The creation of convincing cultural narratives.

Pursuing the application of rhetoric and elements of post-museum theory within displays presenting the Maori culture in three different museums.



MA thesis Arts and Culture: Museums and Collections 2016-2017/2017-2018



Eveline Lameer Supervisor: Dr. M.A. Leigh

Second readers: C.J.M. Zijlmans/W.J.L.M. van Damme

30-01-2018

Word count: 18833

List of Contents

Introduction: Museums and the display of culture		1
Chapter 1: Post-museum theory and the use of rhetorical tools in display analysis		ysis 7
1.1	Post-museum theory	8
1.2	Comments and critiques on 'post-museum' theory	10
1.3	Rhetoric in the museum	13
Chapt	er 2: Analysing museum displays, the many narratives of one culture.	20
2.1	Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, The Netherlands	20
2.2	Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM), Oxford, United Kingdom	27
2.3	Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zeala	and 32
Chapter 3: Three museums, three stories		39
3.1	Behind the displays	39
3.2	Contrasts and resemblances	42
3.3	Narratives of the future?	45
Conclusion		47
Appendix: Interviews with curators I t/m		I t/m XXVIII
List of Illustrations, plans and maps & image origins		49
Bibliography		96

Introduction: Museums and the display of culture

In the 19th century, institutions displaying objects related to the European colonies that emerged in the 17th century came into existence, referred to by way of 'anthropology', 'ethnography' or 'ethnology' museums. Through these, the power of the colonizers over the people whom the objects once belonged to, was legitimized.¹ They served as a confirmation for the European colonialist countries e.g. Great Britain, The Netherlands, Germany, France, Belgium, that they were superior. However, these and other actions of Western countries during colonial times are being questioned since the world entered the realm of 'post-colonialism' after the second World War. These museums therefore do not exist anymore as an affirmation of power, but as a representation of world cultures, leading to big changes for museums grounded in this colonial past. During the past 50 years these changes have caused a lot of discussion, sparking other developments that have additionally affected these museums, some of which will be elaborated further on in this thesis.

Although these institutions are attempting to adapt displays currently seen as promoting stereotypes or ones lacking context, they are still struggling to find a new place in society. This is, among other things, a result of current debates on discrimination and racism. The mayoralty of the problem lies in the fact that many of their displays still provide limited information. Caused by their continuous focus on objects collected in the colonial past, often resulting in presenting narratives that are a product of this past. Especially since these displays barely focus on how the people they are aiming to represent are living today. A question arising due to these issues is: what is the correct way to (re)present cultures? For, not only should a museum display give context on the role of the objects in their original setting, they should also create transparency on how artefacts were acquired. After all, uneven power relations fed by the colonial past, should not be ignored in the representation of cultures.

In the past decades, studies done on museums displaying cultures from around the world, researchers have been focussing on the issues that have developed due to the new-found self-determination of formerly oppressed peoples. These researches mostly encompassing museums based in Europe and settler countries, as these often display indigenous artefacts.⁴ A

¹ Frese 1960, p. 10-13. Harrison 2013, p. 8.

² Clavir 2002, Eidheim et al. 2012, Hakiwai 2005, Scott 2012, p. 3, McMullen 2009, p. 69, McCarty 2011, p. 4.

³ Kreps 2003, p. 2-6.

⁴ Indigenous here referring to: indigenous peoples, or the source communities of these settler countries (countries where Europeans settled during the colonisation period e.g. the U.S.A. Canada, Australia etc.), the people who originally lived there before European colonisation.

common subject within these studies is their attention on issues concerning repatriation and collaboration.⁵ Since it is only since the past few decades that indigenous peoples have come to realize where their heritage is, and now wish to claim ownership over this part of their past. One way of achieving this is through repatriation, including the handing back of certain objects, most often involving the return of human remains.⁶

It is important to realize that most museums are well-aware of the indigenous voice, and the fact that these peoples want to be part of how museums treat their heritage. How to incorporate their voice in the museum is hence a much-discussed topic. Who should do the meaning making in the museum? However, in many museums the collections are still controlled by a small group of museum personnel who decide what narratives are important to tell about the objects. Indigenous peoples are often not involved in these matters, and when they are included they get temporary influence during exhibitions or workshops, not affecting the daily museum business or the permanent displays. Essentially, in many of these museums more collaboration and creation of better context for the objects is necessary, so visitors can form a better understanding of the displayed cultures. Therefore, indigenous peoples should get the chance to help in creating the context for these presentations, as they relate to the artefacts in a completely different way than most museum personnel.

Something that has not yet been a big part of the discussion concerning the display of indigenous cultures in museums however, is the existing difference in how museums (re)present these cultures. The absence of a comparison between the methods of display of cultures used by museums in settler countries and museums in Europe, is especially remarkable. This absence is striking since these settler countries are still inhabited by indigenous peoples, most likely affecting the museums in their approach to displaying the indigenous culture. On the other hand, European museums focused on the same cultures have different connections, for they have small (or no) populations of these indigenous peoples nearby, which may result in the use of other methods to (re)present these cultures. Evidently there probably are multiple kinds of differences in how source communities are displayed in European and settler-country museums.

-

⁵ Kreps 2003, p. 2-3. To name a few: Clifford 2004. Eidheim et al. 2012. Clavir a & b 2002. Lujan 2005. Schorch et al. 2016. Hooper et al. 2012. Hakiwai 2005. McCarthy 2013. Scott 2012.

⁶ Turgeon & Dubuc 2002, p. 20. Colonizers mostly took human remains as part of endeavours relating to physical anthropology. The indigenous peoples however, ask for respect of their ancestors and wish for reburial or replacement to more suitable places in museum display and conservation areas. Hakiwai 2005.

⁷ Clavir b 2002. McCarty 2007. Sleeper-Smith 2009.

⁸ Srinivasan et al. 2009, p. 164. Harrison 2013, p. 6.

⁹ Sleeper-Smith 2009, p. 13-14, 81.

¹⁰ McCarty 2007/2011, Clavir a & b 2002, Clifford 1997.

The question is what these differences are, and why they exist. Do European museums take the opinions of indigenous peoples less into consideration because they are further away, so that they have less of an influence on the work processes of these museums? This distance in time and space, does not propose a satisfactory answer.¹¹ What can be resourceful in discovering these differences is analysing exhibition displays, to determine how these museums represent culture, and how convincing the narratives they present are. As a result the different elements of a museum's display can help in discovering the narratives they present. Crucial in determining the differences between the representation of culture in museums, is thus what they show and how.

Due to this importance of the formation of narratives and to contribute to the field of research about museums representing world cultures, this thesis will study the (re)presentation of indigenous cultures in a museum in a settler country in contrast to comparable museums in Europe. This will be done through a case study of the (re)presentation of the Maori of New Zealand in three different museums, two situated in Europe and one in New Zealand. The European museums incorporated are: the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, United Kingdom and Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden, The Netherlands. 12 The reason behind choosing a British museum is the special connection the UK has with New Zealand and the Maori, being the main European colonizer of this country. The choice to incorporate a Dutch museum is due to the different history the Netherlands has with New Zealand, one that is not connected to the indigenous peoples in the same way as the museum in the UK.¹³ These two museums therefore possibly have different relationships with the Maori and perhaps (re)present them in diverse ways. The New Zealand museum chosen to incorporate in this study is the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington. Although this museum does not only present collections related to the Maori and other Pacific cultures, it fits well into this case study, as their collection of Maori taonga (treasures) takes up a significant part of their museum. 14

⁻

¹¹ Kreps 2003, p. 11.

¹² Museum Volkenkunde is part of the National Museum of World Cultures in the Netherlands, which has three museums attached to its name: the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, the Africa Museum in Berg en Dal and Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden, I will just be focusing on the Maori objects in Leiden. This is the reason I shall be referring to this museum as Museum Volkenkunde, as I am not discussing the entire National Museum of World Cultures.

¹³ Extensive coverage of the contact between the Dutch and the Maori starting in the 17th century can be found in the catalogue accompanying the *Mana Maori* exhibition that was held in 2010 in Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden, The Netherlands, written by F.W. Veys.

¹⁴ *Taonga* is a Maori word that is widely used in New Zealand referring to objects belonging to the Maori heritage, a translation that is often used is 'treasures', McCarty 2007, 1-4.

Additionally, they are well known for their collaboration with the Maori concerning the representation and conservation of their cultural heritage.¹⁵

The main focus of this study is to find which narratives the three different museums are creating with the various *taonga* they display and how, in this way, they represent the Maori culture. Important to consider here is that there is a large range of what the Maori call *taonga*, extending from 500-year-old woodcarvings to pendants made today, song and dance performances, and even ideas. ¹⁶ Some of the questions I consider regarding the display of *taonga* are: How are *taonga* displayed in all three museums? What types of *taonga* do they display? What is central, the artefacts, or the culture? Does the New Zealand museum tell a different story about the Maori and their culture when compared to European museums?

Leading these questions is the main question I want to address with this study: How do museums focused on representing indigenous cultures – in European and settler countries – differ in the narratives they present about these cultures and in the rhetorical strategies they adapt to make these stories convincing, and how do they incorporate the concept of multiple voices within this? By answering this question I hope to be able to contribute to the current research on museums representing indigenous peoples, as the outcomes of this study might help in opening a new path of looking at the representation of cultures in these types of museums around the world.

To be able to grasp how these museums represent the Maori culture through their displays, I will analyse their exhibits of *taonga* with the help of the theoretical framework created by Stephany Moser combined with rhetorical theory.¹⁷ The method Moser proposes aids in studying all elements of museum displays and how they contribute to the creation of knowledge. Rhetorical theory will form a tool to find how these elements produce a convincing narrative. To find how the museums embrace the use of different voices, I shall connect the display analysis to Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's theory of the 'post-museum'. Considering this display analysis is of great importance to this research, I visited each of the three museums myself and deepened my knowledge about them by interviewing the curators connected to these displays. This allowed me to experience the displays before analysing them on a theoretical level, as engaging the space myself made it possible for me to study each museum intensively.

¹⁵ McCarty 2011.

¹⁶As the Maori dictionary states on the meaning of *taonga*: "anything prized - applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques." https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=taonga (30 November 2017).

¹⁷ Dyhouse 2011, Leigh 2008, Moser 2010.

In chapter one I focus on explaining my theoretical framework, illustrating why the implemented theories are of importance for answering my main question. The second chapter is dedicated to the display analysis of the museums. Each starts with the museum's history, after which I will examine its displays to find what narratives are presented, and what rhetorical strategies aid in convincing their audience of these narratives. Chapter three serves as the chapter of comparison, where I compare what thoughts and goals are central in each museum regarding the representation of culture. This will be based on the museum's policies and the interviews with the curators. Central here is how these thoughts relate to what is seen through their displays. In the end of this last chapter I draw a parallel between the collected data and the ideas of post-museum theory, to show in which ways these museums can be considered 'post-museums'.

Before engaging with this research it is necessary to shortly explain some connected terms first, as the terminology often attached to museums that represent culture can be difficult and confusing. Up till now I have referred to the museums central to this research as representing 'indigenous peoples' or 'world cultures', and only at the beginning of this introduction called them 'anthropology', 'ethnography' or 'ethnology' museums. The reason I have not defined which term is most compatible with the museums dealt with here is due to the history behind these terms. Therefore, I will shortly explain them, to be able to create an understanding of what these words mean and how they can best be applied within this thesis.

Most noticeable about the terms, 'anthropology', 'ethnology' and 'ethnography', is that they all relate to each other due to their connection to the study of humans and their way of living. These concepts became common during the 19th century, when the study of 'non-western' cultures developed as a research area.¹⁸ 'Anthropology', is still commonly used, and now refers to 'the study of human diversity' and does not take 'non-western', but all cultures, as its focus. A crucial aspect of the study of anthropology is the fieldwork, in which anthropologists collect data about the peoples they are researching. In North-America this research method was referred to as 'ethnography', the way to use this ethnographic data to make cross-cultural comparisons is what was called 'ethnology'. In Europe however, the term 'ethnology' was, and is still used to describe the anthropological research done in European societies. Although in the US 'ethnology' is no longer a term widely used, and has been surpassed by using the term 'anthropology'.¹⁹ Still, the relation of these terms to the study of

⁻

¹⁸ Hannerz 2015, p. 772-773.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 199-202.

'non-western' cultures remains, and shows throughout the literature on museums representing cultures from around the world, as sometimes texts refer to 'ethnographic museums' or 'ethnology museums'.²⁰ Furthermore, texts about 'non-western' cultures also often use the terms 'ethnologic' or 'ethnographic', while when using the terms 'anthropologic' or 'anthropology', they seem to refer to the general study of cultures.²¹

What makes it more difficult to define the museums in this research with these terms, is that each museum refers to their collections in a different manner. Museum Volkenkunde identifies itself as a museum of 'ethnology', the Pitt Rivers calls itself a museum of 'ethnography', whereas Te Papa dubs the part of their collections relating to cultures: 'cultural treasures', avoiding the three terms entirely.²²

Since these 'non-western' cultures today have, or at least, should have more of an influence on how they are portrayed in museums, the terms still relating to this idea of 'the West and the rest' might not be the best to use to refer to the three museums in this research. 'Anthropology' then seems the most neutral of the three terms, as it represents the study of all human cultures. This neutrality is especially of importance here due to the incorporation of Te Papa within this research, for this museum is situated in a settler country and is partly run by indigenous peoples. Therefore, referring to its Maori collections with an outdated concept in mind would feel inappropriate to me. That is the reason why I have decided to use the terms stemming from 'anthropology' in the remainder of this thesis since it is the most neutral.

Additionally important to shortly clarify, is that although I will be writing about 'the Maori', 'the Maori' are by no means one distinctive group of people. They consist out of many different *iwi* (tribes) that differ in many ways.²³ In my research however, I will not be distinguishing different *iwi* extensively and that is why I will be referring to the Maori as an overall group.

⁻

²⁰ Clavir 2002, p. 34-36. Turgeon & Dubuc 2002. Harris & O'Hanlon 2013. Scott 2012. Thomas 2016.

²¹ Barrett 2009. Schorch, McCarty & Hakiwai 2016.

²² https://volkenkunde.nl/en/collection/collection-library (14 november 2017). *Pitt Rivers Museum. An introduction*, 2009, p. 3. Keith 2017, p. 22.

²³ *Iwi*: "often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory.", https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=iwi (8 December 2017). Veys 2010. McCarty 2011. Starzecka 1998.

Chapter 1: Post-museum theory and the use of rhetorical tools in display analysis

"Future use of collections and resources can only succeed when collections are understood as the selectively accumulated and reified products of outsiders' perceptions"²⁴

This quote, taken from Susan Sleeper-Smith's *Contesting Knowledge*, illustrates the importance of considering the different sides there are to the display of collections that represent indigenous cultures. Since, what is shown in a museum is, as Sleeper-Smith states, decided by 'outsiders'; managed by curators that look at what is presented from a different perspective, which can be a problem when presenting indigenous cultures. Frequently museums offer a view of these cultures that is considered 'Western', making it vital to create an understanding of museums with anthropological collections and their displays. How do they form certain narratives about the represented cultures and are these museums transparent about whose narratives they are showing in their displays? This should be considered because the narratives represented in museums can have a great impact on its visitors, as these stories can legitimise certain ideas and help to construct specific identities about the displayed cultures.²⁵ If anthropology museums want their visitors to be able to have a better understanding of the cultures they encounter, it is necessary for them to offer a display that reflects multiple narratives to give the indigenous cultures a voice.

Some of the main subjects of one of the theories central to this study surrounds the issues of the formation of these narratives and the importance of a museum's transparency about them. Introduced by Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, this theory focuses on the concept of the 'post-museum', a museum in which the emphasis does not lie on creating meanings through passive displays, but on playing an active role in society. By introducing the post-museum, Hooper-Greenhill stresses how visual culture is used in museums and how the presentation of visual culture can influence how knowledge and identities are formed. ²⁶ One of the main questions proposed by post-museum theory is connected to how museums create meanings about what they display, and the way this can affect museum visitors. Hooper-Greenhill emphasises the importance of multiple voices in displays, especially because in many, only one voice is presented. The focus on the display of cultures is what makes post-museum theory vital. A closer examination of this theory and the comments on it, will thus form an engaging angle

²⁴ Sleeper-Smith 2007, p. 84.

²⁵ Marstine 2006, p. 2.

²⁶ Hooper-Greenhill 2000, p. 20.

from which the three museums central to this research can be compared in how they have formed a narrative on the Maori culture.

I shall analyse how each museum has formed a narrative and whose voices are present throughout them by using tools provided by rhetorical theory, which is concerned with persuasion and the formation of argumentation. Incorporating Hooper-Greenhill's ideas on the post-museum will allow for this research to not only investigate the physicality of the displays but to also emphasize the importance of comparing the narratives these displays create. Besides this, her theory will additionally help in making clear why it is key to find what stories are told when analysing museums that present visual culture.

1.1 Post-museum theory

In the year 2000 Eilean Hooper-Greenhill introduced the theory on what she has named the 'post-museum', that served as the main objective of her book *Museums and the interpretation of visual culture*. In this book, she comments on the 'old fashioned' idea of the museum and proposes the 'post-museum' as the new system museums should strive for. She then opposes it to what she calls the 'modernist museum'; a museum where the objects are central, ideas about the world are limited, hierarchies between self and other are constructed, and objects are seen as "fragments of reality itself".²⁷ Hooper-Greenhill states that these modernist museums are outdated in the way they perceive the world. According to her, they should be changed into openminded institutions. Similar to the New Museology which was introduced in 1989, Hooper-Greenhill wants museums to focus more on what they are intended for, on what they are teaching the audience, instead of just focusing on showing visually attractive objects.²⁸ This especially relates to anthropology museums, since context needs to be created here if one wants the artefacts to help in creating a form of understanding about the represented cultures.

In explaining the theory of the post-museum, Hooper-Greenhill illustrates her ideas through seven chapters that each elaborate on different kinds of objects that have multiple narratives attached to them. She then connects the formation of these narratives to the themes associated with the museums and how these influence the way they are interpreted. Since meaning in museums is formed through the museum displays, and automatically connects to the museums' 'main' theme. Due to this often-biased presentation museums offer, Hooper-Greenhill proposes to change these one-sided narratives and suggests looking for new ways to

²⁷ Hooper-Greenhill 2000, p. 17-18.

²⁸ Vergo 1989, p. 1-5.

become more inclusive in their presentations. "If museums wish to become *socially inclusive*, alternative perspectives need to be recognised, acknowledged, and made both visible and audible." (my italics)²⁹ subsequently, the fact that museums play an important role in creating views about the world they are presenting, is something that should be actively acknowledged by a post-museum. They should be aware of their power to generate meaning, so they can be transparent about how and why they have chosen the narratives they show in their displays.

Consequentially, in this new type of museum, the power structures that decide on which narratives are presented in the museum, should be made visible. Making it necessary for a museum to share the power to decide what is shown, and how, with their audience. This is an important aspect of this theory, since what museums present often involves their audience and the world around them. When museums become more transparent this can result in making their visitors conscious of the fact they are only displaying a few of the many narratives that exist about these objects.

If museums want to be able to form a better understanding of what they are displaying, it is also essential for them to be aware of political issues that have a role in forming their institution. Additionally, they must establish how the audience learns from their presentations and that learning can be done in diverse ways. This is what makes it important for them to be aware of the current discourses on what they show, and to present diverse narratives, which stress the creation of varied ways of presentation. A possible result of the awareness of these issues that influence how museum displays are interpreted, is for a museum to better understand their visitors and their displays.³⁰ Inevitably, to be able to become a post-museum, it is necessary for museums to form an understanding of current issues and to create a relationship between them and their audiences.

When recognizing their power and the ability to become a more democratic institution, museums can develop into new institutions that are more socially inclusive and actively part of cultural politics.³¹ In conclusion, the post-museum is a vision of a museum that is more inclusive and democratic and has a more profound focus on the peoples that are connected to the displayed objects. Instead of focusing their displays on the artefacts themselves, these new museums should direct their attention at alternative ways of displaying aiming at the creation of new contexts and showing transparency.

²⁹ Hooper-Greenhill 2000, p. 7.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 2, 8.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 1-22, 162.

1.2 Comments and critiques on 'post-museum' theory

Since Hooper-Greenhill introduced post-museum theory seventeen years ago, there have been various reactions to it. Multiple of these responses considered the relationship between museums and their audiences, one Hooper-Greenhill considers vital, because she insists on democracy and transparency in museums. As, according to her, visitor participation is necessary to counter the authority museums have always had.

In the introduction to the book *New museum theory and practice. An introduction* edited by Janet Marstine and published in 2006, Marstine mentions the post-museum multiple times, referring to it by way of "a site from which to redress social inequalities." In her introduction she discusses Hooper-Greenhill's theory as one which is welcome to the future of museums, one where the different layers in a museum work closely together to form a programme that can serve varied audiences. 33

Others also referencing this connection with the audience are Davi Johnson and Richard Watermeyer. Johnson comments on the power visitor participation can have considering interactive displays. She argues that: "The post-museum offers a variety of information and activities from which visitors can pick-and-choose, piecing together their own individualised museum 'experience' from the raw materials that are available."34 Thus, according to her, museums are acting to become more inclusive towards the cultures they are representing and implement new pedagogical schemes by becoming a post-museum, so the audience can form a better understanding of what they encounter in a museum. This 'experience', as Johnson defines it, can support the creation of better social connections between the different cultures that are presented in the museums and the cultures that visit these museums, because this interactivity offers them a visit which caters better to what they are looking for when visiting a museum. What Watermeyer brings forward is that museum visitors will feel more empowered during their visit when experiencing a participatory programme. He states that this leads to the museum being able to present several different narratives which makes them more inclusive in their displays.³⁵ Finally, Johnson as well as Watermeyer, conclude that post-museums are becoming sites of cultural exchange by showing different perspectives and multiple histories instead of one sided narratives of, in the case of anthropology museums, dated colonial powers.³⁶

²²

³² Marstine 2006, p. 19.

³³ Ibidem, p. 27-30.

³⁴ Johnson 2008, p. 349.

³⁵ Watermeyer 2012, p. 1-4.

³⁶ Ibidem.

Nevertheless, not all reactions to post-museum theory are positive. David Gruber for example, points out that interactivity does not instantly lead to democracy in a museum. He proposes that even post-museums are still sites that lead their visitors to a specific narrative that the museum wants to impose on them.³⁷ Stating inclusiveness can create a veil for museums to make visitors think that the power structures are being breached, even though they are still intact. This can indeed be a matter which is in need of more exploration. Although since decisions must be made, it will be impossible for museums to include everyone. What museums can do to aid in lessening these power structures however, is be transparent about their choices and who was involved in creating the narratives they are presenting. This will show the audience that museums are inclusive in forming their stories. It is therefore not the including of as many groups as possible that should be the most important part of a post-museum, but transparency about who is included.

Despite this more negative reaction on post-museum theory, Carly Smith did not see it as an inconceivable theory. In her article she states she wants to prove that Hooper-Greenhill's ideas are indeed possible to achieve. Her judgement is that the existence of a post-museum is probable, since she, in this article which focuses on the Ration Shed Museum (RSM)³⁸, tries to illustrate this. As she suggests this museum is an example of what post-museum theory proposes a museum to be.³⁹ Smith sketches the RSM as a museum that is challenging the colonial history, which is visible in its buildings that reflect on times when Aboriginal peoples - who were forcibly removed across Queensland – were relocated to this area. According to Smith the RSM uses this history in a clever way to challenge the colonial origins instead of overlooking or highlighting them in a way which makes visitors see the museum through the eyes of "a tourist of a foreign past". 40 The museum invites the now thriving Aboriginal community, as well as its other visitors, to participate and respond to what is shown. The ways in which the museum connects to the community it is tied to, and its many displays that ask for interaction, serve as a confirmation to Smith that this museum is a living example of what Hooper-Greenhill has called the post-museum.⁴¹

Still, there are others who do not agree with how Hooper-Greenhill has presented her theory. Marilena Alivizatou for example, writes that the post-museum is "characterised by

³⁷ Gruber 2015, p. 66.

³⁸ A museum in the historical precinct of Cherbourg, Queensland Australia, Smith 2014, p. 32.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 32-36.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 44.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 36-47.

several gaps."42 The first of these being that the theory is not sufficiently analysed. According to Alivizatou some terms mentioned by Hooper-Greenhill like 'feminisation of the museum' should have been more extensively explained, and by not doing this, Hooper-Greenhill has not described her theory to the extent that she should have. Besides this, Alivizatou agrees with Suzanne Keene – who also points to problems in Hooper-Greenhills' theory – on that the postmuseum is described as focusing too much on events and outreach programmes, and thus "shows little interest for museum collections". 43 Additionally Keene adds that "These activities leave the collections themselves, still the defying feature of a museum and a huge and costly resource, unexploited."44 This commentary however, does not have much validity when analysing the pages in Hooper-Greenhill's book that Keene refers to when stating this (p. 152) & 153). On these pages, Hooper-Greenhill summarizes the basic ideas of the post-museum. Here, she indeed states that the post-museum should strive to work more outside of the traditional museum building and work on connecting communities outside of the museums' walls. However, she also mentions that the collections are the core of the work of a postmuseum and will still be the starting point of these new events that will create a broader outreach.45

In addition, Hooper-Greenhill stated in the introduction of the book that the idea of the post-museum is still in development. She does give examples in her book of the concepts she feels are important to recognize in 'modernist' museums, that should be thought of when considering changes which will form the post-museum. Hence, in making their claims Keene and Alivizatou have interpreted Hooper-Greenhill's theory in a way that served their research and might have ignored that Hooper-Greenhill still sees collections at the basis of what a museum is.⁴⁶ Instead of ignoring the collections completely, she believes the focus should be rearranged towards multiple perspectives, not towards a museum which is only fixated on visitor relationships, or community outreach. Hooper-Greenhill's objective is to step away from the one sided 'modernist' ways of looking at objects, which is why, with this theory, she emphasises the importance to find a way to incorporate all aspects to create multiple narratives about a museum's collections instead of focussing on one. Multiple voices can serve museums

⁴² Alivizatou 2006, p. 49.

⁴³ Ibidem.

⁴⁴ Keene 2006, p. 188.

⁴⁵ Hooper-Greenhill 2000, p. 152.

⁴⁶ Keene 2005, p. 281-282. Alivizatou 2006, p. 49.

in their displays, although each museum will probably apply this method in a different way to match it with their own objectives.

What these commentaries on post-museum theory show is that over the years this theory has had an impact on thinking about museum practices. There are many opinions surrounding the main topics of the theory, which are concerned with the interaction, transparency and use of museum collections. The connection this has to museum displays makes that this theory can serve to be helpful when comparing Museum Volkenkunde, Pitt Rivers and Te Papa, in the third chapter. It can assist in reflecting on if the presented narratives are transparent and inclusive on the one hand and what role their collections play in their presentations on the other hand. What will the analyses tell us about these museums? Are they hanging on to the ideas of the 'modernist museum'? Or are they closer to Hooper-Greenhill's ideas of the future museum and showing more inclusiveness, transparency and collections that are at the base of various activities in and outside of the museum that create a more dynamic institution?

1.3 Rhetoric in the museum

To be able to identify what narratives the museums are presenting throughout their displays, rhetorical theory can be used when dissecting these stories and why they are convincing to the visitors. Originally connected to the study of argumentation and persuasion, rhetoric is a theory ideal to implement in examining displays to find their persuasive elements. Although rhetoric usually referred to oral or textual sources, since the end of the 20th century theorists have become aware of the way visual elements can also have significance in delivering a persuasive message. Especially in museums this idea of visual rhetoric is important when studying what kind of narrative is presented. Even though in this study, not only visual rhetoric is important, as the texts that are featured in the displays also play a role in determining what narratives are created. Because of the importance of these different elements of display, I lay focus on what parts of the museums I analyse and how these can be studied with rhetorical theory. Through this, I shall explain the different rhetorical tools and how these will be significant in the following chapter.

The tools provided by rhetorical theory should be helpful in deconstructing how museums form their displays. Mostly because the methods used to construct narratives of a museum's display can be defined as a form of visual persuasion or 'visual argument'. The idea of a visually constructed argument is important to consider, since visual rhetoric is in some

-

⁴⁷ Leigh 2008, p. 5.

cases thought to be more convincing than its oral and textual counterparts. The reason behind this is the direct connection that visual elements can make, as they "convey narrative in a short time". That the power of visual rhetoric can be greater than that of verbal rhetoric is argued by John Blair in his article *The Rhetoric of visual arguments*, where he states that "one can communicate visually with much more force and immediacy". Therefore, the visual arguments they construct have a strong rhetorical power, because not much text is used in a museum display. Convincing the visitor thus mostly depends on how the objects are displayed. Showing that the visual construction of narrative is essential in persuading the audience of the stories presented to them. So

However, textual elements are likewise important components in forming the narratives, providing context to the objects and aiding the visitor in understanding what they see. Often exhibitions' introductory texts can be of great importance in setting the tone for how a visit is experienced, as it will lead the story the objects are related to in a specific direction. Considering that objects can have many different tales attached to them, transparency can be shown through these texts. They can even be a way to reflect upon who the museum included in creating this narrative.

Considering the fact that multiple histories cling to museum objects, it is necessary for museums to be transparent about this, and this is also the reason why the construction of narratives needs a certain rhetoric to make them convincing. This act rhetoric can perform is even more necessary when presenting something that people are unfamiliar with, since the museum needs to make them aware of the different sides of the story connected to the objects. This creates a link to the idea of 'multiple voices', as presented earlier in the discussion about post-museum theory. For Hooper-Greenhill also detected that the multiple histories attached to every object, can be something necessary to consider for museums if they want to be inclusive and transparent. This is especially the case when referring to objects in anthropology museums, since these are connected to different cultures that often find other stories important than those that are formed by the museums themselves. This shows the difficulties that can arise when displaying only a few of the many narratives in which an object can be placed.

To expose how the museums have constructed persuasive narratives throughout their displays, I shall make use of the tools defined by the theory of rhetoric. A method that was used

⁴⁸ Blair 2004, p. 51.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 53-54.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 59.

before by Nana Leigh, when she implemented these rhetorical tools to distinguish how the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam and the MOMA in New York both played a part in building the image of modern art.⁵¹ By researching their displays, posters, texts and publications using the analytical tools of rhetorical theory, she was able to form an image of what methods of convincing these museums had relied on over the years.⁵² What I will try to do by making use of this theory, is to uncover how Museum Volkenkunde, the Pitt Rivers and Te Papa each have constructed a narrative about the Maori culture through their display of *taonga* in their permanent exhibition areas. I shall also examine how additional elements, like the museums' location or building influence the visitors' experience and affect the formation of the presented narratives. Only the permanent exhibitions displaying *taonga* shall be discussed during the displays analysis because these are made to last for a longer time, ensuring a steadier narrative, making these the best displays to compare to one another. What I will not discuss here are publications these museums might have done on *taonga*, for the scope of this research is too small to address these in the analysis.

As stated in the introduction, the elements of the museums that will be analysed in this research, are derived from an article written by Stephany Moser. She sets apart the elements of museums that are most important to discuss when focusing on the visuals that influence how visitors experience an exhibition. Not only mentioning the importance of the inside design, but also emphasizing the influence of components which are less obvious to consider, like the location of a museum, as this will influence visitors in an unconscious way comparing it to design elements with a more direct influence like lighting and colour. The article works well as the basis for my analysis because the components concerned with exhibition displays as illustrated by this framework, all work together in showing how the narratives are formed and transferred to the visitors.⁵³

Because the stories visitors recognize determine what they learn during their visit, it is necessary to grasp how the elements distinguished by Moser influence what they understand from the displays. Since the theory of rhetoric can form a tool to examine what kind of narrative these elements form by relating them to each other, the theory of rhetoric will serve to be effective in identifying what the displays are transferring. By combining Moser's analytics with

⁻

⁵¹ For more on this research see: M.A. Leigh, *Building the image of modern art. The rhetoric of two museums and the representation and canonization of modern art (1935-1975): The Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam and the Museum of Modern Art in New York*, Doctorate Dissertation, Leiden University, 2008.

⁵² Leigh 2008.

⁵³ Moser 2010, p. 23-27.

rhetorical tools, it can be discovered how and why museums' displays are convincing to the audience.⁵⁴ It will be interesting to find if these museums differ in their methods of convincing, and how the interpreting of their displays is affected by other factors.

These 'tools' of rhetoric mentioned above, identify different ways of constructing a convincing narrative. To be exact, in rhetorical theory there are three different strategies central to creating a convincing argument. These have been identified by Aristotle as arguments based on either ethos (authority), pathos (emotion) or logos (reason, logical argumentation).⁵⁵ When reading an exhibition text or viewing the objects, dissecting these can be done by way of viewing them as part of a rhetorical argument. When these elements are approached as such, the narrative the museum wants to present to its visitors becomes apparent, as well as what strategy of argumentation they rely on to make their narrative convincing. Important to remember however, is that the rhetorical tools found in museums often differ, which might be related to where they are located or to whom their audience is.

These three different strategies of persuasion; ethos, pathos and logos, are thus of importance in the construction of a convincing argument or certain narratives. The first of these strategies is concerned with authority and was defined by Aristotle as the strongest source of persuasion. In oral rhetoric ethos was demarcated by the personal character of the one who presented an argument. Since in this research the museum is the one persuading, there are multiple people involved in the different aspects of creating the elements of authority a museum can have. The presence of a well-known curator in an exhibition for example, can be a way of using authority.⁵⁶ It is an important strategy to convince visitors, as they will be persuaded easier by narratives told by a museum which has an established authority on what they are presenting. Certain visual elements, mentioned by Moser, can also play a role in creating this authority. Building and location are two of these, but visible connections the museum has to institutions that have a certain authority, like well-established cultural funds or universities, can likewise help to form this authority. By making their connection to these institutions visual, museums can strategically use this to help form this authority.⁵⁷ Showing direct connections the museum has to artists, scholars or cultural groups that relate to what is on display, are other ways authority can be used to persuade, for this connects the authority of the knowledge these

_

⁵⁴ Booth 2004, p. 13-14.

⁵⁵ Leigh 2008, p. 6-9.

⁵⁶ Farrell 1993, p. 69.

⁵⁷ Moser 2010, p. 23-26.

people have towards what is presented in the museum, making the museum appear more convincing.

The second rhetorical method, that of emotional persuasion or 'pathos', has to do with awakening peoples' emotions and making them feel connected to what they see by way of bringing the museum displays to life. Moreover, pathos can accrue through sympathetic awareness, which happens when a visitor is made aware of the fate of the person or peoples whom are represented in the museum displays. This occurs when displays make visitors relate to certain situations and makes them involved by creating a connection on an emotional level.⁵⁸ However, pathos can also be formed by creating an immersive display which makes the visitor feel as though the presented narrative is coming alive. This is best described referring to the rhetorical term of 'enargia' defined by Richard Lanham in A handlist of rhetorical terms as "A generic term for visually powerful, vivid description which recreates something or someone, as several theorists say, 'before your very eyes.'."59 When making use of this method, visitors find themselves in the world that the museum has created, which makes the story seem more convincing. A way in which museums can make exhibitions more 'visually powerful' to induce enargia, is by using different display types. This means showing videos where people tell their own stories, play peoples voices, or present an object in a way that is similar to its original use. The use of colour and lighting can also effect this, as these have a very direct way of achieving a specific mood within the display. Red for example tends to be associated with violence, while green often relates to nature.⁶⁰

The third strategy of persuasion, 'logos', is that of logical argumentation. When using logos, clarifying information about the subject is used to place an object in the narrative in a logical way. This method can mostly be found in the message, text and layout a museum presents to its visitors. As the texts are often well reasoned and the layout of the objects suggests certain groups in which the objects belong or relates them to each other in ways that create a certain 'logical' order between them. Logos is meant to serve as a way of proving that what the museum is presenting, is true. For example, a display text might argue a specific type of material is used to create a certain object, this is then illustrated by the presented objects. This way, the artefacts and the text find support in and provide proof for one another because they are connected in a way that makes sense.

_

⁵⁸ Farrell 1993, p. 71.

⁵⁹ Lanham 1991, p. 64.

⁶⁰ Moser 2010, p. 26.

⁶¹ Lanham 1991, p. 96, 121-122.

In addition to these three strategies of persuasion in rhetorical theory, there are five rhetorical canons. Each reflecting a different aspect of how arguments are built. Although the three approaches mentioned above are the key elements, when these are implemented in argumentation, they are constructed in a specific way. Aiding in this construction are the five canons: invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery. These are important to note in this research, as they will help to deepen the display analysis. However, due to the limited scope of this thesis it will be more useful to only broaden the ones most relevant to this study: invention, style and delivery.

The reason invention is one of the canons significant to this research, lies in the fact that it is focused on discovering the types of arguments that are most effective in persuading an audience about a specific issue. Since I want to search what types of arguments can be found in the displays to convince the visitor of the narratives, it will be useful to look for the issues the museums are defending with these arguments, as these will affect the type of argumentation they use. If museums want to create a narrative that is effective, the discourse that is presented must be reasonable, "only then can understanding and appreciation be achieved." Havention serves in creating a discourse that makes sense and can aid in finding the topics most effective in persuading the audience of the museums' view of these issues. Some questions that will be discussed referring to this canon are; what issues seem important to the museum? What topics can be found in the argumentation they build? And how do these issues and topics play a role in creating convincing narratives?

Also crucial to this research is the canon of style, because determining this can help to clarify how the museums' message is expressed through text and display. Important is that the style of the texts and displays has effect on what type of narratives are presented. Style is often recognized to have different levels and virtues. Commonly three levels are noted: the low or plain style/humile (simple and explanatory), the middle style/medium (pleasing), and the grand style/grande (moving and well arranged). More levels of style have been defined over the years, but these three shall be used in this study, since these are the ones adopted most regularly. Style, as noted here, reflects on how the texts are written by defining the subject of the text, use of language, composition and effect it is implying; is it to teach, please or move the reader? The same can be said for the style of the displays; what are they meant to do, and how does the

-

⁶² Leigh 2008, p. 9.

⁶³ Lanham 1991, p. 92.

⁶⁴ Leigh 2008, p. 10.

⁶⁵ Lanham 1991, p. 164-165.

display reflect this? Are they focusing upon the objects themselves, the creator of the object, the use of the object, the meaning of the object? Additional to the levels, the virtues of style offer another layer to this canon, as they classify; purity, clarity, decorum and ornament. Focusing upon the use of words, correct use of grammar, and appropriate use of language for the type of audience. These are useful in finding the level the analysed argumentations belong to. Who visits the displays is then an additional important factor for museums to establish, which relates to the concept of 'decorum', meaning that all used styles must cooperate to create the most effective presentation ensuring it fits what the museum wants to carry out, but also what is best for their situation and types of audiences. ⁶⁶

The last canon of significance in this study is delivery, originally concerned with the orator's pronunciation, stance and gestures.⁶⁷ When considering a museum display however, it is useful to acknowledge because delivery can here refer to the visual presentation of the objects. The presentation must show the museums' authority on the subject and should call upon people's emotions for them to accept and appreciate what is on display.⁶⁸ So, how each museum delivers their message in choice of objects and how to present these, has an influence on the way people will accept and admire them.

The canons and strategies of rhetorical theory eventually make it easier to dissect a museum's display and contribute in finding how the display elements influence the formed narratives. The examination of these visual and textual elements on this level will aid in showing the greater dynamic of these museums, what narratives they show, and which of the strategies of rhetoric is central in making their narratives convincing.

_

⁶⁶ Leigh 2008, p. 12-13.

⁶⁷ Lanham 1991, p. 179-180.

⁶⁸ Leigh 2008, p. 14.

Chapter 2: Analysing museum displays, the many narratives of one culture.

When entering any room, in any museum, the displays and texts visitors are confronted with form narratives about the objects that are shown. To be able to identify what narratives are presented about these objects, many aspects of the displays should be considered. Additionally, there are factors that can influence the presentation that are indirectly connected to the displays, like the architecture of the museum building, the museum's history and the museum's location. Some questions that arise when searching for the displayed narratives are: What narratives are present? How are narratives formed throughout the displays? What elements contribute to making these narratives convincing to the visitors?

By analysing the displays of the museums in Leiden, Oxford and Wellington, I anticipate finding what these museums present to their audience about the Maori culture, and how this connects to their diverse histories. To be able to answer the question on how they create persuasive narratives, I shall reflect on my own experience of the museums and their display of the Maori *taonga*. Examining each museum separately will hopefully assist in defining what narratives they present, how they do this, and what rhetorical strategies have a role in making these narratives convincing.

2.1 Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, The Netherlands

Founded in 1837 in Leiden, Museum Volkenkunde was the first anthropology museum in Europe. To When it opened to the public, the collection on display belonged to Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), a German doctor who was employed by the Dutch government to do scientific research in Japan. During his time in Japan, Siebold had collected over 5000 objects. His aim was to eventually merge this collection with the Royal Cabinet of Rarities, to be able to form a strong and useful museum showing anthropological collections. However, this merge was not carried out until the cabinet closed in 1883. At the time, the museum had trouble finding suitable accommodation for their growing collections and was divided over several buildings in the city centre of Leiden. It was not until 1933 that the museum was able to transfer all its collections to one building, which is still the museum today.

⁶⁹ Moser 2010, p. 24.

⁷⁰ Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences 1962, p. 1. https://volkenkunde.nl/nl/over, in PDF document:

[&]quot;Geschiedenis van de drie musea".

⁷¹ Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences 1962, p. 2-5.

Originally, the museum's main building belonged to the University hospital that was built in 1867 in Neo-France Renaissance style (fig. 1).⁷² Together with the building that originally contained the morgue and today houses the museum's research centre (fig. 2), it was repurposed to house the museum. Since this only required the design on the inside to change, the outside of the building has almost remained exactly as it was. In 1992 a big project started to redesign the museum's displays, for besides some renovations over the years, the museum's "atmosphere of an infirmary...still oozed from its walls". 73 This refurbishment took eight years and showed the museum had found a new way of looking at the represented cultures. With the new design, they wanted to introduce their visitors to these other cultures and at the same time encourage them to form a greater respect for them.⁷⁴ This is still something that is central in the museum today, as the museum's current mission statement expresses: "Differences aside, we are the same". 75

Since 1933 the museum has thus been housed in this same building, in the city centre of Leiden. Notable is that it is not just a building, as it has its own premises where the museum's garden is situated (fig. 3). Standing out the most in this garden, are the multiple artworks that are placed within it (fig. 4) Some of these were commissioned as part of the redesign project that started in 1991.⁷⁶ Other eye-catching works were commissioned by the museum when they were preparing exhibitions connected to firstly the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples, one of the first nation groups from the east coast of Canada, and secondly the Maori of New Zealand. 77 These are a colourful totem pole and a Maori waka (canoe) with docking place and a boat house with a second waka inside (fig. 5-8).⁷⁸ Through these artworks visitors are confronted with the museum's connection to the peoples they are representing before entering the museum (fig. 9)

What is most noticeable going inside, is that the collections are ordered geographically, as each gallery displays artefacts from specific countries or continents (fig. 10-11 & plan 1).⁷⁹

⁷² http://rijksmonumenten.nl/monument/515032/museum-volkenkunde-voormalige-academischziekenhuis/leiden/ (31 augustus 2017).

73 Staal & de Rijk 2003, p. 24.

⁷⁴ Ibidem.

⁷⁵ Original quote in Dutch: "op de verschillen na, zijn we hetzelfde" (translation from Dutch by me), https://volkenkunde.nl/sites/default/files/N0_Missie_3_v%C2%A73_0.pdf (4 September 2017).

⁷⁶ According to Dutch law, part of the building costs had to be dedicated to the visual arts. Staal & de Rijk 2003,

p. 141. https://volkenkunde.nl/nl/collectie/uitgelicht/totempaal (4 September 2017). https://volkenkunde.nl/nl/collectie/uitgelicht/waka (4 September 2017).

⁷⁸ Meaning of waka as stated in the Maori dictionary: "canoe, vehicle, conveyance, spirit medium, medium (of an atua)."https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords =waka (14 December 2017).

⁷⁹ The countries and continents represented are: Africa, Indonesia, Asia, North pole/North America, South America, Japan and Korea, China, and Oceania.

Each of these galleries has a few similar main design elements, the most visible being large photo and video projections on a long concrete wall. These show the peoples and nature connecting to the objects in the gallery (fig. 12). Besides this, the design of the display cases is very similar in each gallery, since all are made entirely out of glass and contain nothing but the objects (fig. 13). An additional feature of this design, distinctive to these displays, is that no object information is given directly next to the objects, which is uncommon in many other museums. Instead of object labels within the displays, additional information can be found on touch screens placed in front of each display (fig. 14-15). Additional textual elements are texts introducing each gallery and ones explaining the themes presented in the display cases (fig. 16).

Producing a sense of wonder and mystery, and additionally immersing the visitors into the presented cultures, are components of the design that create a certain atmosphere in the museum.⁸¹ This atmosphere is formed using the lighting, colour, photograph and video projections, and music. The only sources of light being spotlights that highlight the texts and objects, creates the sense of wonder and mystery. As this limited lighting causes a darkness within the galleries (fig. 17). 82 The sense of being closer to the presented cultures is created by colours, the photo and video projections and music. Each gallery having its own colour that in some way connects to the presented cultures, mainly serving as a background for the wall texts (fig. 16). Additionally, some galleries also have lights that correspond with this colour, increasing the creation of a specific mood (fig. 18). Adding the most to this atmosphere however, are the larger than life size projections showing portraits, landscapes and cities depicting the presented cultures showing images of the past and the present. Due to their size they overwhelm the visitors and almost pull them into these scenes. What enhances their presence furthermore, is the fact that they generate a large amount of light. Creating a big contrast with the darkness within the rest of the gallery space (fig. 19). Ensuring the visitors are not only enticed by what they see is the music that relates to what is projected on the concrete wall, adding another element to their experience.

The gallery dedicated to Oceania is where the Maori artefacts are displayed in Museum Volkenkunde (plan 1 and 2). Entering this gallery visitors are first confronted with a big bluegreen⁸³ wall showing a map of Oceania, multiple model ships and fishing tools (fig. 20-21). An

⁸⁰ This is offered in Dutch and English (fig. 15).

⁸¹ These elements are all similarly used throughout each of the museum's galleries.

⁸² Also contributing to the darkness of this space is that daylight is not used a light source. This is the same in each gallery, for all windows are blocked by a fine mesh to prohibit sunlight from damaging the objects (fig. 17), Staal & de Rijk 2001, p. 128.

⁸³ The central colour of the Oceania room.

introductory text explains what Oceania entails and how the arrival of Europeans influenced the peoples living in this area (fig. 16). The gallery is then divided into sub-themes that direct the placement of the artefacts throughout, guiding the audience through different aspects of this continent and its peoples.

The first sub-theme in the gallery: "The people and the ocean", already relates to the Maori culture (fig. 22). Linking to the Maori through a fish hook, shown with other fishing tools from other parts of Oceania (fig. 23), and two videos (plan 2, fig. 24-25). The first of these shows the story of how the two *waka*, most likely seen by visitors before entering the museum, have come to the museum. In this video the process of the building of the *waka* and the contacts that have been formed between the museum and the Maori community during this project, are explained thoroughly. The second video only shows footage illustrating the use of w*aka* in New Zealand.

In the second space of this gallery the Maori are again presented through a multimedia element, on two of four interactive screens presented here (fig. 26-27). These show videos of interviews with seven different Maori from a range of professions and *iwi*. All go into their opinions about matters concerning the Maori culture and how their being Maori plays a role in their daily lives (fig. 28).⁸⁴

The case dedicated to the sub-theme 'ancestors', placed in the third and last area of the gallery, shows most of the physical *taonga*, as of the five that are on display, four can be found here (fig. 29, plan 2). These are accompanied by a text explaining how 'the Maori', relate these and other artefacts to their ancestors, and that this relationship is what makes these objects important (fig. 30). Noticeable is that this text links to the Maori of today: "When Maori come in contact with certain powerful taonga, *even today*, they respond to them as if they were alive" ⁸⁵ (my italics). Additionally each of the *taonga* also has an object text (fig. 29).

It is noteworthy to inspect the style used to display the objects and the style that is present within the texts accompanying them when analysing the different elements of these displays. This is what aids in finding the narratives the museum has formed within this gallery. Observing the style of the display, multiple elements aim towards emphasising the way the artefacts look. In the case on 'ancestors' this focus becomes evident through the dark background and the lighting, as these both aid in accentuating the *taonga*. Another result of this

23

⁸⁴ The two other pillars are not related to the Maori, as these show a video of someone creating a woodcarving similar to one on display from Papua New Guinea, and an interactive display in which visitors can take a picture of themselves with traditional hair and/or face decoration of some of the different islands of Oceania.

⁸⁵ Parts of the theme text "Maori treasures" as seen in fig. 30.

focus, is the formation of the mysterious atmosphere, for through this style of lighting, the artefacts seem to be protruding from the darkness (fig. 31).

The style of the texts offers a very different type of presentation, as both the introduction and object texts are clearly aimed at teaching the audience, not at moving them as the display elements aim to do. Instead they explain about the subjects of 'Ancestors', 'Maori treasures' and meanings attached to the presented *taonga* (fig. 15-16, 30, 32-35). Their simple and explanatory nature is what makes them identifiable as being written in the low style. The virtues of style however are not the same in these texts. While the correctness and clarity of both types of texts are similar, the ornament and decorum are different. This is due to the object texts' more specific focus; different kinds of terms and information apply to each of the individual artefacts ensuring the divergent ornamentation. The difference in decorum becomes apparent through the use of specified terminology, showing these texts are more fitting to teach the reader about these *taonga* explicitly and not just to introduce them to the broader theme. This is what creates a clear distance between the type of information that is presented in both types of texts.

Considering these visual and textual elements together makes it possible to distinguish what narratives Museum Volkenkunde has formed about the Maori and their culture. Issues important to the museum aiding them in the creation of these narratives are: the museum's connection to the Maori, the Maori as one of the peoples of Oceania, and the importance of ancestry in the Maori culture. The topics aiding them in illustrating these issues are: connections to the sea, the focus upon ancestor culture, and the *waka* project. The narratives found through these topics start with the *waka* and boathouse, where the connection between the museum and the Maori is first made visible to the audience. In the gallery this connection is highlighted through the videos. Other narratives are formed through the interviews and the ancestor display. The interviews pay attention to the importance of identifying as Maori to contemporary Maori, and the display focusses on the importance of ancestors in the Maori culture. Yet, when considering the texts in this gallery more closely in defining the narratives, it appears there are some contradicting stories presented in these displays. These are formed by the difference between what is presented in the introduction texts, as opposed to the object texts. This is because the Maori are more linked to today by the information given in the introduction texts,

-

⁸⁶ For example, in the object texts they name the indigenous names, mention the making process, and refer to the use of the specific objects. Thus they aim to teach the reader, as do the introduction texts, but in a more specific way, which results in the texts being of the same level, but not applying the same ornamentation. Texts can be read in fig. 15, 23, 32-35.

while the object texts mainly focus on the Maori as peoples of the past.⁸⁷ The reason behind this is the frequent use of the words 'was', 'were' and 'belonged', which give the visitor the idea that everything about these *taonga* lies in the past.⁸⁸ Finally, the arrangement of these narratives suggests that the *taonga* themselves are of less importance to the present-day Maori, for their placement in the last room without a direct connection to the video displays makes them seem more outdated. Seeing the *waka* when entering and leaving the museum however, creates a strong story for the *waka* project and contemporary Maori carving.

Ensuring the narratives in Museum Volkenkunde are convincing are the three rhetorical strategies of ethos, pathos and logos. The persuasion these provide begins outside of the museum walls were pathos plays a role, as enargia is incorporated in the museum garden. This is done through the totem pole and the *waka* that are placed in settings similar to their original use, providing the visitor with an experience outside of the common museum context. Making the objects more visually powerful and giving the audience a closer experience. The museum also peaks the interests of the visitors by making use of lighting, colours, photographs and sounds in the design of the galleries creating another form of emotional appeal. These elements together are what create the immersive atmosphere. Seen in the Oceania gallery where the main colour and projections show the continents connection to water. The lighting also ensures visitors turn their attention to the objects and arouses their curiosity.

Another form of persuasion that can be found in the museum is ethos, specifically in how the museum lets cultures speak for themselves. This can be seen in the display of the *waka* for example, showing these canoes in a way close to their original setting. Also contributing to a viewpoint of the indigenous peoples are the interviews with the Maori, offering the voices of the Maori themselves. The voice of the Maori is exactly what makes these stories about them come to life and what gives the museum authority in what they show, the types of display thus provide the museum a form of authority. ⁸⁹ Convincing the visitor of the authority these peoples have had on their portrayal in this museum and showing the museum has actively engaged with

_

⁸⁷ The text "Maori treasures" for example states: "When Maori come in contact with certain powerful taonga, even today, they respond to them as if they were alive", fig. 30. Additionally, the introduction text on the theme of ancestors mentions: "Ancestors still play an important role to this day: they are venerated, asked for advice, and brought into ceremonial and everyday activities.", fig. 16.

⁸⁸ This can be seen specifically in the object text about the carved head where the suggestion is made that the Maori do not have woodcarvers anymore: "Wood-cutters *were* valued for their technical skills, but also because they *were* able to channel supernatural powers" (my italics) (fig. 42). This is especially strange since this art is still being practiced today, as can be seen in the video about the *waka*.

⁸⁹ The authority shown through the narrative of the *waka* is also emphasised by a video that can be seen in the museum café on how it was made and placed in collaboration with the Maori (fig. 35)

them. Therefore, giving Volkenkunde more authority in the narratives they present about the Maori culture.

Besides ethos and pathos, logos is also established throughout their overarching designs, since the presented narratives unfold coherently and in an accessible way. The introduction text in combination with the map of Oceania for example, show a way in which logical argumentation is used to convince. Considering they ensure the story about the cultures of Oceania is better comprehensible. The map gives the visitors an idea of where all these cultures come from before being confronted with more in-depth information about them, additionally adding to the unfolding of a logical narrative. Logos is likewise realised throughout the texts in the gallery, providing the visitor with more information about the object by explaining the context they are placed in.

Concludingly it can be said that the rhetorical strategy most visible in Museum Volkenkunde is pathos. Created by different design elements, emotional appeal and enargia form the gateway to convince the visitor of the narratives, by making them feel closer to the Maori through some of the displays and videos. Nonetheless, the physical *taonga* on display in the Oceania gallery mostly rely on their appearance and do not play a big part in forming the story about the Maori. The *taonga* mostly seem to aid in adding physical objects to link to the narratives presented in other parts of the display. The conscious choice of not adding the object texts in the displays shows the museum wants their visitors to be focussed on the objects. Possibly explaining the slight difference that is apparent between the narratives the display texts and the object texts form. The reason for this might be that these are not meant to lead the story, but just as additional information. The visual rhetoric seen in the displays here is thus mainly emotional appeal, while the textual form is inclined to use logos as a convincing method. The narratives in Museum Volkenkunde are thus supported by a strong visual argumentation through the *waka* and multimedia displays, which is aided by texts that create a stronger base of logos and add to the credibility of the visual persuasion.

2.2 Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM), Oxford, United Kingdom

In the year 1887, fifty years after the founding of Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden, the Pitt Rivers museum in Oxford was first opened to the public. The development of this museum was directed by the collection of Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers (1827-1900). He had donated his object collection to the University of Oxford in 1884, requiring the

University to build a museum to hold it. 90 Currently the museum's collections consist of Pitt-Rivers' founding collection as well as many other collections that came into the museum since its founding. These mainly contain anthropological and archaeological objects, therefore coming from countries all over the world, dating from different periods in time.

Since its formation, the museum has been an institution directly connected to the University of Oxford and still has an active role in the university's anthropology department. This close affiliation between university and museum is one interesting feature that is visible inside as well as outside of the museum (see fig. 36-37). 91 The location of the museum building contributes to this visibility, as it is in Oxford's city centre, surrounded by University departments and facilities (see map 1 & fig. 38). The building was especially built to house the museum and has been shaped into what it needed at that time; the architecture emphasising the relationship with the university. The neo-gothic style is what draws a visual connection between the two, as this style is seen in many other buildings belonging to the University of Oxford. What makes the museum stand out between these other University buildings however, is the open lawn in front of it. Helping to focus people's attention upon the museum building and drawing visitors to its entrance (fig. 39).

In addition to being part of a cluster of University buildings, the housing of the Pitt Rivers is rather unusual, as it shares its building with the Museum of Natural History (MNH) (fig. 40). Upon entering this can make a visit somewhat confusing to new visitors like myself, since the main entrance leads to the part of the building housing the Museum of Natural History. Only after careful inspection of a sign which gives directions to the different spaces in the building, it becomes clear that to get to the Pitt Rivers, it is necessary to cross the ground floor of the other museum (fig. 41-42).

Something that immediately grasps the attention when entering the Pitt Rivers are the large amount of glass cases filled to the brim with objects. Considering this first sight is quite overwhelming, the introduction display that gives a more extensive explanation of the history of the museum on the one hand, and a description on the museum plan visitors are offered on how to make the best of your visit on the other hand, do not seem unnecessary (fig. 43-44, 47 & plan 3).

Likewise compelling is the way they display their collections, which is unlike many other anthropology museums. Not only are the displays crowded and close together, the way

⁹⁰ Pitt Rivers Museum. An introduction 2009, p. 3, 5.

⁹¹ Visitors are already confronted with this connection through signposting outside of the museum building.

the objects are ordered alternates from the norm of organizing in other anthropology museums, who usually separate them by region or culture. Yet, here the artefacts are arranged corresponding to object type. The reason for this different choice of presentation, lies within the origin of the museum, as this type of classification was one of the additional demands General Pitt-Rivers made when gifting his collection to the university. This resulted in an arrangement in which all represented cultures can be found throughout the whole museum. One example of this typological ordering is a display dedicated to the human form in art (fig. 45).⁹² Since the objects are not categorized in a way most people are used to, the welcome text on the gallery plan and the introduction display seem to be aimed at teaching people why the museum is atypical.⁹³ Another feature making the Pitt Rivers different from its counterparts, is the amount of objects they have on display which is close to a 100.000 of its "more than half a million artefacts", ⁹⁴ meaning about twenty percent of their collections are on display, while other museums often only have one to two percent of their objects visible in their galleries. ⁹⁵

Besides the uniqueness of the presentation, it additionally creates an mysterious atmosphere of the past, as it relates to Victorian times. However, this atmosphere is not just created by the way of ordering and the abundance of objects on display. The Victorian architecture still visible inside the museum, and the period style cabinets also add to this (fig. 43). Still, the sense of mystery is mostly created by the lighting, because the galleries are rather dark due to ceiling spotlights being the main source of light, although in some displays extra lighting is added to highlight certain texts and objects (fig. 48). This mood of mystery becomes even stronger due to the large contrast in lighting between the Pitt Rivers and the Museum of Natural History, since the MNH relies on natural lighting through a glass roof instead of artificial lighting, resulting in a very different atmosphere (fig. 40). ⁹⁶ Furthermore adding to this mood is the way the cabinets are arranged in the space. Considering they are put close together, making visitors question what they will encounter when turning a corner or looking behind other cases. The air generated through these design elements, is an added reason behind

-

⁹² Here it can be seen that peoples across the globe have depicted humans in many diverse ways. Ibidem, p. 3,

⁹³ The text on the plan offers four questions: "What are the displays about? Where do I start? How did the museum get its name? How big is the collection now?" (plan 3). The first two questions already point to the displays' uniqueness and suggest visitors need help to understand why. The following questions point towards the museum's history, confirm that this museum has been here for a long time, and that it has a very big collection.

⁹⁴ "How big is the collection now?" paragraph on the gallery plan (plan 3).

⁹⁵ Pitt Rivers Museum. An introduction 2009, p. 7.

⁹⁶ Contrastingly, the only place where daylight enters the Pitt Rivers is in the stairwell (fig. 46).

why the museum still displays its objects in this same way, preferring the 19th century ambiance. ⁹⁷

The layout shown on the museum plan offers an idea of the organisation of the museum and which themes are found on each of the three floors. Already indicating that the *taonga* present in the displays are spread throughout the entire museum, making an analysis of all displays containing *taonga* rather difficult. Therefore, I have selected one display in the museum's court to discuss. It should be remembered though, that there are also *taonga* displayed on the lower and upper galleries. Hence, the narratives found through this analysis will only lift a tip of the veil about the representation of the Maori culture in the Pitt Rivers Museum. But since the way of displaying objects is done in a similar fashion throughout the whole museum, this analysis should be able to offer some insight into the convincing narratives this museum is offering about the Maori.

The display I have chosen to discuss is titled: "Maori woodcarving (whakairo rākau)" (fig. 49). Its introduction text discusses where woodcarving came from according to the Maori culture, references to the ways it was used, and makes clear that the Maori still make woodcarvings today. Additionally it explains more about the patterns in the carvings and why woodworking is important to the Maori (fig. 50). Information about the different aspects of the individual artefacts can be found in short texts next to the carvings, as some of these explain: what the carving was used for, which patterns can be seen in it, and from which part of New Zealand it originates (fig. 51-52). An important feature of these object texts is that they also give information, if known, on the collection the *taonga* came from and when and through whom they were acquired by the museum. ⁹⁹ Besides these texts and a drawing of the patterns found in these carvings no further context is created by pictures or videos relating the artefacts to their creators, original use or environment.

_

⁹⁷ Pitt Rivers Museum. An introduction 2009, p. 7.

⁹⁸ On plan 4 I marked the locations of the t*aonga* that I found during my stay in Oxford, however it is not to say that I found all of them, as even on my last day in the museum I still found *taonga* I did not see before.

⁹⁹ Example introduction text: "In Maori mythology, knowledge of wood carving was obtained from Tangaroa, the god of the sea. It has always been regarded as a prestigious activity and master carvers (*tohunga whakairo*) have always been held in high regard for their practical and ritual knowledge." (fig. 50). Example object text: "Canoe sternpost (taurapa) from Pakarangi or Whakerewarewa in the Rotorua region of North Island. Carved with spirals and a scroll pattern (parts missing), with a forward-facing human figure carved at the base. From the Makereti collection, purchased from W.F. Dennan in 1930; 1930.85.8.1." (fig. 52). Numbers given at the end of these descriptions indicate subsequently: the year the *taonga* came into the collection, the number of collections since the beginning of that year, and the number of objects in that collection, *Pitt Rivers Museum*. *An introduction* 2009, p. 15.

What can be seen through certain aspects of the display design is that their style lays a focus upon the outward appearance of the objects. The lighting for example, ensures the carvings stand out, especially when comparing it to some of the surrounding displays in which objects are lighted less well (fig. 53-54). Use of colour also emphasises this, since the dark brown coloured carvings are placed against a white background, creating a stark contrast that accentuates their form (fig. 49). The small size of the object texts, and the fact that they have a white background, make them appear less prominent within the display and also lays the focus more upon the look of the carvings. The amount of *taonga* in this case and their placement within it is what lessens the interest in the individual artefacts, for it makes them appear as a cross section of the different types of carvings made by the Maori. Making it less appealing to read the separate object texts as it seems there are many of the same objects on display, suggesting that reading each text is unnecessary. This is affirmed once more by the pattern drawings that show the patterns without explaining their meaning and just refer to their appearance.

While these visual style elements of the display make visitors focus upon how the artefacts look and create a generalization, the texts seem designed to teach the audience about the individual objects. Their simplicity and aim are what classifies them as being of the low style level. Still, there is a difference between the values of the style used in them; content and decorum of the introduction and object texts both aim to teach, but do not do this in the same way. The introduction text for instance, gives general information that applies to all carvings, whereas the object texts offer more detailed information about the specific objects they describe. The decorum and ornamentation are thus different, aiding different goals of providing different information about these artefacts. ¹⁰⁰

The narratives the Pitt Rivers Museum is presenting about the Maori, can be identified by taking these textual and visual elements into account. The stories are created through the issues important to this museum: the history of the Pitt Rivers and the objects in its collections, the physiognomy of the displayed artefacts, and the Maori as woodcarvers. The topics chosen as most effective to aid them in transferring these issues are: the Maori history of woodcarving and returning patterns within these woodcarvings. These topics are at the base of the various narratives found in this display. One of these concentrates on the history of the

_

¹⁰⁰ Examples from the texts: "Until Europeans introduced metal into Aotearoa / New Zealand in the late eighteenth century, carving tools were made from various types of stone." (fig. 50). "Three house panels ($p\bar{u}kiore$). Carved with faces (Wheku) and a spiral pattern called rauru, painted red, black and white. Such decorated panels are made for Maori meeting houses ($Whare\ whakairo$) and sleeping houses ($Whare\ whakairo$)." (fig. 51).

Maori woodcarving and is fashioned by the introduction text, additionally a story about the history of the objects themselves and their place within the museum is given in the object texts. The way the Maori are presented here is as the creators of these carvings, the peoples who gave them meaning. However, the visual narrative does not provide this context, especially since the way the carvings are displayed creates a narrative focused on the appearance of the *taonga* and does not concentrate on their function or history. The only thing which places the narrative more in the present, is the use of the present tense in the texts and through one specific sentence referring to the carvers of today. Therefore it is fair to say that the narratives created in this display are less focused on the present-day culture, and more on the history and outward look of the carvings.

What makes the narratives convincing towards the visitor is the way in which the three persuasive rhetorical strategies are implemented. The strategy most apparent in this museum is authority, present through the visible connection to the University of Oxford (fig. 36-39 & plan 3). The status of the University is what creates the authority in this relationship, because it is a well-known and trusted institution. By showing their affiliation with this institute, the Pitt Rivers is anticipated to have similar good qualities, since museums working in close proximity with a respected university are expected to produce information on an equal level.

The fact the museum is open about the history of their collection also adds to its persuasive path through authority. By referring to the provenance of the objects in the displays they emphasise the history that lies behind their collections and indicate the objects came from various sources. Showing the object numbers and naming the people and places connected to it, suggests that the museum represents multiple voices throughout their collection. Providing them with the authority on presenting these objects, as their willingness to show the provenance of the artefacts to the visitor suggests they are transparent about what they are presenting. 104

Another rhetorical strategy visible in the Pitt Rivers is logos, for the museum uses analogies and the connection of visual and textual elements to convince their visitors of the

¹⁰¹ "Today a carver's toolkit contains a wide range of metal chisels. Only the wooden, or whalebone, mallet has remained unchanged." (fig. 50). This sentence implicates that the Maori carvers do still exist and practice carving.

¹⁰² Including the text in the introduction display and the one on the gallery plan.

¹⁰³ Where the collections come from is also emphasized in the introduction display and the text on the museum plan. Here it is made clear that they do not only originate from the museum's curators and anthropologists, but also from students, indigenous groups and artists.

¹⁰⁴ This can also be seen in the Maori woodcarving display, where a few of the object texts show that these have been donated to the museum by a well-known Maori: Maggie Papakura (Makereti).

validity of what they are presenting. An example of this being the labels that validate the presence of the objects by referring to where they came from.

Visual elements of persuasion in the museum are what add the emotional appeal as convincing strategy. Colour and lighting is what attracts the attention of the visitors to specific parts of the displays. Lighting focuses the viewer's attention, whilst the colours help to ensure a certain appeal to what is presented. They make the displays stand out and ensure that people's curiosity is sparked so they recognize certain objects as interesting. An example of this is seen in the woodcarving display where the focus is laid upon the objects because of the stark contrast they form to the white background, guaranteeing that they invoke wonder and interest.

What can be concluded about the Pitt Rivers Museum is that the visual rhetoric of the Maori display is one that persuades the visitor of the importance of the Maori woodcarving in general and its different patterns. Yet, no connections are made to contemporary Maori carvings and modern ways of Maori woodworking, in this way only sketching a story of the past. This connection to the past and generalization of the objects is amplified by the visual rhetoric of the museum's architecture, manner of display, and number of objects, which all relate to the 19th century. The lack of context through multimedia additionally ensures visitors are more likely to connect the museum and therefore the Maori, to the past. Still, the textual information provides more detailed information about the artefacts and refers to the Maori of the present. Though, this narrative might be less powerful because these texts are less appealing.

2.3 Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa), Wellington, New Zealand

In 1865, in between the respective founding of Museum Volkenkunde and the Pitt Rivers Museum, on the other side of the world in Wellington, the newly established capital of New Zealand, the Colonial Museum was erected. The opening of this Museum was sparked by 'The New Zealand Exhibition' held in 1865 in Dunedin, which showed this new settler colony to the rest of the world. Back then, this museum was mainly focused on items related to science, but besides these it also housed other types of objects, including but not limited to art and anthropological rarities. It was not until the year 1907 that the museum was renamed the Dominion museum and adjusted its focal points towards national matters as well as to becoming the home of a public art gallery. This change was further realized when the museum moved to a new building to house the Dominion museum and the National art gallery

_

¹⁰⁵ McCarty 2007, p. 15-16.

in 1936. It was in 1970 that the Dominion museum officially became New Zealand's National museum. Not much later, it became too big for its old building, and plans for a new museum, that would become both national museum and art gallery, started at the end of the 1980s. Constructing the building finally started in 1994, opening in 1998 under the name 'Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa', this last part being Maori for "the place where treasured things are held", although the museum is commonly also referred to under the name "Te Papa, or Our Place". ¹⁰⁶

This new building is located in the heart of Wellington city where it is a eyecatcher near the waterfront. This is mainly due to its spectacular design, which is very different from the other buildings in the city and its size that takes up a very significant part of central Wellington's water walkway (fig. 56). The different colours, materials and shapes of the building, also contribute to this, as these aspects give it a very modern and almost futuristic appearance.

Already emphasizing the museum's national aim is a big anchor hanging in the museums entrance hall, connecting it to the European settlers who first visited New Zealand or 'Aotearoa' 107, mid-18th century (fig. 57). Pinpointing a significant part of New Zealand history. Entering this hall, the museum already seems quite overwhelming, especially since this is where visitors become aware that the museum has a total of six floors. Therefore, the plan, made available before entering the galleries proves to be very helpful (plan 5).

One of the special features of the museum is visible through this plan, for it shows the museum houses a diverse range of collections, making it seem as though it houses ten different museums. To make this diverse content more comprehensible, each floor houses a different theme. Binding these themes together is the museums main subject: Aotearoa New Zealand. One important element of it is therefore to tell about its inhabitants, because the subjects presented in this museum are dedicated to explaining all the different aspects of Aotearoa. This already starts with the museum's name, which is Maori, emphasizing the museum is their 'place'. Likewise stressing the significance of the Maori, is the fact that one whole gallery is attributed to them. This permanent display of *taonga* called 'Mana Whenua',

¹⁰⁶ Keith 2017, p. 6-7.

¹⁰⁷ Aotearoa is the name given to New Zealand by the Maori, meaning: 'long white cloud', Keith, 2017, p. 48. ¹⁰⁸ The presented themes are: 'Natural Environment', 'People's impact on the land', 'Social history – Maori, Pacific, and other communities'. Additionally, there is also an art gallery, which will open in 2018, and a viewing terrace. Besides the museum's permanent collections, each floor also houses one or multiple temporary exhibitions relating to the different themes. Keith, 2017, p. 22.

also offers space for temporary iwi exhibitions that flow over into the permanent display areas.¹⁰⁹

The Mana Whenua gallery is one large room that is split up by different themes (plan 6). He fore entering the gallery, there is a display of a *waka* which is shown against a dark blue coloured wall, with blue lights shining beneath, accompanied by sounds of waves. Added texts tell the history of this specific canoe and how it came into the museum and portraits of the Maori who donated it to the Dominion museum in 1930 offer additional context (fig. 58-59). Entering the gallery, visitors are met by a wall featuring an introduction text welcoming them to the space and preparing them for what they will encounter in this gallery (fig. 60).

After this introduction, visitors enter a dynamic and open space in which many diverse *taonga* present different themes. These are all explained through wall and object texts that present the stories attached to the *taonga*. Noteworthy is that the object information is accompanied by a small map of New Zealand showing the objects' origin (fig. 66). In addition to the texts, two of the life size houses shown in the gallery, a *wharepuni* (domestic house) and *Te Takinga* (a storage house), have the added feature of presenting oral information, since inside of these structures a story is presented through audio. In this audio further explanation is offered about the use of these houses. Important to note is that the story is first told in Maori, followed by a translation in English. All the texts in the exhibition are also each presented in Maori and English (fig. 70). Besides this audio, there are also a few interactive audio-visual screens providing more context to some of the themes (fig. 77 & plan 6). Throughout the gallery there are also pictures that provide background information, showing people and events relating to some of the themes (fig. 61, 68).

_

¹⁰⁹ Important to notice here is that the name of this gallery is pronounced as: "Mana Fenua", for the 'wh' is pronounced as an 'f'. http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/learn-te-reo-maori/whakahuatanga-pronunciation/ (13 November 2017). Mana Whenua is Maori for: "territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory, jurisdiction over land or territory - power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land. The tribe's history and legends are based in the lands they have occupied over generations and the land provides the sustenance for the people and to provide hospitality for guests." The name of the gallery thus already insinuates its importance, as it refers to the Maori as having the traditional authority over the country. https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=Mana+Whenua (13 November 2017).

The presented themes are: the Moriori, a distinct cultural group from the Chatham Islands, fig. 61, voyaging across the ocean, illustrated by *taonga* relating to the journey of Hekenukumai Busby, fig. 62, a life size *wharepuni* (domestic house) from Palliser Bay fig. 63, *pounamu* or Greenstone, which shows many cases of objects made from this stone fig. 64, another life size house called *Te Takinga*, which is an old storage house from Rotorua, fig. 65, and lastly a *Whare Whakairo* or 'carved meeting house' called *Te Hau ki Tūranga*, that belongs to the Rongowhakaata *iwi* who are based in Tūranga.

An element distinct to the design of this gallery, besides its open plan, is the lighting, which comes from spots on the ceiling that illuminate the *taonga* and the texts, making them stand out. These spots are also the main source of light, since there are no windows letting in daylight, nor are there other lights besides these spots. This creates a gallery which is slightly darkened, making the spot lit parts even more distinctive (fig. 69).

To make a division between the different themes in the gallery, different colours and photographic backgrounds are used with each subject (fig. 61, 62, 64-68). Furthermore, in some parts of the room the floor is also used to separate between themes, for the floor beneath the *wharepuni* and related *taonga* has a different colour (fig. 67) and the biggest *taonga* in the gallery, *Te Hau ki Tūranga* (the carved meeting house), is set apart due to its placement on an elevated part of the floor (fig. 67).

Reflecting the aim is the style used to display the *taonga* and the style of the texts accompanying them. The artefacts seem to be placed with the purpose of showing their individuality, most being shown within separate cases or on single pedestals. Additionally, there are a few displays that do show some smaller artefacts closer together, but even here a generous space is kept between them. Ensuring visitors can view them individually, instead of seeing them as groups that represent the different themes.

What emphasizes the focus and importance of the *taonga* as individual artefacts, are the accompanying texts. In this gallery it is not the case that each theme is introduced by one text and explored slightly in the object texts. Here each theme is accompanied by multiple longer texts that explain the specific story selected to illustrate the theme (fig. 73-75). The texts accompanying the objects explain their relevance within the story set forth by the wall texts (fig. 75). Besides being informative, the they also seem to be aimed at moving visitors, by presenting the narratives in a way that makes them appear more realistic. This type of writing is what makes these texts of the grand level of style. An example of this is the use of the first-person perspective, which suggests the Maori are speaking for themselves in this gallery. Another strategy making these texts more moving is the use of quotes from the people involved in the stories, and the fact that the *taonga* on display, have an active role

⁻

¹¹¹ Most of the texts refer to 'our people', 'our ancestors', and 'us'. Examples of this are: "A waka is a sacred vessel. It was waka which carried our people – our knowledge, our art and technology, our world view – safely across the ocean to Aotearoa, and spread them around this land." (fig. 62). "We, the people of Ngāti Hinewaka, made these things to build our ancestral house. In the process we regained knowledge and skills known to our ancestors, but which our people had not used for generations." (fig. 70).

within these narratives. He are ample of one of the *taonga* being actively used in the narrative is "the model of waka ama", for in the accompanying text it is mentioned who built the model and how it fits into the story of Hekenukumai Busby, which is central to the theme in which it is displayed (fig. 78). Besides the choice of wording in the texts that directly links to the Maori, there are also texts in the gallery that have different ornamentation but belong to the same style level. These refer to 'the Maori' instead of using the first person, and because of this difference in the use of the virtue of ornamentation, the texts seem to give more general information. Instead of taking a more active part in the narratives, they seem to provide a neutral distance. Thus, the style used in the texts in this gallery offers a lot of information, and additionally places the *taonga* within a story, making them more relatable for the visitors.

From these visual and textual factors that lead these displays, the presented narratives become very clear. The issues in Te Papa leading the stories can be recognised as: the importance of the Maori in Aotearoa and the connection between *taonga* and *iwi*. The topics they choose to present these issues are: the different *iwi* groups; how New Zealand got populated by the Maori; how the Maori feel connections towards their land. The presented themes in Mana Whenua are what lead the narratives that are created through the displays, these being about: the Moriori and their heritage; voyaging, illustrated by the story of how a canoe builder was inspired to research and relive the journey the Maori made across the Pacific; the traditions of house building and living, and how these were renewed by the *iwi* in Palliser Bay¹¹⁴; the use of punamu (greenstone or jade) and its importance to all the Maori; a storage house and the meaning of its decorations; and lastly, the carved meeting house which additionally goes into the narrative about the clash between the Pakeha (European New Zealanders) and the Maori. ¹¹⁵ Interesting to note is that all narratives refer to the past through

-

¹¹² An example of the use of a quote is: "'From now and forever, never again let there be war as there has been this day. Do not kill.' So spoke the renowned leader Nunuku Whenua when we settled on Rēkohu renewing the covenant of peace laid down by our ancestors Rongomaiwhenua, Mū, Weke and Pakehau. Our people have stood by our covenant throughout the centuries." (fig. 72).

^{1/3} Two examples of these other texts: "These waka are sacred to Māori. They safely carried their ancestors, who brought their art, technology, and world view across the ocean to these shores." (fig. 75). "To Māori, the greenish stone called pounamu has many varieties, each with its own name, distinctive in appearance, and properties. Each variety of pounamu is specially suited for different uses." (fig. 75).

¹¹⁴ Who built the displayed *wharepuni* the way their ancestors used to do this.

¹¹⁵ Since this house was taken by Pakeha without consent of the *iwi* it belongs to, the Rongowhakaata, which is illustrated in the texts accompanying this display. Pakeha: "New Zealander of European descent - probably originally applied to English-speaking Europeans living in Aotearoa/New Zealand." https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=pakeha (29 Januari 2018).

the contemporary Maori who are connected to the *taonga* presenting these stories. Besides this, it is important to mention is that the narratives are created by an interplay between the visual and textual elements of the display.

To make the narratives convincing, different rhetorical strategies can be found throughout the diverse components of Te Papa's displays and the overall museum structure. Persuasion by emotional appeal can already be seen outside of the museum, as the architecture of the building aims at overwhelming people and attracting their immediate attention. Due to the modern architecture, the building contrasts with its surroundings, convincing the visitor of the contemporary importance of the museum. These elements awaken curiosity and excitement, making emotional appeal the convincing factor.

Inside the gallery, visitors are again persuaded by pathos, the narratives pulling them in through enargia evoked by the displays. Multiple features aimed at immersing the visitors in the stories these *taonga* present are the photographic backgrounds, use of audio and interactive video screens, and the fact different kinds of live size structures can be entered. Additionally, the style of the texts adds to bringing the stories to life, ensuring people find themselves immersed in the narratives even more. The fact that these objects are not just examples of, but play active roles in the stories, is what makes people more invested, as they are seeing 'the real' objects. Lastly, the use of blue lights and sounds of waves in the display of canoes also adds to the coming to life of the displays, since these effects simulate the natural surroundings, making it easier for visitors to imagine the boats during their original use.

Besides the persuasion through pathos, visitors are also convinced by the authority that the museum has on the subjects presented in the Mana Whenua exhibit. Mostly created by the first-person style of the text and audio, an authority is created that shows the audience the Maori themselves are telling this story. Giving the museum the air of authority needed to convince its visitors of the influence the Maori have on these displays. Adding to this is the museum's name, which is Maori, suggesting they have an important role in this museum. Lastly, logos is also found throughout the displays, as it is the connections the museum makes between the many different display elements that create a logical, and thus convincing story to the visitors.

Finally, what is clear about the rhetorical strategies found in Te Papa, is that they mainly rely on the emotional appeal to convince its visitors. Specifically, because the visual rhetoric, persuades them by making the stories come to life through the immersive displays,

using lighting, video, colours and maps to make visitors experience the narratives. The immersive writing style accentuates this visual rhetoric pulling the audience even closer to the presented *taonga*, creating extra context for what is seen on the pictures and describing the relevance of the artefacts. Through these elements a contemporary image is created about the Maori. Explaining the importance of these themes in their culture of today, the Maori are presented as relating to the past and present of Aotearoa.

Chapter 3: Three museums, three stories.

From the previous chapter it has become clear that even if museums have displays presenting the same culture, this does not necessarily mean that this culture is represented in the same way. Each museum I discussed in chapter two has their own narratives that present the Maori and various ways of convincing their audience of these stories. This chapter will touch upon the most striking of differences between them but also on the similarities.

Before discussing what the museums present to their visitors however, I will clarify what lies behind the formation of the discussed displays. It became apparent throughout the analyses that each museum, in some way, represented multiple voices, although they achieved this concept in different ways. Interesting to find, is how involved the Maori were in realising these displays about their culture, how these museums think of indigenous involvement, and how they maintain contact with the Maori community. By interviewing curators from each museum, I have searched for answers to these and other questions involving what the voice of the Maori is in their museum. Through discussing these interviews, I will hopefully be able to find how the museums relate to the concept of multiple voices and the other concepts important to post-museum theory.

Initially, I would like to examine if these museums are already on their way to becoming a post-museum, or if they are still caught up in modernist museum ways of thinking. By first searching for the curators' intentions through the interviews and then comparing this to the ways the Maori are presented in each museum, I hope to be able to find answers.

3.1 Behind the displays

After analysing the displays, and through this, being able to see the differences between the museums and their choices of narrative, it is helpful to find out what lays behind these presentations that are visible to the visitor. Therefore, I decided to not only study the museums' published mission statements, but to also interview the curators involved with the Maori displays to create a perception of their ideas. To find if what is presented in the museums reflects their ideas, I asked in-depth questions surrounding the influence of the Maori on the *taonga* displays and each museum's relationship with the Maori community. One of the most interesting things that became apparent throughout these conversations, was that initially the three museums have a lot in common in how they want to represent and keep in contact with the Maori.

One thing that already came forward by examining the museums' missions, was that each states they want to show their collections to the world to be able to share knowledge with their visitors about the cultures they are representing. Besides this, they also all emphasise that they consider it an important aspect of their institution to be in active contact with the communities that are connected to their collections. Thus, they are all aware of the changes mentioned in the introduction of this thesis; indigenous peoples want a voice concerning what happens with their heritage. 117

In addition to these resemblances within their policies, the fact that these museums have a lot in common became even more evident through the interviews, as throughout these dialogues it seemed each curator was working with the same goal in mind: to show respect to the cultures they are representing. They each stressed it was important to them to show respect to the Maori and their *taonga* by working together with them. For example, Wonu Veys, the curator of the Oceania collection for Museum Volkenkunde, emphasised she always notifies the Maori about how she utilizes *taonga* in the museum. She expressed the importance of them being aware of what is happening with their heritage, even if they do not necessarily agree with everything, as long as the museum does not do things behind their back, for that would be disrespectful. Laura Peers, one of the curators of the Pitt Rivers Museum, clarified that the Pitt Rivers always deems the opinion of the represented indigenous cultures of great importance. She even mentioned they removed certain *taonga* from their displays, when this was suggested by their Maori advisors and that they worked closely with

-

Museum Volkenkunde's Mission statement: "By involving our public and stakeholders actively when interpreting the collections and by sharing testimonials, we increase the awareness of this mutual connection. This is how we inspire an open view on the world." (my translation from Dutch original) Original quote: "Door ons publiek en stakeholders actief te betrekken bij het verzamelen duiden en delen van deze getuigenissen, vergroten we het besef van deze onderlinge verbondenheid. Zo inspireren we een open blik op de wereld.", https://volkenkunde.nl/sites/default/files/No_Missie_3_v%C2%A73.pdf (31 October 2016).

Pitt Rivers Museum Mission statement: "and as an inspirational forum for the sharing of cultural knowledge amongst the widest possible public." https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/governance (5 May 2017). Te Papa's Goals: "Visitors are enabled to better understand Aotearoa New Zealand's heritage, arts, sciences, and culture through Te Papa's collections, knowledge, and research." https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/what-we-do/te-papas-vision-and-future (15 November 2017).

il "Samenwerking met stakeholders kunnen ook processen van reconciliatie, restitutie en repatriëring in gang zetten. Het in dialoog bespreekbaar maken en erkennen van pijnlijke koloniale relaties uit het verleden is een belangrijk onderdeel van dit soort processen.", Collectie beleidsplan Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, p. 8. "4.3.2 The Museum responds to the needs and sensitivities of audiences from diverse cultural backgrounds, including source communities, inviting contributions to the interpretation of the collections and the understanding of their cultural significance.", Pitt Rivers Museum policy and planning committee, *Access policy*, February 2015, p. 5. "Iwi and communities are increasingly engaged with their histories, traditions, taonga and collections, in partnership with Te Papa.", https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/what-we-do/te-papas-vision-and-future (15 November 2017).

¹¹⁸ Appendix: Interview W. Veys, p. II.

the Maori in creating one of their cases displaying *taonga*. Dougal Austin and Matariki Williams, two curators involved in the Maori collections of Te Papa, also both underlined the importance of respect in working together. Austin mentioned that Te Papa has a Maori advisory panel and Williams stressed that their policies require them to always notify the *iwi* connected to the *taonga* they want to use, and ask for their permission, as they acknowledge the different *iwi* as the owners of the *taonga* in their collections.

The interviews also proved that although working together is of great importance, the museums can still find it difficult to maintain in contact with the Maori. This is especially so for the two European museums, because they both have to make more effort to create and sustain a good relationship with the Maori to be able to represent them in a respectful way. From Peers's comments it seems that Oxford has worked with the Maori through different channels, since they have had someone of Maori descent in their governing body, had Maori scholars who advised them on their *taonga* displays, and are in close contact with the London Maori group. ¹²¹ Yet, these contacts are not all occurring at the same time. The frequency of this contact and its intensity fluctuates, illustrating the difficulties of actively safeguarding such relationships.

In Leiden an affective bond with the Maori came into existence since the temporary exhibition about the Maori in 2010. This exhibition is what has sparked the tradition of the *waka* weekend, involving the *waka* the museum requested for this 2010 exhibition. The aim of this yearly returning weekend is to bring "together different communities with an interest in Maori culture" and has helped in maintaining the museum's relationship with the Maori. Besides this, Volkenkunde too has an active relationship with the London Maori group, also mostly connected to helping with the *waka* weekend. Difficulties in this relationship are found, according to Veys, not only in the distance, but mainly in the formation of long lasting relationships, as she stresses the relationship they have now is more personal instead of institutional, and she fears that if she where to leave her position, the relationship has to be reinvented, unless she will transfer it really carefully to a future successor.

¹¹⁹ Appendix: Interview L. Peers, p. IX.

¹²⁰ Appendix: Interview D. Austin p. XIII. Appendix: Interview M. Williams p. XXII.

¹²¹ Appendix: Interview L. Peers, p. IX, XI.

¹²² The ones seen in the museum garden and in the video in the Oceania gallery.

http://materialculture.nl/en/events/waka-weekend-2017 (15 November 2017)

¹²⁴ Appendix: Interview W. Veys, p. VII.

¹²⁵ Appendix: Interview W. Veys, p. VI.

Still, even though Te Papa is in the home country of the Maori, the formation of these relationships and maintaining them is described, by the Te Papa curators, as something that needs close attention. The difference with the two European museums however, is that the connections between the Maori and Te Papa are fixed within their institution through rules and regulations. Furthermore, they have a whole gallery dedicated to the Maori where they also host special *iwi* exhibitions, and they have a special department working with *taonga*, governed by curators from Maori descent. ¹²⁶

Finally, what can be concluded about what goes on behind the displays in these three museums is that each works with the same ideas in mind. They still differ however, due to differences in location, audience, history and aim. Te Papa, being in New Zealand, serves a larger Maori audience, which means the Maori can easier critique what they do, while the Pitt Rivers and Volkenkunde hardly get Maori visitors and therefore are affected by the Maori in a very different way. Additionally, all three museums have different origins which aid them in focussing on certain issues. Te Papa is a National museum, focusing on everything about New Zealand, of which the Maori are an important part, meaning the narratives about them receive more priority and space, whereas at Volkenkunde and the Pitt Rivers the focus lies upon world cultures, since they are anthropological museums. This makes it sensible for them to place the Maori in a different narrative and to look at them from a greater distance, relating them to the many other cultures they are representing, instead of seeing them as a main priority.

3.2 Contrasts and resemblances

What becomes evident through the interviews is that these three museums have the same ideas about working with the Maori and their *taonga*. This makes it interesting to find out how this idea about respecting the voice of the Maori as owners of their heritage is carried out in the museum displays. How do their narratives and the way they make these convincing differ? Is it visible in the representations of the Maori in Leiden, Oxford and Wellington that their ideas behind the displays are alike, or do their presentations tell a different story due to the museums' differences in aim, history, audience and location?

When comparing the analyses from the previous chapter the main resemblances can be found in the visual design of their exhibition displays, particularly in the way they attract their

¹²⁶ Appendix: Interview D. Austin, p. XIX.

visitors' attention through lighting that focus upon the texts and artefacts. Also similar is that each gallery is actually quite dark, apart from these highlighting spot lights. Another visual aid implemented in each gallery, albeit in a different way, is colour, as each museum uses it to highlight certain aspects in their displays. The way they present their visitors with information about the *taonga*, is also alike, for they each provide an introductory context and offer specific object information about the individual artefacts. However, besides showing that each museum respectively focuses upon the individual *taonga* through applying these visual elements, these aspects do not tell much about the presented narratives nor do they show what voices are presented in the displays.

Fascinating is that the elements in the displays that do affect the narratives and why they are more convincing, differ significantly. The first of these differences is found in the style and usage of texts. The texts from Volkenkunde and the Pitt Rivers are, short, simple and aim to teach, while the texts in Te Papa, are longer and aim at moving the visitor with the narrative. This is what makes their narratives more convincing, as these texts engage with the visitor and, in this way, make the story come to life in the textual but also in the visual parts of the display. Consequentially, in Te Papa, the voice of the Maori is clearly presented in the texts, which is not the case in the those of Volkenkunde or the Pitt Rivers, which are presented through the voice of the museum. 129

Secondly affecting the narratives and their credibility are the elements of the display design creating a certain atmosphere. Volkenkunde and the Pitt Rivers both created an atmosphere of wonder and mystery, making their displays enticing to their visitors. By distancing the presented culture in this way, they do not create a voice for the Maori, but affirm their distant position, and so the voice of the museum as the one that can teach their visitors. In contrast, Te Papa does not create such an atmosphere within their displays, their modern design of the space instead produces a very neutral atmosphere in which each of the presented voices can come forward equally.

_

¹²⁷ In Volkenkunde colour was used to create a certain atmosphere, while in the Pitt Rivers it was used to highlight the *taonga*, and in Te Papa as a tool to visually set apart the different themes shown in the exhibition space.

space. ¹²⁸ The object information is added to the displays in different ways, however. In Leiden the information is separated from the display, in Oxford its next to the objects in the display case, and in Wellington it is located not in the display directly next to the *taonga*, but in a space underneath or next to the display case.

¹²⁹ The use of quotes and the first person in Te Papa, is not found in the texts of the other two museums, which talk about 'the Maori'. Making the texts more distant.

However, the biggest difference between these museums lies in how the *taonga* aid them in creating their convincing narratives. In Museum Volkenkunde the displayed *taonga* illustrate the narratives they have formed about ancestors and the connections the Maori have to the museum. Nevertheless, the physical *taonga* aiding to tell the story about the importance of ancestors are not connected to this narrative in the same way as the *waka* and the boathouse are connected to the story about the museum's connection to the contemporary Maori culture. The *taonga* in the gallery only illustrate the narrative of ancestor culture. Meaning they could easily be replaced by other artefacts and still present the same narrative, as the story presented in this display does not relate to these specific objects nor to their use or origin. ¹³⁰

Similar to Volkenkunde, the *taonga* in the Pitt Rivers museum are an illustration to their narratives, since the narratives presented in Oxford do not relate to the specific objects in the display. They only seem to give an illustration of the Maori woodcarving by showing the different patterns that are presented in the introduction to this display, and additionally aid in displaying a range of artefacts to which this technique is applied. What these patterns or these specific *taonga* mean in the Maori culture, does not seem to play an important role in making the narratives about the Maori woodcarving convincing, especially because some visual aspects of this display emphasize the way they look, generalizing them. The object texts that do offer more specific information, like in Volkenkunde, are not highlighted but downplayed in importance, fading into the background due to their size and colour. Here, changing the artefacts would also not affect the presented narratives, nor the persuasiveness of this display, as individually these *taonga* do not play an important part in producing the narratives.

In the displays of Te Papa, almost all the presented *taonga* directly aid in creating convincing narratives, as they play a direct part in the stories illustrated within this gallery. The life size *wharepuni* and the *taonga* connecting to it are an example of this individual importance of the *taonga*. Since, if a different structure of the same kind would be placed in the gallery, the whole narrative would have to change with it. This is due to the fact that the narrative presented here not only tells visitors about these kind of structures, but additionally creates a connection to the *iwi* who built it. That these artefacts play such an active role in the narratives is what makes the stories more convincing, as the visitor can form a more direct connection to what is presented through the artefacts, instead of the artefacts just being generic illustrations without their use and origin being of importance.

¹³⁰ Which is only referred to in their object texts, that do not play a prominent role in the display.

The way that the displayed artefacts play a role in telling the narrative is thus an important factor in making the presented stories more convincing, and this is effectively applied by Te Papa. What is also important in creating a persuasive narrative is how the objects aid in forming these stories. Hence, it is not only the design of the displays that has such an effect upon creating convincing narratives.

A last important difference, is the way the museums implemented rhetorical strategies to make their narratives more convincing, whereas the Pitt Rivers very much relies on authority and logos, Volkenkunde and Te Papa make more use of the emotional appeal, through immersive displays which make the cultures appear closer to the visitor. That this is not found in the Pitt Rivers is due to their lack of use of multimedia, to offer a visual context about the peoples belonging to the presented culture.

3.3 Narratives for the future?

Clarifying the similarities and differences between these three museums, illustrates that there is a discrepancy between what the museums aim for and what they carry out to their audience through their displays. Although each museum has the intention of respecting the Maori voice and is aware of the importance of multiple voices when presenting world cultures, this was not always visible in their displays. Keeping this in mind when relating these museums to Hooper-Greenhills theory, it becomes even more clear that a post-museum, is not easy to create.

The main factors important to a post-museum were described by Hooper-Greenhill as: presenting multiple voices, using objects in multiple ways to create a more dynamic museum, and focussing on teaching the visitor instead of only showing the beauty of the artefacts. These factors are all considered in the analysed museums, but they are not necessarily visible in each of them, indicating that they are not full post-museums yet. Because transparency about the elements that are essential to post-museums is additionally an important part of becoming a post-museum.

As suggested, each of these three museums show some aspects of the post-museum. The factor they are all especially aware of is that they are institutions that generate meaning and aid in forming knowledge, for all three museums clarified they want to use their collections to teach. Through the analyses it showed that they all presented multiple voices in their displays, although each did this differently. The Pitt Rivers for instance, only indicated multiple voices through showing the provenance of their artefacts, suggesting they come from

multiple different sources. Yet, it does not show any influence the Maori might have had on the display or on the narratives that are presented in the discussed display. In Volkenkunde however, the voice of the Maori is clearly found throughout the gallery, because the video on the *waka* and the interviews with the Maori, indicate that they, literally, have a voice in the presented narratives. Te Papa takes the idea of multiple voices to an even higher level, as they do not only present the narratives through the Maori by using the first person in their texts, but also by going deeper into the origins of the *taonga* and letting the connected *iwi* tell their own stories.

An aspect not visible in every display was a dynamic use of the objects. In Volkenkunde this was only visible through the two *waka* that lie in the water and in the boat house, but not in any other aspects of their displays in the Oceania gallery. In Te Papa dynamic use of the collections is visible through their *iwi* exhibit that is connected to the Mana Whenua display, indicating they use their collections in an active way by changing these exhibitions and bringing different *taonga*, views and people into their museum. Yet, in the Pitt Rivers, there are no signs of the fact that the collections might be used in an active way. Te Papa therefore seems more progressive when it comes to this particular factor.

What became apparent through the interviews though, was that the Pitt Rivers museum and Museum Volkenkunde are acting on the ideas of being inclusive institutions more than is visible within their displays. This holds true especially for the Pitt Rivers, where the displays make no effort to show the voice of the contemporary Maori, or that the Maori have been consulted about the display of their heritage. The Oxford displays are consequently less transparent about their inclusiveness when compared to Te Papa and Volkenkunde. That these partnerships are less visible in the Pitt Rivers can be seen as a loss, for it makes this museum appear as if it is less involved and does not do justice to the actual partnerships and connections they have formed with the Maori. Democracy and transparency are thus active in each museum, made most obvious through the interviews.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to examine one of the problems playing a role in museums that display anthropological collections, involving the display of cultures and the incorporation of their voices in their representation. To limit this research, I opted a comparison between European museums containing collections from a settler country and a museum with similar collections within this same settler country, as such a comparison had not been made before and might prove to be helpful in exposing the differences between the way these museums represent the same culture. I hoped to be able to find differences and to raise awareness about displaying indigenous cultures, by posing the following question: How do museums focused on representing indigenous cultures – in European and settler countries – differ in the narratives they present about these cultures and in the rhetorical strategies they adapt to make these stories convincing, and how do they incorporate the concept of multiple voices within this?

By combining post-museum theory, with its focus upon the importance of multiple voices in museums of today, with the ideas of rhetorical strategies and their application in museum displays, I attempted to analyse three different museums that represent the Maori. Through this I wanted to find the presented narratives and how they make these convincing, with the implication of discovering how their narratives and ways of convincing differ and what might lie behind this. By analysing their museum displays with these theories in mind I found that there are indeed a few big differences between how museums in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands represent the Maori and how they are represented in New Zealand. Though, there also seem to be similarities between the three museums.

The narratives they each present prove to be very different and are dependent upon the museums' history and location. Some of the visual design elements of their displays however, are very similar, e.g. the use of lighting and how they implement texts in their displays. Analysing the displays while searching for the rhetorical strategies of ethos, pathos and logos in the visual and textual components, it became evident that all three museums have specific means that they have adopted to make their displays convincing. The preferred strategy of the Pitt Rivers connects to its association with the University of Oxford, since the authority offered by this relationship is the strategy most visible throughout this museum. The close collaboration with the Maori within Te Papa and Volkenkunde is what results in their implementation of more persuasive elements through emotional appeal.

From the analyses it became apparent that these museums are quite different from each other in the narratives they are presenting about the Maori culture. The narratives in Volkenkunde seemed conflicting, for the display showing physical *taonga* focussed more upon the appearance of the objects and had almost no reference towards the present, whereas their other narratives mainly concentrated upon the contemporary Maori. Contrastingly, the Pitt Rivers formed narratives mainly focussing on the past, created by its 19th century atmosphere of its display design, and the lack of visual aids referring to the Maori of today. Te Papa, differing from both European museums, presenting narratives that all relate to the past and present, by actively referencing to the past of the *taonga* in combination with their current use and meaning.

Even though these differences in application of rhetoric and narrative indicate that the three museums are very diverse, the interviews with the curators proved otherwise, for these made evident that each of these three museums, although it does not always show through their display, takes the voice of the Maori and respecting their opinions very seriously in their decisions on how to manage the Maori heritage. Therefore, Hooper-Greenhill's concept of multiple voices and other concepts of her post-museum theory could be found in each museum, even though they were not visible in each of the displays. In essence, each of these three museums are hence well on their way in becoming post-museums.

What should be considered lastly, is that this research discussed the representation of one culture in three museums. Consequently, much more research needs to be done about the representation of cultures in and outside of settler countries, to create further concluding results. Follow up studies could study the representation of other indigenous cultures from different settler countries, since histories of museums and contacts with cultures vary. This will most likely show significant differences in the types of narratives that are represented or what rhetorical strategies have been implemented to create convincing stories.

Concludingly, if a display in European museums does not directly connect to the culture they are representing, it does not necessarily mean that this culture is not involved in what this museum does with their heritage. Still, it is important to consider that transparency and dynamics in these museums will have to change if they want their museums to show that they are engaged in active dialogue with the cultures they are displaying. Eventually, museums do not have to employ the same rhetorical strategies to create convincing stories, but they do have to grow over time and consider the elements important to post-museum theory, as these will aid in making them more inclusive institutions.

Appendix: Interviews

Interview with Wonu Veys Curator Oceania for the National Museum of World Cultures. Part of the NMVW are: Museum Volkenkunde, the Tropenmuseum and the Africa Museum.

Leiden, 20 June 2017

Interviewer: Eveline Lameer (EL)

Interviewee: Wonu Veys (WV)

(Interview was conducted in Dutch)

EL: Goede morgen, ik zou u graag een reeks vragen willen stellen aangaande uw werk als conservator van Oceanië en de Maori collectie van het museum. Daarnaast zou ik ook willen ingaan op hoe het museum Maori objecten tentoonstelt en zou ik het een en ander willen weten over de relatie tussen de Maori en het museum. Mijn eerste vraag is hoeveel inspraak hebben Maori eigenlijk hebben gehad in de huidige opstelling van taonga?

WV: Waarschijnlijk niet zo heel veel. Maar de huidige opstelling is eigenlijk het resultaat van de verhuizing van de collectie. Vanwege de verhuizing van de zaal moesten er een aantal beslissingen genomen worden zoals: iets wat nog steeds heel jammer is, dat het mannenhuis niet meer getoond kan worden, omdat het plafond veel te laag is (in de nieuwe zaal). Maar ook een van de dingen, een meer positieve keuze was, dat ik meer van onze collectie wilde laten zien en de collectie is niet alleen Nieuw-Guinea, ongeveer de helft, voornamelijk uit westelijk Nieuw-Guinea, maar ik wilde graag de diversiteit van onze collectie te laten zien.

Daarom vond ik het ook belangrijk om voor bijvoorbeeld ook bepaalde sterke collecties te laten, zoals de Nieuw Calledonië collectie, die is een sterke collectie. Maar ook de Maori collectie en een aantal Polynesische top objecten wilde ik laten zien en de boot modellen, dat zijn eigenlijk nieuwe toevoegingen aan de collectie.

De mate van inspraak op die objecten van de Maori die nu te zien zijn, die waren eigenlijk ook in de Maori tentoonstelling opgenomen geweest en daarmee wist ik dat ze goedkeuring genoten. Want bij de tijdelijke tentoonstelling is er wel veel discussie geweest met de Maori. Vooral met mensen uit het Auckland museum en Te papa museum, persoonlijk contact met mensen die in die musea werkten.

EL: Hoe vaak verander je de collectie opstelling, of is het heel erg vast op dit moment?

WV: Op dit moment is het best vast, en dat is vooral vanuit praktische overwegingen, omdat we nu ook een groter museum geworden zijn en we ervoor moeten zorgen dat er eigenlijk vier locaties bediend worden met opstellingen. Dus dat zorgt ervoor dat het minder flexibel is dan vroeger. Ook omdat je met die vier locaties telkens iets moet laten zien en omdat we natuurlijk met tijdelijke tentoonstellingen zitten. De vraag om bruiklenen bijvoorbeeld, er is wel eens vraag naar bruiklenen van objecten die in de vaste opstelling zitten. Maar daar zijn we wel heel voorzichtig mee omdat het al heel veel moeite kost om die vitrines dan open te maken, daar moeten we vaak een speciaal bedrijf voor vragen. Dan moeten we vervanging zoeken voor de objecten. Daar zijn heel veel afdelingen bij betrokken en dat is niet zomaar iets waarvan je denkt van oh ik vind het wel leuk om iets nieuws te doen.

Wat we wel proberen te doen is dat als we nieuwe aanwinsten hebben dat we daar dan een bijzondere plek voor zoeken in de tentoonstellingszalen, die krijgen dan een aparte vitrine soms in de zalen om de aandacht daarop te vestigen.

EL: Dus als er iets veranderd, ben jij dan degene die zegt "ik wil het op deze manier"?

WV: Dat is altijd in groepsoverleg, ik zeg dan, "ik wil het zo graag hebben" en dan overleg ik dat met de tentoonstellingsmaker. Dan kijken we samen, ook met collectie beheer, want die kijkt naar de speciale omstandigheden, zoals veiligheid of, of er bepaalde atmosferische dingen zijn om rekening mee te houden en welke vitrines dan geschikt zijn. Maar ik ben dan wel echt inhoudelijk verantwoordelijk, dus als bijvoorbeeld een object is geselecteerd en ze willen het omgekeerd ophangen, dat de onderkant de bovenkant is of zo, dan ben ik degene die daarbij ingrijpt.

EL: Dus veel van die objecten zijn vanuit de Maori tentoonstelling in de vaste opstelling gekomen?

WV: Ja

EL: Hoeveel inspraak hebben de Maori toen gehad in de verhalen die erbij staan en dat soort dingen?

WV: Bij de objectteksten zelf?

EL: Ja

WV: Die zijn eigenlijk toen we de tentoonstelling maakte is alles altijd ook naar het Auckland museum gestuurd, daar hadden we iemand die keek naar de algemene verhaallijn van de tentoonstelling, maar ook naar alle objectteksten. Ook zelfs hebben de Toi Maori, inzicht gehad in de tentoonstelling en bepaalde keuzes vonden ze niet zo goed. Vooral met betrekking tot bepaalde hedendaagse kunstenaars die wij in de tentoonstelling wilde betrekken. Daar hadden ze wel een sterke mening over.

EL: Hedendaagse Maori kunstenaars?

WV: Ja

EL: *En die wilde ze niet?*

WV: Ja, bijvoorbeeld George Nuku vonden ze niet geschikt. Maar ik heb toen uitgelegd waarom dat onze keuze was en dat begrepen ze ook wel maar dat vonden ze toch nog niet passend. Maar dat heeft ook vaak te maken met interne Maori politiek. Dus ja, ik probeer altijd zo helder en duidelijk mogelijk te zijn tegenover de Maori, zodat iedereen weet wat er gebeurd. Niet iedereen hoeft het daar mee eens te zijn maar dan weten ze dat het zo is en hebben ze niet het gevoel dat er achter hun rug om dingen gebeuren. En dat is wel belangrijk. Want dan kunnen ze ook zelf bepalen van, deze informatie geven en die informatie geven we niet.

EL: Van de objecten die er nu zijn, in de opstelling, hoe belangrijk is het dat deze visueel aantrekkelijk zijn? Want soms zijn er objecten die er niet zo mooi uitzien maar wel een belangrijk verhaal vertellen.

WV: Ik denk dat de objecten die er nu zijn, dat zijn vier Maori objecten, dat zijn best uitzonderlijke objecten. Dus qua esthetiek zijn ze best bijzonder. Sommige hebben ook een

bijzonder verhaal. Vooral de staf die er staan. Heel veel Maori, als die hier komen vragen ernaar, of die nog te zien is. Dan gaan ze die bekijken om een ontmoeting te doen daarmee.

EL: De vorige keer vertelde je dat Maori soms offers brengen bij de taonga zoals bladeren enz. en hadden zij toen bij de Maori tentoonstelling de suggestie gedaan dat ze dat wilde?

WV: Ja en dat is ook wel gebeurd bij de opening, dat is in overleg gegaan met collectie beheer, hebben ze dat kunnen doen. Maar ze hebben de bladeren toen in de vriezer moeten stoppen en goed bekeken of er geen ongedierte op zat en dat ging wel goed. En er moesten ook schaaltjes water staan, waarover ook afspraken gemaakt moesten worden met collectie beheer over op welke plekken dat wel en niet kon. Dat er niet een te groot gevaar was om het schaaltje om te stoten en dat het een object zou beschadigen.

EL: Dat vonden ze dan ook niet erg?

WV: Nee, dat was hun wens en toen hebben we erover gepraat over hoe we dat konden realiseren en dat dat niet helemaal kon zoals zijd dat wilde dat begrepen zij ook, want iedereen heeft andere richtlijnen en een manier van werken.

EL: Dus ze geven niet soms een ultimatum, dat het perse op een bepaalde manier moet?

WV: Bij sommige dingen doen ze dat wel, maar in dit geval was dat niet zo.

EL: Heb je weleens reacties op de collectie van bezoekers uit Nieuw-Zeeland en hoe zijn die reacties?

WV: Vooral op de Waka zijn er reacties, vaak een hele emotionele reactie, zelfs als de mensen geen Maori zijn. Vorig jaar bijvoorbeeld waren er twee fietsers vanuit Nieuw-Zeeland die bij het museum op bezoek waren die reageerde heel positief en emotioneel, die moesten bijna huilen omdat ze zover van huis iets tegen kwamen van hun erfgoed/waar ze zich thuis voelen. Dat hoor je keer op keer, ook van de ambassade, dat ze ontroerd zijn.

EL: Bij de tentoonstelling zijn de objectteksten in het Nederlands en het Engels te lezen, hebben jullie er weleens over na gedacht om ook een optie te geven om de teksten in de originele taal te geven?

WV: Tja dat is heel moeilijk, omdat er heel veel verschillende talen zijn in Oceanië en om dan ieder object nog van een andere derde taal te voorzien is wel erg lastig hierom. Oceanië in zijn geheel is het meest divers op het gebied van talen en culturen. Er zijn voor Nieuw-Guinea bijvoorbeeld al ongeveer zo'n 800 verschillende talen.

EL: Ja dat maakt het inderdaad wel erg lastig. Maar toen bij de Maori tentoonstelling, hadden jullie toen wel opstellingen die met de taal te maken hadden?

WV: We hadden een speciaal gedeelte dat gewijd was aan taal, maar we hadden niet alle objectteksten vertaald in de Maori taal. Er ging een zaal specifiek in op de taal en hoe de taal vandaag de dag veel levender is. Hier konden mensen spelletjes doen om over de taal te leren. Dus op die manier werd er wel veel aandacht aan besteed bij deze specifieke tentoonstelling.

EL: Wat is jouw huidige mening over hoe de vier Maori taonga en de ander objecten in de zaal zijn opgesteld? Ben je hier tevreden mee?

WV: Nee, nee, maar ik kan er niets aan doen. Ik ben sowieso niet zo een fan van die schermpjes waarop je de objectteksten moet lezen. Ik ben geen voorstander van labels die los staan van de objecten, om verschillende redenen. Ik denk dat het leuk is als een bezoeker bij het kijken naar een object, onmiddellijk kan zien wat het is, al was het maar van waar het vandaan komt. Nu moet je toch gaan zoeken, het is een soort puzzel door dat schermpje. Het is wel veel beter dan vroeger, maar ja ik vind het nog steeds niet goed. Je kan ook dus maar met 1 maximaal 2 personen naar een object kijken, als er dus meerder mensen op zaal zijn die iets willen weten over een object dan is dat niet mogelijk. Dat vind ik echt irritant eigenlijk. Die schermen zouden er moeten zijn om extra informatie te geven, maar niet voor de basisinformatie, ik vind dat je dat gewoon bij het object moet zien.

EL: Zijn er meer conservatoren die deze mening delen?

WV: Ja ik denk van wel.

EL: Waarom mogen of kunnen jullie dit niet veranderen?

WV: Ja dat is de tentoonstellingsmaker die daar overgaat, er is in het verleden ook best wat in geïnvesteerd. Er wordt nu wel gewerkt aan een app waarbij je kan rondlopen en meer kan horen en zien over een aantal objecten. Dat is wel leuk omdat je dan niet in de weg zit van andere mensen als je meer wilt weten.

EL: Nu is het inderdaad omdat het maar een schermpje is dus moeilijk

WV: Ja precies, dat maakt het moeilijker, je moet echt veel moeite doen. Nu vraag je je af, oeh waar zou dit vandaan komen. Omdat er op het eerste gezicht geen informatie wordt verstrekt. Het steunt nu heel erg op algemene kennis die je allicht hebt als bezoeker en op algemene thema teksten, regio teksten. Maar het is nog steeds niet erg inzicht gevend, door het hele museum.

EL: Weet jij of er al plannen zijn om dit weer binnenkort te gaan veranderen?

WV: Ja, nee, binnenkort niet, het gaat voorlopig zo blijven staan. omdat we nu met ander musea zijn en omdat we met de herinrichting van het tropenmuseum bezig zijn en dat geeft dus daar voorang aan. En we moeten ook een herinrichting gaan verzorgen voor het museum in Rotterdam dus daardoor, Leiden is vrij recent. In 2001 is de grote herinrichting gedaan. Er zijn toen ook weer veel nieuwe objecten geselecteerd. Het is ook enkel de collectie van Leiden die er nu te zien is.

EL: Wat vind jij eigenlijk van die foto muren in de zalen?

WV: Dat vind ik wel goed, het geeft ook meer impact. Aangezien er weinig teksten zijn, dat vinden veel bezoekers ook, dat het toch een beetje extra informatie geeft, door dat visuele beeld wat je dan krijgt. Ik zou wel graag hebben dat er meer informatie bij de objecten staat. De foto's geven een meer hedendaags gevoel.

Want onze collectie wordt vaak gezien als een oudere collectie, historische koloniale collectie, terwijl er ook hele recente objecten tussen zitten. Bij de Asmat collectie bijvoorbeeld zitten er ook hedendaagse objecten, maar dat valt niet op als je die labels niet hebt. Dat zou een beter beeld geven. Er zijn natuurlijk ook veel oude objecten, maar met die foto muur krijg je en beetje meer een hedendaags idee, ik vind wel dat de muziek te hard staat overigens.

EL: Jullie kunnen daar ook niets aan veranderen? De muziek en de foto's?

WV: Nou ik heb best veel inspraak gehad, suggesties kunnen doen voor muziek, en is er gevraagd of ik het goed vond, en ik heb ook niets tegen de muziek op de zaal van Oceanië. Ik heb ook het voordeel dat mensen niet zo veel weten over Oceanië. Ze hebben weinig vooroordelen, van hoe het zou moeten, dus als ik wat zeg dat wordt dan gelooft. Maar het nadeel is dat de interesse laag is.

EL: Het is ook wel een nadeel dat de zaal zo achterin ligt in het museum.

WV: Ja dat inderdaad ook, ik vind het ook nog steeds jammer dat het mannenhuis weg is en ik probeer het altijd terug te halen, maar het kan niet meer omdat die zo hoog is.

EL: Denk je dat de objecten die nu van de Maori te zien zijn dat die een goed beeld geven van de cultuur?

WV: Het geeft eigenlijk vooral een beeld van onze collectie, want we hebben niet de beste Maori collectie. Voor Nederland is het een hele goede collectie. Maar het is niets vergeleken met bijvoorbeeld het British Museum. Dus geeft de collectie niet zo een goed beeld van de cultuur en de geschiedenis. Maar de objecten die we hebben zijn wel bijzonder, ook met het hele waka project hebben we toch een mooie binding met de historische cultuur en de hedendaagse cultuur. Dat kunnen we wel laten zien met onze collectie.

EL: Hebben jullie eigenlijk ook hedendaagse kunst in de collectie, meer contemporaine werken?

WV: Ja, vooral objecten die geschonken zijn toen met de opening van de Maori tentoonstelling in Leiden. Bij het begin van het waka project in 2010. Daar zit bijvoorbeeld ook aardewerk bij, wat op zich geen traditionele kunstuiting is van Maori. Maar bepaalde motieven vanuit mantels enz. zijn daarin verwerkt. Maar niet nootzakelijk echt hedendaagse kunst. Meer traditionele kunst die vandaag de dag gemaakt is.

EL: Krijg je weleens vragen van mensen, dat ze meer willen weten over bepaalde objecten?

WV: Jazeker, zeker voor de Maori collectie willen mensen vaak meer informatie. Soms over specifieke objecten en natuurlijk ook studenten en zo.

EL: Is het in de teksten die bij de objecten staan beschreven hoe de objecten in het bezit van het museum zijn gekomen?

WV: Nee, meestal niet, tenzij ik er echt op stond dat het in het tekstje stond. In het tropenmuseum staat er wel bij uit welke collecties de objecten afkomstig zijn. Maar dat wilde ze in Leiden niet. Ik heb het er dus soms in gesmokkeld als dat echt van belang was.

EL: Waarom wilde ze dat dan niet?

WV: Omdat ze denken dat mensen dat niet interessant vinden. Ja dat moet eigenlijk wel in de tekst geschreven worden. Maar van veel objecten weten we dat helaas ook niet goed.

EL: Het gaat eigenlijk vooral om een stuk transparantie van het museum, dan zou de oorsprong als die bekent is toch op zijn minst in de catalogus online te vinden moeten zijn.

WV: Ja dat is een beetje het probleem met onze groeiende collectie, wij kennen onze collectie gewoon niet. Nu heb ik bijna 80.000 objecten. Ik kan niet weten hoe alles hier gekomen is.

Vaak denken mensen echt dat alles gestolen is, maar dat is echt maar een heel klein aandeel van de collectie. Maar natuurlijk is het nodig om daar wel meer onderzoek naar te doen.

EL: Hoe zou je de huidige relatie beschrijven tussen het museum en Maori?

WV: Ik denk dat we een goede relatie hebben. Maar het is een relatie die heel veel persoonlijke inzet vraagt. Het zou ideaal zijn als het een soort institutionele relatie was. Dat als ik weg ga de volgende conservator dezelfde contacten heeft, maar dit is op het moment niet zo. Dat kan wel zo worden als ik het goed overdraag. Maar het is nu meer een persoonlijke relatie.

De oude directeur zien zij wel als meer de originele contactpersoon, de huidige directeur daar hebben ze niet echt een relatie mee.

Maar over het algeheel is het een goede relatie. Ook als het gaat over het waka project, dat helpt ook om de relatie te onderhouden en te versterken. De steun vanuit de ambassade werkt ook heel goed.

EL: Zitten er in Nederland ook mensen op de ambassade van Nieuw-Zeeland die zich verbonden voelen met een bepaalde iwi?

WV: Er zijn niet zoveel Maori in Nederland, maar vanuit de ambassade krijgen we altijd veel steun, ook voor het waka project. Bij elk evenement wat met Maori te maken heeft zijn ze aanwezig. Vaak de ambassadeur zelf, of anders een vertegenwoordiger als ze er niet zelf kan zijn. Dat was ook zo bij de vorige ambassadeur, maar deze is echt wel heel enthousiast.

Voor nieuw zeelanders is het zo dat zelfs als zij niet Maori zijn, zij zich wel verbonden voelen met die cultuur. Ze zien het als hun taak omdat ook uit te dragen en om dat te steunen. Als je nieuw zeelander bent, dan is ook Maori cultuur deel van je taak, om dat uit te dragen of om een band mee te hebben. Deel van je nieuw zeelander zijn, respect voor de Maori cultuur.

EL: Zijn er specifieke iwi waarmee jullie meer contact hebben, of hebben jullie meer contact met specifieke musea?

WV: in de vorm van personen hebben we contact met bepaalde iwi. In het noorden hebben we contact met de iwi die verbonden is aan de waka, waar de die gebouwd is. Dat zorgt er ook voor dat een bepaalde kunstenaar zich verbonden voelt met de waka, omdat haar vader daaraan gewerkt heeft. Zij komt soms dus ook met bepaalde vragen als zij in de buurt is. Zij zit nu ook op de Venetië biënnale, hier wilde ze de waka laten varen maar dat is helaas niet gelukt. Er is dus een soort netwerk met mensen die zich verbonden voelen aan de objecten die wij hebben. Ook mensen van Toi Maori die aan het project verbonden zijn, wat weer links geeft met andere iwi. Toi Maori is een regeringsinstelling die Nieuw Zeelandse kunst promoot, en dan promoten zij speciaal Maori kunsten. Hieronder heb je dan ook weer de waka federatie waarmee wij dan contacten hebben.

EL: In Nieuw-Zeeland heb je veel Maori die in musea werken, en dit wordt ook veel gepromoot. Stel dat er iemand met Maori afkomst stage wil lopen of solliciteert voor een baan bij het museum, zou dit dan aangemoedigd worden dat ook indigenous mensen hier komen werken? Of maakt dat misschien niet uit hier?

WV: Dat zouden we sowieso aanmoedigen, zeker stages. Specifiek voor de Maori collectie interesse, zullen mensen niet zo veel vinden.

Maar wat hier ook geld is, ook voor mij, mijn specialisatie is eigenlijk vooral Polynesië, maar mijn collectie houdt meer in dan dat. Dus er wordt van mij wel verwacht dat ik ook interesse heb in andere locaties. Je bent hier niet alleen bezig met een cultuur. Ik ben hier om de collectie op een hoger niveau te brengen met onderzoek en door tentoonstellingen. Dus ik moet ook onderzoek doen naar dingen die voor mijn niet helemaal van zelfsprekend zijn. Dus een indigenous iemand zou zeer welkom zijn, maar een stage zou veel handiger zijn, dan kan je je meer verdiepen. Je kan niet alles doen vanuit een perspectief.

Dat is in nieuw zeeland wel mogelijk omdat je met een Maori collectie werkt, maar hier moet je ook met andere collecties werken. Dus daarom is een conservator in veel gevallen een soort mediateur. Je probeert de relatie tussen de verschillende culturen en het museum of de bezoeker goed te houden, zodat beide partijen er iets uit kunne halen, er iets aan hebben.

EL: Is er een mogelijkheid voor Maori om de objecten die nu te zien zijn aan te raken?

WV: Dat probeer ik altijd wel een mogelijkheid te laten zijn. Tenzij de objecten behandeld zijn met onveilige stoffen, dan mag het nog steeds maar dan worden ze wel gewaarschuwd. Over het algemeen is dit wel met handschoenen. Maar als mensen echt vragen of het zonder mag dan doen wij dat meestal wel. Zeker als het om indigenous mensen gaat, ze moeten gewoon hun handen goed wassen van tevoren en daarna. Dat kan dus wel.

EL: Ook met objecten die in het depot staan?

WV: Ja dat kan ook met objecten uit het depot. Soms wordt er wel aangeraden om ook een masker te dragen als de objecten echt met veel chemische stoffen behandeld zijn, daar worden ze wel voor gewaarschuwd.

EL: Als je contact hebt met Maori, waarover gaat dit contact dan meestal?

WV: Meestal is dit over het waka project en het waka weekend en hoe de waka ingezet wordt voor bepaalde dingen. Nu zijn ze bijvoorbeeld in België bezig met kijken of ze de waka kunnen inzetten bij een herdenking in België van de eerste wereldoorlog en daar willen ze de ceremoniële waka gebruiken om die herdenking uit te voeren, omdat er veel Maori slachtoffers waren in de oorlog. Dus voor dat soort dingen, daar hebben we dan regelmatig contact over. De London Maori komen ook ieder jaar massaal naar het waka weekend. Wij zijn nu al bezig met het regelen van het weekend van volgend jaar.

EL: *Is het contact makkelijk te onderhouden?*

WV: Jawel, dat gaat voornamelijk via email, dat is niet moeiolijk maar vooral arbeidsintensief.

EL: Behalve de waka en de ceremoniën die daarbij horen, hebben jullie hier ook wel andere ceremonies gehad?

WV: Ja, vooral met het contact met de staf die we in Leiden hebben. Op dat niveau. En bij de tentoonstelling was een in huldiging met een speciale opening. Maar de meeste dingen hebben wel betrekking tot de waka. Maar het is niet altijd bij of op de waka. Dat gaat dan ook veel in samenwerking met de roeivereniging hier in Leiden waarmee zij samenwerken.

EL: *Hoe zit het precies met die staf?*

WV: Die behoorde toe aan een Maori Leider en bepaalde mensen stammen af van hem. En hij is belangrijk geweest in het ondertekenen van de 'Treaty of Waitangi' en hij heeft veel

belangrijke posities bekleed ook als onderhandelaar tussen de Maori en de Engelsen. Hij staat in hoog aanzien bij veel Maori. Daardoor wordt die staf ook heel erg belangrijk.

EL: Omdat afkomst en geschiedenis erg belangrijk is bij de Maori, weten jullie van objecten dan ook of ze nog bij bepaalde iwi/families horen?

WV: Vaak weten we toch niet uit welke regio de objecten komen, maar als we dat wel weten dan hebben mensen er wel een speciale relatie mee, als het bij hun iwi hoort. Dan voelen bepaalde mensen zich toch wel verbonden met bepaalde objecten. Er zijn ook heel veel verschillende iwi en dat maakt het ook wel lastig. Maori zijn door de kolonisatie meer verenigd geworden, daarvoor waren ze eigenlijk heel erg verdeelt.

EL: Heb jij het gevoel dat door dit contact het museum meer een post-museum is geworden, dat het museum meer open is geworden en meer democratisch is?

WV: Ja dat gevoel heb ik wel, zeker het project van de waka is wel heel bijzonder. Ook vanwege de betrekking met Njord. En hoe het project levende wordt gehouden. Het valt nu niet weg maar het wordt nu wel onderhouden, wat wel heel moeilijk is omdat er zo veel gemeenschappen zijn die in contact staan met het museum. Maar wat al veel helpt is als gemeenschappen weten dat zij een bepaalt recht van toegang hebben hier vanwege die connectie. Dat is iets wat echt heel belangrijk is, vaak belangrijker dan teruggave van objecten. Door contact doe je meer. Een museum doet veel meer dan tentoonstellingen maken, maar wat achter de schermen gebeurd wordt niet zo goed gezien en dat is wel iets waar we aan moeten werken. Dat ook de collectie in het depot belangrijk is en dat daar ook mensen naar komen kijken en dat daar iets mee gebeurd. Dat is ook het werk van het museum.

Hier moeten we wel nog goede methodes voor vinden.

Interview with Laura Peers Curator at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, United Kingdom.

Interview conducted through email, answers received on: 31 May 2017

Interviewer: Eveline Lameer (EL)

Interviewee: Laura Peers (LP)

EL: The questions I would like to ask concern the collections of the Pitt Rivers Museum and their display areas. I also would like to ask some questions about the museums' relationships with Indigenous people and in specific Maori. First, I would like to ask some questions about the current presentation of objects, some specifically on the ones belonging to the Maori culture.

EL: How much input do the curators like yourself have on the current way of displaying objects in the permanent display areas?

LP: The Museum staff collectively decided to maintain the unique historical and typological organisation of the displays in 1998. Within those divisions we have freedom to add to and remove items from display.

EL: Do you know if there has been any contact with Indigenous (Maori) about the permanent exhibition display?

LP: there has been a great deal of contact with Maori. Sir Hugh Kawharu was on the governing body of the Friends of the Museum for a long time. His daughter Merata Kawharu and her husband Paul Tapsell did their DPhil degrees as Rhodes Scholars under the supervision of Prof Chris Gosden and advised on the need to remove toi moko from display, and also on a new Body Arts display which you will see, which includes Maori material. The Museum hosted a large Maori delegation to view the Charles Smith collection of Taonga in 2015, and supported Christo Kefalas, as doctoral student who took information and photographs about this collection to Maori iwis (see her DPhil thesis in the Balfour Library while you are at PRM). Recently the Museum returned ancestral remains to Te Papa.

EL: So, who has the final word on the displays? How easy or difficult is it for changes to be made?

LP: see answer to 1

EL: How much weight does the opinion of Indigenous peoples (Maori) have on the ways that the objects are displayed or the stories that are told accompanying the objects?

LP: Museum staff always ask for guidance from members of Indigenous source communities regarding ethical issues of display. Toi moko were removed from display on the advice of Maori advisors and advice was sought regarding Maori items in the recent redisplay of Captain Cook's collections.

EL: How important is the visual appeal of a presented object in the display, are objects that are less visually attractive but with an interesting story picked over the same kind of object which has more visual appeal?

LP: the PRM does not privilege 'story' or aesthetics but object type; it's important to us to include quotidian and rather boring-looking objects in displays as well as visually spectacular ones.

EL: In my research regarding taonga Maori and Maori culture I learned that some taonga require offerings of leaves at certain times, to honour the ancestors belonging to the specific taonga. Possibly other cultures also have these kinds of traditions in taking care of their important objects. Do you know if offerings like this have ever been done in the Pitt Rivers Museum, in the storage or display areas? And do you then know why the museum does or does do this? If this request has never come up would you consider doing this/will it be allowed if Indigenous people requested this?

LP: Maori people have made such offerings and also cleansed spiritually with water, which is provided when they work with taonga in the research space or recently for the repatriation handover ceremony (when ancestors were symbolically covered with a Maori cloak collected by Cook to honour them). It would be cultural appropriation for non-Maori staff members to make such offerings.

EL: Have you received any reactions of Indigenous people (Maori) on the current permanent display of the objects (Maori taonga)? What kind of reactions were these?

LP: all Indigenous source communities respond to the unique nature of PRM displays with, variously, wonder and irritation. Maori responses have spanned this gamut.

EL: You offer English object descriptions in the exhibition. As I have not been to the museum in person I do not know if the museum additionally offers descriptions in Indigenous languages. If the museum does not, would it ever be considered to also offer object descriptions in the Indigenous languages like Te Reo (Maori)? Why would you or wouldn't you consider this?

LP: what is appropriate in museums in 'home' countries for Indigenous people is neither possible nor appropriate when dealing with international/global audiences. Should we also put labels for all objects in all languages spoken by all visitors? We couldn't fit those labels in the cases. PRM is not trying to be like other museums. Text is kept to an absolute minimum and objects themselves are the focus of display. That said, if the Museum did a special, temporary display curated by Maori we would certainly be open to Maori/English labels.

EL: What is your opinion on the current permanent display areas (of Maori taonga)? Is there anything you would like to change? Why would you want this to change?

LP: Maori taonga are found in nearly every case in the Museum's typological displays. Applying critiques developed in standard museums is unhelpful.

EL: Do you think the objects in the permanent displays give an accurate representation of the Indigenous cultures that are represented (Maori culture) regarding past and present time?

LP: See above.

EL: Is it clear in the descriptions of the displayed objects, how they came to be in the museum? How transparent is the museum about these things?

LP: No and not very; again, the Museum does not privilege text.

EL: In the next section I would like to ask you some questions about the contacts the Pitt Rivers Museum has with Indigenous peoples like Maori, and how these are organized.

EL: How would you describe the current relationship the museum has with Indigenous peoples (Maori)?

LP: PRM staff have a long set of relationships with various Maori iwi and heritage professionals which continue in the present; Te Papa representatives and members of the London Maori group were with us two weeks ago for a repatriation which was entirely positive for all concerned and led to positive suggestions for future projects e.g. a temporary exhibition of Maori taonga curated by Maori people.

EL: Are there certain Iwi (tribes) you have special contact with? I have learned that there is the Ngāti Rānana London Māori Club, which promotes Maori culture. Do you know if the Pitt Rivers Museum ever contacts them concerning exhibitions or objects?

LP: See above.

EL: When you contact Indigenous peoples (Maori), what is the contact mostly about?

LP: Guidance for displays, acquisitions, and maintaining relationships

EL: *Is the contact easy to uphold?*

LP: Contacts with Indigenous groups require constant maintenance, like any relationship, as well as demonstration that the Museum is meeting requests by/needs of Indigenous groups.

EL: Does the museum have contact with museums in the indigenous countries about certain issues?

LP: "the indigenous countries"? Perhaps you mean 'with museums in settler countries' i.e. countries settled by colonial nation-states, i.e. US, Canada, NZ, Aus, which have Indigenous populations. in which case, yes; see bibliography below.

EL: Have you ever considered how it would be to have indigenous as staff in this museum and how this could affect the way the museum works? Or are there already people from different cultures working in the museum that can have influence on what the museum does?

LP: We would love to have Indigenous people working at the Museum. We do take interns and researchers all the time. Hiring procedures require us to hire the candidate who best fulfils the job criteria (this is true in settler countries as well—you can't just hire a Maori to have a Maori on staff) and so far, we have not been able to recruit Indigenous staff. We therefore rely on an extensive network of professional and personal relations with Indigenous community members and museum professionals. I have for instance just returned from a potlatch on Haida Gwaii as part of our ongoing relations with the Haida Nation in B.C. and met with the curator of the Haida Gwaii Museum, who advises us on matters concerning Haida material heritage.

EL: Are there objects on display that are allowed to be touched by Indigenous (Maori) visitors? Do you have specific rules or regulations when it comes to these kinds of requests?

LP: All research visitors have items removed from display and brought to the research room to handle. I discuss handling issues with Cara Krmpotich in *This is Our Life*.

EL: Do you ever have (Maori) ceremonies in the Museum? When and what did they represent? If not, do you think the museum would be open to do this?

LP: Every time Maori people visit the Museum as official researchers they hold ceremonies. I'm not a Maori specialist so couldn't tell you what these were about. The Museum is always pleased to facilitate Indigenous interactions with ancestors and ancestral treasures.

Interview Dougal Austin, Curator Taonga Tuturu 19th-20th century at Te Papa Tongarewa, National museum of New Zealand in Wellington New Zealand

Wellington, 20 September 2017

Interviewer: Eveline Lameer (EL) **Interviewee:** Dougal Austin (DA)

EL: Good morning, I would like to ask some questions concerning the permanent displays of Taonga Maori in the Museum and about the museums' relationship with Maori, and how the museum forms a connection between the objects and the culture. First, I would like to ask some questions about the current presentation of objects belonging to the Maori culture.

Just to be exact what part of the collections is your responsibility and how much input did you have on the current way of displaying the taonga, can you change things a little?

DA: The Main Maori exhibition, we call it "Mana Whenua" is almost 20 years old now. We are hoping to renew the exhibition in the next years and refresh it and have something new. When we opened in 1998, I think everyone thought that the exhibitions would be changed after at least 10 years and now it has been 20. It is a lot of work so that is mainly why it has not really changed.

We have done some updates, but twenty years ago I didn't have much input, when I started in the museum, it was another team working on this and I was still keeping things rolling along in the old museum. But we have, two years ago refreshed one of the exhibits, which is the Moriori display. This was out of date, it was the worst part of the exhibit.

EL: So, you helped to change this?

DA: Yes, there culture is, they have been separated from main land of New Zealand and they have some other traditions. They are their own kind of culture. So that was, I had a hand in that and ongoing stuff over the years. But not so much in the permanent exhibitions when it was formed. I do hope to do a lot more say in the creating of the new displays.

Most of the other exhibits, do have Maori components and we work on those.

EL: Do you know how much contact there has been with Maori when the current display was developed? (Have there been Iwi groups that the museum has had meetings with for example?)

DA: Lots, there was a Maori advisory panel as well, which was overarching. There is the meeting house on which we worked closely together with the iwi it belongs to. They helped carry those carvings from the old museum and helped to install it. We actually erected there in that space which was quite a job, and it was a huge project all at once. And there were the Moriori as another component. I am talking about the permanent display, there was the big war canoe on display, which is from a river area so we worked with the iwi connected to that. And close to that is a waka voyaging display, which has a replica of Rik Busby's waka, Leiden worked with him too. We worked closely with him telling that story. How they have been rediscovering long distance journeys on the ocean throughout Polynesia. And we have a recreation of a smallish house called a wharepuni. And it's based on an archaeological foundation that has been found and that is a 500-year-old house. And we worked close with People on this project and the process was to recreate the house as traditional as possible. At

first, they wanted to make the stone tools to really carve it the old way. All the various techniques that their ancestors would have used. Which is quite different then bringing in someone to recreate it, who is unrelated to those people. So, it was a whole communal project.

At the same time, back in 1998, we have had iwi exhibitions that change over the years. Next Friday the new iwi exhibition opens. We have a dedicated space for that which runs alongside the permanent exhibition. Of which the first one was dedicated to the people indigenous to Wellington. And we have had many after those. Quite a few, there are a lot of different tribal groups.

EL: That makes it quite difficult to choose then, or do some of them come to the museum and say, we want to do an exhibition?

DA: Some of them do, it is quite high level.

So there has been quite a lot of input of them in the displays. But some of the objects, we don't know where they are from originally and we put out examples, so people could still learn a lot, from very early until contemporary.

However, one thing that isn't done well enough, which has been a criticism, we could have made it better by thinking about visitors from overseas, who know nothing about Maori culture, so they can get some kind of overview of the history of Maori settlement right through to today. Who are Maori and some of those other basics.

At the moment, this has been difficult to grasp by them.

Oh, and I should mention the Punamu display as well, the jade, it was a display from people of the west coast.

EL: So, they worked together with the museum in project groups to develop the display?

DA: It is sort of a co-development yes. As museum people, who understand the exhibitions, it is not hands of, as people you are working with might not understand some things, so we have to guide them to the process.

EL: Who has the final word on the displays?

DA: We do carry responsibility for the integrity I guess. We can't say things that are not true, it has to have some integrity. So, we do carry that responsibility, we have to balance things. If it requires to think about those things.

EL: How easy or difficult is it for changes to be made?

DA: Over the years there have been some changes, I think internally it is a quite difficult process because of the bureaucracy. It is just with scheduling we can get it done, but it is not easy. But with good organizing we can get quite a lot done, because we are a big place.

EL: How much weight does the opinion of Maori have on the ways that the objects are displayed or the stories that are told accompanying the objects, on what story is told?

DA: Quite a lot, ehm... I think though it has to be fitting within the whole exhibition, it has to be compatible. It helps involving them in that bigger picture as well. So, the understand that they will come to these thoughts as well, this is what we can say, this is what concept will fit.

EL: I can imagine you have quite a lot of Maori visitors, how does the museum react when a Maori visitor has commentary on the display of a particular object?

DA: I think it is positive, overwhelmingly positive. I do think we need to keep things changing, we see our things every day, so we should be refreshing more often, I think. And I would like us to see more contemporary stories as well. Our collections are weighted in the nineteenth century, with wood carving and early twentieth century. And it can get, if we are not careful they can get the impression that this culture is only in the past, but it isn't.

So, with acquisitions with the Maori collections we are focusing on 20 century ad 21 century as this is a weakness in our collection. Commissioning some prominent Maori artist, what will work for us. It is like a spectrum of what people do, at the moment, we are making acquisitions of contemporary woodcarving and ponamu. So, I think some of it is very contemporary, it could be in an art gallery. But at the moment I am looking at something where you can see the relationships as a continuum of those older pieces. But new thoughts maybe or new materials. At some kind of invisible point, we merge with the art collection. And we have some discussions about, is it art or is it more Maori.

There was a merger of the national art museum and the museum here.

EL: Are there some Maori artists who state they don't want to be in the art section, but in the other section, about the Maori culture or the other way around?

DA: They kind of position themselves and that is often quite obvious, but some of them also crossover between the two. we are still figuring this out.

EL: How important is the visual appeal of a presented object in the display, are objects that are less visually attractive but with an interesting story picked over the same kind of objects with more visual appeal?

DA: It's a combination of factors, including the aesthetics, how it looks and what we know about it, about the taonga. Sometimes we have done, in exhibitions like in the punamu exhibition, for example Heitiki, we had a mass display of about 80 of them. And most of those we don't give the history. But on each side of them we had a selection of ones with very well-known histories. And so, you get a bit of both. As it can be quite powerful to see quite a lot together and to read some of the histories of some of the famous heitiki.

Sometimes we will have things that are so deteriorated that they can never go on display, but jet they have research value.

And sometimes we think let's get something newly made, we can leave it out for longer, conservation consideration, we have to keep that up as well. As we have to keep working and changing the display all the time. And sometimes you have a limited number of items that can go into the display.

EL: In the literature I have read about Te Papa, (Te Maori) Maori and museums and I discovered that Maori sometimes require for offerings to be made in the form of leaves and ceremonies. How often does this happen in the permanent museum displays that concern taonga and what how is this done? (Do you then check those leaves for insects that can possibly harm the objects?)

DA: We do, and if you come to the opening you will see some of that. For example, we had a opening ceremony for the punamu exhibit that was in Paris, about five months ago. Which involved two tribal representatives, and they walked to the exhibition the rest follows through. And we have a low-key closing ceremony, I will be leading that, non-public. but we do those rituals yes.

We do other rituals day to day, going in the storerooms and going out. And when the taonga travels we have a ceremony too. It's just expected of us, it is part of what we do.

We used to lay leaves, greenery, it doesn't happen so much anymore. But for years we used to pick the leaves and lay them on the cases. We had to spray the leaves, against the bugs as you don't want to be introducing pests into the museum. And after a week the leave would dry up. This is done less than we used to, but it does happen occasionally.

In the Te Maori exhibition there was a carving, and they had a lot of requirements for it, also when in travelled, there had to be a light shining on it all the time. Also, when traveling. The iwi thought this was important. And we wanted to borrow it.

EL: Do you offer English and Te Reo descriptions in the permanent displays of Taonga Maori?

DA: We try to put as much Te Reo out there as we can, it does vary a bit. You'll see that the main texts are 50/50 and then depending on what display it is. but is varies, there are levels of texts.

That is the problem with labels, you have a word count. And when you go bilingual you have to cut the text in half. It has to be reframed.

We position ourselves as a bicultural institution, so we have to follow through. Not that it is just marketing, it has to be real.

EL: What is your opinion on the current permanent display area of Maori taonga? Is there anything you would like to change? (Why would or wouldn't you want change?)

DA: I am looking forward to renewing it, because I have been looking at it for twenty years now. But what is happening now, the new iwi exhibition is taking over a part of the permanent exhibition, it is not jet a full renew but parts of it, here and there, which is good.

We are still a couple of years away of a total renew.

I do think it is a bit limited in the amount of exhibition space we got. Visitors from over sea they want to see the Maori stuff. We have got this huge house which takes up a large area. And I think we need more space to show more stuff. I think we do a lot right, but we could do some things better.

We should use the latest technology as well, we could have a lot more of that. I would like to see it more accessible for more people, for non-English speakers too. For example, like an app they could put on their phone which they can then connect to a symbol on the label and then you can translate. We have a lot of Chinese visitors, so we get a lot of Asian tourists. Yes, we have a lot of Chinese and Japanese.

EL: Do you think the objects in the permanent display give an accurate representation of the Maori culture in past and present time?

DA: I think we could improve it, it is a little sparse of the number of taonga on display. We could show more, particularly more recent things. Reflecting on contemporary Maori issues, which is why we need more space, to also show that stuff as well.

We try to be uplifting, we have a role to play for our own people, and it is why we want them to be able to relate to what they see here, in what we are doing here. See something of themselves. They also want to see those ancestral taonga as well, from the earlier periods, it is what they expect to see, they want to see that. But we are part of a continuum stretching back to the Polynesian tropical homelands. We were the last to be populating, about 800 years ago.

We are still living with the colonial times today, I think the treaty is helping a lot. And the process of it. the treaty settlement process is really important, it allows us to move forward to a much brighter future.

EL: *Is it clear in the descriptions of the displayed objects, how they came to be in the museum?* (How transparent is the museum about these things?)

DA: We have a system for acknowledging things, so if it was a gift, the person that gifted is put down. If we purchased it, we do not put it there. But more so if it's a gift and it will say the year for example.

Yeah sometimes it's tricky. We do have some things retrieved from burials. Some of them are even national treasures, so if you stop displaying those you deprive people of seeing them, so I am not sure.

We have returned some objects and that goes up to our board for approval. And it goes case by case.

What we try to do, is to be as accessible as possible, in terms of giving information. A lot of things are now accessible digitally, so part of this is digital. Different iwi are creating their own databases of taonga of all around the world and we are part of that. So that may not be physically repatriating but it is a process to digitally access those taonga and even with 3d printing who knows, there are a lot of possibilities.

EL: Are there objects on display right now that the museum has on loan from certain Iwi, or are all objects considered loans? (Who 'owns' the objects?)

DA: Yes, there are, in other institutions as well, there will also be objects on display from families.

EL: And if the family requires to have it for something can they have it back?

DA: Well we sign a loan agreement, if it was in our collection, we do have some that go out regularly to local people. And we have approval in place. But I would say mostly if we have things on loan it is a five-year agreement and it is revisited when it is up. But usually they are on display for five years and then they return. But if there is something important is happening and they want their taonga they can have it, we are open to that.

EL: In the next section I would like to ask you some questions about the contacts Te Papa has with Maori and how these are organized.

DA: We have a division called the iwi liaison, they help manage those relationships, they relate to all source communities, which is not just Maori, but from what is displayed here. Those are

other groups from the pacific islands but also people from the Scottish community or Italian settlers, those as well. So really, the whole idea is to be inclusive, it is a philosophy what is inclusive.

They come to us, as it can be a process on the tribal end, as who will be the one to communicate with us. It just takes time. Sometimes they are already quite organized, but not always. Some tribes don't even work together, so one time it took quite a while for things to settle when making an exhibition that involved multiple different iwi.

EL: How would you describe the current relationship the museum has with Maori, I read that Te Papa is one of the museums with the best bicultural policies of New Zealand museums, do you agree?

DA: It probably is, I think that just hearing the policy is one thing. But you have to work on it, it is ongoing. I think it is the ongoing work that is put into it that is important. We build the relationships, but it is then not over and done with. it is an ongoing meaningful relationship that goes beyond creating the exhibitions.

There is a question that now goes around stating does New Zealand now have to change from biculturalism to multiculturalism? But what does that do to the position of the Maori and the treaty. And does that mean that we are just more marginalized. So, I think we will remain bicultural and with another layer of multiculturalism coming in. We need to be careful that when we talk about biculturalism, it has become a word that people say about, what does that even mean anymore. It still actually has to mean something. It is an aspirational kind of thing. It comes down to power sharing at top levels and all that sort of thing.

We are in a fortunate position with Maori working here, but not all museums have that in New Zealand. One or two high specialized functions like conservator are more difficult to find. There are allot of different people, not all Maori, but they consult with us, they think about relating to what Maori think about it.

EL: Does the museum have contact with all Iwi of which they show objects, and how do these relationships work?

DA: I am not sure that we are, it is difficult sometimes. If the records just say 'taranaki' than that is just the region. There is even an iwi called 'taranaki' that is mount taranaki, which is surrounded by different iwi. So, then we don't know which one to contact, so we don't. So in that case we don't know the iwi, but we know the general area that it is from, but not the iwi.

But there is a general rule that we consult about taonga on display.

EL: Are there objects on display that are allowed to be touched by Maori visitors? Do you have specific rules or regulations when it comes to these kinds of requests?

DA: No not really, we have touch stones though, people love to touch those, they are very tactile. But overall it is an issue, we just basically can't allow it. especially in school holidays, they quite do a lot of damage. So, we have to think about protecting the taonga. There is even discussion about having them behind glass or not behind glass. It is a security issue, with smaller items, someone could pick them up and run off with them. We have to think about all of these things.

Generally, we say no touching, but when there is an occasion when dependents come, then we say go ahead. But it may be more in the store room, as we don't want people to drop it and then we are in trouble. As we are trying to protect the taonga, things that we look after still have to be there in hundreds of years' time.

EL: When do you contact Iwi, and what is this contact then mostly about?

DA: Sometimes we communicate about, well this is what we intent to do, and now you know. And through different levels of involvement, with the iwi exhibition it is a collaborative project the whole way. Telling their story whole, the way through.

Sometimes we can be potentially a nuisance. If we contact one-person time and time again, we can sometimes overdo it. there might be one person of one iwi dealing with everything who has to deal with us again and again. It is usually about photography too.

Don't take photo's if there is a sign no photo's, we would like to change it to make an exception of the rule that we ask the iwi if they would have a problem with people taking photos, because people like snapping away.

EL: *Is the contact easy to uphold? (as some Iwi, I imagine, live far from Wellington)*

DA: I am from the South Island, and they are quite well organised, so they are generally good to contact. One of the leading tribes. They have a good structure in place. But it can be hard making contact. If you don't have an existing relationship. But generally, you look, who are the leaders, are there counsels in place, who might delegate. Or the person that you worked with last time, they don't hold that position anymore, it is someone different this time. They might have different ideas, but that happens anywhere anyway in professions.

EL: How often do you have Maori ceremonies in the Museum? When and what do they represent?

DA: I am not sure; a lot goes on around this place. We have the Marai as well, which functions for formal welcomes. Which is all very ceremonial, a lot of different groups go up to the Marai. And exhibitions open regularly all over the museum and it could be just very low key or more public as a big thing. But usually it is a smaller intimate happening.

EL: Do you have the idea that the museum presents multiple stories and is involved with its visitors and with the people connected to the objects that are on display?

DA: Yeah, I think it does, it is what we do quite well. But we do.

EL: Lastly, I would like to ask you some questions concerning the display of taonga Maori outside of New Zealand. Do you think it is necessary for museums outside of New Zealand to present offerings to the taonga? When yes or no?

DA: It can be quite difficult sometimes as some are also smaller museums. I think that it is an ideal to involve local Maori community in ceremonies. But if there is no Maori community around and it is done by someone outside of the culture that is not appropriate so I am not to sure.

There are other things that they can take into consideration. For example, we separate sacred and non-sacred taonga from each other in the store room and displays. They could also do that, so they could show cultural awareness. To me it is more that they can do a lot in terms of

interpretations. So, it's not just ethnographic colonial type of display, it is not just about rituals. Or sometimes it is presented as tribal art, just the aesthetics. But then again that is not how they see it from within the culture.

EL: Do you think the object descriptions in these museums should also be available in Te Reo? Or would the countries native language and English be enough? Why?

DA: Well they can show a little bit of that, it can add something. It is a bit pointless having labels in full Maori. For example, when we went to China with an exhibition we had Maori verbs on the walls. And we had some spoken language in Paris and it adds another cultural layer. So that's like adding a flavour to it.

EL: How do you think that museums outside of New Zealand can best communicate about their Taonga Maori collections and displays with Maori?

DA: I think if they hold really significant taonga, they have a relationship with the people of the tribe it belongs to. Sometimes we get contacted, that is what te papa also does, we give advice, we can play a role in that contact as well.

EL: What objects do you think are important to display as key elements to represent Maori culture to non-Maori visitors?

DA: We have some iconic taonga, like the meeting house, the waka, the big things and then the punamu, the material, the miriponamu, symbol of leadership, the heitiki, a very iconic taonga. The most valued of all the adornments I think, hold a lot of cultural meaning. It is hard to pick anything. It is also about a balance between the men's things and the female things and between age and the tribal spread, so they are not favouring a particular area. Weighing it all up when you put an exhibition together.

EL: What do you think are important stories to tell non-Maori about Maori culture, so that they can create a better understanding of it?

DA: With our touring exhibition overseas we have an introduction and we assume they know nothing, who are the Maori, what is New Zealand? Those basic questions, the history of settlement, and the earliest colonial experience through how this has changed how the Maori look until today. So that the understand that it is a living culture that is still thriving.

Interview with Matariki Williams, Curator Matauranga Maori at Te Papa Tongarewa National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington.

Wellington, 28 September 2017

Interviewer: Eveline Lameer (EL) **Interviewee:** Matariki Williams (MW)

EJ: What part of the collections is your responsibility? As you are Curator Matauranga Maori, I looked up Matauranga and one of the meanings is education, are you then responsible for how the taonga are used to learn from them?

MW: So, one thing that happened before I came into the museum is that in terms of the structure is that curators had portfolios. So, you may have seen that Dougals is around nineteenth century and pounamu stone. But before I came in they changed the two roles to make them really general. So Matauranga Maori refers to Maori knowledge. And in my mind, that is a long list, so basically, I can create my own areas of expertise, so that is what I have been working towards.

EJ: In Leiden it is really different, with the curators, they are assigned to one part of the world, that is where their research is. So what kind of things are you researching at the moment?

MW: So, building my own areas of expertise, I mean I am the youngest person in the team, and I have a very different view of what Matauranga Maori is. Well maybe there is some overlap of my work with others. I am a child of the 80s and 90s and that is kind of what shaped my world view and it has also made me look at the collection and see areas of potential. And so, I look at the collection and I see that we have a lot of 19th century and 18 century material, bits and pieces from the 20th century but very little. So I am interested in contemporary social history and I am interested in building an fashion archive and breaking down of some of the institutional barriers that surround Maori art. So, looking at contemporary art, because there are these difficult kinds of barriers that the different disciplines within the museum present us with. so, when you think about contemporary Maori art, often our team is left with things were people that work in more costmary forms and then the art team takes the more contemporary cuttingedge art. And for me this creates this false divide between the two. especially as I said earlier Matauranga Maori to me means all aspects of Maori knowledge, so art comes within that and when you think about fashion.

We have the biggest collection of cloaks of I think of the world and we have bits and pieces of social history related items of clothing from the 20th and 21 centuries. But there isn't really anything in the collection that was designed by Maori designers. That were collection because of their fashion aesthetic. So, we are going into that area. Especially when I go into the history archive and go into the fashion archive is going back 100s of years, but because they are not the Maori team, they don't have any Maori designers. So, we need to collect our own as well. So that are kind of the areas I am interested in, contemporary art, social history stuff has been really, there have been some tensions around the stuff I wanted to collect, because there has been an overlap between the history team and us, and some people see that this collection of items, weren't taonga. But for me it is not about taonga, but about knowledge and for us to be able to control the narratives between these really significant social events. So that is an area. And then an acquisition that is currently on the table has some digital aspects. Again, it is an

area which is very newly being explored. So, this is about collecting a website and creating an Instagram account. Which is very much something that a 21st century curator things about but not someone who has been in the profession for 20 or 30 years, they might not necessarily have thought of that before. So those are my areas of interest and they are very brought, and it is kind of hard to keep on top of everything. I think if I had a profile that would have been narrower it would have been easier for me.

In terms of exhibitions, I am working on the portrait gallery which is currently part of the art renewal. And that is very much something 19th century early 20th century 18 century, historical New Zealand portraits, and that is in close collaboration with one of the curators of the art team. What I am doing in my role is to ensure, because a lot of portraits do depict significant Maori people or unknown Maori people, it is just to ensure that we are able to work together to ensure that the integrity of the Matauranga Maori aspects of the exhibition are being upheld. But also one thing I am doing in terms of the interpretation, so this is the wall labels and all those kind of things, is to ensure that if we Maori are being portrait that the Maori perspective is privileged. And there are two taonga of our collection, the Matauranga Maori collection, that are being included in the exhibition. And so again it is how they are being used, it is the Mana of these objects, again the integrity inherent in these objects being upheld and are we exhibit them in a way that does them justice? Are we exhibiting them in a way that reflects what they need? All of those complex processes.

EJ: So, you are not so much working with any iwi at the moment?

MW: So, for that in particular we do need to talk with iwi.

EJ: *Do you know who is being depicted?*

MW: Yes, part of the mana taonga policy that the museum communicates or lives by is that every time a taonga is used we notify iwi and we ask for permission. When you think about copyright law and the rights around being able to use these images, for the most part these portraits are all out of copyright, so by law we can freely use them. But morally we have an obligation to contact each of these iwi. Which is part of the process I shall be undertaking after Rongowhakaata opens and people are more free and available to help with that kind of process. And I think it is also important because one of the taonga we are using in the portrait gallery, it is really significant in the room and how we are framing the narrative of the room. So I think it will be a little bit more around in, terms of contacting iwi, just to let them know that this is a significant part of the room and we want them to know that. It is a significant framer of the narrative of the entire room.

EJ: How much weight does the opinion of the iwi, in this case or in any other case, effect the story that is told with the object?

MW: Well if they objected to the way that the taonga was being used to frame the narrative I think you wouldn't be able to use it, because part of the way it is being framed is in honour of that iwi in particular. And all of the history that is contained in one taonga, if an iwi were to object to that than there is no way you could use it without their consent.

EL: So, in this case there are no iwi working with the project team who think about the creation of the story, it is here mainly the museum staff?

MW: Yes, I mean Rongowhakaata is a different story, because that is an iwi exhibition. And I think in the future, when our galleries are being renewed depending on how we choose to tell stories, there will be iwi involved.

EL: Well it is already very good that your department exists with Maori curators, because as you said with the fashion department, they are not really thinking as actively as you are about the Maori way of looking.

MW: And I think we also need to think beyond iwi groups as well, as there are also other Maori communities that we need to think about. Because there are a lot of dislocated Maori and a lot of urban Maori who are dislocated of who their iwi might be they may not know about their whakapapa, and just make sure that we are able to represent them as well. Or around the LGBTQ community, which is again not very well presented in museums. so engaging with that community is also very important and something we are really thinking about for in the future is being able to work with that community to be sure that they are represented in our museum collection. And then around other social history movements, there has been decades of Maori language revitalisation but there is not much in the collection to reflect this really significant part of our history. A part of history that came before colonisation and how we lost our language in the first place. And then flipping it on its head and saying, how will we gain it back. we don't really have objects to reflect that entire story. There are just so many beyond iwi communities, there are so many other kinds of aspects of our culture we need to be able to reflect.

EL: Do you think discussion with visitors is necessary for the museum to function in the best way possible?

MW: I don't go out on the floor very much; a lot of those conversations are held by the front of house staff. But one thing that has come up recently is that in the past visitor hosts would have periodic training with various curatorial teams. Last year at some point they asked 'could you bring some of these taonga in the room and talk to us about these taonga. And our front of house staff was really interested, and then we said why don't we just go into our collection storage. And that was seen as somewhere that they saw as that they were not able to go there. That is one of those unspoken barriers, we are all working in this museum and it is really important that they see everything that is back of house. That everything on the floor is just a tiny drop compared to what we actually have. And also it is really important that they also know about what is in storage and they also have so much knowledge, we also learn a lot from them, it is a very two way kind of relationship. So that has been a really good development, I think we had 3 or 4 tours so far which I think has been really good.

And in terms of other back of house tours, we do have other community groups coming in. Last week for example there was a university group from the east coast that came in and I spent about an hour and a half in the stores with them. We are able to teach them some things and we are able to learn from them as well. It is such an incredible experience seeing everything through their eyes as well. As I think you can get a bit complex being in a museum around this incredible

history that you have at your fingertips every single day. And when groups come in and seeing their faces. It is a great reminder of how lucky we are that we are able to work here.

EL: I heart from Dougal that the Mana Whenua exhibit is going to change in a few years?

MW: Yes, we are busy with refurbishing different parts of the museum and when Mana Whenua is going to be refurbished this is going to be a interdisciplinary project between Matauranga Maori, history and Pacific team. Our teams are making the commitment that we will be really interdisciplinary in how we approach things. Which will be a really interesting process as I think the way in which the renewal has started has already could have been more cohesive. To have a overarching idea for all of the galleries. But we don't have that.

EL: What is your opinion on the current display of Mana Whenua?

MW: I think Mana Whenua is really going to benefit from the renewal. Again, everything of my interest areas is not very well reflected on the floor. And I mean you can say the same about all of the permanent galleries. Everything is just acing to be refreshed. And it is so hard when you are a museum and your most visible aspect of your work is what is on the floor when you are still producing work. What we produce goes in journals around or PhD's or whatever. But we always need to remember that we are a museum and we need to make sure our exhibitions are reflecting our work, which there are so many restraints around that. One thing I have appreciated since I have been here are the hot spots that are popping up, mini exhibitions where you can relatively quickly get things on the floor and just provide more content. Especially given that the art gallery is now shut.

EJ: And what do you really want to see in the renewal?

MW: I love to see some clothing on the floor, because I think textiles are important to show. A few years back there was a dedicated textiles gallery called eyelights. Which again had like a good turnover of content. And it was just always full, I think textiles are one of those objects that are really extensible to wide ranges of audiences, because everyone needs clothes. Even people who don't like fashion, you don't need to know fashion to know about clothing. And so losing that was a real bummer. It then became part of a gallery for touring shows, behind the gallery is also were the library used to be. And the library has now split into multiple different places. We are currently in the Maori section of the library. And then that space got used for touring shows.

It is such a massive loss. As they did have a bunch of textiles which were so amazing to see and people stopped and looked at everything and viewed these bonkers uniforms from the 60s when people looked like lollypops, it was just so great. So that is something that I would love to see in the future Mana Whenua gallery.

I would also love to see art, all aspects of what art means, I would love to see things happen more thematically. At the moment it seems to be about materials, there was a pounamu case, instruments case, there is a case about the Chatham Islands. There is a section about voyaging. So, if we were able to change that into being about themes, like say, let's talk about water, and

we then use artworks that have water and talk to the Pacific team. So move away from material cause I think that is kind of limited.

I think what is also necessary is that we get out of this museum, that the curatorial teams go around and see what other teams are doing and feel inspired and refreshed by the work our colleagues do. Because being here we can trap ourselves.

EL: Do you think the objects in the permanent display give an accurate representation of the Maori culture in past and present time?

MW: I think of some aspects but not everything. There is one anecdotal thing, were the head of my museum studies, he heard from one of the visitor hosts that a foreign visitor had asked if the Maori people still exist. Just because you can go into Mana Whenua and everything is very much traditional, costmary looking, it's very dark in there. '

My dream for the future is that we will get rid of all these angels and curves that are in the rooms. It's very a much a 90s vibe.

EL: Do you know if the old Marae that is now on display will go back to their iwi, because the text said that they wanted to do this.

MW: We don't know, that decision will be made by the iwi. I think part of that is, there is this weird thing museums do to taonga where they, with things that they used in the past they discarded it and let someone made a new one, because people had these skills. It turned something in a museum object what needs to be kept in pristine condition where if you go any were around the country and look at a Marae it is not going to look like that. Because it is under the weather and it depends on what intention they have. I feel very differently when I go into this Marae, with these hard-plastic seats and hard floors and bright lights, then when I go one of my one Marae. It has mattress and its soft, very different. It would be really interesting to see what the iwi will decide.

EL: *I also really like the modern Marae that you have.*

MW: Yes, what is great about it is that, so much thought has gone into every little detail and that it is always being used. There are functions and stuff there but also as staff we have practices there and we use it as a Marae. And when you are introduced in the museum as staff member you are introduced here, so every staff member feels connected to the marae. What the museum could do more of is that more New Zealanders more visitors feel more comfortable on the Marae.

EL: Te Papa is very much promoted as this bicultural institution and as having one of the best bicultural policies in the world. What do you think about this, do you agree?

MW: I think indeed we are, but I think it needs reviewing, so I think even just as a country we can become complaisant about this idea. And not constantly reassess how we are achieving this. Biculturalism is such a gigantic loaded term. So, I think we need to keep pulling apart what it is and keep reshaping its meaning. How we are able to mark ourselves against this, and say, well are we achieving what we want to achieve by calling ourselves a bicultural museum. and the structure of the museum has changed quite significantly in the 20 years that we have been

open. When it first opened, there was a very bicultural structure with a chief executive and a Kaihautū (Maori Co-leader) on the same level. Over the years that kind of high level equality has shifted and the structures underneath them have shifted. But also, I think biculturalism is something that needs to be imbedded across the whole organisation and constantly upheld. But in saying that I know what it is like in other organisations that don't have that kind of thing. So Te Papa is lightyears ahead of many other institutions. But at the same time that doesn't mean we should kind of assume that we are good enough, we could always be better.

EL: Do you think transparency is an important part of the museums work? Meaning that it is clear that iwi had influence in creating the story told in the displays.

MW: Absolutely, there are ways of doing that beyond an exhibition. Public programming could be held around an exhibition, or us writing about things online. Or us completely divesting control and having the community write about things. Or create a video, or anything like that I think it is only for the betterment of the museum and the exhibition anyway.

EL: I understood that all Taonga Maori collections are governed by people with Maori roots, how do you feel about this? Should it be like this in every New Zealand museum that owns Maori collections?

MW: I think, with the post Te Maori years, there was a lot more discussion around that, it brought a lot more of the issues to light. And again, that signified changes within museums, but this is also the kind of thing we need to keep advocating as well. There are few ways of doing so and one of them is the new way of how people get into museums compared to back then. Back then there were internships and stuff like that, that were established by various institutions which brought this influx of Maori staff who have for the most part stayed in museums and work in various different institutions now. But, nowadays the route that we are told to take is to go through university. So, you go to this very Pakeha institution, so like a university which may not have any Maori staff. And involves taking on a student loan and it involves having to take on unpaid work. So automatically there is a socio-economic barrier to who can go in. and from my experience and two other Maori I know, who were in different years then me. We were all the only brown person on the course, there were no other Maori, no other Pacifica people. So immediately we do want Maori working with taonga but if we don't have the work force then how are we able to. I think again that is part of my questioning around us needing constantly to review what biculturalism means, you know we need to know what the staffing numbers are like and if there is a gap or an imbalance that we question how we are going to address that. And part of that is through the learning institutions.

Another thing that I have been part of in my museum work is working for Kaitiaki Maori, so Maori working within the sector. And that has been a huge empowering experience for me. I helped reinvigorate during one of my placements was to just consolidate all of the Maori staff of various institutions and that we are organising Hui (Gatherings). So we got an upcoming hui in a couple of weeks and again that is something were you do find that there are a lot of very isolated Maori in these institutions. So I mean in an institution were someone is handling taonga Maori and they are not Maori, that institution might not have any Maori staff. That community might not have anybody skilled to be able to work in a museum in the first place. But then you have institutions were there are Maori staff, that is their role, but then they're the only Maori

staff. Then they are already taking on this massive workload and then expected to do things kind of over and above their job description. So Kaitiaki Maori is a place where we are able to come together and just kind of share ideas, and know that we are all on the same page. And understand that everyone has things that are pushing and pulling but that we are here to support one another.

EL: Do you have the idea that the museum presents multiple stories and is involved with its visitors and with the people connected to the objects that are on display?

MW: What do you think?

EL: Well I do think it has multiple stories.

MW: Well that is good to hear, I think it is so hard at the moment because we are in a period of renewal and change. Two of our mayor galleries are currently closed, but we do have existing exhibitions that have represented multiple voices and one of them would be the mixing room one about refugees New Zealanders. But again, that is something that was meant to be on the floor for two years, but has been on the floor for 10. That story is really massive and it is great that there is being added to, but at the same time, while that is there, is there a different story that could be in that place instead? With all of the separation out of all these galleries. It is presenting histories that, all of these cultures are very distinct of one another, while in reality there is huge amount of cross over. So I think one missing voice would be where all of those cultures intersect and I think that will be something that will come in the future when history Maori and Pacific want to have this interdisciplinary approach to exhibiting.

As well I think with the public programming team and the education team, the exhibition is just one part of answering to multiple voices, representing multiple voices. They do really amazing jobs in sake for the public programmes teams, highlighting communities and bringing them into the museum and giving them a platform. There have been some divers communities, like for example the drone racing community. There has been this drone racing event that happened or writers coming in and talking about writing. And with the education team things around just being able to bring in different ages. Preschool ages all the way up to teen agers, to let them know that this is a place where they can be. And that as the national museum they have every right to come in and partake in events.

EL: You are one of the curators who works closely with the Kāhui Kaitiaki, do you think these kinds of organisations should be necessary for more indigenous people in other parts of the world to be able to aid each other's cause to represent the culture through museums to people who are unfamiliar with it? Do you think it would be beneficial to them?

MW: I can only speak to my experience, but my experience has been really positive, and it is constantly changing the membership of the group. So, every hui that I go along to, there is always new people. And for the most part, the new people that come into it, they are like 'where have you guys been?' and then they find this group of people who are able to help them. And if they are feeling isolated then we are able to provide a space of support. Actually, increasingly we are getting more and more of our Pacifica colleagues coming in as well, because we may be a minority, but they are a minority 'minority'. So, it is really gratifying that we can provide a

space where they feel comfortable to join in as well and again we are making commitments to support each other. I can only suggest that it would be great for other minority cultures around the world, even if it happens online. If you have this kind of space where you are able to vent or help one another, is great. But it is also the kind of thing that can become very time consuming. Not to just participate, but some of the bigger ideas we have about keeping in contact in between hui even then I would love for us to have an online space, or have a newsletter that we run, which can go out to Maori staff. But you need someone to compile the information, and then also I would not know if people would actually have time to constantly be reading things. You can just keep producing and producing but that doesn't mean it is going to be read. I think it would be great to have more of these organisations established around the world.

EL: Do you think that adding Te Reo, in form of multimedia or text would be a welcome addition to the Taonga Maori displays in museums outside of New Zealand? (as this might create a fuller context for the non-Maori visitors)

MW: Defiantly, I think hearing the names of these taonga, also the types of these taonga, the materials, in their own language is really beneficial. And in terms of interpretation being able to provide that short hand, describing a taonga or the use of a taonga, from someone who is a practitioner or a user or lover of whatever. Being able to have that, and describe what a taonga is for. Then for example this other space to being able to talk more broadly or deeply about concepts of these taonga.

EL: How do you think that museums outside of New Zealand can best communicate about their Taonga Maori collections and displays with Maori?

MW: I think Te Papa is defiantly a good starting point, but then again that is something that we should actively be seeking to assist with as well. And I think as part of us building this international community around museums. We could be doing that, we have the national services team domestically they do a lot of training. There is a lot of need and want within the volunteer sector and the smaller institutions sector around those kinds of skills. But I think it would be beneficial for us to just know our international community. Dougal has been really good at that because he has been around for a long time, so he has built up these great connections. And so have other people in other teams. But I think it would be beneficial for us to have those relationships. Then we would be able to provide not necessarily advise, but just information and guidance.

And Dougal, even the stuff he is doing with the Quay Branly at the moment, that he has gone over there, that is a massive commitment. It's very far away, and that is reflecting his reflect for the taonga and the fact that he knows that he needs to be there. But again, he'll be building these networks with people who will then be able to kind of call back on him if they need assistance or guidance.

EL: What objects do you think are important to display as key elements to represent Maori culture to non-Maori visitors?

MW: All of them are, but then again, context is key.

List of illustrations

All pictures were taken by Eveline Lameer, the origin of other types of imagery can be found in the list of image origins.

Museum Volkenkunde:

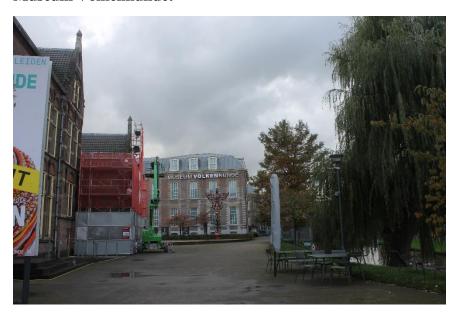


Figure 1: Museum Volkenkunde main building, Leiden.



Figure 2: Museum Volkenkunde, Boerhaven building, now housing offices of the museums research centre, Leiden.



Figure 3: Main entrance museum grounds showing the entrance gate, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 4: Three of the artworks in the garden of Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 5: Totem pole in the garden of Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 6: Maori waka with dock in the garden of Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 7: Second entry gate to the grounds of Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 8: Maori boat house with waka inside, next to the second entry gate, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 9: Two artworks in the garden of Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 10: Entrance ways to the permanent collections on the ground floor, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 11: Entrance ways to the permanent collections on the second floor, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 12: Example of the concrete wall with projections found within the galleries, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.

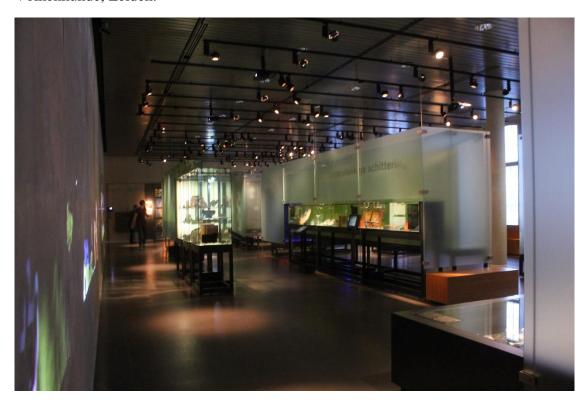


Figure 13: Example of the glass case design, Japan & Korea gallery, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 14: Touch screen presenting object information, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.

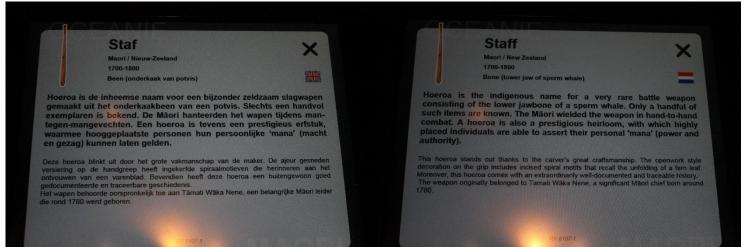


Figure 15: Object information given of one of the *taonga* displayed in the Oceania gallery of Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.

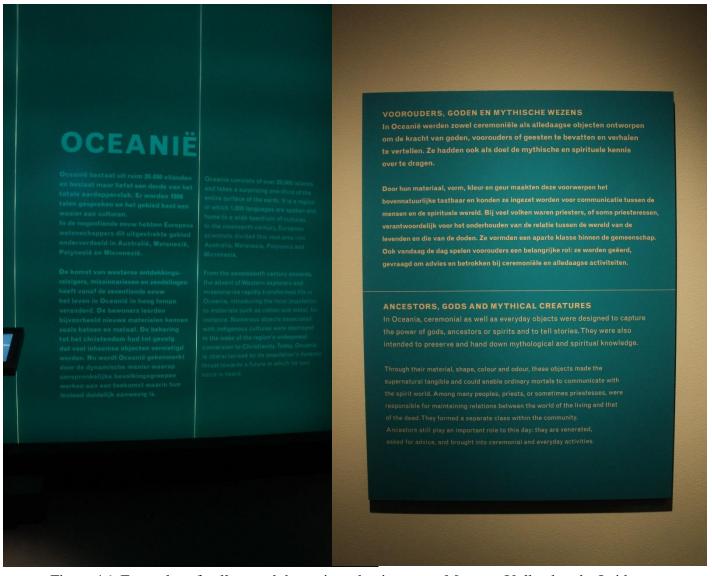


Figure 16: Examples of gallery and theme introduction texts, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.

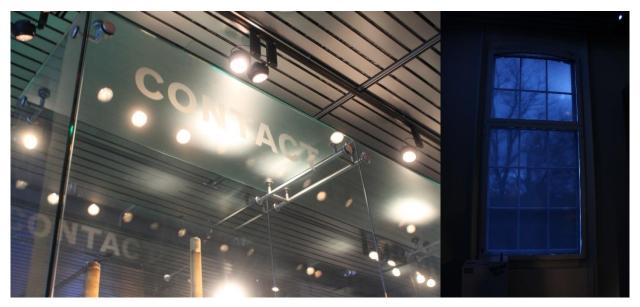


Figure 17: The spots used to highlight objects and texts and an example of the covered windows, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.

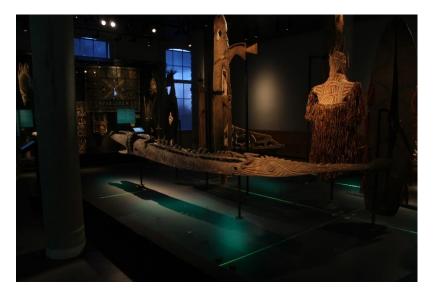


Figure 18: Coloured spot lights in the Oceania gallery, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 19: Wall with photo projections in Oceania gallery, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 20: Blue-green wall in the first part of the Oceania gallery, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 21: Map of Oceania placed next to the introduction text, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.

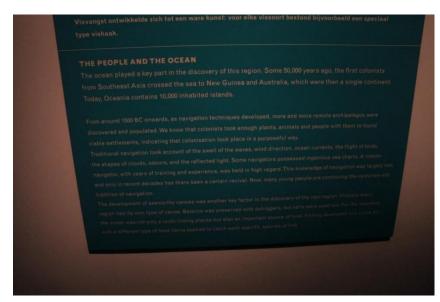


Figure 22: Wall text people and the ocean, Museum Vokenkunde, Leiden.

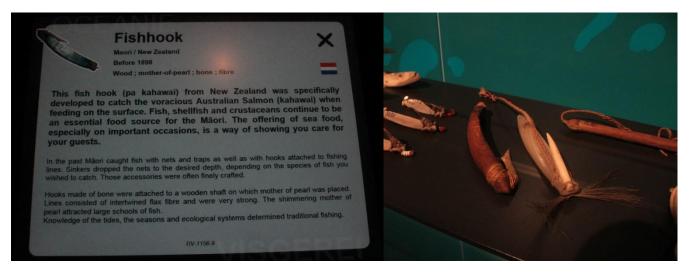


Figure 23: Maori fishhook in people and the ocean display, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 24: Video about the waka project, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 25: Video about use of waka in New Zealand, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 26: Second space Oceania gallery, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 27: Bench with multimedia pillars, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 28: Multimedia screen showing interviews with Maori, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 29: Ancestor display, left: Australia, mid: Maori, Right: New Guinea, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.

MAORI-SCHATTEN

Toen de Maori ongeveer 800 jaar geleden Nieuw-Zeeland of Aotearoa bevolkten, brachten ze een rijke cultuur mee. Ze zien hun objecten als schatten of taonga en erven die van hun voorouders. Hoe belangrijker de voorouder aan wie de taonga ooit toebehoorde, hoe groter de mana, de kracht van het object.

Sommige schatten verbeelden een voorouder, andere tonen de band met de voorouder, door de verhalen over een historisch evenement, een bijzondere plek of een persoon die de voorwerpen gebruikte. Nog steeds, wanneer Maori in contact komen met bepaalde krachtige taonga, reageren ze erop alsof ze leven: vol ontzag ervaren ze de voorouderlijke geest als een aanwezigheid, een gezag. Objecten verbinden niet alleen het verleden met het heden, maar zijn ook gidsen die helpen complexe familiegeschiedenissen te begrijpen. Taonga geven Maori de mogelijkheid uit de voorouderlijke kennis te putten om zo vol vertrouwen de toekomst tegemoet te treden.

MAORITREASURES

When the Maori populated New Zealand, or Aotearoa, some 800 years ago, they brought a rich culture with them. Certain objects inherited from their ancestors are regarded as treasures or *taonga*. The more important the ancestor to whom the *taonga* once belonged, the greater its power or *mana*.

Some treasures depict an ancestor, while others display the ties with the ancestor, through stories of a historical event, a special place, or a person who used the objects. When Maori come in contact with certain powerful *laonga*, even today, they respond to them as if they were alive: full of awe, they experience the ancestral spirit as a presence, an authority. Objects not only link past and present, they are also guides that help to make complex family histories easier to understand. Taonga give the Maori access to ancestral knowledge, enabling them to face the future with complete confidence.

Figure 30: Display text: Maori treasures, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 31: Maori taonga in the 'Ancestors' display, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.

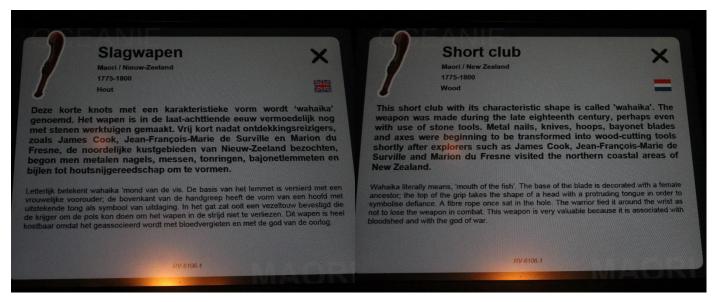


Figure 32: Object text short club, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.

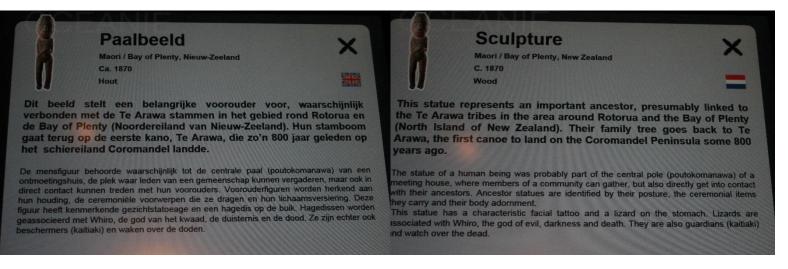


Figure 33: Object text Scuplture, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 34: Object text head, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



Figure 35: Video clips in museum café on building the waka and the totem pole, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Pitt Rivers Museum:



Figure 36: Signposting outside of the Pitt Rivers Museum, the Oxford University logo is clearly visible here in a dark blue. Also visible is a second logo indicating the Natural History Museum, Oxford.

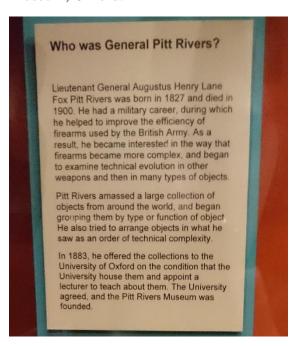


Figure 37: Part of introduction text in the introduction display about the museum, here the university is clearly mentioned in the last paragraph, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Figure 38: Sign indicating University departments next to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

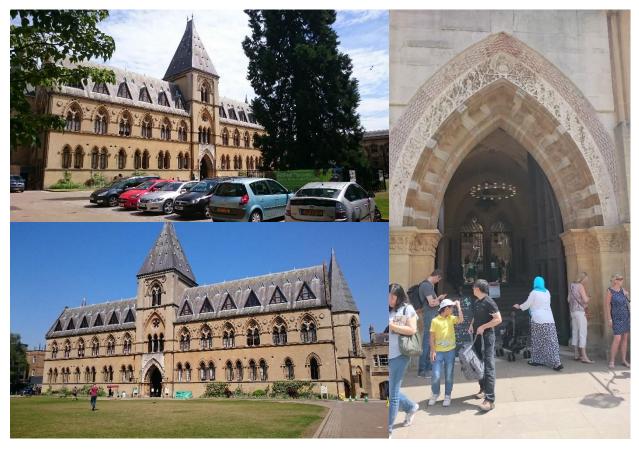


Figure 39: Pitt Rivers Museum building, with lawn and entrance, Oxford.



Figure 40: Entrance hall after entering the building, ground floor of the National History Museum, Oxford.

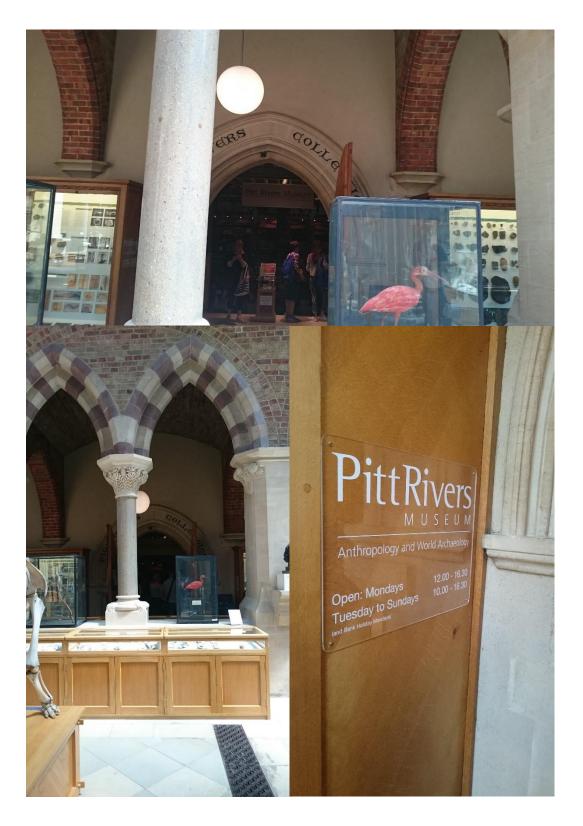


Figure 41: Entrance Pitt Rivers as seen from the National History Museum and sign posting next to the entrance door, Oxford.



Figure 42: Signposting of the different spaces in the building, notice the Pitt Rivers Museum's location is last on the list, Museum of Natural History, Oxford.



Figure 43: View of the museum's ground floor/court with visibility of the two other galleries, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Figure 44: View of introduction display, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Figure 46: Stairwell, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Figure 45: Human form in art display, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Figure 47: Overview of the introduction display, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Figure 48: Lighting throughout the museum. Left: small spots in the displays against the walls. Upper right: ceiling spots. Lower right: spots on the upper ceiling lighting objects in the middle of the court. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Figure 49: Maori woodcarving display, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

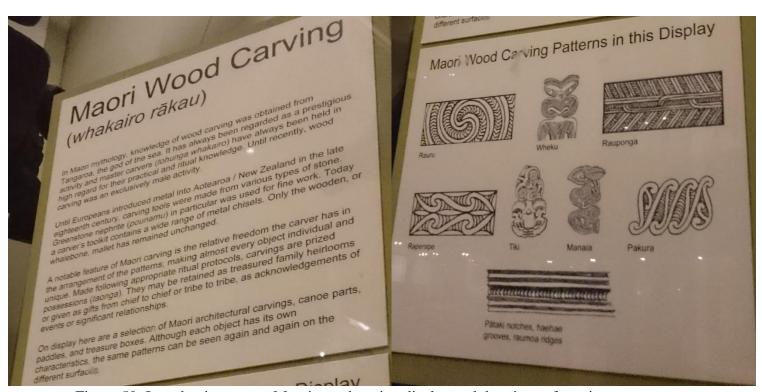


Figure 50: Introduction text to Maori woodcarving display and drawings of carving patterns, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

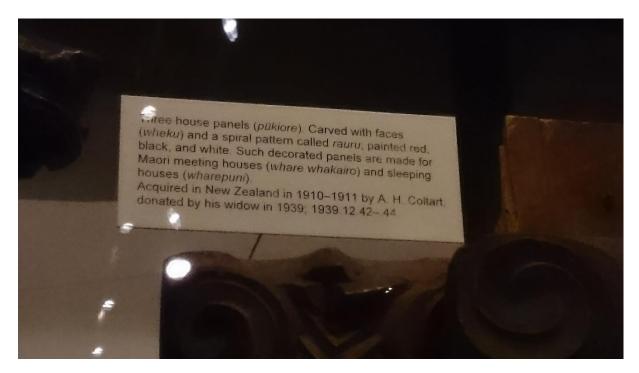


Figure 51: Example object text card, Maori woodcarving display, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

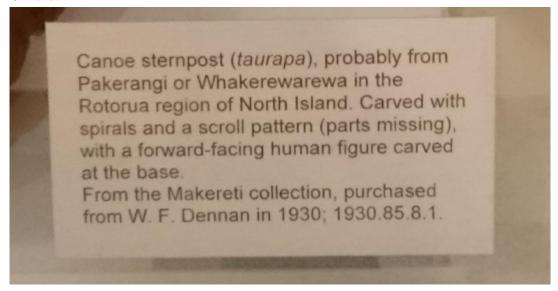


Figure 52: Example object text, Maori woodcarving display, Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Figure 53: One of the ground floor free standing display cases, note the shadows in this display produced by the ceiling lighting, causing some of the objects to be visible less well than others. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.





Figure 54: Lighting in the Maori woodcarving display, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

Left: one of the small spot lights. Right: the LED light strip in the top of the display case.

Door jamb (whakawae), carved with figures and spirals. Probably saved from a fire at a house called Rumano at Pakerangi in the Rotorua region of North Island. The home of Mahihi Te Kakau Paraoa, this was inherited by his great-niece Maggie Papakura, known as Makereti, chieftainess of the Te Arawa.

From the Makereti collection, purchased from W. F. Dennan in 1930; 1930.85.7.2.

Figure 55: Object text, Maori wood carving display, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa:



Figure 56: Te Papa Tongarewa, Museum building, Wellington.

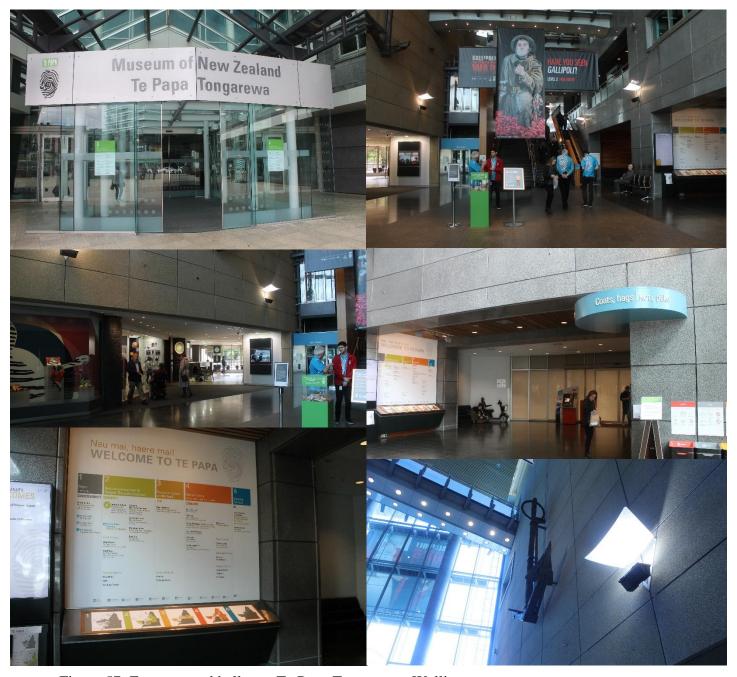


Figure 57: Entrance and hallway, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 58: Canoe display before entering Mana Whenua and the blue light that shines underneath the canoe, , Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

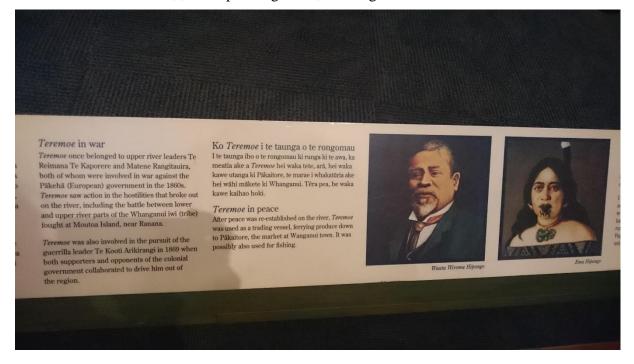


Figure 59: Part of the text illustrating the canoe's origin and use, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 60: Introduction Mana Whenua, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 61: Introduction to Moriori display, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 62: Introduction to Voyaging display, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

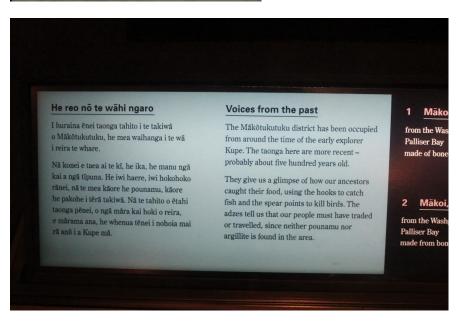


Figure 63: One of the texts introducing the *taonga* from Palliser Bay, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 64: Introduction text Punamu display, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 65: Introduction text Te Takinga display, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 66: Example of object text with map to indicate place of origin, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 67: Design elements of the Mana Whenua gallery, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington. Left: photographic backdrop behind the *wharepuni*.

Middle: floor change.

Right: elevated part of the floor for Te Hau ki Tūranga.



Figure 68: Pictures illustrating the theme of Voyaging, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 69: Ceiling spot lights, Mana Whenua gallery, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

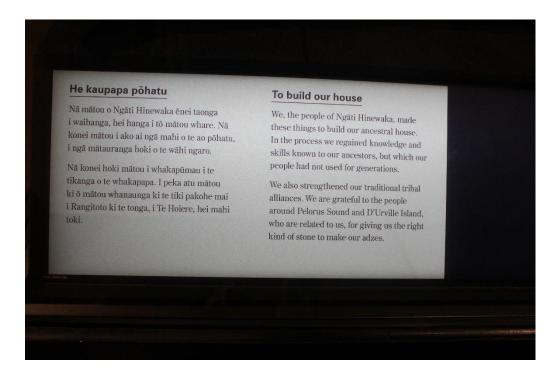


Figure 70: Description with the *wharepuni*, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 71: Introduction text Punamu display, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 72: Text Moriori display, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

Te aranga o *Te Aurere* The birth of Te Aurere I te 8 o ngā rā o Tīhema 1985, i kite a On 8 December 1985, the Hawaiian voyaging waka Hōkūle'a sails into Waitangi Harbour, hourua o Hawai'i i te whanga o Waitangi, ko Hōkūle'a te ingoa o taua waka. I pupū ake ai te whakaaro kia hangaia tētahi. He hoa nōna a Te Rangihau nāna i whakamōhio a Hekenukumai ki ētahi tāngata hanga waka o Hawai'i hei āwhina i a ia. Ko te tīmatanga tēnei. vessel. Knowing of Hekenukumai's interest, John Rangihau, a friend and supporter, puts Hekenukumai in touch with Hawaiian wakabuilders, who provide crucial support. Te Aurere's blueprint begins to take shape. I ngā wā katoa e hanga ana te waka i Traditional rituals are observed throughout whakaritea ngā ritenga o mua. the waka's construction. Oti rawa ngā whakamātau i te moana nui After rigorous sea trials, Te Aurere leaves on tonu, kātahi anō a *Te Aurere* ka tere atu ki its maiden voyage to Rarotonga in 1992. As Rarotonga i te tau 1992, ko te tuatahi tenei o the waka retraces ancient migration routes, ana terenga i ngā ara o mua. I rongo ai ngā the crew begin to feel the presence of atua kaihoe i ngā atua – i te moana, i ngā tūpuhi, (gods) - in the sea, in the storms, even in the i ngā rākau o te waka. timbers of the waka itself. Te Aurere's epic journeys have begun.

Figure 73: Text example from, voyaging display Mana Whenua gallery, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

Ngā terenga The voyages I rongo ngā kaihoe i ngā mea i rongona e On Te Aurere's maiden voyage, the crew ö rātou tūpuna i te wā i haere mai ai ērā i Hawaiki. Kia kī te kāpene, a Stanley Conrad, 'Ko ngā tūpuhi ngā mea e mau ana i aku share the experience that ancestors must have had when voyaging to Aotearoa. 'My most vivid memories are the storms,' says mahara, te haere mai o ngā ngaru, kia skipper Stanley Conrad. 'Waves come and just pick you up and drop you like a feather.' Te Aurere makes landfall at Ngā Tangʻia I ū a Te Aurere ki te whanga i Ngã Tangʻia i Harbour, in Rarotonga, to an emotional Rarotonga, he nui ngā manaakitanga i a rātou. Ko te Pirimia o ngā Kuki Airini o tērā wā ko Minister, Geoffrey Henry, says: 'Seven Geoffrey Henry i kī, 'Kua hipa ngā tau 750 i te wehenga atu o ō koutou tūpuna i konei; i left here for Aotearoa, and today you have tēnei rā ko koutou ēnei e hoki mai nei, nau returned - so welcome home.' mai ki te wā kāinga.' On 18 March 1995, Te Aurere leads a fleet of I te 18 Maehe 1995 nā Te Aurere i ārahi te waka to Taputapuātea Marae on the island tāruru waka ki te marae o Taputapuātea i of Raiātea, Tahiti. Raiātea, i Tahiti. According to legend, a great meeting of Pacific navigators took place here 645 years E ai ki ngā kōrero he hui nui nā ngā earlier. During that event, a Māori was killed kaiwhakatere o ērā wā i tū ki taua wāhi. I tū in a dispute, and a tohunga (spiritual expert) tētahi riri i patua ai tētahi o rātou. I kangaia cursed the island and its approach waters. e tētahi tohunga taua wāhi me te ara moana In an historic ceremony, Te Ao Pehi Kara, ki reira. E ahu atu ana a Te Aurere ki Te Ava a tohunga from Waikato, lifts the curse as Moʻa ki te Hāpua o Raiātea i takitakina e Te Aurere enters the Te Ava Mo'a Channel, Te Aopēhi Kara ana karakia hei hiki i ngā Raiātea Lagoon. kanga i ngā tapu – he tohunga karakia a Te Aopēhi nō Tainui.

Figure 74: Text example containing quote, voyaging display Mana Whenua gallery, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

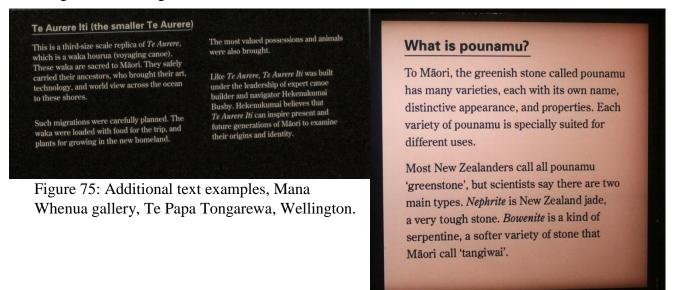




Figure 76: Blue light used in display of the smaller Te Aurere, voyaging display Mana Whenua gallery, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Figure 77: Video screens, Te Tātakinga Pātaka display and Punamu display, Mana Whenua gallery, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

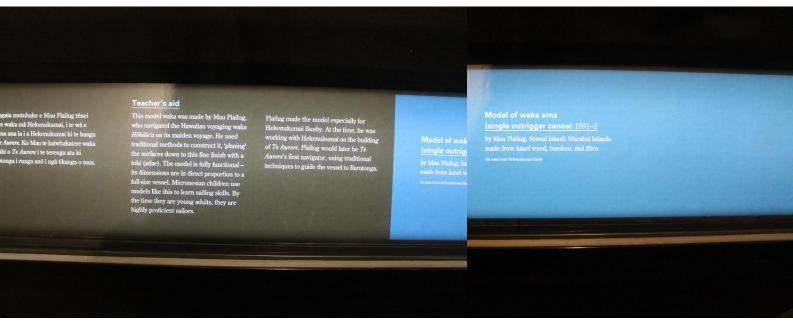
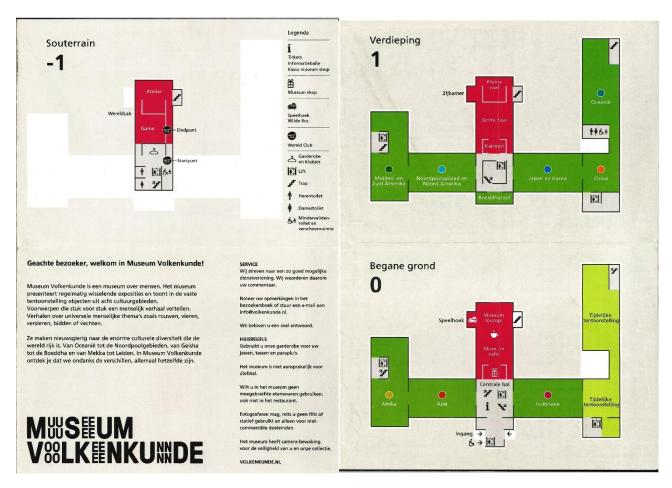
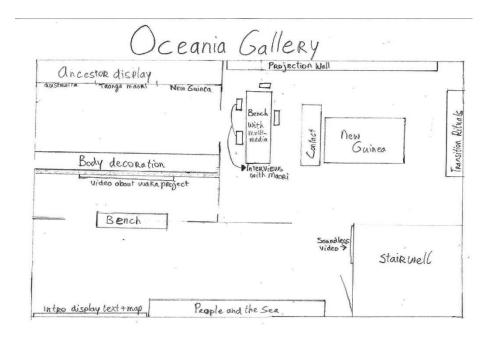


Figure 78: Text and object information Waka ama, voyaging display, Mana Whenua gallery, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

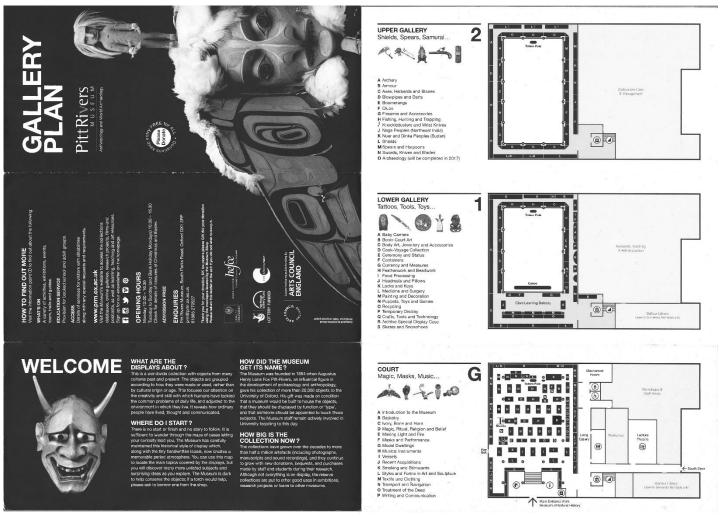
Plans and maps:



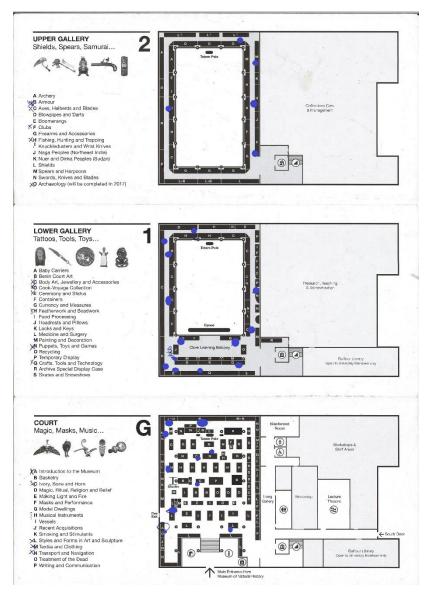
Plan 1: Plan Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



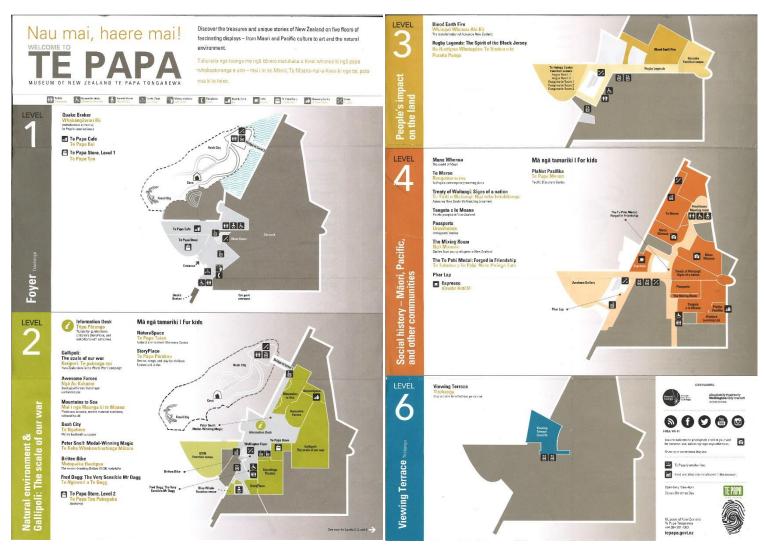
Plan 2: Oceania gallery, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.



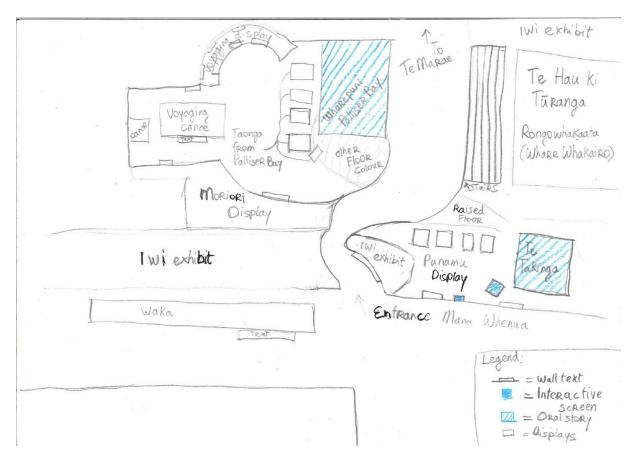
Plan 3: Plan Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Plan 4: The dark blue spots mark all locations of Taonga Maori throughout the Pitt Rivers Museum I found, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Plan 5: Plan Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.



Plan 6: Mana Whenua gallery, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

NINDEX INDEX INDEX

Map 1: Central Oxford, location of Pitt Rivers Museum, in the middle of University departments.

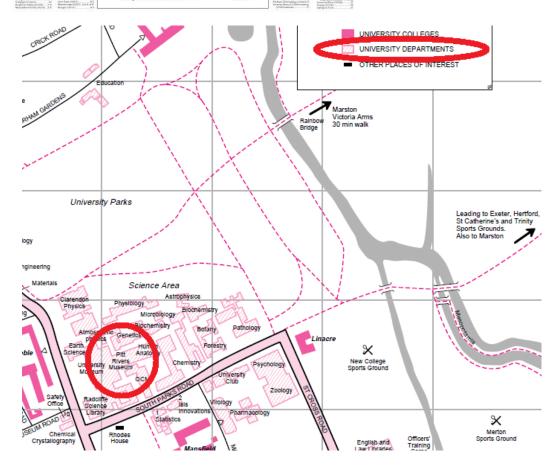


Image origins:

Map 1: https://www.dailyinfo.co.uk/sheet/pdf/central_ox_map.pdf (29 August 2017)

Bibliography:

- M. Alivizatou, 'Museums and intangible heritage. The dynamics of an 'unconventional' relationship', *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*, 17 (2006), 47-57.
- J. Andermann & S. Arnold-de Simine, 'Introduction. Memory, community and the new museum', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 29(1) (2012), 3-13.
- J. Atkinson, 'Respecting and preserving cultural values. Partnerships in New Zealand Museums', Paper given at the *Museum curators and communities*. *Embedded approaches to participation*, *collaboration*, inclusion conference, Horniman museum, London 26th 27th November 2009.
- S. Barrett, *Anthropology. A student's guide to theory and method. Second edition*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- T. Besterman, 'Museum ethics', in: S. Macdonald (ed.), *A companion to museum studies*, Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, 431-441.
- J.A. Blair, 'The rhetoric of visual arguments' in: C.A. Hill & M. Helmers (eds.), *Defining visual rhetorics*, London/Mahwah NJ: Lawrene Erlbaum Associates Inc., 2004, 41-61.
- W.C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of rhetoric. The quest for effective communication*, Malden MC: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- M.J. Brady, 'Mediating indigenous voice in the museum. Narratives of place, land, and environment in new exhibition practice', *Environmental Communication*, 5(2) (2011), 202-220.
- L. van Broekhoven, C. Buijs & P. Hovens, *Sharing knowledge and cultural heritage first nations of the Americas. Studies in collaboration with indigenous peoples from Greenland, North and South America*, Havertown: Sidestone Press, 2011.
- B. Büch, Staal & de Rijk (eds.), *Museumgids. Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde*, Breda: Plantijn Casparie, 2001.
- M. Clavir (a), 'Heritage preservation. Museum conservation and first nations perspectives', *Ethnologies*, 24(2) (2002), 33-45.
- M. Clavir (b), *Preserving what is valued. Museums, conservations, and first nations*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002.
- J. Clifford, *Routes. Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- J. Clifford, 'Looking several ways, Anthropology and Native heritage in Alaska', *Current Anthropology*, 45(1) (2004), 5-30.

J. Clifford, *Returns. Becoming indigenous in the twenty-first century*, London/Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Collectiebeleidsplan NMVW zonder bijlagen, 2015.

A.E. Coombes & R.B. Phillips (eds.), *Museum Transformations*, Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2015.

A. Crampton, 'Museums and the interpretation of visual culture', *Tourist studies*, 1(3) (2001), 315-317 (book review).

D.A.P. van Duuren & S. Vink, *Oceania at the Tropenmuseum*, Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2011.

J. Dyehouse, "A textbook case revisited". Visual Rhetoric and series patterning in the American museum of natural history's horse evolution displays', *Technical Communication Quarterly*, 20(3) (2011), 327-346.

H. Eidheim, I. Bjorklund & T. Brantenberg, 'Negotiating with the public. Ethnographic museums and ethnopolitics', *Museum & Society*, 10(2) (2012), 95-120.

T.B. Farrell, Norms of rhetorical culture, New haven/London: Yale University Press, 1993.

A.H. Fischer-Olson, *Imagining the way forward through museum space*. Approaching working relationships between museums and indigenous communities, Thesis for UCLA, 2014.

S.K. Foss, 'Framing the study of visual rhetoric. Toward a transformation of rhetorical theory', in: C.A. Hill & M. Helmers (eds.), *Defining visual rhetorics*, London/Mahwah NJ: Lawrene Erlbaum Associates Inc., 2004, 303-313.

G. J. Frank, 'That's my dinner on display. A first nations reflection on museum culture', *BC* studies, 125-126 (2000), 163-178.

H.H. Frese, Anthropology and the public: The role of museums, Leiden: Brill, 1960.

M. Gadoua, 'Making sense through touch. Handling collections with Inuit elders at the McCord museum', *The senses & society*, 9(3) (2014), 323-341.

D.R. Gruber, 'Medicalization of the post-museum. Interactivity and diagnosis at the brain and cognition exhibit', *J Med Humanit* 37 (2016), 65-80.

G. Gutting, "Michel Foucault", in: E.N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (Winter 2014 Edition), URL: https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2014/entries/foucault/.

- A.T. Hakiwai, 'The search for legitimacy. Museums in Aotearoa, New Zealand a Maori viewpoint', in: G. Corsane (ed.), *Heritage, Museums and Galleries. An introductory reader*, Abingdon Oxon/New York NY: Routledge, 2005, 169-178.
- U. Hannerz, 'Anthropology: Overview', in: J.D. Wright (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the social and behavioural sciences (second edition)*, Elsevier, vol. 1, 2015, 772-777.
- C. Harris & M. O'Hanlon, 'The future of the ethnographic museum', *Anthropology today*, 29(1) (2013), 8-12.
- R. Harrison, S. Byrne & A. Clarke (eds.), *Reassembling the collection. Ethnographic museums* and indigenous agency, Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2013.
- R. Harrison, 'Reassembling ethnographic museum collections', in: R. Harrison, S. Byrne & A. Clarke (eds.), *Reassembling the collection. Ethnographic museums and indigenous agency*, Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2013, 3-35.
- S. Hooper, K. Jacobs, M. Jessop & G. Nuku, 'Encounters with Polynesia in Britain. Art, ancestors, artists, and curators', *Museum Anthropology*, 35(1) (2012), 10-22.
- E. Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the interpretation of visual culture*, Abingdon Oxton/New York NY: Routledge, 2000.
- D. Jenkins, 'Object lessons and ethnographic displays. Museum exhibitions and the making of American anthropology', *Comparative studies in society and history*, 36(2) (1994), 242-270.
- D. Johnson, 'Psychiatric power. The post-museum as a site of rhetorical alignment', *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 5(4) (2008), 344-362.
- L. Jordanova, 'Objects of knowledge. A historical perspective on museums', in: P. Vergo (ed.), *The new museology*, London: Reaktion Books, 1989, 22-40.
- S. Keene, 'Museums and the interpretation of visual culture, Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean', *Material Religion*, 1(2) (2005), 281-282 (review).
- S. Keene, 'All that is solid? Museums and the postmodern', *Public Archaeology*, 5 (2006), 185-197.
- M. Keith, *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*. *Souvenir Guide*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2017.
- C.A. Kratz, 'Rhetorics of value. Constituting worth and meaning through cultural display', *Visual Anthropology Review*, 27(1) (2011), 21-48.

- C.F. Kreps, *Liberating culture. Cross-cultural perspectives on museums, curation and heritage preservation*, London/New York NY: Routledge, 2003.
- R.A. Lanham, *A handlist of rhetorical terms. Second edition*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press, 1991.
- M.A. Leigh, Building the image of modern art. The rhetoric of two museums and the representation and canonization of modern art (1935-1975): The Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam and the Museum of Modern Art in New York, Doctorate Dissertation, Leiden University, 2008.
- J. Lujan, 'A museum of the Indian, not for the Indian', *American Indian Quarterly*, 29(3/4) (2005), 510-516.
- J. Marstine (ed.), *New museum theory and practice. An introduction*, Malden MA/Oxford/Carlton Victoria AU: Blackwell publishing, 2006.
- C. McCarty, *Exhibiting Maori. A history of colonial cultures on display*, Oxford/New York NY: Berg, 2007.
- C. McCarty, Museums and Maori. Heritage professionals, indigenous collections, current practice, London/New York NY: Taylor & Francis, 2011.
- C. McCarty, 'The rules of (Maori) art: Bourdieu's cultural sociology and Maori visitors in New Zealand', *Journal of Sociology*, 49(2-3) (2013), 173-193.
- A. McMullen, 'Reinventing George Heye. Nationalizing the museum of the American Indian and its collections', in: S. Sleeper-Smith (ed.), *Contesting knowledge. Museums and Indigenous perspectives*, Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009, 65-105.

Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences, *Guide to the National museum of ethnology* (*Rijksmuseum voor volkenkunde*) *Leiden*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962.

S. Moser, 'The devil is in the detail. Museum displays and the creation of knowledge', *Museum Anthropology*, 33(1) (2010), 22-32.

Pitt Rivers Museum, An introduction, Oxford: Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, 2009.

A.C.G.M. Robben & J.A. Sluka, 'Ethnography', in: J.D. Wright (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the social and behavioural sciences (second edition)*, Amsterdam et al.: Elsevier Ltd., vol. 8, 2015, 178-183.

- P. Schorch, 'Contact zones, third spaces, and the act of interpretation', *Museum and society*, 11(1) (2013), 68-81.
- P. Schorch, C. McCarty & A. Hakiwai, 'Globalizing Maori museology. Reconceptualising engagement, knowledge, and virtuality through Mana Taonga', *Museum Anthropology*, 39(1) (2016), 48-69.
- M.K. Scott, 'Engaging with pasts in the present. Curators, communities, and exhibition practice', *Museum anthropology*, 35(1) (2012), 1-9.
- S. Sleeper-Smith (ed.), *Contesting knowledge. Museums and indigenous perspectives*, Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- C. Smith, 'Post-modernising the museum. The Ration Shed', *Historical Encounters. A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures and history education*, 1(1) (2014), 32-49.
- C.S. Smith, 'Museums, artefacts, and meanings', in: P. Vergo (ed.), *The new museology*, London: Reaktion Books, 1989, 6-21.
- R. Srinivasan et al., 'Critical and reflective uses of new media technologies in tribal museums', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 24(2) (2009), 161-181.
- G. Staal & M. de Rijk (eds.), *In side out, on site in. Redesigning the national museum of ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands*, Amsterdam: BIS Publishers, 2003.
- D.C. Starzecka (ed.), Maori. Art and culture, London: British Museum Press, 1998.
- N. Thomas, *Entangled Objects. Exchange, material culture, and colonialism in the Pacific*, Cambridge MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- N. Thomas, 'Global reach. Ethnographic collections in Europe', *Apollo*, 183(641) (2016), 30-34.
- L. Turgeon & E. Dubuc, 'Ethnology museums. New challenges and new directions', *Ethnologies*, 24(2) (2002), 19-32.
- P. Vergo (ed.), *The new museology*, London: Reaktion Books, 1989.
- F.W. Veys, *Mana Māori. De kracht van Nieuw Zeelands eerste bewoners*, Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2010.
- W.S. Walker, "We don't live like that anymore". Native peoples at the Smithsonian's festival of American folklife, 1970-1976', *The American Indian quarterly*, 35(4) (2011), 479-514.

- R. Watermeyer, 'A conceptualisation of the post-museum as pedagogical space', *Journal of Science communication*, 11(1) (2012), 1-8.
- G. Welz, 'Ethnology', in: J.D. Wright (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the social and behavioural sciences (second edition)*, Elsevier, Vol. 8, 2015, 198-202.
- R. Williams, *Culture*, Glasgow: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd, 1981.

Websites:

http://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/hub/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1548-1379/aims-and-scope/read-full-aims-and-scope.html, (29 November 2017).

https://maoridictionary.co.nz/ (2 November 2017).

https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=iwi (8 December 2017).

https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=Mana+Whenua (13 November 2017).

https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=pakeha (29 Januari 2018).

https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=taonga (30 November 2017).

https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=waka (14 December 2017).

https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/#means (13 September 2017).

https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/human.html (5 May 2017).

https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/governance (5 May 2017).

https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/nmudisplays (29 August 2017).

http://rijksmonumenten.nl/monument/515032/museum-volkenkunde-voormalige-academisch-ziekenhuis/leiden/ (31 August 2017).

https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/ (29 August 2017).

https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/what-we-do/our-history (25 September 2017).

<u>https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/what-we-do/te-papas-vision-and-future</u> (15 November 2017).

http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/learn-te-reo-maori/whakahuatanga-pronunciation/ (13 November 2017).

https://volkenkunde.nl/nl/collectie/uitgelicht/totempaal (4 September 2017).

https://volkenkunde.nl/nl/collectie/uitgelicht/waka (4 September 2017).

https://volkenkunde.nl/nl/over (28 August 2017).

https://volkenkunde.nl/nl/over, PDF document: *Geschiedenis van de drie musea*, (28 August 2017).

https://volkenkunde.nl/sites/default/files/N0_Missie_3_v%C2%A73.pdf (31 October 2016).