



An International Indigene

Engaging with Brett Graham

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Brett Graham (Ngāti Korokī Kahukura) is a leading Māori artist and New Zealand sculptor. His monumental installations examine indigenous experiences of the colonial process and emphasize relationships between Māori and other colonised cultures. In this way, Graham has maintained the activist tradition of contemporary Māori art while positively contributing to bicultural and multicultural discourse in New Zealand society.

More recently, Graham's work has been included in international exhibitions that position contemporary indigenous art as an emerging international art movement. He has been at the forefront of this movement and this article charts the pan-indigenous themes in his work from the early 1990s to the present. This history is based on a series of conversations with the artist and indigenous curators and scholars who actively engage with his work. These conversations occurred in the weeks before and after Graham's trip to Ottawa to install *Aniwaniwa*, his collaborative installation with Rachael Rakena at the *Sakahán: International Indigenous Art* exhibition (17 May–2 September 2013) at the National Gallery of Canada. *Sakahán* is a much anticipated exhibition, which gives strength and focus to what Jonathan Mane-Wheoki

has recently termed 'Te Toi Ao: The New Art World.'¹

Anna-Marie White: Tena koe Brett. What has been your experience with *Sakahán*? Has the process differed markedly from other exhibitions that you have been involved in?

Brett Graham: Greg Hill, one of the indigenous curators at the National Gallery of Canada made the statement, 'The creators in *Sakahán* aren't indigenous peoples apeing the techniques and themes of contemporary art, but contemporary artists working out the ramifications of their indigeneity.' Although many of us have taken part in biennales where there has been more of an effort to include indigenous art, such as the 2010 Sydney Biennale curated by David Elliott, we have longed to be part of an exhibition like this. The values are different from Western art though it is hard to say what these values are without trivializing. Just as the Tovey art specialists programme in the 1960s or Ngā Puna Waihanga in the 1970s brought Māori artists together nationally to create the contemporary Māori Art movement, the Canadian indigenous curators have brought us together from across the globe. The possibilities of where this may lead are endless. To know that indigenous curatorial practice has come of age and that as artists we don't need to go through western



channels for validation is empowering.

Candice Hopkins (co-curator of *Sakahán*): *Aniwaniwa* is one of the most ambitious installations in *Sakahán*, which was intended as a survey of the best work that has been produced over the last ten years. The exhibition includes over 150 works by artists from 16 countries. In this attempt to chart the trajectory of indigenous contemporary art internationally several themes emerged. *Aniwaniwa* strengthened the theme of looking at, and rewriting history from indigenous perspectives. Along with history, the artists in the exhibition had unique perspectives on the role of the handmade—a custom found throughout indigenous art—as well as self-portraiture as a form of self-determination, exposing the painful legacies of trauma and exploitation, the spiritual in art, and the transformative potential of beauty to address these legacies of trauma.

The fact that Brett draws upon the customs of Māori carving and recontextualises these practices within the language of contemporary art is what brings his work so much depth and makes it accessible for many different audiences. Despite the fact that viewers may not have been aware of the specific event in Horahora that inspired *Aniwaniwa*, the work still resonates with them. The story of loss and renewal is universal.

(opposite) Brett Graham at Monument Valley, Arizona, May 2013
 (above) BRETT GRAHAM & RACHAEL RAKENA *Aniwaniwa* 2013
 Five suspended fibreglass forms (each 2500 mm. diameter),
 projected video with sound (5 channel, duration 15 mins),
 mattresses & pillows, installation at *Sakahán*, National Gallery of
 Canada, Ottawa

(right) BRETT GRAHAM & RACHAEL RAKENA *Aniwaniwa* 2013
 Installation at the 52nd Venice Biennale

Megan Tamati Quennell, consultant to the *Sakahán* curatorial team, travelled to Ottawa soon after the opening of *Sakahán*.

M.T.Q.: The installation of *Aniwaniwa* at *Sakahán* was great. It had lots of space, its own mana. The





history of land and cultural loss had resonance with other art works in the exhibition. But the aspect of *Aniwaniwa* that stood out was the marae-style experience that the work created for people: the way that you lay on the mattresses to view the work. For me I loved how that experience was reproduced and transported across the world.

The *Sakahán* show is absolutely extraordinary. The National Gallery of Canada has taken the lead in terms of the exhibition, study and representation of international contemporary indigenous art. We have never done anything like this here. It was proposed as an indigenous *Documenta* and there is commitment to two more exhibitions of this kind.

I had seen some of the works prior to travelling to Ottawa or knew of works like Ken Monkman's *Boudoir de Berdashe*, Vernon Ah Kee's *Can't Chant* or Jimmie Durham's *Encore tranquillité*, but to have it all there in one exhibition, room after room after room of extraordinary indigenous art from around the world and not only from countries you would expect to see—Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, but also Japan, Russia, Norway, India—it was amazing.

A-M.W.: Brett, you are strongly involved with iwi and your work is recognised and supported by them. For instance, *Aniwaniwa* has been used by the Ngāti Koroki Kahukura Trust in Waitangi Tribunal hearings. What role has *Aniwaniwa* played in this context?

B.G.: Venice and Waitangi are a universe apart but yes, I'd like to think *Aniwaniwa* has transcended such boundaries. The work was originally intended for display in Hamilton, to be seen by my Ngāti Koroki Kahukura community. I never imagined that it would still be travelling seven years on. Wherever the work has been people have described similar experiences where land was lost through hydroelectric projects. Venice was different in this regard but then the whole city is being lost under water due to changing currents in the Adriatic, so the metaphor of submersion for cultural loss resonated strongly with the locals. And

by taking the story to Venice for the 52nd Biennale in 2007, as well as to Australia and Canada, their story has been joined to the stories of people in distant lands.

My tribe, Ngāti Korokī Kahukura has used *Aniwaniwa* extensively to express the sacrifices that they have made in the name of 'progress' and to demonstrate our contribution to the nation's development. The fact that they have used the work in presentations to the Office of Treaty settlements, local councils and Crown agencies such as NIWA, Transpower and Mighty River Power and the Maungatautari Ecological Island Trust suggests that art can have relevance beyond the seclusion of the art gallery.

M.T.Q.: One of the great things about Brett is that he always tries to take the Māori community with him: that his work sits comfortably within that community and represents a Māori or indigenous perspective and is able to be read that way depending on your understanding/knowledge. There are myriad ways to unlock an indigenous perspective within work. Some artists do that overtly, others more obliquely.

Brett has to be applauded for his commitment to that 'interior' Māori knowledge, that is only understood from experience and being 'inside the culture' and the way that he positions that in the world. So the work in effect is grounded within the culture and extends out of it. That is its positioning as well as being contextualised within an art context.

A-M.W.: You have had a privileged upbringing with respect to contemporary Māori art and culture. These experiences set you apart from the 'Young Gun'² generation of artists with whom you are typically associated. This renegade movement of Māori artists in the 1990s challenged the leadership of an older generation, your father, Fred Graham, included. While

(above left & right) BRETT GRAHAM & RACHAEL RAKENA
Aniwaniwa—detail 2007

Screen capture from video component

(opposite) Fred and Brett Graham, in Fred's studio, PLACE, c. 1974



it is right to acknowledge that you belong to this generation, you have never criticised other Māori or sought to challenge Māori art customs in your work. Rather, you have continued a tradition of anti-colonial political activism from the Pai Marire movement to the urban Māori protest movements of the 1970s and '80s. Who were your influences in this regard?

B.G.: We have a different understanding of the artists of the 1990s. To me they weren't disrespectful to the older generation. They just didn't know enough to care either way. Much of their work challenged people like Gordon Walters and other Pākehā artists in denial about their debt to Māori art. In order to rebel against a tradition you must know that tradition. Arnold Manaaki Wilson was more challenging in the 1960s when he argued that all traditional carvers were doing was following a template of what existed in our museums.³

Selwyn Muru, Para Matchitt and Ralph Hotere were inspirational, and my father of course. They contributed a Māori voice to New Zealand art history. When I went to Elam (1985-88) I was told that I was difficult to teach because their influence made me question everything.

C.H.: I think Brett's work is unique because of his background. His father is one of the best-known Māori artists in Aotearoa, and Brett has always been surrounded by art and art discourse. He said that the cross-cultural conversations that we have had, among many nations, reminded him of the Pacific art forums

that his father was part of, forums that engaged artists working in Aotearoa, the Northwest Coast of Canada, the United States, and Hawai'i (to name a few).

With this in mind, I think that Brett has always been privy to an international context for indigenous art. I think that his deep knowledge of customary Maori cultural practices is what gives his work its strength. This, combined with a practice which can speak to audiences at many different levels, is what makes his work resonant.

A-M.W.: You were studying at the University of Hawai'i in the year leading up to and period following the 1990 sesquicentennial celebration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. In this year, the radical Māori art exhibition *Choice!* was presented at Artspace in Auckland, the premise of which was hostile toward the perceived traditionalism of the major review of contemporary Māori art, *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake* at the National Art Gallery in Wellington, which followed a few months later. These exhibitions have defined the profile of contemporary Māori art today, into which you don't really fit but play a prominent role. Did this rupture in the Māori art movement affect you at all in Hawai'i? How did your experience in Hawai'i set you on another path?

B.G.: I had work in *Kohia* along with other artists of my generation.⁴ The *Kohia* show was revolutionary in its own way because Māori artists had refused to exhibit at the National Gallery for 20 years; this was their response to an insulting memo from the

Director when they exhibited there in the 1960s.⁵ I returned from the University of Hawai'i in time for *Kohia* and was in awe of the strength and power of the installations.⁶ To walk around Selwyn's *Whatever we do the Gods are constant* or to watch Para install his new work, was a transformative experience, especially as most of my lecturers in Hawai'i were so unsympathetic to Oceanic art and talked about it as if it only existed in museums. They seemed oblivious to the rich sculptural tradition that surrounded them in the islands and imposed an American aesthetic on the students who were mainly from Asia and the Pacific.

Buck Nin suggested I go to Hawai'i because he had been a student there and he could see how important it was to see Polynesia in its broadest sense. One of my lecturers challenged me by saying: 'you are very good at contemporising Māori art forms but what are you trying to say beyond that?' His criticism was valid. A fellow student at the East West Centre, Teresia Teaiwa (who is now based in the Department of Pacific Studies at Victoria University in Wellington), wrote to me and said my job as an artist would be to make powerful symbols for the Pacific. A vain challenge I know, but I took her seriously.

A-M.W.: Teresia has described how you made figurative sculptures in Hawai'i that were more in the style of Kave, the ancestor sculpture from the Nukuoro Islands and held in the Auckland Museum. She said that this style indicated that you wanted to engage in deep conversations with your Polynesian friends, learn about their Pacific culture and stories, and the colonial experiences of other indigenous people. This approach is quite different from what she observes as the 'ethnocentrism' of other Māori and

(below left) BRETT GRAHAM *Papatuanuku* 1991
Wood & metal, 2500 x 450 x 980 mm.

(Part of *Te Ara a Papatuanuku*, 25 November 1991–3 January 1992, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawai'i)

(below right) BRETT GRAHAM *Papatuanuku*—detail 1991
Wood & metal, 2500 x 450 x 980 mm.

(opposite above) Brett Graham in residency at Bream Bay College, Northland in 1992, working on *Te Puawaitanga II*, which formed part of the exhibition *1492-1642*

(opposite below)

BRETT GRAHAM *Te Matenga* and *Waka Tumanako* 1992
Wood, graphic and oil

(Part of *1492-1642*, Te Taumata Gallery, Auckland, 1992)

Pacific artists. In this respect, you have summoned the international indigenous art movement. What was your perspective at that time?

B.G.: The University of Hawai'i was a focal point of Pacific scholarship, so meeting people like Teresia was important to fuse current intellectual ideas with the art movement. In Hawai'i, Māori were just another migrant group so it was easy to discuss Polynesian culture across the table with other Polynesians. In New Zealand this did not occur so much in the 1970s and '80s. It's exciting now to see the rise of the 'Nesian Mystic' generation, where we look for the commonalities rather than the differences.

Teresia Teaiwa: Back then Brett was the darling of the art world. He was really aware that the world was his oyster. But he hasn't played the game according to the expectation of the New Zealand art world. His work stands apart, it is not easily commodified or reproduced and that is part of his strength.

A-M.W.: Is this distance related to his materials and scale or his politics?



T.T.: Uncomfortable politics. There are other artists who discuss colonisation but the media that they choose is easier to reproduce or their analysis of colonialism is reductive. Brett's forms and scale, his visual vocabulary are more challenging than those of a lot of other Māori and Pacific artists. Other work is contemporary but has enough easily recognised motifs to signal the continuities in heritage. Whereas Brett has really created his own visual language that doesn't strictly conform to people's expectations of Māori artists.

We were in Hawai'i at a really critical time in the development of the Hawai'ian sovereignty movement and that was when Haunani-Kay Trask galvanised the Hawai'ian student population and other Hawai'ian academics and politicised campus life. I tell you there is a quality of American colonisation in Hawai'i that is stunning. It is not good to compare colonial experiences, but there is something really particular about colonisation in Hawai'i. We were influenced by that. Even though Brett had come out of Aotearoa and had an activist leaning, there is something really horrifying about the extent of militarisation in Hawai'i, land dispossession, the health problems caused by food imports, this weird first world/third world/fourth world nexus.

For his graduating exhibition Brett made this figure that was pierced with instruments of torture and war. We had seen him chipping away at this sculptural form for months and it didn't look like any Māori figure that we had seen. It was very abstracted in form and then just hours before it was to be exhibited he pierced and adorned the body of the sculpture with spears, guns, all sorts of weapons. That really signalled his commitment to exploring the effects of colonisation in the Pacific and globally. I like the way that Brett thinks, the way he thinks outside of his culture.

A-M.W.: Brett, you had a high profile return to Aotearoa in 1992 with a multi-venue public art gallery tour of *1492–1642*.⁷ This was a large sculptural installation on the scale of the work by senior artists in *Kohia*, which questioned the centennial celebrations of the European discovery of America in 1492 and New Zealand in 1642. This was your first work to examine the colonial experience of indigenous people beyond Māori and you describe *1492–1642* as setting the agenda for everything that was to follow.

B.G.: The works in *1492–1642* formed a loose narrative that I described as being dedicated to the indigenous peoples of the world whose cultures had sprouted, flowered and withered in the winter of colonisation. In retrospect such a statement was naive and condones the anthropological view that our cultures have died out. The final work referenced a waka tupapaku (burial chest) but also contained a carved flower emerging from black sump oil to suggest cultural regrowth. The following exhibition was called *Te Puawaitanga (The Flowering)*. This and subsequent exhibitions focused on the revitalisation of Maori culture through te reo.



This quote by Mexican writer, Octavio Paz (1914–1988), who had just been awarded the Nobel Prize for literature, was important:





(left) BRETT GRAHAM *Bravo Bikini*—detail 1996
Wood, white cement, dimensions variable

(opposite above) BRETT GRAHAM *Bravo Bikini* 1996
Wood, white cement, dimensions variable

(opposite below) BRETT GRAHAM *Bad* 2001
Coal, 2200 x 800 x 1200 mm.

What sets worlds in motion is the interplay of differences, their attractions and repulsions. Life is plurality, death is uniformity. By suppressing differences and peculiarities, by eliminating different civilisations and cultures, progress weakens life and favours death. The ideal of a single civilisation for everyone, implicit in the cult of progress and technique, impoverishes and mutilates us. Every view of the world that becomes extinct, every culture that disappears, diminishes a possibility of life.⁸

A-M.W.: *Bravo Bikini* (1996) was inspired by Teresia Teaiwa's doctoral work on the impact of militarisation in the Pacific, and in particular, nuclear testing on Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands. What aspect of her research impelled you to create this exhibition?

B.G.: I think Teresia was partly interested in Bikini because her own people had also been relocated from one Pacific island to another because of western lust for resources. In both cases 'civilisation' had promised much but had in fact delivered little, rendering uninhabitable the atoll of Bikini and also her father's island of Banaba. The forced relocation of Pacific peoples by Western nations had always moved me as that is what happened to the Waikato tribes after the Land Wars. Her research was compelling on so many levels.

The 27 carved figures represent the 27 atolls in the Bikini Group. The figure is based on the Kave ancestor from a neighbouring island. Only two of the local island groups have received reparations from the United States government (hence two intact bodies out of 27). The white-on-white forms were about the radioactive material that fell on neighbouring islands affecting those who came in contact with it. It was also a veiled comment about what happens to 'tribal art'

when placed in a white space. The symbolism comes very much from Teresia's essay.⁹ I would be reluctant to make a work about a place or people that I had no direct contact with now.

A.W.: In 2000 you undertook a residency in Switzerland. Given your focus on Māori, Pacific Island and indigenous cultures to this point, what did you gain from being immersed in this environment?

B.G.: The residency was in the Alps, far removed from everything so it provided me with space to think, especially about the Pacific's relationship to Europe and vice versa. There are some fascinating Swiss characters that were influential to the European invention of the Pacific, including the philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the physiognomist, Johann Kaspar Lavater and John Webber, the painter on Cook's third Pacific voyage.

At that time I was struggling to go beyond the 'modernism' of creating new forms out of natural materials or 'modernising' tribal forms. The *bad* or coal bath sculptures were a step forward. The residency was in Scuol, Engadin, in a former bathhouse where tourists, many from England, would go to 'take the waters', just like the Bath House in Rotorua. Some of the rooms had sterile off-white tiled *bads* (baths). I decided to copy one, only I made it in coal, as a reminder that no matter how many baths the English tourists took, they were sullied by their history of colonisation; incidentally the Bath House was built in the 1860s when the Waikato land blocks were taken.

A-M.W.: Around the same time, Teresia's sister, Katerina, asked you to respond to her academic work on the phosphate industry in Nauru and Banaba. This was their family story; the impact of phosphate mining used to fertilise Australian and New Zealand soil was so extensive that their family were relocated to the Fijian island of Rabi. The resulting exhibition, *Kainga Tahī Kainga Rua* (2003) is a seminal work; a major sculptural installation that amalgamates forms and techniques from the previous decade while introducing moving image into your work. You also draw attention to New Zealand's exploitation of Pacific resources, a rarely examined perspective in New Zealand art. In what other ways was *Kainga Tahī Kainga Rua* important to you?

B.G.: Katerina's research into Banaba challenged the way I have essentialised cultures in my work. The protagonists on her island were Pākehā New Zealanders, not British empire-builders. The phosphate that was being exploited was used to develop the farming industry in Australia and New Zealand from which Aborigine and Māori benefited, in a sense, because they were often employed on farms. This made them complicit in the destruction



of the native land of another colonised people. In the photos that Katerina had sent to me of the phosphate mines I had assumed the Micronesian workers were all from Banaba but they were actually Gilbertese indentured labour.

I was also fascinated by the stark white uniforms of the colonials in these photos, especially given the dirty business of extracting phosphate, and the hypocrisy of whiteness=cleanliness=civilisation. I repeated the bath (bad) in *Kainga Tahī Kainga Rua*, only here it is white and plastered with phosphate. They look vaguely like the trolleys used to cart the phosphate to the awaiting ships, which is documented in the moving images projected onto the suspended forms. These forms reference the rusted machinery that was abandoned on the island once most of the phosphate was extracted.

The colonials preached salvation and yet the people of Banaba had been forcibly removed to the Fijian island of Rabi (which is how Teresia and Katerina came to grow up in Fiji) and then, once the phosphate was extracted, the company packed up. Katerina also challenged my assumption that a people's identity was determined by their proximity to their land, as her people had been relocated yet still maintained a strong sense of identity and pride of place. This was to have a strong bearing on the ideas of *Aniwaniwa*.

A-M.W.: *Kainga Tahī Kainga Rua* is a blueprint for *Aniwaniwa* in a number of ways. Beyond the obvious visual similarities and use of video, *Aniwaniwa* is your family's story and describes a similar story of destruction and dislocation.

B.G.: That's right. As children we were distanced

from our turangawaewae. This is because my grandparents had left Maungatautari when their village of Horahora was flooded, and moved to the city. I came across a series of old photographs of the village as it was being flooded and thought about the many communities that had once thrived and now lay abandoned, or in this case, lay under the water. There was also a certain nostalgia for the old power station and the equipment that the workers had serviced for so long that were about to disappear under the new lake; you could read the uncertainty on the faces as they recognised their lives were about to change drastically. I realised that until this point all of the work I had made was essentially to tell this story. The story that my grandfather had instilled in us, that one's turangawaewae, where one takes a stand, can actually be about water rather than land. In fact, many of the Maori foundation myths set in Hawaiki, the stories take place underwater in a world that parallels the realm of earth.





(left) Brett Graham's *Kainga Tahī Kainga Rua New Work in Banaba* at Adam Art Gallery, July 2003
(Photograph: Robert Cross)

(opposite) Brett Graham's *Campaign Rooms* at Two Rooms Gallery, November 2008
(Photograph: Jennifer French)

I relocated to Palmerston North in 2005 to work with Rachael Rakena, who teaches at Te Putahi-a-Toi, School of Maori Studies at Massey University. I was deeply affected by her 2003 digital video work *Rerehiko* which used water as a metaphor for cyberspace, as another realm of communication and a symbol of identity. *Aniwaniwa* was the result of our collaboration based on that shared interest in water.

'Aniwaniwa' refers to a set of rapids on the Waikato but one of its meanings is the blackness and disorientating effect of deep water. Rather than project the video onto a wall, Rachael and I wanted to create a sculptural experience, which played on the disorientation of being underwater and also related to the distribution of the generators in the original power station.

Rachael's video and animation skills enabled her to capture the spirit of a community that hasn't existed for 60 years, as it goes about its tasks, perhaps for the last time. She asked Paddy Free and Whirimako Black to contribute to the soundtrack and complete the emotional experience.

A-M.W.: Your most recent work is actively political and militaristic in tone. While these art works respond to militarisation in the Pacific and the tradition of carved weaponry, you also entertain the curious legend of Māori as one of the seven tribes of Israel. This origin myth has been the subject of prophetic visions, biblical histories and an influence on Māori artists and musicians. More recently, Te Arawa actor, Cliff Curtis, gave 'vision' to the Middle Eastern Māori terrorist in a number of Hollywood films. The

Tuhoe terrorist raids turned this fiction into a reality, which in turn became a subject of your *Campaign Room* (2008). This is one of the most imaginative art works you have made and imagines a Māori coup d'état in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is an aggressive statement to make and how does this work reflect sentiments within the Māori world?

BG: The fear that Māori would seek salvation through weapons and violence has entertained me, especially when I think about other 'ethnic' conflicts around the world and realise just how passive the Māori response has been by comparison. Next year there will be many commemorations of New Zealand's contribution to the centenary of World War I. In Waikato, however, we honour Te Puea Herangi and her stand against Māori conscription.

The irony of installations like *Campaign Room* is that I don't see such works as aggressive statements but a means of focusing world events on what is happening in Aotearoa today. When the police raided Ruatoki the implications of 9/11 were suddenly at our doorstep. We cannot escape such events and pretend that Māori culture exists in a vacuum. Again this is why *Sakahán* is so significant, as indigenous people from around the world share common experiences dealing with colonisation but also celebrate the multitude of ways that our cultures have survived and continued to flourish.

T.T.: While globalisation enables indigenous communities to connect, the reality is that we need to support each other because globalisation has made it so much easier for corporations and governments to ramp up their exploitation of indigenous resources. I think we are looking at dark times for indigenous peoples all over the world. But in that move toward urgency of activism, sometimes we seek really simple language and really simple images. I don't think Brett traffics in simplicity and I think that our challenge as indigenous intellectuals is figuring out how to stay politically relevant when, in order to maintain our integrity, we don't want to sacrifice complexity. I appreciate the choices that Brett makes with his art; he takes the hard route and has maintained his integrity.

Brett Graham has developed an exemplary career as a contemporary Māori artist. He has made prescient choices in terms of education, travel and relationships, which position him as a leading figure in the international indigenous art world. These achievements might be regarded as part of the international trend in contemporary New Zealand art. While '[t]he New Zealand art sector seems happy to follow the model for international football players who can live and work in Japan, Brazil or Spain and still be part of their national teams',¹⁰ Brett has a different and more purposeful international relations



strategy. He has sought out a geo-political indigenous network that supports and recognizes the anti-colonial purpose of his work. *Sakahán* is a seminal event in the formation of this network and the possibilities offered by 'Te Toi Ao: The New World' indicate the next phase of Brett's artistic career.

1. Jonathan Mane-Wheoki gave a lecture titled 'Te Toi Ao. Contemporary Indigenous Art: A Globalising Enterprise' at The Suter Art Gallery Te Aratoi o Whakatū, Nelson, on 10 May 2013. This lecture entertained the idea of a transnational state of indigenous peoples, which would be the largest state population in the world. From this premise, Mane-Wheoki proposed a history of global indigenous art—'Te Toi Ao'—and considered this nascent idea against the established Western history of art. Mane-Wheoki drew attention to the central role that Māori artists have played in the development of a global indigenous art network. He also described the emerging trend of international indigenous art exhibitions, such as *Sakahán*, as representing a promising new direction for contemporary Māori art.

2. 'Young Guns' was coined by Jonathan Mane-Wheoki in his essay 'Toi Hiko: Maori Art in the Electronic Age' published in the exhibition catalogue, *Hiko! New Energies in Maori Art*, Robert McDougall Gallery, Christchurch 1999, p. 4. This term described tertiary-educated, urban-based artists of Māori heritage whose art 'interrogates the past (ancient and colonial) in terms of the post-modern and post-colonial present, and examines such issues as cultural identity and authenticity, racism and . . . gender'. The Young Guns were named as Shane Cotton, Brett Graham, Michael Parekowhai, Lisa Reihana and Peter Robinson.

3. See Damian Skinner, *The Carver and the Artist*, Auckland University Press, Auckland 2008, pp. 116-7.

4. Peter Robinson, Shane Cotton, Brett Graham, Jacqueline Fraser and Michael Parekowhai were some of the younger Maori artists who took part in the *Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake* revolving exhibition program. This schedule of ten exhibitions featured the work of intergenerational artists organised by region and was co-ordinated by recently appointed intern at the National Art Gallery, Megan Tamati Quennell.

5. The offending memorandum was sent by Sir Hamilton Mitchell, Chairman of the National Art Gallery Committee of Management to John Booth, Secretary of the New Zealand Maori Council on 21 August 1969. The memorandum outlined the decisions made at an emergency meeting of the Building and Finance Committee, held on the previous day, to establish a code of conduct for the 'Maori Art Exhibition and reception'. The memorandum was insulting in that it anticipated disorderly behaviour and placed strict controls on the function including the provision that 'adequate ash trays are to be provided by the N.Z. Maori Council'.

6. Brett Graham is referring to the commissioned art works from six senior Māori artists whose positioning within the exhibition recognised their leadership within the contemporary Māori art movement. This included Sandy Adsett, John Bevan Ford, Fred Graham, Arnold Manaaki Wilson, Para Matchitt and Selwyn Muru.

7. *1492-1642* was presented at the Sarjeant Art Gallery, Whanganui (29 May-25 July 1993), Te Whare Taonga o Waikato, Waikato Museum of Art and History, Hamilton (14 August-24 October 1993), Te Whare Taonga o Tairarwhiti, Gisborne Museum and Arts Centre (9 November-5 December 1993) and the Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, New Plymouth (1994).

8. Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude*, Penguin, London 1967 cited in Jamake Highwater, *The Primal Mind: Vision and Reality in Indian America*, Meridian, New York 1983, p. 9.

9. T. Teaiwa, 'bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans.' *The Contemporary Pacific* 1994:6 (1), Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, Centre for Pacific Island Studies, pp. 87-109.

10. See Allan Smith, 'Mobility and Migration' in *Art Toi: New Zealand Art at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki*, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki, Auckland 2011, p. 346.