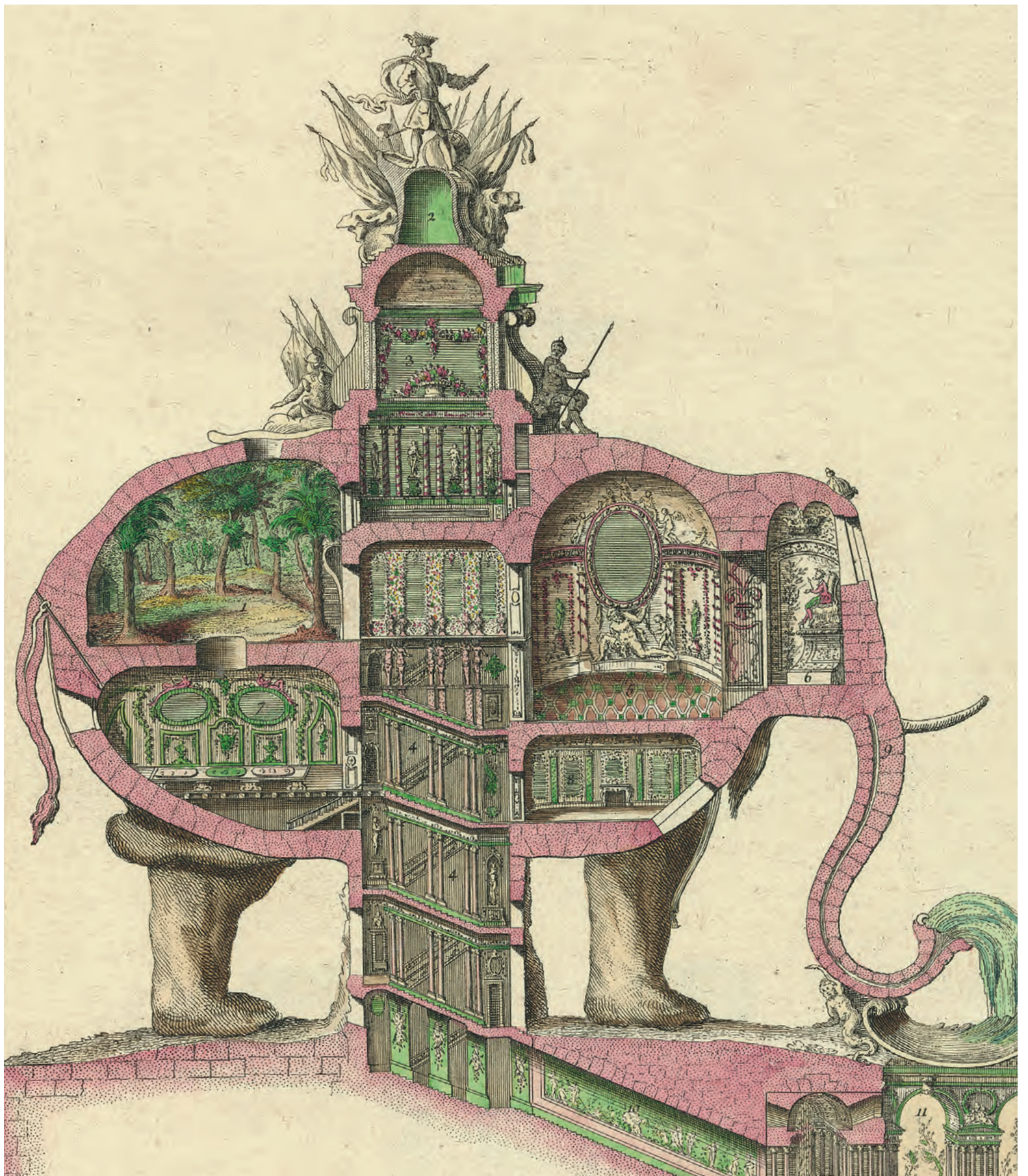




METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM
JOURNAL 56

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM

JOURNAL 56



METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM

JOURNAL 56

VOLUME 56 / 2021

**THE
MET**

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

NEW YORK



In memory of Julie Jones (1935-2021)

ESTEEMED SCHOLAR OF PRECOLUMBIAN ART AND
DEDICATED EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBER OF THE *JOURNAL*

EDITORIAL BOARD

Niv Allon

Associate Curator, Egyptian Art

Isabelle Duvernois

Conservator, Paintings Conservation

Maryam Ekhtiar

Patti Cadby Birch Curator, Islamic Art

Melanie Holcomb

Curator, Medieval Art

Jean-François de Lapérouse

Conservator, Objects Conservation

Mark McDonald

Curator, Drawings and Prints

Iris Moon

Assistant Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts

Joseph Scheier-Dolberg

Oscar Tang and Agnes Hsu-Tang Associate Curator of Chinese Paintings, Asian Art

Sylvia Yount

Lawrence A. Fleischman Curator in Charge, The American Wing

This publication is made possible by a gift from Assunta Sommella Peluso, Ada Peluso, and Romano I. Peluso, in memory of Ignazio Peluso. Further assistance was provided by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation in honor of The Met's 150th anniversary.

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief
Peter Antony, Associate Publisher for Production
Michael Sittenfeld, Associate Publisher for Editorial

Editor of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*,
Elizabeth L. Block

Bibliography and notes edited by
Jean Wagner

Production by Lauren Knighton
Designed and typeset by Tina Henderson,
based on original design by Lucinda
Hitchcock
Image acquisitions and permissions by
Shannon Cannizzaro

Manuscripts submitted for the *Journal* and all correspondence concerning them should be sent to journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org. Guidelines for contributors are given on p. 8.

Published in association with the University of Chicago Press. Individual and institutional subscriptions are available worldwide. Please direct all subscription inquiries, back issue requests, and address changes to: University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P. O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637-0005, USA. Phone: (877) 705-1878 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-3347 (international), fax: (877) 705-1879 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-0811 (international), email: subscriptions@press.uchicago.edu, website: www.journals.uchicago.edu

ISBN 978-0-226-80562-7
(University of Chicago Press)
ISSN 0077-8958 (print)
ISSN 2169-3072 (online)

Library of Congress
Catalog Card Number 68-28799

The Metropolitan Museum of Art endeavors to respect copyright in a manner consistent with its nonprofit educational mission. If you believe any material has been included in this publication improperly, please contact the Publications and Editorial Department.

Photographs of works of art in The Met's collection are by Anna-Marie Kellen, Paul Lachenauer, Oi-Cheong Lee, Juan Trujillo, Hyla Skoptiz, and Peter Zery, the Imaging Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, unless otherwise noted. Additional illustration credits are on p. 184.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the authors.

The authors are grateful to the peer reviewers of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* for their suggestions and assistance.

Copyright © 2021 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Typefaces: Calibre, Lyon, and Harriet
Printed on Arctic Matt, 150 gsm
Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc.
Printed and bound by Ofset Yapimevi, Istanbul

Front cover illustration: Attributed to Baselyos (scribe) and the Night-Heron Master (illuminator). Image (ሥዕል, *śə'əḷ*) of *abba* Giyorgis [of Sägla] (አባ፡ጊዮርጊስ), fol. 1v in the *Ārganonä Maryam* (*The Organ of Mary*), late 17th century. Ethiopia, Lasta region. See fig. 1, p. 133.

Back cover illustration: Kneeling female figure, 15th–early 16th century. Mexico, Mesoamerica, Aztec. See fig. 5, p. 17.

Illustration on p. 2: Pierre Patte after Charles François Ribart de Chamouët. Section view of Ribart's elephant monument from Ribart 1758, pl. VI. Hand-colored etching. See fig. 4, p. 86.

Illustration on p. 4: Mask. Mexico. Olmec, 900–400 B.C. Jadeite, H. 5¼ × W. 5½ × D. 3 in. (14.6 × 14 × 7.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1977 (1977.187.33)

Contents

Director's Foreword

MAX HOLLEIN, 10

SHIFTING PERSPECTIVES ON MUSEUMS

Aztecs in the Empire City: “The People without History” in The Met

JOANNE PILLSBURY, 12

“Te Maori”: New Precedents for Indigenous Art at The Met

MAIA NUKU (NGAI TAI), 32

The Vélez Blanco Patio and United States–Cuba Relationships in the 1950s

TOMMASO MOZZATI, 51

Collecting the Ancient Near East at The Met

YELENA RAKIC, 68

The Sèvres Elephant Garniture and the Politics of Dispersal during the French Revolution

IRIS MOON, 81

Facsimiles, Artworks, and Real Things

REBECCA CAPUA, 98

ARTICLES

Icon, Contact Relic, Souvenir: The *Virgin Eleousa* Micromosaic Icon at The Met

MARIA HARVEY, 113

Talismanic Imagery in an Ethiopian Christian Manuscript Illuminated by the Night-Heron Master

KRISTEN WINDMULLER-LUNA, 132

Philippe Auguste Hennequin's *Portrait Drawing of Sir Sidney Smith in the Temple Prison*

KATHERINE GAZZARD, 144

Artists' Frames in *Pâte Coulante*: History, Design, and Method

PETER MALLO, 160

RESEARCH NOTE

A Source for Two Gilded Silver Figurines by Hans von Reutlingen

ELIZABETH RICE MATTISON, 174

MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

Founded in 1968, the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is a peer-reviewed scholarly journal published annually that features original research on the history, interpretation, conservation, and scientific examination of works of art in the Museum's collection. Its range encompasses the diversity of artistic practice from antiquity to the present day. The *Journal* encourages contributions offering critical and innovative approaches that will further our understanding of works of art.

The *Journal* publishes **Articles** and **Research Notes**. All texts must take works of art in the collection as the point of departure. **Articles** contribute extensive and thoroughly argued scholarship, whereas **Research Notes** are often smaller in scope, focusing on a specific aspect of new research or presenting a significant finding from technical analysis. The maximum length for articles is 8,000 words (including endnotes) and 10–12 images, and for research notes 4,000 words with 4–6 images. Authors may consult previous volumes of the *Journal* as they prepare submissions: www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications. The *Journal* does not accept papers that have been previously published elsewhere, nor does it accept translations of such works.

Submissions should be emailed to journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org.

Manuscripts are reviewed by the *Journal* Editorial Board, composed of members of the curatorial, conservation, and scientific departments, as well as scholars from the broader academic

community. The process is double-anonymous peer review.

To be considered for the following year's volume, the complete manuscript must be submitted by September 15.

Manuscripts should be submitted as three separate double-spaced Word files in Times New Roman 12-point type with page numbers inserted: (1) a 200-word abstract; (2) manuscript and endnotes (no images should be embedded within the main text); (3) Word document or PDF of low-resolution images with captions and credits underneath. Please anonymize your submission for anonymous review.

For the style of captions and bibliographic references in endnotes, authors are referred to *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to Editorial Style and Procedures*, which is available from the Museum's Publications and Editorial Department upon request, and to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Please provide a list of all bibliographic citations that includes, for each title: full name(s) of author or authors; title and subtitle of book or article and periodical; place, publisher, and date of publication; volume number, if any; and page, plate, and/or figure number(s). For citations in notes, please use only the last name(s) of the author or authors and the date of publication (e.g., Jones 1953, p. 65; Smith and Harding 2006, pp. 7–10, fig. 23).

The Museum will acquire all high-resolution images and obtain

English-language, world rights for print and electronic editions of the *Journal*, at no expense to authors.

Once an article or research note is accepted for publication, the author will have the opportunity to review it after it has been edited and again after it has been laid out in pages. Each author receives two copies of the printed *Journal*. The *Journal* appears online at metmuseum.org/art/metpublications; journals.uchicago.edu/toc/met/current; and on JStor.

ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*
MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM

JOURNAL 56

“Te Maori”: New Precedents for Indigenous Art at The Met

MAIA NUKU (NGAI TAI)

*Ko te manu e kai ana i te miro nōnā te ngahere
Ko te manu e kai ana i te mātauranga nōnā te ao*

The bird who consumes the miro berry understands the forest
But the bird who feasts on knowledge understands the entire world

On September 10, 1984, a group of distinguished Māori gathered at dawn outside The Metropolitan Museum of Art and prepared to carry out ritual protocols for the opening of a new art exhibition. The group of Māori elders had accompanied 174 ancestral *taonga* (cultural treasures) on their first journey away from the shores of New Zealand to the United States. With the traffic stopped on Fifth Avenue, the *karanga* (call) of the women pierced the air and the group began to move forward toward the museum, the men chanting steadily. Dressed in the prestigious finery of flax and feather cloaks, the delegation of senior Māori leaders ascended the front steps of the Museum, where they were joined by the Museum’s director, Philippe de Montebello, the mayor of New York, city officials, sponsors, and invited guests (fig. 1).

fig. 1 Opening protocols for “Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections,” beginning at dawn on September 10, 1984.

Tohunga (ritual expert) Henare Tuwhangai (fourth from right, wearing feather cloak) completes the first cycle of chants and prepares to hand over to *tohunga* Sonny Waru (third from right, also in cloak) for the second phase of chants to accompany the delegation as they proceed up the front steps to the main entrance of The Met.



fig. 2 Kara Puketapu (center, in front) stands with the delegation of *kaumātua* (senior Māori leaders) in the exhibition galleries.



Two young Māori men advanced ahead of the party, acting as sentries (*manutaki*) to ensure the orderly progress of the large group. Expertly wielding their wooden staffs (*taiaha*) to flank the distinguished group of Māori orators, they proceeded up the central staircase of The Met toward the exhibition halls. Guiding the delegation into the galleries, the delivery of chants and incantations in Māori rose to a crescendo as the

group encountered the powerful gathering of ancestral sculptures assembled within (fig. 2). They halted in front of Uenukutuwhatu, the impressive Tainui sculpture (fig. 4) that had been given final approval to travel to New York by the Māori queen, Te Arikini Dame Te Atairangikāhu, only weeks before.¹

“Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections” (Metropolitan Museum of Art, September

fig. 3 Detail from the gateway to Pukeroa Pā on the cover of Mead 1984

1984–January 1985) was a landmark exhibition that set important precedents in terms of consultation and shared decision-making between indigenous communities and museums. An extensive dialogue with *iwi* Māori (tribal authorities) had been established from the outset at the insistence of the management committee created to oversee the project. The engagement with Māori was sustained throughout the planning, installation, and duration of the exhibition, and directly impacted the selection of works and their availability for loan. The installation presented Māori art as art, not artifact, and Māori interlocutors guided interpretive aspects for the duration of the project. Their close and continued involvement directed the representation of Māori people and their culture on an international platform. This collaborative initiative between indigenous Māori authorities and the exhibition's organizers has had far-reaching consequences. The institutional shift it occasioned at The Met continues to have a generative impact on current curatorial practice in the Museum. The model it established—one that favors the participation of indigenous communities in the interpretation and display of their art—has evolved as an international standard of practice for museums with holdings of Māori and Pacific art. The method recast the museum as a critical site for engagement where relationships between communities, museums, and the collections they steward can be negotiated, and invigorated over time.

A LANDMARK EXHIBITION

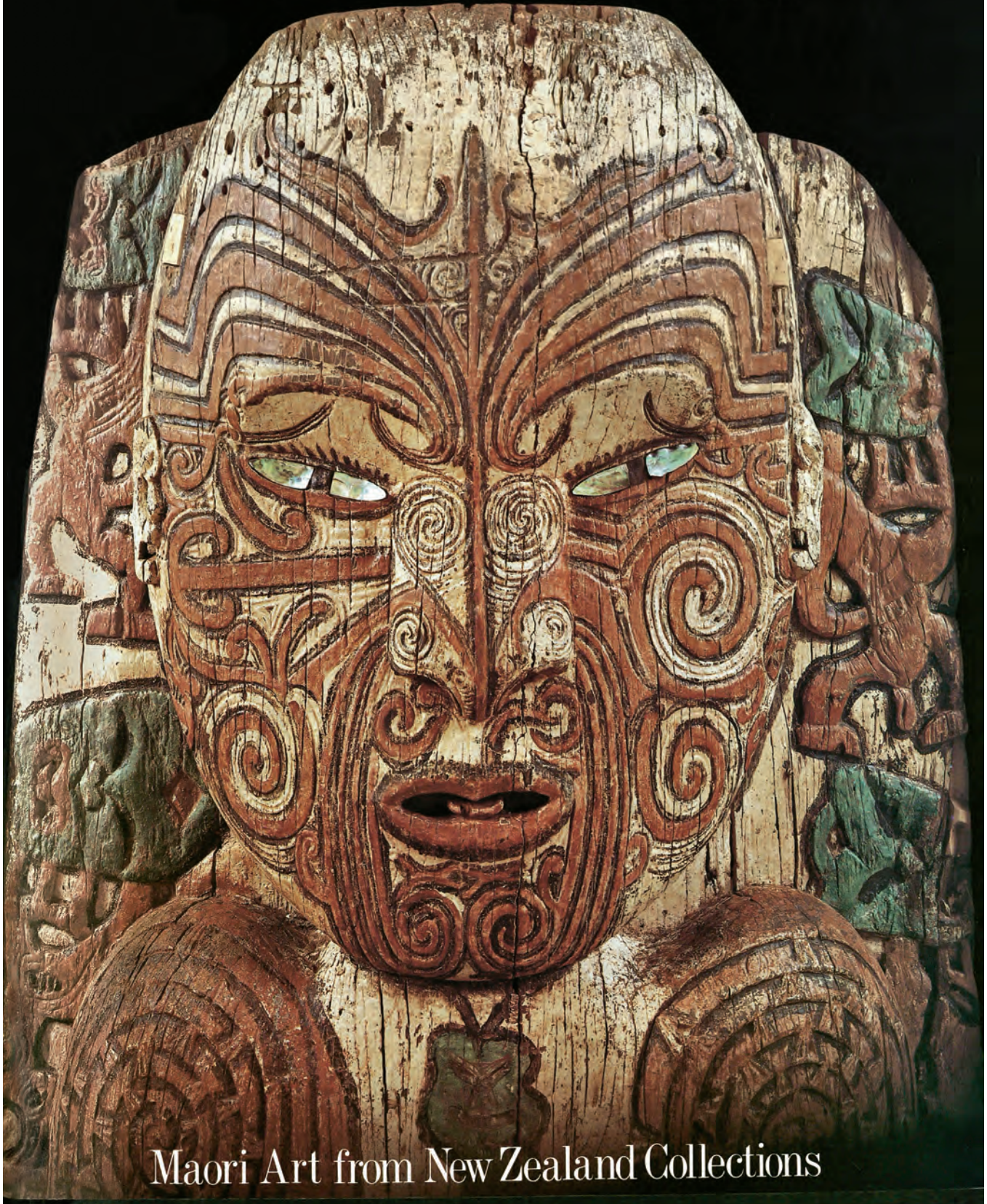
The exhibition (fig. 3) was spearheaded at The Met by Douglas Newton, first chairperson of the newly established Department of Primitive Art (which later became the Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas) in collaboration with the eminent Māori art historian and scholar Hirini Moko Mead as part of an initiative developed by the American Federation of Arts (AFA) with the government of New Zealand. Initial discussions with The Met had begun in the early 1970s when New Zealand's ambassador to the United States, Frank Corner, approached then director Thomas Hoving about the possibility of hosting an exhibition of Māori art. Impressed at the impact of The Met's recent exhibition of Nelson Rockefeller's collection,² which had introduced audiences to the arts of Africa and Oceania, the New Zealand ambassador considered the "effect such a show could have on Maori prestige."³ Discussions were forced to be on hold for several years due to the difficult economic climate brought about by surging prices during the oil crisis of 1973, which halted

governmental ambitions for joint cultural projects. Renewed impetus for an ambitious exhibition of Māori art in the United States followed swiftly on the heels of a spectacular display of Pacific art that Newton organized for the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, in 1979. "The Art of the Pacific Islands" brought together international loans from eighty-three lenders⁴ that were presented in a dramatic installation typical of the sleek modernist displays that Newton and colleagues had pioneered at New York's Museum of Primitive Art (MPA), where Newton had worked as a curator since 1957. The idea gained traction when the director and chairman of New Zealand's Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council, Michael Volkerling and Hamish Keith, respectively, visited Washington, DC, to attend the opening. Buoyed by spectacular displays of Pacific art at the critically acclaimed show at the National Gallery of Art, Volkerling and Keith were keen to build on the momentum by organizing an exhibition that would showcase the best in Māori art from New Zealand's extensive collections and "break the stranglehold New Zealand museums of natural history had had on these great works of art for more than a century."⁵ They contacted the AFA in New York to discuss the scope and complexities of such a project. A conversation ensued with Newton, who had begun to oversee the transfer of the Museum of Primitive Art's collection following Nelson Rockefeller's announcement of his intention to give the museum's holdings and his personal collection to The Met, which was proposed as an ideal venue for the Māori exhibition.⁶

In a letter to the *New Zealand Listener*, Keith described a first meeting of New Zealand and U.S. representatives in December 1979 where it was established that "regardless of the legal ownership or physical possession, no work could be included unless its spiritual owners—the people from whom it came—agreed."⁷ By 1981, a management team was established in Wellington, New Zealand, chaired by New Zealand's secretary of the Department for Māori Affairs, Kara Puketapu (Te Āti Awa). Puketapu recalled: "One of the things . . . made clear from the beginning . . . was that there was not going to be *any* Maori exhibition unless Maori people [were] involved and agree[d]. Now that [was] pretty critical."⁸

Puketapu was joined by other Māori on the committee, including Hirini Moko Mead (Ngāti Awa), professor of Māori studies at Victoria University of Wellington, and Piri Sciascia (Ngāti Kahungunu), executive officer of the Department of Māori Affairs.⁹ Other members included officials from New Zealand's

TE MAORI



Maori Art from New Zealand Collections

fig. 4 Uenuku, a prominent ancestor of the Tainui people, closely associated with the rainbow whose appearance prior to battle was deemed auspicious. Tainui, A.D. 1400. *Tōtara* wood (*Podocarpus totara*), H. 8 ft. 9½ in. (267 cm). Te Awamutu Museum, New Zealand (2056)



fig. 5 The Māori delegation, led here by Henare Tuwhangai and Sir James Henare (in cloaks, from left), guide the party of government and Met museum officials through the exhibition galleries. Senior statesmen are flanked by Jerry Rautangata and Pita Sharples (in foreground), two *manutaki* (armed sentries) who accompanied the group throughout the formal proceedings.

fig. 6 A member of the *tira* (Māori delegation) greets Edward Koch, then mayor of the City of New York, with a *hongi* (customary Māori greeting) at the breakfast reception, held immediately after the opening and signaling the completion of formal protocols.

principal government agencies such as the Department of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Tourism, Trade and Industry; members of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council; the Maori and South Pacific Arts Council (MASPAC); the Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand (AGMANZ); and a representative from Mobil, the exhibition's main sponsor. Staff from each of New Zealand's major museums were also involved and liaised with Newton at The Met. Complex negotiations ensued among this multitude of constituent parties for the next three years.¹⁰ Despite the logistics of accommodating the

varied interests of such a large and unwieldy group, the balance of power lay with a core team of highly educated Māori whose combined experience in arts organizations and university and government departments supported the realization of a clear and focused agenda.¹¹ For the first time in history, Māori were actively involved in negotiations for an international exhibition of their own art and were playing a lead role in its planning and direction.

The selection of works of art for the exhibition remained in the hands of Newton, who was based in New York but made a series of visits to New Zealand in the early 1980s to review potential candidates for loan. Curators and ethnologists working in institutions across New Zealand shared images and ideas for major works of art they believed should be included, but, it was explained, these were all subject to approval by *iwi* Māori, the tribal authorities for whom they were held in trust. This process of consultation with Māori was a crucial initiative, and regional museums throughout New Zealand outlined their distinct role as custodians of *taonga* (ancestral treasures) on behalf of the Māori communities within their districts. The institutions acknowledged that, alongside any nominal claim to legal ownership of Māori artifacts (what we might determine the "physical" component), full spiritual and cultural custodianship (the "metaphysical" aspect) was vested in a variety of local Māori tribal groups. Complex negotiations with Māori authorities across New Zealand ensued over the course of the next few years. Māori in general were skeptical of museums and were initially suspicious of the motives of curators when proposals for the exhibition were first put forth. Many Māori leaders expressed extreme reluctance to be involved and categorically opposed the idea of their sacred *taonga* being released for travel overseas. Others were aware of the potential strategic advantages in allowing their *taonga* to travel, which they understood would afford an unprecedented opportunity for Māori art to be seen by the whole world.¹² Discussions, often heated, continued for several years until consensus was achieved.¹³ Neither was this extensive consultation merely token. Throughout negotiations, key decisions were taken out of the hands of museum professionals and the decisions of Māori prevailed.

Much debate, for example, surrounded a particularly significant sculpture that curators and several Māori members of the management committee were keen to include in the final selection. Uenukutuwhatu, a unique deity figure, had been early identified as a signature work for the exhibition (fig. 4). This rare sculpture

had been discovered fully preserved in Lake Ngaroto, north of Te Awamutu, in 1906. Uenuku is the *kaitiaki* (guardian deity) for the Waikato people, who trace their ancestry to the Tainui *waka* (canoe). The guardianship of this carving remains entrusted to one family. Museum conservators deemed the piece too fragile to sustain the pressures of overseas travel. Contrary to their advice, and just a few days before packing crates were due to be closed for shipment to New York, a decision was reached. The Māori queen, Dame Te Atairangikāhu, had intervened, insisting at the final hour that the iconic ancestor of the Tainui tribal territories would lead the exhibition into a foreign land—just as he had led their Māori tribe from Hawaiki (the ancestral homelands of central Polynesia) to Aotearoa New Zealand centuries before. In this respect, these highly revered familial

treasures were understood to have adopted the role of ambassadors specifically charged by the Māori queen to raise the profile of Māori culture overseas.

CUSTOMARY PROTOCOLS

One of the major precedents established during the exhibition in New York was the way in which Māori knowledge and customary protocols guided and framed all events that took place within the physical space of The Met’s galleries. Māori insisted that tribal representatives would accompany the *taonga* (ancestral treasures) to the United States, where they would lead all appropriate formalities including chants, speeches and oratory (*whaikōrero*), and prayer (*karakia*), an acknowledgment of the sacred (*tapu*) quality of the works of art. The Māori delegation was drawn from both north and south islands of Aotearoa New Zealand and represented *nga hau e wha* (the four winds of the land), a metaphor for the coming together of people from different places. Sciascia reflected on this decision, which determined that all proceedings would be run according to Māori priorities, and explained that an underlying objective was to present Māori art as an integrated whole. The individuals selected to travel overseas would ensure the visual arts would not “stand alone,” he said, but alongside the equally fundamental aspects of Māori culture such as the performing arts and oratory.¹⁴ Prior to leaving the country, elder Sonny Waru of Parihaka explained to a reporter that Māori accompanying the *taonga* to the United States were “part and parcel of the exhibition, caretakers of [our] sacred heirlooms.”¹⁵

Once in New York, Māori *kaumātua* (elders) participated in all opening events and organized appropriate ceremonial protocols, including the rites (*whakaheke tapu*) performed at dawn on September 10, 1984, which lifted the *tapu* (or potent sacred quality) of the ancestral works for a time, rendering them spiritually safe for the public to encounter (figs. 5, 6). Fresh greenery was placed around the base of Uenuku to honor the life and vitality of this important ancestral deity.¹⁶ Rousing speeches (*whaikōrero*) of welcome and tribute honored long-departed ancestors and entrusted the *taonga* to the care of the host institution. In his reciprocal speech, Newton acknowledged The Met’s ongoing commitment to the custodial care of these precious heirlooms (fig. 7) and assured the Māori delegation, on behalf of The Met’s staff and Trustees, that the Museum would honor these obligations. With the strict conventions of the *marae* (ceremonial ground) established within The Met’s exhibition galleries, a subtle yet unprecedented shift in the Museum had come into effect that day: the gallery space



fig. 7 The Pukeroa Pā gateway is carried by seventeen men up the steps at The Met for unpacking and installation in the galleries.



became a *marae* for the duration of the exhibition. East Coast *kaumātua* (elder) Monita Delamere confirmed how deeply moving it had been to walk into The Met’s galleries and experience their *taonga* on display for the first time: “[I] felt that all [my] tūpuna were alive there.”¹⁷

The format established at The Met continued at each of the subsequent venues in St. Louis, San Francisco, and Chicago.¹⁸ In total, representatives from twenty-four Māori tribal groups accompanied the art and were hosted at each of the four U.S. venues. Impromptu events in the galleries allowed Māori to engage directly with both the art and public visitors to the exhibition. Many of the sculptures were addressed

with *waiata* (songs) and speeches by their living Māori descendants. Handed down through the generations, these highly prized works are referred to in Māori as *taonga tuku iho*—ancestral heirlooms (*taonga*) from the past (*tuku iho*). These *taonga* are cloaked in words, the chants and histories of oral tradition, which render each work of art *taumaha* (heavy), and enhance the spiritual value and status (*mana*) of the work, giving it layers of memory and meaning. Addressing their *taonga* with formal speeches and song, New York audiences witnessed at first hand the relationship of Māori with their art, appreciating that these were not static or deceased relics confined to a distant past, but commanding indices of

fig. 8 Tainui visitors honor their tribal deity Uenuku with a *waiata* (song) in the galleries upon the return of the exhibition to New Zealand. National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington, 1986

spiritual power that remained *in relation* with their living descendants (fig. 8). Far from being inanimate, works of art for Māori have dynamic agency that is activated and enlivened when encountered by living descendants who summon their connections through tribal identity and *whakapapa* (genealogy). While at The Met, each *taonga* was cloaked not only in customary oral traditions but also in the newly evolving stories and events born of the novel encounter with audiences in New York. The various events occurring daily in The Met's galleries would now be folded into the individual histories and biographies of each work going forward, enriching them further. Māori art now stood on the world stage, appreciated alongside

the art of the great civilizations of Greece and Rome, of China and Egypt: a canon expanded.

The critical acclaim Māori art received in the United States sent shock waves reverberating through New Zealand: "The publicity seemed to shatter our complacency because as a nation we had always regarded the carvings more as curios than art," wrote Bernard Kernot.¹⁹ Dedicated overwhelmingly to early ancestral sculpture, the items selected for exhibition in New York were canonical works described by Mead as powerful and authoritative, acknowledged masterpieces that would best represent "the rich visual harvest" that customary Māori art could offer.²⁰ Iconic works that lent themselves to the idea of a common cultural heritage among eastern Polynesian peoples were favored. The aforementioned rare deity figure Uenuku was a highlight of the show. Visitors were said to be taken with Uenuku's distinctive aesthetic form.²¹ A carved post almost nine feet tall, this imposing abstract sculpture is widely regarded as a masterpiece of Māori art. For the Tainui tribes of Waikato, the sculpture is the dwelling place of their guardian spirit Uenukutuwhatu. This impressive carving accompanied the Māori *tohunga*, or ritual specialist, into battle; its powerful agency (*mana*) was deployed as a spiritual armature that worked to enhance the group's efficacy. The carving bears what Mead described as "a haunting resemblance to Hawaiian carving," largely on account of the distinctive series of vertical prongs that rise up from the top of the figure's head.²² This highly abstracted comblike feature can be understood as an extension of the backbone or spine, a formal aspect of early Polynesian carving that implies genealogical principles, with each prong or notch a reference to a particular group's line of descent.²³ The sculpture's preeminent status in the show was derived largely from its formal qualities as a proto-Polynesian art form, that is, for the strong visual evidence of the connection of Māori to their earlier Polynesian forebears in the Hawaiian Islands.

Uenuku, the striking signature work on loan from Tainui, was featured on a centrally located open platform where it stood, elegantly majestic, in full command of the galleries. Other sculptural highlights included monumental gateways and large-scale canoe prows that were displayed as discrete freestanding elements or silhouetted against plain white walls. In general, singular works were presented in isolation, and illuminated dramatically to enhance their power and visual impact (figs. 9, 10). Māori broadcaster Henare Te Ua (Ngāti Porou) praised the installation, recalling his first impression on entering the New York galleries



figs. 9, 10 Installation views of "Te Maori" at The Met

on the morning of the opening: "The Metropolitan's design team opted away from the usual fusty-dusty, dimly lit displays which were so common in New Zealand institutions. Instead there was LIGHT!"²⁴

"Te Maori" is remembered precisely for this classificatory shift: the moment that Māori artifact became art, a transition effected primarily by the modernist aesthetic of its exhibition design.²⁵ General texts at the introduction to the exhibition hall initiated visitors to the cultural context of the objects. When known, dates, place names, and tribal affiliations were provided, but in general, contextual information was kept to a minimum. This presentation was a stark contrast to the ethnographic museum displays that were the usual public forum for Māori culture in New Zealand. Ethnology departments and natural history museums throughout the world had long

used collections of Māori artifacts as evidence of Māori culture in pre-European times, but their problematic displays were finally beginning to be acknowledged as reinforcing a static vision of an idealized past.²⁶ Reflecting on "Te Maori" at the end of its U.S. tour, Mead acknowledged that Māori art had first needed to be validated as fine art in New York before its appraisal as such could happen in New Zealand: "By taking our art to New York . . . we brought Maori art out from obscurity . . . out of the cupboard of primitive contextualization."²⁷

NEW DISPLAY CONVENTIONS: PACIFIC ART IN NEW YORK

New display conventions certainly played a significant role in developing an invigorated view of Māori art. A long-established hierarchy had relied on the problematic assumption that the creations of non-Western peoples were valuable in terms of their scientific interest (as "culture" or "craft"), but not for their intrinsic beauty or pure form (their "art" or "aesthetic").²⁸ By the 1930s and 1940s, this template had begun to yield to some pressure in Europe and the United States with the advent of a series of highly aestheticized installations of non-Western objects that took place in Paris and New York. These early exhibitions were conceived by gallerists, collectors, and dealers of indigenous artifacts who were strongly influenced by modernist primitivism and its tastes.²⁹ The earliest exhibition of Oceanic art in New York was precisely in this vein. Opening in 1934 at the Pierre Matisse Gallery on East 57th Street (October 29–November 17, 1934), it presented forty-four works of art and was the first exhibition dedicated solely to Oceanic art in the United States.³⁰ If the earliest advocates for presenting non-Western art were gallerists working in the sparse interiors of New York's downtown galleries, a small but dedicated cohort of art specialists and curators were soon to pick up the pace in the postwar era.

In 1946, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) staged an influential exhibition, "Arts of the South Seas," organized there by curator René d'Harnoncourt in collaboration with Columbia University anthropologist Ralph Linton and art historian Paul Wingert. Mexican painter Miguel Covarrubias was involved in the installation and produced illustrations for the accompanying catalogue, which declared: "many Maori carvings deserve to rank among the art masterpieces of the world."³¹ During the 1950s, the arts of the Pacific began to be taught at Columbia University by Wingert, and at New York University by Robert Goldwater, under the rubric of "primitive art." The courses were a first foray into the study of art from cultures that formerly



had been the domain of anthropology departments and laid the foundations for what would in time become a new discipline of art history in the United States. This scholarship focused on the so-called non-Western arts, which were defined at the time as the arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (Native and Precolumbian) and hitherto had been excluded from the conventional canon of art history.

In 1953, Nelson Rockefeller established the Museum of Indigenous Art (renamed the Museum of Primitive Art in 1956) in a converted Manhattan brownstone on West 54th Street. It was the first museum of its kind in New York dedicated to celebrating the artistic achievements of those regions of the world whose artists Rockefeller believed had been grossly underserved by their exclusion from the canon. The museum's cofounder and vice president was René d'Harnoncourt, previously at MoMA. He recruited Goldwater as its director and several years later a young British enthusiast, the aforementioned Douglas Newton, joined the team. Together they oversaw an extensive program, producing some seventy exhibitions and nearly sixty publications between 1957 and 1974. The museum itself was fairly small, but the impact of its exhibition program on the perception of non-Western art museography, collectors, and the public was tremendous. Newton was especially prolific, and in 1960, he became a full curator, and in 1974 succeeded Goldwater as director. Determined to share Pacific art with the world, he made dedicated efforts to promote projects that would advance this relatively little-known field of art to new audiences. Newton was personally involved in designing scenography for each exhibition and soon developed a style that deployed atmospheric lighting to striking effect. The displays brought critical praise and public attention to the museum and introduced a mode of presentation that would become extremely influential for the showing of non-Western art in museums over the ensuing decades. At the heart of these aesthetic innovations was a clear and strategic aim. According to those who worked closely with him, Newton's overarching ambition was to "find a way to let the energy and vibrancy [of the works] sing out so that visitors could enjoy not only their temporal presence but also their spiritual aspect."³²

FORMAL AFFINITIES

In its celebration of the distinctive formal aesthetics of Māori art, "Te Maori" was strategically similar to another major presentation of Pacific art that was being prepared thirty blocks downtown from The Met at MoMA. "Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity

of the Tribal and the Modern"³³ opened to the public on September 27, 1984, and was initially well received, particularly by New York's fine art aficionados, who, one critic has suggested, "marveled freely at the wonderful ability of artists from 'tribal' societies to produce the works of sheer formal beauty which were on display."³⁴ They opened within three weeks of each other, and the critique that later developed in response to each exhibition could not have been in starker contrast.

The exhibition ran concurrently with The Met's "Te Maori" show for four months and provides a dramatic counterpoint in terms of responses to the range of museological frameworks within which Pacific art was circulating during this period. The ambitious exhibition at MoMA was organized by William Rubin and Kirk Varnedoe and built very much on their associate Robert Goldwater's PhD dissertation, "Primitivism in Modern Painting" (1937), which charted the influence of African, Oceanic, and American precolonial traditions on twentieth-century art in the West. The exhibition dramatically juxtaposed 147 works by modern artists including Pablo Picasso, Henri Matisse, Paul Gauguin, and Constantin Brancusi with 218 examples of African, Oceanic, Inuit, and Native American art. In his introductory essay to the catalogue, Rubin explained that he hoped to chart the influence of these non-Western art traditions on Europe's most renowned modernists.

Rubin's commitment to foreground the formal aesthetic of each tradition was explicit in the show's subtitle, "Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern." In an exhibition review of the show, Rubin commented on the sense of urgency, voiced by Picasso, "that art had to get back to being the kind of thing that did not mirror the world but changed [it], changing the man who made the art as well as the people who looked at it."³⁵ Outlining the art historical origins of the term "primitive,"³⁶ he pointed to the disillusionment of a cohort of late nineteenth-century artists with the classical genres of Western realism then favored by the conventions of art history enshrined in the Academy. Rejecting bourgeois tastes that demanded illusionist lighting and perspective, Rubin homed in on the interests of this avant-garde who were looking for renewed simplicity, and adopting a certain naïveté in their own work that they hoped would invigorate their painting. Grounded in a search for the rudely expressive, or "raw," elements, their work focused on capturing this elusive quality. Rubin elaborated on this idea, writing that the "exotic arts defined as 'primitive' by Gauguin's generation were being admired for many qualities that twentieth-century artists would prize in tribal art—[namely] an

expressive force deemed missing from the final phases of Western realism, which late nineteenth-century vanguard artists considered overattenuated and bloodless."³⁷ The MoMA exhibition aimed to bring this positive reappraisal of primitivism to light, establishing as fine art a genre that had hitherto been viewed as ethnographic and therefore more strictly within the purview of science museums. Far from the functional role so often assigned to this art, Rubin enthusiastically acknowledged its complexity and sophistication, and claimed the exhibition would highlight its range and innovation and show just how aesthetically, and intellectually, challenging the works really were.

The fact that non-Western works were presented exclusively in terms of their influence on Western artists was a bitter pill, however, for many quarters to swallow. Though clearly in keeping with Rubin's vision, the show's master narrative drew heavy criticism for its forced didactic approach.³⁸ Deploying African, Oceanic, and indigenous American works of art in the service of bolstering a substantively Western art historical thesis, with no account of the history and context of the works prior to their entry into European collections, the exhibition was lambasted for its reinforcement of these cultures as being somehow "ahistorical." The presentation fell into a dangerous trope, implying that indigenous cultures remain(ed) fundamentally out of sync with time—that is, timeless and static—not "modern" and evolving, or in step with time. The critics' reviews were harsh, dismissing the exhibition for alienating and emasculating the indigenous artists whose works were shown by reducing their contributions to a series of mere footnotes in Western art history.³⁹ In alleging an inherently "essential," or elemental, quality in these arts, the exhibition narrative implied the artistic instincts of indigenous artists were somehow primal—that is, unmediated. This denial of the agency of indigenous artists grossly misrepresented their equally strategic objectives in creating art and served to reinforce dangerously false dichotomies of alleged authenticity and acculturation.

The focus on formalism was not unique to the MoMA exhibition. The installation for "Te Maori" at The Met was equally invested in foregrounding the sculptural aspects of individual masterworks, creating a rarefied atmosphere that emphasized the apparently timeless quality of the pieces. A subtle yet steady dehistoricization was powerfully at play. One critique suggested that several of the more monumental works, Uenuku included, seemed to acquire a "burden and power of permanent spirituality"⁴⁰ that curators

seemed consciously to promote. This overtly essentialist construction of the Māori was equally problematic, as it insisted on a kind of folkloricised identity for Māori, implying that all Māori were (inherently) mystical and spiritual⁴¹ and therefore somehow "out of time."⁴² In short, though well-intentioned, the bestowal of the status of art on non-Western objects in both exhibits simply rendered them fetishes of another kind.⁴³

In his incisive analysis of the transformations at play in this giant museological puzzle, Conal McCarthy has argued that the reframing of Māori art at The Met was not at all straightforward, given that another significant factor was at work in the recategorization—that of Māori agency.⁴⁴ Māori curator Hirini Moko Mead's articulation of *taonga* overlapped with more conventional concepts of fine art *without* being fully equivalent to them.⁴⁵ McCarthy points out that, in contrast to the "disinterested aesthetic appreciation of European tradition, which values a distant viewer who prizes the formal qualities of an isolated object," Māori people interacted with the art, responding "in a direct, often physical, way to the *taonga*" and engaging them as activated vessels through which they could express their genealogical ties to ancestors.⁴⁶ Mina McKenzie (Ngāti Hauiti), director of the Manawatū Museum and a member of the "Te Maori" management committee, summed up the distinction in her analysis of responses to the art during the New York opening: "While the Americans and Douglas (Newton) were looking at 'Te Maori' for the excellence of its sculptural form," she reflected later, "Maori people were being re-united with their ancestors. Energy was flowing between the two concepts."⁴⁷ A new indigenous category of display was at work. *Taonga* appeared to represent a transitional category between the appreciated aesthetic qualities of the art and sculpture on display and an index of indigenous understanding that determined a unique set of values for Māori. The installation at The Met had allowed for two distinct categories in the culture of display—art and *taonga*—to become intertwined. The creation of a space that permitted Māori agency to express itself fully had shaken up the conditions of viewing. As such, the conventions of display were altered and now ushered in a period of change.

There was yet another layer to this turn of events. Reflecting on the phenomenon of "Te Maori" a decade later, Nicholas Thomas noted that while the "fetishization of an unacculturated authenticity" in Māori was initially disturbing, the resounding success of "Te Maori" during its nationwide U.S. tour dramatically heightened the status accorded to Māori at home and

abroad, which was clearly enabling and empowering for many Māori.⁴⁸ While tensions from the Māori community had been apparent from the outset of the exhibition, most *kaumātua* (elders) had come round to supporting the proposal in the end, reassured that an opportunity to showcase Māori culture internationally outweighed any other perceived risk.

It was a younger generation of Māori who continued to be vehement in their resistance to the principles behind the project, believing that the pieces ought to have been shown in New Zealand first. It was specifically this younger group who was troubled by an idealized version of Māori that the show seemed to promote and an association with archaism that they found especially constricting.⁴⁹ The categorical exclusion of a strong corpus of more experimental Māori art was strongly contested by this group, who insisted the selection of *taonga* was narrow and old-fashioned, and reinforced a romanticized image of classical Māori locked in the past. It completely elided the genre of transitional works characteristic of nineteenth-century art production in New Zealand, which were dynamic and innovative, a direct response of Māori to their encounter with Europeans. They believed the show was just another example of the continued marginalization of Māori. The handful of transitional pieces included in the U.S. show were a carved club and whalebone ax (*patiti*) that incorporated iron blades, and a model canoe that catered to European tastes.⁵⁰ No contemporary Māori art was included at all. Neither, incidentally, were woven textiles (*raranga*) such as fine cloaks (*kākahu*), mats (*whāriki*), or baskets (*ketete*). This work, the customary domain of women, was another glaring omission, one that would be rectified when the show was adapted for the New Zealand tour that followed.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the initial prioritization of sculpture in wood, stone, and bone spoke forcefully to a reliance on a Eurocentric definition of what constituted “fine arts,” one that relegated spectacular Māori fiber arts to the category of “craft.” This younger generation of Māori considered the restriction of works to overtly traditional pieces not only frustratingly out of touch but irresponsible. For them, this was a siphoned representation of Māori that ignored the contemporary urban reality of 1980s New Zealand and was starkly at odds with the Māori activism and militancy that were a hallmark of the era.

TE HOKINGA MAI / THE RETURN HOME

More than seventy thousand members of the public attended “Te Maori” in its opening month at The Met and visitor numbers continued to break records at

subsequent venues in St. Louis, San Francisco, and Chicago, reaching more than 621,000. As the exhibition approached the conclusion of its U.S. tour, the sponsors viewed a return tour around New Zealand as a logical extension to its successful run overseas. This was an important opportunity to build on the show’s momentum and share its international success with the wider New Zealand public. The exhibition returned to New Zealand as “Te Maori—*Te Hokinga Mai* (The Return Home)” and was hosted in each of New Zealand’s four major cities. Māori involvement as it toured New Zealand was further amplified. The organizing committee worked with each venue to facilitate the broad participation of Māori, who visited the exhibition in droves and interacted with the public as hosts. Māori devised all cultural programming related to the exhibition and visitors were welcomed by elders (*kaumātua*) and expertly guided by *kaiārahi* (Māori hosts), a younger generation of Māori who were direct descendants of the ancestral works on display.

The New Zealand tour surpassed all expectations. Unprecedented crowds visited each of the four venues, which included two museums, the National Museum of New Zealand in Wellington and Otago Museum in Dunedin, and two art galleries, the Robert McDougall Art Gallery in Christchurch and Auckland City Art Gallery. The final venue in Auckland closed its doors to the public on September 10, 1987, exactly three years to the day after the auspicious dawn ceremonies that had inaugurated the exhibition in New York. Attendance records indicate some 917,500 people visited the exhibition on its New Zealand tour, a staggering twenty-eight percent of the entire population.⁵² Mead’s colleague, university lecturer Bernie Kernot, described the New Zealand tour as unleashing “the most remarkable cultural phenomenon this country has ever experienced.”⁵³ The revision of status for Māori art was dramatic. Buoyed by the energy of the show and its reception, Māori were hopeful that their engagement and full participation in all levels of the exhibition would translate into meaningful change and advance their prospects in a society that by the mid- to late 1980s had become increasingly underpinned by an emerging aspirational ideology of biculturalism.

The enhanced profile and status of Māori art raised the visibility of Māori within their own nation. Releasing Māori art from the outdated displays that had long prevailed in New Zealand museums dramatically changed its perception and Māori came now to be seen in a new light, their culture no longer consigned to the past. For Māori, the orchestrating role of The Met in this

metamorphosis was key. Within its walls, Māori art had undergone a radical recontextualization that led to its subsequent recoding from museum artifact to aesthetic work of art, with a further acknowledgment of its agency. The shift in perspective raised expectations among Māori who were keen to leverage their new cultural currency in socially impactful ways. As Māori confidence and self-esteem climbed to new heights, the stage was set for a broader consolidation of social and economic issues that the success of the exhibition had thrown into sharp relief.

The 1980s were a decade of enormous social upheaval in New Zealand, with unemployment rising in the cities and appalling social statistics for Māori in terms of poverty, health, and education. The decade had begun with vigorous protest. Opposition to the South African rugby tour of New Zealand by the Springboks in 1981 caused widespread antiapartheid protests and turned the spotlight on racism in New Zealand. *Te reo Māori* (Māori language) was finally recognized as an official language in 1987 following a petition to Parliament fifteen years earlier, in 1972. Land sovereignty and political autonomy remained firmly on the agenda and now hinged on the broader momentum that "Te Maori" had set in motion. The long-advocated "integration" of Māori into wider society⁵⁴ was rejected with calls to supplant it with a bicultural model that would accommodate both Māori and Pakeha (New Zealand citizens of European descent) interests, which many believed would safeguard a measure of autonomy for Māori. In 1955, Maha Winiata dismissed the idea that "Maori should become a pocket edition of the pakeha." Against the refrain "We are all New Zealanders," he advocated for a bicultural model: "Two peoples, one nation."⁵⁵ In many ways, "Te Maori" galvanized a Māori agenda to assert autonomy. A "social and cultural renaissance [was] now moving Maoridom, and ["Te Maori" had] become the standardbearer of the movement."⁵⁶

MANA MOTUHAKE / SELF-DETERMINATION

If the notoriety of "Te Maori" in the 1980s became synonymous with the transformation of Māori art on the world stage, its ongoing legacy must acknowledge its role as a catalyst in reframing the ways indigenous communities came to engage with museums. "Te Maori" marked a radical turning point in the relationship of Māori with museums, accelerating dramatic reforms to museum practice in New Zealand, which in turn have impacted other indigenous communities throughout the Pacific and Australia. While Māori had felt largely dislocated from their cultural heritage, which was held in trust by museums on their behalf, the experience of

"Te Maori" now exposed a strongly felt urge to reconnect with it. Māori broadcaster Henare Te Ua called for more imaginative displays in institutions that would better align *te ao Māori* (the Māori world) with the museological world.⁵⁷ This would be an opportunity to showcase the wealth of *taonga* in museum collections that had long languished behind the scenes: "Mini *Te Māori*'s could be devised together with Maori . . . involvement,"⁵⁸ he suggested. The relationship, he believed, must be reciprocal and not one-way. In advocating for increased collaboration, he outlined the model for a new type of institution that could accommodate input from Māori stakeholders who now felt empowered to invest themselves more fully in its activities.

A politicized agenda for the museum sector had begun to take shape and was becoming strongly aligned with Māori demands for self-determination (*mana motuhake*). Progress with a variety of claims under the Treaty of Waitangi now prompted Māori advocates to link the Treaty and its implications of partnership to the governance of museums.⁵⁹

These developments included a proposal for government titled *Nga Taonga o Te Motu: Treasures of the Nation*, which advocated for a new national museum that would incorporate Māori worldviews and a Polynesian cultural center. It was supported by Māori Member of Parliament Pita Tapsell, minister of internal affairs, and backed by several museum professionals.⁶⁰ Planning for the new museum involved a high level of Māori participation with direct input from *iwi* (tribal authorities). New legal precedents cited specific principles of the Treaty of Waitangi as a means to determine the indigenous governance and structure of the new museum. For example, lawyer Moana Jackson interpreted Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi, which guaranteed Māori "complete . . . authority over all their taonga," as including exhibitions of *taonga* Māori in museums. The Treaty also placed "an obligation on museum authorities and Māori to be equally involved in the planning, design, staffing, and management of the institution."⁶¹ Seen within an international context, this degree of indigenous influence was extraordinary.

The outcome was a blueprint for a new National Museum of New Zealand—Te Papa Tongarewa, which opened in an impressively designed building on Wellington's waterfront in 1998. Deploying a highly innovative framework for museum governance, the museum would operate in accordance with the official governmental policy of biculturalism that was formally reflected in its bilateral management structure. The institution immediately committed to the hiring of

Māori and Pacific Islanders on its staff and adopted customary practices in its custodial care of the collections. The “Te Māori Manaaki Trust” continues to promote professional development programs and training for Māori curators and conservators to support professional museum careers.

“Te Maori” helped bring about a new cultural and political climate in New Zealand. The phenomenal success of its U.S. run garnered new respect for Māori art, raising its *mana* (prestige) and mobilizing enthusiasm to pave the way for a renaissance of Māori arts and culture, and language revitalization.

CONCLUSION: A LIVING DYNAMIC

In 1984, a pair of New York exhibitions challenged audiences to glean a radical new appreciation for the innovative and dynamic art forms of the Pacific. While the “‘Primitivism’ in 20th Century Art” exhibition at MoMA hoped to emphasize the clear influence this novel and exciting aesthetic had imparted to European artists of the avant-garde, “Te Maori” was shaped considerably in consultation *with* Māori, whose strong presence and participation highlighted a living dynamic. This set a precedent and foregrounded the distinctiveness of *taonga* as a new category of art, one that was animated in direct encounter with its indigenous descendants. At its most fundamental level, the exhibition prompted a critical dialogue, one, McCarthy opines, that “went far beyond the limited . . . analysis of the politics of display to result in real, concrete changes in New Zealand museum practice.”⁶² “Te Maori” created a platform for a new field of engagement, one where, McCarthy observes, “*taonga* were performed not installed.”⁶³ Māori visitors were concerned with reclaiming and reconnecting to their ancestors: it was the contact with the *taonga* and one another and the connections that were made that were paramount, not the particular way in which they were presented.⁶⁴ While it was Māori themselves who led the initiative, The Met as an institution proved itself open and agile in accommodating their demands and allowing a space in which different cultural priorities could interact.

“Te Maori” was the first major exhibition of Pacific art following the establishment of the Michael C. Rockefeller Wing in 1982, which ushered in a dynamic new era in The Met’s history. Now, almost four decades later, the generative impact of “Te Maori” continues to be influential. The collaborative model it established—one that favors the engagement of indigenous communities as partners in the interpretation of their art—has evolved as an international standard of best practice for

museums with holdings of Māori and Pacific art. As public demand for institutions to “cede” authority heightens, the legacy of “Te Maori” reminds us of the value in “seed-ing” legacies,⁶⁵ when museums can take the lead in nurturing newly configured relationships with the indigenous communities whose collections they steward. As sites of encounter—or “contact zones”⁶⁶—at the center of public discourse, they can provide a critical and creative space where the complexities of colonial histories and injustices can be confronted and teased apart. Museums need to continue to evolve in response to their respective communities and find ways to remain actively engaged with their needs. Given the inherently asymmetrical nature of the relations between museums and their constituents, James Clifford (and Robin Boast after him) insists this engagement needs to be continually assessed in concert with indigenous communities, arguing that successful “Contact work in a museum . . . goes beyond consultation and sensitivity. . . . It becomes active collaboration and a sharing of authority.”⁶⁷ Furthermore, a lack of nuance in the critique of museums as instruments of colonial power and nation building can obscure the long history of indigenous adaptation and exchange that has been underway for decades now since “Te Maori.”⁶⁸ These experiences underscore the extent to which the “interaction of indigenous people with Western cultural practices”⁶⁹ can be highly productive in strategically resisting and accommodating the colonial project from within.⁷⁰

If “Te Maori” showed that museums and their galleries have the potential to become active and dynamic spaces, Māori understand that in many respects, ancestral heirlooms—or *taonga*—were in fact designed to leverage these kinds of relationships. This is their role and agency. Three key Māori concepts now strongly align with the way the present author relates to an engaged curatorial practice in the museum today: the concept of *manaakitanga*—that is, hosting people as a way to nurture relationships; *whanaungatanga*—the idea of kinship and bringing people together; *kaitiakitanga*—the duty of care inherent in stewardship (of people, land, the environment). The ongoing stewardship of collections requires institutions that can actively accommodate its attendant responsibilities and the reciprocal relations necessary for indigenous interlocutors to advocate for the ways in which they would like to be represented. As well as a repository of the past, collections are living resources for creative interventions that have the power to effect change.⁷¹ Rather than trying to confine collections, a more productive strategy must be to continue to engage them in active and dynamic ways (figs. 11, 12).

fig. 11 Jahra Wasasala performs *Bure Kalou: God House* for Māori and Pacific communities at the closing ceremony for "Atea: Nature and Divinity in Polynesia" on October 26, 2019, at The Met.

fig. 12 Closing ceremony for "Atea: Nature and Divinity in Polynesia" on October 26, 2019, with Māori and Pacific communities in New York



EPILOGUE

Beyond the glazed windows of the Michael C. Rockefeller Wing at The Met in New York, a single fragment of shaved wood lies buried in the rich soil of New York's Central Park, the result of an unusual and rare departure from the strict conventions of museum protocols. Prior to their departure from New Zealand in 1984, senior Māori spoke carefully with Museum conservators to make a final request before the crates were closed. Their wishes were accommodated and five carefully pared sections of wood were removed from the undersurface of one of the most celebrated works being prepared for travel to New York: the magnificently carved doorway (*kuwaha*) and bargeboards (*maihi*) from Te Potaka, a storehouse (*pataka*) that was one of three that once stood at Maraenui in 1780, on the tribal lands of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui in the eastern Bay of Plenty.⁷² One fragment was buried in New Zealand. During the opening ceremonies for "Te Maori" in New York, the first of the remaining

fragments of wood was planted in Central Park. A further paring was to be buried at each of the next two venues, binding the three dispersed locations into a network.⁷³ The final fragment was to be crumbled into the ocean when the exhibition returned, "to carry the spirit of the exhibition safely home."⁷⁴ One of these small but significant wooden fragments remains buried in the park, calling its descendants close, an active reminder of the reciprocal relations established that brisk September morning shortly after dawn, and ensuring that the obligations and responsibilities enshrined in those initial exchanges with Māori extend into the future.

In memoriam: "Uncle Bill," Hemi Wiremu Maxwell, QSM (1929-2021)

MAIA NUKU (NGAI TAI)

Evelyn A. J. Hall and John A. Friede Curator for Oceanic Art in the Michael C. Rockefeller Wing, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

NOTES

- 1 Original film footage of the opening protocols for the "Te Maori" exhibition can be seen at <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/video/44092/te-maori-exhibition-opening-new-york-1984>.
- 2 "Art of Oceania, Africa, and the Americas from the Museum of Primitive Art" opened at The Met in 1969. Nelson Rockefeller announced his intention to transfer the MPA's collection, staff, and library to The Met at the press conference that accompanied the opening.
- 3 McCarthy 2016, 59.
- 4 The exhibition "The Art of the Pacific Islands" (July 1, 1979–February 7, 1980) took place at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. Douglas Newton oversaw the selection of more than four hundred works of art from eighty-three lenders around the world and assisted Gaillard Ravenel and Mark Leithauer in the exhibition design. Gordon Anson designed the lighting. Newton also coauthored a catalogue to accompany the exhibition with Adrienne Kaeppler and Peter Gathercole (Gathercole, Kaeppler, and Newton 1979).
- 5 Crighton 2014, 202.
- 6 For further reading on this topic, see LaGamma et al. 2014.
- 7 Hamish Keith in correspondence dated October 27, 1984, to the *New Zealand Listener*; cited in Kernot 1987, 3–4. McCarthy (2016, 59) notes that while the extent of Māori involvement may not have been fully anticipated in 1972, an early proposal by the Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand (AGMANZ) included a suggestion that Māori could be involved as guides for visitors in the galleries. By the time Hamish Keith (QEII Arts Council) and Kenneth Coulton Gorbey (AGMANZ) revived the idea of an exhibition in 1979, the cultural and political climate in New Zealand was quite different and an Arts Council report (September 1980) made it clear that Māori values would need to be taken into account in all aspects of planning.
- 8 Puketapu in Murphy 1983.
- 9 *Te Māori: He tukunga korero / A Report* (Wellington: Te Māori Management Committee, 1988); cited in McCarthy 2007, 139.
- 10 Mead 1984–85, 26.
- 11 McCarthy 2007, 139.
- 12 Sciascia in Murphy 1983; cited in McCarthy 2007, 138.
- 13 O'Biso 1987, 176.
- 14 Sciascia in Murphy 1983; cited in McCarthy 2007, 139.
- 15 Waru cited in *Dom*, November 14, 1983; quoted in McCarthy 2007, 139.
- 16 The *kaumātua* (elders) who led ceremonial rites for the New York opening were *tohunga* Sonny Waru of Taranaki, Sir James Henare representing the northern *iwi* (tribes), Ruka Broughton for Poneke (Wellington region), Monita Delamere of Mātaatua, and Waikato leader Henare Tuwhangai. John Te Kaho, a Māori security guard employed by The Met, ensured that the greenery at Ueneku's feet was regularly replaced for the duration of the exhibition.
- 17 As recounted by Con Te Rata Jones to Conal McCarthy, August 19, 2002; cited in McCarthy 2007, 141.
- 18 Beginning in New York at The Met (September 10, 1984–January 6, 1985), the exhibition continued to the St. Louis Art Museum, Missouri (February 22–May 26, 1985), and the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco (July 6–December 1, 1985). Due to its resounding success, the Field Museum of Natural History negotiated an extension of the tour for Chicago (March 6–June 8, 1986).
- 19 Kernot 1987, 3.
- 20 Mead 1986, 34.
- 21 Katene 1984.
- 22 Mead 1984, 183.
- 23 Kaeppler 1982, 103.
- 24 Te Ua 1987, 7.
- 25 Gathercole 2002.
- 26 While "Te Maori" was a quantum leap in terms of indigenous engagement, Roger Neich at the Auckland Institute and Museum

- had selected highlights from the Māori collection at Auckland for an exhibition that toured China in 1978 (McCarthy 2016, 42). Neich also curated two exhibitions for the National Museum in Wellington: "Maori Art for America" (1983) and "Nga Taonga Hou o Aotearoa: New National Treasures" (1984), which McCarthy notes "prefigured 'Te Maori' in their aestheticized display of carving as art and . . . familiarity with the concept of *taonga*" (ibid.).
- 27 Mead 1986, 11.
- 28 Duncan 1995, 12; cited in McCarthy 2007, 95.
- 29 Staniszewski 1998, 98–99; cited in McCarthy 2007, 95. The Cubist fascination with African art encountered in French ethnographic museums at the turn of the twentieth century led to major changes in the way African and Oceanic objects began to be received as works of art, exhibited and displayed in Paris and New York (Biro 2018; Steiner 2002, 137–38). By the 1920s, the expressive charge of Oceanic art had attracted the attention of the Surrealists and Expressionists (Peltier 1984; Clifford 1988, 136).
- 30 "Oceanic Art" (October 29–November 17, 1934), Pierre Matisse Gallery, 41 East 57th Street, New York. Philippe Peltier (1984, 115) published a photograph of the exhibition in his chapter "From Oceania," which traces the early history of collecting and exhibiting Oceanic art. The Pierre Matisse Gallery produced a pamphlet with brief text by Frederick R. Pleasants and Georges Henri Rivière, then associate director of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in Paris, which lists forty-four works of art—all from New Guinea with the exception of seven Polynesian works. A copy of this pamphlet is in the Robert Goldwater Library at The Met; the original is held in the library at MoMA. I am grateful to Sarah Ligner and Nicolas Garnier of the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris for drawing it to my attention (personal communication, January 6, 2020).
- 31 Linton, Wingert, and d'Harnoncourt 1946, 55. For more details on the exhibition design of a range of early Oceanic art exhibitions at MoMA, see Elligott 2018.
- 32 Clifford La Fontaine, personal communication, December 4, 2020.
- 33 The exhibition opened at MoMA (September 27, 1984–January 15, 1985) and continued to the Detroit Institute of Arts (February 27–May 19, 1985) and the Dallas Museum of Art (June 23–September 1, 1985).
- 34 Thomas 1999, 188.
- 35 Rubin quoted in Campbell 1984.
- 36 For a close analysis of the cultural construction of the term "primitivism" that emerged in European discourse during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Connolly 1995.
- 37 Rubin 1984, 1:2.
- 38 Clifford 1988, 212. Clifford clarified that, to his mind, museums of art and anthropology were equally guilty of ignoring the contemporary realities of indigenous cultures in their strategies to constitute either an impression of "authentic, 'traditional' worlds" (often imagined as a pristine era prior to "contact") or to situate their appreciation of the outcome of indigenous creativity "in the timeless category of 'art'" (ibid., 200); see also Clifford 1985. The suppression of cultural context in the latter was "almost a precondition for artistic appreciation. In this object system, a tribal piece is detached from one milieu in order to circulate freely in another, a world of art—of museums, markets and connoisseurship" (Clifford 1988, 200).
- 39 See McEvelley 1984 and Foster 1985.
- 40 Thomas 1999, 187.
- 41 Ibid., 185.
- 42 Fabian 2014.
- 43 Conn 1998, 257; McCarthy 2004, 152. See also Price 1989 and Torgovnick 1990 on the inherent inequities of these designations.
- Sally Price (1989, 68–69) points out that it is usually Western arbiters of taste whose discerning eye can elevate a singular object (but not another) to the status of "art." Marianna Torgovnick (1990, 82) explains further that it is precisely this act of elevation that "reproduces, in the aesthetic realm, the dynamics of colonialism, since Western standards control the flow . . . and can bestow or withhold the label 'art.'"
- 44 McCarthy 2004, 152.
- 45 McCarthy 2007, 140.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 McKenzie quoted in Butler 1996, 52; cited in McCarthy 2007, 141.
- 48 Thomas 1994, 188.
- 49 Ibid., 190. A counterargument established that the exhibition's focus on "classical" examples of Māori art was a necessary measure to emphasize the *longue durée* of Māori history and the richness of its ancient culture. Reflecting on the exhibition's impact prior to its New Zealand tour, the Māori queen, Te Arikini Dame Te Atairangikāhu, expressed her hope that it would "help New Zealanders of ancestry other than Māori to be more aware of our Nation's ancient history and culture (which . . . [contrary to what] so many think, did not commence in the late 19th century and particularly 1840)." The latter refers to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between Māori and the British Crown. See Te Atairangikāhu 1986, 2.
- 50 These items were listed in the exhibition catalogue as nos. 132, 105, and 113 (Mead 1984, 219, 209, and 212) respectively.
- 51 The exhibition "*Te Aho Tapu / The Sacred Thread: Traditional Maori Weaving*," organized by the Auckland Institute and Museum (July 1987–February 1988), was intended as a corrective to this exclusion of Māori fiber and woven works in the "Te Maori" touring exhibition. See Pendergrast 1987. Despite the decision not to include weaving in "Te Maori," one finely woven basket (*kete whakairo*) was presented as a gift to The Met by Turirangi Te Kani and Monita Delamere after the dawn ceremony in New York to mark the occasion of the opening on September 10, 1984. This *kete whakairo* (MMA 1984.518) was made by Kerehi Makiwhara or Grace Mawell (Whakatōhea, Ngai Tai and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui), a close relation of the author. It forms the foundation of a small but growing collection of Māori fiber works in The Met's Oceanic art collection.
- 52 Butler 1996, 9.
- 53 Kernot 1987, 3.
- 54 Walker 1992, 503.
- 55 *New Zealand Listener*, March 25, 1955, 24–25; quoted in McCarthy 2007, 102–3.
- 56 Kernot 1987, 7.
- 57 Te Ua 1987, 9. Māori scholar Professor Ngahuia Te Awakotuku MNZM was curator of ethnology at Waikato Museum in the 1980s and another powerful early voice in the movement urging museums to rethink how they represented Māori culture. See Te Awakotuku 1991, preface.
- 58 Te Ua 1987, 9.
- 59 The Waitangi Tribunal, created under the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975), was charged with investigating and making recommendations for claims brought by Māori against the British Crown that alleged failures to honor the Treaty of Waitangi (a foundational, and highly contested, document signed on February 6, 1840, by representatives of HM Queen Victoria and Māori chiefs in the North Island of New Zealand). See McCarthy 2007, 155.
- 60 McCarthy 2007, 155.
- 61 Jackson 1988, 2; cited in McCarthy 2007, 155.
- 62 McCarthy 2016, 4.

- 63 McCarthy 2004, 152.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Hawaiian curator Noelle Kahanu conceived this analogy for a panel convened by the Pacific History Association (December 3, 2018) when she was invited to respond, alongside curators Nicholas Thomas and Peter Brunt, to the “Oceania” exhibition (September 29–December 10, 2018) at the Royal Academy, London, in a session chaired by Professor Dame Anne Salmond ONZ DBE FRSNZ.
- 66 Clifford 1997.
- 67 Ibid., 210; see also Boast 2011. For further reading, see Clifford (1987) for his analysis of ways in which these relations can be productive, despite the relative imbalance of power, and how museums can ensure participation is not merely superficial. See also Christina Kreps, who urges us to “liberate our thinking from a Eurocentric view of what constitutes a museum . . . to better recognize alternative forms [and imagine] a new museological discourse in which the points of reference are no longer solely determined by the West” (Kreps 2003, 145–46). See also Peers and Brown (2003), who agree that this shift toward recognition and deep engagement with communities has led to a radical re-envisioning of the very nature of museums.
- 68 McCarthy 2016, 4.
- 69 Ibid., 5.
- 70 For detailed literature on relations between indigenous communities and museums in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, see Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Myers 2002; Peers and Brown 2003; McCarthy 2007; Sully 2007; Morphy 2008; and Philipps 2011.
- 71 For further reading, including a range of these creative strategies and examples of specific projects with indigenous Pacific communities, see Nuku 2017, 2018, and 2020.
- 72 See Mead 1984, 204–5, no. 91. The carvings were removed and taken to Raukokore by 1818, then hidden in a sea cave at Te Kaha during the Ngāpuhi musket raids before being recovered in 1912 and taken to the Auckland Institute and Museum.
- 73 The first of these splinters was buried in the grounds of the Auckland Institute and Museum in New Zealand and the remaining four were wrapped in a woven flax (*harakeke*) panel. It was intended that three of these be buried on-site at each of the three venues in the United States (New York, St. Louis, San Francisco; the extra U.S. venue—Chicago—was added at a later date). As a further point of anecdotal interest, the original location of the *pataka* at the site of Maraenui is well known to the author, as it borders her own ancestral lands, east of Ngai Tai’s boundary, and close to the site of the homestead at Tunapahore where the author’s mother, Esther Kerr Jessop QSM ONZM, grew up.
- 74 O’Biso 1987, 114.

REFERENCES

- Biro, Yaëlle
2018 *Fabriquer le regard: Marchands, réseaux et objets d’art africains à l’aube du XX^e siècle*. Dijon: Les Presses du Réel.
- Boast, Robin
2011 “Neocolonial Collaboration: Museum as Contact Zone Revisited.” *Museum Anthropology* 34, no. 1 (March): 56–70.
- Butler, Philippa
1996 “Te Maori Past and Present: Stories of Te Maori.” MA thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

- Campbell, Joyce
1984 “In a Magical Manhattan Exhibit, MoMA Curator William Rubin Brings Primitivism Right Up to Date.” *People* 22, no. 17 (October 22). Digital ed., <https://cultureinightlosangeles.wordpress.com/2014/11/12/articles-and-review-of-momas-1984-primitivism-in-20th-century-art-affinity-of-the-tribal-and-the-modern/>.
- Clifford, James
1985 “Histories of the Tribal and the Modern.” *Art in America* 73 (April): 164–77.
1987 “Of Other People: Beyond the ‘Salvage’ Paradigm.” In Dia Art Foundation, *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, no. 1, edited by Hal Foster, 121–30 and 142–50 (discussion). Seattle: Bay Press.
1988 *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
1997 “Museums as Contact Zones.” In *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, by James Clifford, 188–219. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Conn, Steven
1998 *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876–1926*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Connelly, Frances S.
1995 *The Sleep of Reason: Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics, 1725–1907*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Crichton, Anna
2014 *English, Colonial, Modern, and Maori: The Changing Faces of the Robert McDougall Art Gallery, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1932–2002*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Duncan, Carol
1995 *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*. London: Routledge.
- Elligott, Michelle
2018 *René d’Harnoncourt and the Art of Installation*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.
- Fabian, Johannes
2014 *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press. First published 1983.
- Foster, Hal
1985 “The ‘Primitive’ Unconscious of Modern Art, or White Skin Black Masks.” *October* 34 (Fall): 45–70.
- Gathercole, Peter
2002 “‘Te Maori’ in the Longer View.” In *Pacific Art: Persistence, Change, and Meaning*, edited by Anita Herle, Nick Stanley, Karen Stevenson, and Robert L. Welsch, 271–79. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.
- Gathercole, Peter, Adrienne L. Kaepler, and Douglas Newton
1979 *The Art of the Pacific Islands*. Exh. cat. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art.
- Goldwater, Robert
1938 *Primitivism in Modern Painting*. New York: Harper. Originally the author’s PhD diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1937.
- Jackson, Moana
1988 “The Treaty of Waitangi and the Museum of New Zealand / Te Marae Taonga o Aotearoa.” Unpublished policy report, Te Papa Library, National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington.
- Kaepler, Adrienne
1982 “Genealogy and Disrespect: A Study of Symbolism in Hawaiian Images.” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 3 (Spring): 82–107.

- Katene, K.
1984 "Te Maori Continues to Enthral." *Tu Tangata*, no. 21 (December 1): 19. URL: <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/TUTANG19841201.2.16>.
- Keith, Hamish
2009 "Te Maori—Job Done?" *New Zealand Listener*, September 19, 45.
- Kernot, Bernard
1987 "Te Maori Te Hokinga Mai: Some Reflections." *AGMANZ Journal* 18, no. 2 (Winter): 3–7.
- Kreps, Christina F.
2003 *Liberating Culture: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curation, and Heritage Preservation*. London and New York: Routledge.
- LaGamma, Alisa, Joanne Pillsbury, Eric Kjellgren, and Yaëlle Biro
2014 "The Nelson A. Rockefeller Vision: Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas." *MMAB*, n.s., 72, no. 1 (Summer).
- Linton, Ralph, Paul S. Wingert, and René d'Harnoncourt
1946 *Arts of the South Seas*. Illustrations by Miguel Covarrubias. Exh. cat. New York: Museum of Modern Art.
- McCarthy, Conal
2004 "From Curio to Taonga: A Genealogy of Display at New Zealand's National Museum, 1865–2001." PhD thesis, Museum and Heritage Studies, Victoria University, Wellington.
2007 *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display*. Wellington: Te Papa Press; Oxford: Berg.
2016 *Museums and Māori: Heritage Professionals, Indigenous Collections, Current Practice*. New York: Routledge. First published 2011.
- McEville, Thomas
1984 "Doctor, Lawyer, Indian, Chief, 'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art at the Museum of Modern Art in 1984." *Artforum* 23 (November): 54–61.
- Mead, Sidney (Hirini) Moko
1984 as editor. *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
1984–85 "Te Maori in New York." *Art New Zealand* 33 (Summer): 24–27.
1986 *Magnificent Te Maori / Te Maori Whakahirahira: He korero whakanui i te Maori*. Auckland: Heinemann.
- Morphy, Howard
2008 *Becoming Art: Exploring Cross-Cultural Categories*. Sydney: UNSW Press.
- Murphy, Roy
1983 "The Politics of Maori Art." *Insight* documentary. Wellington: Radio New Zealand.
- Myers, Fred R.
2002 *Painting Culture: The Making of an Aboriginal High Art*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Nuku, Maia
2017 "Reuniting the Past and the Present: Interview with Maia Nuku." Interview by K. Emma Ng. *ArtAsiaPacific* (blog). Hong Kong: ArtAsiaPacific, March 7. <http://artasiapacific.com/Blog/ReunitingThePastAndPresentInterviewWithMaiaNuku>.
2018 "Oceania: Animating Collections—Activating Relationships at the Met in New York." *Contemporary HUM* (blog). November 28. <https://www.contemporaryhum.com/maia-nuku-oceania-the-met>.
2020 "Knowledge Positions in Aotearoa and Turtle Island Art Museums: Interview with First Nations Curators Kathleen Ash-Milby, Maia Nuku, and Nigel Borell." Interview by Léuli Eshragi. *Artlink* 40, no. 2 (June). Digital ed., [https://www](https://www.artlink.com.au/articles/4832/knowledge-positions-in-aotearoa-and-turtle-island/).
- .artlink.com.au/articles/4832/knowledge-positions-in-aotearoa-and-turtle-island-/.
O'Biso, Carol
1987 *First Light: A Magical Journey*. New York: Paragon House.
- Peers, Laura, and Alison Brown, eds.
2003 *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Peltier, Philippe
1984 "From Oceania." In *Primitivism in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, edited by William Rubin, 1:98–123. Exh. cat. New York: Museum of Modern Art.
- Pendergrast, Mick
1987 *Te Aho Tapu / The Sacred Thread: Traditional Maori Weaving*. Exh. cat. Auckland: Auckland Museum.
- Philipps, Ruth B.
2011 *Museum Pieces: Toward the Indigenization of Canadian Museums*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Price, Sally
1989 *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rubin, William
1984 "Modernist Primitivism: An Introduction." In *Primitivism in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, edited by William Rubin, 1:1–81. Exh. cat. New York: Museum of Modern Art.
- Staniszewski, Mary Anne
1998 *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Steiner, Christopher B.
2002 "The Taste of Angels in the Art of Darkness: Fashioning the Canon of African Art." In *Art History and Its Institutions: Foundations of a Discipline*, edited by Elizabeth Mansfield, 132–45. London: Routledge.
- Sully, Dean, ed.
2007 *Decolonising Conservation: Caring for Maori Meeting Houses outside New Zealand*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Te Atairangikāhu, Te Arikini Dame
1986 Statement. *AGMANZ Journal* 17, no. 3 (Spring): 2.
- Te Awkotuku, Ngahua
1991 *Mana Wahine Maori: Selected Writings on Maori Women's Art, Culture, and Politics*. Auckland: New Women's Press.
- Te Ua, Henare
1987 "Te Maori: Another View." *AGMANZ Journal* 18, no. 2 (Winter): 7–9.
- Thomas, Nicholas
1994 *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
1999 *Possessions: Indigenous Art / Colonial Culture*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Torgovnick, Marianna
1990 *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tuhiwai Smith, Linda
1999 *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London and New York: Zed Books; Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Walker, Ranginui
1992 "Maori People since 1950." In *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, edited by Geoffrey Rice, 498–519. 2nd ed. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Dedication: Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: p. 4

Aztecs in the Empire City: “The People without History”: Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY: fig. 11; Eddie Hausner/The New York Times/Redux: fig. 12; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: back cover, figs. 3, 5, 6, 13; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Peter Zera: figs. 1, 4, 8; Image 33037. American Museum of Natural History Library: fig. 7; Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington: fig. 10; From The New York Public Library: fig. 2; © The Trustees of the British Museum: fig. 9

“Te Maori”: New Precedents for Indigenous Art at The Met: Photo by Sophie Chalk: figs. 11, 12; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10; Mead 1984, front cover. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Jessica Ranne Cardone and Dana Keith: fig. 3; Mead 1986, p. 8. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Jessica Ranne Cardone and Dana Keith: fig. 7; Te Māori exhibition, ca. 1986, New Zealand, by Brian Brake. Gift of Mr. Raymond Wai-Man Lau, 2001. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (E.005590/9): fig. 8

The Vézé Blanco Patio and United States–Cuba Relationships in the 1950s: Archivo Centro de Información, MNBA: figs. 10, 11; © Walker Evans Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 1; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 2–4, 12; Image courtesy Tommaso Mozzati: fig. 5; Image from C. Matamoros Tuma, Museo nacional de Bellas Artes – Cuba. 100 años, Valencia, La Imprenta, 2014, p. 38: fig. 6; The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, Office of the Secretary Records, George Blumenthal correspondence, Bequest - Patio (and Pipe Organ). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by James Moske: figs. 8, 9; Francis Henry Taylor records, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 7

Collecting the Ancient Near East at The Met: Chautauqua Institution Archives, Oliver Archives Center: fig. 8; Hitchcock 1889, Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Jessica Ranne Cardone and Dana Keith: fig. 6; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 2a, 7; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Anna-Marie Kellen: figs. 3a, 3b, 5; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Paul H. Lachenauer: fig. 2b; Photographs of Asia Minor, #4776. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library: fig. 4

The Sèvres Elephant Garniture and the Politics of Dispersal during the French Revolution: Avery Classics, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University: p. 2, fig. 4; Bibliothèque Nationale de France: fig. 11; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 7, 10; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Anna-Marie Kellen: fig. 8; Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris: fig. 6; © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / (Martine Beck-Coppola) / Art Resource, NY: fig. 3; © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / (Thierry Ollivier) / Art Resource, NY: fig. 2; © Private collection. All rights reserved: fig. 9; © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY: fig. 12; The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: fig. 5

Facsimiles, Artworks, and Real Things: Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Rebecca Capua: fig. 7; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Juan Trujillo: fig. 4; Wilkinson and Hill, 1983, p. 19, fig. 12. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Jessica Ranne Cardone and Dana Keith: fig. 3; LuEsther T. Mertz Library, The New York Botanical Garden: fig. 10

Icon, Contact Relic, Souvenir: The Virgin Eleousa Micromosaic Icon at The Met: Alinari / SEAT / Art Resource, NY: fig. 11; Photo by Francesco Turio Bohm: fig. 9; By permission of Ministero della Cultura, Direzione regionale musei della Toscana – Florence: fig. 12; Photo by Fondo Edifici di Culto: fig. 6; Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi: fig. 3; Photo by Maria Harvey: fig. 4; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 2; Image courtesy d-maps.com: fig. 5; Photo courtesy Municipality of Sassoferrato: fig. 7; Image courtesy Santa Caterina, Galatina: fig. 10; Photograph © Bruce M. White, 2003: fig. 8

Talismanic Imagery in an Ethiopian Christian Manuscript Illuminated by the Night-Heron Master: Bodleian Library, Oxford University: fig. 12; Photo by Michael Gervers, 2005: fig. 3; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: front cover, figs. 1, 2, 4–6, 8, 9a, b, 10a, b, 11; © Kristen Windmuller-Luna: fig. 7

Philippe Auguste Hennequin’s Portrait Drawing of Sir Sidney Smith in the Temple Prison: © Artcurial: fig. 8; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 1; Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington: fig. 7; © National Portrait Gallery, London: figs. 2, 9, 10; © The Trustees of the British Museum: figs. 3–6

Artists’ Frames in Pâte Coulante: History, Design, and Method: © Artcurial: fig. 10a; Bibliothèque Nationale de France: figs. 3a–d, 4a, 6a, 7a; Photo by Peter Mallo: figs. 2, 4b, 6b, 7b, 9, 10b, 11, 13; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 5, 7c, d; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Hyla Skopitz: fig. 6c, d; Millar 1905 (2017 ed.), p. 316: fig. 12; Ullstein Bild Dtl. / Contributor: fig. 8

A Source for Two Gilded Silver Figurines by Hans von Reutlingen: © KIK-IRPA, Bruxelles: fig. 5; Elizabeth Rice Mattison: figs. 3, 4; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Anna-Marie Kellen: figs. 1, 2, 6

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM
JOURNAL 56

Director's Foreword
Max Hollein

SHIFTING PERSPECTIVES ON MUSEUMS

Aztecs in the Empire City: "The People
without History" in The Met
Joanne Pillsbury

"Te Maori": New Precedents for
Indigenous Art at The Met
Maia Nuku (Ngai Tai)

The Vélez Blanco Patio and United States-
Cuba Relationships in the 1950s
Tommaso Mozzati

Collecting the Ancient Near East at
The Met
Yelena Rakic

The Sèvres Elephant Garniture and
the Politics of Dispersal during the
French Revolution
Iris Moon

Facsimiles, Artworks, and Real Things
Rebecca Capua

ARTICLES

Icon, Contact Relic, Souvenir: The *Virgin
Eleousa* Micromosaic Icon at The Met
Maria Harvey

Talismanic Imagery in an Ethiopian
Christian Manuscript Illuminated by
the Night-Heron Master
Kristen Windmuller-Luna

Philippe Auguste Hennequin's
*Portrait Drawing of Sir Sidney Smith
in the Temple Prison*
Katherine Gazzard

Artists' Frames in *Pâte Coulante*:
History, Design, and Method
Peter Mallo

RESEARCH NOTE

A Source for Two Gilded Silver Figurines
by Hans von Reutlingen
Elizabeth Rice Mattison



PRINTED IN TURKEY