The Resurgence of Maori Art: Conflicts and Continuities in the Eighties

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He whakatauiki: He toi whakairo, he mana tangata.
Maori proverb: Where there is artistic excellence, there is human dignity.

The status of Maori art, traditional and contemporary, in both the national and international art worlds, has never been higher than it is today. The first significant international exhibition of art from New Zealand consisted entirely of ancient and traditional *taonga tuku iho* 'treasures handed down from the ancestors', mainly carved in stone or wood. This was the fabled *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections,* which toured the United States of America in 1984 to great critical acclaim and was seen in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and, subsequently, in Saint Louis, San Francisco, and Chicago.

During 1989 and 1990 the exhibition *Taonga Maori: Treasures of the New Zealand Maori People,* was shown in Australia in Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane. In response to adverse criticism from Maori women of *Te Maori's* focus on the male domain of carving, *Taonga Maori* included examples of traditional fiber arts, as well as contemporary sculpture and painting. The history of Maori artmaking in Aotearoa/New Zealand was thus repositioned within an extended time frame of fifty to sixty generations.

Whatu Aho Rua: A Weaving Together of Traditional and Contemporary Pieces of Taonga, curated by the Maori art historian Rangihiroa Panoho, initially for the Sarjeant Art Gallery, Wanganui, in 1989, but

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shown elsewhere in New Zealand and at the Adelaide Festival in 1992, set out "to demonstrate that a continuum exists between the Maori past and present and that traditional concepts, forms, and visual symbols play a major role in the development of work by contemporary Maori artists" (McKenzie 1992, 44).

The National Art Gallery's New Zealand sesquicentennial survey exhibition in 1990, *Kohia ko Taikaka Anake: Artists Construct New Directions,* organized by Nga Puna Waihanga—the New Zealand Maori Artists and Writers' Association—redefined contemporary Maori art as encompassing both traditional and nontraditional or western forms of artmaking by living practitioners. *Te Waka Toi: Contemporary Maori Art from New Zealand,* the exhibit that toured the United States of America more recently, endorsed the inclusive and holistic view that present-day Maori exponents of traditional as well as non-traditional forms are, to all intents and purposes, contemporary Maori artists.

As a separate and distinct entity within the present resurgence of Maori nationalism and culture, Maori art plays a crucial role in the reclamation and affirmation of Maori ethnicity and identity. At the same time, the

Expert weaver Emily Schuster demonstrates her art during the season of the exhibition *Te Waka Toi* at the Burke Museum in Seattle, Washington, 1993. *(Te Waka Toi)*

From left, Whetu Mareikura and tribal elders Matiu Mareikura and Dean Pirato at the formal ceremony to mark the closing of the exhibition *Te Waka Toi* at the Burke Museum in Seattle, Washington, September 1993. The large painting on the wall behind is Buck Nin's *Fragmented Society* (1990), which reflects on the impact of European colonization on Maori society and culture. *(Te Waka Toi)*

institutional relocation of Maori art "from the margins to the centre" (Panoho 1992, 123 ff)—the recontextualization of Maori art from museum artefact to aesthetic object—represents an admission that the dominant culture's habitual Eurocentric imaging of New Zealand art is an unsustainable fiction. This concession has exposed a legacy of disingenuity in dealing with Maori culture, while highlighting Pakeha insecurity about their own culture. It is symptomatic of an enduring colonial and cultural "cringe" on the part of Pakeha that Maori art had to be validated as high art in New York before it could be acknowledged as such in New Zealand. As the exhibition report observed, "The American tour of Te Maori established a new mana [prestige] for Maori art, raised its status at home and created a new awareness of its importance" (*Te Maori Report* 1988, 26).

The keen public interest in *Te Maori* is reflected in the official attendance figures. Some 621,000 people visited the exhibition in the United

States. On its triumphant tour of New Zealand under the title of *Te Hokinga Mai* 'the return home' in 1986 and 1987, an unprecedented museum attendance was recorded. An astonishing 917,500 people, Maori and Pakeha—a figure equivalent to well over a quarter of the nation's population, and more than double the Maori population—visited the exhibition in New Zealand.

In terms of both Maori and national identity, *Te Maori* proved something of a watershed and a catalyst. When the possibility of such an exhibition was first mooted in 1973, Labour Prime Minister Norman Kirk warmly supported it. Its fruition eleven years later, after a long period of complex and sensitive negotiations, during the greater part of which Robert Muldoon's conservative National Party happened to be in power, coincided with the election of a high-profile, antinuclear, intensely nationalistic, pro–Treaty of Waitangi Labour Government led by David Lange. Since that time Maori art has come to be regarded as an absolutely essential element in the construction of New Zealand's national and cultural image, at home and abroad: no representative or survey exhibition of New Zealand art could now be considered credible or authentic or complete without it.

In 1992, for example, of the thirty-eight artists featured in the massive, "landmark" exhibition, *Headlands: Thinking Through New Zealand Art,* eight were Maori. Staged at the new Museum of Contemporary Art in Sydney, this was "the first international exhibition of Australia's first major public museum dedicated to contemporary art" (Leon Paroissien in Barr 1992, 6) and "the largest and most comprehensive exhibition of contemporary New Zealand visual arts to be presented outside New Zealand to date" (*Arts Advocate* 1992 [2]: 16).

According to Bernice Murphy, one of the exhibition's co-curators,

> it was never our wish to present Maori art in parallel to Pakeha art. Rather we sought to probe how the cultural traditions of Pakeha and Maori have interacted and evolved new forms, exceeding the earlier repertoires of each. These traditions now interweave more interactively than at any time in the previous history of New Zealand. That is the special excitement and challenge of the present historical moment. (Murphy 1992, 12)

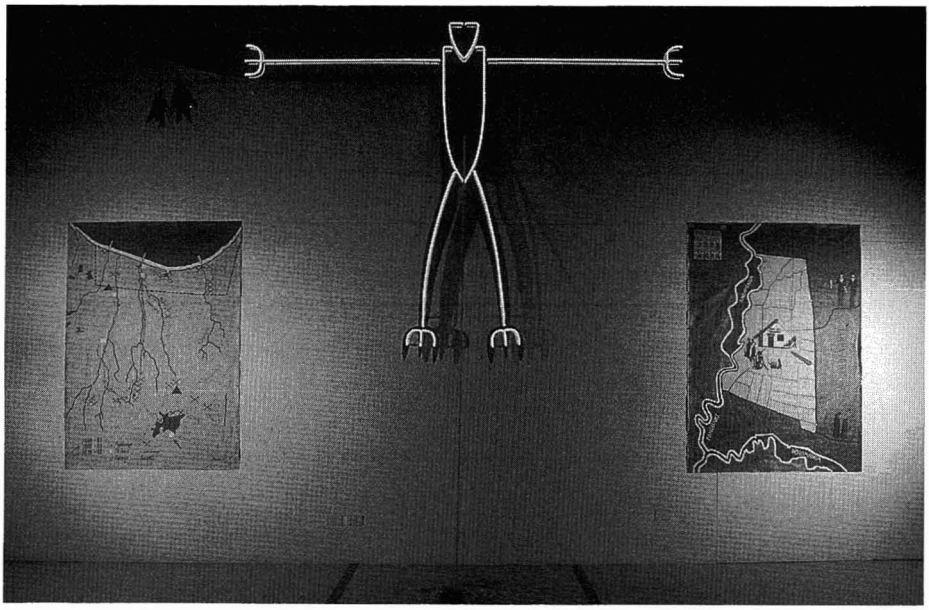
While *Headlands* might be considered to have fallen short of realizing that particular aim, the New Zealand art world has nevertheless become an important site for the kind of bicultural dialogue that is being exchanged in educational, social, political, judicial, and economic forums.

Mana Tiriti, the Wellington City Art Gallery's contribution to New Zealand's sesquicentenary, was one of several biculturally interactive exhibitions in 1990. Although critics such as Francis Pound might view with disdain "the increasing attempts of Pakeha Nationalist discourse" to "co-opt [Maori art] to a resurgent nationalism" (1992, 198), contemporary Maori artmaking is contributing significantly to the reimaging of New Zealand's cultural identity and the reinvention of New Zealand's history.

To be taken seriously by New Zealand's art institutions is a new experience for Maori artists, one they have really only encountered during the 1980s. Indeed, the process through which Maori art and artists have been drawn into the New Zealand art discourse began barely half a century ago. In 1943, R O Ross, president of the Auckland Society of Arts, stated in his annual report:

> May I be permitted to draw attention to one aspect of Arts Crafts, where practically nothing has been even attempted much less accomplished? We have in Auckland Province 60,000 Maori people who have a rich artistic culture of

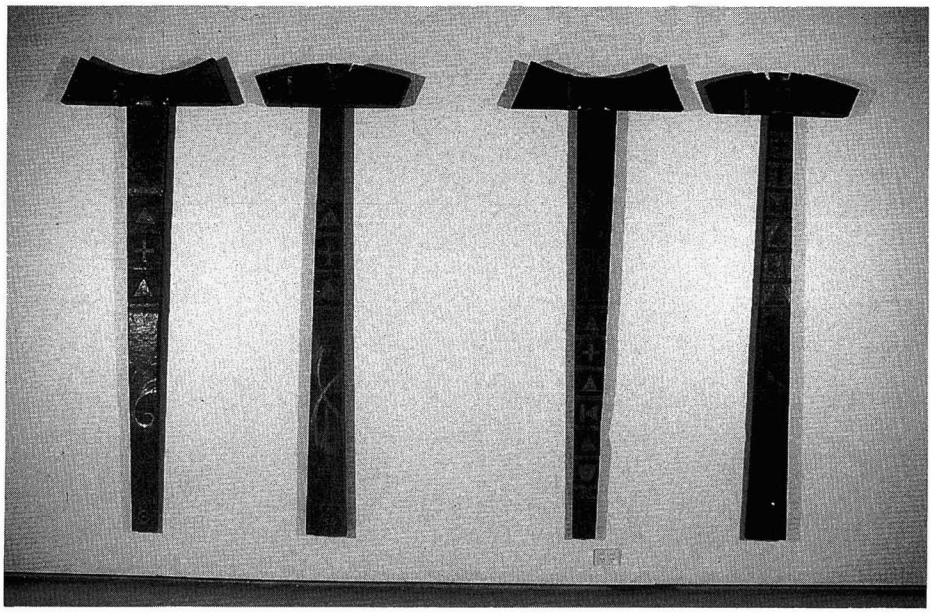
Paparangi Reid and Irihapeti Ramsden, *150 Years of Dirty Laundry,* 1990
In this process work and performance piece, the artists set out to revisit and reclaim the past in order to "iron out the Treaty [of Waitangi]" and deal with the "dirty laundry" [repressive legislation]. *(City Gallery, Wellington)*



Robert Pouwhare, l to r, *Rapatu*, Te Kaea, The Waiohau Fraud, 1990
The paintings depict the military campaigns against the Tuhoe tribe in the Urewera district during the period 1865 to 1872, and the lands confiscated by the government of the day. At the present time the Ngati Awa confederation of tribes has lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal a massive claim against the government for the return of confiscated lands and properties. *(City Gallery, Wellington)*

> their own; but this Society of Arts does nothing to encourage them to develop and strengthen it. Is a renaissance, a new flowering of the Polynesian genius for sculpture and painting, so unlikely that we need do nothing about it, or is our outlook so insular, so parochial that we cannot find interest or duty outside the narrower outlook of the European arts? (1943, 12)

The first Maori "renaissance" of the twentieth century was, already well under way, spearheaded by the indomitable Maori statesman and scholar, Sir Apirana Ngata. This operation to salvage cultural integrity and reaffirm cultural identity and continuity inaugurated a remarkable revival of the traditional arts of house-building, carving, *tukutuku* 'lattice reed panels' and *kowhaiwhai* 'rafter painting', and may be said to have culminated in the lavishly carved and decorated *Whare Runanga* 'meetinghouse' built at Waitangi (in the Bay of Islands) in 1940 to mark the centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi—although other great houses were also under construction. The Maori Women's Welfare

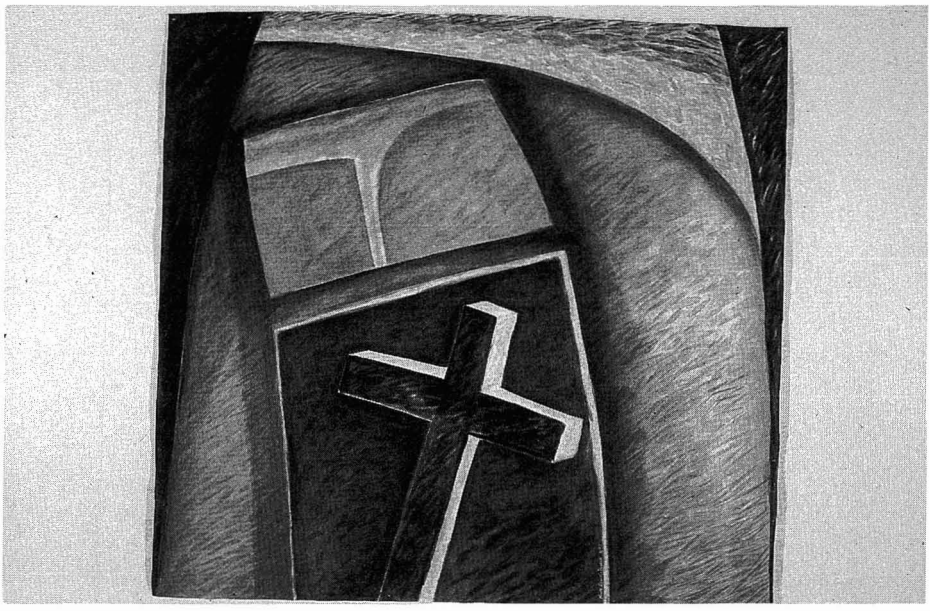


Robert Jahnke, *Nga Ata o te Whenua* [Set C] [*The Shadows of the Land*], 1990
In 1840 Nopera Panakareao, the paramount chief of Te Rarawa in the far north of New Zealand, urged other chiefs to give their assent to the Treaty of Waitangi on the understanding that "The shadow of the land goes to the Queen, but the substance remains with the Maori." In the following year he was to observe that the substance of the land had gone to the Queen while only the shadow remained with the Maori. *(City Art Gallery, Wellington)*

League, founded in 1951, was to promote the revival of the traditional crafts of weaving under the direction and inspiration of Dame Rangimarie Hetet—now a centenarian (born in 1892), an honorary doctor of Waikato University, and the country's greatest living artist.

While the president of the Auckland Society of Arts must have been aware of the "Ngata revival," he was almost certainly lamenting the lack of Maori responses to western art forms. But there were already isolated stirrings in this direction. The Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art in 1940 had included a pen-and-ink drawing by one Maori artist, Oriwa T Haddon.

The *Souvenir Programme* of the reception for South Island Armed Services personnel held at Tuahiwi in March 1946, was adorned with "Maori designs [by] Te Puoho Katene of Canterbury University College, School of Arts." The first Maori university graduates in fine arts, how-



Kura Te Waru-Rewiri, *The Covenant*, 1990
This is one of a series of paintings inspired by the marks (crosses, and the like) inscribed on the Treaty of Waitangi by a number of the Maori signatories. *(City Gallery, Wellington)*

ever, graduated from the Elam School of Fine Arts in Auckland: Selwyn Wilson with a Diploma in Fine Arts in 1952 and Arnold Wilson (no relation) with Honours in Sculpture two years later. Both were recruited by the Department of Education for training as specialist art teachers.

In 1946 the educational visionary Gordon Tovey had been appointed first national supervisor of arts and crafts in the Department of Education. He was:

> an early advocate of biculturalism, encouraging the teaching of Maori cultural activities alongside European ones to both Maori and Pakeha children. Tovey [oversaw] the induction of Maori artists . . . into art education in the 1950s. His support [would] prove crucial in the development of contemporary Maori art. Tovey retire[d] in 1966. (Barr 1992, 203–204)

Ralph Hotere, Fred Graham, Katarina Mataira, Cliff Whiting, Cath Brown, John Bevan Ford, Graham Storm, were among the young Maori artists trained in the teachers' colleges as arts and crafts specialists. Tovey

encouraged them to ignore *tapu* 'sacred' restrictions, and to explore the full range of the traditional arts as well as experiment with the concepts, forms, and media of modern western art.

By the 1960s they had begun to exhibit their work. In 1963 the First Maori Festival of the Arts held at Ngaruawahia showcased work by Para Matchitt, Arnold Wilson, and Selwyn Muru (and also Theo Schoon, the Indonesian-born Dutch émigré who had immersed himself in the study of traditional Maori art forms since the early 1940s). In 1966 Whiting and Matchitt held a joint exhibition at the Maori Arts Festival in Hamilton. Whiting recalled that:

> Two or three people said Maori art was dead; some of us had an exhibition in the 1960s and a well-known anthropologist said, "This is not Maori art." In actual fact what they were really saying is that what was hung in museums and a few houses around was their idea of what Maori art should be. (In Nicholas & Kaa 1986, 10)

In November 1966 the first survey exhibition of contemporary Maori art, *New Zealand Maori Culture and the Contemporary Scene,* organized by Buck Nin, a recent graduate in fine arts from the University of Canterbury, was hosted, not by an art gallery but by the Canterbury Museum. Nevertheless the exhibition's promoters boldly suggested that "If a true New Zealand school of art emerges the rich inheritance of the Maori people, here interpreted in modern forms, may well provide a major source of inspiration for the future" (Nin 1966). As it was, "the contemporary works [were] set among traditional Maori artifacts which belong[ed] to the Canterbury Museum to contrast the styles in Maori art" (undated newspaper clipping, probably the *Christchurch Press,* 1966), presumably in order to gauge whether a sense of continuity with the past could be sustained and to validate the use of "Maori motifs presented in the forms of today" (Nin 1966, np). The resulting visual bilingualism and hybridization proved difficult to locate in either culture, however. As Sandy Adsett later observed:

> Though I happen to be Maori, I am still using ideas that equally come through from a strong pakeha influence. I've heard pakeha people say my work is Maori. For Maori people it is not necessarily Maori. To them it does not have the traditional meaning behind some of the work; it does not have the base it originated from. My work is an "in-between" art. I try to understand western art forms. They allow me to make comparisons and open other avenues to experiment with. (Adsett in Nicholas & Kaa, 1986, 18)

Although this emerging, distinctively Maori contemporary art was commonly dismissed by the mainstream New Zealand art world of the 1960s as tourist or airport art, or museum fodder, or because it seemed merely decorative, it nevertheless had its champions. In 1968 Ron O'Reilly, the Christchurch city librarian, in a review of the *Encylopedia of New Zealand* entry on Maori art, declared, "We must . . . learn to consider Maori art as art," by which he meant contemporary as well as traditional forms (1968, 51). O'Reilly's insistence that "Maori art can be regarded as art" was shared by his friend Colin McCahon, the most forceful and influential New Zealand painter of his generation. McCahon had begun to appropriate Maori imagery in 1965, following the example of Theo Schoon, who was now a near neighbor in Auckland.

Gordon Walters had befriended Schoon in the early 1940s, and their shared respect for traditional Maori art forms inspired him to develop the refined, sophisticated, hard-edged geometrical abstract *koru* paintings for which Walters is best known. McCahon recognized their distinctive quality and championed the painter in the mid-1960s.

In recent years, however, some Maori art historians have adopted a purist, hard line on what Ngahuia Te Awekotuku has lambasted as Pakeha "misappropriation" of Maori material. Referring to McCahon's painting *The Canoe Tainui* (1969), on which he inscribed the sacred *whakapapa* 'genealogy' of the people descended from that canoe of origin, and to Gordon Walters's *Mahuika* (1968), a hard-edged, geometrical abstract painting whose title (misleadingly?) invokes the name of the Maori goddess of fire, Te Awekotuku stated: "I am mortified by the deliberate, and, I think, quite promiscuous and irresponsible plundering of Maori motifs—design, forms, myths, and all those areas that pakehas have done" (see Eastmond and Pitts 1986, 48).

In his *Headlands* catalogue essay, "Maori at the Centre, On The Margins," Rangihiroa Panoho mounted what Michael Dunn has described as a "mean-spirited attack on Gordon Walters" (Dunn 1992, 54), through his suggestion that by appropriating Maori material and "distancing it from its cultural origins," the artist is somehow implicated in threatening the ability of Maori to adapt and "survive in a Western world" (1992, 130). Conversely, and controversially, Panoho commended Schoon and McCahon for their respectful handling of Maori material. There can be no doubt, however, that, whether their appropriation and relocation of such material within an art context accords with the values of today, in

their time Schoon, Walters, and McCahon played their part in wearing down resistance to the contextualization of Maori motifs and content in New Zealand's art institutions. At the same time, they encouraged and, in varying degrees, provided role models for, and occasionally taught, aspiring Maori artists.

Nevertheless, the mainstream recognition accorded to Pakeha who have appropriated motifs from Maori sources has eluded Maori artists working from the same sources. Sandy Adsett complained that: "It appears as though they [Pakeha] are not prepared to look at contemporary Maori art as an art form. They seem to demote the art form because it is Maori. They don't give it the same status as similarly designed work by leading pakeha artists" (in Nicholas & Kaa 1986, 18–19).

The only Maori artist to be accorded recognition by mainstream critics and art historians was Ralph Hotere, despite the ambivalence of his position as one of those artists who were "not yet categorised for easy reference . . . who are Maoris and who do not want to be considered as Maori artists but simply as artists" (O'Reilly 1968, 61). He was the only Maori to be included in the first definitive publications on New Zealand painting,[1] presumably because his formalist abstract paintings accorded with the Pakeha writers' international modernist outlook and their agenda to reconcile New Zealand painting with it. Though traditional Maori decorative painting is essentially abstract, Hotere's abstract paintings were largely incomprehensible to Maori, as they were to the general public.

So it is ironic that in 1978 Hotere's paintings, representing what was somewhat patronizingly described as "the extreme of a Maori artist working in a totally European idiom at a level of expertise comparable with established European artists in this country" (Neich 1980, 6), were exhibited in Wellington in the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts alongside ancient *taonga* from the National Museum. The aim, Neich continued, was "to treat traditional artefacts as individual works of art in an art gallery setting, rather than as ethnological specimens"—in other words, to test their validity as art by association with what had already been legitimated as art. Visitors to the exhibition were invited to fill out survey forms in order to test the level of public acceptance of *taonga Maori* as high art, and the results were generally positive—predictably, more in favor of the *taonga* than of Hotere.

Two exhibitions, both in New York in 1984, however, marked a turning point in the recontextualization of tribal art from museum artefact to

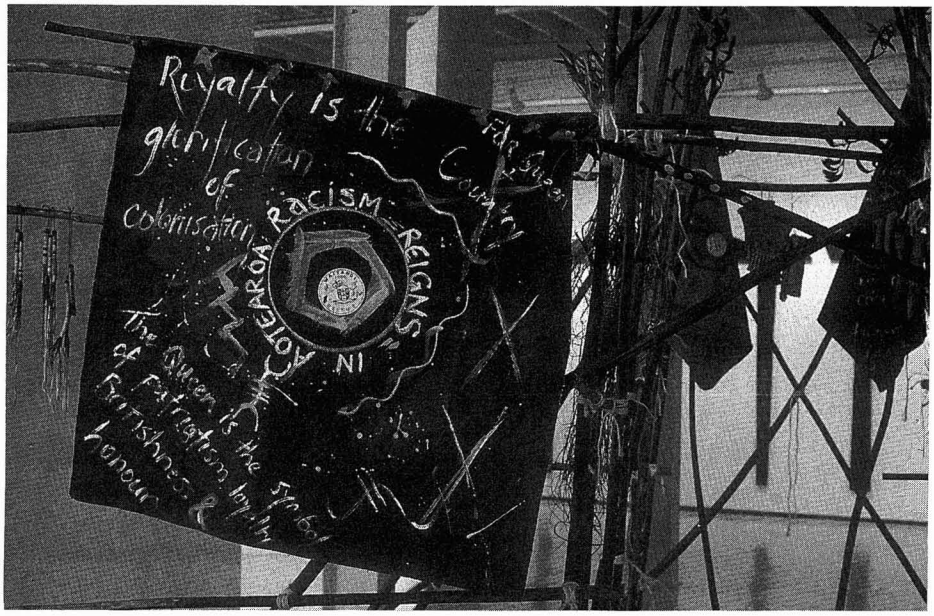
aesthetic art object: one was *Te Maori* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the other was the Museum of Modern Art's controversial *Primitivism in 20th Century Art: The Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern.* By this time the modernist aesthetic had come to be perceived as having imploded, and "primitivism," one of the tenets of modernism, as having been discredited from its association with European colonialist and imperialist history. A revived pluralism could now accommodate, and recognize as equally valid, all the forms and traditions of artmaking previously maginalized or excluded, including nonwestern tribal art.

It was to be expected that the relocation of Maori art "from the margins to the centre" and the resurgence of contemporary Maori artmaking would attract the attention of art critics, theorists, and historians—mainly Pakeha writers. According to Francis Pound, "Contemporary Maori art . . . has become a hot critical topos" (1986, 198). "Contemporary Maori art," Robert Leonard declared, "is a contested term"; there is "disagreement on where to draw the line, on what kinds of work can be admitted as 'contemporary Maori' " (1991, 52). Pound added:

> What is it? How is contemporary Maori art to be defined in relation to traditional Maori art? How may the tradition be spoken in contemporary terms? How to define it in relation to European modernist and postmodernist art? Need there be any such relation? How to deal with the exclusion of Maori art from most New Zealand art history? These questions are increasingly uttered. (In Barr 1992, 198)

From a Maori perspective, these are the questions of an outsider to the culture and might even be thought ignorant and impertinent. The insider view is that contemporary Maori art must be defined culturally and holistically in terms of comprehensiveness and inclusiveness, within the Maori conceptual framework, as the exhibitions *Kohia ko Taikaka Anake* and *Te Waka Toi* demonstrate. Cliff Whiting asked, "What are the parallels between traditional and contemporary Maori art? In determining this question, we had to come to the reality that Maori art is really part of the whole. The very word art—what the hell is it? We found that the word did not belong" (in Nicholas and Kaa 1986, 11).

For the time being, a definition of contemporary Maori art will encompass, first, the work of traditional or core *(ngakau)* artmakers, as representing the Maori notion of time and history, that we face not the future



Diane Prince, *Te Hono ki Waitangi* [*The Connection with Waitangi*], 1990
This "tent embassy" multimedia installation draws a parallel with Aboriginal land rights encampments that have been established from time to time outside the Australian Federal Parliament in Canberra. *(City Gallery, Wellington)*

and our descendants but the past and our ancestors; second, the Tovey generation, who are now acknowledged as senior or *kaumatua* 'elder' artmakers, and the leaders of Nga Puna Waihanga, founded in 1973; third, the politically engaged art of such artists as Robyn Kahukiwa, Emare Karaka, Kura Te Waru-Rewiri, Darcy Nicholas, and Diane Prince, who have emerged from the mid-1970s onward (that is, during the Muldoon years) and whose art comments on, and documents, such events as the Hikoi (Land March on Parliament in 1975), Bastion Point (a disputed traditional site in Auckland, now resolved in favor of its traditional guardians), the Springbok (South African) Rugby Tour of 1981, women's rights, and, as the sesquicentenary approached, the Treaty of Waitangi; and, finally, an important group of artists operating at—or beyond—the margins of the Maori art world whose ancestry nevertheless demands that they be accorded recognition as Maori.

The Tovey generation of Maori art specialists had become increasingly anxious about the last group. In the catalogue of *Te Maori,* Hirini Mead ruefully observed that:

Haeata Collective/Robyn Kahukiwa, *Hineteiwaiwa te Whare*, 1990
This *whare* 'house' assembled by the Maori women's art collective Heata is an affirmation of the central role of women in Maori society, culture, and history. It is dedicated to Hine-te-Iwaiwa, one of the *wahine toa* 'women of strength' in Maori mythology and history; it acknowledges Papatuanuku, the Earth Mother, and one of the primal parents of all creation; and it honors the women who were signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi. *(City Gallery, Wellington)*

> New forms of art, borrowed from the traditions of the West, have been introduced into the Maori world. Maori artists trained in the art schools of the Pakeha are spearheading a movement to change the face of Maori art more radically than ever before. One does not know whether they innovate with love and understanding, or whether they are about to light new fires of destruction. (1984, 75)

The first generation of Maori recruited for training in the teachers' colleges as art specialists had largely been drawn from rural areas and were part of the migration to the cities. Since they were relatively secure in their *Maoritanga* 'knowledge of traditions and customs', their art often reflects tribal origins, and retains recognizable elements of traditional design. In a sense, they were "bridging" artists, as the hybrid forms they generated attest.

This generation became conscious of "the great divide." Cliff Whiting observed:

> Today, we are clearly divided into rural and urban groups of people. . . . I see our people in suburbia, on television, and in books. I move into the city now and then, but I don't really know what people's lives there are about. I know the rural side because I remain in contact with it today. All I hope for is that the memories or identity that go back to the tribal area can be picked up at some stage. Whether people are urban or rural, going back to their tribal areas gives them a quality that helps them to better express themselves. (In Nicholas and Kaa 1986, 14)

Many of the new Maori 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 largely urbanized, detribalized (now into the third generation), and westernized, they speak only English, and their knowledge of Maoritanga is patchy. Nevertheless, they know that they are not Pakeha.

Roger Neich has remarked that:

> Maori self-consciousness was one of the first effects of European contact. Maori people became aware of themselves as Maori. Eventually, Maori artists became aware of their art as "Maori art," different from European art. They were made conscious of their own aesthetic concepts and of the conventions governing their art. (In Neich 1980, 6)

Today's urban Maori artists retain something of that self-consciousness. Their family backgrounds, skin pigmentation, and sometimes their accents and body language mark them out as "other," as different, as non-Pakeha, as Maori. On the "Maoriness" spectrum, however, they cannot measure up as "Maori" Maori. They are visibly and physically, but not to any significant degree culturally or psychologically, Maori. Despite their often remarkable achievements in the art world, they may have little or no standing on any *marae* 'tribal home base'.

If art distills and expresses individual perceptions and experiences, urban Maori art must speak of alienation and dislocation, of the condition of being urbanized and detribalized. But is such art Maori art? Can urbanite Maori artists say with Sandy Adsett: "My art is something that allows me to identify as Maori"? (in Nicholas and Kaa 1986, 19). Or will

they be characterized as "Johnny-or-Jackie-come-latelies," "born-again Maori" bandwagon-jumpers? If they feel a belated obligation to reclaim their Maoritanga do they risk being reproached by seasoned Maori activist frontliners ("Where were you?"), or vilified for their "political correctness" by right-wing Pakeha?

What this adds up to is a present situation that is dynamic and complex, both in its interrelations within Maori culture and in its interactions with non-Maori culture. It constitutes a pluralist subset of a global pluralist culture, a subset of extraordinary diversity, which encompasses westernization and internationalization, on the one hand, and neotraditionalism, ethnocentrism, and interculturalism, on the other. How is this entity, this cultural unity in diversity, in all its mysticism, to be released beyond the culture, into the secular and public domain of the western art world? Who is authorized to write about it, and in whose terms? Are outsider interpretations and evaluations of Maori art, divorced from the belief system that sustains it, and emanating from the Pakeha gaze, to continue to be preferred over insider accounts? Are our concepts and values to be forever sidelined in, or excluded from, the debate? Some Maori writers have opted for a separatist, essentialist, confrontational, reverse-racist stance, which they often express in a vigorous, forceful, searing, bruising style. But the development of parallel literatures on, and histories of, Maori art and New Zealand art seems a likely prospect, and one that other Maori might welcome.

Another element has yet to figure in the equation. Of *Headlands,* Cliff Whiting suggested that the exhibition

> could do for bi-cultural art what *Te Maori* did for Maori art. My personal reaction as a person of both cultures, is that this show identifies who I am in this country. It shows that what we have been talking about for years is valid and it is actually happening. We have to have a responsible attitude and also make sure that Pacific Island and other cultures are not marginalised. (*Arts Advocate* 1992)

The art of emerging Pacific artists such as Fatu Feu'u, Michel Tuffery, and John Pule, who are balancing out in their work the conflicts and continuities involved in being, not the indigenous "other" but the dislocated Pacific "other" in New Zealand, will further complicate, as well as enrich the diverse cultural textures of contemporary New Zealand art.

Note

1 These were: Hamish Keith, Peter Tomory, and Mark Young's pioneering study, *New Zealand Painting 1827–1967,* published in 1968; Gordon Brown and Hamish Keith's *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting, 1839–1967,* published in 1969; and Gil Docking's *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting,* published two years later. In the revised and enlarged editions of the last two books (published in 1982 and 1990, respectively) Hotere remains the "token" Maori.

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Abstract

The recontextualization of Maori art from anthropological museum artefact to aesthetic art object—the shift in its perception as belonging, not to a dead or dying culture, but to a living and developing indigenous culture—represents one of the most dramatic reversals in the institutional structuring of New Zealand's cultural history to date. Not only has Maori art earned a distinctive and powerful (if sometimes grudgingly conceded) national presence in New Zealand's Pakeha-dominated art world, but the exhibition *Te Maori,* shown to considerable critical acclaim in New York, Saint Louis, and San Francisco in 1984, inaugurated a receptive international context for traditional Maori art that has subsequently been extended, in touring exhibitions to Australia, Europe, and the United States, to encompass modernist and contemporary, westernized Maori art forms. Inevitably, the internationalization of Maori art within a pluralist art construct has set up numerous tensions among Maori and Pakeha artists, and, in their respective art worlds, between competing interests, aspirations, and ideologies. This paper identifies and examines some of those areas of tension.