

sites

A Journal of Social Anthropology & Cultural Studies

SPECIAL ISSUE:

Matter in Place

Edited by:

Patrick Laviolette *and*
Bronwyn Labrum (*Guest Editors*)

New Series · Vol 6 No 2 · 2009

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL: Matter in Place <i>Patrick Laviolette & Bronwyn Labrum</i>	1
MANA TAONGA AND THE MICRO WORLD OF INTRICATE RESEARCH AND FINDINGS AROUND TAONGA MAORI AT THE MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND TE PAPA TONGAREWA <i>Huhana Smith</i>	7
RIVER OWNERSHIP: Inalienable Taonga and Impartible Tupuna Awa <i>Marama Muru-Lanning</i>	32
THE LAPITA MOTIF THAT ‘GOT AWAY’ <i>Wendy E. Cowling</i>	57
SOUNDSCAPE, CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AND CONNECTIVITY <i>Kumi Kato</i>	80
TOPOGENIC FORMS IN NEW GEORGIA, SOLOMON ISLANDS <i>Tim Thomas</i>	92
PLACING THE TRAVELLER: The Banal Geographies of Travelling Documents <i>Matthew Henry</i>	119
Book Reviews	141
Biographical Notes	172
Notes for Contributors	174

MATTER IN PLACE

It should be obvious to most readers that the title for this special issue on material culture which was also the title of a symposium in November 2007, was inspired by a now classic line from Professor Dame Mary Douglas' celebrated book *Purity & Danger*. In her insightful analysis of the ways in which pollution and taboo are culturally constructed and social structured, Douglas penned the well cited phrase 'Dirt is matter out of place' (1966: 44).

Undoubtedly, this definition has come to stand as shorthand for a plethora of research on waste, rubbish and the notion of social defilement. In attempting to revalidate the significance of local issues in material culture studies, there might be some mileage in turning this maxim on its head – to suggest, with only partial facetiousness, that 'place is matter out of dirt'.

Indeed, our *Matter in Place* discussion forum was held in the same year of Mary's passing. With this and several other 'Douglasesque' pearls of wisdom fresh in the minds of many people around the world during the months after her death, the idea of commemorating as well as appropriating the thinking of someone so influential to the overall ethos of material culture studies seemed to make sense. Our ambition was really quite simple – to highlight some antipodean examples of the work being done in this field of study. The matter of our analysis was not dirt, rubbish or waste, however. Instead, we wanted to emphasise more generally the tangible manifestations of the local in an ever globalising world – the material significances of 'sites' if you will (Hutton 1944; Friedman 1994; Mintz 2000).

Consequently, we selected *Aotearoa/South Pacific Forum for Social Matters* as an appropriate subtitle for an interdisciplinary event that also highlighted the development of 'MATTER', an imminent research centre in the School of Visual & Material Culture, Massey University. We invited guest speakers with various interests in material culture studies to help contextualise the current state of research and teaching in this area within Aotearoa/New Zealand and

the Pacific. Not only were the research profiles of participating scholars relevant to general concerns about material culture in the Pacific, they were also able to speak to wider theoretical and methodological developments in their respective areas. Equally, we wished to address the growing trans-disciplinary crossovers and collaborations between pedagogy, creative art, museum curation, community participation and social issues. Some of the contributions to the forum feature in this issue, along with additional recruits.

Although well-established as a sub-field of anthropology, archaeology and history in Britain and North America, material culture studies is still a relatively recent area of research in New Zealand. As a result, the *Matter in Place* forum was a first attempt to overtly and comprehensively begin to define this field on these shores; one that hoped to outline a unique interdisciplinary niche which would explicitly bring art and design into the equation, perhaps shaping a more open terrain for material culture studies in the southern hemisphere.

Through a range of disciplinary perspectives, the following papers and book reviews respond to this goal in a variety of innovative and insightful ways. The issue moves from the very concrete, complex practices of museum curation, through to the troubled waters of contested land ownership claims; from considerations of motifs and iconicity across island identities to multisensory experiences of particular submerged seascapes; from how archaeological knowledge is categorised and transmitted to a mobile archive of travel documents which deal with both place and the placeless.

The issue begins with a careful analysis by Huhana Smith of the principles and practices of Maori curation at New Zealand's national museum, Te Papa Tongarewa. As a curator at this institution herself, Smith is ideally located to examine how curators 'actively engage in research processes that re-enhance the inter-relationships between peoples and their cultural material'. Her paper follows recent calls to examine the complex relationships that exist between indigenous cultures and colonial states when it comes to the complications surrounding exhibitionary complexes and the politics of display (Pearce 1995). Following the '*mana taonga*' principle, the paper outlines and shows through three different case studies a toolkit containing 'a range of different types of aims, theory, methods and resources that may be employed by curators when executing research initiatives around *taonga* Maori'.

Marama Muru-Lanning's piece 'River Ownership: Inalienable *Taonga* and Impartible *Tupuna Awa*' also deals with the *taonga* principle, this time in terms of the contrasts that exist between Maori views of ownership and Pakeha defi-

nitions based on the Crown's legacy of land purchases and appropriation. Her in-depth ethnographic study addresses the differing cultural understandings of the Treaty of Waitangi when it comes to interpreting what it means to be able to 'legally' own what might otherwise be seen as inalienable parts of an intangible cultural heritage. Muru-Lanning's paper on the materiality of water rights access and management issues might well be aligned, although tangentially, with Gaston Bachelard's musings (1942 [1983]) on the fluidity of 'dreamscapes', at least in terms of thinking about how certain collective visions to regain indigenous control over resource use are formulated.

Wendy Cowling follows with a detailed account of how material forms – in this case a decorative motif on cloth – are taken into the New Zealand public domain as a representation of Pacific/New Zealand identity. By providing a brief ethnographic contextualisation within the contemporary Tongan and New Zealand contexts, Cowling's paper offers an interesting historical discussion of the particular Lapita motif's enduring iconicity. As she notes, 'An ancient motif [...] has become commoditised and accepted as a popular signifier of the country's Oceanic identity. This motif has been given a new identity and name, because of an association of ideas linked to the remembered sensory experience of seeing, wearing and smelling a non-indigenous perfumed flower'. Lapita has thus become what Henri Bergson (1911) might have called a mnemonic signifier of 'islandness' for fashion designers, wearable art displays, as well as the ubiquitous tourist industry (Burn & Kahn 2005). Cowling also suggests that taking into account regional, historical and environmental factors in the construction of such motifs may offer fruitful avenues for future research.

The importance of the multi-sensory experience is taken up by Kumi Kato, who focuses on the *ama* free-divers in Japan. Analysing the distinct breathing sounds they produce, she suggests that sound is one of the major factors in constructing a particular cultural landscape. She then links this soundscape to the ethics and spiritual values of such a subsistence community. Kato argues that this soundscape provides a holistic framework to reconcile the human-nature divide and to know the world. Exploring how cultural landscapes are composed and understanding the various forms of human-environment interactions are vital processes for the promotion of both cultural and biological diversity and their sustainability. It opens up a highly pertinent discussion on diversity in human-nature connectivity and its cultural distinctiveness (Ingold 2000). While there has been considerable research in this area, few studies deal with a marine context. The phenomenological subject matter treated by Kato's article is therefore valuable both conceptually and culturally.

The next piece explores knowledge and its narrative categories in New Georgia, Solomon Islands. Tim Thomas discusses topogenetic forms, or forms associated with the recitation of an ordered sequence of place-names, as a means of categorising and transmitting social knowledge. He makes reference to Hocart's significant historical work and the research carried out more recently by the New Georgia Archaeological Survey (NGAS). Previously such forms were seen as a post-colonial ideological imposition on the landscape. But Thomas shows instead that, through archaeological dating of ancestral sites and the associated genealogical shrines and charms, the narratives have their own distinct historical content. He uses examples from his own fieldwork and the work of the NGAS to construct a compelling argument for paying closer attention to the topogenic dimensions of social relations. As he concludes, with a certain Russellian (1927) undertone, there is a mnemonic process in practical embodied engagements with things and places which is about the existential construction of narrative.

Finally, Matthew Henry brings us back to Aotearoa/New Zealand by focusing on one of the archetypal artefacts of mobility and modernity – the passport. Taking what is largely an historical perspective rooted in colonial New Zealand, he examines the 'hidden genealogies and geographical imaginations' of travelling documents. Henry focuses on the network embraced by and created for the traveller, arguing that rather than annihilating place, travel documents 'entangle the traveller in complex relationships of placeness and placenessless which have long been based on the biopolitical geographies of threat and risk'. While much of the material culture associated with travel is ephemeral in nature, the passport is tangible, durable and inscribable. In balancing concerns for the local and the global which this special issue has sought to address, Henry's paper resonates with Benedict Anderson's (1983) theories about the ways in which hegemonic state discourses are imagined and normalised, materialised and erased.

The issue concludes with six book reviews which explore recent volumes in the field of material culture studies, including both single authored and edited collections as well as works by New Zealand and international scholars. As Ian Wedde demonstrates in his review, these contributions can themselves be seen as objects of material culture – a type of reflexive matter; they are sites of intellectual construction that can be analysed on multiple levels to tell us something about the development or collapse of certain academic canons. Hence, our desire to include an extensive range of book reviews not only attests to the growing literature in the field but also illustrates the diversity of new ways of thinking about material culture across a range of sites, topics and approaches.

So since dirt is matter out of place, and as we might now usefully acknowledge 'place is matter out of dirt', it is worth reiterating that the focus here is to emphasise the significance of material culture studies within the Pacific. With this special issue we wish to identify the place of antipodean material culture studies within this ever-expanding field. From their various vantage points, the aforementioned articles describe the complex relationships between things and location, materiality and sites. In other words, the present collection aims to demonstrate the myriad ways in which place itself becomes 'matter in place'.

In so doing, our contributors and book reviewers reveal that objects are not only much more than they appear to be, they are also now understood as much more than they once were: they are reifications of knowledge systems, objectifications of relationships and materialisations of people's engagements with their everyday life-worlds (Graves-Brown 2000; Miller 1998; Prown 1983). In uncovering the strategies that communities employ to materialise their relations, desires and values, this issue of *Sites* provides a number of examples that illustrate how things 'do cultural work' in social life. It is therefore part of an increasing realisation in the social sciences and humanities that overt examinations of materiality and materialisation matter as much now as ever before.

We therefore hope that not only will the individual essays presented here be intriguing and useful to specialists in the respective areas but also that the volume as a whole will be a valuable heuristic tool for approaching issues of material culture in the Pacific. As well as surveying a range of current scholarship in the field of antipodean material culture studies, we trust that this special issue will provide some challenges and impetus for developing the next stage of research about matter in – and out – of place.

Patrick Laviolette & Bronwyn Labrum (Guest Editors)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to all our contributors and book reviewers, we would like to extend our sincerest thanks to Ruth Fitzgerald and Cyril Schafer, as well as the following for their diligent and enthusiastic involvement with this collection: Mark Busse, Nancy de Freitas, Haidy Geismar, Yoshi Ota, Mike Poltorak, Chris Wright and Jeff Sissons.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, Benedict 1983 *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Bachelard, Gaston [1942]1983. [L'eau et les rêves: essai sur l'imagination de la matière]. *Water and Dreams: An Essay on the Imagination of Matter* (trans. E.R. Farrell). Dallas: Pegasus Foundation.
- Bergson, Henri 1911 *Matter and Memory* (trans. Paul & Palmer). New York: Zone Books.
- Burns, Carol & Andrea Kahn (eds) 2005 *Site Matters: Design Concepts, Histories, and Strategies*. London: Routledge.
- Douglas, Mary 1966 *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge & K.Paul.
- Friedman, Jonathan 1994 *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. London: Sage.
- Graves-Brown, Paul (ed) 2000 *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Hutton, John H. 1944 The place of material culture in the study of anthropology. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. 74 (1/2): 1–6.
- Ingold, Tim 2000 *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge.
- Miller, Daniel (ed) 1998 *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*. Chicago: Univ. Press.
- Mintz, Sidney, W. 2000 Sows' ears and silver linings. A backward look at ethnography. *Current Anthropology*. 41(2):168–89.
- Pearce, Susan 1995 (ed), *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*. London: Routledge.
- Prown, Jules 1982 Mind in matter: An introduction to material culture theory and method. *Winterthur Portfolio*. 17: 1–19.
- Russell, Bertrand 1927 *The Analysis of Matter*. London: Kegan Paul.

MANA TAONGA AND THE MICRO WORLD OF INTRICATE RESEARCH AND FINDINGS AROUND TAONGA MAORI AT THE MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND TE PAPA TONGAREWA

Huhana Smith

ABSTRACT

At the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) an important principle known as Mana Taonga guides the practice of all staff and their work with collections of art, cultural, natural and historic material, including taonga Maori. The principle is an encompassing concept premised on values and modes of understanding that are intrinsically Maori, but observed for all the collections housed and cared for within Te Papa. Within the context of Aotearoa museum studies, this paper examines how this principle is pertinent for Maori curators who are involved in intricate and intimate research around Maori communal treasures.

INTRODUCTION

Through a handful of case studies that outline contemporary understandings of Maori material culture and of the taonga principle, this paper explores how curators actively engage in research processes that re-enhance the inter-relationships between peoples and their cultural material. In so doing, it follows the call put forth by such authors as Bennett (1995), Allen (1998) and Gosden & Knowles (2001) for an increased need to chronicle the ways in which exhibitionary complexes change, and are changed by, the dynamic relationships between indigenous cultures and colonial states. Within the context of Aotearoa museum studies, I shall argue that curatorial research assists in determining a future wellbeing for taonga held in the National collection, as well as for those vested interest groups who have been separated from their material culture.

The Mana Taonga principle acknowledges spiritual forces such as wairua and mana, which are concepts that exist within everything (Moon 2003: 131).

Mana may also reside in people, animals, and inanimate objects, including the physical symbols of identity, such as personal taonga held in museum collections. The Mana Taonga principle readily acknowledges these spiritual dimensions or qualities as within taonga and draws upon them to enliven connections between iwi, hapu or whanau representatives.

The Mana Taonga principle recognises the authority that derives from the whakapapa (genealogical reference system) of the creator of the cultural item. Such knowledge becomes the foundation for wider affiliated Maori participation at the museum, and especially when research reconnects key people to taonga. From a customary and contemporary viewpoint, it is well understood that whakapapa remains the reference system that orders intricate connections and intimate relationships between iwi, hapu and whanau members, between other Maori and entities. Whakapapa is the essential expression of whanaungatanga between a wider Maori cosmology, peoples, language, and visual culture that also reaches to valued environmental properties and resources within lands and waterways. Whakapapa is an interdependent system that requires careful use, care and management by knowledgeable and proficient tribal adepts. Whakapapa becomes an important methodological system to revitalise connections with iwi, hapu and whanau representatives and cultural material that reside within museums. Curators may use whakapapa reference systems to check their research work, but what is most important is the sensitive and careful referral to tribal elders or respected leaders for final verification of research findings.

By recognising the ancestors after whom the taonga is named and the whanau, hapu or iwi to which the taonga belongs, the Mana Taonga principle acknowledges the worthiness of the individual, and his or her mana, regarded as personal influence and authority. While mana is not a quality that is bestowed on oneself,¹ it is linked to personal, highly valued taonga both old and new, where meaning, values, histories, and associated stories about people or the bearer have accumulated and appreciated over generations and time. Te Papa enhances the rights of iwi and other diverse communities to care for taonga or cultural material, to speak about them, and to determine their use by the museum (Anon. 1992). Research of this sort enhances associations between peoples and taonga Maori, which in turn enriches others' understandings of the taonga held within the museum's collection.

Today it is true that some iwi and hapu representatives remain connected to their ancestral taonga, extant whare tupuna, marae complexes and other tangible treasures such as kakahu (cloaks), hand-held weapons, fighting staffs or

personal adornments. Such taonga may still be used ceremoniously, be present at tangihanga, warmed by human interaction in home regions, or worn by kaitiaki as living embodiments of an ancestral past with the responsibility to care for them into the future.

Prized personal possessions like hei tiki were often given spontaneously at important public events. This exchange of gifts is a widespread custom in the Pacific, acknowledging the significance of an event and honouring both the giver and the recipient. In other cases, personal adornments were also offered as peacemaking tokens between peoples, both Maori and non-Maori. Hei tiki with these associations, are present within the collection at Te Papa.

CASE STUDY ONE: Personal Taonga

Of interest are the personal adornments that become family treasures worn by descendants today as marks of respect for the continued guidance of ancestors in contemporary life. This is obvious for kaitiaki or guardians like Glenis Philip-Barbara (Fig 1).



Figure 1. Glenis Hiria Philip-Barbara (1967–) Ngati Rangī, Te Whanau a Tapuhi, Ngati Porou. This family hei tiki has been passed on from great, great grandmother Taukuri to Glenis, who is the current kaitiaki or guardian. Reproduced courtesy of Glenis Hiria Philip-Barbara. Photograph by Jacqui Spring, 2006

In Glenis's case, adornments like the hei tiki have ancestral or personal significance to the whanau. This taonga has been charged with the tapu and mana of revered ancestors, and has acquired the history and vitality of each succeeding person within the generation who wears and looks after them. For Glenis, this taonga is not a possession or seen as her own property. As kaitiaki she holds this treasure in trust for future generations, responsible for preserving the knowledge of stories or events, associated with it. Glenis has responsibility in her lifetime as the eldest granddaughter of her whanau to care for the family hei tiki of pounamu she is wearing. Whanau members come to collect the hei tiki to wear for special occasions, events, or performances, and they return the taonga afterwards to Glenis for safekeeping. As Glenis says, 'It will pass from me to my eldest granddaughter when I feel that she is responsible enough to care for this taonga on behalf of the whanau.'²

Other taonga are held in museum collections for safe keeping, whilst silent others languish with memories and associations within them in danger of evaporating as their associated population outside the museum ages. This makes the research process more complex as the stories, memories and associations with taonga are not passed on.

Maori Curators at Te Papa recognise the many ways iwi and hapu Maori have become disassociated from the cultural significance of taonga. There are a variety of complex reasons for this: the legacy of colonial regimes; alienation of lands; migrations; reinterpreted histories; the activities of nineteenth century collectors interpreting culture within a context of colonial museology; and other disturbances (McCarthy 2007). The Mana Taonga principle, however:

reminds the museum of its obligation to be aware of historical and contemporary contexts that surround taonga. Particularly those that passed out of Maori hands during times of conflict and social disruption [...] Overtime, many taonga were bought, stolen, confiscated, or bartered: some were removed without ceremony from sacred places. This severance continues to impact on descendants today (Smith 2004: 2).

A kete or toolkit of research methods that reflects a philosophical perspective related to a Maori conception of continuous time, with a deeper respect for the highly dynamic nature of complex interplay with multiple agencies, including both Maori and non-Maori, creates a system that forms the focus of this study. Such a research method can awaken taonga and regain a sense of order in the complex mix of familial relationships and associations. Maori curators tap

into these systems of understanding to address and overcome disassociations between people and cultural treasures.

As observed at Te Papa, the wider context for Mana Taonga has its origins in Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840). The English text of the Treaty determined that Maori leaders and people, collectively and individually, were confirmed and guaranteed 'exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties'. In the Maori text of the Treaty, Maori were guaranteed 'te tino rangatiratanga', the self-determination or the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands (known as whenua), their villages (known as kainga), and all their treasures (taonga katoa). The phrase 'taonga tuku iho' refers to valued treasures passed on, and also encompasses an indigenous cultural landscape perspective of environmental and cultural properties within land and waterways. Taonga in this way are treasured as intangible entities and tangible resources respected and used by generations. Mana Taonga also covers language and associated social narratives and histories. All these taonga are interrelated with customary practices and objects, and material or structures of cultural expression, which stand within marae complexes or within museum collections around the country.

The Mana Taonga principle has long signalled that the national museum no longer has a unilateral right to determine how a taonga should be stored, exhibited, represented or reproduced. In a practical sense, Mana Taonga provides iwi and communities with the right to define how affiliated taonga within Te Papa should be cared for and managed in accordance with their tikanga and custom. These rights cannot be erased and continue to exist for those taonga held within Te Papa's care.

A Kete or Toolkit Employed in Research at Te Papa

Any research conducted for exhibition, publications or collection development is framed within a bicultural, cross-disciplinary or trans-disciplinary framework. The table below (see Appendix 1) contains a kete or 'woven basket' of research activities that lists and briefly describes a range of aims, theories, methods and resources, that may be employed by curators when executing research initiatives around taonga Maori.

The tools listed within the kete have primarily emerged from a Maori epistemology of knowledge development (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Many of these tools are similar to methods, resources, and aims used by western trans-disciplinary researchers. Indeed, trans-disciplinary researchers (involved in what they refer

to as joint-problem-solving research), recognise the highly context dependent and dynamic manner in which research methods of this kind are applied (Nicolescu 2005).

Similar research methods have been applied at Te Papa in an attempt to highlight how the research process has not been linear in nature with a clearly defined starting and end point. To explain this further, the whakatauki, *a muri kei mua, a mua kei muri, te wero ko naianei* -refers to the past as being before us, with the future behind and a range of challenges facing us now: 'The present is a combination of the ancestors and their living faces or genetic inheritors that is the present generations. Our past is as much the face of our present and future. They live in us [...] we live in them' (Mead 1985: 16).

This whakatauki explains from a Maori perspective that the past is not seen as a fixed point, but an important and pervasive dimension of the present and future. Furthermore, the past may be regarded as an 'ever-present now'. Maori continue to benefit from these models, protocols, and the revitalisation of customary thinking emerging from this concept of inter-related time. These dynamic models are incorporated into modern life and contribute to future developments across spheres of activity that involve Maori. Taonga in collections are therefore more than mere objects—they are living entities. Any activities and research around them emboldens these dimensions and revitalises their relationships to people. Known narratives around taonga and their peoples enhance their intrinsic power that is still revered today. Taonga Maori in collections still spiritually link the past with the present, and, in so doing, contribute to positive futures for Maori.

Another important distinction in the complex Mana Taonga approach to research is how a matauranga Maori method is not based on the dualistic assumptions of a western knowledge epistemology. A more holistic Mana Taonga research approach subsumes past and present relationships around cultural material. Such thinking is central to a Maori worldview around taonga Maori. It actively considers a whole-of-person, and a whole-of-system theory of knowing in direct relation to the taonga. The approach emerges from a need to re-engender the role of human interdependencies, inter-relationships to each other and to the spiritual and cultural context that is present within taonga (Smith 2007: 22). When approaching research in this way, it is vital to activate intricate relationships in order to enhance this form of knowledge development.

The potential of iwi members researching taonga gives rise to a range of positive activities that can improve, maintain, and enhance relationships between taonga and their people. For example, when kaumatua retell stories, engage with tribally affiliated taonga, or have encounters with taonga in the collection rooms at Te Papa, they highlight a value system that is based on spiritual protection not only for themselves but also for others who work around the taonga housed there. Many believe that spiritual entities within specific taonga dialogue with them in order to guide their practice and relationships. For many, when visiting taonga as guardians or relations to the ancestral, it is a warming and engaging experience for all involved. Relationships can proceed further within the highly dynamic and unfolding Maori worldview of taonga cared for within museum collections.

The practice of Mana Taonga offers unique, intricate, and at times challenging, ways to research taonga in the collection. As the Matauranga Maori team of curators and collection managers work closely with taonga, they readily revive and re-edify knowledge and relationships to people based upon well-established oral narratives, dialogue or whakapapa reference systems. These activities can be augmented further by talking with kaumatua and other knowledgeable people to synthesise the research findings. This facilitates relevant connections with communities of interest, whanau, hapu or individuals. During the process of combining affiliated people, and different ideas and influences around taonga into a new whole, the curatorial experience of doing this actively reweaves relationships between hapu, iwi and their associated taonga.

CASE STUDY TWO: The Pou Rahui in *Blood Earth Fire Whangai Whenua Ahi Kaa: The Transformation of Aotearoa New Zealand* exhibition, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

The main formal practice for protecting mauri, or the life essence and vitality of areas, was the custom of rahui, which Rev Maori Marsden describes as follows:

In order to conserve the resources and ensure their replenishment and sustenance the Maori introduced the tikanga or custom of Rahui. Rahui was a prohibition or ban instituted to protect resources (Marsden & Henare 1992).

Placing a rahui on a site or resource usually involves rituals and prayers (or karakia). Kaitiaki may erect a post (pou rahui) with some fern fronds or piece of clothing attached to mark the site (Best 1898: 83; Mead 1984). Sometimes, a

rahui involves placing a ‘mauri stone’ or other object to ‘aid the pro-life processes of recovery and regeneration by focussing the mauri of particular species within that area’ (Marsden 1988: 27). In other examples of rahui that protected the mauri in landscape, ancestors used certain forms of cultural marker as evidence of their kaitiaki rights in regions along the coast.

In the Otaki or Foxton Native Land Court, transactions or ancestral accounts over lands and associated resource use rights, recorded critical connections to lands and wetlands. The tikanga or custom of rahui set up a prohibition or ban to protect resources from overuse, to conserve and ensure the replenishment of mauri. Certain formalities, karakia or incantations around the practice of rahui demarcated areas and protected the resources within them from unsustainable use. For example, in the Horowhenua to Kapiti region, resource users erected pou or pou rahui at different stages to protect their harakeke supplies for flax dressing, often times at areas within the Waitohu areas near Otaki (Wehipeihana, 1889:171–173.)

This taonga or pou rahui is from Maungaraki, near Gladstone (Figures 2.1–2.3). It is associated with Hurunuiorangi Marae and the many hapu that make up Te Kupenga o Nga Hapu o Hurunuiorangi (the net containing the hapu of



Figure 2.1. Pou rahui (post denoting restriction) on display in *Blood Earth Fire Whangai Whenua Ahi Ka* exhibition, in the Ahi Kaa Roa section.



Figure 2.2. Pou rahui (post denoting restriction) 1800–1900. Carver unknown, recovered from Maungarake, near Gladstone, Wairarapa. Made of wood and pigment. Purchased 1904.



Figure 2.3. Pou rahui (post denoting restriction) 1800–1900. Detail of pou rahui showing ancestral figure and mokomoko (lizards).

Hurunuiorangi). According to past collection managers it was in 2000 that an emotional meeting was witnessed between this pou rahui and its associated kaumatua (elders) and tribal affiliates from Hurunuiorangi marae. The meeting of people with their taonga occurred in Ahuru Mowai, the main Maori collection storeroom at Te Papa. A group of Hurunuiorangi marae elders advised the curators and collection managers about the significance of this carving.

During the curatorial research period for the *Blood Earth Fire Whangai Whenua Ahi Kaa* exhibition, the aforementioned experience witnessed within the store, was used as the basis to create a memorial to the kuia Hine-potaka-ariki Kauauria Hawea-Paewai. The pou rahui was set against a large scale photograph of the landscape overlooking Hurinuiorangi Marae. The display honoured the words uttered by the kuia Hawea-Paewai when in the storeroom that day. In a trance like fashion she recalled and recited a local whakatauaki or proverb that honoured the mokomoko or lizards:

*Pupuhi ngahau mauru
Rongohia te mahana
Ka neke nga mokopupu-riki
Ka pakoko nga kohatu o Hurinuiorangi*

*The warmth of mother Earth is full
The guardian lizards emerge to enjoy its splendour
Their movements through the pebbles and rocks can be heard
at Hurinuiorangi*

The mokomoko is kaitiaki or guardian for the local hapu who lived near the Ruamahanga River. When the nearby stony river was on the rise, the movement of mokomoko moving further up the bank to escape the rising waters was heard at the marae. They made a noise not unlike a 'pako pako pako' sound. This sound was a natural indicator for the local hapu, because, if the river was indeed rising, everyone needed to be aware and move to higher ground as soon as possible. Another kuia Lou Cook, who was also present at that spiritual interaction between peoples and taonga, was equally moved to see the five lizards marching up and down the pole, with ancestral figures at the base and tip, reminded her of the power of kaitiaki.

Pou rahui, like the aforementioned example, were boundary markers that used natural contours or land features to demarcate areas of tribal and cultural significance and occupation. The photograph above indicates natural or topographical features that demarcate this area and record significance to the hapu

of Hurunuiorangi. The pou rahui remains a tangible reminder of important tribal areas and hapu/iwi affiliations. It is charged with meaning and energy as a liminal threshold, suggestive of passages between spiritual, natural and physical worlds, as well as cultural practices. These 'between-world places' are inclusive rather than exclusive spaces, where a meeting between the imaginary and the symbolic, the aquatic and the terrestrial, and the spoken and unspoken, take place (see <http://www.carolbrowndances.com/docs/tepourahui.doc>).

Maori curators readily acknowledge that other taonga in the collection have been bought, stolen, confiscated, donated, bartered, or fossicked from wahi tapu or sacred places such as burial grounds without ceremony from around the country. With this in mind, the Maori curatorial team well recognise their own obligations and responsibilities as intermediaries in the care, management, and research around the taonga on behalf of iwi, hapu and whanau, or when collaborating with specialists or informants. While a curator brings their own localised perspective and associated narratives around affiliated taonga, they acknowledge the spiritual and cultural relationships therein, and seek ways to bolster relationships between people and taonga within the museum.

More often than not, the team deal with taonga that have been disconnected from iwi, hapu or whanau. A protective, guardianship role is assumed to help substantiate hidden narratives within taonga. When actively engaging with key iwi, hapu or whanau researchers, the team encourage participatory or collaborative research. In recent years Maori collection managers and curators have physically audited the collection, compiled iwi inventories, and created databases into the holdings, at times supported by iwi researchers or post-graduate students from national and international universities.

The Mana Taonga principle and complex research methods remind curators to extend museological practices, and recognise and reconcile the sensitivities and intricacies of what have often been difficult contexts for culturally and spiritually valued items. This is particularly so for those taonga that entered the collection at times of conflict and considerable social and economic disruption. From the 1860s until the early 1980s, museums in New Zealand often collected and then re-interpreted taonga without any referral to, or contribution of, iwi or hapu. While some taonga in the collection may have been gifted to individuals to cement intricate relationships, descendants of recipients have at times, inevitably sold taonga onto collectors or dealers. These taonga then later make their way into the museum through the acquisition process.

CASE STUDY THREE: Peace Mission, the Peace Chalice and Land

The museum's interest in the carving featured in Figure 3, began with an email and image from a private collector based in Canberra, Australia, in October 2000. The bowl, balanced on the upraised arms of an intricately carved figure has only one equivalent, and resides in the Rotorua Museum. The email



Figure 3. Peace Chalice, Te Huringa I (1800–1900). Carved by Anaha Te Rahui (c 1820s–1913), Ngati Tarawhai, Totara, 488 x 138 x 184 mm. Purchased 2001 with New Zealand Lottery Grant Board funds

explained that an accompanying note with the carving stated that Anaha Te Rahui had presented this carving to Robert Graham. The information on that note had presumed that Graham was a Land Court Judge who had dealt fairly with local Maori about the return of confiscated land in the Rotorua region.

In order to develop context for this taonga, it is important to investigate the key players in this alleged gift exchange. First, Anaha Te Rahui (c. 1822–1913) of Ngati Tarawhai was an esteemed leader and carver. He was born at Te Koutu, Lake Okataina, southeast of Rotorua. He was the son of Te Rahui, a major chief and canoe builder. His mother was Rangihonea of Ngati Pikiāo. While taught the craft of canoe building by his father, Anaha learnt his carving skills from other tribal adepts. Anaha Te Rahui became a Land Assessor in the early 1860s and later fought in the 1864 land war campaigns. From the 1870s onward he participated in some house carving activity but most of his time was devoted to Land Court hearings, as both an Assessor and claimant.

Robert Graham (1820–1885) was born at Lambhill, Lanarkshire, England. He arrived in Auckland in 1842 as a 22 year old where he began a very entrepreneurial and adventurous life, including brief sojourns in Sydney and California. He held a number of parliamentary posts as MHR for the Southern Division of Auckland from 1855 to 1860 and for Franklin from 1861 to 1868. On the Auckland Provincial Council Graham represented the Southern Division from 1855 to 1857. He also made major land purchases, beginning in Waiwera in 1845. He survived two shipwrecks in the 1860s and established a number of successful farming ventures in Auckland and offshore islands. From his earliest experiences with Maori, Robert Graham was very aware of the impact colonial changes wrought on iwi and hapu. He became fluent in the language and was sympathetic to their loss of prestige and their bitterness towards settler governance usurping their mana. Many regarded him as a diplomat.

In trying to find out why such a special and unusual gift was made to Graham, it was revealed that he played a key role in quelling a potentially explosive battle between the significant chiefs Te Pokiha Taranui of Ngati Pikiāo and Petera Te Pukuatua of Ngati Whakaue at Maketu in June 1878. A battle loomed between the two tribes due to complex frustrations created over incomplete government transactions, whereby they had distributed disputed lands to the wrong peoples and made proclamations over other areas in the region. Graham heard of the brewing trouble between these chiefs from Auckland. There was a troubled state of affairs in Maketu. Graham was advised to visit and use his influence to settle the impending difficulties emerging between these esteemed warriors.

He travelled via a relay of horses to Pukemaire pa at Maketu. From the time of his arrival on the 8th (and his meeting with the chiefs the next day), to the 12th June 1878, Graham negotiated day and night between the two camps of Pikiāo and Whakaue. The cause of the disturbance lay in the Government partially purchasing portions of land in the surrounding districts. They had paid deposits to some while others also refused to sell. The incomplete transactions continued over four years and created considerable dissatisfaction. Others were in direct negotiation with Europeans willing to pay three times the price, only to find there were Government proclamations placed across their lands prohibiting Europeans from purchasing:

The Natives wanted money and those who had not taken Government money were pressing the Europeans to buy, declaring the Government should never get their land and those who had taken Government money were also dissatisfied because the transactions had been so long in abeyance and the land had become much more valuable (Robert Graham, 1878).

Another concern over land included a matter that Sir Donald McLean had instigated some years before, referred to as a 'claim of the braves', or known as 'Toa' claims. What the Pikiāo and Whakaue chiefs wanted was for the Native Land Minister to fulfil his promise and meet with the chiefs *before* lands in question were investigated by the Native Court. There was considerable concern that if 'Toa' claims went into the Court without instruction, the Court may decide against them. This had happened in Tauranga in 1870, where the Government officers had 'led the Natives to believe that the Government would insist upon keeping the natives to complete arrangements thus compelling those who had not taken money from the Government to sell only to the Government at their own price when the land passed through the Court.' They were also led to believe that the Government would not recognise McLean's decision respecting the 'Toa' claims.

These were the difficulties that Graham found the chiefs and tribes labouring under. He worked through the complexities with each chief in turn, utilising Captain Gilbert Mair as interpreter. There was considerable anxiety for all parties involved. Graham finally managed to convince both to postpone the fighting and pull back their parties until he had communicated with the Government over the land troubles. The Native Minister Sheehan later met with the chiefs where the trouble over land was thrashed out.

On the 9 December 1878, in appreciation of Graham averting a potentially

devastating war amongst iwi and hapu and closing the Bay of Plenty to colonisation, leading chiefs and approximately one hundred and fifty tribal members of the region proceeded to Te Koutu and Kawaha with the Graham family, in order to gift 1,500 acres of land to Graham. It was at the tribes' behest that he live amongst them and continue to adjudicate on matters affecting them. According to Mrs Jane Graham's diary:

It was something to remember to have those Maori chiefs welcoming Robert Graham and his family ... I could feel by their attitude and excited gestures that they were making him a gift of something, which they valued in gratitude for what he had done for them... The purport of their talk on this occasion was the gift of land on which we stood, and other lands... besides several smaller gifts, including two beautifully carved paddles, and two handsome Maori carvings to their friend and benefactor, Ropata Karema – the Maori name for Robert Graham... The carvings were all beautiful. They were done especially for Mr Graham and were very finely executed (Wilson n.d. 13).

Around 1972 a branch of the Graham family sold the carving through an antiques shop in Taupo. The vendor family referred to the carving as a 'peace chalice' or 'peace bowl'. It was deduced that due to their ancestor's peace making actions, that this taonga was one of the 'handsome Maori carvings' handed to Robert Graham on that exceptional evening where Maori appreciation and gratitude for actions taken for averting war was shown to the family through the ritual of magnanimous gifting. Unfortunately, the government intervened again and disallowed the gift of land to Robert Graham due to the Government's right of pre-emption.

From Taupo the carved chalice went to a dealer in Auckland, before making its way to Australia, and then finally to a retired dealer in Noosa Heads, Queensland. It was purchased by the then owner in Canberra, who on sold it to another dealer in Melbourne. Further negotiations took place before Te Papa ultimately purchased the carving.

CASE STUDY FOUR: Disconnected Mere Pounamu Come Home

An example of disconnected taonga coming home is further expressed in these mere pounamu, or greenstone hand-held weapons, that were returned to New Zealand through very protracted means. The mere pounamu embody and commemorate two significant ancestors named Kauwhata and Wehiwehi,



Figure 4.1. Kauwhata, Mere Pounamu (Greenstone Weapon) Te Puawaitanga, Ngati Kauwhata/Ngati Haua. Kawakawa (nephrite), cord / 289 × 99.4 × 18.3mm, Purchased 2002.



Figure 4.2. Wehiwehi, Mere Pounamu (Greenstone Weapon) Te Huringa II, Ngati Wehiwehi/Ngati Mahuta. Kahurangi (nephrite), cord / 336 × 92.7 × 14.6mm, Purchased 2002.

who have whakapapa relationships to the southern Waikato region of Te Kōkaoroa o Patatere, and to their contemporary communities who remain in the Waikato region. There are also affiliated Ngati Kauwhata and Ngati Wehiwehi descendants who migrated south in the early 1820s to the Manawatu and Horowhenua regions, who also express an interest in these taonga.

When these taonga left Maori guardianship, it was because they were gifted to the Prince of Wales by the fourth Maori king, Te Rata Mahuta (Ngati Mahuta) and King movement leader Tupu Taingakawa Te Waharoa (Ngati Haua). This was during a royal tour to Aotearoa and the gifting took place on 29 April 1920. Te Arawa of Rotorua hosted this part of the royal visit. It was well attended by many tribes from the wider region and beyond. In inimitable Maori style and as expressions of manaakitanga in hosting their esteemed guest to their region, they bestowed gift upon gift of taonga Maori to the Prince of Wales.

To couch the practice of gifting in a Maori framework, there is tikanga known

as kopaki. It is the:

Custom of using taonga, such as mere pounamu, to ‘envelope’ a particular issue or matter... The kopaki represents an issue presented for discussion, which is introduced by the group who have brought the taonga. The recipients of the taonga understand that the visiting group are presenting a take, an issue for discussion... The kopaki is a custom used only sparingly and only for the most important issues. The importance of the issue at hand is symbolised in the taonga itself (Royal 2004: 66).

Research helps us understand that these noteworthy Waikato leaders most likely sought a form of kopaki or audience with the Prince of Wales, who was to be a future King of England. There is no doubt that the Maori king, Rata Mahuta, and the Tupu Taingakawa Te Waharoa, wished to discuss the ongoing social and economic difficulties that their iwi and hapu continued to experience, over ‘the confiscation (raupatu) of Waikato land by the Crown after the wars of the 1860s [where] 1.2 million acres (480,000 hectares) were taken from the Tainui people as punishment for their so-called rebellion’ (Orange 2004: 222). Claudia Orange also notes that the government and the King movement held differing views about sovereignty. Despite half-hearted attempts at negotiation by Governor Grey, coupled with Maori mistrust over Grey’s suspicious road making ventures into the Waikato, it was the war in Taranaki in May 1863 (with the noted involvement of Ngati Maniapoto chief, Rewi Maniapoto) that hastened the government troop invasion and the outbreak of war in Waikato on 12 July 1863.

According to historian Michael King, in 1972 Tainui tribal representatives sought the return of at least one of the two mere after the Duke of Windsor’s death. Consistent with tribal accounts recording the way the taonga were actually presented, it is alleged that one was handed to the duke with its handle pointing to him while the other one was presented with its handle to the donor. This action signified that the hand-held weapon still belonged to Tainui people and should be returned to them after the duke’s death. It is likely that the ancestral taonga known as Kauwhata (who in genealogical terms is the father of Wehiwehi), was possibly the mere pounamu that was gifted with the blade to the Prince, with the handle still facing its donor. It is also alleged that Potatau Te Wherowhero, a great Waikato warrior and later the first Maori King (from 12 May 1859 to 25 June 1860), was the bearer of this pre-contact mere pounamu. Most importantly the gifted backwards gesture indicated that the mere needed to return one day.

Wehiwehi (as the son of Kauwhata) is a mere pounamu of later manufacture, possibly around the early 20th century and before 1920. It was deliberately gifted with the handle to the prince, therefore it was intended as a personal gift for keeps. The suggested gesture of kopaki or the use of mana or personal authority emanating from taonga to secure dialogue or establish a special relationship with the duke was, unfortunately, never reciprocated.

Later, in 1988, Dr King contacted the late duchess' lawyer on behalf of Tainui to try and trace the mere again. The lawyer told him that the mere could not be found and might have been sold. Tainui tribal members dropped their case then, only to re-engage with the issue when the mere pounamu resurfaced in 1998.

By this time, it was clear that the taonga had not been lost or sold. The mere pounamu had come into the possession of Mohamed al-Fayed, Egyptian businessman and former owner of Harrods department store in London. He had purchased the house and entire contents of the late Duke and Duchess of Windsor's Paris estate in 1986. The auction of this extensive estate of some 40,000 household and personal items included the mere pounamu. The auction was scheduled for late September 1997. Just three days before the Sotheby's auction in New York Dodi Fayed and Diana Princess of Wales were tragically killed in a car accident in Paris. Out of respect at their unexpected demise, the auction was postponed until 22 February 1998. The proceeds of the original auction at Sotheby's were to go to a Mohamed al-Fayed directed trust. In light of the significant loss Al-Fayed later assigned all takings of the 1998 auction to a children's charity trust named in his son's memory – the Dodi Fayed International Charitable Foundation.

Meanwhile back in New Zealand, political and tribal attempts to intervene over the pending sale of taonga at auction created renewed interest in the mere pounamu. The Tainui Maori Trust Board, then New Zealand First Minister of Maori Affairs Tau Henare (with his 1996 private member's bill known as the Taonga Maori Protection Bill) and Te Tai Hauauro MP Tukoirangi Morgan, all demanded the withdrawal of the mere from the rescheduled auction. These politicians campaigned publicly for their return to Waikato, much to the consternation of some Tainui Board members, including chief negotiator for the Tainui Raupatu Claim, Sir Robert Mahuta. He was disturbed by the controversy raised over the taonga. Undeterred, MP Tukoirangi Morgan contacted the consigner of the collection and asked that the taonga be returned in accordance with Maori custom because they were no longer wanted or held by the recipient. Further attempts at intervention extended to the then Cul-

tural Affairs Minister Hon Simon Upton, and again to the Minister of Maori Affairs, Hon Tau Henare. Henare faxed a letter to Mr Al-Fayed asking for the mere back, stating that the 'New Zealand Government would be immensely appreciative'.

The protocol of Maori gifting or kopaki in its original context is more complex than what is generally understood or reported in the media. The possible gesture and symbolic intent behind the kopaki was obviously incomprehensible to the Prince of Wales in 1920. Contemporaneously, the significance of gifting or kopaki was also lost on the trustees of the Dodi al-Fayed International Charitable Foundation. Along with Sotheby's New York,³ the auction house responsible for the sale, they too rejected the appeal and proceeded with the rescheduled auction as planned.

As reported in the media, the mere sold for \$NZ41,465 for Kauwhata and \$NZ46,650 for Wehiwehi, around eight times the estimate. Conversely, this information was also incorrect as the mere actually went for US\$59,000.00 in total (approximately NZ\$143,000) with US\$27,600.00 paid for Kauwhata and US\$31,000 for Wehiwehi, an exorbitant price overall. At the time of final sale, no one knew who the mystery bidder was or who had secured the taonga at the inflated prices. It was later revealed that an auctioneer in New Zealand had made a telephone bid on behalf of a Wellington purchaser.

What is of particular interest from a Maori curatorial perspective is that Kauwhata is actually the elder of the two mere pounamu in both whakapapa, and in terms of manufacture. This mere has a purported provenance to Potatau Te Wherowhero, a provenance unknown by the auction house. It achieved the lesser price. Wehiwehi, the mere pounamu named after the son of Kauwhata, is a larger and more glossy mere, proving soundly that aesthetics (without all the other more interesting details) plays a compelling part in determining hammer price overall.

Te Papa staff attempted to secure the taonga but they were outbid by a significant margin. Due to the media coverage generated both nationally and internationally, the national museum's bid was unsuccessful. The final hammer price achieved at auction escalated the price beyond everyone's expectation. The MP Tukoroirangi Morgan would then appeal to the anonymous New Zealander through the media to return the mere to Tainui at no cost. 'What a magnificent gesture that would be coming up to the year 2000,' he was quoted as saying in the Waikato Times (Te Anga 1998: 3). This was not to be.

In late 2001 a letter concerning the mere pounamu arrived from Germany at Te Papa and it was placed on my desk. The mere had been held in safe keeping overseas on behalf of the Wellington purchaser since 1998. Direct negotiations were then entered into at Leadership Team level so the taonga could be secured for Te Papa's collection. The price achieved at auction in 1998 would be the price paid in 2001. Due to an annual allocation of central government funds specifically for collection development in 2000, the museum was able to purchase the mere pounamu.

By 2002 the historic mere were back in New Zealand and had their first presentation at the kawē mate or return of the wairua or spirit of the late Sir Robert Mahuta. He had been a previous board member of Te Papa and a direct descendant of the fourth Maori King Rata Mahuta. His elder sister Dame Te Atairangi Kahu, the late Maori Queen, and Sir Robert's whanau attended an emotionally charged event, held on the Rongomaraeroa marae at Te Papa. For those who witnessed this important outpouring of love and respect for Sir Robert Mahuta, it was a moving extended family reunion with the mere pounamu at a ceremony led by Te Papa kaumatua, key Maori tikanga experts and supported by Te Papa staff. In September 2002 an equally elated and emotional crowd numbering nearly two hundred who were affiliated to Ngati Kauhata and Ngati Wehiwehi (predominately from the Horowhenua and Manawatu regions) warmed and welcomed the mere pounamu home again. Due to multiple iwi interests in the mere pounamu from Waikato, Horowhenua and Manawatu, considerable time and effort is required for all interested iwi parties to agree to shared terms of engagement with a Memorandum of Understanding. This process is important in order for the mere to be warmed and supported by all their affiliates. Te Papa is well aware that any Memorandum of Understanding over taonga Maori can take many years to complete.

In the four case studies discussed above, considerable effort and investigative research was required when working with peoples, places, and taonga. Combine this effort across the curatorial team with enhanced contextual research completed over many taonga—the Mana Taonga approach to research encourages them to negotiate a wide range of historic and contemporary complexities and contexts. Curators are expected to examine the many intricate and intimate connections that exist between peoples, narratives, histories and exchanges made over, or with taonga. In emphasising a kete of aims, theories, methods and resources that support a Maori way of knowing, as present within taonga (whether residing in New Zealand or overseas public or private collections), curatorial research is greatly enriched when the relationships forged between people and taonga are strengthened.

NOTES

- 1 Mana is acknowledged by a tribe which recognise a leader's accumulated achievements in upholding their culture.
- 2 Personal Communication collated for the *Tokyo National Museum Mauri Ora: Maori Treasures from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera* project, 2006
- 3 It is not known if Sotheby's were aware of previous attempts to reclaim the mere or whether they deliberately disregarded any acknowledgement of the early attempts of Maori intervention in 1972.

REFERENCES

- Anonymous 1992. *Mana Taonga*. Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.
- Allen, N. 1998. 'Maori vision and the imperialist gaze' In Barringer, T. & T. Flynn (eds) *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*. London: Routledge.
- Bennett, T. 1995. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Best, E. 1898 *Notes on the Custom of Rāhui. Its Application and Manipulation, as also its Supposed Powers, its Rites, Invocations and Superstitions. Journal of the Polynesian Society*. 13: 83–88.
- Cruikshank, G. 1940 *Robert Graham 1820–1885: An Auckland Pioneer*, Reed: Wellington
- Geismar, H. 2008 'Alternative Market Values?: Interventions into Auctions in Aotearoa/New Zealand' *The Contemporary Pacific*–Volume 20, Number 2, Fall 2008, pp. 291–327
- Gosden, C. & C. Knowles 2001 *Collecting Colonialism: Material Culture and Colonial Change*. Oxford: Berg.
- Graham, D. 2003 'Graham Robert 1820–1885'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Wellington: ([URL http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/)).

- Graham, D. 2003 Personal communication. June 2003
- Graham, K., and C. Graham. 2003 Personal communications January 2003
- McCarthy, C. 2007 *Exhibiting Maori*. Wellington: Te Papa Press.
- Marsden, M. 1988 *The Natural World and Natural Resources: Maori Value Systems and Perspectives* (Working Paper No 29). Wellington: Ministry for the Environment.
- Marsden, M. & T.A. Henare 1992 *Kaitiakitanga: A Definitive Introduction to the Holistic World view of the Maori* (Discussion Paper 10). Wellington: Ministry for the Environment.
- Mead, S.M. 1984 *A Source Book for Maori Studies*. Wellington: Dept. of Maori Studies, VUW.
- Mead, S.M. 1985 'Concepts and models for Maori museums and cultural centres' *Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand Journal* 16(3): 3-5.
- Moon, P. 2003 *Tohunga Hohepa Kereopa*. Auckland: David Ling Publishing. p.3
- Neich, R. 2001 *Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Carving*. Auckland: Auckland Univ. Press.
- Nicolescu, B. 2005 'Transdisciplinarity- Past, Present and Future'. Presentation at 2nd World Congress on Transdisciplinarity, 6-12 Sept. in Brazil.
- Orange, C. 2004 *An Illustrated History of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Philip-Barbara, G. 2006. Personal communication.
- Royal, C. 2004 'Taonga and the Traditional Maori Worldview', an extract from *Matauranga Maori and Museum Practice*. Wellington: Report to National Services Te Paerangi, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.
- Smith, H. 2004 *Icons Nga Taonga: From the Museum of New Zealand*. Wellington: Te Papa Press.

- Smith, H. 2000 'Taonga Tuku Iho: Guardianship for Esteemed Treasures' In *Native Title in Perspective: Selected Papers from the Native Title Research Unit 1998–2000*. Strelein, L. & K. Muir (eds.) Canberra: NTRU, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
- Smith, H. 2007 'Hei Whenua Ora: hapu and iwi approaches to reinstating ecosystems within valued cultural landscape', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, pp 21–22.
- Smith, H. 2007 'Hei Whenua Ora ki Te Hakari Reinstating the Mauri of Valued ecosystems – history, lessons and experiences from the Te Hakari dune wetland restoration project', Research report number: HSC1007/01, for FRST funded research project *Ecosystem Services Benefits in Terrestrial Ecosystems for Iwi*, through Te Wananga o Raukawa and Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Te Anga, N. 1998 'MP appeals to anonymous buyer to pass on two mere', *Waikato Times*, 23 February, Edition 2: 3
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. 1999 *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin: Otago Univ. Press.
- Wehipeihana, H. 1889 Otaki Minute Book, Monday 22nd July 1889, No 229 *Sub Claim- Pukehou 4c continued*, 9 Otaki Minute Book: Otaki,
- Wilson, A.K. n.d. *The Wonder Valley Memoirs of Mrs Jane Grierson*. pp 7–14.

APPENDIX 1:

A summary of, aims, theory, methods and resources associated with the kete employed

Aims	Theory	Method	Resources
Focus on the range of interdependencies between people and taonga as valued treasures	Augmented by kaupapa Maori or Maori research guidelines and practices	Oral narratives and tribal knowledge for verification	Use of respected local leaders Discussions with kaumatua and other contacts
Focus of interrelationships between people and taonga as valued treasures	Recognition of localised systems of knowledge	Whakapapa reference systems	Use of respected local leaders Discussions with kaumatua and other contacts
		Dialogue with participants; Oral interviews	Conceptual aids through use of metaphor and allegory
		Visual Assessments; Creating Taonga Inventories	Local knowledge archives and inventories of taonga collated using iwi and hapu participants to assist
		Active revitalisation of fragmented relationships between peoples and taonga	Taonga Inventories; Reports
		Co-created solutions	Co-joint project particularly iwi exhibitions
		Use of co-intelligence strategies with people and taonga	Taking time to visit hapu to discuss taonga at home and associated taonga tuku iho/cultural landscape projects

Aims	Theory	Method	Resources
		Encouragement of constructive working relationships between people and taonga	Kaupapa; Iwi exhibitions; Augmenting knowledge on taonga for Waitangi Tribunal Claims and Inventories
		Restoration of symbiotic relationships between people and taonga	Use of Tikanga, karakia and appropriate strategies with iwi and hapu
		Creating tangible experiences between people and taonga	Back of house Tours; Wananga or gatherings dedicated to learning to imparting knowledge around taonga
		Articulation and capture of cognitive 'maps' around taonga	Working directly with iwi and hapu
		Use of Intuition; Sharing of perceptions	Karakia
		Consultation	Working closely with iwi and hapu
		Participation	Working closely with iwi and hapu
		Using cultural memory	Working closely with iwi and hapu
		Collaborative research with other participants	Working closely with iwi and hapu
		Synthesis of information	Working closely with iwi and hapu
		Negotiating complex activities	Working closely with iwi and hapu especially for multiple iwi/hapu interests in taonga

RIVER OWNERSHIP:
INALIENABLE TAONGA AND IMPARTIBLE TUPUNA AWA

Marama Muru-Lanning

ABSTRACT

This article examines Maori relationships with the State, the ownership of rivers and issues of identity. My research site is the Waikato River which is located in the North Island of New Zealand and comprises a number of Te Arawa and Tainui tribes. Te Arawa and Tainui are two large territorially-based descent groups. While Te Arawa communities are located at the beginning of the Waikato River in the Taupo and Reporoa areas, Tainui communities pepper the length of the river from Whakamaru to Port Waikato.¹

INTRODUCTION

This work is about Maori understandings of ownership, however, as I hope to illustrate, in many contexts what is more important for Maori than ‘owning’ in the conventional sense, are issues of authority, status and prestige. Indeed, the concepts of ‘ownership’ and ‘Waikato River’ are two metaphors which rally people because they are deeply embedded in local understandings of leadership and authority.² Let me illustrate these points with a brief ethnographic vignette.

At a meeting at Hopuhopu³ which was attended by over sixty Waikato elders, Waikato iwi’s principal negotiator for Treaty of Waitangi claims, Robert Mahuta, declared: ‘We don’t need a bloody court document to tell us we own the river, we know we do’ (Personal Communication June 2000). The comment was well received by the elders attending the meeting. The purpose of the gathering was to inform the elders of the tribe’s claim for legal ownership of the Waikato River. While discussions of the Waikato River took precedence, Robert Mahuta also spoke about the tribe’s claims on the Maramarua Forest and Manukau Harbour and his strategy for advancing the Tainui Endowed College.⁴ I note the gathering took place at a time when Robert Mahuta’s health

was seriously deteriorated and his leadership was being challenged in the public arena using courts and media⁵ by some discontented Waikato tribal members (Diamond 2003: 113–143). Throughout the presentation the elders listened intently and showed their support of Robert Mahuta by nodding their heads and giving encouraging remarks such as ‘yes Robert’ and ‘that’s right Bubs.’⁶ The elders seemed to have interpreted Robert Mahuta’s remarks as confirmation of Waikato Maori’s right to ‘own’ the Waikato River. However, whether the tribe’s claim for ownership would exclude or extinguish the rights of other tribes and stakeholders along the river and what the term ‘own’ may have precisely meant for the elders, was not discussed at the gathering.

In virtually every society there are concepts that we recognise as similar to the western concept of ownership. What various cultures consider subject to ownership, however, and how owning something becomes manifest, is often very different (Hann 1998: 23; Wagoner 1998; Strathern 1999, Strang 2008). There is in fact no Maori lexeme for the English verb ‘to own’. The only way to express the verb is by saying it in other ways. A number of Maori words are used to express the notions of own, owner and ownership. In the Ngata *English-Maori Dictionary* the word ‘own’ is equated with the Maori words *whai* (also written as whiwhi) and *mana*. The word ‘owner’ translates in Maori to *rangatira*. Similarly, the word ‘ownership’ is usually translated in Maori as *rangatiratanga* (Ngata 1993: 356). But these words are also bound up in Maori conceptions of power, authority and status, and do not necessarily involve the idea of a sovereign individual with exclusive rights of possession but rather a chief who is empowered to speak on behalf of the tribe. The following sentences from Ngata demonstrate how the words are used in Maori language (1993: 356):⁷

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Kaore a ia i <u>whai</u> rawa, whenua, ano hoki.</i> | He owned neither property nor land. |
| 2. <i>Kei a wai te <u>mana</u> o te whenua.</i> | Who owns the land? |
| 3. <i>E mohio ana ahau ki te <u>rangatira</u> o tetahi karaati, mana koe te awhina.</i> | I know the owner of the garage, he will help you. |
| 4. <i>He maha nga whakatipuranga i tautohetohetia ai te <u>rangatiratanga</u> o te whenua.</i> | Ownership of the land has been disputed for several generations. |

Geographer Evelyn Stokes, who produced two studies that assisted in advancing Waikato’s land claim, described the approach of Robert Mahuta and the Tainui Maori Trust Board in relation to the Waikato River claim. In her view,

Waikato Maori were not seeking exclusive ownership or a full and final settlement for the Waikato River, but rather, their primary objective was to contribute to the management of the river, taking into account Maori values (Stokes 1994: 49). Whether this view is what Robert Mahuta and other members of the Tainui Maori Trust Board had in mind when they lodged the tribe's claim for the Waikato River is open to question. In accord with Stokes' explanation, Norman Hill, the Environment Manager of Waahi Whanui Trust,⁸ said at a 'Water Programme of Action' meeting in Hamilton:

We desire clean water, and we are interested in talking about co-management rather than ownership. Sir Robert Mahuta's view prevails that we know we own the river but we are interested in co-management. (Ministry for Environment February 2005)

Robert Mahuta's position has been interpreted in many ways by tribal members and other people with interests in the Waikato River. Yet in contemporary western society the ownership of property is the primary way that status is recognised. Robert Mahuta's address in June 2000 appears to have used the English word 'own' and the 'Waikato River' as mobilising metaphors not only to gather and unify the elders but also to demonstrate the significance of Kingitanga leadership among Waikato *iwi*. I use the term mobilising metaphors in the sense implied by Shore and Wright (1997). As they put it:

[W]hen key words succeed, not only in competitions within the political field (Bourdieu 1991), but also in attracting mass popular support, we term them 'mobilizing metaphors' (Wright 1993). Mobilizing metaphors become the centre of a cluster of keywords whose meaning extend and shift while previous associations with other words are dropped. Their mobilizing effect lies in their capacity to connect with, and appropriate the positive meanings and legitimacy derived from other key symbols... (Shore and Wright 1997: 20).

Similarly, Tilley writes that a metaphor may:

Not only serve as a binding element in providing an interpretive account of the world, it can also be conceived as a quality which links together individuals and groups. The fact that metaphors are culturally relative implies that members of the same culture may share many distinct metaphorical understandings in common (Tilley 1999: 9).

The use of ‘Waikato River’ as shorthand for Waikato *iwi* and the Kingitanga is a good illustration of how mobilising language works.

This paper provides an overview of how cultural groups with interests in the Waikato River now comprehend and practice ownership. It begins by juxtaposing two understandings of ownership occurring in New Zealand; these are English common law and Maori *tikanga* (customs and practices). Common law defines ownership as the state of having exclusive ‘rights’ in property and the ‘possession’ of property with the right to transfer possession to others (Hann 1998: 38). According to Hann, common law emphasises the essentially relational, social character of property ownership between individuals (1998: 8). *Tikanga* on the other hand emphasises the relationships and shared rights of groups of people to property (Norman 1996: 209). The term *tikanga* has a range of meanings which include authority, control, custom, ethic, formality, lore, manner, method, plan, protocol, rule and style (Williams 1985: 416). In general, *tikanga* is taken to mean ‘the Maori way of doing things’ and derives from the Maori word *tika* which emphasises ‘directness’, ‘straightness’, ‘rightness’ and ‘fairness’ (Williams 1985: 416). The following explanation by Durie demonstrates how *tikanga* operates in Maori society:

Tikanga are used as ‘guides to moral behaviour’ and within an environmental context refer to the preferred way of protecting natural resources, exercising guardianship, determining responsibilities and obligations, and protecting the interests of future generations. Few tribes have committed tikanga to writing or reduced them to a simple set of rules. Instead the most appropriate tikanga for a group at a given time, and in response to a particular situation, is more likely to be determined by processes of consensus, reached over time and based both on tribal precedent and the exigencies of the moment (1998: 23).

Anthropologist Joan Metge makes sense of the two positions of ownership by suggesting that *tikanga* is perhaps more concerned with creating fairness than common law (Personal Communication July 2009).

With a substantial literature for common law ownership in circulation (see Hann 1998; MacFarlane 1978, 1987; Verdery and Humphrey 2004; Waldron 1988) this paper’s examination of the subject will focus primarily on the role of primogeniture in transmitting rights and property to people. While primogeniture is no longer a prominent feature in the common law of New Zealand, it was adopted by the Kingitanga in the nineteenth century and still holds sway with that institution.

With a much smaller number of studies on *tikanga* in distribution (see Durie 1998; Tomas and Quince 1999; Mead 2003), I see the opportunity to make a contribution to the understanding of Maori ownership. This work examines an important structuring principle of *tikanga*. This is *tuakana-teina*, which organises Maori society. One aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the structuring principle gives form to the 'fluid' nature of Maori ownership. *Tuakana-teina* distinguishes the paired relationships of 'senior' and 'junior' between people and things. Williams defines *tuakana*, as 'an older brother of a male, an older sister of a female and a cousin of the same sex in an older branch of the family' (1985: 445), and *teina* 'as a younger brother of a male, a younger sister of a female and a cousin of the same sex in a younger branch of the family' (1985: 410). This ordering of people is largely responsible for structuring the reciprocal relationships between kin members of descent groups, tribal groups, and Maori and their environment (Salmond 1991: 348). The overall purpose of this discussion is to demonstrate that *tuakana-teina* defines in Maori cultural terms those things which 'can be' controlled and owned and those things which are 'too senior' or 'too great in status' to be controlled or owned.

For Maori, those things that are thought to have great status are things with *mana*. *Mana* is a concept of great significance to Maori people and is understood to reside in all manner of things including human beings, animals and inanimate objects. Individuals build up a store of *mana* from sources such as their descent from a key ancestor and personal achievements. Often described as 'spiritual power' and 'special essence', a person's *mana* is their power to perform in a given situation. For Metge, *mana* is often represented as a 'cloak' or 'mantle', especially the *mana* which has been handed down from ancestors (1995 [1986]: 63). Another important point that Metge makes is:

Mana is held not only by individuals but also by certain corporate groups, principally the descent-groups *iwi*, *hapuu* and *whaanau*... Whether an individual has mana in his own right or not, he always has some as a member of a named descent-group (1995 [1986]: 65).

ENGLISH COMMON LAW UNDERSTANDINGS OF OWNERSHIP

Common law is the system of law used in England and in countries colonised by England. According to Blackstone (1978), the term 'common law' originated after the Norman Conquest and was originally based on the principle that rulings made by the King Courts in England were made in accord with the common customs of the realm, as opposed to decisions made by local courts which were judged by provincial laws and customs. For this reason

common law is understood to be the 'law of precedent' which is distinguished from statutory law. Early philosophers such as Harrington, Hobbes and Locke explain the development of common law and private property as central to the establishment of modern capitalism (see Macfarlane 1978: 58, 1998: 105). Common law privileges property rights being invested in individuals, though as Goody acknowledges, in contemporary Western societies not all rights are individualised with some rights being attached to family, community and the state (1998: 201).

In the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, private property practices of common law were exported out of England so that lands and valuable resources could be appropriated from native peoples. Common law maintained the view that land owners had a duty to develop and improve their lands (Hann 1998: 38). Macfarlane elucidates this:

European attitudes to land are based on philosophies of conquering and taming nature, and more specifically in Lockean conceptions of land use and individual rights. John Locke posited that land could become one's own only through labour: it is labour that gives value to land. His *Of Civil Government* provided the justification for appropriating land occupied by indigenous groups and others who did not 'use' land (1998: 127).

Primogeniture affirmed transmissions of owning property from oldest son to oldest son. When Macfarlane examined the role of primogeniture in establishing capitalism in England he wrote:

From at least the beginning of the sixteenth century the major share of the landholding went to one child. Maine has pointed out that this 'Feudal Law' of land practically disinherited all the children in favour of one. In essence, primogeniture and a peasant joint ownership unit are diametrically opposed. The family is not attached to the land, and one favoured individual is chosen at the whim of the parent, or by the custom of the manor (1978: 87).

When New Zealand was colonised, primogeniture was an influential feature of common law. While primogeniture was not practiced by Maori before the arrival of British settlers this study shows that members of the Kingitanga have adopted the concept. The principle of male primogeniture is used in the selection process for the leadership of the Kingitanga and also to determine the transmission of Kingitanga property from one leader to the next. While

symbolically primogeniture equates the *kahui ariki* to the British monarchy, practically it has to do with keeping the limited resources of the Kingitanga intact. The *kahui ariki* is Waikato *iwi*'s paramount family, which includes all the descendants of the first Maori King, Potatau Te Wherowhero. The common Maori view as expressed by Winiata is that the legitimisation of power and prestige for Kingitanga leaders comes directly from understandings of *mana* and *tapu*. He equated these two Maori leadership qualities to Weber's notion of charisma (1967: 30). For Winiata, *mana* and *tapu* are qualities inherent in senior lineages and are the concepts which drive Kingitanga member's practice of primogeniture (1967: 28). While the *tapu* of chiefs enables them to carry out certain ritualistic functions, their *mana* gives validity and power to their action. However, Winiata's explanation does not deal with the Kingitanga's preference for creating male leaders. The current leader of the Kingitanga is King Tuheitia. He is the oldest son of the sixth Kingitanga leader, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu. Though King Tuheitia has an older sister who was considered for the role as leader of the movement, external tribal chiefs and some influential Waikato members decided that a male successor would be more suitable. I must note his predecessor, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, did not have any biological brothers.

Since much Waikato land was confiscated in the 1860s, I cannot ascertain whether Waikato Maori families who support the Kingitanga practice primogeniture in the transmissions of family property. Most of the families do however recognise the oldest living male as the head of their family. Overall, the structuring principle of primogeniture in relation to ownership is at odds with *tikanga* conceptions of ownership where rights to tribal lands and resources are safeguarded by *rangatira* and held collectively by *hapu* and *whanau* groups. While primogeniture advances the most senior male in a family and effectively excludes younger males and all female siblings from inheriting property, the principle of *tuakana-teina* does not alienate family members from property nor does it privilege males over females. Complementary gender roles and relationships are an important feature of *tuakana-teina* and I examine them later in the paper.

TIKANGA UNDERSTANDINGS OF OWNERSHIP

Before the arrival of Europeans, Maori society had its own concept of land and resource ownership (Firth 1929: 338–339). Often land and resources belonged to more than one tribal group. Each tribe's rights and uses could be quite different. For instance, one tribe may have had the rights to harvest birds in an area at a particular time of the year, while another tribe may have had the

fishing rights for the area and a third tribe may have had the rights to grow crops (Firth 1929: 43; Ballara 1998:194–195, 197). According to Mead, this system of tribal co-operation in cultivation and the sharing and redistribution of resources inhibited any trend towards individualism and the individual ownership of land (2003: 282). Contests over land and resources were a regular occurrence between tribal groups (Jones and Biggs 1995: 138). While exclusive rights to lands and resources were extremely rare, tribes constantly disputed and negotiated their rights with one another (Ballara 1998: 200). Disputes between tribes had just as much to do with ‘acting out of a responsibility and an obligation to care’, as they did with protecting their economic and political interests. Indeed, recurrent disputing and negotiating meant that tribal boundaries and rights to resources were flexible. Claims were typically linked to inherited *mana* over land as well as a tribe’s occupation and use of it. Ballara describes how ancestral claiming was practiced:

[T]he land which a Maori has best claim to is that which [he] has had handed down to him from his ancestors to himself. Yet descent from an owning ancestor alone was insufficient; it had to be from an ancestor whose descendants had continued to occupy it. Descendants who lived elsewhere eventually lost their rights—their claims grew cold (1998: 200).

In the past, contests for lands and resources between tribal groups were driven by *rangatira* and worked out through *whaikorero* (public oratory) and the Maori cultural practices of *tono* (betrothals of marriage), *taonga* (exchanges of significant gifts), and warfare. Those *rangatira* that were skilled negotiators often increased the territory and resources of their tribes. The exercise of power and authority by *rangatira* in relation to the use, management and disposal of tribal lands and resources is referred to as *rangatiratanga*. When Robert Mahuta spoke about *rangatiratanga* he said the concept was enmeshed with *whakapapa* but that it had to be accompanied by performance. He added: ‘a *rangatira* is, to a large extent, quite humble in the way that he carries and deports himself within the tribe. You cannot afford to be arrogant otherwise you’re dead, and you’ve always got to have the good of the tribe at heart, in whatever you do’ (Diamond 2003: 140–41). However, Metge claims that:

Rangatiratanga is not simply the power and authority of the *rangatira*, it is also the power and authority of the *iwi*, for the two go together, the *rangatira* being the tribe’s chief representative and the trustee of tribal *taonga* (1991: 19).

Before the arrival of British colonists in New Zealand the exclusive ownership of property was not a feature that increased an *iwi* or *hapu* group's status in Maori society. What was important was the group's ability to negotiate with others and be influential in the sharing and distribution of lands and resources. While common law ownership is still influenced by Henry Maine's (1866) definition of people obtaining a 'bundle of rights', Maori informant discussions of ownership in this study revolve around their fulfilling obligations to kin members and being responsible for local resources.

For tribes of the Waikato River, many disputes over ownership have just as much to do with 'acting out of a responsibility to care', as they do with protecting a financial and political 'interest' in the Waikato River. One way Maori can act responsibly in relation to important local resource is through litigation. For Waikato Maori, one benefit of litigation is that it provides an opportunity to put Maori concerns 'on the public record' and is proof to future generations of their attempt to deal with significant issues. Members of Waikato *iwi* understand that when the Waikato River is altered its *mauri* (life force) is weakened, and this has an adverse effect on local Maori wellbeing. The importance of this view was illustrated in a dispute between the Waikato *iwi* authority and the thermal electricity generator, Genesis Power, which uses Waikato River waters at its power station in Huntly.

In 1999, Genesis Power applied for resource consent to further expand its use of the Waikato River in order to increase electricity production. In the resource consent application the company stated that it would be increasing the temperature of the river's waters in the vicinity of the Huntly power station from 25 degrees to 27 degrees Celsius. In response to their application, a number of interest groups associated with the river explained that this temperature increase would change the Waikato River's ecosystem dramatically, risking many of the river's plant and fish species and damaging the *mauri* of the river. Consequently, Waikato's *iwi* authority, who regard members of Waikato *iwi* to be *kaitiaki*⁹ (guardians) with a responsibility to the river and other tribes of the river, took up a legal challenge through the Environment Court to stop Genesis Power's proposed development plans. After engaging the services of a law firm and presenting their case, the *iwi* authority successfully obtained an injunction to suspend Genesis Power's planned developments (Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust 1999–2000: 13). To some extent the choice as whether to litigate a dispute also depends upon on what other options may be available. Waikato *iwi* have a history of using other means to demonstrate their position, as well as resorting to the courts. The available options depend upon a number of matters such as the relevant legislation, financial resources and available expertise.

THE RELEVANCE OF INALIENABILITY AND IMPARTIBILITY

Important questions spring to mind in this examination regarding ownership of rivers and whether the ownership of water is perceived to be different from ownership of land. When Maori tribal representatives signed the Treaty of Waitangi, the British colonial government assumed from common law that they had acquired exclusive control of the country's fresh water which flowed in the waterways and lakes. Gibbs explains:

The common law recognised rights of landowners to take and use water flowing over or under their land, which had not yet found its way to a waterway or lake, subject to certain restrictions. It also recognised limited rights of riparian landowners to take and use water flowing in waterways and lakes. Such water is not susceptible of ownership by anyone until it has been validly taken under these common law rights. (2007:14).

However, Maori argue that they have existing customary rights to water and that their rights have not been extinguished by either common law or statute. Wheen and Ruru contend that:

Maori have argued that the prejudicial loss of their rights to own and control bodies of water was caused by the common law. The Crown has generally argued that rights to possess the rivers were lost on the sale of land by consent, either because they were expressly included in the sales, or because the presumptions of English common law applied (2004:104).

Gibbs suggests that just because common law does not recognise 'ownership' in flowing water, it does not prevent Maori from claiming customary title, which may be similar to ownership (2007:15).

TAONGA AND TUPUNA CLAIMS

Lands and resources which are regarded by Maori tribes as '*taonga*' are at the heart of many Treaty claims. This is because Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi guarantees Maori 'possession' of their *taonga* (Kawharu 2000:365). The Waitangi Tribunal's definition of *taonga* is a 'valued possession, or anything highly prized, and 'may include any material or non-material thing having cultural or spiritual significance for a given tribal group' (Wheen and Ruru 2004:100). Not surprisingly, there is a large body of literature on the concept of *taonga*,

some of which claims that *taonga* act as symbols of important relationships (see Tapsell 1997, 2000, 2006; Henare 2005). When Weiner wrote about *taonga*, she compared the concept to the kula system of exchange in Melanesia and exchanges of fine mats in Samoa (1992: 46). Weiner proposed that *taonga* are important things that cannot be alienated from earlier possessors. Her stance is similar to that of Thomas, who wrote about ‘objects which are entangled with human relationships of ‘reciprocal indebtedness’ (1994: 14). Weiner describes *taonga* not only as valuable Maori heirlooms which carry the identity of people and their pasts, but also as things that are imbued with the power and prestige of the people who possessed them. Therefore to gain another person’s *taonga* is to acquire their rank, name, and history (Weiner 1992: 64). She makes the point that:

Some things, like most commodities, are easy to give. But there are other possessions that are imbued with the intrinsic and ineffable identities of their owners which are not easy to give away. Ideally, these inalienable possessions are kept by their owners from one generation to the next within the closed context of family, descent group, or dynasty. The loss of such an inalienable possession diminishes the self and by extension, the group to which the person belongs (Weiner 1992: 6).

Weiner’s idea may be applied to Michael King’s description of the Waikato people and river where he proposes that Waikato Maori derive their identity from their enduring relationship with the Waikato River, he writes:

More than any others in New Zealand, the tribes of the Waikato Valley are a river people. Five centuries of continuous occupation of its banks have embedded the river deep into the group and individual consciousness (1984: 49).

The river being embedded in Waikato Maori identity is one of the reasons why Waikato Maori vigorously assert that they cannot be alienated from the Waikato River.

For Durie, the way *taonga* are valued varies according to particular methods of *tikanga* practised by different tribal groups (1998: 23). In view of this idea, it is possible to see why Maori argue that water (and bodies of water), which are perceived as *taonga*, cannot be parted from them (Gibbs 2007: 15). Yet, not all Maori use the Treaty of Waitangi’s representation of *taonga* to secure their rights in local lands and resources. Kawharu makes the point that:

[A]ccording to some oral traditions, lands, forests, fisheries, *marae* or sacred sites (*waahi tapu*) were not necessarily termed *taonga* (cf. *Waitangi Tribunal in PCE 1996: 54*). To do so would have made commonplace their status and said nothing about the particular qualities of each. Environmental resources were considered on their own merits and potential within a holistic scheme that is the universe. Thus land was referred to as *whenua* rather than *taonga*, sacred waters as *wai tapu* rather than *taonga* and so on (2000: 365).

It has already been noted that some Maori tribes perceive rivers to be *tupuna* like Kamira Haggie of Turangawaewae Marae, who in an interview for Te Papa Museum, said, 'the [Waikato] river is like a tupuna, an ancestor' (Personal Communication March 1997). However, in asserting that the Waikato River is a *tupuna* it does not mean that Waikato Maori do not also think that the river is a *taonga*. Waikato *iwi* represent their interest in the Waikato River by claiming that the river is their *Tupuna Awa*. The concept of *Tupuna Awa* shares many of the same understandings as the concept of *taonga*, that being that Waikato people cannot be alienated from their ancestor and the ancestor cannot be alienated from them.

On 29 July 1998 at the Environment Court hearing *Mahuta v Waikato Regional Council* (A91/98), the Court accepted evidence from Waikato tribal representatives that the 'Waikato-Tainui people have a special relationship with the Waikato River which is of fundamental importance to their social and cultural wellbeing'. Mrs Iti Rangihinemutu Rawiri of Te Awamarahi Marae expressed in her submission to the court: 'when people abuse the river it is the same as people abusing our mother or grandmother'. She continued, 'people must respect our river ancestor which must be put back to good health'. Also making a submission that day was Mr Te Motu-iti-o-rongomai Te Hoe Katipa of Turangawaewae Marae who stated that he recognised the Waikato River to be an ancestor with sacred functions. For the elder, 'the Waikato River was not only a canoe pathway to the tribe's ancestral burial ground at Taupiri Mountain but a 'guardian' which forewarned local Maori of potential threats and danger'.

However, when Joseph Te Rito of the Ngati Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine tribes (located in the Mahia Peninsula region of the East Coast) was asked whether he recognised his local rivers to be *Tupuna Awa*, he replied:

To be quite honest, I haven't actively regarded it in that way and I'm not sure about the oldies. I haven't heard them on the marae saying things like 'Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au' like I've heard Whanganui

people say. However, we are quite colonised now and if they [the elders of his tribes] refer to mountains as tipuna¹⁰ then I'm sure they could refer to the awa as a tipuna—before we became too pakehified (Personal Communication May 2007).

Joseph Te Rito's comments suggest that when there is less dependency on rivers being part of a group's identity, they are perhaps not perceived as *tupuna*. I note rivers in the Mahia Peninsula area are not comparable to the Waikato River's size and abundance of resources.

In *Mahuta v Waikato Regional Council* the Environment Court accepted evidence that: 'the Waikato-Tainui people have a special relationship with the Waikato River which is of fundamental importance to their social and cultural wellbeing', and that, 'for Waikato-Tainui, the Waikato River means the whole river, including the banks, beds, waters, streams and tributaries, vegetation and fisheries, flood plains and metaphysical being' (A91/98, 29 July 1998). Of relevance to the representations of the river as a *Tupuna Awa* and river ancestor is Strathern's view which proposes that the partibility and impartibility of resources rests either with the object of the property claim or with the subjects making the claim (1999: 154). For many Maori, the idea of dividing the Waikato River into pieces is untenable because the river is a *tupuna* with great *mana*. It is a senior ancestor which cannot be controlled by people. Therefore, instead of dividing the river into pieces which would essentially alienate some tribes from the river, it is the rights to the river that must be shared out among tribes. When Strathern critiqued Sillitoe's (1998) work which examined the inalienability of possessions owned by New Guinea Highland men and women, she wrote:

That the rights at issue are those of disposal, and that this is a right that only one person at a time may hold, though the item in question (the rights to it) may pass serially between persons. One cannot own valuables exclusively (as 'private property'), but may enjoy custody of them for a while. He [Sillitoe] thus disputes the relevance of inalienability as a concept; people may cease to have rights in particular items while continuing to have rights in relation to the recipient by virtue of the transfer of those items (Strathern 1999: 153).

Healy (2009) also argued this view in a work which critiqued the concept of '*tuku whenua*'. *Tuku whenua* is defined as: 'granting a right to use land that does not alienate the land', and the 'Maori customary means of allocating land' (Healy 2009: 111). When the first British settlers arrived in New Zealand, *ran-*

gatira from various Northern *hapu* allocated lands to settlers so that they could make a life for themselves (Healy 2009: 113). Invariably the *rangatira* viewed the settlers as part of their local communities and recognised the rights of settlers to use and occupy land. However, the recognition of use and occupation rights did not mean that they intended to alienate their *hapu* from tribal lands that they allocated the settlers. Healy contributes to the understanding of *tuku whenua* by questioning whether *hapu* leaders, ‘readily grasped the European notion of sale’, and whether they would have ‘entered into transactions with the new settlers on the understanding that land alienations were intended’ (2009: 111).

To show how ownership operates in Maori society it is necessary to comprehend how Maori society is organised. The fundamental Maori principle of *tuakana-teina* not only organises relationships between people in Maori society but also organises the relationships between people and property.

TUAKANA-TEINA: A STRUCTURING PRINCIPLE OF MAORI OWNERSHIP

The *tuakana-teina* pairing is a social organisational structure used by Polynesian peoples of the Pacific. This section investigates how *tuakana-teina* frames Maori conceptions of ownership, possession, and belonging. My examination revolves around the role that *tuakana-teina* plays in identifying who has the capacity to own or be in charge of something and also how rights in resources which are sometimes understood and referred to as responsibilities and obligations are worked out between tribes.

Recognising that a person’s status is subtly embedded in language, is essential to the analysis of *tuakana-teina*. According to Biggs (1969), Maori language—like other Polynesian languages—is structured to differentiate the paired relationships of people and things. Valuable to this discussion is Biggs’s explanation of the Maori language possessive particles ‘o’ and ‘a’ which represent characteristics of being *tuakana* or senior and being *teina* or junior:

A and o always come at the beginning of a phrase. Both indicate possession, and both are translated by ‘of’, but their difference of form expresses a meaning distinction which is very important in Maori, a distinction which can be best expressed in the terms ‘dominance’ and ‘subordination’. Possession of anything towards which the possessor is dominant, active or superior, is expressed by a; possession of things in respect to which the possessor is subordinate, passive or inferior, is expressed by o (Biggs 1969: 43).

According to Biggs (1969), another characteristic which is helpful in assessing whether something belongs to the ‘o’ and ‘a’ categories is a general rule that non-portable things such as land, tools, rivers, canoes, and houses are distinguished by ‘o’, and portable things such as books, food, and domestic pets are distinguished by ‘a’. To paraphrase Biggs (1969), a person is active towards a book or in a dominant position with a book, in the sense that a book can be picked up and carried. However, Biggs (1969) points out that there are some exceptions to this rule with items of clothing which are portable being classified as ‘o’. This is because clothing protects people from the elements. Another exception is the status of domestic animals. While animals such as dogs, sheep, and cows are generally distinguished by ‘a’, horses are distinguished with ‘o’. This is because horses are considered to be a mode of transport. Maori differentiate water from food by classifying water as ‘o’ and food as ‘a’. The two lists below are of things that are marked by ‘o’ category possessive particles and ‘a’ category possessive particles:

‘o’ Category Possessive Particles

awa (river), *whenua* (land), *Atua* (God), *ra* (sun), *taniwha* (water denizen), *ariki* (paramount chief), *rangatira* (chief), *kaumatua* (elder), *whare* (house).

‘a’ Category Possessive Particles

turu (chair), *tepu* (table), *pepa* (paper), *mokopuna* (grandchildren), *tamariki* (children), *aporo* (apple), *huka* (sugar), *hei hei* (chicken).

Rivers in Maori language are classified with the possessive particle ‘o’, meaning that they are senior or unable to be controlled by human beings. The following sentences illustrate how Maori possession is expressed:

Ko Waikato toku awa

The Waikato is my river (I belong to the Waikato River)

Ko Waikato toku tupuna

The Waikato is my ancestor (I belong to the Waikato [River] ancestor)

The ‘o’ in the Maori word *toku* signifies that the *awa* and the *tupuna* have seniority or dominance over human beings. The Maori sentences above are translated into English to ‘the Waikato is my river’ and ‘the Waikato is my ancestor’; Maori speakers, however, suggest that more precise translations for the sentences are ‘I belong to the Waikato River’ and ‘I belong to the Waikato

ancestor'. Here *toku* translates in English to 'I' or 'my', where a person is junior or subordinate to the thing that is possessed. Thus, embedded cultural understandings represented in Maori language suggest that rivers and ancestors cannot be owned or controlled by human beings.

Carlson Wirihana, from Maungatautari Marae, is the Captain of *Rangatahi waka* (canoe). *Rangatahi* is part of Waikato *iwi*'s ceremonial canoe fleet. An appreciation of the 'o' possessive rule helps to elucidate his discussion of the Waikato River:

Now we have never maintained that we own the river. As far as we are concerned the river owns us (Fieldwork Interview March 2006).

As a means of contrast, the sentences below demonstrate how the possessive particle 'a' indicates that some things are junior to human beings and that they can be owned and controlled by people. The 'a' in the Maori word *taku*, meaning 'I' or 'my', signifies that the *pukapuka* (book) is junior or in a subordinate position to the human being:

Ko tenei taku pukapuka
This is my book (This book belongs to me)

In a more recent article on Maori possessives, Bauer (1997) argues that 'o' is not well suited to the label 'subordinate', which suggests that the possessor is subordinate to the possessee. For Bauer:

The o relationship is one where the possessor does not dominate or control the possessee, but is not necessarily controlled by the possessee, either. If the distinction is thus characterised as between dominant and non-dominant (from the possessor's point of view) it reflects much better the fact that the a and the o categories are not equal in the system (1997:391).

Bauer also made the point that 'o' is used for relations between equals such as husbands and wives, and brothers and sisters, where neither dominates—or is dominated by—the other.

Though Biggs' (1969) and Bauer's (1997) explanations differ, they were fully aware that possession and relationships between things in Maori society are subtly conveyed through grammar.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF TUAKANA-TEINA

I will now examine how understandings of 'a' and 'o' underpin the principle of *tuakana* and *teina*. 'A' is comparable to the junior status of *teina*, and 'o' is comparable to the senior status of *tuakana*. Hukiterangi Muru of Turanga-waewae Marae provides an interesting analogy for the possessive particles and *tuakana* and *teina*:

The 'a' and *teina* can be compared to the terrestrial realm which includes all the things that people use. The 'o' and *tuakana* can be compared to a celestial realm which includes things that are spiritual, chiefly and sacred (Fieldwork Interview May 2009).

In social situations there is an expectation that people know their place and behave appropriately in relation to others. People who are regarded as *teina* are expected to show respectful behaviour and uphold their *tuakana*. Correspondingly, *tuakana* are obliged to participate in the lives of *teina* and give advice and encouragement. The following examples illustrate the complexity of *tuakana-teina* relationships. A woman in her mid-sixties from Turanga-waewae Marae provided some insight into *tuakana-teina* relationships, when she described a discussion with her cousin who had two older sisters and two younger sisters (names have been changed to protect the identity of the informants):

I can't believe Mere sometimes, she got up in the meeting and referred to Rangī and Lovey as her *teinas*. You don't call your sixty year old sisters *teinas* when you're in a room full of *rangatahi* (youth). She's not even a *tuakana*, she's a *teina* to Pare and Mata. It's bad manners to say people are your *teina*. You don't do that it's belittling. She was speaking in English she could have said Rangī and Lovey were her sisters, we know they're her younger sisters (Fieldwork Interview May 2006).

Hukiterangi Muru provided this explanation of *tuakana-teina*: 'At birth the oldest child receives the *mana* and the *tapu*. Sometimes a younger sibling can achieve or take the *mana* from the *tuakana* but they can never take the *tapu*. The *tapu* always remains with the eldest' (Fieldwork Interview June 2007).

In this interview the informant is using the word *mana* to mean, 'the standing and authority of the first born child', and the word *tapu* to mean, 'sacredness of the first born child'. When questioned whether a person's gender could in-

fluence this understanding, he explained that this was a bit of a grey area, but that he knew of women from his *marae* who were recognised as the *tuakana* and the head of their families with the *mana* and the *tapu*, even though they had younger brothers. He clarified his comment by saying: ‘It really depends on the person, the family and the situation it’s the way Maori society operates. These things are not set in stone’ (Fieldwork Interview June 2007).

Possessive particles do not indicate the gender of the river. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Tainui scholars Maharaia Winiata and Robert Mahuta wrote works which assigned the Waikato River female characteristics. Winiata (1967: 64) wrote: ‘the Waikato River was the mother of the tribes’, and Mahuta (1975: 6) claimed: ‘the Waikato is much more than just a river. To the tribes who derive their name from it, it is an ancestor “the mother of the tribes”’.

When Moko Tini, a young woman from Turangawaewae Marae, was asked if the Waikato River was gendered, she responded: ‘I understand the river as a female because that’s the way my father always spoke about it, you know like the river was our protector feeding us, yeh definitely a woman’ (Personal Communication October 2006).

Yet discussions with elders from Turangawaewae Marae, reveal that not all Waikato River Maori share ideas of female gendering for the river. The female elder Ngahinaturae Te Uira commented: ‘I don’t think about the awa having a gender, I haven’t heard anyone say it’s a female or a male. The awa is our tupuna, our ancestor, that’s how I understand it’ (Fieldwork Interview October 2006).

Tuakana-teina relationships also exist between tribal groups. An influential tribe of the upper reaches of the Waikato River is Ngati Tuwharetoa. This tribe has commercial assets in the Taupo region. Since the signing of the Waikato-Tainui Raupatu Claims Settlement Act in 1995, Waikato *iwi* have also become business competitors in the Waikato region. Because of the tribes’ assets, some Maori recognise Ngati Tuwharetoa and Waikato as *tuakana* tribes. Another reason that these tribes are considered *tuakana* to some of the other tribes along the Waikato River, is because both have paramount chiefs who are recognised as important Maori leaders by the State. The principle of *tuakana-teina* is useful for interpreting the following comment by a Waikato tribal member:

Well the ariki [of the Kingitanga] were the owners of the river as far as the people were concerned, and there could only be one ariki at a time. The mana sort of went down to the next one you know

because this mana comes from all the chiefs of Aotearoa. The mana of the mountains and the rivers, they [the chiefs] gave the mana. Maybe some didn't give very willingly but it was they [the chiefs] that decided to give the King certain powers (Fieldwork Interview January 2004).

Here the word *mana* means 'authority' and 'rights', and the word 'chief' means *rangatira*. In Maori society *ariki* are recognised as the most senior members of a tribe. Like *rangatira*, *ariki* have the responsibilities of safeguarding their tribe's rights in particular resources and bringing people together so that decisions can be made. Consequently, the type of ownership that the informant is describing is not a property right where an *ariki* benefits individually. The responsibility of Waikato as a 'senior iwi', was expressed by Ngahinaturae Te Uira when she talked about Waikato iwi's Treaty of Waitangi claim for the whole length of the Waikato River: 'We need to get the tupuna back first and then we can talk with the other tribes about what to do. Waikato [iwi] has an obligation to lead' (Fieldwork Interview October 2005).

This discussion illustrates that Maori social identities are primarily determined by their genealogical relationships with one another rather than property they own and control.

CONCLUSION

Before the arrival of British settlers, Maori had a different concept of ownership bound up in the concept of *mana* and the authority and status of their *rangatira*. Rights to lands and resources were never fixed but constantly disputed. However, in recent times when Maori use the courts and claims process to fix tribal boundaries and rights, it must be asked whether Maori are abandoning their traditional understandings of ownership which encompass the concepts of *mana*, *rangatira* and *rangatiratanga*. This article has argued that the possessive particles of 'o' and 'a', and the fundamental principle of *tuakana-teina* underpin the way that Maori think about owning, possession and belonging. They have also traditionally underpinned the reciprocal obligations that exist between individuals and groups within Maori society.

While there are some Waikato River Maori who would like to legally own the Waikato River, including its bed and water, others feel that co-management rights and recognised *kaitiaki* status serve local Maori purposes well enough. Additionally, some Waikato River Maori are adamant that the Waikato River cannot be owned because it is a *tupuna* or ancestor, while other Maori believe

that the ownership and management of the Waikato River is best vested with the State. While it is difficult to reconcile these contradictory views, acknowledging that a range of opinions exists goes a long way in helping to understand some of the problems associated with Maori conceptions of ownership. The key point is that Maori claim ‘rights’ (which may also be interpreted as responsibilities and obligations) to exercise authority over the river and in the twenty-first century they are forced to make sense of English common law and their own *tikanga* understandings of ownership. Whatever the different conceptions of ownership—be it possessive individualism, collective ownership, shared rights in property, or variable ownership—another way of interpreting this debate, is that it is more to do with claims to status and power. Claims to ownership are important not least because they also provide a vehicle for legitimising status within and between competing groups.

NOTES

- 1 See Stafford (1987) and Jones and Biggs (1995) for more on this.
- 2 See Tilley for evidence of this (1999:9).
- 3 Hopuhopu land was returned to Waikato Maori in the Waikato-Tainui Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995. Robert Mahuta and the Tainui Maori Trust Board established the tribe’s parliament building called Te Kauhanganui and the Tainui Endowed College on the land.
- 4 The Tainui Endowed College was intended to be a postgraduate research centre.
- 5 See, for example, Bidois, V. ‘Mahuta deal axed as tribe seeks cash sale’ *New Zealand Herald* (14 August, 2000); Yandall, P. ‘Tribal council accused of blunders’ *New Zealand Herald* (31 July 2000); Taylor, K. ‘Tainui braces for \$24m claim after court loss’ *New Zealand Herald* (23 December 2000); ‘Tainui seeks strategy to satisfy bank’ *New Zealand Herald* (3 March 2001).
- 6 Waikato tribal members referred to Robert Mahuta using one of three names. Generally speaking the elders of the tribe called him Robert, the people he worked with called him Bob, and his family and close friends called him Bubs or Bubba.
- 7 These sentences obtained from the *Ngata English-Maori Dictionary* have been modified to suit the Waikato dialect of Maori language.

- 8 Waahi Whaanui Trust provides services and programmes for individuals and families in Huntly and the surrounding districts. Programmes include social, education, employment, training and health services.
- 9 Kawharu defines kaitiakitanga not only as guardianship but resource management too (2000: 349).
- 10 *Tipuna* is the East Coast Maori version of the word *tupuna*.

REFERENCES

- Ballara, A., 1998 *Iwi: The Dynamics of Maori Tribal Organisation from c. 1769 to c. 1945*, Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Bauer, W., 1997 *The Reed Reference Grammar of Maori*, Auckland: Reed Books.
- Bidois, V., 2000 Mahuta deal axed as tribe seeks cash sale. *New Zealand Herald*, 14 August.
- Biggs, B., 1990 [1969] *Let's Learn Maori: A Guide to the Study of the Maori Language*, Auckland: Uniprint.
- Blackstone, W., 1978 *The Commentaries on the Laws of England*, New York: Garland Publishers.
- Diamond, P., 2003 *A Fire in Your Belly: Maori Leaders Speak*, Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Durie, M. H., 1998 *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self Determination*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Firth, R., 1929 *The Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, London: Government Printer.
- Gibbs, M., 2007 'Maori Claims to Ownership of Freshwater', *Resource Management Journal* August 2007: 13–18.
- Goody, J., 1998 'Dowry and the Rights of Women to Property', in C.M. Hann (ed) *Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: pp 201–213.

- Haggie, K., 1997 *Turangawaewae Regatta video recorded interview with Kamira Haggie [Showing at Te Papa Museum-Wellington]* (Personal Communication March 1997).
- Hann, C.M., 1998 *Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hann, C.M., 1998 'Introduction: The Embeddedness of Property as a Social Institution', in C.M. Hann (ed) *Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1–47.
- Healy, S., 2009 'Tuku Whenua as Customary Land Allocation: Contemporary Fabrication or Historical Fact', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 118 (2): 111–134.
- Henare, A., 2005 *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, P., and Biggs, B., 1995 *Nga Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*, Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Kawharu, M., 2000 'Kaitiakitanga: A Maori Anthropological Perspective of the Maori Socio-Environmental Ethic of Resource Management', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 110 (4): 349–70.
- King, M., 1984 [1977] *Te Puea: A Life*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Macfarlane, A., 1998 'The Mystery of Property: Inheritance and Industrialization in England and Japan', in C.M. Hann (ed) *Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: pp 104–123.
- Macfarlane, A., 1978 *The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property and Social Transition*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Maine, H., 1866 *Ancient Law: Its Connection with the Early History of Society and its Relation to Modern Ideas*, London: J Murray.
- Mead, S., 2003 *Tikanga Maori: Living by Maori Values*, Wellington: Huia Publishers.

- Metge, J., 1995 *The Whaanau in Modern Society*, Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Metge, J., 1991 Evidence of Alice Joan Metge in Respect of Wharo Te Oneroa a Tohe. Report on 35 Years Research. Submitted to the Waitangi Tribunal.
- Metge, J., 2009 *Discussion of tikanga* [Meeting] (Personal Communication, July 2009).
- Ministry for Environment, 2005. *Water Meeting for Action*. [Online], Available at: <http://www.mfe.govt.nz/issues/water/prog-action/meetings/hamilton/hui.html> [Accessed 2 December 2009].
- Ngata, H.M., 1993 *English-Maori Dictionary*, Wellington: Learning Media Limited.
- Norman, W., 1996 'The Muriwhenua Claim', in Hugh Kawharu (ed) *Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*, New York: Oxford University Press: pp 180–210.
- Salmond, A., 1991 [1988] 'Tipuna Ancestors: Aspects of Maori Cognitive Descent' in A. Pawley (ed) *Man and a Half: Essays in Pacific Anthropology and Ethnobiology in Honour of Ralph Bulmer*, Polynesian Society: Auckland: pp 343–56.
- Shore, C., and Wright S., 1997 'Policy: A New Field of Anthropology', in Cris Shore and Susan Wright (eds) *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*, New York: Routledge: pp 2–39.
- Sillitoe, P., 1998 'The Development of Indigenous Knowledge: A New. Applied Anthropology', *Current Anthropology* 39 (2): 223–252.
- Stafford, D., 1967 *Te Arawa: A History of the Arawa People*, Wellington: Auckland: Reed.
- Stokes, E., 1994 *Rotokawa Geothermal Area: Some Historical Perspectives*, Hamilton: Department of Geography University of Waikato.
- Stokes, E., 1997 Ko Waikato Te Awa: the Waikato River, in E. Stokes and M. Begg (eds) *Te Hononga ki te Whenua: Belonging to the Land People and Places in the Waikato Region* Stokes, Hamilton: Waikato Branch NZGS Society: pp 36–51.

- Strang, V., 2008 'Fluid Forms: Owning Water in Australia.' December 2008 [Conference Paper for Ownership and Appropriation Conference 8th–12th December 2008] Auckland: University of Auckland.
- Strathern, M., 1999 *Property, Substance and Effect: Anthropological Essays on Persons and Things*, London and New Brunswick: The Athlone Press.
- Tapsell, P., 2006 *Ko Tawa Maori Treasures of New Zealand*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd.
- Tapsell, P., 2000 *Pukaki: A Comet Returns*, Auckland: Reed Books.
- Tapsell, P., 1997 'The Flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of Taonga from a Tribal Perspective', *Journal of Polynesian Society* 106 (4): 323–374.
- Taylor, K., 2000 Tainui braces for \$24m claim after court loss. *New Zealand Herald*, 23 December.
- Taylor, K., 2001 Tainui seeks strategy to satisfy bank. *New Zealand Herald*, 3 March.
- Te Rito, J., 2007 *Discussion on local understandings of rivers* [Informal discussion] (Personal Communication, May 2007).
- Thomas, N., 1994 *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Tilley, C., 1999 *Metaphor and Material Culture*, Oxford, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Tomas, N., and Quince K., 1999 'Maori Disputes and their Resolution', in P. Spiller (ed) *Dispute Resolution in New Zealand*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: pp 205–234.
- Verdery, K., and Humphrey C., 2004 *Property in Question: Value Transformation in the Global Economy*. Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers.
- Wagoner, P., 1998 'An Unsettled Frontier, Blood and US Federal Policy', in C.M. Hann (ed) *Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: pp 105–125.

- Waldron, J., 1988 *The Right to Private Property*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, 1999–2000 *Te Hookioi: The Newsletter of Waikato Tainui*. December 1999-January 2000 ed. [Leaflet] Hopuhopu: Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust.
- Waikato-Tainui Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995 (NZ).
- Weiner, A., 1992 *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press.
- Wheen, N., and Ruru J., 2004 'The Environmental Reports', in J., Hayward and N., Wheen (eds) *The Waitangi Tribunal*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books: pp 97–112.
- Williams, H., 1985 [1844] *The Dictionary of the Maori Language*, Wellington: Government Printing Office.
- Winiata, M., 1967 *The Changing Role of the Maori Leader in Maori Society*, Auckland: Blackwood and Janet Paul.
- Yandell, P., 2000 Tribal council accused of blunders. *New Zealand Herald*, 31 July.

THE LAPITA MOTIF THAT ‘GOT AWAY’

Wendy E. Cowling

ABSTRACT

A decorative motif, already of some antiquity, was taken into Oceania by the ancestors of the Fijians and Polynesians several thousand years ago and is still used by Fijian, Samoan and Tongan women when decorating bark cloth. This motif (see Figure 1), seen in numerous forms of material production in New Zealand, has become widely accepted as a representation of Pasifika/ New Zealand identity. The indigenous interpretation of the symbol is not well known beyond the islands and, by a process of association, the motif is now popularly (but erroneously) believed to represent a Frangipani flower. This shift appears to be due to a conflation of Oceanic peoples’ love of perfumed flowers with the constant use of photographs of the flower in tourist brochures and advertisements as an identifier of Pacific island-ness.

INTRODUCTION

Lengths of unpainted and painted bark cloth (commonly referred to as ‘tapa cloth’) were used for bedding and clothing in pre-European times in a number of Pacific island groups.¹ Unpainted bark cloth was also used for the wrapping of representations of the gods in Tahiti, the Cook Islands and Tonga (Kaepler 1997). Recently, following an almost total cessation of production of bark cloth in Atiu in the Cook Islands, there has been a small revival of the making of brown-dyed cloth costumes worn by ritual leaders and by dancers competing in national competitions. Today, lengths of the figured cloth are still worn by Fijian, Tongan and Samoan men and women as costuming on ceremonial occasions. In New Zealand the display in homes, public spaces and politicians’ offices of a length of dyed and painted ‘tapa cloth’ from Tonga or Fiji has become an ubiquitous signifier of local interest in or connection with the Pacific. Similarly, the cloth, whether plain or decorated, is now frequently utilised by designers for garments in ‘Pasifika’ fashion parades and in the various versions of ‘wearable art’ displays which are held each year in New Zealand.²



Figure 1. Flower motif by Fatu' Feu'u, '*Figure with pandanus garland*'
(Collection of the University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand).

The scholarly theories (see Kirch 1997; Kirch and Green 2001) regarding the ancient migration of groups of people from western islands of what is now Indonesia are now widely accepted. About 3800 years ago (1800–1100 years B.P), having had some contact with groups of people living on the coasts of the main island of New Guinea, the travellers settled on the coasts of the Mussau Islands, in New Ireland, the Arawe group of islands off the southern coast of New Britain, (both in what is now known as the Bismarck Archipelago) and in the Northern Solomon Islands, an area termed 'Near Oceania'. Kirch and other archaeologists found signs of an important cultural change in the settlements. Kirch (2000: 88) states:

Several characteristics render these sites wholly different from anything preceding them in Near Oceania. First, they were good sized settlements ... situated on coastal beach terraces or built out over the shallow lagoons as clusters of stilt-houses.

Second, their occupants made, traded, and used large quantities of earthenware ceramics, of both plain and decorated varieties.

This group, who were Austronesian speakers (a language form which radically differs from the majority of the languages of New Guinea) then developed a distinctive set of cultural practices, including the making of decorated earthenware and the domestication of animals such as the pig and birds such as the Asian jungle fowl. They sailed to, and eventually settled, the islands of 'Remote Oceania', including the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. Extensive archaeological, linguistic, ethno-botanical and biological research has enabled the piecing together of a coherent narrative which links the Lapita people with Pacific peoples of the present day, particularly in the island groups classified as Polynesia, and in Fiji (the people of which have physical, cultural and linguistic characteristics found in both Polynesia and Melanesia).

The finding and dating of the distinctively decorated potsherds, known collectively as Lapita pottery, has been crucial to the theoretical formulations. These and related archaeological discoveries have particularly been supported by the finding of linguistic evidence of terminological continuities between the Lapita peoples and the languages spoken by contemporary Pacific peoples. This evidence includes the lists of terms used in seafaring, fishing, house building, for social categories and for body decoration, such as tattooing.

The archaeologist, Les Groube (cited by Kirch 1997: 67), who has worked in Fiji and Tonga, wrote as early as 1971:

There seems little reason to doubt that, by the end of the twelfth century BC [3200 YEARS BP] people with Lapita pottery had penetrated into the region we now call Polynesia.

In all probability, at this early date, the Fijian and Tongan Lapita populations were a closely related cultural community, the perfect candidate for (in linguistic terms) the pre-Polynesian (East-Oceanic) speech community. The subsequent isolation following separation led to the linguistic innovations which separate the Polynesian and Fijian languages.

Apart from language, another significant continuity is that of 'design principles', (Kirch and Green 2001: 195) once used in the production of Lapita pottery, and still reproduced in tattooing and in a variety of craft productions, such as in the painting and dyeing of bark cloth. These continuities are regarded as an important proof of a linkage between the past and the present. However, Kirch and Green (2001: 184) have commented that a problem for archaeologists

working in Oceania is that many of the artefacts made and used by the ancient peoples were created from non-durable materials, such as wood, bark and straw. Durable items of personal decoration have been excavated from various sites and include 'narrow shell bracelets, bangles or armbands of various kinds, small shell rings, small beads of shell and bone' as well as stone beads (Kirch and Green 2001: 187–188).³

TRACING A MOTIF

A particular motif (see Figure 1) has been used extensively by the Samoan-New Zealand artist, Fatu Feu'u (b. 1946), in paintings and murals, on sculptures and even on a commissioned design for a floor rug. Feu'u began to paint full-time in 1988 and his style and use of particular images became increasingly widely-known during the 1990s. Feu'u had adapted a Samoan form of the motif (four pointed ovoid 'petals'), which he had seen on a piece of 19th century *siapo*, because he felt that it particularly represented an important aspect of his cultural heritage (*fā'a Samoa*).⁴

In Samoa, the name *manulua* is applied to both a thin-armed version and the more flower-like, wide-'petalled' version of the motif, while in Tonga the motif is known as *manulua/potuuamanuka*.⁵ As in Samoa, if the upper half of the motif is used on Tongan painted bark-cloth, it is claimed to be a representation of a bird in flight. Used whole, it is claimed to be a representation of two birds in flight. In Tonga, a motif in the shape of four inverted isosceles triangles, arranged diagonally in a cross form, is also known as *manulua*. This version of the motif is also commonly used on Fijian bark cloth (*masi*).⁶ Feu'u has used that particular variation of the motif in some of his paintings (see Vercoe 2002: 192–193). In discussions of Feu's work, whether academic or popular, the motif which often dominates his paintings is invariably referred to as being the representation of a frangipani flower, a mis-identification as the frangipani has five petals (see Figure 2).

It is not surprising that, given the history of relations between Niue and Samoa from the mid-19th century due to the sustained influence of and connection with the London Missionary Society (Ryan 1993), a Samoan influence might be seen in the local production of decorated bark cloth. The three variant forms of the motif can be seen, among many other motifs, on an example of 19th century Niuean *hiapo* held in the Melbourne Museum (Australia), and reproduced in a book by Pule and Thomas (2005: 122–123). Pule and Thomas have also reproduced a photograph of a beautiful Samoan 'tapa' cloth European-style dress, dated c.1890–1910, which prominently features the 'flower' motif.⁷



Figure 2. Plumeria [Frangipani] flowers

(source: Kent Bridges, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 2005,
http://gohawaii.about.com/od/hawaiianflowersandtrees/ig/plumeria_photos)

Clearly, a four-armed or four-‘petalled’ shape was a pleasing one for many craftsmen and craftswomen in Oceania, whether it was comprised of a set of pointed ovals or circles, four inverted isocles triangles, four thin triangles arranged diagonally (i.e. in an x-shape) or as a thin-armed vertical cross (+).⁸ The origin of the motif is ancient in Pacific terms – it was one of the many designs incised or stamped on ceramic ware made by the Lapita travellers.

The motif appears on sherds of Lapita pots which have been found in numerous sites in the South-western Pacific, from New Britain and New Ireland in the Bismarck Archipelago of Papua New Guinea to beaches in New Caledonia and Fiji (see for example, Spriggs 1990: 113; Noury 2005: 58, 59, 77). The ovoid shape also occurs in a band or frieze design which Siorat (1990: 74) has termed the ‘trefoil theme’ and which Noury (2005: 76–77) has termed ‘*rosace*’ (‘rosette’). Noury reports that the use of this motif is particularly evident in material found at Apolo and Adwe, in West New Britain, and at Nenumbo, Lapita and Nessadou in the north of New Caledonia.

The motif was also used as a central design feature on turtle shell-decorated pendants and head ornaments on the island of Manus and on the island of Bougainville, both in Papua New Guinea (Jewell and Philp 1998: 73, 79). Manus,

the northernmost island of the Bismarck Archipelago, was one of the first stopping points in the Lapita people's migrations and one of the sites where the earliest (3850–3900 BP) specimens of the characteristic hand-shaped, fired pottery with incised decorations have been found (Spriggs 1990: 7, 19).⁹

Many of the motifs used in frieze-like bands on Lapita pots can be found in the decorative work of other ancient and modern communities world-wide.¹⁰ These include cross-hatching, continuous bands of triangular shapes, 'Greek key' shapes, continuous bands of 'waves' or 'snake' forms, groupings of scallops, crescents, circles, chains, and loops, juxtaposed and separated spirals, crosses and bows – in short, a range of many possible combinations of geometric shapes and shapes drawn from nature. From time to time the bands on the Lapita pots include versions of the motif comprising four ovals (see for example Figure 27, Spriggs 1990: 113).

The Lapita craft-workers' choices of design elements and techniques remained consistent over time. By 1975 seventy design elements had been identified by archaeologists and by 1990 the number had increased to 122 motifs (Green 1990: 35–37). According to Green (1990: 37):

... besides two broad inter-areal clusters, Eastern and Western Lapita, this study also delineated sets of unique motifs restricted to regional areas, some of which were unique to individual sites and others of which were shared between several but not all sites within that region. ...

He continues:

For Polynesia it was possible to argue that tattooing and bark cloth manufacture existed in the Lapita period, even if not yet directly observable. Accepting that there are deep structures indicative of continuous cultural transmission it was also possible to propose that both *the rules for the production of the designs in tattooing and in bark cloth and the design motifs used in these media ethnographically still exhibited numerous parallels with those of the Lapita design system*. The parallels were too striking and numerous to be explained by chance or through analogues resulting from coincidence (my emphasis).

The islands of Tonga and Samoa began to be settled by people who travelled from Fiji about 3000–3800 years BP (Kirch and Green 2001: 116). Continuous

contact for marriage and trade was then maintained between the populations of these three island groups. Many of the Lapita patterns remained in the pot-makers' repertoire for almost two millennia. The production of the characteristic Lapita ware seems to have ended in Fiji about 200 CE and the craft of pot-making disappeared quite early in the occupation of Tonga and Samoa (see Irwin 1981; Marshall 1985). However, Fijian women continued to make undecorated cooking and storage pots and Tongans imported Fijian-made pots until the 18th century.

Notwithstanding the hiatus in ceramic manufacture in Fiji, its total disappearance from Tonga and Samoa, and the absence of archaeological specimens that might enable us to trace what was occurring in the making of less durable materials, the memories of the motifs and design system evident on Lapita pottery seem to have persisted and were reproduced in artistic practice. Thus we are able to see apparent design continuity of motifs on Lapita ceramics, as also seen in the bark cloth figuration of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa at the time of first Western contact and continuing to the present day.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE MOTIF ON BARK CLOTH

The life of figured bark cloth and decorated mats (*fala*) (made from dried *pandanus* leaves or from the bark of the coastal hibiscus), can be cut short by damage from insects, rain, the destruction of houses by cyclones, or by interment as corpse-wrapping or its use in the lining of a grave. However, museums world-wide hold examples of figured bark cloth created about 200–220 years ago and collected by European travellers in the Pacific. Additionally, European recordings of Polynesian tattoo designs were made in the 17th century. It is probable that the pre-European circular trade and other, later contacts between Tonga, Samoa and Fiji included exchanges of decorated cloth and fine mats, and thus enabled the on-going transmission and maintenance of particular design concepts. Samoan canoe builders, for example, were living in the Lau group of islands of Fiji in the late 18th century. A gradually increasing Tongan occupation of the Lau group began in the 1830s and was formalised in 1853 (Campbell 2001: 92–95). This inter-island emigration diminished following the assumption of control of Fiji by the British in 1874.

Examples of Samoan *siapo* and Tongan *ngatu* which contain variants of the motif have been published in studies such as those by Neich and Pendergast (1997) and by Cartmail (1997) (see also Figure 3). Similar production techniques were used by women in both of these island groups. In Tonga the patterns are traced onto the cloth, which may have been dyed fawn, light brown



Figure 3. Tongan *ngatu* (c.1980s, maker unknown), with four-petalled flower motif (Department of Societies and Cultures, The University of Waikato. Photograph: Wendy Lee).

(*ngatu tahina*) or dark brown,¹¹ with the use of a small fibre- or wood-based rubbing board (*‘upeti* in Samoa; *kupesi* in Tonga). This is placed under the cloth which in turn is placed on a long board which functions as a work bench for a group of *ngatu* makers. The production of lengths of *siapo* has ceased in Samoa (formerly Western Samoa) but a small number of women living in villages on the island of Savai’i make small rectangular pieces for sale to tourists.

In Samoa patterns are incised in the wood of the pattern-board, while in Tonga the patterns are made from lengths of sennit (twined coconut fibre) embroidered or fixed onto a base board which is then padded with a mat of several layers of fibres obtained from the sheath of a coconut leaf. Tongan *ngatu* makers alternate the use of several different pattern boards when making the prestigious fifty-section *ngatu* known as *launima*. The traced design is more firmly outlined, and parts may be overpainted and additional motifs added by freehand. In Tonga the *ngatu* lengths that are produced are identified by both the dominant designs and the background colours which have been used.

In Fiji the white background, combined with the use of red-brown/ochre and black, together with the repetition of precisely drawn geometric designs, gives

the commonest form of painted bark cloth (*masi kesa*) a striking appearance. Designs were produced with the use of a fibre rubbing tablet (sometimes misnamed *kuveti*).¹² Today designs are commonly produced with the use of a stencil cut on a banana or other large leaf or on a piece of firm plastic, and the motifs painted onto the white cloth with the addition of carefully drawn free-hand decoration. Rod Ewins, who has published extensively on aspects of *masi* production and design (Ewins 1982; 2004; 2007), suggests (*pers. comm.* 19.2.08) that the wooden boards with raised patterns held in the British Museum (see Jewell and Philp 1998: design page 15) ‘were possibly a post-European innovation’ and ‘possibly an imitation of the Samoan “upeti”’.¹³ He considers that once such boards were collected and taken abroad by Europeans it is likely that the Fijian *masi* makers returned to the use of the fibre rubbing tablets.

Ewins states that most of the motifs used by makers today are linked to specific regions in Fiji. The curvilinear motif of four oval elements discussed in this paper and the rectilinear form are only used by makers of *masi* on the island of Taveuni. He has commented (Ewins, *pers. comm.* 18.12.2007) that: ‘In Somo-somo, the chiefly village of Taveuni, it [the motif] is called *vavani*, which is a name derived from its having four (va) – elements’. However, in a brief discussion on the significance of the names of *masi* motifs and designs (2004: 174–5) he urges researchers to be wary of accepting some local names (‘nicknames’) which he asserts are sometimes derived from introduced western artefacts, and which may simply be used as reminders for the makers of particular designs.

The makers of *masi* use a repertoire of geometric shapes in their designs working within clearly defined grids. The shapes chosen for inclusion include variations on the motif being discussed, but not all the motifs used could be ascribed to the makers’ memories of Lapita designs.¹⁴ Many of the Lapita curvilinear patterns were very elaborate, in shapes reminiscent of decorated capitals of ancient Greek columns (see Spriggs 1990: 88, 89). These patterns would have been more easily incised in wet clay than reproduced by the stencilling method or by the use of a pattern board.

The sources of designs used by the *masi* makers or the names assigned to motifs, however, were not Ewins’ (2004) main interest. Rather, he persuasively argues that there is an obvious continuity between the design aesthetics of *masi* and Fijian social concepts; a continuity which was present in the Fijian pre-Christian past and continues to underpin contemporary Fijian society (2004: 161). He suggests that:

... the form and figuration of *masi* draw directly on the same sources

of cognitive understanding, spiritual belief, and social knowledge that have generated the symmetries, reciprocities, and resonances that can clearly be seen to operate in Fijian social structures and processes.

Ewins' argument regarding the links between design and indigenous social structures and processes in Fiji can also be applied to Tonga where spiritual and social values were embodied in the *ngatu* (*koloa fakatonga*, 'Tongan treasure'), which was made for and presented to the chiefly people, with appropriate demonstrations of obeisance.¹⁵ Respect and deference are still demonstrated in the formal gifting of craft goods, such as *ngatu* and mats, as well as kava, yams, taro and pigs (and, latterly, tinned corned beef).

Adrienne Kaeppler (2002: 293), in a discussion of the use of the triangular form of the *manulua* motif in 220 year-old examples of *ngatu*, suggests that particular 'metaphors and allusions are embedded in the designs'. This could well be the case but, given the antique origins of the motif, these metaphors and allusions were probably locally conceived and applied.

In Fiji, Samoa, and certainly in Tonga, it is likely that the ownership of the remembered ancient designs used to decorate bark cloth was not a communal one, but a privilege of chiefly women.¹⁶ This was certainly the case in Tonga prior to the widespread acceptance of Christianity; the manufacturing of *ngatu* was done by commoner women at the request and under the supervision of the wives of chiefs. The women lived in the chief's household or on his land as wives, daughters and sisters of the chief's farm workers. The making and embroidering of the pattern board (*kupesi*) was done by the higher-ranked women (Mariner 1818: 280; Dale 1996: 393).

The late Maxine Tamahori's (1963) thesis on the making of *ngatu* is one of the definitive works on the subject of bark-cloth manufacture in Tonga. During her very thorough fieldwork she obtained important historical information on how the manufacturing of *ngatu* changed after the conversion of Tongans to Christianity. Tamahori was able to interview women who remembered what occurred during the late 19th century and in the early twentieth century in relation to bark cloth production and the choice of motifs.

Tamahori (1963: 132) attributed the breakup of the chiefs' 'courts', in which commoner women worked under the supervision of the chiefly women, to Wesleyan missionary influence. However, the manufacture of bark cloth and *ngatu* still continued at the behest of chiefly women who made and held the

kupesi and prepared some of the dyes. During the late nineteenth century and during the early years of the twentieth century, groups of women, known as *kautaha*, came together for the purpose of making *ngatu* (Tamahori 1963: 130, 136). Tamahori noted that “The women of rank who were the repositories of all the refinements of *ngatu* manufacture, as well as the custodians of the tablets, were still asked to direct [or “chair”] the activities of the various groups’ (1963: 136). She continues:

The tablets held by the woman of rank were given to her *kautaha* and although she might take little active part in the assembling of the *ngatu* it is probably that for some years yet she still made the *kupesi* tablets. Many of the *kautaha* still treasure the tablets made by the women of rank who first presided over their activities. Over the next 50 years these chiefly women gradually withdrew from *kautaha* activity, making their final renunciation by giving up the making of tablets ... (1963: 137)

Commoner women then began to exercise creative freedom to create their own designs. Tamahori goes on to conclude:

These changes in *ngatu* making organisation have had the greatest influence upon the decorative aspects of the craft. The making of tablets (*kupesi*) was a new field to the women. It was not very likely that at any time they were deliberately taught the craft by the traditional makers, so that learning by emulation was necessarily carried out in the less complex medium, the embroidered tablet. *The traditional motifs had origins in many cases unknown to the ordinary woman* (1963: 138; my emphasis).

This is not to say that some non-chiefly women did not deliberately aim to remember and reproduce ancient designs and motifs. The indigenous assignment of a name or identity to a motif (*pace* Ewins) is one of the ways in which it might survive and remain in the design repertoire, because the naming indicated a significant history. In the Tongan case, the history involves the Tongan transliteration of *manalua* of the name of the Samoan island of Manu’a (see endnote 6). This name commemorates the intertwining of the histories of the peoples of Samoa and Tonga through trade, marriage and warfare over thousands of years.

Kaepler (2002: 293) reports that there is a clearly observable change in the choice-making of design motifs in Tonga from the nineteenth and twentieth

century. More 'naturalistic' designs were used such as the 'visual allusions' to nature, including depictions of trees and leaves. Unfortunately, she does not specify at what point in the nineteenth century this change could be clearly discerned, although it would not be surprising if it coincided with the decreasing influence of chiefly women over pattern choices. Neich and Pendergrast (1997: 41–59) illustrate their discussion of *ngatu* with photographs of examples produced in Tonga in the 1930s through to the 1970s. The motifs include *man-alua*, *tokelau* (an elongated triangle in-filled with crescents) and designs taken from nature such as single flowering plants and fish, which are not commonly seen today. A particular *ngatu* design contains the framed motif of a crown allied with the name 'Elizabeth R.', referring to Queen Elizabeth II who visited Tonga in 1953 (Neich and Pendergrast 1997: 46).

CHOOSING MOTIFS TODAY IN TONGA

Many elderly and middle-aged Tongan women first learned to make a *kupesi* while attending secondary school. The late Queen Salote (Tupou III) facilitated the establishment of the *Langa Fonua ae Fefine* (Nation Building by Women) in 1954 to encourage the learning of modern domestic skills, as well as the maintenance of traditional women's arts (Wood-Ellem 1999: 264). Members of the *Langa Fonua* groups were encouraged to make traditional handicrafts for sale to tourists so as to be able to finance household and village improvements. Shortly after the founding of *Langa Fonua* Queen Salote decreed that the making of *kupesi* should be a mandatory part of the secondary school curriculum for girls to ensure that young women were knowledgeable about local craft traditions. A student was permitted to choose a motif. The outline was constructed, using the techniques previously described, on a rectangular base made from a padded pandanus leaf, with the sennit string-like fibre made from the sheath of a coconut frond.

Lengths of *ngatu* and particular types of woven mats are termed *koloa* (treasure) and are intrinsic to gift exchanges between families, particularly during life-changing rituals, for the wrapping of a corpse prior to burial and for prestations to members of the Royal house and other members of the Tongan nobility (Cowling 1991; Small 1997). Today, any Tongan woman who chooses to do so may create a length of *ngatu*. She usually does so in the company of other women such as close relatives or neighbours. This grouping of ten or twelve women who work cooperatively (much as women would have done under the direction of a chief's sister or wife) is known as a *koka'anga*.¹⁷ Some of the women may work full-time during the week and may buy the beaten bark cloth from makers who have stalls in the Nukua'alofa or Vava'u markets.

It is not uncommon for women living in the Ha'apai group of islands to offer to exchange mats with women living in Tongatapu. In this case, the motifs may be chosen by the women commissioning the *ngatu* and are impressed on the *feta'aki*, which is then painted with the base colour. The hand painting of the design is completed by an individual or group in Ha'apai.¹⁸

The *kupesi* used to impress the designs on the particular lengths of *feta'aki* is owned by a member of the group, or it may be borrowed from another family member or friend. The projected length of the *ngatu* and choice of motifs depends on the personal aesthetics of the potential owner or perhaps on the intended destination of the *ngatu*. The named motifs which are chosen for incorporation on a length of *ngatu* come from both an extensive 'catalogue' retained in people's memories and in family-owned *kupesi*.¹⁹ Sometimes the designs used are original, particularly when freehand drawings are incorporated, but more commonly, they reproduce familiar patterns. Less imaginative *ngatu* makers (or very patriotic ones) will use one of the most popular motifs; that of representations of the Tongan coat of arms ('*Sila* [Seal] *o'Tonga*'), perhaps with borders depicting the Norfolk pines located near the King's Palace in Nuku'alofa (*hala paini*). Other symbols of royalty include a depiction of a lion, of an eagle and a dove. Elements of the decorations used in 'contemporary' (that is, nineteenth and twentieth century) Fijian, Tongan and Samoan *masi*, *ngatu* and *siapo* reflect other European influences – for example, the use of heart and snowflake shapes, of the Christian cross and the shape of the club as featured on playing cards. The squares containing the motifs may be interspersed with depictions of *maile*, a sweet smelling vine used to decorate pavilions built to shelter members of the Tongan Royal family on special occasions, such as the King's birthday.

In New Zealand, while it is common to see teetering piles of Tongan-made *ngatu*, together with large, decorated mats, displayed as the customary elements in the ritual gift exchanges at important events (for example, weddings, funerals, baptisms and 21st birthday celebrations), it is likely that boldly-painted, locally made lengths of *ngatu* have also been included. And while the base material used by *kautaha* (groups of Tongan women living in New Zealand) is white, factory-made cloth (see Addo 2004),²⁰ the design motifs used are invariably sourced from the commonly-remembered pool of traditional motifs.

CONCLUSION

A particular motif, comprised of four pointed ovals or 'petals' or four triangles, is both a reminder and legacy of voyaging ancestors, having travelled in the

artisans' memories and in various artistic forms, a very long way in time and space, from Taiwan to the eastern islands of Indonesia, through the Pacific to New Zealand.

The motif has a long history of reproduction, first in the incised decoration of Lapita pots, then (or simultaneously) in the work of the design creators of Fijian *masi*, Tongan *ngatu* and Samoan *siapo*. Finally, Fatu Feu'u's frequent incorporation of the motif in his artworks has caused it to become widely-known in New Zealand and widely copied by makers, both amateur and professional, of a variety of decorative objects.

In 1996, Karen Stevenson, without specifically mentioning the motif, ascribed much of what she called 'the distinctive Pacific accent' seen in 'consumer culture in New Zealand' to the commercial and popular influence of Feu'u's artworks (1996:18). Nicholas Thomas, in a brief discussion (1995:203–4) of the movement of the motif into the commercial and public domains in New Zealand, seemed to imply that the commoditisation of the motif had been with Feu'u's consent and even connivance. It seems that the motif which Feu'u made so accessible to people in New Zealand, has 'got away' from the artist and from its island 'homes' into a wide range of media.

This type of 'borrowing' also occurred with the appropriation of the colours and the more common designs of Tongan *ngatu*. For some years these have been commercially reproduced in New Zealand in many forms, including in gift wrapping paper, as well as on the cloth used to make Pacific style dresses and skirts and men's tropical-style shirts, using textiles produced in Japan (cf. Addo 2003:157). The commodification process has been further developed by stallholders in markets in Tonga selling lengths of *ngatu*, as well as fans, handbags and purses, which are covered in pieces of the cloth enhanced by clear lacquer. The same goods are imported into New Zealand and can be seen for sale in Tongan stalls at weekly 'Polynesian' markets, such as that in Otaru in South Auckland.

Ngatu is also used in the décor of homes featured in design magazines in the form of blinds, bedcovers, lampshades and wall hangings. This popularity was partly due to the availability of the quantities of *ngatu* sold by emigrant Tongan women in New Zealand who had more than they wished to keep for future ritual occasions. A recent development (since the late 1990s) has been the over-painting of pieces of *ngatu* by Tongan amateur artists, with depictions of fish, dolphins and even mermaids, again for sale on weekend market stalls in Auckland. The Niuean-New Zealand artist, John Pule's work also contrib-

uted to this trend as he used unframed pieces of white bark cloth as canvas on which he has created narratives using pictograms in *hiapo* style, as well as some Niuean traditional motifs.

The motif, not even acknowledged as being ‘after Feu’u’, is now firmly located in the consciousness of the New Zealand public. There are a multitude of contemporary examples of its use. The 2007 New Zealand Post series of Christmas stamps included a Pacific-themed 50c stamp, while the six-year old designer Sione Vao, of Tongan descent, utilized a slimmer version of the motif (see Figure 4). Another recent example of the use of the motif in the form used by Feu’u was on a quilt and cushions placed for sale by the individual maker on the popular website, ‘Trade Me’ in November 2007.

The motif has also been commercially reproduced on plaster wall plaques, on tiles, on silver jewellery, on the set walls of a television program screened in November 2007, presumably because the program featured local stand-up comedians of Pacific descent. It was even used to decorate the sides of the top



Figure 4. New Zealand Post Ltd. 2007 Christmas stamp

layer of a popular All Black rugby player's wedding cake in December 2007. The motif has also become the official logo for the Government of Samoa's tourism publicity. Moreover, a version, using four cowry shells, is used as the distinguishing logo of Fijian tourism advertisements.

And what of the botanical mis-identification of the motif? In discussions of the motif, both academic and popular, it is invariably reported as representing a *frangipani* flower. Cuttings of the *frangipani* tree were imported into Pacific islands following colonisation at various times in the 19th century. Once established the cultivation of the trees then became quite widespread due to their propagation by local people. The sweet-smelling flower became particularly important in Hawaii where it is known as *Plumeria* and where it has been incorporated in the millions of *lei* (neck garlands), made of real or artificial flowers, which have been presented or sold to tourists for many years. The flower is now seen as part of Hawaii's 'heritage' and is reproduced in many forms, including jewellery, but also is used in tourist brochures to signify the 'glamour' of Hawaii and other Pacific island groups.

The romantic association of the frangipani flower with the Pacific has even been given a mystical, spiritual aspect. The motif has been incorporated in the logo of the popular Pasifika Festival which is held in Auckland each February. The Festival website states that the motif is a representation of the *Frangipani* as 'depicted in central Polynesian *siapo*' [and] which symbolised the 'female element' or 'female side of mankind'.

A long process, involving the cultural and aesthetic transformation of some natural materials, has been intrinsic to the social and spiritual histories of many Pacific island peoples. Following the experiences of sustained contact with Europeans, a range of non-indigenous elements were incorporated into the histories and practices, but continuities remained. An ancient motif, used by the artist Fatu Feu'u as a reference to his Polynesian and Samoan identity, and located both within the New Zealand and Pacific Island context, has become commoditised and accepted as a popular signifier of the country's Oceanic identity. This motif has been given a new identity and name, because of an association of ideas linked to the remembered sensory experience of people seeing, wearing and smelling a non-indigenous perfumed flower. The result has been that the flower, the *frangipani*, which had become an important marker of Hawai'ian identity, and a generic Pacific island icon, is now seen in New Zealand as the signifier of island-ness, for both immigrant Pacific peoples and the rest of the population.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to Tony Whincup and Patrick Laviolette of the Department of Visual and Material Culture, Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand, who sponsored the preliminary visual presentation of this paper as part of the University's BLOW Arts Festival in November 2007. Thanks also to James Beattie for his comments on an early draft, to Rod Ewins for his comments on a close-to-final draft of the paper, and for information on *masi* design nomenclature in Fiji, to Jody Jackson-Becerra for her information on the use of the *manulua siapo* motif in contemporary Samoa and to Hala Rohorua for her memories of making a *kupes*i (pattern board) while a schoolgirl in Tonga. I would also like to pay tribute to the late Maxine Tamahori whose unpublished research on the history of the production of *ngatu* (painted bark cloth) in Tonga is an invaluable resource on that topic.

NOTES

- 1 *'Tapa'* is the generic name in Oceania for the white cloth most commonly made from the inner bark/bast of the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonettia papyrifera*), brought from S.E. Asia by the ancestors of the settlers of the Polynesian islands.. (The bark of breadfruit and of banyan fig trees was also used in the Cook Islands). Bark cloth was also made in areas of West Irian, Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu. Lengths of *tapa* cloth, decorated with designs intrinsic to a particular island culture were, and still are, used for costumes and in prestations and gift exchanges in Fiji, Tonga and in Samoa. In Tonga *'tapa'* is the term for the unpainted border of a length of decorated cloth. The unpainted cloth (*feta'aki*) is known as *ngatu* when it is decorated.
- 2 A recent example of the eclectic mixing of cloth traditions can be seen in the work of fashion designer Samita Bhattacharjee, who had emigrated to New Zealand from India in 2001. She initiated a project, 'Poly'nAsia, where she combined the use of *tapa* cloth, locally produced by Tongan women in Auckland, with traditional *kalamkari* cloth decoration from South India, in garments which she designed (Bhattacharjee 2005).
- 3 Other items used for body decoration include yellow turmeric powder, red and white clay, necklaces and anklets of dog's and shark's teeth and of boars' tusks and vertebrae, plaited coconut fibre, necklaces of flowers, seeds, vines, cowrie shells (large and small), human hair, in lengths or plaited or woven, and feathers incorporated into headdresses, cloaks, necklaces and bracelets. Having learned of the significance of the colour red for Tahitians and Hawai'ians during his first

voyage, on the second and third voyages Captain James Cook took red parrot feathers obtained in Tonga (Kaepler 1978a: 37; Kaepler 2004: 95; Salmond 2003: 217) and pieces of red cloth for exchange purposes and as gifts for high-ranking people in those islands.

- 4 In her report on an interview with Feu'u, Pandora Fulimano Pereira (2004: 5) states: 'His iconography is an amalgam of graphic patterns from *siapo*, tapa-making, and *tatau*, tattoo; stylised elements such as frangipani, *gogo*, tern, *anufe*, caterpillar; and objects of evident symbolic potential, handprints, paddles, scales'.
- 5 The addition of *manuka* to the name for this motif is interesting because 'manuka' points to a Samoan origin for the motif. *Manuka* equates to Manu'a, an island in the Samoan group. The traditional Tongan house style is known as *fale fakamanuka* ('house in the Samoan style') (Helu 1999: 319).
- 6 Kaepler (2002: 202) has reproduced an example of the use of this motif on a piece of *ngatu* 'collected during the third voyage of Captain Cook (1776–1780)'. This shape can also be seen being reproduced by Tongan women over-painting *ngatu* in a photograph in Drake (2002: 57).
- 7 The dress is in the collection of the Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, Australia.
- 8 The vertical form is sometimes interpreted as pointing in the four major wind directions—north, south, east and west.
- 9 Recent discoveries at Nukuleka village on Tongatapu in Tonga have been dated to 2900 years ago.
- 10 For example, there is a reproduction of a stone carpet from Nineveh, c.645 B.C. in Goody's book *The Culture of Flowers* (1993: 34). The caption identifies the two plants in the borders of the carpet. The first is the lotus, the second, the palm, but unfortunately the flower in the main part of the carpet is not named.
- 11 A recent innovation in Tonga has been the use of pink as a background colour. This colour is obtained from *umea*, a red clay found on the islands of Vava'u and on the island of Eua and is applied using a piece of tapa dipped in water (Rohorua *pers. comm.*, 28.10.2008).
- 12 Rod Ewins states (*pers. comm.* 19.2.08) that '*kuveti*', sometimes used in museum and scholarly descriptions of Fijian pattern boards, 'is a hybrid between central

- Fijian *kuveji*, (pron. kuvetchi), and the Lauan *kupeti*'. See also Ewins (1982: 8) for an illustration of a Samoan '*upeti* which he says is 'similar in type to the Tongan/ Fijian *kupeti*'.
- 13 One of these *kupeti*, dated 1920, is 49 cm in length. The pattern comprises four horizontal sets of the motif under discussion. On design page 19 in the same book there is an illustration of a sample piece of *siapo* (no date given) with the boldly painted motif. This closely resembles Feu'u's adaptation with the centre of the flower clearly defined.
 - 14 Green (1979: 30) reported that following a short investigation it had been found that fifty-two Lapita motifs (out of 130) have been reproduced in Oceanic barkcloth and tattoo designs. The barkcloth examples, some of which dated from 1790, were predominantly from Tonga, Fiji, Futuna, Samoa and Hawai'i.
 - 15 Prestations were made to the chiefs who in turn paid ritual tribute to the gods to ensure the on-going fertility of the land.
 - 16 A thicker form of *tapa*, made from a number of layers rather than with the usual two layers glued together, was made by priests in pre-contact Cook Islands such as Mangaia and was used to wrap wooden representations of gods (see Kaeppler 1997; Cowling 2007). It is possible priests also made the cloth in Fiji, as lengths of undecorated, white bark cloth were hung in temples as 'a path for the gods' (Ewins 2004: 170).
 - 17 See Arbeit (c.1994) and James 1988 for descriptions of the making of *ngatu*. A 27-minute film entitled '*Kuo Hina 'E Hiapo: The Mulberry is White and Ready for Harvest*' was made in 2001 and shows the planning for and making of a length of *ngatu* by a group of Tongan women in Oakland, California, the first time such an event had occurred in the USA (Addo 2005).
 - 18 See Cowling (1991) for a discussion of exchanges between women's groups in Ha'apai and Tongatapu.
 - 19 Senior relatives (such as the mother or the father's eldest sister) of a man who has inherited a chiefly title and has therefore to be acknowledged in a public ceremony witnessed by the King, are likely to command the making of a *launima* (thirty or more metres in length) to be gifted to the monarch. These women decide on what designs will be used.
 - 20 Similar groups have been formed by Tongan women living in California (See Addo 2004 and 2005).

REFERENCES

- Addo, P-A 2003 God's Kingdom in Auckland: Tongan Christian Dress and the Expression of Duty. In Colchester, C., ed., *Clothing the Pacific*. Oxford: Berg, 141–163.
- Addo, P-A 2004 Kinship, cloth and community in Auckland, New Zealand: Commoner Tongan women navigate transnational identity using traditionally styled textile wealth [microform]. Ph.D Thesis, Yale University. Microfiche, Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International.
- Addo, P-A 2005 Kuo Hina 'E Hiapo: The Mulberry is White and Ready for Harvest. Review in *The Contemporary Pacific* 17:1, 268–270.
- Arbeit, W. c.1994 Tapa in Tonga. Honolulu: Palm Frond Productions.
- Bhattacharjee, S. 2005 'Poly'nAsia. A Fashionable Fusion of Tongan and Indian Textile Traditions', Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Art and Design (Fashion Design), Auckland University of Technology.
- Campbell, I.C. 2001 *Island Kingdom. Tonga Ancient and Modern*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press.
- Cartmail, K. St. 1977 *The Art of Tonga*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Cowling, W.E. 1991 'A Response to Ideology: Women's Gift Production', in 'On Being Tongan: Responses to Tradition', Ph.D. Thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia.
- Cowling, W.E. 2006 'Once you saw them, now you don't. The disappearance of Cook Islands' traditional crafts', in Johnson, H., ed., *Refereed papers from the 2nd International Conference of the Small Islands Cultures Conference of SICRI*. Sydney, Australia: Small Islands Cultures Research Initiative, 26–35. Available on line, <http://www.sicri.org/>
- Dale, P.W. 1996 *The Tonga Book*. London: Minerva Press.
- Drake, M. 2002 'Ngatu Pepa', in Mallon, Sean and Pandora Fulimalo Pereira, *pacific art niu sila: The Pacific dimension of contemporary New Zealand arts*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 52–63.

- Ewins, R. 2004 'Symmetry and Semiotics: The Case of Fijian Barkcloth Figuration', in Washburn, Dorothy K. Ed., *Embedded Symmetries. Natural and Cultural*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. Published in cooperation with the Amerind Foundation, 161–183.
- Goody, J. 1993 *The Culture of Flowers*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Green, R.C. 1990 'Lapita Design Analysis: The Mead System and its use: a potted history', in Spriggs, M., ed., *Lapita Design, Form and Composition . Proceedings of the Lapita Design Workshop, Canberra, Australia – December 1988*, Canberra, Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies: The Australian National University, 33–52.
- Helu, 'I.F. 1999 'Aspects of Tongan Material Culture', in *Critical Essays. Cultural Perspectives from the South Seas*, Canberra: Journal of Pacific History, 309–331.
- Irwin, G. 1981 'How Lapita lost its pots: The question of continuity in the colonization of Polynesia', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 90: 4, 484–491.
- James, K.C. Making Mats and Barkcloth in the Kingdom of Tonga Suva: James.
- Jewell, R. and J. Philp 1998 *Pacific Designs. British Museum Pattern Books*. London: British Museum Press.
- Kaeppler, A.L. 1978a 'Artificial Curiosities'. *An Exhibition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N.*, Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kaeppler, A.L. 1978b 'Exchange Patterns in Goods and Spouses: Fiji, Tonga and Samoa', *Mankind*, 11: 216–52.
- Kaeppler, A.L. 1997 'Prolegomenon to the Study of Polynesian Art. The Mythological Charter. Sculptural Manifestations of Mythological Charter. Sacred Fibers, Feathers, and Inner Barks. Propriety, Presentation, and Aesthetics of the Body', in Kaeppler, A.L., C. Kaufmann and D. Newton, eds. *Oceanic Art*. Translated from the French by N. Scott and S. Bouladon with F. Leibrick, New York: Harry N. Abrams. 22–28; 39–82; 83–94; 105–113.

- Kaeppler, A.L. 2004 Ethnographic results of Cook's voyages, in Robson, John ed., *The Captain Cook Encyclopaedia*, Auckland: Random House, New Zealand, 93–97.
- Kirch, P. 1997 *The Lapita Peoples: ancestors of the Oceanic world*, Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Kirch, P. 2000 'Lapita and the Austronesian Expansion', in *On the Road of the Winds. An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands before European contact*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 85–116.
- Kirch, P. and R.C. Green 2001 *Hawaiki, Ancestral Polynesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kuchler, S. and G. Were, eds., photographs by G. Jowitt, 2005 *Pacific Pattern*, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.
- Mallon, S. and P.F. Pereira 1997 *Speaking in Colour. Conversations with artists of Pacific Island heritage*, Wellington: Te Papa Press.
- Mariner, W., with J. Martin 1817/1991 *Tonga Islands, William Mariner's Account of the natives of the Tonga Islands in the South Pacific Ocean*. (First edition published as: *An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands*,. London: John Murray), Nuku'alofa, Tonga: Vava'u Press.
- Marshall, Y. 1985 'Who made the Lapita Pots? A case study in gender archaeology', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 92: 205–34.
- Mellon, S. 2002 *Samoan Art & Artists. O Measina a Samoa*. Nelson, New Zealand: Craig Potton Publishing.
- Neich, R. and M. Pendergrast 1997 *Pacific Tapa*, Auckland: Auckland War Memorial Museum and David Bateman Ltd.
- Neich, R. and F. Pereira 2004 *Pacific Jewellery and Adornment*, Auckland: Auckland War memorial Museum and David Bateman Ltd.
- Noury, A. 2005 *Le Reflet de L'Âme Lapita. Tome 1, Esai d'interpetation des decors des poteries lapita En Melanesia et Polynesie Occidentale entre 3300 et 2700 BP*, Versailles: France, A. Noury.

- Pule, J. and N. Thomas 2005 *Hiapo, Past and Present in Niuean Barkcloth*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Ryan, T.F. 1993 'Narratives of Encounter. The Anthropology of History on Niue', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Auckland, New Zealand.
- Salmond, A. 2003 *Trial of the Cannibal Dog. Captain Cook in the South Seas*. London: Allen Lane.
- Siorat, J.P. 1990 'A Technological Analysis of Lapita Pottery Decoration', in Spriggs, M., ed., *Lapita Design, Form and Composition. Proceedings of the Lapita Design Workshop, Canberra, Australia – December 1988*, Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, 59–82.
- Small, C. 1997 *Voyages: from Tongan villages to American suburbs*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.
- Spicer, C. and R.B.B. Me 2004 *Fiji Masi. An Ancient Art in the New Millennium*, Burleigh Heads, Queensland, Australia: Self-published.
- Spriggs, M. 1990 'The Changing Face of Lapita: Transformation of a Design' in Spriggs, M., ed., *Lapita Design, Form and Composition . Proceedings of the Lapita Design Workshop, Canberra, Australia – December 1988*, Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, 83–122.
- Stevenson, K. 1996 'Culture and identity: contemporary Pacific artists in New Zealand', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, 1996; 17: 59–68.
- Tamahori, M. 1963 'Cultural Change in Tongan Bark-Cloth Manufacture'. M.A. Thesis in Anthropology, University of Auckland.
- Thomas, N. 1995 *Oceanic Art*. London, Thames and Hudson.
- Vercoe, C. 2002 'Art Niu Sila', in Mallon, S. and P. F. Pereira, eds., *Pacific art niu sila. the Pacific dimension of contemporary New Zealand arts*. Wellington: Te Papa Press, 191–206.
- Wood-Ellem, E. 1999 *Queen Salote of Tonga. The story of an era 1900–1965*. Auckland, University of Auckland Press.

SOUNDSCAPE, CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AND CONNECTIVITY

Kumi Kato

ABSTRACT

'Soundscape' is a landscape of sound or sonic environment that focuses on the way a sound is perceived and understood by individuals and social groups. With the special and temporal qualities of sound, the concept presents a more inclusive and holistic way of knowing a place. Attention to sounds distinct to a certain place, especially those distinct to certain human-nature interactions, allows new ways of sensing a place and producing connectivity (or lack of it). Taking soundscape as a conceptual framework and incorporating notions such as cultural landscape and intangible cultural heritage, this article explores the role of sound in defining and articulating human-nature connectivity through a particular whistle noise that is symbolic to the traditional culture of ama divers in Japan. It is a phenomenological enquiry into a sustainable human-nature relationship where the intangibility of this relationship is recognized and reified in a sound.

INTRODUCTION

'Soundscape' refers to an environment of sound or sonic environment that focuses on the way noises are perceived and understood at all levels of culture from the individual to the social institution. The concept of soundscape, as Paul Rodaway (1994) defines it in his book *Sensuous Geographies*, is not merely a state of being with respect to the sound in the environment but is also an experiential process and an auditory engagement with the environment that continually changes with our way of interaction. Being in a soundscape is a bodily experience in which one's body resonates with the environment, placing one inside the landscape, connecting humans with their environment. Soundscapes allow for a holistic conceptualization of human-nature relationship represented by a place-specific sound.

With soundscape as a conceptual framework, this article locates a 'sound in place' that expresses human ethics towards—and connectivity with—the natural environment. It defines such soundscapes symbolically as a 'sustainable' human-nature relationship whereby sound articulates intangible qualities (i.e. human ethics, spirituality), which are further defined as intangible cultural heritage for (specifically related to) sustainability. This concept will be discussed with a reference to the author's study of a soundscape of women divers in Japan (*ama*), in which sound is a symbolic representation of their connectivity with the ocean environment. Conservation ethics and a sense of connectivity of those who exploit natural resources is the core of the research, to which the discussion can now be directed.

SOUNDSCAPE AS A CULTURAL SPACE OF HUMAN-NATURE CONNECTIVITY

One critical ingredient for the development of a conservation ethic is a sense of connectivity with the natural world, or in the terms of the eco-philosopher David Abram, the 'more-than-human-world' (Abram 1997: ix). Concepts such as 'to live in place' (Thayler 2003), 're-inhabiting' (Berg and Dasmann 1990) and 'insideness' (Relph 1979) also articulate such connectivity and human position in relation to the natural world. Connectivity here is *genius loci* (spirit of place), an authentic integrity of a place sustained over time through ordinary and on-going human-nature interactions (Hay 2002). This ordinariness of interaction is important. Plumwood (2002: 220) warns that simply designating a place as special or sacred may be ineffective in countering 'the devaluation, degradation and instrumentalisation of ordinary land'. Spiritual connection with a place should develop out of ordinary interaction with a place and generate a better earth ethics and culture that contain a certain type of capacity for communication which can recognize those elements that are life supporting. The kind of relationship generated here is dialogical and communicative. It is both two-way and two-place, whereby people can belong to the land as much as it belongs to people (Plumwood 2002).

Such a communicative paradigm suggests that a sustainable relationship with the natural environment can only be realized through an effort to make the relationship in some way reciprocal, even symbolically and conceptually. Landscape, as a result, becomes a story that shows a deep acquaintance and dialogical interaction. Such interwoven landscapes that reflect human-nature connectivity, may be defined as a 'cultural landscape', which the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) defines as: 'a combined works of nature and humankind that express a long and intimate relationship between peoples and their natural environment' (Anonymous 2008: 7). Here, human-

nature relationships may be expressed in specific techniques of sustainable land use, communities' beliefs, and artistic and traditional customs that embody an exceptional spiritual relationship of people with nature.

Furthermore, connectivity with the natural world is sensory in nature. For instance, in his memoirs, Tom Sullivan (2007: 108) posits that 'humankind is intimately bound to the world by combination of senses', and all senses – visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile and culinary – connect us with particular experience at a particular place. In *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, the anthropologist Barbara Bender similarly argues that 'an experiential or phenomenological approach allows us to consider how we move around, how we attach meaning to places, entwining them with memories, histories and stories, creating a sense of belonging' (Bender 1993: 135).

On top of such phenomenological considerations, the material culture theorist Christopher Tilley (1994) adds another layer. He indicates the significant ways in which supernatural presences and ancestral powers are immanent in the landscapes of many non-Western societies. The past and the elders are implicated in the way certain groups of people understand and interact with certain sites, shaping the places of the life-world (Tilley 1994). Today, such ancestral landscapes are invisible for many urban dwellers, and environmental and social changes urge our attention to what could be in the process of becoming lost.

CHALLENGES TODAY

The UN Global Compact Cities program has reported that over 50 percent of the world's population will be living in cities by 2010, and that urban populations are faced with increasingly complex economic, social, and environmental problems (Teller 2003). The report states that urbanisation is exacerbating existing difficulties and creating new challenges, including poverty, personal safety, illiteracy, and drug use, as well as land, air and water pollution—all detrimentally impacting people and land far beyond the geographical limits of the city itself. It is ironic that the concentration of population does not lead to the formation of communities—cohesiveness, connection and sense of place generated by the members of the community. The process of 'belonging in place', Armstrong (2004: 239) argues, is critical today because 'belonging has become a confused concept under the homogeneity of globalisation'. The aforementioned urban problems, as well as high mobility, technology use, and recent rises in security-related fear, hinder the formation of communities. Lack of community can lead to weaker connection with locality, and thus, to a loss of

local distinctiveness.

The increasing difficulty for both community and individuals to maintain distinctiveness and place in contemporary society is a fundamental aspect of people's existence in the world: 'Places are fusions of human and natural order and are the significant centers of our immediate experiences of the world' (Relph 1979: 141). As one's spiritual connection is recognized and developed, a place becomes a home, which is the foundation of 'our identity as individuals and members of a community' (Hay 1994: 11).

The challenge of creating a sense of place can be even greater for culturally diverse societies like Australia. Such societies are particularly relevant in the contemporary context, given that diversity in global perspectives, approaches, and values is becoming an increasingly worldwide reality. Armstrong (2004) asserts that understanding how diverse communities make sense of their place – and their place-making processes – is critical because understanding people and place helps us rethink what is happening to our environments and our sense of belonging as a result of late capitalism. The importance of understanding place-making processes deserves particular attention because commitment to place is a critical ingredient of sustainability, where both social and cultural dimensions need to complement environmental aspects (Booth and Jacobs 2004; Heyd 2007; Rodman 2003).

CREATIVE RESPONSE – LISTENING TO A PLACE AND EACH OTHER

In response to the above consequences of globalization and to regain local distinctiveness and a sense of community, listening – attention to sound in the environment, or 'soundscape' – is useful. A soundscape, as outlined at the outset, is a landscape represented by sounds; a complex web of human-nature relationships embodied and conceptualised as a cultural landscape. Soundscapes, therefore, help humans to recognize their place in relation to the surrounding environment (Hedfors and Berg 2003; Macgowan 2007; Truax 1996). As Casey defines them, soundscapes are: 'Perceived and interpreted by human actors who attend to them as a way of making their place in and through the world [... they] are invested with significance by those whose bodies and lives resonate with them in social time and space' (Casey in Feld 2003: 226).

The significance of sound can be summarized in the four main points below. Firstly, sound is a means of connection and knowing a place. 'Being in a place' is a whole-body, as well as spiritual, experience where one is embedded in the landscape. Feld (2003; 2005) defines such experience as sensuous episte-

mology, where sense of place overlaps with physical senses. Knowing a place through auditory experience is termed 'acoustemology'. Listening to a place is therefore a way of attending to distinctive features of a place and making explicit connection with it; communicating with the environment in which one resides, to be sensitively in tune with the surrounding environment's state and flow. Defining ordinary places of daily interaction may be seen as a structural-semiotic analysis of the traditions of habitus as ways to explain a sense of belonging or dwelling – gaining insights into how to understand a place that reflects one's everyday life. It is also a hermeneutic exploration of being-in-the-world, in which humble ordinary places are embodied as a profound sense of place (Casey 1996).

Secondly, sounds can be a means to forming a community, both human and land. Listening to a place is to identify sounds unique to the place where community is recognized. Sound may represent natural, cultural, and historical features of a place, and/or related knowledge, skills, and spirituality. In some cases, sound resides in memory (lost sound). Such 'soundmarks' (Schafer 1985), or significant sounds particular to a distinct place, become common references for a community, creating a sense of community linked to place. Soundmarks considered to be common to a specific region or city, will build an acoustic community (Truax 1984; Schafer 1985). Such auditory awareness about place becomes a sonic sense of place that can help define a conceptual community or a consciousness terrain (Berg and Dasmann 1990), as well as a community of care (Hay 2002). A community that recognizes a profound connection with a certain place would care about that place and its integrity. Such an authentic relationship is critical for sustainability. It can thus be said that an auditory awareness extends one's consciousness to be part of a land community (Leopold, 1968), where sacred connection is recognized in even ordinary, everyday places (Tacey 1995; Tayler 1999).

Thirdly, sound can be a carrier of ethics and spirituality. Sounds can carry traditional and historical knowledge of living in place and communicate the complexity of knowledge, ethics and connectivity to those outside of their world. Sounds also carry social memories about place and people. Bradley and McKinnon (2007) give an example of Yolngu people's songs that 'clearly establish an immutable relationship of what could be called the spirit of place to the spirit of people' (Bradley and McKinnon 2007:77). Yolngu people experience place through all their senses (i.e. sight, smell, sound, taste and touch). Travelling on the land and seeing and participating in their places increases people's knowledge and legitimizes their authority. Claims to rightful knowledge are often followed by emphasising one's extensive travels to distant places

to hunt and gather seasonal food or to attend ceremonies. Through encounters of place, people increasingly define themselves through their experiences and the knowledge that this brings, constructing a cultural encyclopedia (Povinelli 1993). Clearly such sense of connection is largely being lost. But we may—by embedding into shared environments symbols that are culturally meaningful—transform space into place (Low 1999). Such a form of identifying with and committing to local distinctiveness, is one significant way of meaning-making for place.

Lastly, sound can be a means to creative expression. Sounds can highlight the importance of creativity and imagination as expressed in many environmental soundworks (e.g. Bandt 1985; 2001). The ephemeral quality of sound allows one to be spontaneous and accepting of alternative ways of thinking. Hence, with sound one would imagine space and construct meanings much more freely. Attention to sound also emphasizes that creativity is not only expressed visually in our visually dominant lives. As such, sound is part of a process in which positive words that articulate our connection with place can be better created, circulated, and therefore influential. In other words, when thinking about the relationship between sound and sustainability, we need to consider more creative approaches for promoting auditory senses of beauty, appreciation and celebration of community life.

Here, it is also useful to refer to the concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) defined, for example, in *the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO 2003):

The practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity (Article 2. para.1).

Sound itself can also be a component of ICH, as well as a means of articulating ICH, particularly because of its transient and fleeting nature (see Kato 2007). ICH is interactive, dynamic and cohesive in that it harbours that crucial component of being something which gets transmitted from one generation to the next. Further, it is recreated constantly by groups and communities, in response to their interactions with the natural environment, as well as their

historical conditions of existence. In this way it promotes a sense of identity and cultural continuity which has the potential of sustaining and developing human creativity and cultural diversity.

I elaborate on these premises below with an example of sound that contains the above qualities and which can easily be described as a form of Intangible Cultural Heritage for sustainability. The soundscape of a specific culture – a group of women divers in Japan (*ama*) – is presented as an example of a cultural landscape representing the divers' cultural heritage through the *Isobue* whistle sound.

SOUNDSCAPE OF AMA

Isobue, or sea whistle, is the sound of women divers (*ama*) taking breaths in between their dives. *Ama* (literally 'sea women') free dive (i.e. without oxygen tanks) for abalone, various shellfish and seaweed throughout the year. Today the traditional form of this practice is maintained in the coastal areas of Japan, Korea, and China. This present study was carried out in the island village of Sugashima, Toba-city, Mie prefecture, on the central east coast of Japan.

Ama are typically divided into two categories depending on the way they access the diving spot: one is *kachido* (shore divers), who swim into the ocean from the shore, typically diving in five to ten metres of water; the other is *funado* (boat divers), who go out further in boats and dive in deeper water (up to 20 metres). Their dives are short and frequent, and the breaths they take between dives are a way of resting and preparing for the next dive.

The most prized harvest is abalone (*awabi*), fetching up to 8000 yen a kilo (approx. \$130 NZD). The harvest is strictly regulated. In the region, the abalone season is typically between June and August, although harvesting is officially allowed all year except the breeding season (between 15 September to 31 December). Decisions to 'open the sea' are made by each regional fishery union (*ama* division) according to tide and weather, as well as festivities, rituals, and local beliefs. The fishery unions will not 'open the sea' if there was a funeral in the village ten to forty days earlier, varying regionally. Sugashima has the least number of days (about 25). Diving time per day is also restricted from thirty minutes to one and a half hours. The definite schedule is only announced in the morning through the loud speaker at the fishing union.

Numerous rituals, festivities and self-imposed restrictions represent *ama's* ethics towards the ocean environment and their gratitude towards the blessing

they receive (Martinez 2004). It is also a way of wishing and ensuring safety, as without the requisite respect, the ocean would haunt them with life-threatening danger and even death. These restrictions were gradually implemented through time, particularly with the introduction of non-traditional equipment. It was interesting to note that many divers say that what is frightening is not the deep ocean, the cold, or even the sharks and hardship of the dive, but the word *rankaku* (uncontrolled harvest or over-harvesting). The divers repeatedly stated that they make sure ‘they can come back tomorrow, next week, and next year’ by intuitively respecting the limit, although this limit is also related to physical factors. This acute sense of ethics was most prominently expressed when new diving equipment—namely facemasks and wetsuits—was introduced in the early and mid 20th century respectively.

Interestingly, both innovations received resistance from the *ama* unions for fear that they would lead to over-harvesting. The facemask would allow divers to ‘see too well and take too many’. The wetsuits would allow longer dives as they protect divers from cold. Although both masks and wetsuits were both introduced in all regions eventually, various restrictions were developed on season, location and time. Sugashima was the last village to introduce facemasks (in 1965) and wetsuits (in 1988), and has the shortest diving season in the region. One woman said, ‘Of course the wetsuits keep you warm, but you cannot feel the ocean’, while another noted ‘It felt rude to go into the sea with that black thing on’.

The introduction of wetsuits also coincided with rapid industrialization when many men took up city jobs, resulting in fewer boat handlers, leaving women to be shore divers rather than boat divers. Wetsuits resulted in new types of accidents, with some women noting that the wetsuit material created increased friction with rock surfaces. The insulating quality of wetsuits also allowed divers to take greater risks in cold water conditions. One woman added: ‘Wetsuits exhaust you without you noticing as you have to swim, resisting buoyancy, [while] carrying three to four kilograms of weight’. Moreover, current technology has added another dread. The newer plastic waist cords (which used to be made of mulberry) are harder to cut if the divers ever get tangled.

The introduction of wetsuits has also led to an unfortunate increase in illegal fishing, by both recreational and commercial divers. This, together with increased use of technology (GPS, transport, storage) and mass harvesting, as well as pollution, are believed to be the main causes of the severe decline in abalone numbers (Kato 2007a). The fishery union reports that the harvest has declined to almost one tenth of what it was twenty years ago. The women also

noticed a gradual but clear change in ocean quality: ‘The seaweeds are dying like plants—in summer heat’; ‘Unusual fish and shells started to appear’, and ‘More rubbish started to get tangled in seaweeds, sea floors and shores’.

CONCLUSION

The self-regulations, rituals, ceremonies and festivities have not only allowed a sustainable use of natural resources but also the divers’ strong connections with the ocean environment. It is ironic that a number of external forces that breach such ethics have caused a decline in these resources and the practice of *ama* diving itself. On the morning of the divers’ festival held according to the lunar calendar, a stream of city workers and high school students hurry towards the ferry terminal to go across to the city on the mainland. The stream going in the opposite direction to the festival site, are the *ama* (fishers, elders and young children). The life of the divers and fishers revolve around the tides (i.e. the lunar calendar), while the rest of the world follows the solar calendar introduced in 1872. The whistle, as a sound in place, represents diverse meanings: the divers’ spirituality, their connection to the ocean environment, their sense of ethics, their community, histories, stories, their joy, sadness and hardship. The *ama* soundscape can be seen as a cultural landscape within which a sustainable human-nature relationship, mythology, rituals, festivities, community life and personal stories, are imbedded.

In the soundscape of *ama*, the whistle blending with the sound of the ocean carries the spirits of the divers, their stories and timeless connection with the world they lived in. Despite the reality of social and environmental changes, the sound symbolizes the essence of humanity situated in their place as the fundamental wisdom for sustainability. By creatively defining a place and listening to the surroundings (and to each other), an invisible, yet tangible, sense of place emerges. Attention to sound and soundscape therefore offers a more holistic approach to sustainability that embraces social, cultural, and environmental dimensions. There, resonance of the acoustic materiality of a place is embodied in human-nature interactions.

REFERENCES

- Abram, David 1997 *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-Than-Human World*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Anonymous 2008 *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes*. Paris: ICOMOS.

- Armstrong, Helen 2004 'Making the unfamiliar familiar: research journeys towards understanding migration and place', *Landscape Research*. 29(3): 237–60.
- Bandt, Ros 2001 *Sound Sculpture: Intersections in Sound and Sculpture in Australian Artworks*. Sydney: Craftsman House.
- 1985. *Sound in Space: Wind Chimes and Sound Sculptures*. Camberwell: Victorian Arts Council and Council of Adult Education.
- Bender, Barbara (ed) 1993 *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Oxford: Berg.
- Berg, Peter and Dasmann, Raymond 1990 'Reinhabiting California', in V. Andruss, C. Plant, J. Plant and E. Wright (eds) *Home! A Bioregional Reader*. Philadelphia: New Society:
- Booth, Annie and Jacobs, Harvey L. 2004 'Ties that bind: Native American beliefs', in B. Foltz, and R. Frodeman (eds) *Rethinking Nature: Essays in Environmental Philosophy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press:
- Bradley, John and McKinlay, Elizabeth 2007 'Singing the land, singing the family: Song, place and spirituality amongst the Yanyuwa', in F. Richards (ed) *The Soundscapes of Australia: Music, Place and Spirituality*. Aldershot: Ashgate: 75–92.
- Casey, Edward 1996 'How to get from space to place in a fairly short stretch of time: Phenomenological prolegomena', in S. Feld and K. Basso (eds) *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press: 13–52.
- Feld, Steven 2003 'Rainforest acoustemology', in M. Bull and L. Back (eds) *The Auditory Culture Reader*. New York: Berg: 223–39.
- 2005 'Places sensed, senses placed: Towards a sensuous epistemology of environments' in D. Howes (ed), *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*. New York: Berg: 179–91.
- Hay, Peter 2002 *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought*. Sydney: University of NSW Press.
- 1994 'Introduction' in J. De Gryse, and A. Sant (eds), *Our Common Ground: A Celebration of Art, Place and Environment*. Hobart: The Centre for En-

- Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania. The Australian Institute of Landscape Architects: 11–15.
- Hedfors, Per and Berg, Per G. 2003 'The sounds of two landscape settings: auditory concepts for physical planning and design', *Landscape Research*. 28(3): 245–63.
- Heyd, Thomas 2007 *Encountering Nature: Towards an Environmental Culture*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Kato, Kumi 2007 'Prayers for the whales: spirituality and ethics of a former whaling community', *International Journal of Cultural Property*. 14(3): 283–313.
- 2007a 'Waiting for the tide, tuning in the world – *ama* no isobue: soundscape of abalone diving women', in R. Bandt, M. Duffy and D. MacKinnon (eds) *Hearing Places. Sound, Place, Time, Culture*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press: 214–233.
- Leopold, Aldo 1968 *A Sand County Almanac, and Sketches Here and There*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Low, Nicholas (ed) 1999 *Global Ethics and Environment*. London: Routledge.
- Martinez, Dolores 2004 *Identity and Ritual in a Japanese Diving Village*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Megowan, Fiona 2007 *Melodies of Mourning: Music & Emotion in Northern Australia*. Oxford: James Currey Publishers.
- Plumwood, Val 2002 *Environmental Culture: The Ecological Crisis of Reason*. London: Routledge.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth 1993 *Labor's Lot: The Power, History, and Culture of Aboriginal Action*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Relph, Edward 1979 *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.
- Rodaway, Paul 1994 *Sensuous Geographies: Body, Sense & Place*. London: Routledge.
- Rodman, M. 2003 'Empowering place: Multilocality and multivocality', in S. Low

and L. Laurence-Zuniga (eds), *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*. Malden, MA: Blackwell: 205–23.

Schafer, R. Murray. 1985 'Acoustic space', in D. Seamon and R. Mugerauer (eds), *Dwelling, Place and Environment*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: 87–98.

Sullivan, Tom 2007 *Adventure in Darkness: Memoirs of an Eleven-Year-Old Blind Boy*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.

Tacey, David. J. 1995 *Edge of the Sacred: Transformation in Australia*. Sydney: Harper Collins.

Taylor, Ken 1999 'Exploring the ordinarily sacred', *Landscape Australia*. 2: 107–12.

Teller, David. 2003 'Global Compact Cities Program: Melbourne Model – solving hard urban issues together', *Journal of Corporate Citizenship*. Available at: http://goliath.ecnext.com/coms2/gi_0199-3103702/United-Nations-Global-Compact-cities.html.

Thayer, Ray 2003 *LifePlace: Bioregional Thought and Practice*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tilly, Christopher 1994 *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg.

Truax, Barry 1996 *Soundscape, Acoustic Communication and Environmental Sound Composition*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

— 1984 *Acoustic Communication*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

UNESCO 2003 'Convention for Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: Article 2', Available at: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=EN> (accessed on 5 Oct, 07).

TOPOGENIC FORMS IN NEW GEORGIA, SOLOMON ISLANDS

Tim Thomas

ABSTRACT

James Fox coined the term ‘topogeny’ to refer to practices where the recitation of an ordered sequence of place names is employed as a means of categorizing and transmitting social knowledge. In the Solomon Islands such narratives are an important component of tribal identity, typically tracing ancestral origins to inland mountains and then descending in a sequence of migratory steps towards the coast where present-day groups reside. Previous accounts have sometimes argued that the recurrence of such narratives on virtually every island indicates that they are ideological impositions on the landscape, perhaps having a post-colonial origin. Archaeological dating of ancestral sites on the other hand demonstrates that such narratives can have historical content. This tension between historical ‘truth’ and ideological narrative is the primary concern of this paper. I argue that it can be resolved by focusing on the materiality of topogenic forms.

INTRODUCTION

When speaking of origins it is common to refer to histories of generation. The genealogy is our classic model for this, tracing personal origins through a precession of ancestors. By way of analogy it is also used to explain the non-biological generation of related entities in other circumstances. In archaeology and design history, for example, the genealogy serves as a model for narratives of stylistic development in classes of artefact – we might say the inter-subjective domain of sociality where persons give rise to persons, is analogical to an ‘inter-artefactual domain’ of style, where forms give rise to forms (Gell 1998: 216; Gosden 2005). But there is a conventional difference in the means by which generations are regarded as linked in each of these cases. For personal genealogies the link may be portrayed as substantive. In European thinking it is blood, or more recently genetic substance, which is carried over, linking people in concrete ancestor-descendant relationships. In the reconstruction

of stylistic genealogies, however, connection is either portrayed as being a result of the flow of immaterial ideas, or of habitual practice and material socialisation: no substance passes from one generation of artefact to the next, instead links appear through the 'growth' of forms in a shared cultural context or habitual field (Ingold 2000:345). So, in the former case connections are held to be innate whilst in the latter they are a matter of circumstance. Put another way, in personal genealogies entities *generate* entities, while in artefactual genealogies entities are merely *related* via some process, and this relatedness is noticed only through analysis.

Genealogical histories are obviously not exclusive to European modes of analysis. They are, somewhat stereotypically, a feature of many non-Western origin narratives and it is not always the case that such narratives maintain the distinction between people and things noted above. Oceanic societies are a case in point – here, genealogies narrate origins through enchainments of persons, but often connect these to histories of artefacts, food crops, and forms of specialist knowledge. It has been noted that such narratives typically have a spatial or topographic dimension, particularly (though not exclusively) amongst Austronesian speaking populations (Fox 1997a). Place names may be recited as an integral part of the genealogy, and both people and things are seen to have journeyed about the landscape in generational steps. Fox has coined the term 'topogeny' (1997a: 8) to describe this connection of landscape and history in a genealogical way, arguing that such narratives are a means of ordering and transmitting social knowledge and externalising memory spatially. In this paper I focus on various topogenic forms that occur in the New Georgia region of the Solomon Islands (Fig. 1). Particularly, I am interested in how spatialised lineages of persons, things, and knowledge are thought to relate to each other, how such lineages form, and how they connect to notions of personhood and sociality. These concerns have also emerged in recent debates about kinship in Melanesia and so I give some background to these first.

TOPOGENY AND KINSHIP: GROWTH AND SUBSTANCE

Fox regards topogenies and genealogies as distinct forms – although they can connect up in linear narratives, or be transformed one into the other, they are fundamentally analogous ways of establishing precedence by referring to either a spatial or a personal origin point (Fox 1997b). But maintaining this distinction immediately brings up the question of how the analogy is thought to work by the societies in question: do places give rise to places in the same way that persons give rise to persons? Fox is not explicit on this issue but does emphasise the role of personal journeys and memory-work in the creation of

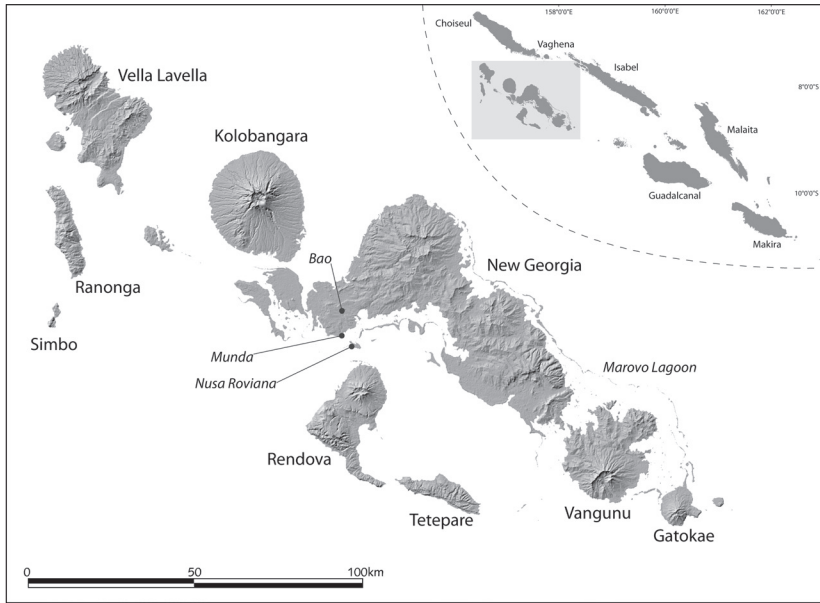


Figure 1. Map of the New Georgia archipelago, Solomon Islands.

topogenies. In all the examples Fox gives, it is the activities of persons (or other ancestral or spiritual agents) in their historical movements and contemporary recollections, that connect places in series. In a broad sense topogenies reveal that persons, things and forms of knowledge are regarded as fundamentally emplaced, such that personhood and its products cannot be explicated without reference to place (1997b: 89). From this perspective then, topogenies are the spatial correlate of genealogies. Perhaps the analogy works in much the same way as noted above for European personal and artefactual genealogies – whilst persons generate persons through the transmission of biogenetic substance, places are created and related to each other by the habitual activity, work, and movement of persons in a landscape.

So it would seem on the face of things. But recent debates in Oceanic ethnography and the anthropology of kinship suggest an alternate perspective on how the analogy of genealogy and topogeny might operate, and indeed, lead us to question whether it is an analogy at all. The reinvigoration of anthropological interest in kinship, after Schneider's (1984) critique of European biases about its necessary conditions, has famously turned upon the very contrast between biogenetic generation and relatedness noted above (Carsten 2000). Increas-

ingly, the universality of beliefs about the role of physical reproduction in forging human kinship bonds has been challenged by ethnographies that claim to document contexts where kinship is gradually acquired, sometimes via non-sexual means. Marilyn Strathern's (1988) depiction of Melanesian exchange as a means of eliciting gender and relatedness has been highly influential here. In some Melanesian cultures particular substances such as food, blood, milk, and semen, are regarded as permutations of one another in different male and female forms. Being detachable from persons they circulate in exchanges and can create lineage connections via their movement as well as their role in the growth of children. Gender and genealogy in these contexts appear as products of social process rather than biogenetic innateness, but they are still regarded as being made through the passing on of substance. In contrast to Western notions though, connecting substances and their effects are regarded as fundamentally mutable and malleable rather than immutable and innate (cf. Carsten 2003: 109–135). Thus, any lineage, identity, or gender produced by these flows is also regarded as potentially impermanent, appearing as a momentary reification out of a multiplicity of possible relations.

In other Melanesian contexts shared bodily substance may be thought to play little role in making relatedness and be seen rather as a *product* of relatedness. Leach (2003), for example, argues that among the Nekgini speakers of Papua New Guinea, shared participation during landscape production (work, growing and eating food, ceremonial activity in a common place) produces connection. The sharing of substance comes from the sharing of land (Leach 2003: 215) and so land can be said to be creative of kinship – it has generative power. Bamford (2004) has argued for something similar with regard to the establishment of patrilineages among the Kamea people of Highland Papua New Guinea. Using land and moving through the landscape are the means by which ties between men are elicited through time (Bamford 2004: 294).

Here then we see the possibility of an inversion in the role of topogenies with respect to genealogies – rather than being merely the spatial correlate of genealogy (places are made to relate via the work of persons biogenetically descended from each other), topogeny is constituent of genealogy (personal relations form through engaging in and with the same landscape as one's contemporaries and predecessors). From this perspective topogenies and genealogies are not related analogically, but rather are different views of the same process. Moreover, since landscapes are potentially unbounded and may take in any number of persons dwelling within them, any lineage of persons or places might be seen as a partial sectioning of a wider range of possible relations. As with Strathern's analysis of gendered exchanges that eclipse multiple relations

to produce momentarily stable identities, kinship is depicted as cognatic by default in these accounts – a network of relations that is cut (Strathern 1996) only when certain topographic lines are drawn (Leach 2003: 212–3).

The applicability of this perspective to all occurrences of topogeny amongst social groups in Melanesia or wider Oceania is a matter for demonstration, not least because it rests on particular formulations of exchange, substance, and relatedness that are defined in opposition to Western European forms for the purpose of analytical leverage (Strathern 1988: 6). Put in context, this strategy is part of a broader intellectual movement involving the critique of Western models of subjectivity persistent since the Cartesian enlightenment, and of which new perspectives in the study of kinship are but one token. The approach to landscape, for example, is linked to broadly phenomenological critiques of the Western scientific tendency to see environment as a backdrop to, or container of, social life, rather than as an ongoing product of worldly engagement (cf. Leach 2003: Ch.7). In this sense, ethnographic examples from Melanesia serve as analytical models describing regional variants of what is thought to be a rather more universal human process. Whether this involves the privileging of a recent philosophical perspectives of our own over indigenous perspectives (as suggested by Scott (2007: 351)), is a matter for debate. Certainly both Leach and Bamford grapple with the fact that in their respective ethnographic contexts, the local idiom has it that kin are those who share ‘one blood’, posing some difficulties for their claims that notions of biogenetic substance are of less importance than land. The solution for each is to argue that being ‘one blood’ is the result rather than the cause of relatedness, and so their accounts can accommodate the ethnographic data without contradiction.

More interesting, from my perspective, is that the congruency of the two sets of contrasts – between supposedly Western and Melanesian forms of sociality and Cartesian and post-Cartesian models of subjectivity – allows a residual valorisation of perspectives to emerge. Internal critiques of Western notions of subjectivity have always provided a challenge to apparently dominant or hegemonic conceptions and, as such, are an ongoing part of liberal academic debate (cf. Marcus 1991). When these critiques inform ethnographic analyses of other social contexts, local conceptions that may appear similar to dominant Western forms have a tendency to be described as more or less ideological representations, as forms of local essentialism rather than lived experience. Hence, in the models of Melanesian sociality described above, fixed identities and lineages are regarded as being the result of politically motivated, temporary eclipses or encompassments of a general multiplicity of relations. They are reifications occurring against a more neutral background or social field.

Occasionally this essentialism may be depicted as being influenced by cultural contact with the West. This effect is particularly evident in accounts of land and kinship in the New Georgia region of the Solomon Islands.

LAND AND LINEAGE IN NEW GEORGIA

An early example appears in the work of Miller (1980), who, while conducting one of the first large scale archaeological surveys of the Solomon Islands, noted a recurring pattern in the topogenic narration of settlement sequences and histories of particular landscapes. On many islands throughout the archipelago oral histories typically begin by naming a distinct origin site on the highest point of a territory, marked by abandoned architectural features in the form of shrines, house platforms, and the like. Sites then descend gradually downhill as a generational sequence of occupation, the final, most recently occupied site being located closest to the coast. Each sequence of sites is connected to a single-line genealogy, the beginnings of which blend with mythical events describing the origins of mountains, rivers, death, warfare and so on, and the end of which connects to the narrator.

Miller argues that it is 'unlikely that these sequences represent true genealogical knowledge, but more probably represent a few generations' ancestry tacked onto a string of legendary figures, related to and thus justifying settlement of an area' (1980: 454). The parallel gradient of height and time was thought to be invoked due to an association of height with sacredness, and reinforced by recent settlement trends. In the decades following the establishment of the British Protectorate in the 1890s many groups abandoned inland settlements to reside in large conglomerate coastal villages established by missionaries. On the basis of limited archaeological evidence from Malaita, Isabel, and Makira, Miller argues that pre-colonial life involved small dispersed hamlet clusters, with a highly mobile population successively abandoning and reoccupying numerous available sites within a given territory. This always-existing patchwork of sites served as a resource for resettlement and use, but could also be incorporated within 'a linearly conceived series' if a new settlement was close to the shore (Miller 1980: 458). The pattern of lineal topogeny then, is a formal model with ideological motivations rather than an accurate depiction of a history more fluid and variable.

In the New Georgia group these spatially descending linear topogenies are all pervasive and their veracity and interpretation is a matter of much local debate, having important political and economic ramifications. Recent ethnographies focus on the internal manipulation of such narratives in response to ever in-

creasing pressures from externally owned logging and fishing operations. Schneider (1998), for example, documents legal conflicts and community schisms amongst the Kazukuru people residing in the western part of Roviana Lagoon in southern New Georgia, deriving from debates about rights to the forest of the unoccupied interior of the island and its potential as a source of logging revenue. In order to understand these debates a little background is necessary.

High in the mainland forests behind Roviana lagoon, on steep ridges above river cut valleys, large arrangements of stone mark sacred sites of origin for the present-day inhabitants of the coast. These are places where the earliest remembered ancestors lived or emerged into the world, and from whom currently recognised tribal groupings, or *butubutu*, descend. Each place is inextricably tied to the meaning of *butubutu*, defining the root or starting point of a group's extent in terms of land and lineage. The term *butubutu* encompasses both spatial and social territory; membership is recognized by tracing descent from apical ancestors according to cognatic principles of bilateral filiation informed by co-residence and shared work within distinct estates or *pepeso*. The latter stretch from the origin points in the mountains down to currently occupied coastlines and their neighbouring waters, and are co-extensive with histories of human occupation (Aswani 1997; Hviding 1996). As such, the unity of *butubutu* and *pepeso* is an embodiment of past human action, having accreted cumulatively from patterns of ancestral practice and movement during the habitation and cultivation of successive locales through time. Landscape is history in this context, simultaneously generating and being generated by the same social moments that make persons (cf. Thomas *et al.* 2001; Hviding 1996: 131–66).

The Kazukuru people claim descent from apical ancestors (particularly a male named Kazukuru) who resided at a place called Bao in the interior of the New Georgia mainland. According to tradition, intermarriage occurred with descendants of a woman named Roviana, before a gradual migration towards the coast (the journey marked by shrines and village remains). This led to the occupation of the barrier reef island of Nusa Roviana and the establishment of Kazukuru villages in the Kindu area of the coastal mainland. In this way a new Kazukuru/Roviana polity was formed. Members of the polity are also related to Kalikoqu and Saikile people, who reside in the eastern parts of the lagoon. The exact nature of these relationships is debated; Kazukuru/Roviana people on Nusa Roviana claim the Saikile people are a sub-branch of the main Kazukuru/Roviana lineage, whilst Saikile themselves argue they descend from another inland tribe, Tagosage, who they say moved to Nusa Roviana before, or at the same time as, Kazukuru/Roviana. Also resident on the barrier reef

islands are the Vuragare people who claim independence and precedence of occupation, but who are argued to be merely coastal Kazukuru/Roviana people by those on the mainland.

Debates also occur within tribal groupings. Schneider (1998) focuses on the creation of three Kazukuru factions in the Dunde area of Munda, each stressing a different interpretation of the customary role of chiefs (*bangara*) and ritual experts (*hiama*) in managing access to land. Crucially these interpretations are influenced by differing lineages descending from three siblings (Turana (m), Vivisi (m), and Vakorige (f)) through whom factions claim Kazukuru identity and land. Some are able to show an unbroken chain of female links to Vakorige, whilst others descend from Turana via a line of men (many of whom were ritual attendants at land fertility shrines). A notorious decision on an appeal to the Western Pacific High Court in 1971 divided Kazukuru territory in two on the basis of arguments made by these factions and a colonial desire to formulate concrete principles for adjudicating such cases. In particular the successful appellant had embarked on a sophisticated campaign of influence, managing to get his perspective on Kazukuru history published in anthropological literature (Waterhouse 1931; Hall 1964) and hosting the second Lands Commissioner during his visit to the region (Allan 1989: 42). The published articles stressed the role of matrilineal connections to Vakorige, who, in Hall (1964), was reported to be an autochthonous ancestor of all Kazukuru people rather than a particular sibling descended from other apical ancestors. This perspective gelled with that of the Lands Commissioner Allan, who, drawing on early-mid 20th century kinship theory, regarded cognatic descent principles as an obstacle to development, ultimately arguing that primary rights in the Western Solomons should be restricted to those able to demonstrate matrilineal connections. This latter choice was not arbitrary, being based on a line of reasoning ultimately derived from Rivers (1914: 102) that matriliney was the 'original form' in Melanesia. Official efforts to codify local kinship notwithstanding, the 1971 case spurred a long sequence of land court cases as excluded groups mounted challenges and counter-challenges in the ensuing decades.

These conflicts epitomise a process by which particular interpretations of genealogy and custom are mobilised to refashion potentially closely related people into groups with separate social origins in the context of post-colonial economies. For Schneider this entails 'the negation of former common social identities predicated on traditional cultural concepts and results in a reinvention of social identities that reflect economic concerns of people' (1998: 193). Schneider clearly regards this process as inauthentic, involving 'conscious fabrication' (1998: 197) and the use of externally derived concepts and bureaucracies. It is

ultimately a struggle to establish an ‘internal hegemony’ in response to an ever encroaching capitalist hegemony (Schneider 1998: 208). In large part Schneider is probably correct, but as with Miller, the primary image we are presented with is one of disjuncture; a default relational sociality appears as the authentic traditional condition, whilst attempts to forge unilineal identities appear ideological, hegemonic, or inauthentic. What is missing is a recognition that debates proceed by mobilising quite local forms that clearly have long term salience – it is not the basic structure or existence of topogenies and lineages that is debated but their internal content.

A more subtle picture is presented in a series of publications by Edvard Hviding (1993, 1996, 2003) which goes some way towards smoothing over the disjuncture. Hviding analyses the way in which groups of people living in the Marovo Lagoon region of eastern New Georgia, like their Roviana counterparts, truncate the potentially unbounded or limitless character of cognatic relatedness inherent to *butubutu* groupings, by following simplified unilineal principles in certain contexts. Particularly when dealing with outsiders and development forces, Marovo people tend to engage in a kind of ‘indigenous essentialism’, partially in response to a perception that outsiders in general are unable to comprehend the complexity of local ways of reckoning relatedness. At times these unilineal models are put into practice to exclude kin who might otherwise have some claim to resources, whilst in others they are played off against each other in order to strategically frustrate forms of unwanted development. As with Roviana, internal dispute is a common outcome. Crucial to Hviding’s analysis, however, is the means by which people engage in this form of essentialism – they do so by engaging in enduring cultural practices that revolve around local figurative conceptions of ‘sides’ and ‘paths’.

For Marovo people a ‘side’ (*kale*) refers to one half of a dualism that is complementary or symmetrical, and is a term used in all manner of contexts. With regard to the making of *butubutu* every person is said to derive from both mother and father, but practically people will ‘take sides’ when reckoning filiation according to what is regarded as the stronger side in relation to the affairs of the *butubutu*. Inland and coastal groups have a tendency to follow different sides. Groups living on lagoon shorelines stress cumulative patrilineal ties to place, as embodied by chiefly lineages embedded in the landscape as topogenies of ancestral shrines – a ‘men-leadership-territory’ complex historically centred on the predominantly male activities of inter-island exchange, fishing, long-distance raiding and associated rituals. Inland groups, on the other hand, stress cumulative matrilineal and blood ties – a ‘women-blood-territory’ complex centred on female cultivation of people (birth) and garden land

(Hviding 1996: 147–9). Through ‘taking sides’ in a given landscape, historical patterns of symmetrical relationality emerge and are underpinned by dualist interdependencies of land-sea, taro-fish, and female-male oppositions apparent in everyday practice. Balanced dualism is held by Hviding to remain a core concern when dealing with outsiders, resulting in the reification of particular relations by way of opposition – in these contexts the ‘side’ becomes a boundary making mechanism (Hviding 2003: 96–7).

The prototypical ‘path’ (*huana*) in Marovo is a repeatedly used trail in the forest that is experienced as a series of named places and topographical features offering a structure for meaningful practice. Accordingly, *huana* also refers to sequential patterns of action or the habitual ways of persons and groups – elements of shared experience that are distinctive to the ‘side’ of a group. In the definition of different social realms and ecological zones, *huana* is used to describe similarity or shared substance – people/things are ‘on the same path’. Thus, while ‘sides’ express group sociality, ‘paths’ refer to the contexts and practices associated with identifiable groups and their places. ‘Paths make sides...in the sense that shared knowledge and experience of paths constitutes the basis for intraside solidarity and interside relationality, as well as for consistent management of the outside world’ (Hviding 2003: 100). There is clearly a difference in the degree of simplification that pertains when emphasising particular sides during engagement with outsiders versus drawing on similar strategies internally, but crucially the routes to ‘essentialism’ are formally the same and part of enduring cultural practice.

Consequently the account presented by Hviding is a more seamless depiction of the emergence of unilineality in a potentially limitless social context. Scott (1997: 339) points out however that whilst Hviding’s account draws attention to the importance of cultural continuity in historical change, it nevertheless casts doubt on the long-standing character and centrality of the content of particular claims to resources on the basis of unilineal identities. Lineages are still regarded analytically as fictive. In contrast, Scott presents an ethnographic account of matrilineal connections to place amongst the Arosi people of Makira in the eastern Solomon Islands, in which human matrilineages emerge through processes of inter-relationship and territorial emplacement, but are regarded as being fundamentally unique, each bearing an essence deriving from a particular pre-human category of ancestor. Rather than being ‘cut’ from a network of relational sociality, Arosi matrilineages recover primordial differences conferred by descent from autonomous pre-human categories of being. In other words, Arosi take unilineal essences as given and regard relational sociality as something that must be produced; an inversion, that is, of the model

of Melanesian sociality presented in the above accounts (Scott 2007: 350).

Scott's conclusions depend largely on the particularities of the Arosi context, in which matrilineages are strongly totemic and trace descent to beings that existed in an asocial, aspatial, utopic primordiality – animate rocks, female snakes, quasi-human creatures; one lineage was called forth from the song of a bird (2007: 347). There are some parallels with the Arosi case in the matrilineal communities of southern Rendova, Vella Lavella and Ranongga, where particular lineages also descend from mythical beings (snakes and other forest creatures, pandanus shoots, bamboo plants etc.) and according to tradition initially existed in asocial isolation (see McDougall 2004: 204–17 for Ranongga). But a similar argument would be more difficult to make stick in the Roviana and Marovo regions of New Georgia since *butubutu* there are only weakly totemic, and most apical ancestors are clearly human. Moreover, in many origin narratives apical ancestors are already emplaced and already connected socially to other beings. Nevertheless Scott's refusal to privilege a Western philosophical model over Arosi understandings, brings forth the possibility of examining whether the lineages of New Georgia as an enduring form, may be regarded as a fundamental or secondary component of sociality.

In the remainder of this paper I turn back to the topogenies of New Georgia, drawing on my own (and others') archaeological and ethnohistoric research on the materiality of place making and negotiation of sociality in Roviana and wider New Georgia in the pre-colonial era. I argue that the tensions noted above surrounding the veracity of local unilineal social narratives, can be interrogated productively by paying attention to the enduring social role or purpose of such formations historically, the means by which intergenerational links are forged, and their temporal dimension. Particularly, however, the above debates about kinship neglect the materiality of lineal social formations and this facilitates to some extent the ease with which they are regarded as fictive or secondary phenomena.

THE MATERIALITY OF LINEAGES IN NEW GEORGIA

As noted above, the core foundation of a *butubutu* is its territorial estate (*pepeso*). This embodies the work of ancestors evidenced by cleared areas of forest, nut tree groves, gardens, villages and ritual sites – some of which are abandoned (though remembered) and others continuously reused. These places of ancestral activity are the nodes of topogeny, recording *butubutu* attachment to a specific landscape. Most important amongst them are ancestral shrines, particularly skull shrines housing the crania of dead chiefs (*bangara*), although

all shrines—irrespective of whether they contain bones—are regarded as sacred (*hope*). Shrine locations are the canonical topogenic places. The reasons for this are no doubt partially due to the fact that amongst the fast regenerating rainforest, stone constructions are the most enduring material evidence of human activity. More importantly, however, shrines emplace the ancestral bones and spirits of the dead (*tomate*), and this effectively gives the landscape its generative capacity.

Although not formally visited or tended today, in the pre-Christian past shrines were the focal point of offerings and communication with *tomate*, and the persistence of social agency was dependent on careful maintenance of these relationships. Enshrinement of the skull was part of a complex funerary practice that served to ensure the safe transition of the soul of the dead to the afterlife, while assembling the potent remains—an embodied spirit—embedded in the landscape (Walter *et al.* 2004). At shrines *tomate* could be induced to accompany the living in important endeavours, making these *mana* or efficacious, ensuring strength and success. It is useful to note that headhunting was pervasive in the region until about 1900, having the effect of rendering enemies incapable of securing enduring relationships with their own ancestral spirits through absconding with the all-important skulls.

Because of the ongoing central role of ancestral spirits in worldly endeavours, it can be argued that a *butubutu* was primarily constituted as a ritual community at this time. One outcome is that relationships between *butubutu* were (and sometimes still are) conceived in terms of relationships between shrines (cf. Keesing 1970:757).

Take for example, the topogeny of shrines associated with the relationships among the Roviana Lagoon *butubutu* described above (Fig. 2). The origin place of the Kazukuru/Roviana polity is Bao, a high ridgeline far from the coast. Archaeological surveys here have documented (Sheppard *et al.* 2000) a linear series of large shrine platforms descending the ridge, mostly constructed from earth and rubble fill, and faced with basalt slabs that sometimes exceed a metre in height. Some are stepped and the largest sit on long paved areas associated with an altar-like 'table stone' oriented down-slope, consisting of a rock slab suspended on top of smaller rounded boulders. In local tradition these sites feature as the ancestral home of the Kazukuru people, and in some accounts their apical ancestors are said to have transformed into the massive upright stones (e.g. Aswani 2000). From this place further sites descend towards Kindu near Munda (unsurveyed) and Nusa Roviana, effectively documenting the coastward radiation of the Kaukuru/Roviana polity. This process

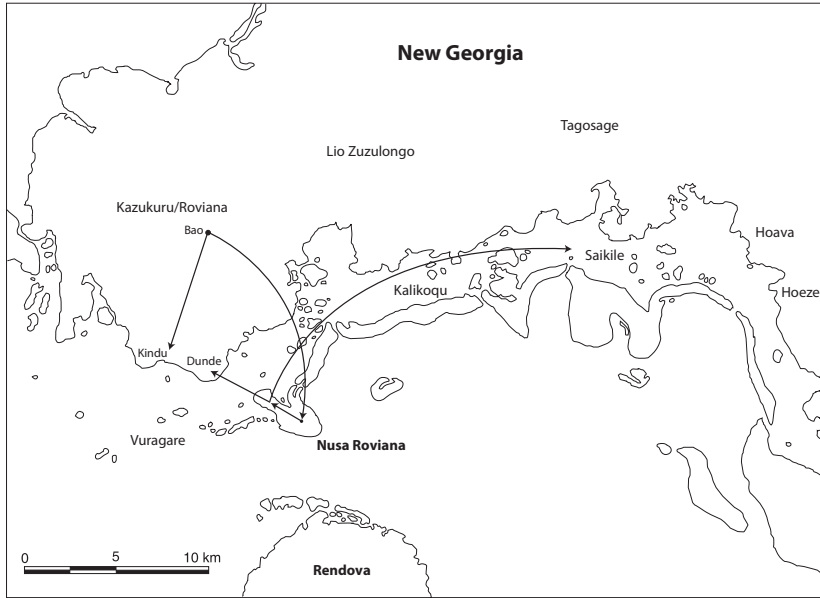


Figure 2. Southern New Georgia and Roviana Lagoon. Arrows show basic topogenic movements of Kazukuru-Roviana tribal branches as described in text.

is crystallised in the person of Ididubangara, a chief who is said to have abandoned the last shrines of Bao to take up residence on Nusa Roviana some 14 generations ago (Aswani 2000: 46–7). Oral histories of the island associate a shrine there with the arrival of Ididubangara. The site is a series of coral slab platforms incorporating basalt columns and a ‘table stone’ all imported from mainland New Georgia, and placed in a similar arrangement to the shrines at Bao. The topogeny continues on Nusa Roviana with a second series of sacred origin places proceeding down the only ridge on that island. These sites are associated with the immediate descendants of Ididubangara, embedding Kazukuru/Roviana in a new locale. The dislocation is mirrored in oral history with a series of events that created a new beginning, a new focal point of origin. Nine of Ididubangara’s descendants are said to have died while living near the summit of Nusa Roviana, before magically transforming into a class of spirits called *mateana*. The bodies of the nine dead sank into the earth at the summit of Nusa Roviana leaving their *mateana* spirits to haunt the skies. The places where they sank were marked by shrines incorporating volcanic stone imported from the mainland, mirroring the transformation of Kazukuru ancestors into stones at Bao (Thomas *et al.* 2001). From the *mateana* shrines

further sites proceed down the ridge to a point marked by a shrine known as Olobuki (Fig. 3). This is said to have been the place of a chief, Taebangara, a descendant of one of the *mateana*. Soon after his rule the Roviana/Kazukuru polity split into the Kalikoqu, Kokorapa (Nusa Roviana) and Dunde *butubutu* branches, and Odikana—his classificatory sibling—is said to have left Nusa Roviana and formed the Saikile *butubutu*. Subsequent generations ceased use of Olobuki, shifting the interment of chiefly skulls to shrines within each new tribal area. Kokorapa, for example, began to use a shrine on the coastal flat of Nusa Roviana (Hio), and then later an offshore islet where chiefs are buried today (Piraka). Conceptually these are branch shrines stemming from the central trunk (*ngati*) embodied by the central Nusa Roviana ridge, and its base or origin at Bao.

Effectively then, shrine topogenies today materialise the relationships and branching of *butubutu* lineages. Differences between persons are experienced as differences between places (cf. Leach 2003:194). Fascinatingly the broader elements of the contemporary oral history of these places closely follows a series of stylistic shifts in the construction and content of shrines and the

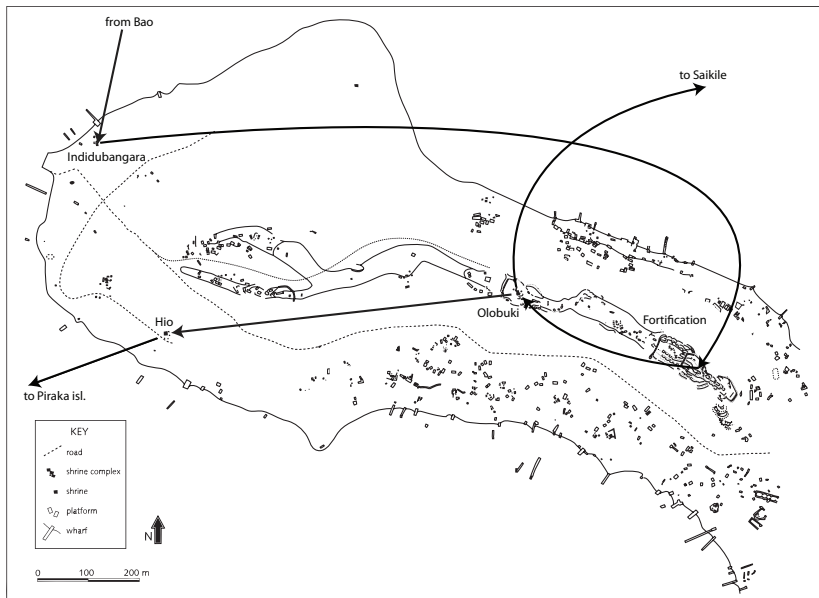


Figure 3. Archaeological landscape of Nusa Roviana. Arrows depict topogeny of shrines described in the text.

radiocarbon dating of these changes, as documented by archaeology. During the late 1990s archaeological surveys led by Walter and Sheppard (2000; 2006) revealed that the shrines at Bao began to be constructed around 1250 AD, whilst the earliest coastal shrines (such as the shrine on Nusa Roviana associated with Ididubangara) date to about 1500AD and the shrines of the Nusa Roviana ridgeline begin to appear from 1600AD. Allowing three generations per century, these dates correlate remarkably well with genealogical accounts (Sheppard *et al.* 2004:127). Each period is associated with changes in shrine construction – the shrines at Bao are large, earth filled and faced with basalt slabs; the early coastal shrines are similar but faced with coral slabs; the later shrines of Nusa Roviana are coral rubble constructions. Furthermore, the shrines at Bao are isolated and lack artefactual content, whilst the later Nusa Roviana shrines are surrounded by defensive walling, are closely associated with house platforms, and contain shell valuables and the paraphernalia of war. By the time of European contact Nusa Roviana was recognised as the central place in the lagoon, and the most densely settled part of the landscape. In this later period, cobble shrines and associated features spread throughout the region documenting the development of the Kazukuru/Roviana chiefdom (Sheppard *et al.* 2004).

Contra Miller (1980) the recent settlement pattern history of this region is apparently much like that remembered in topogenies today – beginning with linear isolated settlements high in the island interior before gradually fanning out in branches towards the coast. This pattern occurs twice in the oral account – first with the migration of Kazukuru people from Bao to the coast, and then again from Nusa Roviana to neighbouring areas of the lagoon. Now, clearly people did not emerge autochthonously at 1250AD in the centre of New Georgia or any other island. In fact prior to this time there was a period of initial coastal settlement at least 3000 years ago (Felgate 2003) and a gradual movement inland which probably culminated in the beginnings of shrine construction. But with respect to the past 700 years topogenies evidently have some historical content, notwithstanding the various heterotopic perspectives surrounding the finer details referred to in the previous section. This knowledge enables us to consider a perspective shift: rather than primarily regarding the landscape of shrines as a resource to be manipulated in contemporary discourse, we can focus on the processes and principles by which topogenic landscapes formed and what salience these processes had.

A simple answer might look to the topographic character of the New Georgian landscape – areas available for settlement are naturally linear, caused by the dissecting coastward flow of rivers, forming narrow ridgelines. But within this

context it is the specific character of ongoing ritual practice which constitutes the formation of topogenies. From a contemporary perspective, shrines can stand in for the relationships between *butubutu* because they contain the emplaced bones of ancestors in genealogical series – shrines are seen to bud out from previous shrines just as persons give birth to persons. But shrines were not constructed in order to facilitate this perspective, which only emerges retrospectively. In practice the construction and use of shrines was an act of encompassment of the past in order to serve the interests of the present.

Prior to the advent of Christianity the constitution of the *butubutu* as a ritual community focussed on the skull shrines of *bangara* (as well as *tamasa* (god) shrines dedicated to land clearance and fertility, the weather and ocean). It is these shrines which feature most prominently in the contemporary Roviana topogeny, remembered because they relate to the men-leadership-territory focus of coastal people identified by Hviding (1996). In the past the cumulative filiation of successive *bangara* formed a chiefly line (*tuti bangara*) to which generations of *butubutu* members forged attachments (*sinoto*). On Nusa Roviana the *bangara* shrines of the central ridgeline were used exclusively during ceremonies associated with the preparation and success of headhunting raids (Thomas *et al.* 2001). Success at taking heads was one of the ingredients of *mana*, a state of being that promised perpetual efficacy for leader and *butubutu*, and part of a project of constructing local utopias where ‘living well’ (Dureau 2000: 86) meant ancestral spirits joined their descendants in all endeavours: gardens would be bountiful, fish would be caught, enemies would be vanquished, and the *butubutu* would prosper. Chiefly shrines were the focus of ceremonies because it was *bangara* who organised and sponsored raids. Hocart (1931) on the nearby island of Simbo in 1908, recorded these ceremonies at chiefly shrines known as *inatungu* (in Roviana *atungu* is the respectful name for the ‘sitting *bangara*’ or high chief; in Marovo *inatungu* are the founding spirits of a *butubutu*). Prior to a raid, warriors would gather at the shrine and make offerings of shell valuables and burnt food to the chiefly spirits in a ceremony known as ‘clubs appear’, chanting: ‘This is the club, thou the *inatungu*. Grant me an enemy to slay, and let me club ... be efficacious you spirits. Grant a victim’ (Hocart 1931: 308). These ceremonies effectively called forth the efficacy of dead *bangara* who had achieved success in their lifetimes, enlisting this in contemporary practice in an act of encompassment. The clubs (actually steel trade axes in Hocart’s time) embodied the presence of these potent spirits on a raid. In the event of success, the entire community would gather and make parcelled offerings of shell rings, puddings, and pigs, lacing these along the handle of the weapon. These were then gathered up by the wife of the current *bangara* using another ring, the ‘*singe inatungu*’ or sacred ring of the shrine,

and then given to the successful warrior as compensation for securing a victim. However, the warrior owed the rings to the attendant of the *inatungu* shrine who had conducted the initial ‘clubs appear’ ceremony, and they were ultimately given back to the spirits of that shrine in recognition of the true source of success—its ancestral spirit (Hocart 1931: 316; Thomas 2004: 272–4).

What these ceremonies make evident, is how agency was seen to be guided into efficacy through the maintenance of relationships with the ancestral dead at shrines. A warrior was compensated for his actions, but this was ultimately owed to the influence of the spirits induced to provide success – because his actions encompassed their agency. Now, these spirits were considered potent in this way because as *bangara* they had organised and conducted successful raids during their lifetime, and this too was derived from their own relationships with earlier ancestors at shrines. In effect, potency was continuously deferred through an ever receding and successively encompassed chain of spirits. This pattern is the fundamental source of the linkages between shrines, the reason why they emerge as a topogenic lineage. Each *bangara* shrine owed its potency to a previous shrine, and the living effectively affiliated themselves to this lineage during the ritual practices integral to the well-being of the community. The process might be said to be one of a continual grafting of shrines and persons onto the past rather than descent *per se*.

Shrines are not the only things that occur in topogenic series, although they may have been the most important in terms of the maintenance of *butubutu* groupings around lineages of *bangara*. Topogenies formed in every sphere where worldly activity relied on ritual practice, and these reveal the process to be fundamental to efficacious personhood. That is, they form at two scales: *butubutu* and person. One example comes in the form of charms referred to in Roviana as *liqomo*, consisting of a small plaited bag decorated with shell rings, which would be tied to a fighting shield and carried into battle. The bag contained the tooth of an ancestor (Fig 4). Hocart (1931) records such a charm on Simbo, with his informant giving its name as *hinindi* or *siokale* and describing it as having the power to protect the user against spears. ‘The tooth was that of Penu, his [classificatory] ‘father’. ‘He make him father all same devil (i.e. *tomate*) belong him, make him all same *hinindi*’” (1931: 306). During battle, when an enemy prepared to throw a spear, the user of the charm would recite a prayer (*varavara*) invoking a list of names and places, calling on the spirit of the charm to be *mana*, to make spears and arrows pass by. Similar charms in Roviana were used to divine the location of enemies/victims during raids – the spirit would ‘whisper’ the location to the warrior when consulted via the charm.

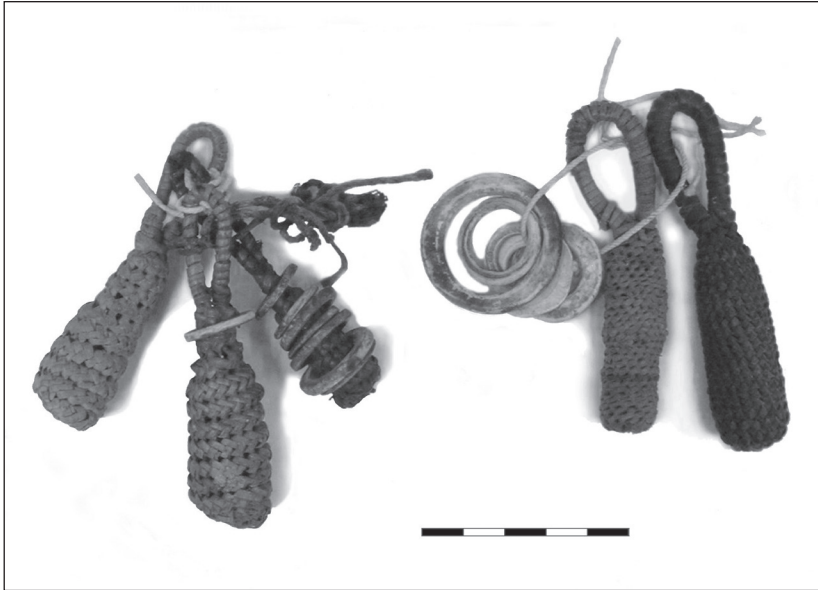


Figure 4. Liqomo charms, Auckland Museum MEL236, MEL237 (author's photograph)

Liqomo can be understood as an extension of personal agency conceptualised as the ability to elicit a *mana* response from ancestors rendered present by the tooth contained in the bag. If efficacy was understood to arise out of a state of complementary action on the part of humans and spirits, then *liqomo* charms enabled the revelation of a warrior's person in those terms. But this was not a simple matter of a warrior being seen to be dependent on a spirit, rather he encompassed the agency of his father – in holding his father's tooth within a bag and then being seen to act successfully, the warrior claimed the agency of the dead as his own. Thus, a person was revealed as efficacious only insofar as their visible actions eclipsed the invisible and complementary actions of an encompassed spirit. By these means *liqomo* charms invoked a genealogical enchainment of agency.

But this was itself reliant on other enchainments: 'Panda paid twelve rings (*poata*) for the charm' (Hocart 1931: 307). Having constructed the material charm himself, his ability to do so, the magical efficacy needed to entrap his father's agency, was 'purchased' from some (unnamed) other person. We also learn that in Roviana the charm 'was said to come from Laina in Choiseul, through Matovagi in Ysabel' (1931: 307). In other words, efficacy at warding

off spears in battle was itself reliant upon another form of efficacy deriving from another enchainment of persons, and was thus embedded within a wider temporal and spatial field of sociality (Fig. 5).

Similar patterns emerge with numerous other charms, associated with warfare, voyaging, bonito fishing, pig hunting and so on. In each case the spirits of the charm and often the places it had been used were remembered and invoked. One example is a Roviana charm called *ragomo* (Hocart n.d[a]:20) consisting of an assemblage of shell rings lashed together into a ‘pile’ inside of which certain unknown objects were concealed. Used to cure wounds and bites, the *ragomo* was said to have originated from a *tamasa* of Santa Isabel called Sovubangara, but Hocart records a narrative listing 69 places in Isabel, Vaghena, Manning Straits and Kolobangara that the charm was carried to before it passed to ‘Hika’ of Roviana as his ‘heirloom’ (n.d[a]:21). Hika then ‘taught’ it to the current owner, Riabule, who appears to have taught it to at least two other living persons (where ‘teaching’ involved a gift of shell valuables from the recipient to the teacher, who then offered them to the spirits of the charm). The remembrance of such extensive histories was essential to the performance of charms insofar as this involved the recognition of the source

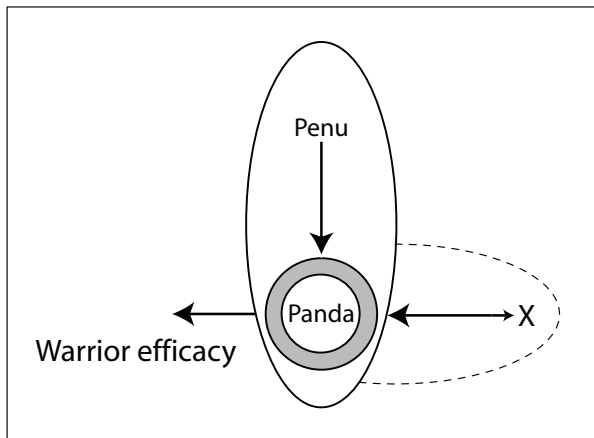


Figure 5. Diagram of agency – *hinindi liqomo*. The warrior efficacy of the agent Panda, is enabled by his ability (deriving from an exchange with X) to encompass the agency of his father, Penu. When acting as a warrior, Panda claims the agency of both Penu and X as his own. Arrows denote lines of agency, the ring denotes the primary agent who is seen to act, and the solid line denotes encompassment. The dotted line indicates secondary encompassment.

of efficacy conveyed: the persons who had held and used the charm in the past, embodied or contained by the valuables bound together. Here is another chant for a charm called *vovoso* associated with war canoes:

Great *vovoso* ō! Come down, let us go out to sea...let us lie in wait to eat; come down to embark on the canoes, thou *vovoso*, Ninge ō! ... Let us set out together to look for food, thou *kolokovara* ō!, [thou Irugugusu, thou Tutuvina ovo, thou Koko retese, thou Gopa *mbanara*,] thou five *vovoso*. Be efficacious in the meeting at sea; be efficacious at the going down; be efficacious at the burning fort, the burning house, the hall. Be true, thou, be thou efficacious; guess thou, eye of thee, the moon, eye of thee, the sun; [prophesise well o! guess and prophesise successfully. O!] (Hocart 1931: 310, 322 LX)

In some instances these enchainments provided access rights to land and resources as well as the ritual knowledge or capacity of the charm. Another Roviana charm associated with voyaging, called *serubule*, gave the person who currently held the artefact rights to travel to and use the resources of Vaghena in the Manning Straits, by attachment to the ancestors of the charm that had voyaged there with its aid. In that instance the bones of those ancestors were interred in shrines on Vaghena (Hocart n.d[b]: 20). But most charms had associated shrines, often being the place at which they were kept when not in use. Prototypically shrines are the houses of *tomate*, being quite literally small houses containing the skulls of the dead. In this respect the topogenies of charms are also topogenies of shrines.

From another perspective we might think of charms as portable shrines. The process of enshrinement was not restricted to those of chiefly status, but extended to persons considered *mana* for specific forms of action and knowledge. Thus there were bonito fishing shrines, netting shrines, hunting shrines, curative shrines and so on, each enfolding lineages of persons. Just as the efficacy of a charm could fan out to lineage affiliates (i.e. those who ‘purchased’ the charm), so shrines could be set up in branches affiliated with an originating root. Hocart (n.d[c]: 4), for example, records an instance in which a man of Simbo gave shell rings to a Roviana man in order to acquire the ability to set up a shrine allowing successful hunting with dogs. There is evidence that such transferrals were effected by taking ash (from ovens where offerings were burnt) from one shrine and scattering it at a new location where a secondary shrine was to be set up (Hocart 1935: 104; Hall 1964: 133). Such shrines were constructed without the skull of an ancestor but the *tomate* was still held to be responsive by virtue of the gift transaction and ash transferral, and carvings

or stones would be set up to embody their presence. The origin of secondary shrines was recognised explicitly during offerings: ‘one [bonito fishing shrine] was imported from Simbo and still sends its catches to the parent shrine’ (Hocart 1935: 109). In this way efficacious lineages attracted and were supported by lateral affiliations of persons deriving efficacy from the same ancestors.

To sum up, what shrines and charms reveal is the means by which topogenic lineages emerge as products of a historical process of continual encompassment. Ritual practice enabled successful action through the maintenance of social relationships with the dead, and the character of this forged topogenies. Links between generations were not in this sense established through inheritance or the one-way passing on of substance; rather they emerged during continuing interactions of nurturance and exchange. To the extent that linking substances were involved in the process, they involved gifts of food and shell valuables travelling ‘upwards’ to the ancestors as a means of maintaining relations. Being *mana* was reliant on one’s ability to elicit a response from ancestral spirits, and thus situate oneself within a chain of agency. This is what topogenies are primarily about – ensuring particular forms of successful action for persons and groups.

It is important to note that enchainments were always partially dependent on others – other persons, and, of course, the material means (shell valuables, food) by which responses from ancestral spirits were elicited. This required access to things that might be offered: puddings for example, which themselves were dependent on the relations of pudding making (pounded and offered by ritual specialists) and access to gardens and nut trees, not to mention the success of a harvest, which was ensured by successful relations with gardening spirits sustained via other elicitory offerings, and so on. Every single act derived from an entire field of agency, a ritual community that made it possible, and its success reflected back on the efficacy of the group and its ancestors as much as the agent.

This did not mean, however, that persons could not own their actions. In fact it was only during action that the relational field of social life could be encompassed and eclipsed and a person could become visible as a specific kind of person (cf. Strathern 1988). That this was the case is reflected in evaluations of particular *bangara* recorded by Hocart. After noting that a Simbo *bangara* called ‘Hangere’ was *mana* for bonito fishing and had set up a shrine in Roviana, he writes: ‘All the bonito of Simbo belong to Hangere of Roviana and Simbo. Hingava, the great chief of Roviana, does not *mana*, because he has no

bonito shrine. To *mana* a man must have a bonito shrine, a garden shrine, a property taboo (*kenjo*), a madness shrine.' (1935:108–9). In these statements the status of the person as an efficacious agent encompasses their control of a shrine, eclipsing the fact that it was partially the *tomate* within that was responsible for their success. This was made possible by the topogenic connection – the shrine-owner was the living embodiment of ancestors who had once been efficacious, and so, stood as the product of a chain of persons stretching far into the past. By owning a shrine and acting successfully, a person was revealed to contain the potency of the dead within themselves, to encompass the many with one body. The central paradox is that enchainments which encompass and eclipse were dependent for their creation on relational fields, and so the priority of one over the other is a matter of perspective.

CONCLUSION

Focussing on the archaeological and ethnographic history of the social role of topogeny and lineage emergence allows a recognition that such formations have their source in the conditions thought necessary for effective personhood and proper sociality – an integral part of maintaining ontological order. Although certainly emergent from fields of relations, such lineages are not best considered to be fleeting reifications or only momentarily stable – they are enduring and rely on this for their efficacy. Moreover it also makes sense to say that fields of relations emerge surrounding these enduring topogenic lineages as much as the other way round. It may not be necessary to privilege one image over the other in an analytical sense. Persons must affiliate with lineages in order to act, and in doing so invariably cut off other potential alignments, but they must also rely on lateral relations in order to achieve affiliation. It is, then, the intersection of these relational forms which gives social life its momentum, rather than the emergence of one out of the other. As with a figure-ground illusion, motion is generated by the possibility of perspective shifts (cf. Wagner 1987).

Taking a historical view of the long term emergence of topogenies enables this consideration of perspective. We could say that in the past topogenies emerged as a side-effect of particular forms of ritual practice and an underlying theory of efficacious agency. Rituals accumulated persons, encompassing them in sequences throughout a landscape; a person attached themselves to, and eclipsed, a chain of agents with their own contemporary action. But from another (perhaps present-day) perspective a person at the end of such a sequence might appear as a product of that enchainment, to have inherited what that enchainment provides. It is only in this latter sense that topogenies can

be said to be about origins. We might call this a shift in perspective from pre-thematic action to thematic reflection – a movement from being to narrative.

Ingold (2005:103) points out that Western ontology is predisposed to seeing landscape as a *surface* to be occupied, allowing a colonial perspective wherein ‘the family of man’ branched out over the world from a common origin point. He contrasts this with an image of the world as the *medium* that people move through rather than atop or across, just as a wave moves through water. The first side of this contrast corresponds to a narrated or reflective mode of looking back at the past, and the second to an embedded state of being-in-the-world. But the possibility of the resolution of this contrast is contained within itself. A ‘wave’, after all, both describes the movement of a medium and is the name of a thing—which one, is a matter of perspective not ontology. Understanding topogenies requires noticing how we play such perspectives off against each other, comparing the figure of genealogical agency against the ground of sociality, the synchronic reification of the past against its diachronic emergence, the landscape as resource against landscape as medium.

It could perhaps be argued that a directional movement from being to narrating is encouraged by forms of detachment, in that today topogenies in New Georgia appear as a given resource rather than a continually enfolding structure of worldly action. But again perspective is important: topogenies clearly still have ontological import in the negotiation of agency (rights) and are both supported by and attract fields of relations in an enfolding and unfolding landscape. History is made from such tensions.

REFERENCES

- Allan, C. 1989 *Solomons Safari, 1953–58, Part I*, Christchurch: Nag’s Head Press.
- Aswani, S. 1997 Customary Sea Tenure and Artisanal Fishing in the Roviana and Vonavona Lagoons, Solomon Islands: The Evolutionary Ecology of Marine Resource Utilization (unpublished PhD), University of Hawaii.
- Aswani, S. 2000 ‘Changing identities: the ethnohistory of Roviana predatory head-hunting’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 109: 39–70.
- Bamford, S. 2004 ‘Conceiving relatedness: non-substantial relations among the Kamea of Papua New Guinea’, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 10: 287–306.

- Carsten, J. 2000 *Cultures of Relatedness: New Approaches to the Study of Kinship*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carsten, J. 2003 *After Kinship*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dureau, C. 2000 'Skulls, mana and causality', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 109: 71–97.
- Felgate, M. 2003 'Reading Lapita in Near Oceania: intertidal and shallow water pottery scatters, Roviana Lagoon, New Georgia, Solomon Islands'. PhD dissertation, University of Auckland.
- Fox, J. 1997a 'Place and landscape in comparative Austronesian perspective', in J. Fox (ed) *The Poetic Power of Place: comparative perspectives on Austronesian ideas of locality*. Canberra: Australian National University: 1–21.
- Fox, J. 1997b 'Genealogy and Topogeny: Towards an ethnography of Rotinese ritual place names', in J. Fox (ed) *The Poetic Power of Place: comparative perspectives on Austronesian ideas of locality*. Canberra: Australian National University: 89–100
- Gell, A. 1998 *Art and Agency: an anthropological theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gosden, C. 2005 'What Do Objects Want?' *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12: 193–211.
- Hall, A.M. 1964 'Customs and Culture from Kazukuru: Folklore obtained after the discovery of the shrine at Bao', *Oceania* 35: 129–135.
- Hocart, A.M. 1931 'Warfare in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 61: 301–24.
- Hocart, A.M. 1935 'The canoe and the bonito in Eddystone Island', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 65: 97–111.
- Hocart, A.M. n.d[a] 'Roviana: Tamasa.' Unpublished MSS. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library.
- Hocart, A.M. n.d[b] 'Roviana: Property Taboos (Tokoro).' Unpublished MSS. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library.

- Hocart, A.M. n.d[c] 'Pigs, Hunting, and Animal Food.' Unpublished MSS. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library.
- Hviding, E. 1993. 'Indigenous essentialism? 'Simplifying' customary land ownership in New Georgia, Solomon Islands', *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 149: 802–824.
- Hviding, E. 1996 *Guardians of Marovo Lagoon: practice, place and politics in maritime Melanesia. Pacific Islands Monograph Series 14*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hviding, E. 2003 'Disentangling the Butubutu of New Georgia', in I. Hoem and S. Roalkvam (eds), *Oceanic Socialities and Cultural Forms: Ethnographies of Experience*. Oxford: Berghahn Books: 71–113.
- Ingold, T. 2000 *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*, London: Routledge.
- Ingold, T., 2005 'The eye of the storm: visual perception and the weather' *Visual Studies*, 20(2), 97–104.
- Keesing, R.M. 1970 'Shrines, ancestors, and cognatic descent: the Kwaio and Talensi', *American Anthropologist* 72: 755–775.
- Leach, J. 2003 *Creative Land: Place And Procreation On The Rai Coast Of Papua New Guinea*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Marcus, G.E. 1991 'False Friends in a New Relationship: The Internal Critique of the Western Individual Self/Subject and Ethnographic Accounts of Other Selves', *Anthropology and Humanism* 16: 15–17.
- McDougall, D. 2004 'The Shifting Ground of Moral Community: Christianity, Property and Place in Ranongga (Solomon Islands)'. Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of Chicago.
- Miller, D. 1980 'Settlement and Diversity in the Solomon Islands', *Man* 15: 451–66.
- Rivers, W.H.R. 1914 *The History of Melanesian Society, vols. I and II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Schneider, D.M. 1984 *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Schneider, G. 1998 'Reinventing Identities: redefining cultural concepts in the struggle between villagers in Munda, Roviana Lagoon, New Georgia Island, Solomon Islands, for the control of land,' in J. Wassmann (ed) *Pacific Answers to Western Hegemony: Cultural Practices of Identity Construction*. Oxford: Berg: 191–211.
- Scott, M.W. 2007 'Neither New Melanesian History nor New Melanesian Ethnography: Recovering Emplaced Matrilineages in Southeast Solomon Islands,' *Oceania* 77: 337–354.
- Sheppard, P., R. Walter, and S. Aswani. 2004 'Oral Tradition and the Creation of Late Prehistory in Roviana Lagoon, Solomon Islands,' in Attenbrow, W. and Fullagar R. (eds) *A Pacific Odyssey: Archaeology and Anthropology in the Western Pacific. Papers in Honour of Jim Specht*. Records of the Australian Museum, Supplement 29: 123–32.
- Strathern, M. 1988 *The Gender of the Gift*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Strathern, M. 1996 'Cutting the Network,' *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2: 517–535.
- Thomas, T. 2004 'Things of Roviana: material culture, personhood and agency in the Solomon Islands.' Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Otago.
- Thomas, T., P. Sheppard, and R. Walter. 2001 'Landscape, violence and social bodies: ritualized architecture in a Solomon Islands society,' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 7: 545–72.
- Wagner, R., 1987 'Figure-ground reversal among the Barok.' In L. Lincoln, (ed) *Assemblage of spirits: Idea and image in New Ireland*. New York: George Braziller, in association with the Minneapolis Institute of Art: 56–63
- Walter, R., and P. Sheppard. 2000 'Nusa Roviana: the archaeology of a Melanesian chiefdom,' *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 27: 295–318.

Walter, R., and P. Sheppard. 2006 'Archaeology in Melanesia: a case study from the Western Province of the Solomon Islands,' in I. Lilley (ed) *Archaeology of Oceania: Australia and the Pacific Islands*. Oxford: Blackwell: 137–159.

Walter, R., T. Thomas, and P. Sheppard. 2004 'Cult assemblages and ritual practice in Roviana Lagoon, Solomon Islands,' *World Archaeology* 36:142–157.

Waterhouse, J.H.L., and S.H. Ray. 1931 'The Kazukuru language of New Georgia,' *Man* 31:123–126.

PLACING THE TRAVELLER:
THE BANAL GEOGRAPHIES OF TRAVELLING DOCUMENTS

Matthew Henry

ABSTRACT

Flying at 30,000 feet the modern air traveller can see the undifferentiated world stretching out beneath them, and in doing so bask in the glow of globalisation triumphant. Yet located in the seat pocket, jacket, or bag there lurks constant, if banal, reminders of the fiction of this perspective. Nestled around the body of the traveller is a mobile archive that aims to embrace the traveller in a network within which the place of the traveller as a traveller is maintained. This paper examines the hidden genealogies and geographical imaginations of these travelling documents. Drawing on examples from the fabrication of New Zealand's post-World War One passport and permit system the chapter suggests that rather than annihilating place, travel documents entangle the traveller in complex relationships of placeness and placelessness which have long been based on the biopolitical geographies of threat and risk.

INTRODUCTION

Marc Auge (1995: 77–8) has famously used the phrase ‘non-places’ to refer to those spaces which could not be positively defined as ‘relational or historical, or concerned with identity’. Drawing on the work of de Certeau, Auge (1995: 78) characterised these spaces as constituting a world ‘surrendered to solitary individuality, to the fleeting, the temporary and the ephemeral’. Such non-places he suggested could be easily quantified by ‘totalling all the air, rail and motorway routes, the mobile cabins called ‘means of transport’ (aircraft, trains and road vehicles), the airports and railway stations, hotel chains, leisure parks, large retail outlets, and finally the complex skein of cable and wireless networks’ (Auge 1995: 79). The enumeration of travel spaces as characteristic ‘non-places’ is not surprising since Auge argues that the very act of moving creates in individuals a particular form of solitude that positions them

outside the flow of time. Consequently, whilst places create 'the organically social', non-places, in contrast, 'create solitary contractuality' (Auge 1995: 94). An intellectual association with its buttresses of functionality, standardisation, individuality and alienation that can be seen echoed in Boorstin's (1963) 'pseudoplaces'; Relph's (1976) notion of placelessness; and in the classic distinction drawn by Tönnies (1887/1955) between the contrasting experiences of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*.

The close link drawn by Auge between non-places and travel, points to the deep suspicion with which mobility and mobile subjects have been regarded vis-a-vis notions of community that have stressed settled, organic sociability. Indeed mobility has consistently (if not inevitably) been framed as a threat to settled, social life, and those who move have often been entangled within 'regimes of mobility' that have sought to sequester and control the putative danger offered by the mobile subject (Cresswell 2001). Thus, the experience of non-places for many mobile subjects has been marked by the imposition of new 'ordeals of solitude' that stem from the subject's putative position beyond the relational, sociability of place (Auge 1995: 93). Yet, to endure an 'ordeal of solitude', is not to suggest that a subject is outside dense webs of sociality, since as Cresswell (2006: 5) argues, mobility as distinct from movement, 'does not exist in an abstract world of social space and social time, but is a meaningful world of social space and social time'. Consequently, this paper will argue that the solitude of the traveller is a fabrication within which individuals stand both 'individualised' by the state's identity practices and embraced by a bio-power that is intimately concerned with the creation of place and the relationships of individual subjects to place. To travel is not to be positioned beyond place and social relations, rather it is to move within and between networks of place that are simultaneously physical and representational.

This paper seeks to highlight the place making work of states as they territorialise 'regimes of mobility' through the creation and administration of travel documents. Passports and their ilk have not been accorded a significant amount of attention by scholars (for an exception see Salter 2003; Torpey 2000) and to a significant degree passports have faded into the material unconscious which is woven through our lives. But this disappearance has not been a function of the relative insignificance of the passport, rather it has been a consequence of its ubiquity. On this point, Thrift (2000) draws on Billig's (1995) seminal work on banal nationalism to suggest that we need to take a deeper account of the 'small things' such as files, documents and bureaucratic agents in the assemblage and ordering of the contemporary world. Here banality does not signify unimportance, but rather the ways in which the very ubiquity of ideas and ob-

jects hides in plain sight their importance as ordering devices. Thus 'our' passport disappears for many of us ('white', bourgeois academics) since it forms part of the material swarm that accompanies our everyday experiences and exists as an intermediary which offers us little hindrance. As a consequence, we take the passport for granted, and in doing so implicitly universalise 'our' relatively unproblematic experience of mobility as the norm (Crang 2002). Yet travel documents are complex objects whose contingent genealogies provide an aperture through which we can begin to see the intricate play between imagination and territorialisation working in highly uneven ways.

In order to understand the 'regimes of mobility' that have been constructed by states to embrace travelling subjects, Cresswell (2001) calls upon us to trace the production of mobility: the varied conditions of its assemblage, the discourses of threat and security that frame it, and the varied targets and effects that accompany it. With this in mind, this paper tentatively traces two strands in the complex webs of place and placelessness that accompanied travellers as they moved in and out of New Zealand between World War One (ww1) and World War Two (ww2). We begin by tracing a brief genealogy of the passport before shifting to situate that discussion in the specific context of the assemblage of a travel document system in New Zealand. To situate these arguments, the paper concludes with two case studies: the construction of a trans-Tasman place of mobility encompassing New Zealand and Australia after ww1; and the restriction of passports to Maori between ww1 and ww2.

SITUATING THE PASSPORT

Given the ubiquity of the passport as the *sine qua non* of legitimate, international movement, it is perhaps surprising to realise that its emergence has been the result of neither a sudden 'big bang' nor its steady diffusion across the international landscape. Rather, the object we call the passport—what constitutes it, its purpose vis-à-vis mobility, and the relationship it demarcates between states and subjects—has been fabricated in response to emergent problems in mobility. Thus, despite a veneer of standardisation, the use of passports as ordering documents has been deeply fragmented in practice (Mongia 1999). Within this fragmented landscape, Torpey (1998: 21) places the state at the centre of his analysis of mobility by arguing that alongside the assumed monopoly on violence that Weber identified as a key characteristic of the state, 'modern states, and the international state system of which they are a part, have expropriated from individuals and private entities the 'legitimate 'means of movement''. Mobility represents a key field of intervention for the state, and a field within which individuals have increasingly become 'embraced' by par-

particular states in efforts to define the conditions of legitimate mobility for their own ends. In this context, travel documents such as the passport represent a distillation of states' concerns with mobility, and as such their organisation provides a significant way of understanding the intersection of place, power and mobility.

In itself, the passport contains very little intrinsic power to order because it offers no guarantees of movement to its bearer. Rather, it links an individual with a state and provides a state sanctioned identity for an individual. States are under no formal obligation to accept the bearer of a passport and states have no right to intervene in decisions made apropos the acceptability of a particular individual. In these limitations, passports reflect the common doctrines of sovereignty—all states are equal, and no state has a right to interfere in the internal affairs of another state—that frame (if not guide) formal relationships between states. In its entanglement with questions of sovereignty, the passport is clearly bound up with what Foucault (1991) characterised as the central concern of sovereignty which was to ensure the survival of the state: a concern partially addressed through the state's demarcation and control of the mobility of people and objects across its territory. Yet he also suggested that the state's concern with its own survival was increasingly counterpointed by a concern with the welfare of the population, the potential for its improvement, and the concomitant strengthening of the state that might arise from this interest. This interest in 'the population', and a desire to foster its improvement represented a biopolitical orientation distinct from either the exercise of sovereign power associated with the survival of the state or disciplinary power enacted through and upon individuals (Foucault 1977).

The practice and maintenance of sovereign *and* disciplinary *and* biopolitical power is intimately bound up into the production of place. Rose (1999: 34) captures this point where he writes that power is intimately spatial insofar as it involves 'marking out a territory in thought and inscribing it in the real, topographizing it, investing it with powers, bounding it by exclusions and defining who or what can rightfully enter'. Mobility represents a specific field of concern within which the troika of sovereign, disciplinary and biopolitical power intersect to produce particular governmental assemblages in places that are defined by states as being particularly sensitive. Here the airport has emerged as the paradigmatic sovereign-disciplinary-biopolitical place within which individuals submit themselves to the rituals of authoritarian ordering associated with crossing from one state's territory to another (Adey 2004; Salter 2007). Border crossings such as airports are not neutral spaces of division but rather places of contest where the tense performances of state sovereignty

and governmental concern are played out on a daily basis. Salter (2006:172) highlights the fraught territorialisation of the border where he notes that, in the context of the United States border, searches made by the Customs and Border Patrol, 'are reasonable simply by virtue of the fact that they occur at the border'. At one level, disciplinary techniques are yoked to an ongoing sovereign concern with survival: concerns that are most sharply articulated and practiced in border places. But the specific use of disciplinary techniques in a place, such as an airport, goes hand in hand with a broader biopolitical interest in populations. Thus, the territorialisation of mobility involves the construction of particular sites of mobility, such as ports or airports, which are framed by an obsessive concern with verifying, fixing and maintaining the identity of individuals. However, the work done in these places is not done in isolation because the obsessive concern with individuality that marks the organisation of such sites is given power and meaning by the entwined imagination and administration of threat and potential that accompany states' biopolitical appraisals of their own and others populations.

For the individual who passes through the places of mobility, through the verification trials, and finally from one state to another, they are never beyond the entanglements of place. Rather the documents that purport to verify their identity and status vis-a-vis a particular state provide powerful allies to travelers as they both attempt to bridge the different places of state territorialisation and stretch the place-making embrace of states. Thus, while passports (perhaps the most visible of the traveller's documentary allies) may seem to represent a ubiquitous token to be exchanged and verified in the right of passage that constitutes the customs desk, their necessity and the manner of their issue is a banal reminder of the enduring place-making actions of states and their embrace of individuals and populations. Our task is to trace the banal assemblage of passport systems and with it the quiet geographical imagination embedded in those systems. To this end, the remainder of the paper addresses itself to a closer examination of the administration of New Zealand's emerging passport system, prior to the Second World War.

FRAMING THE 'NEW ZEALAND' PASSPORT

The relationship between the New Zealand state and the 'New Zealand' passport has been enigmatic. For one, the *de facto* existence of a passport issued by the New Zealand state has not necessarily been matched by the *de jure* existence of a New Zealand passport. A situation which has owed much to the shifting limits of the New Zealand state's sovereignty within the British Empire. This gap was evident in the Passport Act 1946 (PA 1946) which provided the

first explicit statutory basis for the Minister of Internal Affairs to ‘issue passports in New Zealand to British subjects or British protected persons’ (PA 1946: s.3(1)). In this context, a British passport was defined as a, ‘passport issued by or on behalf of the Government of any part of His Majesty’s dominions’, whilst a British subject included ‘a person who in New Zealand is entitled to all political and other rights, powers, and privileges to which a natural-born British subject is entitled’ (PA 1946: s.2). Thus, whilst the PA 1946 provided recognition of the New Zealand state’s *de facto* sovereignty (a position that was formally codified when the New Zealand government finally adopted the State of Westminster in 1947), it simultaneously reaffirmed a deep continuity with Britain and the ascription of New Zealanders as fundamentally British in identity. Moreover, and notwithstanding the formal equality of states within the Westphalian system, the New Zealand state’s ability to unilaterally give shape to the conditions of international mobility has been limited, *vis-à-vis* the soft power of states such as the United Kingdom and the United States, to define the regimes of international mobility. Nonetheless, in its relationships with the South Pacific states (especially, Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, the Cook Islands, and Niue) the New Zealand state has been able and willing to exercise a significant definitional power in shaping the networks of mobility between these states and New Zealand. Moreover, whilst the New Zealand state’s power to define the conditions of mobility for New Zealand passport holders travelling abroad has been circumscribed, the corresponding desire to territorialise the conditions of entry into New Zealand has been enthusiastically supported and defended in both the political and popular realms.

Framed between these uncertainties, the discourses which have accompanied the emergence of New Zealand’s passport system, have been characterised by a sense of resigned inevitability. This point was no better expressed than by the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, Joseph Heenan (11/12/1936: unpagged) who while reflecting upon the British position at the 1926 Passport Conference, glumly concluded that ‘There is not much which can be suggested in New Zealand to improve matters. While all other countries of the world insist upon the production of a passport to enter their territory New Zealand can only fall into line by seeing that its people travelling overseas are provided with passports to facilitate their landing’. Heenan’s reflections are a small illustration of what Belich (2001) suggested was the process of recolonisation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through which the emergent economic and political interests of New Zealand became progressively reframed according to a dominant, and dominating relationship with Britain. Yet this sense of inevitability has served to hide the banal work of New Zealand’s administrators as they have sought to utilise travel documents for varying bio-political ends.

It is on this banal work and its territorialisation that the following argument focuses upon.

In a memorandum drafted by the Crown Law Office in preparation for the introduction of new passport legislation in 1934, the role of New Zealand's nascent 19th century colonial government in issuing passports was recalled. In 1892, the Colonial Secretary reported, 'it has not been deemed necessary to establish a passport system in New Zealand and that therefore no rules have been made', whilst a year later the Colonial Secretary noted having no recollection of issuing any passports at all (Crown Solicitor 22/11/1934). However, lest we think that the absence of an organised passport system reflected the unimportance of international movement to New Zealand during the late 19th century, we should note that between 1871 and 1885 over 250,000 migrants arrived in New Zealand (for a sense of scale New Zealand's European/Pakeha population was only approximately 250,000 in 1871) (Bloomfield 1984). Moreover, in 1874 net migration was 38,000 a figure not bettered until 2002. However, such movement was not without its threatening, mobile 'Other'. From the late nineteenth century onwards the mobility of non-British subjects, especially Chinese, into and within the Empire was problematised, as was the migration of Indians throughout the British Empire. In particular, the latter proved troublesome to the proponents of exclusion because of their nominal status as British subjects (albeit of the 'wrong' colour). Both Chinese and Indian migrants were the targets of a regular public clamour for exclusion and an ongoing legislative search for an impenetrable means of exclusion throughout Britain's self-governing colonies and Dominions (Martens 2006).

Writing at the end of Queen Victoria's reign, the discourses of fear and threat commonly associated with 'Asiatic' mobility were vividly captured by William Pember Reeves. Collectively, argued Reeves (1902), New Zealand and Australia were distinctive in the Empire because of the absence of any 'race-fissures' within their populations: an assertion that rather ignored the long history of indigenous resistance to colonial rule in both colonies (Belich 1988). However, the situation was not without danger, since for Reeves (1902: 328), the proximity of New Zealand and Australia to the 'swarming hives of Southern and Eastern Asia' meant that both countries were faced with immigration from people 'without the ability to discover the Far South for themselves, or build a civilisation there, [who] are prepared in multitudes to use the discoveries of the white man and build on the foundations laid by his pioneers'. Reeves was a loud but not isolated advocate of immigration exclusion, and the widespread desire to exclude 'Asiatic' immigrants in both Australia and New Zealand provided a ongoing field for sovereign self-definition and a point of conflict with

the Imperial authorities in the United Kingdom (Borrie 1991; Brawley 1993).

Prior to ww1 two counterpointing strands existed in New Zealand in relation to mobility: a strand that saw an active role for the state in encouraging the peopling of New Zealand with British migrants; and a strand that saw a lurking threat in the proximity of mobile 'Asiatic' peoples to the north of New Zealand. It was not until the outbreak of ww1 in August 1914 that the mobility of *British* subjects in New Zealand was significantly problematised and embraced by the New Zealand state. The imperatives of participating in an industrial war in Europe profoundly transformed the bio-political interests of those states involved, the scale and scope of states' involvement in areas previously outside their purview, and the territorialisation of mobility (Salter 2003). The war called for the massive mobilisation of labour power (both economic and military) and saw an increasingly acute recognition of the state's population as a strategic resource which needed to be sequestered and harnessed. Under these circumstances, the mobile subject emerged as a doubly problematic figure: a person who might be actively working for an enemy state; or one whose lack of work would harm the war effort of one's own state. Thus, in New Zealand and in contrast to the vigorous and consistent link that had been drawn between political sovereignty, 'racial' identity and immigration exclusion in relation to the 'race alien', the introduction of more widespread travel restrictions and documentary requirements during ww1 emerged to encompass the movement of both aliens *and* New Zealand's British subjects, as the mobile subject was redefined as intrinsically problematic.

The emergence of a recognisably modern security apparatus concerned with mobility in New Zealand can be traced to the authoritarian doctrine of state necessity outlined by the jurist and Attorney-General John Salmond (Frame 1995; Salmond 1924). Salmond argued that where the existence of the state was threatened, the law needed to be set aside as was necessary in order to ensure the state's survival. Salmond's doctrine, framed by the outbreak of ww1, can be clearly discerned in the drafting and passage of the New Zealand's War Regulation Act 1914 (WRA 1914) which enabled the government to govern through regulation rather than through the normal statutory process. Under the cloak of necessity provided by the WRA 1914, the New Zealand government introduced a slew of regulations restricting the mobility of different classes of individuals whose movement was calculated to be inimical to the war effort. There was no direct statutory basis for the regime of mobility (encompassing both a system of exit permits and passports) that gradually emerged and became more extensive during ww1. While the conclusion of ww1 saw a winding back of much of the extraordinary regulatory framework put in place under

the WRA 1914, the system of travel documentation was carried over into the post-ww1 years through the War Regulations Continence Act 1920. Indeed, it was not until the Passport Act 1934 (PA 1934) that some parts of the passport system were placed on a statutory basis and not until the Passport Act 1946 (PA 1946) that a *New Zealand* Passport was defined, and a passport required for movement in *and* out of New Zealand. Indeed, it was not until the Passport Act 1980 (PA 1980) that New Zealanders could receive a passport as of right.

Whilst the legal basis of the passport system in New Zealand gradually shifted, the ongoing administration of the passport system was not fundamentally altered by the change. Schmitt (1922/1985:13) writing in relation to the exercise of sovereign power argued that its essence was not necessarily the ability to coerce or rule, but rather, 'the monopoly to decide'. A monopoly that carries with it the power to define the exception and a monopoly which is most acutely expressed in those bordering processes that are concerned with the edges of state space (Salter 2006). On this point, Foucault (1991: 211) suggested that rather than imposing laws on people, governing had increasingly become a question of distributing things, by which he meant, 'employing tactics rather than laws, and even of using laws themselves as tactics – to arrange things in such a way that, through a certain number of means, such-and-such ends may be achieved'. Seen through this lens, the 'monopoly to decide' was an integral tactic in the administration of New Zealand's passport system, as well as a range of other border controls that emerged at the same time.

In particular, both the Undesirable Emigrants Exclusion Act 1919 and the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1920 introduced administrative discretion as a novel tactic to achieve the goal of immigration exclusion that had animated and frustrated immigration discourse in New Zealand since the late nineteenth century. This monopoly in relation to passports was spelt out by the Department of Internal Affairs who referenced an earlier Crown Law opinion that stated, 'The issue of a passport and renewals thereof are prerogative acts, and the passport is the property of the Crown.... To concede to him [a Magistrate] the power to issue directions or to make orders in respect thereof would be most derogatory to the dignity of the Crown and to the prerogative itself' (Secretary of Internal Affairs 23/8/1966: unpagged). The Secretary of Internal Affairs reinforced this argument by suggesting that, 'I regard the issue or non-issue of a New Zealand passport as being a matter between the New Zealand Government and its citizens' and that consequently, 'A Court should not try and should not be allowed to try to make the New Zealand Government a party to proceedings before it'. Moreover, such a monopoly was, formally at least, 'absolutely unfettered' although administrators were advised

that 'you should not restrict or refuse a passport unless there are legal grounds or grounds of principle to support your decision' (Secretary of Internal Affairs 29/9/1966: unpagged). It is within this murky area of administrative discretion and the banal imaginative geographies embedded in the exercise of this discretion that the paper now turns.

TERRITORIALISING THE NEW ZEALAND PASSPORT

Recognition of the importance of the mundane administrative practices associated with the governance of passport systems can be situated within efforts to tease apart and accord agency to different elements of the state. O'Tuathail and Dalby (1998), for example, argue for the need to seriously consider the significant activities of a wider range of quiet actors in shaping the relationships between states, and between states and their citizens. This section of the paper briefly examines two cases where calculations of place and security framed the production of highly uneven regimes of mobility by passport officials: first, the post-ww1 re-negotiation of the documentary requirements for travel between New Zealand and Australia; and second, the framing of Maori as problematic travellers by the New Zealand state after ww1.

Australia is New Zealand's nearest significant neighbour and connections between the two countries run very deep. A feature of the relationship between the two countries has been a long tradition of individuals crisscrossing the Tasman Sea, and an equally enduring concern at the mobility of 'race aliens' (Belich 1997). The outbreak of ww1 precipitated a reterritorialisation of travel in both New Zealand and Australia. In the case of New Zealand, the British requirement for travellers entering the United Kingdom to carry a passport meant that the majority of New Zealand travellers were quickly forced to get passports. Exit permits issued by the Minister of Internal Affairs were introduced during November 1915 as a measure to prevent military age men fleeing New Zealand (especially to Australia and the United States) to avoid national registration and the threat of military conscription (Henry 2003). As the war progressed exit permits came to operate as a *de facto* travel document in lieu of a passport for New Zealanders travelling to Australia (Allen 15/11/1916). In this case, the introduction of an exit permit scheme and the expansion of its use was not directly driven by an externally imposed demand as had happened with the need to issue passports, but rather by the evolving biopolitics which framed the formation of a war apparatus that increasingly enveloped New Zealand's population and which sought to orientate its activities towards the prosecution of total warfare. In this context, the movement of some subjects, and in particular military age men, came to be defined as inimical to a broader

biopolitical programme orientated towards the pursuit of victory in Europe.

Whilst the exit permit scheme reterrorialised the limits of legitimate international mobility and gathered the discretion to issue such permits in the office of the Minister of Internal Affairs, it never sought to totally curtail such movement. Rather, to use an idea from Deleuze (1992), the exit permit system represented a striation of space rather than a technology of total enclosure. Indeed, the permit system was itself designed to be more administratively flexible (for some) than the passport system. On this point, the Australian Prime Minister, William Hughes, noted in correspondence to his New Zealand counterpart that 'A permit is a much less formal document than a passport, is more quickly obtained, and involves the payment of no fee' (Hughes 25/10/1916: unpagged). Likewise New Zealand's Acting Prime Minister, James Allen, indicated the need to 'avoid inconvenience' and not to 'interfere more than possible' with movement across the Tasman Sea (Allen 11/11/1916: unpagged). Allen recognised the economic necessity of enduring the mobility of some individuals when he noted that in relation to shearers and slaughter men, 'every facility will be given to these men to migrate backwards and forwards between the Commonwealth [Australia] and New Zealand' (Allen 11/11/1916: unpagged). As a result, instructions issued to Passport Officers articulated a fine rule of difference between the 'bona fide business man' whose application was to be to guided by 'the character and the standing of the man' through to the 'New Zealander taking a holiday trip' who needed to be watched very carefully and whose permit application in each case 'should be referred to the Police' (Hislop 6/3/1916: unpagged).

The permit assemblage which had emerged and which embodied a tension between a biopolitical desire to sequester and conserve labour and military resources, and the concurrent desire to support the movement of some subjects across the Tasman, was questioned following the end of WW1. For example, the editor of the Manawatu Evening Standard saw challenges to the passport and permit system as 'eloquent testimony to the liberal regime under which British communities live and conduct their affairs' (Manawatu Evening Standard 1919: 4). Nonetheless, the same writer felt that 'to relax or to abolish the passport system would simply mean unlocking the door that has been erected to block such immigration [from aliens]' and consequently, 'the restrictions that are at present placed upon travel overseas are such that no sensible minded or patriotic citizen can possibly object to' (Manawatu Evening Standard 1919: 4). In Parliament the Riccarton MP, George Witty, inquired as to when the passport and permit system would be abolished, given that so many people wanted to visit war graves in Europe (NZPD 1920). The Minister of Internal Affairs

responded that such documents would be necessary until the countries receiving New Zealand travellers changed their border formalities: an answer that obscured the fact that the permit system had been imposed by the New Zealand government on travellers and continued to be imposed for its own ends.

Official fudging on this matter might be explained in the exchanges which occurred in mid-1920 between New Zealand and Australian government officials. In late April 1920, the Secretary of Australia's Home and Territories Department approached his New Zealand counterpart in the Department of Internal Affairs about the issue of travel permits (Hunt 22/4/1920). He pointed out that the purpose of the permit system, which had been to safeguard each country against the unauthorised departure of military age men, had been overtaken by events. The permit system he averred caused a significant amount of inconvenience to passengers and officials for no apparent end and consequently his Minister felt that permits could be safely removed for *British* subjects travelling between the two countries. Opinion amongst the various agencies in Wellington varied. The Comptroller of Customs (19/5/1920: unpagged) found no objection with the Australian proposal, as long as 'permits or passports for aliens will still be necessary', while the Department of Defence opposed the proposal, arguing that 'until the New Zealand Government decides to cease prosecution of military defaulters who hitherto have escaped detection, this Department must protest against the removal of the present pass-port [sic] system as between Australia and New Zealand' (Richardson 24/5/1920: unpagged). The ongoing 'security' concerns of the Defence Department carried the argument with the Secretary of Internal Affairs who pointed out to his Australian equivalent that New Zealand's military authorities were still very interested in tracing and punishing military defaulters and hence the permit system would continue (Hislop 4/6/1920).

Notwithstanding the Defence Department's opposition to any relaxation of the permit requirements, pressure was still being exerted upon the Department of Internal Affairs. The Manager of the Union Steam Ship Company (USSCo) wrote to the Secretary of Internal Affairs outlining the formidable array of entry formalities that needed to be conducted while passenger ships were in the stream noting that 'very serious complaints have been made to us by passengers arriving from Sydney of the long detention in the stream.... [and] it is hardly to be wondered at that passengers who have missed connection with trains to Auckland and elsewhere should be strong in their expressions of indignation at the expense and inconvenience to which they are consequently subjected' (Union Steam Ship Company 7/8/1920: unpagged). Under such pressure, the Secretary of Internal Affairs, James Hislop, convened a conference

of representatives from Internal Affairs, the Defence Department, the Police Department, and the Customs Department to discuss the future of the permit system for travel between New Zealand and Australia (Hislop 8/9/1920). At this September conference, the Defence Department's representatives indicated that they were now less interested in punishing military defaulters and more concerned by the threat posed by Bolsheviks and Soviet spies. On this matter, both the Secretary of Internal Affairs and the Police representative pointed out that the discretionary powers contained in the Undesirable Emigrants Aliens Act 1919 to deport such threatening individuals were more than sufficient for the Defence Department's needs. Hislop also spelt out the uncomfortable reality of the relationship between New Zealand and Australia regarding the permit system. He noted that the effectiveness of the system was reliant upon *both* Australia and New Zealand sharing a common zeal but that he was afraid 'as far as Australia was concerned, it was merely a formality, no systematic enquiries were being made into individual cases' (Hislop 8/9/1920: unpagged). Given this reality and given the powers already available elsewhere, the departmental representatives decided that the permit system could be discontinued for naturally-born British subjects, a decision that was conveyed to shipping companies in mid-October 1920.

This decision did not mean an end to the need for travel documents between Australia and New Zealand but rather constituted a further reterritorialisation of mobility between the two countries that fused place and identity together to complete a matrix of travelling subjects and spaces of mobility. This reterritorialisation was sketched in correspondence exchanged between New Zealand's Department of Internal Affairs and the Commonwealth's Home and Territories Department in early November 1920 (Hislop 5/11/1920). Under the agreement struck by the two departments, natural-born British subjects constituted a privileged category of travelling subjects who would be able to move between Australia and New Zealand without documents by virtue of their birthplace. In contrast, both naturalised British subjects and aliens were still required to carry passports or Certificates of Identity to travel between Australia and New Zealand. This agreement drew a distinction between two classes of travelling subject. On one hand, the mobility of natural born British subjects was reconstituted as being unproblematic, while on the other hand, the place of birth of naturalised British subjects and aliens was used to define their mobility as intrinsically more problematic. Administrative distinctions which can be partially understood in relation to the racial discourses of 'whiteness' and 'purity', that informed New Zealander's responses to immigration during the early twentieth century. The mobility regime established by the agreement defined an Australasian mobility place and at the core of this place was the discursive

framing of a common 'white' British identity. Thus, while both countries were territorially separated, they shared a collective territorialisation shaped around the preeminent status of the natural born British subject as the *sine qua non* of a common Australasian identity and ultimately the unmarked (or undocumented) master traveller. The privileged status of the natural born British subject as the master travelling subject was constituted through an administrative imagination that mundanely affirmed New Zealand and Australia as common 'British' countries. A place framed not by physical geography but rather the specific imagination of a shared cultural and racial place.

The popular contours of the 'geographical imagination' that linked Australia and New Zealand through a common racialised identity as British were clearly articulated in the debate that surrounded the passage of the Immigration Restriction Amendment Bill in mid-1920. The Prime Minister, William Massey (NZPD 1920:905), opened the debate by arguing that the purpose of the Bill was to give expression to the desire of New Zealanders 'that this Dominion shall be what is often called a 'white' New Zealand', before summing up the mood of Parliament with the observation that 'Clearly, we want to keep the race as pure in this Dominion as it is possible to keep it' (NZPD 1920:908). Between these statements, an interesting exchange occurred between Massey and the Eastern Maori MP, Apirana Ngata, in relation to the status of Maori within this putatively 'white' Dominion. Ngata asked 'what of the Maoris' in reaction to a clause in the Bill which allowed the Governor-General to exempt a nation from the proposed Act with the qualification that this power did not extend to any 'aboriginal Native' of an exempted nation. In response, Massey discursively whitened Maori by arguing that 'The Maori is a European for our purposes.... The Maori has the same rights and privileges as the European, in every sense of the word' (NZPD 1920:907). Massey's 'whitening' of Maori reflected a strong strand of Aryanism in the racial imagination of New Zealand's politicians, public and officials where Maori could be accorded honorary 'white' status by giving them a proto-European genealogy (see Belich 2001; Tregear 1885).

Ngata's complaint that the 'white' status of Maori was not reflected in the law was an astute one, given the growth in the use of ministerial discretion as a tactic of exclusion. Moreover, notwithstanding Massey's assurance of an equality of status, the examination of passport policy in relation to Maori suggests that the use of administration discretion was framed by a series of racialised assumptions about the travelling Maori subject. In early 1924, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Richard Bollard (19/3/1924) forwarded a list of 36 Maori passport applicants to the Minister of Native Affairs. The applicants were proposing to travel to the British Empire Exhibition and the Minister of Internal

Affairs noted that the party had already reserved its passage on the SS *Barrabool* which was due to leave in mid-April. The Minister also pointed out that 'Mr Moko [the party's leader] stated that they were prepared to deposit any sum of money with the Government as a safeguard against any, or the whole, of the party becoming stranded abroad' (Bollard 19/3/1924: unpagged). In reply, the Minister of Native Affairs, the future Prime Minister, Joseph Coates (24/3/1924), indicated that he had already had contact with Mr Moko in regards gaining permission to leave New Zealand. Looking beyond this specific case, the Minister argued that before any party of Maori was permitted to leave New Zealand a series of conditions needed to be complied with. These conditions included: 1) the cost of the return fares for the whole party should be deposited with the Department of Internal Affairs; 2) a sum of money sufficient to cover the accommodation costs of a party waiting for a return steamer should be deposited with the Department of Internal Affairs; and 3) accommodation for the whole party needed to have been procured before the party left New Zealand. The conditions set down by the Minister in his memorandum to the Minister of Internal Affairs were confirmed by Cabinet in late March 1924.

The surviving administrative files indicate a trickle of passport applications falling under this policy. In April 1928, Te Ari Pitama (29/3/1928) wrote to the Prime Minister, Joseph Coates, indicating that he was unable to deposit the requisite £100 with the Department of Internal Affairs and asking for advice. Coates (3/4/1928) made representations on behalf of Pitama to the Minister of Internal Affairs suggesting that the bond be waived on the stipulation that Pitama signed an undertaking not to make any call on the New Zealand Government while he was overseas. It appears, however, that this suggestion was not taken up and no passport was issued to Pitama (Coates 3/4/1928). In April the following year, the Department of Internal Affairs was approached by the Auckland lawyers, Wynyard, Wilson, Vallance & Holmden (11/4/1929), working on behalf of the Mormon Church. They noted the £100 bond required of Maori passport applicants and asked what legislation gave the Department the authority to exercise this requirement. Officers for the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs (15/4/1929: unpagged) made no mention of the War Regulations Continuance Act 1920 under which passport regulations were made and instead, they pointed out that in the first instance, the issue of passports was a matter of royal prerogative and that consequently 'the issue of a passport in favour of any person is not mandatory' and secondly that 'it has been decided by the Government in the case of Maoris applying for passports to insist on a deposit of £100 pounds to indemnify the government against any loss which might be sustained in repatriating them to the Dominion in the event of their becoming stranded overseas'. The implications of this tactic were spelt out in

letters by George Watene, Secretary of the Maori Agricultural College Old Boys Association, to both the Department of Native Affairs and the Department of Internal Affairs. Watene (15/4/1929: unpagged) noted that the restrictions placed on the travelling Maori public were ‘the first of its kind ever instituted in the history of New Zealand. It will practically blot out any hope for the Maori people ever travelling abroad. I do not see any reason for any such law, for you know as well as I do, that the travelling Maoris are very few and far between. It takes them all their time and money to procure the return fares and extras, let alone the £100 security’. Watene (15/4/1929: unpagged) ended his letter with the plea to ‘leave the Maoris on a par with the European people, and issue the passport to the Maori people, the same as usual as in the past years, for their service: here, abroad and in the homeland’. As a result, Cabinet consented to allow a party of Maori travelling under the aegis of the Mormon Church to travel to Honolulu but on the proviso that the church would be responsible for the repatriation costs of any of the Maori requiring assistance.

In mid-November 1937, the case of Wilson Potaka was brought to the attention of the Under Secretary of Internal Affairs, Joseph Heenan (17/11/1937). Potaka had been issued a passport after depositing a bond with Internal Affairs and had subsequently left New Zealand to travel to China. While in China, it was believed that he had intended to try and gain employment with the Flying Section of the General Chiang Kei-Shek’s Nationalist forces. However, en route to Hong Kong both his passport and money were reported stolen and consequently the New Zealand government was asked to repatriate Potaka. Using Potaka’s case as an exemplar, Heenan noted the wisdom of the 1924 policy and argued that the policy should be allowed to continue. A sentiment echoed in a handwritten note written by the Minister of Internal Affairs and appended to Heenan’s memorandum. Set alongside continuing support for this policy was recognition of the regular parties of travellers organised through the Mormon Church and the lack of trouble associated with these parties. Indeed, when this issue was revisited over a decade later, Potaka’s case represented precisely half of the cases where the policy of requiring deposits had been needed. Given this context it was suggested that ‘the present policy does not appear to be in accord with the modern view of the place of the Maori Race in the community’ (Harper 16/3/1948: unpagged). A view shared by both the Minister William Parry and the Prime Minister Peter Fraser. However, in changing the policy, Fraser indicated that while any restrictions on Maori as *individual* travellers should be removed, in the case of parties of Maori travelling some provision needed to remain. It seems that Fraser’s suspicion of travelling parties led to at least two teenage concert parties being dissuaded from leaving New Zealand because of the fear of the cost of repatriation (Anonymous 21/6/1961).

The policy of requiring Maori to provide a bond before a passport would be issued indicated a paternal assumption as to the problematic status of Maori as travellers. Thus, notwithstanding loud protestations as to the equal status of Maori and Pakeha before the law, the ongoing tactics of administrative discretion as exercised by agents with the Department of Internal Affairs and the Department of Native Affairs suggested the existence of a level of categorical suspicion attached to the mobility of Maori. Maori were problematic travellers because they were Maori, and in this sense they joined a constantly evolving collection of subjects — ‘shirkers’, bolshevists, aliens, ‘race’ aliens, children, women, debtors— whose mobility was problematic for the state because of ontological claims about their limited ability to successfully govern themselves as responsible travelling subjects.

The tactics of a racialised paternalism evident in the policy towards Maori travellers profoundly but banally reterritorialised the place of the border in governing mobility. In suggesting that Maori travellers, like other problematic travellers, became the subjects of a categorical suspicion, the border as a distinct place of demarcation and passage disappears. In this sense, the border is placeless insofar as its role becomes attached not to a specific place but rather is constantly practiced in the daily interaction between the problematic subject and the state. Conversely, however, to talk of the border as being placeless is to ignore the materiality of the entanglement of subject and state. Rather, the border becomes embedded in a new series of places such as the Department of Internal Affairs’s Passport Office, on the desk of the Minister of Native Affairs, or around the Cabinet table. It is in these places that the ongoing work of differentiation is conducted and where the mundane imagination of risk, subjects and other places was assembled in ways that produced significantly uneven regimes of mobility.

CONCLUSION

In these mundane agreements and processes of classification, we can begin to discern an entangled geography of placeness and placelessness whose contours have been defined not through explicit acts of imagination but rather through the quiet assemblage of administrative tactics around questions of risk, security, race and citizenship. Through these quiet tactics, states have assembled regimes of mobility which constitute individuals as variously problematic or unproblematic travellers: classifications which in turn are entangled in the territorialisation of mobility.

As has been suggested in this paper mobility is not necessarily a synonym for

placelessness. Rather, the regimes of mobility through which states shape the movement of individuals require the intense and ongoing imagination of place and the relationship between place and individuals. A relationship framed by assumptions as to which travelling subjects are 'in place' and which are 'out of place'. Thus, we saw, in the case of trans-Tasman travel between New Zealand and Australia, a renegotiation of the regime of mobility, which had been previously created during the First World War to ensure the immobility of military age men. The regime of mobility that emerged from these negotiations created a common trans-Tasman place within which the mobility of national born British subjects was imagined as both desirable and unproblematic. However, the supported mobility of these subjects was predicated on the concomitant immobility of other racialised subjects: an immobility which was created through the same place making calculations as those supporting the mobility of natural-born (read 'white') British subjects. Likewise, the international mobility of Maori was framed in racialised assumptions as to both the limited capabilities of Maori as successful travellers and the nature of the world beyond New Zealand. The effect, rhetorically at least, was to fix Maori in place as problematic travellers.

In using the examples of trans-Tasman mobility and the constrained mobility of Maori, it is not a matter of supposing that the state ceased to embrace those subjects whose mobility has been defined as unproblematic, or that the state necessarily embraced any tighter problematic travellers. Rather, we see the mundane assemblage of new places of mobility. Places produced through the quiet tactics of official discretion and the use of travel documents as a means of supporting or hindering the mobility of different subjects. Seen in these terms, place simultaneously emerges as a result of the state's concern with mobility and a resource to be used to give shape to that concern. Consequently, to move is not to be beyond place or to be placeless, rather, it is to be entangled in complex and shifting regimes of mobility: regimes whose work is intimately related to the production and attachment of place to travelling subjects.

REFERENCES

- Adey, P. 2004 'Surveillance at the Airport: Surveilling Mobility/Mobilising Surveillance', *Environment and Planning A*, 36(8) 1365–1380.
- Allen, J. 11/11/1916 *Untitled*, IA 1 15/7/58 Pt 1: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Allen, J. 15/11/1916 *Untitled*, IA 1 15/7/58 Pt 1: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.

- Anonymous. 21/6/1961 *Teenage Maori Concert Party - Visit to Russia-*, IA 1 15/7/172: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Auge, M. 1995 *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, London: Verso.
- Belich, J. 1988 *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland: Penguin.
- Belich, J. 1997 'Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 31(1): pp. 9–22.
- Belich, J. 2001 *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: The Penguin Press.
- Billig, M. 1995 *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage Publications.
- Bollard, R. 19/3/1924 *Memorandum for:- The Hon. Minister of Native Affairs*, IA 1 15/7/172: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Boorstin, D. 1963 *The image, or, what happened to the American dream*, Penguin: Harmondsworth.
- Borrie, W.D. 1991 *Immigration to New Zealand 1854–1938*, Canberra: Highland Press.
- Brawley, S. 1993 'No 'White Policy' in NZ': Fact and Fiction in New Zealand's Asian Immigration Record, 1946–1978', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 27(1): 16–36.
- Coates, J. 24/3/1924 *Memorandum:- The Hon. Minister of Internal Affairs*, IA 1 15/7/172: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Coates, J. 3/4/1928 *Untitled*, IA 1 15/7/172: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Comptroller of Customs. 19/5/1920 *Permits for Passengers travelling between New Zealand and Australia and vice versa*, IA 1 15/7/58 Pt 2: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Cresswell, T. 2001 'The Production of Mobilities', *New Formations*, 43 (Spring): 12–25.

- Crown Solicitor. 22/11/1934 *Notes on Passports*, 1A 69: National Archives: Wellington.
- Deleuze, G. 1992 'Postscript: on the societies of control', *October*, 59 (Winter): 3–7.
- Foucault, M. 1977 *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, London: Penguin Books.
- Foucault, M. 1991 'Governmentality', in G. Burchell and P. Miller (eds) *The Foucault Effect: studies in governmental rationality*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf: 87–104.
- Frame, A. 1995 *Salmond: Southern Jurist*, Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Harper, A. 16/3/1948 *Issue of Passports to Maori*, 1A 1 15/7/172: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Heenan, J. 11/12/1936 *Passports*, 1A 69/1: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Heenan, J. 17/11/1937 *Mr Wilson Potaka, 17 Bignell Street, Wanganui*, 1A 1 15/7/172: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Henry, M. 2003 'Producing Prosaic Identities: the Emergence of the Passport in New Zealand', in Gao, J., Le Heron, R. and Logie, J. *Proceedings of the 22nd New Zealand Geography Society Conference*, Auckland: School of Geography and Environmental Science, The University of Auckland: 193–197.
- Hislop, J. 6/3/1916 *Instructions relative to the issuing of permits under the War Regulations of the 15th and 29th November, 1915, to male persons over the age of eighteen years desiring to leave the Dominion*, 1A 15/7/65 Pt 1: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Hislop, J. 4/6/1920 *Memorandum for the Hon. Mr Anderson*, 1A 1 15/7/58 Pt 2: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Hislop, J. 8/9/1920 *Notes of a Conference Held in the Office of the Under Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs on 8th September, 1920*, 1A 1 15/7/58 Pt 2: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Hislop, J. 5/11/1920 *Memorandum for The Secretary, Home & Territories Department, Melbourne*, 1A 1 15/7/58 Pt 2: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.

- Hughes, W. 25/10/1916 *Untitled*, 1A 1 15/7/58 Pt 1: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Hunt, A. 22/4/1920 *Untitled*, 1A 1 15/7/58 Pt 2: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Coates, J. 3/4/1928 *Untitled*, 1A 1 15/7/172: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Martens, J. 2006 'A Transnational History of Immigration Restriction: Natal and New South Wales, 1896–97', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34(3): 323–344.
- Mongia, R. 1999 'Race, Nationality, Mobility: A History of the Passport', *Public Culture*, 11(3): 527–556.
- Newton, G. 15/4/1929 1A 1 15/7/172: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- NZPD. 1920 'Immigration Restriction Amendment Bill', 187: 905–942.
- NZPD. 1920 'Passports', 186: 415–416.
- O'Tuathail, G. and Dalby, S. 1998 'Introduction: Rethinking Geopolitics. Towards a Critical Geopolitics', in G. O'Tuathail and S. Dalby (eds) *Rethinking Geopolitics*, London: New York: 1–15.
- Reeves, W. P. 1902 *State Experiments in Australia & New Zealand*, 2 Volumes, London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Richardson, G. 24/5/1920 *Memorandum for the Honourable the Minister of Internal Affairs*, Wellington, 1A 1 15/7/58 Pt 2: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Rose, N. 1999 *Powers of Freedom: reframing political thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Salmond, J. 1924 *Jurisprudence: or the Theory of the Law*, London: Stevens and Haynes.
- Salter, M. 2006 'The Global Visa Regime and the Political Technologies of the International Self: Borders, Bodies, Biopolitics', *Alternatives*, 31(2): 167–189.
- Salter, M. 2007 'Governmentalities of an Airport: Heterotopia and Confession', *International Political Sociology*, 1(1) 49–66.

- Salter, M. 2003 *Rights of Passage: The Passport in International Relations*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Schmitt, C. 1922/1985 *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Secretary of Internal Affairs. 23/8/1966 *Passports: Harry Maurice Miller*, IA 1 15/7/352: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Secretary of Internal Affairs. 29/9/1966 *Miss Jacqueline Fleming*, IA 1 15/7/352: National Archives: Wellington.
- Te Ari Pitama. 29/3/1928 IA 1 15/7/172: National Archive: Wellington.
- Thrift, N. 2000 'It's the Little Things', in K. Dodds and D. Atkinson (eds) *Geopolitical Traditions: A Century of Geopolitical Thought*, London: Routledge: 380–387.
- Tonnies, F. 1887/1955 *Community and society*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Torpey, J. 1998 'Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate "Means of Movement"', *Sociological Theory*, 16(3): 239–259.
- Torpey, J. 2000 *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tregear, E. 1885 *The Aryan Maori*, Wellington: Government Printer.
- Union Steam Ship Company. 7/8/1920 *Under Secretary, Internal Affairs Department*, IA 1 15/7/58 Pt 2: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Watene, G. 15/4/1929 *Untitled*, IA 1 15/7/172: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.
- Wynyard Wilson Vailance & Holmden. 11/4/1929 *Untitled*, IA 1 15/7/172: Archives New Zealand: Wellington.

MATERIALITY

Edited by Daniel Miller

Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005. 304pp. RRP \$23.95 USD,
ISBN 978-0-82233-530-6.

Reviewed by

Dr David Sutton, Southern Illinois University Carbondale

THINGS THAT GO BUMP

You bump into the single-word title of this collection like a brick wall. Ouch! You might even think the title had agency, but whose? The abducted agency of an absent subject, in the phraseology of Alfred Gell (1998), or the agency of a network of publishers, computers, anthropologists, support staff and other humans and non-humans, as Bruno Latour (1999) might have it? These questions would not be out of place in this collection, as the authors, all anthropologists, present recent approaches to materiality, and engage primarily, though not exclusively, with the work of these two theorists.

But what is materiality? Not, Daniel Miller is at pains to point out in his introduction, simply things, stuff, artifacts, as a vulgar materialist might suggest. It can include images, dreams, software, financial derivatives. Miller's detailed introduction, worth the price of admission in itself, argues for a theory of materiality drawn from Hegel and Marx, which hopes to upset any distinction between subject and object and replace it with a dialectic of 'objectification' in which we create 'things that in turn create us: 'In objectification all we have is a process in time by which the very act of creating form creates consciousness... and thereby transforms both form and the self-consciousness of that which has consciousness...' (p. 9). Thus rather than seeing material culture as the projection of symbolic or social relations (as in symbolic or Durkheimian anthropology), Miller argues that we see humans and the environment as mutually constituted and constituting. Thankfully, after laying out this argument, Miller points out that as anthropologists we live in a world where our ethnographic subjects may actually think of themselves as 'people' using 'objects'. So, while we keep in mind the ways that we may be tempted by the illusion of subjects

and objects, Miller suggests that ethnographically we examine projects of materiality and immateriality. ‘Immateriality’ being the treatment of the world of things as an illusion that hides a greater truth, religious or otherwise. Projects of ‘materiality’ being ones which see human happiness measured in the greater amount of stuff that we surround ourselves with. Ironically, the impossibility of transcending the material – get rid of objects and you get rid of subjects as well – leads attempts in this direction to founder on the problem that the ‘idea’ of immateriality must still express itself through material forms. Protestants, for example, may reject many of the trappings of the church, but that leads the ‘good book’ to acquire a fetish-like status.

The chapters in this volume explore such projects from different perspectives, united by an interest in the work of Gell and Latour. Topics range from Egyptian pyramids and mummies (Lynn Meskell) to financial derivatives (Hirokazu Miyazaki, Bill Maurer), ‘intelligent clothing’ (Suzanne Küchler), photographic archives (Christopher Pinney), and computer and other screens (Nigel Thrift). Some are explicitly ethnographic, while others attempt to add to Miller’s critique of the reduction of material objects to containers of symbols or of social relations. Some of these chapters are not easy reading if you don’t already have a good grasp of concepts like ‘arbitrage’ and ‘securitization’. In the brief space of this review I will look at three illustrative chapters that suggest what seem to me to be the most productive of approaches to doing ethnography that reflects these concerns.

Fred Myers presents several Turnerian social dramas or ‘scandals’, focusing on the production and exchange of Aboriginal art in Australia as a way to address the different ‘regimes of materiality’ of art dealers and patrons, the Australian government and the artists themselves. He counter-poses the standard Western view that art reflects the creativity of an individual artist with that of the Aboriginals who see it as ‘something objectified in revelation or transmission [of the Dreaming] rather than created *de novo*’ (p. 95). These different views imply different, though not always opposed, reactions to changes in markets and technology that allow for the mass production of art, or to challenges such as non-Aboriginals who paint in the style characteristic of Aboriginal art. Myers investigates a variety of ‘scandals’ in which these regimes come into conflict, as when paintings by Aboriginal ‘artists’ turn out to be not the creation of the one individual who signed his name to the painting, but rather executed by relatives who were ‘authorised’ to paint the picture according to traditional practice (pp. 102–105). One of the real strengths of Myers analysis is that it shows the ways that these different ‘regimes’ are also internally contradictory, allowing for struggles and change: ‘Each [regime of value/materiality] perme-

ates and leaks into the other, subverting its internal integrity...’ (p. 106). Thus struggles over objects become struggles over identity, inflected by power, but the outcome of which is never determined in advance.

Matthew Engelke provides a striking ethnographic example of a project of immateriality in his study of healing practices among Masowe weChisanu apostolic Christian practitioners in Zimbabwe. This church differentiates itself from other Christian denominations in its rejection of the materiality of the Bible’s mediation of God: ‘Faith must be “live and direct,” constituted by its immateriality’ (p. 123). But they also are keen to distinguish themselves from non-Christian local healers and their ‘witchcraft medicines’ (p. 126). Engelke goes on to describe how practitioners square their faith with the role of three different kinds of objects in weChisanu healing practices: pebbles, water and honey. Pebbles can be used for a wide variety of problems, and are distributed by elders with specific instructions: placed in a wallet, they can get you a job, placed in water they can make instant holy water. Engelke notes their useful material properties: they are portable and durable, ‘if you drop a pebble you can pick it up. If you drop a cup of holy water, it might be gone forever...’ (p. 130). But he also argues that their material properties add to their symbolic value, rejecting materiality, the weChisanu have chosen an object with no value to objectify their faith: ‘What better way to undercut the importance of material culture than to hold up as its archetype something you find in the dirt?’ (p. 131). Engelke contrasts pebbles with honey, an object with more obviously useful inherent properties, as well as associations with non-Christian traditional healers. Honey, then, becomes a ‘sticky subject’ (p. 120), a test of faith that weChisanu must carefully treat as a holy medicine rather than a tasty treat, showing by contrast that ‘materiality [and immateriality] is a matter of degree and kind’ (p. 136).

Webb Keane applies an approach that combines Engelke’s concern with material properties and Myers focus on shifting regimes of value. He uses C.S. Pierce’s (1958) ideas about iconicity and indexicality to stress the fact that clothing is, in fact, made of material, and is not simply another text to be read for its meanings, or as a simple expression of identity. Instead he suggests that iconicity and indexicality imply a fundamental openness of things to different uses and interpretations based on their material qualities and the ways these qualities may suggest different future possibilities (a notion here very similar to Tim Ingold’s (2000) development of the concept of ‘affordances’). ‘New clothing makes possible or inhibits new practices, habits, and intentions; it invites new projects’ (p.193). The material properties of objects are also subject to ‘bundling’ whereby different qualities, by their shared proximity in a particular

object, may become associated: certain colours and certain temperatures or textures for example. This gives the possibility of future stabilization of meanings into ideologies (Myers' regimes of materiality). But by the same token, these regimes may seem fixed for a moment (by forces of power, colonial governments, etc.) but are actually always 'vulnerable' to the openness of things, to future possibilities and associations. What is interesting here is that Keane seems to be close to Marshall Sahlins' (1985) idea that symbolic categories are risked in practice. But Keane has shown how a Sahlins' approach can be freed from its mentalist/structuralist underpinnings and applied to anthropology's recent concern with materiality. He has, in a sense, wedded Sahlins and Tim Ingold (2000), without actually discussing either.

This is a stimulating collection, which will reward scholars and post-graduate students with some of the most recent anthropological thinking on how to approach ethnography both theoretically-informed and still open to its empirical qualities. I would therefore think twice before venturing away from the ideas in this book without a torch or some guiding light.

REFERENCES

- Gell, Alfred 1998 *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ingold, Tim 2000 *Perceptions of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge.
- Latour, Bruno 1999 *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Pierce, Charles S. 1958 *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce. VIII: Review, Correspondence, and Bibliography*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Sahlins, Marshall 1985 *Islands of History*. Chicago: Univ. Press.

UNDERSTANDING MATERIAL CULTURE.

by Ian Woodward

London, Sage, 2007. 191pp. RRP \$49.99 ISBN 978-0-7619-4226-9.

Reviewed by

Dr Diana Young, University of Queensland

Material culture is appearing in Australia not as part of social anthropology, where it is considered still as synonymous only with things in museums, but in cultural studies and sociology departments and in art schools. This book is an introduction to material culture studies aimed at beginners. It is clearly and accessibly written with box headings containing précis of each chapter and concluding remarks that provide ample pointers for teaching.

The author ranges over a large body of texts from sociology, environmental psychology, cultural studies, psycho-analytic theory and anthropology. The main theoretical thrust of the book is material culture as consumption studies. To this end he draws heavily and enthusiastically on the work of anthropologist Daniel Miller who is a member of the material culture group at University College London in the Dept. of Anthropology. Miller's work on mass consumption practices has come to be the most well known part of British material culture in Australia so much so that Woodward believes him to be 'a one person industry in material culture' (p.25). Miller is wonderfully prolific and influential in his writings on consumption but there are also many other aspects to material culture in anthropology and outside it that take in diverse aspects of archaeology, anthropology of art, studies of technology, museums and collecting and so on and Woodward does add a brief caveat to this effect in the final pages of his book. He swiftly passes material culture in museums contexts also but points the reader towards the work of Susan Pearce.

Woodward draws mostly on Miller's early work from the late 1980s and 90s and also focuses heavily on both Kopytoff and Appadurai. These latter theorists promulgated the idea that commodities have a biography just as persons do (Kopytoff 1986) and that things also have a 'social life' (Appadurai 1986). Both these approaches are admirable and long standing ones and useful in

material culture analyses and have also been central to Miller's early work as Woodward points out. But they also render things as context dependant, as 'within' networks of relations even while such networks are dynamic as are the objects moving through them (p. 16). This means that the more recent emphasis on things as themselves able to redefine contexts and culture, as having agency, is marginal in this volume except perhaps latently in the chapter on taste.

Woodward starts at the beginning. He explains what the terms 'things', 'objects', 'artefacts', 'goods' and 'commodities' mean. He plumps for the term object throughout this volume, because "thing" suggests an inanimate or inert quality, requiring that actors bring to life through imagination or physical activity' (p. 15). It is true that there is a culture in Australia of using the word object and not thing but one of the reasons that recent material culture in British anthropology uses 'thing' is that 'object' already contains the idea that there is a subject who objectifies, rather than a more dynamic state where things and persons swing in and out of foregrounding one another (this reviewer will now annoyingly switch between the two terms 'object' and 'thing' for the sake of variety but Woodward sticks to 'object' throughout). Woodward defines reification on the same page as 'imagining that objects are simply there for human actors to engage with or use up, as though they existed apart from cultural and social history' (p.15).

Woodward discusses what he terms the two approaches to consumption. The first, 'it's a bad thing' ranges from the condemnatory Adam Smith (commodities as moral corruption), Marx on commodities as manifestations of labour emptied out of their materiality, to Simmel's insight that fashion and style were modernity's propulsion. The second post modern approach that consumption is a good thing, relies on it being something expressive, playful and creative, less to do with utility, more with shaping identity through aesthetic choices.

Woodward though wishes to emulate Miller's (1987) original work on material culture and mass consumption where he defines consumption as work that transforms an object from alienable to inalienable (p. 55). Later in the book Woodward sketches Miller's important and touching research into London council tenants' kitchens and the ways in which women, or the agency of women, customised the standard issue fittings in order to remake it as site of social relations, of affectionate ties.

In section two the author dives into semiotics and symbolism, the object as communication, introducing Saussure, Barthes, Baudrillard and Lévi-Strauss

and in a further chapter he explores what he terms the cultural bit of material culture and the emotive capacities things offer. To this end he summarises Mauss, Durkheim, Mary Douglas and Miller. He also summarises many other relevant case studies.

In part three of the book 'Objects in action' which is more about what objects do to people Woodward turns to Bourdieu's theory of taste, 'distinction' and Veblen and then moves on to Simmel in discussing ideas about taste and aesthetics grounded in Kantian ideas. In the subject of how fashion in clothing is constructed, he highlights the inadequacies of Bourdieu's theory of taste by using critiques such as Bulmer's 1960s research on the fashion industry in Paris where a collective aesthetics driving public taste was evident, not simply one that emulated social superiors.

Woodward is also passionate in his defence of material culture studies that focus on identity (that include his own research) arguing that such emphasis has not yet run its course. This is indicative of the struggle for competing identities and cultural groups that characterise both the migrant experience and a colonised Indigenous culture in Australia resulting in a demand for identity analyses.

The book is insightful and fluently explores the parameters that it sets out to roam. It is a book clearly aiming to provide a foundational text to studies of mass consumption in cultural studies and sociology. At the end of each chapter are bullet points that answer the questions that might arise from a reading of the preceding material. Here he also picks out suggestions for further reading that are usually, in the first part of the book, classics such as Barthes' *Mythologies* (1957). In later chapters, however, his suggestions are very recent essays or a mixture of both such as Winnicott's *Play and Reality* (1982) and the *Journal of Consumer Research* at the end of the chapter concerning things as constructive of identity. Classic references also include Douglas and Isherwood, Marx, Lukacs and Simmel, Hebdige on cultural sub-groups, actant network theory and Woodward's own work on domestic material culture and identity construction through personal narratives. There is also mention of the Body Shop and the work of designer Philippe Stark that might entice undergraduates into seeing relevance in the subject for their own lives, should such inducements be needed.

REFERENCES

Appadurai, A. (ed) 1986 *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Univ. Press.

Barthes, R. 1957 *Mythologies*. Paris: Seuil.

Kopytoff, I. 1986 The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process.
In A. Appadurai (ed). *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Univ. Press.

Miller, D. 1987 *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Winnicott, D.W. 1982 *Play and Reality*. London: Routledge.

LOOKING FLASH: CLOTHING IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Edited by Bronwyn Labrum, Fiona McKergow & Stephanie Gibson

Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2007.

288pp. RRP \$49.99 ISBN: 978-1-86940-397-3

Reviewed by

Dr Graeme Were, University College London

Over the last decade or so, there has been a proliferation of studies from within the social sciences that explore the materiality of cloth and clothing. Clothing is now the leading concern of a host of interdisciplinary studies whose theoretical scope and justification was marked by the appearance of the work of Jane Schneider and Annette Weiner in 1989. The significance of their work lies in the fact that it drew attention to the seriousness of clothing as a material expression of genealogy, history and social memory, finally laying to rest the idea that clothing could be treated as some sort of trivial expression of social relations. This volume takes inspiration from this, and in so doing, presents a weighty contribution to the study of cloth and clothing in society from the regional perspective of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The book consists of fourteen chapters from different authors, all featuring many fascinating and compelling photographs. Given the richness of the material, it is difficult to summarise each paper in any depth. However, any reader will notice a strong focus of the volume is the study of museum collections of clothing and their histories as well as the social context for key clothing styles that have helped shape settler society and Maori culture in New Zealand. The diverse content of the paper contributions weaves together a textured understanding of Aotearoa New Zealand as it is fabricated in narratives of Maori skills, marine history, Scottish settlement and military waistcoats and so forth.

As way of a summary, the volume sets off with Labrum's paper – an orientation, situating the overall study within the context of interdisciplinary studies of clothing, pointing out its transition away from dress or costume history towards material culture studies. Te Arapo Wallace examines a range of clothing worn by Maori, made from dog-skin and flax, demonstrating some of the

technical skills of Maori weavers. This paper tries to unpick the western term 'fashion' and provides some concepts behind Maori clothing style through oral histories. Livingstone and Carson examine some eighteenth century dresses brought to New Zealand as heirlooms by families travelling from England. The paper explores the significance of these treasures – made from beautifully patterned silks—and the possible reasons why people packed them in their luggage. The association between kilt wearing, authority and tradition is the subject of Pickles's paper. She traces out how kilts first appeared in eighteenth century New Zealand worn by Anglo-Celtic New Zealanders from the time of colonisation, and worn for martial activities. This paper reveals some interesting historical points about the Scottish diaspora, the kilt industry, as well as the emergence of identities carried with the wearing of tartan especially amongst schoolchildren and the gay and lesbian communities.

Butts's paper takes us on a journey through the clothing collections of the Hawke's Bay Art Gallery and Museum in Napier. The author underlines the importance of clothing collections in provincial museums in New Zealand by picking off the rack some treasures in the collection including an eighteenth century Royal Irish Regiment officer's tunic, an embroidered waistcoat once worn by a Scottish civil servant, a christening gown made of Indian muslin, and a Maori waistcoat woven from plain and purples dyed flax.

One of the most novel contributions features an analysis of the clothing of castaways – marooned or shipwrecked mariners – who are often mistaken for 'wild men' because of their inadequate or improvised clothing. Quéréé's highly original contribution charts the stories of shipwreck survivors in the Auckland Islands and how, once being rescued, their lives are normalised through the act of dressing. The chapter includes some wonderful historical photographs of such survivors wearing sealskin jackets, skirts, hats, and moccasins as well as sewing needles made from the bones of birds.

Tamarapa tells the story of rare type of dog hair cloak held in the Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand. She uncovers the cloak's history, documents its social significance and its technical construction, as well as its collection history using archival material and oral histories. Labrum's contribution explores the culture of second-hand clothing, examining the nature of hand-me-downs and thrift beginning in the nineteenth century. She explains how newly arrived immigrants had trouble in obtaining clothing as they had to rely on imported goods and how the manual work many undertook led to novel ways of maintaining and repairing their own clothes. In a similar way to Quéréé's study of castaway clothing, this paper reveals innovative clothing practices

amongst groups in society that are seldom represented. Indeed, Labrum's paper ends with an examination of clothing in asylums, refuges and orphanages into the 1950s and 60s.

The next two chapters examine consumption and the retail clothing industry, integrating with good effect advertisements, photographs of shop fronts and cartoons. McKergow examines the experience of shopping in Palmerston North in the late nineteenth century by paying attention to shop window displays, sales techniques and promotional material. Daley is concerned with the beach and the story of shrinking swimwear. The advent of new fabrics allowed for lighter and tighter swimming outfits and this is traced alongside the changing moral economy of the twentieth century, which inevitably led to confrontations with New Zealand's authorities.

Military uniforms weave together the theme of the following two papers. Montgomerie's contribution explores the clothing fashions of women in the Second World War; and we learn how advertisements encouraged women to maintain interest in fashion and make-up despite shortages. Macdonald examines the clothing fashions of female marching teams and their connection to Scottish emblems – kilts, naming and accessories – as well as American service uniforms such as hats worn by marines.

Another contribution that stands out is the chapter on the social history of the black singlet. Gibson traces out its role in New Zealand rural identity, particularly its association to hard work and masculinity, and the transformations it has undertaken. She asserts that the singlet is iconic of twentieth century New Zealand culture and can be traced through a number of visual representations from stamps, cartoons, advertising and art. The final chapter explores the Eden Hore Collection of fashion. Malthus relates how Hore – a farmer and avid collector from Central Otago – allowed his housekeeper to wear items from his collection at local events. His collection is testament to some key fashion influences of the 1960s onwards with some extravagant items from famous designers.

This incredible range of paper contributions will provide those interested in material culture, fashion and textiles with an important insight into the history of clothing styles in New Zealand. The authors are drawn from a range of backgrounds, and include museum curators, conservators, textiles historians and experts in museum studies and Pacific studies. Readers will be treated to outstanding photographic imagery: there are fifteen colour plates which complement some of the papers together with historical photographs that

are rarely seen. These images – such as that of Mr and Mrs Imrie posing with their prized possessions, including a sewing machine (in Labrum's chapter), evoke for the reader some sense of the spirit of settler society in the nineteenth century. One quibble would be that while the editors bring together a diverse range of innovative case studies, my feeling is a better organisation of the chapters may have strengthened the key themes coming out of the volume. As a result, readers may find that they move erratically through a succession of chapters, jumping from one set of issues to another without any real reflection. Nevertheless, this volume is a welcome addition to the material culture of clothing and comes especially recommended for those with an interest in colonial clothing styles.

STONE WORLDS: NARRATIVE AND REFLEXIVITY IN
LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY.

by Barbara Bender, Sue Hamilton and Christopher Tilley.

Walnut Creek, CA, Left Coast Press, 2008.

464pp. RRP \$39.95 USD, ISBN 978-1-59874-219-0

Reviewed by

Dr Timothy Webmoor, Stanford University

This is an innovative and creative book. These are its best qualities. The book is also ambitious, the authors setting themselves the task of both complying with the 'archaeological morality' (p. 269) of publishing the results of field investigations, and conveying the experience of working at Leskernick on Bodmin Moor, Cornwall. To do this, the authors have experimented with form and content. And while their citational circle does not extend to media studies (where, I would suggest, they would find inspiration and edification), the book exemplifies Marshall McLuhan's famous adage: the medium is the message. Reviewing experimental work, criticism rather than accolade comes easier, partly because the novelty excludes easy comparative evaluation. So I think it important to underscore that being innovative and taking risks, even though you may be safely tenured scholars, should be commended. It creates discussion, fosters debate, stirs emotion, and motivates colleagues to work harder. It disrupts our insulated routines of scholarly production. It is, unfortunately, all too rare.

The collaborative effort of the Leskernick project, steered by Barbara Bender, Sue Hamilton and Christopher Tilley, bends the parameters of analogue publication to transcend traditional site reports. The reader will not find neat topical divisions, no 'introduction', 'background' (limited to environmental characteristics and a few weather stats), 'results', 'discussion' or 'significance', followed by add on (and on and on) appendices. And with few exceptions, it does not resemble any other field project's publication in archaeology.

There is a structure, however, with the book divided into four parts. Part One somewhat approximates a conventional 'introducing the site'. Goals for the

project are laid out, the setting and unique ‘awe and mystery’ of the rocky hill where Leskernick is situated are conveyed, and the authors quickly dispel any notion that this will be a conventional report focused upon an archaeological site. By the time they conclude Chapter 1 stating that ‘we stand with the Leskernick people at the centre of their world’ (p. 35), the reader can expect to share an intimacy that will bring her to the edge of being an ‘insider’ of the project (cf. 266). We then receive an orienting tour of the site, followed by Chapter 3’s methodology. Part Two encompasses the ‘real’ archaeological information. If one were after conventional details, Chapters 4–7 are where we glean the details about Bronze Age Leskernick gathered through the excavation of 400 square meters of area, and the survey of every house and field enclosure on Leskernick Hill. A rough chronology, pegged to the radiocarbon dates in Table 4.1 (pp. 88–89), develops. Initially there were the earliest stone rows and circles, with the most spectacular ‘Propped Stone’ and its summer solstice alignment dating to as early as the Neolithic. Then, in the hill’s clutter of stones, a growing population of 100–200 people, or eight to sixteen families, built their houses and field enclosures during the Middle Bronze Age and supported a pastoral economy (p. 138). There is disagreement about whether these people inhabited Leskernick year round or only seasonally, though the directors favor the former scenario. Then there is a decrease in the number of families, leaving the hill with perhaps only 60 inhabitants. Then a gradual abandonment of the dwellings and the hill until much later medieval visitation and re-use. It is the narrative of part of the life-cycle of a landscape.

The book could have ended here with the conclusion of Chapter 7. But this book is not really about archaeological information. The remaining Parts Three and Four use the archaeological endeavor as more of a backdrop for what seems to particularly interest the project directors (or at least two of the three). This is the experience of Leskernick in the present. It is this emphasis, which makes the book stand out. It also draws the reader in – initially. What rapidly occurs, though, is an overabundance of information; sometimes repackaged for different chapters, or indeed blatantly repeated (compare diary entries of 53 with 255). There is simply too much detail. They are concerned not to ‘close off alternative interpretations’ (p. 86), to let ‘the voices proliferate’ (438, note 1.3), to avoid ‘a rhetoric of authority in which closure is created and debate shut-down’ (pp. 27–28). But what happens is a numbing effect. So that rather than precise details concerning Leskernick, the reader comes away with a series of theses. Which is too bad as the following chapters, though somewhat disjointed, present a range of interesting ‘case studies’ that span anthropology and cognate fields and which dissolve disciplinary distinctions. The phenomenological treatment of the ‘processional way’ of the site (pp. 184–190)

and ‘photo essay’ of the neighboring ridge of Brown Willy (pp. 231–236), the artistic interventions of Chapter 13, the frank discussions of political economy in Chapter 11, and of running a public outreach exhibition in Chapter 14, as well as the visual and material culture analyses packed into Chapter 12 are examples of what’s on offer. While these extra-disciplinary studies could have been better merged with the more traditional archaeological reporting, casting the net wider like this worked well in conveying the experiential side of Leskernick.

Indeed, I wish I had been present at the ‘pissing on Bourdieu’s book’/burying of the excavator’s trowel incident (pp. 273–274). Now that doesn’t happen often! Or does it? This is another major point of the book. The ‘background noise’ (p. 281) or the ‘back regions’ (p. 298) edited out of traditional reports for being superfluous and irrelevant to the project’s findings are, in fact, integral to its operation from the ground up. A reflexive acknowledgement in anthropological and archaeological fieldwork that being human, caught up in fields of relations while ‘in the field’, cannot and should not be bracketed off from being a ‘scientist’. This is the book’s ‘sociology of the discipline’ thesis: archaeology is a social practice in the present that makes it impossible to sieve out subjectivity from archaeological interpretations. Steeped in postprocessual and interpretive archaeology, the book holds true to the ‘principle of honesty’. It is well taken, and the authors do a good job of opening up the process of how consensus in interpretation is reached by presenting discussions and diary entries where alternate views are expressed. The discussion with the geomorphologists (Chapter 9) was the best example of this.

As a corollary to this social activity thesis, in Chapter 11 the book expands upon the experience of fieldwork as initiation into craft, of apprenticeship. Archaeology is a field of relations that bind participants together as a seasonal community undergoing Van Gennepian rites of passage. While most archaeologists are highly aware of these initiatory rites, and are often drawn to doing fieldwork because of the comradeship, no other book has treated it with such serious attention.

But the book attempts to do too much with too much ‘data’. Presenting these ‘back stories’ as well as the ‘front stories’ of survey and excavation, contributes to the continued inundation of the reader with repetition and innocuous details – exactly what is intervisible and from which stone? Who’s trowel had more rust? Why were Danner boots better than steel Doc Martins? Just what did that post-it comment from the Altarnun exhibition say?

A postmodern paralysis. Rather than sieving all potential information through experts' experience and judgment, we have the opposite. Document it all as anything may be relevant. This forensic 'thesis' relates to the 'crisis of representation' and the claim that all statements about the past are subjective interpretations. Since statements cannot be definitively adjudicated based upon accepted criteria, and so cannot be objectively 'true', the emphasis shifts to a 'shotgun effect' approach. Put enough (multiple) interpretations out there so that amongst them all we are sure to hit upon something important. As seasoned scholars, this manic desire to document, as well as the 'concern with the manner in which the past is *written* and *presented*' (p. 27, emphasis original) is not simply experimentation for the sake of satisfying rebellious impulses and postmodern anxiety. It is backed-up by a body of theory that spans the social sciences. Yet only this exact combination – established scholars, theoretical depth and experimentation – legitimizes the book's excesses. Indeed, I suspect if any of these three ingredients were absent, the book would not have worked – literally, as I doubt very much that an established press would have published it.

Wedded to eschewing any general criteria for obtaining objectivity, opting to (over)document the rich and subjective experience of doing archaeology in the present, is another inter-related thesis. A theory of ontology, of Being-in-the-world: making places makes people. With two of the three project directors coming from Material Culture Studies at University College London, we are given the group's dictum of dialects over and over again. A statistical study could be done to present how often the phrases 'mutual engagement', 'a dialectical relationship', 'in making things we make ourselves', and so forth crop up with mantra-like consistency. The corollary is that since being is embodied, to understand this dialectical process of mutual engagement we need to attend to the sensuous and physical. This again sets themselves the most difficult task of overcoming problems of their own making, as 'neither word nor image can be substituted for being bodily in place' (p. 339). How can the book succeed, then?

Despite the explicit attempt to 'create a dialogic relationship between images and words' (p. 335), they doom themselves to failure because of the fundamental assumption that textual communication of experience is fundamental to visual forms of expression: 'photographs are typically invaded by language from the very moment we start to look at them' (p. 335). Images are inadequate by themselves as 'they remain radically underdetermined as to be incapable of constituting a narrative form' (p. 335). This allegiance to constructing narratives, of the importance of rendering the fieldwork of Leskernick in text, runs contrary to their other primary thesis: that conventional archaeological narratives inadequately convey the messiness, subjectivity and sensuous

qualities of working at archaeology. The book's priority of text over the visual ought to be denounced. The visual would seem to be *more* capable of evoking, with less 'philosophical-linguistic closure', the experience of Leskernick. I am surprised that there were not more experiments in video documentation and diaries. And while an analysis of the website is outside this review, the project would have certainly benefited from integrating new media into the project from the outset.

In the end, 'we are left with more questions than we started out with' (p. 412). This, both as a reader and as an archaeologist, disappoints me. There may have been rhetorical force behind such a pithy postmodern conclusion. Say in the mid-1990s while the project was conducted. Since this time such statements have become tiresome, part of reflexivity's *redux*. We cannot abdicate our anthropological and archaeological authority. We are specialists, trained in a particular practice. We have expertise and so should be able to say something a bit more definitive than this. Indeed, this is borne out of the book's sociological analyses (Chapters 11–12). While well intentioned and despite efforts at implementing 'an egalitarian and nonhierarchical vision of fieldwork organization' (p. 249), flat hierarchies are flawed. Competence, background knowledge and experience, and interests vary amongst practitioners. We tend to sort ourselves out. 'We're trapped in the hierarchy of knowledge: however much we try to democratize . . . there is an inequality' (p. 250). Steeped in Leskernick for five field seasons, I think the authors should proffer expert opinion.

Had it been published just after the conclusion of the project in 1999, the book would have been groundbreaking. Both in terms of representational form and as a capstone to the content of the theses concerning social practice, reflexivity, dialectical relationships with material culture, and even archaeological art. While admirably drawing attention to the political economy of doing archaeology at the academy and in the field, an equally uncompromising look at the economy driving publication – where the (textual) wheels meet the road, so to speak – of archaeological work would have aided in explaining the (apparent) delay of the book and pushed the book's arguments for reflexive attention to the process of fieldwork even further. In 2008, that would have been radical. But then, how long would that book have to be?

THE CARVER AND THE ARTIST: MAORI ART IN THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY.

by Damian Skinner

Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2008.

232pp. RRP \$89.99 ISBN: 978-1-86940-373-7.

Reviewed by

Associate Professor Ross Hemera, Massey University

E nga mana

E nga waka

Nga Hau e wha

Kia ora koutou katoa

Nga mihinui ki a koutou

No reira

Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa

In January 1973, as a shy young man from the small North Otago high country village of Omarama, I arrived at Epsom Secondary Teachers College, Auckland. With not much more than artistic passion I was completely anonymous in the big city. Although of Ngai Tahu descent I was culturally naïve, with little understanding of Maori language. I thought that Maori art was photographs of carvings in history books.

Not long after arriving I came to the notice of two leaders in the field. As a young secondary school art teacher trainee Dame Georgina Kirby took me under her wing and Arnold Wilson became my mentor. They introduced me to a Maori arts impetus bursting with creative energy and enthusiastic people. I later learned that this creative community had gained its momentum as a result of the inaugural gathering of the New Zealand Maori Artists and Writers Society at Te Kaha in 1973. Becoming part of this extended Maori art family had a major impact on me and although my art continued to follow references to cubism and expressionism, I soon became familiar with Maori cultural values. I began to realise the importance of identifying as Maori and the significance of networking concepts like whanui (community) and whanaungatanga (kinship).

By 1975 I was a regular member at gatherings of the Auckland Branch of the Maori Artist and Writers Society and in 1976 attended the annual hui at Tau-rua Marae in Rotoiti. From this point on I found myself totally immersed in a Maori art renaissance, a phenomenon that helped define the shape of Maori art as we know it today. I am referring to the organisation of Maori artists that extended right throughout New Zealand during the 1970s, 80s and 90s known as Nga Puna Waihangā. As a consequence of the kotahitanga (unity) inherent in this community, I began my engagement with Maori culture, started my awareness in te reo and embarked on developing a practice in Maori focused creative arts.

I consider myself uniquely privileged to have developed a personal kaupapa (methodology) alongside so many inspirational and talented people. The Nga Puna Waihangā community advocated ‘unity in the arts’, ‘understanding in and through the arts’ and ‘fellowship of artists’ (Nga Puna Waihangā 1993: 3). The Nga Puna Waihangā legacy is that it did not discriminate between traditional or contemporary art. This theme is referred to throughout the Society’s publication, *Maori Artists of the South Pacific*. The book includes traditional whakairo carvers Tuti Tukaokao and Pakariki Harrison, traditional weavers such as Rangimarie Hetet and Digger Te Kanawa side by side with contemporary artists such as Paratene Matchitt, Ralph Hotere and Buck Nin. It was also this legacy that assisted in paving the way for the creation of Ihenga, the whare whakairo at Waiariki Institute of Technology (previously Waiariki Polytechnic) carved by Lyonel Grant in 1996.

As Head of Visual Arts at Waiariki Polytechnic between 1983 and 1994 I was responsible for developing a Maori focused programme. Much of the philosophical basis for this programme came straight from the Nga Puna Waihangā *‘handbook’*, as it were. As a graduate of the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, Lyonel Grant was appointed to lead teaching in the wood studio. His appointment reinforced a community based kaupapa (plan) and creative fellowship in the arts.

More recently I have continued to develop a deeper appreciation of the context and complexity of Maori visual and material culture and where my own creative practice fits within it. Although no longer operative, the Nga Puna Waihangā kaupapa about collective aspirations still rings true. Consequently, when thinking about Maori art, mine is a view from within and, in the main, is felt rather than studied—experienced rather than theorised.

Against this background I am intrigued with an entirely different perspective

regarding Maori art. While his credentials are impeccable and his investigation entirely credible, it is from the 'outside' that Damian Skinner examines Maori art. He is, after all, an art historian not a practitioner, using a pakeha view to describe Maori art.

In *The Carver and the Artist: Maori Art in the Twentieth Century* Skinner introduces novel perspectives on how Maori art may be appreciated. The book concentrates on the period from Apirana Ngata's leadership direction, for meeting house construction in the 1920s through to Lyonel Grant's creative work in Ihenga meeting house at Wairiki Polytechnic in 1996. Skinner uses an art historian orientated construction as a means of describing and categorising different aspects in this history.

The book sets out to examine and clarify the differences indicated in the title. The inference is that two divergent practices operate within the ambit of 20th century Maori Art. Skinner lays out his framework over the top of this period, introducing us to the Maoritanga carver and the Maori modernist artist. While Skinner publishes against a somewhat scant literary background, we must remember that a 'grassroots' vocabulary, used by the Maori artists' community, has long been considered an appropriate way to describe these differences. Over the last 35 years or so Maori practitioners have commonly referred to these differences by the use of the term 'traditional' and its inferred opposite 'contemporary'. The term traditional is employed frequently in the book *Maori Artists of the South Pacific*. For instance, 'Pakariki Harrison claims to be a traditional carver...' (Mataira 1984: 31) and Tuti Tukaokao '...is required to work within the confines of the traditional mode...' (Mataira 1984: 39). In the booklet 'Te Moana', produced by Nga Puna Waihanga, a succinct use of these terms provides a further example. The second kaupapa (principle) objective reads, 'To evaluate the contemporary artists' movements against the solid background of cultural traditions and heritage' (Nga Puna Waihanga 1993: 2).

Latterly, however, a groundswell of debate would ensue at the mere mention of these terms. This may have been the catalyst for further refinement of these initial descriptions. For instance, Maori artist Professor Robert Jahnke (2006: 41) uses the term 'customary' as a way to describe Maori art practice. The term 'customary practice' is then used in conjunction with the arts of the meeting house (Jahnke 2006: 48). Moreover, Jahnke suggests that the Kimiora mural by senior artist Para Matchitt is an example of 'Trans-customary practice' (Jahnke 2006: 48). Professor Jahnke also defines a younger generation of Maori, whose art emanates from 'mainstream institutions' as 'non-customary art' (Jahnke 2006: 41)

In contrast to both the community vernacular and the introduction of the 'customary' suite of terms, Skinner presents a new spectrum of Maori art descriptors. Against a background of social, political and economical contexts, the works of carvers aligned with Ngata's meetinghouse programme are referred to as Maoritanga whereas at the opposite end of the spectrum, artists aligning with the Tovey era are described as Maori Modernists.

Maoritanga is introduced in connection with the carving expert Tuti Tukaokao. Skinner takes care in describing the rationale for the use of this term and links it to Tukaokao's practice. In doing so, however, he prepares the way with reference to ideas about tradition and custom. At the core of his construction he probes into the expectations placed on, and accepted by the carver, by his people. Skinner thus suggests that 'social conscience' is a key characteristic of the identity of the carver (p. 39).

Skinner embarks on an historical survey starting with the Maoritanga associated with Sir Apirana Ngata's revivalist aspirations for Maori arts and crafts commencing in the 1920s. The journey includes the initiative for the restoration of Maori carving with the opening of the Rotorua School of Maori Arts and Crafts in 1927. Next the intricacies related to balancing between adaptations of pakeha culture and Maori identity are thoroughly examined. Maoritanga is explained in relation to Ngata's 'monument' (p. 31) model for the whare whakairo. It is also in this context that Ngata's definition for the term Maoritanga is dealt with. The book examines Maori 'individuality' (p. 29) (uniqueness and identity) which is perhaps best expressed as a national style. A significant example of this is Te Tiriti o Waitangi Whare Runanga. This national style originates from Rahrui Rukupō's, Te Hau Ki Turanga as the 'right style' (p. 37)

In 1966 the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute opened in Rotorua and is synonymous with the master carver Hone Tiapa. We are given a full explanation of why Hone Taiapa is considered to be the leading figure in whakairo in the 20th century. Skinner draws our attention to the complexities surrounding the Maoritanga practice of Taiapa. It was in the 1950s and '60s that the staunch follower of the Ngata Maori model came face to face with Maoritanga's antithesis, Maori Modernism. Skinner does not shy away from covering the accusations levelled at the institute about 'copying' and the carving of 'souvenirs' at the expense of innovation (p. 61). Skinner opens the lid on the ambiguity surrounding individual and collective aspirations and of a culture resurrecting whilst simultaneously redefining itself. Resurrection particularly arises in the face of the lingering colonial oppression and redefinition is by way of the adaptation to, and adoption of a Western world.

In the penultimate chapter Skinner finds a champion capable of synthesising this complexity by bringing the two opposites, the carver and the artist, together into a unified whole. In the whare whakairo, Ihenga, Lyonell Grant is both the carver and the artist combining convention with creativity. The importance of Ihenga is that Grant has reconnected customary Maori carving with 'whakapapa' (genealogy) and returns them both back into the whare whakairo (p. 184). The pivotal point being that Skinner believes, Grant who is institute trained, would not have been able to achieve this without the advent of Maori modernism and contemporary Maori Art.

The book moves on to Maori Modernism, which began in the 1950s. Much of the credit for its development is attributed to Gordon Tovey. As the Department of Education's national supervisor for arts and crafts he introduced a group of Maori trainee teachers to modernist art practices. While these early artist explored mainstream aesthetics, like pakeha artists free from customary culture, their art was not yet identified as contemporary Maori art. Skinner takes us through the 1950s and '60s examining the creative practice of artists such as Pauline Yearbury, Selwyn Muru and Paratene Matchitt. It is not until the 1970s and '80s that we are introduced to Contemporary Maori Art. We are taken inside Tukaki meeting house at Te Kaha for the inaugural meeting of the New Zealand Maori Artists and Writers Society in 1973. Later renamed as Nga Puna Waihangā, this artist centred organization promoted the amalgamation of the 'genius' of the ancient past and a return to the Marae (p. 127). The single enigma being that Ralph Hotere's refusal to comment about his work places him on the margins resisting the lure of the contemporary Maori art title.

The Carver and The Artist is a bold attempt to address the gap between traditional and contemporary, between customary and non-customary, between Maoritanga and Maori modernism. Even bolder perhaps is the introduction of a European classification system to achieve this. The final section offers a revealing conclusion including a 'glossary' of art historical terms. However, just when we have become comfortable with the term modernist as a label attached to an artist such as Arnold Wilson, a trilogy of analytical terms rings out right back to the Maoritanga of Tuti Tukaotao. A resounding crescendo is reached with the terms modernism, modernity and modernisation, used to summarise the critical themes in the book; 'cultural expression', 'modes of experiences', and 'technological and social processes' (p. 204). While drawing together a succinct description of the characteristics of Maori art in the 20th century, the essence is nevertheless to provide us with a guideline on how this episode of Maori history fits into a pakeha model.

I enjoyed *The Carver and The Artist*. From my position on the inside, I am richer for the insight. A different way of understanding our history is appreciated. I predict that future discourse about Maori art will inevitably refer to the new terminology offered by Skinner. The publication includes a collection of 142 photographs, many of which are rare. In themselves they offer exceptional richness and a visual reality to this history. Along with the text, the publication becomes a treasure at the forefront of recent publications about Maori art.

REFERENCES

- Jahnke, R. 2006. 'Māori Art towards the Millennium'. In M. Mulholland (ed.). *State of the Māori Nation Twenty-first-century Issues in Aotearoa*, Auckland: Reed. pp. 41–52
- Mataira, K. 1984. *Maori Artists of the South Pacific*. Raglan, New Zealand: New Zealand Maori Artists & Writers Soc. Inc.
- Nga Puna Waihangā. 1993. "Te Moana" *Nga Puna Waihangā Annual Hui Te Rau Tekau Tau 1973–1993 4 June 1993*: (Hui programme). Compiled by Averil Herbert for Nga Puna Waihangā, P.O. Box 1512, Rotorua

MATERIAL CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY IN
EVERYDAY LIFE: ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACHES.

Edited by Phillip Vannini.

New York: Peter Lang, 2009. 256 pp. RRP \$32.95 USD, ISBN 978–1–4331–0301–
8

Reviewed by
Ian Wedde

HOW DOES IT MATTER?

One way to write a review of this collection of essays is to treat it as a material object suitable for ethnographic study within the social field of Material Culture and Technology Studies in Everyday Life – where, for our convenience, ‘everyday life’ here encompasses the daily practices of those whose profession is the academic study of material culture and technology.

THE REVIEW AS ETHNOGRAPHY

The tautological and even solipsistic implications of such an approach are not resisted by the compilation itself. If anything it invites this approach, and its compliance provides the ethnographic reviewer with a place to start. This might be the following question: What is it about this object that so comprehensively *situates* (a signature term in the volume) it in the ethnographic field of academic material culture and technology studies?

This comprehensive question can be broken down into four parts: What is the collection’s escutcheon – how does it proclaim its identity and allegiance? Behind the escutcheon, what is its discourse model – how does its organisation reveal its hegemonic aspect? And within that discourse model, what are the *emergent* qualities or *entelechy* implied by the book’s semiotic consistency, its concordance of terminologies – its dialect, if you like? And finally, what signs of power, ideology and management are visible within that concordance?

Such an approach provides a way in to the issue of reflexivity in academic

publication, and not just in the disciplines associated with sociology. The likelihood that a publication like this might be effecting positive feedback to its own causes (or intentions) deserves the kind of critical attention empirical ethnography – surely an inherently sceptical practice – is well suited to provide.

THE ESCUTCHEON

The volume is published by Peter Lang Publishing Group, specialists in the production and distribution of academic texts, from published PhD theses to substantial scholarly works, some of which are by individual writers, others (as here) edited as compilations of chapters by various hands. The publisher's economy is one where products circulate within their professional user communities of interest. The publications represent (in several senses) those communities; they are the social constructs of those communities whose relationships they also perform as agents.

The publisher's aspirations are represented on-line by images of antique art paper with deckle edges and an early twentieth century typewriter keyboard. Immediately behind these symbols of historical scholarly depth the user will find a suite of practical on-line forms with which to submit proposals. The implication of the forms is that the Peter Lang Group does not commission books; rather, it assesses proposals and subsequently processes manuscripts. Sales and distribution take place on-line with print runs tailored to demand.

THE DISCOURSE MODEL

Often, the task of academic publishers such as Peter Lang is to put into circulation texts whose contributions to scholarly discussion (in the case of book-length compilations of chapters) may have begun as conference papers. In this, the book's nearest relative is the peer-reviewed scholarly journal, or even more modest compilations of un-refereed poster papers, rather than university press book titles competing for prestige (and prestigious authors) in wider markets. The publisher's imprint, then, provides an early general marker of the ethnographic meaning and *entelechy* (another signature term) of books such as this.

THE CONCORDANCE

Theorists who might be cited in an ethnography of the object (or, indeed, *technic*) *Material Culture and Technology in Everyday Life* will be found in the volume itself on a stretch between neo-Hegelians identifying effects of objectification, Durkheimian sociologists focused on social facts and the totemising of

objects, and Bourdieusian analysts of social distinction and taste; and a second loosely-coupled group whose *performance* implies varying kinds and degrees of critique of the broad confederation of materialists – chief among these are the proponents of what has become the intellectual *entrepôt* Actor Network Theory (ANT) whose chief albeit sometimes unwilling administrator is the sociologist Bruno Latour. Also in the second group are social scientists who look at the politics of choice within the frameworks of SCOT (The Social Construction of Technology), in particular Latour again, but also Pinch (included in this volume) and others; and a third component whose focus is narrative and the ways in which objects ‘make meaning’ or contribute to interactions through which meanings are made, including what is commonly known as ‘self-knowledge’. Though his shadow falls lightly on many parts of this book, it is in the context of narrative and meaning-making that Barthes appears most cogently, and Woodward’s chapter in this book is grounded lucidly in the consequences of Barthesian semiotics. Other *éminences grises* include pragmatists and instrumentalists loosely associated with the Chicago Group, especially (in this volume) the symbolic interactionist George Herbert Mead in the early part of the twentieth century.

SIGNS OF POWER, IDEOLOGY AND MANAGEMENT

The collection’s citation span is wide but coherent and, in some respects, culturally managed; and includes all the above and many more contemporary extrapolators, whom the volume therefore constitutes as its networked society (and, in publisher’s terms, its target market). One of the key cultural narratives enacted by the compilation is, therefore, the networked nature of this society. Another way in which the book is both narrated and enacts a cultural narrative, has to do with its clear theoretical agenda. This agenda – or thesis – involves urging the study of material culture in the direction of empirical ethnography, ethnography in the direction of objectification, and materialist approaches in the direction of the kinds of symbolic interactivity that have come to coalesce around ANT. Implied within this urging is an issue of agency: who is doing the polemic (and faintly ideological) urging, and why?

‘FOR US, WHAT THAT MEANS IS ETHNOGRAPHY.’

Staying with the issue of power and management, but moving in closer under the canopy of our overarching question (‘What is it about this object that so comprehensively *situates* it in the ethnographic field of academic material culture and technology studies?’) we find a further cascade of sub-questions. These include the standard SCOT question about the collection’s politics: What

choices does it enact and offer? Or, in ANT terms: how does it *translate* the agenda (or thesis, or urging) that has been generated within the network it performs?

Some hints are available in the book's overall plan and organisation. Its title already announces ethnographic approaches to the established disciplinary field of Material Culture studies. The implied question in this sub-title ('*What ethnographic approaches?*') is moved into view by Halton's excellent, succinct Preface in which he unpacks an ethnographic encounter with a Chicago high-rise apartment-dweller's collection of 300 flowering houseplants. Next, the book's editor, Vannini, lays out in his Introduction what is in effect a literature review which, we will find, describes the book's tool-kit at the same time as it declares its polemic:

If bringing together the tradition of material culture studies and technology studies is a key concern of this book, so is achieving that goal through methodological and epistemological means that expose the meaningfulness and polysemy of materiality, and the potential of technological relations for shaping culture (and being shaped by it). For *us* [my emphasis] what that means is ethnography ... (p. 3)

The contents then proceed to advance *our* cause in three sections: the first ('Ways of Knowing the Material World') consists of five chapters summarising theoretical approaches to the topic, most of which have been foreshadowed in Vannini's Introduction; the second ('Ethnographic Strategies of Representing the Material World') has six chapters which describe ethnographic methodologies derived or devolved from field work informed by the kinds of theory adumbrated in the first section and, again, summarised in Vannini's introductory literature review; and the third and final section ('Ethnographic Studies') consists of four examples of ethnographic field work in which the thesis, agenda, or polemic of Vannini's Introduction and literature review, theoretical approaches of Part 1, and ethnographic methodologies of Part 2, are deployed in – converge and conclude at – actual ethnographic field work case studies in material culture and technology in everyday life. This, then, in its overall structure, is a very carefully designed and managed – orchestrated – object. For the ethnographic reviewer, its design raises interesting questions about agency and power in respect of the ways the compilation has been coached in its performance.

DISCURSIVE LINKAGE AND MOMENTUM

Within each section the chapters are discrete but also discursively linked in several ways. Vannini, for example, reiterates the polemic drive of his Introduction in his Chapter 5 by concluding that interactionist approaches to material technoculture have ‘the obvious potential of changing ethnography as a strategy of data collection, analysis, and representation’ (p. 83). Another kind of linkage is provided by internal finger-post citations (see Vannini Chap. 5). Chapters are, for the most part, organised in consistent formats with propositions, summaries of methodological and theoretical frameworks, thematic sub-headings, conclusions or summaries, notes, and lists of references. In this, the volume resembles a practical handbook for students; indeed, it often reads like a compilation of the results of such a handbook.

Within the framework of the volume’s overall structure and its managed advance from theory to praxis, an underlying discursive momentum is sustained through the repetitions of key or signature terminologies (the concordance), as well as citations and references that frequently refer back to the Introduction’s literature review. There are thematic links – for example considerations of what we mean by ‘creativity’ in both Merrill’s ethnography of home music recordists and Tilley’s of home gardeners. However, the book’s most persistent iterative device returns the ethnographic reviewer to considerations of how the compilation has been coached (or *carved*, perhaps) in its performance – and, of course, to what end. There are frequent signs of editorial interpolation throughout the book, of which the most conspicuous are the internal, finger-post citations mentioned above; of these the majority are to the editor’s own chapters or publications.

ETHNOGRAPHIC CONCLUSION

In summary, on the strength of obvious as well as internal evidence, an ethnographic review of this collection of essays must note its highly reflexive nature; and the marked extent to which its reflexivity provides positive feedback to its managing principal or editor, and his principles or editorial authority. The degree to which this is typical of publications produced within the academic economy represented by the Peter Lang imprint would require a wider, comparative study.

THE REVIEW AS CRITIQUE

Now to some matters of judgement that have no place in a review as eth-

nography. One of the opportunities afforded by the study of material culture in everyday life is its recovery from a focus on institutions, for example the institution of professional music recording, as noted by Merrill; and a consequent opportunity to look at the effects of interaction between professional and everyday practices. This is, indeed, a rich ethnographic field, from which this book draws much of its interest. However there is also a downside, which is the risk of remaining trapped in the banality of the everyday; or of failing to accomplish what Barthes did, to (so to speak) make something of banality. Some of the writers here don't cross this bar; these are often also the most dutiful in their adherence to the approved forms of the chapters, and to the most ubiquitous terminologies, references, and citations; we might say they are the most reflexively inclined.

Almost conspicuous by its absence is a perfunctory Index. I, for one, have to wonder why more editorial attention wasn't paid to such useful work. The Index is, almost blatantly and certainly reflexively, a concordance of the volume's iconic and therefore ideological terms. More attention, too, could have gone to sourcing and incorporating texts that did justice to de Certeau's challenge to make something of the everyday.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEBATE

That said, Vannini's own Introduction and two chapters contribute substantially to the book, and while we may tire of his fingerprints we can't deny the firmness of their grip. I am puzzled – but also intrigued and encouraged – by two issues in Vannini's Chap. 5, his exploration of culture and technoculture as interaction. In downplaying 'the importance of cognitive cultural dimensions such as values, beliefs, codes and ideas' while emphasising 'the materiality of the world of interaction' (p. 73), Vannini gets to the heart of the collection's thesis. But he also opens up the possibility of a dichotomous distinction between actions and ideas and, by implication, the kind of modernist distinction between mind and body he is elsewhere at pains to refute. This would seem to be a fertile opportunity for discussion.

A second opportunity, also located in a paradox, arises from Vannini's discussion of diffused agency, not only a dynamic and useful concept in its own right but also central to the project's overall drive and focus. Warning against the danger of reintroducing elements of determinism or even animism to the discussion of materiality and agency, he suggests that 'the true characteristic of materiality is not its essence, but instead its consequentiality, thus its agency' (p. 78). One would have to wonder, here, about the possibility of slippage be-

tween ‘determinism’ and ‘consequentiality’ – a critical discussion that took Vannini’s emphatic distinction as its starting point might also prove fruitful.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS

Kien’s chapter on ANT is a thorough if compacted account of this somewhat heterogeneous tool-kit. It provides the collection with a number of steering devices, and at times resembles what film production managers would call a ‘bible’ – but it does so without losing its capacity for internal critical scrutiny. It also gets the term and concept of *entelechy* into circulation (the term subsequently encounters Vannini’s distinction between determinism and consequentiality). Pinch’s chapter on SCOT is also significant to the book’s overall momentum, and provides some degree of critical tension with ANT, especially in respect of the possibility of ‘symmetry between humans and nonhumans’ (p. 51). Kien also warns against the potential for triviality in ANT-style analysis, not without reason.

Woodward’s chapter on narrative begins with what may be the volume’s most succinct and coherent paragraphs, and one of its most lucid opening statements: ‘... material things are one part of culture and they do cultural work. Being good to think with, objects are cultural categories materialised’ (p. 59). So much for any overcooked distinction between actions and ideas. Further along, in the second section sampling methodologies, Woodward’s pragmatism is rewarded in Richardson’s and Third’s chapter on cultural phenomenology (despite what looks like some editorial carelessness in mis-locating an opening statement some three pages into the text). Introducing Merleau-Ponty’s useful concept of ‘corporeal schema’, the authors suggest that, ‘movement, mobility, motility and gesture are fundamental to our somatic involvement with the world, and integral to visual perception’ (p. 146). It is fruitful to think about narrative in the context of such statements, as indeed in relation to ‘a regime of visibility that entails not just seeing with the eyes but with the whole body’ (p. 153).

I enjoyed Tilley’s chapter in the ethnographic studies section not so much for its sensible conclusions about private gardens, but because he broke step with the book’s prevailing style guide and wrote engagingly, without jargon, and with warmth and appreciation for his interviewees. ‘A gardener dwells ... inside the garden that he or she has created ... Thus in a metaphoric sense the gardener is inside himself or herself, in a garden body, underneath a garden skin’ (p.178). In addition, Tilley worked from a substantial interview sample of sixty-five, and paid that collective the respect of reproducing verbatim some of

their own thoughts and statements about their gardens. One important effect of his approach – and, one might add, its slightly unfashionable humanism – was to open the window of his research to a wider world than the reflexively academic one by which this book is largely confined. Without wanting to ignite a pointless argument about alleged distinctions between ‘pure’ and ‘applied’ research, I have the sense that Tilley’s research *matters* and might make a difference in the world through that window: that it might inform town-planning policy, guide social development and therapeutic practices, enhance empathetic understandings of identity formation, and even the political economics of domestic ecologies.

The same can be said of Lavolette’s chapter on Telecare, which could be paraphrased as ‘taking the clinic home’. This has involved substantial, professional and carefully designed research, in contrast to the slapdash models used by some others in this book. Looking back at Foucault for a place to launch a discussion of the clinic, and to Heidegger for some epistemological stretch, Lavolette’s chapter builds a broader and better informed philosophical platform than most other contributors. Well versed in the book’s concordance, he writes without jargon, and, to the relief of this reader, with humour. Like Tilley’s, Lavolette’s chapter clearly *matters* – it breaks the reflexive academic cycle of internalised positive feedback. ‘From this empirical study [of Telecare], I would appeal for the provision of a comprehensive overview of the use of interactive assistive technologies to support the intimate act of domestic medical care’ (p. 223). Such a statement has gone to work in the world first, and been reproduced in this book second. That makes it a refreshing and even salutary encounter here.

CONCLUSION: ETHNOGRAPHY AS CRITIQUE

An ethnographic reading of this volume has identified its reflexive tendency to editorially managed positive feedback. A critical reading may judge such reflexivity, both in itself and for the effects it has on the contents of the publication. I for one have no problem with the collection’s overall polemic drive, which is what gives it intellectual energy and coherence: it presents a case to answer. However I would also argue that the book’s reflexive introspection, highlighted by exceptions such as the chapters discussed above, inverts its advocacy for an ethnographic approach to the study of material culture and technology in everyday life.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Wendy Cowling is Senior Lecturer in Anthropology at Waikato University, Hamilton. Her fieldwork research in Australia and Tonga during the years 1985–1989 was reported in her Ph.D. thesis ‘On Being Tongan: Responses to Concepts of Tradition’ (Macquarie University, Sydney, 1991). She has also done fieldwork in Samoa, the Cook Islands and among Pacific communities in Auckland.

Email: wendyc@waikato.ac.nz

Matthew Henry is a lecturer in the Geography Programme at Massey University. His research interests revolve around the emergence of the modern state in New Zealand, and in particular the intersection of state power and mobility.

Email: m.g.henry@massey.ac.nz

Kumi Kato (PhD) is professor of environmental studies at Wakayama University, Japan, and research associate at the University of Queensland, Australia. She is an environmental activist who endeavours to instigate positive changes through education and art and has a particular interest in soundscape and public art. Her recent projects include a Sound Garden in Roma St Parkland and ‘50 important sounds we want to pass onto the future’ (www.ecco.org.au/150sound). She has worked on conflicts and issues related to natural resource use (e.g. logging, fishers and whaling). She is a founder of a research network ‘Creative Conservation’ and an environmental NPO ecco: exchanging culture for conservation (www.ecco.org.au <http://eccoart.blogspot.com>).

Email: k.kato@uq.edu.au

Dr Bronwyn Labrum is the Director of Research in the School of Visual and Material Culture at Massey University. A historian by training, she also worked as a history curator at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa from 1996–2001 where her interests in visual and material culture were sparked. She is the co-editor of *Looking Flash: Clothing in Aotearoa New Zealand* (2007) and *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History* (2000) as well as publishing widely both locally and internationally in the history of women, twentieth century welfare, and material culture and museums, contributing to a number of the key collections and reference works in these areas. Her most

recent publication is: 'The female past and modernity: displaying women and things in New Zealand museums, expositions and department stores, 1920s–1960s', in Beth Fowkes Tobin and Maureen Daly Goggin, eds, *Material Women: Consuming Desires and Consuming Objects, 1750–1950*, Ashgate, 2009.

Email: B.J.Labrum@massey.ac.nz

Patrick Laviolette teaches in the School of Visual & Material Culture at Massey University where he is Director of Postgraduate Studies. He is currently finishing a book entitled 'Epic Landscapes of Leisure: Not a Hap-Hazardous Sport' (Ashgate: forthcoming) and has undertaken ethnographic fieldwork in Cornwall, London, Yorkshire and New Zealand. He has also recently started an intellectual biography on the early career of Sir Raymond Firth.

Email: P.Laviolette@massey.ac.nz

Marama Muru-Lanning is a PhD student in the Anthropology Department at the University of Auckland. Her research interests lie in the field of Maori relationships with the State, the ownership of rivers and issues of identity.

Email: muru.lanning@woosh.co.nz

Huhana Smith is currently the senior curator Maori at Te Papa, as well as a practicing artist, an active environmentalist and a recently awarded holder of a PhD in 2008. Dr Huhana Smith, Ngati Tukorehe has recently been contracted by Massey University to work on the New Zealand Centre for Ecological Economics' latest research project called Manaaki Taha Moana. She will lead the Raukawa side of this collaborative iwi/hapu and multi entity research project investigating the ecological decline for freshwaterways to marine within valued Maori cultural landscapes in selected areas of the Raukawa ki te Tonga region. She shall take up the research project in 2010 and become a Research Associate for Te Papa.

Email: HuhanaS@tepapa.govt.nz

Tim Thomas is a Lecturer in Archaeology at the University of Otago. His research interests focus on material culture studies, landscape anthropology and the ethnography and archaeology of Oceania. He has conducted fieldwork in a number of island groups in Melanesia and Polynesia.

Email: tim.thomas@otago.ac.nz

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. Contributions should be electronic, double spaced, using A4 page size and be around 8,000 words in length including endnotes and bibliography. Headings when used in the text should be placed on a single line and all text in the main body of the manuscript should be in a font of 12 pt Times or equivalent. The main body of text should contain no personally identifying details of the author and should also have the title of the manuscript at the top of the page. Please do not use any proprietary software to embed text, manuscripts should be submitted with the least amount of formatting possible.
2. On an additional title page (which should appear at the very beginning of the manuscript), include an abstract of not more than 150 words and a short biographical note about the author of not more than 100 words including address for correspondence, institutional affiliation, research interests.
3. Images should be submitted electronically via email and accompany the electronic text or burnt to a CD and posted to the address overleaf. Image formats as per below:
 - Bitmap images should be submitted in TIFF format and have a resolution of no less than 200 dpi for greyscale (8 bit) or 600 dpi for line art (1 bit) at reproduction size (approx 11 × 15 cm max.).
 - Vector artwork may be submitted as *either* Encapsulated Postscript (EPS) *or* Portable Document Format (PDF) with all fonts embedded *or* converted to outlines.
4. All permissions for reproduction of images, tables etc. from previously published work are to be obtained by the author at the time of manuscript submission. Figures and Tables are described numerically ie Figure 1, Table 2 etc.
5. All in text references are to be arranged in the Harvard style. Please provide page references for in text citations. Also, see below for examples of the Sites referencing style for bibliographies. Responsibility for arranging the bibliography in the Sites style remains with the author and is a requirement for publication.

Wolf, E.R. 1982 *Europe and the People without History*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chapple, S. 2000 'Maori Socio-economic Disparity', *Political Science*, 52(2): 101–15.

United Nations Development Programme, 2003 'Equator prize 2002 winners announced' www.undp.org/equatorinitiative/secondary/winners.html

Pettit, P. 2000 'Minority claims under two conceptions of democracy', in D. Ivison, P. Patton and W. Sanders (eds) *Political Theory and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 199–215.

6. Sites uses endnotes rather than footnotes. These are arranged at the end of article in front of the references and in a font equivalent to Times size 11.
7. All quote marks (other than those appearing in the citation of previously published work as double) should be single rather than double.
8. Due to difficulties in referencing, in future issues *Sites*' policy for the use of Māori language is to avoid the use of macrons and to not italicize Māori words. Less frequently encountered Māori words should be followed in the text by an English translation (*in brackets and italicized*).
9. Sites policy on peer review is for the use of two anonymous reviewers for each manuscript. These reviewers are selected nationally or internationally as appropriate to the content of the article. Submitting authors should note the scope of Sites is the study of society and culture in the Pacific in its broadest possible configuration and we welcome the work of anthropologists, indigenous studies scholars, sociologists, cultural theorists, historians and other scholars with a similar interest.
10. Intending authors must supply a statement with their electronic submissions which indicates that the text which they submit is not under consideration by any other journal. Authors should also note that once a manuscript has been formally accepted for publication, the editor may make slight revisions to the style or grammar of the text. All accepted authors will receive a PDF file of their paper in its final version before it goes to press and will be asked to make one final proof read in 48 hours and then return the file with any minor grammatical or spelling errors noted to the editor for correction.

Notes for Contributors

11. Please submit manuscripts electronically via email (in Rich Text Format or Microsoft Word) to the general editor and also submit one hard copy via post to the general editor at the address below:

Send hardcopy to: Dr Cyril Schäfer
General Editor, SITES
Department of Anthropology, Gender & Sociology
University of Otago
PO Box 56
Dunedin
New Zealand.

Email to: cyril.schafer@otago.ac.nz