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Native Art as a Source of Cultural Memory. Case Study of Māori Toi moko.

Nativní umění jako zdroj kulturní paměti. Případová studie maorského Toi moko.

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Prohlašuji,

že jsem tuto bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně a výhradně s použitím citovaných pramenů, literatury a dalších odborných zdrojů.

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the repatriation of *Toi moko* (tattooed, preserved heads of Māori or Moriori origins) from overseas institutions back to the country of their origin, New Zealand. *Toi moko* are considered to be not only human remains but also cultural artefacts, pieces of native art, which are important for cultural reproduction. The significance of *Toi moko* for Māori culture is explained in accordance with Cultural Memory theory introduced to Social Sciences by the German cultural scientists and Egyptologist Jan Assmann. The aim of this work is to provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the meaning of *Toi moko* in Māori society, to summarise its historical development, and to reflect the recent efforts of *Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme* that is undertaken by the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* and funded by New Zealand Government.

Key Words

cultural memory, cultural identity, culture, ethics, Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme, Māori, native art, New Zealand, tattoo, Toi moko

Abstrakt

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá navrácením *Toi moko* (tetovaných a mumifikovaných maorských hlav) ze zahraničních institucí zpět do země jejich původu, na Nový Zéland. *Toi moko* nepředstavují pouze lidské ostatky, ale také kulturní artefakty, díla nativního umění, jež jsou významná pro kulturní reprodukci. Význam *Toi moko* pro maorskou kulturu je vysvětlen na základě teorie kulturní paměti, kterou do sociálních věd uvedl německý kulturolog a egyptolog Jan Assmann. Cílem této práce je poskytnout obecný rámec pro pochopení hodnoty *Toi moko* v maorské společnosti, shrnout jeho historický vývoj a reflektovat snahy repatriačního programu *Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme*, jenž je veden novozélandským národním muzeem *Te Papa Tongarewa* pod záštitou novozélandské vlády.

Klíčová slova

etika, kultura, kulturní paměť, kulturní identita, Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme, Maorové, nativní umění, Nový Zéland, tetování, Toi moko

Obsah

1. Introduction

'My grandparents on both sides of the family came to New Zealand from Britain to escape the restrictions that a structured society places on those born without privileges. Here in New Zealand in the early days of the century, the excitement of pioneering over, they found not a new way of life, but an improvement on an old one. I grew up in a culture that did not have a past it wanted to remember. The recent memories were unpleasant and not to be communicated. The more distant past, as it affected my own family, was already forgotten. Until I moved to Waikato, I was unaware that there was a mythology in New Zealand that had grown out of our landscape – our earth, sea, forest and sky – and out of the deeds of men whose lives extended over centuries. I was also unaware that this mythology still provides support for thousands of people. Few of us have outgrown the need for such support and the feeling of continuity and security that it brings. We may think we have, but we are hollow without it and our communities lack cohesion' (King, 1992). With the above mentioned words Michael King, New Zealand historian and author, finishes the last chapter called *Farewell* of his book *Moko: Māori tattooing in the 20´th Century*. The message of his text is clear; each community needs its memories.

When I first came to New Zealand in August 2011, I was impressed with its natural richness and biodiversity; however, I missed the sense of history and the spirit of the past that is so present in most parts of Europe. Nevertheless, my feelings of historical void lasted only until I visited *Waitangi Treaty Grounds,* New Zealand´s premier historic site where in 1840 New Zealand´s most significant document *The Treaty of Waitangi* was signed. This is where I learned more about Māori, the indigenous inhabitants of New Zealand.

New Zealand is considered to be a relatively new country as it was not colonised by the Europeans until the late 18th century; however, when talking about historical patrimony, it is often not taken into account that this island situated in the south-western Pacific Ocean has been inhabited since AD 1200 by Polynesian settlers, who have developed their unique culture through the centuries and are now referred to as Māori. Representing 15 % of today´s New Zealand population, Māori culture has a very strong influence on the creation of the New Zealand identity. Both Māori and non- Māori people are proud of the cultural heritage that the Māori ancestors left behind. Traditional Māori *haka* (war cry and dance), which is performed

by the *All Blacks* (New Zealand National Rugby Team) before every match is only one of the examples of Māori influence on New Zealand culture.

To preserve the vital cultural background, New Zealand government launched several programmes supporting the conservation and development of Māori culture; one of them is *Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme*. The objective of this programme is to repatriate Māori *Toi moko* (tattooed, preserved heads of Māori or Moriori origins) from the institutions overseas back to their homeland. The main argument of *Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme* is that *Toi moko* represent human remains of Māori ancestors and should therefore be returned to their living descendants. There is another relevant aspect of *Toi moko* nature that should be taken into consideration; their cultural aura. While *Toi moko* stand only for simple art artefacts deprived of cultural background in international institutions (museum, galleries, universities, etc.), they gain deeper cultural meaning at their place of origin.

The aim of my thesis is to introduce the importance of *Toi moko* repatriation for Māori people and their cultural memory. Referring again to King (1992), every culture needs its mythology and common sense of the past; *Toi moko* represent cultural treasures and symbolise the ancient times of *Aotearoa* (Māori name for New Zealand) and the knowledge of its indigenous people. My thesis is based on the concept of Cultural Memory theory and anthropology of art framework. I am also trying to answer some questions of ethics that arise when trading and exhibiting native art.

The thesis consists of five main chapters. The first one focuses on Māori culture; it provides a brief history of pre-European Māori and deals with Māori cultural values. An essential part of this chapter is the overview of Māori art and native art in general. The second chapter focuses the art of *tā moko* (Māori facial tattooing) practice and its origins. The aim of the third chapter is to provide information on *Toi moko*, in particular its significance in Māori culture and its evolution with focus on the different stages of *Toi moko* since the arrival of Europeans to New Zealand. The fourth chapter is a treatise on cultural memory, the term that was introduced by the German cultural scientists Jan Assmann. I have applied the theory of Cultural Memory in the fourth chapter in order to evaluate the cultural importance of *Toi moko* and *Toi moko* repatriation. The objective of the last chapter is to raise

awareness of the *Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme* undertaken by the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*, and to summarise its achievements so far.

2. The world of Māori

Māori are the original inhabitants of New Zealand, a group of islands situated in the South Pacific approximately 2000 km southeast from Australia, who arrived from tropical Polynesia no later than 1000 years ago (Belich, 1996, p. 7; King, 1997, p. 9). Having at disposal 270,000 square kilometres of land mass and being so distant from the other islands, the early Polynesian settlers of New Zealand lived in a great isolation. As they were for a long time separated from other races or cultures, they had no concepts of race or culture, nor a vocabulary to express them. Pre-European New Zealanders formerly referred to themselves only by their tribal (*iwi*) or sub-tribal (*hapu*) names and they do not appear to have begun to use the expression *Māori* until the 1840s, when the Europeans started to explore the islands (King, 2008, p. 37). The word *Māori* means 'normal', 'usual', or 'native to the place' and it served to distinguish the 'ordinary man' from the stranger, in this case a European. Nowadays, however, the term *Māori* is often used to describe both pre-European and post-European New Zealanders and that is also the way I am going to operate with the term *Māori* for the purposes of my thesis.

Despite their relatively short history, Māori developed a unique and rich culture, which was partly influenced by their Polynesian origins and also by the specific conditions of life in the islands. Until the arrival of Europeans to New Zealand in the middle of the nineteenth century, Māori did not master writing and so the culture spread by the means of oral tradition and artefacts; it survived in the structures of traditional society. In illiterate societies (which Māori were for more than six centuries) art played an essential role in everyday life and was a source of collective cohesion. Among the various forms of art that Māori practised, the art of tattoo was one of the most developed and valued. To understand its meaning, it is necessary to provide some information on Māori society and its values in general. These will be discussed in the two following chapters.

2.1. Brief overview of pre-European Māori history

There is a tendency to speak about the New Zealand history as about the history that began with the European colonisation of New Zealand. Nevertheless Māori inhabited New Zealand islands many centuries before the Europeans, the time prior to Māori-Pākehā[1] contact is often described as a pre-history by scholars. It is so because of the lack of written evidence about the Māori past. 'History, however, does not come into the existence with the birth of literature, although literature may well be a part of a historical process. History is the story of the human occupation of a place compiled from surviving evidence. The three key features are occupation, evidence and story' (King, 1997, p. 9; King, 2008, p. 37). Despite a number of amateur theories about the first colonisation of New Zealand, there is evidence that the first human settlers were of Polynesian origin (King, 2003, p. 29). Descendants of Lapita peoples inhabiting Bismarck Archipelago by 4000 years ago, known for their distinctive ceramic design, moved some 3000 years ago, beside other places, to the islands of Tonga and Samoa, the region that is known as West Polynesia. In the course of a millennium, they developed the set of cultural characteristic that we now recognise as Polynesian; the form of Austranesian language, pantheon of gods, system of kinship and rank, pervasive concepts such as *mana* and *tapu*, and distinctive shape of their stone tools (King, 2003, p. 32). From there, they set out east towards the islands of Eastern Polynesia, including the Cook and Society Islands, Easter Island, Hawaii, the Marquesas and Tahiti (Mikaere, 2013, p. 7). With regard to the archaeological evidence and carbon dates, it is estimated that Eastern Polynesia was most probably the place where the first future New Zealanders set on their voyage around AD 1200 (King, 2008, p. 40). On their voyages, Polynesians overcame thousands of kilometres

[1] *Pākehā* – Māori term that was used to describe people of non-Māori origins. While most Europeans in the first half of the nineteenth century referred to the native inhabitants of New Zealand as 'New Zealanders', the natives were referring to themselves by the expression *tangata māori* (ordinary people). The Māori used the term to describe themselves as opposed to the 'different'. The term *pākehā* followed and was simply a descriptive word to distinguish European from Māori. It most likely came from the word *pākepākehā* which denoted mythical human-like beings with light skin. There are no definitive records about the exact time of origin of the term *Pākehā*, but it was widely use among Māori by the 1830´s (King, 2003, 168). The meaning of the term has changed with time; however, it mostly refers to the New Zealand settlers of European origins (Bentley, 2007, p. 258).

on the ocean thanks to their navigational skills and mastery of canoe making. Once Māori settled in New Zealand they did not continue to further discover the Pacific Ocean, yet the idea of great time of ocean voyages of Māori ancestors is still a vital part of Māori culture and is well represented in myths, legends and the art of canoe carving (Mikaere, 2013, p. 8-9). According to the Māori mythology, the demigod Maui, descendant of the Sky Father and the Earth Mother, fished up the North Island of New Zealand *Te Ika a Maui* (*The Great Fish of Maui*) out of the sea and together with his brothers carved the mountains and valleys into it (Reed, 1974, p. 23-47). The shape of the North Island indeed resembles a fish with its tail pointing to the north. Later, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Māori legends started to be recorded by Europeans, the narrative about Kupe, a heroic Polynesian explorer became popular. The narrative says that it was him who first discovered New Zealand in about 925 when sailing in *waka* (canoe) with his people. He named the island *Aotearoa* (the Land of the Long White Cloud) as it had looked like it from the distance. Kupe originated from *Hawaiki*, the mythical homeland of many of Polynesian peoples, and Māori has perceived themselves as his descendants. According to the legend, they are all sons and daughters of Kupe (Reed, 1974, p. 85-100). The story about Kupe fits well Māori cultural patterns and was widely taught in New Zealand primary schools between the 1910s and the 1970s and therefore became part of Māori mythology, even though about half of the New Zealand tribes had no Kupe stories (King, 2003, p. 41-42). Nevertheless, both Maui and Kupe stories show one of the important features of Māori culture, the significance of genealogy. Its importance is going to be discussed further in the next chapter.

The newcomers from Polynesia carried their tradition to the new land, but they had to quickly adapt to the natural environment that was so different to the one they knew from back home. Rather temperate than tropical climate, the landscape ranging from coastal beach to enormous inland plains, sub-alpine ranges, mountains capped with snow and deep forests. The richness of natural resources was great, but the cold coastal wind and lack of fertile soil prevented growing crops. Until the Polynesians imported their rats and dogs, there were no other mammals than bats in New Zealand. This lack of meat was therefore compensated by

high consumption of seafood, fish and flightless birds, such as the largest *moa*[2], major source of protein in Māori diet, which extinct in a relatively short time due to the extensive hunt. First settlers followed the patterns of life with which they were familiar; they preferred to settle coastal in a reachable distance from a stream or a river as a source of drink water, the inland territories were barely inhabited (Mikaere, 2013, p. 10-11). Traditional Polynesian clothing made of bark cloth was replaced by heavier and warmer garments made from pounded flax. 'It was the adaptation to the new environment of the concepts and practices they brought with them, and the new skills and practices they developed to meet unfamiliar environmental changes, that transformed East Polynesian island culture into that of New Zealand Maori. And that transformation occurred over at least three identifiable stages, which historians have termed colonial, transitional and tribal' (King, 2003, p. 62). The Māori colonial era, also known as 'the Moa Hunter period of Māori culture' began at the moment first East Polynesian migrants stepped ashore and continued through the first phase of settlement. In this period that lasted between 100 and 150 years, the Māori life orientated around hunting of *moa* and seals, however, these sources of food got soon exhausted. In the next era, Māori were required to become more flexible in order to survive, and to make some major adjustments in their culture. Gardening and foraging became increasingly important and some originally wild plants began to be semi-cultivated. As an outcome, Māori became less nomadic and started to form larger social associations defined partly on kin, partly on occupation of territories. This period of the fourteenth and fifteenth century has been considered as transitional not only because of the shift towards a more settled lifestyle, but also because of the alternations in art forms, especially in wood carving and items of personal ornamentation. And finally, it was the growth of population and increased competition for resources, that lead to the tribal organisation through the fifteenth and sixteenth century (King, 2003, p. 62-75).

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[2] *Moa* (*Dinornis giganteus*) – New Zealand flightless birds which were main source of protein for the pre-European New Zealanders. The height of the biggest species is estimated go as high as 3.67 metres, and as heavy as 242 kilograms. The average 75 kilograms *moa* slain by Māori hunters could feed 50 people (Belich, 1996, p. 34).

The first contact of Māori with Europeans dates back to 1642 when the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman reached the coast of Golden Bay. This encounter was not auspicious and ended up by four dead men from Tasman´s Company who were killed by New Zealanders as a result of communication misunderstanding. Tasman therefore departed without setting foot on New Zealand soil (Robley, 1896, chap. 1, p. 1). The contact reopened nearly 130 years later in 1769, this time it was English explorer James Cook who approached New Zealand and thanks to his more comprehensive regard managed to land up without high loss of lives (Belich, 1996, p. 119-120; King, 2008, p. 45). A series of European expeditions followed, *Aotearoa* attracted traders, whalers and sealers; people who were struggling in Europe were allured by New Zealand´s richness of natural resources. Missionaries decided to bring the God to the natives and Māori quickly adapted to Pākehā technologies such as metal and ploughs, and profited out of the trade with Europeans. The gifts offered by the western evangelists which included literacy, Christianity, agricultural and pastoral techniques were accepted by Māori. 'They would experiment with them and turn them to Maori purposes, determined by Polynesian concepts of relevance' (King, 1997, p. 24). On the other hand, European settlement, especially the whaling communities, had also some bad influence on the daily life of Māori. 'Deep-sea whaling ships called regularly into Kororareka in the Bay of Islands for supplies, alcohol and women from early 1790s' (King, 2008, p. 46). At some part of New Zealand, crops were grown specifically for trade with Europeans ships, slaves were acquired by local chiefs for labour and prostitution and alcohol was abused (ibid.). Also some diseases until then unknown to Māori such as influenza, measles and syphilis started to spread. 'The most dramatic early effect of the European presence in New Zealand, however, was the introduction and eventual widespread use of the musket' (King, 1997, p. 27). In a tribal society where the prestige and power were the main values and where tribal warfare was common, the acquisition of more powerful weapons caused a fundamental change. By the end of nineteenth century, the Māori population was on its lowest point.

Land ownership was another trend that significantly influenced the Māori – Pākehā relationship. Organised colonisation of New Zealand by Europeans began in the late 1830s and the increasing number of incomers was not welcome by Māori. European colonies were set up on New Zealand soil with lack of legal background and Māori land was often confiscated under appalling circumstances. As a result, the British Government decided to

take steps to annex New Zealand and it hoped to do this with the consent of the native inhabitants (King, 2008, p. 48). In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by the representatives of British Crown and a group of Māori chiefs from North Island. This legal document established Queen Victoria the governor of New Zealand implying that Māori would give up their sovereignty over the country in return for obtaining full British citizenship and rights for their land and resources. The Treaty has subsequently become a nation´s founding document, however, it was also a source of controversy (Mikaere, 2013, p. 27). 'Much of the conclusion results from there being separate (and differing) English and Maori-language versions and from differing versions even in English. It seems to have been drafted hastily shortly before the first signing ceremony' (King, 2008, p. 48). The men responsible were neither diplomats nor lawyers and the missionary Henry Williams who was in charge of translating the Treaty into English rather rewrote it than translated it to make it more acceptable to the Māori. The Treaty was signed on 6 February 1840 by 45 northern chiefs in Waitangi and after this initial signing, its copies were carried to the other parts of the country in the next few months. In spite of obvious misunderstanding and refusal of some chiefs to sign the document, Captain William Hobson proclaimed British sovereignty over the islands and became the first Governor of New Zealand. After signing of the Treaty tensions between the Government and disaffected chiefs grew up and led to a war. On one hand Māori were not content about the manner in which land purchases had been carried out, on the other hand more Europeans settlers were coming and willing their own land. In 1830 there were just over 300 Europeans living in New Zealand, but by 1840 they were about 2000. Māori lost control over the process of European settlement, and begun to realise the impact of Europeans to their identity and customs (ibid.).

The war was followed by relatively calm era with both Māori and Europeans profiting from trade and cooperation. However, this, on the surface, peaceful interaction did not last more than 20 years (Mikaere, 2013, p. 28). 'By 1860 the European population in New Zealand surpassed that one of the Maori for the first time and it seemed to some chiefs that tribal culture and the mana of traditional Maori society would be entirely erased if steps were not taken to preserve them. And for some, a prerequisite for conservation was a ban on further land sales' (King, 2008, p. 50). The presence of Europeans created a sense of 'Māoriness' and the formerly tribal culture begun to see its future in cohesion. In 1856, the elderly Waikato

chief Te Wherowhero was selected first Māori King. This act was understood as an expression of disloyalty to the British Crown in the eyes of Europeans and also as an attempt to prevent land sales. Many settlers begun to voice their disagreement with the King Movement and in the tense atmosphere another war broke out (King, 2008, p. 50). During this time, some more religious movement arose, representing the Māori resistance against the colonising power (Mikaere, 2013, p. 28-29).

As a result of these wars, Māori population was slowly declining and reached its lowest point at the end of nineteenth century. 'Maori were a defeated people and suffered the economic and political helplessness that defeat brings, with the addition of rampant disease, poor health, lack of education and social dysfunction' (ibid.). Luckily, the conditions of life turned better for Māori at the beginning of the next century when the Young Māori Party drove reforms that improved Māori health system, education and housing opportunities. The objectives of the 1920s and 1930s development schemes and cultural revival programs 'were interventions designed to protect and reassert Maori in the traditional tribal role or territories' (King, 1997, p. 100). Māori population started to grow again and their position in the society improved. Another revival occurred as a result of urbanisation of 1970s and 1980s that allowed Māori to get involved in the more mainstream social, cultural and political discourse (ibid.). Nowadays, Māori are still recovering from the dark nineteenth century of European colonisation; however, they managed to keep many of the aspects of the traditional culture and at the same time found their place in modern New Zealand society. Unlike Australian Aborigines, Māori are active in political life and their language *Te Reo* has been established as an official language of New Zealand as well as English. The hierarchy of Māori society remains largely intact under the *whānau*, *hapu* and *iwi* organisations, the cultural values are still respected and the original Māori art is still practiced, yet, the place of these traditional Māori institutions in nowadays society is not as strong as it used to be anymore (Mikaere, 2013, p. 34).

2.2. Māori art and cultural values

In the traditional Māori society, the art was a part of an everyday life and therefore to understand Māori art we must first comprehend the basic principles of Māori social organisation and Māori cultural values, especially the role of crafts in relation to the society

(Barrow, 1995, p. 15). Māori society has been highly kin-based, the first Polynesian settlers were organised into *whānau* (extended family groups) that eventually grouped together into *hapu* (sub-tribes) and *iwi* (tribes) (Mikaere, 2013, p. 12). The identity of a tribe linked to both place, relating to the tribal territory, and ancestry, referring to its first ancestor. The society was also strictly based on genealogy; the prefixes *ngā*, *ngāi*, or *ati* were often added to tribal names in order to refer to the origins of a tribe (e.g. *Ngā Rauru Kītahi* tribe is named after an important ancestor Rauru Kītahi). Each tribe had a relationship with other tribes through connections build over generations and several tribes might have occasionally created alliances to defend or invade a common territory (Barrow, 1995, p. 15; Mikaere, 2013, p. 12). Classic Māori society was based on the principles of leadership and hierarchy and the status of an individual was determined by both birth and sex; these characteristics also implied his/her rights and prestige. People who were closest to the gods according to the genealogical records were called *arakiri*, bellowed the divines were *rangatira*, and the rest of the society was formed by *tutua* (commoners), *taurekareka* (slaves) and *tohunga* (priests or experts in a particular fields) (Barrow, 1995, p. 15). Although the position within the society was mostly inherited through a senior line of descent, individuals could also reach the position of leadership thanks to his/her personal characteristics or skills. Fighting was considered as a very valuable skill that was much needed in the war-orientated society. The warriors were glorified and supplied with the best goods and it was a glory to die in a battle, while being taken as a prisoner was the greatest shame. Māori art was closely related to the art of war, weapons were decorated with elaborated designs, warriors owned personal ornaments of great importance and their faces and body parts were adorned with tattoos.

The traditional Māori society was driven by several values, while the most important were: *mana, tapu,* and *utu:*

The concept of *mana* in Māori culture is quite wide and culturally loaded; therefore it is hard to translate the term in English. It is most commonly described as authority, power or prestige of sacred origins (Patterson 1992, p.13; Te Awekotuku, 2007, p. 234). *Mana* is an enduring and indestructible supernatural force in a person, an object or a place and something that has to be protected and fought for. It is a spiritual gift from *atua* (Māori god) and men can only inherit it and be its agent, not its source. *Mana* of a person or a tribe can increase by taking successful actions or decrease through the lack of achievements, and goes hand in hand

with *tapu* (Moorfield, 2003-2014a). The first Western scholar who described the concept of *mana* was English missionary and anthropologist Robert Henry Codrington, who spent several years preaching in Melanesia (and also New Zealand). Codrington suggested that *mana* was a key concept to understand religious beliefs and practices of Melanesians. In his book *The Melanesians: Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-Lore*, Codrington described *mana* as 'an invisible power which is believed by the natives to cause all such effects as transcend their conception of the regular course of nature, and to reside in spiritual beings, whether in the spiritual part of living men or in the ghosts of the dead, being imparted by them to their names and to various things that belong to them, such as stones, snakes, and indeed objects of all sorts' (Codrington, 1891, p. 191).

Tapu can be translated as sacred, restricted, holy, prohibition or taboo. Together with *mana* it ensures personal sacredness or untouchability and protects people and natural resources. When being *tapu,* a person, a place or a thing is dedicated to *atua* and moves from the sphere of the profane to the sphere of the sacred. It cannot be thus, no longer put in a common use. *Tapu* was used to control how people behaved towards each other and the environment since the violation of *tapu* was followed by punishment from *atua.* People became more *tapu* under certain circumstances that included carving and tattooing (Moorfield, 2003-2014b).

Utu is often defined as revenge, although it has wider meaning in Māori and should be rather translated as recompense or payment, reciprocity or compensation. It is based on the principle of restoring some sort of a balance; it is a response to some action. *Utu* is often practiced when the *mana* is lost or *tapu* broken. 'This idea of restoring balance has several threads. One is that there is some underlying polarity in the universe which can get upset from time to time and which needs to be restored. In the case of utu the important polarity is between kin and outsiders. Normally the members of a tribe live in a state of approximate perceived balance with outsiders. From time to time some action – friendly or unfriendly – upsets this balance. Utu is taken to restore this balance' (Patterson, 1992, p. 117-118). *Utu* is the form of exchange that establishes and maintains social bonds and obligations when the social relations are disturbed.

All of these values are reflected in the traditional Māori art. Taking the art of tattooing as an example, tattoo points out the prestige, *mana*, of a tattooed person, during the process of tattooing, both the patient and the artist are under the state of *tabu*, and in case that *tabu* is not observed or a person with *mana* is violated, *utu* is the response.

'The Maori attitude toward property was unlike that of modern man' (Barrow, 1995, p. 17). Large possessions such as lands, houses or canoes were the common property of *hapu* or *iwi* and the number of personal possessions was limited to a few ornaments, weapons, clothes and other artefacts of daily life. The Māori art objects were made primarily for chiefly persons who commanded the best craftworkers and their services. The finest art was designated to raise the dignity of life of highborn individuals and to support their social prestige; on the other hand, the commoners only possessed few things classified as art (ibid.). Māori believed that all knowledge is of a divine origin and that it was given to the mankind by great god Tane. Also the art was considered a gift of supernatural origins. Art objects played an important role in regulatory processes within Māori society as they were closely related to the principles of *tapu* and *mana.* Their function was overseen by *atua*, and the adornment of art objects ensured his favour (Patterson, 1992, p. 16).

The practitioners of craft were usually of high rank, selected by birth or their aptitudes; however, commoners could also become respected artists when they showed special talent. The artists were paid for their services in goods, food and hospitality. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Māori did not have currency and set price for the art work, but the situation changed when the Māori artefacts became desired trade objects for Europeans. The practice of art also reflected the sex division of Māori society; while women worked soft materials, such as flax fibre in garment making and the weaving of baskets, men worked the hard materials of wood, stone and bone. This distinction of male and female had profound foundations in Māori believes that men were direct descendants of gods and so of *tapu* (sacred power), whilst women were of the earth and therefore considered *noa* (non-sacred). As a result, women could not participate in the practice of carving and were excluded from some other art practices (Barrow, 1995, p. 17-18). 'Old Maori society was not democratic, nor was its art' (ibid., p. 19). Every man could make an adze or bowl, while every woman could plait a flax mat or baskets, but the special art fields, such as carving or tattooing, were exclusively concern of well-trained persons. Elaborate Māori art objects were either designated for

community (e.g. canoes, storehouses) or well-born individuals (e.g. *hei-tiki*, weapons, and tattoos) (Barrow, 1995, p. 19).

When talking about pre-European Māori art, it is necessary to avoid the Eurocentric concept of art and its terminology, and rather focus on the inseparability of art from culture. In traditional societies, there is a close interrelation between utilitarian and mediatory function of cultural products, and thus the art artefacts are not only the objects of aesthetic admiration, but their primarily role is often related to mundane tasks; in case of the Māori culture to the tasks like fighting, hunting, fishing and agriculture (Patterson, 1992, p. 6). Setting out clearly what is understood to be the nature of art is essential for understanding its relevance for indegenous societies. American Mayanist scholar and archaeologist Tatiana Avenirovna Proskouriakoff (1965) has listed five distinct meanings of the word *art* (as cited in Neich, 2008, p. 101):

1. A mode of communication which conveys values useful in organizing perception (art).
2. The class of systems or styles of communication in which the artistic mode is dominant (the arts).
3. Objects made with the purpose of artistic communication (works of art).
4. Man-made objects capable of evoking aesthetic response.
5. Formal design in general.

All of the above lead to several common assumptions when talking about art; however, I am going to mention only some of the basic concepts that are relevant for better understanding of traditional Māori art. Roger Neich, Professor of Anthropology at the Auckland University, who has published widely on Māori and Pacific art, mentions some principal requirements that define art. One of them is the perception of art as aesthetic. According to Neich, the aesthetic component has to be always present to some extent for the description of art to be used. On the other hand, the aesthetic intention does not need to be verbalised or consciously displayed as it is universally there, but submerged by other consciously held cultural models. Another way to approach art is to perceive it as a system of communication. In this context, Neich refers to the necessity to embody a form and content as a unity and not to favour aesthetics over communication and vice versa (Neich, 2008,

p. 102-104). Another condition that determines art is its cultural anchoring. Art always arise within a specific cultural context and therefore mediates between established knowledge and current practices; between the spirit and the material world; between sacred and profane. Reality is rather structured and constructed by its perceivers and their cultural background, thus describing native art with the euro-centric terms might undervalue some of its aspects that are significant for the people who have created it.

The term *art* is very ambivalent and its meaning in western discourse has been changing through the centuries depending on historical and cultural conditions. Art was considered to be: a form of moral in the Classical Antiquity; a game or a play (Kant, Spencer); an illusion in the Renaissance; a manifestation of freedom and education (Rousseau, Schiller); it represented fantasies for the Romantics and imagination for Sartre; Bergson perceived art as intuition; Freud and Mukařovský as compensation and self-realisation; for the Existentialists art was simply a result of the absurd world that surrounded us (Rychlík, 2014b, 16). The above mentioned definitions were often very limited and native art would not fit into their categories; it needs a different approach. As South-African scholar, professor of cognitive archaeology, David Lewis-Williams points out: 'We cannot understand art out of its social context' (Lewis-Williams, 2007, p. 57). According to American curator and African art expert Susan Vogel, to fully understand objects made by Non-Westerners we must consider 'the intersection between the ways we see them literally, and the metaphorical vision our culture has of them' (Vogel, 2006, p. 209). We have to give up on our classification of certain objects as art and others as artefacts and rethink our categories. 'An essential quality of Western art is that it exists for its own sake, that it has a higher ambition than to be useful in any pedestrian sense' (Vogel, 2006, p.212). African art is functional; even when its function is spiritual it can appear to compromise its status of art (ibid.). Other native art expert Howard Morphy, who specializes in the art of Australian Aborigines, assumes that art represents a system of meanings and that art objects facilitate communication: 'The aesthetic effect may be complementary to some other kind of property of an object or necessary to its fulfilling some other function. For example, an object may be aesthetically pleasing in order to draw a person's attention to it so that some other fiction may be fulfilled or message communicated' (Morphy, 2006, p. 302). Also Robert Layton, British anthropologist and respected author of *The Anthropology of Art* (2003), suggests that art is a form of

communication. He emphasises that to better understand native art, we have to take in consideration the role of the artist: 'The investigation of the artist´s intent (as far as he can express it), and the response of fellow members of his community, are of primary importance if we are not simply to take objects from them and see whether such objects can be appropriated by our culture as works of art in *our* terms' (Layton, 1991, p. 11-12). The difficulties however appear, as it is impossible to investigate someone´s thoughts or intentions directly. They can be understand only via the means the artist uses to communicate them, which presuppose to share his experience (ibid., p.12). Anthropologist Richard L. Anderson stresses the importance of the expressive aspects of behaviour when defining art. His open, cross-culturally applicable definition is very broad: 'Art is culturally significant meaning, skillfully encoded in an affecting sensuous medium' (Anderson, 1990, p. 238). Although this definition reads syntactically as a sentence, it in fact refers to a list of categories: culturally significant meaning; skill; code; and affecting sensuous medium. Most or all of these qualities are present in those things that we commonly consider to be *art*. And on the contrary: 'those things not commonly considered to be art rarely have all of these qualities listed above' (Anderson, 1990, p. 239). Māori tattooing meets all of the above mentioned categories and therefore there is no doubt that it should be considered to be art.

Māori art forms evolved within the society that is grounded in genealogies, stories of origin, and cultural values such as *mana, tapu* and *utu*. Māori art is a result of the strong relationship between the artist, the art object and the people (Patterson, 1992, p. 9-10). All Māori objects were made in order to fulfil a practical or symbolic function and utilitarian artefacts had often their ritual version for ceremonial use (e.g. digging sticks, fishing hooks). Objects of practical use were decorated in order to obtain *mana* – power which improved their efficiency. Ancestral figures, heads and various symbols that adorned Māori weapons, canoe, and *marae* (meeting houses) had magical function and deeper cultural meaning. None of the man-made artefacts were regarded as death objects; in contrary, all the art artefacts had spiritual essence and therefore needed to be protected. Māori craftwork was a perfect example of an integration of a function and form; nevertheless the utilitarian function was put in the first place, Māori developed exceptional decoration skills. 'When we use the word "decoration", however, we must always beer in mind that carved symbols usually had magical functions. Ornateness no doubt pleased the eye of the traditional Maori just as it pleases us

today, yet to the markers and users, the object and symbols were more than things of art' (Barrow, 1995, p. 23-24). The pre-European Māori people believed that the practice of rituals and the use of magical objects are vital to tribal survival; although the common sense persisted in Māori society, the belief in the power of gods and spirits dominated. 'Suitable things were made to receive spiritual entities and, as with most traditional arts the world over, these "magical" objects were usually elaborated and much-decorated forms of the utilitarian things used in daily occupation' (ibid., p. 29).

The Māori art works differed in size, the material they were made from, and furthermore in the purposed they served to; they were either made for personal use, associated with special needs of an individual, either they contributed to the prestige of a whole community (Barrow, 1995, p. 78). Among the most common Māori art forms belongs *whakairo,* stone carving and *tā moko*:

- *Whakairo*, the art of woodcarving, is a technique that reached its greatest peak in Māori culture. Intricate designs decorated posts, door lintels, meeting houses panels, canoes prows, and also smaller objects of daily use (e.g. weapons, musical instruments). The carvings often represented Māori ancestors and differed in style in dependence on the period of time they were made in and the origins of their artists.

- Stone carving was mostly used to create personal jewellery. Ornaments representing ancestors made of jade, so called *hei-tiki*, were considered personal amulets and passed from generation to generation. They were thought as living entities, source of *mana*, and their spiritual value increased with successive ownership.

- *Tā moko*, the art of tattooing, was a source of personal adornment and prestige. Its significance for Māori culture is going to be discussed in the following chapter.

Besides the above mentioned forms of art, weaving and painting were also frequently practiced in traditional Māori society. Furthermore, Māori master oratory and performing arts,

amongst *haka*, traditional gender of Māori dance often associated with war, was the most popular.

3. Tā Moko

'Tattoo encompasses history, genealogy, and cosmology, the distant past and the immediate present, and embodies the sacred and the physical' (Juniper, 2008, p. 10). All these above mentioned features can be reflected in tattooing, a specific art form that has been practised for centuries by many different societies around the world: in Asia, Indonesia, North Africa, South America, and in particular in Polynesia. Generally, tattooing is a form of body modification made by puncturing the skin and introducing pigment. In most of the cases the skin heals and the pigment stays in place; however, ancient Māori tattooing, as seen by European travellers in the late eighteen century, was quite different (Simmons, 2007, p. 19). 'The skin was not only punctured to insert pigment, but also cicatrised, with the raising, particularly on the face, of deeply furrowed grooves' (Te Awekotuku, 2003, p. 123). It slightly resembled to the art that employed forming of raised scars on the skin and was practiced in Africa, Melanesia and Australia (Simmons, 2007, p.19).

The word *tattow* was introduced to European languages by English explorer James Cook, whose crew were the first Europeans to observe and record Polynesian tattooing on their transoceanic voyage in 1769 (King, 1992). The verb *tattow* appeared in Cook´s Journal for the first time on the 13 July 1769 describing the tattooing in Tahiti (Rychlík, 2014a, p. 126), however, Cook´s assistant, botanist Joseph Banks described the process of tattooing already on the 5 July 1769: 'This morn (sic) I saw the operation of Tattowing the buttocks performd (sic) upon a girl of about 12 years old, it provd (sic) as I have always suspected a most painful one. It was done with a large instrument about 2 inches long containing about 30 teeth, every stroke of this hundreds of which were made in a minute drew blood. (…) I was setting in the adjacent house with Tomio for an hour, all which time it lasted and was not finishd (sic) when I went away tho (sic) very near. This was one side only of her buttocks for the other had been done some time before' (Banks, 1768-1771). In November 1969, Banks described in his Journal his encounter with New Zealanders and also commented on their appearance, including their tattoos: 'The people themselves were browner than those to the southward, as indeed they have been ever since we came to Opoorage, as this part is called,

and they had a much larger quantity of *amoca* or black stains upon their bodies and faces' (Hooker, 1896, p. 203). As we can notice from Banks´ notes, to the Māori, the originally Tahitian word *tatu* was unknown. Banks referred to their tattoos as to *amoca*, which corresponded with the Māori term for the art of tattooing *tā moko* (term used mostly for a face tattoo). For the tattooing of the other body parts Māori used mainly the term *whakairo.* The word *whakairo* means 'to ornament with a pattern' and is also frequently used as a term describing woodcarving. The relationship between these two Māori art forms is considerable (Simmons, 2007, p. 19), and there is an evidence of significant exchange in symbols and meaning between the traditional Māori arts of carving, painting, weaving and tattooing (Paama-Pengelly, 2010, 72).

This chapter focuses on three aspects: The origins of *tā moko* from the perspective of Māori native narratives and also the western historical point of view; tattooing techniques and designs; cultural background and meaning of *tā moko* in the ancient Māori society.

3.1. The origins of Tā Moko

Face and body tattooing is a significant aspect of Polynesian culture that is thought to have evolved in the central Pacific some two-and-a-half to three thousand years ago. Sailing from the shores of South-East Asia and the South China Sea people were migrating to the islands of the western Pacific, reaching Fiji by 1200 BC and Tonga before 1100 BC, gradually developing their own cultural group that has been called Lapita (King, 1997, p. 14). The ancient Lapita people left behind some remains of settlements marked by unique pottery forms with distinctive decorations and also small tattooing chisels, which suggests that they also had the custom of tattooing. Later, the Lapita peoples continued in migration, settling in the Cooks, the Society and the Marquesas Islands where Polynesian culture and languages further differentiated. This island group is considered as a place of origin of the first New Zealanders who are believed to have arrived to *Aotearoa* before AD 1200 (ibid., p. 14-15; Te Awekotuku, 2007, p. 14-15). The artefacts found at archaeological sites suggest that the origins of Polynesian settlers of New Zealand lay in the Society Islands (Gell, 1996, p. 123, 238) that is also mostly likely the place which was the art of tattooing introduced to New Zealand from. Yet, the Society Islands´ and New Zealand´s tattoo styles differ since they were thereafter developing separately, adjusting to unlike environment and social structures of both

cultures. New Zealanders have further developed tattoo form and techniques, and tattoos have become a major component of personal adornment and identity. However, also within the Māori society, styles of tattooing were changing as the first European observers made their records (Reed, 2002, p. 178): 'In remote times it is thought that the moko was confined to crosses and straight lines, but during the centuries of occupation in Aotearoa the characteristic curvilinear patterns were developed in the same way as designs in wood carving.' A 'relic' style of tattooing, using only straight lines placed horizontally and vertically on the face, was recorded by John White in his *Ancient History of the Maori* (1887) and was known as *moko kuri* (dog-tattooing) for its resemblance with the clawmarks of a dog. Sydney Parkinson, artist who accompanied James Cook on his voyage in 1769-70, revealed that Māori facial tattoo had been possibly undergoing a basic reorganization at that time. He recorded not only men with so called 'classic' style spiral design, but also faces decorated with another, most likely older, tattoo style leaving negative impression with the dark background and pattern unpigmented as clear skin. This style consisted of *puhoro* (rafter) motives and was later in the nineteenth century restricted only to the tattooing of men´s buttocks and thighs (Graham, 1994, p. 15; Gell, 1996, p. 248). Since the discovery of *Aoteaora*, Māori *moko* has gone through several changes in its design as well as in the intensity of its practice. Facial tattooing has always been a part of Māori society, but it is believed that the carving of skin has widely spread especially during the inter-tribal wars of the 1820s adapting new tribal styles and designs (Graham, 1994, p. 15). Furthermore, its practice changed with the arrival of European settlers to New Zealand; the importance of European influence on Māori tattooing practices is going to be a subject of one of the following chapters. The development of *moko* was profoundly influenced by technological innovations such as the introduction of metal, needles, etc.; however, it was historical circumstances that caused the decline of all forms of male facial tattoo by the 1860s. Missioners considered *moko* the Devil´s art (Nikora; Rua; Te Awekotuku, 2005, p. 194) and the *Tohunga Suppression Act* outlawed traditional Māori cultural and healing practices in New Zealand in 1907, including the practice of *moko*. The Act was not repealed until 1962 via the *Maori Welfare Act.* Having *moko* between these years proclaimed an allegiance to an outlawed way of life of its bearer (Juniper, 2008, p. 16-17). Since 1970´s, *Moko* has played an important role in the Māori renaissance movements and Māori cultural revival. Nowadays, *moko* is still a vital practice and it is perceived (by its bearers, artists and scholars) as a medium connecting the past and present, representing the life essence

conveying memory and history and the culture of Māori people (Juniper, 2008, p. 76, 199-200). Furthermore, it has recently attracted attention of non-Māori who are more frequently willing to get a traditional Māori design tattoo. Significance of *moko* in today´s world has been an object of several research papers (e.g. Te Awekotuku, 2007; Nikora; Rua; Te Awekotuku, 2005, p. 191-203).

According to the Māori myths and legends the art of tattooing is not from this world, it is believed to originate in the underworld. The story of the inception of *moko* has many different versions since most of the Māori narratives have been carried over in oral form only and varied from tribe to tribe. Nevertheless, the main characters, Mataora and his wife Niwareka feature in the original stories of most *iwi* and a number of common themes are shared: the underworld, undertaking a quest, inadequacy, sharing of knowledge, sense of ugliness, transformation, etc. (Te Awekotuku, 2007, p. 14).

> Mortal Mataora fell in love with Niwareka, daughter of the underworld chief Uetonga, and married her. They lived happily together, but one day Mataora became jealous with his wife and abused her. Niwareka was dismayed by the cruelty that was unknown in her world *Rarohenga* and fled back to her father. Mataora felt alone and regretted his acts so he decided to pursue Niwareka and to bring her back. When he came to the house of Uetonga, he testimonied a tattoo ritual: 'The father of Niwareka was squatting on the ground beside a man who was lying prone, dipping a chisel in kauri, and tapping the sharp edge into the skin of the man´s face, carving a deep groove so that the blood was flowing freely. Mataora was horrified. "That is not the way to tattoo a man´s face," he said. Uetonga looked up at him. "See my moko," Mataora continued. "It is painted on in flowing lines which do not cause pain." "It may be the way you do it in the world above," Uenuku replied contemptuously, "but it is fit only for the painted patterns on the rafters of a house. Look!" He rose and wiped his hands roughly over Mataora´s face, smudging the beautiful lines of moko. "I am working on the true moko," he went on' (Reed, 2008, p. 98-99). The other young men laughed to Mataora when his moko was wiped so easily and so he begged Uetonga to tattoo him in the manner of the *tūrehu* (inhabitants of the underworld). Finally his father in law agreed and when Mataora returned to the world, he brought back the knowledge of this art with him (Reed, 2002, p. 178). People were fascinated by the beauty of Mataroa´s moko and from that time on they have only tattooed in this way.

In the myth, there are two themes important for the deeper understanding of the significance of Māori *moko*: the first one is a transformation of an ugly face by tattooing; Niwareka finds Mataora much more attractive with his new *moko* and therefore agrees to leave the underworld with him. Secondly, *moko* is a symbol of commitment; by undergoing the operation of *moko*, Mataora agrees to adopt the ways and works of the underworld and set the same agenda for humankind (Te Awekotuku, 2007, p.14). Contemporary anthropologist Alfred Gell went even further in Mataora myth´s interpretation adopting a psychoanalytical approach; according to him, Mataora undertook the 'Orphic journey' to the underworld. This journey to the land of the dead would have been under normal circumstances synonymous with death; however, Mataora returned safely back once he had been tattooed; the tattooing itself permitted him to return to life. Moreover, Gell perceived *moko* as an armour that strengthens person and effects interpositions; where there is too little difference, or too much (just like in the case of Mataora and Niwareka – mortal/god), tattooing insulate the person, permitting relationship to be established (Gell, 1996, p. 256).

3.2. The Art of Tā Moko

At the time of Captain´s Cook voyages and the early British and French expeditions to New Zealand the wearing of tattoo among the Māori was widespread, yet the styles differed from region to region (Graham, 1994, p. 3). There were basically two main methods of tattooing: in one of them, the pigment was inserted underneath the skin with a sharp-tooth comb while the skin was left smooth. This method was common throughout the Pacific Islands. The second method is distinctively Māori form of tattoo with the flesh carved away and the pigment placed inside the grooves, creating deep dark pattern. This form is called *moko* or *whaikairo.* The carving method was used exclusively for facial *moko*, while the other parts of the body were tattooed in the more conventional method (ibid., p. 14; Palmer; Tano, 2004). 'For work on the face, the Māori developed a technique unknown anywhere else in the world' (Te Awekotuku, 2007, p. 20). Major-General Horatio Robley, who served in New Zealand battles between the years 1864 and early 1866, was fascinated by the art of Māori tattooing and in his book *Moko, or Maori Tattooing,* published in 1896, he points out its uniqueness: 'The mode of tattooing practised by Māori was unlike that of any other race, and their artistic designs were so arranged that the skin of the face was often completely covered

up to the corners of the eyes, and even over the eyelids; and that the stains, though tending to diminish in brilliancy, were indelible'(Robley, 1896, chap. 1, p.14).

For such a method of tattooing special tools were required: *uhi whakatataramoa* or *uhi tapahi* – plain razor-like chisels used to cut the skin in preparation, slicing a channel into the skin; *uhi tapahi* – chisel used to imprint and insert the pigment, reinforcing the scarification; and *uhi kohiti* – small chisel used for scrolls and fine work (Simmons, 2007, p. 24; Te Awekotuku, 2007, p. 20). The chisels were made from sea-bird´s wing bones, sharks´ teeth, stones or hard wood and they differed in size and shape, so that they could be applied for particular part of the body (Robley, 1896, chap. 4, p. 1). Māori tattoos´ tools were similar to those used when carving the wood and even the techniques of the two practices resembled (Graham, 1994, p. 17). The pigment for the *tā moko* dye was called *kauri* as it was often made by burning kauri gum, another recipe was made up from roasted vegetable caterpillars or charcoal, animal excrements were also common. Mixed with water or oil, these ingredients provided dark black liquid that was tapped into the grooves (Graham, 1994, p. 16; Reed, 2002, p. 178; Robley, 1896, chap. 4, p. 4). The pigment was considered as a sacred family possession and was often stored in a secret place under the ground in the form of palm-sized lumps wrapped in bird-skins for years, even generations, and remixed with liquid when needed again (Paama-Pengelly, 2010, p. 75; Te Awekotuku, 2007, p. 34). Before the skin was cut, *tā moko* design was traced on the face using charcoal. The actual process of cutting through the skin was followed by heavy bleeding, especially from the lips and cheeks; the soft flax fibre was used to wipe the blood away.

The operation was a long and painful process, thus only a little could be done at one go with the resting periods in between (Paama-Pengelly, 2010, p. 75). It often took a few days to complete *tā moko* and the face stayed swollen for quite some time after the operation so the patient had to be fed by means of a funnel. *Tā moko* was not commenced until adulthood and was in fact a sign of maturity for both men and women. Furthermore, male tattooing was often accomplished in stages, commencing in early adulthood (there is no evidence of more specific, appropriate moment for male *tā moko* to be commenced) and continuing within the maturity (Gell, 1996, p. 246). Men were heavily tattooed on the face, thighs and buttock, less often on the lower legs and back, while the chin and lips were the most frequent areas for female tattoos. Occasionally, women tattooed the forehead, breast, ankles and wrists (Reed,

2002, p. 178; Simmons, 2007, p. 24-30). Until the early years of the twentieth century, female chin tattoos were referred to as *kauae*, yet with the vanishing of male facial tattooing, the term *tā moko* is used for both male and female tattoo (King, 1992). The process of *tā moko* tattooing was a subject of many rules and systematic work was required. The artist worked on the face as if it was divided in several fields; starting to tattoo one part of the face and gradually proceeding to the next one. Each part of the face had a special name and only particular designs could be used in certain areas. According to the basic classification, Māori facial *tā moko* divides the face into four major fields: the left and right forehead down to the eyes, the left, lower face and the right, lower face. Both left and right forehead areas and left and right lower face areas are symmetrical in the terms of design, however, there are a number of secondary design areas which may be filled with individual design that is not necessarily symmetrical with the opposed designed field. Experts who can read Māori *tā moko* field by field are able to describe some aspects of life of its wearer since each area of the face carries particular information (Simmons, 2007, p. 24-25, 131).

'Classic' style *tā moko* consists of curvilinear patterns; lines and spirals unite in original ornaments and create compact design. Two types of spirals are typical: *koru,* the springing fern, which is not rolled up and has a clubbed end, and the traditional rolled spiral (Simmons, 2007, p. 25). The basic traditional design usually consisted of a pair of large cheek spirals on either side with smaller spiral pairs decorating either side of the nose itself. The basic *koru* element formed the main pattern of the forehead, filled in the smaller areas between cheeks and ears, as well as the areas between nose and mouth and decorated the chin. Long sets of curved lines that radiated from above the eyebrow and linked nose with chin served to accentuate facial features (Paama-Pengelly, 2010, p. 75). There are presumptions that *tā moko* was governed by esoteric symbolism in pre-European era and that there was some sort of connection between ancestral rafter patterns and patterns on male faces as the *koru* design was used on both; however, this significance cannot be proved. Furthermore, the fact that lots of traditional *tā moko* components and names for detailed parts of *tā moko* patterns have been lost quite unconsciously by the end of nineteenth century is rather indicative of no deeper symbolical function of Māori facial tattoos (King, 1992). Also Alfred Gell suggests that 'most of the surviving evidence concerning *tā moko* is weighted towards its secular significance as an insigne of chiefly power and prestige' (Gell, 1996, p. 244).

Yet, in the ideological context of Polynesian societies, and Māori society in particular, the very opposition between secular and ritual is inappropriate. Although the motivations for undertaking tattooing might have been of secular matter such as personal prestige and erotic success, the acquisition of *tā moko* was a ritual act and a spiritual moment for both the patient and the artist (ibid., 244-245).

The ritual of tattooing was considered highly sacred and was surrounded with many restrictions. The operation was practised by men with a special status of *tohunga* (priest), who was generally a professional artist and worked for hire (Robley, 1896, chap. 6, p. 1). Tattooing experts, *tohunga-tā-moko*, were well paid for the services they provided and their artistic skills were well known around the country. It was not uncommon that the person who wanted *tā moko* travelled to the place where the *tohunga* lived in order to obtain his unique style tattoo (Graham, 1994, p. 10-11). Talented *tohunga* was a person held in a high esteem and not only food but also valuable gifts were offered to him as remuneration for his work: canoes, clubs, cloaks, mats, guns and sometimes even slaves (Graham, 1994, p. 11; Robley, 1896, chap. 6, p. 2). 'A certain Aranghie was one of the most famous of all artists in moko' (Robley, 1896, chap. 6, p. 2). Robley refers to the notes of Augustus Earle, draughtsman surveying ship *Beagle* in 1827, who described Aranghie as 'professor' or 'perfect master of the art of tattooing'. Aranghie´s drawings were of such a high esteem that they were exhibited even after his death. Originally a slave, Aranghie raised himself to a position of a man of high rank; this confirms the importance and respect Māori paid to the fine arts (Robley, 1896, chap. 6, p. 2-3). Tattooing operation was either carried in the open air or under the specially constructed temporary shelter while onlookers sang songs to take away the pain of the tattooed man/woman. Before commencing the process of tattooing, *tohunga* recited traditional *karakia,* Māori prayer that should invoke spiritual guidance and ensure a favourable outcome to the important event ("Karakia," 2010). *Karakia* also worked like anaesthetics do for the patient today, they were supposed to lull the person who was being tattooed. The following *karakia* was often chanted by Tame Poata of *Ngati Porou*, the most prolific Māori needle tattooist who travelled around the North Island in the first half of the twentieth century practising women *tā moko*. The chant dates back to the old days and was given to the New Zealand historian Michael King by Poata´s son Tom Porter (King, 1992):

‘He ngārahu tapu taku ngārahu
Nāu e lo o Tikitiki-o-Rangi
Tēnei o pia, tēnei o taura
He iho nui, he iho roa
He iho taketake ki a koe e lo e
Puritia I te ioio nui, I te ioio ō te pukenga
I te ioio o te hiringa wānanga tipua
I te wānanga ariki, i te wānanga atua
Nō runga i ngā rangi tūhāhā
Nō te uruuru tahito, nō te uruuru tipua
Nō te uruuru matua! ki a koe e lo
Matua e! e Ruatau!
E Tāne-te-waiora, e!’

‘My ink is sacred; my ink is
From you, lo of Tikitiki-o-Rangi
For here are
Your apprentices,
your senior students, (aspiring to)
An essence vast, an essence enduring,
An essence rooted within you, oh lo,
Fastened together in great strands,
Strands of wisdom,
Strands of wise and mystical energy:
The lore of paramount chiefs
The lore of deities
From above, from the very heavens,
From the ancient source,
From the arcane source,
From the primal source! To you, lo,
To you, Matua! To you, Ruatau!
To you, Tāne-te-waiora, e!’[3]

‘

[3] Since the various translations of the chant differ, it is necessary to mention also the author of the English version. The above mentioned *karakia* was translated by contemporary Māori researcher and activist Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and it appears in her book *Mau Moko: The World of Maori Tattoo* (Te Awekotuku, 2007, p.11).

Since the operation involved touching the head, the most sacred body part for Māori, and the shedding of blood, both tattooing subject and the operator were in a spiritually dangerous state of *tapu* during the operation; many other rules were observed for that reason. No food could be taken directly during the process of tattooing and the persons receiving *tā moko* were fed by means of special carved funnel, so that they did not have a straight contact with any contaminated substance. Once the operation was finished, the newly tattooed person had to abstain from sexual activity and was not allowed to wash for several days until the scars started to heal. The completion of *tā moko* was often followed by a social occasion and people from the neighbourhood were invited to a ceremonial feast; a special concluding rite was carried out to free the patient and *tohunga* of the state of *tapu* and made them *noa* again. The amount of *tapu* that accompanied the process of *tā moko* indicates its cultural significance (Gell, 1996, p. 246-247; Palmer; Tano, 2004; Paama-Pengelly, 2010, p. 72).

The records of *tā moko* have not been only written; also painters have contributed to preserve the evidence of ancient tattooing practices and designs. It seems rather paradoxical that one of the most respected painters depicting Māori life was of Czech origin. Gottfried Lindauer was born on 5 January 1839 in Pilsen (at that time in Bohemia, a province of Austro-Hungarian Empire), and despite his German surname, he was Czech, christened Bohumír. Lindauer studied portrait painting at the Academy in Vienna. On 6 August 1874, he arrived to Wellington, New Zealand, on the board of the *Reichstag*, which carried another 340 passengers from European countries. We can only doubt about the motives that made Lindauer leave Europe and head to New Zealand, however, according to one story, a friend of him who came back from his travel to New Zealand not long ago sang the praises of its natural beauty and nobility of its indigenous inhabitants. In Auckland Lindauer made the acquaintance of Henry Partridge who became his patron. Lindauer worked primarily as a portrait painter. At the beginning, the majority of his subjects were middle-class Europeans, but with the decline in the numbers of Māori in the 1880´s, many Europeans believed that the Māori was a dying race and were interested in preserving a record of Māori old times. Lindauer started to paint portraits of respected Māori and he also made a series of genre paintings showing Māori customs and way of life (Gordon; Stupples, 1985). ‘Despite the fact that Lindauer used photographs, that he altered facial features, the pattern of the moko (tattoo) and articles of clothing, that he painted portraits of people he could never seen, he was

obviously successful in conveying a strong sense of the authenticity, the real presence and authority (mana) of the subject' (Gordon; Stupples, 1985, p. 41). Lindauer´s work has been valued both by Europeans and Māori; most of the paintings are placed in Auckland Art Gallery *Toi o Tāmak*[4], some of the portraits are owned by Māori and taken to *marae* (meeting houses) on special occasions (ibid.), two of them are also held in the depository of Náprstkovo Muzeum in Prague (Rychlík, 2014a, p. 163).

Tā moko was an integral part of Māori society. 'In any culture, the reason people take tattoos are likely to be complex ones and difficult to isolate from one another. Māori culture is no exception. Pre-European moko grew out of a social environment in which art, religion, war, food gathering, lovemaking and death were an integrated part of the fabric of life' (King, 1992). The art practice of *tā moko* was full of symbols which reflected the united view of traditional Māori society and its way of life. 'Tā moko had many functions: it was worn to fascinate, terrify, seduce, overcome, beguile, by the skin; it was carried to record, imprint, acknowledge, remember, honour, immortalise, in the flesh, in the skin; it was also affected to beautify, transform, enhance, mutate, extend the flesh, the skin, and the soul itself. It was, and still is, about metamorphosis, about change, about crisis, and about coping too' (Te Awekotuku, 2003, p. 123).

The theme of metamorphosis is symbolically represented in *tā moko.* Firstly, *tā moko* was considered as a step towards maturity, although, there is no evidence that it was a part of initiation rite (Gell, 1996, p. 246; Te Awekotuku, 2003, p. 126). By obtaining a tattooed face a boy became a man, which also closely relates to the beauty aspect of facial tattoo. Since adulthood is often associated with sexual reproduction in indigenous societies and, as we learnt from the myth about Mataora, *tā moko* is perceived as a sign of sexual attractiveness in Māori culture, receiving *tā moko* implies that the young man is eligible for sexual life.

[4] For the very first time, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki plans to tour 48 Māori portraits by Gottfried Lindauer to exhibitions in Berlin, Germany and Pilsen, Czech Republic from November 2014. Lindauer´s portraits are going to be present alongside his paintings showing scenes of everyday life from Auckland Art Gallery's collection in the Západočeská galerie v Plzni (Gallery of West Bohemia in Pilsen) from May until July 2015. Pilsen is Lindauer's birthplace and European Capital of Culture 2015 ("Lindauer's Māori portraits," 2014).

As Te Awekotuku emphasizes: ‘With his shining features freshly enhanced, the young man sets out on the paths of erotic and martial adventure, confident of his own physical appeal’ (Te Awekotuku, 2007, p. 39). And the appeal of a Māori man was measured by the quality of his *tā moko* design and its extent. This metamorphosis was supported by traditional spells which were uttered at the end of the tattooing operation and which were enhancing the attractiveness of the recently tattooed person (Gell, 1996, p. 247). Secondly, strong pain that was caused by the chisel cutting the flash together with the chants sung by the onlookers had nearly hallucinogenic effects; ‘moko could not happened without trauma’ (Te Awekotuku, 2007, p. 39). Alike in the other islands of the Pacific Ocean, Māori perceived tattoo as ‘embodying transformative magic’ (Te Awekotuku, 2003, p. 123). By enduring the pain and gaining the permanent marks on its face, a man became a different person. Gell suggests that *tā moko* was an institution ‘through which a space for secular personhood was opened up within the reveled texture of concurrent exchanges between human beings and divinities’ (Gell, 1996, p. 245). Māori cosmology was based on the endless fight between people and their inimical ancestors or gods. Yet, while other Polynesian cultures tended to strive for virtue, Māori perceived the world as entropic. Their religious attitudes accepted evil (the evil in men and the evil in gods) as a part of a totality and this cultural pessimism had two aspects: the ‘premise of worldly imperfection’ and the ‘expectation of divine victimage’ (ibid., p. 242). Māori often represented themselves as victims if not in relation to their hated contemporaries, then in relation to gods. In Māori society, men and gods lived in such an intimate proximity that most of the Māori ritual procedures were rites of desacralization. In this context, *tā moko* was a mechanism how to achieve secular personhood and to liberate from the omnipresent influence of gods and spirits. Furthermore, Gell perceives *tā moko* as an act of defiance and assumes that by imprinting a ‘permanent grimace of hostility’ on human face Māori stigmatized themselves, reflecting the acceptance of moral imperfection (ibid., p. 238-263). There is only little evidence of such speculations (e. g. the non-tattooing of extremely sacred *tohunga* (ibid., p. 259-263)), but we can be confident about the fact that *tā moko* was an important marker of personal identity, rather than a deep symbolic expression of collective identity. The relation of *tā moko* to the Māori ancestors if often overestimated; certainly *tā moko* symbolically connected its bearer to his family lineage and origins, but the ‘self-definition’ was the key motivation for undertaking a facial tattoo. This rather individual

nature of *tā moko*, nevertheless, does not exclude the collective significance of practices accompanying the act of tattooing and its results.

With obtaining *moko*, man acquired his status in a society where no written language existed. In old New Zealand, the tattoo showed the importance of its bearer (Graham, 1997, p. 3). 'At the most fundamental level, moko was an expression of identity' (King, 1992). There is an evidence of people being identified by their *moko*, sometimes when they have not been seen previously. Moreover, when Māori first signed legal documents to trade with *Pākehā*, many drew their facial tattoo, with a high level of accuracy and without using a mirror, instead of a signature (Graham, 1997, p. 3, 9; King, 1992). Facial tattoo was the most valuable possession of a person and could not ever be stolen whilst was its bearer alive. *Tā moko* communicated social prestige of its bearer, testifying that he could afford the expensive services of *tohunga* and thus participated in significant social exchanges (Gell, 1996, p. 246). For Māori, the quantity of tattooing was a lifelong process, with new designs being added to refer to the inherited status of their parents or personal achievements (Graham, 1997, p. 3). 'The great chiefs had their faces and bodies covered with designs of extreme delicacy and beauty; and all the men except the slaves, were more or less decorated with blue-black; and the fact that the slaves were excluded from the art is significant of the views of their masters (…) Moko was a sign of distinction; it told of the noble and freeman from the slave' (Robley, 1896, chap. 2, p. 1). *Tā moko* indicated social superiority and participated in expression of social power in the society which was driven by competitiveness.

Even though some early observers thought that the purpose of *tā moko* was purely decorative (Reed, 2002, p. 179), there is no doubt that in the early years of the nineteenth century facial male *tā moko* designed a membership of a particular group and referred to a rank of its bearer (King, 1997; Simmons, 2007, p. 127). *Tā moko* could have been an evidence of one´s tribe, rank, accomplishments and masculinity, yet it was not confined to rank families; it was more about highlighting the individual standing within a group (King, 1997; Simmons, 2007, p. 127). This fact, which corresponds well to a Polynesian context, is confirmed by Māori oral traditions (Simmons, 2007, p. 127). In his book *Ta Moko: the Art of Maori Tattoo*, Simmons distinguishes eight levels of rank that were based on primogeniture and recognized by the early nineteenth century Māori society (Simmons, 2007, p. 129-130). Although the lineage of descent was important, people could be conferred higher status as

a result of an outstanding personal achievement. Both hereditary rank and achieved rank were marked in the tattoo (Simmons, 2007, p. 130). *Tā moko* was also tightly connected with fighting, and thus it is understandable that the male tattooing significantly revived during the warfare between Māori and *Pākehā* in the 1840s and 1860s (King, 1992). Early European settlers spoke about the fearsome aspect of Māori tattooed faces (Graham, 1994, p.3); fully tattooed faces were stressing warriors´ dreadful looks when the fighting was carried on at close quarters (Robley, 1896, chap. 2, p.1). *Tā moko* was an essential part of warlike preparations in the old days and young Māori warriors got the tattoos done to show their strength and power to the enemies.

4. Toi moko

Tā moko has also been a source of *mana*, a spiritual quality which has a great importance in Māori society. 'The moko not only indicated mana but contained mana itself' (Palmer and Tano, 2004). If *tā moko* was placed on a slave, he would get the *mana* and therefore would not be a slave anymore; he would become *tapu* (Simmons, 2007, p. 140). Māori regarded head as a sacred body part and *tā moko* supported its significance. When a noble member of a Māori society died, his head was usually cured or embalmed in order to remind the family, eventually *iwi* and *hapu*, his character and actions. Embalming techniques involved cleaning, drying and preserving the head, while skin, hair and *tā moko* design stayed intact (Graham, 1994, p. 24). Dried and smoked heads served as a personal remembrance in the society innocent of literature or of any usual form of art (except carving) (Robley, 1896, chap. 10, p.1; Palmer and Tano, 2004).

There are number of terms, which are more or less widely used, to denote a preserved head. The most common traditional term that appears in early literature of European explorers, ethnologists, anthropologists, and historians (eg. Robley) is *mokamōkai* (eventually *mokomōkai*). This term is explained in *Dictionary of the Māori Language* as: '2. Dried human head; 3. Curiosity, treasure' (Williams, 1957, p. 207). On the other hand, contemporary Māori cultural experts prefer using modern terms to describe a traditional practice; Awekotuku (2003; 2007) uses term *ūpoko tuh*i (inscribed, engraved, patterned head), while the *Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme*, a programme based at the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* (*Te Papa*) uses an alternative term *Toi moko* which is directly associated with the

repatriation work of *Te Papa* ("What is a Toi moko," 2014). Another terms used are: *upoko whakairo* – carved head, *mahanga pakipaki* – preserved head or *moko mai* – tattooed, preserved head (Bentley, 1999, p. 257). As this thesis deals with repatriation of Māori tattooed heads, the term Toi moko has been chosen as the most suitable one. In accordance with the *New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage* definition, the 'tattooed, preserved heads of Māori or Moriori origins' are called *Toi moko* (See Appendix A1 & Appendix A2).

The practice of preserving human heads was widespread in traditional Māori society and was motivated by two main reasons: either to esteem a person of great importance, or to testify the tribe´s war success by keeping a head of its enemy as a trophy. In both cases, the principal function of this custom was to keep alive the memory of the dead; *Toi moko* substituted the place that pictures, statues or photography have in today´s society (Robley, 1896, chap. 10, p. 1-2). The heads of loved ones remained in the families of the deceased hidden in wooden carved boxes and protected by strict *tapu*. They were displayed only at the time of special occasions such as departure of a warlike expedition or gathering of a tribe and their function was to signify that the departed chief or warrior was still a part of the tribal affairs and his presence dwelled amongst the people. On the other hand, *Toi moko* of the enemies were exhibited at the top of houses or on poles by *marae* and waysides so that they could be seen by everyone (Robley, 1896, chap. 10, p. 3). *Toi moko* of enemy warriors served to decrease *mana* of the defeated tribe while enhancing that of the victorious ("Why were Toi moko made," 2004); they were valuable possessions. Captured *Toi moko* also played an important role at the time of peace negotiations. At the end of a war an exchange of heads between the participating tribes was an essential step towards the peace; should a chief of one of the fighting party dispose of a captured head during the continuance of the war, it was perceived as a sign that he would never conclude peace with his present enemy (Robley, 1896, chap. 10, p. 7). As long as *Toi moko* remained in the possession of victorious chief no form of friendly relationship was possible between the two rival tribes (ibid., p. 8), to the contrary, when the two parties were about to conclude peace, the embalmed heads could be traded or exchanged and returned to their surviving relatives (ibid., p.9). The importance of *Toi moko* in warlike business implied their high value, but the situation changed with the arrival of early European settlers in New Zealand and importation of guns and muskets.

4.1. From Aotearoa to the museums

Māori culture has always attracted attention of Europeans and they were fascinated by *tā moko* in particular; several pictures and records of Māori face tattooing come from the late eighteenth century (Cook, De Surville, King, Parkinson, Hodges, etc.), and many more were made in the nineteenth century (Earle, Cruise, d´Urville, Bidwill, Robley, Lindauer, Goldie, etc.) (Simmons, 2007). Although the practice of cutting, embalming and storing heads of ancestors seemed to be barbarous from the western point of view, *Toi moko* aroused scientific curiosity and became highly-valued objects of intercultural trade. As early as on captain Cook´s first voyage to New Zealand in 1770 the expedition´s naturalist Joseph Banks bought a head of a fourteen- or fifteen-year-old boy and brought it on the board of the *Endeavour* despite the reluctance of the natives (Robley, 1896, chap. 12, p. 2). Nevertheless, this reluctance disappeared soon after the Māori discovered the advantage of fighting with guns. After coming back from his visit to England in 1821, *Ngapuhi* war chief Hongi Hika (c. 1780-1828) started to prepare for his campaign and armed his tribe with arms and ammunition traded with Europeans (McLintock , 1966). 'Hongi was the first one to organise Maori warfare on this new principle, and the terror of his name spread far' (Robley, 1896, chap. 10, p. 9). Traditional Māori weapons had no chance against the muskets and gunpowder, and so the other chiefs made an effort to meet Hongi on equal terms by trading with *Pākehā* (ibid.). Māori chiefs were obtaining guns in exchange for flax, potatoes and slave women. However, while a ton of flax was needed to get one musket, only one *Toi moko* could provide several muskets. 'The mokomokai, once essential objects in the establishment of peace, became the source of guns and the cause of wars' (Palmer and Tano, 2004).

The museums and private collectors in Europe desired to posses *Toi moko* as curiosities and did not hesitate to offer a good deal of money for them. It is estimated that hundreds of these heads were traded to Europe during the peak period of 1820s (Palmer and Tano, 2004). On the other hand, Māori were more eager to obtain muskets and ammunition and so the traffic sprung up. Shortly, the demand overcame the supply and Māori were not able to fulfil the market with the dried heads of captured warriors and slain chiefs. They came out with a new way how to meet the demands of European traders; Māori chiefs set slaves to be tattooed and killed in order to make a profit. The life of a slave was less valuable than its tattooed head (Palmer and Tano, 2004; Robley, 1896, chap. 12, p. 6). This practice was

against the traditional beliefs, as originally only the men or women of a high rank could be tattooed. Furthermore, slaves were tattooed carelessly without focus on details and traditional designs. 'There are instances of several white heads having been included in the trade in specimens' (Robley, 1896, chap. 12, p. 3). *Tā moko* lost its *mana* and become simply an object of trade. Commercial demand for *Toi moko* desacralized its value and at the same time destroyed its aesthetic. 'This seems to be a trend with western demands on indigenous art' (Palmer and Tano, 2004).

The first traders with Māori heads were usually deserters from ships who lived among the natives, and the dried heads were sent abroad on whaling boats; however, as the trade begun to grow on importance, special agents were sent to New Zealand in order to search for *Toi moko* with the most intricate designs and dried heads acquired a separate entry among the imports at the Sydney Customs. Moreover, it was not uncommon that the dealer visited Māori tribe and chose a still living slave whose head he would have liked to obtain (Robley, 1896, chap. 12, p. 6).

The trade in heads was always considered a sacrilege by the natives and there are some records of traders being attacked by Māori after they had found that the object of a trade was one of their relatives (this recognition was possible since traditional *moko* were usually distinctive) (Palmer and Tano, 2004). Gradually, the traffic with dried heads became unacceptable also for European society, yet the European law institutions were slow to react to the atrocities committed by people who were involved in the trade. The trade was prohibited by Governor Darling of New South Wales who issued his Proclamation in April 16th, 1831 in Sydney; however, some efforts to get around the law continued for at least another decade. Eventually, the traffic begun to die out when the Māori were not anymore in need for muskets and the discontent of western society grew up (Robley, 1896, chap. 12, p. 20-23). The trade with dried heads had for consequence not only a decrease of Māori population but also an almost extinction of male tattooing practice. Māori stopped practising *tā moko* and preserving the heads of relatives and friends out of respect as the trade made it uncertain. Being tattooed at the time when the trade with heads was on its peak meant to be in incessant danger (ibid., p. 169).

'The original attraction of Europeans to the mokomokai seems to be a fascination with the exotic and noble savage' (Palmer and Tano, 2004). *Toi moko* were source both of an admiration and fear among the Europeans who had obtained them for their collections. *Toi moko* were collected as curiosities of natural history and exhibited in museums and galleries as part of ethnographic collections, but they also aroused interests of universities and medical schools where they served as research objects for scientists and doctors who were interested in non-Western cultures, eventually they ended up in hands of private collectors. The stereotype connection of Māori tattoo to a cannibalism, sex and war was strengthened by displaying the tattooed heads in museums where they were isolated from their original context. *Toi moko* were desacralized and void of cultural, political and religious meaning (ibid.). Most of the specimens of Māori dried heads in museum collections date from 1770 to 1830, which is relatively short period of time; however, the large majority of them were bought in the last twenty years of this period (Robley, 1896, chap. 13, p. 2). They can be found in museums all over the Europe, in Australia and of course also in New Zealand. In 1896, General Horatio Robley, a *Toi moko* collector himself, made a list of some institutions that owned the most precious *Toi moko* as a part of their collections[5]; however, a great deal of traded or stolen *Toi moko* have stayed untracked. In simple words, there have been many *Toi moko* all around the world, at the places that are distant from New Zealand and the culture of its original inhabitants. In recent years, the requests to repatriate the remains of Māori ancestors has arose; not only because keeping human remains seems to be unethical but also because they are part of the Māori cultural property and have deeper significance for Māori cultural community. In the following chapters, I am going to emphasise the role of *Toi moko* for Māori cultural self-determination within the framework of cultural memory concept.

[5] Royal College of Surgeons, UK; British Museum, UK; Aberdeen Marischal College, UK; South Kensington Museum, UK; Halifax Museum, York, UK; Plymouth Museum, UK; King´s College Museum, UK; Whittby Museum, UK; University Museum, Oxford, UK; Trinity College, Dublin, IR; Natural History Museum, Paris, France; Musem für Völkerkunde, Berlin, GE; Auckland Museum, NZ; Königliches Christchurch Canterbury Museum, NZ; Sydney Australian Museum, AU; Antropological Museum, Florence, IT; Antropological Museum, Rome, IT; Smithsonian Institution, Washington, USA; etc. (Robley, 1896, chap. 13).

5. Cultural memory

As I have already mentioned above, *Toi moko* were an integral part of Māori culture, they commemorated the important deceased, referred to a social prestige of their bearers and in general, the practise of *tā moko* related to a mythical past of Māori society, manifesting who Māori were and where they came from. The rituals and ceremonies associated with the operation of tattooing united whole communities and supported their sense of belonging and continuity. Tattooing was one of the structures that Māori culture was based on, and, although its practice has declined, its significance has not faded away, only its cultural meaning might have slightly changed. Even today, when the custom of preserving tattooed Māori heads does not exist anymore, those *Toi moko* that were taken decades ago were not forgotten, on the contrary. There has been recently a strong call from the Māori people for bringing the *Toi moko* exhibited in the museums and galleries over the world back to their homeland, *Aotearoa.* In the following chapter, I am going to try to explain these tendencies through the perspective of the concept of cultural memory, nevertheless there are definitely some other aspects involved (e.g. question of ethics of keeping and exhibiting human remains).

5.1. Introduction to the concept of cultural memory

The phenomenon of memory has always attracted humanities and social science scholars; however, until the second half of the twentieth century, memory was understood exclusively as a specific human ability to store personal experiences and events in mind. It was French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs who, inspired by his teachers Émile Durkheim and Henri Bergson, suggested that memory should be perceived in a historical and cultural context. In 1939, Halbwachs introduced the term collective memory in his article *La mémoire collective chez les musiciens* (Collective Memory of Musicians) and argued that memory is not only of individual nature but can also exist and be shared within a group (Šubrt; Pfeiferová, 2010:11-12).

According to Halbwachs, every social group has its own collective memory that reflects the group consciousness. This collective memory results from so called social frames – collective time, space and history. Although these frames are only artificially created concepts (products of social construction of reality) they become the main landmarks which

one relates its memories to (Halbwachs, 2009:102). Memory of each person is therefore conditioned by collective memory of its member group and so can never develop completely independently. As Halbwachs says: 'In reality we are never alone' (Halbwachs, 2009:51). It means that we interpret every single moment we experience in relation to what we know about the past of our social group and its identity. Collective memory has been shared among people in a process of socialization which guarantees the transmission of social group´s main ideas, values and norms from one generation to the next. Collective memory might be considered as a cognitive map thanks to which we know who we are, why we are like that and what we are heading for.

Although collective memory reflects the past it cannot be replaced with history. History, according to Halbwachs, starts where the collective memory perishes. Once there is nobody who experienced the bygone event and once the event is not relevant for any member of a group it is no more the part of collective memory and becomes a history. Collective memory stores only those pieces of the past that are important for the social group presence and that can still survive in its consciousness. Unlike history is collective memory very selective and subjective, it depicts only those events that are relevant to the present or the future of the social group, it is based on facts but the interpretation of these facts can vary as the social frames change (Halbwachs, 2009:126). Creating collective memory process is at the same time process of revising representations of images of our past in order to make them fit better with the present ideology and narratives.

Halbwachs´s concept of collective memory was further developed and popularised in 1990s by German cultural scientists and Egyptologist Jan Assmann whose theoretical approach differentiates collective memory into two types of social references to the past: communicative and cultural memory (Assmann, 2011; Assmann, 2008). According to Assmann, there are two modes of remembering that we have to distinguish: 'foundational memory' which relates to the origins and is exteriorized in sign systems that can be both linguistic and non-linguistic, such as rituals, myths, dances, songs, landscape, paintings, dress, jewellery, and also tattoos. Thanks to being stored in symbolic forms which have mnemotechnical function, this sort of memory is relatively stable, situation-transcendent, and can be transmitted from one generation to another. The 'biographical memory', on the other hand, depends exclusively on everyday social interaction and communication, is not

institutionalized and therefore has only limited time depth which normally does not reach over more than three generations (Assmann, 2008, p. 111; Assmann, 2011, p. 37). The former corresponds to cultural memory, the memory of sacred times, and the latter to communicative memory, the memory of everyday life. Assmann introduced these two terms to delineate the difference between Halbwachs´s conception of (collective) memory and his understanding of cultural memory as he does not fully agree with Halbwachs´s exclusion of tradition out of the (collective) memory framework. For Assmann, the borderlines between memory and tradition can be very flexible (Assmann, 2012, p. 30). It is also important to stress that both type of memory differs in structures of social participation; participation in communicative memory is informal, not restricted and acquired within the everyday process of socialization; however, participation in cultural memory is socially restricted to a specific number of people, organised and institutionalized (Porr, 2010). In contrast to communicative memory, cultural memory does not spread around spontaneously but its distribution is controlled and its carriers have in most cases high social status and dispose of some special skills (Assmann, 2012, p. 40). Despite their different forms, cultural and communicative memories are not two different orders, but different dimension of one order. According to Assmann (2005): 'Although the memory forms of cultural memory have no place in everyday life, cultural memory constantly infuses everyday reality with meaning and significance' (as cited in Porr, 2010). Moreover, the two forms of memory cannot be completely separated one from each other and the binary structure tends to be diversified by introducing more linguistic varieties (film, broadcasting, television, etc.) in modern societies (Assmann, 2008, p. 117). Following table shows characteristics of communicative and cultural memory with regards to the ideal type of an oral society; however, we have to take into consideration that this ideal is rather abstract and does not fully reflect the real situation.

	Communicative memory	**Cultural memory**
Content	Historical experiences in the framework of individual biographies	Mythical history of origins, events in an absolute past
Forms	Informal, without much form, natural growth, arising from interaction, everyday	Organized, extremely formal, ceremonial communication, festival
Media	Living, organic memories, experiences, hearsay	Fixed objectifications, traditional symbolic classification and staging through words, pictures, dance, and so forth
Time structure	80-100 years, with a progressive present spanning three-four generations	Absolute past of a mythical, primeval age
Carriers	Nonspecific, contemporary witnesses within a memory community	Specialized tradition bearers

Table 1. *Characteristics of communicative and cultural memory* (Assmann, 2011, p. 41)

Having provided the theoretical framework, it is now evident, that memory is not only personal data stored in one´s mind, but a result of an interaction and engagement between people and their world. 'Memory does mediate between the past and the present, but it is not a passive reading of external information. It is a part of the ongoing process of interpretation and re-interpretation of the world and also involves the sedimentation and inscription of habits into the body' (Porr, 2010). In his book, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, Assmann (2011) stresses that the cultural memory 'is dependent on its bearers and it cannot be passed on arbitrarily. Whoever shares it thereby demonstrates his membership in the group, and so it is not only bound to time and place but also to a specific identity' (Assmann, 2011, p. 25). Cultural memory therefore plays an important role in the constitution of an individual and collective identity and is a significant technique of cultural reproduction (Porr, 2010). Although Assmann explains the concept of cultural memory mostly on the examples from ancient Egypt, Israel, and antique Greece, his theoretical framework can be easily applied to other societies; in this case to Māori culture.

5.2. Toi moko, a source of cultural memory

The aim of this thesis is to establish native art as a source of cultural memory and to demonstrate its significance for the constituting of group identity; namely to stress the importance of *Toi moko* for both ancient and today's Māori society in the perspective of cultural anthropology and memory studies. In this chapter, I am going to apply Assmann´s concept of cultural memory to the study of native art in general, focusing on the aspects that are represented in Māori culture, especially in Māori tattooing.

Every social group has its memory; in fact, the existence of collective memory is a condition of self-perception of the group members, a foundation that allows people to think in the terms of 'we' and 'the others'. Memory thus has to be somehow conserved and kept alive, yet, as it is not biologically transmitted, there is a need for some different techniques ensuring its continuity. 'Just as thinking may be abstract, remembering is concrete. Ideas take on a form that is imaginable before they can find their way into memory, and so we have an indissoluble merging of idea and image' (Assmann, 2011, p. 24). If an experience is about to become a part of the memory of a group, it has to be first presented in a more concrete form and enriched with some social meaning. Assmann (2005) assumes that: 'Stability of memory is achieved by the attachment of memories to material objects or structures. These can be called memory figures or mnemonic devices' (as cited in Porr, 2010). Some forms of art, as it has been perceived by indegenous societies, are perfect examples of such mnemotechnics. The memory figures are subjects of cultural reproduction and are characterized by three special features: relation to a specific spatio-temporal framework, attachment to a specific social group, and an independent capacity for reconstruction (Assmann, 2011, p. 25-28).

Māori *Toi moko* meet all these conditions. Firstly, in the terms of spatial anchoring, the space of *tā moko* is restricted to a head and is sometimes even more specified with the precise rules applying to a particular part of a face in the traditional design. Moreover, *tā moko* designs also varied regionally as different tribes developed their unique style of tattooing. This spatial distinction was also quite important, signifying where a bearer of certain *tā moko* came from and therefore referring to his tribal identity. Albeit we deal, for a purpose of simplifying and conceptualizing the topic of this thesis, with Māori as with a coherent cultural group, the fact that the Māori society was highly differentiated and

consisted of a number of competitive tribes needs to be take in consideration. In this environment, tattooing was also a source of drawing borderlines between the different tribes and therefore symbolically dividing space; between the individuals, between the tribes, and eventually between Māori and the other cultures. As German sociologist Wilhelm E. Mühlmann (1985) suggests, tattoo patterns (amongst the other cultural sign systems) denote the boundary of a culture and thus a bearer of a tattoo becomes a 'boundary marker'. These 'limitic structures' are not evident, they are linked to concepts and ideologies of preference and superiority, they provide a separation from 'others' and as Mühlmann (1985) argues, this symbolical boundary concept is very important for the identity of native people (as cited in Assmann, 2011, p. 133-134). 'In its ideal form, the "limitic" structure demarcates culture not as *one* way of living – as opposed to others that might also be called cultures – but as *the* way, as the true cosmos against with others are viewed as subhuman' (as cited in Assmann, 2011, p. 134). Bearing *tā moko* meant to be *Māori*, or, in a narrower interpretation, being

a member of a specific Māori tribe, and therefore to be familiar with its position in the universe. Furthermore, tattooing had its fixed position also in a temporal framework. The time was highly structured during the process of tattooing and the operation was usually divided in several parts, each of them followed by some ritual (e.g. chanting of *karakia* before and during the operation, the period for which were *tohunga* and the patient under the status of *tabu*, final feast celebrating the acquisition of *tā moko*). 'The substance of memories is connected to time both through the adherence to primal or outstanding events and through the periodic rhythms to which these memories refer' (Assmann, 2011, p. 24). It is through the repetition of the same structure that the group gain access to the cultural memory, and festivals or rituals associated with the process of making art, in the case of *tā moko*, ensure the communication and continuance of the knowledge that is a source of group identity. The ceremonies divide up the time structure of illiterate societies into the everyday and the ceremonial (Assmann, 2011, p. 42). Rituals and festivals serve as a form of cultural memory organization and mediate the mythical past. In the ceremonial time, the members of a social group can embrace the time of a creation and of their origins. Nevertheless, the above mentioned space and time figures are not considered particular in western, historical, or geographical sense, they serve as orientation points for indigenous societies and facilitate the processes of repetition an interpretation that are the driving forces of every culture.

Secondly, the memory figures refer to a specific social group; they are dependent on their bearers and cannot be spread arbitrarily. Together with spatial and temporal elements, the various types of communication within a group and the context within a group operates create the memory figures that define the nature of a group and its identity (Assmann, 2011, p. 24-25). 'All of these factors combine to create a history of home and life that is full of meaning and significance for the image and aims of the group' (Assmann, 2011, p. 25). In this context, *tā moko* can be perceived as a specific feature of Māori communication, demonstrating membership of its bearer to a social group as well as his position within a group. *Tā moko* passes on a message about its bearer pointing out his/her importance and his/her status within a social hierarchy. Alike in the Indian society clothing reflected people´s social status and symbolised their claims to right and privileges, Māori *tā moko* used to be an external sign of one´s prestige. Furthermore, the communicative significance of *tā moko* could get even stronger when its bearer deceased or when he was killed. *Toi moko* thereafter became either a sacred family treasure, a symbol of remembering the ancestors and venerating the past, either it turned into a war trophy representing the power of a winning tribe and implying the war status between the two opposing tribes. This change of a cultural meaning evokes the last characteristic of memory figures, their capability to be reconstructed.

'Memory cannot preserve the past as such,' (Assmann, 2011, p. 26) it can only capture a part of it that is relevant for the moment and for the future. Cultural memory works through reconstruction and the past is ceaselessly subject of reorganisation and reinterpretation. In this sense Māori *Toi moko*, once objects of remembrance, pride, or power, can be nowadays looked at in a different light within a Māori society which does not necessarily imply that their importance has weakened.

6. Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme

As United Nation expert Erica-Irene Daes points out in her study *Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous People* (1997): 'Indigenous people cannot survive, or exercise their fundamental human rights as distinct nations, societies and peoples, without the ability to conserve, revive, develop and teach the wisdom they have inherited from their ancestors' (as cited in Tipene-Hook, 2011, p. 23). Native art is one of the sources of this cultural wisdom and therefore it is important to keep it accessible for the culture within it was created.

Although the majority of cultural stakeholders agree that the cultural property should be preserved and protected, the conflict appears when it comes to the question who should oversees this protection (Tipene-Hook, 2011, p. 23). Museums are still often viewed as symbols of colonial era and oppression and the calls from indigenous communities for regaining their cultural treasures are recently more frequent (ibid. p. 25). In case of *Toi moko* the efforts for repatriation are even stronger as they represent Māori ancestors and thus link today´s people to their past. This connection between the past and present is extremely important for the continuation and promotion of Māori culture (Palmer and Tano, 2004). The recognition and maintenance of the Māori cultural identity, and the protection, control and repatriation of its cultural heritage goes hand in hand. The cultural recognition and self-determination are central to the repatriation debates which indigenous people demand the entitlement to exercise their rights within (Tipene-Hook, 2011, p. 23). The United Nations has developed a number of international conventions, declarations, and legislation that impact directly the development, protection, preservation and repatriation of cultural property (e.g. the Declaration of Human Rights; the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict; the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property; the Declaration on the Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples); however, these are not sufficient to regulate all the potential repatriation processes. The cooperation of all interested parties - nation states, indigenous populations, heritage institutions, art dealers and collectors, artists, and heritage professionals (anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, art historians, etc.) is necessary to ensure the repatriation of cultural heritage material in a culturally respectful manner (ibid., p. 23-24). In February 2001, the Wellington based *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* launched its policy that provides guidelines for responding to the requests to repatriate *kōiwi tangata* that is defined as 'any part of the human body (skeletal or soft tissue) of Māori and Moriori[6] origin, which is an unmodified state since death' from overseas institutions and museums. The Moriori term for human remains is *koimi tangata*. The policy turned into a formal programme in 2003 and its official name is *Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme* (See Appendix A.2). 'Items that have been modified entirely or

[6] Moriori are the indigenous people of the Chatcham Islands, archipelago situated southeast from New Zealand. Their culture resembled to this of Māori, although there were some differences (King, 2003, p. 53-57).

partly from human bone (e.g. carved, or decorated) are defined as taonga. These taonga are kept separate from the kōiwi tangata, and are identified as part of the Museum's collection. As such, they are managed under the Te Papa Collection Development and Management Policies' (The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2010, p. 3).

Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2004) is managed by *Te Papa* and funded by the New Zealand Government. The programme was developed in order to assure policies for proper repatriation of *kōiwi tangata* Māori, including *Toi moko*, and later to provide a comprehensive framework for their management and care in the Museum´s guardianship. Furthermore, it also provides guidelines for returning *kōiwi tangata* to the *hapu* and *iwi* where they origin from. The programme involves an expert *Repatriation Advisory Panel*, a research team, manager and programme coordinator; relevant *iwi*; external organisations, including Air New Zealand, national and international institutions, museums and libraries; government ministries and agencies, including Ministry of Culture and Heritage, New Zealand Custom Service, Ministry of Māori Development, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Department of Conservation. Its main objectives are:

- carrying out quality research with appropriate *tikanga* (custom)
- bringing *kōiwi/kōimi tangata* home from overseas institutions and museums
- facilitating their final resting place through engagement with *iwi*
- maintaining close communication with *iwi*
- working under the guidance and advice of experts in the form of a *Repatriation Advisory Panel*

One of the main functions of the programme is to create an open forum for *iwi* and to facilitate their communication with the international institutions. The research team also continuously look for information on overseas collections of *kōiwi tangata* and eventually contact the international institutions in order to establish a relationship and negotiate repatriation. When *Te Papa* succeeds to return *kōiwi tangata* to New Zealand, the *kōiwi tangata* are stored in the Museum´s *wāhi tapu* (sacred consecrated space) until its provenance

is identified. After such a time, a national repository for the remains is determined in relation to their origins and *iwi*. *Kōiwi tangata* are *tūpuna* (ancestors) and therefore are considered sacred and treated accordingly. 'Te Papa's position in repatriating kōiwi tangata, is that they are not considered part of the museum's collection, rather they are the remains of ancestors to be treated appropriately at all times' (The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2010, p. 7).

The programme works on six general principles that convey the role of *Te Papa* and the New Zealand Government in regard to any repatriation process: the government role is only the one of facilitator, it does not claim the ownership of *kōiwi tangata*; repatriation is proceed by mutual agreement; the programme does not concert the Māori remains in war graves; the origin of *kōiwi tangata* must be identified in New Zealand or Chatcham Islands; Māori and Moriori people are able to be involved in the repatriation and to determine its final resting place; no payment will be made for *kōiwi tangata*. International repatriation is followed by domestic repatriation to *iwi* if possible, facilitated by partnership between *iwi* and *Te Papa*.

Although they were taken overseas, *kōiwi tangata* are still regarded as ancestors and family members within Māori society, and thus should be treated with dignity and respect. Their descendants call for *kōiwi tangata* to rest in their homeland *Aotearoa* in a cultural appropriate manner. *Kōiwi tangata* are still a part of a living Māori culture and contain *mātauranga* Māori (indigenous knowledge) that can mediate *iwi* the life of its ancestors and their practices. The return of *kōiwi tangata* allows *iwi* to reconnect with their ancestors and to explore their associated knowledge. By researching *kōiwi tangata iwi* can get a better insight into their history and migration, reconnect with funerary traditions and practices, and also obtain a greater knowledge of other traditional practices, such as the art of *tā moko* and *Toi moko* preservation methods. Moreover, repatriation of Māori ancestors´ remains enables to create closer genealogical, emotional and spiritual connection between descendants and their *tūpuna*. *Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme* holds regular *wānanga* (forums of higher learning) to build ongoing relationship with *iwi*, so that they are more informed and could later take part in the decision-making processes about repatriation.

To date, *Te Papa* repatriated more than 200 *kōiwi tangata*, including *Toi moko*, from 14 foreign countries ("International Repatriations," 2014). At present, some negotiations are going on in order to ensure future repatriations, however, *Te Papa* refrains from highlighting potential repatriations that are discussed. The *List of International Repatriations* (see Appendix A3). can be updated only when the process of repatriation meets two conditions: the physical remains are received by *Te Papa*, and a formal transfer document is signed by the institution involved and received by *Te Papa*. (see Appendix A4). Concerning the domestic repatriation, about 90 ancestral remains were returned to the place of their origins ("Domestic Repatriations," 2014). It is estimated that at least 100 *Toi moko* are still held in institutions and collections overseas, however, the number is likely to increase as the research continues.

Repatriations of *Toi moko* also attract the attention of international media from time to time. In January 2012, the repatriation of twenty *Toi moko* from France was discussed in the French press ("La France restitue," 2012). Though the *Musée du Quai Branly* repatriation was not the first one that took place from France (in 2011 a repatriation from Ruen involving one *Toi moko* preceded), it was the largest and raised some controversy ("Repatriations from France," 2014). While prior to the first repatriation from Rouen in 2011 *Te Papa* perceived *Toi moko* as human remains, French law recognised *Toi moko* as cultural objects, and therefore any repatriation of *Toi moko* was not legally possible. 'The repatriation of twenty Toi moko in January 2012 was the culmination of an enormous amount of work in both New Zealand and France, which began with the discovery of a Toi moko in the Rouen museum in 2007' (ibid.). Twenty *Toi moko* repatriated on 23 January 2012 came from nine French museums and one university, while seven of them were held in *Musée du Quai Branly* in Paris. These seven heads were acquired from donations made between 1885 and 1999, however, more precise information on the conditions of their acquisition are uncertain. It is likely they were all acquired on the European market. One head was given to *Te Papa* after the death of its owner, French physician and pre-historian Louis Captain in 1929; another two heads were donated to the Museum in 1947 by their owner Sir Adrian Paris; the most recently acquired head was a gift from Madame Germaine Urban, who believed that *Toi moko* belonged to one of her ancestors and it entered the collection in 1999 ("Research of Toi moko," 2014). The case of *Toi moko* from *Musée du Quai Branly* pointed out an interesting

intersection between repatriation in the sense of 'return of body parts to their homeland' versus 'repatriation of cultural objects to the country of origin.' 'In the eyes of the French law, their value as objects trumfed their condition of being human remains. Therefore, only after creating a new law that specifically addressed the change in status of *Toi moko* from artefact to human remains was the *Toi moko* able to be repatriated'("Māori heads return," 2012). Moreover, the return of *Toi moko* to New Zealand set an example for further repatriations to the Pacific region and can serve as a model of diplomatic, legal and cooperative processes that can be utilised within international negotiations. Each of successful repatriation of *Toi moko* allows reaffirming the international commitment to human rights and enables Māori communities to create their own relationship with their heritage (ibid.).

Tracking down *Toi moko* is a lengthy and exact process due to the lack of documentation about the trade of dried heads. *Te Papa* uses different sources of information to follow its research, such as museum records and registers, shipping records, oral histories, letters, personal diaries, Māori Land Court files, donor and collector information, etc. (The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2004). It will take a long time until all of the *kōiwi tangata* reach their homeland and can be seen by the community of their descendants. Māori have high interest in *Toi moko* repatriation as they represent *taonga* (treasure) and are perceived not only as ancestors´ body remains but also as a source of cultural identity. They represent the traditions and cultural practices of Māori ancestors and enable modern Māori to recall the common past. As Brenda Tipene-Hook, descendant of *Ngāi Hine*, emphasises in her thesis on repatriation of *Ngāi Hine taonga*, the location of cultural artefact is crucial for cultural wellbeing of a community: 'All artefacts are situated within a context of international, indigenous, social, institutional, cultural and spiritual factors. Any number of these factors can have an effect on the preservation, protection, and "ownership" status of *taonga*. Speaking purely from an indigenous position, the wellbeing of a specific *taonga*, and its descendant community, is critically dependant on where that *taonga* is physically/or spiritually located' (Tipene-Hook, 2011, p. 3).

7. Conclusion

This thesis has highlighted the relation between cultural memory and native art; in this case Māori tattooed heads *Toi moko.* The practice of tattooing has been an inseparable part of Māori culture and has played an important role in Māori renaissance. New Zealanders are one of the most tattooed nations; the tattooing is popular not only within Māori but also non-Māori people. Recently, traditional Māori *tā moko* designs have been going through a revival and some people even dare to experience traditional tattooing practice by means of chisel. It is believed that undergoing the process of traditional Māori tattooing brings ones closer to their ancestors and origins. It can also simply demonstrate Māori or New Zealander´s identity. I was surprised with how many people I met in New Zealand that were tattooed. Most of them were very proud about their pieces of art explaining the reasons and meanings of their designs while referring to the Māori culture, though some were not Māori.

I first learnt about the existence of *Toi moko* in January 2012 when I read an online article about repatriation of twenty Māori tattooed and dried heads from *Musée de Quai Branly*. I was impressed with the fact that such things as human heads could be considered to be art artefacts. Museums justify their position by emphasizing their educational role as mediators between Western and Non-Western cultures. However, in my opinion, there has been no justification for the holding of human remains, even more so when their acquisition was often unlawful. The following questions arise: 'Can we really understand better indigenous culture through examining its pieces of art that are taken out of concept and displayed outside of their cultural environment?' Furthermore: 'Where are the limits of exploitation of indigenous cultures?'

There are several problems of trading with native art; one of the biggest problems is that a great deal of native art artefacts are not owned by the peoples within whose culture they were created, on the contrary, they are exhibited in European and American museums or held in private collections of wealthy foreigners. The cultures which the artefacts come from have difficulties accessing some of the greatest pieces of their origins. As in the case of *Toi moko* that were traded and sold abroad during the period of the late 18th and early19th century.

Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme is an example of a possible approach towards the future of indigenous peoples´ rights. Having repatriated more than 200 *kōiwi tangata* including *Toi moko* from 14 foreign countries up to date, the Programme offers a successful solution of returning artefact of indigenous origin back to their homeland. This is due to the high level of organisation of the Programme managed by the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*, a number of experts involved and funds from the New Zealand Government. Museum practice has expanded through repatriation. All other institutions involved need to adapt to this new practice; however, a number of obstacles can emerge. 'Repatriation of human remains will continue to be a major issue in both New Zealand and abroad. As repatriation increases, museums will have to develop their practice to recognise that it requires a different approach to the traditional one in which relationships last only for one transaction. Instead there must be commitment to long-term engagement with the communities museums deal with' (O´Hara, 2012, p. 61).

We can only hope that the process of future *Toi moko* repatriation is going to be easier and Māori will be able to welcome more of their ancestors with *haka pōwhiri* (ceremonial welcome) in New Zealand:

'Haere mai rā
te āhuatanga
i ō tātou mate tuatini,
e haere mai!'

'Welcome
to the representatives
of our many dead,
welcome!'[7]

[7] This karanga (unique form of female oratory that is sung at the beginning of pōwhiri) was recorded on October 7, 1963 at the annual celebration of the coronation of King Koroki at Turangawaewae, Ngaruawahia. It was performed by a Waikato woman during a pōwhiri, or welcome, for visitors from Ngāpuhi and Ngāiterangi tribes ("Calling the dead," 2014).

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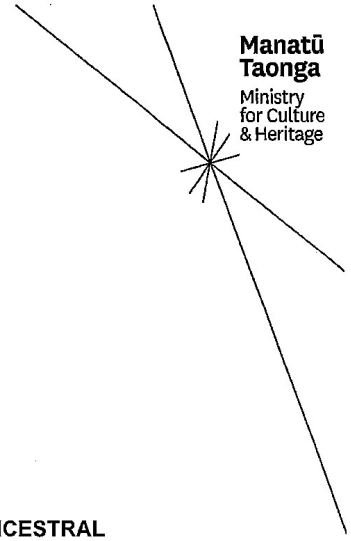
Appendix A: Documents

Appendix A.1. Letter from NZ Ministry for Culture and Heritage to Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa



15 July 2013

Michael Houlihan
Chief Executive
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
PO Box 467
WELLINGTON

Dear Mr Houlihan

REPATRIATION OF KŌIWI TĀNGATA MĀORI (MĀORI ANCESTRAL HUMAN REMAINS)

The purpose of this letter is to confirm that the New Zealand Government, in May 2003, approved a repatriation policy for kōiwi tāngata Māori (kōiwi) and in particular, mandated the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) to undertake this important work on behalf of the New Zealand Government.

Mandated to act as Crown agent, Te Papa will in most cases be the first point of contact in New Zealand to consider any proposal to return kōiwi from overseas and is responsible for the facilitation of the repatriation of kōiwi. This includes direct negotiations with overseas public institutions through to the physical return of kōiwi to New Zealand.

As you will be aware, Te Papa is required to implement the repatriation policy in accordance with the following parameters:

Definition of 'Kōiwi Tāngata Māori': The term 'kōiwi tāngata Māori' is defined as:

> *"any part of the human body (skeletal or soft tissue) of Māori or Moriori origin, which is in an unmodified state since death. This includes all Toi Moko which are tattooed, preserved heads of Māori or Moriori origin".*

Kōiwi does not include items that have been modified entirely or partly from human bone (e.g. carved or decorated).

Kōiwi Tāngata Māori Principles: The repatriation policy is governed by six kōiwi principles:

- the government role is mainly one of facilitation – it does not claim ownership of kōiwi;
- repatriation from overseas institutions and individuals is by mutual agreement only;

- the repatriation policy does not cover Māori remains in war graves maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, or other similar institutions;
- no payment for kōiwi will be made to overseas institutions;
- kōiwi must be identified as originating from New Zealand; and
- Māori are to be involved in the repatriation of kōiwi, and to determine the final resting place, where possible.

It is important that repatriation of kōiwi is carried out in a low-key manner to accord kōiwi their rightful respect and dignity.

I take this opportunity to congratulate you on the work already undertaken in the area of repatriation. Te Papa's institutional knowledge and expertise in this area is well recognised internationally together with its well-established tikanga capability to carry out this work in a culturally appropriate manner. These attributes will no doubt assist in the repatriation work Te Papa is undertaking within its Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme.

Yours sincerely

Lewis Holden
Chief Executive

Appendix A.2. NZ Cabinet Policy Committee Document on Repatriation of Koiwi Tangata Maori

Cabinet Policy Committee

POL Min (03) 11/5

Copy No: 1

Minute of Decision

This document contains information for the New Zealand Cabinet. It must be treated in confidence and handled in accordance with any security classification, or other endorsement. The information can only be released, including under the Official Information Act 1982, by persons with the appropriate authority.

Government Policy for the Repatriation of Koiwi Tangata Maori (Maori Human Remains)

On 14 May 2003 the Cabinet Policy Committee, having been authorised by Cabinet with Power to Act [CAB Min (03) 16/9]:

Background

1 **noted** that on 7 December 1998 Cabinet took a number of decisions relating to the repatriation of koiwi tangata Maori (Maori ancestral remains) and directed officials to report back on the outcome of a hui with iwi and with final policy proposals [CAB (98) M 46/22 A & B];

Outcomes of hui

2 **noted** that:

2.1 the national koiwi repatriation hui held in May 1999 confirmed that the return of koiwi tangata Maori from overseas institutions is a significant issue for Maori;

2.2 the main outcomes of the hui were:

2.2.1 iwi, hapu and whanau should determine the final resting place of their koiwi;

2.2.2 Te Papa is the most appropriate body to undertake repatriation of koiwi and should continue as koiwi repository in the interim;

2.2.3 Maori should be involved throughout the whole repatriation process;

2.2.4 the Government has a facilitative/funding role to undertake in the repatriation process;

Definition of koiwi tangata Maori

3 **agreed** that for the purposes of the repatriation of koiwi, the term "koiwi tangata Maori" will be defined as:

> *"any part of the human body (skeletal or soft tissue) of Maori or Moriori origin, which is in an unmodified state since death. This includes all Toi Moko which are tattooed, preserved heads of Maori or Moriori origin."*

Koiwi tangata Maori does not include items that have been modified entirely or partly from human bone (e.g. carved, or decorated).

Principles

4 **agreed** that the policy be governed by the following koiwi repatriation principles:

4.1 the Government role is mainly one of facilitation – it does not claim ownership of koiwi;

4.2 repatriation from overseas institutions and individuals is by mutual agreement only;

4.3 the repatriation policy does not cover Maori remains in war graves maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, or other similar institutions;

4.4 no payment for koiwi will be made to overseas institutions;

4.5 koiwi must be identified as originating from New Zealand; and

4.6 Maori are to be involved in the repatriation of koiwi, and to determine the final resting place, where possible;

Role of Te Papa

5 **agreed** that as part of the government policy for the repatriation of koiwi, Te Papa be mandated to act as Crown agent to undertake the repatriation of koiwi;

6 **noted** that Te Papa proposes:

6.1 to establish a Recognised Expert/Kaumatua Group to provide advice and support from the initial research to physical return;

6.2 a four stage process for koiwi repatriation: scoping and research; negotiation with overseas institutions; physical repatriation; and domestic repatriation/final resting place;

Policy

7 **approved** the proposed repatriation policy for koiwi tangata Maori described in the paper under POL (03) 118, which provides for:

7.1 the respective roles of:

7.1.1 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (to facilitate communication between governments);

7.1.2 the New Zealand Customs Department (to facilitate koiwi progress through border controls);

7.1.3 the Ministry for Culture and Heritage and Te Puni Kokiri (to provide policy advice); and

7.1.4 Te Papa (to be the Crown's agent) in repatriation of koiwi;

7.2 detailed, accurate and verified information on koiwi collections held in overseas public institutions;

7.3 only returns mutually agreed with overseas public institutions will be actively repatriated;

7.4 only koiwi provenanced to New Zealand will be repatriated;

7.5 the repatriation of koiwi will be carried out in a culturally appropriate manner;

7.6 active participation of iwi, hapu and whanau;

7.7 where the provenance of repatriated remains is known, Te Papa will work with iwi, hapu or whanau to determine and facilitate the domestic return;

Funding

8 **noted** that Cabinet has agreed in Budget 2003 to the provision of $500,000 (GST inclusive) per annum from 2003/04 to repatriate koiwi tangata from overseas public institutions [CAB Min (03) 13/9(3)];

9 **noted** that the amount of funding available will determine the level of repatriation activities that Te Papa is able to undertake;

Next Steps

10 **directed** the Ministry for Culture and Heritage in consultation with Te Papa to submit a paper to the Cabinet Policy Committee on 18 June 2003 seeking approval for the detailed programme for repatriation, and associated detailed costs, for 2003/04 and the two outyears;

Communication

11 **noted** that, following the Cabinet Policy Committee's consideration of the paper in paragraph 10 above, Te Puni Kokiri and the Ministry for Culture and Heritage will prepare a paper on the proposed roles of the relevant government agencies involved in the repatriation of koiwi tangata Maori for distribution to all government departments, and to be used by Te Papa when engaging with overseas public institutions regarding koiwi;

Consultation

12 **noted** that the Minister indicates that consultation is not required with government caucuses or other parliamentary parties.

Sue Sharp
Secretary

Reference: POL (03) 118

Copies to: (see over)

Present:
Rt Hon Helen Clark (Chair)
Hon Dr Michael Cullen
Hon Jim Anderton
Hon Steve Maharey
Hon Phil Goff
Hon Annette King
Hon Trevor Mallard
Hon Pete Hodgson (part of item)
Hon Margaret Wilson
Hon Parekura Horomia
Hon Paul Swain
Hon John Tamihere
Hon Chris Carter
Hon Dover Samuels (part of item)

Officials present from:
Office of the Prime Minister
Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet

Copies to:
Cabinet Policy Committee
Chief Executive, DPMC
Mary Anne Thompson, DPMC
Chief Executive, Ministry for Culture and Heritage
Secretary to the Treasury
Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Secretary for Justice
State Services Commissioner
Chief Executive, Te Puni Kokiri
Associate Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage
Minister of Customs
Comptroller of Customs

Appendix A.3. List of international repatriations carried out by Te Papa Tongarewa including those carried out prior to the establishment of the dedicated Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme

1990	Museum of Ethnology	Stockholm	Sweden
	Museum of Victoria	Melbourne	Australia
	National Museum Ireland	Dublin	Ireland
1991	Ulster Museum	Belfast	Ireland
1992	Musée d'Ethograph	Geneva	Switzerland
	Museum for Volkerkunde	Basel	Switzerland
1994	Manchester Museum	Manchester	England
	New Zealand High Commission	London	England
1996	Royal Albert Memorial Museum	Exeter	England
	Lichfield Museum, Staffordshire	Staffordshire	England
	Sheffield City Museum and Mappin Art Gallery	Sheffield	England
	Queensland Museum	Brisbane	Australia
	Whitby Museum	Leeds	England
	Scarborough Museum	North Yorkshire	England
1999	University of Edinburgh	Edinburgh	Scotland
	National Museums of Scotland	Edinburgh	Scotland

2000	South Australian Museum	Adelaide	Australia
2001	Australian Museum	Sydney	Australia
2004	Museo Ethnográfico	Buenos Aires	Argentina
	Bishop Museum, Hawai'i & National Burials Programme	Hawai'i	United States of America
2005	University of Melbourne	Melbourne	Australia
	Museum Victoria	Melbourne	Australia
	State Coroner's Office	Melbourne	Australia
	Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde	Leiden	Netherlands
	Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum	Glasgow	Scotland
	Suffolk Regiment Museum	Suffolk	England
	Perth Art Gallery and Museum	Perth	Scotland
	Saffron Walden Museum	Essex	England
	Leeds Museum	Exeter	England
	Royal Albert Memorial Art Gallery & Museum	Exeter	England
2006	Uberseemuseum	Bremen	Germany
2007	Marischal Museum	Aberdeen	Scotland
	Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery	Tasmania	Australia
	National Museums Australia	Canberra	Australia
	Australian National Wildlife Collection, CSIRO	Canberra	Australia

	Institute of Anatomy	Canberra	Australia
	Field Museum	Chicago	United States of America
	National Museums Liverpool	Liverpool	England
	Swansea Museum	Swansea	Wales
	Hancock Museum	Newcastle	England
	Plymouth Museum	Plymouth	England
	Bexhill Museum	Sussex	England
	University College	Sussex	England
	Royal College of Surgeons	London	England
	BARTS and the London, Queen Mary School of Medicine and Dentistry	London	England
	Bristol Museum	Bristol	England
2008	Royal Ontario Museum	Toronto	Canada
	Canadian Museum of Civilisation	Ottawa	Canada
	University of British Columbia	Vancouver	Canada
	Oxford Museum of Natural History	Oxford	England
	British Museum (partial approval for köiwi tangata only)	London	England
	Manchester Museum	Manchester	England
	Cuming Museum	London	England

	National Museums of Scotland Department of Zoology and Geology	Glasgow	Scotland
2009	Macleay Museum University of Sydney	Sydney	Australia
	Amgueddfa Cymru - National Museum Wales	Cardiff	Wales
	Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow	Glasgow	Scotland
	The Museum of World Culture / Världskultur Museet	Gothenburg	Sweden
	Gothenburg Museum of Natural History	Gothenburg	Sweden
	Trinity College	Dublin	Republic of Ireland
2011	Lund University	Lund	Sweden
	Frankfurt Museum of World Cultures	Frankfurt	Germany
	Senckenburg Museum of World Cultures	Frankfurt	Germany
	Oslo University, Department of Anatomy	Oslo	Norway
	Oslo University Museum of Cultural History	Oslo	Norway
	Rouen Museum of Natural History	Rouen	France
2012	Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle	Paris	France
	Musée National de la Marine	Paris	France
	Musée du Quai Branly	Paris	France
	Museum de Nantes	Nantes	France
	Museum de Lille	Lille	France

	Musée des Beaux-Arts	Dunkurque	Franc e
	Musée des Confluences	Lyon	France
	Musée des Sens	Sens	France
	Musée d'Arts Africains, Océaniens, Amérindiens de Marseille	Marseille	France
	Université de Montpellier	Montpellier	France
	Western Australian Museum	Perth	Australia
	Shellshear Museum, University of Sydney	Sydney	Australia
	Stanford University	San Francisco	United States of America
	Montreal Museum of Fine Arts	Montreal City	Canada
	Professor H.B. Fell, Private Collection	Oklahoma	United States of America
2013	Natural History Museum	Rhode Island	United States of America
	Peabody Essex Museum	Salem	United States of America
	Wellcome Trust	London	England
	University of Birmingham	Birmingham	England
	Guernsey Museum & Art Gallery	Guernsey	Guernsey Island
	Royal College of Surgeons Ireland	Dublin	Republic of Ireland
	Warrington Museum & Art Gallery	Warrington	England

Appendix A.4. Email Correspondence between Kateřina Vacková and Te Herekiekie Herewini, Manager Repatriation of Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme

Gmail by Google

Kateřina Vacková <katerina.vackovaa@gmail.com>

Maori Toi Moko Bachelor Thesis Research

Te Herekiekie Herewini <TeHerekiekieH@tepapa.govt.nz> 23. července 2014 22:49
Komu: Katerina Vacková <katerina.vackovaa@gmail.com>

Kia ora Katerina,

Yes as I have said earlier we only list international repatriations that have been completed. This means we are able to validate this by two different means, firstly by receiving the physical remains, and secondly by receiving a formal transfer document signed by the institutions involved.

We refrain from highlighting potential negotiations that are still in discussions, as we cannot confirm the tūpuna will be repatriated.

Ngā mihi,

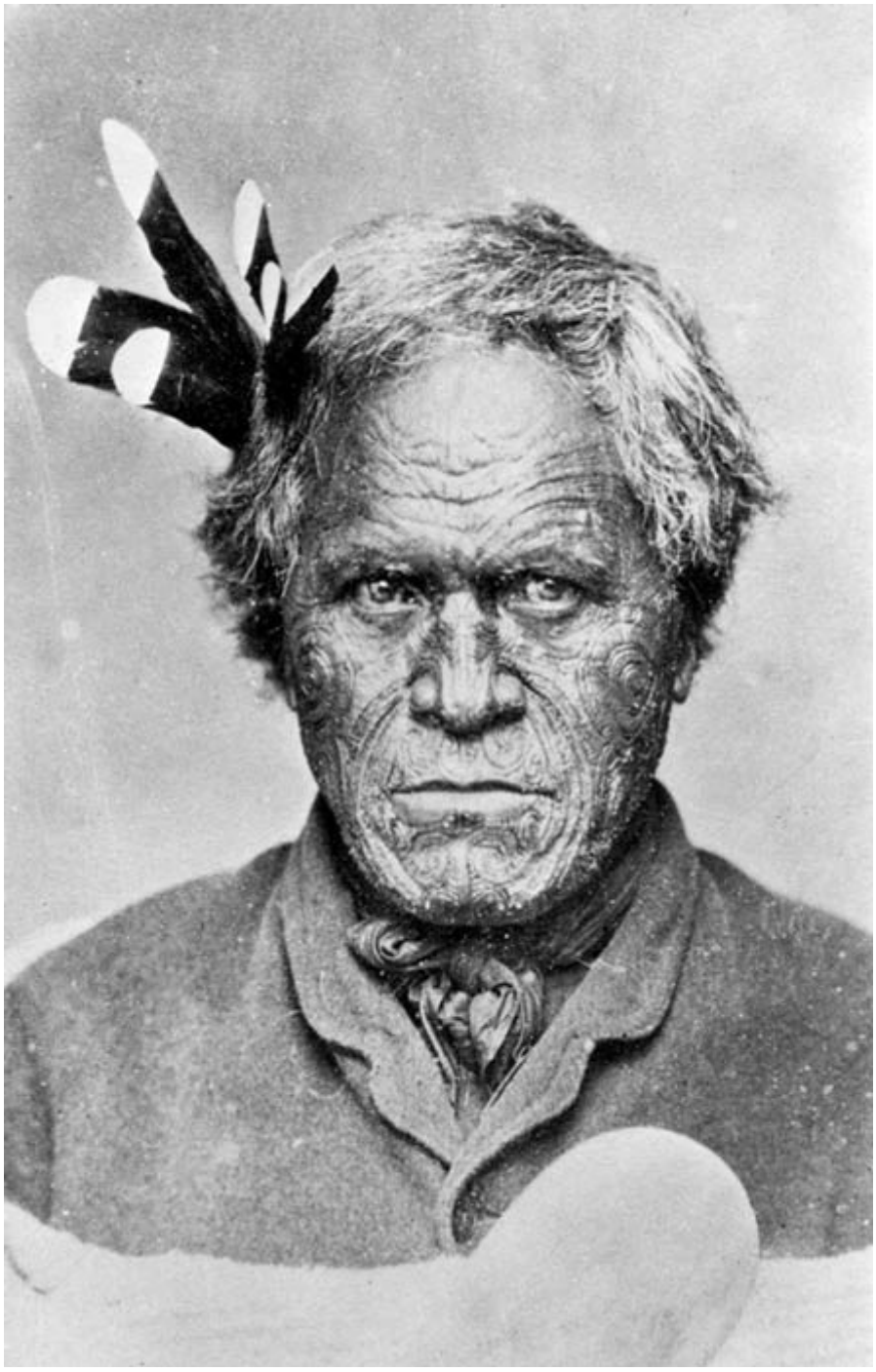
Te Herekiekie Herewini
Manager Repatriation | Kaiwhakahaere Kaupapa Pütere Köiwi
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
Cable Street Wellington | New Zealand | PO Box 467 Wellington | New Zealand
Email teherekiekieh@tepapa.govt.nz | Mobile +64 29 601 0090 | DDI +64 4 381 7163
Webpage http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/AboutUs/Repatriation/pages/overview.aspx

From: Kateřina Vacková [mailto:katerina.vackovaa@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, 24 July 2014 6:00 a.m.
To: Te Herekiekie Herewini
Subject: Re: Maori Toi Moko Bachelor Thesis Research

[Citovaný text byl skryt]
[Citovaný text byl skryt]

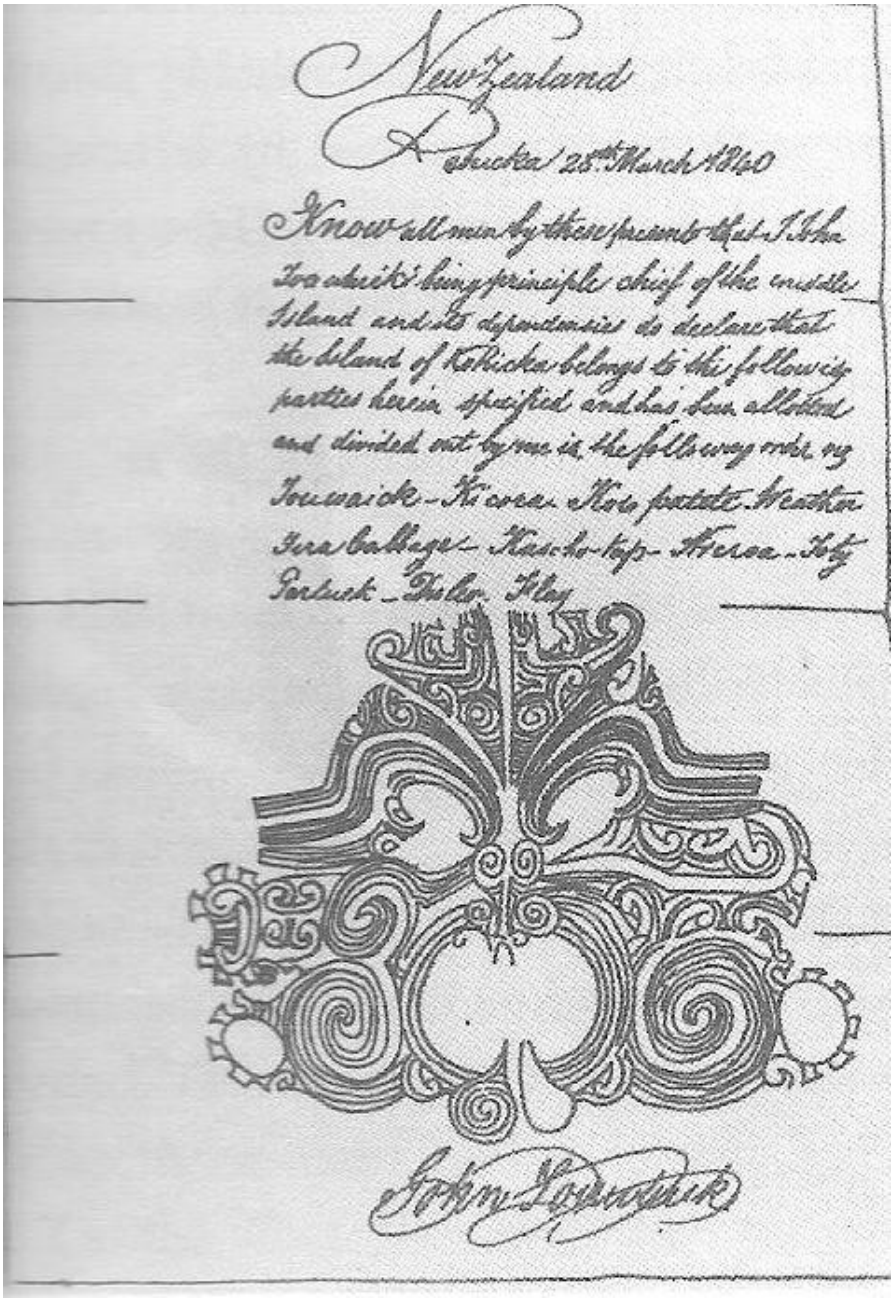
Appendix B: Pictures

Picture 1. Sydney Parkinson. *Portrait d´un fils d´un chef maori*. (1768-1780). London: British Library. An illustration in Stefano Vechia. (2010). *L´Art d´Océanie.* Florence: Scala. pp.251



Picture 2. Photography of Tomika Te Mutu, paramount chief of the Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāi Tuwhiwhia people of Tauranga. In the 1860s he became famed among Europeans for the quality of his deeply incised chisel tattoo. His portrait was painted by artists including Gottfried Lindauer and Horatio Robley. Auckland City Libraries, Sir George Grey SpecialCollections, 7-A2981. Retrieved August 2, 2014 from http://www.teara.govt.nz/

Picture 3. Gottfried Lindauer. *Tohunga under Tapu*. Not dated (copyright registered September 5, 1902). Partrige Collection: Auckland City Art Gallery. Retrieved August 2, 2014 from http://www.teara.govt.nz/



Picture 4. The full moko of the Ngai Tahu chief, Hone Tuhawaiki. Hicken Library, Uare Taoka o Hakena, Univesity of Otago, Dunedin, C/N 145. An illustration in Orange, C. (2004). *An Illustarted History of the Treaty of Waitangi.* Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Picture 5. *Toi moko* of unknown Māori. Illustration in Rychlík, M. (2014a). *Dějiny Tetování*. Praha: Mladá fronta. pp. 152

Picture 6. Major General Horatio Gordon Robley with his collection of Maori heads. (before 1909). An illustration in Arnold, K.; Danielle, O. (2003). *Medicine Man: The Forgotten Museum of Henry Wellcome*. London: British Museum Press. Retrieved August 2, 2014 from http://canterburyheritage.blogspot.cz/2009/03/for-record.html