He Whiringa Aroha:

A Mokopuna and A Pare in the Peabody Essex Museum

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Abstract

Taonga, Māori ancestral treasures, embody the mana and knowledge of Māori ancestors. He Whiringa Aroha is one such treasure: a carved pare that affirms the mana of wāhine in the colonial archives, but whose whakapapa has been obscured. This thesis uses the name 'He Whiringa Aroha' and the te reo Māori pronoun 'ia' to refer to 'E5501', which is located in the 1806 Richardson collection in the Peabody Essex Museum. As He Whiringa Aroha travelled from Aotearoa New Zealand to Massachusetts, United States, ia became entangled in historical narratives that disembodied the taonga from hapū and iwi Māori. Taonga were not only physically removed from Aotearoa, but taonga and Māori creative practices were named, gendered, and displayed by colonisers. American sailors collected and displayed He Whiringa Aroha as an exotic 'curiosity' to showcase their triumph over Pacific waters. Yet, He Whiringa Aroha is a power portal—a potent braid to the past, the future, and to those Māori ways of being that defy the limiting archival language of colonialism. How do we relate to taonga Māori that have been fragmented by the colonial archive? What are alternatives to restory and reclaim taonga that remain in overseas museums?

Using a creative methodology grounded in Mana Wahine and pūrākau, this thesis weaves a whiri (braid) of aroha (reverence) that attempts to restore he hononga mokopuna–the connection between taonga and their descendants. Through poetry, a decolonial map, interviews with ringatoi (Māori creatives), and archival research, I explore how the histories of taonga can be reclaimed in Māori worldviews. Interviews with pūkenga and tohunga toi reveal Māori understandings of taonga as expressions of toi, defying western taxonomies of 'art' and 'curio'. Furthermore, archival research into the East India Marine Society and Peabody Essex Museum unmasks the American sailors and their provenance practices that have marginalised Māori, and in particular, wāhine Māori. Finally, I use pūrākau of atua wāhine, Mana Wahine and takatāpui scholarship to restory and rename He Whiringa Aroha. This archival storytelling raises new ethical questions about ownership and kaitiakitanga (guardianship), which pose interventions for existing conversations about the place of taonga Māori in overseas museum collections. Reclaiming the histories of ancestors in museums is more than decolonizing colonial archives; on the contrary, restorying taonga is an act of

Indigenous resurgence. This Masters research opens new possibilities to reclaiming takatāpui narratives and the mana of wahine in museum archives.

Key words: taonga, Mana Wahine, pūrākau, reclamation, toi, provenance, decolonisation, restorying, colonial archive, Peabody Essex Museum

Mihimihi

E te hunga mate kua haere ki te pō, haere, haere, haere atu rā, okioki ai e.

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To the ruru and kāhu outside my window, to the many kaitiaki around me and my pāpā, to the taonga waiting for us, and for our descendants coming to find them <3

Dedication

He tohu aroha, he tohu hakamaumahara tēnei mō Pāpā Jim. Moe mai rā ki te uma o Ranginui, hoki atu rā koe ki Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki roa, Hawaiki pāmaomao.

[1]

[1] Photo of Pāpā Jim. Courtesy of Te Rawhitiroa Bosch. 2022.

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Glossary

This is a brief glossary of select te reo Māori words in this thesis. Te reo Māori is an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Aroha- love, respect, reverence

Aute- the Māori practice of bark cloth making out of paper mulberry

Hapū- sub-tribe, sub-nation

Kaitiakitanga- gaurdianship, care

Kairaranga- weaver

Kaiwhatu- weaver

Kaumātua- elders

Kaumatua- elder

Kōrero- dialogue, conversation

Kōrero tuku iho- stories passed down, oral histories

Mana- ancestral authority

Mauri- life force

Mātauranga- Māori knowledge and wisdom

Moko- or tā moko, the Māori practice of tattooing

Mokopuna- grandchild

Mōteatea- songs, incantation

Pou- pillar, the posts on a whare tūpuna

Pūkenga- expertise

Pūkenga toi- expert creative

Pūkenga kairaranga- expert weaver

Pūrākau- Māori storytelling practices, stories

Rākau- wood, tree

Ringatoi- Māori creative

taonga tawhito- ancient or old taonga

taonga species- native flora and fauna species in Aotearoa

Tārai waka- the Māori practice of carving waka

taiohi- youth

takatāpui- LGBTQIA+ Māori, queer Māori ways of being

tauira- student

Tapu- sacred, ancestral restriction, under the domain of the gods

Tautoko- support

Te Whare Pora- a term used to refer to the sacred knowledge of weaving

Te Whare Whakairo- a term used to refer to the sacred knowledge of carving

tino rangatiratanga- 'Tino rangatiratanga is about that ultimate reflection of the decisions that are the best for that group of people'[1]

Toi- the epitome, the source, also used to refer to Māori creative practices

Toi whakairo- the epitome of carving, Māori carving or design practice

Tohunga whakairo- expert carver that has been trained in esoteric knowledge of the whare wānanga

Tupuna- ancestor

Tūpuna- ancestors

[1] Bernard Makoare, unpublished interview. February 2024.

Ia-	te reo Māori singular pronoun for he/she/they
Iwi-	nation
Uri-	descendants
Waka-	canoe
Wānanga-	traditional Māori learning environment
Whanaunga-	relative(s)
Whānau-	family
Whare-	house
Whare tūpuna-	house of the people, womb
Whare whakairo-	whare tūpuna that are carved
whakapapa-	geneaology, Māori system of relating to the physical and spiritual worlds
Whenua-	land, placenta
Whiri-	braid

Introduction

"If we want to live in a different present, we have to center Indigeneity and allow it to change us"[1]

As Anishanaabeg scholar Leanne Simpson writes, critical Indigenous research is liberational and empowers us to centre our indigeneity. Kaupapa Māori is one such Indigenous paradigm underpinned by the political objective to contribute to the wellbeing of our hapū and iwi communities and refute the harm of western research paradigms.[2] This Masters research is inspired by Simpson's call to action and hopes to contribute to the reclamation of Māori histories, from our taonga in museums to our Māori names and takatāpui narratives. When we retell the histories of our taonga in accordance with our worldviews we are enacting our tino rangatiratanga. This introduction will cover my journey in this research and introduce the taonga central to this thesis: a pare in the Peabody Essex Museum, catalogued as 'E5501', but referred to in this thesis as He Whiringa Aroha and the te reo Māori pronoun ia.

In this thesis I ask three key questions to investigate how one taonga has been named and storied in the colonial archive. How do we know our taonga when they have been fragmented in the colonial archive and remain in overseas museums? How do colonial archiving practices such as cataloguing and provenance shape how we relate to taonga? What are the possibilities to restory taonga to reclaim taonga as a source of connection?

Ko Wai Au

Ko Mataatua me Ngātokimatawhaorua ngā waka

Ko Ngāpuhi te iwi

Ko Ngāti Kura rātou ko Ngāti Kauwau ko Ngāti Rēhia ngā hapū

[1] Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*, Indigenous Americas, 1st edn (University of Minnesota Press, 2017). p.20.
[2] Russell Bishop, 'Freeing Ourselves from Neo-Colonial Domination in Research: A Maori Approach to Creating Knowledge', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11.2 (1998), pp. 199–219, doi:10.1080/095183998236674.; Leonie Pihama and others, *Kaupapa Rangahau: A Reader: A Collection of Readings from the Kaupapa Maori Research Workshop Series Led by Associate Professor Leonie Pihama and Dr Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai*, 2015.

Ko Te Tāpui rātou ko Te Touwai etahi o ngā marae

Ko Moana Murray ahau

Tēnei te mokopuna a Te Taitokerau

Figure 1. Pāpā James (Jim) Murray [right] and his older sister Auntie Rangaunu Allen [left] at the opening of Te Touwai marae. Courtesy of Te Rāwhitiroa Bosch. 2023.

My tribal affiliations are Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Kawau and Ngāti Rēhia, and are of the lands surrounding Matauri Bay, Matangirau and Whangaroa. My elders moved to Punaruku and Ohawini in the 1940s, the lands of Ngāti Wai, and we maintain strong connections there. My Pāpā later moved to the western United States and I was born and raised in Los Angeles. Since 2021, I have returned to Aotearoa to be immersed in the language, fibers, and taonga of our people, Ngāpuhi. My journey back to Aotearoa has been centred around my relationships with my kaumātua, my elders. To begin this thesis I situate myself as a mokopuna of Te Taitokerau and in relation to whānau and whenua.

Growing up overseas left me with a deep ache of wanting to connect to my reo, my whenua, my marae, but this was hindered by distance and the separation between my whānau and our culture. In the last few years before I moved to Aotearoa, the karanga, call of my tūpuna, grew stronger, and subsequently, I was moving in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic, quitting my full-time job, and carrying three suitcases to the airport. Once in Aotearoa and out of mandatory isolation, I traveled straight to my first ever wānanga and overnight stay at a marae in Te Taitokerau. There I began to learn how our tūpuna wove, carved, sang, and played our histories into being.

By the end of 2021, I completed Te Tohu Paetahi, a te reo Māori immersion program at the University of Waikato, as well as a series of toi wānanga with Ngāpuhi and Te Taitokerau artists. Tai o Hī Tai o Hā is a wānanga series by Toi Ngāpuhi and for Ngāpuhi youth.[3] In 2021, a series of four wānanga at different marae throughout Te Taitokerau[4] introduced our group of taiohi to pūkenga toi involved in the revival of aute making, tārai waka, whakairo, raranga, and many other mediums. Tai o Hī Tai o Hā wānanga are some of the few Ngāpuhi-led learning environments that revitalise our toi practices. Although some of our ancestors' creative practices, such as sail weaving, tārai waka, whakairo, and moko have been severely impacted due to waves of colonisation, invasion, and missionization, the knowledge of our ancestors continues in the artistic practices of Tai Tokerau creatives. In te Whare Pora, the sacred house of weaving, I found home again; te Whare Pora transformed me into the student-weaver I am today, which has informed the methods and methodologies of this archival research. Raranga and whatu inform how I receive, relate to and communicate ideas.

After my year-long immersion in te reo Māori I moved in with my Pāpā in Oakura. I spent the summer using te reo Māori around the house and with time he began responding to me in the language he was encouraged to leave behind in Punaruku Native School. These experiences of reconnecting to my Pāpā's first language, and to reclaiming our toi practices alongside him in Te Taitokerau, are foundational for me. Pāpā Jim and I attended many wānanga and pōhiri together, through which we reconnected to our marae, hapū and iwi. Pāpā shared with me how it motivated him to see our culture flourishing with our taiohi

[3] Toi Ngāpuhi is an arts advocacy organization that has promoted the preservation and growth of Ngāpuhi nui tonu toi and hapū wellbeing through wānanga. See https://www.toingapuhi.co.nz/our-story
[4] For this thesis I am using Te Taitokerau to refer to Northland, New Zealand. This region is composed of many autonomous hapū and iwi.

actively reviving it. As this research progressed, Pāpā suddenly became unwell in 2024 and my life changed. Mokopuna research merged with mokopuna responsibilities. I finish this thesis in memory of Pāpā Jim and with aroha for all my kaumātua and whānau.

He Whiringa Aroha and a Mokopuna Connection

Figure 2. Maori artist in Possibly Tai Tokerau, Northern Bay of Islands, New Zealand (Aotearoa),pare (door lintel), before 1807, Kauri wood, (48.26 x 99.06 x 7.3 cm), Gift of Captain William Richardson, 1807, E5501. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum.

This thesis follows one taonga that found me searching in the archives: 'E5501', or, as to use the names I have developed during this research, He Whiringa Aroha and ia.[5] When I saw this taonga, I once again felt the karanga that led me to Aotearoa. I knew I had to follow it. There are many inspiring taonga in the Peabody Essex Museum archive, including one of the few Te Taitokerau tāniko cloaks from the early nineteenth century and a mira tuatini that features pieces of aute and shark teeth. This thesis addresses He Whiringa Aroha because of

[5] Maori artist in Possibly Tai Tokerau, Northern Bay of Islands, New Zealand (Aotearoa), *pare (door lintel)*, 1807. [Carving]. At: Peabody Essex Museum. E5501.

the archival and ancestral stories that unfold from our connection.[6] I follow He Whiringa Aroha because of my connection to the taonga as a takatāpui wahine and a mokopuna of Te Taitokerau.

He Whiringa Aroha is a carved pare that is currently in the Peabody Essex Museum archive, in offsite storage.[7] He Whiringa Aroha was collected by an American sailor, William Richardson, in 1806 and donated by him in 1807 to the East India Marine Society, the predecessor to the current Peabody Essex Museum.[8] The Museum's original institution, the East India Marine Society, was founded in Salem, Massachusetts in 1799 by a cohort of American sailors who had traveled around Cape Horn.[9] Scholars consider He Whiringa Aroha an important example of the stone-tool carving style of Te Taitokerau that was created just as metal tools were beginning to be incorporated into whakairo practices.[10] Museum archivists, ethnographers and other scholars have published on the Oceanic collections, the Native American collections, and in some cases individual taonga Māori from the Peabody Essex Museum.[11] While some European and American scholars have addressed the East India Marine Society taonga Māori as a collection, there is little research on these taonga from Māori scholars and arts practitioners. Deirdre Brown and Ngarino Ellis make significant contributions from Indigenous perspectives.[12]

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[6] David Simmons, *Catalogue of Maori Artefacts in the Museums of Canada and the United States of America*, Bulletin of the Auckland Institute and Museum, No. 12 (Auckland Institute and Museum, 1982).
[7] Maori artist in Possibly Tai Tokerau, Northern Bay of Islands, New Zealand (Aotearoa), *pare (door lintel)*, 1807. [Carving]. At: Peabody Essex Museum. E5501.
[8] Ernest S. Dodge, *The New Zealand Maori Collection in the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Peabody Museum, 1941). The multiple Māori collections that the Museum is famed for include donations from American whalers and traders Daniel Ward in 1802, William Richardson in 1807, William Putnam Richardson in 1812, Benjamin Vanderford in 1823, and other individuals in the mid- to late nineteenth century.
[9] In the 1860s, the East India Marine Society became the Peabody Academy of Science and by the early twentieth century had been renamed again to the Peabody Museum of Salem. In the final change to date, the Peabody Museum of Salem merged with the Essex Institute to create the Peabody Essex Museum in 1992.
[10] Simmons speculates that the taonga is carved primarily by stone tools, but may have some marks from a nail: Simmons, 1982.
[11]Christina Hellmich Scarangello, 'The Pacific Collection in the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts', *Pacific Arts*, 13/14, 1996, pp. 69–84; Karen Kramer Russell, 'Over 200 Years of Native American Art and Culture at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts Exhibiting Culture: Museums and Indians', *Tulsa Law Review*, 45.1 (2009), pp. 33–44; Lucy Mackintosh, 'Holding on to Objects in Motion: Two Māori Musical Instruments in the Peabody Essex Museum', *Material Culture Review*, 74–75 (2012), pp. 86–101; Bethany Matai Edmunds, 'He Kākahu Māori Maori Cloaks in American Museums; Conservation, Storage and Display' (Steinhardt School of Culture, Education and Human Development, 2010).
[12] Deidre Brown, *Tai Tokerau Whakairo Rākau Northland Māori Wood Carving* (Reed Books, 2003); Deidre Brown and Ngarino Ellis, Te Puna: Māori Art from Te Tai Tokerau Northland (Reed, 2007).

Like the many travels our tūpuna and their taonga took across Te Moana Nui a Kiwa, my research journey to this taonga was a long one. First, I conducted oral history interviews with my Dad and Pāpā to document my whānau's movement and experiences in the United States. After interviewing my whānau, I turned to the long histories of our people moving and came upon the thousands of Māori creations held in U.S. institutions.[13] My experience returning and my whānau's migration inform the way I connect to these taonga. I have been simultaneously documenting and walking the histories of my whānau, as well as weaving the histories of these ancestral taonga together with the creation of new ones.

The primary motivations behind this thesis are personal, although it has significant implications for museum practice today. Research into the movement of my whānau transformed into research of the taonga of our tūpuna. Living in the United States for church, whānau and opportunities was never the end goal for my Pāpā, nor has my returning been a homecoming. Rather, our whānau bring their Māoritanga with them as we move.[14] We are in a constant state of home-coming and home-making, not unlike our tūpuna moving through Te Moana Nui a Kiwa. Our taonga in the United States are also home-coming and home-making. For our taonga, North America is also not the final destination.

The colonial archive challenged my ability to connect to taonga and forced me to view taonga from the eyes of the colonisers that imprisoned them. Much of the existing academic discourse pertaining to the Peabody Essex Museum frames the Pākehā who sailed into Aotearoa, whether for political or economic purposes, or by accident, as 'adventurers' and 'explorers' that traversed the Pacific in noble pursuits.[15] This obscures the devastating impact

[13] Simmons, 1982.
[14] Many wāhine Māori have researched Māori diaspora: Alice Te Punga Somerville, *Once Were Pacific: Maori Connections to Oceania* (University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Sam Iti-Prendergast, 'Trans-Indigeneity and Sovereignty That Endures: Reflections on Māori Diaspora', *Waka Kuaka*, 132.1 & 2 (2023), pp. 57–72; Ngawaiata Eve Henderson, 'Māori Diaspora: Being Māori on the Gold Coast' (University of Waikato, 2021); Karamea Moana Wright, 'A Study of Iwi Communication Between Te Tau Ihu Iwi and Intergenerational Diasporic Whānau' (The University of Waikato, 2019) .
[15] A few include Ernest S. Dodge, 'Captain Collectors: The Influence of New England Shipping on the Study of Polynesian Material Culture', in *The Essex Institute Historical Collections* (Newcomb & Gauss Co., Printers, 1945), LXXXI, 27–34; Rhys Richards, *Tracking Travelling Taonga: A Narrative Review of How Māori Items Got to London from 1798, to Salem in 1802, 1807 and 1812, and Elsewhere up to 1840* (Paremata Press, 2015); Jennifer Wagelie, 'Maori Art in America: The Display and Collection History of Maori Art in the United States, 1802–2006' (unpublished Ph.D., City University of New York, 2007).

these sailors had on Indigenous societies and taonga they met along the way.[16] As this thesis explores, the East India Marine Society and the Peabody Essex Museum archive and display memorialise the original American sailors and collectors. These narratives idolise the histories of the sailors, rather than tell the histories of the taonga they possess. These frustrations and my ongoing desire to connect to tūpuna guide this research.

I reach for our tūpuna in museum archives and am confronted by the colonial narratives and institutions that continue to entrap them. The colonial archive is devoid of vital information about whakapapa. He Whiringa Aroha has no recorded individual name, hapū, or iwi, other than those assigned by the colonial archive: 'E5501', or in the earlier East India Marine Society catalogue, '559'.[17] These numbers give the appearance of order and science, but, as this thesis will show, are emblamatic of the chaos and disarray that colonial collecting produced in Indigenous nations. Collection, provenance, and cataloguing have obscured the whakapapa of this pare and have fragmented ia from ancestral origins. This carved ancestor has been objectified by the violence that the colonial archive has inflicted upon the bodies of our taonga.

This thesis engages the political and personal power of names by calling the taonga at its heart He Whiringa Aroha. I reject the reduction of this tupuna to a number or an object. Archival documentation for this carving names the taonga 'E5501', '559', 'pare (door lintel)', or—incorrectly —'stern for a canoe'.[18] As will be expanded in Chapter 2 and Prelude 2, these colonial names in the archive have served to further disembody and dislocate taonga from Māori communities. Even though 'pare (door lintel)' is one accurate general term, it is not an individual name for this taonga that recognises connections to ancestors and

[16] Additionally, the members were documented to have severely impacted the Indigenous nations they collected from: for example, a subsequent trip for William Richardson's ship Eliza would later bring the first weapons to Fiji. See Ernest S. Dodge, 'Early American Contacts in Polynesia and Fiji - University of Waikato', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107.2 (1963); Nancy Shoemaker, *Pursuing Respect in the Cannibal Isles: Americans in Nineteenth-Century Fiji*, The United States in the World (Cornell University Press, 2019), doi:10.7591/9781501740350.; and Tracey Banivanua-Mar, 'Cannibalism and Colonialism: Charting Colonies and Frontiers in Nineteenth-Century Fiji', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 52.2 (2010), pp. 255–81, doi:10.1017/S0010417510000046.

[17] The East India Marine Society of Salem, *The East-India Marine Society of Salem* (W. Palfray, Jr., 1821) <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044011200839?urlappend=%3Bseq=1> [accessed 5 December 2023]; Peabody Essex Museum, *Peabody Essex Museum Object Report E5501* (Peabody Essex Museum, 8 December 2023), p. 5, Peabody Essex Museum.

[18] Ibid. Dodge and Copeland, 1949. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015023950754?urlappend=%3Bseq=9.; Dodge, 1941; Peabody Essex Museum, *Peabody Essex Museum Object Report E5501* (Peabody Essex Museum, 8 December 2023), p. 5, Peabody Essex Museum.

descendants. Though not all taonga are given personal names, I argue that a tupuna as important as this pare deserves one.

Because this research did not find the name, hapū, or iwi of this taonga, I created a name that describes my relationship to the pare: He Whiringa Aroha. This reclaims the Māori naming practice of using names that are contextual and that change over time.[19] Names hold mana and carry with them whakapapa.[20] As such, the histories and names of taonga should be led by hapū and iwi and their knowledge holders. And yet, when these are not recorded by the colonisers that feverishly collected Indigenous creations, who can rename and restory taonga? I struggled with naming this taonga because I felt I did not have the authority. I do not mean to define this taonga and history. On the contrary, this name and the research that follows is but one narrative and story that is a response to the harmful narratives present in the archive. There are many ways to tell the history of He Whiringa Aroha, including how ia has been narrated by the American sailors and the Peabody Essex Museum, and according to my relationship with ia. I hope to add to the archival narratives of this pare in ways that reclaim the taonga for ringatoi, hapū and iwi Māori.

He Whiringa Aroha centres the autonomy of this taonga and my connection to ia—a whiri of connection between one mokopuna of Te Taitokerau and one pare in a colonial archive. This whiri that I weave out of archival research, interviews with pūkenga and tohunga toi, and my own creative works, is a whiri of aroha, of love and respect for this taonga sitting in a museum archive. Additionally, the name He Whiringa Aroha acknowledges my relation to the pare as a kairaranga. My positionality as a student-weaver, a tauira and kairaranga, inform how I relate to taonga and the methods underpinning this research. ‘He Whiringa Aroha’, then, encompasses my unique relationship to this pare, the research that sought to reconnect and reclaim the taonga, and is also a rejection of the names of the colonial archive that disembody the taonga.

I am experimenting with names and storytelling that seek to reclaim taonga that have been fragmented, gendered, and narrated by museum archives. Another facet of this naming process is refering to He Whiringa Aroha with the te reo Māori singular pronoun ‘ia’. As will

[19] Joeliee Seed-Pihama, ‘Naming Our Names and Telling Our Stories’, in *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology* (Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2019).
[20] Seed-Pihama, 2019.

be explored in Chapter 3, taonga have historically been mutilated and gendered by missionaries and colonisers and subsequently sent into overseas museums. In this thesis, I seek to reject this harm. Instead of referring to this carved ancestor as 'it', I use the spoken language of those that belong to this pare's whakapapa: te reo Māori. Ia is a pronoun that is not gendered in the colonial binaries of male/female.[21] Likewise, Leonie Pihama explains, wāhine cannot be translated simply nor reduced into western constructs of 'woman' and 'female'. I use the pronoun ia as an assertion of mana wahine in the Peabody Essex Museum archive. This pronoun recognises that wāhinetanga is expansive and that Māori ways of being transcend how the colonial archive confines them.

The name He Whiringa Aroha and the pronoun ia point to he hononga mokopuna—a mokopuna relating. As Cree scholar Shawn Wilson argues, relationality is central to ethical Indigenous research, including relationships to the environment, ancestors, descendants and ideas.[22] How can we be in good relation to our taonga in overseas archives, even as they are difficult to access? In this research I strive to be in good relation with He Whiringa Aroha, the ancestors who made ia, and the many narratives surrounding their movement. In this I acknowledge the responsibilities I hold as a Ngāpuhi mokopuna. The purpose of this research is to explore how we can restore he hononga mokopuna through reclaiming taonga in the colonial archive.

[21] Leonie Pihama, 'Mana Wahine: Decolonising Gender in Aotearoa', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 35.106 (2020), pp. 351–65, doi:10.1080/08164649.2020.1902270.
[22] Shawn Wilson, Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods (Fernwood Pub., 2008).

Whiri Rangahau: Mokopuna Methods

Figure 3. Pāpā Jim, Bethany, and Pāpā Bernard at Tai o Hī Tai o Hā. 2021. Courtesy of Te Rawhitiroa Bosch.

My positionality as a mokopuna of Te Taitokerau, in relationship with my kaumātua, shaped this research. Mokopuna methods are my attempt to be in good relation with ancestors in museums. Indigenous scholars Hineitimoana Greensill, Mere Taito, Jessica Pasisi, Jesi Lujan Bennett, Marylise Dean, and Maluseu Monise have discussed finding and working with their grandmothers in archives.[23] Hineitimoana Greensill, a Māori scholar studying the intellectual and political work of her kuia, Tuaiwa Hautai Kereopa Rickard, reflects upon the unique mokopuna responsibilities that she holds as she undertakes 'tūpuna-centred research'. Greensill reflects, 'had we, as mokopuna, lived in our grandmother's time, we would have sat, as she once did, at the feet of our tūpuna listening to their stories'.[24] These scholars find that in the archives, they once again 'sit at the feet' of their ancestors, receiving and honouring their wisdom. I am no longer able to sit with my Pāpā Jim, nor to listen to his childhood stories, take wandering beach walks with him, nor cook fresh tāmure for him, but he continues to guide this research. I draw upon my Pāpā and all of my tūpuna whose woven,

[23] Hineitimoana Greensill and others, 'Tupuna Wahine, Saina, Tupuna Vaine, Matua Tupuna Fifine, Mapiąg Hąni', *Public History Review*, 29 (2022), pp. 54–66, doi:10.5130/phrj.v29i0.8225.
[24] Greensill and others, p. 57.

carved, and spoken stories continue to be passed down to us, their mokopuna. By connecting to He Whiringa Aroha in the Peabody Essex Museum, I sit with the knowledge of my tūpuna.

The whiri that forms my connection to He Whiringa Aroha is composed of three threads: archival research, kōrero with knowledge holders, and pūrākau. In this thesis, I examine the East India Marine Society archive. With the help of Peabody Essex Museum librarians and curator of Native American and Oceanic Art and Culture, Karen Kramer, I was able to access primary documents virtually. Although I was unable to visit He Whiringa Aroha and the Peabody Essex Museum within the course of this Masters research—which is a source of longing and grief — I was given virtual access to the library, Object Report, and scans of the *Eliza* ship logbook. Secondary research published on the Peabody Essex Museum taonga Māori collections also assisted.[25]

The second thread to this research is formed by two interviews, or kōrero, with knowledge holders from the Tai o Hī Tai o Hā wānanga series. The two kaikōrero in this thesis are Bethany Mātai Edmunds-Cook, a Ngāti Kurī pūkenga toi, kairaranga and kaiwhatu, and Bernard Makoare, a tohunga kaiwhakairo of Te Uri o Hau, Ngati Whatua, Te Waiariki, Te Kai Tutae; Te Rarawa, Ngapuhi-nui-tonu descent. Bethany Mātai Edmunds-Cook was the Pou Whakahaere of the Tai o Hī Tai o Hā wānanga series that brought me into my first ever noho marae. This is also where I first met Bernard Makoare, who at the time was a board member of Toi Ngāpuhi. Bethany and Bernard, or Pāpā Bernard as I refer to him, have had a profound impact on me. When I first moved to Aotearoa, they welcomed me to Te Taitokerau with open arms. Not only did they connect me to a network of whanaunga, hapū and marae that would fundamentally change my life, but they also taught me the creative practices of our tūpuna. With their tautoko, I was introduced to raranga and my whānau were re-grounded in our whakapapa. These impactful experiences weaving and creating with Ngāpuhi pūkenga toi informed how I weave this research whiri, and the kōrero I shared with Bethany and Pāpā Bernard form an integral strand of knowledge. Throughout the chapters of this thesis, the kōrero that Bethany Matai Edmunds-Cook and Bernard Makoare shared are printed in colors corresponding to the taiao and materials they use in their respective practices. Bethany's kōrero is coded in pingao yellow, which is an important weaving resource and a Ngāti Kurī taonga species that she uses. Bernard Makoare's kōrero is coded in kauri brown, the color of

[25] Dodge, 1949; Dodge, 1941.

the kauri tree, which is one carving medium of Te Taitokerau and the same rākau of He Whiringa Aroha. My speaking voice is coded harakeke green, which is my preferred weaving medium.[26]

The third thread of this research whiri is pūrākau, Māori storytelling practices. When the kōrero around our taonga are obscured through colonial collection and archival museum practices, pūrākau offer a powerful route to reclamation. Jenny Lee Morgan and others have established the importance of pūrākau as a research method and methodology, and one that is a Kaupapa Māori research praxis.[27] The pū of the rākau, or 'the core of a tree', are foundational stories that inform Māori cultural practices; yet, they have since the 1800s been 'infiltrated, documented, and published, usually by male Eurocentric anthropologists and ethnographers who primarily targeted Māori men'.[28] In this research I weave new pūrākau to reclaim our narratives that have been fragmented by the colonial archive. Moreover, throughout the chapters and preludes I have used maps, poetry, collage, and journaling to restory and reclaim He Whiringa Aroha. In this way I use pūrākau to centre my tūpuna as autonomous agents and creators of knowledge, thereby disrupting the patriarchal and heteronormative stories told of us.[29] This is a liberatory method underpinned by Mana Wahine frameworks which also allows me to consider my own autonomy and agency.

Whaka-papa: Laying a Foundation of Literature

This thesis is informed by foundational literature of Critical Indigenous Studies, Māori Studies, Pacific Studies, and knowlege holders of Te Taitokerau toi. Taonga is an essential concept for the study of Māori creations in archives. Taonga are ancestral treasures passed down to descendants through generations.[30] Paul Tapsell, a Te Arawa scholar and the first Māori curator of Rotorua Museum, writes extensively on taonga. Tapsell tells us that these

[26] The shades of these color codes have been taken from the author's own images of pingao, kauri, and harakeke.
[27] Jenny Lee-Morgan, 'Pūrākau from the Inside Out: Regenerating Stories for Cultural Sustainability', in *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork As Methodology* (Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2019); Hayley Marama Cavino, '*he Would Not Listen to a Woman": Decolonizing Gender Through the Power of Purakau', in *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork As Methodology* (Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2019).
[28] Lee-Morgan, 2019.
[29] Cavino, 2019.
[30] Ngarino Ellis, Eliza Macdonald, and Eleanor Almeida, 'Taonga in a Digital World: Maori Adornment and the Possibilities of Reconnection', *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 53.3 (2023), pp. 362–80, doi:10.1080/03036758.2022.2090967.

'cultural treasures' are not limited to carvings and weavings.[31] Taonga can be tangible—a carved whare or a river—or intangible, taking the form of song, knowledge, or death itself.[32] All taonga are directly associated with ancestors and their lands.[33] This thesis, however, is concerned with tangible ancestral creations. I refer to taonga tawhito, or taonga tuku iho, as the physical creations that connect Māori knowledges, practices and tikanga.[34] Some of the taonga included in this study are those in the Peabody Essex Museum, the kōrero shared by my elders, the whenua I traveled, the plants I harvested, and the weavings I have created in wānanga. These different taonga will be considered in this thesis as living praxis where ringatoi look to their ancestors and their mātauranga.[35]

There are thousands of taonga tuku iho in international museums that have been narrated by the colonial archive.[36] The colonial archive is the historically discursive space where the bodies and cultures of Indigenous people have been captured, stored, narrated, and displayed by the coloniser. As Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith wrote in her foundational 2012 text *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples,* this knowledge production by the 'West' of the Indigenous 'Other' is embedded in the colonial project by which colonisers construct myths of Indigenous peoples in order to maintain imperial power. [37] Thomas Richards has defined the imperial archive as not a single museum or library, but rather composed of 'a fantasy of knowledge collected and united in the service of state and Empire'.[38] Moreover, Lana Lopesi writes that the colonial archive is underpinned by

[31]Paul Tapsell, 'Taonga, Marae, Whenua--Negotiating Custodianship: A Maori Tribal Response to Te Papa: The Museum of New Zealand', in *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa*, ed. by Annie E. Coombes, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester, England) (University Press, 2006), pp. 86–99.
[32] Tapsell, 2006, p. 89.
[33] Paul Tapsell, 'Taonga: A Tribal Response to Museums' (British Library Document Supply Centre, 1998).
[34] Maori Marsden, The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden (Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003).
[35] As taonga is an expansive term that can refer to tangible and intangible aspects of Māori worlds, I use the terms taonga tawhito and taonga tuku iho to refer to the tangible creative works that are in museum archives. The WAI 262 report defines 'taonga works' as 'the tangible products of mātauranga Māori – traditional artistic and cultural expressions' which differs from taonga species, or the indigenous flaura and fauna of Aotearoa. This thesis will use 'taonga' or 'taonga tuku iho' when refering to the ancestral creations in museum archives. Waitangi Tribunal, Ko Aotearoa Tenei A Report into Claims Concerning New Zealand Law and Policy Affecting Māori Culture and Identity Te Taumata Tuatahi, Waitangi Tribunal Report (2011).
[36] Ngarino Ellis, Eliza Macdonald, and Eleanor Almeida, 'Taonga in a Digital World: Maori Adornment and the Possibilities of Reconnection', Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand, 53.3 (2023), pp. 362–80, doi:10.1080/03036758.2022.2090967.
[37] In this thesis West is capitalised when referring to the construct of the West in relation to the Other, or Orient. See Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples, Third edition. (Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2021).
[38] Thomas Richards, The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire (Verso, 1993).

'archival logics' which are a system of power that controls the knowledge stored within it.The art gallery and university descend from these same colonial logics.[39] European and American voyagers stole Pacific taonga, swept up in the tens of thousands, and carted them away to imperial 'cabinets of curiosities' that were underpinned by archival logics. As Pacific scholars such as Albert Wendt, Epeli Hau'ofa and Katerina Teaiwa have long argued, colonial explorers claimed to discover and document Indigenous Pacific peoples for the purpose of assisting imperial expansion in the region.[40]

The colonial archive at the centre of this thesis was formed by American sailors, the East India Marine Society, and the Peabody Essex Museum. Colonial archival practices include the collection of taonga and the documentation (or lack thereof) of that collection, as well as labelling, storing, display and cataloguing. This research analyses records including the American sailors' travel diaries, the East India Marine Society catalogue, the East India Marine Society display—their 'cabinet of curiosities', the research formed by curator Ernest Stanley Dodge, and the current day Peabody Essex Museum and its storage, narration and display of taonga.

Many scholars have sought to challenge power imbalances within the archive.[41] Likewise, from film and media studies to feminist and anti-colonial discourse, scholars have critiqued the male and colonial gaze upon the bodies of women and colonised peoples.[42] Marisa J. Fuentes utilises fragments from the British colonial archive to narrate the lives of unnamed

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[39] Lana Lopesi, 'Your Non-Archivable: Our Archival Assemblage, A Samoan Perspective', in Uneven Bodies: A Reader (Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, 2021).

[40] Katerina Martina Teaiwa and Saskia Sassen, 'FRAMES: Reframing Oceania: Lessons from Pacific Studies', in *Framing the Global*, ed. by Hilary E. Kahn, Entry Points for Research (Indiana University Press, 2014), pp. 67–96; Epeli Hau'ofa, 'Our Sea of Islands', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 6.1 (1994), pp. 148–61; Epeli Hau'ofa, *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works* (University of Hawaii Press, 2008), doi:10.21313/9780824865542.; Albert Wendt, 'Towards a New Oceania', in *Writers in East-West Encounter: New Cultural Bearings*, ed. by Guy Amirthanayagam (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1982), pp. 202–15, doi:10.1007/978-1-349-04943-1_12.

[41] Ferdinand de Jong, 'At Work in the Archive: Introduction to Special Issue', *World Art*, 6.1 (2016), pp. 3–17, doi:10.1080/21500894.2016.1176391; Rona Sela, 'The Genealogy of Colonial Plunder and Erasure – Israel's Control over Palestinian Archives', Social Semiotics, 28.2 (2018), pp. 201–29, doi:10.1080/10350330.2017.1291140; María Elena Martínez, 'Archives, Bodies, and Imagination: The Case of Juana Aguilar and Queer Approaches to History, Sexuality, and Politics', *Radical History Review*, 2014.120 (2014), pp. 159–82, doi:10.1215/01636545-2703787; Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*, Early American Studies (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), doi:10.9783/9780812293005.

[42] Sofia Johansson, 'Laura Mulvey (1975) "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema"', in *Classics in Media Theory*, 1st edn (Routledge, 2024), pp. 196–210, doi:10.4324/9781003432272-15.; George Yancy, 'Colonial Gazing: The Production of the Body as "Other."', *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 32.1 (2008), pp. 1–15.; Lynda May Xepoleas and Emily Hayflick, 'Curating Costumes from Many Lands: Addressing the Colonial Gaze in Two University Dress Collections through Digital Curation', *Critical Studies in Fashion & Beauty* (Intellect, 2022), 21–43, doi:https://doi.org/10.1386/csfb_00036_1.

enslaved Caribbean women of the eighteenth century.[43] She both destabilises British colonial discourse and centres the agency, humanity, and lives of these women. For example, Fuentes uses the accounts of white men witnessing the brutalization of enslaved women to rewrite in first person the experience of that woman. Fuentes subverts the limitations of a colonial archive that has left mere fragments of ancestors as told through the white male gaze.[44] In this thesis, I similarly use archival fragments alongside pūrākau to weave a history of taonga that frees them from the colonial gaze.

Research and storytelling in Aotearoa has worked to reclaim pūrākau through a Mana Wahine lens. Mana Wahine is a theoretical framework and movement that critically challenges these narratives.[45] As Huia Tomlins Jahnke explains, Māori women produced Mana Wahine theory when mainstream feminist movement failed to address the struggles of Indigenous women in Aotearoa.[46] Leonie Pihama identifies two key 'projects': Affirming Māori ways of being within our own culture, language and knowledge, and confronting the issues wāhine Māori face as a consequence of the ideologies that colonialism brought to Aotearoa.[47] In foregrounding the impact of colonial ideologies , Mana Wahine provides the framework in which we might free ourselves from the colonisers' binaries of gender and sexuality. Consequently, this liberatory paradigm provides a foundation from which takatāpui and queer Māori may resist the heteropatriarchy that colonialism has perpetuated onto our pūrākau, names, and bodies.[48]

There are many takatāpui creatives and scholars that have been reclaiming taonga and pūrākau that have been distorted by colonial ideologies. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku is a Mana Wahine scholar and activist that has published extensively on taonga and toi practices. In both her creative writing such as *Ruahine* and her extensive research on tā moko, for example, Te Awekoktuku has paved the way for subsequent generations of takatāpui scholars and

[43] Fuentes, 2016.
[44] Fuentes, 2016.
[45] Pihama, 2020; Leonie Pihama and others, *Mana Wahine Reader. Volume 1, A Collection of Writings 1987-1998* (Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa, 2022); G. R. Aroha Yates-Smith, 'Hine! E Hine!: Rediscovering the Feminine in Maori Spirituality' (Thesis Ph.D. Maori--University of Waikato., 1998).; Lee-Morgan, 2019.
[46] Huia Tomlins Jahnke, 'Towards a Theory of Mana Wahine', in *Mana Wahine Reader* (Te Wananga o Raukawa, 2022), i, 271–91.
[47]Leonie Pihama, 'Māku Anō e Hanga Tōku Nei Whare', in *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*, by Brendan Hokowhitu and others, ed. by Brendan Hokowhitu and others, 1st edn (Routledge, 2020), pp. 162–74, doi:10.4324/9780429440229-15.

[48] Benjamin Kauri Doyle, 'Mana Takatāpui: Self-Determination for Queer Rangatahi Māori' (unpublished Thesis, The University of Waikato, 2023).

creatives.[49] Likewise, the scholarship of Tīmoti Kāretu, Clive Aspin and Jessica Hutchings have shown how precolonial Māori creative practices like mōteatea and mahi whakairo provide historical evidence of Māori gender and sexual diversity.[50] The intellectual works of these takatāpui scholars, as well as the creative works of others such as essa may ranapiri, Michelle Rahurahu, and Pounamu Wharekawa, just to name a few, have inspired and informed this thesis.[51]

Indigenous storytelling offers ways to disrupt heteropatriarchy and the harm of the colonial archive. Jo-anne Archibald is a prominent scholar from the Stó:lō and St'at'imc nations in British Columbia, Canada that has written about the power of Indigenous storywork.[52] She explains:

> Acutely aware of the way in which research as a tool of colonization has scripted our stories with encryptions of hegemonic oppression, Indigenous storywork seeks to rectify the damage and reclaim our ability to story-talk, story-listen, story-learn and story-teach.[53]

Archibald uses the term 'storywork' to argue that storytelling must be taken seriously as oral history and knowledge production, not how it has been framed by western academic discourse as mere mythology.[54] Whereas western research has belittled Indigenous stories, many Black and Indigenous scholars assert otherwise, that stories hold immense scientific, practical, historical, and sacred knowledge.[55] Storywork, such as restorying taonga, is a powerful tool to reclaim Indigenous knowledges that have been marginalised and distorted in the colonial archive.

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[49]Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, *Ruahine: Mythic Women* (Huia Publishers, 2003); Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, *Mau Moko: The World of Māori Tattoo* (Penguin Viking, 2007).
[50]Tīmoti Kāretu, 'The Influence of Te Reo and Tikanga on Māori People's Perceptions of Sexuality' (presented at the Hui Whai Māramatanga, Whai Oranga Mate Ketoketo/ Ārai Kore, 1995); Jessica Hutchings and Clive Aspin, *Sexuality and the Stories of Indigenous People* (Huia Publishers, 2007).
[51]essa may ranapiri, *Ransack* (Victoria University Press, 2019); essa may ranapiri and Michelle Rahurahu, 'Issue One', *KUPU TOI TAKATAAPUI | TAKATAAPUI LITERARY JOURNAL*, 2023 <https://www.kuputoitakataapui.com/issue-one> [accessed 26 September 2024]; *E HIKA!* A solo exhibition by Pounamu Wharekawa. October 2022. The Meteor. Kirikiriroa, Aotearoa.
[52] Jo-Ann Archibald, Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit (UBC Press, 2008).
[53] Jo-Ann Archibald in Linda Tuhiwai Smith and others, *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork As Methodology* (Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2019). p.8.
[54] Archibald, 2008.
[55] Simpson, 2017; Devi Dee Mucina, 'Story as Research Methodology', *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 7.1 (2011), pp. 1–14, doi:10.1177/117718011100700101;

Storywork and revitalising our Indigenous creative practices are integral acts of decolonisation.[56] The way this thesis conceptualises decolonisation is inspired by a whakapapa, or genealogy of Black intellectual thought.[57] Frantz Fanon is a foundational anti-colonial thinker who was writing from amidst the Algerian Revolution in the 1960s. Fanon has defined decolonisation as a violent and necessary movement for colonised peoples to reclaim their humanity from their oppressors.[58] Kenyan theorist Ngũgĩ wa Thiongʾo writes about another arm of colonisation: the psychological and spiritual violence 'of the classroom'.[59] Thiong'o shows that the languages of the colonisers have oppressed Africa, the collective memory bank of the people, their ways of knowing, and their ways of being. Furthermore, Thiong'o calls for 'decolonising the mind'—healing from the psychological violence of colonialism-—through reclaiming our Indigenous languages and, by extension, our systems of knowing.[60]

Rewriting the histories of our taonga within Māori systems of knowing is a therefore a political act. Māori historian Nepia Mahuika argues that telling a decolonial history means centring the narratives of the colonised. In his 2019 article on the New Zealand teaching curriculum, Mahuika calls for teaching a history of Aotearoa that is truthful to the colonisation of Māori.[61] In this thesis I use terms such as 'coloniser' and 'coloniser collection histories' to refer directly to the historical agents, patterns, and systems of colonisation that have impacted the Pacific, our taonga, and our connections to them.

[56] Many Indigenous scholars have written about the role of Indigenous creative practices in pursuit of Indigenous sovereignty: Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Common Courage Press, 1993); Craig Santos Perez, *Navigating CHamoru Poetry: Indigeneity, Aesthetics, and Decolonization*, Critical Issues in Indigenous Studies (University of Arizona Press, 2022), doi:10.2307/j.ctv22pzxtz; Stephanie N. Teves, *Defiant Indigeneity the Politics of Hawaiian Performance*, Critical Indigeneities (University of North Carolina Press, 2018).
[57] Scholars such as Swan and Rew have shown the whakapapa of Black anticolonial thought in the Pacific and the interconnected Black struggles for decolonisation in the Pacific and globally: Nathan Rew, 'The Water to Which We Belong: Aqua Nullius and Frames of Wara in a Black Oceania' (unpublished Thesis, ResearchSpace@Auckland, 2023); Quito Swan, *Pasifika Black: Oceania, Anti-Colonialism, and the African World* (New York University Press, 2022), doi:10.18574/nyu/9781479889334.001.0001.
[58] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 2001 reprint (Penguin Books, 1965).
[59] Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature (J. Currey, 1986). P.9.
[60] Thiong'o, 1986.
[61] Nēpia Mahuika, 'What Is Transformative, Decolonial or Māori About the New History Curriculum Reset?', *Te Pouhere Kōrero*, 9 (2019), pp. 19–35.

Chapter Overview

The structure of this thesis follows the journey of the research and a bit of my own journey to Aotearoa. Moreover, the chapters of this thesis do not follow a linear timeline that situates the history of taonga as beginning with American whalers and ending in the Peabody Essex Museum. Other scholars have similarly used research to resist a western developmental timeline and instead reaffirm Indigenous ways of being. In her book *Consuming Ocean Island*, Katerina Teaiwa explains how Banaban history is often told in a linear fashion. Yet her method of storytelling shows how colonisation and capitalism have caused extensive fragmentation to fragmented Banaba and Banabans.[62] Her book uses archival fragments, a map of her own movement, poetry, interviews, and other data to tell this history. Similarly, the layout of the following chapters in this thesis is my attempt to speak back to the colonial chaos that has fragmented taonga Māori. In this historical storytelling of He Whiringa Aroha I decentre colonisers by beginning with my own movement in relation to the pare and by sharing kōrero with contemporary pūkenga and tohunga toi. I then turn to the American sailors that collected the pare, and lastly return to pūrākau and the sacred origins of He Whiringa Aroha.

This narrative arch–or perhaps more accurately the turns–of my research process begins in my own movement. I arrived in Aotearoa in 2021. In another point on the time spiral, the pare left Aotearoa in 1806. I traveled between Aotearoa and the sites in the United States that my whānau had migrated to and settled– Nevada, Arizona, and California. The pare too traveled to Salem, Massachusetts. Throughout this thesis I found many parallels between this taonga and myself, or routes to reconnecting he hononga mokopuna. Chapter 1 explores an understanding of taonga grounded in Māori worldviews. Chapter 2 analyses the archive in the United States that obscured the whakapapa of He Whiringa Aroha. Chapter 3 revisits gender, sexuality and taonga.

Each chapter of this thesis is preceded by a prelude which adds to the creative storytelling of He Whiringa Aroha. Prelude 1, Mapping He Hononga Mokopuna, includes a contemporary reimagining of He Whiringa Aroha's travels across Te Moana Nui A Kiwa, accompanied by poem that sets an intention for the coming chapters. Maps are representations of places that

[62] Katerina Martina Teaiwa, Consuming Ocean Island: Stories of People and Phosphate from Banaba (Indiana University Press, 2014).

also produce distortions. In Euro-centric maps, Te Moana nui a Kiwa has been located at the margins of the page, and divided in two. Imperial powers used maps and narratives to render our islands and peoples small and eternally dependent upon western nations for aid and development. [63] Ernest Stanley Dodge, curator at the Peabody Essex Museum for 49 years, wrote in his 1949 manuscript, that Polynesia were 'small islands' that lay across trading routes for 'some of the world's finest whaling grounds'.[64] Though we certainly have connections to whales, to our ancestors we were the centre of our worlds—not stomping grounds for American sailors.

However, maps can also be a method of reimagining the world through a decolonial lens.[65] To many Indigenous peoples of Te Moana Nui a Kiwa, our islands are of epic proportions.[66] Epeli Hau'ofa explains in his foundational 1994 essay, 'There is a world of difference between viewing the Pacific as 'islands in a far sea' and as 'a sea of islands'.[67] With Mapping He Hononga Mokopuna, I decentralise the west and the American colonisers in the story of He Whiringa Aroha. It was important to indigenise this map through both orientation and names, which is more than merely superimposing names onto western hierarchies of place.[68] To some this map may seem upside down, yet to my tūpuna of Te Taitokerau it is exemplary of not only our relationship to Māui's fish and Kiwa's ocean but of our relationship to other lands beyond that.

The subsequent chapter 1, Contrary Contexts of He Whiringa Aroha, continues to explore a reimagining of taonga in museum archives. This chapter asks: What is He Whiringa Aroha? What are some of the ways we can understand the pare as a taonga, rather than a museum 'artefact'? This question will be explored through kōrero with ringatoi and will examine the other understandings of taonga Māori present in archival narratives, such as art, 'artefact', or 'curiosity'.

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[63] Teaiwa, 2014, p.152; Teaiwa and Sassen, 2014, p 70. See also Craig Santos Perez, 'Transterritorial Currents and the Imperial Terripelago', *American Quarterly*, 67.3 (2015), pp. 619–24.
[64] Dodge, 1945, p 27.
[65] Sandra Lee Ringham, 'Te Karanga Tūturu O Maieke: Ngāti Kuri Women's Taiao Geographies' (The University of Waikato, 2022).
[66] For more articulations on our vastness see Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner and others, *Indigenous Pacific Islander Eco-Literatures*, The New Oceania Literary Series (University of Hawai'i Press, 2022).
[67] Hau'ofa, 1994..
[68] For the Indigenous place names used in this map see https://mila.ss.ucla.edu/; https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/map-indigenous-australia; https://native-land.ca/maps/languages/massachuset/

Prelude 2, Colonial Chaos, is a collage of the Peabody Essex Museum object report for 'E5501'. This shows the current archival records of He Whiringa Aroha and illustrates how the East India Marine Society, Peabody Essex Museum, and the American sailors' have historically narrated the taonga as a 'curiosity' and 'artefact'. With this artwork, I illustrate how He Whiringa Aroha is fragmented and broken by the colonial archive. The poem in this prelude is a reflection on my grief in spending the majority of this research in the oppressive colonial archive, as well as a reflection on my own mokopuna responsibilities. Chapter 2, Archival Disarray: Pieces of a Pare as told by the Peabody Essex Museum, further exposes the archival fragments and practices that have hindered my connection to this taonga. I discuss the sailors' motivations, the display practices of the East India Marine Society, and the practice of provenance will be discussed.

Prelude 3, Ko Wai Koe? shares a poem that I wrote when I first saw the photo 'E5501' in the 1984 publication, *Catalogue of Maori artefacts in the museums of Canada and the United States of America*.[69] I write to He Whiringa Aroha in order to call the taonga home. The poems shared across this thesis, such as this prelude, are contemporary pūrākau that offer alternatives to understanding this taonga in the Peabody Essex Museum. Chapter 3, Restorying to Reclaim, expands upon this restorying and shows how taonga remain as evidence of expansive takatāpui Māori ways of being, even as they were gendered and named by colonisers and museums. He Whiringa Aroha will be considered from within the knowledge systems ia belongs to, such as the whare tūpuna and pūrākau of ngā atua wāhine.

Lastly, the concluding chapter, Restoring Hononga, summarises the findings of this thesis and expands upon its implications. I affirm that we can write histories of taonga that metaphorically and politically call them home to return to the active artistic practices of iwi Māori. I call for a re-telling of these taonga's stories that restores their agency and allows their many narratives to continue to unfold. It is my hope that this thesis contributes to the reclamation of taonga, toi, and Māori histories.

[69] Simmons, 1982.

Prelude 1 Mapping He Hononga Mokopuna

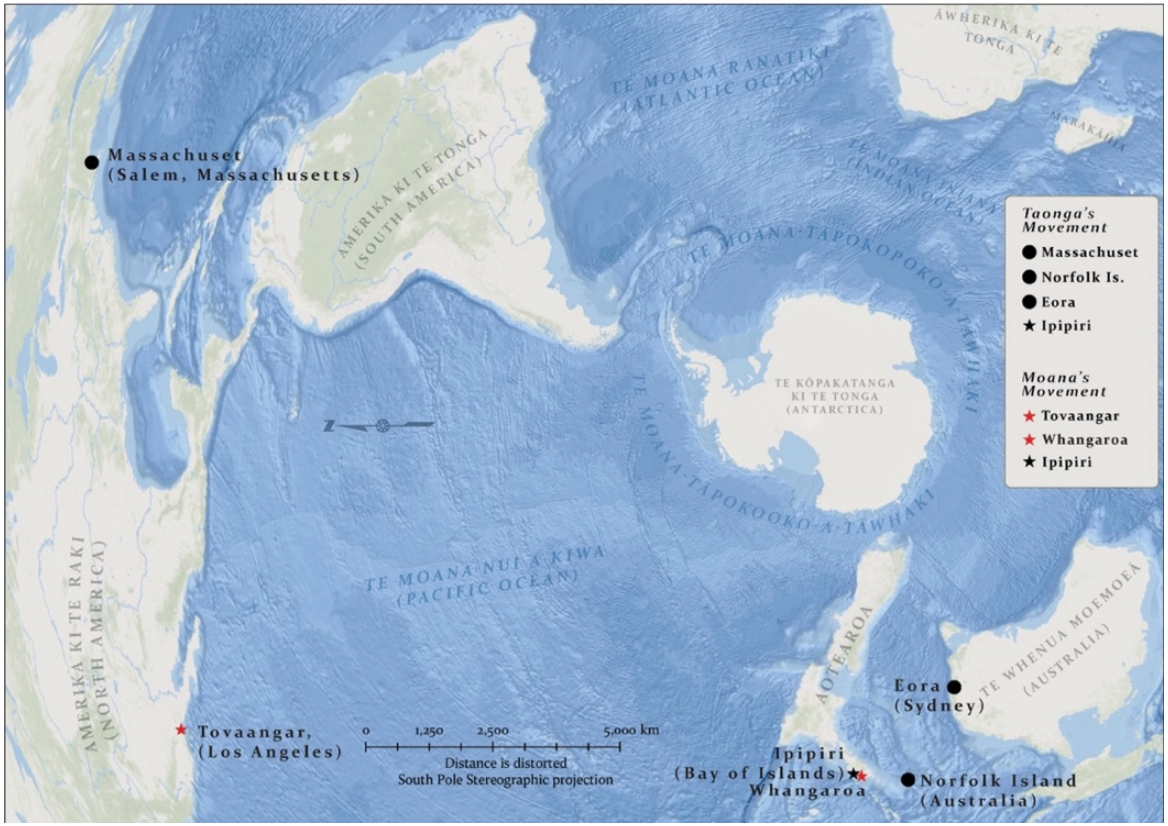

Figure 4. Mapping He Hononga Mokopuna. Map created by Aaron Barnsdall in 2024.

Whiriwhiria ngā tai maha

Ngā tai o hi

Ngā tai o tokerau

Ngā tai o inamata

Ngā tai o anamata

Ka pari, ka timu

Salty rehutai landing on a kauri surface

A tohu from home

Ia shapeshifts across generations

Between islands between shores

I walk under the portal

Into the past

Weave rimurimu tohutohu for mokomokopuna

Into the future

Whiriwhiria ngā hononga kia tina!

Haumi e Hui e Taiki e!

Chapter 1
Contrary Contexts of He Whiringa Aroha

The map in Prelude 1, *Mapping He Hononga Mokopuna,* represents the movement of He Whiringa Aroha and myself from a Māori worldview.[1] What would that journey be like from the pare's eyes–gazing out to Te Moana Nui a Kiwa, onto unknown lands yet familiar tides? Throughout this thesis I offer multiple creative invitations to view the history of this taonga through the eyes of a mokopuna Ngāpuhi. I challenge the power of the colonial archive that has named and narrated the stories of thousands of taonga in museums.[2] This chapter examines Māori concepts of taonga to lay a foundation for subsequent chapters.

From 'curiosity' to 'artefact' to 'art', taonga Māori in museum archives have been repeatedly labelled by colonisers and this affects how we connect to taonga today. He Whiringa Aroha has been named by American sailors, the East India Marine Society, and the Peabody Essex Museum, which has dislocated the taonga from Māori epistemologies. Is He Whiringa Aroha an 'artefact' or a taonga? A manatunga or a 'curio'? There are many ways to relate to He Whiringa Aroha through history and place. Yet, to explore the histories of our taonga in museums, we must understand from Māori worldviews who the taonga are. I show that He Whiringa Aroha is a tupuna and a taonga that has been storied by the colonial archive in ways that do not recognise nor benefit the taonga or the peoples ia connects to.

Historical terms used to describe He Whiringa Aroha do not fit my relationship to taonga in wānanga and in my creative practice. How can the physical embodiment of ancestors be a mere 'curiosity'? What is curious about our normal (Māori) ways of being? In the digital archives, I was confronted by western taxonomies and Euro-American constructions of 'primitive art'. Talking and practicing with Bethany Mātai Edmunds-Cook (Ngāti Kurī) and Bernard Makoare (Te Uri o Hau, Ngati Whatua, Te Waiariki, Te Kai Tutae; Te Rarawa,

[1] He Whiringa Aroha is the name used in this thesis to refer to: Maori artist in Possibly Tai Tokerau, Northern Bay of Islands, New Zealand (Aotearoa), *pare (door lintel)*, 1807. [Carving]. At: Peabody Essex Museum. E5501.

[2] There are thousands of taonga Māori in international museum collections, at least 90% of which are unprovenanced. See Ngarino Ellis, Eliza Macdonald, and Eleanor Almeida, 'Taonga in a Digital World: Maori Adornment and the Possibilities of Reconnection', *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 53.3 (2023), pp. 362–80, doi:10.1080/03036758.2022.2090967.

Ngapuhi-nui-tonu) revealed how taonga are routes to connection—they bring the knowledge of our tūpuna into our realities.

Bethany Mātai Edmunds-Cook is a pūkenga toi and Bernard Makoare, or Papa Bernard as I refer to him, is a tohunga whakairo. I met Bethany and Papa Bernard in the Tai o Hī Tai o Hā wānanga series in 2021. Bethany and Papa Bernard are experienced creatives and respected leaders working actively in their communities to regenerate hapū and iwi toi. They told me how lived experiences working with and creating taonga in iwi, museum, and academic spaces shape their understanding of the creations and practices of our ancestors. My relationships with these two knowledge holders, and the kōrero shared, has helped me recognise He Whiringa Aroha as a taonga. Our discussions helped me comprehend the karanga I felt to He Whiringa Aroha—making meaning from the scholarship, our lived experience and creative practices. This chapter discusses concepts of toi, manatunga, and taonga while highlighting the detremental roles of coloniser narratives and museums.

My discussions with Bethany and Papa Bernard followed what Jo-Ann Archibald, Stó:lō and St'at'imc nations scholar, refers to as 'research as storytelling'.[3] Archibald's research with her Elders led her on a journey of approaching ethnographic research as conversation, which transformed into research as storytelling. Like Archibald's work, my time spent with these two knowledge holders taught me how to be a tauira and how to approach kōrero as collaborative meaning-making from the core rather than appropriative knowlege *taking.* Māori historian Nepia Mahuika describes how, for Māori, interviews are a foreign method of oral transferral of knowledge.[4] On the contrary, storytelling and kōrero tuku iho, which Mahuika translates as 'oral history/tradition', are themselves taonga passed down, with responsibilities descendants have to uphold.[5] Indigenous oral narratives are vital tools to reclaim histories that have been appropriated and marginalised.[6]

Kōrero with Bethany and Papa Bernard reflect the perspectives of a weaver and a carver, respectively. Te whare pora and te whare whakairo are two key knowledge systems that

[3] Jo-Ann Archibald, Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit (UBC Press, 2008).
[4] Nēpia Mahuika, *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective*, Oxford Oral History Series (Oxford University Press, 2021).
[5] Nēpia Mahuika, 'Kōrero Tuku Iho Our Gift and Our Responsibility', *Te Pouhere Kōrero*, 4 (2010), pp. 24–40.
[6] Mahuika, 2021.

inform how we come to know He Whiringa Aroha in this thesis.[7] Though certainly not the only forms of toi, these two different 'houses' of mātauranga are fundamental pūkenga from which to understand taonga in museum contexts. Although He Whiringa Aroha is mahi whakairo, a carved taonga, it proved vital to include the voices of wāhine Māori in this chapter. The voices and creative works of wāhine Māori have been invisibilised and marginalised in colonial collecting and museum practice.[8] And yet, as Chapter 3 will expand, the presence of mana wahine in He Whiringa Aroha's histories and the Peabody Essex Museum archive is clear. It was important then to include Bethany's expertise as a kairaranga, kaiwhatu, and as someone whose practice is born of and in accordance with ngā atua wahine. In trying to relate to He Whiringa Aroha, this thesis values the knowledge of both a tohunga whakairo and a pūkenga toi.

In this chapter the speaking voices Papa Bernard, Bethany, and myself are color coded to reflect the natural resources and respective knowledge of toi Māori that each of us draw from. Papa Bernard uses many different carving mediums such as bone, stone, and wood, however, our discussion was mostly focused on whare whakairo, therefore his kōrero is coded as kauri brown. In addition, when I reflect upon my time with Papa Bernard, it is almost always in whare tūpuna across Te Taitokerau. I therefore associate his kōrero with whare tūpuna, rākau and whakairo.

Bethany weaves with the many resources and taonga species of her iwi Ngāti Kurī, such as pingao, kuta, harakeke, and kākāno. I choose to code her words in pingao yellow after her body of work that we visited in wānanga. Ngā Pae o Hina is a series of collaborative works by Bethany Matai Edmunds-Cook and Natasha Te Arahori Keating (Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Ngāi Tuhoe, Te Āti Hau Nui a Pāpārangi) that were exhibited in the 'Toi Tū Toi Ora' exhibition at Auckland Art Gallery in 2021.[9] These striking works of pingao, stained wood, and dried seed

[7] For more discussion on the knowledge systems of te whare pora see Te Kanawa and Kahutoi Mere, 'Taonga Tuku Iho: Intergenerational Transfer of Raranga and Whatu' (unpublished Thesis, The University of Waikato, 2022); Donna R. Campbell, 'Ngā Kura a Hineteiwaiwa: The Embodiment of Mana Wahine in Māori Fibre Arts' (University of Waikato, 2019).
[8]Ereni Pūtere, 'Te Tāhū: The Role of Weaving in Kāi Tahu Memory', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 58.1 (2024), pp. 12–26; Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 'Mai Te Kopu O Te Wahine: Considering Maori Women and Power', *Pacific Studies*, 43.1 (2020).
[9] Bethany Matai Edmunds and Natasha Te Arahori Keating, *Hine Marama 2*, 2018. As viewed in *Toi Tū Toi Ora,* Sat 5 Dec 2020 — Sun 9 May 2021, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, Auckland New Zealand.

and flower adornments honour the atua wāhine Hineteiwaiwa and are the inspiration for coding Bethany's words in pingao yellow.[10]

Bethany Mātai Edmunds-Cook has worked in both hau kāinga spaces–weaving and wānanga in Te Taitokerau–as well as museums and universities. She completed an internship at the Natural History Museum in Washington, D.C. and subsequently a Masters degree at New York University. Additionally, she identifies as both a kairaranga and kaiwhatu—two types of Māori weaving that use the leaf and fibrer of the harakeke plant, respectively. Her expert maker's eye allowed her to observe and record important information that museums did not hold. For example, her study of the korowai 'E 3,186' in the Peabody Essex Museum detailed the style, techniques, and function of the cloak.[11] After completing her thesis at New York University in 2010, Bethany worked as Assistant and then Associate Curator, Māori at Auckland War Memorial Museum from 2016-2019. Subsequently, Bethany became the Pou Whakahaere of the Tai o Hī Tai o Hā wānanga series, which is where we met in 2021.

Bernard Makoare (Te Uri o Hau, Ngati Whatua, Te Waiariki, Te Kai Tutae; Te Rarawa, Ngapuhi-nui-tonu) is a tohunga whakairo who has worked as a board member and now mātanga hāpai ahurea of Toi Ngāpuhi. Papa Bernard is a tohunga whakairo of Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu and from a young age was mentored by tohunga such as Māori Marsden. Moreover, as an activist who has worked with his iwi Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whātua, Ngāpuhi and Te Rarawa, Papa Bernard has contributed to the revitalisation of toi in Te Taitokerau. He was an important part of our wānanga series and generously shared kōrero with us taiohi. Not long after our zoom kōrero, I attended a Tai o Hī Tai o Hā taonga pūoro wānanga in Te Ahuahu in which our rōpū created pūmoana and pūtātara with Papa Bernard's guidance. His kōrero shared with me in this research was a conversation grounded in aroha that was developed over the last few years in various wānanga.

Although our kōrero occurred separately over zoom, our discussions were informed by the time we spent together in wānanga weaving, sharing, and deepening our hononga. For the majority of time I have spent with Bethany and Papa Bernard we have been creating with our

[10] Tātaki Auckland Unlimited, 'Hine Atarau', *Auckland Art Gallery*, 2024 <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/31208/hine-atarau> [accessed 14 August 2024].
[11] Bethany Matai Edmunds, 'He Kākahu Māori Maori Cloaks in American Museums; Conservation, Storage and Display' (Steinhardt School of Culture, Education and Human Development, 2010). p 35.

hands. Many Indigenous researchers have explained how knowledge, learning and listening are embodied activities.[12] Likewise, this Masters research has been shaped and grounded in Māori methodologies that value creative praxis. Through harvesting natural resources, weaving, carving and singing, my relationships to these knowledge holders, as well as my relationships to new and ancestral taonga, have deepened. I have come to relate to taonga as the living embodiment of tūpuna and ancestral knowledge, and as portals ringatoi look to as we weave their legacies into our collective futures.

Taonga: Portals to the Ancestors

Taonga are inherently tied to their human creators, and to their lands and community.[13] Paul Tapsell, a Ngāti Whakaue and Ngāti Raukawa scholar and curator, similarly writes that, 'the power of taonga is perceived by descendants in terms of *mana* (ancestral authority), *tapu* (ancestral restriction, respect and discipline) and *kōrero* (ancestrally ordered narratives and ritual)'.[14] In the case of kākāhu made from muka, for example, the hairs of the weaver are embedded into the fibers through the miro process. The mana and tapu of the weaver are combined with the mana and tapu of the harakeke plant and land that nourished both the people and the plant. Other taonga carved from the bones of ancestors, such as the kōauau Murirangaranga, are physical ancestors with personal names.[15] These functional objects–a cloak and an instrument–hold the mauri and DNA of ancestors and natural materials.

Taonga are created and informed by ancestors and can become revered ancestors themselves. Tapsell explains how over time taonga become the spiritual personification of ancestors.[16] Similarly, Hirini Moko Mead, in his publication on the 1984 'Te Māori' exhibition, writes that, just as kaumātua are respected, old taonga are venerated for the knowledge and wisdom

[12] Manulani Aluli Meyer, 'Our Own Liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian Epistemology', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13.1 (2001), pp. 124–48, doi:10.1353/cp.2001.0024; Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*, Indigenous Americas, 1st edn (University of Minnesota Press, 2017).
[13] Ngarino Ellis, 'Te Ao Hurihuri O Nga Taonga Tuku Iho: The Evolving Worlds of Our Ancestral Treasures', *Biography*, 39.3 (2016), pp. 438–61; Paul Tapsell, 'Taonga: A Tribal Response to Museums' (British Library Document Supply Centre, 1998).p. 17
[14] Paul Tapsell, *The Art of Taonga*, Gordon H. Brown Lecture, 09 (Art History, School of Art History, Classics and Religious Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 2011); PAUL TAPSELL, 'The Flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of Taonga from a Tribal Perspective', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 106.4 (1997), pp. 323–74.
[15] Tapsell, 1998.
[16] Tapsell, 1998, p. 22.

of their kōrero, 'which has to be revealed'.[17] Taonga are not inanimate art objects, rather they have 'immanent power' and a 'hidden force'.[18] The stronger the connection between the taonga and their descendants, the greater this power. For example, in the case of Murirangaranga, taonga carry kōrero that when passed down alongside them maintains the connection between the people (Te Arawa) and the taonga (kōauau). Colonisation and the collecting, stealing, and removing of taonga has interrupted the connection between thousands of taonga and their descendants.[19] Although the kōrero, or hapū and iwi histories of He Whiringa Aroha has been obscured through the colonial archive, the mana and tapu persist. This is evident in the hononga I feel to He Whiringa Aroha as it remains despite the collection history.

As holders of histories, taonga in museum archives are potent connectors. In her 2010 Masters thesis, Bethany examined kākāhu, or Māori cloaks, in the collections across four American museums.[20] Kākāhu are made of various materials such as harakeke, muka, huruhuru (various types of feathers), kiekie, kuta, houhere, tikumu, and others.[21] There are thousands of kākāhu overseas.[22] Like other human-made taonga, kākāhu embody the ancestors, their knowledge, and ngā atua. These garments therefore offer a critical point of connection for all Māori.[23] Bethany writes that kākāhu in museum archives embody 'a complex matrix of histories' that includes the collectors, the ancestor who wore it, the weaver who created it, and the birds, plants, and resources that adorn it.[24] Similarly, He Whiringa Aroha embodies this matrix: from the kauri tree, the carver's hands and knowledge, and the

[17] Mead in Sidney M. Mead and Athol McCredie, *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections* (Heinemann, 1984).Pp 23.
[18] Mead and McCredie, 1984.
[19] There are thousands of taonga in international museums, 90% of which are unprovenanced: Ngarino Ellis, Eliza Macdonald, and Eleanor Almeida, 'Taonga in a Digital World: Maori Adornment and the Possibilities of Reconnection', *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 53.3 (2023), pp. 362–80, doi:10.1080/03036758.2022.2090967.
[20] Matai Edmunds, Bethany, 'He Kākahu Māori Maori Cloaks in American Museums; Conservation, Storage and Display' (Steinhardt School of Culture, Education and Human Development, 2010).
[21] Sidney M. Mead, *Tāniko Weaving: Technique and Tradition = Te Whatu Tāniko* (Reed, 1999); Awhina Tamarapa, *Whatu Kākahu = Māori Cloaks*, Revised edition. (Te Papa Press, 2019).
[22] Ngarino Ellis, Eliza Macdonald, and Eleanor Almeida, 'Taonga in a Digital World: Maori Adornment and the Possibilities of Reconnection', *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 53.3 (2023), pp. 362–80, doi:10.1080/03036758.2022.2090967.
[23] For more scholarship on kākāhu, their importance see Te Kanawa and Kahutoi Mere, 'Taonga Tuku Iho: Intergenerational Transfer of Raranga and Whatu' (unpublished Thesis, The University of Waikato, 2022; Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and others, *Te puna waiora: the distinguished weavers of Te Kāhui Whiritoi* (Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū, 2021); Donna R. Campbell, 'Ngā Kura a Hineteiwaiwa: The Embodiment of Mana Wahine in Māori Fibre Arts' (University of Waikato, 2019).
[24] Bethany Matai Edmunds, 2010, p 14.

many atua that guided them, to the American sailors, museum archivists, and curators. Bethany and I discussed the relationship between taonga, ancestors, and descendants:

> I always talk about taonga being physical transmitters and shapeshifters through time. So holding on to something that we know was crafted by somebody generations ago that no longer exists gives us direct physical access to our tūpuna [...]
>
> Really they are little power portals.

Contrary to colonial museum understandings of taonga as inanimate objects, Bethany referred to taonga as power portals that connect our people to our tūpuna. Though our tūpuna are no longer physically here, the creations they made allow us to travel through time and space to connect to them and their knowledge. Anne Salmond refers to this as 'the alchemy of taonga' that conjoins people to their ancestors in 'a collapse of distance in space-time'.[25] For this reason, accessing taonga and their histories is crucial to the revitalisation of toi Māori.

Papa Bernard similarly referred to taonga as Māori cultural 'power batteries':

> It's a reflection of our living culture and actually our living culture was in the way of the colonising of this country. So everything was done to dismantle, dislocate, and disconnect us from our culture, which is actually not our art, but it's actually our powerpacks, our power batteries.

Papa Bernard goes on to explain that the importance of taonga is that they are an expression of who we were, who we are now and who we can be. This potential is not determined simply by the materials, the adorning patterns, or the aesthetic value. Taonga are not only defined by the ways that museums display them: as objects with a description, sometimes (but rarely) a name and provenance, and material. On the contrary, they are a 'reflection of our living culture' which was and continues to be in defiance of colonisation. Toi Māori, our living culture, was a threat to colonial forces, and it remains a powerful route to challenging New Zealand governments and institutions As Papa Bernard points out, colonisers sought to appropriate our land and one way they did that was to attack our living culture through renaming, catagorising and removing our toi.

[25] Anne Salmond in Mead, 1984, p 120

Toi practices have a deep history in Te Taitokerau, but they have been disrupted by colonisation. When our tūpuna migrated to Aotearoa they carried with them the creative knowledge, motifs, and skills that continue to inform Māori today.[26] Te Taitokerau has been referred to as 'a possible dispersal point for the art of woodcarving' in Aotearoa, as well as 'the cradle of whakairo rākau'.[27] However, the increase of trade with Pākehā sailors and settlers, the Musket Wars, and the impact of Christianity saw the creative practice 'almost obliterated'.[28] Colonisation sought to exterminate and then assimilate Indigenous nations; one way to exterminate our people from our lands was to extinguish our power batteries. By removing taonga from their hapū and iwi colonisers attempted to sever our ties to our ancestors, our histories, our culture and our knowledges. Dislocating our taonga from their cultural contexts and communities attempts to sever the connections Māori have to our ancestors and has catastrophic consequences on our creative practices and our well-being.[29]

Reclaiming our cultural batteries, our taonga and creative practices, is an act of resistance. Kanaka Māoli scholar Stephanie Nohelani Teves explores Indigeneity as a performative process, whereby 'defiant indigeneity' is an artistic expression that rejects settler colonialism.[30] Continuing, reviving, and performing our Indigenous practices defy the 'elimination of the Native'.[31] Moreover, reinvigorating our artistic practices are what Cherokee scholar Jess Corntassel calls 'everyday acts of resurgence', which amounts to meaningful actions of decolonization and Indigenous regeneration.[32] Reclaiming taonga such as He Whiringa Aroha is not simply a matter of returning the taonga to Aotearoa shores, but rather an imperative to revitalising the living culture that created He Whiringa Aroha: toi Māori.

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[26] Deidre Brown and Ngarino Ellis, *Te Puna: Māori Art from Te Tai Tokerau Northland* (Reed, 2007).
[27] Sidney M. Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo = The Art of Maori Carving*, [New ed.]. (Reed Publishing, 1995). p. 35
[28] Deidre Brown, Ngarino Ellis, and Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, *Does Māori Art History Matter?* (Art History, Victoria University of Wellington, 2014) <https://waikato.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?vid=64WAIKATO_INST:64WAIKATO&id=9914809293503401&inst=64WAIKATO_INST&context=L> [accessed 28 September 2023]. p. 17
[29] Brown and others, 2014
[30] Stephanie N. Teves, *Defiant Indigeneity the Politics of Hawaiian Performance*, Critical Indigeneities (University of North Carolina Press, 2018).
[31] Teves, 2018.
[32] Jeff Corntassel, 'Re-Envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-Determination', *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1.1 (2012), pp. 81–101.

Toi and 'Art'

How might we relate to taonga from Māori epistemologies? When I discussed the terms and names used in the Peabody Essex Museum archive, Papa Bernard turned to the powerful concept of 'toi':

> Toi means the epitome, the epitome is the absolute best of something […]
>
> Toi is the use of motif and pattern at the very epitome of the things that are important for a hapū

Papa Bernard explains that 'toi' is the level of creativity that only a select group of people can achieve. These people are recognised for the training and 'experiential learning' they have completed over a lifetime. Similarly, Bethany also explained that taonga in museums are a benchmark for today's creatives. She stressed the importance of weavers and emerging creatives having access to taonga tawhito so that we may see, feel, and experience the toi we are striving to create. Bethany continues:

> We are contemporary practitioners, but the foundation and the whakapapa of the work that we do has always taken us back to our customary practices […] and for us to continue to uphold those with integrity we've always got to look backwards.

For the next generations of Māori creatives, we have a whakapapa of creation informed by our ancestors' expressions of toi and we have a responsibility to uphold this with integrity. As Bethany explains, accessing taonga tawhito in museum archives is vital to who we are and to shaping our contemporary practices into the future.

He Whiringa Aroha is an expression of toi. Ia is an example of the benchmark of toi whakairo, carving practice before metal tools were introduced to Te Taitokerau. He Whiringa Aroha is not only a portal to the ancestors, but serves as an example of the amazing taonga our tūpuna were capable of creating and the level that we aspire to reach today. Papa Bernard expands upon the term toi and how our ancestors utilised te reo Māori to express deep concepts in multifaceted ways:

> The other thing is our ancestors […] use the word toi to mean the source of something. So every river has its riverhead, you know, its source. And that was always considered to be a

> really powerful thing, you know. Physical powerful, but also metaphorically, and I suppose, spiritually powerful. So toi also means source, the source of the epitome of something

Another use of 'toi' in te reo Māori was to refer to the 'source'. Like the source of a river, the creations of our ancestors are spiritually powerful. He Whiringa Aroha is a source—a benchmark to aspire to and a powerful connector to our ancestors. In direct contrast to archival practices that label the taonga as an object or 'artefact', within Māori epistemologies He Whiringa Aroha is an expression of toi: our source, our portal, and our inspiration.

As a knowledge holder for his many hapū and iwi, Papa Bernard understands taonga as works of toi, rather than 'art':

> And I would say to you, Moana, that art is a concept, which is a tool of colonisation. If you look at the very pure aim and objective of colonisation it is to take what belongs to someone else in order for that, whatever that is, that thing or value, to be appropriated to someone else, particularly those people who want to gather it or collect it […]
>
> Like the Benin Bronzes, like the Parthenon Marbles, like the Moai from Rapanui, as soon as you remove them from the original context and call them art, then actually that's contributing to the colonisation project

To Papa Bernard it is paramount to locate understandings of taonga within Māori knowledge systems; to do otherwise is to contribute to the colonial project. In his kōrero, 'art' as a western construct is another iteration of the very same project that sought to extinguish our power. Many Māori creatives identify and exhibit their creations as 'art'. This important work has contributed to the revitalisation of toi and to reclaiming our practices in exhibitions, galleries, and museums. At the same time, Papa Bernard's kōrero underscores the harm that colonisation has done by removing taonga—and Māori creatives—from their hapū and iwi contexts.

He Whiringa Aroha's history and current presentation in the archive demonstrates the colonial harms that Papa Bernard described. He Whiringa Aroha is currently in off-site museum storage that is only accessible by permission from Peabody Essex Museum staff. Through cataloguing, display, and provenance, which will be expanded upon in Chapter 2, the colonial archive reduces He Whiringa Aroha to an inanimate object of the Indigenous

'other' and removes ia from hapū and iwi. In its official 1821 charter the East India Marine Society declared their purpose of creating a 'cabinet of natural and artificial curiosities'.[33] Members were expected to collect and donate 'curiosities' from their travels.[34] Increasingly in the nineteenth century, taonga Māori were hoarded into museum archives and private collections as prized curiosities, which Tapsell writes represented 'New Zealand's noble savage prior to colonial enlightenment'.[35]

He Whiringa Aroha was to the mariners an exotic 'curiosity' to showcase their triumph over Pacific waters and people rather than a taonga with mana, tapu and kōrero. Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith has written that Indigenous peoples have been classified and then represented by the 'West', 'and then, through the eyes of the 'West', back to those who have been colonized'.[36] Edward Said's foundational 1979 text *Orientalism* showed how the 'West' has constructed non-western colonised peoples as the antithesis to itself and therefore the 'Other'.[37] Both the 'West', or the 'Occident', and the 'Other', or 'Orient', are constructions and representations of entire societies formed by academic, cultural, and political discourse.[38] The colonial archive is a system of producing knowledge about the Indigenous 'other' (both 'natural' and 'artificial') whereby the 'West' is central and everything else is a 'curio', 'artefact', 'specimen', or 'primitive art'.

Māori creative practices have been referred to by colonisers, museums, and scholars in terms that have shifted over time.[39] As Tapsell writes, 'From one decade to the next, taonga would be reconceptualised again and again, fitting the latest narrative in vogue'.[40] Conal McCarthy conducted expansive PhD research on taonga Māori within museums in Aotearoa New Zealand.[41] As McCarthy's manuscript suggests, this transformation of museum archiving and display is an exhibition of settler-colonial culture, rather than a change in hapū and iwi understandings of toi and taonga. McCarthy found that within New Zealand museums and

[33]The East India Marine Society of Salem, *The East-India Marine Society of Salem* (W. Palfray, Jr., 1821) <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044011200839?urlappend=%3Bseq=1> [accessed 5 December 2023].
[34] The East India Marine Society of Salem, 1821.
[35] Tapsell, 2014, p.13.
[36] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Third edition. (Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2021). p 1
[37] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st Vintage Books ed (Vintage Books, 1979).
[38] Said, 1979.
[39] Tapsell, 2011.
[40] Tapsell, 2011, p 32.
[41] Conal McCarthy, Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display, English ed. (Te Papa Press, 2007).

participation at world fairs in the nineteenth century, both Māori items and New Zealand colonial culture were on display. During this era, colonisers referred to toi Māori as 'specimens', 'curios', and sometimes 'art'.

Conal McCarthy explains that taonga became scientific objects of study once Māori were considered 'safely within the orbit of empire'.[42] In the early nineteenth century, at the time that He Whiringa Aroha was collected by Americans, colonisers perpetuated that Indigenous nations were inevitably dying out, which consequently motivated the rapid collection of Indigenous objects worldwide. Ethnographers and sailors documented Māori in detail—our taonga, our ways of being, our bodies—and paid particular attention to what they found 'curious'.[43] Our taonga were catalogued accordingly. So-called 'curios' and 'specimens' in the Peabody Essex Museum became 'artefacts' following the rise of the field of ethnology in the 1930s.[44] Artefacts referred to human-made objects and became the most common term to refer to taonga Māori in museums by the mid 1930s.[45]

Linda Tuhiwai Smith has written how the 'West' reserved 'History' for only those who were fully human, 'Others who were not regarded as human (that is, capable of self-actualization) were prehistoric'.[46] Constructing colonised peoples as not fully human, or entirely inhuman, justified policies such as extermination and genocide of Indigenous nations.[47] In his 1941 Peabody Essex Museum of Salem catalogue museum curator Ernest Stanley Dodge, who published prolifically on the Māori collections, wrote, 'Many of the objects in these collections are of more than average interest because their early known date of accession prohibits any European influence upon them'.[48] Dodge's fixation on pre- 'European influence' is exemplary of colonial collecting practices at the time, which freezes Māori in a 'pre-historic', 'pre-contact' past. Sailors, the museum itself, curators, and other ethnographers reviewed in this study used words such as, 'neolithic' 'primitive' and

[42] See Ernest S. Dodge and Charles Copeland, *Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem* (The Anthoensen Press, 1949) .
[43] Atholl Anderson, *Tangata Whenua A History* (Bridget Williams Books, 2015).; Smith, 2021.
[44] Dodge and Copeland, 1949.
[45] McCarthy, 2007. p 67.
[46] Smith, 2021, p 33.
[47] On dehumanization and Indigenous peoples see Smith, 2021; Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 2001 reprint (Penguin Books, 1965); Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 30th anniversary edition. (Bloomsbury, 2015).
[48] Ernest S. Dodge, The New Zealand Maori Collection in the Peabody Museum of Salem (Peabody Museum, 1941), vii.

'undeveloped' not only for He Whiringa Aroha, but to refer to Māori people.[49] In assuming European influence to be the decay of taonga, He Whiringa Aroha was placed in a 'traditional' past doomed to become lost after Pākehā contact. Collectors determined that which was authentically Māori was to be untouched by Pākehā[5051]

Within Aotearoa, McCarthy explains that expressions of Toi Māori, previously labelled as objects of ethnology increasingly became objects of art history from the early twentieth century.[52] Indigenous creativity, no longer on the verge of extinction, were taken from ethnographic 'cabinets of curiosities' and literally elevated to plinths to be displayed as 'primitive art' or 'savage art'.[53] Deborah Hutton points to the long-established focus of the Art History discipline on 'a thing called Western Civilization as the location of progress and the centre of cultural achievement'.[54] This meta-narrative privileges 'western art' as the pinnacle of creativity, homogenizing and marginalizing everything considered outside of the 'West'. Art—like History — is only attainable by those considered fully human. The term 'primitive art' persisted even into the 1980s.

Museums globally would not widely display and label (carved) taonga as 'art' until the mid 1980s, after the groundbreaking 'Te Māori' exhibition. In 1984, the New York Museum of Modern Art held the controversial exhibition 'Primitivism in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern' which displayed Indigenous art as 'primitive' and incapable of modernity. The rise of Indigenous sovereignty movements worldwide highlighted that the label 'primitive art' was inappropriate and shifted museum and academic practices once again.[55] In the very same year and city, taonga Māori became 'art'. The traveling 'Te Māori' exhibition opened in the same month at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art.[56] 'Te Māori' brought carved taonga tawhito out of New Zealand museum collections and onto the global art stage. Interestingly, this exhibition, although displayed across the United States, did

[49] 'neolithic' 'primitive' 'undeveloped' are all terms used in the East India Marine Society, 1821; Dodge, 1941, Dodge and Copeland, 1949.

[51] Brown and others, 2014.
[52] McCarthy, 2007.
[53] Richard Wolfe, 'Oceania in the Museum: Changing Representations of Pacific Collections' (unpublished Thesis, University of Auckland, 2018).
[54] Deborah Hutton, 'Overcoming Art History's Meta-Narrative', in *The Routledge Companion to Decolonizing Art History*, by Tatiana Flores, Florencia San Martín, and Charlene Villaseñor Black, 1st edn (Routledge, 2023), pp. 196–206, doi:10.4324/9781003152262-17.
[55] Wolfe, 2018.
[56] Brown and others, 2014.; Wolfe, 2019.

not include any of the thousands of taonga Māori held in American institutions. The exhibition included only carved taonga; this marginalization of mahi raranga and the creative practices of wāhine has been critiqued by many.[57]

Many scholars have noted how 'Te Māori' displaying taonga as 'Māori Art' profoundly changed museum practice within Aotearoa.[58] For example, the term 'taonga' was introduced into domestic museum practice and began to be widely used after this international exhibition.[59] Having taonga displayed as 'art' on the global stage revolutionised the care of our taonga in domestic museums and generated opportunities for Māori creatives. Additionally, iwi were consulted before their taonga left New Zealand museums and in the process of the exhibition. As a result, kaikaranga, kaikarakia, and a kaiwero led the opening ceremony at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[60] Similarly, museums internationally have increasingly embraced Indigenous communities and their agency.[61] Yet in the archives, colonial systems of provenance, description, and storage remain.

Many Indigenous scholars and curators challenge the western tradition of othering Indigenous creativity.[62] Māori academics and art historians have worked to situate taonga in te Ao Māori, seeking to reclaim and return the mana and kōrero of our taonga. In the 1984 publication corresponding to the 'Te Māori' exhibition, Hirini Moko Mead theorised a chronology of Māori art development that subsequent scholars have used over the decades.[63] In an important shift away from western scholars writing about our taonga, Mead sought to categorise taonga in ways relevant to Māori.[64] Mead's four categories of Māori art spanning

[57] Te Kanawa, 2022; Pūtere, 2024.
[58] Conal McCarthy, *Museums and Maori: Heritage Professionals, Indigenous Collections, Current Practice*, 1st edn (Routledge, 2011), doi:10.4324/9781315423890.
[59] Paul Tapsell, 'Taonga: A Tribal Response to Museums' (British Library Document Supply Centre, 1998).
[60] McCarthy, 2011; Mead and McCredie, 1984.
[61] Wolfe, 2018; Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), doi:10.5149/9780807837528_lonetree.
[62] Puawai Cairns, 'Decolonise or Indigenise: Moving Towards Sovereign Spaces and the Māorification of New Zealand Museology', *Te Papa's Blog*, 2020 <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2020/02/10/decolonise-or-indigenise-moving-towards-sovereign-spaces-and-the-maorification-of-new-zealand-museology/> [accessed 23 June 2024]; *The Routledge Companion to Decolonizing Art History*, ed. by Tatiana Flores, Florencia San Martín, and Charlene Villaseñor Black (Routledge, 2023), doi:10.4324/9781003152262.
[63] Mead and McCredie, 1984.
[64] See also Sidney M. Mead, Te Toi Whakairo = The Art of Maori Carving, [New ed.]. (Reed Publishing, 1995); Sidney M. Mead, Tāniko Weaving: Technique and Tradition = Te Whatu Tāniko (Reed, 1999).

from 800 until the time of his writing in 1984—Ngā Kākāno, Te Tipunga, Te Puāwaitanga, and Te Huringa—underline growth and the continuity of Māori creativity.[65]

Following Mead, generations of scholars have continued to situate Māori practice within Māori worldviews.[66] Prominent Māori art historians Diedre Brown, Ngarino Ellis and Jonathan Mane-Wheoki argue that art historiography has subjected Māori creativity to a western deterministic timeline in which taonga supposedly evolved from a 'primitive' to a classical form.[67] Instead, Brown, Ellis and Mane-Wheoki write in *Does Māori Art History Matter?* that 'Māori art history might release us from a fixed and linear definition of time and help us appreciate art in new and more complex ways.'.[68] Māori Art History is an emerging field of academic scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand that is challenging the Eurocentricity of the art history discipline.[69]

What these Māori art historians and the kōrero in this chapter show is that taonga do not fit into western frameworks. As Bethany and Papa Bernard explain, taonga in museum archives are power portals and are expressions of toi, which is a concept whose meaning extends far beyond 'art'. As Ngahuia Te Awekotuku has asked, 'Do we need to create our own categories? Our own classifications? Or is the language already there in our reo rangatira? Ki ahau nei, āe'.[70] We can understand our ancestors in museums from within their own living cultures. How can narratives of our practices evolve to ensure that our hapū sovereignty and the mana of our taonga are not diminished?

Manatunga

To understand how and why He Whiringa Aroha travelled to the Peabody Essex Museum collections it is important to understand how taonga were not only understood as expressions

[65] Mead and McCredie, 1984.
[66] Ellis, 2016.
[67] Brown, and others, 2014.
[68] Brown, and others, 2014. P. 25.
[69]Ngarino Ellis, 'Being an Indigenous Art Historian in the Twenty-First Century', in *The Routledge Companion to Decolonizing Art History*, by Tatiana Flores, Florencia San Martín, and Charlene Villaseñor Black, 1st edn (Routledge, 2023), pp. 61–72, doi:10.4324/9781003152262-5; Ngarino Ellis, 'The Phd Monologues Navigating the Conventions of Māori Art History', *Te Pouhere Kōrero*, 4 (2010), pp. 6–13; Ngarino Ellis, 'Teaching Mana Wāhine in Art History: He Whakaaro Noa Iho/Some Thoughts', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art*, 22.2 (2022), pp. 187–92, doi:10.1080/14434318.2022.2143759.
[70] *Ngā Kākano: Decolonising and Indigenising Museums (Mon 7 Dec)*, dir. by Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2020 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dXItB1M6hVc> [accessed 22 June 2024].

of toi but were also used pragmatically to build early relationships with Pākehā in the nineteenth century. Taonga tāwhito were highly treasured objects of relationship, yet this is often obscured in colonial archiving and collection. As Ngāpuhi tohunga Māori Marsden explains, the value of taonga was multifaceted. Taonga are utilitarian, historico-social, cultural and social, and spiritual items.[71] For example, taonga could be a weapon, an heirloom, 'a tangible symbol to seal a peace pact' or to denote the mana of the tūpuna associated with the taonga.[72]

Taonga were given with expectations as manatunga.[73] Papa Bernard describes taonga as having 'extreme status' that made them tangible 'remembrances of relationship' and 'symbols of sincerity'. Manatunga are an assertion of Tino Rangatiratanga because they build generational reciprocity between individuals (Māori and Pākehā), hapū, iwi, and institutions. Papa Bernard explains,

> Tino Rangatiratanga is about that ultimate reflection of the decisions that are the best for that group of people. And so, if we take that, then a lot of the taonga that are in overseas museums are there because the assertion of Tino Rangatiratanga happened, and it happened in a very Māori way.

Exchanging manatunga is an assertion of Māori sovereignty and authority. Te Taitokerau tūpuna forged relationships with Pākehā in the early nineteenth century that would benefit their hapū and iwi, whether for economic gains, to obtain skills, agriculture, or muskets.[74] Taonga were tangible symbols of those socio-political alliances and thus symbols of Tino Rangatiratanga. One example of this assertion of Tino Rangatiratanga was with my direct ancestor and Ngāpuhi rangatira, Te Pahi.

In 1805 the rangatira Te Pahi was strategically welcoming American and European sailors in the Ipipiri (Bay of Islands) port, as well as sailing on Pākehā ships to Norfolk Island and

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[71] Maori Marsden, *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden* (Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003). P. 38.
[72] Marsden, 2003.
[73] Tapsell, 2011.
[74] Pat Hohepa, 'My Musket, My Missionary, and My Mana', in *Voyages and Beaches* (University of Hawaii Press, 2017), pp. 180–201, doi:10.21313/9780824865511-012.

Parramatta, a farming settlement next to Poihaakena, Port Jackson.[75] Te Pahi was a rangatira of the hapū Te Hikutu of Rangihoua and Te Puna and is considered a central tupuna to early Māori- Pākehā relations.[76] He traveled first to Norfolk Island, onboard a whaler whose captain mistreated him and his son, but finally arrived in Port Jackson where he was received generously by Lieutenant Governor Philip Gidley King. King gives an account in his 1806 papers of Te Pahi presenting him a manatunga to acknowledge King's hospitality and cement their relationship:

> 'On being introduced he took up a number of his mats, laying them at my feet, and disposed of a stone patoo patoo in the same manner, after which he performed the ceremony of Etongi or joining of noses.'[77]

Te Pahi had gifted King a patupatu ('patoo patoo'), likely kākāhu (the 'mats' he was wearing) and completed with a hongi ('etongi'). Historian Vincent O'Malley has described this exchange, 'Te Pahi's trip had clearly been motivated not just by the need to reciprocate the gifts he had received from King, but also in the expectation of establishing an ongoing relationship with the Governor for the benefit of his people.'[78] As this example shows, taonga were integral to Ipipiri Māori as growing trade offered new opportunities for our people.

The process of exchanging objects to acknowledge relationships was not new to Pākehā. For example, King gifted a medal to Te Pahi, which was later stolen by the whalers who massacred his pā in 1810.[79] The medal is an important symbol of the recognition of Tino Rangatiratanga, which predates both He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.[80] It was purchased at a Sydney auction in 2014 by the Auckland War Memorial Museum and Te Papa Tongarewa and returned to Ngāti Rua and Ngāti Torehina in 2015.[81] It is not clear if other

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[75]Jeffrey Sissons, Ngā Pūriri O Taiamai: A Political History of Ngā Puhi in the Inland Bay of Islands (Reed in association with the Polynesian Society, 2001) ; Vincent O'Malley, The Meeting Place: Māori and Pākehā Encounters, 1642-1840 (Auckland University Press, 2012). P. 45.

[76]Waitangi Tribunal, He Whakaputanga Me Te Tiriti The Declaration and the Treaty The Report on Stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry (2014); O'Malley, 2012; Anne Salmond, 'Part One: Early Encounters, 1769–1840', in Tears of Rangi (Auckland University Press, 2017); Anne Salmond, Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Māori and Europeans, 1773-1815 (Viking, 1997).

[77] King Papers, 2 January 1806, HRNZ , Vol. 1, pp. 263– 264. As cited in O'Malley, 2012. Pp 46.

[78] O'Malley, 2012, p. 46.

[79] This medal was later stolen by the whalers who attacked Te Pahi's pā in 1810 in retribution for *the Boyd*. See Waitangi Tribunal. 'He Whakaputanga Me Te Tiriti The Declaration and the Treaty The Report on Stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry.' Waitangi Tribunal Report. Aotearoa, 2014. Pp 73.

[80] Diedre Brown in *Tippahee: A Documentary About the Te Pahi Medal*, dir. by Komako Silver (Kikorua Films, 2015) <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/discover-collections/read-watch-play/story-te-pahi-medal/tippahee-documentary-about-te-pahi-medal> [accessed 16 August 2024].

[81]Mark Stocker, 'A Silver Slice of Māori History: The Te Pahi Medal', ed. by Te Papa Press, *Tuhinga: Records of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*, 26, 2015, pp. 31–36.

taonga of Te Pahi, such as the patupatu and kākāhu he gifted King or the Pākehā gifts that were stolen from his pā, are in public or private collections.[82] Nonetheless, museums harbor the examples of manatunga and Pākehā understandings of gifting and relationship.[83]

The histories of manatunga are not always recorded within the colonial archive—or at least not in those words—and this is the case for He Whiringa Aroha. Even though the Peabody Essex Museum collections are known for being well documented,[84] the William Richardson 1806 collection has no documentation as to whether Richardson bought, stole, or was gifted the highly prized collection.[85] And yet, the historical importance of taonga provides context for He Whiringa Aroha and He Whiringa Aroha's movement. Both early coloniser and contemporary Ngāpuhi accounts of Te Pahi, for example, show that taonga were being traded abundantly between Pākehā and Ipipiri Māori at the time that He Whiringa Aroha was collected.

To understand taonga in museum collections it is important to understand the Māori process of utu and ea. Importantly, all manatunga are given in the context of utu and ea. As Papa Bernard explains:

> Utu, you know, it really suits non-Māori people and non-Māori scholars to simplify things like utu as blood revenge. But utu is actually the building blocks of everyday human interaction. So that if somebody does something for you, you do something for them

'Utu' can be defined as revenge. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, for example, provides one explanation of utu as 'the avenging of a wrong' and therefore 'a powerful influence in the making of war'.[86] However, Pākehā colonial ethnographers have reduced the term to this

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[82] Diedre Brown in *Tippahee: A Documentary About the Te Pahi Medal*, dir. by Komako Silver (Kikorua Films, 2015) <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/discover-collections/read-watch-play/story-te-pahi-medal/tippahee-documentary-about-te-pahi-medal> [accessed 16 August 2024].
[83] It is important to note that not all taonga in museums overseas were gifted to collectors as manatunga, tangible symbols or heirlooms. Many were stolen, such as the waka kōiwi from Te Taitokerau caves that remain in the Auckland War Memorial Museum.
[84] George H. Schwartz, 'Introduction: "A Cabinet, That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World"', in *Collecting the Globe*, The Salem East India Marine Society Museum (University of Massachusetts Press, 2020), pp. 1–11, doi:10.2307/j.ctvxkn6vm.4. p 8.
[85] See Dodge, 1941, or the original East India Marine Society catallogue: The East India Marine Society of Salem. *The East-India Marine Society of Salem*. Salem, Massachusetts, 1821. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044011200839?urlappend=%3Bseq=1.
[86] Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 'Maori: People and Culture', in *Maori Art and Culture*, 1st edn (British Museum Press, 1996). p 27.

single meaning and have used it to construct a stereotype of Māori as vengeance-driven warriors. As Georgina Tuari Stewart explains, utu has been over simplified, with racist implications, as 'revenge'; however, the term more closely refers to 'balance'.[87] The act of achieving that balance and resolution, or 'ea', is the whakautu. The whakautu, however, must be of equal or greater value than the original act of giving, or else ea is not yet restored.[88]

Bringing relationships and the socio-political state between people, hapū, and iwi into ea was of utmost importance. Sometimes, that was achieved through acts of war, fitting Te Awekotuku's definition. In other contexts, however, manatunga that were gifted came with a debt of ea: in time that debt would be repaid in order to return the relationship to ea. When taonga are removed from their hapū and iwi contexts, shipped away to overseas museums, and archived there, ea remains out of balance. As Tapsell explains, this is intentional: 'By museums continuing to obscure the originating trajectory of their taonga–gift, sale, loan or theft–they have been able to present narratives that tell the latest story of Māori from the coloniser's perspective.'[89] When the provenance, the names, or the origins of taonga are unclear, then how do museums and communities work towards a state of ea?

Conclusion: Who has the power to name and define taonga?

In my kōrero with Papa Bernard and Bethany, we discussed the deep ways that taonga inform our cultural practices as powerful connectors and the epitome of ancestral creativity. Our ancestors thought of taonga in practical, spiritual, and socio-political ways. In contrast, American sailors understood He Whiringa Aroha as a 'curiosity' of a dying Indigenous race that demanded urgent collection.[90] There remains a fundamental difference between the ways that colonial archives name taonga and how Māori relate to them. This chapter has reviewed concepts that are important to reaffirming He Whiringa Aroha within a Māori worldview, such as taonga, toi and manatunga. Archival names for the pare were also interrogated, such as 'curiosity', ''artefact'', and 'art'. Instead of providing a definitive answer as to what He Whiringa Aroha is, this chapter has explored how we can relate to ia. When we relate to He Whiringa Aroha we experience the expansiveness of our ancestral taonga, the expressions of

[87] Georgina Tuari Stewart, *Māori Philosophy: Indigenous Thinking from Aotearoa*, Bloomsbury Introductions to World Philosophies (Bloomsbury Academic, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2021).
[88] For more on this tikanga see Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Maori Living by Maori Values* (Huia NZ Ltd, 2013).
[89] Tapsell, 2011, p. 19.
[90] Dodge, 1945.

our toi, and the power available to us that resists ongoing confiscation. I argue that when we are in relationship to He Whiringa Aroha we can no longer be concerned about *what* ia is, but rather we are connected to this power portal that transcends the archive.

Prelude 2 Archival Chaos

Figure 5. Moana Murray, *Archival Chaos* (2024), collage of archival documents

drifting on rough seas a cabinet of coveted curiosities

inside a world not your own a body unrecognisable

shores you no longer see sand and pebbles slip through fingers onto open earth

frustratingly frozen in a longing past

kauri inflexible it cracks under colonial confines

Ranginui gathers more stars to bejewel his chest

mokopuna research responsibilities that gratefully never end

Chapter 2
Archival Disarray: Pieces of a Pare as Told by the Peabody Essex Museum

The Prelude to this chapter includes the collage, *Archival Chaos,* which uses photographs of archival documents of He Whiringa Aroha[1], including the *Eliza* logbook, the Peabody Essex Museum object report for 'E5501', and the 1821 East India Marine Society catalogue. When I first saw pictures of He Whiringa Aroha in catalogues I was excited to be forming a relationship to what I thought was a creation of our Ngāpuhi ancestors. However, as I searched for the mountains, forests, rivers, and hapū that He Whiringa Aroha descended from, I instead found white numbers, red lines, and an erratic array of coloniser terms. I longed to know the whakapapa so that I may come closer to knowing our ancestors in museums. Despite this, the Peabody Essex Museum hindered this process of coming into relationship with the pare in many ways. The colonial archive clouded he hononga mokopuna--the link between a mokopuna of Te Taitokerau and a carved tūpuna--and forced me to view the taonga from the eyes of the colonisers that imprisoned them. This led me to the central question of this chapter: how do archiving practices dictate how we relate to taonga in museums? Through this question I investigate how collection, display and provenance have storied He Whiringa Aroha.

As a weaver and scholar based in Aotearoa, I can only interact with this pare remotely through the discretion of curators and librarians at the Peabody Essex Museum and secondary published research. Meeting the colonisers' histories of He Whiringa Aroha in the archive without meeting the taonga has been confronting. Although the staff at the Peabody have been gracious in lending their time, resources, and object information, these physical barriers remain. Collection, catalogue, and display practices are barriers that form the colonial and historical narratives attached to He Whiringa Aroha. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes, in order to transform 'our colonized views of our own histories' we must 'revisit, site by site, our

[1] He Whiringa Aroha is the name used in this thesis to refer to : Maori artist in Possibly Tai Tokerau, Northern Bay of Islands, New Zealand (Aotearoa), *pare (door lintel)*, 1807. [Carving]. At: Peabody Essex Museum. E5501.

history under Western eyes'.[2] It is important to expose the colonial archive so that we may reclaim taonga in Māori worldviews that honour them and the ancestors who created them.

This chapter lays out the archival pieces that trace the colonial history of He Whiringa Aroha. I show how the motivations of the collectors, and the practice of cataloguing, display and provenance, tell one version of this history and leave vital questions about whakapapa unanswered. This chapter unmasks the American sailors and illustrates how their efforts aided the colonisation of the Pacific. Subsequently, it analyses the East India Marine Society display to illustrate how He Whiringa Aroha became an object used by the sailors to reify their standing as elite white men in a newly independent America. The East India Marine Society, which is the precursor to the present Peabody Essex Museum, reinforced white supremacy through its navigational information, selection of taonga, cataloguing and displays. From this point my experience searching for whakapapa in the archive becomes clear as I was left only with the museum's provenance. Provenance is a practice of museum collections that seeks to define where an item was collected and who 'owns' it. However, unlike the search for whakapapa, which connects taonga to lands, hapū and iwi, museum provenance follows the history of collection, sale or donation, thereby centring the institution in the history of the taonga. To tell the story of colonial archiving, this chapter explores the Peabody Essex Museum archives, published research on the collections, and kōrero with tohunga whakairo, Bernard Makoare (Te Uri o Hau; Ngati Whatua; Te Waiariki, Te Kai Tutae; Te Rarawa; Ngapuhi-nui-tonu).

Seeing Behind the Archive: American Sailors and Possessing Māori Histories

The motivations and historical context of the American sailors who collected Indigenous objects shape the histories that the East India Marine Society and Peabody Essex Museum tell of Māori and taonga. Although many sailors formed mariner societies at American ports in the nineteenth century, the East India Marine Society formed what Patricia Johnston refers to as 'the elite of Salem's elite' because their charter restricted their membership to sailors who

[2] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 3rd edn (London: Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2021), p. 36.

had rounded Cape Horn, in southern Chile.[3] The American mariners of the East India Marine Society were pursuing the profits in sandalwood, fur, and Indigenous objects from Asia, Africa, Oceania, North America, and elsewhere. As the United States enacted a genocide on Indigenous peoples in its expansion across the continent, Society members simultaneously sailed across the globe asserting America's sailing and economic prowess.[4] Whether financially or through fame and status (the latter continuing in the museum's narratives today), taonga Māori and other Indigenous creations were used as symbols of the elite Salem society of the early nineteenth century.[5] These motivations have significant implications for how taonga Māori were collected and are now catalogued and displayed.

These American capitalists sailing into the Pacific returned home with practical sailing and ethnographic knowledge that boosted their status in Salem and contributed to the expansion of the U.S. nation-state. Two of the sailors who donated taonga Māori—William Putnam Richardson and Benjamin Vanderford onboard the *Eliza*—stopped in Fiji in 1811 during their lucrative trip pursuing sandalwood trade with China.[6] The Society's founding charter stated that the funds, composed of the member fees, must be invested in American stocks.[7] In addition to growing American capitalism, the logbook for the *Eliza* would contribute navigational information that supported America's imperialism in the Pacific.[8] The *Eliza* logbook includes the longitude/latitude, weather reports, and travel route, which were available for other sailors in the East India Marine Society and approved members of the public to borrow from the library.[9] Richardson may have not been an ethnographer, differing

[3] Patricia Johnston, 'Global Knowledge in the Early Republic: The East India Marine Society's Curiosities Museum', in *East-West Interchanges in American Art: A Long and Tumultuous Relationship*, ed. by Barbara G. Ketcham (Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2012), pp. 68–79 https://doi.org/10.5479/si.9781935623083.68, p. 70.
[4] Anna Boswell, 'Re-Enactment and the Museum Case: Reading the Oceanic and Native American Displays in the Peabody Essex Museum', *JNZL: Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 27 (2009), 48–70.
[5] George H. Schwartz, *Collecting the Globe: The Salem East India Marine Society Museum* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2020) https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvxkn6vm; Christina Hellmich Scarangello, 'The Pacific Collection in the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts', *Pacific Arts*, 13/14 (1996), 69–84.
[6] Ernest S. Dodge, 'Early American Contacts in Polynesia and Fiji - University of Waikato', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107.2 (1963); Shoemaker, 2019.
[7] The East India Marine Society of Salem, *The East-India Marine Society of Salem* (Salem, Massachusetts, 1821) https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044011200839?urlappend=%3Bseq=1, p. 22.
[8] 'Eliza (Ship) Logbook, 1805-1806', Phillips Library Stacks, Peabody Academy of Science, Salem, Massachusetts; Mary Malloy and Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade: Northwest Coast Indian Art and Artifacts Collected by American Mariners, 1788–1844* (Harvard University Press, 2000); Karen Kramer Russell, 'Over 200 Years of Native American Art and Culture at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts: Exhibiting Culture: Museums and Indians', *Tulsa Law Review*, 45, no. 1 (2010), 33–44.
[9] The East India Marine Society of Salem, 1821.

from other ‘expeditions’ into the region, but he was overtly pursuing both profits and information about Pacific waters, peoples, and visual cultures.

Nancy Shoemaker writes that Richardson and Vanderford were historical agents complicit in America’s imperial expansion into the Pacific as well as ‘ideological propagandists’ who fuelled an American superiority over ‘curious’ peoples and their ‘objects’.[10] White supremacy is intertwined with colonialism and anti-blackness.[11] The logics of white supremacy, which Andrea Smith argues include anti-blackness, genocide, and orientalism, underpin the colonial archive holding He Whiringa Aroha.[12] Cheryl Harris argues that whiteness as a form of property was validated through both the subordination of Black people and the genocide and theft of Indigenous peoples and their lands.[13] Moreover, Smith expands that through ‘the logic of genocide, non-Native peoples then become the rightful inheritors of all that was indigenous—land, resources, indigenous spirituality and culture’.[14] Likewise, through the logic of colonisation, the East India Marine Society mariners became the rightful ‘owners’ of Indigenous items they viewed as inevitably disappearing. Taonga Māori were caught up in this disarray and displayed accordingly. The sailors are worshipped as heroes of a new identity and as colonisers of the Pacific by the archive and the museum itself.

The logic of white supremacy underpinned the growing colonial appetite for ownership of Indigenous ‘objects’. Maile Arvin demonstrates how the settler colonial project in the Pacific objectifies Indigenous Polynesians as eroticised almost-white subjects.[15] Arvin explains that ‘Polynesia’ is a colonial project of white possession—the appropriation of our Indigenous bodies, cultures, and taonga.[16] This racist ideology simultaneously reinforces anti-blackness and heteropatriarchy by constructing a ‘sexualized Polynesian girl available to white settler men’ and a ‘dark, dangerous’ Polynesian man that threatened white masculinity.[17] As

[10] Shoemaker, 2019, p 42.
[11] Cheryl I. Harris, ‘Whiteness as Property’, *Harvard Law Review*, 106, no. 8 (1993), 1707–91 https://doi.org/10.2307/1341787, p. 1716; Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015); Maile Renee Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai`i and Oceania* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).
[12] Andrea Smith, ‘Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy’, *Global Dialogue*, 12, no. 2 (Summer 2010), 1–13, p. 2.
[13] Harris, 1993.
[14] A. Smith, 2010.
[15] Arvin, 2019.
[16] Arvin, 2019.
[17] Arvin, 2019.

Aboriginal scholar Aileen Moreton-Robinson puts it, racism is 'inextricably tied to the theft and appropriation of Indigenous lands in the first world'.[18] Like our lands and bodies, our taonga were objects to be possessed, frantically collected in the thousands, and displayed overseas to boost the status of American sailors.

The logic of white supremacy determined the type of taonga that the East India Marine Society collected. Isaac Te Awa, curator Mātauranga Māori at Te Papa Tongarewa, explains that collectors sought taonga that aligned with their racist stereotypes of Māori such as the 'noble savage' or 'dusky maiden'.[19] Consequently, the collections at Te Papa Tongarewa are predominantly weapons, rather than other taonga present in pūrākau, whānau, hapū and iwi oral histories such as toys. Te Awa concludes, 'What that means is that we are left with a collection that is already biased towards how Pākehā perceived us so to try to tell Māori stories out of those taonga is a challenge'.[20] Similarly, writing a Māori history of He Whiringa Aroha out of the archival fragments of the East India Marine Society and Peabody Essex Museum is difficult.

The diversity of taonga in the Peabody Essex Museum, which holds toys, instruments, and weavings, is unusual amongst museums. However, the logic of gendered white supremacy persist. William Richardson collected 17 taonga. Alongside the pare was a mira tuatini, waka huia, pūtōrino, and others.[21] Yet weapons from the Pacific were prioritised by Richardson and in the East India Marine Society display. [22] The collection's two woven pieces are whītiki, or belts, which are worn to hold weapons such as patu, and thus could be associated with war. Richardson did not collect any other taonga representative of a fuller picture of Māori life. The collection neglects the importance of weaving and wāhine Māori creative practices.[23] As

[18] Moreton-Robinson, 2015. p xxii.
[19] *Ngā Taonga Tuku Iho #1: Lost in the Colonisation Machine*, 2022. https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/discover-collections/read-watch-play/watch-nga-taonga-tuku-iho/watch-nga-taonga-tuku-iho-1-lost.
[20] Ibid.
[21] William Richardson was the 19th member of the East India Marine Society. See The East India Marine Society of Salem, 1821.
[22] Anna Boswell, '"Shakey Notions": Settlement History on Display' (University of Auckland, 2011), p. 43.
[23] G. R. Aroha Yates-Smith, 'Hine! E Hine!: Rediscovering the Feminine in Māori Spirituality' (PhD thesis, University of Waikato, 1998); G. R. Aroha Yates-Smith, 'Ko te whare pora o Hine-te-iwaiwa: he titiro ki ētahi āhuatanga o ngā kākahu o te iwi Māori' (MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1980).

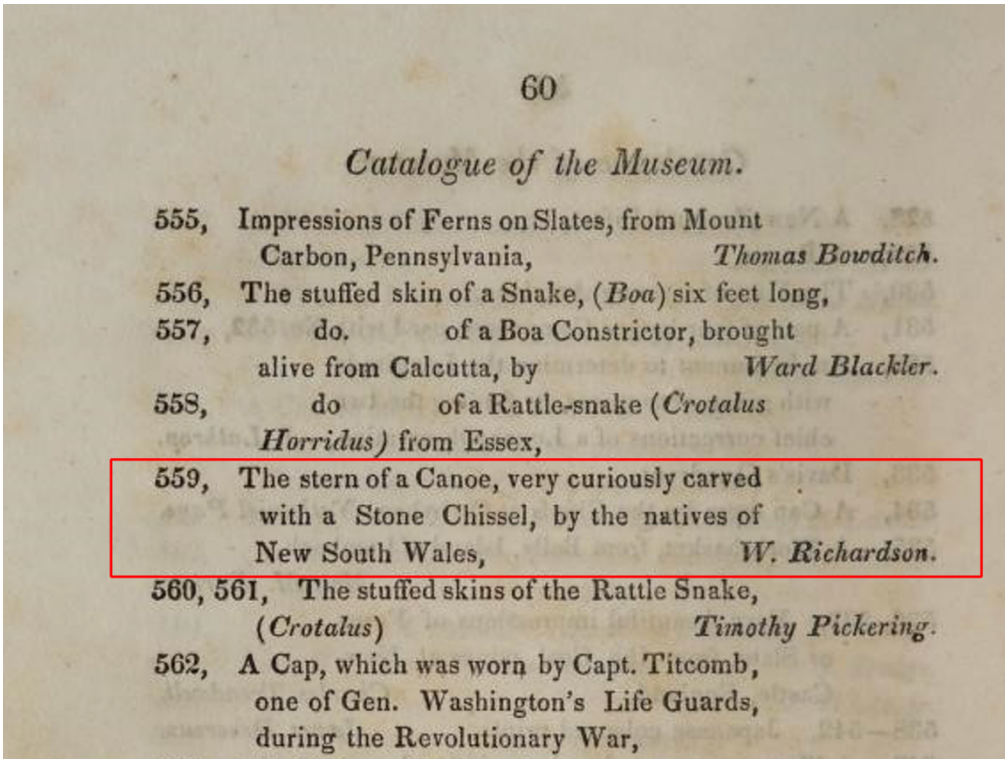
kairaranga and scholar Ereni Pūtere has explained, ethnographers who collected and recorded Māori creative practices marginalised the knowledge of kairaranga.[24]

Like their European counterparts at the time, through the settler-colonial logic of genocide these American sailors had the intention of collecting only from cultures they viewed as 'untouched' by the west, yet soon to be declining.[25] Although the earliest accessions included items from Pacific Northwestern Native American tribes, the Marine Society did not originally collect items from the tribes surrounding the Museum itself.[26] Anna Boswell writes that taonga Māori and the Native American collections were in relationship through collections and exhibitions from the beginning of the East India Marine Society.[27] Boswell explains that the Society did not focus on local history until the early twentieth century because they were 'acquiring from the Pacific precisely the kinds of traditional items no longer available at home'.[28] Furthermore, the early East India Marine Hall (displayed from 1824-1867) juxtaposed taonga Māori alongside what Karen Kramer Russell, the current curator of Native American and Oceanic art and culture, describes as the 'earliest known Chilkat blanket, c. 1832' and one of the few known Djilakons masks from that same time period.[29] The Society fervently collected from peoples and material cultures that they viewed as untouched by European influence, which the tribes in New England were not. According to the museum's 1949 handbook, items from China were less important because it was a 'a highly civilized country'; but the Pacific Islands, and the Pacific northwest coast were considered 'uncivilized regions where no highly technical civilization and no wealthy collectors existed, but only natives living by their own'.[30] As sailors and collectors scrambled

[24] Ereni Pūtere, 'Te Tāhū: The Role of Weaving in Kāi Tahu Memory' (seminar presented at the Aotearoa Gender History Network seminar, Aotearoa New Zealand, 24 July 2024); Ereni Pūtere, 'Te Tāhū: The Role of Weaving in Kāi Tahu Memory', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 58, no. 1 (2024), 12–26.
[25] In his analysis of taonga in Aotearoa museum display, Conal McCarthy expands, 'Exhibiting Māori implied the possession of the people and their land, who, like the native flora and fauna, were apparently doomed to extinction'. Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (English edn; Oxford: Berg, 2007), p. 13.
[26] Mary Malloy and Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*.
George H. Schwartz, '"Collecting and Arranging... a History of the Globe": A Reconsideration of the Salem East India Marine Society and Antebellum American Museology' (PhD thesis, Boston University) p. 64.
[27] Boswell, 2011.
[28] Anna Boswell, 'Re-Enactment and the Museum Case: Reading the Oceanic and Native American Displays in the Peabody Essex Museum', *JNZL: Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 27 (2009), p. 54.
[29] See E3648 and E3483 in Karen Kramer Russell, 'Over 200 Years of Native American Art and Culture at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts Exhibiting Culture: Museums and Indians', *Tulsa Law Review*, 45.1 (2009), pp. 33–44.
[30] Ernest S. Dodge and Charles Copeland, *Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem* (The Anthoensen Press, 1949) p. 3.

to obtain Indigenous objects untouched by western understandings of civilisation, anything from Aotearoa and other Pacific nations 'was certain to be good'. [31]

Colonial Disarray on Display



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Catalogue of the Museum.

555, Impressions of Ferns on Slates, from Mount Carbon, Pennsylvania, *Thomas Bowditch.*

556, The stuffed skin of a Snake, (*Boa*) six feet long,

557, do. of a Boa Constrictor, brought alive from Calcutta, by *Ward Blackler.*

558, do of a Rattle-snake (*Crotalus Horridus*) from Essex,

559, The stern of a Canoe, very curiously carved with a Stone Chissel, by the natives of New South Wales, *W. Richardson.*

560, 561, The stuffed skins of the Rattle Snake, (*Crotalus*) *Timothy Pickering.*

562, A Cap, which was worn by Capt. Titcomb, one of Gen. Washington's Life Guards, during the Revolutionary War,

Figure 6. 1821 Catalogue of the East India Marine Society showing the incorrect description of Te Whiringa Aroha as the stern of a canoe, and using the telling adjective 'curiously' to describe its carvings. Image reproduced from *Peabody Essex Museum Object Report E5501* (Peabody Essex Museum, 8 December 2023), p. 5, Peabody Essex Museum.

When He Whiringa Aroha left Aotearoa it was understood by Māori as a taonga, an expression of toi whakairo, and possibly a manatunga. However, upon arriving in the East India Marine Society, ia was catalogued, named, and exhibited in the midst of colonial chaos. The Society displayed He Whiringa Aroha in its 'cabinet of curiosities' with the opening of the East India Marine Society Hall in 1825.[32] In his 2015 dissertation, curator-at-large at the Peabody Essex Museum, George H. Schwartz writes that once the East India Marine Society sailors collected international objects, the meaning of those ancestral creations were altered—they became 'representations of other cultures or souvenirs of exchange and cultural

[31] Dodge and Copeland, 1949, p.3.
[32] Russell, 2010.

encounter'.[33] I argue that this does not go far enough. To hapū and iwi Māori, taonga are power portals to our ancestors. Once collected, however, taonga became not merely souvenirs or educational tools to teach Americans of 'other' cultures. Rather, taonga became objects to solidify white supremacy and the construction of an Indigenous 'other' inferior to the sailors and white society. The 1821 *Catalogue* provides an ordered inventory of all collected objects in the Society that corresponds to the physical layout of the objects on display within the building at that time.[34] The *Catalogue* is the first inventory of the East India Marine Society collections after some of the objects could no longer be identified by 1820.[35] This is one of the devastating moments when He Whiringa Aroha is fragmented—the taonga is painted with the catalogue number '559', named, ordered, and, potentially at this point, broken.[36] These early Indigenous objects were ordered and displayed chaotically. He Whiringa Aroha was displayed next to a stuffed boa constrictor, three silver coins, and a cap worn by a captain in the American Revolutionary War.[37] This display was not chronological, nor ordered by the places treasures were collected from, nor by the names of the members who donated them. Boswell shows in her analysis of the 1821 *Catalogue* that the irregularity corresponds to the dispersal and fragmentation of Indigenous peoples by imperialism.[38] As Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes, 'imperialism and colonialism brought complete disorder to colonized peoples, disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their languages'.[39] Taonga such as He Whiringa Aroha were not only scattered throughout the colonising world, but when displayed through the eyes of the coloniser they were dislocated from their hapū and iwi contexts.

He Whiringa Aroha was displayed next to tokens of American capitalism. The mariners considered themselves no longer British colonists, but 'pioneers' of a distinct American identity.[40] Both the currency and the cap from the American revolution that sat beside He Whiringa Aroha symbolised a financially independent America. Schwartz claims that the

[33] George H. Schwartz, *Collecting the Globe: The Salem East India Marine Society Museum* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2020), doi:10.2307/j.ctvxkn6vm. Pp 64.
[34] East India Marine Society, 1821; Boswell, 2011.
[35] Malloy and others, 2000.pp 61.
[36] Malloy explains that physician Dr. Seth Bass was hired to catalogue the East India Marine Society collections in 1821. He painted numbers on many of the items and created the inventory that became the 1821 catalogue. Malloy and others, 2000.
[37] East India Marine Society, 1821, p. 46.
[38] Boswell, 2011.
[39] Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 29.
[40] Schwartz, 2020.

sailors were not ethnographic collectors, nor collecting merely to obtain knowledge, but rather, 'they were expressions of a new American identity denoting both Salem and the new nation's position in the world'.[41] Moreover, Schwartz explains that the sailors contributed to a new 'American identity tied to the sea'.[42] This identity was not inclusive, nor innocent; it was reserved for Salem's elite—white and male mariners who profited from Indigenous peoples, their lands, and their taonga. Sailors used taonga Māori with mana and tapu to reify the hierarchy of the white male elite.

The East India Marine Society exhibition was a 'trophy display' that celebrated colonial theft and opportunism.[43] Sumaya Kassim writes that museums are 'temples of whiteness' whereby the colonised are racialised, named, and displayed and whereby whiteness is deified. Kassim notes that museums narrate 'a story of the nation that homogenises the history of the nation and celebrates it'.[44] Similarly, He Whiringa Aroha was used to idolise Salem's elite in the early nineteenth century as well as narrate a history of America that invisibilised the oppression of Indigenous nations both domestically and in the Pacific. The colonial archive worships the American colonisers rather than telling the histories of He Whiringa Aroha. The Society and its drawers of disarray are inextricably linked to colonisation through the appropriation of Indigenous objects.

Museum exhibitions, catalogues, and registers tell highly curated stories about taonga, place, and people. In the Peabody Essex Museum, curators and collectors told stories about taonga Māori that foregrounded contact between collectors and 'natives'. In 1941 Ernest Stanley Dodge, the Assistant Curator in Ethnology at the Peabody Museum of Salem who worked at the museum for 49 years, compiled the '*The New Zealand Māori Collection in the Peabody Museum of Salem'.* Dodge not only comprehensively lists the 'specimens in the Polynesian collections' but he also attempts to give a description of 'the natives of these islands' beginning with 'the natives' first contact with white men'.[45] In doing so Dodge produces a history of taonga Māori that begins with Pākehā. This historical narrative centres colonisers in the stories of these taonga, which further disembodies them from their hapū and iwi

[41] Schwartz, 2020, p. 66.
[42] Schwartz, 2020.
[43] McCarthy, 2007, p. 13.
[44]Sumaya Kassim, 'Museums Are Temples of Whiteness', in *The Routledge Companion to Decolonizing Art History*, ed. by Tatiana Flores, Florencia San Martín, and Charlene Villaseñor Black (New York: Routledge, 2023), pp. 128–38 https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003152262-11, p. 129.
[45] Dodge, 1941, pp. vii-1.

contexts. Although Dodge's work is outdated, it remains as one of the only Peabody Essex Museum publications about taonga Māori.

The cataloguing and display practices detailed in this chapter are not merely historical. On the contrary, they continue to entangle the pare. The Peabody Essex Museum has since made important strides in their archiving and display of this taonga, such as in the Object Report, or in their more recent displays.[46] The museum has embraced contemporary practices such as working alongside Indigenous communities and exhibiting in ways that affirm Native artists and practices are alive and well.[47] And yet, Boswell critiques, 'By refusing to take a critical stance in relation to its own origin and history, the PEM tries to have it both ways, attempting to honour the artefacts' Indigenous makers at the same time as it honours those who collected material'.[48] At the time of this research I was unable to visit the museum to experience the current museum practice and exhibition of taonga Māori. Nonetheless, the pare remains in fragments: physically broken, entangled in white supremacist narratives, and separated from hapū and iwi.

If we only can come to know He Whiringa Aroha through the histories told by the American sailors, we are at risk of allowing the histories of our ancestors to be written for us, without knowledge from descendents. The motivations of the sailors who collected this pare, and the way in which it was named, archived, dated and displayed, have all generated a story of this taonga that places it further out of the reach of its descendants. Cataloguing practices ordered taonga in western frameworks that served to erase Māori worldviews and to obscure the whakapapa of taonga.

Searching for Whakapapa but Finding Provenance

'5 Dec 2023 research journal entry

This morning, a librarian at the Peabody sent me some documents and scanned page by rusty scanned page, I am overwhelmed by the amount of Indigenous objects in American sailors' hands. This morning at 7:30 am was a protest led by te pāti Māori throughout the motu to

[46] Peabody Essex Museum. 'Peabody Essex Museum Object Report E5501.' Object Report. Salem, Massachusetts: Peabody Essex Museum, December 8, 2023. Peabody Essex Museum.
[47] Boswell, 2011, p. 66.
[48] Boswell, 2011.

show our disagreement with the anti-Māori policies of this new conservative coalition government. My friends and whānau visibly defiant on every street corner in Kirikiriroa, and I am here drowning in this archive. Sovereignty for Māori includes sovereignty for our taonga.'

In studying this pare I searched for not only its movement but, more importantly, the tūpuna surrounding its story. I wanted to locate myself in their pasts and in shared whakapapa, but frustratingly learned it was not so simple. Whakapapa is composed of the layers of genealogical connections from ngā atua to ancestors to the environment.[49] The archival practice of provenance is not equivalent to the whakapapa of taonga. Nor does provenance encapsulate the many names and sites that a taonga embodies; on the contrary, provenance is a method of the colonial archive, and a stubborn reminder that colonisation continues to entrap and define taonga tawhito. Like naming, it is another of the museum's claim to truth: it is the 'proven' origin of taonga. Most often in the colonial archive this means assigning the collections of taonga to the collector: for example, William Richardson 1806. Although some contemporary museum practice and academic research has moved towards centring the hapū and iwi of a taonga (if available) in provenance, the colonial archive does not.

Researching provenance in museum collections is a worthwhile effort that can assist in reconnecting hapū and iwi to their taonga, as well as contribute to repatriation efforts. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori and Mōriori have led Te Papa's Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme since 2003, which has seen the return of many tūpuna kōiwi, ancestral remains, from overseas museums.[50] Amber Aranui, who started the programme, notes how museum practice in Aotearoa and overseas is changing, and that some museums are taking steps to decolonise.[51] Aranui expains that in-depth research into taonga's provenance is integral to returning tūpuna in museums.[52] Provenance in museums is useful,

[49] Moana Jackson, 'Moana Jackson: Decolonisation and the Stories in the Land', *E-Tangata*, 2021 <https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/moana-jackson-decolonisation-and-the-stories-in-the-land/> [accessed 7 July 2024].
[50] Amber Aranui and Te Arikirangi Mamaku, 'The Importance of Kaitiakitanga (Guardianship and Care) and Rangahau (Research) for the Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme', in *Working with and for Ancestors* (Routledge, 2020).
[51] Amber Aranui, 'Tahuri Ana Te Tai--The Changing Tide of Repatriation in Current Museology', in *Uneven Bodies Reader*, ed. by Ruth Buchanan and others (Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, 2021), pp. 58–63.
[52] Aranui and Mamaku, 2021.

however, the provenance practices in this colonial archive have served to obscure the whakapapa of He Whiringa Aroha.

The 1821 *Catalogue* records '559' as: '559 Stern for a Canoe, very curiously carved with a stone chissel, by the natives of New South Wales, William Richardson'.[53] And yet, the rest of Richardson's collection donated to the Society upon his return to Salem in 1807 is catalogued as originating from New Zealand. The object report, which is collaged in the prelude to this chapter, states that the 1821 catalogue was 'incorrect' and instead assigns the provenance as 'Māori artist in possibly Tai Tokerau, Northern Bay of Islands'.[54] The pare is visibly Māori and carved out of kauri, but, as one scholar speculates, may have been collected second-hand in New South Wales.[55] As I searched for the whakapapa of He Whiringa Aroha I was confronted with even more questions: What is at stake when the provenance of taonga is questioned or unknown?

From the archival records this research has covered, the taonga in the collection may have been first provenanced as Bay of Islands in Dodge's 1941 publication.[56] Dodge, who had worked at the Peabody for 49 years, describes in a catalog that He Whiringa Aroha 'was made in the Bay of Plenty district' and collected at the Bay of Islands.[57] How did he come to this conclusion more than 100 years after the original East India Marine Society catalogue? Dodge conducted archival research that relied on unpublished documents in the museum, and he had also corresponded with Te Rangi Hiroa (Ngāti Mutunga), a Māori scholar who published prolifically on Māori culture.[58] Te Rangi Hiroa was an ethnographer and anthropologist in the early twentieth century who has been critiqued for reproducing the same harmful narratives as the colonial archive of 'traditional' Māori art before it was doomed to be extinguished.[59] Yet, he was one of the leading Māori scholars on taonga and worked closely with the Dominion Museum and the Bishop Museum, documenting much that

[53] East India Marine Society, 1821, p. 46.
[54] Peabody Essex Museum, *Peabody Essex Museum Object Report E5501* (Peabody Essex Museum, 8 December 2023), p. 5, Peabody Essex Museum.
[55] One scholar questions whether the ship stopped in Aotearoa New Zealand or collected the taonga second hand in Sydney or Norfolk Island: Rhys Richards, *Tracking Travelling Taonga: A Narrative Review of How Māori Items Got to London from 1798, to Salem in 1802, 1807 and 1812, and Elsewhere up to 1840* (Paremata Press, 2015).
[56] Dodge, 1941.
[57] Dodge, 1941, p. 7.
[58] It is not clear which archival documents he used. Scarangello, 1996.
[59] Billie Lythberg, Conal McCarthy, and Amiria J.M. Salmond, 'Introduction: Transforming Worlds: Kinship as Practical Ontology', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 128.1 (2019), pp. 7–18.

remains helpful to many Māori creatives today. Te Rangi Hiroa's work was largely focused in Tairāwhiti and Rotorua, and generally did not focus on Te Taitokerau.[60] Although Dodge consulted with Te Rangi Hiroa, it is unclear in his description of the pare if Dodge too was making conclusions based on carving motifs, or which unpublished documents he had used. Had he consulted carvers from Te Taitokerau or the Bay of Plenty?

Approaches to Finding Whakapapa with 'Iwi Style'

There are over 16,000 taonga Māori in collections overseas.[61] Yet, as Ellis, Macdonald and Almeida found, most of them are unprovenanced.[62] To rectify this, since the 1980s, scholars on material culture and taonga Māori have used stylistic comparisons to speculate on the origin of objects in museums. This approach is now debated. While visual analysis began the process of returning taonga to hapū and iwi, it also introduced generalizations and overlooked the knowledge of descendants and artists. Since the 2000s, Māori scholars have built models of whakapapa research that are a better fit for taonga research and repatriation. First, I will review the available provenance and style information on this pare, then I will expand as to how these approaches risk the further dislocation of the taonga from the carvers, hapū and iwi who created it.

David Simmons has published widely on taonga Māori and assigned many iwi provenances through stylistic criteria, including in the 1982 *Catalogue of Māori Artefacts in the Museums of Canada and the United States of America.*[63] Simmons asserts that the Salem collections document Bay of Islands carving and tāniko style, the introduction of steel tools at the start of the nineteenth century, and the influence of other regional carving styles in the Bay of Islands.[64] This is a bold claim to make without being a knowledge holder of hapū and iwi mātauranga. Though Simmons' research is lauded by both Pākehā and Māori scholars, he has been criticised for drawing conclusions on iwi styles without citing his sources.[65]

[60] Wayne Ngata, Hei Taonga Mā Ngā Uri Whakatipu = Treasures for the Rising Generation: The Dominion Museum Ethnological Expeditions 1919-1923 (Te Papa Press, 2021).
[61] Ellis and others, 2023.
[62]Ellis and others, 2023.
[63] Simmons, 1982.
[64] Simmons, 1982, p. 185.
[65] Ngarino Ellis, 'The Phd Monologues Navigating the Conventions of Māori Art History', *Te Pouhere Kōrero*, 4 (2010), pp. 6–13.

The scholarship of Simmons and Mead, which was published after the 'Te Māori' Exhibition in the 1980s and 1990s, has been instrumental in challenging the colonial archive. Their works constitute a turning point in the field of art history and are attempts to reconnect taonga to hapū and iwi. [66] However, they define iwi carving styles outside of hapū knowledge holders and sometimes without sufficient archival provenance records. Simmons explains his methods in Mead: 'a broad and general division of Māori art styles can be made using fairly simple criteria' such as the body shape, the type of manaia figure, or surface patterns.[67] Simmons makes many claims about what constituted Te Taitokerau carving style in the 19th century. For example, he writes that 'the Bay of Islands figures have head shapes very familiar to those of Ngāti Kahu with a rectangular head […] Surface decoration is of unaunahi'.[68] Unaunahi is one carving pattern that scholars such as Simmons and Mead have attributed to Tai Tokerau carving.[69] Ngāpuhi scholar Diedre Brown warns of prescribing definitive tribal carving style as provenance, and yet, her scholarship arguably does use provenance to determine iwi styles. In her comprehensive 2003 study of Northland wood carvings in public archives, Brown found that less than one in eight items in museum records that claim to be from Te Taitokerau have documentation of whakapapa.[70] Brown explains that in the 1970s and 1980s, especially in the lead up to the 1984 'Te Māori' exhibition, tribal affiliations were retroactively assigned to unprovenanced taonga based on stylistic comparison to a similar provenanced taonga rather than archival provenance records.[71] This risks becoming the dominant narrative of a taonga. Although it is a worthwhile attempt to reconnect taonga to their iwi, it may instead become the only accepted truth of the taonga over time.

Brown states that their review of Taitokerau carved taonga is based entirely on pieces that are in publicly accessible collections and have provenance records. And yet, He Whiringa Aroha, which is in the publication, may not have definitive Te Taitokerau provenance. Nonetheless, Brown's book has been widely used as Ngāpuhi creatives seek to revitalise the practices of our tūpuna. This study was also reviewed and guided by Ngāpuhi carvers, Māori archivists

[66] Ellis, 2010; Mead, 1995.
[67] Sidney M. Mead and Athol McCredie, *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections* (Heinemann, 1984). pp 79.
[68] Mead and McCredie, 1984, p. 101.
[69] Sidney M. Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo = The Art of Maori Carving*, [New ed.]. (Reed Publishing, 1995).
[70] Brown, 2003.
[71] Brown, 2003, p. 23.

and knowledge holders such as Professor Patu Hohepa, Hector Busby and Walter Waipapa.[72] As such, Brown's *Tai Tokerau Whakairo Rākau Northland Māori Wood Carving* is one of the few comprehensive studies of Northland taonga conducted and validated by Māori, and importantly, by a Ngāpuhi scholar.

Brown lists He Whiringa Aroha as:

> origin: Bay of Islands
>
> Iwi: not yet known
>
> Period: pre-1907
>
> Dimensions: length 100cm, height 47.5 cm
>
> Material: kauri
>
> Although the composition of the pare has been likened to those made in the Bay of Plenty, the acquisition of the taonga in the Bay of Islands, and its construction from northern-sourced kauri, lend weight to the argument that it was carved in Tai Tokerau.[73]

In contrast to the colonial archive, which foregrounds the American mariners, Brown is instead centring the taonga's relationship to place ('Bay of Islands'), iwi ('not yet known', rather than 'unknown'), and land ('kauri'). Her scholarship on the pare is an important shift away from that of the colonial archive and instead places He Whiringa Aroha in relation to forests and lands. In assigning the origin as the Bay of Islands, Brown cites Dodge's 1941 *The New Zealand Maori Collection in the Peabody Museum of Salem*. However, Dodge's assigned provenance may not be reliable.

Scholars have looked to the style of other taonga in the collection to illuminate more information on provenance. Simmons writes in his 1982 catalogue that the pare is carved in the same fashion as another taonga in the 1806 Richardson collection: a stunning papahou, 'E5505'.[74] Ngarino Ellis and Diedre Brown describe the carving style of this papahou as being of the same carver as a kōrere, or feeding funnel, now in the Te Papa Tongarewa collection.[75] The kōrere is provenanced as 'Unknown; carver; 1700-1850; Northland' and

[72] Brown, 2003, p. 11.
[73] Brown, 2003, pp. 106-107.
[74] D. R. Simmons, *Catalogue of Māori Artefacts in the Museums of Canada and the United States of America*, Bulletin of the Auckland Institute and Museum, No. 12 (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland Institute and Museum, 1982), pp. 185.
[75] Deidre Brown and Ngarino Ellis, *Te Puna: Māori Art from Te Tai Tokerau Northland* (Auckland, N.Z: Reed, 2007), kōrere OL000135 in the Oldman Collection at Te Papa Tongarewa.

was purchased by Te Papa from the British collector W O Oldman in 1948. Te Papa notes on its website: 'Because these items had passed through various sale rooms in Britain, they often lack detailed information on their origins or historical context'.[76] Yet, if the kōrere is from Northland, and if assumed to be the same carver as both the papahou and pare in the Peabody Essex Museum, then perhaps He Whiringa Aroha can also be assumed to be provenanced from Northland. Placing the archival pieces together to see the story of a taonga can sometimes seem like a wild chase: jumping from one lead to the next in an attempt to find the hapū, iwi, rivers, forests and mountains the taonga connects to. Ellis and Brown have conducted their own visual analysis in the archives of these three taonga they provenance as Taitokerau, or Northland, which adds valuable information to the chase.

In an attempt at reconnection, scholars that have studied He Whiringa Aroha have offered visual readings into the carving itself, which is important to include here. Yet, scholarship utilizing provenance to define whakairo Māori (or vice versa) runs the risk of establishing a corpus that can further remove the taonga from its cultural context and community. When Ngāpuhi creatives are looking to the creations of our ancestors to build our own practice, ambiguous provenance and archival fragments pose significant difficulties and implications for building relationships to the past. As we can see with He Whiringa Aroha, provenancing taonga Māori in overseas, physically inaccessible museums proves troublesome. In my interview with Papa Bernard Makoare, he shared some pitfalls of museum and academic practices. We discussed how important it is to maintain hapū and iwi sovereignty through our toi practices, and how museum and academic writing can undermine that:

> this simple describing of Ngāpuhi taonga in an academic sense is really limited but also problematic. So those of us that have not an artistic knowledge […] but a knowledge of our history and our cultural ways of doing things, you begin to realise that things that seem natural are not and that conclusions that are drawn by academics away from cultural places and people are actually a problem for future generations that are wanting information

In seeking to determine the Taitokerau provenance of carvings and therefore prescribe what designs constitute tribal carving practices, provenancing runs the risk of defining Ngāpuhi carving. I have struggled to research the whakapapa of this pare without making this same

[76] Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'The Oldman Collection | Collections Online - Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa,' accessed 8 July 2024, https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/1337.

mistake myself. As scholars we can make attempts at visual and style analysis to reconnect taonga with their iwi. Yet the best source of that knowledge is with the kaiwhakairo, hapū and iwi the taonga emerged from. In this research into the provenance of He Whiringa Aroha, I have shown the archival pieces that are available. I maintain that the knowledge of our artistic practices, our taonga, and our pūrākau are best placed with our hapū and iwi.

The Travels of He Whiringa Aroha

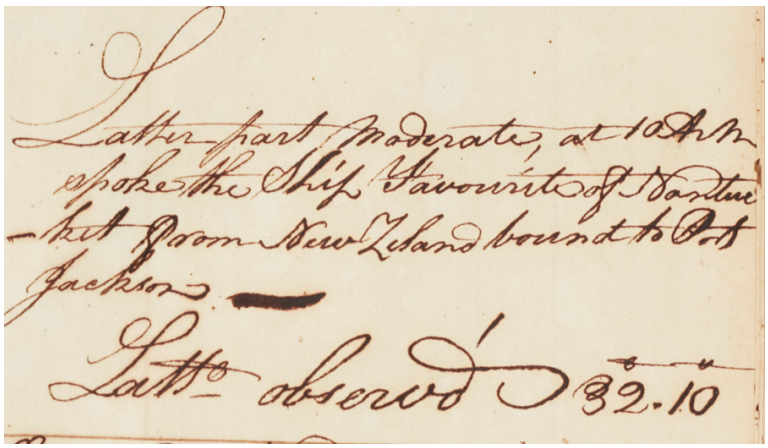

Figure 7. 1806 Eliza ship logbook: 'spoke the ship Favourite from [..]—but from New Zealand bound to Port Jackson. Latt observed 32'10'227'. Author's own image of the 1806 Eliza Ship Logbook. 2024.

The archival provenance files in museums are ambiguous and contested. The American sailors of the East India Marine Society recorded only what served their interests and very little, if any, information on the taonga Māori they collected. However, historical context to taonga at the time provide further context to locate He Whiringa Aroha. The locations important to understanding He Whiringa Aroha's movement in 1806 are Massachuset, Ipipiri (the Bay of Islands), Eora and Norfolk Island.[77] What was the journey of He Whiringa Aroha? In analyzing the *Eliza* ship logbook, I found no note of the ship stopping in New Zealand in between 1805 and 1806.[78] This logbook includes daily entries of the ship's whereabouts, latitude and longitude, and wind currents. From the coordinates documented in this logbook, the *Eliza* sailed from Salem, Massachusetts on June 23, 1805, stopped in Tahiti (Mauritus), Sydney (Port Jackson) and Norfolk Island, and ends with coordinates towards

[77] As illustrated in Mapping Connections in Prelude 1, I use the Indigenous names for Masachuset (Massachussetts), Ipipiri (Bay of Islands), and Eora (Sydney, Australia).
[78] Eliza Ship Logbook 1806. There are no coordinates for the Bay of Islands or Aotearoa New Zealand recorded in this logbook, which supports the argument that the ship did not stop in Bay of Islands itself, but may have picked up these taonga secondhand.

Sumatra, Indonesia. Although this primary source has been studied by other scholars, such as Richards, and presumably Dodge, the following details of the logbook have yet to be published.[79] The only mention of New Zealand is in the entry for March 7, 1806: spoke the ship Favourite from [..]—but from New Zealand bound to Port Jackson. Latt observed 32'10'.[80]

It is possible that the *Eliza* collected He Whiringa Aroha from the *Favourite* in Port Jackson, Sydney. Rhy Richards speculates that taonga in the Richarson collection may have been acquired at Port Jackson where the *Eliza* was docked between December 1805 and March 1806, or in its stop at Norfolk Island.[81] Māori and Pacific taonga had been available from Sydney or Norfolk Island since the early 1800s.[82] Yet, this does not explain why the rest of the Richardson collection was catalogued as originating from New Zealand.[83] Nor does it explain where and why He Whiringa Aroha was first provenanced as from the Bay of Islands. Museum catalogues do not match the sailors' logbooks.

Once again, I turn away from incomplete and misleading colonial records to consider deeper histories. The historical context of trade and Māori movement at the time He Whiringa Aroha was collected provides a fuller picture. As a focal point of trade, Ipipiri was integral to taonga movements and therefore relevant to the 1806 Richardson collection. It is also a location that connects me to this pare: I share whakapapa to the area of Whangaroa and to some of the tūpuna of Ipipiri.

Māori were trading and traveling with Pākehā at the time the sailors of the East India Marine Society arrived in the Pacific in 1806.[84] Whaling and sealing were integral to early Euro-

[79] It is unclear if the conclusions that Richards, Dodge, Simmons or Brown make of provenance were based on this page of the *Eliza* logbook. Richards' study does cite the logbook, however the above journal entry is not referenced in his text. See Richards, 2015; Dodge, 1946; Simmons, 1982; Brown, 2003.
[80] Eliza ship logbook p 62-63. The cursive writing is at times hard to read. I was unable to decipher where the Favourite was from.
[81] Richards, 2015, pp, 50-51
[82] Richards, 2015, pp, 50-51
[83] Dodge, 1945; Simmons, 1982.
[84] Although there is robust scholarship on the role of Ngāpuhi tāne had in trade in the Bay of Islands, there remains a gap in research on the important roles wāhine played in trading taonga and relationships. Jo Kāmira highlights the multitude of wāhine Māori that were integral to trade and movement yet have been invisibilised by the colonial archive. Jo Kāmira, 'E Kore a Muri E Hokia (the Route Left Behind Cannot Be Retraced)' (unpublished Masters dissertation, Macquarie University, 2022).

American trade in Aotearoa.[85] Ipipiri in particular was a hub of the economy in which our tūpuna were profiting, calculating their futures, and stepping onto Pākehā ships.[86] As Pat Hōhepa writes, 'Many Ngapuhi joined whaling and sealing expeditions; others were kidnapped to work on ships; and others toured the ports of Australia, Europe, the Pacific, and the Americas for months or years'.[87] As early as 1793 Māori from Ipipiri were working on ships which travelled between England, Port Jackson, and Norfolk Island for whaling, sealing, and diplomacy.[88] By 1806 significant trade in taonga, and particularly carved taonga, was taking place between Norfolk Island, Poihaakena, and Aotearoa.[89]

Ipipiri and Whangaroa were popular ports in the late 1700s–early 1800s, especially for American whalers and sealers, but trading declined after what many historians have referred to as '*the Boyd* incident' in 1809.[90] As Pākehā ship captains increasingly abused Māori sailors and rangatira on board such as Te Pahi and later Ruatara, tensions increased between hapū and American and European ships, particularly in Whangaroa. In November 1809, Whangaroa rangatira Te Āra, a relation of Te Pahi, was stripped and flogged aboard the *Boyd* as it stopped in Whangaroa. Māori sought utu and attacked the ship that came from Port Jackson, killing around 70 people.[91] In response, a revenge party of sailors in the Bay of Islands burned down Te Pahi's pā in Te Puna, killing at least 60 people.[92] European and American ships generally avoided the area after 1809.[93]

Although Ipipiri is not recorded in the *Eliza* logbook, the historical context of trade and taonga movement in the early 1800s adds to the archival stories of He Whiringa Aroha. As Métis scholar Sherry Farrell Racette notes in their discussion with Alan Corbiere, and Crystal

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[85] Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015).
[86] Dorothy Urlich Cloher, *Hongi Hika: Warrior Chief* (Auckland: Viking, 2003); Brown and Ellis, 2007; Anne Salmond, *Tears of Rangi: Experiments across Worlds* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017).
[87] Pat Hohepa, 'My Musket, My Missionary, and My Mana', in *Voyages and Beaches*, ed. by John Doe (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2017), pp. 180–201, https://doi.org/10.21313/9780824865511-012. P. 195.
[88] Tuki and Huru are ancestors from the Bay of Islands that are reported to have been kidnapped to Norfolk Island in 1793 to process flax there. Vincent O'Malley, *The Meeting Place: Māori and Pākehā Encounters, 1642-1840* (Auckland University Press, 2012).
[89] Richards maintains that the 1806 William Richardson collection was obtained secondhand in Norfolk Island, thereby showing substantial trade of taonga Māori by the early ninteenth century. Richards, 2015, p. 50.
[90] Richards, 2015; Brown and others, 2014.
[91] Salmond, 1997.; Brown and others, 2014.
[92] Waitangi Tribunal 2022, Tino Rangatiratanga Me Te Kāwanatanga the Report on Stage 2 of the Te Paparahi O Te Raki Inquiry Pre-Publication Version (Waitangi Tribunal, 2022).
[93] O'Malley, 2012.

Migwans, museum files are ‘sometimes a mere lineage of speculation gradually accepted as an object’s truth – with each researcher and curator adding her or his ‘best guess’ to the accumulated body of knowledge’.[94] From the *Eliza* logbook, to Dodge’s provenance, to secondary scholarship, Te Taitokerau may be the ‘best guess’ for He Whiringa Aroha. But what does that guess give to descendants? Is a guess good enough to restore he hononga mokopuna, a mokopuna connection?

Contemporary Museum Practice and ‘Ownership’

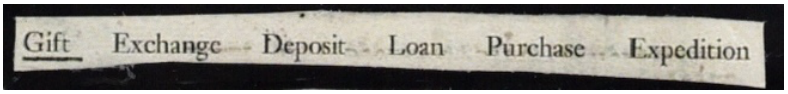

Figure 8. Moana Murray, *Collage of Museum Catalogue Card* (2024), collage of archival documents.

The archival practice of provenance does not equate to Māori understandings of taonga. As Māori Art Historian Ngarino Ellis explains, ‘Maori do not consider taonga able to be owned, but rather, as with the whenua, we are here to look after them until we can pass them on to the next generation’.[95] As Ellis suggests, responsibility is inherent to this understanding of taonga. We have a responsibility of custodianship, or kaitiakitanga, to care for our taonga such that their mana, tapu, and kōrero can be maintained. It follows then that the institutions that hold them, such as museums, share that responsibility.[96] In overseas archives, however, kaitiakitanga does not easily translate into museum practice. Museums continue to assert ownership of taonga Māori.

Provenance plays a very pivotal and political role in determining ‘ownership’, guardianship, and legal obligations that surround taonga. Museums have used provenance of taonga to attempt to reconnect the taonga to its origin community, which is one way researching provenance has important implications for reuniting taonga to their hapū and iwi. Equally, museums can refuse to recognise correct whakapapa to avoid the ethical obligations the museum has to Indigenous communities, as my kōrero with Papa Bernard will show.

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[94] Sherry Farelle Racette, Alan Corbiere, and Crystal Migwans, ‘Pieces Left Along the Trail: Material Culture Histories and Indigenous Studies’, in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies* (Routledge, 2017), pp. 223–29.
[95] Ellis, 2016.
[96] Awhina Tamarapa, ‘The Role of a Museum (Te Papa) in the Rejuvenation of Taonga Puoro: A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Museum Studies at Massey University, Manawatū, New Zealand’ (unpublished Thesis, Massey University, 2015) .

Papa Bernard Makoare has spent years working for his iwi both within the museum sector and in his own hapū and marae spaces. Papa Bernard shared his experience of sharing hapū information with an Aotearoa museum that challenged the museum's provenance. Despite his knowledge that proves the origin of the taonga, the museum was resistant to accepting hapū sovereignty of that taonga. In the midst of Papa Bernard's story, something abrupt happened:

Bernard Makoare:

'And then as that information about these particular taonga which are directly from my extended family albeit in the mid nineteenth century—

[SLAM]

[over the zoom interview, my office door slams shut by a sudden gust of wind. I see no breeze in the trees outside my window]

Moana:

Jumps, startled. 'Arohamai! That must have been the wind!'

Bernard Makoare:

'Oh, that's my tūpunas coming to see you and check you out!'

We laugh. But in both jest and seriousness we know that clearly, tūpuna had something important to say. Were they angry that the whakapapa of their taonga was refused by the museum? Did they want to stress how important this was to them? Just as Papa's work was informed by his tūpuna and his hapū, our interview and therefore this research is also tūpuna guided. Our discussion returned to his story.

Papa Bernard explains:

'So to this day, the information is: the provenance is incorrect. So why did they do that? You tell me, why did they refuse to receive my information?'

Moana:

‘Perhaps a couple of reasons. They don’t value your data, don’t think that your knowledge is accurate or more accurate than their own. Or the fact that they don’t want to have obligations to live up to’

Papa Bernard:

‘Yeah, exactly. So the two go hand in hand. They want to retain ownership …they’re really reluctant to acknowledge anything other than the provenance that they determine their authority’

My discussion with Papa Bernard, as well as our tūpuna informing us, stressed the importance of the whakapapa of our taonga. It also highlighted how problematic the museum practice of provenance can be and how the motivations behind provenance differ between provenance as ownership and provenance for building relationship. Shedding light on the archival documentation of the location at which He Whiringa Aroha was collected, whilst an attempt to reconnect iwi to our taonga, also contains the risk that institutions can use this knowledge to justify their continued ‘ownership’. Even when museums engage in Indigenous community consultation, they may still resist changing their oppressive colonial systems. This is not specific to one museum, but can apply broadly to institutions, both within and outside of Aotearoa.

Provenance and the motivations behind the practice are therefore highly political and involve ownership, legalities, and governments. In 2023, the last known customary Māori sail, Te Rā, was temporarily freed from the British Museum archive and arrived home in Aotearoa for exhibition.[97] At the time of this writing, the British Museum continues to claim ownership, although the exhibition in Aotearoa has been extended a further two years.[98] Te Rā is unprovenanced nor is the whakapapa recorded. However, as Te Ringa Raupā, a group of kairaranga based in Te Taitokerau, affirm, the taonga remains a central conduit to revitalizing the mātauranga of woven sails.[99] Te Rā Ringa Raupā traveled to the British Museum and

[97] *Te Rā: Navigating Home* Exhibition (Auckland War Memorial Museum, November 2023).
[98] Auckland War Memorial Museum. ‘Te Rā.’ Auckland War Memorial Museum, 2024. https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/visit/exhibitions/Te-Ra.
[99]Te Rā Ringa Raupā. ‘Te Karanga o Te Rā.’ Presentation. Auckland War Memorial Museum, November 18, 2023.

returned to Hokianga to weave two new sails: Māhere Tū Ki te Rangi and Hine Mārama.[100] As Ruth Port refers to Te Rā, this 'kuia' is a taonga tawhito that continues to inform both raranga and waka knowledge.[101] As Te Rā demonstrates, lack of provenance does not prevent taonga tawhito from connecting to iwi Māori and actively informing the revitalisation of toi practices.

Though it is ideal that archival pieces and research can provide definitive evidence of a taonga's origin, this is not the case for He Whiringa Aroha in the Peabody Essex Museum. The collection and provenance practices of the East India Marine Society has invisibilised the relationship the taonga has to hapū and iwi and replaced it with museum ownership. Yet taonga continue to belong to a network of relations from tūpuna to the mokopuna of today. And as mokopuna we inherit the responsibility to uphold the whakapapa so we may carry what we do know of He Whiringa Aroha into the future.

Conclusion

Just as the histories of taonga do not begin with the arrival of American sailors to Aotearoa shores, the futures of taonga are not condemned to museum storage. Meeting the predominately problematic archival histories of these taonga without meeting the taonga themselves has been confronting for me as a mokopuna Ngāpuhi searching for tūpuna in museums. Ambiguous provenances, white supremacy in the archive, and the inaccessibility of this overseas museum have greatly impeded my ability to restore connection with He Whiringa Aroha. These converging realities make it difficult to know the whakapapa of our taonga. However, even when information about the origin of our taonga overseas obscures the knowledge of their hapū and iwi, we can still continue to experience and honour the mana of these taonga.

The Peabody Essex Museum is not the authoritative knowledge holder of these taonga. Rather, uri are. As this chapter has demonstrated, it is important to contextualise the archival pieces from our experiences of them and centre the knowledge they provide within Māori worldviews. As the following chapter will explore, we can use these fragments of the archive

[100] The work of these wahine in the British Museum archive has been instrumental in reviving the traditional knowledge of weaving sails. Rouati Evans, for example, visited the archive in 2019 and was able to sucessfully 'crack the code' of the technique of the hono, or join. Te Rā Ringa Raupā, 2023.
[101] Ruth Port at Te Rā Ringa Raupā, 2023.

to restory taonga in order to restore he hononga mokopuna—a connection to our tūpuna in museums.

Prelude 3: Ko Wai Koe?

The pūngawerewere crawls inwards and outwards
In between the cyclic wholes of creation
Te korekore manifests
Te tupuna wahine births
Futurity is captured in kauri

Raperape tapped onto my hips
With the bone teeth of the uhi
Haehae chiseled onto yours
With the heavy stone tools
Nāu te hakapapa i kawe
Te mātauranga
tuku iho
tuku
iho

Chapter 3
Restorying to Reclaim

The poem in Prelude 3, an excerpt from 'Ancestors in Museums', addresses He Whiringa Aroha[1] as a tupuna, simultaneously recognizing the carver, the tupuna wahine carved within the kauri wood, and the taonga as a whole.[2] I liken my body and the designs tapped into it with the uhi to that of this carved ancestor–calling the pare and the knowledge ia carries back into my lived reality. Like the takarangi marked on both of our bodies, time spirals and we meet: a traveling pare and a mokopuna returned home. He Whiringa Aroha is an ancestral carving that is a call to return home, to return to Māori ways of being that defy the colonial archive. However, the Peabody Essex Museum collection, dispersal and display practices have disembodied taonga from their sacred origins, renamed, and gendered them. He Whiringa Aroha offers a resistance through existence. By restorying taonga we reaffirm mana wahine in the archives. As the previous chapter has explored, the sailors' collection and the museum's archival practices have entangled He Whiringa Aroha in narratives of white supremacy and colonialism. This chapter asks, how can we restory taonga that have been disembodied by the archive? I will first explain how taonga have been fragmented and gendered in the colonial archive, then I will explore alternatives to reclaiming taonga as a site of resistance and ancestral connection.

This archive in which I first met He Whiringa Aroha has told a colonial history of our taonga—and one that is gendered. When researching the Richardson collection, I found a resounding silence when it came to documenting wāhine Māori, the importance of our making and storytelling. And yet, as I show in this chapter with different pūrākau, mana wāhine is very much present in this archive. This chapter shows how the colonial archive has disembodied He Whiringa Aroha through a process of gendering, removal, and fragmentation. However, within the very same archive that has objectified and fragmented He Whiringa Aroha, I argue that taonga asserts mana wahine and remains a portal to Māori ways

[1] He Whiringa Aroha and the te pronoun 'ia' are the names used in this thesis to refer to E5501: Maori artist in Possibly Tai Tokerau, Northern Bay of Islands, New Zealand (Aotearoa), pare (door lintel), 1807. [Carving]. At: Peabody Essex Museum. E5501.
[2] Moana Murray, 'Ancestors in Museums,' *Bad Apple* (blog), 25 August 2023, https://badapple.gay/2023/08/25/ancestors-in-museums/.

of being that refute the heteropatriarchal colonial gaze. The second part of this chapter explores a retelling of He Whiringa Aroha's history that returns ia to epistemological beginnings with ngā atua and with new names.

The histories of this taonga begin with pūrākau. As Jenny Lee-Morgan explains, pūrākau are foundational Māori storytelling practices that encompass Māori knowledges and understandings of the world.[3] They are both method and methodology, verb and noun.[4] Other Indigenous and Black scholars such as Jo-Ann Archibald (Sto:lo, Cree), Devi Dee Mucina (Ubuntu), Leanne Simpson (Anishanaabeg) and Joshua Whitehead (Peguis First Nation) explore the power of storytelling as a research methodology to destabilise colonial power.[5] Similarly, this chapter utilises pūrākau as a method to ground this pare in its epistemological beginnings, and as a methodology explicit in its objective to centre and to reclaim narratives of wāhine Maori.[6] It acknowledges that the voice of the Peabody Essex Museum archive silences the voices and agency of wāhine Māori. In addition, I draw upon the knowledge shared in interviews with Bethany Matai Edmunds (Ngāti Kurī) and Papa Bernard Makoare (Te Uri o Hau, Ngati Whatua, Te Waiariki, Te Kai Tutae; Te Rarawa, Ngapuhi-nui-tonu).

Taonga (Dis)Embodied: Fragments of a Whare Tūpuna

The research in this chapter exposes the grotesque and violent ways colonisation has fragmented our taonga, their names, and our own narratives as wahine and takatāpui Māori. Throughout the time He Whiringa Aroha spent in the East India Marine Society display and subsequently the Peabody Essex Museum exhibitions and storage, ia has been broken in half

[3] Jenny Lee-Morgan, 'Pūrākau from the Inside Out: Regenerating Stories for Cultural Sustainability,' in *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology* (London: Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2019).
[4] Sandra Lee Ringham, 'Te Karanga Tūturu o Maieke: Ngāti Kuri Women's Taiao Geographies' (The University of Waikato, 2022); Leonie Pihama, Donna Campbell, and Hineitimoana Greensill, 'Whānau Storytelling as Indigenous Pedagogy: Tiakina Te Pā Harakeke,' in *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology* (London: Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2019).; Jenny Lee-Morgan, 'Pūrākau from the Inside Out: Regenerating Stories for Cultural Sustainability', in *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork As Methodology* (Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2019).
[5] Jo-Ann Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008); Devi Dee Mucina, 'Story as Research Methodology,' *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 7.1 (May 2011), 1–14, https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011100700101; Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*, 1st ed. (Indigenous Americas; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017); Joshua Whitehead, *Making Love with the Land* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2022).
[6]Jenny Lee, 'Decolonising Māori Narratives: Pūrākau as a Method,' *MAI Journal: A New Zealand Journal of Indigenous Scholarship* MAI Review, no. 2 (2009).

and painted with a white '559'.[7] Like cataloguing and display in the East India Marine Society Hall, the permanent painting of 559 onto the breast of the tupuna wahine in this pare, is object-ifying our taonga and the direct lines of connection to our ancestors. The body of this tupuna wahine has been named ('559', or 'E5501'), broken and separated from hapū and iwi (in storage in Salem, Massachusetts). In order to understand how He Whiringa Aroha has been fragmented from sacred origins, hapū, and iwi, it is necessary to understand a pare in its wholeness. What is a pare and what is the taonga's importance to Māori?

Papa Bernard and I discussed how to understand pare from within a Māori context—as an integral element of a whare tūpuna, rather than a single 'object'. A pare is an ancestral carving, which, along with two whakawae, sit above the entry way to the whare tūpuna. Whare tūpuna are ancestral houses central to Māori tribal identity and history.[8] To fully comprehend He Whiringa Aroha in the 1806 Richardson collection in the Peabody Essex Museum, ia must be read within whare tūpuna. Moreover, the pare does not sit in isolation—the pare is positioned above two whakawae or carved 'door jambs'. Papa Bernard clarified in our kōrero that the pare must have the two whakawae to have 'full potency'. He Whiringa Aroha then is already out of context—the taonga is without whakawae or a whare tūpuna. Unfortunately, I have found no archival documentation of its original whare, nor are the whakawae in the Peabody Essex Museum collection. [10] It is unknown if He Whiringa Aroha was ever part of a whare whakairo or if ia was carved deliberately for trading with American sailors. In this respect, the way in which the American sailors collected and archived this taonga serves to silence the knowledge ia carries from hapū and iwi.

[7] He Whiringa Aroha was painted with 559 when Dr Seth Bass first catalogued the East India Marine Society collections in 1821. See Mary Malloy and Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade: Northwest Coast Indian Art and Artifacts Collected by American Mariners, 1788–1844* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

[8]Deidre Brown, *Māori Architecture: From Fale to Wharenui and Beyond* (Raupo, 2009); in addition the term 'Whare whakairo' refers to those whare tūpuna that are carved.

[10] David Simmons, *Catalogue of Maori Artefacts in the Museums of Canada and the United States of America*, Bulletin of the Auckland Institute and Museum, No. 12 (Auckland Institute and Museum, 1982); Ernest S. Dodge, *The New Zealand Maori Collection in the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Peabody Museum, 1941).

As Papa Bernard asserts, whare tūpuna must be understood not as art, not as 'a piece of architecture with lintels and wall panels and rafters and ridge beams', but as the narrators of hapū knowledge. He expands on this in our discussion:

> For that particular hapū, the whare whakairo for them is the representation of the whole cosmos, not just the universe, not just the world, but the whole cosmos and every little bit of refined knowledge from Hawaiki to Nukuroa, o te Ao Tūroa

One central element symbolizing the cosmos within the whare whakairo is the pare. Papa Bernard explains that pare, which sit above the entrance to the whare, are the important metaphysical portals for the hapū. He expands,

> The passing over the threshold between inside and outside is such an important thing. It's a metaphor for life and death. It's a metaphor for coming of age. It's a metaphor for the importance of the internal structure in order to face whatever threat, whatever opportunity lies outside.

The removal of He Whiringa Aroha from the house of the people and the hapū cosmology allows the taonga to be narrated from the colonisers' point of view. As the archive has it, the pare is no longer a metaphysical portal, it is an object of white possession. Because He Whiringa Aroha is without record of whare tupuna and whakawae, the hapū knowledge and context surrounding this pare is absent from the archive and has yet to emerge.[11] When taonga were collected and shipped overseas in the thousands, whare tūpuna were fragmented and the practice of toi whakairo that captured hapū histories and cosmologies was interrupted—but not lost.[12] Like whare themselves, the structures of whānau, hapū and iwi were fractured.[13] Colonisation affected not only the toi practices of Te Taitokerau, but the hapū and iwi networks that continued them. Māori ways of relating and the whare that housed them were nearly destroyed.[14] However, as the strength of the revitalisation of iwi creative practice today shows, Te Taitokerau practices have resisted colonisation and missionisation.

[11] It is out of the scope of this study to search for the whakawae and whare corresponding to this pare—its whānau. The pare remains disembodied.
[12] Deidre Brown and Ngarino Ellis, *Te Puna: Māori Art from Te Tai Tokerau Northland* (Auckland: Reed, 2007).
[13] Annabel Mikaere, *The Balance Destroyed* (Ōtaki, Aotearoa: Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 2017).
[14] Brown, 2009.

My kōrero with pūkenga toi Bethany Mātai Edmunds Cooke discussed how the fragmentation of taonga in museum archives affects the ability of Māori to connect with them. Bethany's work with kākāhu at the Natural History Museum challenged some of the ways the museum archive have fixed taonga to western worldviews. In our interview, Bethany shared how she had cared for one korowai in the collection that the museum had stored in a way that to kairaranga is odd:

> They put it in a way that they understood it, which was as a decorative mat, was kind of how it appeared. So they had them in drawers and all the hukahuka were pushed to the sides […]
>
> so when you look at it from our context, it was hard to understand, right? So I spent hours just laboriously realigning the hukahuka so that it could be read from top to bottom in the way that it's meant to be. Yeah, so that was really gratifying, but also felt like I had made a difference to the way that our taonga were being cared for and it could be interpreted as it was meant to be

Museums claim to tell the histories of the items in their collection and this narrating is both written in catalogues and names and displayed. Bethany discussed one example of the way in which a kākāhu was displayed that made it unlegible and inaccessible for Māori weavers to 'read'. From the museum's perspective, this korowai was a decorative mat, not a kākāhu to be worn around the shoulders of rangatira. The museum's way of telling the story of the korowai shapes how people come to know the taonga. The way in which this archive was displaying this taonga was illegible to Māori, nor did it show its accurate function. The taonga thus loses the original meaning. Bethany's tedious work in the archive, however, shifted that storytelling, thereby allowing the taonga to once again communicate with its descendants.

Another important example of Bethany's work in the Natural History Museum archive was when she was able to reunite a kākāhu with its tāniko border:

> There was a piece of tāniko that was this fragment with a stunning, absolutely stunning little fragment, and it was on its own. But through me having detailed observation and engagement with the taonga I was able to reconnect it back towards the kaitaka

In reuniting the pieces, Bethany was able to recover the taonga–an effort towards reclaiming the whole story of our taonga that has been fragmented through American museums. I shared with Bethany about how He Whiringa Aroha is also separated:

Moana:

The pare I'm looking at is similar. It is just the carved top [pare], It is not the door jambs which after talking to Papa Bernard, are just as important the three of them together … What do you think or feel like happens to our taonga when they're separated like that?

Bethany:

It's like us, you know. It's as if we're disconnected, dislocated. There's this underlying, deep sense of connection and something missing

Colonial archiving separates and fragments taonga. The longing Bethany refers to is two-fold: losing the wholeness of our taonga is not only affecting taonga but is also challenging the connection Māori have to our culture. The fragmentation of taonga not only makes it difficult for Māori to understand and connect with them, but their dislocation from hapū contexts—whether that is the whare tūpuna, whakawae, or kākāhu—allows their histories to be told from the perspectives of colonisers.

Fragments (Mis)gendered

In conjunction with the separating and breaking of taonga, the colonial archive has fragmented taonga by removing them from the cosmos they descend from. One way they did that was to rewrite those cosmological histories into 'myths' reinterpreted and distorted through western worldviews. As prominent Mana Wahine scholar Jenny Lee-Morgan has written, Māori pūrākau were the first to be infiltrated and misinterpreted in colonial project; today, those misinterpreted stories continue to 'reinscribe gendered and heteronormative views in our contemporary understanding'.[15] Taonga in museums have been filtered through these constructions and subsequently taonga have been (mis)gendered. I use the word (mis)gendered to point to how the bodies of Māori and our taonga have been gendered

[15] Jenny Bol Jun Lee-Morgan in Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Jo-Ann Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem, Jenny Bol Jun Lee-Morgan, and Jason De Santolo, *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology* (London: Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2019), pp. 153.

through the colonial and patriarchal gaze. Taonga have been gendered in the colonial image and thus *mis*gendered from their Māori contexts.

In her 1998 PhD thesis, *Hine! E Hine!: Rediscovering the Feminine in Maori Spirituality,* Aroha Yates-Smith analyzed the early writings of the colonial ethnographers that sought to record Māori religion and culture. Dr Aroha Yates-Smith found that 'The roles of the female entities were generally downplayed, marginalised, or in many instances, completely omitted from the Māori historical records'.[16] Yet, this is not representative of Māori; as Yates-Smith found evidence in the very same waiata and karakia these ethnographers recorded that atua wāhine held powerful complimentary roles in Māori society. As Ani Mikaere has explained, this sacred balance was destroyed by the narratives told about us by these ethnographers, colonisers and missionaries.[17]

Ethnographic accounts destroyed the balance within our pūrākau of atua, and marginalises wāhine Māori in archives and in contemporary society.[18] Like other British and European colonial museums in the early nineteenth century, the East India Marine Society and the Society collectors ignored wāhine Māori. In researching the East India Marine Society records, subsequent curatorial research and catalogues, and even the contemporary Peabody Essex Museum records, I found no mention of wāhine Māori and our creative practices. Even when mahi raranga are present in the collections, there is no recorded information on the importance and creativity of wahine Māori in the East India Marine Society Hall, the *Eliza Ship* accounts, nor in the collection of taonga.

Moreover, like the East India Marine Society archive, the colonial corpus has embedded misogyny and patriarchy into our understandings of gender.[19] As Māori women were marginalised so too was Māori gender diversity. Leonie Pihama explains how early Pākehā ethnographic accounts of Māori society constructed 'Māori women within the ideological frame of colonial gendered relations' in which our mana, our names, and our narratives began

[16] Smith and others, 2019.
[17] Annabel Mikaere, *The Balance Destroyed* (Ōtaki, Aotearoa: Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 2017).
[18] J Patricia Johnston and Leonie Pihama, 'What Counts as Difference and What Differences Count: Gender, Race and the Politics of Difference,' in *Mana Wahine Reader: Volume 1. A Collection of Writings 1987-1998*, ed. by Patricia Johnston and Leonie Pihama (Aotearoa: Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa, 2022), p. 162; See also Patricia Johnston and Leonie Pihama, 'The Marginalization of Māori Women,' *Hecate*, 20.2 (1994), 7.
[19] Johnston and Pihama, 2022.

to be redefined.[20] Furthermore, Pihama clarifies that 'wahine' should not be understood via the binaries of female and male that exist in dominant colonial gender ideologies'; reducing 'wāhine' to palatable definitions of 'female' and 'woman' imposed patriarchal gender expectations.[21] Mana Wahine scholars have looked to te reo Māori to demonstrate how there was no gendered hierarchy in precolonial society and that the gender-neutrality of the language indicates more expansive perspectives of gender than colonial thinking can comprehend.[22] 'Hine' and 'wahine' cannot be defined within western essentialist terms, just as 'toi' and 'taonga tawhito' do not translate to 'art'.

The bodies of our taonga were physically gendered in western colonial confines. Our carvings, and pou, in particular, were perceived as devious, and a threat to the Christianization of Te Taitokerau. Ngarino Ellis explains how pou were vandalised, stolen, and sent over to Europe as proof of the missionaries' success among Māori 'savages'.[23] Māori bodies were seen by missionaries as 'shameful' and demonstrating 'the need for colonisation, which could be gained in some measure by the clothing of the body'.[24] Similarly, carved pou depicting whakapapa with the whare tangata (womb), puapua (vulva), or ure (penis) were deformed and mutilated. The genitals on many pou--the pillars of the houses of hapū cosmology--were chopped off before taonga were shipped away to overseas museum archives.

Colonisers violently desecrated our carved ancestors in order to align our taonga with what they believed Māori art and bodies should look like. Missionaries and museums maimed our carvings both before they left Aotearoa shores and once they were received by museums. [25] Many of these pou remain in museums with genitals removed. This was a deliberate tactic to destroy our culture, our relationships, and our connection to our own bodies and those of our taonga. In particular, carvings that were historical evidence of queer ways of being were desecrated. As Clive Aspin explains, 'Art works that depict same sex relationships were

[20] Leonie Pihama, 'Mana Wahine: Decolonising Gender in Aotearoa', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 35.106 (2020), pp. 351–65, doi:10.1080/08164649.2020.1902270. P. 354.
[21] Pihama, 2020.
[22] Pihama 2020; Ani Mikaere, 'Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy: A Ngāti Raukawa Woman's Perspective', in *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1999-2019* (Te Wananga o Raukawa, 2019), ii, 5–26.; Joeliee Seed-Pihama, 'Naming Our Names and Telling Our Stories', in *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology* (Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2019).
[23] Ngarino Ellis, 'Vandalism of Maori Art', *Journal of Art Crime*, 25 (2021), pp. 3–12.
[24] Ellis, 2021, p 6.
[25] Ellis, 2021.

destroyed or, more fortunately, removed from New Zealand and taken to the other side of the world where they could satisfy the eyes of the curious onlooker in museums'.[26] Takatāpui narratives carved into our taonga were broken, erased, and removed from us in order to appease the colonial gaze.

> we all know what they saw when they took them
> they saw your bodies as pornographic as an affront
> to assimilation and perhaps just perhaps dick envy
>
> they came from a place that says bodies are bad
> so it's no surprise that all they could manage
> with such limited language was the cut [27]
>
> Excerpt from *hands on stomach lizard body / tattooed face, hollow head, plain wood / carved wooden figure of palisade type, dark in colour, part of figure's left arm broken away* by essa may ranapiri

In this poem, takatāpui poet and scholar essa may ranapiri writes directly to three mutilated pou kātoa in Te Papa Tongarewa. Although He Whiringa Aroha was not mutilated in the same way as these pou kātoa, ia too was 'cut' by the 'limited language' of the archive. In writing this chapter, I was confronted by the ways in which colonisation has misnamed, gendered, and altogether mutilated the bodies of carved tūpuna. As a wahine takatāpui who has recently navigated returning home to Aotearoa, I can relate to this disembodiment-- the distance and longing between this pare and home. The mamae and koa, the heartbreak and joy of my own homecoming has informed how I relate to these taonga. Our taonga in overseas museums are also immersed in the heartbreak and longing of leaving home. And yet, He Whiringa Aroha remains a site of reclamation and affirmation, not only of the presence of mana wahine within colonial archives, but also of the myriad ways of being Māori that exist outside of the limiting language of colonialism.

Many Indigenous nations have genders and sexualities that defy colonial binaries and norms.[28] As Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, a Māori lesbian activist and Mana Wahine scholar,

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[26] Clive Aspin in Indigenous Sexuality and Colonial Ideologies Webinar, dir. by Te Tiriti Based Futures & Anti Racism (2024) <*https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ynYnp8zk11U*> [accessed 28 May 2024].
[27] essa may ranapiri, 'Poem: Hands on Stomach Lizard Body | Te Papa', *LGBTQI+ Histories of Aotearoa New Zealand Kōrero Takatāpui Ki Aotearoa* <https://tepapa.govt.nz/discover-collections/read-watch-play/lgbtqi-histories-aotearoa-new-zealand/poem-hands-on-stomach> [accessed 3 September 2024].
[28] Jessica Hutchings and Clive Aspin, *Sexuality and the Stories of Indigenous People* (Huia Publishers, 2007).

explained in her 1989 speech at the National Lesbian and Gay Conference, queer Māori are the 'inheritors of the Polynesian tradition' with deep ancestral roots across the Pacific.[29] And yet, we have been written out of 'the white, historical record'.[30] Tīmoti Kāretu gives many examples of pre-colonial mōteatea, waiata, and pūrākau that evidence expansive ancestral understandings of gender and sexuality.[31] He explains, 'the genitalia and sexuality were to be celebrated and our traditional literature illustrates that even if the Christian ethic has forced some of us to look askance at what our tīpuna did'.[32] Just as our existence is not new, the term some use to describe ourselves, takatāpui, is not new.

Takatāpui is one term to refer to those queer Māori traditions.[33] Many cite one origin of this kupu as within the pūrākau of Hinemoa and Tūtānekai, two ancestors of Te Arawa.[34] Elizabeth Kerekere states that the term has been reclaimed for 'all Māori who identify with diverse genders, sexualities, sexes, and with diverse sex characteristics'. Benjamin Kauri Doyle's 2023 thesis builds upon Kerekere's work and states that takatāpui identity encompasses the many ways of being Māori and queer that cannot be reduced to western concepts.[35] This term is an identity marker that I myself find community in, however, its usefulness is questioned by some scholars.[36] Māori ways of being are expansive and cannot be reduced to western binaries or English words. What I am trying to point to is not another definition or prescription of what it is to be Māori and in relationship, but rather to our expansiveness that defies the colonial gaze. Like the name 'He Whiringa Aroha', takatāpui can act as a term that affirms Māori ways of relating to ancestors, taonga, people and places. Similarly, these names are a call to action to restore those very ways of being that have been

[29] Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Mana Wahine Maori: Selected Writings on Maori Women's Art, Culture and Politics (New Women's Press, 1991). p 36.
[30] Te Awekotuku, 1991.
[31] Tīmoti Kāretu, 'The Influence of Te Reo and Tikanga on Māori People's Perceptions of Sexuality' (presented at the Hui Whai Māramatanga, Whai Oranga Mate Ketoketo/ Ārai Kore, 1995).
[32] Kāretu, 1995.
[33] Elizabeth Kerekere, 'Part of The Whānau: The Emergence of Takatāpui Identity - He Whāriki Takatāpui' (unpublished thesis, Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington, 2017), doi:10.26686/wgtn.17060225.v1; Benjamin Kauri Doyle, 'Mana Takatāpui: Self-Determination for Queer Rangatahi Māori' (unpublished Thesis, The University of Waikato, 2023); Clive Aspin and Jessica Hutchings, 'Reclaiming the Past to Inform the Future: Contemporary Views of Maori Sexuality', *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 9.4 (2007), pp. 415–27.
[34] Te Awekotuku, 1991; Kerekere, 2017; Doyle, 2023; ranapiri and Murray, 2022.
[35] Kerekere, 2017.
[36] Carl Mika, 'He Takatāpui He Queer He Mokopuna Ranei', in Alison Green and Leonie Pihama, *Honoring Our Ancestors: Takatāpui, Two-Spirit and Indigenous LGBTQI+ Well-Being* (Te Herenga Waka University Press, 2023).

fractured through colonisation, the tearing down of whare tūpuna, and the collecting and disembodying of our taonga.

A Restorying

Scholars have also utilised colonial, museum, and institutional archives to reclaim and restory the lives of communities historically marginalised by these spaces. For example, the work of queer theorists have challenged the heteronormativity of some archives; while others have discussed how archives have (and have not) documented women and people in prison.[37] Important work is being done to construct new archives dedicated to recording and visibilising the experiences of the oppressed both within and outside academia.[38] While these theorists have contested racist and homophobic archives and others have forged liberatory 'out' archives, my approach differs.[39]

Rather than reading archival absence for queer narratives-- which is important and radical work— I am instead seeking to free my ancestors in museums. In the book *Queer Objects* essa may ranapiri and I first saw Murirangaranga, the kōauau of Tūtanekai that is currently in Rotorua Museum, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa.[40] It was confronting first meeting this precious taonga in a book that juxtaposed the tupuna taonga, which is carved from the bone of the Te Arawa ancestor Te Murirangaranga, with other 'queer objects' in museums across the world.[41] Taonga such as Murirangaranga and He Whiringa Aroha are more than 'queer objects'. He Whiringa Aroha is a taonga that affirms the mana of wahine and takatāpui, and this becomes clear with pūrākau.

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[37] Daniel Marshall, Kevin P. Murphy, and Zeb Tortorici, 'Editors' Introduction: Queering Archives: Intimate Tracings', *Radical History Review*, 2015.122 (2015), pp. 1–10, doi:10.1215/01636545-2849486.; Ann Cvetkovich, 'The Queer Art of the Counterarchive' (presented at the Radical Archives, 2014); Sam Prendergast, 'Listening for Women's Narratives in the Harvard Project Archive', *History Workshop Journal*, 86 (2018), pp. 205–23, doi:10.1093/hwj/dby026.; See Kelly Lytle Hernández, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771–1965* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

[38] Elise Chenier, 'Reclaiming the Lesbian Archives', *The Oral History Review*, 43.1 (2016), pp. 170–82, doi:10.1093/ohr/ohw025; See also alternative archival spaces online such as @archiveples, @pasifikavisuals, https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/

[39] Marshall and others, 2015.

[40] *Queer Objects*, ed. by Chris Brickell and Judith Collard (Rutgers University Press, 2019).

[41] Essa may ranapiri speaks more to this experience in their interview with Joshua Whitehead: essa may ranapiri, 'Essa Ranapiri and Joshua Whitehead: A Kōrero of Indigiqueer Proportions', *The Spinoff*, 2023; essa may ranapiri and Moana Murray, 'Te Ngau Tarariki', ed. by Journal for Māori Art and Literature, *Pūhia*, 1, 2023, pp. 4–6.

Many wāhine Māori scholars have shown how we may restory our taonga in order to reclaim pūrākau that have been misappropriated. In a recent article, Sam Iti-Prendergast unpacks the oriori of her tupuna wahine, Rihi Puhiwahine.[42] Iti-Prendergast uses the writing of her tupuna wahine to centre wāhine Māori as historical agents and theorists, and to highlight their underutilised guidance. Wāhine Māori held important roles in passing down histories and knowledge, including by composing mōteatea .[43] These taonga of our tūpuna wāhine are important, and so is our connection and interpretation to them as wāhine Māori researchers.[44] Our connection to the taonga of our tūpuna play an important role in defying limiting historical narratives.[45]

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku has restoried many taonga to challenge the Pākehā and patriarchal gaze. Te Awekotuku is a prominent activist who, from the 1970s onward, has protested gender oppression, racism and homophobia, as well as challenged the mainstream feminist movement for its undermining of wāhine Māori. Her book *Ruahine: Mythic Women* (2003) is one of her groundbreaking creative writings that reclaims the queer stories of wāhine Māori such as Muriwai and Rona.[46] This writing was my first experience reading pūrākau and feeling belonging. Te Awekotuku claims Māori narratives for our own liberational purposes and consequently reinstitutes the agency of wāhine Māori. The mahi of Te Awekotuku is a radical imagining and centring of wāhine Māori, Māori lesbians, and takatāpui.

In another important example of restorying taonga, Te Awekotuku interprets the Patetonga pare from Ngati Tamatera, Hauraki Plains.[47] This taonga was one of the 51 taonga from the Auckland War Memorial Museum to travel to the United States for the 'Te Māori' exhibition in 1984-1985. Te Awekotuku shows that in the very same exhibition that showcased 'Māori

[42] Sam Iti-Prendergast, 'Political Critique and Genealogical Vision in Te Oriori a Rihi Puhiwahine, 1870s', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 58.1 (2024), pp. 27–48.
[43] Ani Mikaere, 'Māori Women: Caught in the Contradictions of a Colonised Reality', in *Mana Wahine Reader. Volume 1, A Collection of Writings 1987-1998* (Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa, 2022); Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 'Mai Te Kopu O Te Wahine: Considering Maori Women and Power', *Pacific Studies*, 43.1 (2020).
[44] Te Awekotuku, 2020, p 32.
[45] Like Sam Iti-Prendergast and Rihi Puhiwahine's oriori, there are many other wahine Māori that have shown how the connection to their ancestral taonga challenge colonial histories and the marginalization of wāhine: Margie Hohepa, 'Hokianga Waiata a Nga Tupuna Wahine: Journeys through Mana Wahine - Mana Tane', in *Mana Wahine Reader Volume 1*, 2 vols (Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa, 2022); Waerete Norman, 'He Aha Te Mea Nui?', in *Mana Wahine Reader. Volume 1. A Collection of Writings 1987-1998* (Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa, 2022).
[46] Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, *Ruahine: Mythic Women* (Huia Publishers, 2003).
[47] Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Mana Wahine Maori: Selected Writings on Maori Women's Art, Culture and Politics (New Women's Press, 1991).

art' without any mahi raranga or mention of the toi of wāhine Māori, the Patetonga pare affirms the mana of wāhine. Carved from tōtara wood with stone tools, there is a central wāhine figure flanked by two other wāhine on either side, and a manaia to the side of them. Te Awekotuku offers one interpretation that defies previous patriarchal interpretations:

> A joyous celebration of life, this extraordinary taonga has been seen by male scholars as a representation of Hinenui i te Po, the Death Goddess, because of her extravagant private parts. I completely disagree–her appearance is a laughing affirmation of vitality and pleasure.[48]

Another example is from the William Richardson 1806 collection, which follows He Whiringa Aroha, 'E5501', in the original East India Marine Society catalogue.[49] 'E5505' is a very intricate 'wooden box curiously carved' that includes mirrored images of a tiki being penetrated by another.[50] Dodge describes the eyes as being inlaid with pāua or human teeth.[51] Ellis provides a description: 'Two couples are shown making love, with a second female figure standing guard beside each of the coupled female figures'.[52] This taonga shows that within the Richardson collection are powerful scenes: an affirmation of Māori sexuality. That is, He Whiringa Aroha and taonga companions in this Peabody Essex Museum archive are historical evidence of these ways of being which defy heteropatriarchal narratives cast on to our taonga and our bodies.

As Te Awekotuku describes, some taonga represented scenes of polyamory and homoeroticism, such as the papahou in the British Museum and another waka huia in the Auckland Museum.[53] Moreover, Doyle argues that the sexual and romantic lives of our tūpuna were celebrated in our toi, from mōteatea to carved waka huia.[54] Taonga such as these are visual documentation of flourishing and fluid sexual life outside of colonial definitions. Te Awekotuku observes, 'Just by looking at the carvings and listening to the lyrics of our own ancient narrative, I argue that we have been here, we have enjoyed different types of

[48] Te Awekotuku, 1991, p 62.
[49] Papahou and wakahuia are both defined as 'hierloom container' by Brown and Ellis, 2007, p. 149.
[50] In the original East India Marine Society catallogue in 1821 the papahou is item 157 on page 33. It is listed as '157, A Wooden box, curiosily carved, by the natives of New Zealand, William Richardson'. The East India Marine Society of Salem. The East-India Marine Society of Salem. Salem, Massachusetts, 1821. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044011200839?urlappend=%3Bseq=1.
[51] Dodge, 1941, p. 20.
[52] Brown and Ellis, 2007, p. 22.
[53] Doyle, 2023.
[54] Doyle, 2023.

sexualities, mai rā anō, forever'.[55] Takatāpui can find the affirmation of our ways of being in our carved ancestors. Similarly, ringatoi can look to the taonga of our tūpuna to revitalise our creative practices. Both require, however, looking through colonial museum archives in ways that challenge the established white male gaze. This is an area of research worthy of more scholarship. The work of these Indigenous scholars utilise different forms of storywork to bring the knowledge of our ancestors out of the archive and into our contemporary realities.

Reclaiming He Whiringa Aroha in Sacred Beginnings

The creations of my ancestors begin with ngā atua, rather than the point at which they were collected by Pākehā. Many iwi and hapū around Aotearoa have different creation stories and pūrākau. These multiplicities, rather than landing on a singular truth, provide a fuller picture of Māori histories and ways of being.[56] The pūrākau that follow are just some of the many Māori creation narratives that remember He Whiringa Aroha as a taonga beginning in te Kore.

In the beginning, there was te Kore. Te Kore, or te Korekore, is what the tohunga Māori Marsden calls the 'realm of potential being' where 'all created things gestate'.[57] From te Kore, came the night, te Pō. Some narratives include not only a singular te Kore or te Pō, but many different phases of potential and night.[58] Out of te Pō, Papatūānuku, earth mother, and Ranginui, sky father, embraced and produced tens, if not hundreds, of godly progeny.[59] In their illustrated book, Robyn Kahukiwa and Patricia Grace give an account of this creation story that highlights the agency of Māori wāhine.[60] Kahukiwa and Grace write from the perspective of te Pō:

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[55] 'BANG! Season 2 Episode 6: Takatāpui', dir. by Melody Thomas, *RNZ* (2018) <https://www.rnz.co.nz/programmes/bang/story/2018651794/bang-season-2-episode-6-takatapui> [accessed 22 March 2024].
[56] Lee-Morgan, 2019.
[57] Maori Marsden, *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden* (Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003). P. 20.
[58] Pei Te Hurinui Jones, *He Tuhi Mārei-Kura: Ngā Kōrero a Te Māori Mō Te Hanganga Mai O Te Ao Nō Ngā Whare Wānanga O Tainui* (Aka & Associates, 2013); G. R. Aroha Yates-Smith, 'Hine! E Hine!: Rediscovering the Feminine in Maori Spirituality' (Thesis Ph.D. Maori--University of Waikato., 1998). Pp 127-128.
[59] Some narratives cite 70 children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui, others more. Huia Tomlins Jahnke and Aroha Te Pareake Mead in *Mana Wahine Reader. Volume 1. A Collection of Writings 1987-1998*, Vol. 1. Aotearoa: Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa, 2022.
[60] Robyn Kahukiwa and Patricia Grace, *Wahine Toa: Women of Maori Myth* (Viking Pacific, 1984).

> In my womb lay Papatuanuku who was conceived in Darkness, born into Darkness […] and in Darkness became mated with the Sky. Then Papatuanuku too conceived, and bore many children among the many long ages of Te Po.[61]

In this account, te Pō and Papatūānuku are two ātua wāhine that hold the generative power of creation. Dr Aroha Yates Smith has written about this power, or 'hine', as the essence that is the creative and generative power of the universe.[62] When we reclaim He Whiringa Aroha as originating in the many pūrākau of atua wāhine, hine becomes the creative power within this taonga that defies the colonial archive. The creative ability to conceive and navigate the phases of te Kore, te Pō, and, later, te Ao Mārama, is important to understanding He Whiringa Aroha as a metaphysical portal—and to addressing heteropatriarchal power in the colonial archive.

Two other scholars have offered visual analysis of He Whiringa Aroha that reposition ia in Māori cosmology.[63] Simmons, in his 2001 book, refers to pare as 'a Māori mirror of the universe' and offers an analysis of 'E5501': 'The manaia between the central figure and the flanking manaia have started to take shape. This is the io, when the potential of te Kore is beginning to be set in motion'.[64] Although Simmons has published expansively on Toi Whakairo, he has been criticised by others for not showing where he received the information, nor if he consulted kaiwhakairo, hapū or iwi to draw his conclusions.[65] Unlike Simmons, I am not prescribing what He Whiringa Aroha is, the designs, symbols, or provenance. I cite the pūrākau of te Kore and others that will follow to situate this taonga in the Peabody Essex Museum as belonging to Māori whakapapa. Nonetheless, the scholarship of Simmons contributes to the available knowledge and may have informed the Peabody Essex Museum's current object report of this taonga.

In contrast to earlier archival materials of He Whiringa Aroha, the current *Object Report* from the Peabody Essex Museum archive contains some acknowledgement of the taonga's importance.[66] The 'object description' states 'Māori meetinghouses are comprised of

[61] Kahukiwa and Grace, 1984, p. 16.
[62] Yates-Smith, 1998.
[63] Dierdre Brown provides another visual analysis of E5501 that does not explicitly interpret te Kore: Deidre Brown, *Tai Tokerau Whakairo Rākau Northland Māori Wood Carving* (Reed Books, 2003).
[64] David Simmons, *Catalogue of Maori Artefacts in the Museums of Canada and the United States of America*, Bulletin of the Auckland Institute and Museum, No. 12 (Auckland Institute and Museum, 1982). pp 56
[65] Ellis, 2010.
[66] Peabody Essex Museum, *Peabody Essex Museum Object Report E5501* (Peabody Essex Museum, 8 December 2023), p. 5, Peabody Essex Museum.

elaborately carved architectural elements, each piece symbolises a part of the ancestor, who is represented by the house as a whole'. It goes on to detail that 'E5501' is carved with a large central female figure that has a 'representation of the genital area' which depicts 'Te Kore-a mythological place of nothingness between non-being and being from which the primal parents of the Māori emerged'.[67] Although this description is a move away from the colonial catalogue practices as covered in chapter 2, I believe we can go further. Pieces of the whare tūpuna such as pare and whakawae are not merely ornate 'architectural elements' but are expressions of toi and hapū cosmology. In addition, the *Object Report* misunderstands the mana of wahine in He Whiringa Aroha.

The tara, or 'representation of the genital area', on this tupuna wahine is not a depiction of te Kore. Te Kore may be read within this pare, as I showed above, however, the tara is not 'a mythological place of nothingness'. This definition may be due in part to a mistranslation of te Kore as a void, rather than a space that is gestational and growing. Representations of the tara and whare tangata were potent symbols of whakapapa and the power of wāhine in Māori society.[68] The museum's descriptions may have misunderstood Simmons' interpretation of te Kore within the manaia. While te Kore is part of the creation story, the vagina and womb do not equate to te Kore itself. Nonetheless, the scholarship of Simmons and this recent description in the Peabody Essex Museum's 2023 *Object Report,* is a significant shift away from colonial narratives present in museum archives and incorporates some Māori knowledge.[69]

More pūrākau of ngā atua add to a fuller understanding of He Whiringa Aroha. One of the many children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui is Tāne, progenitor of the forest. [70] He succeeded in thrusting his parents apart, to expose te Ao Mārama, the world of light. From Tāne descends the forest, trees, plant life, and insects; therefore, Tāne is an important atua to include to understand He Whiringa Aroha, which is carved from kauri wood. He is not the only relevant atua, however.[71] Rata was a tupuna who tried to cut down a tree to carve his

[67] Peabody Essex Museum, *Peabody Essex Museum Object Report E5501* (Peabody Essex Museum, 8 December 2023), p. 5, Peabody Essex Museum.
[68] Te Awekotuku, 2020.
[69] Peabody Essex Museum, *Peabody Essex Museum Object Report E5501* (Peabody Essex Museum, 8 December 2023), p. 5, Peabody Essex Museum.
[70] Also known as Tāne- Māhuta, Tāne-tikitiki-o-rangi, and many other names. Jane McRae and Heni Jacob, *Nga Moteatea* (Auckland University Press, 2013).
[71] Mead posits Tangaroa as the primary atua of mahi whakairo in Ngāti Porou traditions: Mead, 1995.

waka, but because he did not honour tikanga and karakia, the insects and birds (the children of Tāne) continued to right the tree. Rata struggled ignorantly, until he realised his mistake and followed the appropriate protocol to express gratitude to Tāne. Embedded within this pūrākau of Rata are many lessons. It is usually cited as a lesson of the importance of karakia and tikanga, but it is also a lesson of the importance of relationships.

The pūrākau of Rata is mentioned in the karakia tawhito, the ancient incantation, *He Kākāriki Pōwhaitere.* This karakia captures the relationship between hōanga, sandstone, and toki, which can be made from harder stones such as pounamu.[72] This karakia has many uses, some to do with mahi whakairo. For example, it is used before felling trees, to begin the creating process, and to open whare whakairo.[73] What I mean to draw attention to now, however, is the relationship between Rata and his kuia: Hinetūāhōanga. The role of the atua wahine Hinetūāhōanga is tellingly not recorded in George Grey's 1855 published version of the story, nor James Cowan's 1930 publication of the karakia *He Kākāriki Pōwhaitere*.[74] The version of this karakia I will turn to is cited from Aroha Yates Smith's PhD thesis: 'Ko hau ko Hinetuahoanga /E kimi ana, e hahau ana i te whānau a Rata'.[75] This karakia gives mihi, or grateful acknowledgement, to Tāne and 'te whānau a Rata': the insects and birds that showed Rata his wrongdoing. Importantly, one version of this karakia, as given in Aroha Yates Smith's thesis, mentions the role of Rata's whanaunga, Hinetūāhōanga.

Aroha Yates-Smith explains the significance of Hinetūāhōanga, the atua of hōanga, or sandstone.[76] Her name may be translated as Hine-tū-a-hōanga, the woman that stands as sandstone, or Hine-tua-hōanga, tua being short for tuarā, which would translate to the woman with the sandstone back.[77] According to some Te Arawa and Tainui traditions, Hinetūāhōanga was the kuia, or grandmother to Rata. In others, she was his mother or sister. Hinetūāhōanga provided Rata guidance and support in his carving endeavors; most

[72] Hōhepa Joseph Henare Maclean, kōrero, pers. Comm., 25 May 2024
[73] Hōhepa Joseph Henare Maclean, kōrero, Pers comm, 25 May 2024
[74] Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1855 <http://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.219427> [accessed 22 April 2020]; James Cowan, *The Rite of the Kawanga-Whare: Maori House-Opening Ceremonies | NZETC* (Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1930) <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-CowYest-t1-body-d1-d10-d2.html> [accessed 30 May 2024]; see also discussion on Cowan in Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Maori Living by Maori Values* (Huia NZ Ltd, 2013).
[75] Te Hau Tutua as cited in Yates-Smith, 1998, p 242.
[76]Yates-Smith, Aroha, *He Wahine Ariki nō Te Arawa, nō te Ao Māori* (Huia Publishers, forthcoming).
[77] Dr Aroha Yates-Smith, personal communication, 1 July 2024.

profoundly, she offered her back so that he may sharpen his toki and fell the tree.[78] Without this kuia's knowledge, we would not have waka—nor whare-- today. He Whiringa Aroha is believed to have been carved with stone tools, before our tūpuna incorporated metal into their carving practice.[79] Thus, these tools were forged with the sacrifice and assistance of Hinetūāhōanga so that we may carve our narratives into wood, to carry our stories throughout history. She, too, is an important atua wāhine pertaining to He Whiringa Aroha in the Peabody Essex Museum.

In connecting He Whiringa Aroha through its epistemological beginnings and metaphysical importance, we can restory the taonga in ways that further centre Māori ways of knowing and subsequently decolonise the kōrero surrounding this pare. Another way of doing so is to consider the narrative within this taonga that affirms the presence of wāhine in the archive, in defiance of the ways the archive has silenced us. He Whiringa Aroha, the tupuna carved within it, and its presence in overseas archives, asserts the mana and presence of wahine in museum archives.

He Whiringa Aroha is carved with narratives of traversing worlds and the in-between. This, I argue, is a declaration of mana wahine. Huia Tomlins Jahnke explains, walking under the pare of a whare tūpuna 'is a ritualistic re-enactment and process of transformation from one state (tapu) into another (noa) that rationalises the importance of women'.[80] The ability to traverse worlds, to negotiate tapu and noa, life and death is embodied within the whare tangata.[81] From a Māori worldview, wahine linked the past, present and future in this way.[82] In addition to the knowledge of Hinetūāhōanga, the power of 'hine' in te Kore, te Pō, and Papatūānuku, affirm the mana of the whare tūpuna and He Whiringa Aroha within it.

From '559' to He Whiringa Aroha

From the physical fragmentation of He Whiringa Aroha from its hapū, iwi and whare tūpuna to the numbering and naming of the taonga as '559', 'E5501', 'specimen' and 'art', I choose

[78] This pūrākau is explored in the creative work, Kahurangiariki Smith and Buntheon Oung, *Mā te Moana*, 2024, Physics Room <https://physicsroom.org.nz/exhibitions/moving-image-commissions-for> [accessed 19 July 2024].
[79] Simmons, 1982; Brown, 2003.
[80] Jahnke, 2022, p. 279; 'tipuna whare' is another term to refer to whare tupuna or whare whakairo.
[81] Murphy, 2011.
[82] Mikaere, 2019, p. 5-26.

to rename the taonga as He Whiringa Aroha as a method to restore he hononga mokopuna. The names of taonga are part of their whakapapa and carry with them mana.[83] Like the narratives within them, names are an integral element of pūrākau and are embedded with Māori knowledge. Joeliee Seed-Pihama explains that Māori names encompass the 'gamut of our connections' and refer to 'ancestors, stories, notions of belonging, and our relatives in the natural environment'.[84] Naming ourselves, then, is one potent way of connecting to our ancestors and our hapū and iwi histories. It is a powerful method to address the trauma that colonisation has left on the bodies of our taonga and the bodies of our people.

However, colonisation and missionisation oppressed te reo Māori and, consequently, our ancestral names.[85] The English language has oppressed Māori genders and sexualities through superimposing colonial ideologies of gender onto the bodies of Māori.[86] Joeliee Seed-Pihama has extensively researched the theft—and reclamation—of Māori ingoa tangata, individual's names.[87] Seed-Pihama explains how the removal of Indigenous names is a violent act of the colonial project.[88] One facet of precolonial Māori naming practices consisted of ingoa as transitory—changing as circumstances, context, and identities transform. However, baptism and marriage erased this concept and replaced it with 'a system of naming that introduced surnames and thereby permanently fixed what were often colonial names to our descendants, and to us, for generations to come.'[89] Moreover, wāhine Māori were 'renamed in the colonial image', thereby marking our bodies with new names 'as members of the Empire'.[90] In a similar sense, He Whiringa Aroha was marked by a system of colonialism whereby taonga with mana and tapu were painted as objects with a single (white) number—559.

The appropriation and misinterpretation of Indigenous names, stories, creations is a vital tool of colonisation.[91] As Kenyan theorist Ngũgĩ wa Thiongʾo writes, language 'is central to a

[83] Paul Tapsell, 'Taonga: A Tribal Response to Museums' (British Library Document Supply Centre, 1998).
[84] Seed-Pihama, 2019,p 108.
[85] Seed-Pihama, 2019; Pihama, 2020.
[86] Pihama, 2020.
[87] Joeliee Seed-Pihama, 'Ko Wai Tō Ingoa?: The Transformative Potential of Māori Names' (University of Waikato, 2017).
[88] Joeliee Seed-Pihama, 'Kapohia Ngā Taonga a Kui Mā: Liberty from the Theft of Our Matrilineal Names', in *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1999-2019* (Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa, 2019), ii, 257–72.
[89] Seed-Pihama, 2019, p. 262.
[90] Seed-Pihama, 2019, p. 266.
[91] Smith, 2012.

people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe'.[92] Thiong'o argues that as both a form of communication and carrier of culture, language has been 'at the heart' of the colonisation and decolonisation of Africa. Decolonization is not merely an effort that occurs at the level of nation-state, rather, it must also occur in the mind. Speaking our original languages, using our names, is an important liberatory practice of decolonization in the mind.[93]

Taonga in museums are the physical embodiment of Māori ancestors; both the bodies (names) of our people and the bodies of our taonga have been dehumanised and objectified. Fanon writes in his manifesto *The Wretched of the Earth* that colonisation has turned the native into an object, inhuman. Fanon builds upon the work of French postcolonial theorist Aimé Césaire by showing that through this process of 'thingification' the colonised are stripped of their humanity.[94] Furthermore, Fanon asserts that only through decolonisation can the colonised reclaim their humanity again. Renaming, then, is a defiant act of decolonisation, an act of Indigenous revivance, that reclaims full humanity.[95] In Decolonizing Methodologies, Linda Tuhiwai Smith identified the reclamation of Māori names as one of 25 Indigenous projects in the struggle for Indigenous self-determination.[96] Naming ourselves, our landscapes, seascapes, and taonga, in our original Indigenous names is an act of reclamation and healing.

Renaming our taonga, when their original names have been deliberately hidden or disregarded, is part of de-objectifying (or rehumanizing) them. 'E5501' and '559' are terms entirely insufficient to capture the kōrero and mana of this pare and serve to further distance the taonga from Māori. And yet, when there is little bibliographical information on this pare, how do we refer to this taonga? Throughout this research I struggled with the archival names and colonial narratives of 'E5501'. Because names carry mana and history that is tied to hapū and iwi, and the whakapapa of the pare is not clear, I originally shied away from gifting

[92] Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature (J. Currey, 1986). p 4.
[93] Smith, 2012.
[94] Aimé Césaire, 'Discourse on Colonialism', in *Postcolonialism*, 1st edn (Routledge, 2000), I, 310–39, doi:10.4324/9781003101406-19.
[95] Jeff Corntassel, 'Re-Envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-Determination', *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1.1 (2012), pp. 81–101; Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*, Indigenous Americas, 1st edn (University of Minnesota Press, 2017).
[96] Smith, 2012.

‘E5501’ a name. However, the catalogue numbers and the impersonal ‘ia’ or ‘pare’, were not enough to call in the essence and impact this toanga has had on both myself and the research. In naming ‘E5501’ as He Whiringa Aroha, I reclaim a Māori naming practice that is transitory and contextual.

Although I write this thesis in English, I use ‘ia’ as a pronoun for He Whiringa Aroha to point to the ways we may come into relation with this pare as Māori. To me ‘ia’ encompasses agency; in te reo Māori one can refer to a maunga, mountain, or people as ‘ia’ thus not being limited to the ‘humanness’ of the referred, but rather the agency and importance it has. This is in contrast with how this taonga has been referred to in the archive and corresponding research as an ‘object’ and an ‘it’. Moreover, ‘ia’ in te reo Māori does not assign gender but it does encompass relationality: the pronoun, as well as the pronoun posessives tāna and tōna, are not gender bound, but rather identify the referred in relation to the speaker.[97] I recognise that it may not be gramatically correct to use a kupu Māori that is embedded with so much cultural context in the English language-- the language that has oppressed our ways of being. And yet, the names given to the pare and our taonga in archives are far from adequate. I do not mean to prescribe or define the pare. My attempts here are to centre Māori relationalities.

When I connect to the tupuna wahine carved within this pare I call attention to the power of ‘hine’ that He Whiringa Aroha shows us. It is not enough to say He Whiringa Aroha is a woman and therefore an assertion of female power in the colonial archive. On the contrary, He Whiringa Aroha is a power portal to other ways of being which defy western terms and binaries of male/female, object/human. Ia is a route to reclaiming something deeper—the power of hine and the creative power all Māori hold to resist colonisation and the violence of heteropatriarchy. The use of ‘ia’ relates to the pare not as a thing but as an autonomous being with expansive futures; I reject freezing the taonga in another name but rather use this new name to speak to my relationship with ia and to ensure the mana that He Whiringa Aroha embodies is reflected in the language I have used to desricbe this research

Reclaiming the names of taonga in overseas museums is not without liability. Sandi Ringham’s research found that Ngāti Kurī women have retained the right to name their worlds, even as colonisation and conservation practices have misappropriated those ancestral

[97] Pihama, 2020, p. 357.

names.[98] Through re-storying their landscape, Ngāti Kurī wāhine have drawn upon the mana of their ancestors to inform their relationships to te taiao and endangered taonga species. However, Ringham's research found that uplifting Māori names and language within western spaces, such as Crown conservation practice, can risk the appropriation of those names. When Ngāti Kurī named the rare taonga species 'rātā Moehau' to honour their tupuna wahine, they highlighted the centrality of Māori women in historical and contemporary narratives.[99] However, Ringham found that, 'Māori women's identities, voices and bodies continue to be wiped from the landscape through Crown conservation and scientific communities' such as the misrepresentation of Moehau in media releases after the iwi named this tree.[100] Similarly, there remains risk that re-naming our taonga in museums may allow museums to appear they are decolonizing, without taking meaningful steps to reconnect taonga to hapū and iwi communities. Renaming our ancestors in museums requires further discussion among hapū and iwi communities and poses important questions about power and kaitiakitanga within these institutions. What would it mean for Māori to rename taonga in museums when those same western institutions claim 'ownership' over these ancestral creations?

Conclusion

Taonga are powerful connectors to our tūpuna and their ways of being. Taonga embody pūrākau that reclaim stories that have been silenced by the museum archive. If we only understood this pare to be an object picked up in the Pacific, deposited in Salem, and buried in storage only to be displayed a few times, we could not fully honour the importance of ia. Would we have the same reverence for this pare carved with the tools, hands, and minds of tūpuna and that descends from and depicts creation itself?

He Whiringa Aroha has been (mis)gendered because of the ways the colonial archive has marginalised mana wahine. The tupuna wahine within this taonga has been broken, named, numbered, and objectified. In addition, wahine, our names, and our creative practices are invisibilised in the East India Marine Society and contemporary catalogues. Reclaiming our

[98] Sandra Lee Ringham, 'Te Karanga Tūturu O Maieke: Ngāti Kuri Women's Taiao Geographies' (The University of Waikato, 2022).
[99] Ringham, 2022, p. 165.
[100] Ringham, 2022, p. 183.

taonga means not only physically returning them to Aotearoa but also recalling their histories through our own words. As Pacific scholar Epeli Hau'ofa explains, telling our histories in our voices, privileging our ways of understanding our pasts, is a political act of regaining Indigenous autonomy.[101] Writing these stories are more than a description of taonga. Writing our taonga's histories is an act of Indigenous resurgence.[102]

The core of this chapter, the pū of the many pūrākau included here, is to see He Whiringa Aroha in relation to ngā atua, the epistemologies, the Māori worldviews and ways of being that ia descends from. The beginnings of the world, te Kore, te Pō, and te Ao Mārama have shaped this pare. I assert that ia belongs to a whakapapa of divine origins, a whakapapa that encompasses mana wāhine and mana takatāpui. In this chapter I have connected to the pare from within Māori knowledge systems. I have provided some pūrākau that offer a Mana Wahine analysis of the Richardson collection in the Peabody Essex Museum. Furthermore, I have reviewed the literature on Mana Wahine and takatāpui scholars reclaiming the names and stories of our taonga and our people. I have offered some examples of how we may rename and restory taonga: from utilizing 'ia' as a pronoun, to foregrounding mana wāhine and mana takatāpui. If we had access to our ancestors in overseas archives, what other affirming narratives would we find?

[101] Epeli Hau'ofa, *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works* (University of Hawaii Press, 2008), doi:10.21313/9780824865542.
[102] Smith, 2012; Corntassel, 2012.

Conclusion
Restoring He Hononga Mokopuna

At the beginning of this thesis I was sitting with my Pāpā, recording his childhood memories and reflections on living in the Māori diaspora. Now I finish this thesis in Pāpā Jim's memory as I continue to sit at the feet of my ancestors and their stories passed down to us, their mokopuna.[1] Even as our elders pass on, and we as mokopuna become aunties, become pakeke and, one day, become kaumātua, their legacies live on in the taonga tawhito and in the taonga that we weave and write today. This thesis is one story of a single taonga in an American museum. I show how one taonga embodies the knowledge and histories of our ancestors. He Whiringa Aroha is not only a vehicle from which to view the confines of the colonial archive and the impact of colonisation on our practices, but ia is also a whiri of aroha that can lead us home to ourselves, to Māori creation narratives, and to the mana of wahine. This research wraps up in a critical place of becoming and of Indigenous futurity—reclaiming our Māori names, taonga, our ways of being is a resistance to the colonial archive and also a healing and creating of soveriegn Māori futures.

Implications

In my kōrero with tohunga whakairo Bernard Makoare, we discussed that as kaitiaki of taonga, as the carers of taonga, we have obligations to try to restore ea. Even if we are unsuccessful in our lifetime, we still have a responsibility to try. I want for our taonga what I want for my mokopuna: soveriegnty over our stories, and connection with our lands, hapū and iwi. I hope that this in depth archival research into He Whiringa Aroha in the Peabody Essex Museum contributes to the return of this taonga to the kaitiakitanga of iwi Māori. The archival research in Chapter 2, Archival Disarray: Pieces of a Pare as told by the Peabody Essex Museum, has exposed the ambiguous and problematic nature of provenance of this taonga. Although 'E5501' may not have clear documentation of hapū and iwi, where the

[1] Indigenous scholars speak to their experiences "sitting at the feet" of their grandmothers in the archvies: Hineitimoana Greensill and others, 'Tupuna Wahine, Saina, Tupuna Vaine, Matua Tupuna Fifine, Mapiạg Hạni', *Public History Review*, 29 (2022), pp. 54–66, doi:10.5130/phrj.v29i0.8225.

taonga was bought, sold, or stolen, I argue that the taonga is still signifiant to Te Taitokerau iwi.

The Peabody Essex Museum has taken steps to incorporate Indigenous voices into their display of the Indigenous creations in their collection. This museum has adopted post-colonial museum practices over the years and staff have helped me access the archive from afar.[2] For example, the position of Native American and Oceanic curator was created in 2022 and the Native American Fellowship program was established in 2010, both of which have aimed to work alongside Indigenous communities. Curators and museum staff are often doing their best to connect taonga and communities within the constraints of museum funding and resources. Yet, museums like the Peabody Essex continue to hold our taonga far from Aotearoa, Māori creatives and mokopuna seeking to revitalise the distinct cultural practices of our tūpuna.

Other international museums are making good progress on returning stolen or collected taonga, manatunga, and ancestral remains.[3] When these do return to Aotearoa from international collections, hapū and iwi may feel that things have returned to a state of balance and thus, 'kua ea', it is resolved. This research has not ascertained where the Peabody Essex Museum stands in the efforts to repatriate taonga, other than the fact that the 1806 William Richardson collection remains in the colonial archive, surrounded by colonial narratives. More work can be done to restory the taonga in this collection and to reconnect them to iwi Māori—work that may strive towards a return to ea. Within Aotearoa museology practice has undergone massive shifts since the famous 'Te Maori' exhibition and has moved towards consultation with iwi and hapū. However, this is not necessarily the case in overseas museums. Even as some museums take steps to address the harm they have had on Indigenous communities, still others resist decolonisation, even as calls grow for the return of

[2] Anna Boswell, '"Shakey Notions": Settlement History on Display' (University of Auckland, 2011). I am grateful to the Peabody curator Karen Kramer, and the librarians for assisting me in obtaining the *Eliza* logbook, the object report for E5501, and for being responsive and generous with their time.
[3] Amber Aranui, 'Tahuri Ana Te Tai--The Changing Tide of Repatriation in Current Museology', in *Uneven Bodies Reader*, ed. by Ruth Buchanan and others (Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, 2021), pp. 58–63.

taonga overseas.[4] One hopeful solution both internationally and within Aotearoa are the growing number of Indigenous led or owned museums that narrate their own taonga.[5]

The primary objective of this thesis was to connect with taonga that had taken a similar journey my whānau had to the United States. This thesis is less invested in decolonising museum spaces than in the infinite creative ways that Māori can connect with their taonga. To do so we must be able to *know* our taonga in the archives, and to do that we must have access to them. Many Māori researchers are doing important work in museum archives to reconnect taonga and ancestors with hapū and iwi, such as the Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation project, the work of paru sampling in kākāhu[6] or the exploration of virtual repatriation[7]. It is my hope that this provenance research in the Peabody Essex Museum can contribute to reconnecting these taonga to Aotearoa; likewise, this Masters thesis is a contribution to the work of Indigenous researchers in museums and the reclamation of taonga Māori.

This Masters thesis also adds to the conversation around the place of taonga in museums, as well as the kaitiakitanga and ownership of these ancestral treasures. In the Waitangi Tribunal Report of Stage 2 of Te Paparahi o te Raki, the Tribunal found that the tūpuna who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, did not cede their soveriegnty in 1840, nor thereafter.[8] Moreover, the WAI 262 report, Ko Aotearoa Tēnei, similarly found that Te Tiriti o Waitangi assured Māori soveriengty over 'o rātou taonga katoa', which includes taonga species such as flora and fauna, and taonga tawhito such as He Whiringa Aroha.[9] The New Zealand government has failed to uphold Māori tino rangatiratanga over our taonga and yet has continued to regulate

[4] In 2006, 18 European and American museums signed a declaration which outlined their resistance to the repatriation of some of their collections: Gustavo Buntinx, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, and Ciraj Rassool, 'Document: Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums: "Museums Serve Every Nation"', in *Museum Frictions*, ed. by Ivan Karp and others, Public Cultures/Global Transformations (Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 247–49, doi:10.2307/j.ctv11cw1hd.16.
[5] Raiātea at Motutī marae is one example of hapū owned museum in Aotearoa. In North American context see Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), doi:10.5149/9780807837528_lonetree; Lorén Spears and Amanda Thompson, '"As We Have Always Done": Decolonizing the Tomaquag Museum's Collections Management Policy', *Collections*, 18.1 (2022), pp. 31–41, doi:10.1177/15501906211072912.; Philip J. Deloria, 'The New World of the Indigenous Museum', *Daedalus*, 147.2 (2018), pp. 106–15, doi:10.1162/DAED_a_00494.
[6] Rangi Te Kanawa, 'Tracking the Black: Approaches to Reconnecting Tāonga to Kākahu (Māori Textiles) to Place of Origin', *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, 31, 2018, pp. 15–27.
[7] Wayne Ngata, Hera Ngata-Gibson, and Amiria Salmond, 'Te Ataakura: Digital Taonga and Cultural Innovation', *Journal of Material Culture*, 17.3 (2012), pp. 229–44, doi:10.1177/1359183512453807.
[8] Waitangi Tribunal 2022, Tino Rangatiratanga Me Te Kāwanatanga the Report on Stage 2 of the Te Paparahi O Te Raki Inquiry Pre-Publication Version (Waitangi Tribunal, 2022).
[9] Waitangi Tribunal, Ko Aotearoa Tenei A Report into Claims Concerning New Zealand Law and Policy Affecting Māori Culture and Identity Te Taumata Tuatahi, Waitangi Tribunal Report (2011).

them. Furthermore, the report published in 2011 refers to 'taonga works', 'taonga tūturu' and 'taonga species' as being necessary for protection both domestically and internationally. WAI 262 concluded with many recommendations that include 'first, to introduce a regime to protect mātauranga Māori and taonga works; and secondly, to advocate for the broad uptake of minimum standards of protection in the international community, whether in large multilateral or smaller free trade agreements'.[10] In their non-binding recommendations to the Crown, the report notes the difficulty of working with resistant international museums such as those who have signed the 2002 'Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums'.[11] What does this mean for He Whiringa Aroha and taonga in American museums?[12] It is my hope that this study contributes to growing iwi and museum connections within the Peabody Essex Museum.

The creative methodology used in this thesis opens new possibilities for Indigenous researchers in the archive and for historians. This thesis has used mokopuna methods to honour ancestors in museums and in doing so shows that taonga in museums are not frozen in a colonial past but rather inform contemporary Māori art practices. As Indigenous women such as Haunani Kay-Trask, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Mere Taito and Leanne Simpson show, poetry is a powerful way of conducting and disseminating Indigenous research.[13] Likewise, the creative outputs that span the whole of the thesis, such as collage, poetry, the naming of He Whiringa Aroha, and auto-ethnographic storytelling form new pūrākau inspired by this carved pare. Applying Jenny Lee Morgan's pūrākau methodology to taonga in overseas museums is a uniquely Māori historical approach that opens new research possibilities in the discipline. To this extent, in this archival research I found little documentation of wāhine Māori and our creative practices, which is a historical reflection of the colonial gaze, rather than a historical reflection of Māori society. Through a pūrākau methodology I am able to affirm the mana of wahine in the archives. Moreover, with creative historical storytelling we

[10] Waitangi Tribunal, Ko Aotearoa Tenei A Report into Claims Concerning New Zealand Law and Policy Affecting Māori Culture and Identity Te Taumata Tuatahi, Waitangi Tribunal Report (2011).
[11] See footnote 4.
[12] The Peabody Essex Museum has not signed the 2002 declaration
[13] Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 'From "The Museums Sequence"'; doi:10.2307/j.ctv22pzxtz; Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Common Courage Press, 1993); Mere Taito, 'Multilingual In(Digi) Archi Vispo: Indigenous Rotuman-English Digital Visual Poetry from the Archives' (unpublished Talk, 2024); Leanne Simpson, 'This Accident of Being Lost', *Arc Poetry Magazine*, 76, 2015, p.10.

may reclaim taonga as the powerful connectors they are: once again sitting at the feet of our ancestors, receiving their knowledge.

Kia Anga Whakamua: Moving Forward with Eyes on the Past

The bulk of this research has been spent being lost in the colonial archive, and I regret not having more time to reimagine and reconnect to He Whiringa Aroha. Future directions of research can include creative outputs for the reclamation of taonga in museums. Enabling our taiohi to interact with taonga assists in the revitalisation of our toi practices and subsequently the wellbeing of our hapū and iwi communities. As Māori reinvigorate the connections to our culture and the practices of our ancestors, it is absolutely necessary to have access to the creations of our ancestors. One way of increasing access would be to identify and catalogue our taonga in museums. Simmons 1982 *Catalogue of Maori artefacts in the museums of Canada and the United States of America* has been integral to this study and is a significant example of an expansive catalogue of taonga Māori in overseas collections.[14] A similar collection of Ngāpuhi taonga and manatunga in archives would be indispensable to our iwi-led wānanga, to reconnecting Ngāpuhi taiohi to their culture, to revitalizing our iwi specific practices, and to returning taonga to hapū and iwi. Diedre Brown's 2003 study of whakairo rākau is significant in identifying Te Taitokerau carvings in museums, and this could be extended with further research into kākāhu and mahi raranga.[15] However, as is clear with the provenance of He Whiringa Aroha, this is not a straightforward endeavor, but it is certainly a worthy one to undertake.

Relatedly, identifying where our mutilated taonga are would empower us to care for them, reunite them, and love them. Taonga are critically important to reclaiming takatāpui narratives and to affirming the existence of Māori gender and sexual diversity in precolonial society. Uncovering historical evidence in archives resolutely refutes the homophobia that continues to plague our society today. Finding these expressions of toi could not only empower takatāpui Māori to see and be themselves, but importantly, contribute to the decolonisation efforts of our communities.

[14] David Simmons, *Catalogue of Maori Artefacts in the Museums of Canada and the United States of America*, Bulletin of the Auckland Institute and Museum, No. 12 (Auckland Institute and Museum, 1982).
[15] Deidre Brown, *Tai Tokerau Whakairo Rākau Northland Māori Wood Carving* (Reed Books, 2003).

In closing this thesis, I hope that we may continue bringing the knowledge of our tūpuna out of museums and into our communities. However, I hope the ways in which we do that reflect who we have been, who we are now in this time, and who we are to become. Across these ways, it will always be less about what we are able to accomplish and more about the depths of relating and relationships we are able to live in. Ka tiro whakamuri kia anga whakamua. Tīhei, Mauri ora!

Appendix A

Ancestors in Museums[1]

For the Bay of Islands taonga collected in 1806 in the Peabody Essex Museum, and for many, many more taonga overseas

Kaitaka

Have your mokopuna felt your embrace?
This one wishes she had

You are made of muka from our whenua
Fibers
Soil
Sweat
Molding to the shoulders of the rangatira that wore it

Three dimensional pātikitiki and niho
Threshed paruparu and boiled tāne kaha
Threads of miro so fine from a kuia so meticulous

I miss her. I miss you.

I'm coming for you in those American museum archives
Gatekeepers cannot prevent the generations of weavers
Storming stoney gates
Prying pākehā hands
Carrying kākāhu home

[1] Poem originally published in Murray, Moana. "Ancestors in Museums." Literary Publication. *Bad Apple* (blog), August 25, 2023. https://badapple.gay/2023/08/25/ancestors-in-museums/.

Do you dream of me as I dream of you?

I prepare these many whenu
Harvest the woody tāwai
Dig up fermented mud

For the dawn when you will return home
My kaitaka waiting to meet you
A taonga in the archives
A tūpuna in our eyes

Pare

The pūngawerewere crawls inwards and outwards
In between the cyclic wholes of creation
Te korekore manifests
Te tūpuna wahine births
Futurity is captured in kauri

Raperape tapped onto my hips
With the bone teeth of the uhi
Haehae chiseled onto yours
With the heavy stone tools
Nāu te hakapapa i kawe
Te mātauranga
tuku iho
tuku
iho

Mira Tuatini

Fifteen teeth from a seven gilled shark
Bound in place with muka and aute
Rākau shaped with stone
Painted in oil and kissed with kōkōwai

Carvers
Weavers
Foragers
Mourners

Is it the Tai Tokerau materials of ngā atua
Or the blistered hands of the tūpuna that made you
Or the sacred blood of the whānau pani that spilled on you
That brings you this much mana?

Toi is the origin of Māori
And your toi a source to be handed down
Is disrupted in underground museum shelves
Never to be wept over

Appendix B Object Report

Object Report

OBJECT INFORMATION:

Maori artist in Possibly Tai Tokerau, Northern Bay of Islands, New Zealand (Aotearoa), *pare (door lintel)*, before 1807
Kauri wood
19 x 40 x 3 in. (48.26 x 101.6 x 7.62 cm) H x W x D
Gift of Captain William Richardson, 1807 E5501

DESCRIPTION:
This door lintel, "pare," "korupe," is elaborately carved and pierced, dominated by large female figure. This lintel, which according to Hamilton was made in the Bay of Plenty district, was collected by Captain Richardson at the Bay of Islands and donated in 1807. Korupe is defined as "outer facing of the lintel of door." Maori meetinghouses are comprised of elaborately carved architectural elements; each peice symbolizes a part of the ancester, who is represented by the house as a whole. Lintels are placed above the entrance door. The design consists of a large central female figure flanked by two manaia or mythical creatures. The placement of the 3-fingered hands on the stomach of the female figure and representation of the genital area indicate that this lintel depicts Te Kore - a mythological place of nothingness between non-being and being from which the primal parents of the Maori emerged.

PROVENANCE:
(Previous) Captain William Putnam Richardson, Other (see Notes)

FURTHER REMARKS:
The 1821 catalogue of the EIMS - #559 - [incorrectly] refers to the pare as "Stern for a Canoe, carved with a stone chisel, by the natives of New South Wales." It is unclear whether stone, metal of a combination of both tools were used . It may have been painted with oil.

RECENT EXHIBITION HISTORY:
Body Politics, Maori Tattoo Today, Peabody Essex Museum, 02/23/2008 - 04/26/2009
Oceanic Gallery, Peabody Essex Museum, 6/1/2003 - 3/12/2008, 1/3/2011 - 8/6/2012

ADDITIONAL IMAGES

[2]

[2] Authors image of Peabody Essex Museum. “Peabody Essex Museum Object Report E5501.” Object Report. Salem, Massachusetts: Peabody Essex Museum, December 8, 2023. Peabody Essex Museum. Reproduced with permission.

Appendix C

Attempting to Restore Collage

Appendix D

Participant Consent form

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

[A completed copy of this form should be retained by both the researcher and the participant]

Name of person interviewed: _____

_____

I have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the research project. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to three weeks after the interview.

During the interview, I understand that I do not have to answer questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic. I can stop the interview at any time, and I can ask to have the recording device turned off at any time. I understand that I can choose to have a support person, family member, or friend present during the interview for my comfort.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my interview, but I give consent for the researcher to use the interview for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet. The audio and transcript of my interview will be deleted after a period of five years.

I understand that my identity will not be anonymous, unless explicitly requested otherwise, for the research findings.

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [✓] the appropriate box for each point.	**YES**	**NO**
[I wish to view the transcript of the interview.]		
[I wish to receive a copy of the findings.]		

Participant :	_____	Researcher :	Moana Murray
			_____
Signature :	_____	Signature :	_____
Date :	_____	Date :	_____
Contact Details :	_____	Contact Details :	_____
	_____		_____
	_____		_____

Appendix E

Research Information Statement

Department of History School of Social Sciences *Te Wānanga o Ngā Kete* The University of Waikato Private Bag 3105 Hamilton, New Zealand	Phone 0800 924 5208 www.waikato.ac.nz		THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

Project Title:

Ancestors in Museums: Te Tai Tokerau Taonga in the Peabody Essex Museum and the Revitalization of Ngāpuhi Toi

Date February 21, 2024

Tēnā koe,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my Masters of Arts research. Please read this statement and the consent form fully before signing. If you would like any further information, please contact the researcher, Moana Murray, using the email and phone number listed below. You may also contact the researcher's supervisor, Sam Iti Prendergast, or the University of Waikato Ethics Committee. These details are provided below.

What does this research involve?

This Master's work researches the earliest collection of provenanced Te Tai Tokerau taonga outside of Aotearoa in the Peabody Salem Museum in the U.S. I privilege Māori research frameworks and Ngāpuhi methodologies to approach the creations of my tūpuna in this archive. I seek to centre taonga in this research to restore their agency and their connections to Tai Tokerau ringatoi and communities today. Additionally, I am conducting interviews with pūkenga such as yourself to understand a Māori and Ngāpuhi nui tonu approach to taonga: their creation and their preservation.

You will be participating in interviews that will be recorded and subsequently archived for a period of 5 years on a USB hard drive and OneDrive, and used solely for the purpose of this research, unless agreed upon. After the period of five years, the interview data will be destroyed on the hard drive and the OneDrive. The Masters research supervisor, Sam Iti-Prendergast, is responsible for the destruction of data.

Consenting to participate in the project and withdrawing from the research

The consent process involves you reading, signing, and returning the consent form via email. You have the right to withdraw from further participation at any stage.

After I interview you, I will provide you with a copy of the transcript of our interview and allow you the opportunity to review the transcript. Over email, I will answer any questions that you have about the content of the transcript and you will be able to withdraw content from the transcript if you do not want me to use it in my research. After you have returned the finalised transcript to me within one month of receipt, via email, you will no longer be able to withdraw content from the transcript. However, I will still be available via email to discuss any questions and concerns.

Confidentiality and how I will use the data

The data that I collect may be included in my Masters thesis, in any publications that emerge from my Masters research, and in my future research projects. I may also present my research at conferences. With your permission, I will identify you by your name and by our relationship.

Storage of data

The data in this project includes audio and transcript interview material and select email correspondence between us. I will store this data on a hard drive and the University OneDrive and only the Masters Supervisor and I will have access to it. Furthermore, this data will be deleted permanently after a period of five years, unless we establish otherwise.

Nō reira e te rangatira, ngā manaakitanga.

Nā,

Moana Murray

Email: zm48@students.waikato.ac.nz

Masters of Arts, History Supervisor

Dr. Sam Iti Prendergast

email: samiti.prendergast@waikato.ac.nz

University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee

The Division of Arts, Law, Psychology and Social Sciences

email: humanresearch@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix F

Ethics Approval

Te Wānanga o Ngā Kete | ***Division of Arts, Law, Psychology & Social Sciences***

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THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Moana Murray
moanamurray1@gmail.com

Sam Iti Prendergast

Te Kura Aronui
School of Social Sciences

17 November 2023

Kia ora Moana

Re: **FS2023-55: Ancestors in Museums: Te Tai Tokerau Taonga in the Peabody Essex Museum and the Revitalization of Ngāpuhi Toi**

Thank you for submitting your revised application to the ALPSS Human Research Ethics Committee. We have reviewed the final electronic version of your application and the Committee is now pleased to offer formal approval for your research activities as included therein.

We encourage you to contact the committee should issues arise during your data collection, or should you wish to add further research activities or make changes to your project as it unfolds. We wish you all the best with your research. Thank-you for engaging with the process of Ethical Review.

Ngā mihi,

Dr Oleg Medvedev, Convenor
Division of Arts, Law, Psychology & Social Sciences Human Research Ethics

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