²

Despite the veiled references of the cover letter, the *Mataora* questionnaire exposed Contemporary Māori Artists to the full force of the public debate to solicit a direct response. The questionnaire posed a series of questions appended with quotes extracted from the public debate. These quotes are contextualised here as a productive way of cataloguing the debate as it registered in Jahnke’s research. While this approach makes for a discursive account, the purpose is to reveal the way that the debate influenced the production of *Mataora*.

The first question asked the artist to describe what Contemporary Māori Art meant to them, followed by the following extract from Francis Pound’s *Headlands* essay.

Contemporary Māori art has become a hot critical topos, energised by a Māori political resurgence, by what both Māori and Pākehā writers enthusiastically describe as a “Renaissance” of Māori culture, and—less happily—by the increasing attempts by Pākehā Nationalist discourse to “co-opt it to a resurgent nationalism”.⁵³

⁵⁰ Burke, “Cultural Safety,” 19-20.

⁵¹ Burke, “Cultural Safety,” 17.

⁵² Smith to Graham.

⁵³ Pound is quoting a statement made by Wystan Curnow in 1991, where Curnow encouraged Māori to be suspicious of “the kind of abrupt or easy acts of inclusion and affirmative actions as found in the ... current exhibition at the National Art Gallery, *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake* (‘the largest exhibition of contemporary Māori art ever organised’). Suspicious as to what they amount to. Such acts necessarily favour ideologies or transparency and essentialism which deny criticality (by reducing it to ‘content’ and number games) and co-opt it to a resurgent nationalism.” Wystan Curnow, “Interview: Roger Horrocks and Friends Talk with Wystan Curnow”, *Landfall* 177, vol. 45, no. 1 (March 1991), 15, quoted in Francis Pound, “The Words and the Art: New Zealand Art Criticism, c. 1950-c.1990,” in *Headlands*, 198. Curnow is quoting the advertising by-line for *Taikaka*, which also featured in the catalogue, though this was not published until late 1991, after this article was released.

What is it? How is contemporary Māori art to be defined in relation to traditional Māori art? How may tradition be spoken in contemporary terms? How to define it in relation to European modernist and post-modernist art? Need there be any such relation? How to deal with the exclusion of Māori art from most New Zealand art history?⁵⁴

A collage of quotes complemented Pound's extract. The compilation represented the nature of questions raised about Contemporary Māori Art, the imposition of Pākehā views on Contemporary Māori Art practice, and some Māori responses. These are reproduced here as they appeared in the questionnaire.

They say it's a good time to be a Māori artist in New Zealand. With biculturalism on the Pākehā('s) front burner, contemporary Māori art is extremely fashionable and eminently bankable—a "guilt edged" investment. Public galleries are bending over backwards to compensate for their previous lack of interest: acquiring work, staging exhibitions, publishing worthy texts (Robert Leonard, 1996).⁵⁵

This neo-classicism ... with regard to the contentions of modernism that forms are universal and that all cultural material should be open to appropriation ... its not the form that's being threatened but the values that underpin it—the very heart of a colonized culture ... Modernist practices of formal appropriation deny Māori control and power over their own resources (Rangihiroa Panoho 1996).⁵⁶

[A]ll the work [Frizzell's Tiki paintings] is hacked out from the suppurating wounds of our pain as people, and we don't need that now... ' (Ngahuia te Awekotuku 1992).⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Pound, "The Words," 198.

⁵⁵ Robert Leonard, "3.125% Pure: Peter Robinson Plays the Numbers Game," *Art and Text* 50 (1996), <https://robertleonard.org/3-125-pure-peter-robinson-plays-the-numbers-game/>, accessed 28 September 2019.

⁵⁶ Panoho, "A Search for Authenticity," 24.

⁵⁷ Ngahuia te Awekotuku quoted in Peter Shand, "Tiki'd Off," *Stamp*, December 1992–January 1993: n.p.

[A]n artist's right to choose, to trade in any currency, to challenge and contest cultural values (Leonard and McCormack 1993).⁵⁸

Pākehā artists such as Walters and McCahon have been alternatively vilified and celebrated for their use of Māori imagery. Some understand their borrowings as homage, some condemn them as theft. Arguing that Pākehā should not use these images both because they are ignorant of their meaning and because they are not related to them through whakapapa (genealogy), the prosecution conflates race and culture... (Leonard 1996).⁵⁹

In the following section, Jahnke and Smith identified the nature of the Pākehā backlash to Māori objections to the appropriation of their cultural heritage. This involved counter-accusations of essentialism, racism and discrimination toward other Māori, quoting a recent article by Robert Leonard at length.

[A] prevailing notion of “authenticity” in contemporary Māori art. Māori culture is typically presented as distinct, noble, sincere (no irony), spiritual, ecologically sound—a living tradition conflating the authentic with the well-appointed. While appearing PC, this misty eyed essentialism masks economic and cultural disenfranchisement. It runs the risk of mocking and enhancing the sense of emptiness and displacement that many Māori feel, as if they are not real because they do not walk the walk and talk the talk.⁶⁰

Jahnke and Smith then tested the veracity of Leonard's claims on those involved.

Leonard accuses contemporary Māori art practices as a nostalgic fetishisation of “roots”. A movement that enforces traditional ideology on its disciples. The implication that those “Māori” artists who do not walk the walk and talk the talk create work that appears heretical as contemporary Māori art.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Robert Leonard with John McCormack, “Dick Frizzell: Beyond the Pale,” *Art Asia Pacific* no. 2 (1993), <http://robertleonard.org.nz/dick-frizzell-beyond-the-pale/>, accessed 28 September 2019.

⁵⁹ Leonard “3.125% Pure.”

⁶⁰ Leonard, “3.125% Pure.”

⁶¹ Leonard, “3.125% Pure.”

RESPONSE: F

You are asked to:

Comment on Leonard's view of contemporary Māori art as essentialist

Do you feel pressured towards creating a particular form of Maori art?

Discuss your position as an artist—Do you prefer to be classified as an artist or Māori artist?

The questionnaire raised several other points and made clear that Jahnke had carefully followed the debate. The compilation of provocations also provides a useful profile of that period, with the dates of publication clustered between 1991-1996, and convey the aggressive and escalating nature of the public debate with the interchangeable terms of 'Māori Art' and 'Contemporary Māori Art' producing unstable and volatile terms of engagement. The compilations also revealed the rich and nuanced nature of the responses and the pervasive influence of the debate on New Zealand art discourse.

Contemporary Taonga

Jahnke's research informed the *Mataora* essays, which addressed several issues raised by the debate, though this was not the defining subject of the book. Rather, *Mataora* conveyed a unified front by Contemporary Māori Artists connected to the past through their engagement with taonga tuku iho. This point was established by the commissioned writing along with the whaikōrero co-authored by the editors along with Timoti Kāretu and Derek Lardelli, and introduced Jahnke's essays within the book.

The whaikōrero and chapter essays enveloped the Contemporary Māori art movement under the mantle of Mataora. Mataora is credited with retrieving the art of moko from Rarohenga from the immortal world and his wife, Niwareka, also brought back the arts of raranga and whatu. The Mataora narrative is the subject of the wero composed by Derek Lardelli. This text (presented bi-lingually across two pages)

described the moment when the blade of Uetonga, tohunga ta moko and father of Niwareka, pierced the skin of Mataora. In the closing stanza, Lardelli relayed this moment to the ancestral responsibilities involved in the continuity of taonga tuku iho, adding another principle to the practice of contemporary taonga.

Ko wai nā he Matatauirā mō te tipua-tahito?

Who dares now to become a pupil of the ancient one?

Kia hiwa! Maranga ma rā!

Be alert, arise!

E huri tō mata ki te Awe-Kāpara, e tū nei!

Turn and face the tattooed face standing here

Ko Mataora! Ko Mataora!

*It is the Living Face! It is the Living Face!*⁶²

The whaikōrero positioned the Mataora narrative as five generations removed from the separation of the primordial parents, Ranginui and Papatuanuku, and added to the kōrero of Ruatēpupuke given by Mead, which is specific to carving. The authors also situated the present in relation to the ancestral migration from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. This kōrero stressed the intrepid and innovative character of Māori ancestors, and the transmission of ancestral knowledge, which continues to be exhibited in the work of contemporary Māori artists today.

For over a thousand years Māori men and women have lived on these islands ... The culture our ancestors brought with them was a taonga, treasure. It was a taonga that they have handed on to us. It has sustained us. It is a taonga that we in turn add to and then hand on. Our culture, our taonga, it does not end with us. It goes on, on into the future. It is “he taonga tuku iho.”⁶³

The authors then related the ancestral concepts of taonga to the work of artists profiled in the book.

⁶² Derek Lardelli, “Wero,” in Adsett and Whiting, *Mataora*, 6-7.

⁶³ Sandy Adsett, Timoti Karetu, Derek Lardelli and Cliff Whiting, “Whaikōrero,” in Adsett and Whiting, *Mataora*, 14.

The taonga that we talk and sing of is a gift from the Gods ... Our ancestors in faraway Hawaiki lived, dreamed, spoke and died, generation after generation but always they passed that taonga on. Succoured by the gods they believed in, they came to Aotearoa. That taonga was re-formed here ... The symbols for this great knowledge were placed in karakia, waiata, karanga, moko, whakairo, raranga, haka and kōrero.

Upon all this, physical and inspirational, our art is laid.

This is our kaupapa. Our purpose. All things that have come down to us are the treasures of our ancestors. These treasures are also our taonga to the future generations ... that will surely come after us.

He taonga tuku iho.⁶⁴

The following chapter essays located the origins of Contemporary Māori Art in the post-European contact period. Beginning with the arrival of the Dutch ship, Heemskerck, in 1642, the first essay summarised European contact and settlement as having a devastating effect on Maori with the colonial process causing near extinction. While Māori survived one casualty of this process was 'Māori art', which was said to have died though reborn through the work of Contemporary Māori Artists.

It has been like pulling up from the swamp the tūpāpaku (corpse) of Māori art. As it has broken through the surface the water has streamed away from that face.

And the runnelling of the water flows along the deep incised lines of the moko, brought up from the Underworld. The lines are deep. They will not wash away.

⁶⁴ Adsett, Karetū, Lardelli and Whiting, "Whaikōrero," 14-15.

They remain unchanged as the mana, too, remains. We see again the work of Mataora.⁶⁵

The claim that Māori art had died revived the arguments of Contemporary Māori Artists in the 1960s. Some of those involved in the production of the book regard this statement as a mistake, a literary flourish classic of Ihimaera's writing style, introduced in the editing process and not tested among the broader group.⁶⁶ The claim that Māori art died is contradicted elsewhere in the book, for example, the history of whakairo rakau outlined in the same chapter.⁶⁷

The history of Contemporary Māori Art conformed to well-established versions. The chronology of event offered many insights that undermined arguments and stereotypes of Contemporary Māori Art. For instance, the first generation of Māori artists to undertake formal art education are credited as developing Contemporary Māori Art. While they initially pursued their own course, and met resistance, their innovations primed and inspired new directions in the customary arts.⁶⁸ The emergence of national Māori artists collectives from the 1970s brought different modes of contemporary Māori art practice together, and their collective energy fuelled the 'Māori Renaissance' from the 1970s. Within this view, the 'Renaissance' was characterised by a liberal attitude to contemporary Māori art development. The establishment of a Māori arts infrastructure also underpinned the 'Māori Renaissance'. Particular emphasis was given to the development of tertiary-level Māori art education programmes and overlooked the proliferation of exhibitions during this time.⁶⁹ This account suggests that collectivist organisation was more important to the trajectory of contemporary Māori art—and worth promoting to interested Māori readers, artists and students—than the bookmarks of public exhibitions, which had become critical sites of the public debate.

⁶⁵ Robert Jahnke and Witi Ihimaera, "Mataora. The Living Face," in Adsett and Whiting, *Mataora*, 17.

⁶⁶ Garry Nicholas, conversation with author, Wellington, 1 April 2018, and Robert Jahnke, conversation with author, Palmerston North, 17 August 2018.

⁶⁷ Robert Jahnke and Witi Ihimaera, "Te Tirohanga Hou: A New Vision," in Adsett and Whiting, *Mataora*, 30.

⁶⁸ Jahnke and Ihimaera, "He Tirohanga Hou: A New Vision," *Mataora*, 30.

⁶⁹ Jahnke and Ihimaera, "He Tirohanga Hou: A New Vision," *Mataora*, 33-35.

International development was emerging as a new site of contestation. The rising trend of contemporary New Zealand art exhibitions developed for 'international' contexts (Europe and Australia), positioned Contemporary Māori Art as a minority partner within a bicultural national discourse. These formations did not reflect the ambitions demonstrated by the Contemporary Māori Art movement, and those exhibitions had arguably made a greater impact when shown in New Zealand as a statement of continuing Pākehā dominance.⁷⁰

The artists most favoured by Pākehā curators and writers were profiled in *Mataora* and addressed last in the chapter essays. Jahnke wrote favourably (and sympathetically) about their work, reserving his criticism for the Pākehā korero attached to their work. He stated that Māori and Pākehā had expressed interest in Michael Parekowhai's work though the voice of 'white write' curators and writers had captured, dominated and troubled these art works in service of their objectives.⁷¹ Jahnke addressed Peter Robinson's work in similar terms. Robinson's 'Percentage' series certainly were contentious though the artist had described these as a reflection of his discomfort when asked to qualify his Māori identity as a blood quantum.⁷² Rather than threatening the power structure of Contemporary Māori Art, Parekowhai and Robinson's work was characteristic of the challenging history of Contemporary Māori Art practice.

The subject of Brett Graham's practice was handled separately to that of his Young Gun peers. Discussion of his work featured in a different chapter to that of his 'Young Gun' colleagues. "He Tirohanga Ki Muri: Looking Backwards to the Future" profiled a

⁷⁰ These included *Distance Looks Our Way: 10 New Zealand Artists* for the Seville Expo, 1992, *Headlands: Thinking Through New Zealand Art* at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney, 1993, *Cultural Safety: Contemporary Art from New Zealand* at the Frankfurter Kunstverein, 1995, and *Under Capricorn: Art in the Age of Globalisation*, 1996, Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam. *Under Capricorn* entertained the conceit that Aotearoa was colonised by the Dutch and included a single Māori artist, Michael Parekowhai (Rongowhakaata), to represent the brief and murderous engagement between the tangata whenua of Mōhua (Golden Bay) and the Heemskerck crew in 1642. See Wytan Curnow, "The World Over," in *The World Over: Under Capricorn. Art in the Age of Globalisation*, edited by Wytan Curnow and Dorine Mignot (City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi, Stedelijk Museum: Wellington, Amsterdam, 1996), 16.

⁷¹ Robert Jahnke and Witi Ihimaera, "Te Reo: The Language," in Adsett and Whiting, *Mataora*, 91. Michael Parekowhai's work featured in *Whatu Aho Rua* (1989) and *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake* (1990).

⁷² Jahnke and Ihimaera, "Te Reo: The Language," 91.

‘new generation’ who upheld the ‘sovereign journey’ of Contemporary Māori Art.⁷³ Jahnke described Graham’s work as having a ‘strong’ voice [with] a Māori intonation’ and included extended quotes from the artist.⁷⁴

While his work has universal appeal, it has a Māori intonation. His voice comes from his Tainui ancestry and through his sculptures, he acknowledges his elders, including his father Fred Graham and his father’s colleagues.

Brett Graham says, “I have heard people say that Māori should be more like Japanese: innovative, hardworking, but also able to adopt the best from Western culture while holding fast to their own traditions. This is a noble thought, but when an artist creates in Japan he or she does so for a Japanese audience. This gallery owner, the clientele, everyone is Japanese. If the artist wishes to refer to a fourth-century wood block artist and obscure dictum, all will understand. This is not true of the Māori artist working in the gallery context. We are constantly forced into the role of educator as well as commentator to the dominant culture ignorant of Rangī and Papa, let alone the esoteric lore of the whare wānanga.

The Tainui people are a young and vigorous population. Brett Graham’s work can be said to comprise a visual *whaikōrero*, oratory, of his own commitment to Tainui, the realisation of Tainui’s urbanised youth that tribal ancestry, *tikanga* and *matauranga* must be maintained. His work utilises images of freedom and nature—bird, tree and canoe—to give meaning to his texts of how colonisation threatens not just Māori but indigenous peoples throughout the world. However, as he says, ‘The gap between what is acceptable to people on the marae and what is deemed tasteful to the art establishment is becoming wider. This is largely because Māori artists are creating for another audience and being promoted by voices outside the culture.’⁷⁵

⁷³ Jahnke and Ihimaera, “He Tirohanga Ki Muri,” 56.

⁷⁴ Jahnke and Ihimaera, “He Tirohanga Ki Muri,” 57.

⁷⁵ Jahnke and Ihimaera, “He Tirohanga Ki Muri,” 57-58.

Here, again, Graham was distinguished from his 'Young Gun' contemporaries while being held up as an exemplary model of Contemporary Māori Art practice, and in his artist portrait, Brett Graham was depicted carving the exterior surface of *Kahukura* in the Waiuku fishing shed in September 1995.

Jahnke and Ihimaera's chapter essays concluded by defining the work of the featured artists as continuous with the lineage of taonga tuku iho. Using the metaphor of weaving, Jahnke recognised that whakapapa binds the artists to the kaupapa (main body) of taonga. He identified several challenges facing Contemporary Māori Artists in practising taonga. The first is the important role of Māori communities in nurturing their artists and performing their work as taonga.

If the community is weak, so will be the artist. If it is strong, it will give strength to the artist. For those, particularly, who will work at the centre of our culture—the marae and its art—there will be a need for strength in that community. That is the communities responsibility. It is not the artists.⁷⁶

Jahnke acknowledged that the artists profiled in *Mataora* have different relationships to their communities and the inheritance of taonga. Returning to the concept of the pae elaborated in his 1996 essay, "Voices Beyond the Pae", Jahnke positioned the contemporary Māori art collective as a community tasked with the retention of taonga Māori, from which some Contemporary Māori Artist individuals were alienated, though issued the invitation for them to accept the responsibilities of taonga tuku iho and become part of the group.

The artists in *Mataora* are in transition across the pae. Some, particularly the women in their ranks, have moved beyond the threshold to generate work that is greatly enriched in both theory and practice; working with the taonga of both sides, some now freely move back and forward from one side to another ...

⁷⁶ Robert Jahnke and Witi Ihimaera, "He Whakaaro: Conclusion," in Adsett and Whiting, *Mataora*, 157.

This is the great gift of the pae. It is the freedom that comes from decolonisation of the mind and the discovery that there is a future, a fabulous art form that can take its primary direction from our past ...

It comes from those times when Ranginui was separated from Papatuanuku. In those days there were people who craved for the knowledge of ta moko, of carving, of weaving, of the magnificent arts of the Gods.

Some like Mataora, travelled to the Underworld and discovered it. Others travelled to the topmost Heavens. Some found it in the space between. It is a taonga tuku iho. It comes from our ancestors. The treasure of Māori art.⁷⁷

The concluding section of *Mataora* restated the definition of Contemporary Māori Art as taonga and identified principles of taonga beyond whakapapa. The artist must recognise their whakapapa and self-identify as Māori, and their work gains strength as Māori art through efforts to engage with their whakapapa and taonga tuku iho. Secondly, Māori communities are equally responsible for the development of Contemporary Māori Art as taonga and relies on the transaction of knowledge via the art work. Lastly, Contemporary Māori Art reflects the knowledge held by their community, and taonga requires all parties to support, maintain and transmit this knowledge, which involves an active process of decolonisation.

The Backlash

Mataora was launched at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa on 1 December 1996. The book won the illustrated non-fiction category in the national book awards with the prize money distributed among the profiled artists.⁷⁸ Just as Ihimaera predicted, the reviews were not as positive with Pākehā reviewers taking issue with many aspects of the book, the history and definition of Contemporary

⁷⁷ Jahnke and Ihimaera, "He Whakaaro: Conclusion," 157.

⁷⁸ Garry Nicholas, conversation with author, Wellington, 1 April 2019.

Māori Art, the style and content of the writing, and the selection (and omission) of artists.

Advertising material described *Mataora* as a ‘celebration’ of Contemporary Māori Art.⁷⁹ Pat Baskett agreed that ‘celebratory’ accurately summarised the exuberant impression left by the publication.⁸⁰ Others requoted the verb in an ironic way intended to denigrate the scholarship of the book, which some reviewers criticised as falling short of academic standards. Pākehā writer, Justin Paton, wrote a scathing review for *The New Zealand Listener* (at that time, one of the most widely circulated serials in the country) as ‘a confused casserole of the anecdotal, mythic, critical, celebratory and historical.’⁸¹ Jenny Harper (then Head of Art History at Victoria University of Wellington) reviewed *Mataora* for the *Wellington Evening Post*, with the derisory title “Picture Book Version of Modern Māori Art.” She wrote:

The art is not well served by the writing; it’s not even obvious who wrote it. In small print in the acknowledgements section, artist Robert Jahnke is thanked for his “academic essay” ... and Witi Ihimaera for editing and shaping it. Was Jahnke unwilling to own it after editing? Certainly the text is too simplistic and polemical to be termed academic.⁸²

Harper challenged Te Waka Toi as a publicly-funded government organisation, to raise their standards.

[A] marketing tool with a fair smattering of self interest ... a picture book for prospective buyers and tourists who want a quick fix: colourful but ultimately limited. Yes, Māori art is evolving; but it will be better served when public funding encourages mātauranga (scholarship) among writers which critically assesses it as it emerges.”⁸³

⁷⁹ Creative New Zealand Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, “Mataora: The Living Face,” *Mana: The Māori News Magazine for All New Zealanders* 15, Autumn 1997, 16.

⁸⁰ Pat Baskett, “Art Goes Beyond the Marae,” *New Zealand Herald*, 7 December 1996, G8.

⁸¹ Justin Paton, “Wide Blue Yonder,” *The New Zealand Listener* vol. 157, no. 2963, February 15, 1997, 44.

⁸² Jenny Harper, “Picture Book Version of Modern Māori Art,” *The Evening Post*, Friday 27 December 1996, 5.

⁸³ Harper, “Picture Book,” 5.

Even James Mack, a Pākehā Art Specialist who trained and worked alongside the Māori Art Teachers and otherwise known and respected for the sympathy, support and understanding that he demonstrated about Māori art, described the essays as ‘sometimes ponderous and convoluted’.⁸⁴

Mataora was never declared as a history of Māori art or specifically engaged in the practice of Māori art history. As the most significant resource on Contemporary Māori Art, reviewers appraised the book as such, the enormity of which was recognised by James Mack, who quoted the following passage from the first chapter of *Mataora*, in his review.

To achieve ascendancy Māori artists have had to break the mould of that other false face of Māori art imposed by and established by the pākehā in place of the true face. They had to battle and dismantle the entire pākehā construction of Māori art and culture, that false face which has always insisted that it knows better than Māori what Māori art is and how it should be portrayed.⁸⁵

Paton felt, however, that the book had failed at this task:

It is axiomatic that, in New Zealand right now, a survey of contemporary Māori art is the most urgently needed book—and the hardest to get right ... For a perfect image of how not to do it, consult the deeply flawed *Mataora*. How deeply? Let’s count the ways.⁸⁶

Paton felt the book did not address the most pressing issues of Contemporary Māori Art discourse. He listed ‘the renaissance of Māori art in recent decades, the ground-shifting recent arguments about its definition (what is it? Where is it?), and the barbed and often ironic work of a new, scene-stealing generation’; comments that

⁸⁴ James Mack, “Mataora: The Living Face,” *Landfall: A New Zealand Journal*, no. 194, Spring 1997, 374.

⁸⁵ Jahnke and Ihimaera, “Mataora: The Living Face,” 17.

⁸⁶ Paton, “Wide Blue Yonder,” 44.

not only overlooked (or misread) the chronology of the Māori Renaissance charted in chapters one and two, and failed to process the implications of the said artists represented within the profiles of the book.

Paton reserved his sharpest criticism for the uncharitable attitudes expressed about Pākehā influence on Contemporary Māori Art. He asserted that the very best Contemporary Māori Art (identifying Hotere as the prime example) synthesised Māori and European traditions, whereas *Mataora* presented a ‘blinkered, prescriptive’ view.⁸⁷ He claimed that the book aimed ‘to liberate Māori art from one of its ghettos, but they have delivered it into another’, with the lack of credit paid to Western art and cultural influence described as the greatest weakness of the book.⁸⁸

The unified front presented by Contemporary Māori Artists did not persuade reviewers. Harper thought that the ‘tension between traditional and contemporary practice’ was unaddressed. Paton only saw ‘gaps’ between ‘tradition and innovation ... gallery and marae ... the customary and contemporary’. Mack found himself looking ‘deeply into my Pākehā reviewer’s soul to make sure that I don’t have “that false face which has always insisted that it knows better than Māori what Māori art is and how it should be portrayed”’, yet describes the book as ‘seated—though it postures differently—in the Pākehā western tradition of what makes art and what makes art books’ because of the omission of ‘craft’-based practices—adornment in bone and stone and weaving in traditional styles.⁸⁹ Only Swain’s interview with Whiting identified that any perceived tension between modes of Māori art practice originated from the legacy of Pākehā collecting, presentation and writing about Māori art.

Augustus Hamilton’s *Māori Art*, published 100 years ago “froze” Māori art and perceptions about it by selecting certain symmetrical red, black and white *kowhaiwhai* patterns. Regional differences were swallowed up till

⁸⁷ Paton, “Wide Blue Yonder,” 44.

⁸⁸ Paton, “Wide Blue Yonder,” 44.

⁸⁹ Jahnke and Ihimaera, “Mataora: The Living Face,” 17, quoted in Mack, “Mataora,” 375.

artists/teachers such as Whiting and Adsett came on the scene to resuscitate Māori art.

The selection (and absence) of artists also caught their attention. Mack questioned the omission of women weavers working in customary styles, citing Emily Schuster, Diggeress Te Kanawa and Erenora Puketapu-Hetet (who had all featured in *Patua*). Similarly, Harper and Paton described the book as weakened by the omission of Hotere, Matchitt and Muru. Writing for *The Dominion*, Pauline Swain raised this omission with Cliff Whiting who baldly stated ‘They’re not there because they didn’t want to be there’.⁹⁰ On seeing *Rukutia! Rukutia: An Exhibition of Southern Māori Art* (21 July-8 August 1999), Donald Couch reflected back on *Mataora* to lament the lack of Te Wai Pounamu artists profiled.⁹¹

Despite the opinions of reviewers, *Mataora* represented a determined effort to reveal the hegemony of the debate surrounding Contemporary Māori Art in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The authors chose to present a collective Māori artists view (and voice) of Contemporary Māori Art and prioritised a Māori readership.

[Whiting] says the editors are happy with the book but insists it only makes a start in developing a Māori approach to art writing. “We had to do it to find out how to go about it. Other books can carry on the discussion.”⁹²

Their strategy displaced Pākehā concepts of Māori art and largely refused to perpetuate the issues and questions that had erupted into public debate.

As the questionnaire makes clear, Jahnke was an informed writer though his research was entirely unreferenced – a task that this writing has addressed—leading Paton to assess his work as ‘anecdotal’.⁹³ By refusing to provide an index of the debate, *Mataora* did not comply with Western standards of academic debate and

⁹⁰ Cliff Whiting quoted in Pauline Swain, “Māori Art Revolution,” *The Dominion*, 4 January 1997, 13.

⁹¹ Donald Couch, “Review of Mataora: The Living Face,” *Karaka*, Summer 1999, 28.

⁹² Whiting quoted in Swain, “Māori Art Revolution,” 13.

⁹³ Paton, “Blue Yonder,” 44.

reviewers wrote off the book for not meeting their needs at the time. Nor did anyone recognise or attend to the bold definition of Contemporary Māori Art as taonga.

The Crisis

The decisive response to *Mataora* came four months after publication. In the March 1997 issue of the *Journal of Polynesian Society*, Māori anthropologist, Paul Tapsell, published a thorough examination and definition of taonga.⁹⁴ Through the investigation of specific case studies, Tapsell's paper provided a comprehensive definition of taonga that excluded the terms of Contemporary Māori Art practice. Tapsell's analysis aligned with the qualities outlined in Mead's *Te Māori* essay though expanded on these principles and gave greater emphasis to the function of ancestral taonga in contemporary Māori society. Both definitions were specific to ancestral taonga, which involve intergenerational passages of time and physical proximity to ancestors, and involves the careful work of successive tohunga to preserve and correctly transmit this knowledge according to tikanga Māori. The performance of taonga in what Tapsell describes as 'life crises events' involves a nexus of contributors to recognise, translate and harness the power of that taonga according to the present need.⁹⁵ Tapsell's analysis defined taonga as part of a reflexive knowledge system in which the tangible object is a conduit to a vast and expansive oral archive.

There are many similarities and important differences between the 'traditional' definition of taonga given by Mead and Tapsell, and the concept of Contemporary Māori Art articulated in *Mataora*. The authors of *Mataora* identified the principles of whakapapa, kōrero, tikanga and whanaungatanga (community connectedness) as present in the work of Contemporary Māori Artists. In his 1996 paper, however, Mead argued that Contemporary Māori Art did not exhibit the requisite knowledge of

⁹⁴ Paul Tapsell, "The Flight of Parerātutu: An Investigation of Taonga From a Tribal Perspective," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 106, no. 4 (1997): 323-374. This paper drew on Tapsell doctoral research, "Taonga: A Tribal Response to Museums," (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1998). See also, Paul Tapsell, *Pukaki: A Comet Returns* (Auckland: Reed, 2000).

⁹⁵ Tapsell, "Parerātutu," 336-339.

taonga Māori.⁹⁶ Similarly, Mead and Jahnke acknowledged that many Contemporary Māori Artists did not observe and practice the concepts of taonga, recognise the importance of whanaungatanga or prioritise engagement with Māori communities in ancestral knowledge transfer. Tapsell's definition was conclusive, however, for stressing the importance of time and ancestral power to establish taonga as a portal to the immortal world, as beyond the practice of Contemporary Māori Art.

The impact of Tapsell's definition didn't register in Contemporary Māori Art discourse at the time. In subsequent years Tapsell's definition became the seminal resource on this subject and the basis of further studies that have similarly located the production of taonga in the past.⁹⁷ The term 'taonga' is now highly-regulated and applied specifically to historic Māori art and ancestral Māori knowledge. Since the publication of *Mataora*, Contemporary Māori Art has not been described or discussed as taonga again.

'Toi' has become the Māori language term associated with Contemporary Māori Art, and the Māori language translation for 'art'. The relationship of 'toi' to 'taonga' has not been a subject of investigation, and these terms have since been institutionalised within art galleries and museums, respectively, and the title of another 'multicultural' exhibition of contemporary New Zealand staged in Germany and Auckland; *Toi Toi Toi: Three Generations of Artists from New Zealand* in 1999.⁹⁸ The momentum of the Contemporary Māori Art movement has continued through the work of Te Waka Toi and Toi Māori Aotearoa and 'toi' is the primary term employed in the work of Māori art historians to establish continuum theories of Māori art.

⁹⁶ Mead, "Māori Art Re-Examined," 3-4.

⁹⁷ See Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2007), and Arapata Hakiwai, "He Mana Taonga, He Mana Tangata: Māori Taonga and the Politics of Māori Tribal Identity and Development" (PhD diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 2014). More recently Tapsell's 1998 definition has been acknowledged as informing the work of Contemporary Māori Artists. See Matariki Williams and Pip Howells, "Mahi Tahī: Te Whare Pora and the Space of Collaboration," <http://enjoy.org.nz/publishing/exhibition-essays/mahi-tahi-te-whare-pora-and-the-space-of-collabora/mahi-tahi-te-whare-pora-and-the-space-of-collabora>, accessed 17 November 2019.

⁹⁸ *Toi Toi Toi: Three Generations of Artists from New Zealand* was presented at the Museum Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany (23 January – 5 April 1999) and Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki (22 May – 4 July 1999), and included the work of four Contemporary Māori Artists, Ralph Hotere, Jacqueline Fraser, Lisa Reihana and Peter Robinson.

The publication of *Mataora* and Tapsell's definition marked the end of the public debate and internal crisis of Contemporary Māori Art. However, these events alone did not end this crisis. In the period after 1996 the focus for contemporary Māori and Pākehā art shifted from a national to international context.⁹⁹ The establishment of the whakapapa definition alleviated tensions about the propriety of Contemporary Māori Art and produced a proliferation of practices. The emergence of Māori curatorial practice produced a more comfortable relationship between Māori and art galleries in New Zealand, and the emergence of Māori Art history emphasised relationships between taonga and Contemporary Māori Art based on the continuity of toi. All of these initiatives evolved as responses to the debate and crisis period and produced stable conditions for Contemporary Māori Art practice in the twenty-first century. This stability, however, came at the expense for pleas to maintain the definition of Māori art as taonga with firm distinctions now made between taonga and Contemporary Māori Art.

Kahukura

Kahukura was part of an offensive lead by Contemporary Māori Art leaders in response to the debate period. This offensive presented, performed and defined Contemporary Māori Art as taonga. Within this context *Kahukura* was held as an exemplar of Contemporary Māori Art practice and played a crucial role in constituting this argument. This claim was, however, made on behalf of all Contemporary Māori Artists and not made again after the publication of *Mataora*.

Kahukura played a significant role within the marae-based concept of *Patua*. The kōrero of the art work was recognised and extended, and Graham's position within the exhibition identified him as an emerging Contemporary Māori art leader recognised among that group. *Patua* also presented the social and cultural conditions for Graham's work to be performed as taonga and conduit to the ancestral

⁹⁹ See Darcy Nicholas, "Breath of the Land," in *Manawa: Pacific Heartbeat*, edited by Nigel Reading and Garry Wyatt (Vancouver: Spirit Wrestler Gallery, 2006): 6-25, and Alan Smith, "Mobility and Migration," in *Art Toi: New Zealand Art at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki*, edited by Ron Brownson (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2011): 339-346.

world. For these reasons, Graham's work comfortably conformed with the definition of Māori art as taonga given by Mead at the 1996 Toioho ki Āpiti conference.

The *Mataora* publication worked in concert with the *Patua* exhibition to define Contemporary Māori Art as taonga. *Kahukura* featured in this publication and special attention was again given to Graham by his elders, which further distinguished him from his 'Young Gun' contemporaries. The essays also drew heavily on Graham's commentary, which made important points about the challenges faced by Contemporary Māori Artists. Overall, Graham represented a stable, recognised and assured perspective as a Contemporary Māori Artist engaged with taonga tuku iho.

Kahukura also played a particular role in the public debate about Contemporary Māori Art. Graham's work did not serve Pākehā arguments for Contemporary Māori Art. Graham's practice also countermanded the categories drawn around 'new generation' Contemporary Māori Artists. Unlike his 'Young Gun' peer group, Graham's work was not subject of articles and nationalist exhibition projects at home or abroad. His omission from those projects, while otherwise operating at the forefront of contemporary art in New Zealand, demonstrates the ideological terms of Pākehā engagement with Contemporary Māori Art.

Graham was also at the forefront of Contemporary Māori Art development abroad. The next chapter follows the travels of *Kahukura*, and document the shift from a national to international focus for New Zealand art development. *Kahukura* featured in significant new projects developed within the Pacific that responded to decolonising political processes. Hypothetically, these projects offered promising and liberating conditions for Graham's practice as taonga. In reality, *Kahukura* played a prominent and influential role in both contexts as a leading example of contemporary indigenous art rather than taonga Māori.

3. Ngā Kakano: Kahukura and the Pacific

During the crucial period of publishing in New Zealand in the second half of 1996, *Kahukura* was on display at the *Second Asia Pacific Triennial (APT2)*, 27 September 1996-19 January 1997). This three-yearly event articulated a shift in Australia's political, economic and cultural consciousness and brokered stronger relationships with Pacific and Asian nations. The series became a regional gateway to the global phenomena of Biennial and Triennial art projects, with Contemporary Māori Art at the forefront of New Zealand's representation at these events.

The travels of *Kahukura* to the *APT2*, and later, the opening of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, Nouméa in 1998, introduces the importance and impact of international practice on Contemporary Māori and New Zealand art from this period on. New global horizons decompressed the hothouse of bicultural nationalism, and the active front between the Contemporary Māori art movement and the New Zealand art system was dismantled. Leaving behind unresolved issues and uneasy relationships at home, artists began to actively practice around the world with the global art scene becoming the new arbitration ground for contemporary art at home.

The emergence of a global 'biennale' complex has been credited with major shifts in contemporary art discourse.

As biennales have for decades attested, art now comes *from* the whole world, from a growing accumulation of art-producing localities that no longer depend on the approval of a metropolitan centre and art, to an unprecedented degree, connected to each other in a multiplicity of ways, not least regionally and globally.¹

¹ Terry Smith, "Currents of World-Making in Contemporary Art," *World Art* vol. 1, no. 2 (2011), 171, <https://doi-org.helicon.vuw.ac.nz/10.1080/21500894.2011.602712>, accessed 6 January 2020.

The position of Contemporary Māori Artists within this complex became a new site of contestation. International policy and investment by Creative New Zealand, Te Waka Toi and Toi Māori Aotearoa located Contemporary Māori Artists at a cross-road of pathways and networks. Creative New Zealand focussed their policies on the established cultural routes to Europe, North America and Australia, whereas Te Waka Toi and Toi Māori looked to the Pacific and Pacific Rim—namely, the North West Coast of America. The routes taken by Contemporary Māori Artist individuals became a new way to express their kaupapa as Māori artists with each pathway offering different contexts to renegotiate the key issues of their practice.

The development of institutional contexts sympathetic to contemporary indigenous art took time to develop, however, with Contemporary Māori Artists initially meeting similar issues at home. Debates about the definition and development of Contemporary Māori Art were introduced to these contexts though did not gain the same traction. Instead, older issues arose, such as the compatibility of indigenous art and cultural traditions within global contemporary art practice, but those questions were no longer specific to Māori. They broadly applied to indigenous and non-Western cultures, and Māori writers and artists provided well-practised and effective responses, which further distinguished Contemporary Māori Art in these forums.

New global pathways presented Māori writers and curators, in collaboration with indigenous colleagues, different platforms to broadcast similar messages to that in the national debate, but unlike the New Zealand context, received a fairer and more effective hearing. Their contribution was significant with Contemporary Māori Artists coming to represent a strong and powerful position within the emerging conception of Contemporary Pacific Art, and later, the international indigenous art network (a subject of chapter five), bolstering the view, widely shared among many Māori since the experience of *Te Māori*, that Māori Art received a better reception outside New Zealand.²

² This view was frequently made by multiple contributors to this research. The title of Hirini Moko Mead's anthology of writings is evidence of this view, *Māori Art on the World Scene* (Wellington: Ahua Design and Illustration Ltd and Matau Associates Ltd, 1997), and these compiled essays not only account for, and explain, the success of *Te Māori* in North America, but also stressed the importance of Māori forging networks, and creating alliances with other indigenous peoples against the new challenges of globalisation. See Mead, "The

The travels of *Kahukura* to Brisbane and New Caledonia positioned this art work at the forefront of these developments. Within these contexts, the *kōrero* of *Kahukura* was respected and advanced, with the art work consistently described according to the concepts of *taonga*, though not identified as such. *Kahukura* became an exemplar and ambassador of Contemporary Pacific Art and testament to the leadership shown by Māori artists in maintaining and advancing their art traditions across generations. Despite these gains, international development presented new challenges to the practice of contemporary *taonga* and further distanced Contemporary Māori Art from Māori communities.

The Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art

The Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art (APT) is a flagship project of the Queensland Art Gallery in Brisbane, Australia, reflecting the orientation of the Australian government to the rising Asia Pacific economy within the cultural sphere. The project is led by the Queensland Art Gallery assisted by co-curators and advisors from the broader region. The APT contributes to the phenomenon of global biennial and triennial exhibition practice, in which non-western and indigenous art practises have come to the fore.

Given the timing of its inauguration, the APT became an extension for the debates about Contemporary Māori Art outside of New Zealand. The APT equally presented opportunities to reframe and revise the terms of contemporary art practice in New Zealand. For Māori writers and artists, in particular, the stated cultural objectives of the APT created a gateway to interface with contemporary Asian and Pacific artists directly and carried the promise of new power relationships, and cultural commensurabilities, founded on a shared ancestral lineage. More than any other individual, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki seized this opportunity to create new space for the articulation of Contemporary Māori Art practice, rising to the fore of the project in its early stages. As the New Zealand representative at the inaugural conference

Maintenance of Heritage in a Fourth World Context: The Māori Case,” in *Māori Art on the World Scene*: 221-227.

symposium in 1993, Mane-Wheoki's address made a huge impression on delegates and influenced the direction of the *APT2*.³

Mane-Wheoki criticised the *APT* for perpetuating the same issues confronting Māori in New Zealand. He argued that the project objective, to show 'the most dynamic art of the region rather than traditional art' divorced contemporary Māori art from its history.⁴ This approach invariably prioritised the work of Māori artists operating in Western modes of art at the expense of those who maintain cultural traditions. Mane-Wheoki strategically stated that Māori do not make these distinctions and identified such thinking as Eurocentric and incommensurate with the stated goals of the *APT*.

Mane-Wheoki took care to convey the frustrations and impact of Eurocentric thinking on Contemporary Māori Art development in New Zealand. Pākehā arguments for Contemporary Māori Art, he explained, presented immense challenges for Māori artists and writers who were forced to defend their work against intransigent attitudes. For example, Panoho's *Headlands* essay was overwhelmed by the Walters' controversy at the expense of his intelligent insights about the nature and history of Māori art. Mane-Wheoki also described co-existing Māori and Pākehā art worlds within New Zealand, where the paramount status of Rangimarie Hetet and Lyonel Grant within the Māori art community barely registered in the Pākehā art system.⁵

Mane-Wheoki's paper cautioned the organisers, the assembly, and Contemporary Māori Artists, about the risk posed by the *APT* in its current form.

And so we arrive at this highly prestigious forum, a little suspicious of the organisers' motives, and a little cautious about our involvement with it. Is this

³ The New Zealand Aotearoa contingent at the *APT1* included Neil Dawson, Robyn Kahukiwa, Selwyn Muru, Anne Noble, Peter Roche, Michel Tuffery and Robin White.

⁴ Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, "Identity, Tradition and Change: Contemporary Art of the Asian Pacific Region," paper presented at the First Asia Pacific Triennial Conference, Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane, 17-20 September 1993," 8, "APT1 Asia Pacific Triennial of Art Exhibition File," ACAPA Archives, Queensland Art Gallery of Modern Art Library.

⁵ Mane-Wheoki, "Identity, Tradition and Change," 7.

yet another imperialist attempt to gather us in to possess us, control us, and exploit us, we wonder? To feed the West's insatiable appetite for novelty and stimulation, and greed for other peoples resources? To compensate for the spiritual bankruptcy of the West? To assuage the colonists guilt?

Nevertheless, Māori have little choice but to engage and interact with Western culture. But we are bound to do so in our own terms, with pride, dignity and humility, from our conceptual, cultural and historical perspectives, according to our traditions and customs, in our own time, and at our own pace.⁶

Many years later, Queensland Art Gallery curator, Caroline Turner acknowledged the impact of this presentation on the planning group. Turner credited Mane-Wheoki for persuading the curators to respect and include customary art forms, which has become a signature of the APT within the global complex of Triennial and Biennial projects.⁷

Mane-Wheoki was appointed as the New Zealand advisor to the Pacific curatorial team for the *APT2*, working alongside Jim Viviaere, and Margo Neale, Curator of Indigenous Australian Art at the Queensland Art Gallery. At the first Triennial curatorial team meeting, the Pacific team became instant allies with the Melanesian team, and conspired to make a strong Pacific statement within the project, which led to political action.⁸

⁶ Mane-Wheoki, "Identity, Tradition and Change," 10.

⁷ Caroline Turner, "Afterword," in *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance. Essays in Memory to Jonathan Mane-Wheoki*, edited by Conal McCarthy and Mark Stocker (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2017), 250-1.

⁸ Susan Cochrane, "Pacific Peoples: Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia, Vanuatu, Torres Strait, Indigenous Australia," in *The Second Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art*, edited by Caroline Turner and Rhana Devenport (Brisbane: Queensland Art Gallery, 1996), 55. In addition to Cochrane, the Melanesia team included Tom Byra Mixie Mosby, curatorial advisor for the Torres Straight Islands, Emmanuel Kasarhérou, Director of the Agency for the Development of Kanak Culture and curatorial advisor for New Caledonia, Michael Mel and Stalin Jawa for Papua New Guinea.

A water claim was filed which took in the Brisbane River and the Gallery, including the Water mall and the exterior waterpools. The claim remained uncontested at the final selections in December 1995.⁹

The Watermall is the central assembly area and main architectural feature of the Gallery. The area features an expansive pool of shallow water connected to an exterior fountain pool. This pool feeds from the Brisbane River, which flows into the Pacific Ocean. By claiming the water spaces for the presentation of their exhibitions, the curatorial alliance wanted to make the 'idea of living in the Pacific Basin and not on the rim' a reality.¹⁰

We 'staked a claim' to the Watermall and grassy spaces inside and immediately outside the main gallery ... We superimposed an imaginary triangle around the Watermall, mimicking 'the triangle of Polynesia', a name invented by Western scholars to describe the 'culture regions' of Oceania. We envisioned the Watermall as a great *waka* (ocean voyaging canoe), but one which contains the contemporary spirit and realities of Pacific peoples.¹¹

This curatorial alliance also positioned Pacific artists as experienced guides within the *APT* theme of navigation and voyaging into unknown territory. The New Zealand artists' exhibition, titled *The Waka Collective*, was positioned on the Watermall, and organised according to the concept of a *waka hourua*, a double-hulled ocean-voyaging vessel, by which Māori ancestors traversed the Pacific ocean. Not all participants in the project were, however, happily accommodated within this indigenous narrative.

The concept of the *waka hourua* was elaborated in the exhibition catalogue essays, and described as a symbol of state biculturalism with a multicultural crew. Emerging Pākehā curator, Lara Strongman, who studied under Mane-Wheoki at the University

⁹ Margo Neale, "A Pacific Story. Screw the Rim: We Live in the Basin," in Turner and Devenport (eds), *The Second Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art*, 56. "Water claims" referred to a key political issue in Aboriginal rights in Australia at this time.

¹⁰ Neale, "Pacific Story," 56.

¹¹ Cochrane, "Pacific Peoples," 55.

of Canterbury, presented an earnest view of the waka as a metaphor for cultural relations in New Zealand.

[A] useful vessel to hold multiple identities without conflict ... lashed together for support ... [to] sustain one another in a voyage of discovery and exchange, recalling the historic paths of migration that settled the islands in the Pacific.¹²

Samoan architect and writer, Albert Refiti, took a skeptical approach, identifying the platform separating the two hulls as more accurately reflecting the 'noisy', 'charged and volatile' state of 'bicultural and 'multicultural' relationships.¹³ Moreover, *The Waka Collective* did not ameliorate the poor representation of Pasifika cultures within the New Zealand art system. In fact, Refiti saw this exhibition in the vein of other 'export' exhibitions, citing *Distance Looks Our Way* and *Cultural Safety*, in which New Zealand's cultural politics were idealised for European audiences.

Other contributors approached the *APT2* theme of navigation and voyaging into unknown territories with a degree of caution and scepticism. Justin Paton wrote, 'today the art world's fickle gaze has shifted. The centre, such as it is, has made the margins its business—mainstreamers are out, outsiders in.'¹⁴ As 'outsiders', artists of *The Waka Collective* were described as 'boundary riders, fringe dwellers, genre benders' who occupy 'swampy and shifting terrain' where 'styles crossbreed and mutate, and all the old guidebooks are rendered obsolete.'¹⁵ Rather than fixing 'otherness' to the cultural identity of the artist (though this is implied in the argument of the essay), Paton considered the influence of 'tradition' (that is, non-Western art and cultural traditions) as positioning some members of *The Waka Collective* on the edge of contemporary art practice, and inconsistent with the intrepid spirit of the *APT2* concept.

¹² Lara Strongman, "The Waka Collective. Taking it on Board," in Turner and Devenport (eds), *The Second Asia Pacific Triennial*, 125.

¹³ Albert Refiti, "The Waka Collective. Migrating Bodies: Contemporary Art Practices in New Zealand," in Turner and Devenport (eds), *The Second Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art*, 124.

¹⁴ Justin Paton, "Men's Waka. Travel Agency: Exporting New Zealand Art," in Turner and Devenport (eds), *The Second Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art*, 125.

¹⁵ Paton, "Travel Agency," 125.

[S]ome of these makers have their sights set on the future, others are guided by the rudder of the past, and while some seek the safe harbour of older identities, others aim to map and re-map new identities. To move in imagination from Graham's heartfelt handiwork to the razorbacked ironies detailed by Peter Robinson is to sense the giddy diversity of New Zealand's latest art exports.¹⁶

Where the artist's identity had been the subject of debate in New Zealand, Paton discriminated among the group according to the artist's engagement with non-Western traditions in their work. He saw *Kahukura* (illustrated in the essay), as 'time worn' and 'lovingly smoothed', whereas Peter Robinson's practice presented a map for the future of Contemporary Māori Art practice—despite the implicit statement that his 'Percentage' paintings made about the future for Māori.¹⁷ Paton was just as uncertain about the position of Pākehā in the future forecast by the *APT2*, but '[t]hose of us who are unsure of our bearings could do worse ... than fix our sights on the long, clunkily elegant aeroplane that flies across the tarry surface of Peter Robinson's *Untitled 3.125%*'.¹⁸ Of the New Zealand writers, Paton did the most to introduce the key issues of the national public debate to the context of the *APT*.

Mane-Wheoki, by contrast, presented an assured and confident perspective, and discussed a well-established regional consciousness within Contemporary Pacific Art. Initiatives such as the Pacific Festival of the Arts, the Pacific Arts Association, and the more recent International Indigenous Artists Hui demonstrated the experience of Pacific artists in this domain, with Contemporary Māori Artists operating at the centre of pan-Pacific Art developments. He indulged in an inquiry about an exact 'centre' for Contemporary Pacific Art, considering Hawai'i as the 'East-West crossroads for Pacific cultures'; the Tjibaou Cultural Centre in Nouméa, set to emerge as a new centre for the Pacific, and Auckland—the 'world's most

¹⁶ Paton, "Travel Agency," 125.

¹⁷ Paton, "Travel Agency," 125.

¹⁸ Paton, "Travel Agency," 126.

populous Polynesian city’—as the ‘hub of art of the South Pacific.’¹⁹ His point was to assert that The Waka Collective converged on the territory of the *APT* from the ‘centre’ of the Pacific, rather than a group of artists representing New Zealand.

Mane-Wheoki’s argument was also idealistic, and not applicable to the practice of all of the artists of *The Waka Collective*. In fact Graham was the only artist among that group actively practising across the Pacific art triangle sketched by Mane-Wheoki; a life-long resident of Auckland, graduate of the East West Centre in Honolulu, and part of the founding collection of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre. Mane-Wheoki’s paper did identify Graham’s experience in this region and relied entirely on Graham’s practice to position Māori and Pasifika artists at the forefront of the *APT* agenda, masking the reticence of some other artists and contributors to the project.²⁰

Kahukura had a central position in *The Waka Collective* exhibition and within the Triennial exhibition as a whole. *Kahukura* and *Te Kowhao o te Ngira*, both shown in *Korurangi*, were presented on separate plinths installed in the Watermall pool at the centre of the Gallery (Figure 1). The red colouration of *Kahukura* was vividly contrasted against the massive bush-hammered concrete tiles of the Gallery, and adjacent stone-coloured sculptures; the tall pumice stone pillars by Chris Booth and Bronwyn Cornish’s erupted volcanic enclosure (Figure 43). Installation images of *The Waka Collective* in The Watermall, with *Kahukura* at centre, became the signature public image of the *APT* 1996 and reproduced as the event souvenir postcard for sale during the event.²¹

Graham’s public talk discussed the influence of the *APT* on the *kōrero* of his art works. Being part of *The Waka Collective* associated Graham’s work with the ocean in a way that he had not intended, nonetheless, Graham welcomed these

¹⁹ Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, “A Recentered World: Post-European/Pro-Indigenous Art from Aotearoa/New Zealand and Te Moananui-a-Kiwa/The South Pacific,” in Turner and Devenport (eds), *The Second Asia Pacific Triennial*, 29.

²⁰ Catalogue essayist, Priscilla Pitts, acknowledged Pākehā photographer, Marie Shannon’s, evident ambivalence to the waka concept by describing her as the “outrigger” of the canoe. Priscilla Pitts, “Women’s Waka,” in Turner and Devenport (eds), *The Second Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art*, 127.

²¹ “APT2. Box2/1.2 Merchandise,” “APT2 Asia Pacific Triennial of Art Exhibition File,” ACAPA Archives, Queensland Art Gallery of Modern Art Library.

interpretations given the importance of the ocean in Māori cosmology and the origin of Māori art.²² He told the story of Ruatēpupuke diving into the ocean to discover the house of Tangaroa, from which he retrieved the art of carving. He also referred to Epeli Hau'ofa's influential 1993 essay, 'This Sea of Islands,' which challenged the European concept of the Pacific as a vast expanse of emptiness, counterposing the idea of a 'sea of islands' full of life and potential.²³

Graham also contrasted different cultural attitudes to the ocean. Citing T.S. Eliot's reference to 'Death by Water' in *The Wasteland*, in which Hell is depicted as a fish with its mouth open', Graham summarised the European association of the ocean to death.²⁴ He also discussed the demonisation of Tangaroa by the missionaries throughout the Pacific. It is no wonder, he surmised, that European navigators tended to 'hug' the coastline while Polynesians had traversed and settled an area as large as the Americas.²⁵

Graham also defended himself, and his peer group, against recent categorisations of their work in New Zealand. Referring directly to Peter Robinson's 3.125% *Painting* and Lisa Reihana's *Matariki* light installation in the water pool, Graham described his generation as 'trying to restore the culture, to use a Eurocentric term ... a Māori 'Renaissance', a regrowing of all these images ... whether they be statements that reaffirm the culture or create issues within.'²⁶ Graham's statement of solidarity specifically countered Mane-Wheoki's 1995 appraisal of their practice as made in the following passage:

Many of the new Māori artists are products of the university art schools and are trained to cope with the most sophisticated contemporary art concepts, processes, technologies, and media of western industrial society. Being

²² Brett Graham, "Artist talk," digitised video recording, 1996, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4qiO1gbw0YM&list=PL_OplQD58Kpiz_tCd73Xtt6sYr0PFif8d&index=141&t=0s&frags=pl%2Cwn, accessed 25 August 2018.

²³ Epeli Hau'ofa, "This Sea of Islands," *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, edited by Vijay Naidu, Eric Wadell, and Epeli Hau'ofa (Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific, 1993), 2-17.

²⁴ Graham, "Artist talk."

²⁵ Graham, "Artist talk."

²⁶ Graham, "Artist talk."

largely urbanised, detribalised (now into the third generation), and westernised, they speak only English, and their knowledge of Maoritanga is patchy. Nevertheless, they know they are not Pākehā ... Their family backgrounds, skin pigmentation, and sometimes their accents and body language mark them out as “other,” as different, as non-Pākehā, as Māori. On the “Māoriness” spectrum, however, they cannot measure up as “Māori” Māori. They are visibly and physically, but not to any significant degree culturally or psychologically, Māori ...

If art distils and expresses individual perceptions and experiences, urban Māori art must speak of alienation and dislocation, of the condition of being urbanised and detribalised. But is such art Māori art? Can urbanite Māori artists say with Sandy Adsett: “My art is something that allows me to identify as Māori”? Or will they be characterised as “Johnny-or-Jackie-come-latelies,” “born-again Māori,” bandwagon-jumpers? If they feel a belated obligation to reclaim their Māoritanga do they risk being reproached by seasons Māori activist frontliners (“Where were you?”), or vilified for their “political correctness” by right-wing Pākehā?²⁷

Graham not only objected to this categorisation of his practice, but felt Mane-Wheoki was projecting his own experience onto the group and wrongly assumed a more ‘knowing’ position from which to criticise a younger generation of Māori artists. Graham raised these points with Mane-Wheoki at the opening of the Triennial, an encounter that caused a rift between them lasting several years.²⁸

The following day, Mane-Wheoki made a sober and somewhat frustrated assessment of his curatorial experience, in a paper delivered at the *APT2* conference. Despite his influence over the project as a whole, Mane-Wheoki was disillusioned by the outcome, reporting that this ‘huge cultural event is a kind of

²⁷ Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, “The Resurgence of Māori Art: Conflicts and Continuities in the Eighties,” *The Contemporary Pacific* vol. 7, no. 1, (Spring 1995), 15-16

²⁸ Brett Graham, email to author, 1 July 2018.

mirror to the reinvention of Australia as an Asian nation.²⁹ Where he had previously written from a pan-Pacific position, his conference paper argued from a Māori position. Citing instances of cultural appropriation, and uneasy relationships among indigenous artists, Mane-Wheoki saw the *APT2* as reinforcing the need for Māori to protect and maintain their distinctive art traditions, which he summarised according to the concepts of *taonga tuku iho*, against the forces of globalisation.

Contemporary Māori Art, as distinct from New Zealand art, is essentially a political act. Implicit in practically all Māori creative endeavour is the determination to reclaim all the treasures that make up our unique collective identity: *mana* (power, prestige, authority), land (the undisturbed possession of which was guaranteed by the Treaty), customs and language. To affirm what it means to be Māori.³⁰

Where Mane-Wheoki had seen the *APT2* as offering a new platform to redefine Contemporary Māori Art in confederation with Asian and Pacific artists, ultimately, he came to regard this project as offering little to Contemporary Māori Art development, and suggests that his experience was as he had predicted in 1993. Moreover, Mane-Wheoki's conclusion reflected sadly on the embattled conditions of Māori Art discourse at home, leading to the question of where Contemporary Māori Art might comfortably exist.

Despite Mane-Wheoki's reservations, reviews of the *APT2* consistently noted the strong presence of the Pacific, missing from the first iteration, with the New Zealand contingent receiving particular attention for the striking 'intermingling of traditional and contemporary' compared to the 'predominantly urban' Asian section.³¹ Among New Zealand correspondents, frequent mention was made about poor New Zealand representation at the opening events. "It was surprising who wasn't there. The New

²⁹ Jonathan Mane-Wheoki quoted in Rosa Shiels, "The Navigators," *The Press*, Wednesday 30 October 1996, 13.

³⁰ Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, "Indigenism and Globalism: 'First Nation' Perspectives in the Contemporary Art of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Te Moananui-a-Kiwa/the Pacific" in *Present Encounters: Papers from the Conference of the Second Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art* (Brisbane: Queensland Art Gallery, 1997), 33.

³¹ Diane Losche, "Nervous Culture: The Asia-Pacific Triennial," *Art Asia Pacific* 15 (1997), 34.

Zealand art world. New Zealand museum, and New Zealand academic art world were not well represented', including Creative New Zealand officials and the New Zealand writers for the catalogue.³² Perhaps unsurprisingly, the *APT2* did not receive coverage in the New Zealand art or current affairs magazine that were so carefully following Contemporary Māori Art events at home.

Tjibaou Cultural Centre

Kahukura next appeared in 1998 as part of the founding collection of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre in Nouméa, New Caledonia. The Centre was a direct outcome of the Matignon Accords (1988), a negotiated peace agreement between the French Government and indigenous Kanak leaders in response to a period of civil unrest, and determined calls for political independence. The Accords committed the French Government to a ten-year period of investment in the development of the Kanak peoples, after which the population of New Caledonia would vote on political independence.³³ As a project of cultural patronage to maintain ultimate French control, the Tjibaou Cultural Centre was yolked between local conflicts and global machinations from its inception.

Locally, the Centre symbolised a particular strand of Kanak politics represented by the project's name-sake, Jean Marie Tjibaou. A pacifist, Tjibaou believed that Kanak political strength derived from cultural pride, a philosophy shared by the Tu Tangata programme in New Zealand. His public life began as the organiser of the Melanesia 2000 Festival in 1975, which was motivated by the first Pacific Art Festival in 1974, held in Rotorua.³⁴ Staged on the Tinu Peninsula, a wooded area on the outskirts of the 'white enclave' of Nouméa--'Nouméa-la-Blanche'—2,000 participants representing various clans of the islands of New Caledonia, shared their cultures

³² Rosa Shiels, "Triennial Raises Questions," *The Press*, Wednesday 30 October 1996, 13.

³³ In 1998, the population of New Caledonia voted for the Nouméa Accord, which established a twenty year plan to increase political power to the territory of New Caledonia and the Kanak people, and the right to hold three independent referendum. The first referendum was held in 2018, where a slim majority voted to remain part of France, with successive votes scheduled for 2020 and 2022.

³⁴ Octave Togna, *Tjibaou Cultural Centre* (Nouméa: Kanak Cultural Development Agency, Australia South Pacific 2000 Program of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade), 18.

with more than fifty thousand spectators.³⁵ The Festival is also regarded for mobilising a national political consciousness among Kanak people and galvanising Tjibaou's culturalist political position.³⁶

During the Festival, Tjibaou was challenged by other Kanak leaders of his generation who had been radicalised through exposure to the political ideologies of national independence movements sweeping Asia, Africa and the Americas.³⁷ Highly educated and urbanised, these leaders were suspicious of cultural initiatives that abstracted the injustices of the colonial regime, and homogenised local Kanak identities 'in terms of their precolonial experience.'³⁸ Tjibaou, however, viewed their imported political ideologies as a form of 'reverse colonialism' insensitively applied to the local situation, and his determined 'local' position in the Melanesia 2000 Festival debates established both his reputation and political position as a civic leader.³⁹

The retention and development of Kanak culture distinguished Tjibaou's activism within national politics in the 1970s and '80s. For Tjibaou, culture 'preceded and transcended politics for, in order to act collectively, responsibly, and creatively, it was first necessary to provide a sense and a direction to people's lives'.⁴⁰ In 1977 he was elected Vice President of the Territorial Governing Council—the highest elected post in the region—against a backdrop of an indigenous political uprising, co-ordinated Kanak political representation, and increasing French repression, and through the early 1980s, rose to become the leading figure of the New Caledonia independence movement.

³⁵ Togna, *Tjibaou*, 18.

³⁶ Togna, *Tjibaou*, 17-19, James Clifford, "Indigenous Articulations," *The Contemporary Pacific* vol. 13, no. 2 (Fall, 2001), 471, Margaret Jolly, "On the Edge?: Deserts, Oceans, Islands," *The Contemporary Pacific* vol. 13, no. 2 (Fall, 2001), 431, and Kylie Message, "Contested Sites of Identity and the Cult of the New: The Centre Culturel Tjibaou and the Constitution of Culture in New Caledonia," in *South Pacific Museums. Experiments in Culture*, edited by Chris Healy and Andrea Witcomb (Melbourne: Monash University ePress, 2006), 04.8. See also Eric Waddell, *Jean-Marie Tjibaou. Kanak Witness to the World. An Intellectual Biography* (Manoa, University of Hawai'i Centre for Pacific Island Studies, 2009), 114-117, which backgrounds other political developments occurring at this time.

³⁷ Waddell, *Tjibaou*, 106.

³⁸ Waddell, *Tjibaou*, 110.

³⁹ Waddell, *Tjibaou*, 110 and 117.

⁴⁰ Waddell, *Tjibaou*, 108.

During this period, Tjibaou established the Kanak Cultural, Scientific and Technical Agency (1982-86). The Agency institutionalised many ideas mooted at Melanesia 2000, provided mechanisms to retain and revitalise Kanak culture, and represented Kanak interests to other government agencies. The work of the Agency operationalised Tjibaou's view that a 'peaceful resolution of the settler-native confrontation' could be found 'as long as Kanaks could face France with a "firm personality", meaning a self-confident identity rooted in culture and history.'⁴¹

French resistance to independence negotiations brought matters to a head in 1984. Tjibaou became head of the Front de Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste (FLNKS, Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front), a coalition of existing Kanak political parties, and petitioned for the establishment of a provisional government of the nation state of Kanaky. Militant Kanak revolts also broke out, which were aggressively policed by armed French forces deployed to the region, leading to a period of unrest known as Les Événements (The Events, 1984-87). Amidst this political turmoil, the Kanak Cultural, Scientific and Technical Agency was closed in 1986.

Political mobilisation and violence in New Caledonia continued to escalate, with a decisive event occurring in April 1988. On the Kanak-majority island of Ouvéa, north-east of the mainland, pro-independence activists attacked the local French police, killing four and taking 27 men hostage in a cave near the village of Gossanah. A hostage crisis team deployed from France, unsuccessful in their negotiation attempts, were ordered to storm the cave with nineteen Kanak casualties, some killed after the release of the hostages. This event stirred a newly-elected French Government to take immediate action toward a peace plan in the incendiary climate of New Caledonia. In June 1988 Tjibaou and other political leaders travelled to Paris for negotiation talks, leading to the signing of the Matignon Accords.⁴²

⁴¹ David Chappell, "The Nouméa Accord: Decolonisation Without Independence in New Caledonia?," *Pacific Affairs* 73, 3 (1999), 377, quoted in Message, "Contested Sites," 04.6.

⁴² Sarah Walls, "Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Statesman with a State: A Reporter's Perspective," *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 44, no. 3 (September 2009), 167-168.

The Accords outlined a ten year peace plan involving a period of investment in Kanak development leading to vote on independence in 1998. With the Kanak representing a minority group within the population of New Caledonia, Tjibaou began to actively lobby for independence among the broader population, describing a nation with closer political, economic and cultural connections to the Asia-Pacific region.⁴³

France is distant, it's a big country ... the big countries in the area, in the Pacific basin, are Japan, Korea and India-China. It's on that basis that the future has to be thought of ... [and] to make our country and our island into one of the most developed countries in the Pacific with a 'made in Kanaky' product that stands up at every level ... That's more within our reach..

Tjibaou also proposed the re-establishment of a Kanak development government agency with The Agence de Développement de la Culture Kanak (ADCK) formed in November 1988. While the Accords put an end to violence, the compromised terms were not widely accepted by the populace, with particular dissatisfaction among the Kanak independence movement outside of the FLNKS, and the political situation remained precarious.

Political opposition to the Accords remained strongest on Ouvéa, and Gossanah in particular, where villagers had been tortured by French police for supporting the hostage takers. Village leader, Djubelli Wéa, who had been arrested with the hostage takers and later released from a Parisian jail as part of the Accords political amnesty, was also denied a role in the Matignon negotiations process, despite still being in France.⁴⁴ On 4 May 1989, one year after the Ouvéa event, Tjibaou and his FLNKS deputy, Yeiwéné Yeiwéné, attended the custom ceremony for the 19 murdered Kanak. They met local protests and an active anti-Tjibaou campaign led by Wéa in the weeks leading up to the ceremony. That evening, after addressing the assembly, Tjibaou and Yeiwéné were shot by Wéa, who was then killed by Tjibaou's

⁴³ Walls, "Tjibaou," 169.

⁴⁴ Chappell, "Nouméa Accord," 180.

bodyguard. This event rocked the region, destabilised the peace plan and the implementation of the Matignon Accords. In the wake of these events, Marie-Claude Tjibaou and Octave Togna, a pro-independence broadcaster, were appointed as co-Directors of the ADCK, with the French government committing to the building of a centre for their activities soon after.

The Tjibaou Cultural Centre became the most public symbol of French investment in Kanak people during the decade of development outlined by the Accords. The Centre project also came to serve the cultural ambitions of the French government. The *Grandes Opérations d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme* (Grands Projects) (1981-1998) re-established the tradition of public monuments in the city of Paris, which evaluated and articulated the identity of France at the end of the twentieth century. Other 'grand travaux de la République' included the Musée d'Orsay, Centre George Pompidou, Louvre Pyramid and National Library. The Tjibaou Centre was the last of eight monuments, the only project executed outside of Paris, and, as Australian curator—and *Headlands* co-curator—Bernice Murphy wrote, 'an astonishing monument to French political and cultural interpretation at the end of the twentieth-century', and elsewhere, seen to 'reflect the ideologies and interests of the "modern" nation-state of France as the commissioning agency and overriding authority' of New Caledonia as a *territoire d'outre-mer* (overseas territory).⁴⁵

The building project began in 1991 on the Tinu Peninsula, cementing the ongoing significance of Melanesia 2000, and the ADCK initiated a broad programme of cultural activities in advance of the Centre's completion. Headed by Kanak anthropologist, Emmanuel Kasarhérou, French anthropologist, Roger Boulay and Australian curator of Pacific Art, Susan Cochrane, the Agency began to develop the Fonds d'Art Contemporain Kanak et Océanien (FACKO) collection of Pacific Art, a programme of artist workshops, residencies and exhibitions, which supported and enhanced the practice of Kanak artists and promoted their work further afield.⁴⁶ The

⁴⁵ Bernice Murphy, "Centre Culturel Tjibaou: A Museum and Arts Centre Redefining New Caledonia's Cultural Future," *Humanities Research* vol IX, no. 1 (2002), 81, and Message, "Contested Sites," 4.11.

⁴⁶ Susan Cochrane, "ARTventures: An Australian Curator in the Field with Pacific Art and Artists," *Mwà Vée* 78/79 (2013), (unpublished English language translation), 4, <http://uq.academia.edu/SusanCochrane>, accessed 8 August 2018.

ADCK activities met criticism from French and other local artists excluded from the programme.⁴⁷ Marie-Claude Tjibaou and Kaserherou argued, however, that ‘Kanak culture had been submerged under the French colonial regime ‘ with affirmative action directed at ‘establishing an equal footing’, pointing out that artists of all backgrounds had many opportunities available to them through the provincial and local government programmes.

The Centre curators also made an early strategy decision to extend their work to the greater Melanesian region, which included indigenous artists of New Caledonia, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea and Torres Strait Islands, New Zealand (which is typically grouped as part of Polynesia yet is closer in geography to Melanesia), and Taiwan. This regional policy sought to establish a ‘new axis of cultural exchange’ between related groups estranged by different colonial regimes, and positioned Kanak culture as actively contributing to the ‘cultural life and aesthetic wealth’ of the Pacific region.⁴⁸ Curators also placed ‘a singular stress on contemporary Pacific arts’ as opposed to investing in the repatriation of Kanak taonga held in museum collections locally and abroad. Rather, project leaders chose to implement Tjibaou’s culturalist philosophy in the Centre in a certain way, prioritising his future vision for the Kanak people in the physical display, with his advocacy for the retention and maintenance of Kanak culture a priority for the community-based activities of the Centre, such as outreach programs to rural Kanak communities, the provision of a well-resourced library and development of a digital catalogue pertaining to Kanak language dialects and cultural practices.⁴⁹

Within this ‘new axis of cultural exchange’, New Zealand took on a particular identity as a ‘big’ metropolitan centre as New Caledonia’s ‘closest major Pacific Island neighbour’.⁵⁰ Moreover, Māori artists were held as important role models within the

⁴⁷ Cochrane, “ARTventures,” 4.

⁴⁸ Susan Cochrane, *Béréta: Contemporary Pacific Art* (Nouméa: Centre Culturel Tjibaou, 2001), 22 and 26, and Cochrane, “ARTventures,” 6.

⁴⁹ Message, “Contested Sites,” 4.3-4.4.

⁵⁰ Cochrane, *Béréta*, 16, 27 and 135, and David Robie, “Blood on Their Banner,” *New Zealand Listener*, 27 October 1984, <https://asiapacificreport.nz/2018/11/01/flashback-to-kanaky-in-the-1980s-blood-on-their-banner/>, accessed 18 January 2020.

region, recognised for successfully maintaining their art and culture, and achieving global acclaim through established art and cultural infrastructures.⁵¹

The highly developed, cosmopolitan cities of Australia and New Zealand cannot be compared with the ex-colonial, overgrown port towns which have become the capital cities of Melanesian countries ... The cultural institutions which exist always face severe financial difficulties, and there are no national funding bodies for the support of artistic endeavours like the Australia Council and Creative New Zealand.⁵²

While Polynesia was excluded from the territory of the Agency (including French Polynesia), the curators paid special attention to migrant Pacific artists based in New Zealand, albeit framed as a diasporic minority community that faced discrimination from the dominant European population *and* Māori.⁵³

The ADCK curators embarked on extensive field trips throughout the region, deliberately avoiding commercial agents and the 'open market' to work directly with artists, artist collectives and cultural advocacy groups.⁵⁴ In Australia and New Zealand, however, they worked within the established cultural infrastructure. Cochrane and Kasérherou were already in dialogue with Mane-Wheoki and Viviaere through their involvement in the *APT* resulting in the purchase of *Kahukura* from the *Korurangi* exhibition as one of twenty major art works for the FACKO collection.⁵⁵

A series of 'monumental' art works for the Centre were also commissioned by a committee comprising members of the ADCK, Centre Curators and French officers working on the project, 'from patrimony, culturel and the Renzo Piano group.'⁵⁶

⁵¹ Cochrane, *Béretara*, 27.

⁵² Cochrane, *Béretara*, 135.

⁵³ Cochrane, *Béretara*, 112-127, Jim Viviaere, "The Island Race in Aotearoa," *Artlink (Indigenous Arts of the Pacific Special Issue)* 16, no. 4, (1996), 57, quoted in Susan Cochrane, "Art in the Contemporary Pacific," *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 17 (December 2016), 87.

⁵⁴ Susan Cochrane, interview by author, Sydney, 5 October 2018.

⁵⁵ Cochrane, *Béretara*, 18 and 27, and Murphy, "Centre Culturel Tjibaou," 88. In New Zealand, the ADCK curators worked with government agencies, Creative New Zealand and Te Waka Toi, and Māori curators at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, John Walsh and Megan Tamati-Quennell. Cochrane interview.

⁵⁶ Sandra Mailot Win-Nemou, conversation with the author, Nouméa, 18 January 2020.

These art works were largely intended for the significant Case Jinu exhibition space, one of three Grand Case architectural forms located at the centre of the Centre. The Grand Case referenced the conical shape of the Kanak chiefs houses extended in height up to thirty meters. Each case had a designated function with the Case Jinu being the spirit house, where the ‘creation ancestors of Pacific societies’ had a ‘living presence among us.’⁵⁷

When *Kahukura* arrived in Nouméa, however, the art work attracted the attention of the committee, ‘they had never seen pieces like that’, leading Susan Cochrane to invite Graham to submit a proposal for the Jinu Patio.⁵⁸ Part of the central walkway linking various exhibition and function centres, the Jinu Patio joined the Case Jinu with the gallery displaying the FACKO collection of Contemporary Pacific Art, where *Kahukura* would be shown. Correspondence from Cochrane to Graham introduced the Jinu Patio as an ‘important reflective space’ linking spiritual and secular realms—or what Mailot Win-Nemou described as a ‘link between the traditional and contemporary way of living’.⁵⁹ Graham’s proposal involved three individual stone sculptures each named after regions of the Pacific, conventionally referred to as Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, and was titled *Lapita*, the site on the main island of New Caledonia where archaeologists first discovered evidence of ceramics produced by a distinctive societal group now recognised as common ancestors of all Pacific Islanders. Of the successful proposal, Mailot Win-Nemou said that: ‘the Tjibaou Cultural Centre needed to have these kinds of pieces, he was talking about culture, the preservation of indigenous heritage, and the link between Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia—he was talking about us.’⁶⁰

The commissions for the Case Jinu, however, followed a different process, which was reminiscent of tikanga associated with taonga. Led by Kasérherou and Roger Boulay, Head of Museography at the Centre, the process involved Tjibaou’s widow, Marie-Claude and a group of Kanak Chiefs. Together they undertook diplomacy

⁵⁷ Cochrane, *Bérétara*, 75.

⁵⁸ Mailot Win-Nemou conversation.

⁵⁹ Mailot Win-Nemou conversation.

⁶⁰ Mailot Win-Nemou conversation.

visits and met with indigenous leaders throughout the catchment region. Their process involved protocols of cultural exchange, with the gifting of Kanak taonga to formalise the commissioning process marking an ongoing relationship between peoples.⁶¹

A number of Māori artists were considered, including Fred Graham, for Case Jinu commissions.⁶² The delegation eventually travelled to Rotorua to meet with Te Arawa leaders and contemporary Māori artist, Lyonel Grant. The resulting commission, a freestanding poutokomanawa, was installed in the Case Jinu alongside five other carvings, all based on post structures with an ancestor or spirit form at top and bottom, and has been described as one of the most successful initiatives at the Centre (Figure 45).⁶³

Lapita

Centre curators facilitated Graham's research into the important Lapita sites and ceramic work in New Caledonia . His research files include inscribed copies of archaeological reports comparing the development of ceramic vessel forms in New Caledonia, New Guinea, Vanuatu and the islands of western Polynesia. Graham's sketches and inscriptions identify the inspiration he took from the varied vessel forms and a preference for the oldest dated forms, such as those from Talepakemalai in the Bismarck archipelago north of New Guinea and reliquary vessels from Teouma in Vanuatu. Elongating the main body of his own works produced forms that resembled earlier art works and incorporated references to other sculptural forms from respective areas of the Pacific.

Initially, Graham intended to make the sculptures from New Zealand lime stone from quarries in the South Island. This proved to be an expensive option compared with

⁶¹ Octave Togna, Agence de Développement de la Culture Kanak, *Ngan Jila: Centre Culturel Tjibaou: The Memory, The Voice, The Dream* (Nouméa: Agence de Développement de la Culture Kanak, 1998), 82-83.

⁶² Cochrane interview.

⁶³ The sculptures included Asmat and Mimika bjis poles from Irian Jaya, a Sepik spirit house post by David Yamanbe and Yarume Memegawai, a malanggan pole from Tabar, New Ireland, a bird sculpture by the Vao sculptors of Vanuatu, and spirit figures by Aboriginal artists Paddy Fordham and David Malangi. See Togna, *Ngan Jila*, 81-85, Cochrane, *Bérétara*, 106-7, Cochrane, "ARTventures," 10.

the higher-quality stone resources available for sale on the international market. Eventually, Graham imported limestone from Portugal and red-ochre sandstone from Rajasthan. He also enlisted the assistance of Auckland-based French Canadian stone sculptor, Steve Woodward. In September 1997 they began work at Woodward's studio at Tretheweys stone yard in New Lynn, Auckland, which provided the specialist equipment to manage and work large blocks of stone.

Midway through the process, Graham contacted the Centre curators and proposed that the sculptures be completed on-site. Kanak curator, Sandra Mailot Win-Nemou was in charge of the project and recalled Graham's proposal as:

A really great challenge. We knew it would be very difficult to make in New Caledonia, we weren't used to working with stone carving and Brett was bringing big stones, huge stones, but we wanted to bring all those artists to talk about our life, our feeling about colonisation, preservation, and I liked the way he was talking about us.⁶⁴

Mailot Win-Nemou organised the shipping to Nouméa and their worksite at the ADCK offices in the urban centre of Nouville, several kilometres from the Tinu Peninsula where the interiors of the Centre were still under construction.⁶⁵ They worked alongside the Papua New Guinean sculptors, David Yamanapi and Yarume Membegawai, who were making their monumental sculpture, the Numbukwan Pole, for the Case Jinu, and local Kanak artists. Woodward described their experience as 'brilliant.'

We had quite an experience. Brett doesn't speak French and was quite isolated, so I translated all the time, and this became an instinctive, idiosyncratic, strange and completely normal process.

⁶⁴ Mailot Win-Nemou conversation.

⁶⁵ Cochrane, *Béréta*, 30.

French is a lingua franca, the different Kanak groups have their own languages and speak to each other in French, and because of their classic religious church-based education, their language is perfect, very precise.

The Kanak people are very curious, they have a natural curiosity and interest in the outside world. We worked at night and they would come out of the dark—all sorts of people—to ask what the work was about. Not the questions that we were used to, how much it cost or how it was done, but what it was about. This was a unique aspect of the Kanak engagement and it was wonderful.

We talked about the political situation a lot, I was speaking to anyone and everybody, and knew about the conflict but never experienced any animosity. We felt included in everything, I can't speak on behalf of everyone, but we had a great experience. I think that had a lot to do with the project itself, when you explained what it was about they would see that we were bringing something in from the outside, it was something being made there, and it was a gift from the Māori people to them.⁶⁶

Woodward was asked about the following observation made by Australian anthropologist, Margaret Jolly, in 2001:

The French commissioned new art works not just from Kanak artists but from across the Pacific and Australia who were flown to Nouméa, fed, housed, and created art at French government expense. They made good choices ... Brett Graham, a Māori sculptor, brought his beautiful, sardonic stone troika—*Three Standing Stones or Melanesia, Polynesia, Micronesia*.⁶⁷

Woodward responded:

⁶⁶ Steve Woodward, interview by author, 12 January 2020.

⁶⁷ Jolly, "On the Edge?," 437-438.

There is truth in that. The Centre was part of the reparations and was meant to be a branch of the liberation movement but the money was coming from the French government. We were aware that there was all this money and this gift of luxury, let's say a gift from the French government to the Kanak people. a public infrastructure distributing with huge amounts of money in a place where people were living under cardboard. Left-leaning scholars would inevitably draw attention to these disparities. But the luxury bit was not true, by no stretch of the imagination, but we were happy, we were doing our project, we weren't walking in with French money and living a flash lifestyle, we were open, it was very enjoyable, informative, and we were respected.⁶⁸

From Mailot Win-Nemou's perspective:

The Tjibaou Cultural Centre came like that—a political vindication—and it was really hard. We didn't just want to talk about the Kanak—the Europeans didn't want to hear it—and the political situation was really hard. The Centre was in the middle of the right political man and the left political man and nobody wanted to work at the Centre. But Brett and Steve accepted—they took the risk in coming here and that is why their work is still important now, because they were talking about all of this.

Renzo Piano wanted us to open on 5 May and we had a lot of things to do before the opening, we weren't sure that we would finish. Steven and Brett worked really hard while they were here, and I wanted to make their stay more comfortable so in the weekend I tried to share the Kanak culture. They wanted to work with carvers here, they asked my little brother to come and they trained him. We saw them finishing the work in time and there was a special magic moment when we saw the stones taking 'life'. They gave something special to the place.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Woodward interview.

⁶⁹ Mailot Win-Nemou conversation.

Each of the three sculptures were distinct though the installation was visually cohesive, reflecting the ancient ancestral-relationships of indigenous Pacific peoples. *Melanesia*, made from red sand-stone, was based on Lapita vessels, with the main body hatched on the exterior surfaces with structural horizontal cracks (Figure 53), a technique Graham learned from Japanese sculptor, Atsuo Okamoto, during an apprenticeship that contributed to his Master of Arts programme in 1991.⁷⁰ Graham had previously used this technique to signify the revival of Māori culture in his 1993 exhibition, *Te Puawaitanga*, which included a sculpture titled *Lapita* (Figure 49). The following year, Graham used the technique in the sculpture, *Te Taniwha Ma*, shown in the 1994 exhibition, *Te Kowhāo o te Ngira*, to symbolise the compromised process of European colonisation in New Zealand (Figure 50). In the context of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, however, the technique reflected on the restoration of Kanak culture through the activities of the Centre.

The white stone sculpture at centre, *Micronesia* (Figure 55), also derived from ancient Lapita vessel forms, while including a distinctive beak-shaped top rim with a vertical notch at centre. The notch referred to navigational aids affixed to canoe prows in the Micronesian area and acknowledged the sophisticated navigation skills of these people that enabled settlement of the region and archipelagic trade and travel.⁷¹

Polynesia, to the facing right (Figure 55), is a creamy white stone tubular form with a flared neck and rounded dome at top. The sculpture resembles the handle of stone pounders found throughout the Polynesian region and the mushroom clouds created by nuclear bombs. Nuclear testing in the Pacific was the subject of his 1996 solo exhibition, *Bravo Bikini* (Figure 51), which was informed by the work of fellow East West Centre student, Teresia Teaiwa.⁷² *Polynesia* recalled New Zealand's

⁷⁰ This apprenticeship arose from Okamoto's participation in a sculptors symposium convened by Contemporary Māori Artists in 1988 (Figure 87).

⁷¹ Fred Graham has also made a large sculpture that pays respect to Marshallese stick charts used for navigation, see *Untitled 1991*, Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, Wellington.

⁷² See Teresia Teaiwa, "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6 (1, 1994), 87-109, and pages 172-3.

opposition to French nuclear testing in French Polynesia, which in turn, reflected on continued French rule in New Caledonia.

On completion the sculptures were transported to site and installed in the Jinu Patio. The Patio featured a wall of glazed louvres enabling a view to the exhibition gallery. *Kahukura* was positioned on the other side of the glass wall and the two art works could be seen together on exit from the Case Jinu and entry to the *Bérétara: Contemporary Pacific Art* exhibition gallery (Figure 55 and Figure 56).⁷³ This positioning further strengthened the profile of Graham within the Centre, with *Lapita* an intermediary between the ancestral and secular realms of art practice and *Kahukura* as a 'masterpiece' of Contemporary Pacific Art.⁷⁴ Mailot Win-Nemou said:

Brett is a really big artist, a level 1. I have worked with a lot of artists from all around the world, and Steve and Brett showed us the excellence in the Pacific. When everything was finished, we were happy, well, we had every feeling, and I shared this exciting process with these two guys. They took the time to come and work with us, the pieces are beautiful, they talk to us. Brett and Steve are really my friends—my brothers—they are champions.

I am now working in archaeology and Lapita is my day life—it's my life. We always talk about ways to connect Lapita with other Pacific cultures. Brett's work was avant-gardist, he said this in 1998, and this work continues to pass on the message that inside we are only one family. It is always a pleasure to go to the Centre and see his work, which will stay in our memories and our kids memories and many generations after us.⁷⁵

As an intermediary of realms and ambassador of Contemporary Pacific Art, Graham was exulted as a model of contemporary art engaged with customary practices though excluded from the process of taonga production enacted for the Case Jinu commissions—a slight but crucial difference in the context of this study.

⁷³ Mailot Win-Nemou conversation.

⁷⁴ Mailot Win-Nemou conversation.

⁷⁵ Mailot Win-Nemou conversation.

Kahukura

As a prime example of the values of Contemporary Pacific Art promoted by the Centre, *Kahukura* was shown in the *Bérétara* exhibition alongside other works from the FACKO collection. Mailot Win-Nemou explained that:

Bérétara is a word from the Kanak language at the centre of New Caledonia and means, the place where we come to see! Weaving and carving is found throughout the Pacific, and *Kahukura* really talks to us about identity, preservation of indigenous heritage, indigeneity, and the condition of Pacific people facing the new world.⁷⁶

For the bilingual exhibition label, the curators reproduced extracts from the *Mataora* catalogue. Cochrane also led the production of a book on the FACKO collection to support the *Bérétara* exhibition and her interpretation of *Kahukura* was highly cognisant of the artist's philosophical position. What Paton evaluated as 'heartfelt handicraft', Cochrane viewed as an example of how 'knowledge and respect of the past can be interpreted in contemporary forms.'⁷⁷ Paton described sensuous surfaces that longed to be touched. Cochrane relayed that 'Graham encourages people to touch, to caress his works, as they are living sculptures.'⁷⁸ Echoing Jahnke's assessment of *Kahukura* as a 'salute to taonga', Cochrane wrote that 'Graham's salute to the people of the past ... appeals to Pacific people of today to be united in their purpose and conserve their heritage', a message that qualified the high profile given to Graham's work within the Centre.⁷⁹

The Centre opened with inauguration ceremonies in May 1998, coinciding with the Nouméa Accords where the terms of French governance were renegotiated.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Mailot Win-Nemou conversation.

⁷⁷ Cochrane, *Bérétara*, 73.

⁷⁸ Cochrane, *Bérétara*, 73. Graham insisted that visitors were permitted to touch *Kahukura*, a policy that was observed in the operations of the Centre and a frequent phenomenon observed by Centre staff, especially when *Kahukura* was moved into the main entry to the Centre. Emmanuel Kasarhérou, email to author, 6 October 2018.

⁷⁹ Cochrane, *Bérétara*, 73.

⁸⁰ The Nouméa Accord resulted in a commitment to undertake an independence referendum in 2018, in which a slender majority voted to remain under French governance.

The *Wakè Nâimâ (Creating Together)* workshop and event programme (24 June—24 July 1998) brought twenty-one artists together to work with Nouméan artists. This included artists from Australia and Torres Strait Islands, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Wallis and Futuna, and New Zealand artists: Shane Cotton, Virginia King, Maureen Lander, Rangī Kipa, John Pule, Michael Tuffery, Christina Wirihana, and Graham, who was already on-site.⁸¹ Coverage of this event was produced as a documentary and included an interview with Graham in the *Bérétara* exhibition with *Kahukura* (Figure 58).⁸²

The documentary involved interviews with many artists and represented the range of art forms to feature in the workshops, from weaving, dance, performance, carving and painting. Graham introduced *Kahukura* as a red cloak dedicated to ‘the matriarch of weavers in the country,’ and recognised the importance of weaving within Māori and Pacific cultures.⁸³ This commentary was overlaid on footage of Māori woman weavers, Maureen Lander and Christina Wirihana, at work at the Centre.

Brett Graham: Weaving throughout the Pacific is used as a metaphor for uniting the people, families binding families, in Samoa they give fine mats for a wedding, its symbol of those families being united, and in Māoridom weaving also has that importance.

Maureen Lander: We just picked up that weaving is not considered as art when the television crew came the first day and they looked at what we were doing and they said ‘oh, it’s only weaving’.

⁸¹ See Cochrane, *Bérétara*, 175-177, and Karen Stevenson, “Creating Together,” *Art Asia Pacific* 21 (1999): 29-31.

⁸² Renata Schumann (dir.), *Ngan Jila: House of Riches* (New Caledonia: Schuman and Bliss, 1998), video.

⁸³ Brett Graham quoted in Schumann, *Ngan Jila*.

Brett Graham: There are no hierarchies in Māori art, but in Western art there are hierarchies of womens' art, tapestry-making and embroidery as opposed to painting and sculpture, but we make no real divisions.⁸⁴

Where Cochrane stressed the advantages of the developed cultural infrastructure of New Zealand to the work of Contemporary Māori Art, Graham emphasised the unique value of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre to Contemporary Māori Artists.

In countries like Australia and New Zealand, the indigenous population are a minority, and our art work always gets lost within the majority. But here, the Centre is dedicated to the art of the Pacific and it's quite a brave step for these people because our contemporary art is not embraced by the majority of people. So it's great support for those artists who are practising in that way.⁸⁵

The opening of the Tjibaou Centre garnered world-wide media attention though as Australian curator (and co-curator of *Headlands*) Bernice Murphy noted, 'most world coverage ... has understandably featured the outstanding architectural achievements'⁸⁶ The event was not covered by the main art journals for Australia and New Zealand, which were consumed by the rare convergence of major European art events; the Venice Biennale, Documenta, Manifesta and, the opening of the new Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa on 14 February 1998. One article in an Australian art magazine described a general sense of fatigue about 'another "big international show" being devised by yet another city somewhere in the world'.⁸⁷

Subsequent writers on the Centre have remarked on the depoliticised coverage of the opening of the Centre, which disassociated the project from the period of civil

⁸⁴ Brett Graham and Maureen Lander quoted in Schumann, *Ngan Jila*. See also Jolly, "On the Edge?," 2001, 438.

⁸⁵ Brett Graham quoted in *Ngan Jila*.

⁸⁶ Murphy, "Centre Culturel Tjibaou," 77.

⁸⁷ Alison Carroll, "Home Thoughts From Abroad. The Melbourne Biennial of Art and Other Recent International Shows," *Art Monthly Australia* 111 (July 1998), 21.

unrest leading to the assassination of Jean-Marie Tjibaou.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the Centre has been criticised for the representation of Kanak culture, ‘a biased symbol that is either too focussed on Kanak culture or not ‘Kanak enough’, and a lack of support and attendance by Kanak peoples, ‘or whom the Centre was built, one hardly meets any’.⁸⁹ Through this period of reflective analysis and appraisal of the Centre, *Kahukura* has remained on public display since the opening, relocated from *Bérétara* gallery to the main foyer in the mid-2000s, to become a signature art work for the Centre as a whole (Figure 59).⁹⁰

The Tjibaou Cultural Centre institutionalised the category of Contemporary Pacific Art in which Māori played a defining role. This context provided important support to Contemporary Māori Artists who did not oblige the political preferences of Pākehā cultural power brokers at home and an escape from the political context of bicultural nationalism within New Zealand. The Centre also positioned Māori development as a positive model for the wider Pacific as compared to charges of separatism at home.

The crisis of 1996 ended the debate about the definition of Contemporary Māori Art. Intense nationalist discourse gave way to the expansive new horizons of global contemporary art. Māori scholars, such as Mane-Wheoki seized these opportunities to reframe and renegotiate the nature of Contemporary Māori Art practice in the broader context of the Pacific and positioned *Kahukura* at the centre of their arguments. Questions about the value and influence of ‘tradition’ rose to the fore and Māori adherence to ancestral customs—as exemplified by *Kahukura*—came to be celebrated as a strength and directly benefited Graham and other artists who observed these principles.

⁸⁸ See Diane Losche, “Memory, Violence and Representation in the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, New Caledonia,” in *The Future of Indigenous Museums: Perspectives from the Southwest Pacific*, edited by Nick Stanley (United States: Berghahn Books, 2007): 70-77.

⁸⁹ Alban Bensa and Eric Wittersheim, “Jean Guiart and New Caledonia: A Drama of Misrepresentation,” *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 33, no. 2 (1998), 243 quoted in Message “Contested Sites,” 4.13, and Nic Maclellan and Jean Chesneaux, *After Mururoa: France in the South Pacific* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1998), 145 quoted in Message, “Contested Sites,” 4.13-4.14.

⁹⁰ Kasarhérou email.

The travels of *Kahukura* captures the key issues and events of the period. Born from the debate period and active through the crisis *Kahukura* performed like taonga within Contemporary Māori Art discourse in New Zealand. Liberated from the constraints of nationalist debate, *Kahukura* assumed new responsibilities. As a leading example of Contemporary Pacific Art, *Kahukura* exemplified the political agenda of both the *APT2* and Tjibaou Cultural Centre. At the frontier of new global territories, *Kahukura* became a self-determining entity in a space where the question of taonga was not yet a subject of documentation or analysis.

While *Kahukura* operated like taonga, the art work has not been specifically described in this way. Indigenous projects such as *Patua* and the Tjibaou Cultural Centre certainly offered fertile conditions for this process of recognition to occur, though they remain undocumented as such. The example of *Kahukura* has, however, revealed that taonga was an active concept in Contemporary Māori Art practice during a period when the concept of contemporary taonga was contested and unresolved.

Postscript: Kahukura and The Whale Rider

In 2002 *Kahukura* appeared in *The Whale Rider* film, which was adapted from the book written by Witi Ihimaera in 1987. *The Whale Rider* is a story about leadership succession within a rural Māori community, and addresses major issues confronting Māori in the twentieth-century rising from histories of colonisation and urbanisation. Māori art played a symbolic role in the film and visualised tensions between customary and contemporary influences on an intergenerational Ngāti Porou whānau.

The Whale Rider story focuses on a crisis that arose from a break in the tradition of leadership succession within that family. After the death of his wife in childbirth, Porourangi (named after the progenitor of Ngāti Porou iwi) abandons his responsibilities and leaves the region. His father, Koro, begins to search for his successor among the young boys in the community deliberately overlooking Porourangi's daughter, Paikea, because of her gender. In time, Paikea proves herself as the rightful heir.

Kahukura was part of a new narrative introduced in the film adaptation of the book. In the original narrative, Porourangi moves to Christchurch, a city in the South Island of New Zealand. This narrative mirrors ancestral traditions; Tahu-Potiki, the brother of the ancestral Porourangi, is the progenitor of Ngai Tahu, the dominant iwi in this island. In the film, however, Porourangi is a Contemporary Māori Artist living in Berlin. On a visit home to introduce his pregnant German partner, he presents a slide show of his work in the family living room. The presentation featured Brett Graham's art works, including *Kahukura* (Figure 60).

Adapting the character of Porourangi served a number of purposes and added to the kōrero of *Kahukura*. Film Director, Niki Caro, was in the same teaching year as Graham at the Elam School of Fine Arts, and attuned to the debates about traditional and Contemporary Māori Art. At the time of the film's production, Graham was on a residency in Switzerland, visited the 2001 Venice Biennale and viewed New Zealand's first national exhibition featuring the work of Jacqueline Fraser and Peter Robinson. Robinson and Fraser were also living and working Europe at the time,

Fraser in France and Italy, and Robinson in Berlin. While a direct link was made to Graham's art work, the career of Porourangi modelled trends in Contemporary Māori Art practice at that time. The film was also co-produced by New Zealand and German film commissioning agencies, and locating Porourangi in Berlin acknowledged the rise of this city as a centre for contemporary art practice in Europe.⁹¹

Māori art plays an important role in *The Whale Rider* film. The book and film are set in Whāngāra, a significant location in Ngāti Porou history, home to Paikea, an ancestor from Hawaiki who rode to Aotearoa on a whale, and Paikea's descendant, Porourangi. Many scenes were shot in and around Te Whitireia, a whare whakairo at Whāngāra, carved by Pine Taiapa in 1939, and depicts Paikea astride a whale at the apex of the whare (Figure 61). A waka taua also features in the film, unfinished and abandoned by Porourangi, with the hull becoming a place of refuge for Paikea. The waka is a symbol of the traditions that Porourangi has left behind, though by the end of the film Porourangi has returned to live at Whāngāra, completes the waka and the final scenes depict the waka at sea (Figure 62).

In the film *Kahukura* is posed as a threat to the maintenance of Māori art and cultural traditions. This persona had been attributed to the work of other artists and art works during the debate and crisis period—never Brett Graham or *Kahukura*. In the film, however, *Kahukura* and other works such as *Rangiātea*, were cast in this role for the first time. Contextualised within a rural Māori setting and contrasted against a premier example of Taiapa's classical carving style, the abstract form of *Kahukura* symbolised a radical shift in Māori art that still sat uncomfortably within the community. The following chapters, however, concern an art work by Brett Graham that did sit comfortably with his people and contributed to a process of cultural, economic and political redress with significant outcomes for his people.

⁹¹ Brett Graham, email to author, 3 March 2019.

4. Te Tipunga: Te Whakapapa o Āniwaniwa

Unlike *Kahukura*, *Āniwaniwa* is an art work made Brett Graham and Rachel Rakena (Ngāi Tahu) that is recognised as taonga. When displayed at a public art gallery within Graham's rohe, *Āniwaniwa* was publicly acknowledged in this way. Graham's people then presented *Āniwaniwa* as a taonga in their Treaty of Waitangi claims and settlement processes. The utilisation of *Āniwaniwa* to advance the wellbeing of Māori people is a crucial factor and contributes to the concept of contemporary taonga.

This account of *Āniwaniwa* employs the concepts of taonga outlined by Mead (1984) and Tapsell (1996) and is structured according to the principles of whakapapa and kōrero. Employing Panoho's tātai method (2015), this chapter traces the whakapapa of *Āniwaniwa* as taonga tuku iho. Jahnke's analysis of Graham's practice (1998) influenced the identification and description of particular tātai, with specific attention paid to Tainui iwi narrative and whaikōrero, relationships to ancestral whenua, the influence of Māori visual traditions, and the kaupapa of the art work.

Tātai: Tainui whakapapa

Āniwaniwa is an artistic collaboration and collective endeavour, with Graham's Tainui whakapapa being the most important tātai for this taonga. Graham is an uri (descendant) of Polynesian migrants who travelled to Aotearoa on the Tainui waka. They made landfall on the western coast of Te Ika-Roa-a-Maui and dispersed through the north-north-western quarter of that island, along the path of the Waikato River. Today, 'Tainui' refers to a confederation of iwi groupings who descend from Tainui waka ancestors.

Graham's iwi is Ngāti Koroki Kahukura, who descend from rival siblings, Whatihua (the ancestor of the Koroki tātai) and Turongo (the Kahukura tātai). The Turongo-Kahukura line is distinguished by outstanding women, many of whom married Whatihua-Koroki men. For decades, their descendants identified themselves as

Ngāti Koroki, but in 1995 a hui of descendants resolved to formally acknowledge the tātai of the ancestress, Kāhukura, by identifying as Ngāti Koroki Kahukura.¹

Graham's Ngāti Koroki Kahukura ancestors established themselves on lands between Maungatautari mountain and the Waikato River. This environment is diverse and abundant, and included expanses of alluvial soils, bush, wetlands and river valleys. The landscape was populated by numerous kāinga (settlements) and Graham's ancestors ranged through the wider region, maintaining social, economic and political networks with other closely-related iwi groups.

In the 1820s inter-Māori warfare displaced Hauraki iwi, who sought refuge south in Ngāti Koroki Kahukura territories. While they were initially welcomed into the region, their increasing claim to lands and resources spurred the Ngāti Haua leader, Te Waharoa (a descendant of Koroki), to drive them from the territory in the battle of Taumatawiwi at the current location of Karāpiro.² This battle confirmed the authority of Ngāti Haua and Ngāti Koroki Kahukura in the region at the time of European arrival in the region, and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

Through the 1840s and '50s, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura developed a prosperous community and local industry.³ The Waikato river highway enabled their crops, flax, wheat and potatoes, to be easily transported to Auckland and exported abroad to Australia and the Americas.⁴ Māori leaders were simulatenously alarmed by the extent of European migration and land sales, and proposed the establishment of pan-tribal political leadership to provide a united Māori response to these issues. Their initiative lead to the coronation of Koroki descendent, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, as the first Māori King in 1858 at Ngaruawahia. On his deathbed just two years later, Pōtatau described the role of the King as the 'eye of the needle through which the

¹ Brett Graham, personal communication with author, 3 September 2018.

² "Ko Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Koroki, Ngāti Wairere, Ngāti Haua," *Maungatautari Marae, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura*, www.maungatautarimarae.co.nz/hitori/1800-2, accessed 26 September 2018.

³ *Maungatautari Marae*.

⁴ Rahui Papa, "Historical Account," *Ngāti Koroki Kahukura*, <https://www.korokikahukura.co.nz/ng257ti-koroki-kahukura.html>, accessed 14 October, 2018.

white, black and red threads must pass', which inspired Graham's 1994 exhibition, *Te Kowhāo o te Ngira (The Eye of the Needle)*.⁵

In 1859 disputed land sales in north Taranaki became a cause of grave concern for both Māori leaders and the government. The dispute also drew British Imperial forces to New Zealand and the mobilisation of local militia. Armed conflict erupted in 1860, signalling the start of the New Zealand Wars. In 1861 Pōtatau, Ngāti Koroki-Kahukura leader, Tioriori, and Ngāti Haua leader, Wiremu Tamehana, travelled to the region in an attempt to maintain peace.⁶ The strength of the Kingitanga and their anti-land selling position alarmed government officials, who began to formulate plans to invade the Waikato, depose the King and clear the area for European settlement.⁷ Under the premise that Waikato Māori were preparing to attack Auckland, Crown forces crossed into the Waikato in 1863, raiding settlements on a southward war path.⁸

As adherents of the Kingitanga, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura supported a campaign of resistance within the King's territories.⁹ At the siege of Rangiriri on 20 November 1863, which produced the highest casualties of any battle of the New Zealand Land Wars, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura leader, Tioriori, was arrested along with 180 others and detained without trial on the hulk *Marion* anchored in the Manukau Harbour.¹⁰ In December, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura and Ngāti Haua established a defensive post at Te Tiki A Te Ihingarangi, Maungatautari to block the path of Crown forces and part of a linear formation of pā defending the south-eastern territories of the Kingitanga, a boundary that became known as the aukati.¹¹ After the battle at Orākau at Kihikihi (south-west of Maungatautari) in early April, led by another renowned military leader, Rewi Maniapoto, Crown forces converged at Te Tiki a te Ihingarangi,

⁵ See James Ritchie, "Through the Eye of the Needle: Recent Work by Brett Graham," *Art New Zealand* 76 (Spring, 1995): 58-61.

⁶ L.S. Rickard, *Tamihana: The King-Maker* (Wellington, Auckland: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1963), 92-94.

⁷ See Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016): 125-169.

⁸ O'Malley, *Waikato*, 194-211.

⁹ Papa, "Historical Account."

¹⁰ *Maungatautari Marae*.

¹¹ *Maungatautari Marae*.

determining the area to be impenetrable, and moved eastward to Tauranga.¹² The area delineated by the aukati came to be known as The King Country from which Europeans were prohibited.

While the Kingitanga had defended their territory the colonial Government launched a new and unprecedented form of attack. At the end of 1863 the Government passed the New Zealand Settlements Act, which declared that Māori had engaged in rebellion against the Crown and would be punished through widespread land confiscation.¹³ This was enforced by Crown forces who evicted Māori from their lands and imposed a regime of surveying and legislative policy intended to eradicate communal land ownership.¹⁴ With Māori leaders imprisoned or in hiding, this new form of bureaucratic warfare saw the entirety of Kingitanga lands within the aukati confiscated. The primary settlements of Ngati Koroki-Kahukura lay on the outskirts of the aukati line at Karāpiro, yet, cast as rebels, Graham's ancestors retreated to the bush-clad slopes of Maungataurari cut off from the river that connected them to the broader region, and the gardens and industries that were the basis of their prosperity.

In the following decades, Ngati Koroki-Kahukura were dispossessed of their lands and livelihood through a process of systemic deprivation. Lands were surveyed, assigned individual title through the processes of the Native Land Courts, with further land seized as payment for this imposed process.¹⁵ Further blocks were forfeited or abandoned due to overdue rate bills despite paper roads and other infrastructure not being delivered, and prevented Ngati Koroki-Kahukura from re-establishing their previous enterprises.¹⁶ Unable to use their lands as surety against loans for economic development, Ngati Koroki-Kahukura people were forced to relocate in search of income.¹⁷

¹² *Maungatautari Marae*.

¹³ O'Malley, *Waikato*, 392-423.

¹⁴ "Background," *Ngāti Koroki Kahukura Settlement Summary*, <https://www.govt.nz/treaty-settlement-documents/ngati-koroki-kahukura/ngati-koroki-kahukura-deed-of-settlement-summary-20-dec-2012>, accessed 5 October 2018.

¹⁵ Papa, "Historical Account."

¹⁶ *Maungatautari Marae*.

¹⁷ *Maungatautari Marae*.

Similar processes were employed throughout New Zealand and expedited the acquisition of lands by European settlers not subject to confiscation. Throughout, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura persistently petitioned the Native Land Courts about the individualisation and allocation of land blocks, objected to further processes that alienated them from their remaining estates, and questioned the legality of the action of the Crown according to its own law.¹⁸ By the end of the nineteenth century, however, Tainui were dispossessed of their lands and livelihood. Brett Graham reflects:

All the land from Mangatāwhiri right through to Maungatautari was confiscated. That had incredible repercussions for the people. That sense of loss was always there. People underestimate just how that affected the people, just how grave, how deep those wounds are. We were so poor even other tribes used to mock us. So you'd hear names for the Waikato like "bare-feet" because of that poverty ... It certainly affected my grandparents and my father.¹⁹

There were, however, rare opportunities for Ngāti Koroki Kahukura to remain within their rohe. The Graham whanau were such a family, though Fred Graham is the last of his line to have been born and raised within the rohe of Ngāti Koroki Kahukura.

Tātai: Fred Graham

Fred Graham was born at Horahora on the eastern side of the Waikato river in 1928. His father, Kiwa Graham, worked at the Horahora Power Station, a hydro-electric power station built in 1914 by the Waihi Gold Mining Company to supply the electricity to their mining operation seventy miles away, and harnessed the energy of the river at the Āniwaniwa rapids at Horahora.²⁰ The Āniwaniwa rapids were an important landmark; the narrowest point of the Waikato river, at the centre of Ngāti

¹⁸ *Maungatautari Marae* and Papa, "Historical Account."

¹⁹ Interview with Brett Graham, 3 June 1999, quoted in Mary Norris, *Fred Graham and Brett Graham: Two Generations of Contemporary Māori Sculpture* (MA diss., The University of Auckland, 1999), 106.

²⁰ "Horahora Hydroelectric Power Station," *Engineering New Zealand*, <https://www.engineeringnz.org/our-work/heritage/heritage-records/horahora-hydroelectric-power-station/>, accessed 12 October 2018.

Koroki Kahukura territory and a strategic crossing point for travellers on foot (Figure 63).²¹ The name given to this place, Āniwaniwa, referred to the rainbows that occurred in the water spray of the rapids.

The Horahora Power Station diverted part of the Waikato River at the Āniwaniwa rapids to drive the power turbines at the station and transmit electricity to the Waihi Mines, 80 kilometers away. The diversion reduced the water flow at the rapids and rainbows were no longer seen here (Figure 64 and Figure 65). In 1919 the New Zealand Government purchased the station to provide electricity to the northern North Island of New Zealand, and enabled the mechanisation of dairy farming on the alluvial plains of the Waikato.²²

The relationship of Ngāti Koroki Kahukura to their ancestral landscape was irrevocably changed when their rohe was flooded as part of a national hydro-electric scheme. Construction of the Karāpiro dam began in 1940 (Figure 68) and superseded the Horahora Power Station located a few kilometers upriver (Figure 67). The dam was a major Government Public Works project and provided work for up to 1000 men, including the teenaged Fred Graham (Figure 69).²³ The land to be flooded was seized under the 1926 Public Works Act—Ngāti Koroki Kahukura was not consulted nor involved in this process. Significantly, the Karāpiro dam ran roughly parallel to the aukati; so while Ngāti Koroki-Kahukura territory had lain beyond the confiscation line, the dam and resulting lake indiscriminately flooded lands in their control.²⁴

In 1947, Graham was one of more than 25,000 people who gathered to watch the Waikato river rise behind the dam. The Horahora Power Station remained in operation until the very last minute, and photographs show Kiwa Graham and

²¹ Fred Graham, “The Story Behind the Sculpture,” *Waikato River Trails* 23 (Summer 2014), https://www.waikatorivertrails.co.nz/site_files/12466/upload_files/blog/WRTOct2014Newsletter-Issue23.pdf, accessed 30 November 2018, and Denise Irvine, “The Town That Refused to Die,” *Waikato Times* (31 January 2009), www.stuff.co.nz/waikato-times/life-style/708611/The-town-that-refused-to-die, accessed 8 November 2018.

²² “Horahora Hydroelectric Power Station.”

²³ Fred Graham, personal communication with author, 8 February 2017.

²⁴ Linda Te Aho, interview by author, Hamilton, 13 December 2018.

relatives watching the station flood from the operating deck, or in wooden dinghies within the partially flooded turbine bay (Figure 70). Brett Graham said of these photographs, ‘you could read the uncertainty on their faces as they recognised their lives were about to change drastically.’²⁵ The no.7 turbine could not be shut down and as the water filled its concrete bay, the turbine turned into a watermill; an event that gave rise to the local legend that Horahora refused to die.²⁶ Another photograph documents an inscription that Kiwa Graham had made on one of the generators, ‘Kia kaha ake ake ake’ (we will stay strong forever and ever), reprising the spirit of Rewi Maniapoto’s famous saying at the battle of Orakau, ‘Ka whawhai tonu mātou, Ake! Ake! Ake’ (we will fight on forever and ever) .

It took a week to create the eleven kilometre Lake Karāpiro reservoir (Figure 71), which flooded river valleys and plains, ancestral settlement sites, historic landmarks and washed ancestor bones from caves and urupa (burial grounds). Ngāti Koroki Kahukura leader, Rāhui Papa recounts:

Our kaumātua Taupua Winikerei ... tried to look after our waahi tapu along the River. Nobody would listen to them, they were just there to do their jobs. The people had no mana, no strength to pursue the issue. When they flooded the river many wheua rose with the water. They had come out of the caves along the River gorge. Our people had to go onto the lakes and collect these bones. The same thing happened with the other waahi tapu. Instead of listening to our kaumātua they just moved part of it and flooded the rest. That was a hard time for our old people.²⁷

After the flooding of Horahora Brett Graham’s grandparents left the Maungatautari region and moved to Hamilton, the main city of ‘The King Country’, as the Waikato is still called today.²⁸ While displaced from their Ngāti Koroki Kahukura lands, the

²⁵ Brett Graham “Āniwaniwa Power Point presentation,” n.d. (c. 2007-8), “Āniwaniwa File,” Brett Graham Archive.

²⁶ Peter Drury quoted in Irvine, “The Town.”

²⁷ Papa, “Historical Account.”

²⁸ Maria de Jong, “The Making of a Sculptor,” in *Fred Graham: Creator of Forms: Te Tohunga Auaha*, edited by Maria de Jong (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2014), 26.

Graham whanau 'urbanised' within the wider rohe of Tainui. In 1948 Fred Graham enrolled in the first intake at the new residential teachers training college at Ardmore near Papakura in South Auckland, established to address the projected shortage of teachers caused by the post-World War Two baby boom.²⁹ Para Matchitt recalls that 'there were only a few options open to us then, teaching and Māori Affairs was another one.'³⁰ It was through an education career pathway that Fred Graham became a Contemporary Māori Artist.

Tātai: Contemporary Māori Art

The origins of Contemporary Māori Art have been defined by its difference from customary Māori practice, and the classic style of the national school in particular.³¹ Fred Graham's biography however, emphasises relationships between customary and Contemporary Māori Artists in the latter half of the twentieth century. This proximity is due to Fred Graham's whakapapa and the priority he gives to his Tainuitanga as a Contemporary Māori Artist. Brett Graham received a more thorough formal education in Western art, but his father's model provided invaluable education for the creation of contemporary taonga.

Fred Graham descends from a line of carvers and grew up ignoring claims that he was going to be an artist. Graham's uncle, Waka Kereama (Graham), and Ngāti Koroki whanaunga, Te Rangi (Piri) Poutapu (Figure 73), worked on the whare whakairo, Mahinarangi, built on lands purchased in 1928-9 as a base for the Kingitanga at Ngaruawahia.³² Kereama and Poutapu were then selected to represent Tainui as part of the first intake at the Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts in 1926.³³ Over three years they trained under Eramiha Kapua, and alongside

²⁹ Peg Cummins, *Disce, Doce, Dilige – Learn, Teach, Serve, A History of Ardmore Teachers College* (Tauranga: Bassdrum Books Ltd, 2008).

³⁰ Rangihiroa Panoho, *The Development of Māori Art in a Contemporary Form and Context: Paratene Matchitt* (MA diss., University of Auckland, 1988), 21.

³¹ See Damian Skinner, *The Carver and the Artist: Māori Art in the Twentieth Century* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008), 16-46, and 79-125, and 127-161.

³² Angela Ballara, "Poutapu, Wiremu Te Ranga," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1998), <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4p19/poutapu-wiremu-te-ranga>, accessed 30 January 2020.

³³ Ballara, "Poutapu," and De Jong, "Making of a Sculptor," 21-22.

Pine Taiapa, returning to the Waikato to become the lead Tainui carvers.³⁴ However, Fred Graham resisted encouragement from his elders to follow their model.

I had no desire, I would walk into the museum in Auckland and see all these carvings and ask myself ‘what are you trying to do? Art is an expression of form and of that time—you can’t do any better than Te Kaha (*Te Potaka* carvings, Figure 74). The ones that actually encouraged me were the women—they were the visionaries, they saw my art and thought it was good.³⁵

At Ardmore Teachers College, Graham was selected for an experimental art education programme initiated by Gordon Tovey, Supervisor of Art and Craft for the Department of Education in Wellington, who had progressive ideas about the role of art and craft in childhood, and the importance of Māori culture. Sidney Moko Mead and Keriana Tuhaka, were the first Māori trainees of an itinerant art-specialist teacher programme undertaken as part of their education at Auckland Teachers’ Training College in 1946.³⁶ Tovey then initiated a partnership with the Dunedin Training College to offer a one year specialist art course, and Graham was one of two Māori among the twenty student first year intake two year later.³⁷ This programme, and later iterations, is widely credited for providing the foundations of the Contemporary Māori Art movement.

³⁴ E.G. Schwimmer, “Māori Artists in Building—Old and New, 1: John Taiapa and the Carved Meeting House of Today,” *Te Ao Hou*, September 1959, 31-34 and 48-51, Deidre Brown, “The Architecture of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts,” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 108, no.3 (1999), 243, and Rangihiroa Panoho, *Māori Art*, 142. It has been wrongly stated that Fred Graham trained with Pine Taiapa (see Katarina Mataira, *Maori Artists of the South Pacific* 1984, 58) and it is likely that this mistruth, which Graham has sought to correct on a number of occasions (see Norris, *Fred Graham and Brett Graham*, 25), originated from confusion between Waka Kereama’s association with Pine Taiapa, and, Fred Graham’s relationship to Kereama.

³⁵ Fred Graham quoted in “Tūruki Tūruki Paneke Paneke Panel Discussion, 20 July 2008: Fred Graham, Mere Lodge, Elizabeth Ellis, Selwyn Muru, James Pinker (Chair),” Audio Visual Collection, E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki. Graham is referring to Te Potaka, an eighteenth-century pataka by the people of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui of Te Kaha, and widely regarded among the finest examples of whakairo in existence, held in the Auckland War Memorial Museum collection and a star of *Te Māori*. Also see Panoho, *Māori Art*, 160 and 162.

³⁶ Hirini Moko Mead, “Foreword,” in De Jong (ed.), *Fred Graham*, 9.

³⁷ The other student was Mark Tapsell. De Jong, “Making of a Sculptor,” 28, and Jill Smith, “Sharing Māori Knowledge,” in De Jong, *Fred Graham*, 123-125.

In 1950 Graham was posted to Rotorua as an arts advisor to Māori schools in the Bay of Plenty region and worked alongside Mead, who had started researching Māori art history to inform his teaching programme.³⁸ In 1952, Graham moved to Te Taitokerau and worked as an art advisor with Ralph Hotere and Selwyn Wilson (childhood friends and locals), and they were joined by Katerina Mataira and Arnold Manaaki Wilson in 1955.³⁹ This cluster led Jonathan Mane-Wheoki to later brand Te Taitokerau as the ‘cradle of contemporary Māori art’ though Graham’s involvement in this period has, however, been overlooked in writing on this period having left the area in 1957 to take the position of Lecturer of Art at the Palmerston North Teachers’ College, the year before his peer group staged the first exhibition of Contemporary Māori Art at the Auckland Adult Education Centre in Auckland, which has since been celebrated as a key moment in Contemporary Māori Art history.⁴⁰

After six years in Palmerston North, Graham moved back to Tainui rohe in 1963, which brought him close to the network of Māori artists in the upper North Island region. Muru Walters, Arnold and Selwyn Wilson, Para Matchitt, Cliff Whiting, Elizabeth Ellis, Kathryn Harrison, Mere Lodge, and Graham began to meet frequently forming a ‘friendship of artists.’⁴¹ That group was galvanised by the 1960 art specialist week-long inservice training session at Ruatoria.⁴² The session included instruction by Pine Taiapa, who was ‘hired as the literal and spiritual tohunga for Māori arts and crafts specialists.’⁴³ Taiapa taught the basic principles of wood carving to Māori and Pākehā, men and women art specialists.

³⁸ Mead quoted in Jonathan Mane Wheoki, “Fred Graham and the Contemporary Māori Art Movement,” in De Jong, *Fred Graham*, 135.

³⁹ De Jong, “The Making of a Sculptor,” 29.

⁴⁰ Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, “Te Tai Tokerau and the Contemporary Māori Art Movement,” in *Te Puna. Māori Art from Te Tai Tokerau/Northland*, edited by Deidre Brown and Ngarino Ellis (Auckland: Reed, 2007), 103-121, Mane-Wheoki, “Fred Graham and the Contemporary Māori Art Movement,” in De Jong, *Fred Graham*, 137, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, “Ralph Hotere,” 39, and Ngahiraka Mason, “Tūruki Tūruki! Paneke Paneke!,” in *Tūruki Tūruki! Paneke Paneke!* (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2008), 15- 32, De Jong, “The Making of a Sculptor,” 30-31, and Jill Smith, “Sharing Māori Knowledge,” 125.

⁴¹ De Jong, “The Making of a Sculptor,” 34. From 1961-5 Ralph Hotere was studying at the St Martins School of Art in London and then based in Vence, France, returning to New Zealand in 1965.

⁴² Carol Henderson, *A Blaze of Colour. Gordon Tovey: Artist Educator* (Christchurch: Hazard Press, 1998), 166-174.

⁴³ Mason, “Tūruki Tūruki!,” 26.

This session led to further workshops over two years involving Taiapa and his familial network of experts in customary Māori arts within the Tairāwhiti region, a programme is that has been variously termed the 'Ngāti Porou inservice courses' or the 'Ruatoria courses.'⁴⁴ Pine Taiapa was also asked to open an exhibition staged by Matchitt and John Bevan Ford.

He came and he was in a hell of a state ... it eventually turned out that he actually didn't like our work. He didn't like what we were doing and he came over to tell us off ... 'After all these bloody years of me teaching you about our history and so on, and then you turn around and do this bloody rubbish! ...

And then he went away and thought about it before the opening of this exhibition, and he came out. 'I came down here to blow these boys up.' But he thought about it a bit more and he said 'The world is full of art, there is room in it for everyone.'⁴⁵

Whiting recalled a similar encounter with Taiapa, who said that 'Yes, I know this is a changing world. These works must stand in that world, but the stories must remain true so that our treasures are never lost.'⁴⁶ While Taiapa's approval was important, so too was his guidance as to the enduring qualities of Māori art.

Graham did not attend those sessions though found himself among an inspired group of artists who had resolved their point of difference to the national school of carving. He credits the philosophy formed among the 'friendship of artists' between 1963-1973 as the foundation of his practice as a Contemporary Māori Artist and acknowledges the innovations of Hotere, Matchitt, Selwyn Muru and Arnold Wilson, as models for his work at this time.⁴⁷ The energy of this group coalesced at the first Māori Arts Festival, held at Turangawaewae in December 1963, which

⁴⁴ Ian Christiansen, *Cliff Whiting: Te Toi Nuku, Te Toi Rangī* (Palmerston North: He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2013), 50.

⁴⁵ Para Matchitt, "People Are Amazed. So Am I," *Now See Hear: Art, Language and Translation*, edited by Gregory Burke and Ian Wedde, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, Wellington City Art Gallery, 1990), 136.

⁴⁶ Christensen, *Cliff Whiting*, 48. Also see Sandy Adsett quoted in Panoho, *Māori Art*, 136.

⁴⁷ De Jong, "The Making of a Sculptor," 36, and Norris, *Fred Graham and Brett Graham*, 26.

commemorated the centennial of the Crown's invasion of Ngaruawahia. Matchitt, Selwyn Muru, Arnold Wilson and Selwyn Wilson presented their work in Mahinarangi, alongside portraits of Māori by C.F. Goldie and Gottfried Lindauer loaned from the Auckland Museum and Auckland Art Gallery, and carved gourds by Theo Schoon, among others.⁴⁸

The next Māori Arts Festival staged in 1966 enabled Graham to directly contribute to the development of the group. Kiwa Graham was a community leader in Hamilton and involved in the Hamutana (Hamilton) Māori Club and Progressive Association.⁴⁹ To mark the coronation of Queen Te Ātairangikaahu and raise funds to establish an urban community centre, the Association organised the second Māori Arts Festival, held in various locations throughout Hamilton over the week of 21-28 August.⁵⁰ Graham proposed an exhibition as part of the Festival, hired the St Paul's Methodist Church in Hamilton, and invited fourteen artist friends to contribute to the exhibition, titled *Contemporary Maori Painting and Sculpture* (Figure 75).

Ralph Hotere designed the cover for the catalogue, which was typed on a manual typewriter, and it listed seventy exhibits by Sandy Adsett, Clive Arlidge, John Bevan Ford, William Henry, Ralph Hotere, Para Matchitt, Mere Harrison, Elizabeth Mountain, Selwyn Muru, Freda Rankin, Cliff Whiting, Arnold Wilson and Pauline Yearbury. The artists enthusiasm for the exhibition was so great that more artworks arrived than there was space to exhibit. Some were displayed in local shops.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Ans Westra, "Ngaruawahia Festival of the Arts," *Te Ao Hou* 46 (March 1964), 29, Taarati Tairaoa, "The Development of the Māori Art Exhibition—A Typology?," (MA diss., The University of Auckland, 2014), 35.

⁴⁹ The Hamutana Maori Club and Progressive Association provided leadership, stewardship and education to the Māori population based in Hamilton. See "Service to a City", *Te Ao Hou* 17 (December 1956), 39. The 2008 Ngāti Koroki Kahukura Treaty Settlement package also included 19 properties within the rohe of the iwi. The original names for these areas were restored or new names given to specific properties. Motu Kiwa was given to an island at Horahora in remembrance of Kiwa Graham as one of the last living "resident workers at the Horahora dam." Pohara Station Trust Trustees, "The Future Development of the Ngāti Koroki Kahukura Lands Manawanui Developments Limited Partnership August 2016," https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/51SCMA_EVI_00DBHOH_BILL68904_1_A529915/c7b9dfd4f04aabb4a19d226753ff7dbc10acdf82, accessed 19 December 2018.

⁵⁰ Westra, "Ngaruawahia," and Tairaoa, "Māori Art Exhibition," 39.

⁵¹ De Jong, "The Making of a Sculptor," 34.

The exhibition was a huge success, travelling to the Canterbury Museum and Wellington under the title *New Zealand Māori Culture and the Contemporary Scene*.

⁵² The following year, a scaled down, reformed and renamed version, *Exhibition of Traditional and Modern Māori Art*, was developed and toured by the New Zealand diplomatic corp and tourism department to Australia, Western Samoa, Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Japan.⁵³ This version featured 25 examples of ‘traditional Māori carving’ and 41 ‘modern’ art works, with Graham described as a one of the ‘main artists’ of the ‘modern section.’⁵⁴ This exhibition has been identified as ‘almost certainly the first curated exhibition of contemporary Maori art to be welcomed into a “mainstream” cultural institution,’ the ‘first curated Māori art exhibition to tour internationally’ and established the foundational members of the contemporary Māori art movement, termed ‘the class of ’66.’⁵⁵

Buoyed by these successes the Māori Council initiated an exhibition at the National Art Gallery, curated by Selwyn Muru. *The Work of Māori Artists* represented the leading edge of Contemporary Māori Art development: Sandydd Adsett, Cath Brown, John Bevan Ford, Ralph Hotere, Fred Graham, Para Matchitt, Selwyn Muru, Manos Nathan, Buck Nin, Muru Walters, Cliff Whiting and Arnold Wilson.⁵⁶ Each artist submitted multiple works though National Art Gallery staff intervened in the display, reducing the number of works by each artist, and dispatched remaining works to an alternative display venue. This and other incidences of cultural insensitivity resulted

⁵² Buck Nin and Baden Pere, *New Zealand Māori Culture and the Contemporary Scene 1966: An Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture Derived from Māori Culture* (Christchurch: Canterbury Museum, 1966).

⁵³ The 1966 Festival exhibition and its later iteration, *New Zealand Māori Culture and the Contemporary Scene*, have frequently been studied as separate initiatives, with the latter project credited to Buck Nin. The Hamilton origins of the international touring exhibition are documented in Brett Graham, *Aukaha, 40 Years of Māori Contemporary Art* (Hamilton: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato, 2006), n.p. For a thorough account of *New Zealand Māori Culture and the Contemporary Scene*, see Taiaroa, “Māori Art Exhibition,” 24-28.

⁵⁴ *Exhibition of Traditional and Modern Maori Art* (R.E. Owen, Government Printer: Wellington, 1967), n.p.

⁵⁵ Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, “Buck Nin and the Origins of Contemporary Māori Art,” *Art New Zealand* 82 (Autumn 1997), 61, Taiaroa, “Māori Art Exhibition,” 27, Adam Clifford, “The Mighty Class of ’66,” *New Zealand Herald*, 21 June 2006, B4, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, “The Class of ’66,” *Off the Wall* 1 (March 2013), <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/document/4130>, accessed 5 January 2019.

⁵⁶ New Zealand Māori Council, *The Work of Māori Artists* (New Zealand Maori Council, National Art Gallery: Wellington, 1969).

in a poor experience for the exhibiting artists, who resolved not to show there again.⁵⁷

In 1976, the exhibition *Contemporary Māori Art* at the Waikato Art Museum (11 September – 17 October 1976) gave Graham the opportunity to show his work alongside his Tainui elders. The exhibition included carving and weaving by Waka Kereama, Piri Poutapu, Rangimarie Hetet, Diggeress Te Kanawa and Inia te Wiata from the Kingitanga collection, alongside sculptures by Graham, Matchitt and Whiting (Figure 77 and Figure 78). In the exhibition catalogue essay, Pākehā artist and art specialist, Frank Davis, summarised a history of Māori art development that comfortably accommodated customary and contemporary art forms, summarising the main points of a ten-part series on Māori art history, serialised in the 1976 *Education* journal, as a teaching resource on Māori art, which had been introduced to the national secondary school curriculum.⁵⁸

As a full-time teacher with a young family, Graham worked from a home studio, involving his children—particularly Brett—in the creation of sculptures (Figure 79).⁵⁹ Graham worked largely on commission, a process he prefers for providing a kaupapa for his work, loaning back art works for public exhibition.⁶⁰ New opportunities arising from *Te Māori*, however, caused Graham to reassess his teaching career. As the only artist to feature in *Māori Artists of the South Pacific* (1984) and *Seven Māori Artists*, (1986), interest in Graham's work began to increase as evidenced by the flurry of major commissions, from public organisations and commercial patrons, such as the Ministry of Justice, New Zealand Shipping Company and Ford Motor Company. With Brett—his youngest child—enrolled at the Elam School of Fine Arts at the University of Auckland, Graham made arrangements to retire from teaching and commit to full-time art practice.

⁵⁷ See Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2007), 126-129, and Taiaroa, "Māori Art Exhibition," 44.

⁵⁸ Frank Davis, "Māori Art: An Introduction," *Contemporary Māori Art* (Hamilton, Waikato Art Museum, 1976): 6-16.

⁵⁹ Amanda Evans (dir.), *For Arts Sake—Stills—Fred and Brett Graham* (Pinnacle Producing Ltd, aired 8 September 1996, Television New Zealand), video, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, TZP176098.

⁶⁰ De Jong, *Fred Graham*, 140, and Norris, *Fred Graham and Brett Graham*, 120-142.

In 1985 Graham became a founding member of Contemporary Māori Art Trust, established to promote and develop Contemporary Maori Arts and Crafts within New Zealand and abroad. Trustees included the established corp of the Contemporary Māori Art movement; Sandy Adsett, Fred Graham, John Hovell, Darcy Nicholas, Buck Nin, Matt Pine, Cliff Whiting and Arnold Manaaki Wilson, who each contributed \$500 to the principal budget.⁶¹ The Trust Deed details the ambition and activities of the group to develop, support and promote ‘innovative art of a contemporary nature’ that had an ‘empathy with the Māori culture’.⁶² This included artists working in ‘new or innovative systems whose work has limited public acceptance’ and ‘traditional art forms and artists working in the traditional field.’⁶³ Secondly, the Trust sought to:

PROMOTE among the Maori people the understanding that contemporary Maori artists are inheritors of the artistic traditions of the archaic period and establish their legitimacy in the Maori artistic cosmology.⁶⁴

The Trust provided these artists with the means and opportunity to reconvene at locations throughout the country.⁶⁵ This model revived the Māori art-specialist meetings of the 1963-73 period, where the artists discussed the development of Contemporary Māori Art and the lore of the *whare wānanga* at an advanced level, conversations not supported by the expansive environment of the Ngā Puna Waihangā, which by the mid-1980s, at the height of popularity and scale. Through the auspices of the Contemporary Māori Arts Trust, Nicholas also initiated *Maori Art Today*, a contemporary Māori art response to *Te Maori*, which toured display venues alongside *Te Maori: Te Hokinga Mai*. This exhibition featured a core group of art works, including the work of Fred Graham and Brett Graham (Figure 80)—a second year student at Elam—supplemented by a rotating display of art works from each region, curated by emerging curator, George Hubbard, and artist, Barnard McIntyre. Through his work on *Māori Art Today*, George Hubbard was introduced to the

⁶¹ Approximately \$1500 in 2018 currency. Reserve Bank of New Zealand Historic Currency Calculator, <https://www.rbnz.govt.nz/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator>, accessed 16 January 2019.

⁶² “Contemporary Māori Arts Deed of Trust 1985,” 3. Darcy Nicholas Archive.

⁶³ “Deed of Trust,” 4.

⁶⁴ “Deed of Trust,” 3.

⁶⁵ Darcy Nicholas, interview by author, 29 August 2017.

Contemporary Māori Art movement, the politics of a younger generation of urbanised Māori artists, and accusations of sexism against the Contemporary Māori Art Trust—which informed the politics of his curatorial work in the early 1990s.

The work of Contemporary Māori Artists were at the forefront of 1990 sesquicentennial commemorations of the Treaty of Waitangi signing. Fred Graham designed the ubiquitous logo for the 1990 Commission national campaign, a stylised kotuku (white heron), featured in print and film promotions through the year. Criticisms of the Contemporary Māori Trust also came to a head during the development of *Kohia ko Taikaka Anake* at the National Art Gallery in Wellington. While the Trust had maintained a low profile in relation to its activities, their influence on the scene came to light in Diane Prince's art work in *Choice!*, which criticised the monopoly that the Trust (and Trustees) were perceived to hold over opportunities for Contemporary Māori Artists, as evidenced by the curatorial structure of *Taikaka*, and later, the boycott of that exhibition, in which Graham was one of the 'foundational' artists to be allocated an installation space.

In 1990, Brett Graham was studying in Hawai'i though travelled to Wellington to install his graduate Elam School of Fine Art installation, *Pou Whakamaharatanga* 1988, in the Tainui regional gallery of *Taikaka* (Figure 81). The three black pyramidal forms referred to the custom of erecting waka on land as memorials to noted individuals. The forms were specifically based on the prow section of a haumi, a waka hull made of multiple parts, lashed and sealed into a a continuous length, with each restating tongikura made by the Tainui leaders, Pōtatau, the second Māori King, Tawhiao (c. 1822-1894), and Princess Te Puea Herangi (1883-1952). These were exhibited alongside a korowai by Diggeress te Kanawa, and a sculpture and painting by Buck Nin. Graham also provided technical assistance to Para Matchitt, and remembers his experience of the foundational installations as overwhelming and inspiring (Figure 82).⁶⁶ Notably, a number of his soon-to-be 'Young Gun' colleagues also featured in the regional galleries; Shane Cotton and Peter Robinson were

⁶⁶ Para Matchitt, Maia Matchitt (dir.), Eliza Bidois, *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake* (Wellington: Simon Nixon Productions, National Art Gallery, Council for Māori and South Pacific Arts, 1990), video cassette, National Library, Wellington.

included in Te Wai Pounamu (the South Island), and Michael Parekowhai in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland), despite their whakapapa relating them to other areas. In this way, Brett Graham distinguished himself as a Tainui artist at an early stage of his public art career.

In 1990, Fred Graham finally retired from teaching to dedicate himself to his artistic practice. He has continued to work by commission, with the Kingitanga a frequent patron of his work from 1993—the year they settled their Treaty claim.⁶⁷ Graham's work is at the centre of any history of Contemporary Māori Art, and has been accorded multiple recognitions for his service to Māori Art.⁶⁸ In 2014, Graham's life and work was the subject of the book, *Fred Graham: Creator of Forms, Te Tohunga Auaha*, in which Mead, his early mentor, bestowed great honour on the artist. The reo Māori title of the book, given by Mead, recognised the artist as a tohunga, and Mead's essay for the publication recognised some examples of the artist's work as taonga.⁶⁹ The importance of this acknowledgement is outlined in the following passage, in which Mead describes the qualities and roles of a tohunga as an artist.

There is a mystical element in art or, more correctly, an elusive quality which men know is rare to achieve. What is the source of this elusive quality? If it is found only rarely in the work of a few individuals it cannot be mortal quality. It must be a gift given by the gods to a few privileged men. Then, how can something as beautiful as carving be invented by ordinary men? The Maori of the East Coast believed that man was the recipient of the art. Its inventor was a god of the highest order and the intermediary between this great god and man was another god who arranged a revelation of it to a privileged man of appropriate priestly quality.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Mead in De Jong, 9, and Norris, *Fred Graham and Brett Graham*, 128-130.

⁶⁸ In 2017, Graham was awarded “Te Tohu mō Te Arikiniui Dame Te Atairangikaahu,” the supreme award presented by Te Waka Toi, and The Arts Foundation acknowledged him with an Icon Award in 2018, their highest honour.

⁶⁹ Mead in De Jong, 11.

⁷⁰ Sidney Moko Mead, “The Morgan Manuscript,” unpublished transcript, 4-5, Brett Graham Archive.

Mead's essay identified a number of qualities of Fred Graham's practice as a tohunga, and, importantly, distinguished Graham from his Contemporary Māori Art peer group. Mead recognised Graham's deep engagement with Tainui knowledge, long-term residence within the rohe of Tainui, and service to his iwi as unique features of Graham's practice—he 'knows who he is, and his people know him as one of their own.'⁷¹ Mead also described Graham's taonga as expressing ihi, wehi, wana, and empowered by the mana of the artist's good character and stable family life—personal attributes that are rarely acknowledged in relation to the quality and significance of Māori art work. Overall, Mead's appraisal of Graham as a tohunga whose work has been recognised as taonga, is based on the conceptual and relational qualities of Māori artistic practice, and informed Brett Graham's education as a Contemporary Māori Artist.

Tātai: The Pacific

The founding generation nurtured Brett Graham's development as a Contemporary Māori Artist in New Zealand, and instructed him to view his practice within the broader context of the Pacific. On the advice of Buck Nin, and motivated by the legacy of Māori scholar based in Hawai'i, Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck, 1877-1951), Graham enrolled as a Masters student at the East West Centre at the University of Hawai'i in 1989. Graham was disillusioned by the mono-cultural European environment of the Elam School Fine Arts, and expected the art school at the East West Centre to offer a multicultural teaching environment, though was disappointed to discover similar conditions to what he had left behind.

I left the art school in Auckland because of its failure to recognise Polynesian art. Here it is much worse. The art school is not only totally Western, but also totally American. It lacks a cultural platform and its soulless.⁷²

⁷¹ Mead in De Jong, 9.

⁷² Brett Graham, "Travel Diary 1988-89," Brett Graham Archive.

Nonetheless, Nin had stressed the importance of gaining perspective on Māori as part of the Pacific. Graham mixed bronze-casting workshops (Figure 83 and Figure 84) with supplementary papers, extracurricular activities, travel within Hawai'i and North America, and a three-month apprenticeship with stone sculptor, Atsuo Okamoto, in Japan as part of his final year programme (Figure 87). Graham associates his time at the University of Hawai'i, however, with the galvanisation of the indigenous Hawai'i sovereignty movement lead on campus by his lecturer in Hawai'ian history, Haunani Kay Trask. Graham returned to New Zealand in 1991 with a clear understanding of his Māori identity as belonging to the Pacific, an abiding interest and concern for the Pacific region, as later evidenced in his work at the Tjibaou Centre, and *Āniwaniwa*, and this region as a site for his practice as a Contemporary Māori Artist.

Tātai: Mana Wahine

Āniwaniwa also belongs to a lineage of collaborations between Graham and Pacific women. While in Hawai'i, Graham met fellow Masters student, Teresia Teaiwa (1968-2017), an i-Kiribati-American scholar and poet. Her research was concerned with the impact of nuclear testing at Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands on the local indigenous population. Initially, however, she had wanted to document the industrial destruction of her father's family island of Banabas within the Kiribati group, and their relocation to Fiji, though was strongly dissuaded from researching her family history as part of a formal course of education.⁷³ She chose nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands as an instance of grievous environmental, cultural and societal destruction, mirroring her family experience.⁷⁴

Graham was strongly affected by Teaiwa and they stayed in contact after graduation. In a letter dated 1993 she challenged him to make 'icons for the Pacific', which Graham has since kept foremost in his mind as demonstrated in his 1996 sculptural response to Teaiwa's research.⁷⁵ *Bravo Bikini* 1996 comprised a series of white-

⁷³ Teresia Teaiwa, personal communication with the author, 20 January 2017.

⁷⁴ Teaiwa.

⁷⁵ Teresia Teaiwa to Brett Graham, 1993, Brett Graham Archive.

stained wooden sculptures presented in an entirely white gallery space recalling the ossifying effect of nuclear testing on coral reefs (Figure 88). Suspended in the central area of the gallery was a crescent-shaped form based on Micronesian spirit canoes hung in boat houses. Nearby, a wall-mounted circular disc, the face carved with concentric circles, represented the schematics for a bomb drop. The adjacent wall featured a series of wooden figures based on the Kave ancestor sculpture from Nukuoro in the Caroline Islands, adjacent to the Marshall Island group in Micronesia, and held in the Auckland Museum. The set of 26 figures, arranged in a vertical grid, were in varied states of brokenness. The title, *Bravo Bikini* was intended as a contemptuous statement that referenced the disingenuous reasons given to Islanders to move—for ‘the good of mankind and to end all world wars’—and the success of the testing when measured by the catastrophic damage that the bombing and radiation had on the physical, cultural and spiritual wellbeing of the indigenous people.⁷⁶

In 1999, Teresia’s sister, Katerina Teaiwa, invited Graham to become involved in her multi-disciplinary doctoral research on Banaba, her father’s home island.⁷⁷ Her research focussed on the impact of industrial-scale phosphate mining undertaken by Australian and New Zealand companies for use in farming in both countries. This industry destroyed the environment of the island and the local population was relocated, the Teaiwa family eventually settling in Fiji. In 2003 Graham presented his response contributing to his Doctoral studies at the Elam School of Fine Arts. *Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua* (2003), translated as ‘First Home, Second Home’, is a sculptural installation that replicates material aspects of the phosphate mining industry on Banaba (Figure 89). Suspended above phosphate-clad, rectangular white vessels, based on the massive buckets used to offload phosphate into boat stores, were crudely welded, highly rusted steel ovoids, onto which historical and contemporary images were projected.⁷⁸ The ‘album’ circled through an image of a customary

⁷⁶ Robert C. Kiste, *The Bikinians: A Study in Forced Migration* (California: Cummings, 1974), 28 quoted in Teaiwa, “bikini,” 89.

⁷⁷ The study was been expanded and published as *Consuming Ocean Island: Stories of People and Phosphate from Banaba*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014).

⁷⁸ Peter Brunt, “Kāinga Tahī Kāinga Rua: New Work on Banaba,” *The Contemporary Pacific*, 16, 2 (Fall 2004): 429-434.

Banaba dance performance, a digger harvesting phosphate, and a plane dressing New Zealand soil in phosphate powder (Figure 90). This latter image added to the kōrero of Teaiwa's research by emphasising the role of New Zealanders in the destruction of Banaba, and the complicity of Māori farmers in the loss of another's 'kāinga'. The dialogue between Graham and Teaiwa—through the lens of history—is what Samoan art historian, Peter Brunt, determined to be the most promising aspect of this art work in his review for the *The Contemporary Pacific* journal.

[T]he installation ... proposes itself as a meditation on Banaban history across *indigenous* perspectives on kāinga, Māori and Banaban. What can a cross-indigenous collaboration on the idea of “home” in life of colonial history tell us about the nature and potential of kāinga as a category of Pacific identity? Can it be used to deepen or expand the idea of indigeneity? Graham does not excuse Māori from ignorance of the history at issue, or indeed from complicity in the use of Banaban “homelands” for the development of their lands. What is interesting is the common concept, refracted through comparable but different historical experiences ... This collaboration, then, was a significant venture in beginning to think through and articulate the indigenous experience of colonization as a complex and differential one, outside the paradigm of the colonizer and the colonized.⁷⁹

While still engaged in his doctorate, Graham began a collaborative project with Ngāi Tahu video artist, Rachael Rakena. Rakena studied fine arts at the Otago Polytechnic (1992) and then completed a degree in Māori Studies at Otago University (1995). She was an active member of the group, Kāi Tāhu Whānau ki Āraiteuru, a network that researched and practiced Ngai Tahu taonga tuku iho. In 2000 she held a role as a lecturer at the Otago Polytechnic School of Art while undertaking her Masters degree. In 2001, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki and Deidre Brown, while teaching Māori art history together at the University of Canterbury, selected her video projection, ... *as an Individual and not under the Name of Ngai*

⁷⁹ Brunt, “Kāinga Tahi,” 433.

Tahu 2001 for their curated exhibition, *Techno Māori: Māori Art in the Digital Age* at City Gallery Wellington and Pataka Art + Museum, Porirua.

After seeing Rakena's 2003 video work, *Rerehiko*, Graham invited her to give a presentation to students in Te Toi Hou, the Māori department at the Elam School of Fine Arts, University of Auckland, where Graham had taught with Selwyn Muru since 1996.⁸⁰ Describing his interest in Rakena's work, Graham said:

Maori identity is usually defined in terms of a relationship to land, as in the expression, *tangata whenua* (literally, 'people land'). In many of Rachael's works however, this identity is explored as being in a state of flux, a fluid that like the borders of a river, are constantly changing.⁸¹

Rerehiko reflects on the use of digital technologies as a platform for Māori cultural revitalisation within an ever changing landscape (Figure 92). The title is described as a play on *rorohiko*, the Maori word for computer and literally translated as 'electric brain.' The transition from the noun, *roro* (brain) to the verb, *rere* (to fly, sail, glide or rush) in combination with *hiko* (flash, stimulate, electricity) reflects the way in which the internet enabled the creation of new communities online, and the transmission of *he taonga tuku iho*. The mechanisms of digital networks, also reflected the collaborative way in which Rachael works as an artist, seeing her role as within diverse creative and cultural communities.

Kāi Tāhu Whānau ki Āraiteuru was cc'ing each other in [email] messages, and we were trying to use as much te reo as we could ... In *Rerehiko*, the soundtrack comes from the emails. The Kāi Tahu Whānau community performed in the work and swam in amongst the email text that they had sent themselves.⁸²

⁸⁰ Rachael Rakena, *Rerehiko* 2003, multi-projection video environment (DVD projections [2] and sound track), collection of Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū, 2005/038.a-b.

⁸¹ Brett Graham, "Artist Statement," unpublished exhibition touring proposal, 2006, n.p., Brett Graham Archive.

⁸² Rachael Rakena quoted in *Rerehiko* exhibition label, <https://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/collection/2005-038a-b>, accessed 1 December 2018.

At this time, Graham was also exploring alternative methods of incorporating and presenting moving images in his work. While on an artist residency in Switzerland he attended the Venice Biennale in 2001, first year that New Zealand had staged a national exhibition. He remembers the Biennale as ‘video overload and so dull—flat projections on walls. I thought it could be done in a better, more innovative way.’⁸³ When Graham met Rakena, he had already begun to explore the incorporation of projectors into sculptural forms. Rakena remembered that ‘he asked where I want to take my art work and I said, “All the way to Venice.’ We laughed hysterically and said cheers to that, though its pie in the sky.’⁸⁴ The collaborative project that led to *Āniwaniwa* began in 2004 and quickly gained pace.

Tātai: Mangōroa

In 2004 Rakena worked briefly as a senior tutor at Te Toi Hou, and they submitted a research funding grant to Nga Pae o te Māramatanga, The National Institute for Research Excellence for Māori Development and Advancement at the University of Auckland. Their proposal was titled *Māngoroa*, the name of the shark that the demi-god, Māui, placed in the sky, and seen in the night sky as the Milky Way galaxy.

Their proposal outlined a collaborative project based on the combination of the artists’ respective skills and media, combining ‘object-based’ and ‘non-object’ time-based practices. *Māngoroa* comprised two strands of development; the production of an experimental sculptural and video installation, comprising five wakahuia forms with inset video projections, and investigation of Māori cosmological narratives. The artists were primarily concerned with the concept of water and sky as a space in which Māori identity is constructed without reference to land or landmarks. They proposed to research Māori oral traditions relating to these subjects including whakatauki and ancestral narratives such as Huitēananui, the whare whakairo located in the underwater underworld of Tangaroa, from which Ruatēpupuke retrieved the first examples of carving. The proposal also included the production of

⁸³ Brett Graham, personal communication, 7 January 2018.

⁸⁴ Sarah Lang, “Four Corners: Art in the Floodlights,” *North and South* (April 2008), 34.

a catalogue and presentation of an exhibition at a New Zealand public art gallery as the primary public output.

The grant application was successful, though the conditions of the project quickly changed. In late 2004 both artists left Te Toi Hou. Māori artist, Jacob Scott attracted Graham to take a position at Te Kura Toi, the Māori art programme at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, the first Māori university established by Koro Wetere and Buck Nin at Te Awemutu in 1993. Rakena was recruited by Robert Jahnke at Toi Oho Ki Āpiti at Massey University in Palmerston North to introduce digital arts to the curriculum. Both artists negotiated the *Mangōroa* project into their respective teaching contracts, with Brett securing a part-time teaching contract at Toi-Oho-Ki-Āpiti in 2005 in addition to his work at the Wānanga.⁸⁵ This enabled the artists to intensively workshop the *Mangōroa* work in Palmerston North through 2005, with a proposed exhibition scheduled for the Hastings Art Gallery the following year.

The *Mangōroa* exhibition proposal showed early resolve about the final form of the art work. The proposed installation was described as five ‘wakahuia’, large carved sculptures within internal video screens/projections and sound components, suspended from the roof.⁸⁶ The kōrero of the art work and visual imagery contained within the forms was yet to be resolved. The proposal identified several themes, including space exploration, Māori navigational systems, rising global sea levels, and the controversy over Foreshore and Seabed Legislation, which vested the ownership of tidal areas with the Crown, and exempt from Treaty of Waitangi claims (Figure 93). It was in relation to this controversy that first reference is made to the story of Horahora.

The public have a vague perception of what the foreshore and seabed are. By exploring how these realms have been perceived in Maori thought ... or indeed once occupied in reality by our ancestors before being flooded, or

⁸⁵ “Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga Centre for Research Excellence Contract Agreement: University of Auckland, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa,” 2005-06, “Āniwaniwa File,” Brett Graham Archive.

⁸⁶ Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena, “Mangōroa initial host gallery exhibition proposal,” 2005, “Āniwaniwa File,” Brett Graham Archive.

permanently damaged through the altering waterways and rivers, we hope to make our audience more conscious to their importance. An example is the town of Horahora, once on the banks of the Waikato River ... This is where Graham's father grew up; it is an historic site both preserved yet inaccessible.⁸⁷

Graham had frequently discussed the history of Horahora with his father and grandfather, who regarded their whenua as continuing to exist in a preserved state though inaccessible. Graham and Rakena visited Horahora with Fred Graham, and met with former residents and local historians. Inspired by a diorama of the area prior to being flooded, and the remnants of an old generator near the site of Fred Graham's childhood home, they investigated the possibility of employing a diver to film the power station in its current state on the lake bed.⁸⁸ On their return they resolved to focus their project on the kōrero of Horahora, with further research leading them to the story of Āniwaniwa and the rainbows that appeared above the rapids.⁸⁹

Rakena was then invited to exhibit at the 2006 Sydney Biennale (8 June – 27 August 2006) and proposed a work from her collaboration with Graham, which led to a split in the *Mangōroa* research process, and creation of two art works. The first responded to the Biennial theme, *The Contact Zone*, to explore the issues of submersion as a consequence of rising ocean levels within the Pacific. The other was specific to Horahora.⁹⁰ In terms of production, however, the physical forms of the art works remained closely related, with the first art work to be made becoming a technical prototype for the second.

⁸⁷ Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena, "Mangōroa initial host gallery exhibition proposal," 2005, "Āniwaniwa File," Brett Graham Archive.

⁸⁸ Water visibility and technical issues prevented such filming. "Mangōroa Research Report 2005," "Āniwaniwa File," Brett Graham Archive. See also Andy Connor, "Trip Report: Horahora Power Station (Lake Karāpiro), 21 October 2009," *Tech Dive New Zealand*, <http://www.techdivenz.com/pdfs/trips/trip211009.pdf>, accessed 12 November 2018.

⁸⁹ Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena, "Mangōroa Project Report for Nga Pae o te Māramatanga," (2006), 6, "Āniwaniwa File," Brett Graham Archive.

⁹⁰ "Mangōroa Project Report," 6.

These developments necessitated changes to the research funding grant, an application for further funding and an extension on delivery. The proposed exhibition at the Hastings Art Gallery was forfeited, and while still producing two separate art works, Graham and Rakena were introduced to Alice Hutchison, the newly-appointed Curator of Art at Te Manawa, the public museum in Palmerston North. Hutchison scheduled their second work-in-progress into the late 2006 exhibition programme, and worked with the artists to develop a touring proposal. Given the significance of the Horahora kōrero to Tainui, the proposal was first sent to Waikato Museum and Art Gallery, who scheduled the exhibition into their programme for May 2007 to coincide with the annual Koroneihana (coronation) commemorations for Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu (23-28 May). The Koroneihana is an important gathering of iwi who support the Kingitanga, and involves a range of political, cultural and social events. Importantly, commitment from these public galleries was crucial to the requirements of the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga research grant.

Tātai: UFOB

UFOB (2006) responded to highly publicised racial tensions within Australia involving the treatment of the refugees arriving by boat and violent acts against migrant communities in Sydney. These themes were indicated in the title, a play on the derogatory term given to Pacific Island migrants; 'You F.O.B. ('fresh off the boat'), and fear of extra-terrestrial life forces (U.F.O.s). The art work comprised fifteen ceiling mounted video screens contained in black circular cases resembling a variety of cell-like forms, and carved with a coral-like pattern (Figure 94). The forms were described as both waka huia and space ships, and collectively known as a 'fleet'.⁹¹

The moving image component, projected from internal screens within each form, documented a performance staged on Bondi Beach in Sydney undertaken while Rakena was an artist in residence at Sydney's Performance Space. *Pacific Washup* was a collaborative performance with Samoan artists, Fez Fa'anana and Brian Fuata, and involved figures emerging from the ocean contained in 'large, striped

⁹¹ "Mangōroa Project Report," 6.

plastic bags ... used all over the Pacific because they're cheap and easy to move', struggling along the shore, clambering or hopping along the sand, with local beach users staring curiously in the background (Figure 95).⁹² While the performance responded to Pacific migration in Australia, the artists' decision to focus on the tidal zone also reflected on Foreshore and Seabed Legislation in New Zealand.

Āniwaniwa

Where *UFOB* creatively resolved many production goals, the scale of *Āniwaniwa* created new difficulties during development. Many of these challenges arose from conceptual parameters established by the artists, which the form of the art work had to accommodate. For example the artists conceived of the forms as *waka huia*, elaborately carved treasure boxes, which are customarily suspended in the ceilings of *pataka*, elaborately carved store houses, that pre-date the development of whare *whakairo* as the expression of tribal identity and authority. *Waka huia* contained the most precious and rarefied *taonga* held by the people, and are also regarded as a container of memories. Significantly this mode of presentation activated the space of the art gallery as a *pataka*—a role that has been designated to art galleries in New Zealand through Māori language names though rarely operationalised as such.

In keeping with the tradition of *waka huia*, Graham wanted to make the main forms of his sculptures out of wood. Where the *UFOB* *waka huia* took a range of organic cell-like forms, Brett was directly inspired by the turbines at the power station. The turbines had parallel circular faces whereas *wakahuia* (as lidded containers) are tubular in form, with a circular diameter and rounded ends. Graham's form took the shape of a circular dome or, more specifically, an ellipsoid shape (Figure 96). The projection was conceived as emanating from an opaque acrylic disc mounted in the 'mouth' of the form.

⁹² Rachael Rakena quoted in Rosalie Higson, "Welcome to the Contact Zone," *The Australian* (2 June 2006), 16. See also Peter Brunt, "UFOB," in *Zones of Contact: 2006 Biennale of Sydney*, edited by Charles Merewether (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, Museum of Contemporary Art): 122.

Wood quickly proved too heavy at this scale so he turned to resin moulding techniques. A blank was engineered from customwood by an industrial routing company into which Graham carved a pattern derived from brain coral, referencing the Pacific, the ocean floor, and the origin story of carving. Graham's carving technique retained a flat face, which made the surface appear like a cross-section of wood that had been burrowed by an insect, an intentional effect recalling the literal translation of whakairo (whaka iro) as the work of, or being like, maggots (iro).

Casting allows for multiple forms to be made, yet the replication of the complex surface pattern created multiple difficulties. Several failed methods were tried, including vacuum sealing, before a mould was made using traditional wet laminating techniques. (Figure 97). These delays caused the casting process to be rushed, which created new problems—pockmarked surfaces took many hours to remedy into a durable finish. By the time the exhibition was due to open at Te Manawa, only one resin form had been successfully cast.

The mechanism for projecting the image within the waka huia was another technical challenge that the artists worked on together. Multiple techniques were trialled before their breakthrough was found in a science display about the optical illusions at Te Manawa. This display led to the installation of a projector within the side cavity of the eclipsoid form. The projector was aimed at a concave mirror mounted at the centre of the interior dome, which cast the image onto the concave acrylic disc fitted into the mouth of the sculpture.

The exhibition at Te Manawa (September 2006-February 2007) as the first opportunity for the artists to put the component parts together and Graham remembers that 'we weren't sure that we were going to make it.'⁹³ The installation featured one waka huia with the audiovisual configured for single channel display. The artists also installed black mattresses and pillows on the floor of the gallery. This aided the viewer's ability to watch the moving image component, and activated the gallery as a wharenuī (Figure 101).

⁹³ Brett Graham, personal communication with the author, 12 January 2019.

Rakena had composed the single channel video with two distinct phases. 'It starts with a river flowing and drops of blood flowing through the water, because the land was fought over and the river was fought over.'⁹⁴ This abstract digital animation then simulated the generation of power from water, represented by fiery flames of red and gold, to the thrashing of a turbine in water. This battle between blood, fire and water was accompanied by a haka performed by a wero group lead by Kereti Rautangata, that recounts the battle of Te Taumatawiwi.

The second phase is marked by the opening notes of *Pō Atarau* sung by renown Tuhoe singer, Whirimako Black. The lyrics of this waiata were composed in 1915 to the tune of the *Swiss Cradle Song* as a farewell to Māori men as they departed for Europe to serve in World War One. In 1920, Maewa Kaihau (the wife of Henare Kaihau, Member of Parliament and advisor to King Mahuta) composed an English language version of the song. By the 1930s this song was well known through New Zealand as the *Haere Ra Waltz*, becoming the final song played at dances.

Now is the hour for me to say goodbye
Soon you'll be sailing far across the sea
While you're away oh please remember me
When you return you'll find me waiting here.

This version of the song caught the attention of international recording artists in the 1940s. In 1947, Bing Crosby's rendition of *Now is the Hour*, became a number one hit. That same year, *Pō Atarau* was sung by Graham's whanau and power station workers as the Horahora power station was subsumed by water. Black's recording session in 2006 is remembered as especially remarkable; her brother had died the day previous and 'she said it was the first time she had been recorded in a state of grief, rather than recalling that grief', said Rakena.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Rachel Rakena quoted in Kelly Andrew, "Portholes on a World Under Water," *The Dominion Post* (11 March 2008), 11.

⁹⁵ Rakena in Andrew, "Portholes." The soundtrack also featured vocals by opera singer, Deborah Wai Kapohe, mixed and engineered by electronic musician, Paddy Free.

The opening notes of Whirimako Black's rendition introduce the viewer to an underwater scene. It is as though the viewer is fixed in the landscape after the flooding. Figures emerge from an opaque field of vision, moving slowly and calmly underwater. In time it becomes apparent that the various figures in view—a man holding a tool, a woman wearing an apron and children in shorts, shirts and carrying suitcases (Figure 98)—are conducting their everyday business underwater; gardening, hanging out the washing (Figure 99) and getting ready for school. The large shorts and flannel shirts worn by the male figures, and the suitcases held by the children, were modelled on photographs of Fred Graham and his sister at Horahora School.⁹⁶ Where the descendents of Ngati Koroki-Kahukura waded into the river to rescue the bones of their ancestors, here, within the wakahuia, the ancestors continue on with their lives, albeit underwater.

Āniwaniwa does not manifest in the sequence as a rainbow, but rather takes the form of turbulent water caused by the thrashing of the no.7 turbine that could not be shut down (Figure 100). The inability to turn off the no. 7 turbine gave rise to the legend that Horahora was a town that refused to die. Though here, Āniwaniwa is the immanent force that refuses to die, and lays dormant under the waters of Lake Karāpiro today.

The artists continued to work on *Āniwaniwa* while on public display. Involving students at Toi-Oho-Ki-Āpiti as both cast and crew, Rakena re-shot and refined the underwater scenes. Graham, meanwhile, produced two further wakahuia forms, and the video was reconfigured in a sequenced format across three screens (Figure 102). The provisional status of the art work was not missed by visitors. Stalwart of the local Palmerston North art community, Fran Dibble complained about her inability to engage with the content in a review for the *Manawatu Standard*. '[T]he work is marvellous. It is possibly a little romantic, but very beautiful ... water, that life-providing source, becomes a slow and deliberate destroyer, as a result of the actions of mankind ... the artists may be on the same wavelength and not realise that we

⁹⁶ The clothing used in filming were based on photographs of Fred Graham and his sister, Bea, as children at Horahora School.

come into it cold. We are not briefed on the exhibition before we enter the gallery.⁹⁷ A staff representative from the Waikato Museum and Art Gallery also visited the exhibition and appraised the work as unsuitable for display in May 2007. In a letter to the Museum Director, dated 21 November 2006, following an earlier exchange, Graham catalogued the cause of his distress:

As you mentioned , you have allowed me to have a special relationship with the Museum. This is all the more reason why I was so obviously perturbed by the Museum's decision not to exhibit *Āniwaniwa* ... a show that Rachael Rakena and I had been planning for three years and secured a substantial research grant to complete, and that I had been engaged in making since January. My father had already informed many of the former residents of Horahora that a 'reunion' of sorts would be held to correspond with the exhibition in May, and 'Nga Pae o te Māramatanga' were planning a launch in conjunction with a public relations company whose services I had already engaged. Exhibiting in May is significant memory of the void left by the death of Te Atairangikahu [15 August 2006] and her [41st] coronation week.

Our purpose for exhibiting in Waikato was simply to honour the people for whom the work was created, those who remain of the Horahora community, Ngati Koroki-Kahukura and Tainui, and the people of Waikato at large. I am still hoping they will have this opportunity and that this matter can be resolved.⁹⁸

Despite Graham's defense of *Āniwaniwa*, its profound importance to Tainui and the heightened significance of May 2006 exhibition schedule in light of the passing of Queen Te Atarangiāhu, the Museum remained firm in its decision to postpone the exhibition and contingent on the resolution and completion of the art work to their satisfaction. In the despair of this moment, Hutchison made the 'preposterous'

⁹⁷ Fran Dibble quoted in Helen Harvey, "Drowned village showing at Vienna [sic]," *Manawatu Standard* (21 March 2007), 3.

⁹⁸ Brett Graham to Kate Vusoniwailala, 21 November 2006, "Āniwaniwa File," Brett Graham Archive.

proposal to put *Āniwaniwa* on a barge to the Venice Biennale.⁹⁹ From Hutchison's perspective a proposal to the collateral events of the Biennale was ambitious but not impossible. The daughter of New Zealand abstract painter Phillipa Blair, Hutchison had established her curatorial career in London, New York and Los Angeles. Prior to returning to New Zealand and taking the role at Te Manawa, she was Curator and Associate Director at Pace Gallery in Los Angeles, a commercial art enterprise with ten galleries worldwide. Hutchison had the contacts and insight to achieve this goal notwithstanding an undergraduate degree in Italian and life experience working in that country.¹⁰⁰ The artists were dubious but in light of their situation, entertained Hutchison's proposal.

Venice Biennale

Well-connected and experienced, Hutchison had seen an important opportunity. After media controversy and political dissatisfaction with the 2005 staging, Creative New Zealand suspended funding for the national exhibition and commissioned an independent evaluation of the projects to date (2001, 2003 and 2005)¹⁰¹ Hutchison acted expediently by sending the proposal to her colleague, Milovan Farronato, an Italian contemporary art curator based in Milan. When Hutchison asked 'what chance they had to put in a proposal ... he said it was late but he'd give it a shot.'¹⁰² Farronato involved Camilla Seibezzi, a Venetian curator who had indepth experience on Biennale projects through her not-for-profit organisation, Plug. They prepared the proposal to be submitted to Biennale curator, Robert Storr, for consideration as a Biennale Collateral Event. Storr selected *Āniwaniwa* as one of thirty four art works for the Collateral Events from over three hundred proposals.

The acceptance of their proposal was the first step in an enormous effort to get the work to Venice. The artists immediately began to raise the \$300,000 required to deliver the project with significant payments due in February and March to secure

⁹⁹ Brett Graham, "Aniwaniwa—The Journey," *Art News* (Spring 2007), 83.

¹⁰⁰ Email from Alice Hutchison, Tauranga, 28 November 2018.

¹⁰¹ "Evaluating New Zealand's Participation in the Venice Art Biennale: Executive Summary," (SGS Economics and Planning: Wellington, May 2006), vii, "Āniwaniwa File," Brett Graham Archive.

¹⁰² Harvey, "Drowned Village."

their participation in the Biennale and the venue. Friends, family and the artists' dealers, Jenny Todd (Auckland) and Alison Bartley (Wellington) mobilised to assist with financial and administrative tasks including the establishment of the Mangōroa-Aniwaniwa Project Trustees Limited company.

Working with a Venetian curator was key to their success. Seibezzi undertook the difficult task of locating a venue suitable for the installation of the art work. A number of venues were proposed but the artists were captivated by the Magazzini del Sale, a former salt warehouse near the Grand Canal and built around the time that the Tainui waka arrived in Aotearoa.¹⁰³ Seibezzi also secured venue hire sponsorship from the Italian fashion house, Byblos, whose proposed artist project for the Collateral Events had not been accepted. In a press released dated January 2007—demonstrating the speed of their progress after being postponed by Waikato—the advantages of working with tangata whenua of Venice was credited:

While the New Zealand curator developed the project with the artists as a prototype in New Zealand (with further refinement needed for its destination), the Italian curators have managed to navigate through the exclusive bureaucratic networks in order to have the project presented and highlighted, as they have indicated that it will create great interest and relevance for Venice this year.¹⁰⁴

The local relevance of *Āniwaniwa* was emphasised by Hutchison in subsequent media releases for the public fundraising events.

Aniwaniwa is perfect for Venice. The notion of submersion is highly pertinent to the slowly sinking city of Venice and our Italian colleagues are really excited about this work. While it tells a very specific and local story, its references are very international both in terms of environmental issues, with

¹⁰³ Graham, "Aniwaniwa," 83.

¹⁰⁴ Alice Hutchison and Camilla Seibezzi, "Press Release: Aotearoa New Zealand Participation in 2007 Venice Biennale" (25 January 2007), "Āniwaniwa File," Brett Graham Archive.

rising sea levels and global warming, and concerns about cultural loss in an era of globalisation.¹⁰⁵

For Graham, he was most pleased that ‘our taonga can be seen and understood by an international audience.’¹⁰⁶

The public fundraising drive raised the profile of the project, which prompted media commentary of this initiative and the art work. In an article for *Mana: the Māori Magazine for Everyone*, Moerangi Vercoe queried the motivations and relevance of sending *Āniwaniwa* to Venice and asked ‘how might *Āniwaniwa* fit into such an environment and what does that say about Māori art?’ She sought comment from Graham, who responded that *Āniwaniwa* is ‘not far from the world of the whare whakairo, te ringa o te kupu’.¹⁰⁷ Graham identifies the latter phrase as a ‘misquote’ that should have read ‘ko te whare whakairo te whakaringa o te kupu’, which translates as ‘a carved house is the hanging place of words, a place that inspires oratory/dialogue’, meaning that Venice simply offered a new context in which to tell the story of *Āniwaniwa*.¹⁰⁸

Funding for the Venice project came from a variety of sources. Through City Gallery Senior Curator, Heather Galbraith, the artists secured a crucial grant from Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Māori Development, and a donation from the Todd Foundation, via Graham’s Auckland-dealer, Jenny Todd. Fundraising events were less successful but raised the profile of the project and fuelled criticism about the lack of Creative New Zealand funding for the 2007 Biennale.¹⁰⁹ Existing sponsors, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Massey University raised their level of support, and the artists made a cash investment of \$100,000. In March 2007 Hutchinson submitted an application to Creative New Zealand to fund the return of the art work to New Zealand, by which time *Āniwaniwa* was already on a container

¹⁰⁵ Alice Hutchison, “Press Release: Two New Zealand Artists Selected for 2007” (15 February 2007), “*Āniwaniwa* File,” Brett Graham Archive.

¹⁰⁶ Brett Graham quoted in Hutchison, “Two New Zealand Artists.”

¹⁰⁷ Vercoe, “Venice,” 85.

¹⁰⁸ Text message from Brett Graham to author, 29 March 2019.

¹⁰⁹ Kelly Andrew, “Artists Scramble to Find Funds For Biennale Exhibit,” *The Dominion Post* (5 March 2007), A6.

ship to Venice, 'before the budget had been secured, against the advice of just about everybody.'¹¹⁰ In late May when the artists were in Venice awaiting the arrival of *Āniwaniwa* by sea, and receiving notification that their Creative New Zealand application was successful. Graham summarised his general mood at that time as 'apprehensive'.¹¹¹

The realisation of *Āniwaniwa* in full form presented many challenges in a difficult working environment. The barge delivery was one week late leaving the artists with two weeks to install (Figure 103). The heritage-listed building required them to employ a team of Italian tradespeople to complete certification work, a process in which Seibezzi's local status proved invaluable. The sole New Zealand contractor was Murray Rich, a rigger who had worked with Graham on the installation of his sculptures since the early 1990s. Rich's expertise was essential for suspending the wakahuia from the exposed wooden rafters eight meters from the ground in a ceiling height of eleven meters. Graham later described the process as:

[T]he best and worst of times. "I wouldn't repeat it for anything. But I wouldn't regret it for anything. Logistically it was such a nightmare. You can't take anything in by road. You have to barge it. And in Venice you need a permit for everything, even just to put up a banner outside your building. But we went into it, and it worked like a dream."¹¹²

The installation team otherwise included friends and family: Rakena's sister, Hutchison's cousin, and Toi Oho Ki Āpiti colleagues and artists, Ngatai Taepa and Saffronn te Ratana. 'There was no project manager and no chain of command.'¹¹³ The team attached the tino rangatiratanga flag to the exterior of the Magazzini del Sale to mark the independent and self-determined attitude characterising their project (Figure 111).

¹¹⁰ Graham, "Āniwaniwa," 83.

¹¹¹ Brett Graham, "Speech Notes: Āniwaniwa at City Gallery Wellington," 2008, Brett Graham Archive.

¹¹² Brett Graham quoted in Andrew, "Portholes."

¹¹³ Graham, "Āniwaniwa," 85.

Āniwaniwa was awakened at the opening of the exhibition on 9 June 2007. Karanga by te Ratana and Rakena opened the exhibition, supported by whaikōrero by Taepa, who ‘eloquently joined the artistic lines of descent between Europe’s most ancient civilisation and the Pacific’s youngest – words ... spiralling upwards and beyond from Papatuanuku below to the rafters of the house.’¹¹⁴ The entire pōwhiri was conducted in Māori and Italian languages. Graham regards that fact as a major achievement for demonstrating that Contemporary Māori Artists—and Māori art—were not limited to a world defined by Pākehā New Zealander cultural brokers and their objectives.¹¹⁵

This biography of *Āniwaniwa* documents the gestation of this taonga as a collaborative effort to become an independent entity separate from the artists. *Āniwaniwa* is both a realisation and conveyor of he taonga tuku iho, both ancient and more recent, ranging from the migration history of Graham’s ancestors from Hawaiki to the development of Contemporary Māori Art. In this case the artists became channels for the transmission of he taonga tuku iho, though this was not a passive process. Years of diligent and persistent education enabled Graham and Rakena to become conduits of he taonga tuku iho through their practice of toi Māori. In their case, the conveyance of Māori knowledge was their primary kaupapa as Contemporary Māori Artists, laying the necessary foundation for *Āniwaniwa* to be recognised as taonga by others. That recognition occurred when *Āniwaniwa* was eventually exhibited at the Waikato Museum, a process detailed in the following chapter.

¹¹⁴ Graham, “Āniwaniwa,” 85.

¹¹⁵ This point was repeatedly made by Graham throughout the research process.

5. Te Puawaitanga: Te Kōrero o Āniwaniwa

Āniwaniwa was realised against the odds at the Venice Biennale returning to a heroes welcome in New Zealand. The impact of *Āniwaniwa* registered with New Zealand writers with their responses demonstrating an openness and receptivity not afforded to *Kahukura* during the debates. Ngāti Koroki Kahukura leaders also saw *Āniwaniwa* for themselves and began to employ the art work for the advancement of their people. When *Āniwaniwa* was eventually shown at the Waikato Museum in 2007, the art work was recognised as taonga—a process that relied on the determined efforts of the artists and an acutely local confluence of events. Like *Kahukura*, *Āniwaniwa* then left New Zealand as a leading example of Contemporary Māori Art ultimately to reside in a foreign collection as a premier example of indigenous international art, becoming part of a long lineage of taonga Māori found in collections around the globe.

Āniwaniwa was very successful with Venetian locals and Italian nationals. The Italian co-curators appointed multi-lingual Italian and other European exhibition attendants to maintain *Āniwaniwa* during the Biennale and interpret the work for the 21,500 visitors during the three month exhibition.

While supposed to close at 6 pm each evening, *Aniwaniwa* was often open later with hundreds of visitors. “The locals loved it. Our curator [Hutchison] ... said there were people shaking and crying. She had never seen that before.”¹

The soundtrack is in Māori so there was a very limited audience to understand that. People read things that are important to them. They might not know the specifics but they understand the ideas of loss and submerging.²

¹Rachel Rakena quoted in “A Flood of Visitors,” *Capital Times* (20 February 2008), 11.

² Rakena in “Flood,” 11.

Perhaps surprisingly, the New Zealand music appealed to Italian visitors ... with many asking where they could get a copy.³

We would hear Italian kids just saying “Āniwaniwa, Āniwaniwa ...” They were fascinated by the sound of the word.”⁴

One child came back again and again, and talked about ideas of the underworld, heaven and hell.⁵

The comments were overwhelmingly positive with many remarks made about the sincerity of *Āniwaniwa*. Attendants also registered expressions of interest from a number of curators from major European museums and galleries including Nancy Marie Mithlo, founder of the Indigenous Arts Action Alliance (IA3), a non-profit organisation based in Santa-Fe that sponsored and produced contemporary Native American art exhibitions for the Venice Biennale from 1999.

There was a subdued response to the opening of the 2007 Venice Biennale from the New Zealand arts and general media. Given the intensive domestic news coverage of the 2005 event, this suggests a lack of correspondents at the event or perceived relevance to run news stories from foreign news media. The Spring (September) issue of *Art News New Zealand*, contained the most fulsome account of the opening. This included a short article by Rob Garrett reporting on the launch of *Speculation* and a longer Dispatch Report written by Graham, which gave a short history of the project, the trip to Venice and the opening events. While published in separate areas of the magazine, the two articles indicate cross-fire and back chat between New Zealand’s two ‘unofficial’ Venice 2007 projects.

Speculation was a public/private partnership lead by Artspace Director, Brian Butler and funded by private patrons who supported New Zealand’s continued presence at Venice. The publication profiled the work of thirty artists, including only two Māori

³ Kelly Andrews, “Portholes on a World Under Water,” *The Dominion Post* (11 March 2008), 11.

⁴ Brett Graham quoted in “Flood,” 11.

⁵ Rakena in “Flood,” 11.

artists (Michael Parekowhai and Peter Robinson) with neither Graham nor Rakena featured.⁶ Rob Garrett was part of the Creative New Zealand delegation and his article contextualised the launch of *Speculation* within the context of the Biennale. Overall Garrett described the production and launch of this book as a plucky endeavour ‘almost as improbable as icebergs drifting past the Otago coast last year,’ with a photograph of said icebergs featuring on the cover of the publication.⁷ Garrett also claimed the publication as ‘New Zealand’s cheeky, unofficial, portable and pocketable pavillion ... in a year where the lack of an official New Zealand pavillion was on many people’s minds ... When asked “Where is New Zealand’s pavillion?” the Kiwi crew could answer as they handed over the book, “Here it is!”’⁸ The promotion of *Speculation* as a renegade ‘DIY’ project, however, pales in comparison to the enormity of the challenge faced by Graham and Rakena.

Just hours prior to opening, the project team of *Āniwaniwa* came into contact with the Creative New Zealand entourage. They were attending the launch of *Speculation* at an osteria near the Magazinni along with a ‘broad cross-section of international artists, curators and directors.’⁹ Graham relayed his version of this encounter in a ‘Dispatch Report’ for the magazine, *Art News New Zealand*.

[W]e chanced upon the launch of *Speculation*, a book featuring New Zealand’s ‘finest artists’, only to be ignored by New Zealand’s finest curators and New Zealand’s finest dealers.¹⁰

Graham obliquely criticised the ‘CNZ Trip of a Lifetime Tour’ entourage in other ways.¹¹ In his Dispatches Report he acknowledged that his ‘friends prepared all the kai for the opening’ and it was on a last minute supply run that they encountered the *Speculation* launch, which which stands in contrast to Garrett’s somewhat boastful

⁶ This list included seven artists who have since been selected for the National Pavilion.

⁷ Rob Garrett, “Pocket Pavillion in Venice,” *Art News New Zealand* (Spring 2007), 56.

⁸ Garrett, “Pocket Pavillion.”

⁹ Garrett, “Pocket Pavillion.”

¹⁰ Brett Graham, “Āniwaniwa—The Journey,” *Art News* (Spring 2007), 85.

¹¹ Arts commentators, Jim and Mary Barr, criticised the 2008 delegation in a series of blog entries using the key words “CNZ’s Trip of a Lifetime Tour.” See Barr, Jim and Mary, “Your Tax Dollar at Play,” *Over the Net*, 19 February 2007, <http://overthenet.blogspot.com/2007/02/your-tax-dollar-at-play.html>, accessed 13 September 2018.

description of the 'heavenly slowfood Osteria' with 'relaxed ambiance' where the launch party was held. In a later media interview, Graham made his point again. 'Eight people in one apartment, cut lunches because we couldn't afford to eat out .. We cooked our own kai for the opening,' making clear that 'food' was an analogy for the extreme difficulties that they experienced on their trip to Venice.¹² *Āniwaniwa* did make a strong impression on some New Zealand viewers at Venice. At the opening event, City Gallery Wellington Director, Paula Savage, initiated discussions to host *Āniwaniwa* on return to New Zealand as part of the International Festival of the Arts and when the exhibition closed in November 2007 the container was addressed for Wellington.

Graham made this announcement when he presented the outcomes of the *Mangōroa* project to an International Research Advisory Panel assessing the work of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga in December 2007. The initial outcome of that funding was the production of an exhibition catalogue, the actual outcome being the production of two art works, five exhibitions and a catalogue. He also stressed the point that *Āniwaniwa* was realised through Māori support and funding in which Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga had been both the founding and principal funder.

Kōrero: Āniwaniwa Te Hokinga Mai

When *Āniwaniwa* opened at City Gallery Wellington in February 2008 the kōrero about the art work really began. City Gallery Senior Curator, Heather Galbraith, had provided valuable assistance with the Venice funding campaign, and was also part of Creative New Zealand delegation to Venice lending practice support at the opening; preparing kai and pouring prosecco.¹³ In her catalogue essay produced for the City Gallery exhibition, Galbraith introduced their staging of *Āniwaniwa* as a political statement within the New Zealand art scene and addressed criticisms about *Āniwaniwa* at Venice not documented publicly.

¹² Graham quoted in "Flood," 11.

¹³ Graham also credits Galbraith with identifying a critical funding stream through Te Puni Kōkiri.

There were naysayer's who eyed their selection with suspicion, and maintained that it couldn't be pulled off. Their participation in the Biennale was not 'through the back door' but through official channels. Aniwikiwa was entered into an open contestable part of the Biennale—the Collateral Events section. ... Selection is a highly competitive process and while kudos may be seen to be bestowed on your project if selected, this is not accompanied by funds from Biennale coffers ...

Responses were rapturous and the work was a revelation to many, often being their first experience of contemporary art from Aotearoa. ... I was lucky enough to be in Venice for the opening ... which also meant I could see how this project stacked up against others from national pavillions. To Robert Storr's curated section and other Collateral events ... The work ... had great integrity, poignancy and mana, and affected visitors in ways that many of the more glitzy presentations would have yearned for.¹⁴

Āniwikiwa opened to critical acclaim at City Gallery Wellington on 23 February 2008, attracting record crowds. Arts journalist and provocateur, Josie McNaught saw *Āniwikiwa* in Venice and her review for the *Auckland New Zealand Herald* compared the impact made in either context. In Venice, McNaught reported that 'the politics of the Biennale' had overshadowed the art work.¹⁵ It is not clear what those politics were; the financial risk of an independent venture, the fear that an independent venture may jeopardise the case for continued government support for a New Zealand exhibition at Venice, or the political context of the Biennale itself. McNaught admitted that she thought that 'taking this show to Venice was brave' though 'plenty of people thought it was stupid too.'¹⁶ At City Gallery, however, McNaught described *Āniwikiwa* as standing 'on its own'.¹⁷

¹⁴ Heather Galbraith, "Āniwikiwa – Te Hokinga Mai Speech Notes," <http://waikatomuseum.co.nz/exhibitions-and-events/view/41>, accessed 24 January 2019.

¹⁵ Josie McNaught, "A Capital Menu of Culture," *New Zealand Herald* (28 February 2008), 4.

¹⁶ McNaught, "Menu of Culture," 4.

¹⁷ McNaught, "Menu of Culture," 4.

Reviewers who visited the exhibition for the first time in Wellington were fixated by the whakapapa and kōrero of *Āniwaniwa*. General media coverage and reviews for in the Wellington newspaper, *The Dominion Post*, the national weekly magazine, *The Listener*, and the quarterly journal, *Art New Zealand*, diligently repeated the story of Horahora. Art reviewers were notably impressed by the physical presence of *Āniwaniwa*. They remarked on the innovative combination of sculpture, digital media and sound in a 'marae' (wharenuī) environment and made various observations about the emotional and psychological effect of the experience.

Writing for *Art New Zealand*, Rebecca Rice identified *Āniwaniwa* as part of a 'turn' toward visual and emotional qualities in contemporary art. She referred to German art historian, Henrich Wölfflin, whose work influentially implemented a set of binaries, 'that pitted reason against emotion and analysis against expression.'¹⁸ The five exhibitions surveyed in the review indicated a counter-shift, as exemplified by the visual and emotive qualities of *Āniwaniwa*. Rice further summarised as 'arguably one of the most significant contemporary New Zealand works of art' that:

[S]tands firmly grounded as a work of art concerned with provoking an experience and exhibits a desire not to preach, but to engage. In this environment the viewing experience is one of absorption, intellectual barriers are removed and we are swept off our feet, knocked (literally) flat on our backs. We are not able to stand and examine at a cool distance, but must abandon ourselves to contemplation. The effect is paramount. The spectator is key.¹⁹

Paula Booker, writing for *The Listener*, compared *Āniwaniwa* with another work straight from Venice, *The Last Riot* (2005-2007) by Russian collective, AES+F. 'The Ends of the World: Two Video Installations Contemplate Disaster' described the gallery experience as one of 'doom and gloom', with both exhibitions proposing 'end-

¹⁸ Rice, "Wellington," 24.

¹⁹ Rice, "Wellington," 24.

of-world scenarios.²⁰ Booker regarded *The Last Riot* as objectifying global warfare—‘a luxurious vista of titillating doom’—and *Āniwaniwa* as ‘overly emotive’, a ‘heart-string-pulling narrative’ that ‘eulogises a lost culture and place’, but left you ‘less able to draw free associations’, suggesting that the kōrero around *Āniwaniwa* was beginning to exert a strong and prescribed effect on some viewers.²¹

For Mark Amery, writing for Wellington daily newspaper, *The Dominion Post*, *Āniwaniwa* was overwhelming. He felt that *Āniwaniwa* ‘sensually celebrates the great power of the river as an embodiment of spirit, a charged ribbon of light that is a symbol of fluidity, of connection between past, present and future, and of people’s ability to rise to change.’²² *Āniwaniwa* made Amery reflect that ‘we are reliant in New Zealand on water for electricity, but must in the process lose things of power’ and felt ‘submerged, I’m left feeling like a swimmer not able to be changed by these stories’ retelling.²³ As Booker had also observed, the kōrero of *Āniwaniwa* disabled Pākehā reviewers though Amery recognised that the exhibition created a space ‘to be filled by stories brought to it; reminiscent of the way the whareniui provides a body to be filled with words.’²⁴ *Āniwaniwa* did not, however, inspire these Pākehā reviewers to acknowledge how their whakapapa was implicated in this kōrero, preferring to remain at a distance to the history that was told.

Linda Te Aho, a Ngāti Koroki Kahukura lawyer and academic was among the estimated 200,000 to see *Āniwaniwa* at City Gallery Wellington. Based at Waikato University in Hamilton, Te Aho frequently travelled to Wellington to meet with the Crown regarding the Ngāti Koroki Kahukura Treaty of Waitangi claim. The 1995 Waikato Tainui Settlement had not covered the entire domain of Ngāti Koroki Kahukura nor breaches to their Treaty rights, including the flooding of their lands in 1947, leading Ngāti Koroki Kahukura to lodge a claim with the Government to have

²⁰ Paula Booker, “The Ends of the World: Two Video Installations Contemplate Disaster,” *New Zealand Listener* vol. 213, no. 3544 (12 April 2008), 39.

²¹ Booker, “The Ends of the World,” 39.

²² Mark Amery, “The Ghosts of River Power,” *The Dominion Post* (12 March 2008), A2.

²³ Amery, “The Ghosts,” A2.

²⁴ Amery, “The Ghosts,” A2.

their grievances about land loss and management of the Waikato River heard by the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal.

While in talks with government officials Te Aho visited City Gallery to see her cousin's art work and immediately recognised the *kōrero*. It was the same story she told Government officials—again and again. She quickly realised that *Āniwaniwa* would play an important role in their claims process and encouraged Chris Finalyson, Minister of Treaty Settlements and government officials to visit the exhibition.

Te Aho talks about *Āniwaniwa* as a companion who offered respite during the gruelling claims process, which requires all involved to dwell in histories of trauma, grave injustice and acute discrimination.²⁵ The process is emotional and exhausting even for government officials who are not personally affected or disadvantaged by these histories. Te Aho said that when *Āniwaniwa* appeared in hearings and submissions to the Māori Affairs Select Committee, illustrated in reports and as a subject in visual presentations, everyone sat up in interest—'because it was different, it was *art*.'²⁶

After the success of *Āniwaniwa* at Venice and Wellington, the Waikato Museum agreed to present the art work in Hamilton. In an advance media release issued by the Hamilton City Council, Waikato Museum Director, Kate Vusoniwailala was reported as saying 'After its triumphant showing in Venice ... the Waikato Museum is extremely proud to exhibit *Aniwaniwa* back in its home area. It will be the first time Waikato Museum has exhibited a Venice Biennale exhibition.'²⁷

Aniwaniwa is returning to its source—the Waikato. This art has great significance to the people of the Waikato ... The art also gives an insight into the intrinsic connection of the local Māori people with the land, the water and

²⁵ Linda Te Aho, interview by author, 13 December 2018.

²⁶ Te Aho interview.

²⁷ Kate Vusoniwailala quoted in "Āniwaniwa Returns Home to the Waikato," *Hamilton City Council Te Kaunihera o Kirikiriroa* (23 September 2008), <https://www.hamilton.govt.nz/our-council/news/Pages/default.aspx?newsItem=1975>, accessed 13 April 2019.

the Waikato river in particular. Visitors will see a piece of history in the making, both in terms of the stories it tells and the role *Āniwaniwa* has played in elevating New Zealand art to international status.”²⁸

At last, Graham’s wish to present *Āniwaniwa* to his iwi within his rohe was fulfilled. In fact the original design of the complete art work was designed for the exhibition gallery there. This design configured the wakahuia according to the Matariki logo of the Kingitanga, designed by Fred Graham. The internal architecture of the Magazzini in Venice would not permit this design so the wakahuia were presented in a line as with the generators at the Horahora Power Station. The Waikato presentation returned to the initial plan with mattresses arranged in a cruciform pattern on the floor. These references to the Kingitanga and Matariki shifted the ‘outlook’ of the work from the mourning of a specific event to a statement of resilience and rejuvenation.

Bringing *Āniwaniwa* to Waikato inspired new kōrero from a range of sources. This staging was titled *Te Hokinga ki te Mātāpuna* – returning to the source (mātāpuna refers to a water spring)—and described by the museum as a project ‘in development for over three years.’²⁹ A Massey University media release profiled the involvement of staff in the project, describing *Āniwaniwa* as returning to its ahi kaa.³⁰ Waikato Museum Art Curator, Leafa Wilson, stated that ‘the wairua or spiritual side of the work is a sad story but ends with triumph. The triumphal part of the narrative is about the ahi kaa [home fires] still being alive for the people and the connection with the land is something that can’t be extinguished.’³¹ This reading emphasised the poignancy of the female character in the film, repeatedly striking a match against flint despite the impossibility of the action.

²⁸ Vusoniwailala, “Aniwaniwa returns home.”

²⁹ “Āniwaniwa—Dr Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena,” <http://waikatomuseum.co.nz/exhibitions-and-events/view/41>, accessed 24 January 2019.

³⁰ “Aniwaniwa Returns to its Ahi Kaa,” http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/about-massey/news/article.cfm?mnarticle_uuid=BA3B6853-96BF-57FE-A957-405AA2624E96, accessed 24 January 2019.

³¹ Leafa Wilson quoted in “Āniwaniwa Returns.”

The importance of presenting *Āniwaniwa* in the Waikato was constantly stressed by commentators. Wilson reported that more than 1000 people attended the launch with significant repeat viewings in the first week.³²

The experience they describe is that it is very emotive ... It begins with a moving soundscape ... then deepens when they find out about the kaupapa (meaning) behind the imagery. It has had a very powerful impact.³³

Graham reported a more direct response. 'The local people got it straight away ... it was more meaningful than in Venice or elsewhere because people from home, that the kaupapa was about, could actually see it and relate to it.'³⁴ This perspective was supported with commentary from Tao Tauroa, Chairman of the Pohara marae committee and Pohara Farm. Tauroa described *Āniwaniwa* as 'very moving'.

It's a sad story, well told in a very contemporary way ... It happened and is still affecting our people; it makes me feel sad for our people. We are going through our Waitangi Tribunal hearings and still striving for mana whenua. When the flooding happened this was taken away from us and we are still fighting to get it back. I saw it in Wellington for the first time but when it came home it felt more intimate, like this was still happening. The depiction of our tupuna underwater still trying to light their fires to keep the ahi kaa and trying to dig their gardens is quite moving. So sad for our people, the exhibition comes close to showing how they would have felt.³⁵

The interview with Tauroa is the first instance when the voice and perspective of Ngāti Koroki Kahukura is recorded in public commentary. Naturally, the kōrero of Tauroa is different to that of the national art reviewers. It is impossible for him to objectify the emotional appeal of *Āniwaniwa* and where Amery and Brooker felt that *Āniwaniwa* denied the viewer of any agency, Tauroa describes the exact path

³² "Aniwaniwa Returns."

³³ Wilson, "Āniwaniwa Returns."

³⁴ Brett Graham quoted in "Āniwaniwa Returns."

³⁵ "Aniwaniwa Returns."

through which Ngāti Koroki Kahukura pursued redress against the ongoing effect of this history.

The kōrero that Ngāti Koroki Kahukura brought to the work, and observations of the local response generally, caused Leafa Wilson to describe the work as ‘a masterpiece.’³⁶ In so saying, she evaluated *Āniwaniwa* as an art work that operates ‘within a Western construct’ but ‘remains as a work that comes from a Māori conceptual space’.³⁷ For these reasons she evaluated *Āniwaniwa* as ‘a seminal work of New Zealand contemporary art history.’³⁸

Linda Te Aho extended the kōrero about *Āniwaniwa* in an academic paper published during the Waikato presentation. ‘Contemporary issues in Māori Law and Society’ was the fourth in a series authored by Te Aho for the *Waikato Law Review*. The series documented and analysed consequential innovations in the relationship between Māori and the Crown within the ‘Treaty of Waitangi settlement landscape’.³⁹ *Āniwaniwa*, described as an ‘elite art exhibition selected for display at the Venice Biennale’, that provided evidence of cultural loss now subject to a Waitangi Tribunal claim.

In 2008 Waikato-Tainui signed the Waikato River Settlement with the Crown. In the Deed of Settlement Crown recognised that ‘it failed to respect, provide for and protect the special relationship Waikato-Tainui have with the River as their ancestor; and accepts responsibility for the degradation of the River that has occurred while the Crown has had authority over the River.’⁴⁰ The settlement resulted in the establishment and funding of a co-governance and co-management group to monitor the health and wellbeing of the river. The group included representatives of Waikato-Tainui, local council and government agencies.

³⁶ Wilson quoted in “Aniwaniwa Returns.”

³⁷ Wilson quoted in “Aniwaniwa Returns.”

³⁸ Wilson quoted in “Aniwaniwa Returns.”

³⁹ Linda Te Aho, “Contemporary Issues in Māori Law and Society. The Tangled Web of Treaty Settlements. Emissions Trading, Central North Island Forests, and the Waikato River,” *Waikato Law Review* 16 (2008), 229.

⁴⁰ Te Aho, “Contemporary Issues,” 240.

The authority of Waikato Tainui over the river was immediately contested by Ngāti Raukawa and Te Arawa asserted their mana whenua over the upper catchment area. The Crown responded to these claims by dividing the river into an upper and lower catchment for the purposes of co-management. Caught again on the boundary, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura immediately opposed this 'division' of the river leading to a new Treaty claim.

The 2008 Ngāti Koroki Kahukura Claim asserted the identity of the iwi as independent of Waikato-Tainui in respect of river management. During negotiations of the Waikato River Settlement, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura argued for their entire rohe to be included in the 'Waikato-Tainui' area. This proposal was supported by neighbouring iwi though not accepted by the Crown. Rather, the authority of Ngāti Koroki Kahukura was conceived by the Crown as being represented by Waikato-Tainui (north) and the Raukawa Trust Board (south), and once again divided Ngāti Koroki-Kahukura territories in two and did not ensure any mode of representation in the co-management process. Te Aho analysed the impact of this decision as having grave implications:

The Crown's unilateral policy of deciding who it will engage with (recognised river iwi) and who it will not engage with, in relation to the Waikato River has the effect of forcing Ngāti Koroki Kahukura to be *subsumed* under the umbrella of a tribal entity in which Ngāti Koroki Kahukura has no representation and whose mandate explicitly excludes Ngāti Koroki Kahukura.⁴¹

The 2008 Ngāti Koroki Kahukura Claim asserted that the Crown's decision breached Treaty of Waitangi principles and disallowed the iwi to fulfil their role as kaitiaki over the river. In a further article, Te Aho made the point that under English common law, the Crown continues to presume ownership of river beds, which includes the territory subsumed by the Karāpiro Dam. Here, she emphasises how *Āniwaniwa* enlivened the 'memories of a place now submerged under water' and embodied the concept of

⁴¹ Te Aho, "Contemporary Issues," 244, italics added.

the river as a ‘living ancestor ... having its own mauri and spiritual integrity’, explaining that the personification of the natural world is a feature of Māori tradition.⁴²

Two other notable events occurred while *Āniwaniwa* was on display at the Waikato Museum. Firstly Fred Graham fulfilled his intention to host a reunion of residents from Horahora. Waikato Times reporter, Denise Irving, documented the event in a human interest story that followed Fred Graham and his boyhood friends, Arthur, Ted and Len Wakefield on a trip to Horahora. ‘Nowadays, this is lifestyle block territory, with pleasant homes built to take full advantage of the river views. The change is not lost on the men, as they recall their more modest hydro village.’⁴³ The article is littered with lighthearted boyhood adventure stories and emphasised the sense of ‘bicultural’ community at Horahora as expressed by the reunion group members. Fred Graham’s prosaic commentary contrasted strongly with the stirring *kōrero* of *Āniwaniwa*.

Fred doesn’t remember any consultation with locals, or any protests about the flooding of Horahora. His memories are from a 19-year-old’s perspective, and he didn’t feel the emotions perhaps experienced by older people such as his parents he mentions sacred battle sites and urupa disappearing beneath the lake; while there is a sadness about this, Fred remembers a time when such things simply happened in the name of progress.⁴⁴

Brett Graham held a more strident position in his engagement with the reporter. ‘*Āniwaniwa* ... is not so much a homage to Horahora, but shows a bigger picture of loss, acknowledging that this was not the only community to have experienced the disruption of people, places and cultural treasures.’⁴⁵ Overall, however, the article offered a reasoned and pragmatic view of this history evoking a comfortable and less

⁴² Linda Te Aho, “Waikato: River of Life,” *Making Our Place: Exploring Land-Use Tensions in Aotearoa New Zealand* edited by Jacinta Ruru, Janet Stephenson and Mick Abbott (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011), 147.

⁴³ Denise Irving, “The Town That Refused to Die,” *Waikato Times* (31 January 2009), www.stuff.co.nz/waikato-times/life-style/708611/The-town-that-refused-to-die, accessed 8 November 2018.

⁴⁴ Irving, “The Town,”

⁴⁵ Brett Graham quoted in Irving, “The Town.”

complicated statement of race relations in New Zealand to the dominant Pākehā readership.

The second event involved the recognition of Brett Graham as a tohunga. At a public lecture about *Āniwaniwa* at the Waikato Institute of Technology in Hamilton, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura kaumatua, Tioriori Papa, acknowledged Graham in this way. Given the magnitude of this recognition within the context of this study—as the apex of this research and a ‘completion’ of the artists’ practice—this moment occurred in a discrete fashion, not publicly documented or mentioned by the artists in the time since. Rather, this moment has been kept secret from public art discourse and only discovered after extensive primary and secondary research.

In the course of this research, Graham was asked directly about the significance of being recognised as tohunga. He said it ‘means that my work had a relevance and value to my tribe and that I had a place within it.’⁴⁶ Linda Te Aho (the daughter of Tioriori Papa) was also directly asked if she recognised *Āniwaniwa* as taonga and she said ‘yes, *Āniwaniwa* is taonga’, going on to describe how Willie Te Aho had also described *Āniwaniwa* as taonga in his work as the lead negotiator for the Ngāti-Koroki-Kahukura Treaty Claim.⁴⁷ Their regard for *Āniwaniwa* as taonga, and employment of *Āniwaniwa* to advance the well-being of Ngāti Koroki Kahukura demonstrates the ways that new taonga fulfills the needs of Māori in a perpetually changing world.

This recognition of *Āniwaniwa* as taonga also fulfils the definitions of Māori art as taonga as outlined by the following scholars. Mead and Tapsell identify and describe the role of taonga as conduits to the ancestral world and documents of Māori history.⁴⁸ Hakiwai has investigated the role that taonga *tuku iho* has played in contemporary Māori development as witnessed by projects at the Museum of New

⁴⁶ Brett Graham, email correspondence to author, 13 March 2019.

⁴⁷ Te Aho interview.

⁴⁸ Sidney Moko Mead, “Ngā Timunga me ngā Paringa o te Mana Māori: The Ebb and Flow of Mana Māori and the Changing Context of Māori Art,” in *Te Māori: Māori Art From New Zealand Collections* (Auckland: Heinemann, The American Federation of Arts, 1984), 20-25, and Paul Tapsell, “The Flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of Taonga from a Tribal Perspective,” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 106, no. 4 (1997), 327-333.

Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.⁴⁹ McCarthy has extensively described the political function of taonga in exhibitionary contexts—as archives of knowledge, ambassadors, activists and statements of contemporary Māori identity—and as magnets that attract, and satisfy, Māori visitors to New Zealand’s cultural institutions.⁵⁰

Kōrero: Āniwaniwa, Haere Tū Atu, Hoki Tū Mai

After making a strong impact at home, *Āniwaniwa* travelled back out into the world. In 2009 *Āniwaniwa* travelled to Hobart as part of the *Ten Days on the Island* (27 March-5 April), a multi-disciplinary state-wide arts festival. Festival Directors had seen *Āniwaniwa* at Venice and the kōrero of *Āniwaniwa* resonated with a history of hydro-electric development in Tasmania. From the late 1960s strong local opposition rose against the flooding the Lake Pedder National Park as part of the Upper Gordon River hydro-electric generation scheme to form the largest water catchment system in Australia. Local protest caught national and international attention and this period became a formative moment in the conservation movement and formation of Green Party politics in Australia. Despite their protests, the dam was flooded in 1972, with many people making a pilgrimage to this remote area prior to, and during, submersion.

The kōrero of *Āniwaniwa* was incorporated into the Festival presentation. *Āniwaniwa* was shown in a colonial-era stone barn at Rosny Farm near Hobart. The artists were pleased with the venue as it resembled the Magazzini in Venice, which they regarded as the best display environment, and configured the waka huia in the same way, which they determined to be the most effective configuration.⁵¹ A display of interpretive material was shown in an adjacent building, including historical

⁴⁹ Arapata Hakiwai, “He Mana Taonga, He Mana Tangata: Māori Taonga and the Politics of Māori Tribal Identity and Development,” (PhD diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 2014).

⁵⁰ Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2007), and Conal McCarthy, “The Rules of (Māori) Art: Bourdieu’s Cultural Sociology and Māori Visitors in New Zealand Museums,” *Journal of Sociology* 49 (2013): 173-93.

⁵¹ Brett Graham, personal communication with the author, 6 April 2019.

photographs of the Horahora power station, film footage of the creation of Lake Karāpiro and documentation on the creation of the film and wakahuia.

Graham remembers the Festival very positively. *Āniwaniwa* was complete and they were well experienced in transport and installation processes. The display was praised by one reviewer who felt the kōrero was critical to the experience of the art work, though they worried that placing the 'story' in an adjacent space might have been missed by viewers, to raise the question of whether the art work was anything more than a 'quirky video' without the 'associated story.'⁵²

After the Festival *Āniwaniwa* was taken to Waiuku and placed into storage yet the kōrero about *Āniwaniwa* continued to build. Hamilton-based Treaty educator and social work researcher, Rebecca Giles, initiated a study to measure the impact of *Āniwaniwa* on Pākehā viewers. Specifically, Giles wanted to establish whether *Āniwaniwa* had changed the views of Pākehā toward colonial histories.

Aotearoa New Zealand's history is often presented in a way that submerges the experiences of Māori, so that many Pākehā growing up here have little knowledge of Māori stories of colonisation. It is this disconnection by many Pākehā New Zealanders from our shared history that is a core concern of this research.⁵³

Giles interviewed Graham to establish the artist's intentions and ambitions for *Āniwaniwa*. Questionnaires were sent to adult Pākehā research participants who saw *Āniwaniwa* in Venice, Wellington or Hamilton. A focus group was also conducted with local research participants and public art interest groups in Hamilton. Giles' report was published in 2011 by the Waikato Institute of Technology Centre for Health and Social Practice, and made a number of observations.

⁵² Stephanie Cahalan, "Āniwaniwa: arts@work's reviews," *Tasmanian Times* (1 April 2009), <https://tasmaniantimes.com/2009/04/aniwaniwa-artsworks-reviews-done-matey-boy-hope-yer-hangover-aint-too-bad/>, accessed 28 April 2019.

⁵³ Rebecca Giles, "Art For Social Change: Submerged Histories of *Āniwaniwa*" (Hamilton: Waikato Institute of Technology Centre for Health and Social Practice, 2011), 6.

Āniwaniwa had immediate and long term impacts on Pākehā viewers. Interestingly, these effects reflected the qualities of ihi, wehi and wana though not identified as such. For instance, the ihi (psychic power) of *Āniwaniwa* stirred strong emotions and memories. Viewers empathised with the story and made personal connections to the kōrero.

The children carrying the suitcase ... reminded me of children evacuated from Salford to our village in Lancashire, UK, at the start of W.W.II ... There are many other examples of this –‘displaced persons’ in Europe in W.W.II – no home, no state, no identity, carrying their “household goods”.

Participants were also challenged by the wehi (inspiring fear or awe) of *Āniwaniwa*. They felt vulnerable lying prone on the floor in a dark room and disorientated by the viewing experience. *Āniwaniwa* also caused Pākehā viewers to critically reflect on the suppression of histories, the ongoing impact of colonisation on Māori and the impact of large-scale industry on the local environment. Viewers were prompted by the wana (passion) of *Āniwaniwa* to address the injustice they perceived and made the following recommendations:

- Further education in local history such as information panels at key sites
- *Āniwaniwa* is permanently installed in the Waikato region
- Hamilton City Council considers the role of public art in ‘making visible to the public hidden histories of colonisation and loss that need to be told and understood.’⁵⁴

Despite these recommendations no proposal was ever made to acquire *Āniwaniwa* for permanent display in Hamilton.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Giles, “Art For Social Change,” 27.

⁵⁵ In 2014 Fred Graham gifted a design for a sculpture produced as the gateway to the Waikato River walking and biking trails on Horahora Road. The sculpture, *Pokaiwhenua*, was installed at the point where Pokaiwhenua Stream flows into the Waikato and at the point where the rainbow of *Āniwaniwa* used to be seen. See Fred Graham, “The Story Behind the Sculpture,” *Waikato River Trails* 23 (Summer, 2014), https://www.waikatorivertrails.co.nz/site_files/12466upload_files/blogWRTOct2014Newsletter-Issue23.pdf, accessed 30 November 2018.

Most significantly *Āniwaniwa* continually appeared in the Ngāti Koroki Kahukura Treaty of Waitangi claims. *Āniwaniwa* featured in reports and visual presentations to Treaty officials and the Māori Affairs select committee lead by Willie and Linda Te Aho through 2009-2012. In December 2012 Ngāti Koroki Kahukura and Crown representatives signed a deed of settlement for non-raupatu lands along with cultural and financial redress at Maungatautari Marae. The package included an island near Horahora that was given the name of Te Kiwa, after Brett Graham's grandfather.

Kōrero: Sakahàn

Āniwaniwa at Venice set off a chain of events that lead to Graham being positioned at the forefront of international indigenous art practice. In 2009 British curator David Elliott selected Graham for the 17th Sydney Biennale, the premier contemporary art exhibition project in Australia. Graham created a new work that extended on his 2008 exhibition, *Campaign Rooms*.⁵⁶ *Mīhaia* 2010 (Figure 117) reproduced a Russian made BRDM-2 military vehicle widely used in contemporary conflict zones in the Middle East. 'Mīhaia' is the Māori word for messiah and made connections between the Māori prophet movement of the nineteenth century and Middle Eastern histories. *Mīhaia* was presented at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Sydney alongside *Hokioi* as part of the multi-venue show, *The Beauty of Distance: Songs of Survival in a Precarious Age*. This exhibition was hugely successful and critically acclaimed for engaging a diverse range of contemporary art in effective political dialogue. Elliott was also praised for recognising the strength of contemporary indigenous art and creating opportunities for the legacy of indigenous exclusion to be addressed.⁵⁷ The exhibition attracted international attention and directly lead to further opportunities.

Graham's work caught the attention of a First Nation's curatorial team visiting the Sydney Biennale. They were developing a scene-setting exhibition of international

⁵⁶ Scott Hamilton, "War in the Head,"(2009), *Campaign Rooms*, <http://www.brettgraham.co.nz/brett-graham-essay-campaign-rooms.html>, accessed 2 February 2017.

⁵⁷ See Jolene Rickard, "The Emergence of Global Indigenous Art" in Greg Hill (et.al), *Sakahàn: International Indigenous Art* (Winnepeg, National Gallery of Canada, 2013), 55-56.

indigenous art to be held in Winnipeg in 2011, and were attracted to the Biennale by the ‘unprecedented number of indigenous artists ... from Australia and New Zealand, but also from Canada and the US’.⁵⁸ Their project, titled *Close Encounters: The Next 500 Years*, disputed the perception that indigenous art was primarily concerned with the past. Curatorial team member, Candice Hopkins (a former student of Robert Storr’s, and saw *Āniwaniwa* at Venice), explained why *Hokioi* (Figure 118), a model fighter jet with fully-carved surfaces from Graham’s 2008 solo exhibition *Campaign Rooms* at his Auckland commercial dealer gallery, Two Rooms, was eventually selected for the Winnipeg exhibition.

Close Encounters endeavoured to look at the future from indigenous perspectives. When we spoke with Brett we learned that these works were influenced by millennialists [nineteenth-century Māori prophet movement]. This connected his work with other works in *Close Encounters* and demonstrated that the idea of the ‘future’ has always been part of Māori art and philosophies.

Close Encounters also tried to highlight the role that artists have always had in communities—that of the visionary. Brett’s art is already indicative of this role, he’s more than just an artist, he is a leader and a teacher.⁵⁹

After her work on *Close Encounters* Hopkins became part of the curatorial team for *Sakahàn: International Indigenous Art* at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa. She had seen *Āniwaniwa* at Venice and was instrumental in selecting that work for this important event (Figure 119).

Sakahàn: International Indigenous Art was conceived in 2009 by Greg Hill, Indigenous Curator at the National Gallery of Canada as the first in a series of five yearly global surveys of indigenous art practice. The exhibition was developed by a

⁵⁸ Candice Hopkins quoted in Bryne McLaughlin, “Curator Q&A: How Indigenous Art Took Centre Stage in Sakahàn,” *Canadian Art* (23 May 2013), <https://canadianart.ca/interviews/sakahàn-national-gallery-of-canada/>, accessed 11 May 2019.

⁵⁹ Candice Hopkins, unpublished interview by author, Albuquerque, 2013.

First Nations curatorial team in collaboration with a worldwide team of curatorial advisors, including Māori art curator, Megan Tamati-Quennell. *Sakahàn* was not only the first international indigenous art exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada. The project involved a major acquisition programme and signalled a transformative commitment to indigenous art. As Greg Hill summarised, the exhibition also announced the international indigenous art movement on the world stage.

Certainly in Canada we've seen a real change in the representation of indigenous art, not only at the National Gallery but across the country in terms of collecting and display. This is something that's happening not just in Canada, its happening around the world. This global momentum is leading to this exhibition here.⁶⁰

The selection of *Āniwaniwa* for *Sakahán* indicated Graham and Rakena's status as internationally recognised indigenous artists.⁶¹ More so, Hopkins recognised Graham as an exemplary model of what it means to be an indigenous artist on a global stage.

Graham's work is unique because of his background. His father is one of the best-known carvers in Aotearoa, and Brett has always been surrounded by art and art discourse. I remember corresponding with him during *Close Encounters* and he relayed that the conversations we had there, conversations which were cross-cultural and among many nations, reminded him of the forums for Pacific artists that his father was part of, forums that engaged artists working in Aotearoa, the Northwest Coast of Canada, the United States and Hawai'i (to name a few). With this in mind, I think that Brett has always been privy to an international context for indigenous art.⁶²

⁶⁰ Greg Hill in Peter Simpson, "Sidelined No More," *The Big Beat* (12 February 2013), <http://ottawacitizen.com/life/style/our-ottawa/side-lined-no-more>, accessed 6 August 2016, quoted in Candice Hopkins, "We Are Always Turning Around on Purpose: Reflecting on Three Decades of Indigenous Curatorial Practice," *Art Journal* vol 76, no. 2 (2017), 45, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00043249.2017.1367191>, accessed 1 November 2018.

⁶¹ Rakena did not attend this presentation.

⁶² Candice Hopkins quoted in Anna-Marie White, "International Indigene: Brett Graham," *Art New Zealand* 147 (September 2013), 41.

Graham also fared well in Ngāhiraka Mason's essay for the *Sakahán* catalogue. Mason's essay analysed the work and practice of three Māori artists selected for *Sakahán*; Graham, Michael Parekowhai and Fiona Pardington. Mason appraised their work against the qualities for contemporary Māori art argued by Mead in his 1996 address, 'Māori Art Restructured, Reorganised, Re-examined and Reclaimed'. This approach produced a rare critical examination of Contemporary Māori Artists by a Māori arts professional, particularly in an international context. Mason described Pardington's photographs of Māori taonga in museum collections as 'nostalgic reproductions and curios for the twenty-first century', that 'appeal to national and international collectors' but 'could be construed as in bad taste and thus unacceptable to Māori people'.⁶³ Similarly, Mason emphasised the popularity and success of Parekowhai's work among 'individuals of all political persuasions in middle New Zealand and by international collectors and institutions but questioned the artist's personal commitment to advancing ancestral knowledge through art works that heroise Marcel Duchamp, 'romanticize Māori political hurt and sovereign aspirations' and demand the right to remain 'open to interpretation'.⁶⁴ Against these examples Mason challenged Māori people to defend certain boundaries for Māori cultural expression and representation.

Of the three Māori artists represented at *Sakahán*, Mason identified Graham as cogniscent and observant of Mead's model. Her analysis touched on *Āniwaniwa* and recognised Rakena as a collaborator. However, her argument fixed on Graham's individual practice and provided a sober, sophisticated and original evaluation of his position.

Graham has consistently utilized a model of art practice that claims power by arguing a moral position. He is adept at expressing ideas as if a single 'cause' produced an outcome—certainly in some cases these facts are observable in Māori experience and history. Graham has established philosophical and cultural values toward his art as a political, cultural and social practice ...

⁶³ Ngāhiraka Mason, "The State of Māori Art in an International Context," in Hill (eds), *Sakahán*, 90.

⁶⁴ Mason, "Maori Art," 92-93.

Graham's political tone validates his creative distinctiveness and status as a minority in his homeland. This approach aligns with the global practice of finding agency through the voice of struggle. According to Mead's definitions, Graham's artworks are recognizably Māori. He can be relied upon to take a political position that privileges his Māori worldview. Among his peers, he is considered someone who tries exceedingly hard to produce contemporary Māori art that exemplifies Māori taste ...

Graham's point of difference is his active participation in his Māori communities and his responsiveness to living and past issues faced by Māori and our Pacific cousins across *Te Moananui-a-Kiwa*, or the great ocean of Kiwa.

Mason's analysis recognises the many dimensions of Graham's artistic practice, and insist on qualities of Contemporary Māori Art that extend beyond the whakapapa definition. Mason's essay also joins with Mead's constant assertion throughout his academic career, that Māori art must be connected to Māori people. Thus the importance of Graham's determined effort to get *Āniwaniwa* to Waikato Museum (via Venice) is made most clearly.

Āniwaniwa made a strong impact at *Sakahàn* and was described as 'one of the most ambitious installations' of the project.⁶⁵ Māori Curatorial Consultant to *Sakahàn*, Megan Tamati-Quennell thought that the installation was 'spectacular' and acknowledged that the 'curators honoured it with a lot of space and it had mana.'⁶⁶ She also felt that the ihi and wehi of *Āniwaniwa* 'stood up to major works like Jimmie Durham's *Encore tranquillité* and Kent Monkman's *Boudoir de Berdashe*' and the kōrero 'had resonance with other art works.'⁶⁷ Candice Hopkins observed that while 'audiences may not have been aware of the specific events that inspired *Āniwaniwa*

⁶⁵ Hopkins quoted in White, "Brett Graham," 39.

⁶⁶ Megan Tamati Quennell, unpublished interview by author, 2013.

⁶⁷ Tamati-Quennell interview.

the work still resonated with them. The story of loss and renewal is universal.’⁶⁸ Where the viewing experience of *Āniwaniwa* had made Pākehā viewers feel vulnerable, Tamati-Quennell said that ‘*Āniwaniwa* took marae-styles, in a literal way, halfway around the world and people loved it.’⁶⁹ This popularity was cited in the argument put forward by Greg Hill to purchase *Āniwaniwa* for the National Art Gallery collection in February 2014.

During and after *Sakahàn*, *Aniwaniwa* has often been mentioned as one of the favourite works from the exhibition. This popularity was certainly in evidence throughout its display, as at any given time there would be large groups of visitors lying on the mattresses, obviously enjoying the work and the unique viewing experience. The ability of this work to draw the viewer in and keep them there for the entire run of the video is testament to the beauty of the presentation, the power of the story and how it resonates with people on a variety of levels ... *Aniwaniwa* is an internationally celebrated work from two of the most important contemporary artists in New Zealand and heightens our very select and noteworthy collection of contemporary Indigenous art from this region of the world.⁷⁰

Hill’s acquisition proposal cited a blog post by local artist, Melody McIver, who wrote a compelling account of her engagement with *Āniwaniwa*.

One of the most talked-about installations of *Sakahàn* (“the one with all the beds”), Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena’s installation *Aniwaniwa* immerses the viewer in a flooded Māori village in Aotearoa New Zealand ... The description outside the installation states that this flooding places Māori identity in a state of flux, which “is reflective of the experience of many Indigenous peoples in the Pacific.” Viewing *Aniwaniwa* and *Sakahàn* within the context of the settler-colonial Canadian nation-state, I immediately was

⁶⁸ Tamati-Quennell and Hopkins interviews.

⁶⁹ Tamati-Quennell interview.

⁷⁰ Greg Hill, “*Āniwaniwa* Acquisition Proposal,” Internal Report, 25 February 2014, National Gallery of Canada Archives.

reminded of my own community's history in Northwestern Ontario and that this is an issue that reaches far past the Pacific.

Lac Seul First Nation was flooded without warning beginning in 1929 when Hydro Canada constructed a dam at Ear Falls. The flooding turned the Kejick Bay community into than island, and displaced people from sites of cultural and historical significance.⁷¹

McKiver also highlighted the impact of *Sakahàn* on the indigenous artist communities of Canada.

Through *Sakahàn*, I had the pleasure of meeting and working with one of the *Aniwaniwa* artists, Brett Graham, on his repeat visits to Ottawa. Having seen Graham's story in his artwork, myself and several other Anishinaabe artists shared our community's stories of flooding in Lac Seul and Lac de Mille Lacs First Nation, another Treaty #3 community in Northwestern Ontario ... For me, this has been the unique power of *Sakahàn* – connecting local and visiting artists with the broader community, and sharing stories that are too often unheard.⁷²

Āniwaniwa entered the National Art Gallery of Canada collection in 2014. Rakena remembered that the curators were initially concerned about holding on to *Āniwaniwa*, 'they thought it was too important to New Zealand,' whereas Graham felt that no one in New Zealand wanted *Āniwaniwa*.⁷³ Through this route, *Āniwaniwa* became part of a long history of taonga Māori to be held in overseas collections, which continues to aggrieve Linda Te Aho.⁷⁴ She envisaged *Āniwaniwa* being part of the lives of Ngāti Koroki Kahukura and was caught unawares when informed of the purchase—'we didn't get an opportunity to buy it.'⁷⁵ Graham, however, admitted that

⁷¹ Melody McKiver, "Sakahàn Summer," *Artengine* (30 August, 2013), <http://artengine.ca/blog/?p=3836>, accessed 12 May 2019.

⁷² McKiver, "Sakahàn Summer."

⁷³ Rachael Rakena, personal communication with the author, 25 January 2019, and Brett Graham, personal communication with the author, 26 April 2019.

⁷⁴ Te Aho interview.

⁷⁵ Te Aho interview.

he would never have sold *Āniwaniwa* to his people; *Āniwaniwa* would have been given. The sale of *Āniwaniwa* to the National Art Gallery of Canada provided an income to Graham, who had been living from his art work for more than a decade. Thus the sale of *Āniwaniwa* reflects a bitter reality of life as a professional artist when compared to the ancestral model of the *tohunga*; a leading member within a tight-knit family group organisation whose work was subject to active patronage by Māori communities.

In the time since, *Āniwaniwa* has contributed new perspectives to contemporary art practice in a global context. In 2017 Hopkins wrote an essay that reflected on the indigenous curatorial achievements of *Sakahān*, identifying the installation of *Āniwaniwa* as a significant moment in this project.

Perhaps the most significant impact of *Sakahān* lay not in the public face of the exhibition itself, but elsewhere. The installation *Aniwaniwa* ... was brought to be “sung” to life. With only the preparators, technicians, curators, and production managers as witnesses, before Graham turned on the video he sang a Māori song, a ceremonial beginning necessary for the work to be shown in this context. For most on the installation and production crew, this remained a vital moment in the exhibition, demonstrating how many of the works in the exhibition required care and handling, some markedly different than mainstream contemporary art. Such crucial care was predicated on the ontology of the artwork itself, marking a difference with Indigenous methodologies of exhibition-making—recognizing even the artwork as animate.⁷⁶

Hopkins’ account of the awakening of *Āniwaniwa* has since been incorporated in the work of American feminist art historian, Amelia Jones. Jones’s essay considered the way that indigenous artists use their body, and ‘indigenous bodies’ to reclaim the

⁷⁶ Hopkins, “Three Decades of Indigenous Curatorial Practice,” 45.

right of cultural representation and assert their agency as a decolonised subject.⁷⁷ Jones extended the range of her essay to include Hopkins' account of Āniwaniwa. However, Jones interpreted the way that Graham brought Āniwaniwa 'to life' as an act of indigenous resistance and agency rather than a custom that had always been part of Graham's practice as a Contemporary Māori Artist.

If the materials of a video installation become alive and embodied in the context of a Euro-American type of art museum, then by extension the embodied subject [Graham] enacting this vivid process is alive, has agency, and participates in the meaning and value of the work as *art*. Graham's insistence on ritual to enliven works of art in the art sphere makes clear how important his living body is to the radical defetishizing—and correlatively empowering and "subjectifying"—power of his work, and instantiates a strategy common among Indigenous artists today.⁷⁸

Jones' interpreted Graham's 'song' as a performative *strategy* to ensure that *Āniwaniwa* was understood as a particular form of art. Her analysis placed undue attention on the performance as an indigenous intervention in Western art traditions rather than a necessary—and natural—ritual associated with taonga. For this reason, Jones' interpretation is, in part, guilty of fetishising Graham's waerea, an awakening of the spirit of Āniwaniwa, as evidence of indigenous agency or strategy of representation. Though this analysis, and that of Hopkins, does usefully acknowledge the conceptualisation of indigenous art as an animate entity and signalled an awareness and sensitivity toward the concept of contemporary taonga practice in a global context.

⁷⁷ Amelia Jones, "Indigenous Bodies. Native Performance and Temporalities of Being" in *Art for a New Understanding: Native Voices, 1950s to Now* edited by Mindy N. Besaw et.al, (University of Arkansas Press: Arkansas, 2018): 76-89.

⁷⁸ Jones, "Indigenous Bodies," 79.

Āniwaniwa: Contemporary Taonga

Āniwaniwa demonstrates the delicate, self-regulating and live process of taonga. As a video installation involving sculpture, moving images and sound, *Āniwaniwa* commanded gallery spaces as a self-determining entity that transmitted the taonga *tuku iho*. The *ihi*, *wehi* and *wana* of *Āniwaniwa* was perceived and described by Pākehā reviewers though not in those terms. Moreover, Pākehā reviewers were quick to recognise the potency of the art work, they struggled to directly connect to the *kōrero* of *Āniwaniwa* or acknowledge the complicity of their Pākehā ancestry within colonial histories in Aotearoa. The *kōrero* of *Āniwaniwa* resonated with the *tangata whenua* of Venice and Tasmania, whose way of life is threatened by the loss already experienced by Ngāti Koroki Kahukura. Māori viewers, and in particular, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura, were reassured by the *kōrero* of *Āniwaniwa*, which restated the magnitude of their loss, though qualified and sustained the arduous journey of redress through the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal process.

The *kōrero* of *Āniwaniwa* documents the awakening of this taonga as an alive and independent entity. This aspect of taonga—separate to the individual endeavour of a single artist and reliant on the collective, inter-generational efforts of many—contributes to the philosophy of contemporary art practice in a global context. As a diligent example of *toi Māori*, *Āniwaniwa* evoked the conditions necessary to be recognised as taonga within the New Zealand art system, though relied on the prestige of the Venice Biennale to secure the presentations in New Zealand that brought the work into contact with those who were informed, and held the authority, to recognise the taonga conveyed by this art work. Through the convergence of a multitude of factors, *Āniwaniwa* demonstrates both the persistence of Graham and Rakena to meet the challenge issued by Mead to achieve a new standard of Contemporary Māori Art practice as contemporary taonga.

The delicacy and vulnerability of this process, however, raises questions about the efficacy of Contemporary Māori Artists continuing to practice taonga principles within the New Zealand art system. The example of *Āniwaniwa* attests to the values and virtues of taonga practice by *tohunga* within the context of the *marae*, yet artists like Brett Graham, continue in their quest to employ the sites of Western art practice for

the conveyance of he taonga tuku iho. His pursuit, and that of many other contemporary Māori artists, illustrates the desire of Māori to participate in the world as global citizens, share the knowledge of their ancestors with others, and make connections with other peoples who also practice these values. The global network of indigenous artists that projects like *Sakahán* have formalised, offer great potential for the conveyance of he taonga tuku iho though relies on acutely local confluences to activate the art works as such.

Conclusion: Contemporary Taonga—Te Huringa

The story of *Āniwaniwa* exemplifies the concept of contemporary taonga in practice. Crucially, the concept of taonga requires the active participation of Māori audiences to activate the art work as such. The involvement of Māori in the recognition of taonga is a subject about which little has been written despite the well-established doctrine that Māori art must be connected to Māori people. Emphasising the importance of informed Māori engagement in the production of contemporary taonga is a significant conclusion of this study.

The concept of contemporary taonga is latent in Contemporary Māori Art discourse and rests here on the story of *Āniwaniwa*. Enforcing Mead's definition of Contemporary Māori Art and using kaupapa Māori research and theory led to this great discovery, confirming taonga production to be an active and ongoing process in contemporary Māori life. Employing Panoho's tātai method yielded an account of *Āniwaniwa*, which identified both the properties of an art work and the conditions whereby it may become taonga. As a type study for contemporary taonga, *Āniwaniwa* is an expansive model for advancing the tradition of taonga tuku iho into the centre of the global contemporary art world, while at the same time playing a valuable role in the life of Ngāti Koroki Kahukura.

While this study is specific to one artist and a limited range of examples, it shows that the principles of taonga are clearly evident in Contemporary Māori Art practice and thus a latent presence within the New Zealand art system. By bringing the taonga principles at work in the practice of Brett Graham to the fore, this study submits that the concept of contemporary taonga may be a basis for further studies of the practice of contemporary Māori artists within the discourse of Māori art history. This concept equally contributes to kaupapa Māori scholarship by reconceptualising the field of Contemporary Māori Art history and practice according to ancestral Māori tradition, and privileging the authority and agency of Māori viewers in the development of Māori art today.

The concept of contemporary taonga opens a new channel in the study of Māori art history, which differs from other continuum theories of Māori art. This channel is a very specific category that draws selected examples into the continuous tradition of taonga. The concept does not encompass the broad spectrum of Māori creative practice, nor every work produced by an artist, but privileges the language and traditions extant in customary Māori art practice. Significantly, the concept of contemporary taonga is specific to the art work and informed by the whakapapa of the artist, but not constituted by the artist's identity. This channel is invariably affected by the wider currents of Contemporary Māori Art discourse, highlighting the challenges for artists who operate in this way. In this respect, the determined and rigorous practice of Brett Graham, and the non-customary aspects of works like *Āniwaniwa*, are incredibly valuable for establishing the wide scope and complexities of this channel.

Graham's work challenges Māori and Western art traditions, and requires continual support to ensure that the taonga properties of his practice are appropriately indicated in various contexts. The non-customary style of Graham's work will always present challenges to Māori who prefer to see Māori art in customary terms, a situation that may only be alleviated by amplifying the Māori 'voice' of the art work, and emphasising the conceptual nature of taonga. Conversely, Graham's practice holds a place in contemporary art practice where taonga concepts have not been well recognised or understood, and where his strident anti-colonial kaupapa remains confronting to many Pākehā. Since *Āniwaniwa*, Graham has largely presented his work internationally where sympathetically informed viewers, particularly from indigenous communities, are attempting to understand his work on its own terms, indicating a developing 'conversation' about comparable indigenous concepts. In this respect, Graham's work—as an example of contemporary taonga—is at the forefront of knowledge creation within an international indigenous art context, where the contribution of Māori art historians can play an important role.

What, then, is the appropriate role for Māori art historians in the process of contemporary taonga? This research observed Panoho's description of the role of the Māori art historian as having the skill to identify te hana—the radiance—of Māori art, which has been interpreted here as he taonga tuku iho. The concept introduced

by this study, however, relies on the story of *Āniwaniwa* with the veracity of this concept resting entirely on the authority of Tainui leaders. This authority resides within Māori communities and should remain apart from the machinations of the Western art system and academia. The appropriate role for Māori art historians, curators and writers is to encourage, support and promote the communal practice of contemporary taonga so that others will recognise, operationalise and benefit from these qualities for themselves on their terms.

This study has presented a strong case for *Kahukura* to be understood within the conceptual context of contemporary taonga, though does not make that claim itself. While the story of *Kahukura* recounted here reveals the taonga concepts operative in the history of this work, it primarily serves the purpose of demonstrating the challenges that stifled and overwhelmed these concepts during the debate. *Kahukura* also introduced the conditions, influences and strategies that enabled *Āniwaniwa* to be recognised as taonga one decade later in what might be described as both discrete and precarious circumstances. Most importantly, these comparative examples document Brett Graham's development as a Contemporary Māori Artist.

As Mead observed in his 1996 address, the responsibility for the maintenance of Māori art remains the primary responsibility of Māori artists. It also needs to be stressed that contemporary taonga is a difficult achievement, an elite status involving esoteric knowledge held by a few. There is no simple or easy method of acquiring this knowledge, which relies on the initiative, aptitude and determination of the individual. As stipulated in Derek Lardelli's *Mataora* haka.

Ko wai nā he Matatauirā mō te tipua-tahito?

Who dares now to become a pupil of the ancient one?

Kia hiwa! Maranga mai rā!

Be alert, arise!

E huri tō mata ki te Awe-Kāpara, e tū nei!

Turn and face the tattooed face standing here!

Ko Mataora! Ko Mataora!

It is the Living Face! It is the Living Face!

Ancestral narratives concerning the attainment of higher knowledge describe perilous journeys into sacred realms involving many challenges and tests of character. As a receiver and transmitter of hard-won divine knowledge, the Māori artist plays a critical role in the perpetuation of mātāuranga Māori. The perpetuation of taonga has been affected by colonisation and relies on guarded expertise in mātāuranga Māori, with Māori scholars and leaders regularly issuing warnings that this knowledge base is vulnerable, declining and in jeopardy. For these reasons, the responsibility of Māori artists to actively maintain and advance this body of knowledge is critical.

Trends in the literature indicate that the taonga process has occurred many times previously though this remains undocumented. The requisite conditions for transmitting taonga concepts are hallmarks of Māori exhibition-making, at marae and art galleries, and as the example of *Te Maori* amply proves, the presence of kaumatua transformed 'artefacts' into taonga in the eyes of the world. Consequently, the tikanga of *Te Māori* has become orthodox practice in the presentation of Contemporary Māori Art. It is hoped that the account of Māori exhibitions offered here provides a thorough rationale for the rigorous maintenance of these protocols and illuminates the important role they play in the recognition and performance of contemporary taonga.

The story of *Āniwaniwa* demonstrates the rarefied and regulated concept of contemporary taonga, and this study advocates for careful and diligent use of this term. There is a real danger that 'Contemporary Taonga' could be promiscuously applied to a wide range of art works, thus interfering with the important work of maintaining the taonga tuku iho, and diminishing the status of taonga as a sovereign Māori tradition. Alternatively, attributions of contemporary taonga may become zealously defended resulting in exclusionary processes and practices that diminish various experiences and mana of Māori, a pattern that repeats the specious 'traditionalist' stereotype that played such a divisive—and destructive—role during the debates of the 1990s. For these reasons, this study carefully frames

contemporary taonga as a process of recognition and inclusion rather than a process of exclusion.

Contemporary taonga is, however, a concept with important implications. Foremost, contemporary taonga is an active process maintained by Māori people, not specific to any site, location or visual code, nor wedded to the Western art system. The residence of *Kahukura* and *Āniwaniwa* in international collections, however, emphasises the need for cultural infrastructure within Māori communities to assist in the creation and retention of contemporary taonga—and for contemporary taonga to be seen and performed within a lineage of taonga Māori.

The concept of contemporary taonga does affect the history, concept and practice of Māori art. One outcome of this study was a clear understanding of the breadth, quality and detailed writing on Māori art, which disputed the perception that Māori art as a subject has been poorly served. More so, the bulk of the literature about Contemporary Māori Art has been produced by Māori artists, writers and historians. A stunning finding of this research is that Pākehā writing about Māori art has had a disproportionate influence and effect on Māori, and one cause for the flourishing of Māori art writing from the mid-1990s. As a study contributing to kaupapa Māori scholarship, this research has prioritised the work of Māori scholars. By reading their work in context, however, the embattled context facing Māori art writers became clear, and their arguments were disentangled from external influences giving rise to the argument presented here.

Contemporary Taonga: The Art Work of Brett Graham re-organises and summarises ideas extant in the literature on Māori art. The study sides with assertions made by an older generation about the perpetuation of taonga in the present. This study also disagrees with the argument that all Contemporary Māori Art is taonga, and that Contemporary Māori Art is taonga because 'Māori art' died. Rather, Mead's attribution of the period of the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries as 'Te Huringa'—a period of 'turning'—remains the most accurate and apt description of this tumultuous period in Māori history. This study goes further to posit contemporary taonga as seeds sown through this period, and the basis of another cycle soon to be described by Māori art historians.

This thesis also extends the literature on taonga by selectively applying the definitions of Mead (1986) and Tapsell (1997) to Contemporary Māori Art. This approach demonstrates the relevance and reflexivity of taonga concepts and contributes to the continuum theories of toi introduced by Mason (2001), Brown and Ellis (2014) and Panoho (2015). The concept of toi Māori, introduced to New Zealand art discourse in the wake of *Te Māori*, is strongly associated with Contemporary Māori Art, with toi being the standard Māori language translation for 'art.' Māori art historians have also identified toi as an enduring quality of Māori art and the basis for continuum theories of Māori art history. Toi has never been the subject of formal definition in the same manner as taonga or Contemporary Māori Art, but it is broadly employed as indicating the artist's pursuit of creative excellence, referring to the process of art making from the perspective of the artist. This study has found, however, that Toi Māori has a culturally-specific character that is being lost as the term is adapted for use in English language contexts.

Toi is different to taonga though the terms are related and complementary. Both terms refer to the production, presentation and function of art in Te Ao Māori but refer to different phases of the process. This study proposes that 'Toi Māori' describes the processes of artistic creation that are within the control of the artist—the intent, idea, conception, genesis, production and presentation—and demonstrate the pursuit of maturaunga Māori through their work. This process denotes an integral position within Te Ao Māori, access to he taonga tuku iho, and practices that account for, and ensure, the conveyance of their knowledge. Thus the concept of Toi Māori is not limited to the art work but encompasses the character and behaviour of the Māori artist. These conditions are not wholly commensurate with Contemporary Māori Art when defined by whakapapa, and when recognition as taonga is only bestowed by others. This leads to the suggestion that toi Māori bridges the realms of taonga and Contemporary Māori Art. Further study on this subject is urgently required to produce a more thorough definition of this term as the concept of toi becomes increasingly Westernised through use in New Zealand society.

This study is primarily a catalyst for these discussions in an academic context and its findings are most relevant to Māori artists, and scholars of Māori art and culture. However, the findings are not limited to Māori; the impulse to remain connected to

ancestral knowledge and practices is universal. In this respect, the concept of contemporary taonga is a basis from which dialogue with other cultures—particularly indigenous communities—could proceed, offering an alternative foundation to that of the global art system.

As the story of *Āniwaniwa* demonstrated, the qualities of taonga—namely, ihi, wehi and wana—are perceived by Pākehā. The impression that Māori art makes on Pākehā, and the longstanding affection for Māori art that Pākehā continue to express, remains an incredibly powerful foundation for advancing Māori development within New Zealand society. Yet the practice of Māori artists should never be defined, limited or determined by the affections of Pākehā, just as the impact of colonisation on Māori art—he taonga tuku iho—should never be downplayed. Taonga is not a status that can be given by Pākehā, and for these reasons, the terms of *toi Māori* and Contemporary Māori Art remain relevant in New Zealand art discourse. This study defends the ancestral concept of taonga and advocates for processes to uphold these principles. Taonga is a sovereign Māori concept that originates with, relies on, and is determined by Māori people. Contemporary taonga is an elite mode of Māori creative practice that aligns inter-generational efforts, responsibility, discipline and commitment across time.



Figure 1: The opening of Te Ikaroa-a-Māui at Ouae marae, Waitara, June 1936, built by a team of carvers lead by Pine Taiapa, one of the first graduates from Te Ao Mārama and lead carver of Apirana Ngata's where whakairo building programme. Image: Puke Ariki Heritage Collections, PHO2011-2339.



Figure 2: Third Year Teachers' College Students, Kings Technical School, Dunedin, 1950, with Contemporary Māori Artist, Fred Graham at centre right, photograph: Myra Bancroft. Image: Jill Smith, "Sharing Māori Knowledge," in *Fred Graham. Creator of Forms: Te Tohunga Auaha*, edited by Maria de Jong (Wellington: Huia Publishing, 2014), 124.



Figure 3: Paintings by Para Matchitt presented in Mahinarangi, the whare whakairo at Turangawaewae marae and the first house executed by Ngata's team of carvers lead by Pine Taiapa and Piri Poutapu in 1926, as part of the First Māori Festival of the Arts, Ngaruawahia, 1963, photographer: Ans Westra. Image: Suite Tirohanga Limited on Behalf of Ans Westra.



Figure 4: Fred Graham and his painting, *Whiti Te Ra* 1966, in the exhibition *Contemporary Māori Painting and Sculpture* 1966. Image: Archives New Zealand, AAMK W3495, 28.



Figure 5: *Whatu Aho Rua: A Weaving Together of Traditional and Contemporary Taonga*, Sarjeant Gallery, Whanganui (8 April – 5 June 1989) exhibition view looking through two doorways across three gallery spaces providing a contrast of historic Māori art from the Whanganui Regional Museum collection (front and centre) with works by Selwyn Muru and Para Matchitt (background). Image: Sarjeant Gallery Te Whare o Rehua Whanganui.



Figure 6: *Whatu Aho Rua: A Weaving Together of Traditional and Contemporary Taonga* exhibition view, Sarjeant Art Gallery, Whanganui (8 April – 5 June 1989). Image: Sarjeant Gallery Te Whare o Rehua Whanganui.



Figure 7: *Whatu Aho Rua: A Weaving Together of Traditional and Contemporary Taonga* exhibition view,, Sarjeant Art Gallery, Whanganui (8 April – 5 June 1989). Image: Sarjeant Gallery Te Whare o Rehua Whanganui.



Figure 8: Māori art historian, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki (left), and Contemporary Māori Artist, Fred Graham (right) at the inaugural International Indigenous Artists' Gathering, January 1995, Apumoana marae, Rotorua. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 9: Brett Graham, *1492-1642* 1992, exhibition view, Waikato Art Museum. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 10: Brett Graham, *Te Puawaitanga* 1993, exhibition view, ARTIS Gallery, Auckland. Image: Brett Graham Archive. *Te Pū* (centre right) was purchased for the Auckland City Art Gallery collection from this exhibition, 1993/26.

'Untitled'

an exhibition of contemporary Maori art
curated by George Hubbard

Auckland City Art Gallery
August 1994



Curators Final Selection Of Artists

Michael Parekowhai	Diane Prince
Emily Karaka	Jacqueline Fraser
Peter Robinson	Chris Heaphy
Shane Cotton	Barnard McIntyre
Maureen Lander	Ralph Hotere
D.J. D.L.T.	Lisa Reihana

(Brett Graham?)

7 / 9 / 93

Figure 11: George Hubbard, "Untitled": An Exhibition of Contemporary Maori Art," exhibition proposal cover sheet, "Korurangi Exhibition File," E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

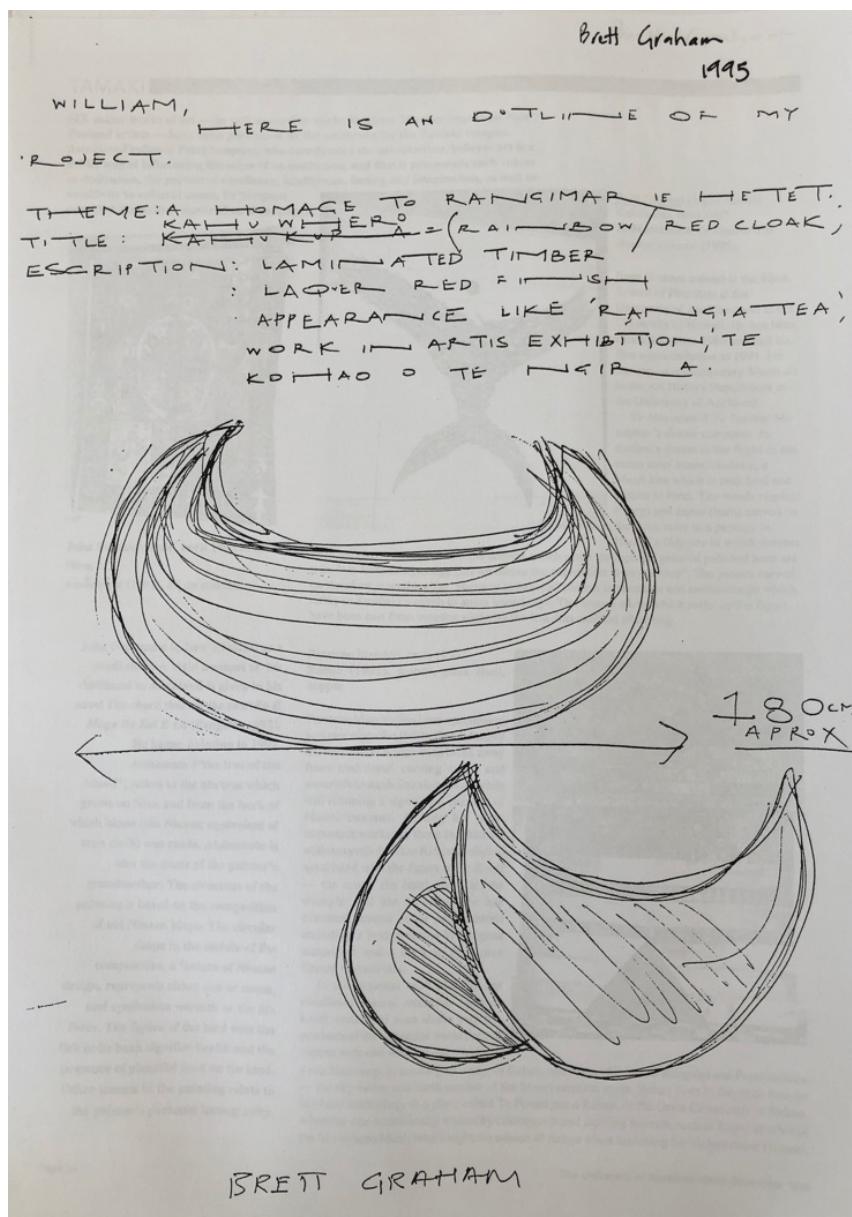


Figure 12: Brett Graham to William McAloon, "Kahuwhere – project outline," undated (c. September 1996), Brett Graham Archive. The text reads, 'William, here is an outline of my project. Theme: a homage to Rangimarie Hetet. Title: Kahu Where ~~Kahukura~~ (rainbow / red cloak). Description: laminated timber, lacquer red finish. Appearance like 'Rangiatea' work in ARTIS exhibition, Te Kowhao o te Ngira.



Figure 13 : *Te Kowhao o te Ngira* in production, from left to right: *Te Kowhao o te Ngira*, *Matariki* and *Rangiatea*.
Image: Brett Graham Archive.

Figure 14: *Rangiatea* 1993. Image: Brett Graham archive.



Figure 15: Ngahuia te Awekotuku (front right) leads the karanga to welcome Tainui manuhiri into *Te Kowhao o te Ngira*, ARTIS Gallery 1993, with *Rangiatea* to the left of the entrance. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 16: Whaikōrero by Arnold Manaaki-Wilson, with Ngāti Koroki Kahukura leaders, Tioriori Papa and Te Kaapo Clark standing between *Matariki* (centre) and *Taniwha Ma* (right). Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 17: *Te Kowhāo o te Ngira* exhibition view, ARTIS Gallery, 1993 with the tongikura of Pōtatau presented on the wall (black text), which Graham translated into Cook Islands Māori (red text) and English (white text on opposite side of glass divider, not visible). Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 18: The visual impact of the fau is captured in the scene to the left of this painting. William Hodges, *Review of the War Galleys at Tahiti 'The Fleet of Otaheite assembled as Oparee,'* 1776, oil on panel, 2400 x 4650 mm, National Maritime Museum Collection, Greenwich, London, BHC 2395, <https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/13871.html>, accessed 31 December 2019.

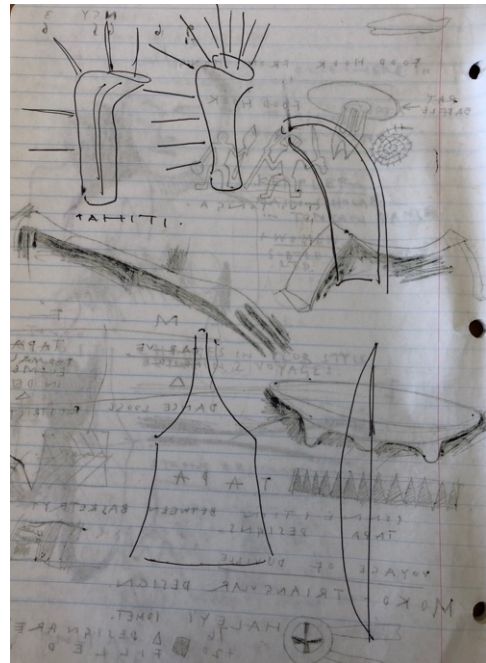


Figure 19: Tahitian Fau, fibre and feathers, 1375 x 1250 mm, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, 1886.1.1683. Image: Pitt Rivers Museum.

Figure 20: Brett Graham Pacific Art lecture notes, 1990. Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 21: The laminated block form of *Kahukura*, with maquette in the background at centre. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 22: *Kahukura* work in progress. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 23: Fred Graham inspects work on *Kahukura*. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 24: *Kahukura* 1995. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 25: 'Ahu 'ula' (feathered cloak), 1700s, Hawai'i, maker unknown. Gift of Lord St Oswald, 1912. Collection of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, FE000327. Image: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

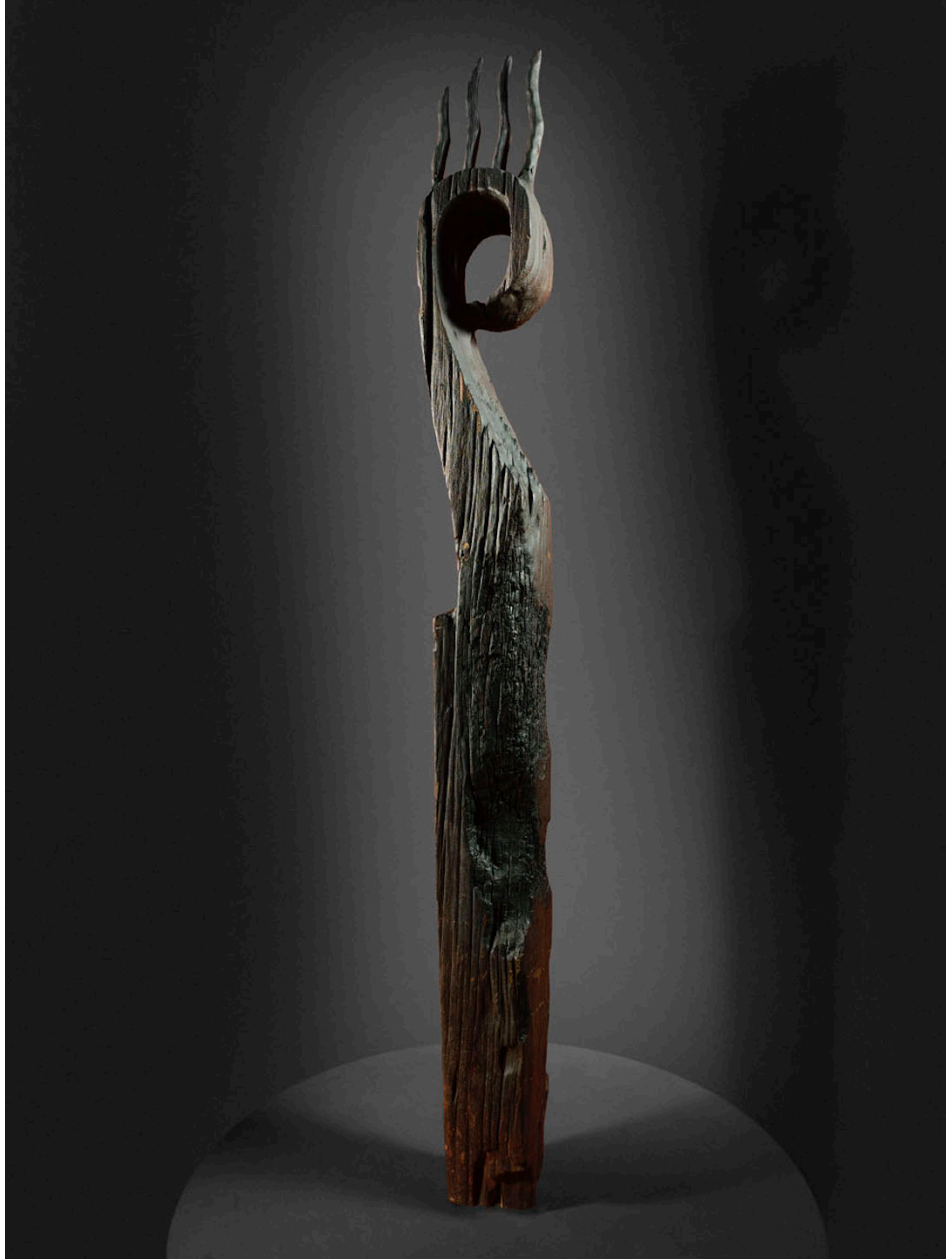


Figure 26: Uenuku. Image: Te Awemutu Museum, 2056.



Figure 27: Opening pōwhiri for *Korurangi: New Māori Art* at the NEW Gallery, Auckland City Art Gallery, 1 October 1995. It is customary for a puhi (at centre) to be the first to break the tapu of a new building. Image: E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

Figure 28: Whaikōrero by Arnold Manaaki-Wilson as Chair of Haerewa, 1 October 1995. Image: E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.



Figure 29: *Korurangi: New Māori Art* exhibition view, NEW Gallery, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1 October – 26 November 1995. Image: E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.



Figure 30: *Korurangi: New Māori Art* exhibition view, NEW Gallery, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1 October – 26 November 1995. Image: E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

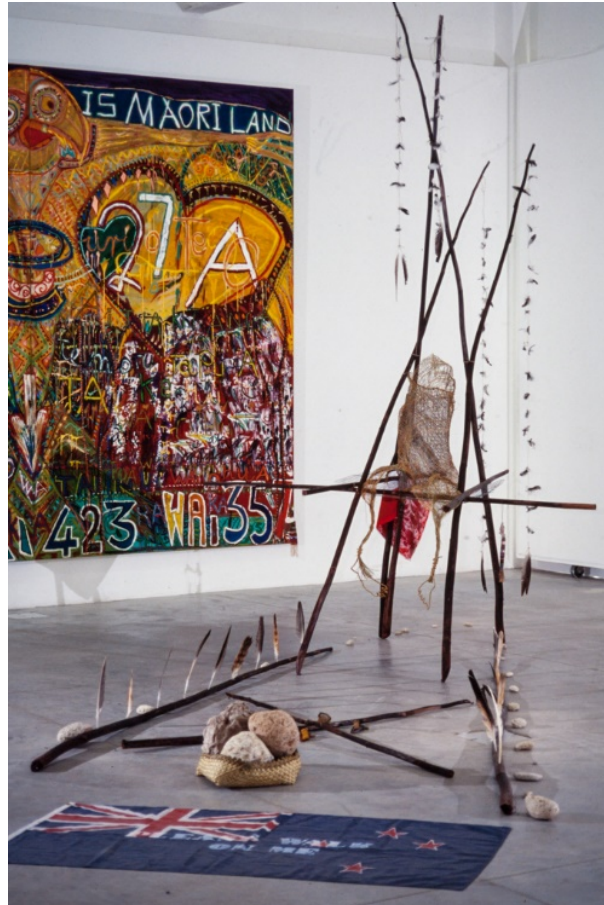


Figure 31: Diane Prince, *Flagging the Future: Te Kaitangata – the Last Palisade* 1995, mixed media, 3000 x 3000 x 4000 mm, (background) Emily Karaka, *Manawhenua Hapu o Tamakimakaurau* 1995, oil media on canvas, 3000 x 3800 mm in *Korurangi: New Māori Art*, 1 October-26 November 1995. Image: E.H. McCormack Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.



Figure 32: Toihoukura waharoa, *Patua: Māori Art in Action* 1-23 March 1996, City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.



Figure 33: Marae ātea and whare whakairo exterior, *Patua: Māori Art in Action* exhibition view. Image: City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi Archive.



Figure 34: Pōwhiri for the opening of *Patua*, view from the whare whakairo gallery looking toward the marae ātea.
Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.



Figure 35: *Patua* exhibition live weaving demonstrations. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.



Figure 36: *Patua* exhibition artist demonstrations. Navajo printmaker, Melanie Yazzie (Navajo) (pictured) and Nuchanulth sculptor and performer, Joe David, were invited guests of Te Ātinga and ran artist demonstrations during *Patua*. Both had attended the First International Indigenous Wānanga Symposium of Contemporary Visual Arts called by Te Ātinga and held at Apumoana marae, Rotorua. 14-24 January 1995. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.



Figure 37: “Te Toka-a-Toi” International Festival of the Arts kapa haka performance, Civic Square, Wellington.
Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.



Figure 38: *Kahukura in Patua*, exhibition view of the whare whakairo gallery. Image: City Art Gallery Wellington Archive.



Figure 39: Diane Prince, *Culturally Sensitive Object* 1996, mixed media in *Patua: Māori Art in Action*, first floor gallery. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.

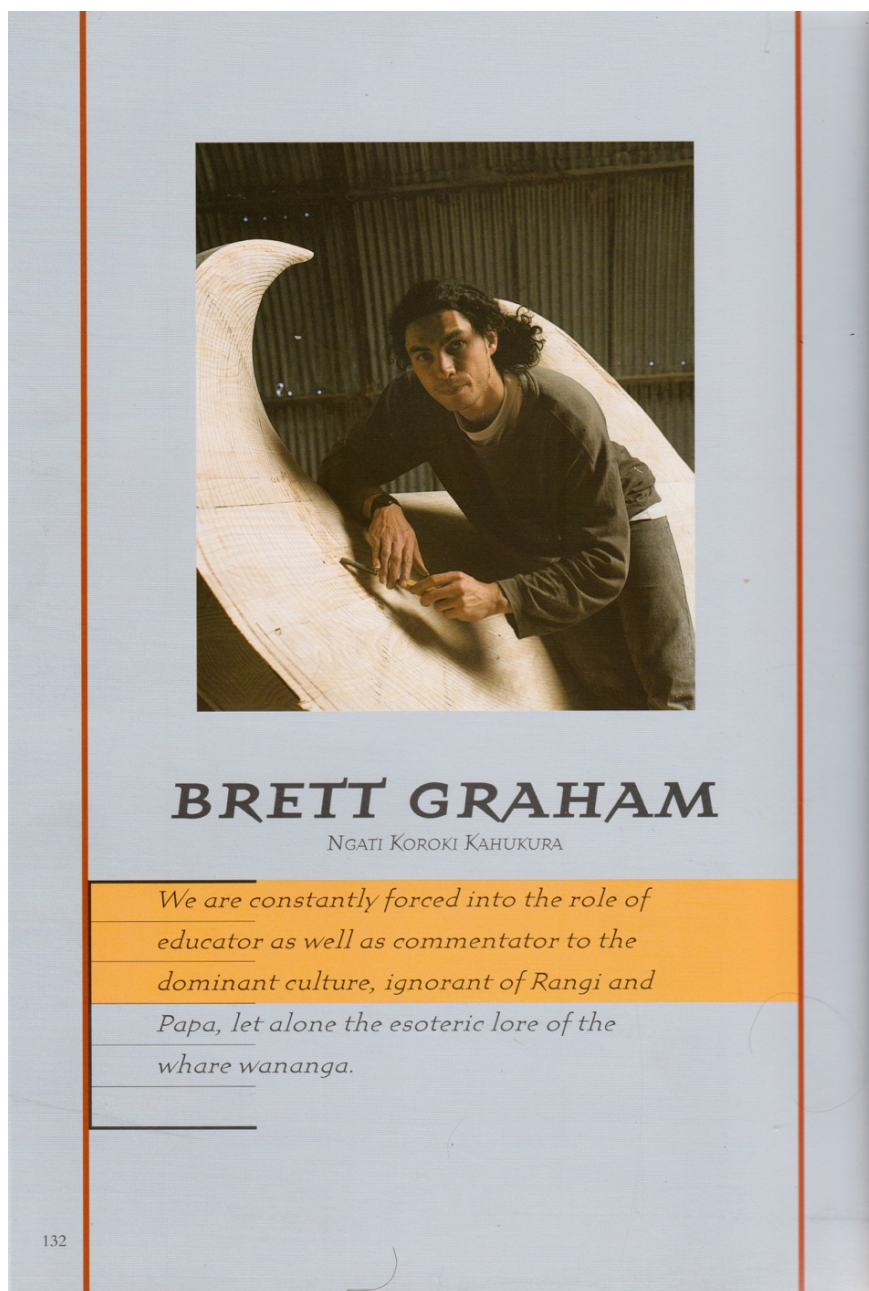


Figure 40: Brett Graham, September 1995, photograph by Margaret Kawharu. Image: Sandy Adsett and Cliff Whiting, *Mataora: The Living Face* (Auckland: Te Waka Toi, David Bateman Ltd, 1996): 132.



Figure 41: Blessing of the Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane, in preparation for the installation of The Waka Collective (Aotearoa/New Zealand) in *The Second Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art (APT2)* 1996, Queensland Art Gallery of Modern Art. Image: Queensland Gallery of Modern Art Archive.



Figure 42: View of The Waka Collective (Aotearoa/New Zealand) in *The Second Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art (APT2)* 1996, Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane, with works by Lisa Reihana, Brett Graham, Chris Booth, Bronwynne Cornish, Ani O'Neill, Marie Shannon, John Pule, Yuk King Tan and Judy Millar, photographer: Richard Stringer. Image: Queensland Art Gallery of Contemporary Art Archive.



Figure 43: *Kahukura*, exhibition view from the Watermall level. Image: Brett Graham Archive.

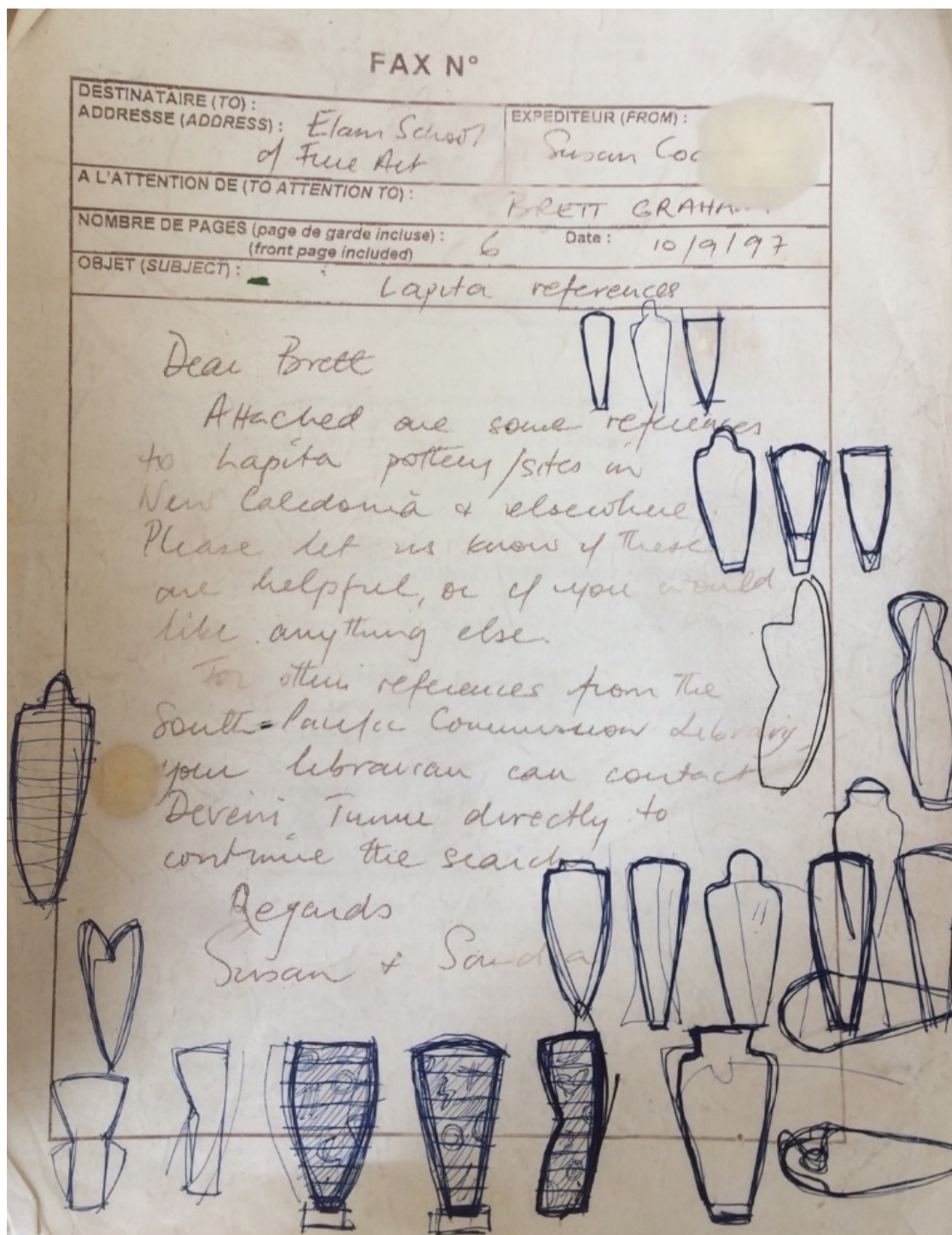


Figure 44: Inscribed fax correspondence from Susan Cochrane to Brett Graham, 10 September 1997. Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 45: Ngan Jila interior view with the poutokomanawa by Lyonel Grant at right, Tjibaou Cultural Centre, Nouméa, New Caledonia, photographer: Andreas Secci. Image: Archaid Images.



Figure 46: Brett Graham working on *Melanesia* in its solid form at the ADCK offices, Nouville, 1998. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 47: Brett Graham working on the cracked form of *Melanesia* at the ADCK office site, Nouville, 1998.
Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 48: Brett Graham working in Atsuo Okamoto's stone yard, Tsukuba, Japan, 1991. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 49: *Te Puawaitanga – The Flowering*, 1993, ARTIS Gallery, Auckland. Image: Brett Graham Archive.

Figure 50: *Te Taniwha Ma* in *Te Kowhao o te Ngira*, 1994, ARTIS Gallery, Auckland. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 51: Brett Graham, *Bravo Bikini* 1996, Bartley Nees Gallery, Wellington. Image: Bartley & Company Art, Wellington.



Figure 52: *Polynesia* work-in-progress, detailed view (top edge). Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 53: Installing *Melanesia* onsite in the Jinu Patio, 1998. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 54: (left to right), Sandra Maillot-Win-Nemou, unknown, Brett Graham, Roger Boulay. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 55: *Lapita* installation, Jinu Patio. Note the proximity of *Lapita* to *Kahukura* displayed behind the louver windows. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 56: *Kahukura* sited in the *Bérétara: Contemporary Pacific Art* exhibition gallery with *Lapita* installed in the Jinu Patio at rear. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 57: *Kahukura* in the *Bérétara* exhibition during the opening of the Centre. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 58: Brett Graham, wearing a t-shirt commemorating *The Second Asia Pacific Triennial*, in the *Bérétara* exhibition with *Kahukura* at rear, wearing . Image: *Ngan Jila: House of Riches*, directed by Renata Schuman and Andrew Bliss, 1998, video still.



Figure 59: Fred Graham and *Kahukura*, Tjibaou Cultural Centre reception foyer, Nouméa, 2005. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 60: *Kahukura* projected onto a suspended sheet in the family living room, *The Whale Rider*, directed by Niki Caro (New Zealand, Germany: South Pacific Pictures, 2002), video still.



Figure 61: The character, Porourangi, played by Cliff Curtis, inside the whare whakairo, Te Whitireia, *The Whale Rider*, video still.



Figure 62: *The Whale Rider*, video still.



Figure 63: Auckland Weekly News, "The Horahora Rapids on the Waikato River," 24 August 1905, *Auckland Weekly News* (24 August 1905), 3. Image: Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, AWNS-19050824-3-1, CC.BY.4.0.



Figure 64: "Practically a New River Bed: Cutting the Race at the Horahora Rapids Electric Power Works, Waikato," *Auckland Weekly News* (16 February 1911), 7. Image: Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, AWNS-19110216-7-2, CC.BY.4.0.

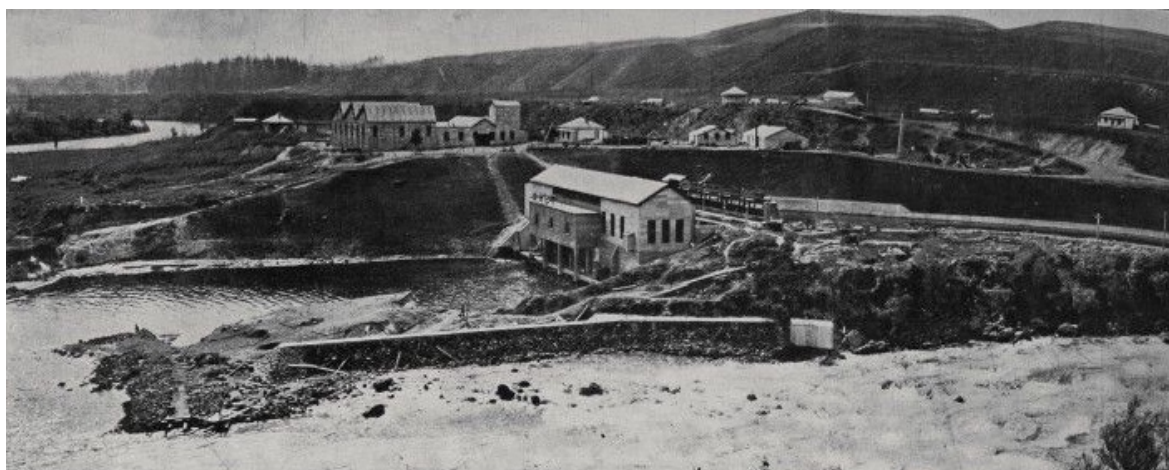


Figure 65: "A General View of the Horahora Hydro-Electrical Works from Across the Waikato River," *Auckland Weekly News* (2 October 1913), 47. Image: Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, AWNZ-19131002-47-1, CC.BY.4.0.

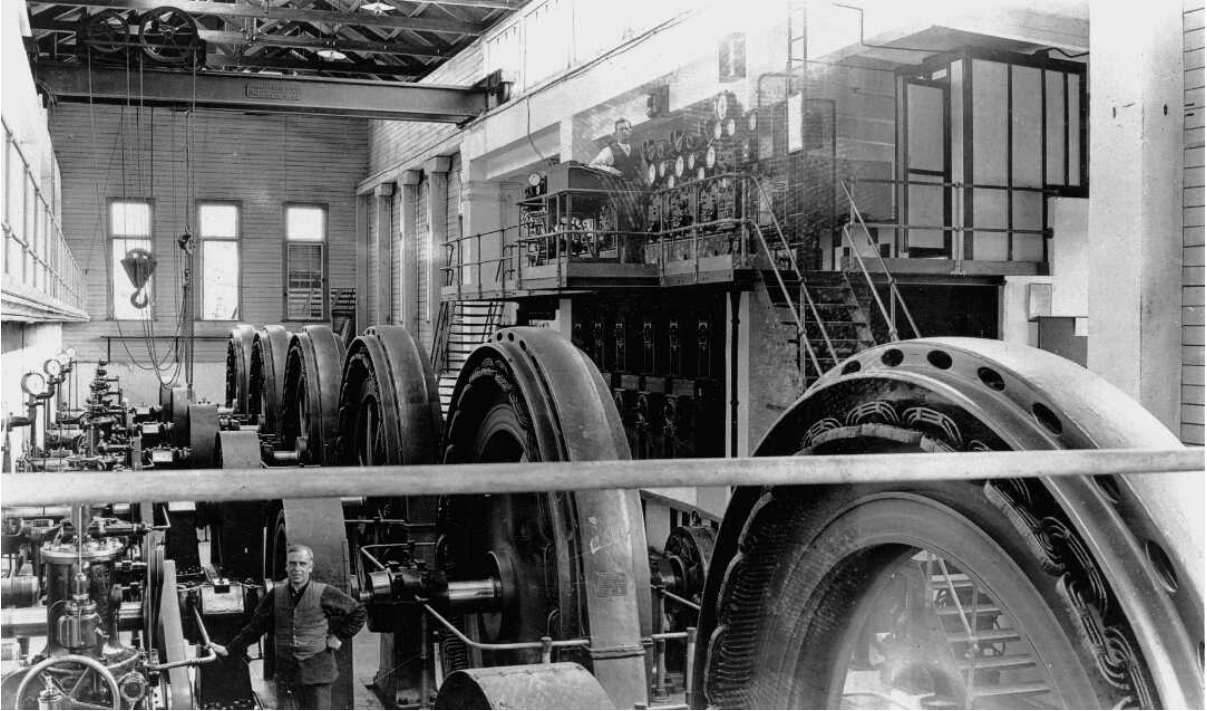


Figure 66: "Interior of Horahora Hydroelectric Station," c. 1912. Image: Hart, Roger: Photographs of Somes Island and other subjects, Alexander Turnbull Library, PAColl-5479, CC.BY.4.0.



Figure 67: Aerial photograph taken by Whites Aviation, "Horahora Hydro Scheme and River, Waikato," February 1947. Image: Whites Aviation Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, WA-05620-G, PA-Group-00080, CC.BY.4.0.



Figure 68: Whites Aviation, 'Construction of the Karāpiro Hydroelectric Power Station, including the Waikato River, Karāpiro, Waikato' with Maungatautari in the background, 20 November 1946. Image: Whites Aviation Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, WA-04409-G/PA-Group-00080, CC.BY.4.0.



Figure 69: 'Karāpiro Hydroelectric Power Plant Under Construction', January 1946, *New Zealand Free Lance*, no. 6, vol. 1 (1946). Image: Alexander Turnbull Library, PAColl-7171-00079, CC.BY.4.0.



Figure 70: The flooded interior of the Horahora Hydroelectric Powerstation showing the number 7 generator, which would not shut down. Note Kiwa Graham's inscription on the number 8 generator (background). Image: Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections 1370-231-8, CC.BY.4.0.



Figure 71: Whites Aviation, 'Aerial View of Karāpiro', January 1953. Image: Whites Aviation Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, WA-32199-F/PA-Group-00080, CC.BY.4.0.



Figure 72: Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh survey the Karāpiro reservoir from the top of the dam, "UK Royal Family Tour 1953-54." Image: Auckland War Memorial Museum, neg. S1344, with permission from the *Auckland Star*.



Figure 73: Piri Poutapu (left) and Waka Kereama (right), c. 1928. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 74: The procession walking through *Te Māori: Te Hokinga Mai* at the Dominion Museum, Wellington, 1986 during the opening pōwhiri, with Uenuku at centre and Te Potaka at right, photographer: Brian Brake. Image: National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, gift of Mr Raymond Wai-Man Lau, 2001, E.00558916.



Figure 75: *Contemporary Māori Artists* 1966 exhibition view, Hamilton. Image: Harry Dansey archive, PH 92/4, folder 1 (scan from proof sheet), Auckland War Memorial Museum.



Figure 76: Fred Graham, *Manaia* 1966, exhibited in *Contemporary Māori Artists* 1966, Hamilton. Also included in *New Zealand Māori Culture and the Contemporary Scene* 1966, Christchurch and the international tour of *Traditional and Modern Māori Art* 1967-8. Image: Harry Dansey archive, PH 92/4, folder 1 (scan from proof sheet), Auckland War Memorial Museum.



Figure 77: Cliff Whiting, *Te Wehenga o Rangi Raua Ko Papa* (1969-1974), exhibited in *Contemporary Māori Art 1976*, Waikato Art Museum, Hamilton, photographer: Kees Springer. Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.



Figure 78: Exhibition view of *Contemporary Māori Art* 1976, with Fred Graham's kauri wall relief carving, *Kurangaituku and Hatupatu* 1976 at centre left, flanked by woodcarving (including the model of the Tainui waka, Taheretikitiki at centre right) representing the Waikato School under the leadership of Piri Poutapu. The kākahu (cloaks) and whariki (fine mat, bottom right) is the work of Rangimarie Hetet, with the piupiu (tasselled overskirt) and pari (bodice) being the work of Diggeress Te Kanawa. Photographer: Kees Springer. Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.

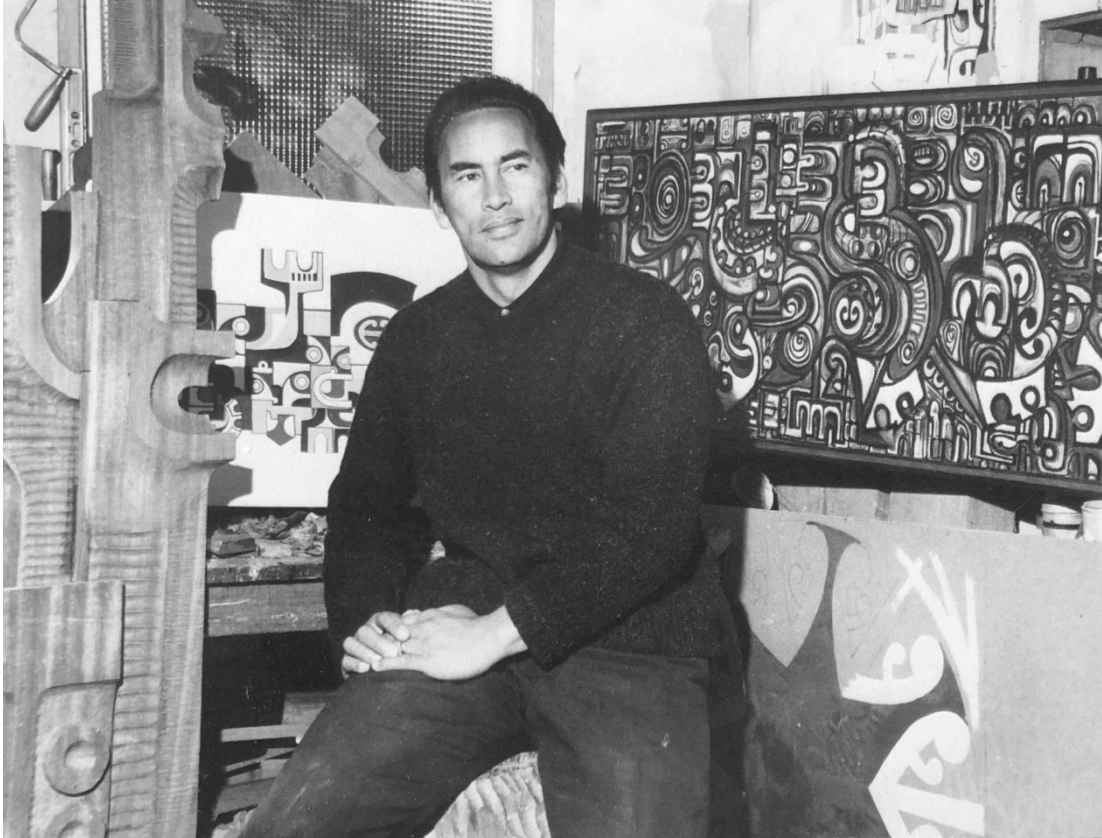


Figure 79: Fred Graham in his home studio, Manurewa, c.1974. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 80: Brett Graham, *Rangi and Papa* 1987, exhibited in *Māori Art Today* 1986-87. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 81: *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake: Tainui Regional Group* exhibition view, 1990-1991 from left to right: Brett Graham, *Pou Whakamaharatanga* 1988, wall relief and sculpture by Buck Nin and kākahu by Diggeress Te Kanawa (encased). Image: National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Photographic Collection.



Figure 82: Paratene Matchitt, a detailed view of the installation *Ngā Tohu No Te Wepu—Waharoa Maunga* 1990 in *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake*, 1990-91. Image: National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Photographic Collection.



Figure 83: Silicon moulding from wood sculpture, East West Centre, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, 1990. Image: Brett Graham Archive.

Figure 84: Brett Graham, *Kia Mahara ki te Hē Rona (Remember the Sin of Rona)* 1990, bronze, private collection, Honolulu. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 85: Kumu Keola Lake leading the oli wehe (Hawai'i ritual acknowledgement) for *Te Ara a Papatuanuku* 1990 (with *Kia Mahara ki te o Rona* visible in the mid-ground), East-West Centre, Honolulu, Hawai'i. Image: Brett Graham Archive.

Figure 86: Brett Graham responding to the oli wehe for *Te Ara a Papatuanuku* 1990, East-West Centre, Honolulu, Hawai'i. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 87: Arowhenua Stone Symposium, Timaru, 1990, with visiting sculptors from Zimbabwe (back row, centre and left), Atsuo Okamoto (centre right), Fred Graham (centre left), Arnold Manaaki Wilson (back row, back centre right) and Buck Nin (back right). Image: Toi Māori Aotearoa Archive.



Figure 88: Brett Graham, *Bravo Bikini* 1996, Bartley Nees Gallery, Wellington. Image: Bartley + Company Art, Wellington.



Figure 89: Brett Graham, *Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua* 2003, Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi, Victoria University of Wellington. Image: Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi.

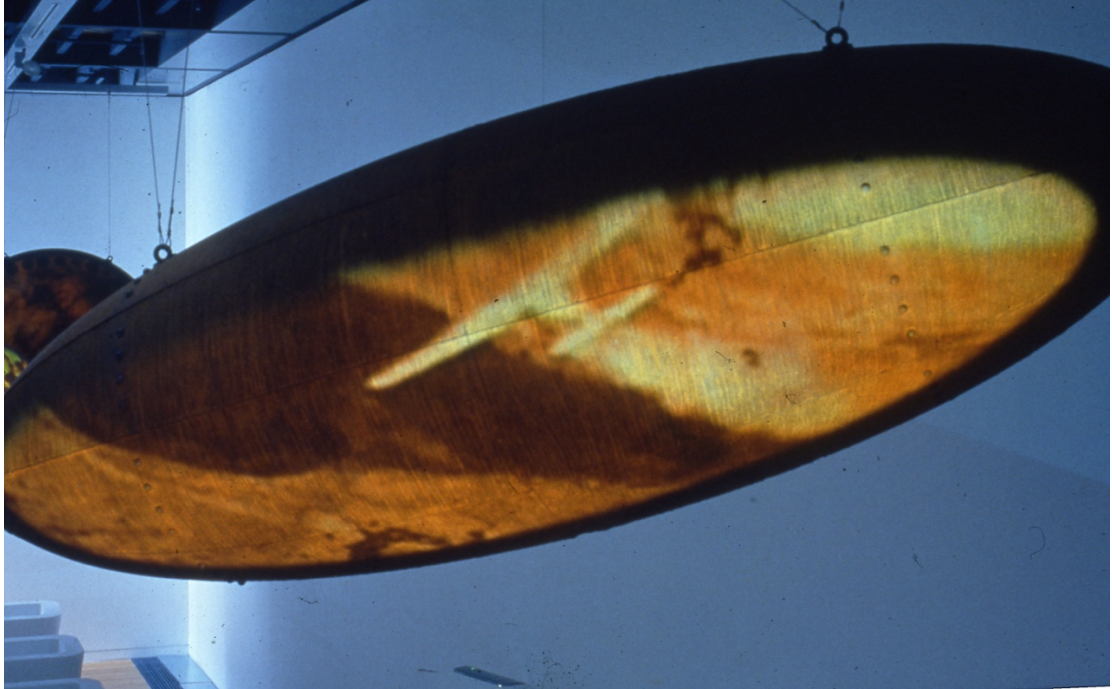


Figure 90: An image of a top-dressing plane spraying fertiliser onto New Zealand soil, as projected onto a steel orb in *Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua* 2003. Image: Brett Graham Archive.

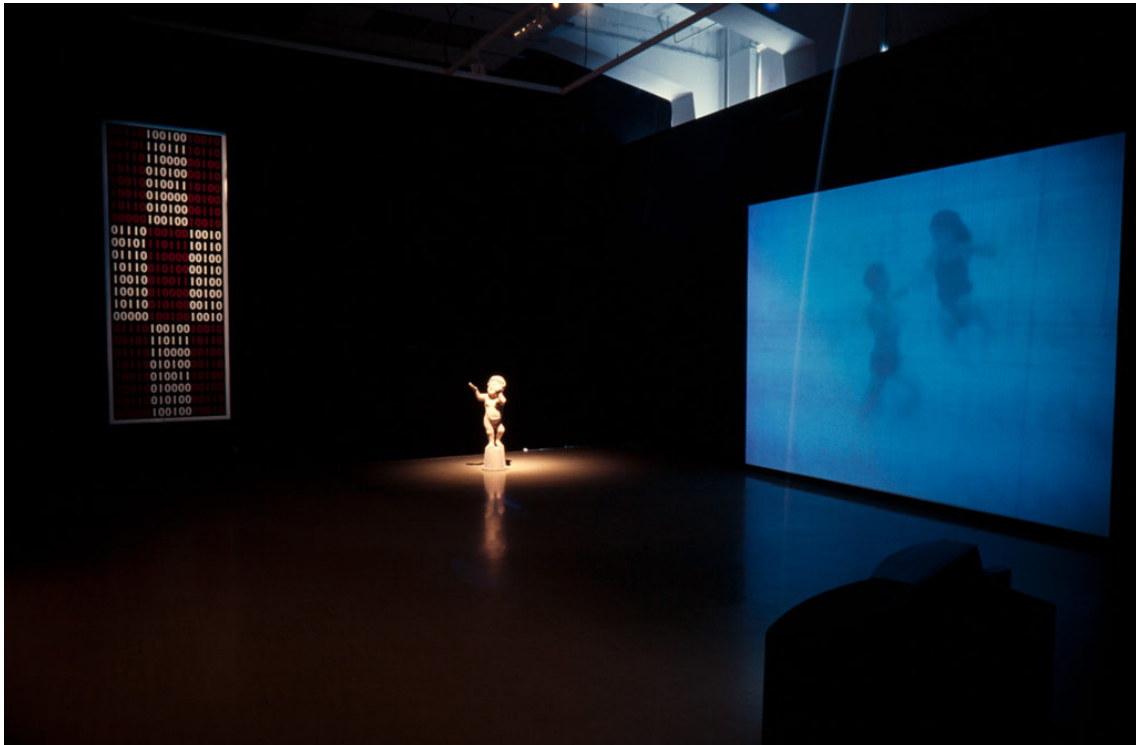


Figure 91: *Techno Māori: Māori Art in the Digital Age* 2001 exhibition view showing art works by Peter Robinson, Michael Parekowhai and Rachael Rakena's "... as an Individual and not under the Name of Ngai Tahu" at right. Image: City Gallery Wellington Archive.



Figure 92: Rachael Rakena, *Rerehiko* 2003, digital still from multi-projection video environment, collection of Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū, 2005/038.a-b. Image: Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū.

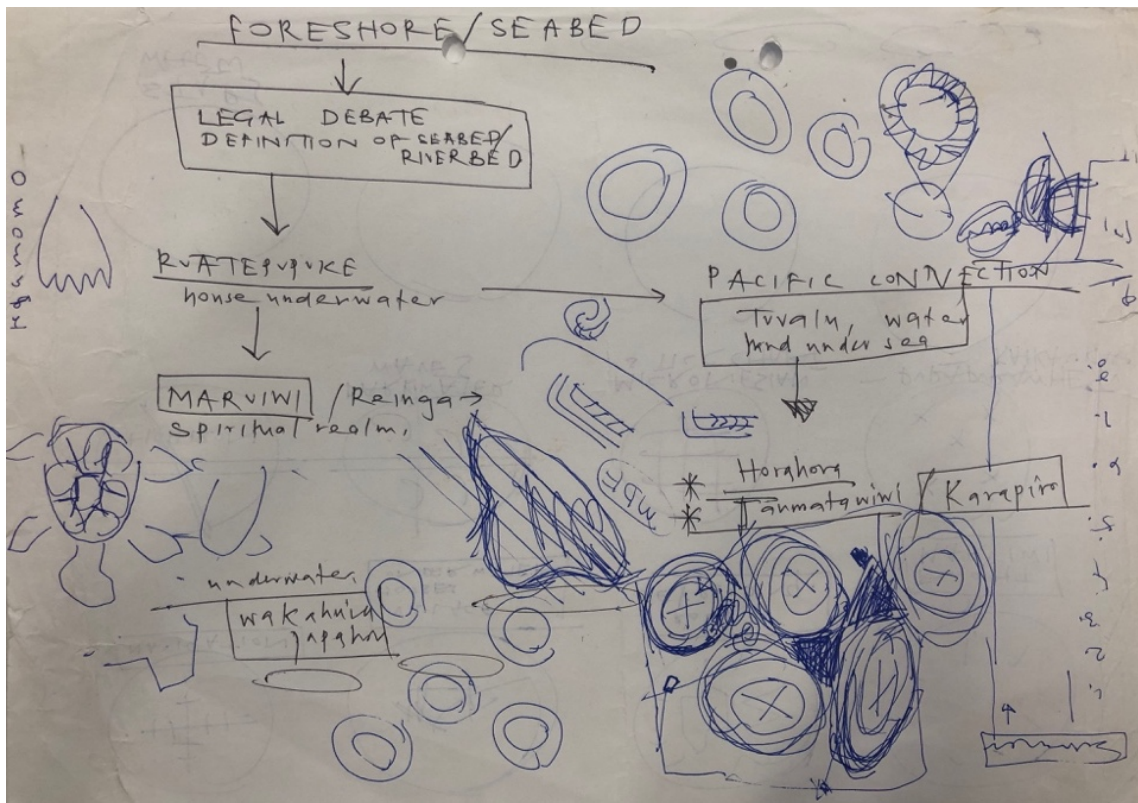


Figure 93: Mangōroa concept drawings. "Āniwaniwa File," Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 94: Rachael Rakena, digital render of *UFOB* 2006. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 95: Rachael Rakena, *Pacific Washup 003*, digital still from *UFOB* 2006. Image: Bartley + Company Art, Wellington.



Figure 96: Wood plug for the *Āniwaniwa* mould. Image: Te Manawa Museum of Art, Science and Heritage, Palmerston North.



Figure 97: Vacuum moulding process. Image: "Mangōroa Report to Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga" 2016, "Āniwaniwa File," Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 98: Rachael Rakena, *Āniwaniwa* 2006, digital still. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 99: Rachael Rakena, *Āniwaniwa* 2006, digital still. Image: Brett Graham Archive.

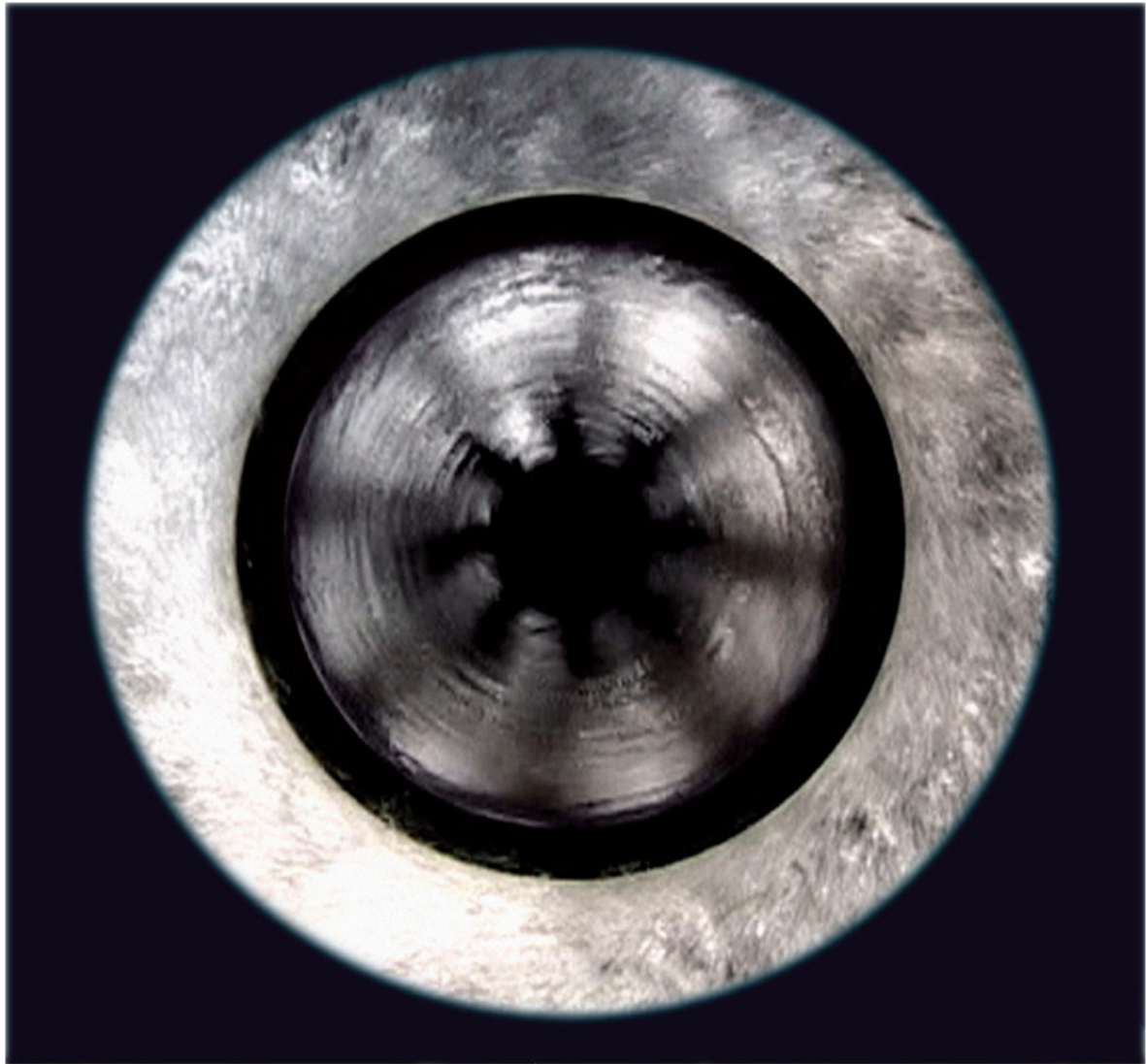


Figure 100: Rachael Rakena, *Āniwaniwa* 2006, digital still. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 101: Exhibition opening of *Āniwaniwa* (one wakahuia), Te Manawa Art Gallery, 2006. Image: Te Manawa Museum of Art, Science and Heritage, Palmerston North.

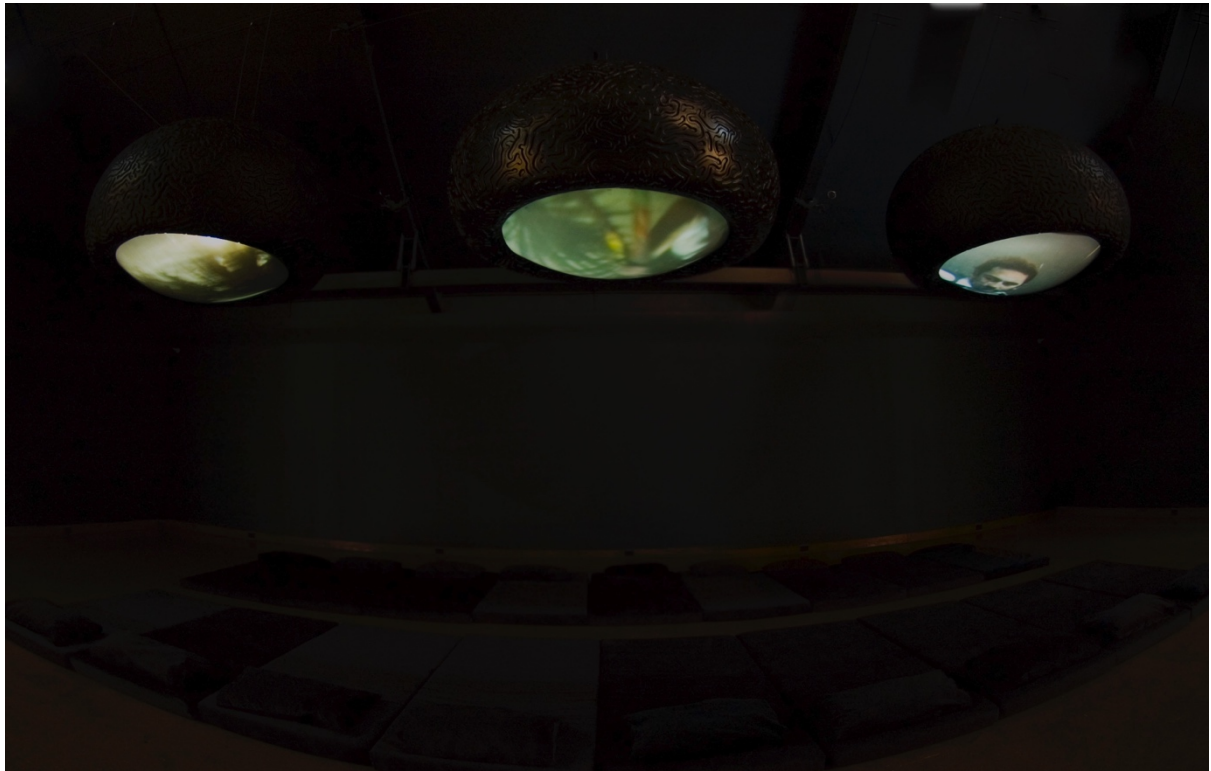


Figure 102: Exhibition view of *Āniwaniwa* with three wakahuia, Te Manawa Art Gallery 2006. Te Manawa Museum of Art, Science and Heritage, Palmerston North.



Figure 103: *Āniwaniwa* arrives in Venice by barge. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 104: Murray Rich rigs the suspension cables for *Āniwaniwa* in the heritage-listed wooden rafters of the Magazinni del Sale. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 105: Hoisting the first waka huia. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 106: *Āniwaniwa* work in progress. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 107: *Āniwaniwa* work in progress, (left to right): Rachael Rakena, Murray Rich and Brett Graham.



Figure 108: *Āniwaniwa* work in progress. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 109: *Āniwaniwa* work in progress. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 110: Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena, *Āniwaniwa* 2006-7, 52nd International Art Exhibition La Biennale di Venezia, Italy, 10 June-30 September 2007, photographer: Jennifer French. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 111: Tino Rangatiratanga flag installed on the exterior of the Magazinni del Sale as seen from the Grand Canal, June 2007. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 112: *Āniwaniwa* exhibition opening, 9 June 2007. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 113: Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena are brought into the Waikato Museum and Art Gallery by Ngāti Koroki Kahukura leaders, Jake Puke (centre left) and Brett's uncle, Kiwa Graham (centre right). Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.



Figure 114: Kuia welcome the ope into the museum. Note Fred Graham's sculpture, *Kereana (Foster Parent)* 1984 (bottom left), which is held in the Waikato Museum and Art Gallery collection. Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.



Figure 115: Tainui kuia lead the ope into the Āniwaniwa exhibition space, from left to right: Brett Graham, Norma Graham, Rachael Rakena, and Fred Graham (at rear). Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.



Figure 116: *Āniwaniwa: Te Hokinga ki te Matapuna*, Waikato Museum and Art Gallery, 27 September – 16 November 2008. Image: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato.



Figure 117: Brett Graham, *Mihaia* 2008, Museum of Contemporary Art Sydney, 16th Biennale of Sydney, *Revolutions—Forms That Turn* 18 June – 7 September 2008, collection of the National Gallery of Australia. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 118: Brett Graham, *Hokioi* 2008, *Campaign Rooms* (27 November – 20 December 2008), Two Rooms Gallery, collection of Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2009/33/4. Image: Brett Graham Archive.



Figure 119: Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena, *Āniwaniwa* 2006-7, *Sakahán: International Indigenous Art* (17 May – 2 September 2013), National Gallery of Canada, collection of the National Gallery of Canada. Image: National Gallery of Canada.

Bibliography

Interviews

- Darcy Nicholas, meeting with author, Wellington, 29 August 2017.
Teresia Teaiwa, meeting with author, Wellington, 20 January 2018.
Fred Graham, meeting with author, Waiuku, 8 February 2018.
Susan Cochrane, video interview by author, Sydney, 5 October 2018.
Emmanuel Kasarhérou, email interview with author, Paris, 9 October 2018.
Linda Te Aho, interview by author, Hamilton, 13 December 2018.
Steve Woodward, interview by author, Auckland, 12 January 2020.
Sandra Mailot Win-Nemou, interview by author, Nouméa, 18 January 2020.

Unpublished Sources

Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand:

“File 17 National Conference 1989: Papers Relating to National Conferences. 1973-1995. Ngā Puna Waihangā: Records,” Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-9430-044.

“Ngā Puna Waihangā: Administrative Files 1/4 – Newsletters,” Alexander Turnbull Library, MS Papers-9430-009.

Brett Graham Archive:

“Travel Diary 1988-‘89”

“Pacific Art Lecture Notes” 1990

Letter from Teresia Teaiwa to Brett Graham, 1993

“Mangōroa’ Project File,” 2006-7

“Āniwaniwa File” 2006-15

Digital image files, negatives, photographs, slides.

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, E.H. McCormack Research Library:

Tūruki Tūruki! Paneke Paneke! Panel Discussion (20/07/08): Fred Graham, Mere Lodge, Elizabeth Ellis, Selwyn Muru, James Pinker (Chair), Audio Visual Collection D2018/1.

“Auckland City Art Gallery Position Paper for Future Planning Process Search Conference November 26-29 1993,” Auckland City Art Gallery Enterprise Board Minutes.

“Auckland City Art Gallery Enterprise Board Minutes, 19 October 1994.”

“Cross-Pollination,” Exhibition File, Artspace Archive, E.H. McCormack Research Library.

“Korurangi: New Māori Art,” Exhibition File.

“Taiarotia: Te Waka Toi,” Exhibition File.

City Gallery Wellington Archive:

“Patua: Māori Art in Action” Exhibition File.

“Taiaroatia: Te Waka Toi” Exhibition File

Darcy Nicholas Archive:

“Contemporary Māori Arts Deed of Trust 1985.”

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Archive:

“Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake” Exhibition File.

Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, “Te Puawaitanga Hou: Modernist Māori Artists of the Tovey Era, 1946-1966,” unpublished essay draft, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki Archive, TMP 024433.4.1.3.

National Gallery of Canada Internal Files:

Greg Hill, "Āniwaniwa Acquisition Proposal 2014."

Queensland Art Gallery of Modern Art Archive:

Mane-Wheeki, Jonathan, "Identity, Tradition and Change: Contemporary Art of the Asian Pacific Region," paper presented at the First Asia Pacific Triennial Conference, Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane, 17-20 September 1993, 8, "Asia Pacific Triennial of Art Exhibition File APT1, ACAPA Archives.

"Asia Pacific Triennial of Art Exhibition File APT2," ACAPA Archives.

Toi Māori Aotearoa Archive:

"Toi Māori Aotearoa Māori Arts New Zealand Trust Deed, 14 October 1996."

"Te Waka Toi Newsletter, March 1989."

Published sources

Adsett, Sandy, and Cliff Whiting (eds), *Mataora: The Living Face* (Auckland: Te Waka Toi, David Bateman Ltd., 1996).

Allen, Ngapine Tamihana, "Patua Means to Strike!" in *Patua: Māori Art in Action* (Wellington: City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi, 1996): 2-4.

Amery, Mark, "The Ghosts of River Power," *The Dominion Post* (12 March 2008): A2.

Anderson, Athol, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014).

Andrews, Kelly, "Portholes on a World Under Water," *The Dominion Post* (11 March 2008): 11.

“Āniwaniwa—Dr Brett Graham and Rachael Rakena,” <http://waikatomuseum.co.nz/exhibitions-and-events/view/41>, accessed 24 January 2019.

“Āniwaniwa Returns Home to the Waikato,” *Hamilton City Council Te Kaunihera o Kirikiriroa* (23 September 2008), <https://www.hamilton.govt.nz/our-council/news/Pages/default.aspx?newsItem=1975>, date accessed 13 April 2019.

“Āniwaniwa Returns to its Ahi Kaa,” *Massey News* (2 November 2008), http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/about-massey/news/article.cfm?mnarticle_uuid=BA3B6853-96BF-57FE-A957-405AA2624E96, accessed 24 January 2019.

Aperahama, Ranea, and Daniel Crichton-Rouse, “Mastering the Art of Interpretation: What Exactly Does ‘Toi’ Mean?,” <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2018/06/20/mastering-the-art-of-interpretation-what-exactly-does-toi-mean/>, accessed 29 June 2018.

Austin, Dougal, *Te Hei Tiki: An Enduring Treasure in a Cultural Continuum* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2019).

“Background,” *Ngāti Koroki Kahukura Settlement Summary*, <https://www.govt.nz/treaty-settlement-documents/ngati-koroki-kahukura-ngati-koroki-kahukura-deed-of-settlement-summary-20-dec-2012>, accessed 5 October 2018.

Ballara, Angela, “Poutapu, Wiremu Te Ranga,” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1998), <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4p19/poutapu-wiremu-te-ranga>, accessed 30 January 2020.

Barr, Mary (ed.), *Headlands: Thinking Through New Zealand Art* (Sydney: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1992).

Barr, Mary (ed.), *La Distancia Mira Hacia Nosotros: 10 Artistas de Nueva Zelanda / Distance Looks Our Way: 10 Artists from New Zealand* (Wellington: Trustees, Distance Looks Our Way, 1992).

Baskett, Pat, "Te Waka Toi Comes Home," *New Zealand Herald* (3 February 1994): 2.2.

Baskett, Pat, "Gallery Has Failed," *New Zealand Herald* (3 February 1994): 2.2.

Borell, Nigel (ed.), *Te Ātinga. 25 Years of Contemporary Māori Art* (Wellington: Toi Māori Aotearoa, 2013).

Baskett, Pat, "Art Goes Beyond the Marae," *New Zealand Herald*, 7 December 1996: G8.

Bell, Leonard, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Māori 1984-1914* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993).

Bieringa, Luit, (dir.), *The HeART of the Matter*, produced by Jan Bieringa and BWX Productions (2016), video.

Block, René and Gregory Burke, *Toi Toi Toi: Drei Kunstlergenerationen Aus Neuseeland, Three Generations of Artists from New Zealand* (Kassel: Museum Fridericianum, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1999).

Booker, Paula, "The Ends of the World: Two Video Installations Contemplate Disaster," *New Zealand Listener* vol. 213, no. 3544 (12 April 2008): 39.

Brown, Amy, "Māori Art Today," *Art New Zealand* no. 45 (Summer 1987-88): 52-55.

Brown, Deidre, "Te Hau Ki Turanga," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* vol. 105, no. 1, 1996: 7-26.

Brown, Deidre, "The Architecture of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 108, no. 3 (1999): 241-276.

Brown, Deidre, and Ngarino Ellis, *Te Puna: Māori Art from Te Tai Tokerau Northland* (Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2007).

Brown, Deidre, *Māori Architecture: From Fale to Whareniui and Beyond* (Auckland: Penguin Group, Raupo Publishing Ltd, 2009).

Brown, Deidre, Ngarino Ellis and Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, *Does Māori Art History Matter?* (Wellington: Victoria University, 2014).

Brownson, Ron (ed.), *Art Toi. New Zealand Art at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki* (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2011).

Brunt, Peter, "Kāinga Tahi Kāinga Rua: New Work on Banaba," *The Contemporary Pacific* 16, 2 (Fall 2004): 429-434.

Brunt, Peter, "UFOB," *Zones of Contact: 2006 Biennale of Sydney* edited by Charles Merewether (Sydney: Biennale of Sydney, 2006): 122.

Burke, Gregory and Ian Wedde (eds), *Now See Hear!* (Wellington: Victoria University Press and City Gallery Wellington, 1990).

Burke, Gregory (ed.), *Cultural Safety: Contemporary Art From New Zealand* (Wellington, Frankfurt: City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi, Frankfurter Kunstverein, 1996).

Bushnell, Paul, "Arts Week: "Young Guns" – New Māori Artists [raw interview footage]," 30 September 1995, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision Kōrero Collection, 21998.

Butler, Brian (ed.), *Speculation* (Auckland, Zürich: Venice Project Aotearoa New Zealand, JRP|Ringier, 2007).

Butler, Phillipa, "Te Māori Past and Present: Stories of Te Māori," (MA diss. Massey University, Palmerston North, 1996).

Jon Bywater, "Exhibitions," *Art New Zealand* 100 (Spring 2001): 30-31.

Cahalan, Stephanie, "Āniwaniwa: arts@work's reviews," *Tasmanian Times* (1 April 2009), <https://tasmaniantimes.com/2009/04/aniwaniwa-artsworks-reviews-done-matey-boy-hope-yer-hangover-aint-too-bad/>, accessed 28 April 2019.

Carroll, Alison, "Home Thoughts from Abroad, The Melbourne Biennial of Art and Other Recent International Shows," *Art Monthly Australia* 111 (July 1998): 21-22.

Christensen, Ian, *Cliff Whiting. He Toi Nuku, He Toi Rangī* (Palmerston North: He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2013).

Clifford, Adam, "The Mighty Class of '66," *New Zealand Herald*, 21 June 2006: B4.

Clifford, James, "Indigenous Articulations," *The Contemporary Pacific* vol. 13, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 468-490.

Cochrane, Susan, *Bérétara: Contemporary Pacific Art* (Nouméa: Centre Culturel Tjibaou, 2001).

Cochrane, Susan, "ARTventures: An Australian Curator in the Field with Pacific Art and Artists," *Mwà Vée* 78/79 (2013), <http://uq.academia.edu/SusanCochrane> (unpublished English language translation), accessed 8 August 2018.

Cochrane, Susan, "Art in the Contemporary Pacific," *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 17 (December 2016): 78-95.

Condliffe, J.B., *Te Rangī Hiroa. The Life of Sir Peter Buck* (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, 1971).

Connor, Andy, "Trip Report: Horahora Power Station (Lake Karāpiro), 21 October 2009," *Tech Dive New Zealand*, <http://www.techdivenz.com/pdf/trips/trip211009.pdf>, accessed 12 November 2018.

Couch, Donald, "Review of Mataora: The Living Face," *Karaka* (Summer, 1999): 28.

Creative New Zealand Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, "Mataora: The Living Face," *Mana: The Māori News Magazine for All New Zealanders* 15, Autumn 1997: 16.

Creative New Zealand Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, "Te Hā o ngā Toi – Māori Arts Strategy 2019-2024," <https://www.creativenz.govt.nz/about-creative-new-zealand/corporate-documents/te-ha-o-nga-toi-maori-arts-strategy-2019-2024>, accessed 24 February 2019.

Cummins, Peg, *Disce, Doce, Dilige – Learn, Teach, Serve, A History of Ardmore Teachers College* (Tauranga: Bassdrum Books Ltd, 2008).

Curnow, Wystan, and Dorine Mignot (eds), *The World Over: Under Capricorn. Art in the Age of Globalisation* (Wellington, Amsterdam: City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi, Stedelijk Museum: 1996).

Dart, William, "Te Ku Te Whe: Rediscovering a Tradition," *Music in New Zealand* 24, (Summer 1994): 25-27.

Davis, Frank, "Māori Art: An Introduction" in *Contemporary Māori Art* (Hamilton: Waikato Art Museum, 1976): 6-16.

Davis, Frank, "What is Māori Art?," *Education*, no. 1 (1976): 27-29.

Davis, Frank, "Art in Pre-Pākehā Times," *Education*, no. 2 (1976): 24-26.

Davis, Frank, "The European Impact," *Education*, no. 3 (1976): 28-30.

Davis, Frank, "The Influence of Te Kooti on Māori Art," *Education*, no. 4 (1976): 26-28.

Davis, Frank, "The Rotorua School of Māori Art," *Education*, no. 5 (1976): 28-30.

Davis, Frank, "Traditional Art in Today's Society," *Education*, no. 6 (1976): 26-28.

Davis, Frank, "Bi-cultural Artists, and the Modern Māori Community," *Education*, no. 7 (1976): 27-29.

Davis, Frank, "Māori Art Styles Become Individualised," *Education*, no. 8 (1976): 26-28.

Davis, Frank, "Māori Statements in a European Idiom," *Education*, no. 9 (1976): 28-30.

Davis, Frank, "Souvenirs, Bandwagons, and the Real Thing," *Education*, no. 10 (1976): 22-23.

De Jong, Maria (ed.), *Fred Graham: Creator of Forms, Te Tohunga Auaha* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2014).

Durie, Mason, "Excerpts from Conference Summary. Toioho Ki Āpiti: A Question of Definition. Māori Art Conference at Massey University," *Monica* (August/September 1996): 24-25.

Ellis, Ngarino, *A Whakapapa of Tradition. 100 Years of Ngāti Porou Carving, 1830-1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2016).

Evans, Amanda (dir.), *For Arts Sake – Stills – Fred and Brett Graham* (Pinnacle Producing Ltd, aired 8 September 1996, Television New Zealand), Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, TZP176098.

Fleras, Augie, "Towards Tū Tangata: Historical Developments and Current Trends in Māori Policy and Administration," *Political Science* vol. 37, issue 1 (1985): 18-39.

"Flood of Visitors," *Capital Times* (20 February 2008): 11.

Galbraith, Heather, "Āniwaniwa—Te Hokinga Mai Speech Notes," <http://waikatomuseum.co.nz/exhibitions-and-events/view/41>, accessed 24 January 2019.

Garrett, Louise, "Reading "Headlands," (MA diss. Victoria University of Wellington, 1997).

Giles, Rebecca, "Art For Social Change: Submerged Histories of Āniwaniwa," (Hamilton: Waikato Institute of Technology Centre for Health and Social Practice, 2011).

Gow / Langsford Gallery, *Dick Frizzell: 'Tiki,'* (Gow / Langsford Gallery, Auckland, 1992).

Graham, Brett, "Artist talk," digitised video recording, 1996, Queensland Art Gallery archive, accessed 25 August 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4qiO1gbw0YM&list=PL_OpIQD58Kpiz_tCd73Xtt6sYr0PFif8d&index=141&t=0s&frags=pl%2Cwn.

Graham, Brett, *Aukaha, 40 Years of Māori Contemporary Art* (Hamilton: Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato, 2006).

Graham, Brett, "Āniwaniwa—The Journey," *Art News* (Spring 2007): 82-85.

Graham, Fred, "The Story Behind the Sculpture," *Waikato River Trails* 23 (Summer 2014), https://www.waikatorivertrails.co.nz/site_files/12466upload_files/blogWRTOct2014Newsletter-Issue23.pdf, accessed 30 November 2018.

Haeata Collective, Project Waitangi, Wellington City Art Gallery, *Mana Tiriti: The Art of Protest and Partnership* (Wellington: Project Waitangi, Wellington City Art Gallery, Associates Press, 1991).

Hakiwai, Arapata, "He Mana Taonga, He Mana Tangata: Māori Taonga and the Politics of Māori Tribal Identity and Development," (PhD diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 2014).

Hamilton, Scott, 'War in the Head'(2009), *Campaign Rooms*, <http://www.brettgraham.co.nz/brett-graham-essay-campaign-rooms.html>, accessed 2 February 2017.

Hanham, Stacey, "The 'Te Māori' Exhibition: An Examination of its Organisation and Impacts As Seen By Those Who Developed the Exhibition," (MA. Diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 2000).

Hansen, Eugene, "Toi Oho Ki Āpiti: A Question of Definition. Māori Art Conference at Massey University," *Monica* (August/September 1996): 24-25.

Harper, Jenny, "Picture Book Version of Modern Māori Art," *The Evening Post*, Friday 27 December 1996: 5.

Harvey, Helen, "Drowned Village Showing at Vienna [sic]," *Manawatu Standard* (21 March 2007): 3.

Hau'ofa, Epeli, "This Sea of Islands," *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, edited by Vijay Naidu, Eric Wadell, and Epeli Hau'ofa (Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific, 1993): 2-17.

Healy, Chris, and Andrea Witcomb (eds.), *South Pacific Museums. Experiments in Culture* (Melbourne: Monash University Press, 2006).

Henderson, Carol, *A Blaze of Colour. Gordon Tovey: Artist Educator* (Christchurch: Hazard Press, 1998).

Heta, Elisapeta, "E Moemoeā Tātou ka Taea: Māori Art and Artist Collectives 1984-2014" (MA diss., The University of Auckland, 2015).

Higson, Rosalie, "Welcome to the Contact Zone," *The Australian* (2 June 2006): 16.

Hill, Greg, et.al (Eds), *Sakahàn: International Indigenous Art* (Winnepeg, National Gallery of Canada, 2013).

Hopkins, Candice, "We Are Always Turning Around on Purpose: Reflecting on Three Decades of Indigenous Curatorial Practice," *Art Journal* vol 76, no 2 (2017): 39-47, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00043249.2017.1367191>, accessed 1 November 2018

"Horahora Hydroelectric Power Station," *Engineering New Zealand*, <https://www.engineeringnz.org/our-work-heritage-heritagerecords/horahora-hydroelectric-power-stations/>, accessed 12 October 2018.

Hubbard, George and Robin Craw, "Beyond Kia Ora: The Paraesthetics of 'Choice!'" *Antic*, no. 8 (1990): 28.

Ihimaera, Witi, and Ngarino Ellis (eds), *Te Ata: Māori Art From the East Coast, New Zealand* (Auckland: Reed Books, 2002).

Ireland, Peter, "The Early Days of Bicultural School Education," *Eyecontact*, <http://eyecontactsite.com/2017/03/the-early-days-of-bicultural-school-education>, accessed 1 February 2020.

Irving, Denise, "The Town That Refused to Die," *Waikato Times* (31 January 2009), www.stuff.co.nz/waikato-times/life-style/708611/The-town-that-refused-to-die, accessed 8 November 2018.

Jahnke, Robert, "Dialogue: Talking Past Each Other," in *Culturalism, Multiculturalism, and the Visual Arts*, papers presented at the 1994 Auckland

Conference of the Australian Council of University Art and Design Schools, edited by J. Holmes (Hobart: University of Tasmania, 1995): 5-17.

Jahnke, Robert, "Voices Beyond the Pae," in *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific*, edited by Diane Losche and Nicholas Thomas (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999): 193-209.

Jahnke, Robert, "He Tataitanga Ahua Toi: The House That Riwai Built, A Continuum of Māori Art," (PhD diss. Massey University, 2006).

Jones, Amelia, "Indigenous Bodies. Native Performance and Temporalities of Being," in Mindy N. Besaw et.al (Eds), *Art for a New Understanding: Native Voices, 1950s to Now* (University of Arkansas Press: Arkansas, 2018): 76-89.

Jolly, Margaret, "On the Edge?: Deserts, Oceans, Islands," *The Contemporary Pacific* vol. 13, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 417-466.

"Ko Ngāti Raukawa, NgātiKoroki, Ngāti Wairere, Ngāti Haua," *Maungatautari Marae, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura*, www.maungatautarimarae.co.nz/hitori/1800-2, accessed 26 September 2018.

Lang, Sarah, "Four Corners: Art in the Floodlights," *North and South* no. 265 (April 2008): 34-35.

Leonard, Robert, and John McCormack, "Dick Frizzell: Beyond the Pale," *Art Asia Pacific* no. 2 (1993), <http://robertleonard.org.nz/dick-frizzell-beyond-the-pale/>, accessed 28 September 2019.

Leonard, Robert, "3.125% Pure: Peter Robinson Plays the Numbers Game," *Art and Text* 50 (1996), <https://robertleonard.org/3-125-pure-peter-robinson-plays-the-numbers-game/>, accessed 28 September 2019.

Leonard, Robert, and Anna-Marie White, "George Hubbard: The Hand that Rocked the Cradle," *Reading Room: A Journal of Art and Culture* 8 (2018): 30-67.

Lopesi, Lana, "So, you Want to be the 'Largest Polynesian City in the World?'" <https://www.pantograph-punch.com/post/largest-polynesian-city>, accessed 21 September 2018.

Losche, Diane, "Nervous Culture: The Asia-Pacific Triennial," *Art Asia Pacific* 15 (1997): 34-37.

Losche, Diane, "Memory, Violence and Representation in the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, New Caledonia," in *The Future of Indigenous Museums: Perspectives from the Southwest Pacific*, edited by Nick Stanley (United States: Berghahn Books, 2007): 70-77.

MacAskill, "Te Ao Marama: Seven Māori Artists," *Art New Zealand* 38 (Autumn, 1986): 35-37.

McCarthy, Conal, *Exhibiting Māori. A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2007).

McCarthy, Conal, "'To Foster and Encourage the Study and Practice of Māori Arts and Crafts': Indigenous Material Culture, Colonial Arts and Crafts and New Zealand Museums," *Craft, Community and the Material Culture of Place and Politics, 19th-20th Century*, edited by Janice Helland (et.al), (Surry, Burlington: Ashgate, 2014): 59-81.

McCarthy, Conal, "The Rules of (Māori) Art: Bourdieu's Cultural Sociology and Māori Visitors in New Zealand Museums," *Journal of Sociology* 49 (2013), <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1440783313481521>, accessed 3 March 2017.

McCarthy, Conal, and Mark Stocker (eds), *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance. Essays in Memory of Jonathan Mane-Wheoki* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2017).

McCarthy, Conal, and Paul Tapsell, "Te Poari Whakapapa: The Origins, Operation and Tribal Networks of the Board of Māori Ethnological Research 1923-1935," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* vol. 128, no. 1 (2019): 87-106.

McCormack, John and Robert Leonard, "Introduction," *Midwest* 3 (1993): 7.

McKiver, Melody, "Sakahàn Summer," *Artengine* (30 August, 2013), <http://artengine.ca/blog/?p=3836>, accessed 12 May 2019.

McKay, Bill, "Toioho Ki Āpiti: A Question of Definition. Māori Art Conference at Massey University," *Monica* (August/September 1996): 24-25.

McLaughlin, Bryne, "Curator Q&A: How Indigenous Art Took Centre Stage in Sakahàn," *Canadian Art* (23 May 2013), <https://canadianart.ca/interviews/sakahàn-national-gallery-of-canada/>, accessed 11 May 2019.

McNamara, T.J., "Māori Art Reaches Out," *New Zealand Herald* (3 February 1994): 2.3.

McNamara, "Bright Start for Splendid New Gallery," *New Zealand Herald* (11 October 1995): 3:13.

McNaught, "A Capital Menu of Culture," *New Zealand Herald* (28 February 2008): 4.

Mack, James, "Mataora: The Living Face," *Landfall: A New Zealand Journal*, no. 194, Spring 1997: 372-375.

Mane-Wheoki, Jonathan, "The Resurgence of Māori Art: Conflicts and Continuities in the Eighties," *The Contemporary Pacific* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 1-20.

Mane-Wheoki, Jonathan, "Korurangi/Toihoukura: Brown Art in White Spaces," *Art New Zealand* (Autumn 1996): 43-47.

Mane-Wheoki, Jonathan, "Buck Nin and the Origins of Contemporary Maori Art." *Art*

New Zealand 82 (Autumn 1997): 61-65.

Mane-Wheeki, Jonathan, "Indigenism and Globalism: 'First Nation' Perspectives in the Contemporary Art of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Te Moananui-a-Kiwa/the Pacific" in *Present Encounters: Papers from the Conference of the Second Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art* (Brisbane: Queensland Art Gallery, 1997): 32-35.

Mane-Wheeki, Jonathan, "Toi Hiko: Māori Art in the Electronic Age," in *Hiko! New Energies in Māori Art*, edited by Felicity Milburn (Christchurch: Christchurch Art Gallery, 1999), n.p.

Mane-Wheeki, Jonathan, "The Class of '66," *Off the Wall* 1 (March 2013), <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/document/4130>, accessed 5 January 2019.

Mason, Ngahiraka and Ngarino Ellis (Eds), *Pūrangiāho: Seeing Clearly* (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2001).

Mason, Ngahiraka, *Tūruki Tūruki! Paneke Paneke!* (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2008).

Mataira, Katarina, *Māori Artists of the South Pacific* (Raglan: Ngā Puna Waihangā New Zealand Māori Artists and Writers Society, 1984).

Matchitt, Para, "People are Amazed, so am I," in *Now See Hear: Art, Language and Translation* edited by Gregory Burke and Ian Wedde (Wellington: Victoria University Press, Wellington City Art Gallery, 1990): 239-249.

Matchitt, Para, Maia Matchitt, Eliza Bidois, *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake* (Wellington: Simon Nixon Productions, National Art Gallery, Council for Māori and South Pacific Arts, 1990), video cassette.

Mead, Sidney Moko (ed.), *Te Māori: Māori Art from New Zealand Collections* (Auckland: Heinemann, The American Federation of Arts, 1984).

Mead, Hirini Moko, "Māori Art Restructured, Reorganised, Re-Examined and Reclaimed," *He Pukenga Kōrero* vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 1-7.

Mead, Sidney Moko, *Māori Art on the World Scene*, edited by Sidney Moko Mead (Wellington: Ahua Design and Illustration Ltd and Matau Associates Ltd, 1997).

Mead, Hirini Moko, 'The Nature of Taonga,' in *Taonga Māori Conference* (Wellington: Cultural Conservation Advisory Council Te Roopu Manaaki i Ngā Taonga Tuku Iho, Department of Internal Affairs Te Tari Taiwhenua, 18-27 November 1990): 164-169.

Message, Kylie, "Contested Sites of identity and the Cult of the New: the Centre Culturel Tjibaou and the Constitution of Culture in New Caledonia," in *South Pacific Museums: Experiments in Culture*, edited by Chris Healy and Andrea Witcomb (Melbourne: Monash University Epress, 2006): 4.1-4.20.

Murphy, Bernice, "Centre Culturel Tjibaou: A Museum and Arts Centre Redefining New Caledonia's Cultural Future," *Humanities Research* vol. 9, no. 1 (2002), 77-89. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, "Toi Art," <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/visit/exhibitions/toi-art>, blog post, accessed 21 July 2019.

National Art Gallery, *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake: Artist Construct New Directions* (Wellington: National Art Gallery, 1993).

National Museum of New Zealand Te Whare Taonga o Aotearoa, *Taonga Māori* (Sydney: Australian Museum, 1989).

Neich, Roger, "A Survey of Visitor Attitudes to a Māori Art Exhibition," *AGMANZ News* 11:2 (1980): 6-9.

Neich, Roger, *Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngāti Tarawhai Woodcarving* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001).

Neich, Roger, *Painted Histories: Early Māori Figurative Painting* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993).

New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, *Beeby: The Enlightened Years* (Wellington: The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, 1992).

New Zealand Department of External Affairs, New Zealand Information Service, Tourist and Publicity Department, *Exhibition of Tradition and Modern Māori Art* (Wellington: R.E. Owen, 1967).

New Zealand Māori Council, *The Work of Māori Artists* (New Zealand Māori Council, National Art Gallery: Wellington, 1969).

“Ngati Koroki Kahukura: Ko Wai Mātoi/About Us,”
<https://www.korokikahukura.co.nz/ko-wai-m257tou.html>, accessed 27 December 2018.

Nicholas, Darcy, and Keri Kaa, *Seven Māori Artists* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1986).

Nicholas, Darcy, “Breath of the Land,” *Manawa: Pacific Heartbeat*, edited by Nigel Reading (Vancouver: Spirit Wrestler Gallery, 2006): 6-25.

Norris, Mary, *Fred Graham and Brett Graham: Two Generations of Contemporary Māori Sculpture* (MA diss., The University of Auckland, 1999).

O'Malley, Vincent, *The Great War For New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016).

Panoho, Rangihiroa, “The Development of Māori Art in a Contemporary Form and Context: Paratene Matchitt,” (MA diss., The University of Auckland, 1988).

Panoho, Rangihiroa, *Whatu Aho Rua: A Weaving Together of Traditional Contemporary Taonga* (Whanganui: Sarjeant Gallery, Tandanya Aboriginal Cultural Insitutue, 1991).

Panoho, Rangihiroa, "A Search for Authenticity: Towards a Definition and Strategies for Cultural Survival," *He Pukenga Kōrero* 2, no. 1 (Spring, 1996): 20-25.

Panoho, Rangihiroa, "Māori Art in Continuum," (PhD diss., The University of Auckland, 2001).

Panoho, Rangihiroa, *Māori Art. History, Architecture, Landscape and Theory* (Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2015).

Papa, Rahui, "Historical Account," *Ngāti Koroki Kahukura*, <https://www.korokikahukura.co.nz/ng257ti-koroki-kahukura.html>, accessed 14 October 2018.

Paton, Justin, "Wide Blue Yonder," *New Zealand Listener* vol. 157, no. 2963 (15 February 1997): 44-45.

Pohara Station Trust Trustees, "The Future Development of the Ngāti Koroki Kahukura Lands Manawanui Developments Limited Partnership August 2016," https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/51SCMA_EVI_00DHoh_BILL68904_1_A529915/c7b9dfd4f04aabb4a19d226753ff7dbc10acdf82, accessed 19 December 2018.

Pound, Frances, *The Space Between: Pākehā Use of Māori Motifs in Modernist New Zealand Art* (Workshop Press, Auckland 1995).

Puketapu, Kara, *Reform From Within* (Wellington: Department of Māori Affairs, 1982).

Reeves, Paul, "Te Waka Toi Returns to Aoteaora," *Te Māori News*, n.d. (c. 1994), "Tairarotia: Te Waka Toi Exhibition File," City Gallery Wellington Archive.

Rennie, Kirsten, "Urban Maori Art: The Third Generation of Contemporary Māori Artists: Identity and Identification," (MA diss., University of Canterbury, 2001).

Rice, Rebecca, "Wellington," *Art New Zealand* 127 (Winter 2008): 24-25.

Rickard, L.S. *Tamihana: The King-Maker* (Wellington, Auckland: A.H. And A.W. Reed, 1963).

Ritchie, James, "Through the Eye of the Needle. Recent Work By Brett Graham," *Art New Zealand* no. 76 (Spring 1995): 58-61.

Robie, David, "Blood on Their Banner," *New Zealand Listener*, 27 October 1984, <https://asiapacificreport.nz/2018/11/01/flashback-to-kanaky-in-the-1980s-blood-on-their-banner/>, accessed 18 January 2020.

Salesa, Damon, "Rethinking Pacific Auckland," conference paper given at "Auckland Conversations," 21 March 2013, <https://infocouncil.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz>, accessed 30 May 2018.

Sayle, Jane, "Wellington: Festival Fare," *Art New Zealand* 79 (Winter 1996): 31-32.

Schumann, Renata (dir.), *Ngan Jila: House of Riches* (New Caledonia: Schuman and Bliss, 1998), video.

"Service to a City," *Te Ao Hou* 17 (December 1956): 39.

Shand, Peter, "Tiki'd Off," *Stamp* (December/January 1993): n.p.

Shiels, Rosa, "The Navigators," *The Press*, Wednesday 30 October 1996: 13.

Rosa Shiels, "Triennial Raises Questions," *The Press*, Wednesday 30 October 1996: 13.

Skinner, Damian, *The Carver and the Artist. Māori Art in the Twentieth Century* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008).

Smith, Huhana (ed.), *Taiāwhio: Conversations with Contemporary Māori Artists* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2002).

Smith, Huhana (ed.), *Taiāwhio II: Conversations with Contemporary Māori Artists* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2007).

Smith, Terry, "Currents of World-Making in Contemporary Art," *World Art* vol. 1 (2, 2011), 171, <https://doi-org.helicon.vuw.ac.nz/10.1080/21500894.2011.602712>, accessed 6 July 2017.

Starzecka, D.C. (ed.), *Māori Art and Culture* (Albany, London: David Bateman Ltd, British Museum Press, 1996).

Stevenson, Karen, and Steven Hooper, "Tahitian Fau – Unveiling an Enigma," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 116: 2 (2007): 181-212.

Stevenson, Karen, "Creating Together," *Art Asia Pacific* 21 (1999): 29-31.

Stewart, Keith, "Up Against the Wall," *Quote Unquote* 5 (October 1993): 20-23.

Stewart, Keith, "The Koru Club," *Quote Unquote* 15 (September 1994): 18-20.

Stewart, Keith, "Colour Bars Māori Art," *Sunday Star Times* (17 March 1996): F1.

Swain, Pauline, "Down-To-Earth Curator with a Sense of Fun," *The Dominion* (Saturday 9 March, 1996): 24.

Schwimmer, E.G. "Māori Artists in Building—Old and New, 1: John Taiapa and the Carved Meeting House of Today," *Te Ao Hou* (September 1939): 31-34.

Szekely, Chris (ed.), *Korurangi: New Māori Art* (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1996).

Tahuparae, Rangitahi, "Te Waka Toi Returns from the USA," *Mana* (February/March 1994): 22-25.

Taiaroa, Taarati, "The Development of the Māori Art Exhibition—A Typology?" (MA diss., The University of Auckland, 2017).

Tamarapa, Awhina (ed.), *Whatu Kākahu: Māori Cloaks* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2011).

Tapsell, Paul, "The Flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of Taonga from a Tribal Perspective," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 106, no. 4 (1997): 323-374.

Tapsell, Paul, "Taonga: A Tribal Response to Museums," (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1998).

Tapsell, Paul, *Pukaki: A Comet Returns* (Auckland: Reed, 2000).

Tapsell, Paul, *Ko Tawa: Māori Treasures of New Zealand* (Auckland: David Bateman, Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira, 2006).

Teaiwa, Katerina, *Consuming Ocean Island: Stories of People and Phosphate from Banaba* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014).

Teaiwa, Teresia, "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, 1, 1994): 87-106.

Te Aho, Linda, "Contemporary Issues in Māori Law and Society. The Tangled Web of Treaty Settlements. Emissions Trading, Central North Island Forests, and the Waikato River," *Waikato Law Review* 16 (2008): 229-250.

Linda Te Aho, "Waikato: River of Life," *Making Our Place: Exploring Land-Use Tensions in Aotearoa New Zealand* edited by Jacinta Ruru, Janet Stephenson and Mick Abbott (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011): 145-157.

Te Ātinga Visual Arts Committee, *Wānanga of Indigenous Art, Rotorua, Aotearoa New Zealand 1995* (Wellington: Toi Māori—Māori Arts New Zealand, 1995).

Te Awekotuku, Ngahuaia, *Mau Moko: The World of Māori Tattoo* (Auckland: Penguin Group New Zealand Limited, 2008).

Te Kawa a Māui, *The Opening of Te Tumu Herenga Waka: 6 December 1986* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1987).

"Te Māori," <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/mfat75/te-maori/>, accessed 29 August 2019.

Te Waka Toi, *Te Waka Toi: Contemporary Māori Art From New Zealand* (Wellington: Te Waka Toi, Council for Māori and South Pacific Art, 1992).

Thomas, Nicholas, "Whatu Aho Rua: Histories and Encounters," *Art Monthly Australia* (October 1993): 3-5.

Thomas, Nicholas, "Kiss the Baby Goodbye: Kōwhaiwhai and Aesthetics," *Critical Inquiry* (Autumn 1995): 90-121.

Tipa, Moana, "Korurangi. New Māori Art," *Tama Toa* (September/October 1995): 17.

Togna, Octavia, *Tjibaou Cultural Centre* (Nouméa: Kanak Cultural Development Agency, Australia South Pacific 2000 Program of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 1998).

Turner, Caroline, and Rhana Devenport (Eds), *The Second Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art* (Brisbane: Queensland Art Gallery, 1996).

Waddell, Eric, *Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Kanak Witness to the World: An Intellectual Biography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

Wairau Māori Art Gallery, "Sandy Adsett," (Auckland: Tim Melville Gallery, 2018), https://issuu.com/timmelville/docs/tm1334fa_cover_text_issuu_max, accessed 21 March 2020.

Walls, Sarah, "Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Statesman Without a State: A Reporter's Perspective," *The Journal of Pacific History* vol. 44, no. 2 (September 2009): 165-178.

Westra, Ans, "Ngaruawahia Festival of the Arts," *Te Ao Hou* 46 (March 1964): 28-29.

White, Anna-Marie, "Brett Graham: An International Indigene," *Art New Zealand* 147 (September 2013): 38-47.

White, Anna-Marie, "Toi o Tāhuhu: A Māori Art History," *Art New Zealand* 155 (Spring 2015): 108-110.

Williams, Matariki and Pip Howells, "Mahi Tahī: Te Whare Pora and the Space of Collaboration," accessed 17 November 2019, <http://enjoy.org.nz/publishing/exhibition-essays/mahi-tahi-te-whare-pora-and-the-space-of-collabora/mahi-tahi-te-whare-pora-and-the-space-of-collabora>.

Zepke, Stephen, "Difference Without Binary Oppositions: a Chance for Choice!," *Antic*, 8 (1990): 29.